The Cronica de Anglia in London, British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius C.VIII, fols. 6v–21v: Another Product of John of Worcester’s History Workshop

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This article comprises a study and edition of the Cronica de Anglia, a significant but neglected history of England from AD 162 to 1125 whose historical value lies chiefly in its connections to other accounts of the period. Though it is uniquely preserved in a late twelfth-century manuscript from Rievaulx Abbey, close reading confirms that it was composed between 1125 and 1137, not in the north of England but in the West Midlands, almost certainly at Worcester Cathedral Priory. If it is not the work of the priory’s foremost historian, John of Worcester (d. after 1143), then it was almost certainly produced under his direction. Not only are its contents closely related to his Chronica chronicarum and Chronicula, they also shed new light on John’s interests and the ways in which he and his helpers compiled and edited their histories. Turning to another purpose materials used in John’s other works, Cronica de Anglia arranges them in order to speak to questions about the relative antiquity and status of the kingdom’s bishoprics, churches and monasteries—a concern not otherwise prominent in John’s corpus. This chronicle also sheds precious light on the immediate reception of William of Malmesbury’s histories of the English, especially the first edition of Gesta pontificum Anglorum. Carefully suppressing dangerous nuances in William’s reportage, Cronica de Anglia betrays John’s anxiety to avoid becoming entangled in Malmesbury’s campaign against the king’s chief minster, Bishop Roger of Salisbury (1102–39). The article concludes with the first complete edition of the text—an edition that provides a precise account of the Cronica’s textual affinities.

In 1879 one of medieval history’s founding fathers, Felix Liebermann, published a synopsis of a short history of the English, their church and their kings known after its rubrics as Chronica de Anglia.1 As Liebermann showed, this chronicle is largely a patchwork of known factoids, most of which are reported in greater detail in fuller histories such as John of Worcester’s version of the Chronica

chronicarum and William of Malmesbury’s Gesta pontificum Anglorum. Students of Anglo-Saxon and Norman England — the contents range over the period from AD 162 to about 1125 — have tended therefore to set it aside as a derivative text, hardly worthy of close scrutiny. There are good reasons, however, why this chronicle should be printed in its entirety and exposed to further study. Liebermann’s source-analysis is obsolete, and whilst the Cronica de Anglia may not provide much new data for the history of events, it represents a significant witness to England’s historical culture at a critical period in its history. It sheds light on Worcester’s contribution to the great wave of historical activity set in motion by the Norman Conquest: it provides insights into the methods involved in the construction of John’s Cronica chronicarum and some of the earliest evidence for the reception of Malmesbury’s histories. But before we can assess its historical value, it is necessary to put down a sound foundation — to establish a definitive text and to discover when, where, by whom, and how it was compiled; and the search for solutions to these problems has to begin with the manuscript.

1. THE MANUSCRIPT

The book which preserves the sole surviving copy of the Cronica de Anglia belonged to Rievaulx Abbey in the late twelfth century. Its contents are presently divided between two volumes in the British library, where one is part of the Royal Collection (MS 6.C.VIII) and the other part of the Cotton Collection (MS Vitellius C.VIII, fols. 4r–21v). In their slightly shrunken and trimmed state the leaves of the Cotton manuscript measure approximately 275×195 millimetres; those of the Royal

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2 John of Worcester, The Chronicle of John of Worcester, ed. and trs. R. R. Darlington, Patrick McGurk and Jennifer Bray, 3 vols., OMT (1995–), cited hereafter as “JWCC”; William of Malmesbury, Gesta pontificum Anglorum, ed. and trs. Rodney M. Thomson and Michael Winterbottom, OMT, 2 vols. (2007), cited hereafter as “WMGP.” Since John’s version of Cronica chronicarum has yet to be edited in full and because their variants have a bearing on what follows, it will sometimes be necessary to refer to the original manuscripts, in particular the autograph (Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 157), the interpolated text from Bury St Edmunds (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 297), that from Abingdon (London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 42), and that from Peterborough (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 92, fols. 1r–167v). They will be cited according to the usual sigla, that is, “C”, “B”, “L”, and “P” respectively. In keeping with the usual practice, the annals are distinguished according to the Anno-Domini reckoning of Dionysius Exiguus rather than the alternative series of Marianus Scotus. The following abbreviations are used for the cognate texts: JW Bishops = the episcopal tables as found in C, pp. 39–46; JW Kings = the summary histories as found in C, pp. 47–54; JW Chronicula = the breviate version of Cronica chronicarum found in Dublin, Trinity College, MS 503, fols. 37r–113v.

manuscript 330×210. Divided into two columns of thirty-eight lines—identified as “a” and “b” in what follows—the text area in both manuscripts measures approximately 245×145 millimetres. The contents of the Royal manuscript may be listed as follows:¹

1) Paulus Orosius, *Historia adversus paganos* (fols. 1r–122v),⁵ here titled *De ormesta mundi*, “The Measure of the World” (fol. 2r), and preceded by an *argumentum* (fol. 1r) which comprises a brief introduction to the work, borrowed in part from Gennadius.⁶ The final rubric appears at the foot of folio 122v: *Explicit liber sancti pauli orosii presbyteri de ormesta mundi*. The capitula for books two to seven appear at the head of each book on folios 14v, 25v, 39rv, 57rv, 76r, and 95v. There are no capitula for book one, nor is there any space for them among the folios now extant.

2) Dares Phrygius, *De excidio Troiae historia* (fols. 123r–133v). Royal 6.C.VIII preserves a list of ten capitula numbered from .xl. to .l. (fol. 123ra1–14), a prefatory letter in which Cornelius Nepos is cast as the translator of the work (fol. 123ra17–b7), and the first forty-six chapters of the “vulgate” version of the *De excidio Troiae* (fols. 123rb11–133v).⁷ The numeral .xlvii., from the beginning of the rubric to the next chapter, is the last word at the foot of folio 133v.

A composite manuscript, Vitellius C.VIII was assembled for Sir Robert Cotton (1570/1–1631) in the early seventeenth century. Relatively lightly damaged in the Ashburnam House fire of 1731, the surviving leaves were mounted in cardboard frames and rebound in the mid nineteenth century, though not in the same order in which they had been arranged for Cotton.⁸


⁷ *De excidio Troiae historia*, ed. Ferdinand Meister (Leipzig, 1873), 1–50. On this manuscript’s place in the transmission of the text and its significance as an example of the frequency with which the text is associated with Orosius, see d’Arcier, *Histoire et géographie d’un mythe*, esp. 140, 154, 210–11, 213–4, 218–9, 234–46.

⁸ There are two sequences of folio numbers. That on the cardboard frames, followed here, runs from 4 to 21; an older sequence on the leaves themselves proceeds 18, 19 and then from 2 to 17. For the story of how the damage was repaired, see Andrew Prescott, “‘Their present miserable state of cremation’: The Restoration of the Cotton Library,” in C. J.
C.VIII was largely confined to the upper fifth of the leaves, but at some point in its history, presumably when the folios were unbound, some ink was also eroded. Comprising a sub-unit that differs substantially in date and aspect from the other components of Vitellius C.VIII, the contents of folios 4r–21v may be listed as follows:  

3) Paulus Orosius, *Historia adversus paganos* (fol. 4ra1). A single line comprising the final four words of the closing rubric: *continens gesta annorum. Ṽ. 1c. et viii.*

4) Peter Abelard, *Versus ad Astralabium filium suum* (fols. 4ra2–5r): a redaction of the poem comprising 226 of its 1042 verses, beginning *Astralabi fili uita dulcedo paterne* and ending abruptly *Vilescit mulier suspicione cito.* There is, as the poem’s most recent editor notes, no apparent reason why the text in this witness ends where it does except that it “may have been used to fill up three pages”.  

10 It ends at the bottom of the second column on folio 5r; the next text begins at the top of the next page.

5) Dares Phrygius, *De excidio Troiae historia* (fol. 5v): a fragment comprising a list of chapter headings, numbered *i.* to *xl.*, under the rubric *Capitula libri sequentis.*

6) Dares Phrygius, *De excidio Troiae historia* (fol. 6r–va26): another fragment comprising the final three chapters of the text, from *Postquam dies illuxit Agamennon* to *Helenum et Andromachum mille ducenti,* and an additional chapter, culled from the so-called “First Vatican Mythographer”, that sets out the genealogy of Priam and Aeneas.  

12 It begins *Dardanus ex Ioue et Electra,* and ends *Assaracus capem filium genuit, ex quo Anchises editus, Eneam filium procreavit.* These chapters correspond to the last four items in the list of *capitula* on folio 123ra of Royal 6.C.VIII.

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11 *De excidio Troiae*, ed. Meister, 50–52.

7) *Cronica de Anglia* (fols. 6va28–20v, 21r–vb6), described in its opening rubric as an account “of how the Britons, who first dwelt in Britain received Christ’s faith and of how long they adhered to it, of the arrival and faith of the English, of the founding of bishoprics and the construction of abbeys, of the alteration of bishoprics and abbeys and their seats, [and] of certain kings and kingdoms of the English”. At least one, possibly two folios, are missing between folios 20 and 21. The last four fifths of the second column on folio 21v remain unfilled.

The correct order of the items is clearly 1, 3, 4, 5, 2, 6, and finally 7.  

All of the items, apart from 4, are identical in aspect, layout and decoration. The arabesque initials that signal the major and the lesser sections of text are invariably executed in a single colour (either red, green or blue/indigo), but many are ornamented with fine pen-work. Though the capitula may be the work of another or perhaps two hands, the body of items 1–3 and 5–7 appears to be the work of a single scribe. A different but near contemporary hand enters the verses from Abelard’s poem on folios 4r2–5r. That is, the evidence suggests that the chief scribe left the three sides between the histories by Orosius and Dares Phrygius blank, that the book was first conceived as an historical miscellany, and that the poem was added later — as an afterthought. Still, the hands are all datable to the late twelfth century, and the scripts, artwork and general appearance of the manuscript are consistent with those of books produced in Cistercian houses in northern England at this time.


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14 E.g. Royal 6.C.VIII, fols. 2v, 15r, 26r, 29v, 40v, 41v, 59r, 73r, 73v, 78r, 81v, 96v, 120r, 123r; Vitellius C.VIII, fols. 6v. Images from the two MSS can be consulted at the British Library website, in the Online Galley (www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/) and in the Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts (www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts). Cf. Rodney M. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library* (Cambridge, 2001), xvi, n. 1, who thinks that “the local style” of the initials suggests “a Worcester origin if not provenance” for the manuscript as well as the contents of the book.

as two parts seems to have taken place in the early seventeenth century. Certainly, it was a unified whole when it belonged to Henry Savile of Banke (1568–1617),\(^\text{16}\) but it had been dismembered by 1621, when the contents of Vitellius C.VIII were catalogued among Sir Robert Cotton’s books in the list made in that year.\(^\text{17}\)

2. THE DATE OF CRONICA DE ANGLIA

The chronicle’s mention of William of Warelwast as “now deprived of his sight, though not yet elderly” (§ 39) provides a strong *terminus ad quem* for its composition. Bishop of Exeter since his consecration in August 1107, Warelwast died at Plympton Priory on 26 September 1137.\(^\text{18}\) His successor was appointed at the Council of Northampton which met on 3 April 1138.\(^\text{19}\) September 1137 is a strong *terminus*, moreover, because the author, intervening to modify his source, has supplied the words *nunc* and *non tamen seni*, “now” and “not yet elderly”. The account of the kings of Wessex and England that comprises the final section ends, similarly, with the death of William Rufus and the succession of Henry I (§ 87), implying — though this is a weaker indication because at this point the author is following John of Worcester rather slavishly — that the chronicle was composed before the coronation of King Stephen (22 December 1135). The latest event noted in the text is the consecration of Simon as bishop of Worcester, a ceremony which took place on 24 May 1125.\(^\text{20}\) A *terminus a quo* of mid-to-late 1125 is also implied by the *Cronica*’s dependence on *Gesta pontificum*, a work that was first put into wider circulation at about that time. As William of Malmesbury declares in his final chapter, *Gesta pontificum* was completed in 1125, the twenty-fifth year of Henry I’s reign, and after the deaths of Pope Calixtus II and the Emperor Henry V.\(^\text{21}\) Calixtus

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\(^{17}\) BL Harley 6018, fols. 79–80 (no. 169). For the use and early circulation of the book while it was in Cotton’s possession, see the data assembled by Colin G. C. Tite, *The Early Records of Sir Robert Cotton’s Library: Formation, Cataloguing, Use* (London, 2003), 163.


\(^{19}\) JWCC, s.a. 1138 (3:240).

\(^{20}\) The date is noted in JWCC, s.a. 1125.

\(^{21}\) WMGP, 5.278.3–4. See also the commentary, ibid., 2:325.
died on 13 December 1124, Henry V on 23 May 1125. If the author of the Cronica had used a later edition of Gesta pontificum, it would have been possible to bring the terminus a quo forward to, say, around 1130; but several items imply dependence on the β-text. This much applies, for example, to the sentence about Warelwast (§ 39), because the material on which it depends was removed from the later editions of Gesta pontificum.22 The outer limits for the production of Cronica de Anglia reside, therefore, at mid 1125 and September 1137.

3. THE PLACE OF COMPOSITION

It has been asserted that Cronica de Anglia was produced in the same monastery as the surviving copy, making it “the most important original Cistercian chronicle” of the late twelfth century.23 There are, to be sure, aspects of Cronica de Anglia that point to composition at a monastery in northern England. Its reliance on a β-manuscript of Gesta pontificum can be construed as evidence to this effect, because five of the six surviving copies of this version have a northern provenance. Of the two primary witnesses to the β-text, one belonged to Belvoir, a Benedictine priory in Lincolnshire, while the other belonged to Byland, a Cistercian house in Yorkshire.24 The Cronica attempts, furthermore, to define the border between Deira and Bernicia, an issue that northern historians took up in the twelfth century. Like Reginald of Coldingham, a monk who wrote three hagiographical works between the early 1160s and the 1180s,25 the author places the boundary on the River Tyne (§ 10). But these details scarcely amount to a convincing argument, for almost every other indication implies

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22 Further evidence for the author’s reliance on the first edition can be found in §§ 39 and 67.
23 Elizabeth Freeman, Narratives of the New Order: Cistercian Historical Writing in England, 1150–1220, Medieval Church Studies 2 (Turnhout, 2002), 116 (emphasis added). Oddly, Freeman seems at one point to believe that Cronica de Anglia was composed while Henry I was alive (ibid., 117), but she fails to explain how Rievaulx could have produced so complex a work so soon after it was founded in March 1132. How, in the space of those three years, did it accumulate the requisite resources? Cf. also eadem, “Annals of Rievaulx,” in Graeme Dunphy et al. (eds), Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle, 2 vols. (Leiden, 2010), 1:82.
24 BL Cotton MS Claudius A.V and Harley MS 3641. The former has been dated to the mid twelfth century, the latter to the end of the century: see WMGP, 1:xiii–iv.
that *Cronica de Anglia* was composed in the diocese of Worcester, if not at the Cathedral Priory itself.\(^{26}\)

The author’s view of the primacy dispute suggests, to begin with, that he was based in the southern rather than the northern province of the English church, for he takes Canterbury’s side throughout. He writes, for example, about how “the primate and patriarch of the English” was established in its first metropolis after Augustine of Canterbury restored the church of St Saviour in Canterbury (§ 3), and about how Lanfranc vindicated Canterbury’s position in the councils held in 1072 (§ 67). But by the 1120s, when the *Chronica de Anglia* was written, northern historians were giving open support to York’s cause. Symeon of Durham, for example, supplied York with information about its bishops from Paulinus down to the late tenth century, information that they probably solicited for the purpose of strengthening their arguments;\(^ {27} \) and in his *Historia regum* he rewrote John of Worcester’s account of Thurstan’s efforts to vindicate York’s equality in ways that lent support to the latter’s cause. Whereas John has Thurstan obstinately refusing to make a profession of obedience to Archbishop Ralph of Canterbury,\(^ {28} \) Symeon sets out the basis of York’s position: popes Gregory the Great and Honorius VI had provided that neither archbishop should make a profession to the other, except that he who had been blessed first ought to be considered the more senior while he lived; no bishop should seek to exercise lordship over another; and as Bede testifies no archbishop of Canterbury had “presumed” to claim the primacy of all England prior to Theodore’s pontificate (670–92).\(^ {29} \) Whereas John attributes Pope Calixtus II’s decision to consecrate Thurstan at the Council of Rheims to the latter’s bribes and the failure of Archbishop Ralph’s representatives to reach the pope in time,\(^ {30} \) Symeon suppresses all mention of bribery and deceit on Thurstan’s part, and has Ralph’s

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\(^{26}\) That it was compiled at Worcester in the middle of the twelfth century was previously suggested by McGurk in his edition of JWCC, 3:44, n. 2, and Paul Antony Hayward (ed.), *The Winchcombe and Coventry Chronicles: Hitherto Unnoticed Witnesses to the Work of John of Worcester*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 373, 2 vols. (Tempe, AZ, 2010), 143, 246.


\(^{30}\) JWCC, s.a. 1119, following Eadmer, *Historia novorum*, 5 (pp. 255–8).
representatives interjecting in a “presumptuous” attempt to prevent the ceremony going ahead; and so on. *Chronica de Anglia*’s position on the primacy dispute is consistent, in short, with that of a southern historian.

*Chronica de Anglia*’s topographical perspective suggests, secondly, that it was produced at Worcester. Its author certainly shows an interest in the city and its environs, praising it for its pre-eminence at the start of the eighth century when it became the seat of a bishopric, lamenting its destruction by fire, and providing several otherwise unattested etymologies for local place names:

Decorated then with high walls and fine ramparts, [Worcester] was more exalted and illustrious than many cities of the English (§ 20).

*Victia* was named by a certain king of the Britons who was called “Wict”. The name was taken from the shady wood which is called Wyre Forest. And he who was once called “bishop of the Hwicce”, is now called “of Worcester”, that is, “of Wyre-chester” (§ 22).

In the year of the Lord 1113 the city of Worcester was incinerated by fire on Thursday 19 June with its principal church and all the others — and the castle (§ 71).

In the same province, also, is a monastery which is called “Tewkesbury”. It was constructed by a certain Theodocus, from whom it received its name…. (§ 80).

To be sure, the explanation for the origins of the name *Hwicce* is rather problematic: there is no other record of a king of the Britons called Wict, and since the word means “chest” or “trunk”, it seems likely that the name had its origins in a topographical feature — as a name inspired, perhaps, by the trough-like shape of the Severn Valley or the angular profile of the Malvern Hills. But the author’s notion of how the bishop of Worcester’s titles evolved is consistent with the records preserved in the cathedral’s archive, and the names “Wyre Forest”, *Wirecestre* and *Wigornensis* may well have had a

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31 Symeon, *Historia regum*, s.a. 1119 (p. 254).
35 Though *Wigornensis episcopus* had become the usual formula by the end of the ninth century, the bishops were sometimes self-consciously styled as *Hwicciorum episcopus* in a few charters dating from the tenth century: e.g. S 1290, where Bishop Cenwald (929–57) appears as *praesul Hwicciorum*, and S 1352, where Bishop Oswald (961–92) appears as *Hwicciorum archiepiscopus*. For printed texts, see *Codex diplomaticus aevi Saxonic*, ed. John M. Kemble, 6 vols. (London, 1839–48), nos. 466 and 649. Cf. Bede, *HE*, 5.23 (p. 558), where the bishopric is identified the diocese as that *provinciae Huicciorum*. 
common ancestry.\textsuperscript{36}

An interest in local names nowhere emerges, more to the point, in \textit{Cronica de Anglia}'s coverage of the north, and there are many topographical errors in its treatment of places at some distance from Worcester. Much Wenlock, for example, is placed in Herefordshire rather than Shropshire (§ 81). St Albans is placed in Bedfordshire (§§ 32, 79), an error that the author has carried over from his source — a marginal addition in the autograph copy of the \textit{Chronica chronicarum} or perhaps its source, \textit{Gesta pontificum}.\textsuperscript{37} He thinks, likewise, that Trumwine had his seat at Candida Casa, and that Candida Casa lay “in the land of the Picts” (§ 34), mistakes which he shares with the episcopal tables in the prelims to John of Worcester’s version of the \textit{Chronica chronicarum}.\textsuperscript{38}

If, thirdly, \textit{Cronica de Anglia} had been produced at a northern monastery one would expect the six sections at the conclusion of the work which survey England’s kingdoms and their rulers (§§ 82–87) to betray the influence of the history known as the \textit{Libellus de primo Saxonum uel Normannorum aduentu siue de eorundem regibus}. Probably produced at Durham between 1123 and 1133 and influential in the north,\textsuperscript{39} this survey of the major pre-Conquest kingdoms and their rulers

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\textsuperscript{36} It is thought that the name might derive from that for a local river called Vigora, a Gallo-Celtic name that may have meant “winding river”: Allen Mawer and Frank M. Stenton, \textit{The Place-Names of Worcestershire}, English Place Name Society 4 (Cambridge, 1927), 19–20; Hooke, \textit{Anglo-Saxon Landscape}, 34.

\textsuperscript{37} The error originated in WMGP, 4.179.1, but the pattern of verbal parallels implies that both sections were more closely related to JWCC (C'B), s.a. 1048. In the margins of C, John’s autograph manuscript, the relevant item presently reads \textit{Hertfordensi} instead of \textit{Bedefordensi}, but \textit{Hertfor-} is there written over an erasure. The copy made a Bury St Edmunds, MS B, has \textit{Herfordensis}.

\textsuperscript{38} Trumwine is identified as the first bishop of Candida Casa — a see located in the land of the Picts — in JW’s table of northern bishops (C, p. 45). Bede, \textit{HE}, 4.12, 26 (pp. 370, 428), clearly implies that Trumwine’s see was based at Abercorn, and close to the Firth of Forth, but in ibid., 3.4, he had also treated Nian (whose see was located at Candida Casa) as a missionary active among the “southern Picts”.

\textsuperscript{39} Since it was available when the \textit{Cronica} was produced, the version that matters most for present purposes is that found in (1) Liège, Bibliothèque de l’Université, MS 369C, fols. 88r–94r (s.xii\textsuperscript{24}, Durham?), and (2) BL Cotton MS Domitian A.VIII, fols. 2r–11r (s.xiii\textsuperscript{1}, England). In these copies the original hands enumerate the bishops of Durham as far as Ranulf Flambard (1099–1128) and the archbishops of Canterbury as far William of Corbeil (1123–36). Their successors were consecrated in 1133 and 1139 (Greenway, \textit{Fasti} (n. 27 above), 2:4, 30). The episcopal lists were extended a little further in the making of two slightly later copies: (3) Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 53, pp. 145–168 (s.1135\texttimes39, Tynemouth or St Albans?); and (4) BL Cotton MS Caligula A.VIII, fols. 28r–36r (s.xii\textsuperscript{34}, Durham). An expanded version, much indebted to the prelims to the \textit{Chronica chronica} (and perhaps also to \textit{Chronica de Anglia}) and dating from between 1164 and 1173, are preserved in (5) Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B.II.35, fols. 131r–141v (s.1164\texttimes73, Durham); and (6) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 66, pp. 66–98 (s.xii\textsuperscript{13}, Durham? / s.xii\textsuperscript{9}, Sawley). The version found in (1) is partially printed in Arnold, \textit{Symeonis Opera Omnia}, 2:365–84; that found in (4) in John Hodgson Hinde, \textit{Symeon Dunelmensis opera et collectanea}, Surtees Society Publications 51 (Durham, 1868), 202–15. The best account of the dating and provenance of these manuscripts remains Bernard Meehan, “A Reconsideration of the Historical Works Associated with Symeon of Durham: Manuscripts, Texts and Influences” (unpubl. PhD dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1979), pp. 66–75 and 125–66; idem, “Durham Twelfth-Century Manuscripts in Cistercian Houses”, in David W. Rollason, Margaret Harvey and Michael Prestwich (eds), \textit{Anglo-Norman Durham}, 1093–1193 (Woodbridge, 1994), 439–49 (esp. 446). But for the dating and construction of (1), see Caroline D. Eckhardt, “Geoffrey of Monmouth’s \textit{Propheta Merlini} and the Construction of Liège University MS 369C,” \textit{Manuscripta} 32 (1988): 176–84. On the later versions of \textit{De aduentu}, see also Christopher Norton, “History, Wisdom and Illumination,” in Rollason, \textit{Symeon of
treats many of the same topics as these sections. Both begin, for example, with Woden and his descendants and the kingdoms that they founded. The *Chronica de Anglia* turns first to the kings of Kent, then to those of the East Angles, the East Saxons, the Mercians, and finally the West Saxons and the English as a whole. As presently preserved, there is no section for the kings of Northumbria, but they were probably covered in the lacuna between folios 20 and 21. *De primo Saxonum uel Normannorum aduentu* covers the same ground, but in a somewhat different order and with divergent levels of detail: the section on Woden’s genealogy is much fuller; those on the kings of Kent, of the East Saxons and of the Mercians are much briefer; its most expansive sections are those that cover the West-Saxons and the Northumbrians. Given their shared reliance on the corpus of Anglo-Saxon regnal and episcopal lists and the narrow compass of the subject matter, similarities are inevitable, but the wording and detail differ greatly. *Chronica de Anglia* provides, for example, coverage of Woden’s ancestors going back to Noah, and names all seven of his sons (§ 82); in its earliest version *De primo Saxonum aduentu* confines its treatment to the five lines of descent that gave rise to the royal houses of Deira, Bernicia, Kent, Mercia and Wessex. Both histories note, to provide another example, the pan-Britannic authority that Æthelstan achieved, but with differing emphases. Whereas the earliest version of *De primo Saxonum aduentu* says that Æthelstan “was the first of the kings from the English to hold the monarchy of all Britain, for he subjugated to himself Scotland and Cumbria and the other provinces of the Isles”, *Chronica de Anglia* says that he was “crowned king of the English and pronounced emperor of all Britain by everyone” (§ 87). Everything suggests, in short, that *De primo Saxonum aduentu* and *Chronica de Anglia* originated in isolation from each other.

*Chronica de Anglia*’s treatment of this material is nearly identical, moreover, to that of the summary histories found among the prelims to *Chronica chronicarum*, and especially — though only for the four sections that cover Kent, the East Angles, the East Saxons, and the Mercians — those that John inserted into his *Chronicula*, where they interrupt that history’s coverage of the tenth century.

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41 Arnold, Symeonis Opera Omnia, 2:366; Rollason, Symeon of Durham, pl. 23.

42 Arnold, Symeonis Opera Omnia, 2:372.

43 Printed by Benjamin Thorpe from MSS C, B, L, and P in *Florentii Chronicon ex Chronicis*, 1:258–76.
century. To explain, the *Chronicula* is an alternative, breviate, version of the Worcester *Chronica chronicarum* which is uniquely preserved in Dublin, Trinity College, 503 (a manuscript usually known as “G”), folios 37r–113v, where the text was copied by the scribe who is thought to be John himself. *Chronicula* was, furthermore, John’s own name for this history: he says that “in this little chronicle of ours” he is abbreviating materials that may be found in a fuller form in his “chronicle of chronicles”, and that he has taken care to include “in this little book only the more useful things”.

An especially striking textual parallel is *Cronica de Anglia*’s inclusion of nine lines of verse that also appear, albeit with a few variations, in *Chronicula*’s version of the “summary histories”. Both texts describe Æthelberht of Kent (d. 516), for example, as *Primus et Anglorum petit alta polorum*, “the first and highest of the pole-stars of the English” (§ 83). The regnal histories that John included in the prelims to *Chronica chronicarum* lack these verses. Concerned with founder figures, saints and other heroes of the church, they resemble the metrical entries found in some liturgical calendars. Several take the form of leonine hexameters with bisyllabic rhyme, a type of verse seldom practiced in England before the early twelfth century, but one that flourished in the West Midlands at this time.

The range of the *Cronica de Anglia*’s links with John’s corpus all but proves, fourthly, that it was compiled at Worcester. John’s version of Marianus Scotus’s *Chronica chronicarum* was a complex web of diverse materials, yet numerous verbal parallels indicate that *Cronica de Anglia* is related to many different parts of this work — not just to the chronicle of the Sixth Age that takes up most of book three, but also to the auxiliary texts that comprise the preliminary matter. Parallels that

44 *JW* *Chronica* (fols. 64v–69v). It should be noted that this manuscript preserves two alternative sets of the summary histories. There is the partial set just mentioned which occurs among the folios copied by John himself (fols. 37r–113v), and there is the complete set which is found among those folios (fols. 1v–36v and 113v–151v) that were added to the book in the mid twelfth century, after it had reached Gloucester. The latter set is almost identical to that found in the autograph of *JWCC* (C, pp. 47–54).

45 *JW* *Chronica* (fols. 64v, 71v and 76r): “...succincte perstringimus in hac chronicula nostra...”; “Horum omnium acta pessima, qui nosse uoluerit, seriatim pleniusque reperiet scripta in cronicarum chronica. Huic uero libello dumtaxat utiliora studiimus inserere”; “Hęc seriatim omnia scire uolentibus, patefaciet chronicarum chronica. Huic uero libello hec minime inserimus breuitatis causa”. See Hayward, *Winchcombe and Coventry* (n. 26 above), 74.

46 Cf. *JW* *Chronica* (fol. 65v).


49 There are, for example, many examples among verses that appear in the calendar of the Winchcombe Computus (BL Cotton MS Tiberius E.IV, fols. 35r–40v), ed. Lapidge, “A Metrical Calendar from Ramsey,” 383–6. There is, it should be noted, every likelihood that Worcester supplied the main exemplar for this calendar: see Hayward, *Winchcombe and Coventry* (n. 26 above), 100, 103, 169–73.
suggest a relationship with the main body of *Chronica chronicarum* occur in at least fifty-two of the eighty-seven sections;\(^{50}\) verbal matches of the royal genealogies and summary histories of the heptarchic kingdoms occur in six sections;\(^{51}\) and data drawn from the tables of bishops figures in at least eleven sections.\(^{52}\) Some fourteen sections, moreover, have passages, including lengthy tranches of text, that are closer to the *Chronica* than to the analogous parts of John’s *Chronica chronicarum*.\(^{53}\) It is difficult to determine the nature and direction of the relations that produced these verbal parallels — it is possible, indeed, that some sections of *Cronica de Anglia* were the “immediate source” of corresponding passages in *Chronica chronicarum* and/or the *Chronica*. But whatever the answers to that question (and a tentative suggestion will be ventured in the next section of this introduction), the general pattern suggests that the author of the *Chronica de Anglia* had a profound knowledge of John’s works — that he had some involvement in the production of these other texts. At one point, furthermore, the author does not just “mirror” a passage in *Chronica chronicarum*, he seems to show an awareness of how this item was generated even though the latter text nowhere identifies the source.\(^{54}\)

*Cronica de Anglia* exhibits, fifthly, many of the stylistic emphases that characterise John’s works such as his concern to preserve the words of his sources and his interest in working out and recording the durations of regimes and dominions over the longer term. The latter tendency figures frequently in this text, as in the following five examples:\(^{55}\)

After [Eatta] the bishops of Lindsey had the seat of their episcopate at Dorchester for 354 years, until Remigius, a Norman by birth, the seventeenth bishop of Lindsey, by the license of King William the Elder, moved the bishopric from Dorchester to Lincoln (§ 31).

After Bishop Acca of Hexham, about whom Bede makes mention among other saints at the end of the *History of the English*, yet there were seven Hexham bishops one after another for eighty-eight years altogether (§ 33).

From the year of the Lord 707, in which the holy Aldhelm first received the episcopate of Sherborne, until the year 1069, in which, as we said, Bishop Hermann of Ramsbury moved the episcopal see to Salisbury, are reckoned 362 years and twenty-four prelates presiding over the see.

\(^{50}\) *Cronica de Anglia*, §§ 1–4, 6–7, 11–22, 25–35, 38–39, 41–56, 58–60, 63–65, 68–81. For the cross-references to JWCC, see the apparatus to the edition that follows below.

\(^{51}\) *Cronica de Anglia*, §§ 82–87.

\(^{52}\) *Cronica de Anglia*, §§ 7, 8, 9, 19, 28, 31, 36, 37, 39, 46, 47.

\(^{53}\) *Chronica de Anglia*, §§ 20, 36, 56, 57, 59, 61, 63, 64, 65, 68, 69, 83, 85, 86.

\(^{54}\) The rubric to this section implies that the author knew that the survey of Britain near the conclusion of Bede, *HE*, 5.23, was its ultimate source, but the matching passage in JWCC, s.a. 731, nowhere makes that explicit. I say “seems to show” because although the rubrics were probably supplied by the author, there remains a possibility that they were provided by a scribe. But for another instance, consider *Cronica de Anglia*, § 20.

\(^{55}\) For the other examples, see *Cronica de Anglia*, §§ 1, 2, 3, 7, 15, 25, 31, 32, 39, 46, 47, 83, 86.
one after another (§ 37).

From the year of the Lord 908, in which Æthelhelm was made the first bishop of Wells, until the year of the Lord 1091, are numbered 182 years, in which fourteen prelates presided over the see one after another (§ 38).

[ELY] had abbots one after another until the ninth year of the reign of Henry, king of the English, for a space of 139 years (§ 52).

Similar notices occur in the summary histories among the prelims to *Chronica chronicarum*, most notably those concerned with Kent, East Anglia and Northumbria. They are also a feature of the common root that lies behind the Winchcombe and Coventry Chronicles, a chronicle that also seems to have originated at Worcester Cathedral. The author of *De primo Saxonum aduentu* records, in contrast, the regnal years of individual reigns, but says nothing about the durations of particular kingdoms and episcopal sees.

There are, admittedly, textual affinities that point to links with other houses, but none that cannot be reconciled with production at Worcester. It is striking, for instance, that *Cronica de Anglia*’s entry about the establishment of monks at Bury St Edmunds (§ 62) echoes that abbey’s accounts of how Abbot Baldwin (1065–97) prevented Bishop Herfast of East Anglia (1070–84) making their church the seat of his bishopric. The entry says that

on the unanimous advice of his archbishops, bishops and magnates, King Cnut ejected from the church of St Edmund, king and martyr, the priests who were living there without a rule and installed monks there. On the order of the same king Archbishop Æthelnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, dedicated that very church and established an abbot, whom Faldwine [sic], bishop of London, consecrated. These details echo the arguments which were used to defeat Herfast — according, that is, to Bury’s records of what happened in the legal proceedings at Winchester in May 1081. The charter which records the judgement — a charter which almost certainly improves that which William I had actually issued, but which was devised within a decade or two of the event — describes how Abbot Baldwin responded to Herfast by narrating how

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on the unanimous advice of his archbishops, bishops and magnates, King Cnut ejected from the aforesaid church the priests who were living there without a rule and installed monks there; and how on the orders of the same king Archbishop Æthelnoth of Canterbury then dedicated that church and how the bishop of London blessed the first abbot of that place, the bishop of Winchester the second, and the archbishop of Canterbury Baldwin, who was the third abbot; and how for fifty-three years the monks of the aforesaid place received ordinations from bishops whom they chose without the objection of any of the aforesaid Herfast’s predecessors.

In their efforts to provide effective defences against Herfast’s successors the monks of Bury had developed, in short, a narrative which implied that they were not dependent on their diocesan for the performance of consecrations and ordinations. Cronica de Anglia’s inclusion of this material might be construed as evidence that its author was based at Bury, but it is most unlikely that its library could have furnished the author with all of the materials that he used. To be sure, Bury owned a relatively advanced copy of John’s Chronica chronicarum, but there is no sign, for example, that it owned a copy of his Chronicula. Cronica de Anglia’s account of the founding of Bury is best read, therefore, as evidence that Worcester had a copy of either the 1081 judgement or of some other narrative that postmodum ipsam ecclesiam Ægelodus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis issu prelibati regis dedicauerit atque primum abbatem loci illius episcopus Lundonensis secundum episcopus Uuiontiensis, ipsum etiam Balduinum qui tertiuis est abbas archiepiscopus Cantuariensis sacrauerit, et quia per LIII annos sine alciuis iamdici Arfasti antecessoris contradicetione monachi predicti loci a quibus uoluerunt episcopis ordines susceperint ex ordine luculenter ennarruit.” On the authenticity and date of this diploma, see the discussion in ibid., 202–5; idem, “The Forged Charters of William the Conqueror and Bishop William of St Callais,” in David W. Rollason, Margaret Harvey and Michael Prestwich (eds), Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093–1193 (Woodbridge, 1994), 111–24.

This narrative would seem to have emerged after the Conquest, in the 1080s or 1090s. Certainly, an exemption from this aspect of diocesan authority is not specified in the bull Quamquam sedes which Abbot Baldwin obtained from Alexander II in 1071 (JL 4692, ed. Francis Hervey, The Pinchbeck Register, 2 vols. (Brighton, 1925), 1:2-4; JWCC, 2:647–8) or in the foundation charter attributed to Cnut (S 980, ed. C. W. Goodwin, “On Two Ancient Charters in the Possession of the Corporation of Kings Lynn,” Norfolk Archaeology 4 (1855): 93–117, at 108–11), though the earliest version of this document probably dates from the same period (see Kathryn A. Lowe, “Bury St Edmunds and its Liberty: A Charter-Text and its Afterlife”, English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700 17 (2013): 155–72 (esp. 155–60)). Cnut’s charter frees the house “eternally from the dominion of every bishop of that shire”; Alexander’s bull places the monastery under papal protection, prohibits its conversion into an episcopal see, and anathematizes anyone who would dare to disturb its monks and their possessions. The bull granted in 1123 by Pope Calixtus II is the earliest to specify that the monks were allowed to receive consecrations, ordinations and other episcopalia from the bishop of their choice (JL 7074, ed. Walther Holtzmann, Papsturkunden in England, 3 vols., Abh. Göttingen, neue Folge 25, dritte Folge 14–15 and 33 (Berlin, 1930–52), 3:131–3). Note also that the charter attributed to Harthacnut (S 995, ed. Goodwin, “Two Ancient Charters,” 113–7) prohibits archbishops and bishops celebrating masses, doing justice, or exercising any form of lordship over the monks, clerics or laypeople of the abbey, but it is not explicit about the blessing of its abbots and it was probably forged during the reign of Henry I. Cf. Antonia Gransden, “Baldwin, Abbot of Bury St Edmunds, 1065–1097,” Anglo-Norman Studies 4 (1982): 65–76, at 70–72.

This should be noted that a copy of the 1081 charter also appears among the many interpolations that were inserted into Chronica chronicarum at Bury: see JWCC (B), 3:310–2 (s.a. 1081). A few echo of Cronica de Anglia, § 62, also occur in the accounts of the reform and dedication of the church at Bury that were interpolated under the years 1020 and 1032: ibid., 2:643.

made detailed use of it. There are, as it happens, good grounds for thinking that Worcester owned one of the surviving copies of the charter — that found in BL Cotton MS Otho A.XVIII, fol. 132v; and its script suggests that it was made in the second quarter of the twelfth century, the period in which Cronica de Anglia was compiled. It is most unfortunate, therefore, that this copy was so badly damaged in the fire of 1731 that most of the text is beyond recovery.

The aspect of Cronica de Anglia that counts most strongly against production at Worcester is its Dionysian chronological apparatus. For all the twelfth-century chronicles which are known to have been compiled at the Cathedral Priory used the revised AD dating system developed by Marianus Scotus. An Irishman who settled in the Rhineland as a “pilgrim for Christ”, Marianus wrote his Chronica chronicarum in an attempt to provide a coherent solution to the chronological problems in the Christian theory of world history, the primary issue being to establish the correct date of the Incarnation. In his view the birth of the Saviour had taken place some twenty-two years earlier than Dionysius Exiguus had reckoned, and his third book — a chronicle of the Sixth Age of the World which runs from the Incarnation to 1076 in his first version — is concerned with finding the extra twenty-two years required to make this theory work. In this section Marianus plots the passage of time with a three-fold apparatus: he notes, first, the year of Lord according to the uerior assertio, his “truer chronology”, second, the year of the current Roman Emperor, and third, the year of the Lord according to Dionysius. John of Worcester retained this system in his version of the same

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63 Cf. Herman of Bury, Miracula S. Eadmundi (BHL 2395–6), §§ 25–29, ed. Thomas Arnold, Memorials of St Edmund’s Abbey, RS 96, 3 vols. (1890–96), i, 26–92, at 60–67. Writing apparently after the death in 1097/8 of Abbot Baldwin, who is described in the prologue as being of felix memoria, Herman used the charter of William I for his account of the 1081 trial, but he selects somewhat different words and adds details such as the names of the first two abbots, Ufi and Leofstan — details which would probably have crept into § 62 of Cronica de Anglia if its author had used it. Similar material, devoid however of telling verbal echoes, also appears in the margins of the Easter Tables of the Bury Psalter, alongside the years 1019 and 1032: Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg.lat. 12, fol. 16v and 17v (cf. Edward Maunde Thompson, John A. Herbert and Harold Idris Bell (eds), The New Palaeographical Society Facsimiles of Ancient Manuscripts: Second Series, 2 vols. (London, 1913–30), pls. 166–8).


66 E.g. Marianus places the election of Pope Gregory the Great in the 615th year of the uerior assertio (numbered in red ink); in the 11th year of Maurice, the 62nd emperor of the Romans; and the 593rd year of the Dionysian era, the final date having been assigned to the other side of the annal. This is the arrangement in the autograph, Pal. lat. 830, fol. 151v;
Employing a simplified version of this apparatus, the lost set of annals behind the Winchcombe and Coventry chronicles — another Worcester product — ordered its factoids using two columns of numbers, the first giving the year according Marianus, the other that according to Dionysius. John’s *Chronica* lumps its material together in long entries and allocates them to widely-spaced chronological anchors in something like the manner of Bede’s *Chronica maiora*. Yet these anchors are not years of the world, but the years of the Sixth Age according to Marianus. Given the consistency of Worcester’s commitment to the Marianan position, it is an issue that *Cronica de Anglia* dates its events by reference to “the year of the Lord” alone and that it allocates them to the expected Dionysian years or thereabouts. It would not, however, have been difficult for a scribe to revise the dating system, especially if the exemplar correlated its factoids with the usual Dionysian date as well as its Marianan counterpart. He would merely have had to delete the latter component. It is not unlikely, furthermore, that a scribe based at Rievaulx, a bastion of the new monasticism, would have taken such an approach, because in the late twelfth century conservative voices were turning, as will emerge below, against chroniclers who questioned the received Dionysian chronology.

So, to bring this part to a conclusion, although *Cronica de Anglia* survives solely in a manuscript which belonged to Rievaulx and which was probably made there, its textual affinities and the many internal indications as to when and where it was compiled strongly suggest that it was produced in southern England, probably at a religious house in the West Midlands, if not, as seems almost certain, at Worcester Cathedral Priory itself. Indeed, the many similarities in method, style, and attitude to the known works of John of Worcester suggest that it comprises another product of his historical workshop — if not of the man himself. John’s career certainly encompasses the period when the *Chronica* was produced: he began work well before 1119 and he was still active in 1141 and perhaps for several years afterwards. It is difficult to avoid thinking that he played some role in the production of this chronicle.

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67 E.g. Corpus 157, p. 255. Here the order of the numerals is the same as in Pal. lat 830, but John has modified Marianus by assigning the election of Gregory I to the year 614/592.

68 Both chronicles are edited in Hayward, *Winchcombe and Coventry* (n. 26 above), 356–543 and 546–701.

69 E.g. JW*Chronica*, G, fols. 48r–49v, where the papacy of Gregory I is covered within a long entry that begins “in the year of the Lord 604”. That year was the first of the Emperor Maurice’s reign according to Marianus’s revised chronology, and the entry covers the whole of his reign as emperor. According to the Dionysian system Maurice ruled from AD 582 to 602.

70 See Hayward, *Winchcombe and Coventry* (n. 26 above), 64–65, 76.
4. John of Worcester and Cronica de Anglia

Liebermann rightly recognised that Cronica de Anglia depends in part on John of Worcester’s work, but he failed to realise just how closely they were related. He missed, for example, a number of clear textual echoes.\(^{71}\) Indeed, much of the material which he thought came from Bede’s Historia ecclesiastica was probably derived via Chronica chronicarum and its auxiliary matter.\(^{72}\) There are just three sentences — found in §§ 3, 10 and 19 — that seem to depend directly on Bede. Lieberman was also unaware of the extent of Cronica de Anglia’s relationship to the Chronicula. To be sure, he noticed that some of Cronica’s borrowings from William of Malmesbury’s Gesta pontificum echo the extracts from this source that John of Worcester inserted into the partial autograph of Chronica chronicarum (Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 157, usually known as “C”).\(^{73}\) This was an acute observation, given how little was understood about the evolution of Chronica chronicarum and the relationship between John and his assistant Florence in the late nineteenth century;\(^{74}\) but much more needs to be said about these parallels and their implications.

In Cronica de Anglia material that echoes Gesta pontificum is distributed across thirty-three sections;\(^{75}\) in Chronica chronicarum there are two “layers” of borrowings from this source. They appear in the form of more than sixty short notes and narratives which were inserted into the autograph by “C\(^3\)”, the scribe who is thought to be John himself — in margins, in spaces at the ends of annals, and in gaps created through erasure and re-writing. A few of these items were added to the

\(^{71}\) E.g. Cronica de Anglia, § 72, on the foundation of Hyde Abbey. The source, which Liebermann missed, is JWCC, s.a. 1111. Cf. also d’Arcier, Histoire et géographie d’un mythe (n. 4 above), p. 53, who misleadingly describes Cronica de Anglia as a chronicle ‘close to that of William of Malmesbury’.

\(^{72}\) The direct source, for example, of Cronica de Anglia, § 1, was not Bede, HE, 5.24 (p. 562), as Liebermann suggested in ANG, 16, but JWCC (MS C, p. 217), s.a. 162. The section on Aidan and Lindisfarne depends, likewise, not on Bede, HE, 3.3 (pp. 218–20), and WMGP, 3.126.1, as Liebermann suggested in ANG, 17, but on JWBishops (C, p. 45) and JWCC, s.a. 995.

\(^{73}\) I say “partial autograph” because C began life as a fair copy made about a half-to-two-thirds of the way into the process of compiling Chronica chronicarum. It conflates the initial stages of composition (between c.1095 to c.1131), while the modifications and additions, though numerous, bear witness only to the final stages of the process (between c.1131 and c.1143). For a fuller explanation, see Martin Brett, “John of Worcester and his Contemporaries,” in Ralph H. C. Davis and John M. Wallace Hadrill (eds), The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays presented to Richard William Southern (Oxford, 1981), 101–26; Hayward, Winchcombe and Coventry (n. 26 above), 64–76; and McGurk’s introductions to JWCC, 2:xvii–lxxxi, and 3:xv–I.

\(^{74}\) ANG, 16, citing passages that have now been printed in JWCC, s.a. 629, 633. Benjamin Thorpe suppressed the marginalia in his edition, Florentii Chronicon ex Chronicis. On the authorship of the Chronica chronicarum, and the Florence’s role in the project, see McGurk in JWCC, 2:xvii–viii; Brett, “John of Worcester,” 104, 111–12; and Hayward, Winchcombe and Coventry (n. 26 above), 64–65.

\(^{75}\) Cronica de Anglia, §§ 4, 17, 22, 25, 29, 32–35, 38–46, 49, 52, 55, 56, 58, 64, 66–67, 75–81.
autograph soon after it was made — that is, after 1131 and in the early 1130s. Thus, these items figure in all the other manuscripts now extant, except for the Evesham fragment.\textsuperscript{76} Most of the borrowings from \textit{Gesta pontificum} were added, however, at a slightly later stage — in the mid-to-late 1130s. This much is implied by their appearance, usually in the main body of the text, in the two copies that depend on a more advanced form of the autograph — in the copy that was made for Bury (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 297, usually known as “B”) and in that which came to Peterborough (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 92, fols. 1r–167v, usually known as “P”).\textsuperscript{77} As Liebermann perceived,\textsuperscript{78} John of Worcester seems to have been adding much the same material to his autograph at around the same time as \textit{Cronica de Anglia} was produced or, more likely perhaps, soon afterwards.

At first sight it appears as though \textit{Cronica de Anglia} took most of the passages that repeat parts of \textit{Gesta pontificum} from the marginalia in John’s autograph. The marginalia are usually fuller than the corresponding items in \textit{Cronica de Anglia}, and they often mirror the ways in which John has arranged and abbreviated the source. Consider, for example, the entry about Tavistock (§ 49):

\begin{quote}
Cenobium in Domnania quod Theauestoca uocatur, iuxta Tay fluuium situm, Orgatus comes Domnaniensis, pater Elfrid\textsc{u} uxoris regis \textsc{Edgari}, constituit.
\end{quote}

\textit{Gesta pontificum} has a very similar passage:\textsuperscript{79}

\begin{quote}
Est in Domnonia cenobium monachorum iuxta Taui fluuium, quod Tauistoch uocatur, quod per Ordgarum comitem Domnoniensem, patrem Elfdridae, quae fuit uxor regis Edgari, surgendi exordium, per Liuingum episcopum crescendi accept auspitium.
\end{quote}

But the marginalia provide a closer echo:\textsuperscript{80}

\begin{quote}
Cenobium in Domnania quod Teauistok uocatur, iuxta Tau fluuuium situm, Orgarus comes Domnaniensis, pater \textsc{}Ælfthrythe uxoris regis \textsc{Edgari} construxit.
\end{quote}

The author of \textit{Cronica de Anglia} might well have derived this item and many others from John’s

\textsuperscript{76} E.g. (1) JWCC, s.a. 675, where material about Barking and Chertsey, derived in part from WMGP, 2.73.11–15 and added by \textsc{C} to the margin of \textsc{C}, has passed into all the other witnesses; (2) JWCC, s.a. 932, where material about St Byrnstun, derived from WMGP, 2.75.24, and added by \textsc{C} to the margin of \textsc{C}, has passed into all the other witnesses.

\textsuperscript{77} Borrowings from WMGP which appear in all three manuscripts (CBP) figure in the most recent edition, JWCC, under the years 463, 481, 543, 629, 633, 644, 652, 653, 656, 666, 667, 678, 685, 688, 705, 734, 736, 744, 745, 748, 749, 781, 789, 828, 836, 867, 880, 882, 885, 897, 909, 920, 932, 934, 937, 957, 959, 961, 972, 976, 990, 1013, 1038, 1043, 1052, 1061, 1070, 1094, 1123. Borrowings which appear only in \textsc{C} and \textsc{B} appear under 790, 862, 988, 1048, 1050, 1051, 1070, 1091, 1095, 1111. On this strand of material and its place in the manuscript tradition, see JWCC, ii, pp. lii–liii and lviii; Brett, “John of Worcester,” 107–9, 122; Hayward, \textit{Winchcombe and Coventry} (n. 26 above), 68–71.

\textsuperscript{78} ANG, 16.

\textsuperscript{79} WMGP, 2.95.1.

\textsuperscript{80} JWCC (\textsc{C}^{3}BP), s.a. 961.
autograph,\textsuperscript{81} but there are a number of exceptions to this pattern — passages where \textit{Cronica} reports \textit{Gesta pontificum} more fully than John’s marginalia. The passage about Wilton (§ 55) provides a straightforward example:

\begin{quote}
Wiltunense cenobium beata Edgitha filia regis Edgari, dulcibus exuuiis ornat. Wiltune est uicus non exigus, super Wille fluuium positus, tantę celebritatis, ut totus pagus ab eo uocetur.
\end{quote}

The marginalia in the autograph provide a partial match.\textsuperscript{82}

\begin{quote}
Wiltunense cenobium beata Edgitha filia regis Edgari, dulcibus exuuiis ornat.
\end{quote}

But \textit{Gesta pontificum} has every word.\textsuperscript{83}

\begin{quote}
Wiltunense cenobium beata Edgitha filia regis Edgari, sedem ossuum suorum dulcibus exuuiis ornat, amore fouet. Wiltuna est uicus non exiguus, supra Wile fluuium positus, tantae celebritatis ut totus pagus ab eo uocetur.
\end{quote}

The author of \textit{Cronica de Anglia} could not have derived this passage from \textit{Chronica chronicarum} alone — or rather, he could not have done so on the evidence of the surviving manuscripts. The same is true of another fourteen passages in \textit{Cronica de Anglia} that echo the marginalia in Corpus 157, John’s autograph.\textsuperscript{84} It is possible that some of these passages might have been generated by collating the marginalia with \textit{Gesta pontificum}.\textsuperscript{85} The author certainly seems to have made direct use of \textit{Gesta pontificum} for the lengthy passage about the 1075 Council of London (§ 67),\textsuperscript{86} and perhaps also for a few shorter items (e.g. §§ 4, 40). But with the many short entries where there are overlapping parallels to both the marginalia in \textit{Chronica chronicarum} and \textit{Gesta pontificum}, it would have been a complicated process to repeat John’s work all over again. It seems much more likely that a lost intermediary lies between the three texts — that is, a set of “working notes” that John took from \textit{Gesta pontificum} and a somewhat fuller version of this material than is preserved in the surviving

\textsuperscript{81} E.g. \textit{Cronica de Anglia}, §§ 6, 7, 17, 22, 25, 33, 34, 38, 41, 42, 44, 64, 76, 77, 80, 81.
\textsuperscript{82} JWCC (C\textsuperscript{3}BP\textsuperscript{3}), s.a. 1043.
\textsuperscript{84} \textit{Cronica de Anglia}, §§ 29, 32, 35, 39, 43, 45, 46, 52, 55, 56, 58, 75, 78, 79.
\textsuperscript{85} \textit{Cronica de Anglia}, § 39 is so much fuller in its use of \textit{Gesta pontificum} that it lends itself to this hypothesis: the author could have collated WMGP, 2.94.1–7\textsuperscript{β} with the items taken from JWCC (C\textsuperscript{3}BP\textsuperscript{3}), s.a. 909, 972, and JWCC, s.a. 1031 and 1046.
elements of John’s corpus. Shared reliance on such a set of notes would also help to explain the somewhat disordered way in which *Chronica de Anglia* and John’s marginalia report this strand of material.

There are, furthermore, a number of items where *Chronica de Anglia* provides a version of John’s material that seems to sit “behind” or “between” two or more passages in the complex of materials that make up *Chronica chronicarum* and *Chronicula*. Its account, for example, of the division of Mercia into five episcopal sees (§ 20) is closely related to those found in *Chronicula* and in the short history of Worcester Cathedral that appears among the prelims to *Chronica chronicarum*. But it has one phrase that echoes only the former — the phrase “constructor et abbas monasterii quod Medeshamstede dicitur” — and another that echoes only the latter — the phrase “in quinque parrochias diuisa est”. Verbal parallels to § 20 also occur in the note about the division of Mercia into five bishoprics that was inserted into margins of the autograph, alongside the annals for 679 to 682 in the main body of *Chronica chronicarum*, but this version of the material is much briefer than the other four. All of this invites speculation as to whether *Chronica de Anglia* was a source for the other three versions, but this seems unlikely because *Chronicula* and the short history of the cathedral are both fuller and each of them arrange the material in their own way. Some sort of lost intermediary would seem to lie behind all of these variants. Several items in *Chronica de Anglia* exhibit this sort of pattern of “overlapping” relationships with various elements in John’s corpus, suggesting that its author had access, not merely to “the library” of Worcester Cathedral (as Liebermann suggested), but to John’s working drafts — that it should be understood as a “re-arrangement” or “re-conceptualisation” of those materials for a new purpose. *Chronica de Anglia* provides, then, further evidence that an obsession with rearranging material, with reshuffling data for aesthetic and other reasons, was a marked feature of the historical atelier over which John of Worcester presided.

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87 *JW Chronicula* (fol. 52rv).
88 C, fol. 1r.
89 *JWCC* (C3BP), s.a. 679.
92 Cf. Hayward, *Winchcombe and Coventry* (n. 26 above), esp. 78–79: “the systematic re-arrangement of borrowings whilst preserving much of their vocabulary is one of the defining traits of John’s compositional method”. See also McGurk’s comments in the introduction to *JWCC*, 2:lxviii, about John’s editing and re-organisation of the annals in the margins of the Easter Tables that were part of Marianus Scotus’s *Chronica chronicarum*.
5. THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF CRONICA DE ANGLIA

The *Cronica de Anglia* is sometimes cited, typically by reference to Liebemann’s synopsis, for a few otherwise unattested factoids. One often cited entry is the claim that King Offa (757–96) founded a convent at Winchcombe: “In the year of the Lord 787, Offa built a monastery in the province of Gloucester, in the place which is called Winchcombe, in which he installed nuns” (§ 32). This factoid is at odds with the abbey’s own traditions, which imply that King Cenwulf (798–821) alone was responsible for founding the monastery,93 but there might be something in it. A number of leading historians have thought that the abbey was established in two stages — that Cenwulf took over a project that Offa had begun.94 Levison and Sims-Williams found support for this theory in the fact that the local parish church was dedicated to St Peter and in the evidence provided by the Winchcombe Sacramentary that the monks of the pre-Conquest considered this saint to be one of their patrons, because Offa is known to have had a policy of dedicating his foundations to this apostle.95 That the parish church was part of the pre-Conquest minster complex and that Peter was one of the patron saints of the ninth-century minster is plausible enough. Earlier Anglo-Saxon minsters often had several free-standing churches,96 and earlier dedications to St Peter were often marginalised in the late

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93 See Goscelin of St Bertin, *Vita S. Kenelmi, regis et martyris* (BHL 4641n + p + r), § 17, ed. R. C. Love, *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints’ Lives*, OMT (1996), 50–88, at 72, where Winchcombe is described as the “monastery of the saint’s father”, Cenwulf; and the foundation charters preserved in the *Winchcombe Chronicle* (n. 57 above), s.a. 811 and 818 (2:454–63 and 470–73). All of the latter documents were re-worked or interpolated with extraneous material, but all seem to rest on authentic traditions of some kind: see the discussion in ibid., 1:251–64 and 270. It should also be noted that the item presently under discussion contaminated the abbey’s traditions in the late twelfth or thirteenth century, when it was inserted into the margins of the *Winchcombe Chronicle*, s.a. 787.2 (2:450), a later echo which suggests that the *Cronica de Anglia* circulated in the diocese of Worcester: see also ibid., 1:246.


tenth and early eleventh centuries, owing to the monastic reformers’ preference for saints such as the Virgin Mary — for saints who stood for virginity and the monastic order as opposed to those who were identified with the secular clergy. Offa’s policy of assembling a network of monasteries dedicated to St Peter is revealed, finally, by a privilege of Pope Hadrian I (772–95) which was preserved in Liber diurnus, a collection of formulas which, though not the actual formulary of the papal chancery, contains many that were used in making of papal documents in the eighth and ninth centuries. This privilege says that the monasteries which the king had built or acquired and dedicated to his patron, the blessed Peter, were to remain under his authority, that of his wife Cynethryth, and that of their descendants. Bath and Cookham, both located at the southern limits of Mercian territory, are two monasteries that were assimilated under this policy. The Winchcombe factoid fits neatly, in short, into the little that is known about Offa’s monastic strategy, and it has allowed historians to develop a richer scenario for the early history of the abbey and to dispel a little of the obscurity that surrounds the history of Mercia in the late eighth and early ninth century.

Yet aspects of Cronica de Anglia’s coverage of Winchcombe’s history provide grounds for caution. Its notice, for example, about Cenwulf’s role in the history of the abbey shows an element of fabrication: it is largely taken from the account in Gesta pontificum — an account which is itself based on the “semi-authentic” foundation charter attributed to Cenwulf. The Cronica’s entry differs, however, in one striking detail. Whereas William states that Cenwulf built and dedicated the abbey with “with huge generosity, incredible to our age” (ingens et nostris temporibus incredibilis munificentia), the entry in Cronica de Anglia says that “he assembled [there] monks three hundred in number” (§ 32). It is hard not to infer that this detail was invented. It replaces vague praise (or sarcasm?) with a precise but fanciful claim. No English monasteries had so many monks at this


100 WMGP, 4.156.1–2. The earliest of the surviving version of the foundation charter is found in the Winchcombe Chronicle (n. 57 above), s.a. 811 (pp. 456–63). On the authenticity of the charter, see ibid., 258–64.
time, and it is easy to see how the figure might have been suggested by the entries for Gloucester and Pershore — entries which precede it in the text and which state that these houses were endowed with the land of “three hundred tributaries” (§§ 23–24). If the author could fabricate this kind of detail, then he might also have invented the otherwise unattested claim that King Offa founded a convent at Winchcombe.

Still, the Cronica de Anglia should not be considered worthless — far from it. Its true value lies, not in the reliability of the factoids that it purports to record, but in its connections with other texts and in what they reveal about the culture of the twelfth-century monastery — the milieu in which many of the records on which we depend for our knowledge of the period were produced and consumed. It provides evidence, that is, for the preoccupations of the writers who recorded our data — evidence which allows us to build a fuller picture of their values and which enhances our ability to compensate for the ways in which their narratives and perspectives distort our understanding of the period.

It is telling, for example, that Chronica de Anglia tames the material which it takes from William of Malmesbury, erasing his provocations and satire. Its coverage, for example, of the founding of St Albans omits the comment that the saint was “neither a mercenary nor a pointless martyr”, faint praise that contains more than a hint of sarcasm. It omits, likewise, the insinuation that God deprived William Warelwast of his sight because he had circulated gossip about Bishop Osbern’s blindness as a way of trying to bring about his resignation. Whereas Gesta pontificum says that he bore “the price of his ambition, utterly deprived of the sight of his eyes, though otherwise whole and in the flush of youth”, Cronica de Anglia erases the criticism by saying that he is “now completely deprived of the sight of his eyes, not yet elderly, no matter how unfortunate” (§ 39). It omits, similarly, William’s aspersions about John of Tours, bishop of Wells (1088–1122), the suggestions that he made not a little money as a doctor and that he moved the seat of his bishopric to Bath because he considered it “beneath his glory” to reside in a village. The alteration, likewise, to William’s account of the foundation of Winchcombe Abbey was also made to erase an insinuation, for Gesta pontificum implies that Cenwulf’s “enormous generosity” (ingens munificentia) was grossly

101 The largest community attested in the historical record comprises the ninety monachi who were martyred at Chertsey when “heathens” raided the monastery: Secgan be þam Godes sanctum, pe on Engla lande ærost reston, § 49, ed. Felix Liebermann, Die Heiligen Englands (Hannover, 1889), 9–20, at 19–20. On the earliest manuscript, BL Stowe 944, fols. 36v–39r, which was copied in 1031, see Simon D. Keynes, The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester (British Library Stowe 944), Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 26 (Copenhagen, 1996), 37–38.

102 Cf. WMGP, 4.179.1, with JWCC (C3B), s.a. 1048, and Cronica de Anglia, §§ 32, 79.

103 WMGP, 2.94.1–7β.

104 WMGP, 2.90.2. Cf. Cronica de Anglia, § 38; JWCC (C3BP3), s.a. 1091.
misdirected. William goes on to allege that at the dedication he gave countless precious gifts to his magnates and “a pound of silver to everyone who had no fields”, before going on to say that the monastery was scarcely more than a name by King Edgar’s reign — “mortal things always sliding downhill”. The implication is that Cenwulf should have used his wealth, not to fund such a splendid ceremony, but to secure sufficient resources for the monastery to ensure its long-term survival — a theme to which William often returns. But Cronica de Anglia emasculates this material, reducing it to bare factoids. The only exception to the pattern lies in its coverage of the movement of the East-Anglian see from Elmham to Thetford, where it retains the source’s aspersions about Bishop Herfast’s motives: he was afraid, Cronica alleges, of appearing to have done nothing, “because the Normans are most assiduous about their reputation in the future” (§ 46).

This urge to sanitise sources is in keeping with the general tendencies of John’s work. He seems to have been a cautious historian, committed above all to the promotion of Marianus Scotus’s views about the shape of salvation history. In their eagerness to mine John’s version of Marianus’s Chronica chronicarum for its information about events in England, modern historians have assumed that its author was animated by the desire to produce another history of the English, similar to those that William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon were writing at the same time — they have assumed that the Marianan component was merely the “frame” upon which he was attempting to construct a new history of the English. He certainly provided extended treatment of English events, yet there are many reasons for thinking that Marianus’s theories really mattered to him. One reason is the sheer quantity of Marianan material that survives in John’s version of the work. Even after four decades spent re-configuring its coverage of the more recent past, Marianus still supplied around half the contents. Another is John’s retention of the title Chronica chronicarum, the title which he uses to describe the work in the obituary which he wrote for Florence and in his Chronicula, because this

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105 WMGP, 4.156.1–2.
106 Compare WMGP, 4.162, where William says that Pershore was founded and built by another generous lord, Ealdorman Æthelward Dorset, but “like the rest, it succumbed to so miserable a loss that it was diminished by more than half”; and ibid., 5.198.2, where William criticises the English for their rapacious feasting — a vice that may have caused the extinction of Aldhelm’s monasteries at Bradford and Frome; and so on. See Paul Antony Hayward, Power, Rhetoric and Historical Practice: From William of Malmesbury to Geoffrey of Monmouth (forthcoming), chp. 6.
107 Cf. WMGP, 2.74.11; JWCC (C4BP3), s.a. 1038. The retention of this detail is further evidence that the monks of Worcester had adopted Bury’s version of events.
110 JWCC, s.a. 1118 (3:142); for its use in JWChronica, see n. 44 above.
was Marianus’s own name for the chronicle. But perhaps the most telling reason for taking John’s interest in Marianus seriously is that provided by a twelfth-century reader of his work, Gervase of Canterbury.

Among the chroniclers with whom Gervase finds fault in the prologue to his Chronica are those who have devoted their efforts to revising “the years of the Lord” — to finding an improved chronology for the Sixth Age. It is better, he says, to stick to the Dionysian system even though it is flawed, because these chronicles have only succeeded in proliferating diverse chronologies and causing “dissent” and “much confusion of lies” in the church. In particular he criticises chroniclers who use multiple dating schemes — that is, chroniclers who correlate their annals with two or more alternative calculations of the anni Domini. John of Worcester was certainly guilty of this practice, and it seems certain that Gervase had his work in mind, because he goes on to discuss a Cronica Mariani “assembled from various authorities yet still made known under the name of the same Marianus” that had covered the period from the beginning of the world up to the death of Henry I and Stephen’s reign. Since Gervase, a chronicler who was writing within sixty years of John’s time, considered his work a genuine attempt to disseminate a particular chronology and since he also testifies that it caused no little controversy for precisely this reason, it seems best to regard it as an attempt to win converts for the theories of Marianus Scotus.

To be sure, Orderic Vitalis demeaned John’s project by characterising it as an attempt to “insert” into Marianus’s compendious and useful narrative “the deeds of around one hundred years”; but there was, perhaps, a well-conceived strategy behind his efforts to enlarge and Anglicise his precursor’s coverage of the past. By attempting to assemble a complete history of the English from the potted remnants provided by previous writers and by inserting the results into the annals of Marianus’s third book, John will have helped to make his chronology tangible and interesting for local readers. He will have made an arcane book more attractive to the English while saving them from having to figure out how the events of their history fitted into the new dating system. It is

111 Marianus calls it the “chronicle of chronicles” because its topic is the greatest of all topics, namely, the true date resurrection of the King of Kings as set out in the Gospels: see Nero C.V, fol. 2v.

112 Gervase of Canterbury, Chronica, prolog., ed. William Stubbs, The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury, RS 73, 2 vols. (1879–80), 1:91–594, at 88–89. As the present author has explained elsewhere, Gervase seems to have been attempting to protect his work from conservative critics who were scandalised, not just by these chronological experiments, but by monks wasting time reading and writing history.


114 Cf. WMGR, 1.pref.1–4.
measure of his devotion to this project that he kept plugging away at it for at least three decades — indeed, for well over four decades if the claim, reported by Orderic, that the project was begun on the orders of Bishop Wulfstan II is true.115

It is, more to the point, in keeping with this aim of winning converts for Marianus’s cause that John renders the rhetoric of his sources harmless. Being offensive would have turned many readers against the message. Thus, the products of John’s historical workshop are relatively tame histories. The closest they come to being overtly political is in their complaints about William Rufus’s failure to honour his promises to the English116 and in their celebration of the achievements of Wulfstan II.117 Cronica de Anglia is no exception to the pattern. Its contents are innocuous. It lends a little support to Bury St Edmunds’ pretensions to an exemption from the jurisdiction of its diocesan (§§ 46, 62), but its only conspicuous bias is its admiration for St Wulfstan. It covers his career with no less than three sections, including one that recounts at length the events of 1088, when he led the defence of Worcester against the rebel army assembled by the barons Bernard of Neufmarché, Roger de Lacy, Ralph de Mortimer and Roger de Montgomery: “a man lovable to God and men, faithful in everything to the king as his earthly lord”, Wulfstan “prepared himself manfully that he might stand firm for the people and his city”; “he exhorted his men frequently lest they should lose faith in God”; after he cursed them with an anathema, the invaders “wandering through the fields as if insane, were stuck with such weakness of the limbs, with such blindness of their eyes, that they could hardly carry their weapons, that they could hardly recognise their comrades, that they could hardly make out those opposing them”; “indeed, with the king’s and the bishop’s soldier shaking his spear, with the prelate raising his hands to the heavens like Moses, the foot soldiers died, the knights were captured — the English as well as the Welsh along with the Normans”; and so on (§ 69).118

There is, however, one way in which Cronica de Anglia differs from the histories that have thus far been attributed to John of Worcester. For its approach to the history of England’s episcopal sees and religious houses suggests that its composition was, to some extent, driven by an interest in questions of status and rank. Its core narrative (§§ 1–74) is chiefly concerned, for example, with recording when and by whom England’s monasteries and episcopal sees were founded — with their claims to antiquity. By consulting these sections a reader could discover, for example, that a rich man, backed by King Æthelberht, built the church of St Peter known as “Westminster” in the year 615 (§

115 See n. 113 above.
117 E.g. JWCC, s.a. 1062, 1070, 1088, and esp. 1095.
118 Cf. JW Chronicula (fols. 98v–100r); JWCC, s.a. 1088 (3:52–56).
5), that Ine’s father Cissa built Abingdon in the year 667 (§ 16), that Abbess Æthelthryth constructed the monastery at Ely in the year 673 (§ 17); that Bishop Erkenwald made the monasteries called Chertsey and Baking in the year 675 (§ 18); that Bishop Sæxwulf, who flourished around 680, was the builder and first abbot of the monastery at Peterborough (§ 20); and so on. An interest in issues of rank also helps to account for the inclusion of material about the primacy dispute (§ 66) and the 1075 Council of London — a meeting that determined, as the entry records, the seating order for bishops of the English church at councils and synods (§ 67). Having covered the period from AD 162 to 1125 in this way, the author then embarks on a topographical survey (§§ 75–81). Its subject is *quaedam principales cenobia*, “certain chief monasteries”; but it is arranged by county and covers only the midlands and western Wessex. It opens, moreover, with an entry that brings issues of status to the fore:

> In the province of Somerset the abbey of Bath *from ancient times* is [now the seat of] the bishopric. There are abbeys there also: Glastonbury *is older* than the other English abbeys. Not a few bodies of the saints rest there, among whom are the Blessed Patrick, *the apostle of Ireland*; the confessors his disciple St Benignus, St Aidan also, and St Ceolfrith the abbot; the martyr St Indract with his companions the nine martyrs; the virgins St Hild and St Ælfgyva; and many others. Also in the same province of Somerset are the abbeys of Muchelney and Athelney, and a monastery at Montecute, where are kept a gathering of monks of the Cluniac variety *and of decent religion* (§ 75, emphasis added).

The entry notes Bath’s antiquity and Glastonbury’s pre-eminence as the oldest abbey in England and as the resting place of numerous saints, including the apostle of Ireland; but it also goes on to note the claims to distinction of a Cluniac Priory that had been founded in the recent past, at the end of the eleventh century by William of Mortain (1090–1106), or perhaps his father Robert (d. 1090). Similar details occur in the entries that follow: the author notes, for example, that Cerne Abbey was built in a place where Augustine of Canterbury had a vision of God and where St Eadwold had lived on bread and water (§ 76); Ine’s father, Cissa, appears again as the founder of Abingdon (§ 77); St Albans appears as the abbey of the “protomartyr of the English”, a detail supplied by the author (§

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119 This section is usefully contrasted with genuine topographical surveys, such as Gervase of Canterbury’s *Mappa mundi*, ed. Stubbs, *Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, 2:414–49, a tabular listing of monastic houses, castles and watercourses, arranged according to the counties of England, Wales, and Scotland in which they were located. See also David Knowles, “Gervase of Canterbury and the *Mappa Mundi*,” *Downside Review* 48 (1930): 237–47; and for topographical surveys as a common feature of medieval historical writing, see Given-Wilson, *Chronicles* (n. 109 above), 127–36.

120 See the synopsis of the foundation charter in *Two Cartularies of the Augustinian Priory of Bruton and the Cluniac Priory of Montacute in the County of Somerset*, Somerset Record Society 8 (London, 1894), 119–20, along with David Knowles, Christopher N. L. Brooke, and Vera C. M. London (eds), *The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales*, vol. 1, 940–1216 (2nd edn, Cambridge, 2001), 121, n. 1. Montacute was, it should be noted, a largely French institution, whose monks and priors were initially drawn from France rather than the native population: David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 940–1216 (2nd edn, Cambridge, 1963), 153.
79); Tewkesbury was “beautifully exalted” by Robert fitz Hamon (§ 80); and so on. The most striking items, however, are those which record sweeping changes: Reading is noted, for example, as a former nunnery where King Henry had installed monks and to which he had joined “two other houses now decayed, Leominster and Cholsey” (§ 77); Oxford features as the site of an ancient monastery, the resting place of St Frideswide, where Roger, bishop of Salisbury (1102–39) had lately installed “canons who would live canonically” (§ 78); and so on.

_Cronica de Anglia_’s topographical survey suggests, then, a readiness to recognise the claims to respect of other monastic houses, but also a sensitivity to the ways in which royal and episcopal sponsorship of new religious movements and other interventions threatened the established order. The chronicle implies that the monks of Worcester Cathedral Priory shared the period’s alertness to issues of status and security — one of its great pre-occupations,121 but one that is not otherwise prominent in John’s works.

There is one more way in which _Chronica de Anglia_ adds to our knowledge of the period. It may not have been compiled at Rievaulx, but its presence among its books helps to illuminate the monastery’s textual culture. Though its third abbot, Ailred (1147–67), wrote several fine and highly rhetorical histories and saints’ lives,122 that culture seems to have been conservative in the extreme. The abbey was not “anti-intellectual” as such,123 but it seems to have been far more determined than most to resist cultural activities that diverted monks from the religious life. Aelred wrote about the classics, for example, as a threat to salvation — as sources of “empty” or “harmful” knowledge. There are, he says124

> many who give their intellect to empty philosophy, for whom it is the custom to meditate on the Bucolica along with the Gospels, Horace with the Prophets, to peruse Cicero with St Paul; then also they give themselves over to playing with metre and to weaving convoluted poems on love, or alternatively to rousing with invectives; wherefore all of these things are condemned by the strictures of the Rule as seeds of vanity, as causes of quarrels and as sources of lust…

It is in keeping with these views that the Rievaulx library catalogue of about 1190×1200 records a

123 Cf. Freeman, _Narratives of the New Order_ (n. 23 above), esp. 91–94.
124 Aelred of Rievaulx, _Liber de speculo caritatis_, 2.24, ed. Anselme Hoste and Charles H. Talbot, CCM 1 (1971), 5–161, at 100: “Hinc est quod plerique, qui inani philosophiae dedere animum, quibus etiam moris est cum euangelii bucolica meditari, horatium cum prophetis, cum paulo tullium lectitare, tunc etiam metro ludere laciniosisque carminibus amatoria texere, uel inuctionibus inuicem prouocare, cum eo sese contulerint, ubi haec omnia quasi seminaria uanitatis, uel initia iurgiorum, uel libidinis incentiuia regulari districtione damnantur….”
relatively meagre collection of classical literature, comprising the copy of Dares Phrygius on the Trojan Wars preserved in Royal 6.C.VIII and copies of Seneca’s Epistulae morales ad Lucillum and the so-called Liber Catonis — the usual label for a collection of basic texts that often included the fables of Avianus, the Ilias latina and Ecloga of Theodorus as well as the Distichs attributed to Cato the Elder.\textsuperscript{125} The paucity of classical literary texts in this catalogue stands in sharp contrast to its many entries for guides to grammar and rhetoric — a pattern which suggests a determination to teach Latin to a high standard without recourse to pagan texts.\textsuperscript{126} The catalogue shows, moreover, that the abbey possessed a substantial but rather pious set of histories. Besides the contents of the Royal-Vitellius manuscript under discussion and the basic texts that most monasteries sought — that is, the Latin versions of the works of Josephus, Eusebius and Bede — Rievaulx had copies of Aelred’s historical works, of Fulcher of Chartres’ Historia Hierosolymitana, of Henry of Huntingdon’s Historia Anglorum, of the Historia Brittonum, of Palladius’s Historia Lausiaca, and of Victor of Vita’s Historia persecutionis Africanae prouinciae.\textsuperscript{127} Few monasteries owned so many historical texts at this time,\textsuperscript{128} but the focus is on straightforward works with a strong Christian orientation. There is no sign of Sallust, Lucan or of the most innovative histories that had yet been produced in England, Malmesbury’s Gesta regum and Gesta pontificum Anglorum. The presence of Cronica de Anglia, a limited and inoffensive work, is in keeping with this pattern.

It is telling, finally, that just one \textit{notas bene} occurs in the margins of the relevant folios of Vitellius C.VIII. A neat, twelfth-century, version of the \textit{nota} monogram — of a kind often found in Cistercian books from northern England — it appears on folio 11v alongside a story about Bishop Byrnstan that celebrates the capacity of liturgical prayer to relieve the souls of the dead. It was his

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\item \textsuperscript{126} Bell,\textit{ Libraries of the Cistercians,} no. Z19, §§ 77–78 (Isidore’s Etymologies, a commentary on Donatus and other guides to the Latin language), 154–5 (Priscian’s Institutiones grammaticae), 160 (Pseudo-Cicero’s Synonyma, and a guide to versification), 161 (Rethorica in uno volumine), 163 (Boethius’s translation of Porphyry’s Isagoge and other tracts on logic), 181c+f+g (Bede’s De arte metrica and other grammatical texts). Cf. Birger Munk Olsen, “La diffusion et l’étude des historiens antiques au XIF siècle,” in Andries Welkenhuysen, Herman Braet, and Werner Verbeke (eds), \textit{Mediaeval Antiquity}, Medicinalia Lovaniensia Series 1 / Studia 24 (Leuven, 1995), 21–43, at 27.
\item \textsuperscript{127} Bell,\textit{ Libraries of the Cistercians,} no. Z19, §§ 43, 54, 55, 104, 112–6, 119a, 136.
\item \textsuperscript{128} The late twelfth-century library catalogue from Whitby, a Benedictine community refounded in 1078, seems to represent the norm for this period: it records just three historical MSS among its eighty-six items, namely, the standards Eusebius, Josephus and Bede: see Richard Sharpe, James P. Carley, Rodney M. Thomson, and Andrew G. Watson (eds), \textit{English Benedictine Libraries, the Shorter Catalogues}, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 4 (London, 1995), no. B109 (§§ 8, 17, 18). For the general direction of travel, see Teresa Webber, “Monastic and Cathedral Book Collection in the Late Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,” in Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber (eds), \textit{The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland} (Cambridge, 2006), 1:109–25 (esp. 111–6); eadem, \textit{Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral, c.1075–c.1125} (Oxford, 1992), 31–43.
\end{itemize}
usual practice, according to this item, to celebrate a requiem mass each day and to wander around the cemetery by night singing psalms for the dead. On one occasion, “when he added the words ‘Let them rest in peace’, he suddenly heard voices from the grave as though of a vast army responding ‘Amen’” (§ 42). That this item alone was annotated at Rievaulx suggests that the abbey’s readers were being directed to material that had a strong eschatological orientation. As many scholars have observed, the historical genres that flourished in Cistercian monasteries were visions of heaven, purgatory and hell and miracula that spoke about the core issues of the religious life. Other material was to be considered less useful.

6. CONCLUSION

The findings of the present study may be summarised as follows. Not a Cistercian but a Benedictine text, Cronica de Anglia was almost certainly produced at Worcester Cathedral Priory between mid 1125 and September 1137, if by not John of Worcester himself, then by members of the team that was labouring under his direction to produce an Anglicised version of Marianus Scotus’s Chronica chronicarum. As such it provides more evidence for the magnitude of the priory’s contribution to the resurgence of historical writing in early twelfth-century England. Still, it was a history that the Cistercians of Rievaulx thought worthy of inclusion in their library—albeit perhaps only after its chronological apparatus was rendered harmless by the deletion of the Marianan components that the original redaction may have included. Its survival at Rievaulx is probably to be explained by its conservatism. Constructed using excerpts carefully selected from the received tradition, Cronica de Anglia offers a largely uncontroversial history of the English Church. Focused on the relative antiquity and distinction of the kingdom’s bishoprics and religious houses, it reveals a sensitivity to the advent of new competitors for religious prestige—to the arrival of the Cluniacs and Augustinians (§§ 75, 78 and 81); but it is nowhere openly critical of any religious institution.

The Cronica de Anglia’s most striking feature is its compilers’ careful suppression of the provocative nuances in the items which they took from William of Malmesbury’s Gesta pontificum, a slight exception being made for material that was critical of Bishop Herfast of East Anglia (§ 46). That its compilers lent some support to Bury St Edmunds’ efforts to exempt itself from the jurisdiction of the bishops of East Anglia (§§ 46, 62), draws attention to their cursory treatment of Malmesbury. This monastery was also attempting to free itself from the control of its bishop—Roger of Salisbury, who had recently usurped its abbacy; yet the Cronica avoids saying anything about its status.\(^{131}\) A sense of obligation towards St Edmunds—a community that took a direct interest in John of Worcester’s project, expressed in its production of Bodley 297, an interpolated but fine copy of his Chronica chronicarum—may explain the Cronica’s interest in its history; but having received the first edition of Gesta pontificum, its compilers must also have known of Malmesbury’s plight, and after William had produced his Life of Bishop Wulfstan II their priory’s debt to this community would have been just as strong.\(^{133}\) Perhaps they wished to avoid commenting on a controversy that had yet to be resolved. Bishop Roger’s eminence may also have intimidated them: he was the king’s chief minister and a man of immense power.\(^{134}\) But whatever the exact explanation, Cronica de Anglia’s treatment of William’s material helps to show that John and his team, far from being mindless re-cyclers of other people’s words, worked to a plan. The arrangement of these items in the Cronica may be somewhat haphazard, but they were selected and edited for a purpose.

7. EDITORIAL POLICIES

In general editorial interventions have been confined to those places where lapses in the sense or

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\(^{130}\) Hayward, Power, Rhetoric and Historical Practice (n. 106 above), esp. chp. 2.

\(^{131}\) Cronica de Anglia, §§ 29 and 77, where it is described as Maldulphi urbs, “Maldub’s town”, and as a cenobia monachorum. On the practice of naming minster-towns after their founders, a sign that Malmesbury was once an Irish monastic settlement, see Blair, Church in Anglo-Saxon Society (n. 94 above), 190 and 217, n. 145; Sims-Williams, Religion and Literature (n. 95 above), 106–8.

\(^{132}\) William alluded to the monastery’s situation in WMGP, 2.79.3–6; cf. also WMGR, 2.108.2–3, 135.6. But oral reports of Roger’s actions would also have reached Worcester.


physical damage to the manuscript have made repairs unavoidable. Except at the head of § 87 where the heading has had to be reconstructed, the rubrics are those found in the surviving copy. The present editor has supplied the section numbers. The orthography of personal and place names is quite irregular, suggesting that the scribe had limited knowledge of written English. Since the names are of little value for identifying connections with other texts, the plotting of verbal echoes largely ignores variations in name-forms, except in a few instances where they seem significant. The commentary in the notes is primarily concerned with identifying verbal parallels and with indicating their relative strength: in general, the first item listed in the note indicates the strongest echo, while secondary or weaker echoes follow the abbreviation “cf.” (confer). As set out in the list of signs and abbreviations italics and contrasting fonts have used to signal the presence of verbal parallels, the scheme having been worked out so as to accommodate “overlapping” parallels — that is, places where the text is related to more than one analogue.

**SIGNS AND ABBREVIATIONS**

**Sigla**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sign</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>BL Cotton MS Vitellius C.VIII, fols. 6v–21v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C₃</td>
<td>The sections of C written by the third scribe, i.e. John of Worcester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 92, fols. 1r–167v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P₃</td>
<td>The sections of P written by its third scribe.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Palaeographical Data**

- **Small Capitals** Rubricated words.
- \	ext\ / Interlinear additions, inserted above line.
- | A column change.
- <text> Text supplied to complete the sense.

**Source-Critical Font Variations**

- **Italics** Words that echo components of the *Chronica chronicarum* (JWCC).
Candara: Words that echo JWChronicula.
Courier: Words that echo WMGP.
Single underline: Words that echo some other source.

**John of Worcester**

**JWCC** The main body of John of Worcester’s *Chronica chronicarum* (i.e. C, pp. 77c–396); the annals for AD 450 to 1140 are printed in vols. 2 and 3 of the *Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. Darlington, McGurk and Bray.

**JWBishops** John’s Episcopal Tables (C, pp. 39–46).

**JWKings** John’s Summary Histories (C, pp. 47–54); the genealogies and histories are printed in *Florentii Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ed. Thorpe, 1:258–76.

**JWChronicula** John’s *Chronicula* as found in Dublin, Trinity College, MS 503, fols. 37r–113v.

**Other Abbreviations**


**Liebermann, ANG** Felix Liebermann (ed.), *Ungedruckte anglo-normannische Geschichtsquellen* (Strassburg, 1879).

**OMT** Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1950–).

**RS** Rolls Series: Rerum Britannicarum Medii Ævi Scriptores, or Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages (London, 1858–).


FCPQ (C, p. 217), s.a. 162.

Either JWCC, s.a. 450 or JWChronicula (fol. 46r).

JWCC, s.a. 596. JWChronicula (fol. 49r), also dates Augustine’s departure by reference to the adventus Anglorum, but not by reference to the AD date.

A chronological observation typical of John of Worcester, but none of the established works provides an exact parallel: cf. JWChronicula (fol. 43r).

JWCC, s.a. 596, 597, along with information about Æthelberht’s place in sequence of Kentish rulers taken from JWKings (C, p. 48). Cf. Bede, HE, I.33 (p. 114).

The phrase primas et patriarcha appears to derive from WMGP, 1.prol.2: “Ibi prima sedes archiepiscopi habetur, qui et totius Angliae primas et patriarcha.” Cf. Goscelin, Historia minor sancti Augustini (BHL 778), ed. PL 105, cols.
monasterium non longe ab ipsa ciuitate, quod successor eius Laurentius in honore sanctorum Petri et Pauli dedicauit. Primus ibidem abbas extitit Petrus presbiter. 141

4. DE EPISCOPATU LUNDONIENSIS ET ROFENSI. Anno Domini .dc.iii. sanctus Augustinus Mellitum Romanum abbatem et Iustum ordinuit episcopos. Mellitum ad Lundoniensem constructa iam ibi a rege Athelberto ecclesia sancti Pauli apostoli, Iustum uero ad Rofensem episcopatum. 142 Ecclesiam in eodem loco rex idem construxit sancto Andreæ apostolo, cuius honore ipsa sedes ueneratur. 143


6. DE PAULINO EBORACENSI. Anno Domini .d.c.xx.vi. sanctus Paulinus a beato Gregorio cum ceteris predicandi gratia Angliam missus. Northanhymbranæ genti a Iusto Dorobenensi archiepisco pontifex ordinatur. 145 Quæ regem Ædwinum cum sua gente baptizauit, habuitque primus sedem episcopatus Eboraci. 146 Cui Honorus papa palium misit, ipse postmodum/ Honorium Iusti successorum in archiepiscopum Cantuariensem in Lindissi prouinc<ia> a consecravit. 147

7. PAULINUS EBORACUM RELINQUIT. Anno Domini .d.c.xxxiii. occiso rege Ædwinæ, turbatisque rebus Northanhymbrorum, Paulinus reedit Cantiam, et honorifice susceput ab Honorio

743–763, at 752.

141 Bede, HE, 1.33 (p. 114). Cf. JW Kings (C, p. 48); JW Chronicula (fol. 65r).
142 JWCC, s.a. 604.
143 WGM P, 1.72.4, after Bede, HE, 2.3 (p. 142).
144 The source was almost certainly Sulcard of Westminster, Prologus de Construccione Westmonasterii, § 2, ed. Bernhard W. Schulz, Traditio 20 (1964): 80–91, at 82 and 85. Osbert of Clare, Vita S. Edvardi confessoris (BHL 2422), § 10, ed. Marc Bloch, “La vie de S. Édouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare,” Analecta Bollandiana 41 (1923): 64–129, at 83–86, provides an identical etymology for the placename “Thorney” (also using Sulcard’s words), but Osbert transforms Sulcard’s affluent citizen of the city (quidam ciuium urbis... preduies) into Sæberht, king of the East Saxons (d. 616/7), a nephew of Æthelberht, king of Kent (d. 616).
145 JWCC, s.a. 626.
146 JWCC, s.a. 628.
147 JWCC (C3 BP), s.a. 629. Cf. WGM P, 1.72.2–3.
archiepiscopo, non multo post mortuo Romano, Rofensis episcopus tercius efficitur. Vbi defunctus pallium reliquit, sicque Northanhymbranę gentis præsulatus .xxx. annis cessauit. Usu uero pallii ex quo Paulinus Eboracum deseruit per .c.xxv. annos Eboracensis ecclesia caruit. Quod per Egbertum archiepiscopum fratrem Æthelberti regis Northanhymbrorum, ut fertur eidem ecclesiæ restituitur.


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148 JWCC, s.a. 633.
149 JWCC (C³BP), s.a. 633. Cf. WMGP, 1.72.4–5.
150 JW Bishops (C, p. 45).
151 Comments about the durations of dominions are typical of JW’s work, but there is no information to this effect in the prelims or the main body of JWCC, and the calculations do not match the data provided there. JWCC places the elevation of Ecgberht, brother of King Æthelbert to archiepiscopal status (archiepiscopatus insigni sullimatur) under the year 744, a decade after the death of Wilfrid II. But the absence of an archiepiscopus at York is also noted among the marginal additions: JWCC (C³BP), s.a. 653, following WMGP, 1.72.6.
152 JW Bishops (C, p. 41), rather than JWCC, s.a. 635, though in both Birinus converts King Cynegils, not Kenwalh.
153 JW Bishops (C, p. 45). Cf. Bede, HE, 3.3 (pp. 218–20); JWCC, s.a. 635.
154 JWCC, s.a. 995.
155 Bede, HE, 3.1 (p. 212).
156 See section three of the introduction above.
uenit, et primus Æstanglorum episcopus efficitur, habens sedem episcopalem in ciuitate Dunewich, et eidem genti xvi. annis prefuit.\footnote{157}{JWCC, s.a. 636, except that JW has seventeen years instead of sixteen.}

12. **De ecclesia Wintoniensi.** Anno Domini .dc.xliii. Kenwalch rex Westsaxonum apud Orientales Saxones a Felice pontifice baptizatus, ecclesiam Wintonię in honore sancti Petri construxit, in qua postmodum sedes episcopalis constituta est.\footnote{158}{JWCC, s.a. 642, 646; but with some echoes of JWChronica (fol. 50v). Cf. JWbishops (C, p. 41); JWkings (C, p. 53).}

13. **De tribus episcopatibus.** Anno Domini .dc.lvi. rex Northanhymbrorum Oswius pro collata sibi a Deo uictoria gentem Merciorum ad fidem Christi conuertit, constituto episcopo Diuma in prouincia Merciorum Lindisfarorum ac Mediterraneorum Anglorum.\footnote{159}{JWCC, s.a. 655.}

14. **Westsaxonia in duos episcopatus dividitur.** Anno Domini .dc.lx. Kenwalch rex Occidentalium Saxonom. Westsaxoniam prouinciam in duas parrochias diuisit, et episcopo Wine in ciuitate Wente episcopatus sedem tribuit.\footnote{160}{JWCC, s.a. 660.}

15. **De reparatione archiepiscopatus Eboracensis.** Anno Domini .dc.lxiii. cessati\textsuperscript{e} episcopatus Northanhymbrię prouincię anno xxx\textsuperscript{o}. Wyfridus abbas Hripensis monasterii, cuuis fundator exitit Ætha abbas cenobii quod uocatur Mailros, cum essent circiter annorum xxx. in episcopum Eboraci eligitur, et ab Æilberto Parisiace ciuitatis episcopo ordinandus Galliam mittitur. Quo ibi demorante, sanctus Ceadda abb\textsuperscript{s} quondam monasterii quod Glastingham dicitur. Post uero tercius Merciorum episcopus a Wine ciuitatis Wentanę pręsule, Eboraci ecclesię pręsul consecratur. Qui tribus annis ecclesiam sullimiter regens, ad monasterii Glastingham curam secessit. Wilfrido iam reuerso, et accipiente episcopatum totius Northanhymbrorum prouincię.\footnote{161}{JWCC, s.a. 664 and 667, but with much re-organisation; cf. JWbishops (C, p. 45).}

16. **De Abbandonia.** Anno Domini .dc.lxvii. Cissa pater Ynę, regis postmodum Westsaxonum, Abbandoniam construxit.\footnote{162}{JWCC (C\textsuperscript{3}BP), s.a. 1043. The Abingdon copy (L) has a similar interpolation, but one that also attributes the foundation to King Cædwalla and which appears under the year 688; cf. also WMGP, 2.88.1.}

18. **DE CERTESEA ET BERKINGA.** Anno Domini .dc.lxxv. sanctus Erkenwaldus qui tercius Lundoniensis exstitit episcopus, fecit duo monasteria, unum sibi, alterum sorori Æthelburgæ. Suum Certeseie dicitur, quod amminiculo Frethewaldi subreguli, opulentia rerum et monachis instituit. Sororis uero monasterium appellatur Berkingum, ubi ipsa prima abbatissa facta est. ¹⁶⁵

19. **DE SECUNDA EXPULSIONE WILFRIDI.** Anno Domini .dc.lxxvii. id est anno decimo sui episcopatus, Wilfridus a præsulatu pulsus est, et pro eo Bosa monachus reuerrendus de monasterio Hildæ abbatissæ in ciuitate Eboraci. Eatha uero uenerabilis abbas Mailrosensis cenobii in Haugustaldensi siue in Lindisfarnensi ecclesia constituantur episcopi. Cum quibus Ædredus in prouincia Lindisfarorum a Theodoræ archiepiscopo ordinatur episcopus. ¹⁶⁶ Post tres annos abscessionis Wilfridi, ecclesiam Haugustaldensem, remanente Eatha ad Lindisfarnensem, Trumwine ad terram Pictorum in loco qui Candida Casa dicitur, Theodorus archiepiscopus ordinavit. Edredrum uero de Lindissi reuersum, Hripensi ecclesiæ prefecit. ¹⁶⁷ Pulsus ab episcopatu Wilfridus, Romanque iturus, ubi nauem conscendit, Fresiam pulsus est, ubi multa milia barbarorum ad fidem Christi

¹⁶³ JWCC, s.a. 673.
¹⁶⁴ JWCC (C³B), s.a. 1111. Cf. WMGP, 4.183.1–5.
¹⁶⁵ JWCC, s.a. 675. WMGP, 2.73.10–13, is almost identical owing to their shared dependence on Bede, *HE*, 4.6 (p. 354), but its words are slightly more remote and it could not have supplied the date.
¹⁶⁶ JWCC, s.a. 677.
¹⁶⁷ JWCC, s.a. 681. Trumwine is identified as the first bishop of Candida Casa—a see located in the land of the Picts—in JW’s table of northern bishops (C, p. 45).
convertit. Relicta Faresia, Romam adiit, auctoritate Benedicti papæ Britanniam reedit, ad prouinciam australium Saxonom diuertit, ubi quinque annis degens in loco qui uocatur Sælesey, quod dicitur Latine insula uituli marini, primus episcopus factus, gentem illam Christo credere fecit.

20. MERCIORUM PROVINCIA IN CINQUE EPISCOPATUS DIUITUR. Anno Domini .dclxxx. Merciorum prouincia cui pontificali iure præfuit Sexulphus, annis quatuor transactis accepti episcopatus, qui quondam erat constructor et abbas monasterii quod Medeshamstede \id est Burc/⁴ dicitur, in quinque parrochias diusa est. Et quia ciuitas Wigorna tempore, quo regn/manent Britones uel Romani in Britannia, totius Wicciu uel Massægetani metropolis extitit famosa, cathedram eexit pontificalem in ea digniter. parrochiarum iam diuersarum primam con[fol. 8v]stituens Wictiam. Ad quam de monasterio Hilde abbatissę uir streuniissimus ac doctissimus Tatfridus electus est antistes. Sed priusquam ordinari posset, morte præreptus est immatura. Pro quo uenerabilis uir Bosel a Theodoro archiepiscopo ad Wictiam ordinatur episcopus, habens episcopalem sedem in ciuitate Wigorna, que tunc temporis altis muris et menibus pulchris decorata, multis Anglorum urbis clarior atque uellimior extitit. Secundam diocesim Beatus Theodorus constituit illam que pertinet ad episcopatum Lichesfedensem, cui uirum religiosum ac modestum Cuthwinum præfecit. Terciam vero Mediterraneam Angliam in qua predictus episcopus Sexulphus quia ita sibi placuit resedit, pontificali cathedra illic constituta in ciuitate Leogria. \id est Lëceestr/² Quartam denique Lindissim prouinciam, cui preposuit uirum sanctum Æthelwino germanum sancti Aldwini abbatis monasterii quod Partaneum \id est Bardenai/⁶ nuncupatur, statuens ei sedem episcopalem in ciuitate quē uocabatur Siddenea. Quintam vero constituit Suthangliam, ad quam de præfato monasterio Hildę abbatissę singularis meriti ac sanctitatis uirum Ethlam elegit antistitem, eique presulatus sedem in loco qui Dorcacestre uocatur constituit.

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168 JWCC, s.a. 677.
169 JWCC, s.a. 678.
170 JW Bishops (C, p. 39), but the etymology of the name appears to derive directly from Bede, HE, 4.13 (p. 374). Cf. WMGP, 2.96.1–4.
171 JWCC, s.a. 675, makes Sexwulf the constructor et abbas monasterii quod dicitur Burh in regione Giruiorum, but the compiler’s use of the name Medeshamstede instead of Peterborough suggests knowledge of JW’s source, Bede, HE, 4.6 (p. 354).
172 This item preserves strong echoes of both JW Chronicula (fol. 52rv), and the summary history of Worcester Cathedral and its endowment which appears among the prelims to Chronica chronicarum in C, fol. 1r–p. 3, though both arrange the material in a different order. The parallels to JWCC (C³BP), s.a. 679, are relatively remote. See section four of
21. **DE HEREFORDENSI EPISCOPATU.** Qui ultra amnem Sabrinam ad occidentem habitant, factus est episcopis Puttha, qui quintus in ordine Hrofensis extiterat episcopus. Hic namque Cantia et Hrosa uastata ab Æthelredo rege Merciorum ad Sexulfium Merciorum episcopum diuertit, et ab eo possessione accepta, ut ferunt quidam primus Herefordensis episcopus extitit.\(^{173}\)

22. **NOMINA QUATUOR LOCORUM.** Victia dicta est a quodam rege Britonum, qui Wic\(\prime\)/t nominabatur, ab opaca Silva que Wire dicitur nomen sumpsit. Et qui olim Wictiorum episcopus dicebatur, nunc Wigorniensium dicitur, id est Wirecestre.\(^{174}\) *Lichesfeld est uilla exigua in pago \id est scire\(\prime\) Stafordensi, longe a frequentia urbiuom, nemorosa circa regio. Ibi sanctus Ceadda sedem episcopatus habuit et obiit. Leogrecesta est uilla antiqua in Mediterraneis Anglis, a Leogeru fluuio preterfluente sic uocata. Dorcestra est uilla in pago Oxenfordensi exilis et infrequens, maiestas tamen ecclesiarum magna, seu ueteri siue opera noua.*\(^{175}\)

23. **DE GLAORNA.** Anno Domini .dc.lxxxi. rex Merciorum Ædelredus, ministro suo Osrico qui prouinciæ Wictiorum tunc prefuit, dedit terram trecentorum tributariorum in urbe Glaorna, ubi constructa et dedicata est ecclesia in honore sancti Petri.

24. **DE PERSORA.** Anno Domini .dc.lxxxiii. terram .ccc\(\prime\)torum. tributariorum idem rex Ædelredus [fol. 9r] concessit alteri ministro suo Oswaldo, prædicti Osrici germano, in Persora, ubi etiam constructa ecclesia in honore sanctæ Mariæ dedicatur.\(^{176}\)

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\(^{173}\) This entry reads like a speculative attempt, based on the occurrence of Putta’s name in the episcopal tables for both Rochester and Hereford (C, pp. 39 and 43), to connect the foundation of the latter see with Putta’s flight to Mercia—an event reported in Bede, *HE*, 4.12 (p. 368), and elaborated in WMGP, 1.72.7–8. The verbal parallels point to dependence on the re-working of Bede’s account in JWCC, s.a. 676. Cf. JWCC (C\(^2\)BP), s.a. 678, which abbreviates WMGP, 4.163.1.\(^{174}\) This item seems to be unique to this source. Cf. JWCC (C\(^2\)BP), s.a. 679.\(^{175}\) JWCC (C\(^2\)BP), s.a. 666. Cf. WMGP, 4.172.1, 176, 177.1.\(^{176}\) The origins of §§ 23–24 are relatively obscure, but they probably rest on a Gloucester source. The material about these abbeys in WMGP, 4.155 and 162, is quite different. Strong parallels occur, however, in the Gloucester foundation narrative which is preserved chiefly in the cartulary-chronicles that were compiled for Walter Frocester, abbot of Gloucester (1382–1412). As H. R. R. Finnberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands*, Studies in Early English History 2 (2nd edn, Leicester, 1972), 153–66, showed, this narrative incorporates the remains of an alleged charter of King Æthelred of Mercia (675–704) which recounts how he and his ministers Osric and Oswald founded two churches at Gloucester and Pershore, granting 300 “tributaries” to the former and 300 *cassati* to the latter. Printed texts appear in ibid.,
25. **Episcopatus Orientalium Anglorum diuiditur.** Anno Domini .dc.lxxxiii. Bisy quartus a Felice primo *Orientalium Anglorum episcopo* presul uita discissit. Post quem *duo rexerunt pontifices provinciam illam, usque ad tempora Egberti septimdecimi regis Westsaxonum, quorum unus sedebat apud Dunewich, alter apud Helmatham.* Quod .c.xliii. annis, .xxii. episcopis pontificantibus per durauit. Extinctis uero regibus .c.xxxix. annis ibidem *pre inopia destituti sunt episcopi,* usque ad regis Anglorum Ædwni tempora.\(^{177}\)

26. **De Iohanne Haugustaldensi.** Anno Domini .dc.lxxxvi. *Eatha Haugustaldensi episcopo defuncto, Iohannes successit.* Sed Wilfrido Haugustaldum recepto, et *Bosa defuncto, idem Iohannes pro eo Eboraci substituitur.\(^{178}\)

27. **De Wilfrido.** Anno Domini .dc.xci. *Wilfridus denuo presulatu pulsus, ab Ædelredo rege Merciorum suscepit episcopatum\(^h\) mediterraneorum Anglorum.\(^{179}\)

28. **De Heuesham.** Anno Domini .dc.xcii. *Sanctus Egwinus tercii in ordine Wictiorum episcoporum monasterium, quod Eouesham dicitur, construxit.\(^{180}\)

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158, and *Historia et cartularium monasterii sancti Petri Gloucestriae,* ed. William H. Hart, RS 33, 3 vols. (1884–93), 1:lxxi–lxxii. Fragments of this narrative appear in earlier documents: a late twelfth-century scribe inserted, for example, extracts from an earlier version into the margins of the *Winchcombe Chronicle* (n. 57 above), s.a. 680.2 (2:436), where unfortunately they were much damaged in the Cottonian Fire; minor echoes also appear in the late fourteenth-century Pershore chronicle by *Dominus Garderius,* whose contents were partly recorded by John Leland, *De rebus britannicis collectanea,* ed. Thomas Hearne, 6 vols. (2nd edn, London, 1770), 1:240. It seems likely that this narrative and the alleged charters which it contains existed by the early twelfth century—at the very latest. On the authenticity of this charter, see also Anton Scharer, *Die angelsächsische Königsurkunde im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert,* Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 26 (Vienna, 1982), 146–8. None of the known witnesses preserves, however, any information about the identity of the saint to whom Pershore was dedicated. For this detail a parallel of sorts exists in the material about Gloucester and Pershore that John added to the margins of his autograph (*JWCC* (C\(^3\)BP), s.a. 1095 (3:78, 80)). These items say nothing about how much land was given to Gloucester and Pershore, but they identify the same persons as founders, and the item about Pershore includes a statement to the effect that Oswald built the church at Pershore in *honore sancti Petri,* but that it is now dedicated in *nominе Dei genitrices Marie.* One possibility is that the author was combining material from the charter of King Æthelred and *Cronica chronicarum* and that the information about the dedication of Pershore was corrupted—either by the author himself or at some stage in the transmission of *Cronica de Anglia.* Another and more likely possibility is that the author was relying on John’s working notes and that they differed somewhat from the material now preserved in the margins *JWCC* (C\(^3\)B), s.a. 1095—that they contained, for example, more data about how much land was given to Pershore and Gloucester than John chose, in the end, to include in *Chronica chronicarum.*

\(^{177}\) *JWCC* (C\(^3\)BP), s.a. 685. Cf. *WMGP,* 2.74.4–5.

\(^{178}\) *JWCC,* s.a. 685, 686.

\(^{179}\) *JWCC,* s.a. 691.

\(^{180}\) *JWCC,* s.a. 692. Cf. *JWChronicula* (fol. 53v); *JWBishops* (C, p. 43).
29. **Duo episcopatus duiduntur.** Anno Domini .dcc.v. sancto Heada Wintoniensi episcopo defuncto, episcopatus prouincie illius | in duas parrochias diuisus est, una data Danieli, altera Aldelmo, qui .xl. iam annis abbas extiterat Maldulphi urbis, ambo <re>bus<sup>3</sup> consecratis a Bertwaldo Dorobernensi octauo archiepiscopo. Sexulphus Merciorum episcopus uita decessit, postea Merciorum prouincia duo episcopos habuit, Headdam et Wilfridum, Heada apud Lichesfeld, Wilfridus apud Leogrecestre. Sed illo mox ui hostilitatis eicto, mortuoque rege Northanhymbrorum Alhfrido ad pristinam sedem episcopatus, id est Haugustaldum in concordiam receptus reuertitur, ibique in pace quatuor annis expletis ut sibi promiserat angelus, in pace uitam finiuit. Heada uero ambas post rexit parrochias, et post eum Alwinus qui et Wor.<sup>184</sup>


31. **Item de statu episcopatum.** Anno Domini .dcc.xxxi.iiii. quo anno sanctus Beda migrauit ad

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<sup>181</sup> JWCC, s.a. 705. The duration of Aldhelm’s abbacy could have been inferred from annal in JWCC, s.a. 666, which records his ordination as abbot of Malmesbury.

<sup>182</sup> JWCC (C<sup>3</sup>BP), s.a. 705. Cf. WMGP, 3.110.2; 4.172.2.

<sup>183</sup> WMGP, 3.109.6.

<sup>184</sup> JWCC (C<sup>3</sup>BP), s.a. 705. Cf. WMGP, 4.172.2.

<sup>185</sup> The rubric shows that the compiler knew that the ultimate source of this item was Bede, *HE*, 5.23 (pp. 558–60), but the textual affinities imply derivation from JWCC, s.a. 731.
Dominum, defuncto iam Aldwino, qui et Wor, iii\textsuperscript{er}. facti sunt episcopi in Leogrensi diocesi. Hwita Lichesfeld, Tot\textit{h}/a Leogreecestre, Eatta de quo supradiximus in Dorcaestra remanente.\textsuperscript{186} Huius episcopi solius nomen, qui Dorcastrensis extitit episcopus reperitur. Presulatus uero sedem post illum in Dorcaestra Lindisse pre\textit{sules habuerunt .ccc.liii. annis, quousque Remigius genere Normannus, Lindisfarorum episcopus septimus decimus licentia regis Willelmi senioris sedem presulatus mutaret de Dorcaestra ad Lincolniam.\textsuperscript{187} Eodem quoque anno Tatwinus, nonus Doroberni\textae archiepiscopus, uita decessit, cui Nothelmus Lundoniensis ecclesiæ presbyter successit.\textsuperscript{188} Hic Ædbertum, qui abbas monasterii sancti Wilfridi, quod dicitur Sælesey, fuerat, prouinciæ Australium Saxonicum ordinavit episcopum. Qui secundus post Wilfridum Sæleseiensis episcopus extitit.\textsuperscript{189} Pontificalis sedes apud Sælesey usque ad tempora Willelmi regis senioris .ccc.xxxiii. annis, episcopis .xix. pontificantibus, durauit. Postmodum a Stigando Sæleseiensi episcopo .xxmo. mutata est sedes episcopalis de Sælesey ad Cicestram.\textsuperscript{190}

32. DE WINCHELCUMBE ET SANCTO ALBANO. Anno Domini .d.cc.lxxxvii. rex Merciorum Offa, in Glaornensi pago, in loco qui Winchelcumbe dicitur, monasterium construxit in quo sanctimoniales constituuit.\textsuperscript{191} Pagus Bedefordensis continet abbaciam sancti Albani martiris. Cuius corpus sanctissimum quod diu iacerat in terræ puluere, rex Offa in scrinio collocauit. Erexit in limine basilicam pulcherrimi operis, monachorum numerositate honorauit.\textsuperscript{192} Anno Domini .dcc.xc.viii. rex Merciorum Kenulfus Winchelcumbose monasterium construxit, et in eo monachos numero .ccc. collocauit. Ecclesia [fol. 10] eiusdem monasterii dedicata est a .xiii. episcopis, quorum princeps erat Wulfredus Cantuariæ archiepiscopus.\textsuperscript{193}

\textsuperscript{186} JWCC (C\textsuperscript{3}BP), s.a. 734. Cf. WMGP, 4.172.2.

\textsuperscript{187} JWCC, s.a. 1092, together with information about the history of the see from JW\textit{Bishops} (C, p. 43). This table has just one name under Dorchester (Aetla), and Remigius appears as the seventeenth bishop of Lindsey.

\textsuperscript{188} JWCC, s.a. 734, and JW\textit{Bishops} (C, p. 39).

\textsuperscript{189} JW\textit{Bishops} (C, p. 39).

\textsuperscript{190} The author’s statements and words agree with the data found in JW\textit{Bishops} (C, p. 39), which makes Stigand the twentieth holder of the see of the South Saxons and the first to reside at Chichester. Cf. JWCC (C\textsuperscript{3}BP), s.a. 1070; WMGP, 2.96.4.

\textsuperscript{191} See the section five of introduction and esp. n. 93 above.

\textsuperscript{192} JWCC (C\textsuperscript{3}B), s.a. 1048, which has Hertfordensi instead of Bedefordensi, but Hertfor- is written over an erasure. Cf. WMGP, 4.179.1, who has in lumen, “to the light”, for in limine, “in limestone”.

\textsuperscript{193} WMGP, 3.156. This item also appears in the margins of the \textit{Winchcombe Chronicle} (n. 57 above), s.a. 798 (2:452), where it was added s.xii/xiii. This parallel is best interpreted, therefore, as evidence for the reception of the \textit{Cronica de Anglia} in the diocese of Worcester where it seems to have originated: see also Hayward, \textit{Winchcombe and Coventry} (n. 26 above), 1:246, 249.
33. **De Haugustaldensibus episcopis.** Post Accam Haugustaldensem episcopum, cuius inter alios sanctos Beda fecit mentionem in fine hystorię Anglorum, septem tamen Haugustaldenses in ordine sequentes episcopi fuerunt per lxxviii. ferme annos. 

**Exercitus enim Danorum vehemens, habitatoribus extinctis uel effugatis, habitaculorum tecta succendit, et secreta celo exposuit. Nunc est Hesteldesham uilla presulis Eboracensis.**

34. **De Candida Casa.** Candida casa uocatur locus in extremis Anglie iuxta Scotiam finibus, ubi beatus Nina confessor requiescit, natione Britannus, qui primus ibidem Christum euangelizauit. Nomen loco ex opere inditum quod ecclesiam ibi ex lapide polito Britonibus miraculo fecerit. Ibi sub extremo Bede tempore, episcopus factus est Pectelmus, qui multo ante tempore in Westsaxonia commoratus, sanctissimi Aldelmi discipulatuis interfuerat. Ei subjecti sunt Fredewaldus, Pectwinus, Edebriticus, Beadulphus, Eadredus. Post hunc episcopatus deficit, quia extrema ora est Anglorum et Scottorum et Pictorum depopulationi opportuna.

35. **Alfredi Regis opera.** Anno Domini .dccc.lxxx. rex Westsaxonum Alfredus, Sceafioniam quandam urbem, que modo uicus est, edificauit. Wintonié quoque monasterium quod uulgo nouum dicitur, construxit, et Grimbaldo quodam Flandrensi suadente, ipse rex Alfredus in eo canonicos posuit. Anno Domini .dccc.lxxxvii. rex Alfredus duo monasteria construere fecit, unum monachorum in loco qui dicitur Æthelingeie, et Iohannem presbyterum vel monachum genere Ældsaxonem, abbatem constituit. Aliud uero monasterium iuxta Orientalem portam Sceafesberię, habitationi sanctimonialium habilem, idem rex edificari imperauit, in quo propriam...

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194 JW*Bishops* (C, p. 45), has seven bishops of Hexham after Acca. The reference to Bede echoes WM*GP*, 3.117.3, but WM has six bishops after Acca, omitting *Alhmundus.*

195 JW**CC** (C*BP*), s.a. 828. Cf. WM*GP*, 3.117.5.

196 JW**CC** (C*BP*), s.a. 828. JW was here working from WM*GP*, 3.118.1, 3, but he has added Eadredus (Heathored) to WM’s list of bishops, in keeping with JW*Bishops* (C, p. 45).

197 JW**CC** (C*BP*), s.a. 880. Cf. WM*GP*, 2.86.1.

198 JW**CC** (C*BP*), s.a. 1070. Cf. WM*GP*, 2.78.1.
filiam Ægelgeouam, deuotam domino uirginem, abbatisse constituit.  

Construxit et aliud monasterium Wintoniæ sanctimonialium, quibus Alfridam uirginem abbatisse preposuit.

Ethelingie est non maris insula, sed ita stagnis et paludibus inaccessa, ut non nisi nauigio adiri queat. Ceruos et capreas multasque id generis bestias continet. Terra solida, et uix duobus iugeribus lata, monasteriolum et monachorum officinas habet. Eius ut dictum est constructor fuit rex Alfredus, qui quondam a Danis pulsus provincia, tutas ibi aliquandiu latebras confuverat. Mox cum per somnium restitutionis suæ uadem sanctum Cuthbertum [fol. 10v] accepisset, ibidem monasterium se constructurum Deo pollicitus est, quod et postea fecit.


37. DE EPISCOPATU SALESBERIENSI. Ethelstanus in Wiltuniensi pago primus factus episcopus sedem pontificalem in Ramesberia habuit. Similiter et successores illius per .ccc.lii. annos, quousque Heremannus nonus Ramesberiensis episcopus, Scireburnensem presulatum mortuo Ælwoldo, a rege Eadwardo adquisitum | ecclesiæ suæ copulavit, et cathedram episcopalem utrorumque episcopatum de Ramesberia Scireburne sibi constituerit. Sed rege Willelmo seniore regnante, synodali auctoritate, 

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199 JWCC, s.a. 887.
200 JWCC (C3B), s.a. 1070 (italics). Cf. JWCC, s.a. 905, where the construction of the Nunnaminster is attributed, using very similar language, to Alfred’s queen, Ealhswith.
201 WMGP, 2.92.1–2; JWCC (C3BP), s.a. 882.
202 Almost identical echoes occur in both JWChronicula (fol. 64r), and among the explanatory matter in JWChronicula (fol. 64r), and among the explanatory matter in JWBishops (C, p. 41), but the present text is slightly closer to the former version. Cf. JWCC, s.a. 909.
ac eiusdem regis munificentia, inde ad Salesbiriam sedem suam mutavit.\textsuperscript{203} Ab anno Domini dccc.vii., quo sanctus Aldelmus primus Seireburnensem presulatum suscepit, usque in annum millesimum lx.ix., quo Heremannus Ramesberiensis episcopus mutavit, ut diximus, sedem episcopalem Seresberiam, computantur ccc.l\textsuperscript{xi}i. anni, presulibus xxiii. in ordine pontificantibus.\textsuperscript{204}

38. De episcopatu de Welles. Ab anno Domini d.cccc.viii. in quo Æthelhelm factus est primus Wellensis episcopus, usque in annum domini m.xci. numerantur anni c.lxxxii. presulibus interim xiii. in ordine presulantibus.\textsuperscript{205} Iohannes vero successor Gysæ, xiii.\textsuperscript{us} Wellensis episcopus, natione Turonicus, non tam arte quam usu medicus, annuente rege Willelmo iuniore, presulatus sedem de Wellis transtulit Bathonianam.\textsuperscript{206} Huius loci fundator ut ab antiquis accepimus, extitit olim quidam Akemannus nomine, unde uulgo Akemannescestre, id est ciuitas Akemanni dicitur.\textsuperscript{207}

39. De Cridiatunensi episcopatu. Ab anno Domini d.cccc.viii. in quo Eadulfus factus est primus Cridiatunensis episcopus usque in annum Domini m.xxxi. computantur anni c.xxii. episcopis [fol. 11r] interim viii. ex ordine pontificantibus. Liuingus ex monacho Wintoniensii, post Theauestocensis abbas, eodem anno Domini m.xxxi. factus est nonus Cridiatunensis episcopus. Hic processu temporis maxime familiaritatis et potentiæ apud Canutum regum Anglorum habitus, eo apud illum genere processit, ut defuncto auunculo suo Brichwoldo qui erat Cornubiensis episcopus, ambos arbitrio suo uniret episcopatus, factusque est idem Liuingus postmodum

\textsuperscript{203} Verbal echoes clearly imply that this entry is related to John of Worcester’s table of West-Saxon prelates, JW\textit{Bishops} (C, p. 41), but for the purpose of calculating the duration of see, prior to its relocation at Old Sarum, the compiler assumes—rather oddly given the relative clarity of JW’s table—that Æthelstan became bishop of Ramsbury at the same time as Aldhelm became bishop of Sherborne when the former see was in fact founded in the reign of Edward the Elder (899–924). The correct span for the presence of an episcopal seat at Ramsbury would be around 167 years.

\textsuperscript{204} JW\textit{Bishops} (C, p. 41) makes Aldhelm the first holder of the episcopate of Sherborne and lists 24 bishops as holder of that office; for the dates, cf. JW\textit{CC}, s.a. 709 and (C\textsuperscript{3}BP), s.a. 1070.

\textsuperscript{205} This chronological excursus could have been developed by using the date specified in § 36 above and JW’s table of West Saxon prelates (C, p. 41). The table lists fourteen bishops of Wells from Æthelhelm to [G]isa, before listing John and [G]odefridus as the fifteenth and sixteenth. Cf. WM\textit{GP}, ii.90.1.

\textsuperscript{206} JW\textit{CC} (C\textsuperscript{3}BP\textsuperscript{3}), s.a. 1091, following WM\textit{GP}, 2.90.2. In their existing form JW’s table of West-Saxon bishops (C, p. 41) lists John as the fifteenth bishop of Wells, but the list shows signs of revision.

\textsuperscript{207} This etymology seems to have been inferred from the name itself—a form that the author may have discovered by reading the account of Edgar’s coronation at Bath found under the year 973 in several versions of the \textit{Anglo-Saxon Chronicle}, such as the C-Text (ed. K. O’Brien O’Keeffe, \textit{The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition}, vol. 5, MS C (Cambridge, 1983), 82). Cf. C. Plummer and J. Earle (eds), \textit{Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel}, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1892–9), 2:161.

40. De Glaorna. Anno Domini .dcccc.xx. in urbe Glaorna Ægelfleda Merciorum domina soror Eadwardi regis senioris, ut pater suus rex Alfredus illi preceperat, cum coniuge suo Æthelredo Mercensium duce, monasterium edificauit, illucque de cenobio quod Beardanei dicitur, quod situm est in Lindissi prouincia, reliquias sancti regis Oswaldi transtulerunt. 211

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208 WMGP, 2.94.1–7β; but there is much evidence that additional detail was drawn from the various parts of John’s corpus. The dates towards the beginning of the chapter echo, slightly inaccurately, those in JWCC, s.a. 909 (C3BP), and 1031; the numbering echoes the data in JWBishops (C, p. 41); and the detail that Leofric was a Briton occurs in JWCC, s.a. 1046.

209 JWCC (C3BP3), s.a. 972, following WMGP, 2.94.1. JW rightly has .xii. milibus.

210 WMGP, 2.95.7.

211 WMGP, 4.155. Note how “in the time of King Alfred” becomes “as her father King Alfred had ordered her”. Cf. JWCC, s.a. 910; JWChronicula (fol. 63v); JWCC (C3B), s.a. 1050.
41. **De Odone Wiltuniensi episco.** Anno Domini dccc.xx. defuncto Ædelstano primo Wiltuniensi episco, successit Odo. Hic Danicę gentis oriundus fuit, cuius parentes regis Alfredi tempore [fol. 11v] Angliam infestauerunt, sed illis abeuntibus uel extinctis, Edwardo regi militans aliquandiu, non multo post comam tonsus, clericatum professus est, meritisque crescentibus, Wiltuniensi ecclesię prælatus, Æthelstanum regis Ædwardi filium, in sui amiciam excitauit.\(^\text{212}\)

42. **De Brinstano episco.** Anno Domini dccc.xxxii. sancto Frithestano Wintoniensis episcopo <defuncto>, successit Brinstanus. *Hic uir sanctus cotidie missam pro defunctorum requie celebrare consueuerat, nocte cimiteria circuire, pro defunctis psalmos cantare. Quadam uice hoc agens, dum expletis omnibus subiungeret, “requiescant in pace”, subito uoces quasi exercitus infiniti e sepulcris audivit respondentium “Amen”.\(^\text{213}\)


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\(^\text{212}\) JWCC (C\(^3\)BP), s.a. 920. Cf. WMGP, 1.14.

\(^\text{213}\) JWCC, s.a. 932. Cf. WMGP, 2.75.24. A near-contemporary hand enters a *nota* symbol in the margin beside this item, providing one of the few signs that the text was the subject of study.

\(^\text{214}\) JWCC (C\(^3\)BP\(^1\)), s.a. 934. Cf. WMGP, 1.14.4–15.1.

\(^\text{215}\) JWCC (C\(^3\)BP\(^3\)), s.a. 934. The compiler has rightly corrected JW’s *Wellensium*, inserting *Wiltuniensem* in its place. Cf. WMGP, 2.83.1.
44. MIDELTUNE ET MICHELNEI CONSTRUUNTUR. Anno Domini dccc.xxxi. rex Anglorum Æthelstanus Mideltunensem ecclesiam fecit pro anima fratris sui Ædwi, quem prauo corruptus consilio Anglia eiecit. Eadem causa Miclaneiense cenobium construit, quod situm est in Sumerset.\textsuperscript{216}

45. DE Sceeduna. Anno Domini dccc.xliii. Æluua regina regis Eadmundi, qui fuit pronepos regis Alfredi, construit monasterium sanctimonialium Scæftunie.\textsuperscript{217}

46. DUO EPISCOPATUS IUNGUNTUR. Anno Domini dccc.lvii. regnante Eadwino, episcopatum Orientalium Anglorum quem c.lxxiii. annis, duo rexerant pontifices, unus regere cepit, cui nomen Adulfus, habens episcopalem sedem in Elmaham, eodemque modo eius successores. Quæ sedes episcopalis c.xiii. annis ibidem habita est, usque in annum quintum regis Anglorum Willelmi senioris, id est usque in annum Domini m.lxxi.\textsuperscript{218} Quo anno Arfestsus xxviii. Æstanglorum episcopus, ne nichil fecisse uideretur, ut sunt Normanni famæ in futurum studiosissimi, licentia regis eiusdem sedem præsulatus de Elmaham transtulit in Theot[fol. 12r]fordam.\textsuperscript{219} At successor eius Herebertus sedem episcopalem transportauit ad insignem mercimoniis uicum nomine Norwich.\textsuperscript{220}

47. DUO EPISCOPATUS IUNGUNTUR LEGRECESTRIÆ ET LINCOLNIE. Anno Domini dccc.lxix. Ædgarus germanus regis Ædwi, anno etatis suæ xvi. regnare cæpit.\textsuperscript{221} Quo regnante Leowinus octauus Legrecestrensis episcopus, licentia illius duos episcopatus, Lindis qui nunc dicitur Lincollensium,\textsuperscript{222} in unum coadunavit, annis cc.lxxviii. transactis ex quo in duas parochias Merciorum prouincia diuisa est.\textsuperscript{223}

\textsuperscript{216} JWCC (C\textsuperscript{3}BP\textsuperscript{3}), s.a. 937. Cf. WMGP, 2.85, 93.

\textsuperscript{217} JWCC (C\textsuperscript{1}BP), s.a. 880. Cf. WMGP, 2.86.1.

\textsuperscript{218} Derived, it seems from a combination of WMGP, 2.74.4–5 and JWBishops (C, p. 39): “xii. Athulfus. Hic regis Edwii tempore eastangliæ presulatum solus rexit eodemque modo illius successores.” It is WMGP, 2.74.11, who dates the transfer of Elmham to Thetford to the sixth year of the reign of William I. Cf. JWCC (C\textsuperscript{1}BP), s.a. 685, who gives the king under whom Athulf took office as Eadwig.

\textsuperscript{219} JWCC (C\textsuperscript{1}BP\textsuperscript{3}), s.a. 1038. Cf. WMGP, 2.74.11.

\textsuperscript{220} JWCC (C\textsuperscript{3}BP\textsuperscript{3}), s.a. 1094. Cf. WMGP, 2.74.14–15.

\textsuperscript{221} JWCC, s.a. 959.

\textsuperscript{222} JWCC (C\textsuperscript{1}BP), s.a. 959. Cf. WMGP, 4.176; JWBishops (C, p. 43).

\textsuperscript{223} JWBishops (C, p. 43).
48. DE OSMALDO WIGORNENSI EISCOPO. Anno Domini .dccc.lx. beatus Oswaldus fratruelis sanctus Odonis Dorobernensis archiepiscopi suscepit Wigornensis ecclesiæ presulatum.224

49. THAVESTOCA CONSTRUITUR. Anno Domini .dccc.lxii. cenobium in Domnania quod Theauestoca uocatur, iuxta Tay fluuium situm, Orgatus comes Domnaniensis, pater Elfride uxoris regis Edgari, constituit.225

50. WINTONIÆ ET MIDELTUNIÆ MONACHI PONUNTUR. Anno Domini .dccc.lxiii. sanctus Ædelwoldus Wintoniensis episcopus, iussu regis Ædgari expulsis clericis Vetus Monasterium cum monachis instituit. Anno sequenti rex Ædgarus in Nouo Monasterio Wintoniæ, et in Mideltunia, monachos collocavit.226

51. RUMESIE SANCTIMONIALES ET IN EXACESTRA MONACHI CONSTITUNUNTUR. Anno Domini .dccc.lxvii. rex Ædgarus .ii. monasteria Rumeseie quod aus suus rex Ædwardus senior construxerat, sanctimonialibus instituit, sanctamque Merewinam eis abbatisa præfecit. Annoque sequente in Exancestre monachos instituit, et Sidemannum eis abbatis iure pretulit.227

52. REX EDGARUS IN MAIORIBUS MONASTERIIS MONACHOS INSTITUI FECIT. Precepit etiam sancto Dunstano Dorobernensi, et Wulfstano Wigornensis, et Edelwoldo Wintonensi episcopos, ut expulsis clericis, in maioribus monasteriis monachos collocarent.228 His diebus pontificatus Wigornensis sub honore beati Petri apostoli, celebris habebatur, et clerici seculariter uiuentes, inibi conuersabantur. Quos dum seruus Dei Oswaldus corrigere elaboraret, nec ultatem proficeret, ecclesiam in honore beatæ et gloriosæ uirginis MARIE prope ecclesiam episcopatus construxit, in qua ipse cum sui ordinis uiris Domino seruiret.229 Anno Domini .dccc.lxviii. Sanctus Oswaldus Wigornensis episcopus,

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224 JWCC, s.a. 960.
225 JWCC (C3BP), s.a. 961, following WMGP, 2.95.
226 JWCC, s.a. 963, 964.
227 JWCC, s.a. 967, 968.
228 JWCC, s.a. 969. Wulstano ought, of course, to read Oswaldo.
229 Everything here, including the idea that Oswald set about “correcting” the seculars without success, occurs at greater length in Eadmer of Canterbury, Vita S. Oswaldi archiepiscopi et confessoris (BHL 6375), § 24, ed. and trs. Andrew J. Turner and Bernard J. Muir, Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan and Oswald, OMT (2005), 216–89, at 256–60. Though the preface is hardly explicit, Eadmer appears to have written his Vita Oswaldi at the request of Worcester (ibid., cvi–cvi), and there is every reason to think that they will have had a copy in their library. Cf. JWCC, s.a. 969, 992;
clericos eiusdem ecclesie monachilem habitum suscipere renuentes, de monasterio expulsit, consentientes monachizauit, eisque quendam Winsinum magne religionis uirum, loco decani præfeci.\textsuperscript{230} In monasterio etiam, \textit{[fol. 12v]} quod Rameseia dicitur, quod ipse et Dei amicus dux Orientalium Anglorum Ædelwinus a fundamentis construxerunt, monachos collocauit,\textsuperscript{231} quibus uirum prudentem Ednotham nomine præposuit. Persora etiam monachis coadunatis quidam abbas Forthbrieftus a beato Oswaldo præficitur.\textsuperscript{232} Sanctum Germanum, quem idem uir Dei Oswaldus de Floriaco adduxerat, Winchcumbensibus cenobitis abbatis iure præfeci.\textsuperscript{233} Anno Domini .dcccc.lxx. Sanctus Ethelwoldus extrusis clericis, Heli monachos instituit, et Brichtnothum quendam eis abbatem præposuit. Habuit idem monasterium per ordinem abbatas usque ad nonum annum regni Henrici regis Anglorum, per spacia .c.xxxix. annorum.\textsuperscript{234} 

53. Oswaldus fit archiepiscopus. Anno Domini .dccccc.lxxii. sanctus Oswaldus Wigornensis episcopus, anno duodecimo episcopatus sui, archiepiscopus Eboracensis efficitur.\textsuperscript{235} 


\textsuperscript{230} JWCC, s.a. 969. 
\textsuperscript{231} JW\textit{Chronica} (fol. 76r); JWCC, s.a. 991. Cf. WMGP, 4.181.1. 
\textsuperscript{232} The source is almost certainly Eadmer of Canterbury, \textit{Vita S. Oswaldi archiepiscopi et confessoris} (BHL 6375), §§ 17–18, ed. Turner and Muir, \textit{Eadmer: Lives and Miracles}, 216–89, at 250–3. Having discussed the foundation of Ramsey with particular reference to the support provided by Ealdorman Æthelwine of East Anglia, Eadmer goes on to describe with an ablative absolute how Eadnoth, \textit{uir prudens et religiosus}, was placed over it (\textit{praepositus}). Then, in § 18, Eadmer adds a brief mention of a miracle involving “a certain Foldbriht [whom Oswald] placed in the abbacy of the church of Pershore, which was one of the seven abbeys”, which Oswald established in his diocese after expelling the clerks and their women. Cf. also the source of the latter story: Byrhtferth of Ramsey, \textit{Vita et uirtute gloriosissimi archipresulis Osvaldi} (BHL 6374), 4.8, ed. and trs. Michael Lapidge, \textit{The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine}, OMT (2009), 2–203, at 112–7. 
\textsuperscript{233} This sentence contains verbal echoes of WMGP, 4.156.3, but it seems likely that both the author and William were drawing on Eadmer’s \textit{Vita S. Oswaldi}, from which one can see how the author might have proceeded from Foldbriht to Germanus. In § 18, the chapter in which he refers to Foldbriht, Eadmer mentions Oswald’s ordination of Germanus as abbot of Winchcombe; in § 10, he recounts how Oswald brought (\textit{adduxerat}) him to Fleury; and § 16, how he put him in charge of the monks at Westbury. 
\textsuperscript{234} WMGP, 4.183.6–184.1, 185.1. Cf. JWCC (C\textsuperscript{3}B), s.a. 1111. 
\textsuperscript{235} JWCC, s.a. 972.

55. DE WILTUNIA. Wiltunense cenobium beata Edgitha filia regis Edgari, dulcibus exuuiis ornat. Wiltune est uicus non exiguus, super Wille fluiuium positus, tantę celebritatis, ut totus pagus ab eo uocetur.


57. DE PESTE POST MORTEM REGIS EDWARDI. Anno Domini .dcccc.lxxxvii. id est anno nono interfectionis sancti regis Edwardi, duę retro seculis genti Anglorum incognitę pestes, scilicet febres hominum et lues animalium quę Anglice scita uocatur, Latine autem fluxus interaneorum dici potest, totam Angliam plurimum uexauerat, et clade perualida tam homines afficiendo quam animalia, penitus consumendo, per omnes fines Anglię inedicibiliter deseuierunt.

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236 JWCC, s.a. 973. JW Chronicula (fols. 74v–75r), has many verbal affinities, but is not as close as JWCC.
237 WMGP, 2.87. Cf. JWCC (C3BP), s.a. 1043.
238 JW Chronicula (fol. 75r). Cf. JWCC, s.a. 978, 979.
239 WMGP, 2.87.1. Cf. JWCC (C3BP), s.a. 1043.
240 The date matches JWCC, s.a. 987, but the rest closely resembles JW Chronicula (fol. 75v), the only place where JW connects this disaster with the murder of Edward the Martyr: “In cuius necis ultionem duę retro seculis Anglorum genti incognite pestes, scilicet... inedicibiliter deseuiierunt.”
58. **Alfricus archiepiscopus monachos in Cancia posuit.** Anno Domini .dccc.xciiii. Alfricus qui erat Wiltunensium episcopus, post beatum Dunstanum tercius Dorobernensis archiepiscopus, clericis a Cancia perturbatis monachos induxit.\(^{241}\)

59. **Episcopatus Lindisfarnensis mutatur et Dani Angliam uastant.** Anno Domini .dccc.xcv. regnante rege AnglorumÆfelredo, corpus sancti Cuthberti sicut oraculo celesti premonstratum fuerat, de loco qui Cunegaceastre dicitur, qui post Lindisfarnensem insulam ubi primum sedes episcopalis fuerat, secunda sedes habebatur, in Dunholmum perlatum, atque sedes episcopalis ibidem est constituta. Iccirco sanctus Beda Lindisfarnensem posuit, ubi prima erat sedes episcopalis. Tempore nanque Bede nulla erat fama Dunholmi.\(^{242}\) Ipso rege Æfelredo regnante, ciuitatum urbium oppidorum uillarumque crematione, agrorum deuastatione, misera hominum strage, a Danis hanc terram totam deuastantibus, maxima facta est miseria. Nam ut ipsis Dani cum Anglis pacem tenerent, nunc tria milia librarum, nunc .x. milia quingentas, nunc .xvii.m. nunc .xxiii.m. nunc .xxxv.m. nunc .lxxii.m. librarum a tota Anglia rege iubente soluebantur.\(^{243}\)

60. **De passione Sancti Aelfegi.** Anno Domini .m.xi. Danorum exercitus Cantuariam circumuallantes obsederunt. Ecclesia Christi spoliata comburitur, grex monachilis, et turba uirilis, sed et muliebris, nec non et infantilis decimatur. Nouem trucidantur, decimus uite reseruat. Monachis quatuor et .dccc. uiris decimatorum summa perficitur Ælfegus archiepiscopus qui primo [fol. 13v] in monasterio cui Deorhirste vocabulum est, monachilem susceperat habitum, et post Bartonicus abbas exititerat, postmodumque Edelwoldo Wintoniensis episcopo successerat,\(^{244}\) uinctus extrahitur, impellitur, grauiiter sauciatur,\(^{245}\) ad Danorum concilium pertrahitur, lapidibus, ossibus, bouinis capitis obruitur, ad ultimum securi capiti eius inixo, obdormiuit in Domino.\(^{246}\)

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\(^{241}\) There is agreement here with the earlier versions of WMGP (i.e. the β-text), most notably in the form in which it occurs in London, British Library, MS Harley 3641—a late twelfth-century copy from Byland Abbey in Yorkshire. In § 20.1 it reads *qui clericis a Cantuariæ perturbatis monachos induxit*. The other witnesses to the β-text have *proturbatis* instead of *perturbatis*. Cf. JWCC (C1BP), s.a. 995; JW Bishops (C, p. 41).

\(^{242}\) JWCC, s.a. 995. Cf. JW Chronicula (fol. 76v).

\(^{243}\) JW Chronicula (fols. 75v–76r).

\(^{244}\) JWCC, s.a. 984.

\(^{245}\) JWCC, s.a. 1011, with material from 984.

\(^{246}\) JWCC, s.a. 1012. Cf. JW Chronicula (fol. 77r).
61. **EADMUNDUS ET CNUTUS IN REGES ELIGUNTUR.** Anno Domini .m.xvi. rex Anglorum Eielredus uita decessit. Cuius post mortem, quique nobiliores Anglië, Cnutum Suani filium elegerunt, ciues uero Lundonienses clitonem Eadmundum \textit{\textsuperscript{m}Irenside} in regem leuauerunt. Hinc inter ambos reges atrocissima pugna quinquies bellatum est. Tandem inter eos regnum diuidit, coronam uero regni Edmundus sortitur, sed illo defuncto, Cnutus rex Anglorum efficitur.\footnote{JW\textit{Chronicula} (fols. 77v–78r): “Post mortem cuius quique nobiliores Anglië sibi in dominum et regem Canutum elegere, et fidelitatem ille illis illique iuraerue. Verum ciues Lundonienses clitonem Eadmundum in regem leuauere. Hinc inter ambos reges atrocissima pugna quinquies bellatum est…” Cf. JWCC, s.a. 1016 (esp. 2:484).}

62. **APUD SANCTUM EDMUNDUM MONACHI PONUNTUR.** Anno Domini .m.xxxii. Cnutus rex Anglorum communi consilio archiepiscoporum episcoporum et optimatum suorum, ab ecclesia sancti Eadmundi regis et martyris, qui inibi inordinate uiuebant, eiecit, et monachos posuit. Ipsam uero ecclesiam iussu regis eiusdem Eyelnot\textit{\textsuperscript{h/us}} Dorobernensis archiepiscopus dedicauit, et abbatem constituit, quem Waldwinus Lundoniensis episcopus consecravit.\footnote{\textit{Acta of William I}, no. 39 (p. 206). For further explanation, see section three of the introduction above.}

63. **DE SANCTO WLFSTANO WIGORNENSI EPISCOPO.** Regibus Cnuto et Haraldo et Hardecnuto filius eius de medio factis, anno Domini .m.xliii. Eadwardus successit, regis Edelredi filius, cuis anno .xix. Wulfstanus uenerabilis pontifex Wigornensi ecclesiæ præficitur. Hic Domino amabilis, regione Merciorum in provincia Warewicensi tempore regis Cnuti, parentibus religiosis oriundus, patre Êthelstano, matre Wulueua nomine, in monasterio quod Burch uocatur, litteris et ecclesiasticis officiis optime est imbutus. Qui ambo parentes eius in tantum religioni studebant, ut longe ante finem uitę castitatem professi, se ab inuicem separantes, sub sanctę conversationis habitu uitam consummare gauderent. Quorum exemplo et ipse adolescents incitatus, matre id maxime persuadente, seculum reliquit, ac in eodem Wigornensi monasterio, quo et ante pater Domino seruierat, \textit{monachicum habitum et ordinem a uenerabili Brichego eiusdem ecclesiæ episcopo suscepit}. A quo etiam tam ad diaconatum quam ad presbiteratum ordinatus est. Statimque in ipso inicio omni religione comptam \textit{uitam arripiens, in uigiliis, ieuniis, orationibus, et omni uirtutum genere}, clarus \textit{apparuit}. \textbf{Hinc} per [\textit{fol. 14r}] singula officia gradatim promoues, elapso tandem aliquando tempore Aldredo eiusdem ecclesiæ episcopo ad Eboracensem archiepiscopatum promo, ipse uenerabilis Wulstanus iam tunc decanus, ipsius Wigornensis ecclesiæ episcopatum, licet satis
renitens præficitur, dieque natiuitatis sanctæ MARIÆ a præfato Aldredo consecratur.²⁴⁹

64. REX EDUARDUS OBIT, CUI SUCCEDIT HAROLDUS ET PAULO POST WILLELMUS. Anno Domini .m.lxx. rex Anglorum Edwardus anno regni sui .xxii. ecclesiam apud Westmonasterium quam ipse a fundamentis construxerat, die sanctorum Innocentium in honore sancti Petri apostoli cum magna gloria dedicari fecit, et .xxiii.annis, mensibus sex, et .xxvii. diebus emensis postquam regia potestate præfuit Anglis Saxonibus, nonas ianuarii feria quinta obit Lundoniæ. Cui Haraldus Godwini ducis filius successit, sed nouem mensibus et totidem diebus exactis ex quo regnare cepit, a Willelmo Normannorum comite qui cum innumeræ multitudine equitum, fundibalariorum, sagittariorum peditumque Angliam uenerat, apud Hastingam in bello occisus est, regnumque Anglorum Willelmus optimuit,₂⁵⁰ et ob remedium animarum omnium qui ex utraque parte ceciderant, in eodem loco ubi Angliam debellauerat, monasterium fundauit, et in honore Sancti Martini ædificari fecit, multa ibi preciosa cum uius tum moriturus delegans. Altare est in loco ubi Haroldi patriæ caritate occisi, cadauer repertum est.²⁵¹

65. DE CONCILIO WINTONIÆ IN QUO QUIDAM EPISCOPI DEGRADANTUR, QUIDAM FIUNT. Anno Domini .m.lxx. regni uero Willelmi regis Anglorum quarto, concilium magnum in octauis pasche, .iii. idus aprilis celebratum est Wintoniæ, iubente et præsente Willelmo rege, domno papa Alexandro consentiente, et per suos legatos Ermenfredum Sedunensem episcopum, et presbyteros Ioannem et Petrum cardinales sedis apostolicæ, suam auctoritatem exhibente. In quo concilio Doroberniæ/Stigandus/archiepiscopus degradatus est tribus ex causis, scilicet quia episcopatum Wintoniæ cum archiepiscopatu inuasit, et quia uiiuentu archiepiscopo Roberto non solum archiepiscopatum sumpsit, sed etiam eius pallio quod Cantuariæ remansit, usus est, et post a Benedicto quem sancta romana ecclesia excommunicavit, eo quod pecuniis sedem apostolicam inuasit, et pallium accepit. Episcopi alii et abbates degradantur, in quorum locum Normannicæ gentis personæ substituuntur. Verentibus omnibus regis austeritatem, uir uenerandus Wulstanus Wigornensis episcopus, possessiones quamplures sui episcopatus Aldredo archiepiscopo, sua potentia detentas, qui tunc eo defuncto in regiam postestatem

²⁴⁹ JWC, s.a. 1062.
²⁵⁰ JWC, s.a. 1065 and 1066.
²⁵¹ JWCC (C BP), s.a. 1123. Cf. WMGP, 2.97.
deuenerant, constanter proclamabat, expetebat, iusticiamque inde fieri ab omnibus concilio pre\'sid/entibus flagitabat. At quia Eboracensis ecclesia non habens pastorem qui pro ea loqueretur, muta erat, iudicatum est ut ipsa querela six remaneret, quousque archiepiscopus qui ei responderet substitueretur. Die pentecostes apud Windlesoram rex dedit Baiocensi canonico Thom\' Eboracensem archiepiscopatum et Walkelino capellano suo episcopatum Wintoni\', quem Aremenfredus Sedunensis episcopus apostolicus legatus ordinavit. Ascito quoque de Normannia Cadomensi abbati Lanfranco, uiro undecumque doctissimo, dedit rex archiepiscopatum Cantuari\', quem Giso Willensis et Walterius Herefordiensis episcopi, ambo prius a Nicholao papa ordinati, ordinauerunt, et Lanfrancus postea Thomam Eboracensem consecrauit episcopum.252

66. DE PRIMATU DOROBERNIE ET SUBIECTIONE EBORACI. Anno Domini .m.lxxii. pontificatus autem domni Alexandri pape .xi. regni Willelmi gloriosi regis Anglorum et ducis Normannorum .vi\'o. ex precepto | eiusdem Alexandri pape, annuente eodem rege in presentia ipsius et episcoporum atque abbatum, ventilata est causa quam Lanfrancus Dorobernensis archiepiscopus super Eboracensem ecclesiam iure ecclesi\' su\' proclamabat, et de ordinationibus quorundam episcoporum, de quibus ad quam specialiter pertinere certum minime constabat. Et tandem aliquando diversis diversorum auctoritatibus probatum et ostensum est quod Eboracensis ecclesia Cantuariensi subiacere debeat, eiusque archiepiscopi ut primatis totius Britannie dispositionibus, in his qu\' Christian\' religioni pertinent, obedire in omnibus. Subiectionem uero Dunholmensis episcopi atque omnium regionum a terminis Licifeldensis episcopii et Humber magni fluuii usque ad extremos Scoti\' fines, et quicquid ex hac parte pr\'edi fluminis ad parrochiam Eboracensis ecclesiae iure pertinent, Cantuariensis metropolitanus Eboracensi archiepiscopo eiusque successoribus in perpetuum optinere concessit, ita ut si Cantuariensis archiepiscopus concilium cogere uoluerit, ubicumque ei uisum fuerit, Eboracensis archiepiscopus sui presentiam cum omnibus sibi subiectis ad nutum eius exhibeat, et eius canonicis preceptionibus obediens existat.

252 JWChronicula (fol. 96rv). Cf. JWCC, s.a. 1070.
[col. 15r] Quod autem Eboracensis archiepiscopus professionem Cantuariensi archiepiscopo etiam cum sacramento facere debeat, Lanfrancus archiepiscopus ex antiqua antecessorum consuetudine ostendit, sed ob amorem regis Thome archiepiscopo sacramentum relaxauit, scriptamque tamen professionem receptit, non præiudicans successoribus suis qui sacramentum cum professione a successoribus Thomæ exigere uoluerint. Si archiepiscopus Cantuariensis uitam finierit, Eboracensis archiepiscopus Doroberniam ueniet, et eum qui electus fuerit cum ceteris præfate ecclesiæ episcopis, ut primatem proprium iure consecrabit. Quod si Eboracensis archiepiscopus obierit, is qui ei successorus eligitur, accepto a rege episcopatus dono, Cantuariam uel ubi Cantuariensi archiepiscopo placuerit accedet, et ab ipso canonico more ordinabitur. Huic constitutioni consenserunt præfatus rex, et ipse archiepiscopus Lanfrancus Cantuariensis, et Thomas Eboracensis, et ceteri qui interfuere episcopi. Ventilata est autem hec causa prius apud Wentanam ciuitatem in paschali festuitate in capella regis quæ sita est in castello, postea in uilla regia quæ dicitur Windlesorc, ubi et finem accépit in præsentia regis, episcoporum, abbatum, et diversorum ordinum qui conuenerant ad curiam ad Pentecosten. ‡ Signum Willelmi regis. ‡ Signum Matildis reginæ. Subscripsit autem Hubertus sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ lector, Alexandri papæ legatus. 253 Subscripsent et præfati archiepiscopi subscribentibus et eidem dispositioni consentientibus, omnibus tam episcopis quam abbatibus Angliæ.

67. DE CONCILIO LONDONIENSE. Anno Domini .m.lxxv. regnante glorioso Anglorum rege Willelmo, anno regni eius nono, congregatum est Lundoniæ in ecclesia Pauli apostoli concilium totius Anglie episcoporum et abbatum, et multarum religiosi ordinis personarum, iubente atque eidem præsidente Lanfranco Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, Willelmo Lundoniensi episcopo, Gosfrido Constantinensi episcopo, qui cum transmarinus

253 The present version of this document is significantly closer to that found in WMGR, 3.298.1–6, than that in WMGP, 1.27.

68. QUALITER REX WILLELMUS PRIMUS TOTAM ANGLIAM DESCRIBI FECIT. Anno Domini .m.lxxxvi. Willelmus rex Anglorum misit per omnes prouincias Angliæ, et fecit inquiri quot haberentur hidæ in tota Anglia et quantum rex haberet in terris et iumentis et bestiis, et quas consuetudines ipse haberet in unaquaque prouincia, et quos redditus | per annum. Hoc idem fecit fieri de terris et redditibus omnium ecclesiarum et omnium baronum suorum, et cujus precii essent et quantum tunc reddidissent et quantum tempore regis Edwardi reddere possent. Et hoc ita strictim peractum est, ut non remaneret in tota Anglia vel una hida nec una virgata terre nec bos nec vacca nec porcus unus, qui non esset scriptus in breviatione illa, omnesque scripture omnium harum rerum repraesentatæ sunt regi. Qui precepit ut omnes scriberentur in uno uolumine et poneretur uolumen illud in thesauro suo Wintoniæ et servaretur ibi.255 Anno uero sequente, quinto iduum

254 WMGP, 1.42.7β–42.9. Cf. WMGR, 3.300.3–301.
255 This account of the Domesday Survey comprises a close translation of that found in the E-text of the Anglo-Saxon
septembrium, in Normannia, uita decessit, annis .xx. mensibus decem et .xxviii. diebus completis, quibus genti Anglorum prefuit.256


Chronicle, s.a. 1085a, ed. Susan E. Irvine, The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition, vol. 7, MS E (Cambridge, 2004), 94. It differs from that version most significantly in its references to William I’s interest in the sums that King Edward had collected and to the production of a single volume that was to kept in the royal treasury at Winchester. An account in almost exactly the same words occurs in JWChronica (fol. 98r), differing most curiously with the nuance that William was interested in what properties could render to the king in the time of Edward the Confessor.

256 JWCC, s.a. 1087 (3:46).
offerentem—ius pontificale creans ad tempus militem—statuit belli ducem, totum in Deo et in
orationibus episcopi confidentem. Parati igitur et armis instructi, episcopum ad castellum habent
obuiam, quam optabant requirunt licentiam. Quibus beneigne annuens, “Ite”, inquit, “filii, ite in pace,
ite securi, cum Dei benedictione et nostra. Confidens in Domino, spondeo uobis, quidam nec gladius,
non quicquam infortunii, oberit uobis hodie, state in fidelitate regis pro populi et urbis presidio. His
animati, pontem reparatum transeunt, hostes de longe accelerantes prospiciunt, in quibus certe iam
magna belli cupidus feruebat. Nam contumaciter, episcopi tempnentes mandat, in possessionibus
eius igne posuerunt. Hinc episcopus ingenti dolore concutitur, et de ecclesie dampnis conquestus,
consilio accepto, [fol. 16v] coatus etiam a circumstantibus graui hostes percussit anathemate. Mira
res, hostes namque acsi insani uagantes per agros, tanta membrorum feriun metabilitate, tanta
luminis orbitate, ut uix arma ferent, uix socios agnoscerent. Uix adversantes sibi discernenter.
Iamque episcopali et regali militae in pugnam hastam uibrante, iam presule cum Moyse manus in
celum levante, cedunt pedites, capiuntur milites cum Normannis tam Angli quam Gualenses. Ceteris
debris fuga presidium, episcopo et suis diuina victoria fert tripudium. Ubi ut ferunt numero quingenti de
hostibus ceciderunt. Rex deinde Willelmus maxime Anglorum auxilio, potitur de inimicis victoria. 

70. De occisione regis Willelmi. Rex Anglorum Willelmus in Nova Foresta quœ Ytene dicitur.
quarto nonas augusti. sagitta percussus obit. Regnauit autem .xiii. annis minus .xxx.viii. diebus. Cui
successit iunior frater eius Henricus, & nonas augusti die dominico apud Westmonasterium a
Mauricio Lundoniensi in regem consecratur, sed a Thoma Eboracensi archiepiscopo quoniam quidem
Anselmus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus Anglia exulans deerat, coronatur. 

71. De incendio Wigorniæ. Anno Domini .m.c.xiii. ciuitas Wigornia cum principali ecclesia et
omnibus aliis, et castello .xiii. kl. iuli, feria .v. igne | cremata est. 

72. De Heliensi episcopatu. Anno regni sui nono, rex Henricus abbatiam Heliensem in sedem
episcopalem mutauit. Eodem etiam tempore Nouum Monasterium quod infra muros Wintoniæ

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257 This version is closest to JWChronicula (fols. 98v–100r). The version in JWCC, s.a. 1088 (3:54, 56), differs greatly in length, arrangement and detail; but the present version shares some variants.

258 JWCC, s.a. 1100 (3:92, 94). JWChronicula (fols. 105v–106r), is similar, but not as close.

259 Either JWCC, s.a. 1113, or JWChronicula (fol. 109v).

260 JWCC, s.a. 1109 (3:118).
erat, extra murum construí iussit.\textsuperscript{261} Matildis regina Anglorum apud Westmonasterium kal. Maii obiit, ubi et sepulta est.\textsuperscript{262}

73. \textit{De morte filii regis.} Rex Anglorum Henricus omnibus prospere ad uelle peractis, anno Domini \textit{m.c.x[x]}, a Normannia in Angliam reiit. Quem Willelmus filius eius sequi gestiens, nauem ingreditur, copiosa nobilium militum puerorum ac feminarum multitudine comitatus. Hi portu maris euecti, miraque aeris serenitate freti, freto illapsi. in modico nauis qua uehebantur rupem incurrens euersa est, et omnes qui in ea erant, excepto rustico uno qui mira Domini gratia uiuus euasit, marinus fluctibus sunt absorbti. Quæ res et regis prospero nauigio Angliam uenientis, et omnium qui audierunt mentes exterruit atque turbauit, et de occultis Dei iudiciis in ammiratione concussit.\textsuperscript{263}

74. \textit{De consecratione ecclesiæ Theokesberiæ.} Anno Domini \textit{m.c.xxii}, principalis ecclesia Theobkesberie ab episcopus Teoldo Wignornensi. Ricardo Herefordensi. Vrbano Glamorgarensi. et Gregorio Dudlinensi \textit{ix. kl. nouembris [fol. 17r] feria secunda, consecrata est cum magno honore.}\textsuperscript{264} Theoulfus Wigornensis episcopus uita decessit, cui Symon succedens, a Willelmo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo Cantuariæ consecratus est.\textsuperscript{265}

75. \textit{Incipit de quibusdam principalibus cenobiis.} In Sumersetensi pago est episcopatus antiquitus abbatia Bathoniæ.\textsuperscript{266} Sunt ubi et abbatia, Glastonia cæterarum abbatiarum Angliæ antiquior, ubi nonnulla corpora sanctorum requiescunt, inter quos beatus Patricius Ybernensium apostolus, et sanctus Benignus ipsius discipulus, sanctus etiam Aidanus, et sanctus Ceolfridus abbas confessores, et sanctus martir Indratus cum \textit{ix. socii martiribus, sancta Hilda et sancta Elfgiua uirgines, et multi alii.}\textsuperscript{267} Sunt et \textit{in eodem pago Sumersetensi, Miceleneie et Ethelingeie abbatï,}\textsuperscript{268} et

\textsuperscript{261} JWCC, s.a. 1111. Cf. JW\textit{Chronicula} (fol. 109v), which is fuller, but slightly different.
\textsuperscript{262} Either JWCC, s.a. 1118, or JW\textit{Chronicula} (fol. 111v).
\textsuperscript{263} Either JWCC, s.a. 1120 (3:146, 148) or JW\textit{Chronicula} (fols. 112v–113r).
\textsuperscript{264} JWCC, s.a. 1121 (3:150); JW\textit{Chronicula} (fol. 113r).
\textsuperscript{265} JWCC, s.a. 1123, 1125 (3:154, 158).
\textsuperscript{266} Possibly influenced by WMGP, 2.90.3.
\textsuperscript{267} This account of the relics claimed by Glastonbury Abbey may well have been inspired by similar material in the works of William of Malmesbury, since he mentions almost all of these saints: see WMGP, 2.91.6–9; WMGR, 1.20.2, 21.1, 23, 24, 35C.3, 50.5; and idem, \textit{De antiquitate Glastonie ecclesie, esp. §§ 20–22, ed. and trs. John Scott, The Early History of Glastonbury: An Edition, Translation and Study} (Woodbridge, 1981), 68–70. There are, however, two important differences of detail. The present item says that Indracht had nine companions, but William’s accounts of that saint clearly state that he went he went to Rome with “seven high-born companions”: WMGP, 2.91.7; idem, \textit{Vita S.}
apud Montem Acutum cenobium, ubi honeste religionis et Cluniacensis professionis congregatio monachorum habetur.²⁶⁹


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²⁶⁹ See section five of the introduction above.


Indrachtii, ed. and trs. Winterbottom and Thomson, Saints’ Lives (n. 133 above), 368–81, at 370. The author appears, therefore, to have known the Passio S. Indracti et sociorum eius (BHL 4271), § 1, ed. Michael Lapidge, “The Cult of St Indract at Glastonbury,” in Dorothy Whitelock, Rosamund McKitterick, and David N. Dumville (eds), Ireland in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honour of Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge, 1982), 199–204, at 199, an eleventh-century life which provides Indracht with nine colleagues. The other difference lies in the addition of the virgin called Elfgiua, “Ælfgifu”. She is perhaps to be equated with the Glastonbury saint whom William of Malmesbury (or an interpolator?) names in De antiquitate Glastonie, § 22, as Earlfeda, a “virgin whose flesh and bones are still whole… and whose hair and holy robe have not rotted”. Cf. JWCC (C³BP), s.a. 688; Martin Howley, “Relics at Glastonbury Abbey in the Thirteenth Century: The Relic List in Cambridge, Trinity College R.5.33 (724), fols. 104r–105v,” Mediaeval Studies 72 (2009): 197–234.

²⁶⁸ JWCC (C³BP³), s.a. 937, but the addition of Æthelney suggests an awareness of the source, WMGP, 2.90.6, because JWCC does not mention that house at this point.
adiunxit, et monachis instituit.\textsuperscript{271}

78. DE OXINEFORDENSI PAGO. In Oxenefordensi ciuitate fuit antiquus cenobium sanctimonialium, in quo requiescit sancta virgo Fredesuitha. Quæ sponsi célestis amore, terreno sponso despecto, statuit monasterium, quod tempore regis Egelredi, Danis neci adiudicatis,\footnote{JWCC (C\textsuperscript{3}BP\textsuperscript{3}), s.a. 1043. Cf. WMGP, 2.87.1, 88.1, 89.1–2.} et in illud confugientibus cum ipsis flammis absumptum est, sed non multo post ab eodem rege restitutum est. Sed nunc tempore Henrici Anglorum regis, Rogerius Seresberiensis episcopus ipsum locum Wimundo dudum regis capellano dedit, ubi et ipse canonicus factus, nonnullos ibidem canonicos canonice uicturos instituit.\textsuperscript{272}


\footnote{JWCC (C\textsuperscript{3}B), s.a. 1046. Cf. WMGP, 4.179.1.}

\footnote{JWCC (C\textsuperscript{3}B), s.a. 1048. Cf. WMGP, 4.180.1.}

\footnote{JWCC (C\textsuperscript{3}B), s.a. 1050. Cf. WMGP, 4.180.3.}

\footnote{WMGP §§ 181.1, adds orientalium.}
multo post occisionem contractasse, caput reliquo corpori unitum, rubra tantum linea signum cedis ostentante uidisse, et ideo cum pro sancto teneri.\textsuperscript{277}

80. De Wigornensi pago et Glavecestrensi. In Wigornensi pago est monasterium quod Persora dicitur, et aliud quod dicitur Euesham a sancto Egwino edificatum.\textsuperscript{278} Est et ibi Maluernense monasterium, quod per antifrasim uidetur sortitum esse uocabulum Non enim male sed bene ibi religio creuit, ubi ad immortale commodum, mortalium rerum penuria monachos trahit.\textsuperscript{279} In eadem diocesi Glaucestrensis provinciae est monasterium Glouecestre et monasterium Wincelecumbe in eodem pago situm.\textsuperscript{280} Monasterium etiam quod Theodekesberia uocatur, ipsa continet provinciam. Quod Theodocus quidam, quondam construxit, a quo et nomen accepit. Quod etiam processu temporis Robertus filius Hamonis fauore suo prouexit, et pulchre exaltauit. Vbi consilio domni Wulstani Wigornensis episcopi, Wintoniensis monachus Geroldus eclesiæ eiusdem abbas [fol. 18r] monachos qui ante apud Craneburnam fuerunt locuit, Theodekesberia dicitur, quasi Dei genitricis curia.\textsuperscript{281}

81. De Herefordensi pago. In Herefordensi pago est cenobium quod dicitur Wineloc, ubi dudum sanctimonialium habitatio erat, ubi requiescit beata virgo Milburga, neptis Pendë regis Merciorum. Quem locum omnino desertum Rogerus comes de Monte Gomerico monachis Cluniacensibus ibidem locatis reparauit. Scrobesberiense monasterium, idem comes statuit, ibique monachos ex Sagio locuit.\textsuperscript{282} Cestrense cenobium Hugo comes Cestrensis construxit.\textsuperscript{283}

82. De Progenesoribus et filiis Woden.\textsuperscript{284} Woden fuit filius Fredewoldi, qui fuit Frealaf, qui

\textsuperscript{277} JWCC (C\textsuperscript{3}B), s.a. 1050; WMGP, 4.181.1–6, 182.1–4, 6. The language is occasionally closer to WM, but the material occurs in the same order as in JW.
\textsuperscript{278} JWCC (C\textsuperscript{3}B), s.a. 1095. Cf. WMGP, 4.159–160.1.
\textsuperscript{279} JWCC (C\textsuperscript{3}B), s.a. 1095. Cf. WMGP, 4.158.
\textsuperscript{280} JWCC (C\textsuperscript{3}B), s.a. 1095. Cf. WMGP, 4.155, 156.
\textsuperscript{281} JWCC (C\textsuperscript{3}B), s.a. 1095. Cf. WMGP, 4.157.
\textsuperscript{282} JWCC (C\textsuperscript{3}BP\textsuperscript{3}), s.a. 885. Cf. WMGP, 4.171.
\textsuperscript{283} Possibly WMGP, 4.172.5.
\textsuperscript{284} This section echoes diagrammatic genealogy of Woden in JW\textsuperscript{Kings} (C, p. 47). The language is quite different from that of textual genealogy that appears in G\textsuperscript{2}, fol. 1v—an item that might available to the compiler if he were using G after it was augmented at Gloucester.
fuit Frithewulf, qui fuit Finn, qui fuit Godwulf, qui fuit Getha, qui fuit Cetwa, qui fuit Beau, qui fuit Cewala, uel Sceldwa/ qui fuit Heremod, qui fuit Itermod, qui fuit Hatra, qui fuit Wala, qui fuit Beathwi, qui fuit Seth \Sem/ qui Saxonice dicitur Sceaf,\textsuperscript{285} qui fuit Noe. Habuit idem Woden septem filios, Wetha a quo regum Cantuariorum propago, Casare ab hoc regum Estanglorum' progenies, Weothelgeat a quo regum prosapia,\textsuperscript{8} Wehadeah a quo Deirorum genealogia, Bealdeh a quo regum Westsaxonum et Ber|niciorum propago, Wigelfa a quo nulla regum prosapia, Winta a quo Lindisfarorum genealogia.\textsuperscript{286}


Primus et Anglorum petit alta polorum.


\textsuperscript{285} In JW\textit{Kings} (C, p. 47), the words Saxonice Sceaf are interlined above Seth.
\textsuperscript{286} A later gloss \textit{pater} (?) Hengisti et Horsi appears in the upper margin above this item.
\textsuperscript{287} This section is closer to JW\textit{Chronicula} (fols. 64v–66r), except in its final sentence, a note about the duration of the kingdom of Kent, which suggests collation with JW\textit{Kings} (C, p. 48). The notes that follow draw attention only to the more significant variants between these versions of the accounts.

Regnum Cantuariorum per .ccc.lxviii. annos stetit.


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288 JWChronica (fol. 65v); JWKings (C, p. 48): Deo
289 JWChronica (fol. 65v–66r): congregauerat. Anno regni sui .xii. inter medendum mense Februario defunctus est. Cui successit in regnum Edricus filius fratris sui Ecgberti, ac...; JWKings (C, p. 48): aggregauerat, anno regni... Ecgberti, ac...
290 JWChronica (fol. 66r): .xxxiiii., JWKings (C, p. 48): tricesimo quarto
291 JWChronica (fol. 66r): .xxxvii., JWKings (C, p. 48): tricesimo sexto
292 This section closely echoes the summary history of the East Anglian royal house in JWChronica (fols. 66r–67r). Cf. JWKings (C p. 49).
293 JWChronica (fol. 66r): illis

85. DE REGIBUS ORIENTALIUM SAXONUM. Orientalium Saxonum reges fere semper aliiis parebant regibus, frequentius tamen et diutius regibus Merciorum, qui scilicet ante Sebertum, Ethelberti regis nepotem ex sorore Rigula, demonicis seruiebant cultibus. Ille uero, predicante Mellito episcopo Lundoniensi, ueritatis uerbum cum sua gente primus illorum suscept.

Conscendit celum regem regum uiusurus in euum.\textsuperscript{305} Pro quo filii eius Sighardus et Sueredus regnauerunt. Quorum post mortem, Offa filius Sighere regis, in regem leuatut. Hic iuuenis amantissimë étatis, hominibusque\textsuperscript{306} suè gentis ad tenenda seruandaque regni sceptrâ exoptatissimus, suas et hortatu sanctë Kinesuithë, regis Merciorum Pendë filië quam adamaurerat, reliquit patriam et regnum pro Christo, et cum rege Merciorum Kenredo, et sancto Egwino, Wictiorum episcopo quarto,\textsuperscript{307} Romam petiit. Vbi attonsus, et in monachico habitu uitam compleins, ad uisionem beatorum apostolorum,

\textit{Glorificam meruit conscendere felix.}\textsuperscript{308}

Cui in regnum successit Selredus Sancti Sigeberti regis filius. Quo perempto anno regni sui .xxxviii. Suitharedus regum obtinuit, ac aliquantis annis tenuit. Cuius post mortem reges perpauci super Estsaxones regnau<ere…\textsuperscript{u} …West>saxonum Ecgberto se dedebant et ei suis [fol. 20r] successoribus parebant, sicque regnum Estsaxonum, Westsaxonico regno cessit.

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{302} Another leonine hexameter with bisyllabic rhyme, shared with JW\textit{Chronica} (fols. 67rv).

\textsuperscript{303} JW\textit{Chronica} (fol. 67v); JW\textit{Kings} (C, p. 49): eiusdem

\textsuperscript{304} JW\textit{Chronica} (fol. 67v): et breui post tempore

\textsuperscript{305} Another line of rhyming verse, almost identical to that at corresponding point in JW\textit{Chronica} (fols. 67v), except that the latter has Christum instead of regem regum.

\textsuperscript{306} JW\textit{Chronica} (fol. 67v). Cf. JW\textit{Kings} (C, p. 49): et uenustatis, totæque

\textsuperscript{307} JW\textit{Chronica} (fol. 68r): ..iiif'.

\textsuperscript{308} In JW\textit{Chronica} (fols. 67r–68r), this verse is rendered as \textit{Glorificam celis meruit conscendere felix}.}
86. **DE REGIBUS MERCIORUM.**  


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309 This section closely echoes the summary history of the Mercian royal house in JWChronicula (fol. 67r–69v). Cf. JWKings (C, p. 50).
310 JWChronicula (fol. 68v), and JWKings (C, p. 50), add regum
311 JWChronicula (fol. 68v) and JWKings (C, p. 50) have Mercelmus
312 JWChronicula (fol. 68v): ac Ælfredus
reliquit, Romam adiit, et in monachico habitu,
   Vita decedit, celsaque celi petit.\textsuperscript{313}
Cui patruus suus Ceolwulf successit, sed post biennium regno expellitur, et Bernulf in regem accipitur.\textsuperscript{319} Qui biennio transacto ab Orientalibus Anglis in bello perimitur. Cui Ludecan suus propinquus successit, sed post biennium dum suum prædecessorem ulcisci uellet, ab Estanglis occiditur. Cui successit in regnum Wiglaf. Huic regina sua\textsuperscript{320} filium genuit Wimundum, qui de filia regis Merciorum Ceolwulfi Elfleda, sanctum habuit Wulstanum.\textsuperscript{321} Decedens Wilaf anno regni sui

\textsuperscript{313} Another leonine, almost identical to that at corresponding point in JW\textit{Chronicula} (fol. 69r): \textit{Vita decedit celsa polique petit}, whereas JW\textit{Kings} (C, p. 50), has \textit{uitam finuit}. It should be noted that Cenred’s death in Rome is in keeping with Bede, \textit{HE}, 5.19 (p. 516), but at odds with the narrative set out in the Lives of St Ecgwine, which imply that he returned to England after his visit to the city: e.g. Byrhtferth of Ramsey, \textit{Vita S. Ecgwini Wigorniensis episcopi} (BHL 2432), 3.3–5, ed. and trs. Lapidge, \textit{Lives of Oswald and Ecgwine} (n. 232 above), 206–303, at 256–62.

\textsuperscript{314} JW\textit{Chronicula} (fol. 69r); JW\textit{Kings} (C, p. 50), add \textit{Qui anno regni sui .ix. defunctus est, cui Æthelbaldus filius Alwig filii scilicet Æowe fratris Pendę regis successit.}

\textsuperscript{315} JW\textit{Chronicula} (fol. 69r): \textit{regaliter est tumulatum}

\textsuperscript{316} Another leonine echoed in JW\textit{Chronicula} (fol. 69r). Cf. JW\textit{Kings} (C, p. 50): \textit{sancrumque Kenelnum genuit}

\textsuperscript{317} JW\textit{Chronicula} (fol. 69r), adds sepultus

\textsuperscript{318} Cf. JW\textit{Kings} (C, p. 50): \textit{occiditur.}

\textsuperscript{319} JW\textit{Chronicula} (fol. 69r) and JW\textit{Kings} (C, p. 50): \textit{regnum suscipitur}

\textsuperscript{320} JW\textit{Chronicula} (fol. 69v) and JW\textit{Kings} (C, p. 50), add Kynethrytha

\textsuperscript{321} Rightly \textit{Wistanum}, as in JW\textit{Chronicula} (fol. 69v, and JW\textit{Kings} (C, p. 50).
Beortulfum successorem reliquit. Huic regina sua Sehtbiht filium peperit Bereferthum, qui Sanctum peremit Winstanum. Cuius corpus ad Reopedin, monasterium tunc temporis famosum, delatum, in mausoleo aui sui Wiglau humatum est. Sed illius martyrio celestia non defuere miracula. Nam de loco quo innocenter peremptus est,

Lucida ter denis est uisa columpna diebus,

Desuper effulgens, et celi culmina tangens.


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330 JWKings (C, p. 53): germanus suus
331 JWKings (C, p. 53): etatis xxxii. regni uero xvi.
332 JWKings (C, p. 53) adds nosuerce suæ
333 JWKings (C, p. 53): suscepit. Anno uero regni sui nono decimo
334 To this point, this section matches most closely JWKings (C, p. 53).
335 In JWKings (C, p. 54), John records that Matilda bore William three sons—Robert, William and Henry; but in JWCC, s.a. 1100, he mentions Richard who, like his older brother William II, “perished in the New Forest”. This Richard is thought to have died there between 1069 and 1075: see Orderic, Historia Ecclesiastica (n. 113 above), 3:114.
decem, diebus uigenti et octo, genti Anglorum præfuit, regnum cum uita perdidit.\textsuperscript{336} Cui filius eius Willelmus Rufus successit, et postquam tredecim annos, minus triginta et octo diebus regnauerat,\textsuperscript{337} in prouincia Iutharum in Noua Foresta sagitta percussus sine filiis occubuit. Cui frater eius iunior Henricus successit IN REGNUM\textsuperscript{x}.

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\textsuperscript{336} JW\textsuperscript{K}\textsuperscript{ings} (C, p. 54): \textit{et anno regni uicesimo secundo in Normannia decessit.}

\textsuperscript{337} JW\textsuperscript{K}\textsuperscript{ings} (C, p. 54): \textit{et anno regni tertio decimo.}
Textual notes to *Cronica de Anglia*:

- prouincia] prouine V
- Gens] ens V
- cessati] sic V
- Interlined by a later hand.
- Interlined by a later hand.
- Interlined by a later hand.
- Interlined by a later hand.
- episcopatum] -tum is written over an erasure V
- ambo rebus] ambobus V
- ora] h has been erased before ora V
- xiiii[as] There is a space or erasure of about four letters before this numeral.
- .dcccc.lxxx.viii.] sic V
- Interlined by a later hand.
- Interlined by a later hand.
- Anglia] Corrected from Anglię V
- Interlined by a later hand.
- Celsi] causi V
- Estanglorum] Estaaglorum
- prosapia] Followed by a space of about four letters V
- Limen] Corrected from Limenstre V
- regnau<ere …West>saxonum] Owing to severe abrasion there is gap here of some fifteen letters. It cannot, unfortunately, be filled using JW*Kings* or JW*Chronicula* as both are substantially fuller at this point. JW*Chronicula* (fol. 68r), for example, has …regnauere proprii. Nam eodem anno quo regnum defecit Cantwariorum cum ipsis et cum Suthsaxonibus strenuo regi Westsaxonum Ecgberto sponte se dedebant….
- Westanhecanorum] Westanbecanorum V
- expu-] At least one, probably two folios are missing at this point. They are likely to have contained material from the conclusion of the JW*Kings*—namely, the conclusion of his account of Mercian kings, his accounts of the Northumbrian kings since it follows at this point in C, p. 5, and the first half of his account of the West-Saxon kings, since it is source of what follows when the MS
regnum] The final four fifths of the column are blank