

Richard III's Books: VI. The Anonymous or Fitzhugh Chronicle

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OF ALL THE BOOKS owned by Richard III the Latin chronicle usually referred to as 'Brompton's' is the least known text.¹ The author has not been identified and probably never will be, but since no attempt has been made to draw together all the evidence — studies so far have been limited to one or other single aspect of the chronicle — certain unusual features of its sources and contents will be discussed here. They lead to some conclusions on the author and his preoccupations, explain the interest the book had for its owners through the centuries and suggest that it could be better named the Anonymous or Fitzhugh Chronicle.

The Chronicle, its Author and its Sources.

It is a long compilation relying on extracts from many earlier histories and documents. It covers English history from the first preparations for the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons by St. Augustine in the sixth century to the accession of John in 1199.² The author set out his plans and his reasons for writing in his preface. Originally he intended to end his work at the beginning of the reign of Edward I but the task defeated him and he ended with the coronation of John. He saw his book partly as a continuation of and supplement to Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*. The very first words of his preface echo the last chapter of Geoffrey's work: 'When it happened that the British, now the Welsh — so called after a chief of theirs, Gualo, or after a queen, Galeas . . .' He says Geoffrey failed to describe the arrival of St. Augustine in detail and thought that this and other omissions needed to be corrected. There is even a suggestion that he may have been writing his text into a volume that already contained the *History*, for he consistently uses the phrase 'above in his book . . .' (*superius* or *supra*) to refer to Geoffrey's work, both in his preface and throughout his chronicle when he discusses material taken from it.³

Most important, the chronicler ends his preface by saying that he could not fill in every detail 'for lack of books' and that he

'compiled the work for my own relaxation and for that of others who want to know of the deeds of kings. I did so not because I am clever or inspired but because I worked very hard, using everything I could find in books and chronicles'.

In other words, though he does expect an audience, he admits to no didactic purpose, nor does he give any detail about his own person, career, locality or institution. These omissions, especially the total lack of any monastic details, his acknowledged pursuit of 'relaxation' and interest in the deeds of kings indicate that he was probably a layman, or at the very least, not a religious attached to a particular place and house.⁴

Although the author aspired to no more originality than many other medieval chroniclers he did occasionally achieve some. Apart from his preface, the way he used his sources is potentially revealing of his personality. The list of works on which the chronicle is based, compiled by commentators from the sixteenth century to the present day,⁵ is a long one and ranges over most of the authors one would expect, from Bede to Ralph Higden. Some are specifically named by the author himself, such as William of Malmesbury, Gerald of Wales, William of Newburgh and Higden's *Polychronicon* (Universal Chronicle),⁶ but his own statements are not always helpful for it is often not clear if he is using a source directly or a copied extract in a later chronicle. (This endless copying and paraphrasing of other texts of various provenances has the additional consequence of concealing the chronicler's own locality.⁷)

The present authors cannot claim to have read the whole of this chronicle and other sources actually mentioned by its author may well have escaped their notice, but a brief analysis of his use of certain books has proved interesting and may suggest lines of future research. Apart from Geoffrey of Monmouth's and Ralph Higden's histories certain less well known sources must be singled out because of this chronicle's particular indebtedness to them:⁸ the closely related chronicles of Benedict of Peterborough and Roger of Hoveden, the chronicle of William of Newburgh and the legal tract known as the *Quadripartitus*.⁹

The chronicler's use of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History* has provoked slighting remarks from modern scholars who have accused him of excessive partiality to Geoffrey and a tendency to take 'every opportunity to quote him and refer to him with respect and confidence',¹⁰ but there is little ground to do so. The author in seven instances — which in view of the length of the work is not often — refers back to the *History*, saying Geoffrey has written adequately on the same subject. Once he says his text differs from the *History* and, when dealing with the discovery and disinterment of the bones of Arthur and Guinevere, he copies (from Higden) William of Malmesbury's scathing description of Arthurian legends: *hic est Arthurus de quo nugae Britonum delirant* (this is the Arthur about whom the Britons rave in their trifling songs). He goes on to include in full Higden's own long critical passage setting out some doubts about the credibility of Arthur's greatness, as described by Geoffrey, and the discrepancies between Geoffrey and other historians.¹¹ He seems to quote the Higden text with approval and some critical sense cannot be denied to him.

Ralph Higden was without doubt one of the sources of the present

chronicle. Higden (died 1360s) was a monk of St. Werburgh's, Chester, who compiled with great skill a vast history of the world from its creation to his own day: the *Polychronicon* or *Universal History*. It became extremely popular, was much copied and frequently continued by later chroniclers.¹² Passages of some length from the *Polychronicon* are copied by the present chronicler and in some cases he mentions their author by name. More often, however, he does not name him and it is difficult to locate all his borrowings precisely. It is an additional confusion that the copied passages may include Higden's own quotations from other earlier medieval and classical historians and philosophers — indeed one is often reduced to wondering whether any of the Fitzhugh chronicler's literary references are his own! There is nothing to suggest that Higden was this chronicle's main source — it relies for example more heavily and for longer passages on Gerald of Wales' works on Wales and Ireland. In such cases Gerald is always(?) mentioned by name.¹³

The fact that the chronicler used Geoffrey of Monmouth and Ralph Higden is not surprising in view of their popularity. — the same applies to William of Malmesbury, Gerald of Wales and Henry of Huntingdon. It would be more surprising if they did not appear at all.

The majority of the sources attributed to the work discussed here are chronicles by religious and lives of saints (undoubtedly most used indirectly), which again is not surprising as such were the staple fare of the medieval chronicler. One can be singled out for special mention: William of Newburgh. An Augustinian canon of Newburgh, Yorkshire, he wrote his *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* (English History) at the request of the Abbot of Rievaulx. He began with the year 1066 and ended in 1198, probably the year of his death. He has been described as the most unusual and interesting chronicler of his period, notable for an acute criticism of the fictions of Geoffrey of Monmouth and an unusual ability both to be tolerant of the Jews and impartial in his accounts of such events as Henry II's quarrel with Becket. His chronicle is especially useful for North of England affairs, but it is also well informed on events in London and East Anglia.¹⁴

The compiler also made extensive use of two closely related chronicles composed by officials rather than religious: those attributed to Benedict of Peterborough and Roger of Hoveden (Yorkshire). His use of the latter was remarked upon by no less an authority than John Selden, the seventeenth-century legal historian. Both Benedict and Roger, along with their greater contemporary, Ralph Diceto (another source attributed to the present chronicle), were examples of an historiographical tradition that flourished in the reign of Henry II and was interested in the administration of England. This interest was probably fostered by the judicial reforms of the reign, the growing use of precedent and the flood of new forms and documents created by the government, in which the three chroniclers were perhaps involved.¹⁵ The 'Peterborough' chronicle is confusingly named after its first owner, Benedict, Prior of the Benedictine Priory of Peterborough. In fact it is likely that it was composed by a royal official or clerk interested in kings and the governmental machine, not a monk. He recorded the events of his own time, 1169-77, and included texts of official documents. His compilation was edited and continued by Roger of Hoveden in or after 1190. For 1192 to 1201 Roger composed an

original chronicle. He, too, was probably a royal clerk or official and was interested in the mechanics of government and in reciting the texts of documents, including Henry II's assizes, the legal text known as *Glanvill* and laws of the kings of England. Roger also used Northern sources, although his own Northern origins cannot be proved.¹⁶ He has been accorded a 'lawyer-like caution', carefully making no reference to himself, and it has been thought that both he and 'Benedict' had access to the same 'library'.¹⁷

In one very clear instance the 'Fitzhugh' chronicler copied Hoveden or 'Benedict'. He gives the full text of the charter of William II, King of Sicily, listing his gifts to his bride on the occasion of his marriage to Joan, daughter of Henry II of England, in February 1177. To the text he appended a drawing of the *rota* or seal of William and added laces and tags (f.164). 'Benedict' was probably the first to record this charter (as part of his contemporary chronicle) and then Hoveden repeated it, as did others.¹⁸

The most unusual of the present chronicler's sources is the so-called *Quadripartitus*, the first attempt to produce a text-book of English law, made in 1114 by a French speaking royalist cleric in the service of the Archbishop of York. It was intended to be in four parts, as its title implies, but only the first two survive in various recensions made by the author himself. His first book contains a not very expert rendering of laws of Anglo-Saxon kings and William I, arranged in a confusing order, the second a collection of state-papers and documents of his own time; the third book was to cover 'the nature and conduct of causes', the fourth 'theft and the parts thereof'. Unfortunately the author had neither the Latin nor the skill necessary to fulfil his ambitions.¹⁹ The present chronicler had access to a text of the latest recension of this work, he ignored its order, extracted the laws and smoothly inserted them into his own text at the end of the appropriate reign. He is probably the only writer to have used this particular text in a non-legal work and it may be that he had access to legal material in a way not usual among medieval chroniclers.

Certain conclusions can now be suggested from this internal evidence. First, the date of the compilation: the author's use of Higden's *Polychronicon* puts it later than about 1350. The latest historical event referred to is the marriage of Edward III's sister Joan 'Makepeace' to the child King David II of Scotland in 1329.²⁰ It is fairly certain that it was not written after the accession of Richard II in 1377, for Richard I is not referred to by his number, and that it was completed before 1413, for there is mention of a prophecy about a man who had been told he would not die before he came to Jerusalem and who actually died in a house of that name, and yet no reference is made to this story being told of Henry IV who died in 1413.²¹ If the chronicle was composed before 1377 it is certain that we do not have the original manuscript: neither of the two surviving date from before the fifteenth century.

As regards the author himself we can conclude that he was ambitious,²² and not without a critical eye for both the opinions and abilities of his sources. He had preferences: he emphasised the history of the Anglo-Saxons and their conversion to Christianity, in contrast to Geoffrey of Monmouth's emphasis on the pagan Britons, and he did not attempt to compete with Higden's universal theme, preferring to start with an English date. He gave importance to the acts

of his kings by inserting the texts of their laws into the history of each reign. He was interested in the actual words of documents and laws, taking them both from earlier chronicles and a law book. A number of his sources had authors who had had official careers and it seems possible he shared this experience. He had, at the least, a marked interest in government or 'the deeds of kings', to use his own words. His sources also appear to have a Northern bias in origin, of which the most certain are William of Newburgh's *History*, made for Rievaulx, and Roger of Hoveden, followed by William of Guisborough (depending on whether he used Newburgh direct or through Guisborough). Such chronicles may have been more readily available to a member, relative or servant of the Yorkshire family of Fitzhugh whose fourth baron commissioned a fine copy of the present chronicle about fifty years after it was completed. For his sake the chronicle may, with some justice, be called the 'Fitzhugh Chronicle'.

The Manuscript and its Owners.

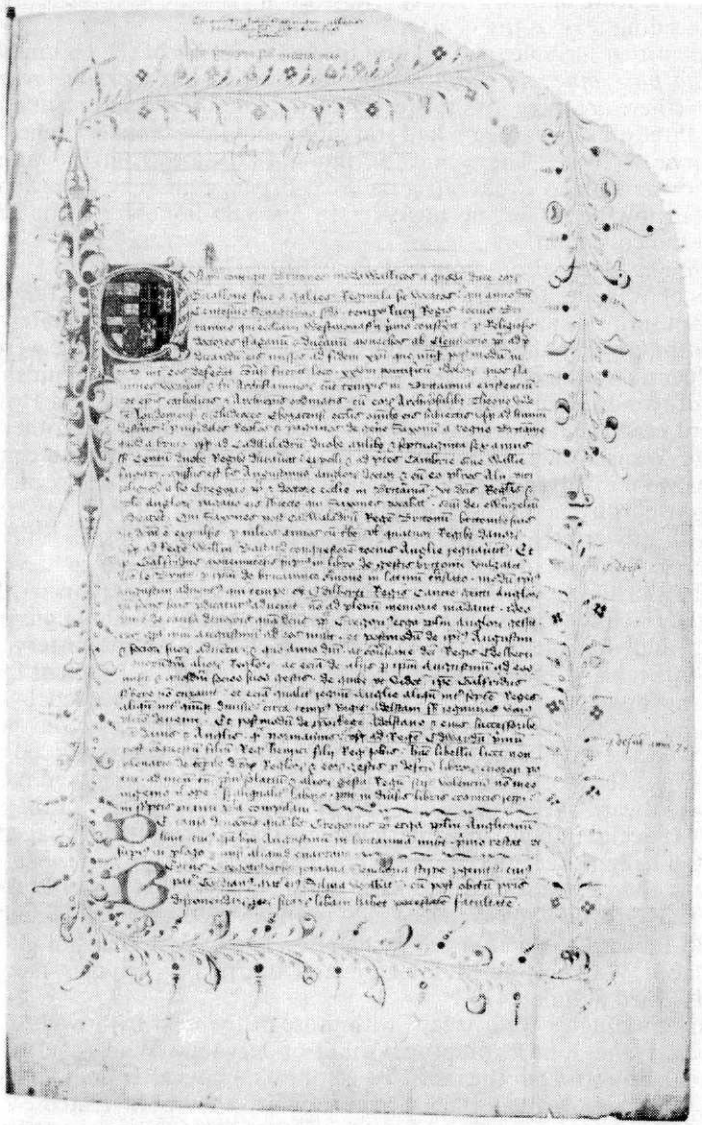
Before describing the manuscript owned by Richard of Gloucester it is necessary to dispose of the other surviving copy, British Library, Cotton manuscript Tiberius C xiii. This is an unremarkable and undecorated mid-fifteenth-century text. It has no annotations or signs of ownership from the time before it was acquired and signed by 'Robert Cotton Bruceus'.²³ It suffered in the Cotton Library fire of 1773 but is still legible. It was used by the editors of the chronicle, Roger Twysden and John Selden in 1652 and has been considered by one authority to have no direct relationship to its fellow manuscript. Neither of the surviving manuscripts are copies of each other and the Cotton one ends slightly before the other.²⁴

The manuscript under study is now Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Ms.96. It is a substantial volume of 239 vellum folios (not foliated) with two flyleaves at the beginning and two at the end, measuring 14½ by 9½ inches.²⁵ It was last rebound in 1954. It is a clean copy in excellent condition; the top corner of each leaf and whatever foliation there was is missing, with no damage to the text. The missing part must have formed a substantial meal for some rodent!²⁶

The Latin text is in a clear cursive hand of the fifteenth century, dated by one authority to about 1425; it is written in one column, 48 lines to a page. The scribe of the text included a large number of marginalia drawing attention to the events in the chronicle or adding the date. Later writers have also drawn attention to interesting items and given the sources of some passages. Much of the text is underlined.

Only the first folio is decorated. The opening six-line initial P of the author's prologue has a white scroll tinted in pink, and the arms of William, fourth Lord Fitzhugh (died 1452): a shield of eight parts: dexter, quarterly 1 and 4 azure fretty or, a chief of the second; 2 and 3 vaire of argent and azure, a fess gules. Sinister, quarterly 1 and 4 sable, a cross engrailed or; 2 and 3 gules, a cross ancre argent. That is Fitzhugh quartering Marmion impaling Ufford quartering Bec (for Willoughby).²⁷ These arms are in bright colours against an olive green background. The entire text is surrounded by a simple, neat border of foliage tendrils. The colours are blue, green and red, only the arms have a little gold, and all are still bright and in good condition. One other initial received attention: the A opening the first year of the chronicle: *Anno . . . 588*

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge Ms. 96, f.1. The initial contains the arms of William, fourth Lord Fitzhugh (died 1452). At the top of the page is John Bale's misleading inscription assigning the authorship of the chronicle to John Brompton. By kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.



A.D.; this is a 5-line letter of unremarkable *fleuronnée* work in red and blue. Otherwise all two- and three-line capitals are plain with no flourishes, in red or blue. Paragraph marks and brackets are in red or blue and line-endings are in red. Larger line fillers are blue or red.

The text has one illustration: a rendering in yellow, blue and red of the seal of William II, King of Sicily (f.164). The drawing is done as if the seal is tagged to the preceding text of the charter.²⁸

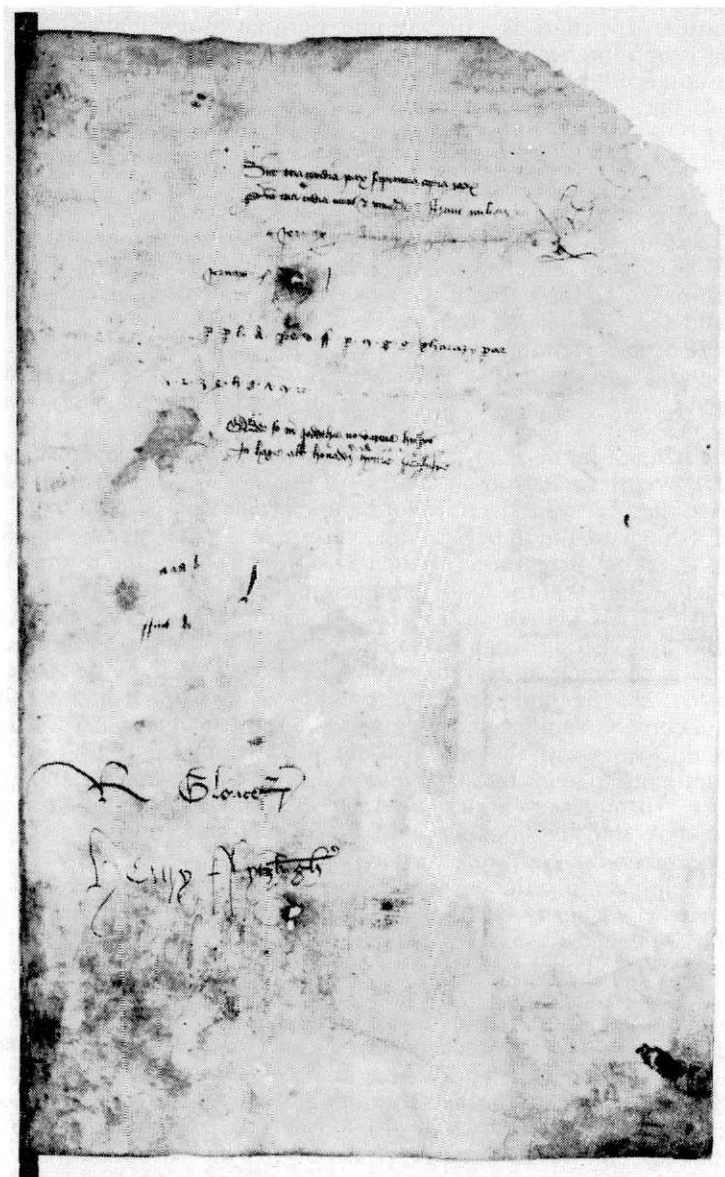
Unidentified scribbles and tags on the last flyleaves of the volume are *Sunt tria gaudia pax sapiencia copia rerum/ Sunt tria tedia mors et inedia ffraus mulierum* (there are three joys in life: peace and good sense and plenty of riches; there are three nuisances: death and starvation and false female witches) and the name 'Jervaux' twice. These may be thought to date from the time of the Jervaux ownership. A cypher: *p p. l a p e d ff. p. g. gg gharazy p ar.* and the tag 'Who so in jowthe no vertue hussys / In age alle honowre hyme reffusys'²⁹ complete the collection.

The Fitzhughs, John Brompton and Richard of Gloucester.

The arms of William, fourth Lord Fitzhugh (1425-52) decorating the first folio of the manuscript clearly identify him as its first owner. Unfortunately there is no indication of where he obtained the original text. The Fitzhughs were among eight influential families with the centre of their power in Richmondshire; they held about two dozen manors in Wensleydale, Richmondshire and Holderness. They were closely related to the Scropes and the Nevilles, the other leading families of Wensleydale. From the earliest years of the fourteenth century the Fitzhughs were involved in politics and in the service of the kings of England, achieving a barony in 1321. Henry, the second lord (1356-86), saw service in France with Edward III. Both his career and that of his grandson, William, who commissioned this manuscript, were overshadowed by the achievement of Henry, the third lord, who was an active diplomat, chamberlain to Henry V, treasurer of the Exchequer 1417-21, took part in Henry V's campaigns including Agincourt and was one of the King's co-founders of Syon monastery. William was also in France with Henry V and was summoned to Parliament from 1429 but held no high office. On his death in 1452 he was succeeded by his son, Henry, whose name occurs with that of Richard of Gloucester on the flyleaf. His career was centred almost entirely on the North: he was rewarded for good service against the Yorkist rebels in 1459, but in 1462 was in attendance on the new King, Edward IV, in the North and in 1466 was treating with the Scots. In 1468 he was licensed to go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. His marriage to Alice, sister of the Kingmaker, placed him very much in the sphere of his Wensleydale neighbours, the Nevilles of Middleham, and in 1470 he led a small rebellion in Yorkshire against Edward IV. He was pardoned 7 September 1470 and was on terms with Edward again after the Readeption and with Richard of Gloucester, who replaced Warwick at Middleham and married Fitzhugh's niece, Anne Neville. He died 8 June 1472.³⁰

Henry Fitzhugh's life overlaps with those of the next two owners: Richard of Gloucester and John Brompton, Abbot of Jervaux. Who gave it to whom must remain doubtful but the facts are as follows. Gloucester could have known Henry Fitzhugh as early as 1465, a year in which they both visited St. Mary's, Warwick, in the company of the Earl and Countess of Warwick, although not

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge Ms. 96, flyleaf with signatures of Richard Gloucester and Henry Fitzlugh. By kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.



necessarily on the same occasion.³¹ Richard was then under the tutelage of Fitzhugh's brother-in-law, the Earl of Warwick. The large, Latin chronicle seems an unlikely gift for a boy in his early teens, but it might have been a suitable gift to the new lord of Middleham before Henry's death in June 1472.³² The signature of Richard is a mature one, not that of a teenager.

John Brompton became Abbot of Jervaulx in 1436 and he was still Abbot in 1464, but it is not known, unfortunately, when he died.³³ To have him acquire it from Richard of Gloucester a long abbacy of over forty years has to be presumed. The evidence of his ownership is based on an inscription close to the end of the text of the chronicle (f.237b), which reads, in a neat fifteenth-century hand, after one false start: *Liber monasterii Jorevallensis ex procuracione domini Johannis Bromton abbatis eiusdem loci. Si quis hunc librum alienaverit delebitur de libro vite*. The first sentence of the Latin text is repeated in the same hand at the top of another page (f.228). Apart from saying clearly that Brompton *procured* the book, it warns anyone tempted to alienate it from the abbey that he may be deleted from the book of life. From this simple inscription a multitude of mistaken theories have been evolved: what is clear is that Abbot Brompton did not write the chronicle, nor did he have the manuscript transcribed,³⁴ nor was it in any way a monastic, in this case Cistercian, compilation.³⁵

The Fitzhugh family had many ancient and continuing connections with Jervaulx in Wensleydale from at least 1303: the first lord's mother and his heir were buried there, as were the third lord and his widow in 1425 and 1427. A gift from a Fitzhugh to the abbey is possible but it is more likely that Richard presented it, Abbot Brompton (by then an old man) being the prime mover in the transaction, and that the book remained in the abbey until the dissolution of the monasteries. When John Leland, the antiquarian, was collecting his *Colleclanea* and visiting religious houses between 1534 and 1543, he seems to have seen the chronicle at Jervaulx Abbey. The way in which he wrote up his notes suggests that he found three of the Abbey's books interesting: a volume of sermons, a copy of Nennius and a 'Jervaulx Chronicle, by an unknown author who ended his work with the time of Richard I'. He goes on to list a number of random antiquarian items that he found in the present chronicle and that reflect his interests. His notes are ill organised and difficult to understand but they do appear to show that the book was still at Jervaulx when he saw it.³⁶

Peter Osborne and Archbishop Parker.

In the sixteenth century the chronicle was owned by Peter Osborne (1521-92) whose name 'M' Osborne' occurs on the first folio, but it is not known how he acquired it. Trained as a lawyer, Osborne became keeper of Edward VI's privy purse in 1551-2 and remembrancer to the lord treasurer in the Exchequer in 1553. In either office he could have picked up a book from the royal library. He was one of the assiduous antiquarians and record searchers of the time and collected both legal and chronicle texts. It is also possible he acquired some of the manuscripts of John Leland, for he married Anne Blythe, the niece of Sir John Cheke (died 1557), another antiquarian and Leland's literary executor. Cheke as tutor of Edward VI, would also have had access to the royal library.³⁷

While the book was in Osborne's ownership it was consulted by John Bale (died 1563), another energetic collector of the books of monasteries and a friend

and admirer of Leland. It was Bale who wrote at the top of the first folio: *Chronicon Joannis Bromton Abbatis Joren/vallensis Cisterciensis instituti* and thus initiated the tradition that Brompton was the author. He recorded that the chronicle was in Osborne's possession about 1548, the date of the publication of his *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, along with other legal texts, another chronicle about the Britons, Picts and Scots by John Brome³⁸ and various other books, many of them translations of classical texts by Cheke. It seems unlikely from this that Osborne acquired the book from Bale. Bale's great library was lost in Ireland and the fate of most of it is unknown, although several of his books did pass to Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury. Bale was particularly interested in British histories and their authors³⁹ and his entry in this chronicle reflects his interest.

It was probably from Bale that Archbishop Parker learned of Osborne's ownership. In 1560 Bale listed private owners of such texts in response to a questionnaire from Parker.⁴⁰ At some date Parker acquired it from Peter Osborne in exchange for a large copy of the *Polychronicon* of Ralph Higden, in Latin. This is the likeliest explanation of an inscription on the verso of the second flyleaf:

Hec Chronica comparata est a Magistro Petro Osburne pro Chronica Ranulphi Cestrensis sive polichronicon latine in magno volumine.

Parker had at least two other copies of this standard and admired work of medieval historiography (a very fine text which he gave to Cambridge University Library in 1574, Ms.li.2.24, and another, now Corpus Christi Ms.117),⁴¹ so he could afford to exchange a copy for the rarer chronicle owned by Osborne. Parker and Osborne were close associates, the latter becoming one of the Archbishop's executors.

Once in Parker's possession the book would have undoubtedly been well worked over, annotated and 'improved', as were all the books he acquired, both by the learned Archbishop himself and by members of his household such as his secretary, John Joscelyn. There is no sign of Parker's red chalk in the book, and the foliation that would have been added at this time, if it had been lacking, has disappeared. What was certainly added at this time, probably by Joscelyn, was a list of the sources used by the chronicler, on the verso of the second flyleaf. Sources and authors were of particular interest to Parker and his fellows.⁴²

Parker was 'a mighty collector of books', employing agents to search for them in an effort to save the learning of the monastic libraries. He and John Bale were among the most important scholars involved in this salvage work. It was a time of considerable and increasing interest in the early history of the British Isles for a variety of reasons. Some, like Parker, wanted ammunition from native church history to justify the Elizabethan church settlement and the break with Rome, others sought the origins of place-names, families and institutions and were motivated by pride in their country as well as curiosity. Queen Elizabeth expressed support for the activities of these men. They were collectors, archivists, heralds, local historians and many were lawyers by training, like Osborne. Their legal training naturally inclined them to an interest in the past and an appreciation of its records and precedents. Anglo-Saxon studies date from this period and the work of such as Parker and his secretary, Joscelyn.

Other books went to Cambridge University Library and Trinity College, Cambridge, but the major part of Archbishop Parker's vast collection passed to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, on his death (over 400 volumes). Among them was the chronicle once owned by Richard of Gloucester.⁴³

The Edition of Sir Roger Twysden and John Selden.

The chronicle was published under John Brompton's name with nine others in *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Decem (Ten Writers of English History)* in 1652. This was a large undertaking in the best tradition of the work of Archbishop Parker. Editions of English medieval chronicles and histories had proliferated in England and abroad since early in Elizabeth I's reign, by Parker himself and such men as Sir Henry Savile, William Camden and John Selden. Selden, the jurist (1584-1654), was one of the lawyers opposing the policies of Charles I and Laud. He was friend of Robert Cotton (died 1631), whose library, seen by the King as a dangerous source of dissident opinions, was forcibly closed in 1629. It was Selden who held the key to the library during the Protectorate.

Roger Twysden (1597-1672), his co-editor, was another opposer of Charles I who, like Selden, abstained from public life during the Protectorate. They were able to consult both the Cottonian and the Corpus Christi manuscripts for their edition. A brief commentary on the text, and on the nine other items in the volume, was done by Selden: interest was focused on legal history and the history of the church in England, the two main historical preoccupations of the England of their day.⁴⁴

Twysden summed up this chronicle most succinctly and accurately — not surprisingly, perhaps, as he and Selden are probably the only people who have read its every word:

'an author wanted by many, seen by few, though not unworthy of being brought to light, if for no other reason than that the laws of the Saxons, in Latin, have been preserved in this work'.⁴⁵

The legal contents appear to have been its main attraction to owners and other readers from at least the early sixteenth century. Bale mentions it for this reason while it was in the ownership of a lawyer, Osborne; Richard James, Cotton's librarian, drew attention to the inclusion of the laws at the beginning of the Cotton manuscript;⁴⁶ Archbishop Parker coveted its unusual features enough to take some effort to get it for his collection; Twysden and Selden edited it. At the turn of this century Felix Liebermann found it interesting and useful for his magisterial edition of the Anglo-Saxon laws. Before all these Abbot Brompton had *procured* it for his monastery, a word suggesting as active an acquisition as the later exchange negotiated by Parker.

How did the Fitzhughs and Richard of Gloucester regard the chronicle? It seems likely they were also not immune to the attraction of the laws of the kings, but perhaps they had fewer axes to grind than its later owners. Like the average reader they would have primarily used it for its facts and stories, unable, and possibly not interested, to check its contents against other sources. However

'second-hand', the information contained in the book may have been the basis of Richard's knowledge of the history of his country and of some of its early laws: for instance, he must have read the passage on St. Ninian (col. 786): 'Columba came from Ireland, twenty-three years before St. Augustine, to convert the Northern Picts who are divided from the southern parts by a steep and rugged mountain range. The Southern Picts had already been converted to the faith by Ninian, a Briton who was educated in Rome and called his episcopal see after St. Martin. Ninian himself is buried there and it is now in the possession of the English; the place is in the province of Bernicia and is commonly called "the White House in Galloway", because he built the church there of white stone in a way not usual among the Britons'. If Richard was not familiar with Bede's work, he could not have known that this section on his favourite saint is an almost literal copy of book 3, chapter 4 of the *Ecclesiastical History*.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

We are most grateful to the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, for permission to examine Manuscript 96 and to reproduce the photographs. We are also indebted to the assistance of Mrs. A. Wilson, the Assistant Librarian.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The only edition of the text was made in the seventeenth century: Roger Twysden, *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores X e vetustis manuscriptis nunc primum in luce editi*, London 1652, columns 725-1284, among nine other English historical texts, several of which have seen modern editions. Twysden used the present ms., Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Ms. 96, and BL, Ms. Cotton Tiberius C xlii. John Selden wrote an introduction to Twysden's edition, discussing each of the chronicles and in the case of the present ms. his comments are still useful. The 'chronicle of John Brompton' or the 'Jervaulx chronicle' was also discussed or mentioned by: John Bale, *Index Britanniae Scriptorum* (1548), ed. R. L. Poole and M. Bateson, Oxford 1902, pp.185, 474; Thomas Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, ed. David Wilkins, London 1748, repr. Tucson 1963, p.131; T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland to 1327*, Rolls Series 1862-71, 3 vols. in 4 parts, repr. New York 1963, vol. 2, pp.539-41; Felix Liebermann, *Quadrupartitus, ein englisches Rechtsbuch von 1114*, Halle an der Saale 1892, pp.65-72, and his *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 3 vols., Halle an der Saale 1903-16, vol. 1, pp.xix-xx; vol. 3, pp.308-10 (he calls the ms. 'Br'); Laura Keeler, *Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Late Latin Chronicles 1300-1500*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1946, pp.20-3 and notes; J. Taylor, *The Universal Chronicle of Ranulf Higden*, Oxford 1966, pp.23, 144 and his *English Historical Literature in the Fourteenth Century*, Oxford 1987, pp.18-20, 103, 106-9 (see also his *The Use of Medieval Chronicles*, London 1965, for general information); Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England I*, London 1974 has been used for other chroniclers, her *Historical Writing in England II*, London 1982, pp.56-7 and 359 on the present chronicle.
2. The chronicle's text actually starts with a paraphrase of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, book 1, chapter 3, but confuses dates, taking 588 as the year in which Augustine first attempted to go to England; this should be 596. In the Cambridge ms. (see n.1) the chronicle ends with the coronation of John, in the Cotton ms. (see n.1) after the death of Richard I.
3. In Twysden's edition (see n.1), cols. 780, 784, 785, 787, 790, 814, 1152-4. Whenever the chronicler refers to Geoffrey's work he calls it *liber de gestis Britonum* (the book of the deeds of the British), often adding *dictus le Brut* (called 'the Brut').

4. See note 35.
5. The sixteenth-century list made on one of the flyleaves of the Cambridge ms. reads, in Latin: 'William of Malmesbury the historiographer [also mentioned by the chronicler himself, col. 1012], Gerald [of Wales] the author, Henry of Huntingdon [mentioned e.g. in cols. 1012 and 1153], Richard of Rievaulx [Ailred was meant?], Ralph the monk of Chester who wrote a compilation of divers chronicles [this seems to be a copy of the words in col. 1145], Asser the historian on the deeds of Alfred [col. 754 has *Asser historicus veraxque relator gestorum regis Alfredi*], Symeon of Durham, Alfred the treasurer of Beverley, Osbern the precentor of Canterbury on the life of Dunstan, Wulfstan the precentor of Winchester on the life of Ethelwold bishop of Winchester who built so many monasteries'. As indicated, certain of the authors were mentioned by the chronicler himself. Other commentators have enlarged this list: Selden (see n.1) stresses the chronicle's great debt to Roger of Hoveden. Hardy (see n.1) adds Florence of Worcester, Walter of Hemingburgh (*Walterus de Guisbourn* to the compiler, cols. 1278 and 1280), William of Newburgh (mentioned as a source in col. 1270), Benedict of Peterborough (whose importance was stressed by Thomas Tanner (see n.1) on the authority of Thomas Gale who is supposed to have said: 'what is not in Benedict is not in Brompton'), Ralph de Diceto, the *Liber Eliensis*, the French *Brut*, Matthew of Westminster, William of Jumieges, Eadmer's *Historia Novorum* and the lives of several saints. Liebermann adds a copy of the *Quadripartitus* (see nn.1 and 19) and Bartholomew Cotton (see n.7) for his list of Norwich bishops.
6. Twysden edition, cols. 1012, 1145, 754 respectively. On the whole sources and copies are hopelessly entangled. It would take great patience to sort them out and it would probably be a fruitless labour, unproductive of any new facts. To give an example of the confusion: E. A. Bond, editor of the *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, 3 vols., Rolls Series 1866-8, states that Thomas Burton, its author, used 'Brompton' frequently as a source and one case in which he is supposed to have done so is the episode of the painting in Henry II's chamber (col. 1046 of the present chronicle) — this episode can be found verbatim in Higden (Churchill Babington and J. R. Lumby (eds.), *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis*, 9 vols., Rolls Series 1865-86, vol. 5, pp.36-7). See also the next note for another example.
7. The mention of John, Prior of Ely, Bishop of Norwich (1299-1325) was taken by Hardy (see n.1) to suggest East-Anglian connections for the chronicler. Liebermann in his *Quadripartitus* edition (see n.1), p.70, n.7, points out, however, that a list of bishops of Norwich, ending with John of Ely, occurs in the work of Bartholomew Cotton, monk of Norwich, in an addition made after 1300. (See also *Bartholomaei de Cotton Historia Anglicana*, 449-1298, necnon ejusdem *Liber de Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Angliae*, ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series 1859, pp.395-6 and Gransden I (see n.1), pp.444-8); Gransden cites East-Anglian connections for both 'Benedict' and William of Newburgh (Gransden I, p.267 and see below), because of their knowledge of Norwegian history probably got from Bury, where the exiled Archbishop of Nidaros (Trondheim) stayed 1181-2. Both chroniclers are cited as sources for the chronicle under discussion. Who copied whom?
8. With this caveat: one does get the impression that each commentator, from Selden onwards, stressed the source that he or she was interested in for their own purposes: Selden emphasised Hoveden, Liebermann the *Quadripartitus*, Taylor Higden and Keeler Geoffrey of Monmouth. The present authors may be guilty of a similar over-emphasis.
9. It was John Selden who first stressed the chronicle's indebtedness to Hoveden (see n.1). For the *Quadripartitus* see Liebermann (see nn.1 and 19 and below).
10. Throughout her discussion of the present chronicler Keeler (see n.1) does little justice to him, reiterating his tendency to 'fable' (an echo of W. E. Hunt's entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 6, p.405) and making remarks that suggest he followed Geoffrey slavishly. She takes every mention of Geoffrey's name to be a separate reference to his work — while his name may, of course, occur several times in the context of one quotation — and once even picks on a wrong *Galfridus*. She fails to mention the author's neutral tone when he refers to the *History* or that he gives the William of Malmesbury quotation. She does quote Higden's long, critical passage on Arthur in her chapter on his work as an example of his 'historical sense', but omits to tell us that the present chronicler cites this same passage with obvious approval.
11. Cols. 1153-4; *Polychronicon* (see n.6), vol. 5, pp.330-8.
12. For Higden, see Taylor (see n.1), *passim*, and Gransden II (see n.1), pp.43-57.

13. The chronicler relied on Gerald of Wales and his works on Wales and Ireland quite as much as on Geoffrey. He frequently mentions him by name and in one case quotes him for several pages, cols. 1010, 1015, 1044, 1071-8, 1149, 1153.
14. Gransden I (see n.1), pp.263-8. Newburgh was in turn much used by another Augustinian canon of Yorkshire who also included texts of documents in his own original chronicle for 1291-1312: Walter of Guisborough. See Gransden I, pp.470-6, for him. Walter also liked to include documents in his text and he is also attributed to the present chronicle as a source, see note 5 and below.
15. Gransden I (see n.1), p.220. She also cites the contemporary desire to codify unwritten custom exemplified in 'Glanvill' and the *Dialogue of the Exchequer*.
16. Gransden I (see n.1), pp.222-30 on 'Benedict' and Roger. William Stubbs (ed.), *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, 2 vols., Rolls Series 1868, vol. 1, pp.li,liii ff., lxxx-lxxxvi. And see D. M. Stenton (ed.), *The Great Roll of the Pipe for . . . 4 John, 1201-2*, Pipe Roll Society, vol. 53 (1937), pp.xxv-vi on the 'greatest English historian of the late twelfth century.'
17. Stubbs, *Houedene* (see n.16), vol. 1, pp.lxiv and lxvi.
18. Twysden (see n.1) included a version of the drawing in the printed text (col. 1114). In the other ms. of the present chronicle, BL, Ms. Cotton Tiberius C xiii, f.166b, a space of 3x3 inches was left blank for a drawing of the seal. W. Stubbs (ed.), *The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I, A.D. 1169-1192, known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough*, 2 vols., Rolls Series 1867, vol. 1, pp.169-72, and Stubbs, *Houedene* (see n.16), vol. 2, pp.95-9. The charter was also copied in the chronicle of Gervase of Canterbury (or Dover) printed by Twysden (see n.1), cols. 1289-1628 and W. Stubbs (ed.), *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, 3 vols., Rolls Series 1867-9. See also Gransden I (see n.1), p.224 and n.36.
19. For the text and its author and his other work see Liebermann *Quadrupartitus* and *Gesetze* (see n.1) and T. F. T. Plucknett, *Early English Legal Literature*, Cambridge 1958, pp.24-30. Liebermann also gave a brief — but very to the point — description of the present ms., concluding that it is not directly related to BL, Ms. Cotton Tiberius xiii (see nn.1 and 23), though produced in the same period, and that the textual family to which its *Quadrupartitus* text belongs goes back to a lost ms. written by 1150 at the latest. Other mss. of the same family contain merely the *Quadrupartitus*; one of them is Holkham Ms.228, which also belonged to Parker (see below) and also contains interpolations by John Joscelyn (see below), if Liebermann's 'memory does not deceive him'. See also A. J. Robertson (ed.), *The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I*, Cambridge 1925, pp.ix-xi, for a list of the mss. involved for the laws of the kings.
20. Col. 967, noted by Selden in his introduction. Tanner (see n.1) quoting Gale, says this was a later addition to the chronicle, but since he also stated that *Richard III* is mentioned his authority is doubtful.
21. Conclusions by Liebermann in his *Quadrupartitus* (see n.1), p.70 and nn.6 and 7.
22. Taylor (see n.1), p.144.
23. The opening initial was undecorated until filled in with the arms of Sir Robert Cotton and the space left for the seal of William II of Sicily (see above and n.18) is still blank. A suggestion that the ms. was given to Sir Robert's son Thomas (Kevin Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton 1586-1631. History and Politics in Early Modern England*, Oxford 1979, p.51.), is conclusively contradicted by Cotton's signature and by an *ex dono* inscription on f.256v dated September 1604 (little else being legible with any certainty). We are grateful to Dr. Colin Tite for this detail and for the fact that Cotton was lending out his manuscript as early as 1608.
A later hand (which Selden considered to be 'of our century') has commented on folio 2 that the book was by John Brompton, Abbot of Jervaulx, and another hand has repeated the authorship (f.3). Both comments were presumably in imitation of the Cambridge ms. The flyleaves of the Cotton ms., now part of BL, Ms. Royal 13 D i, have also been consulted by the present authors.
24. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze* (see n.1), vol. 1, pp.xix-xx. And see nn.2 and 19.
25. For a full catalogue entry see M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, vol. 1, Cambridge 1912, pp.183-4. Much of what follows is indebted to James' catalogue.
26. If the chronicle was not foliated before Archbishop Parker acquired it, it would certainly have been so by him or a member of his household. Despite Parker's draconian measures to protect his bequest to Corpus Christi (James (see n.25), pp.xii-xiii), it seems that the destruction must have occurred since the book was given to the college.
27. Arms identified in P. Tudor-Craig, *Richard III*, National Portrait Gallery Catalogue to the Exhibition, 2nd edition, London 1977, p.79. We are grateful to P. W. Hammond for assistance over the arms.

28. See above and note 18.
29. This tag also occurs in Francis Thynne's hand in Longleat Ms. 257, another book once owned by Richard. In the present chronicle it is not in Thynne's hand.
30. A. J. Pollard, The Richmondshire Community of Gentry during the Wars of the Roses, in *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England*, ed. C. Ross, Gloucester 1979, pp.42-5, and *The Complete Peerage*, vol. 5, pp.416-27 *passim* and p.425, n.5.
31. Warwick County Records Office, CR 26/4, p.69. We are most grateful to Mr. Farr, the County Archivist, for supplying a copy of this entry and explaining the problems of its interpretation.
32. It is possible that Richard of Gloucester was given the book by Richard, sixth Lord Fitzhugh (died 1487) in the period 1472-83 although there is no sign in the book that he ever owned it. This suggestion was made by Dr. Tudor-Craig (see n.27), p.79. It makes the acquisition of the volume by Jervaulx Abbey during the abbacy of Brompton dangerously late. It is also unlikely on the grounds of Richard Fitzhugh's youth, he was only 14 years old when his father died in 1472. He was to receive extensive local offices from Richard III.
33. For Brompton see A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols., Oxford 1957-9, vol. 1, p.277; and *DNB* (see n.10) and Hardy (see n.1), p.540. Brompton is in Swaledale, adjacent to Wensleydale. Henry Fitzhugh, on 6 July 1468, was licensed to have a chantry at Ravensworth to pray for the souls of his ancestors and the founder and benefactors of the Hospital of St. Giles next Brompton-on-the-Swale, *CPR 1467-77*, p.90.
34. On the basis of these lines Bale in his *Index* (see n.1), appears to have concluded that Brompton was the author; he wrote: *Ioannes Bromton, abbas Iorenallensis, ordinis ut fertur Cisterciensis, Chronicon magnum edidit* . . . His acceptance of Brompton's authorship is also suggested by another entry in his *Index* (p.474), where his information in the text of some Anglo-Saxon laws is said to be *Ex Ioanne Bromtone, abbate*. This ascription was taken up by several later writers, e.g. Selden (see n.1), who admitted that he knew little about Brompton and at first believed in his authorship himself. Writers who did or did not believe in it are mentioned and quoted by him.
- The 'procurator' of the ms. by Brompton appears to have led other scholars to believe that he had it transcribed for his abbey: Tanner (see n.1) may have started this, incorrectly giving Selden as his reference. He was followed by Hunt in his *DNB* entry (see n.10) and Keeler (see n.1), p.96, n.55. Though the conclusion is not impossible, the Latin inscription in the ms. does not suggest it and the presence of the Fitzhugh arms makes it unlikely.
- Another false trail of misinterpretations was started by Bale's reading *Iorenallensis* (it is thus printed in the 1902 edition of the *Index*) for Jervaulx. This was finally solved by Selden in his introduction to Twysden's edition. Bale also wrote in the Cambridge ms. at the top of the first folio: *Chronicon Joannis Bromton Abbatis Jorev]nallensis Cisterciensis instituiti*. Whether he wrote *n* or *v* is impossible to ascertain. The incorrect spelling was used again and again in the sixteenth century, e.g. in the twin ms. Cotton Tiberius C xiii (see n.23) and by Parker (see n.42).
35. Taylor (see n.1), p.23, n.4. The entire theory that the chronicle was Cistercian in inspiration appears to derive from the fact that Brompton's abbey was of that order. Though the Cistercian order and some of its foundations are mentioned several times in the text there is nothing suggestive about these references. Selden very credibly states that monastic writers normally used every opportunity to give particulars about their own house and that there is no trace of such a bias in this chronicle; he concludes that we can only call the book the 'Jervaulx chronicle' because the abbey owned it for some time (p.xxviii of his introduction, see n.1).
- It has also been asserted that this chronicle was itself a source for another Cistercian chronicle, that by Thomas Burton (died 1437) of Meaux, Holderness, by E. A. Bond, its editor (see also n.6 above), vol. 1, pp.lxx-lxxx, and repeated by Gransden II (see n.1), pp.355-71. Burton, however, never acknowledges this chronicle himself, and the statement seems to be based entirely on Bond's own researches, which do not apparently appreciate to what extent the present chronicle's material is common to other chronicles.
36. For the Fitzhughs, see *Complete Peerage* (see n.30), vol. 5, pp.417, 419, 421, 427. For the surviving books from the Library of Jervaulx, N. Ker (ed.), *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain. A List of Surviving Books*, London 1941, 2nd ed. 1964, pp.105, 271, 356. Ker assumes that both extant copies of the Fitzhugh chronicle were owned by the Abbey, but the Cotton ms. (see nn.1 and 23) contains no evidence of such ownership. Leland's notes are in *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, ed. Thomas Hearne, London 1774, vol. 4, p.44. It is clear from his notes that he wrote them in the order in which he found them: the first is in col. 800 of the printed edition of the present chronicle, the last in col. 990. In one case he quotes a couple of lines literally.

37. For Peter Osborne see *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 42, pp.292-3; Mary McKisack, *Medieval History in the Tudor Age*, Oxford 1971, pp.16, 78. For Leland (and Cheke) McKisack pp.1-11.
38. John Bale, *Index* (see n.1), pp.185, 191-2, 473-4, 497; see also Wright (see n.40).
39. For Bale see McKisack (see n.37), esp. pp.11-22.
40. C. E. Wright, The dispersal of the monastic libraries and the beginning of Anglo-Saxon studies. Matthew Parker and his circle: a preliminary study, *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, vol. 1 (1951), pp.210, 213-6. Osborne is not one of such private owners owning manuscripts in the list of about 1566, compiled by John Joscelyn using Bale's list and other information, so it is possible that Parker had acquired it by this date.
41. McKisack (see n.37), p.34. The editors of Higden considered the Cambridge University Library text one of the most important, Babington and Lumby (see n.6), vol 1, pp.xlvii-xlviii.
42. See note 5 above. For the copious annotations made by Parker and his associates, see McKisack (see n.37), pp.36-7; Wright (see n.40), pp.227-37 with samples of the handwriting of these men. Parker used the present chronicle for his *De antiquitate Britannicae ecclesiae* (1572): his marginal references in this work call it *Chronica* or *Historia Iornalensis* or *Iornolanensis* and he used it for legal as well as historical material (see Liebermann, *Die Gesetze* (see n.1), p.xx).
43. For Parker and his circle, see McKisack (see n.37), ch.2, pp.26-49 and Wright (see n.40), *passim*. For the dispersal of his library, Wright, pp.224-5. See also James (see n.25), pp.xiii-xxv (subject to Wright's corrections).
44. For Selden and Twysden see *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 51, pp.212-24 and vol. 57, pp.404-9. Sharpe (see n.23), pp.73-82. F. J. Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought*, San Marino 1967, pp.133-5.
45. Twysden in his preface (see n.1).
46. For Bale, see *Index* (see n.1), p.474. We are grateful to Dr. Colin Tite for identifying the hand of Richard James.