

**The Untouchable Past and the
Incomprehensible Present:
Temporal Detachment and the Shaping of History
in the Fineshade Manuscript.**

Hannah Kilpatrick

supervised by Andrew Taylor

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the MA degree in English Literature
with Specialisation in Medieval and Renaissance Studies

September 2011

Department of English, University of Ottawa

© Hannah Kilpatrick, Ottawa, Canada 2011

Abstract.

This thesis undertakes a close study of a single manuscript of the early 1320s, written at the priory of Fineshade, Northamptonshire. The manuscript contains a short chronicle and several documents related to the failed baronial rebellion of 1321-22. I argue that, in collaboration with the priory's patrons, the Engayne family, the chronicler responds to the current situation with an attempt to create meaning from a time of crisis. In the process, he attempts to shape his material through patterns of style and thought inherited from both chronicle and hagiographical traditions, to make the present conform to the known and understood shape of the past. His success is limited by his inability to establish sufficient distance from traumatic events, a difficulty that many chroniclers seemed to encounter when they attempted to turn current events into meaningful historical narrative.

Contents list.

<i>Abbreviations.</i>	iv
Introduction.	v
PART I.	
Chapter 1: Context, Collaboration, and Composition.	
<i>National Context.</i>	1
<i>Fineshade and the Engaynes.</i>	19
Chapter 2: Historicising the Present.	36
Chapter 3: Chronicles and Time-bound Narrative Structuring.	60
Chapter 4: Truth and Memory: the Hagiographical Legacy.	88
PART II.	
Codicology.	
<i>The Codex.</i>	116
<i>The Fineshade Manuscript.</i>	123
Transcription.	139
<i>Letters.</i>	141
<i>Doncaster Petition.</i>	144
<i>Chronicle.</i>	148
<i>Notices.</i>	161
<i>Judgement.</i>	163
Translation.	
<i>Letters.</i>	165
<i>Doncaster Petition.</i>	167
<i>Chronicle.</i>	170
<i>Judgement.</i>	178
<i>Works Cited.</i>	180

Abbreviations.

Anonimalle: The Anonimalle Chronicle.

AP: *Annales Paulini.*

BL: London, British Library.

Bodl.: Oxford, Bodleian Library.

CChR: Calendar of Charter Rolls.

CCIR: Calendar of Close Rolls.

CCW: Calendar of Chancery Warrants.

CIMisc: Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous v. 2.

CIPM: Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem.

Cleo.: BL Cotton Cleopatra.

CPapR: Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers.

CPR: Calendar of Patent Rolls.

CPW: Parliamentary Writs.

EETS: Early English Text Society.

EHD: *English Historical Documents* v. III.

Fineshade manuscript: MS BL Cotton Cleopatra D. IX, ff. 84–90.

Foedera: Rymer, Thomas, ed. *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae.*

NatArch: London, National Archives.

ODNB: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.

Vita: *Vita Edwardi II*, ed. and trans. Childs.

Introduction.

Sometime in late 1322 or early 1323, a canon in a minor Northamptonshire priory sat down to write of the reign of King Edward II. The priory was Fineshade, near Blatherwycke; the immediate impetus for composition was the baronial rebellion of 1321–22, and its culmination in royal victory at Boroughbridge, North Yorkshire, together with the execution of the rebellious Earl of Lancaster. The Fineshade manuscript, which is now Cotton Cleopatra D. IX ff. 84–90, contains a chronicle and several documents related to the rebellion. It appears to reflect the interests of the priory’s patrons, a family of minor barons by the name of Engayne, and to attempt to make sense of recent traumatic events in the light of Edward II’s reign as a whole.¹

At the time this manuscript was written, England was in a state of turmoil. Civil war and gang violence among the élite came on the heels of famine, widespread disease, and economic downturn throughout Europe, making daily life difficult and unpredictable across all levels of society. Michael Prestwich says of this phase of Edward II’s reign that “[i]t is impossible to quantify the breakdown of law and order ... but it is plain that the whole equilibrium of society was fragile in this period” (*The Three Edwards* 97). The Fineshade chronicler responds to the current situation with an attempt to create orderly meaning from chaotic crisis, in collaboration with and possibly at the instruction of men who had participated actively in the civil wars.

In my approach to the the text of this manuscript I have to a certain extent disregarded boundaries between literary criticism and traditionally “historical” studies. I do this in the context of an encouraging rise over recent years in studies that consider chronicles not merely

¹ Several of the items in the manuscript, including the chronicle, were published by George Haskins in the 1930s, although he did not identify the manuscript’s origin and valued it chiefly for its contribution to English political history.

as a mine of historical facts, but as texts worthy of literary consideration in their own right. For example, Ruth Morse and Monika Otter have both, from different perspectives, undertaken detailed studies into the overlapping frames of reference between fiction and claims to historical truth in late-mediaeval historical writing. Peter Ainsworth's work on Jean Froissart's *Chroniques* is rich with his appreciation for the social context in which Froissart wrote and the influences that entailed, but it is also "self-consciously literary" (12). In *England's Empty Throne*, Paul Strohm uses not only chronicles but a variety of other sources (such as legal and administrative documents and letters) to consider textual responses to one traumatic historical event, the deposition of Richard II (e.g., 8-9, 63-64, 116). I have used a similar range of sources to contextualise one particular narrative response to another traumatic event early in the same century. Strohm defined his subject of interest as not the event, but the meaning made of it: "not [so much] what he did or did not do, as time-bound, meaning-making structures [a given writer] employs" (129). Likewise, I am very little concerned with what happened at the Battle of Boroughbridge and its aftermath: my interest is rather in what was thought or said to have happened, and the imaginative strategies employed in the struggle to articulate it.

Much of the re-reading of chronicles done by Middle English literature critics in recent years has aimed to recapture peasant and rebel voices from the official record (Aers 434-36; Justice, esp. 17; Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow* ch. 2). While this work is undeniably important, it carries the risk of turning the chronicler into the literary historian's enemy, the one who silences those voices that truly deserve to be heard and whose own voice must consequently be resisted. In this study, I aim instead to focus attention on the voices of chronicler, priory, and patron, and on this manuscript as their response to one moment of crisis.

This thesis is divided into two parts, of which the first is argument and discussion. My first chapter explores the political and social context in which the Fineshade manuscript was written, so far as that can be ascertained. As the reign of Edward II provides both the subject

and context for the chronicle, the first part of this chapter provides a summary of the years from Edward I's death to 1330. My emphasis loosely follows that of the Fineshade chronicler, although I do cover some events that he omits (including the years after 1322) and occasionally dwell on contemporary reception and comprehension of crucial events as essential background to the discussions that follow. The second half of this chapter turns to archival sources to piece together the activities and loyalties of Fineshade Priory and of the Engayne family during Edward's reign. I conclude this chapter by considering what this necessarily scanty sketch might suggest about the relationship between patron and author in the composition of the chronicle.

My second chapter opens broader questions, examining the moral role of historical writing in the Middle Ages and the difficulties that many chroniclers seemed to encounter when they attempted to turn current events into comprehensible, meaningful narrative. Drawing on Mikhail Bakhtin's model of epic time, I argue that this difficulty could arise as a result of a failure of temporal positioning: that is, from an inability to establish sufficient distance from traumatic events to enable the author to translate those events into traditional narrative patterns and to assign them meaning within that form.

In my third and fourth chapters I return to a close study of the Fineshade manuscript, examining how the chronicler attempts to shape his material through patterns inherited from chronicles and hagiography respectively. I draw on the work of William J. Brandt for my discussion of chronicle style in the third chapter. In discussing the chronicler's portrayal of the Earl of Lancaster, I respond to a substantial body of recent work on politicised saints of the period, and more specifically on the popular martyr-cult of "Saint" Thomas of Lancaster that emerged rapidly in the wake of his execution.

Part II of this paper consists of a codicological description of the Fineshade manuscript and the codex into which it is now bound, followed by a transcription and translation of the Fineshade manuscript. Folio and line numbers are provided in the transcription, and more

sparsely in the translation. In quoting the manuscript I quote my translation, unless specifically discussing the grammar of a phrase or passage.

Acknowledgements.

I am indebted to SSHRC for the opportunity to travel to the British Library to consult the manuscript, without which much of Part II would have been impossible or incomplete. I am deeply grateful to Andrew Taylor and Kathryn Warner, who both generously allowed me to read preparation and pre-publication copies of their articles, and to discuss their current work with them. Geoff Rector's expertise with Anglo-Norman was also valuable in smoothing over several textual cruces in my reading of the manuscript.

Part I.

Chapter 1

Context, Collaboration, and Composition

National Context and Subject Matter: the Reign of Edward II.

In July 1307, Edward II inherited his father's throne, depleted treasury, and incomplete conquest of Scotland. Almost his first act as king was to recall from exile his close friend, the man whom "he always called his brother," Piers Gaveston (*Vita* 14–15).¹ It was this man's

¹ Most famously, the *Vita Edwardi Secundi* has Edward refer to Gaveston frequently as "brother."

On the grounds of this and other references to their relationship as fraternal, Pierre Chaplais has argued that they were not lovers but sworn brothers-in-arms (12–13, 20–22). Translations of excerpts from the *Vita* are Child's unless otherwise stated.

It should be noted that, throughout this section, I favour quotations from the *Vita* above any other chronicle source for the period. As my concern is as much for common perceptions of events and the narratives built around them as it is for the events themselves, I cite the *Vita* as providing the impressions of a man well positioned, observant, intelligent, and thoughtful, who was writing approximately contemporaneously with events and was familiar with most of the major personalities concerned. He may not be accurate in every detail, although so far as we can check he usually is. His perception, however, is an important clue as to how events could have been understood in the broader community as they unfolded, prior to their translation into chronicles that were, like that of Fineshade, informed by received story more heavily than by personal observation. In the first quotation, for example, the *Vita*'s frequent

excessive influence over the prince that had driven Edward I to exile him in February 1307. It was his exclusive possession of the new king's ear—exacerbated by his habits of extravagant rudeness to the other barons—that infuriated the barons to the point where they were compelled to pressure Edward II to exile him again, and to assert that their allegiance was “more in respect of the crown than in respect of the king's person” (EHD 525).

The struggle over Gaveston rapidly became the defining element in the interaction between the new king and his barons. By the time he departed for Ireland in June 1308 (Edward having transmuted exile into the position of king's lieutenant in Ireland), he had, to name only the most notorious causes of resentment, been appointed Earl of Cornwall, a title worth £4000 *per annum* and traditionally held by a member of the royal family (6 August 1307); wedded Edward's niece Margaret de Clare (1 November 1307); beaten most of the major earls in a much-resented tournament at Wallingford (1 December 1307); held the post of royal regent while Edward was in France to marry Philip IV's daughter Isabella (22 January–7 February 1308); borne the crown and sword of St Edward at Edward's coronation (25 February 1308); spent royal funds ostentatiously; and, in short, almost entirely ruined any chance of Edward II and his barons assembling a functional working relationship (Chaplais 23–43; ODNB, “Piers Gaveston”).

By spring of 1309, Edward had disentangled himself from the barons' protests just sufficiently to declare the exile void, and recalled Gaveston from Ireland. Several of the barons remained adamant that the exile was legal and that it was its revocation that overstepped the

report of Edward II addressing Piers Gaveston as “brother” is not direct evidence as to their private actions and feelings, but it is first-hand evidence as regards how their relationship was broadly perceived and how they behaved in public. It is, therefore, a valuable witness as regards the situation against which the barons reacted, and as to the manner of story that might have reached a small, provincial institution such as Fineshade.

bounds of the law—in other words, that Gaveston was in England illegally, an outlaw and traitor whose life should be forfeit. Gaveston himself failed to soothe matters: it was in this period that he is said to have coined offensive nicknames for most of the major earls, particularly those among whom he was already less than popular (*Vita* 16–17; *Brut* 206–07). In October 1309, the Earls of Lancaster, Lincoln, Warwick, Arundel, and Oxford refused to attend parliament if Gaveston were to be present. When parliament was summoned at Westminster the following February, Gaveston was sent away, partly for his own safety. On 16 March 1310, the barons’ threat of withholding taxation and potentially withdrawing fealty compelled Edward to agree to the convening of a committee to draw up a set of Ordinances for the restriction of royal power and the reformation of his household. When they were brought before him in completed form in June 1311, it can have surprised no one to find that one of their stipulations was Gaveston’s exile—this time “as well from the kingdom of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales as from the whole lordship of our lord the king overseas as well as on this side, forever without returning,” with no loopholes for insular appointments (EHD 533).

The Ordinances were comprised of forty-one clauses for the better governance of the realm and had two primary aims. The first was the restriction of royal autonomy in matters such as making war, leaving the realm, granting land, and collecting customs duties and revenues. Many of the financial stipulations reflected economic problems originating in Edward I’s fund-raising tricks for his military campaigns.² The second primary aim of the Ordinances was to restrict the influence of men such as Gaveston who gave the king bad counsel “to the loss and dishonour of the king and evident disinheritance of the crown,” phrases that were to echo for years and recur many times in the Doncaster petition (EHD 534; Fineshade

² Prestwich summarises those clauses of the Ordinances that look back to Edward I’s reign (*The Three Edwards* 75). Elsewhere he has clarified the poor state in which Edward I left the treasury and economy (*Edward I* 529–37).

manuscript ff. 85r-86r). Edward objected strongly to both these aims. Not only was he set on keeping Gaveston with him, he was also fiercely indignant at the infringement on his sovereign dignity implicit throughout the Ordinances. He, in turn, was to repeat himself on this theme throughout his reign, and phrases such as “ad nos ratione regie dignitatis nostre & non ad alium pertineant in eodem regno” were already well-worn by the time he used them in November 1321 in the letter copied into the Fineshade manuscript (“These [privileges] belong to us by right of our royal dignity and to no other man in this realm,” Fineshade manuscript, f. 84v ll. 19-20). The question of the legality of the Ordinances, Edward’s compliance or failure to comply with them, and the legal status of his actions in either case, became major points of contention throughout the remainder of his reign and the Ordinances became a rallying banner for opposition to the royal cause.

Edward was in a weak position and could not stall indefinitely. The earl of Lincoln’s death in February 1311 “removed a moderating force, but brought [his son-in-law and heir] Thomas of Lancaster to greater prominence” (ODNB, “Edward II”). Now by far the wealthiest and most powerful of the earls, holding three earldoms in his own right and two by marriage, Lancaster was able to exert more pressure on Edward to sign the Ordinances. Gaveston was banished for a third time on 1 November 1311, but by 18 January 1312 he was back with Edward in York. According to the author of the *Vita*, Edward recalled Gaveston in a rage over supplementary ordinances pressed upon him later in 1311 which targeted other members of his household, “angered beyond measure that he was not allowed to keep even one member of his household at his own wish but that, as is provided in the case of an idiot, the ordering of his whole house should depend upon the decision of another” (38-39). The chronicler’s phrasing and juxtaposition of this outburst with Gaveston’s exile and return suggest how inextricable the question of Edward’s royal dignity had already become from the question of Gaveston at the time he was writing.

On 13 March, the Archbishop of Canterbury and several leading barons held a conference in St Paul's, London, at which the moderates Surrey and Pembroke were appointed to arrest Gaveston and bring him to justice. Edward and Gaveston fled the approaching earls together, but Gaveston was alone when he was besieged in Scarborough Castle. He surrendered on 19 May to Pembroke, who personally guaranteed him safe conduct. Pembroke's honour notwithstanding, Warwick abducted Gaveston from that earl's charge and took him to Warwick Castle (*Vita* 43–46 uniquely recounts Pembroke's attempts to recover Gaveston and his honour). On 19 June 1312, the earls of Lancaster, Warwick, Arundel, and Hereford had him taken from Warwick Castle to the nearby Blacklowe Hill, on Lancaster's lands, and there killed. As a result of this extreme action, Pembroke and Surrey returned decisively to the king's side, while the earls responsible were alienated from him and lost a good deal of political ground. His position was also strengthened that November by the birth of his and Isabella's first child, the future Edward III, Edward of Windsor.

By 1316, however, the king had again lost most of his political advantage. This was in large part due to his disastrous campaign against the Scots, in which large tracts of northern England had been occupied by Robert Bruce's forces. In the decisive engagement at Bannockburn, Edward's nephew, the moderate Gloucester, had been killed, and the earl of Hereford captured. Edward's position was weakened further with the onset of the catastrophic Great Famine, which devastated all of Europe and led to widespread panic across England. The author of the *Vita*, writing probably within a year or two of events, laments the famine in 1315 and again in 1316 as a judgement on the English for their sins, specifically those of pride and deceit, which he identifies throughout the chronicle as the particular vices of the greatest in the land (110–13, 120–23). The longer of the prose *Brut* continuations evokes the horrors of the famine ("so miche and so faste folc deiden, þat vnneþes men might ham bury... and ofte-

tymes þe pore peple stale childern and ete ham,” 209–10).³ Intent as ever on portraying Edward as all a king ought not be, it concludes this passage by laying the blame implicitly at Edward’s door (“and after, þere felle a grete pestilence amonges bestes in diuerse contrees of Engeland duryng Kyng Edwardes lif,” 210). *Castleford’s Chronicle* similarly attributes the famine and “morin of men, of bestes alsua” to Edward’s deficient personality by inserting mention of these events into a reflection on the king’s character after his death, rather than in their expected temporal position (l. 39421).⁴ Even a modern-day head of state might have difficulty avoiding public blame under such circumstances, never mind the man envisioned as the head of the body of the state in the late Middle Ages. Government was difficult, amending the economy more so, and Edward’s own household spending inevitably came under criticism again.

Lancaster was appointed chief of the king’s council in February 1316, and throughout the next two years remained stubbornly uncooperative, hampering government further.⁵ These two

³ The work referred to throughout as the *Brut* is the continuation to 1333 which Matheson classifies as the “Long Version,” written between 1333 and 1350 (34–37). As no published version is available, I quote Brie’s edition of the Middle English translation written a few decades later, which Matheson finds “corresponds closely to the Anglo-Norman source” (80).

⁴ “This Edward was wise of word and fool in deed, ungracious in nearly everything he did. He devoted himself to manual labour, and in his reign wheat was very expensive and there was great dearth of basic foodstuffs. There was much disease, and all England was full of strife, such that there was no peace in his reign” (ll. 39412–25).

⁵ This may not have been entirely an intentional plan of obstructiveness on Lancaster’s behalf. His failure to appear at a crucial council at Westminster in the middle of March 1317 was very likely due to the abduction four days before of his wife, Alice de Lacy, by the adherents of Surrey, and J. R. Maddicott argues that he probably suffered from chronic illness which often hampered his participation in national affairs (Maddicott, *Lancaster* 191, 331–32).

years were also marked by the rise of a new group of royal favourites, or, as they were to be labelled in the Doncaster Petition, “mals conseylers”: Roger d’Amory, Hugh Audley, William Montague, Hugh Despenser the elder, and—eventually—the latter’s son. In October 1318, Edward had lost sufficient ground that the Ordinances were confirmed and most of his intimates had to withdraw from his circle for a time. The exception was the younger Hugh Despenser, whose influence to this point had been less. He, instead, was appointed chamberlain by the barons, and within a year or two he and his father held the primary influence over Edward.

The English siege of Berwick in 1319 was, by all chronicle accounts, a disaster, both in military terms and for the disunity that it revealed and exacerbated among the English magnates (Maddicott, *Lancaster* 247–51). After this, the relationship between Edward and Lancaster deteriorated still further, due in part to the rising star of the Despensers and accusations (possibly started or encouraged by the younger Despenser) that Lancaster had deliberately sabotaged the Berwick campaign through collusion with the Scots.⁶ Fractures were beginning to show in an already strained relationship between the leading magnates.

In addition to these tensions, Gloucester’s death at Bannockburn had left the whole of his considerable patrimony to be divided amongst his sisters, three women whose marriage history reads almost as a roll call of Edward’s favourites. The oldest, Eleanor, was married to the younger Despenser, Margaret was the widow of Gaveston and now wife of Hugh Audley, and Edward had obliged the recently widowed Elizabeth to wed Roger d’Amory.⁷ These three men were now jockeying amongst themselves each for a more advantageous division of the

⁶ See p. 101 note 15 below.

⁷ His letter of 12 September 1317 to Elizabeth instructing her to marry d’Amory has been revised twice by different hands, and each revision makes the injunction sterner (MS NatArch SC 1/63/150).

land. Despenser's intimacy with Edward gave him a considerable advantage in this regard, alienating the other former favourites further. Over the course of several years he harassed, bullied, and outright evicted his neighbours on the thinnest legal excuses, stirring widespread anxiety and resentment amongst his peers and other landowners, particularly those who, like him, had land or interests in the Welsh Marches. Continuing poor harvests, high grain prices, and pestilence among livestock in this period added to increasing desperation and financial insecurity across all social classes.

On 20 October 1320, Edward seized Gower on dubious legal grounds and granted it to the younger Despenser. This act seems to have served as a catalyst for the other barons' resentments. By February 1321, Lancaster, Hereford, and other major barons, especially those with interests in Wales, had decided to gather to attack Despenser's lands there. In April, Hereford and his allies refused Edward's invitation to meet for negotiation, claiming not to feel safe attending if the Despensers were present. During this spring, the negotiations of the more moderate earls seem to have broken down irretrievably, leaving Arundel, Pembroke, Surrey, and Richmond on the king's side, or at least opposed to open rebellion. His younger half-brothers—Norfolk and the newly created Kent—were also on Edward's side.⁸ In late May Lancaster held a meeting in Pontefract with various northern magnates in which a defensive agreement was forged between them, together with a decision to gather a more representative council. This second council took place at Sherburn on 28 June, and included representatives ecclesiastical as well as baronial. Here the Welsh Marcher lords were in attendance, and some

⁸ Born 1300 and 1301, children of Edward I's second marriage, the two were "active soldiers considering their age" ("pro etate strenui," *Vita* 198–99). Thomas of Brotherton, also the Earl Marshal, had been created Earl of Norfolk in 1312, and Edward created Edmund of Woodstock Earl of Kent in July 1321.

agreement seems to have been reached between them and Lancaster, although probably no formal alliance was struck (Maddicott, *Lancaster* 269–79; Wilkinson).

A month later, the Marcher lords arrived in a body at Westminster, two weeks late for parliament, and threatened the king with deposition if he did not exile the Despensers. The united demands presented by the barons and the church had their effect: the Despensers were exiled on 14 August.

This time, Edward had no intention of simply capitulating. In October of that year, as Lancaster was busy summoning yet another meeting to discuss “the great perils and oppressions and evils... in the realm” (this time at Doncaster), the king moved, and fast (Fineshade manuscript, Lancaster’s letter: f. 84v ll. 30–31). An engineered quarrel with Bartholomew de Badlesmere provided the excuse for taking up arms before his enemies were quite united. Queen Isabella having been refused entrance to Badlesmere’s stronghold of Leeds in that lord’s absence, Edward promptly took advantage of the insult and besieged the castle. Although Lancaster’s forces were nearby, they did not come to Leeds’ aid. Lancaster, as the Fineshade chronicler notes, hated Badlesmere, and perhaps he was reluctant to engage openly so soon with the king’s forces.⁹ Leeds surrendered, and Edward, in an unexpected display of ruthlessness, executed the entire garrison.

The loss of Leeds and Badlesmere were heavy ones to the baronial forces, and, perhaps worse, demonstrated that Lancaster could not be relied upon to come to the aid of his party. In addition, Maddicott notes that there was a “trickle of smaller men, knights and bannerets, who left Lancaster for the service of the king during 1321 and 1322... their desertion must have lost Lancaster a large part of the private army on which he could normally rely” (*Lancaster* 295–96). Their disappearance doubtless also had a demoralising effect on anyone entertaining the

⁹ See Maddicott for a discussion of Lancaster’s inaction here (*Lancaster* 293–95).

notion of rebellion, and increased the climate of uncertainty. Edward capitalised on this potential for division by striking again before the barons opposed to him could become one cohesive force, either in political or military terms. He encouraged the Welsh people to rise against the Marcher lords, calling them rebels, keeping that formidable bloc busy on their own lands. Simultaneously, he attacked the castles of Hereford and of Roger d'Amory.¹⁰

The Doncaster meeting summoned by Lancaster seems to have proceeded as planned, although John Phillips has suggested that it may have been moved to the more defensible Pontefract “for reasons of security” (218).¹¹ At this meeting the petition copied into the Fineshade manuscript was composed, but there is no record of a response to it from Edward. Negotiations were over. On 1 December, Edward had the Archbishop and a severely reduced council of bishops—four of England’s sixteen—declare the exile of the Despensers illegal and void. On 13 December, a week before the deadline that Lancaster had stipulated for a royal response to the Doncaster Petition, Edward’s army mustered at Cirencester. As the Despensers returned to England, the king turned his attention to the Marches.

Throughout January of 1322, the various baronial forces tried to evade Edward’s army in and around Gloucestershire, never quite forming into a cohesive group themselves before the surrender of most of the Marcher lords at the end of January. Lancaster did not come to anyone’s aid: he remained ensconced in Pontefract. The Mortimers surrendered to Edward on 22 January, after the capitulation of their castles in the Marches. On 6 February, Edward took Gloucester, driving Roger d'Amory and Hugh Audley to flee to Lancaster for protection, like

¹⁰ Paul Dryburgh summarises Edward’s swift and coordinated strikes from November to January (126).

¹¹ B. Wilkinson argues that the meeting did take place (297). Maddicott establishes more firmly that it did, does not question that it was held at Doncaster as planned, and quotes in full the letter sent from Pontefract by Lancaster to the citizens of London on 2 December with a mutilated version of the Petition (*Lancaster* 297–301, esp. 297).

Hereford and several other barons and knights who found themselves on the wrong side. On 10 March Edward caught up with the retreating barons at Burton-upon-Trent, outflanked them, and routed them. Lancaster's lieutenant, Sir Robert Holland, changed sides at the last moment and never brought his contingent into the action. Roger d'Amory was fatally wounded and died within a few days (see p. 138 below).

The remnants of the baronial army fled north through Lancaster's lands, possibly hoping to reach Scotland or Lancaster's northern stronghold of Dunstanburgh, but they were cut off on 16 March at Boroughbridge by the forces of Sir Andrew Harclay, who had moved south from defending the Scottish border. Here was the barons' final defeat. With their strength diminished by battle and desertion, the outcome of a forced last stand was inevitable. Hereford was killed in the battle, Lancaster executed on 22 March, and twenty-one others were tried, taken back to their own cities, and executed, including the unfortunate Badlesmere. Many other knights and barons were imprisoned (or, having fled, were declared traitors and exiles) and stripped of their lands and titles.

No other English rebel so high-ranking as Lancaster had previously been executed for treason, nor one so close to the king in blood. He held five earldoms, was first cousin to the king and uncle to the queen, and both his parents had been born to monarchs. His death, and those of the other earls involved, was shocking and unexpected: even a month before their defeat, powerful men had fled to Lancaster for his protection, trusting that he could save at least their lives, that surrender could be negotiated. Instead, Lancaster was not even permitted to speak in his own defence, probably because he had not permitted Gaveston to do so in 1312. The scale of the confiscations and executions, the subsequent exploitation of the confiscated lands for the treasury, and the reassignment of the forfeited lands (largely to Despenser and other less-than-desirable neighbours), compounded tensions and resentments. Furthermore, as the Boroughbridge judgement contained in the Fineshade manuscript attests, those executed were condemned not by a jury of their peers but by a recital of their crimes as

known to the king, an unanswerable charge of notoriety.¹² The Fineshade chronicle is not alone in demonstrating the confusion and deep shock rising from these events, but it is perhaps the one in which the struggle to comprehend their meaning is most apparent.

The rapid rise of a popular martyr cult around the figure of Lancaster is in part another symptom of the same confusion. Within a month of his execution devotion was firmly established at his tomb and place of execution at Pontefract, and at Saint Paul's Cathedral in London. Recognising the power of "Saint" Thomas as a symbol, Edward made serious attempts throughout the rest of his reign to discourage or outright suppress the cult, but met with little success. The adherents of the cult were not simply being rebellious, but seeking a symbol of unity and of redress to more than just the political aspects of recent troubles. Lancaster was now beyond Edward's control.¹³

Edward called parliament in York for 2 May. At that parliament the Ordinances were revoked, the charges against Lancaster and the others confirmed, and the confiscated lands redistributed. From York Edward moved north against the Scots, but this campaign was disastrous, and it was only by adroit manoeuvring that the queen herself evaded capture upon finding herself suddenly cut off behind enemy lines. This misadventure was one she was later to blame on Despenser, as a deliberate attempt to be rid of her. Although there is no evidence that this was true, the idea that the Despensers were conspiring against her to weaken her and to separate her from her husband became, throughout the next five years, a key element in how she portrayed herself publicly, and possibly in her genuine motivation.

¹² "And these treasons, arsons, murders, robberies, and raids with banners unfurled, are notorious to the earls, barons and other greater and lesser men of the realm. And our lord the King by his royal power records it." ("nostre seignur le Roi de son Roial pouer le recorde"; Fineshade manuscript, Judgement: f. 90r ll. 18–20).

¹³ For more detailed discussion of the growth of devotion to "Saint" Thomas of Lancaster, together with citations, see p. 92 below.

For the first time in his reign now Edward could rule without check, and he behaved much as might be expected from a man whose restraints have always been imposed externally when those restraints are suddenly removed. He indulged himself and the Despensers, and the wealth from the lands he had confiscated was sufficient that, for the first time in his reign, he was not dependent on Parliament to grant taxes, even for war.¹⁴ With vehemence unusual to him, the author of the *Vita* critiques Edward's "harshness" ("rigor", in the Latin) at this time, claiming that no one dared cross his will and that his decisions often lacked legal justification or any apparent reason beyond his own pleasure (230–31). He later adds that "whatever may be alleged about [Edward's other chief supporters at this time], the Despensers, father and son, are held guilty beyond the rest" (242–43). Suddenly Edward had attained, without restriction, the "royal dignity" that he had struggled for so long to preserve from encroachment, and it did not become him. It would have taken subtle and generous politics in the wake of Boroughbridge to reconcile a shocked and divided nation: Edward did not make the attempt.

On 1 August 1323, Roger Mortimer of Wigmore escaped from the Tower of London. In the next year, England became increasingly restless under Edward and the Despensers' rule, with more knights and barons fleeing overseas or being hidden in sympathetic religious houses. When the king visited Yorkshire that year, "songs of Simon de Montfort" were sung before him, doubtless implicitly aligning the recent death of Lancaster with the death of that rebel, his predecessor as Earl of Leicester and as perceived champion for resistance to "wrong" kingship, whatever that might signify in any given year (Maddicott, "Poems" 131).¹⁵ In an attempt to quell stirrings of resistance, Edward had the judgements against the Boroughbridge traitors

¹⁴ For details of his income in this period see Buck 163–96.

¹⁵ The *Brut*, which links Lancaster's political agenda with the Ordinances, explicitly calls the Ordinances "the lawes of Sir Symound Mountford" (207).

transcribed into the Parliamentary and Chancery Rolls as a perpetual warning example (CPW 2: App. 261–67; Sayles 62–63).

Internal troubles were soon to be joined by international ones. By the end of 1323, relations with France over Gascony were deteriorating sharply. In September 1324, France invaded Gascony, and Edward dismissed Isabella's French servants and took her lands from her, reducing her income to little more than a third of what it had been (Buck 152). Officially, this was part of the English response to the French invasion, but she blamed the Despensers again, and the treatment widened the rift between her and her husband. In 1325, she was sent as England's ambassador to the French court to negotiate with her recently crowned brother. Charles IV welcomed her, but insisted that Edward come and perform homage for Gascony in person. The situation in England was too volatile for Edward to leave anyone but his trusted Despensers in charge, or for him to leave the Despensers alone without his protection. Besides, personal homage from one monarch to another was a delicate hand to play. Both monarchs were eventually persuaded that the young prince Edward of Windsor, then twelve years of age, could do homage in his father's place, provided that he was first invested personally with the lands in question. He was sent over to join his mother, did homage for England's French lands on 24 September, and did not return. By November, Isabella was flatly refusing to return to England or to allow her son to do so unless Despenser be put aside, accusing Despenser of coming between her and her husband and making a travesty of their marriage (*Vita* 242–43; CCIR 9: 580–81).

Whether or not Despenser and Edward were sharing a bed, Isabella successfully cast herself as a wronged wife in a way that used rumours to that effect to her best advantage. On the other side of the Channel, whether or not Isabella's relationship with her strongest ally Roger Mortimer was anything more than a political alliance, Edward seems to have believed it to be sexual in nature. His letters to her—and to the prince, the king of France, and others, when it became clear that Isabella would not yield—reproach her in strong terms that focus on

her betrayal of the bond of marriage, although sexual infidelity is not specifically mentioned (CCIR 9: 576–82).¹⁶ Isabella was, however, rather more adroit at handling public opinion than was her husband. She spent the next year gathering support amongst exiled English and international allies, betrothed young Edward to Philippa, daughter of the count of Hainault, and on 24 September 1326 landed unopposed in Suffolk with Roger Mortimer, young Edward of Windsor, Kent, Richmond, the bishops of Hereford, Winchester, and Norwich, and a small army of Hainaulters. Her forces were the more formidable for their lack of size. Rather than fearing it as a foreign invasion, the English flocked to her army, encouraged by her official

¹⁶ To Isabella: “The king has frequently ordered her... to come to him with all speed, laying aside all excuses... and she has now informed the king by the bishop of Winchester, with her letters of credence, that she will not return now for danger and doubt of Hugh le Despenser. The king marvels at this to the extent of his power... she ought not, for God and the law of the church and for the honour of the king and of her, to transgress the king’s commands for anything on earth, nor leave his company. ...He therefore orders her to put aside all such feigned reasons and excuses, and to come to him with all speed” (580). More strongly, to the bishop of Beauvoys: “[It is well known that the queen] adheres to Roger le Mortimer, the king’s mortal enemy and notorions traitor, attainted and condemned, and as such banished and exiled by the king of France from his realm and power at the king’s request” (576); to young Edward: “it seems to the king that [the prince] does not keep the covenant, and does not obey his commands as a good son should do... but has notoriously kept company with, and adhered to Mortimer, the king’s traitor and mortal enemy, in the company of his mother and elsewhere... to the great dishonour of the king and of Edward, whereas Edward has informed the king untruly that Mortimer is not an adherent of the queen or of him; whereby the king considers himself very evilly paid” (576–77); to the king of France: “the king reminds him of what he wrote to him at another time concerning the unbecoming conduct of his wife, the sister of the king of France, in withdrawing herself shamefully from the king, and in not returning at his order, and in attracting to her company and adhering to the Mortimer, the king’s traitor and mortal enemy, and the king’s other enemies on that side... to the great dishonour of the king and of all her blood” (577).

position that they had come to deliver king, land, and people from the tyranny of the Despensers, and by her pious self-identification with the cause of “Saint” Thomas of Lancaster.

Isabella and Mortimer took England with little difficulty. The elder Despenser was executed on 27 October, the younger less than a month later on 24 November. In retaliation for Lancaster’s treatment at his trial, neither was allowed to speak in his own defence. At Kenilworth Castle, 20 January 1327, the captive King Edward II was reduced to Sir Edward of Caernarfon, having been compelled for the last time to relinquish his royal dignity, together this time with his crown. His son was crowned King Edward III on 1 February 1327. Isabella assigned herself as dower so much of the royal lands that only a third of its revenues remained to the new king, and Mortimer had all his sons knighted at the coronation (Murimuth 52).

This was the end of the reign of Edward II, but two more events must be told, as it is through them that his contemporaries came to interpret all that had gone before.

Firstly, on 21 September 1327 he was reported to have died—of grief, it was first said, or of illness; then murder was rumoured. There is some evidence suggesting that he survived until at least 1330, but my primary concern here is not with what happened so much as with what was said to have happened. Although the possibility of his survival became important during the trial of his brother Kent in 1330,¹⁷ the story in all chronicle accounts (and thus in popular

¹⁷ In March 1330, the Earl of Kent was tried and executed for attempting to free the officially dead former king from captivity. Although modern scholars often brush aside this attempt, calling Kent stupid or gullible, the number of his supporters who had known Edward and who were sufficiently highly placed and politically canny not to risk such a venture without substantial proof makes simple dismissal untenable. Ian Mortimer has hitherto been the most vocal proponent of the argument that Edward II did not die in 1327 and that Kent’s was a genuine attempt to free him, although it should be noted that Mortimer’s use of primary sources is not always reliable (“The Death of Edward II,” “A Note on the Deaths of Edward II”). Kathryn Warner supports this point of view,

imagination) puts the death of Edward II at this date. As Isabella and Mortimer's regency became increasingly unpopular, rumours that the death had been murder became more widespread, and more lurid. The earlier *Anonimale Chronicle* and the *Annales Paulini* attribute Edward's death to illness. Murimuth, whose well-informed but rather dry chronicle for this period was widely circulated and often elaborated upon, states simply that he died, though he adds that there is a rumour that two men, whom he names, had killed him "per cautelam" (either "cautiously" or "as a precaution," 54). Alan of Ashbourne's Lichfield chronicle holds that his throat was cut ("iugulatus," MS Cleo. D. IX f. 66v col. 1 l. 6). It was the vividly written *Brut* chronicle, with its powerful narrative drive and its tendency to reshape episodes to fit established tropes, that provided the most memorable and oft-repeated story. It follows Murimuth in the identification of the two murderers, but adds a specific method. Influenced perhaps by a misreading of "cauterem" ("branding iron," or the wound produced by branding) for Murimuth's "cautelam," or simply by whispers about an appropriate ending for such a king, the *Brut* introduces the infamous story of the red-hot poker or rod "put ... into his fundement as depe as pai might" (253). This story, with minor variants, quickly became the dominant narrative, repeated in influential chronicles of the later fourteenth century such as Ranulf

examining the allegiances and backgrounds of more than sixty of Kent's supporters in the project and concluding that it is highly unlikely to have been a fool's errand. On the other side of the debate, Roy Martin Haines believes that Kent was a victim of a rumour deliberately spread by Isabella and Roger Mortimer to entrap him, but finds himself puzzled by the logic of such a conspiracy (*Edward II*, 211–12). Seymour Phillips and J. S. Hamilton directly refute Ian Mortimer, countering some of his points but failing to answer others (Phillips 567–69; Hamilton, "The Uncertain Death"). Mortimer has responded to the latter in a review on his website.

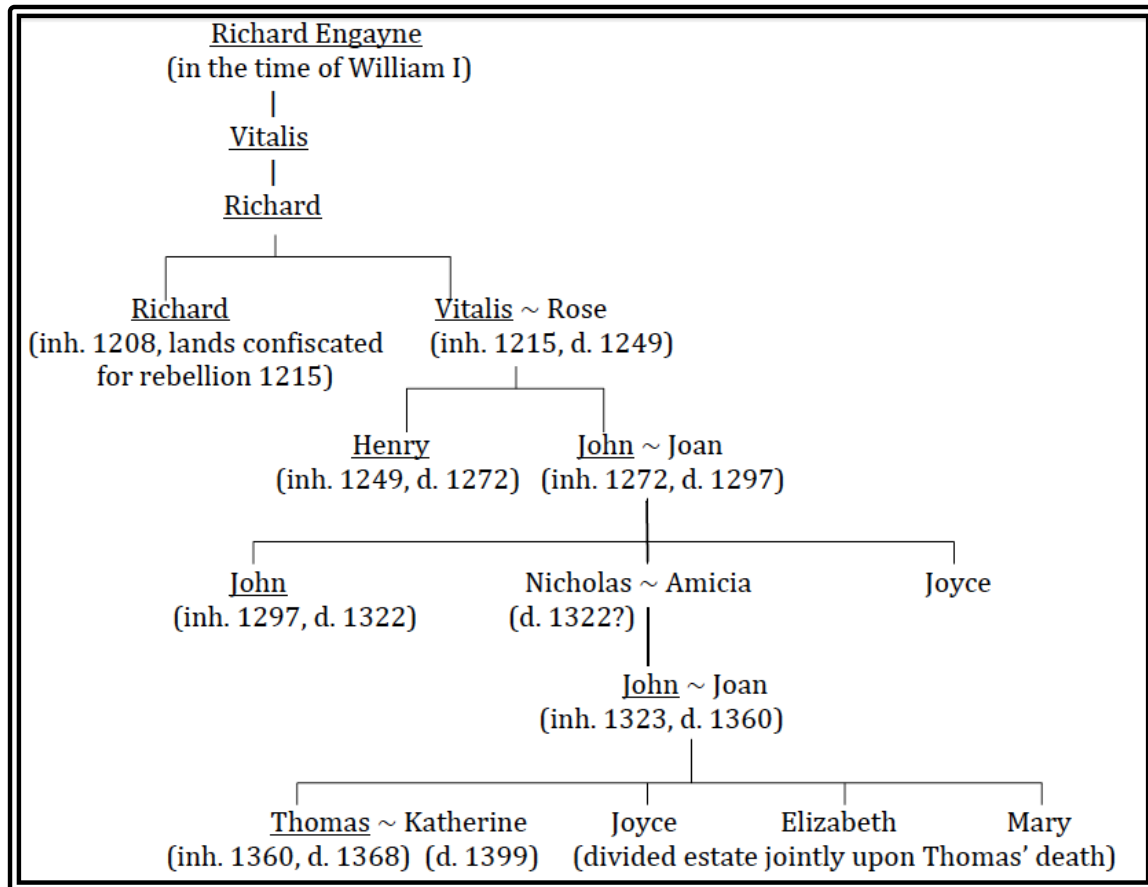
Higden's *Polychronicon*, Geoffrey le Baker's *Chronicon*, and Thomas Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana*.¹⁸

The second event that brought the era defined by Edward II to a close was the beginning of personal rule by his son. Isabella and Mortimer soon became as unpopular as Edward and the Despensers had been, and for very similar reasons. Henry of Lancaster, Thomas' younger brother, attempted to emulate his brother in resistance in 1328–29, but managed to avoid following him to the scaffold. In March 1330, Isabella and Mortimer, now the Earl of March, responded with rapid and brutal efficiency to Kent's attempt to rescue his older brother, and in mid-October of that year they began to turn suspicious eyes on young Edward and his friends. Edward III, however, was just short of eighteen years of age, and a powerful personality already. On 19 October, he and a small group of followers entered Nottingham Castle in a carefully planned coup, and overpowered and arrested Mortimer in the queen's chambers.¹⁹ Mortimer was charged with treason and executed, any blame that might have been attributed to Isabella was displaced onto him, and King Edward III began personal rule.

¹⁸ For the poker story as later propaganda, see Ian Mortimer ("Sermons of Sodomy" 53–60) and Evans (124–34); for an origin in rumour modelled on his perceived "homosexuality and passivity," see Ormrod ("Sexualities").

¹⁹ For the increasing criticism of Isabella and Mortimer, and the coup of Edward III, see Ormrod (*Edward III* 3–7) and Mortimer (*The Greatest Traitor* 219–39).

Collaboration and Influence: Fineshade and the Engaynes.



Engayne family tree, from Conquest to extinction of male line.

Fineshade Priory was a small Augustinian house about a mile north of Blatherwycke, Northamptonshire. It was founded by Richard Engayne in 1208, after the demolition of the family's Castle Hymel for the purpose. The castle was memorialised in the priory's formal name, the Church of St Mary at Castle-Hymel, which it retained until its dissolution in 1538, although most grants and records use the name Fineshade or Finsheued (Serjeantson et al. 135-36; Knowles and Hadcock 137). Grants and confirmations to the priory continued in a steady trickle in its first century, until by the 1320s Fineshade owned lands in and around Blatherwycke, Woodnewton, Little Weldon, and Laxton, the manors of Linwood and Woodnewton, and the churches of the Holy Trinity in Blatherwycke and of All Saints in neighbouring Laxton (Serjeantson et al. 135; CChR 3: 463-64).

Gifts from the Engaynes formed the bulk of this land, and these gifts continued until the death of the last male heir of that name in 1368. This was Thomas Engayne, son of that John who inherited the estate in 1323, and upon his death the whole estate was divided among his sisters (Dugdale 467; Cokayne 2.V: 78–81).

Fineshade was never a large house, and only one episcopal visitation is recorded, that of Bishop Gray in the 1430s. It seems nonetheless to have remained reasonably prosperous—for example, the sum of £20 was requested of it in 1522 to contribute towards the king’s expenses, a large fee for its size (Serjeantson et al. 136). At its dissolution, seven canons were in residence, including the prior. David Knowles and Neville Hadcock suggest an average of six canons to an Augustinian house in the mid 1300s, and Fineshade probably had fewer than average (361).²⁰ A few names are left to us. The prior in the 1320s was Richard of Hold, who held the position from 1310 to 1341, and records of a court inquiry in 1319 add the name Robert of Benyfeld as a canon at the house (CPR EII 3: 373–74). John Bacon, who succeeded Richard as prior, may also have been resident in the 1320s (Serjeantson et al. 136). Any one of these men may have been the chronicler, or been among the other scribes who contributed to the manuscript. Little other evidence remains as to the history of the priory or of the men who inhabited it during this period. It was a small rural house, little involved in public affairs or any disputes that might leave a record, and this manuscript is its only written legacy.

More may be said of their relationship with their patrons. The Engayne estate was a minor barony, held directly from the king. Although Pope Honorius III’s confirmation in May 1223 had given Fineshade the right to elect their own prior without reference to the Engaynes, the relationship between family and priory seems to have remained strong (Serjeantson et al. 135). This was due, perhaps, to the fact that the Engaynes’ family affairs seemed to be centred

²⁰ A papal letter of 1451 also shows a concern over “the fewness of the canons of the priory in priest’s orders” (CPapR 10: 531).

on their Northamptonshire lands, Blatherwycke in particular.²¹ That Fineshade owned or managed all the parish churches in the area also suggests a high level of involvement in local affairs. Lands, privileges, and fees were not all that passed between manor and priory: the Fineshade manuscript stands as witness that the prior, or one of the canons personally, had permission to borrow and transcribe the letters and petition that were presumably among John Engayne's personal papers. The canons, and certainly the prior, probably knew all the leading members of the family quite well, would in all likelihood have seen them frequently, and, as was usual, said regular masses for their souls.

Given the Northamptonshire location of Fineshade, it is on the face of things curious that the letters and petition focus on events in the north, and that the chronicle in addition shows knowledge of events in the north beyond what can be accounted for by the documents borrowed from the Engaynes. George Haskins, writing before Neil Ker identified the manuscript as originating from Fineshade, conjectured that the author of the chronicle was a northerner, "probably from somewhere in the county of York, for his account becomes at once more accurate and detailed as the scene shifts, in the spring of 1322, to the region of Boroughbridge and Pontefract" ("Chronicle" 74). Although we now know that the manuscript is not itself from Yorkshire, Haskins' point remains valid, and the chronicle's emphasis must be accounted for in some other way. The most likely scenarios are that the chronicler was a northerner who moved south to Fineshade sometime between 1322 and 1325, or that he had access to the personal memories of someone heavily involved in the final stages of the baronial rebellion. His lack of awareness of or concern about the Scottish wars that so preoccupied, for example, Lancaster and the author of the *Vita*, suggests that the former is unlikely. On the other hand, a witness involved in the rebellion or its suppression seems plausible in light of the

²¹ John Engayne is described in at least one record as "of Blatherwyk," CPR EII 3: 549

fact that the chronicler's detailed knowledge relates only to the months of the rebellion during which the king's troops would have been in the areas described, with no comparable accuracy or detail in the previous years.

A canon writing at Fineshade did have access to such witnesses: Sir John Engayne, his brother Sir Nicholas, and any of their retinue who lived in and around Blatherwycke. One or both knights were almost certainly present among the king's troops in the pursuit of the rebel troops and the engagement at Burton-on-Trent, and both were summoned to the York parliament immediately following. Both were, therefore, in a position to comment on the movements of the armies leading up to the final battles as well as on the judgements and the proceedings of the parliament, and these are the areas in which the chronicle is most detailed and accurate. First-hand accounts by the Engaynes could also have influenced the chronicle's composition in less factual ways, conveying impressions, opinions, or emotional responses to the events witnessed and persons involved. As has already been noted, the priory appears to have had a close relationship with the leading members of its patron family, and the use of John Engayne's papers suggests some degree of consent or collaboration in the composition of the chronicle. It is reasonable to suppose, then, that one or more of these men was the chronicler's informant. In that case, the political and personal leanings of John, Nicholas, and the members of their family can shed a little light on the conditions in which the chronicle was composed.

Upon the death of his father John in 1297, Sir John Engayne had inherited lands in Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, Essex, and Hertfordshire (CIPM 3: 279–80 and 4: 83–84).²² Of these, the key estates appear to have been Greater and Lesser Gidding in

²² His mother Joan swore fealty on 17 February of that year for her own inheritance in Leicestershire, previously held by her husband, and was still in possession in October 1301 (CCW 1: 75; CIPM 4: 83–84). .

Huntingdonshire, Blatherwycke in Northamptonshire, and, to a lesser extent, Colne Engayne in Essex. Blatherwycke is about fifteen miles northwest of the Giddings, and that region in particular seems to have been the family's main seat.

Engayne's record as baron and tenant-in-chief is unexceptional. Despite his possession not only of Lancaster's invitation to the Doncaster meeting but of a copy of the petition that resulted from it, the official record shows no trace of involvement in the baronial rebellion nor of any subsequent disgrace. His name appears among those summoned in February to put down the rebellion at Boroughbridge rather than among those who rebelled, and there is no indication that he did not obey the summons. Both he and Nicholas appear to have consistently obeyed the summonses to military service in Scotland and elsewhere from 1308 through to 1319. In 1314, John served against the Scots, despite the available excuse (made by several leading barons) that the summons was illegal according to the terms of the Ordinances due to lack of prior parliamentary consent (*Vita* 86–87; Prestwich, "Cavalry Service" 148–52). Like many other tenants-in-chief, Sir John requested and was granted a Warrant for the Great Seal to protect himself and his chief dependants in 1316, Nicholas being the first of six men specified (MS NatArch C 81/1725). John was summoned to Parliament consistently from the year he succeeded to his estate until the parliament of 1321. He does not appear amongst those summoned to attend the York parliament of 1322, but this need not mean that he did not attend. Edward II proceeded directly to York from Boroughbridge to pass judgement on the Contrarians, accompanied by his army, and summoned Parliament there. As Sir John received the commission of Justice for Oyer and Terminer in Bedford at that parliament on 13 July, perhaps his continued presence in York with Edward's retinue was reason enough not to issue a formal summons.

Shortly before 28 September of that year, Sir John Engayne died, of causes unrecorded. His probable presence at the rebellion and Parliament, and the active commission given him at the latter, suggest a man reasonably vigorous, although he must have been at least 59 years of

age.²³ As he had no son, his lands were seized into the king's custody at his death pending determination of the proper heir ("capiatis in manum nostram & ea saluo custodiri / faceatis," MS NatArch C 134/77/2.1). On 18 January 1323, Sir John Engayne, son of Nicholas Engayne, was declared heir, being (at least) twenty years of age (MS NatArch C 134/77/2.2). That Nicholas himself did not inherit would have been surprising had he still been alive. In conjunction with Nicholas' disappearance from the records from this point, this suggests that the two brothers died suddenly around the same time. Both brothers were summoned to the muster from which Edward II marched in August 1322 to fight Robert Bruce, and the order above is dated from Durham, in the middle of Edward's retreat to Newcastle-upon-Tyne. We may guess, then, that both men were both among the English losses suffered in late August and early September during that disastrous Scottish campaign, as Edward's beleaguered army retreated south from Edinburgh.

Nicholas and his son, the younger John, have also a perfectly respectable record. Nicholas is noted in 1321 as chief conservator of the peace in Essex and Hertford and in 1322 as sheriff for both counties, at a time of increasing local unrest, and he received commissions for the king's work in the York parliament of 1322 (CPR EII 2: 170 and 1: 542, 250, 269; CIMisc 149). The new Sir John Engayne was summoned to Parliament in May 1324 and was returned as knight of the shire for Huntingdon in 1327, leaving no other traces on the records

²³ The inquisition at the death of his father in 1297 finds him eligible to inherit as he is described as (variously) thirty-four years of age, thirty years of age and more ("et amplius"), thirty-four, thirty, twenty-four and more, and twenty-six (MS NatArch C 133/80/2; CIPM 3: 279–80). As each of these descriptions is with reference to different lands, the ages given are presumably the ages at which the land in question may legally be inherited. The occasional absence of "et amplius" seems to be merely shorthand for the same formula, roughly "being possessed of these years." John was eligible to inherit the entire estate, and was therefore at least thirty-four years old.

during the reign of Edward II (CPR EII 1: 638, 256). Whatever their private opinions may have been, these three men at least were not active in arms against Edward II.

One may, of course, have sympathies with attempted reform, affecting the impressions and opinions one might convey to a chronicler, without going so far as to assume arms openly against one's lord. Many knights and barons across the country were more or less in sympathy with Lancaster, or at least resented the Despensers, before events reached the point where a choice had to be made between supporting the king and open rebellion. Still more left the opposition or failed to materialise when mismanagement and bad luck made it clear, even before engaging the king's forces, that the barons opposed to the king were bound to lose. The Mortimers, for example, strategically decamped at this point, preferring to defend their own harried lands in the Welsh marches. There were, therefore, many knights and barons left in the land who might have supported Lancaster or argued on his side had events played out differently. Edward and the Despensers' decisive victory at Boroughbridge and the ruthless judgements on the earls, barons and knights involved left them in a powerful position for a few years, but it did little to reassure an already doubting baronage. The latter half of Edward II's reign is remarkable for the rapidity and frequency with which loyalties shifted, with turbulent results across all social strata, particularly amongst the gentry and aristocracy.²⁴

Elsewhere in the Engayne family, there are discernible traces of this restlessness in the land, and there was at least one case of active resistance. The number of occurrences of the Engayne name in the records in association with political and civil violence in these five years

²⁴ For example, Prestwich lists the careers of several individuals who changed loyalty repeatedly throughout this period (*The Three Edwards* 90–93). The name of Sir Robert Holland, who abandoned Lancaster at a crucial moment, may be added to these (see pp. 103–04 below). As further illustration of the social instability at this time, Prestwich discusses the gang warfare prevalent among gentry and aristocracy (96–97).

far exceeds those in the neighbouring decades. Engaynes were involved in violent civil unrest in Cambridge in May 1322 and again in 1326 (CPW 2: 185–86, CPR EII 5: 283). In 1327, a different John Engayne was among those charged with an assault on the Essex property of one William Newport, “the king’s yeoman,” while Newport was “in the king’s company on his service” (CPR EII 5: 349). I do not mean to suggest that the Engaynes were disproportionately rebellious by comparison to any other family in a similar position, nor that all incidents of violence must necessarily indicate opposition to the king’s party. The Despensers’ people, after all, behaved on many occasions as little better than thugs, and both they and the baronial Contrarians committed numerous large and small acts of violence and bullying over land boundaries and inheritance from 1319 onwards.²⁵ The frequency with which Engaynes were involved with restless or resistant acts in this period is rather indicative of the tensions rife in England, affecting the Engaynes (and doubtless Fineshade) as it did others.

One Engayne, however, we know to have been openly opposed to Edward and the Despensers. A Sir Thomas of that name actively fought in the Contrarians’ army against the king, and therefore against one or both of John and Nicholas Engayne. His name is on the Boroughbridge Roll as having been taken on March 17 1322 in arms against the king at Boroughbridge and having escaped to flee across the sea (CPW 2: App. 201). Early in the following year, Thomas having returned to England, a warrant was issued from Newark for his arrest and that of several others in his company: “Jakemin de Darynton, John de Hereford, parson of the church of Depeden, Robert de la Lee, Walter de Brawode, John de Goldynton,

²⁵ See *Vita* (184, 194) for Despenser’s habit of acquiring properties by means of aggressively bullying tactics, with just sufficient legal grounds to allow Edward to declare in his favour and to provide disturbing precedent for undermining established land claims. For the retaliations of the barons, plundering Despenser’s lands and harassing his tenants contrary to the rule of law, see *Vita* (188, 196). Cf. also the Fineshade chronicle (f. 86v ll. 30–34).

knight, Thomas Rocelyn, knight, Robert de Burer, John de Rothyng and Thomas de Engayne” (CPR EII 4: 238). Of these, the names of Sirs Thomas Roscelyn (of Norfolk, son and heir of Sir Peter Roscelyn) and John Goldynton also appear in one or both extant copies of the Boroughbridge Roll, the latter among the “in carcerati” (CPW 2: App. 200–01; Fineshade manuscript f. 88r l. 34). According to another warrant, issued 6 January 1324, Sir Thomas Engayne, Sir Thomas Roscelyn, and James Darynton spent December and January 1322–23 safely ensconced in the priory of Bermondsey, Surrey, at which Darynton was a canon. The 1324 warrant is for the arrest of the prior Walter de Lutz and “his fellow monk”, Bartholomew de Whytsand, together with both knights, Darynton, Darynton’s brother Percival, and one Peter de Mountmartyn, identified as the brother of Sir Ponsard de Mountmartyn. According to the warrant, the canons “received the said Jacominus, Percival, Peter and other persons adherents of the rebels, and especially of Thomas Rosselyn and Thomas Dengayne, knights, in the priory of Bermundsey, co. Surrey, and aided them from the feast of St Nicholas 16 Edward II [6 December 1322] until Shrovetide [8 February 1323], when they permitted them to go away at the expense and mounting of the said prior” (CPR EII 4: 358).

No further warrants were issued for Thomas Engayne or Roscelyn. It is most likely that they left England and, as many knights were to do, joined those exiles on the continent who were later to join Queen Isabella and Mortimer in their invasion.²⁶ The Westminster parliament following Edward III’s coronation would have restored them their lands, as it did all those who had lost them in 1322. The next we hear of them is in 1329, when Lancaster’s

²⁶ Mortimer was a logical connection for Roscelyn to seek out, as they seem to have had a substantial prior acquaintance. Roscelyn had aided Mortimer in the Marcher rebellion, and had earlier been one of the “closest circle of Mortimer adherents” who witnessed his son’s wedding in 1316 (Ian Mortimer, *The Greatest Traitor* 79). Haines lists both Engayne and Roscelyn among the exiles who joined Isabella and Mortimer on the continent and invaded with them (*Edward II* 174).

brother Henry, having assumed his mantle and capitalised on his popularity as a martyr to royal oppression, had emerged as leader of the baronial opposition to Isabella and Mortimer. In January of that year, Roscelyn and Thomas Engayne were among the new Earl of Lancaster's armed forces when he marched into Bedford in open resistance—as was the new Sir John, now united with Thomas in his opposition to the misuse of royal power. Also present with Henry of Lancaster were Sir John Goldynton and several other names familiar from the Roll of Boroughbridge. Roscelyn, being one of Lancaster's four chief adherents, personally arrested and detained the sheriff for the duration of their occupation (CIMisc 274–75). On 9 February, consequent to their surrender, John Engayne acknowledged a fine of 1200 marks against his Essex lands for his participation in the uprising, and his lands were restored to him on those terms two days later (CCIR 10: 529, 437). Roscelyn and Henry's other three chief supporters were banished for the murder of Sir Robert Holland the previous October (ODNB “Henry of Lancaster”; CCIR 10: 425).²⁷ The same four men, together with Henry, were pardoned by Edward III on 4 December 1330, following his coup against Mortimer and assumption of personal power. Although the charges against them are mentioned, they are tempered by the addition of “as was surmised by Roger Mortimer, our late enemy” (CCIR 10: 530–31, misfiled under December 1329). Finally, even while in exile, Roscelyn was involved or implicated in the Earl of Kent's attempt to rescue and restore Edward II to the throne (Murimuth 254).

Amongst the central members of the family to whom the chronicler had access, therefore, there existed a variety of attitudes and opinions to the events described in the Fineshade manuscript. Between the two Johns, Nicholas, and Thomas, members of the family fought on both sides of the battle. The Engaynes have provided us with our only copy of the

²⁷ Holland, perceived by Lancastrians as a traitor whose desertion of that earl on the brink of the Battle of Boroughbridge had been instrumental in his defeat, had been murdered the previous October, and his head sent to Henry.

Doncaster petition: either a member of the family must have attended in response to Lancaster's request for John's presence, or someone was sufficiently interested to obtain a copy later for his or her own use. The older John, whatever his sympathies may have been, held to his legal obligations, while the younger, although quiet during Edward II's reign, was later to espouse a similar cause during the queen's regency. Thomas felt strongly enough (or, of course, was in sufficient financial or legal difficulties) to take a stand on the other side, both in 1322 and 1329. Between these years, and possibly earlier, Thomas kept company with Thomas Roscelyn, a man who was a close adherent of Mortimer, and who was later to aid Henry of Lancaster. In each case—Thomas of Lancaster, Roger Mortimer, Henry of Lancaster, even Edmund, Earl of Kent—Roscelyn was quick to align himself with the man who presented himself as a force for change in the country. The frequent appearance of Thomas Engayne's name in conjunction with his may suggest either a man easily influenced by a charismatic personality, or one inspired by a similar desire for change. Roscelyn and his opinions may therefore also have made themselves heard around Blatherwycke, at first or second hand.

The deaths of Sirs John and Nicholas Engayne near the close of 1322 may in themselves have influenced the tone of the chronicle. The death of a long-standing patron and local magnate is a momentous event enough. Coming as it did in the midst of considerable civil unrest, and accompanied by the death of his direct heir—a brother who was in his own right an important personality for the estate and shire—it may well have appeared a major local crisis. The king's seizure of the estate for some months pending determination of the heir is also notable. There is no record of such administrative pother in 1272, when Sir Henry Engayne died childless and his brother was declared heir. Perhaps the unrest and the clashes over land ownership at the very highest levels of society in the previous years were reason enough for Edward to step in, to prevent encroachments upon a rather scattered estate. Certainly, he did nothing very remarkable during his custody, only confirming one routine appointment to the church of Cotes: the rector, Master John de Aslakeby, resigned, and was replaced by a William

of the same name (CPR EII 4: 233). Nonetheless, the inquisition was a large one. Given that two men had undertaken the post-mortem inquisition upon the death of John's grandfather in 1297, the assignment of thirteen to inquire into the same estate in 1322 is rather dramatic, and must have made an impression on its inhabitants. An unsettling time for the local area, mirrored in an unsettling time for the nation, is the context in which this chronicle was written; and the memory of the man whose papers were copied into it very likely coloured or motivated the chronicle composed within a year or two of his death.²⁸

We must now turn to the manuscript, to see how far these speculations as to influence and collaboration may be borne out in the work in question. The most direct evidence of the Engaynes' contribution is, of course, the presence of the documents that precede the chronicle: the letter of prohibition from Edward, the letter of summons from Lancaster (which chronologically precedes the former letter, though it follows it in the manuscript), and the Doncaster petition.²⁹

It is difficult to know how much importance to attach to John Engayne's receipt of the letter of summons from Lancaster, as there is no clear evidence regarding how many barons or knights received them or what Lancaster hoped to achieve by issuing them. Haskins assumes they were issued to "lords of his party," and calls Engayne "one of his adherents" on these grounds, although there is nothing else to connect Engayne to Lancaster ("Petition" 479).

²⁸ Prestwich asserts that "[n]ot all of the earl's [Lancaster's] supporters had been dealt with.

Robert de Vere had escaped after Boroughbridge, and gathered an armed band; they terrorised Northamptonshire, and de Vere declared that no one dare indict him before royal justices, as there was no law in the land" (*Three Edwards* 35). If this were true, this would be a very immediate concern for Fineshade and the Engaynes. I have, however, been unable to verify this, as Prestwich gives no citations and no mention of this is made in any of the chronicles or secondary sources that I have consulted.

²⁹ For a summary of the contents of the manuscript, see p. 124 below.

Moreover, Edward's letters of prohibition in response to Lancaster's summons were sent to 107 other men, among them earls indisputably of his own party (his brothers, Arundel, Surrey, Sir Andrew Harclay) but also men immovably opposed to him (Hereford, the Mortimers, the d'Audleys, and of course Lancaster) (*Foedera* 2.ii: 27). This may or may not indicate that all of these men received Lancaster's letter, if one considers it as Edward's official response to Lancaster's actions, but if it does then Lancaster can hardly have expected every addressee to obey. On the other hand, if Lancaster did summon every baron, up to the brothers of the king, the challenge to Edward takes on a different aspect: not a rebel requesting the presence of his known adherents to plan a course of action, but a man very close to the king in blood and power summoning the lords of the realm to something like a parliament. As it is that semblance that Edward indignantly condemns in his letter, this may be precisely what Lancaster did, but it cannot be proven. In any case, nothing certain can be deduced about John Engayne's loyalties or personal opinions from his possession of this letter.

The presence of the petition is more suggestive, as is the selection of these documents (all related to the Doncaster meeting) to group together into the manuscript. The Engaynes' possession of the petition argues that one of them at least attended the meeting—Thomas is perhaps the most likely candidate, although it was the older John who was personally summoned—or went to the trouble to obtain a copy later. Presumably the two letters and the petition are not the only documents possessed by John Engayne to which the priory had access. There must, then, have been an element of deliberate selection, either on the part of the chronicler or of the Engaynes. The choice of these documents to transcribe suggests that the receipt of these letters and the agenda (or simply the fact) of the meeting made a strong impression on the mind of the chronicler, or of the priory's patrons.

There is further evidence as to the influence of the Engaynes—and, directly or indirectly, of Sir Thomas Roscelyn—on the chronicler's perception of events. This evidence is not in what the chronicler writes but in what he chooses to silence. The Boroughbridge Roll given in the

Fineshade chronicle differs only by a few names from that given in the Parliamentary Writs, and is generally more reliable. Sirs Thomas Engayne and Roscelyn, however, are absent from the Fineshade version of the Roll. It can hardly be an accidental omission, or an omission in the exemplar. A Fineshade canon could not fail to notice the name of Engayne above all others in such a list, nor would the exemplar be necessary to make that information known to the priory. That the same accident should extend to the knight who fought with him against the crown and accompanied him in his exile is altogether too much of a coincidence. Whether it is intended as rejection or protection of the exiled knights, the omission must surely be deliberate. Sirs Thomas and Thomas are carefully written out of the event.

This omission throws other silences on the chronicler's part into relief, illuminating the effort to which he has gone to distance the chronicle from his immediate political interests. One or both of Sirs John and Nicholas Engayne must have been present at the battle and the following parliament, but they are not mentioned, not even indirectly through a truth-claim formula such as those commonly used by chroniclers to assert the accuracy of their account ("I heard of this from a very reliable man who saw it happen", etc.). Sir Thomas Engayne and a friend to whose name the chronicler was not indifferent were present in a very different capacity, but the chronicler of the priory carefully deletes them from that where he ought to have recorded their names. The events most closely detailed by the chronicler are precisely the events which these men experienced, but though that they must have been in his thoughts as he wrote, he who prayed regularly for the Engaynes' souls mentions none of them. Their presence is systematically erased.

Another notable silence is the subject of the Doncaster meeting itself. All the transcribed documents relate to it, but there is no mention of it in the chronicle. Given the focus on it in the documents, it seems unlikely that it was omitted as unimportant, or because it slipped the chronicler's mind. The safest assumption would be that the documents are considered sufficient comment on the Doncaster meeting, and proof of its occurrence, and that the

chronicler consequently felt it not worth his while to assign it a place in the narrative. It is tempting to speculate, however, that if Thomas Engayne did attend the meeting it might have held painful or dangerous associations for the chronicler, as constituting a crucial turning point in Thomas' career, or in light of his outlawry at the time of the chronicle's composition. Reference to the meeting, in that case, may have been left out of the chronicle for much the same reason as Thomas Engayne's own name was.

The preference for anonymity may be an aspect of the chronicler's attempt to maintain a correct "chronicle" voice, to successfully shape events into a known genre. The more personal reference, the more difficult that task would be. Despite the intensely personal voice which Froissart was to develop later in the same century, there was little place in most chronicles of this period for "I" or "men I know" to participate in the action narrated. Although rare authors such as Matthew Paris may be bold enough to bend the genre to their will, use of the first person is usually limited to statements of authorial intent, addresses to patrons, or the sort of formulaic truth claim mentioned above. As I will argue in the following chapter, one of the chronicler's contemporaries, Adam Murimuth, has difficulty navigating the moments in which he must appear in his own chronicle as an actor.

In the case of this chronicle, however, we can also trace more immediate reasons for a discomfort with the inserting personal material into a history—the insecurity of the political climate. Writing did not, after all, exist in a vacuum. At the time of writing, Thomas Engayne was on the run, and in very real danger. Nicholas and John were either marching to their deaths or recently dead. Recent events had made it very clear that no one's lands were entirely safe, no matter how long-established one's claim to it. The re-copying around this time of many of Fineshade's grants from the previous century and a half may, in fact, reflect precisely this

anxiety, and the same consciousness of the power of what is set firmly to parchment.³⁰

We are only now beginning to realise that early fourteenth-century religious houses may have been consciously constructing histories in collaboration with or in defence against figures of secular power. It has been recognised for some time that Edward I “knew how to appeal to history,” and that he resorted to document, record, and myth when he found it necessary to support his claim to Scotland.³¹ Andrew Taylor has suggested in a recent conference paper that Edward I and the abbey of St Augustine’s, Canterbury, collaborated regularly to discover, approve and immortalise the king’s preferred version of history. In other words, Edward was constructing his own country’s and crown’s history with St Augustine’s, a politicisation of history which may not have been confined to the king’s Scottish interests. Drawing on the abbey’s chronicle and its library catalogue, Taylor suggests a more subtle aspect of this partnership, wherein Edward may have been understanding his own life and consciously modelling his kingship on stories and ideals embedded in *chansons de geste* and chronicle history. Julia Crick, meanwhile, describes a defensive reaction in Wales against Edward I’s recognition and use of the power of written history to affect contemporary politics through engagement with national (or personal) identity. She detects in MS Exeter Cathedral Library 3514 an attempt to reclaim and to engage with Welsh history “at a time of war before and during Edward I’s conquest of Wales” (22). While the scribes and authors of the manuscript were not simple partisans of one or the other side, they appear to have recognised that the acts of composing and writing Welsh history at this time and in this way were fraught with

³⁰ For example, in 1324 almost all the priory’s grants from the time of Henry III onwards were inspected and confirmed (CChR 3: 463–64).

³¹ Powicke 2: 724. For Edward I’s claims to Scotland and the involvement of chronicles, see Clanchy (40–41), Ralph Griffiths, and Lionel Stones; and, more recently, Thea Summerfield and Matthew Fisher.

immediate political significance (Crick 35–36).

The Fineshade manuscript appears to be the result of a collaboration between secular authority and a religious institution in the production of narrative history. It is not precisely a politicisation of history, at least not to such definite ends as Edward I's Scottish claims. It resembles rather an attempt to understand political events in the context of history, a similar collaboration to set down and shape the chronicler's, the priory's, or the family's reaction to history, to comprehend their own experience within that light.

Michael Clanchy has established that in the century preceding Edward II's accession, the practice of record keeping moved down the social scale from the king to barons, knights, and below, in part as a defensive action against the king's growing power to prove from record (76–77). He details how barons and monasteries reacted to this power on the same terms, with genuine record and with forgery that imitated the form of the king's, as increasing royal demand for written record required document evidence of transactions that had previously taken place without written charter (41, 318). It is possible that a similar model, whether defensive or emulative, applies to collaborative historical writing: that where the king had begun to show interest and assert power, others began to work in similar patterns. The case of Fineshade and the Engaynes suggests that there is fruitful work still to be done for this period lower down the social scale, and on subjects more subtle and diverse than the assertion of national power.

Chapter 2

Historicising the Present

The Fineshade chronicler was not alone in finding the translation of experience into narrative difficult. Like most other branches of literary endeavour in the Middle Ages, historical writing was understood to have a moral function, which often involved the shaping of historical events around familiar tropes with pre-determined moral significance. Such shaping is, naturally, much easier to accomplish with events that are already long past and mediated through years of textual tradition than with events received through personal experience and conflicting witness accounts.

One chronicle account of the 1321–22 baronial rebellion, written sometime between 1333 and 1350, solves this problem by viewing much of Edward’s reign through the lens of the Earl of Lancaster’s “martyrdom.” The section of the prose *Brut* that covers the first quarter of the fourteenth century takes advantage of hindsight to argue the divine justice of Lancaster’s cause and the villainy of Edward and his minions. This results in a consistent tone and message and a powerful narrative drive, allowing for the liberal invention of dialogue and detail to illustrate the chronicler’s message.

The *Brut*’s is perhaps the most vivid and action-packed account of the Battle of Boroughbridge contained in any chronicle of that generation. As the “Knyȝtes ... fl[i]ȝ[t] togeder wonder sore,” the Earl of Hereford is graphically slaughtered and the tide begins to turn against the rebellious barons. The king’s lieutenant Sir Andrew Harclay advances on the leader of the rebels, Thomas of Lancaster, “ȝellynge as a wolf” that he should yield. “And wiȝ þat worde,” mid-battle and mid-bridge, “þe gode Erl Thomas [goes] into a chapel” to pray. Turning his face to the cross, he “ȝelde[s]” himself instead to God’s mercy, before being leapt upon by the “vileins ribaudes” of the king’s army and dragged away to captivity (*Brut* 219–20).

Any historian reading the *Brut* in the hopes of finding an entirely literal representation of the battle would come away suspicious at best of many of the details given here. For the sake of a clearer and more dramatic narrative, the chronicler elides two days into one: as some early readers would have remembered, the battle was fought and the Earl of Hereford killed on 16 March, most of his men deserted overnight, and Lancaster and the remains of the baronial army surrendered on the following morning. More importantly, in terms of the narrative message, the account of Lancaster's prayer and Harclay's breaking of his sanctuary is unlikely. The *Victoria County History* for Yorkshire makes no mention of a chapel on the bridge. Even if one did exist, it is difficult to believe that Lancaster should have the leisure, in the midst of battle in a confined space, to kneel for a lengthy moment of quiet prayer and reflection, immediately upon being challenged by Harclay.

The chronicler turns, in this moment, from writing the event to writing what is more important: how the event is to be understood. The scene of Lancaster torn from his prayer by "vileins ribaudes" appropriates the event (Lancaster's defeat at Boroughbridge) and gives it meaning through hagiographic conventions of representation. Thomas of Lancaster here directly resembles his namesake, Archbishop Thomas Becket, in the moment of his martyrdom in Canterbury Cathedral. Whether an actual chapel existed on Boroughbridge or not, or whether we are to understand that Lancaster left the bridge and retreated to the village church a few hundred metres up the hill,¹ is irrelevant to the chronicler's purpose. Martyrdom

¹ This would have been St. James', rebuilt in 1852 and moved to its present location on the hill.

Local tradition holds that Lancaster "sought sanctuary in the church (which was then on St. James' Square where the fountain now stands) but Harcla's men broke sanctuary and dragged him out" (Boroughbridge Community Website). The *Brut* itself is likely to be the source of this tradition, given its popularity and the absence of this detail from any other account. The change of location to the church would have been a natural claim for the

becomes the lens through which Thomas of Lancaster, and the king who condemned him, may be viewed and remembered. The troubled, confusing events of Edward II's reign that preceded the Battle of Boroughbridge are given moral weight and tacked onto a comfortably familiar storyline. This storyline is both persuasive and exemplary, with the ability to prioritise, subdue, or reinterpret those events comprising it that lingered on in living memory. The author of this section of the *Brut* chronicle uses narrative to wrest control of the event and to give it comprehensible meaning.

He is, of course, far from alone in this. In his overt bias and deliberate revision of these events along hagiographical lines, this chronicler only makes an observable example of what, to a greater or lesser degree, almost any narrative history must do: seeking to create meaning through its handling of time and event. By its nature, a narrative forms its component events into a recognisable shape—such as the shape of a saint's martyrdom, or of the hubris and downfall of a mighty king—which informs the reader's understanding of its contents. Ruth Morse has explored one powerful tool available to mediaeval chroniclers in this regard: their inheritance of “a large and ever-growing body of ‘historical’ narratives whose conventional patterns and styles suggested a range of meanings” (2). She gives the examples of a murdered king who might be recast as a martyr, and of chronicle references to the stinking corpse of Henry I (a moral criticism on that monarch, as the corpses of saints were conventionally believed to smell sweet):²

locals to make, in the light of the popular devotion to Lancaster throughout the fourteenth century, especially if there was in fact no chapel to serve as the focus of pilgrim attention.

² Specifically John Capgrave, a fifteenth-century prior of Bishop's Lynn, who wrote lengthy abbreviations of many English chronicles.

The descriptions both of the decomposing corpse and the martyred king depend upon audience ability to evaluate a particular instance against habitual readings of similar ones, but neither description is automatic or necessitated by any *zeitgeist*; rather, each is learned and manipulated by authors within cultures. (3)

Morse speaks primarily of this inheritance as a shared language of symbol and convention which a mediaeval author may use to speak to an audience of other men similarly educated, presupposing their recognition of his techniques and allusions. My interest, however, lies less with the communicative aspects of such shared language on the reader than with its role in shaping the writer's comprehension of the events to be narrated. In other words, I focus on how one writer in a specific situation engages with these conventions in the light of his particular needs and those of his patrons. I examine the possibility that the chronicler may, more or less consciously, use this same inheritance of form, genre, and symbol to make sense of the muddles of contemporary history, to translate the disturbing and formless experience into the comprehensible and familiar story.

Essential to a discussion of chroniclers' deliberate shaping of event into history is an understanding of the basic mediaeval concept of time, in its universal sense as the measure of the created universe. Even those clerks who were not involved in contemporary academic debates of theology and philosophy inherited constructs of infinity, eternity, divine foreknowledge, and free will, which informed on a very basic level their idea of what "history" was and of the proper form and purpose of the chronicle in recording it.³

³ W. A. Pantin describes the intensity of the debate on free will in the fourteenth century (113–15, 131). Janet Coleman traces the extent to which these and similar theological debates could become subjects of popular discussion, from the university culture of the

Basic to the concept of time's progression is the idea of the impermanence (and thus the imperfection) of anything governed by time. This idea of the world as the impermanent subject of time took on strong moralistic overtones in a mediaeval Christian worldview, a measure of mortals' distance from God.⁴ The application of the adjectives "temporal" and "secular" (from the Latin nouns *tempus/temporis*, time, and *saeculum/saeculi*, a generation, century or age) to matters that were not spiritual and institutions that were not monastic explicitly withdrew the world of the monastery (and thus of most mediaeval chroniclers) from the morally inferior world outside and its generational impermanence. Implicitly, these terms suggested that the view from within monastic walls might be closer to that of God, capable of glimpsing something like the whole of creation, or at least the general pattern of the divine plan that shaped it. God was understood to "exis[t] outside of time, know[ing] all of his creation in a single eternal present."⁵

From the idea that God was possessed of this unique perspective, standing outside time and aware of every instant at once, it followed that the passage of time and history had a divine meaning, inaccessible to humanity. If time, or any text or philosophical entity, has a meaning set there by God beyond human knowledge, it was naturally the ultimate aim of any branch of

thirteenth century through to *Piers Ploughman* and Chaucer's "Nun's Priest's Tale" (240–59).

⁴ Edith Dolnikowski devotes two chapters to the development of the philosophy of time, from Plato through Augustine, Boethius, to high- to late-mediaeval theologians such as John Duns Scotus, in order to elucidate the models of thought inherited by Thomas Bradwardine in the first decades of the fourteenth century. Bradwardine, possibly the most accomplished philosopher, mathematician, and theologian of his day, served a very short term as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1349 before succumbing to the plague. He had a particular interest in questions of free will and predestination.

⁵ Dolnikowski 12, summarising part of Bradwardine's *De Futuris Contingentibus* of the early 1330s.

mediaeval scholarship to find it out. Just as the ultimate aim of, for example, the study of the Bible was the analysis and comprehension of the spiritual sense or sentence lying behind the letter of sacred texts, so the study of history had moral applications, and could perhaps afford glimpses of the divine plan.⁶ Analytical and meditative patterns of reading, first developed for Biblical exegesis by influential thinkers such as Hugh of St Victor, came over time to be applied to more secular works, including written history.⁷ Hans-Werner Goetz argues that, in the model of chronicle-writing inherited by the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the necessity of “plac[ing] historical facts in the right chronological order and attribut[ing] to them to their exact date” was not considered incompatible with a habit of drawing comparisons across centuries and epochs, with no regard for intervening temporal changes (139).

⁶ For example, Honorius Autun, writing in the first half of the twelfth century, conceived of the different branches of learning as a series of ten cities along the road to “our homeland, true wisdom” (Miller et al., 204). The second city is Rhetoric, lying between Grammar and Dialectic, and her inhabitants are “histories, romances, and books written to deal in an oratorical or ethical way with their subjects. Through these the mind is directed along the road to its homeland” (201).

⁷ D. W. Robertson gives a solid overview of spiritual reading by both Biblical scholars and mediaeval clerics more generally in the fourth chapter of his *Preface to Chaucer*, arguing that “[t]here is a very real sense in which medieval education was a preparation for the study of the Bible... The *trivium* prepared the student to confront the letter of the text; the *quadrivium* was of assistance in understanding its spirit” (97). Mary Carruthers examines the application of these principles of study across a broad range of mediaeval reading practices and habits of memory (168–69 et passim). Morse makes a similar argument focussed specifically on uses of rhetoric, understanding it as not only a scheme of study but “more persuasively... a habit of mind, a set of assumptions about how words represent the world” (9). She devotes her first chapter to an examination of how rhetorical patterns of writing and of reading came to pervade Latin written culture of the high to late Middle Ages, extending from biblical study into textual representations of the past such as chronicle and romance.

Anachronism was not considered incongruous. The past might be used to illustrate or explicate the present, or another period of the past, without concern for (for example) the differences between a classical Roman emperor and a tenth-century German king. Augustus, Charlemagne, and Otto I could thus be depicted in a series of illustrations in the same mediaeval coronation robes, embodying “the same ideal of imperial rule” (156–57). The three rulers were not identical, but they were equivalent, and therefore analogous. History “did not only occur according to God’s providence but also revealed his intention. Therefore, it had sense and meaning... it had a message for mankind that had to be investigated and interpreted” (164). Similarities between historical events, even across centuries, could allow a glimpse of “the divine plan and message in them” (165). The broad sweep of history was a text to be interpreted, in which patterns and symbols might be sought and compared across ages just as a New Testament reference to Jesus as shepherd might be held to cast light on the metaphor of a herd of sheep and goats in the Song of Songs.

The implications of all this for the writing of history are logical, but far-reaching. As God stands outside of time and shapes the whole of creation from one omniscient viewpoint, the written history of past centuries might provide a glimpse of “the divine plan,” if carefully interpreted. One’s own time, then, ought to conform to the same basic patterns that govern the rest of history: events past and present could be aspects of “God’s purpose in guiding human history toward its eschatological conclusion” (Morse 87). Chronicles provided a glimpse of history, of this divinely ordained shape, from which one might perhaps understand one’s own time in a broader context. The monastic distance from the secular might just—in theory—provide the chronicler, or the reader of chronicles, with the perspective to distinguish the divine plan, the divine meaning, from the clamorous jostle of daily events.

Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon (1110-c. 1157), offers a detailed discussion of the role of history in moral education, including in it several illuminating (while conventional)

comments with regard to a historian's own place in history. First completed around 1130 (with later additions and revisions), his popular and widely circulated *Historia Anglorum* includes an introduction addressed to Henry's patron Bishop Alexander of Lincoln. In this introduction, the archdeacon openly discusses several of the points just raised: that history is structured in a (potentially) comprehensible way by a divine hand, why the study of it is morally important, how the decline of temporal things is revealed in the broad shape of history, and, by implication, the role of the chronicler in representing it.

Henry declares that the purpose of history is, broadly speaking, to teach moral lessons, and it is a much more effective tool for the purpose than is philosophy.

Nothing is more excellent in this life than to investigate and become familiar with the course of worldly events. Where does the grandeur of valiant men shine more brightly, or the wisdom of the prudent, or the discretion of the righteous, or the moderation of the temperate, than in the context of history? (2-3)

The presence of narrative seems to be the key to his estimation of the pedagogical value of historical writing: it tells a story, rather than preaching abstractly. Just as Jesus taught most effectively by parables, so Homer's stories and the examples of men's actions shown within them are more effective didactic tools than are the "many volumes of moral philosophy" that Chrysippus and Crantor "sweated to produce." Narrative, according to Henry, demonstrates proper and imitable moral codes "more clearly and agreeably than the philosophers" (2-3). This being the case, as we saw with the *Brut*, the question of factual accuracy is less important than the meaning contained within the events. Morse summarises this common approach as "[o]n the assumption that something very like this might be thought to have happened, how are we to understand the events?" (87). As the events of history are shaped according to divine

plan, a written history may be assumed to be *true* to that plan if it improves the reader. Truth, and the author's rhetorical skill in handling it, is ranked above mere accuracy.⁸

For Henry, history is the story of God “raising up and putting down peoples and kingdoms by [his] judgement, that operates sometimes secretly and sometimes openly” (16–17). Perhaps this justifies the departure from authority that Henry allows himself in the structure of his *Historia*, at least according to the grand plan outlined in his introduction. Bede is his main source, naturally, but Bede does not fully anticipate the shape Henry that gives to British history. It is dominated by five invasions, called plagues, visited on Britain by “divine vengeance” whenever her people become too sinful or arrogant (14–15). The invasions by the Romans, Picts and Scots, Angles, Danes, and finally Normans thus provide for Henry a structure around which he proposes to shape the events that precede and follow them, repeatedly building up a litany of sin and pride which leads to devastation and pain (although the extent to which he delivers on this scheme in the body of his history is debatable). The seed of this model is present in Bede and Gildas, but Henry sees in it a more definite and deliberate structure, containing within itself the fate of degenerate mortality, doomed to repeat their own destruction down the generations. The consequences of the most recent iteration were, of course, still being feelingly lived in Henry's lifetime. The broad shape of the entire history of

⁸ Nancy Partner has emphasised the recreational side to historical writing—“serious entertainments,” in her memorable expression—analysing the work of Henry of Huntingdon (among others) as intending to “arrest the attention and divert the imagination” as well as to provide “accounts of exemplary lives and evidences of God's continuing interest in human affairs to elevate the mind... in as beautiful a style as the writer could command” (2–3). Roger Ray, John Ward, and Gabrielle Spiegel (among others) have also argued for understanding the principles of invention, elaboration, and organisation at work in mediaeval historical writing in terms of a shared intellectual tradition of rhetorical display.

England, therefore, provides a context within which Henry and his audience might interpret aspects of their own experience, such as the tensions arising between Normans and England's older inhabitants. Henry, as his editor observes, "sees meaning and pattern everywhere in history, as God's purposes are worked out" (Greenway, "Authority" 110). History repeats, because the same hand is at work throughout, and that hand seems deliberately to create comprehensible patterns for the moral edification of mankind.

There may be an implicit comfort in the idea of God sitting back and shaping history, but the rise-and-crash pattern can hardly be a comfortable one to live through. Henry's view of history is essentially pessimistic, founded on mutability and divine punishment. What was is lost; what is will be lost. The importance given by this perspective to the role of the chronicle in preserving cultural memory is emphasised by Henry's condemnation of that considerable portion of the population who has no access to (or worse, interest in) the study of history:

The knowledge of past events has further virtues, especially in that it distinguishes rational creatures from brutes, for brutes, whether man or beast, do not know—nor, indeed, do they wish to know—about their origins, their race and the events and happenings in their native land. Of the two, I consider those brutish men to be the more wretched, because what is natural to beasts comes to brutish men from their own mindlessness, and what beasts would not be capable of, even if they wished to be, such men, even if capable, do not desire. (4–5)

The lives and deaths of these men, he says, are condemned to "perpetual silence"—they do not speak, or they are not spoken of. History does not include them.

Those who reject history may approach the bestial; however, a well-written chronicle, though a created thing, has the potential to move humanity in the opposite direction, to mimic a portion of the eternal. Augustinian and Boethian adaptations of Platonic philosophy held that

all created beings exist in time and are subject to it, unable to grasp the past or know the future, existing only in a perpetually fleeting present. God, by contrast, was not considered to be subject to time, as it was an aspect of his creation. Rather, he lived in an eternal *now* which included all of time and creation, every moment being equally present to him. Bearing this in mind, Henry's commendation of historical writing has a moral scope far more weighty than the simple acquisition of information:

History ... brings the past into view as though it were present, and allows
judgement of the future by representing the past. (4-5)

The conflation of past, authorial present, and future suggested by Henry does more than broaden the mind or provide the reader with knowledge. It places him halfway outside of time, less subject than previously to its constraints, able to grasp a little more of the course and pattern of events and guess at their meaning. Implicitly, it also enables him to observe enough of time at least to guess at the ideal eternity on which it is modelled, and so to glimpse a little of the nature of he who made it. In short, the reader informed by such an ideal history rises further above the beast and closer to the divine. The chronicler himself appears, at least potentially, in a position even more privileged. In placing himself outside of time to survey the whole and view these divine patterns, his role shades between observer, interpreter, and creator of the events he narrates.

Early in the first book, Henry describes the geography of Britain, both as it is and as it once was. He gives the names of "twenty-eight very noble cities" for which the island was famous once, many of which have changed or been forgotten, or belong to cities that no longer exist (13). Then, on describing the division of the island into shires, he decides it necessary to include a list of their names. For, he says,

with the passage of time it may perhaps come about, in the same way
that the names of the cities just mentioned—which were once well loved

and highly regarded—are now considered barbarous and ridiculous, that the names of the shires, which are now very well known, may become either unrecognizable or unbelievable. From this it is clear how pitifully and uselessly we who live in the shires strive to make our own names famous, when even the names of cities and countries cannot survive.

(16–17)

One thing, however, remains constant in this tale of ruin. Names and honour will be lost, but they will be outlived by the archdeacon's own achievement—or at least, that of the great writers of history, the men among whom he now numbers himself. At this future point that he envisions, when provinces have shifted and been renamed, when human memory fails, he clearly still expects his history to be present and read to speak the names of the lost shires. It is historical writing that provides the link between past, present, and future. Henry knows the names of the old cities because of the books he has consulted in old libraries, and his anticipated readers know them because they have read them in his own book. Henry's work stretches from past to future, linking through the present act of authorship, sitting in that privileged position that allows him to survey, however mistily, the whole of creation.

Henry had his limits, however. The only “present” with which he is comfortable is that act of authorship through which he communicates eternally with his readers, and it bears little relation to his own historical “present.” So far I have mentioned only his treatment of the distant past, events already digested into the familiar form of historical narrative. Like many other late-mediaeval chroniclers, he encountered difficulties when it came to converting his own time into “history.” It is one thing to make a coherent narrative of past centuries, composing a masterful *florilegium* by filtering and selecting and re-interpreting the works of former authors who shared certain basic assumptions as to content, form, and purpose. Through their work, these predecessors had helped to shape expectations of what a written

history ought to accomplish, where moral emphasis might be laid, which events were most worth a rhetorician's effort, what made for admirable composition. It is another thing altogether to write a history of one's own century, to select significant events and discard superfluities that may seem important, to interpret personalities and assign them a type and function, to give narrative form to the seemingly disparate and random, to make a meaningful, comprehensible story of one's own time.

The first redaction of Henry's history, completed for the Bishop of Lincoln c. 1131–32, carries his story from the time of Julius Caesar up to 1129 in one smooth narrative arc. Later redactions added account of and reflections upon Stephen's reign, and anticipated the accession of Henry II. As he narrates his own time, however, he becomes less confident. The strength of the narrative falters, his control of the subject matter wanes; there is less rhetorical elaboration and amplification, less direct speech of his own invention. Reginald Darlington finds Henry's efforts as a contemporary historian "a disappointment," remarking that he "could have done better" (17). John Gillingham is less dismissive, but is finally unable to account for the "sharp contrast" between his treatment of his own time and "his remarkably systematic treatment of early English history ... if he said little about his own time it was not because he was ignorant or uninterested. If he chose to say little we should weigh his words with care, just as he did" (127). Although Henry's editor Diana Greenway finds that his style for the later years is "if anything, even more rhetorical and literary" than the rest of his chronicle, she acknowledges the difficulty he encounters in constraining "his view of the events he lived through" to conform to "his model of the past": "It was as if, in the earlier parts of the *H[istoria] A[nglorum]*, where he had woven his sources so cleverly he had woven himself into a straitjacket" ("Authority" 111; *Historia Anglorum* lxii). Henry's authorial mastery of the narrative seems to be muddled by his own proximity to events.

The difficulty of narrating one's own time, in which event is not yet filtered into story, was confronted differently by three very different chroniclers of Edward II's reign: the anonymous authors of the prose *Brut* and the *Vita Edwardi II*, and Adam Murimuth, author of the *Continuatio Chronicarum*. All try to give meaning to the same events by drawing on inherited patterns of historical narration, but with varying emphases. Murimuth (at least for these years) simply reports, with as little elaboration or interpretation as possible; the *Vita* seeks to understand events through analysis of human personality and motivation; the *Brut*, as we have seen, looks higher. All three are rich with information about current events, but shape that information differently according to their narrative styles.

The section of the prose *Brut* that covers Edward II's reign seems to have been written between 1333 and 1350, and it engages closely with the events of the civil wars and with the ideological stances taken by different sides. It insists on fitting contemporary events into an explicit and familiar pattern, which, by virtue of its shape, reveals the divine intent behind them. It rewrites Lancaster as a martyr with compelling force, shaping not only the rebellion and its aftermath but also most of Lancaster's political life into persuasive hagiography. As we will see in greater detail in chapter 4, the chronicler shows particular sensitivity to the charges of collusion with the Scots brought against Lancaster at his trial. While he never directly acknowledges them—as he might, for example, with some formula such as “malicious people say this of him, but the true story is such and such”—he refutes many of the details by providing another version of events that directly contradicts them. In the process, he actively turns them to Lancaster's advantage by making them proof of martyrdom rather than of treachery. Painful details of high treason become symbols of a higher truth, of Lancaster as England's true protector against ill government, and the rest of Edward II's reign is shaped to fit this over-riding narrative (see pp. 97-99 below). The *Brut* chronicler thus overwrites living memory by engaging with it (and in great detail) without outright acknowledging competing versions of the

“truth,” presenting the story as something already past, completed, its meaning pre-determined and persuasively consistent.

The *Vita Edwardi Secundi* has the advantage, or the disadvantage, of being written prior to 1325. It lacks the hindsight available to the *Brut* and to other chronicles written after the dramatic dénouement of Edward II's reign, and cannot therefore shape a narrative in expectation of that ending. A narrative of that type, however, is not the focus of this chronicler's attention. Rather, he seeks to comprehend events in a way more familiar to a modern audience, analysing the motivations of key players as humans, rather than as actors in a pre-conceived type of plot, and frequently discussing events as originating in and contingent upon personality traits of these men. He is, for example, the only chronicler who considers Pembroke's feelings upon having Piers Gaveston abducted from his custody and executed by his supposed allies. In doing so, he also explores the effects of this slight to his honour as a factor in his return to the king's side (43–6). Yet even here, the same inherited assumptions of narrative meaning hold true. The familiarity of such a style to a modern mind is to some degree deceptive. When the chronicler notes, upon the execution of Thomas of Lancaster, that Edward II had Lancaster's head struck off because Lancaster had done the same to Gaveston in 1312, this appears to be an explanation on purely human terms: Edward held a grudge, Edward had his revenge, Edward found satisfaction in visiting the same punishment on his enemy as his enemy had inflicted upon his friend.

Perhaps a hidden cause, not immediate but in the past, brought punishment upon the earl. The earl of Lancaster once cut off Piers Gaveston's head, and now by the king's command the earl of Lancaster has lost his head. Thus, perhaps not unjustly, the earl received like for like, as it is written in the Holy Scripture: ‘for with the same measure that you mete withal it shall be measured to you again’. Thus Abner

killed Asahel, striking him in the belly, but Abner did not escape, for he afterwards died by a similar wound. (214–15)

The quotation from Luke 6.38 implies, and the reference to Abner and Asahel clarifies, that the justice of “like for like” is not envisioned here in terms of human motivation. Lancaster’s decapitation is a direct result of his earlier actions, and Edward’s desire for appropriate revenge is less the cause than the instrument of this. Similarly, though more simply, each time he considers the Famine he falls back on moral interpretations, whereby human actions mirror a divine pattern: England is being punished for her people’s sins. Although this chronicler examines human actions and motivations as factors in historical events more closely than is usual in his contemporaries, they remain for him manifestations in themselves of divinely ordained patterns and causes. The assumption that a basic pattern underlies history is not absent: it has merely moved deeper, into a study of human behaviour. It is only at moments of crisis that this chronicler attempts to decipher a tidier, more consistent meaning in the world.

Adam Murimuth does not attribute cause to the divine, nor does he delve into the human. More than the authors of the *Brut* and the *Vita*, Murimuth seems uncomfortable with analysing or assigning meaning too closely, unwilling to break the intrinsic distance of a genre designed for temporal detachment, for looking back from a distance. He has his own difficulties to confront in shaping a narrative: he is too close to the events he narrates, not only in time but in person. Like the Fineshade chronicler, he treads uneasily the line between the personal and the historical. In the latter half of Edward II’s reign he took part as a bureaucrat and important international emissary in many of the events he describes, and his interest in and understanding of international negotiations remains keen throughout the chronicle.

He ought, therefore, to be a valuable witness, experienced and well-placed, the more so when one considers that he appears to have been writing from personal notes taken more or less contemporaneously with events, and that he was in a position to know many of the leading

personalities of the reign reasonably well. Like Henry of Huntingdon, however, Murimuth's account of those years in which he could be most useful disappoints as a source of personal observation. He is hardly an invisible author: he names himself, and opens his chronicle with a confident statement of self, intent, and method, using the first person, in the tradition of introductions like Henry of Huntingdon's. In the later years of his chronicle he regularly inserts his own age as a measure of time, directly following the regnal, papal, and incarnational years, perhaps with a touch of pride at his own longevity. Yet he shows a curious reticence in narrating those events in which he participated directly, as I mentioned in the previous chapter, and avoids mention of them as far as possible. The years in which he was involved most actively in politics are the years for which his narrative is most sparse and least given to comment or interpretation. When he cannot help but mention his own involvement in events, he refers to himself in the third person, thereby drawing an awkward distinction between Murimuth the chronicler and Murimuth the "character" (Murimuth 18, 30, 41).⁹ Nor does he cite himself as a witness to events to assert their reliability, in contrast to the frequent self-insertions of Adam of Usk, the Chandos Herald, and Jean Froissart later in the same century. Moreover, although he shows minute interest in the appointments and troubles of other English dioceses, Murimuth maintains silence on the major events and developments in Exeter in the late 1320s, despite—or because of—his own managerial role there for several turbulent years following the murder of Bishop Stapeldon in October 1326.¹⁰

⁹ In addition, Haines finds it odd that, although Murimuth almost certainly attended the council at London in 1321, he is vague about the date (*Church and State* 132, in reference to Murimuth 35). This may, however, be natural confusion after several years have interposed themselves between the author and the event.

¹⁰ Documented in the register of John de Grandisson, bishop of Exeter 1327–1369. To date these letters have received little attention relative to Murimuth.

The narrative gains confidence in the second half of the 1330s, corresponding with Murimuth's less active involvement in international diplomacy. The tension between actor and author disappears as Murimuth ceases to act; Murimuth, perhaps, had more time at his disposal both to write and to learn to trust his own strengths as a writer; and, a hearty supporter of Edward III's claim to France, he seems to have found the subject of that war an appealing and inspiring one. Perhaps he found Edward II's reign difficult to write about for other reasons, considering his kingship disappointing or embarrassing. The fact that Edward III himself provided potent and persuasive historical symbolism for his own endeavours and successfully constructed the narrative of his reign along chivalric lines may have helped to make it more attractive as a subject.

Murimuth never seems quite comfortable in the uneasy, ambiguous reign of Edward II, and only hits his stride with the valorising, powerful protagonist who succeeded him. He latches as little meaning as possible onto those earlier years, avoiding interpretation or judgement, or any such authorial control as Henry of Huntingdon or the *Brut* chronicler exert over their work. The author of the *Vita* is less awkward, less involved with events, and more content to build his own narrative style that focuses more often on human intentions and emotions. It is only at moments of particular anxiety that he seeks further meaning by linking present situations and people back through time to inherited frames of reference. The *Brut* chronicler, meanwhile, with the advantage of a decade or more of hindsight, has already transferred recent history almost entirely into an inaccessible and meaningful past.

Although all three were writing very close in time to the events they narrate (and, in the case of the *Vita* chronicler and Murimuth, possibly from notes taken contemporaneously with the events), there is nothing "present" about the story they tell. All of them depict their subject matter as concerning the past, complete and finished, with no effect on the "now." William of Pagula, writing a reproachful *Epistola* to Edward III in 1331, could bid the king to look on the

current state of the realm and bring about present remedy, with detailed reference to events of the preceding years (see p. 117 below). These chronicles, which tell of events just as recent, have no such engagement with the past they narrate, no “as a result of that, our situation is now this.” It might have happened ten years ago or a hundred: it is, in the form chosen by these writers, a completed story, whose relation to the present is only moral and figurative, as Augustus might mirror King Otto I. Murimuth calls his work “a continuation of the chronicles,” and, like Henry of Huntingdon, addresses it to an imagined future audience: its primary temporal relationship is to what came before, and its secondary one is to those shadowy rhetorical devices of the future, the readers who will inherit it.

The struggle that any writer may encounter in confronting the differences between past and present, and the ways in which traditional narrative patterns can be used to contain and valorise their subject matter, is well expressed in Bakhtin’s famous discussion “Epic and Novel”. Bakhtin’s “novel” is not a particular form, or even a genre: it is a process whereby standardised and monologic rigid literary forms are fed and renewed, placed in dialogue with the historical moment, and attempt to re-work their own relationship to that moment. His notion of “epic” writing is constructed as a negative image of this “novel,” epitomising the stagnant and monologic. In this schema, the traditional narrative has for its subject the epic or absolute past, and therefore has for its author and intended audience the reassurance of the familiar and the rigid. Always-already antiquated at the moment of writing, it gains much of its authoritative weight and cultural value from its refusal to be “novel.” Distanced from the world of author and audience where the novel interacts dynamically with it (and even challenges it), the epic style takes “the reverent point of view of a descendent,” removed onto a different plane of time and value from the time in which it is written (13).

According to one of his editors, Michael Holquist, Bakhtin’s novel “thrives on precisely the kind of diversity the epic (and, by extension, the myth and all other traditional forms of

narrative) sets out to purge from its world” (xxxii). This comment contains, almost incidentally, the quality central to Bakhtin’s definition of the non-novel: certainly the difference lies in exploration or evasion of diversity, but also (perhaps more importantly) in the opposition of the innovative to the traditional. His “epic” is, more simply, what Holquist calls “traditional forms of narrative,” limited by a reverence for their subject matter and for their own reception of it. In one respect, however, it seems to me that Holquist attributes to Bakhtin here something that is not quite his: the word “purge.” Bakhtin’s epic is limited to its form because it is incapable of perceiving or engaging with difference. Holquist here invokes a model in which the epic, or any traditional form of writing, perceives difference and is disturbed by it. It “sets out” to purge difference from the world: it does not find it already absent. In other words, the perceived world is made to conform to a pre-conceived traditional form, recognisable and revered, containing and denying the dynamism of a changing present. Because the absolute past is irretrievable and idealised, the epic (or any traditional narrative) confers temporal valorisation on the events narrated—they are good because they belong to a distant, inaccessible time:

The absolute past is a specifically evaluating (hierarchical) category. In the epic world view, ‘beginning’, ‘first’, ‘founder’, ‘ancestor’, ‘that which occurred earlier’ and so forth are not merely temporal categories but *valorized* temporal categories, and valorized to an extreme degree... In the past, everything is good: all the really good things (i.e., the ‘first’ things) occur only in the past. (15)

The epic or absolute past possesses not only a pre-determined value, but potentially the power to confer it by means of an epic narrative voice.

If a given narrative is positioned temporally in the absolute past by the use of such a voice, no matter when (or whether) the events depicted took place in historical terms, the world which that narrative portrays is transferred to the past: it becomes finished, complete, and the

possibility of interaction is precluded. In that inaccessibility, according to Bakhtin, lies its value: history or imagination may provide its content, but the rigidity of traditional narrative provides style and reverent attitude. In such a way, he implies, the present might become the past: the factual content is less important than “this formal constitutive characteristic of the epic as genre... its reliance on impersonal and sacrosanct tradition, on a commonly held evaluative point of view—which excludes any possibility of another approach” (16). To turn events into a traditional narrative along these lines, the dating of events relative to the time of composition would be less important than authorial style, and the attitude toward those events dictated by that style. By reducing chaotic experience to the quantifiable and unalterably sacrosanct, one brings them under control and gives them a readily recognisable cache of meaning, denying the possibility of anything new, anything dialogic, anything beyond the traditionally comprehensible.

In short, Bakhtin suggests the power and comfort of rooting a given narrative in “epic” time, in an established, distant genre, of valorising the narrative by employing the language or shape of the past. When uncertain, a reference to Thomas Becket can not only make a saint of Lancaster, but also make of uncomfortable recent past a comfortingly comprehensible story in a known genre by association with the familiarly monologic past. This seems to me to be precisely what the *Brut* chronicler does, and does well. Severing the past from the present, he makes it entirely past and assigns it a comprehensible and recuperative meaning. In so doing, he also denies its ability to have any further (or uncontrolled) effect on the present—devoutly to be wished, given the disturbing and disruptive events it contains. Murimuth similarly uses traditional forms to shape the present, but in his refusal to interpret he denies it any signification, rather than trying to control its signification as does the author of the *Brut*.

A chronicle inherits not only its basic literary form, but its conception of time and history, from other chronicles—that is, from a self-consciously traditional and antiquating form that

bears some relation to Bakhtin's epic. It also carries a certain authoritative cache: both the events and the literary style of the chronicle past are set, complete, immortalised (and thus made less mortal) in the works of the greatest *auctores* such as Bede. For a chronicler in, say, the twelfth century writing about England's distant past, imitating Bede provides factual content but also a recognised style that conveyed a reassurance of "truth"ful narrative. This is not to say that innovation was impossible at any point. Henry of Huntingdon, like many great historians of that century, used the rhetorical techniques of his schooldays to make a popular and entertaining new text out of old material. Geoffrey of Monmouth, moreover, showed himself more than capable of rhapsodising around old themes and stories which had not previously been incorporated into the corpus of Latin historical narrative. Geoffrey, however, did not break with tradition: he used it, writing tales of Albina and Camelot consciously in the style of Bede and Virgil, and becoming himself authoritative and imitated in the process. In doing so, he translates England's epic past (in the conventional sense, as well as Bakhtin's), allowing it to become revered and "historical" on the same terms as Virgil's work.

This is especially true, and rather more straightforward, for a chronicle which confines its scope to the distant past. Distance not only allows but confers meaning—the more distance, the better an event's shape may be perceived, and the more distant the weightier the meaning it carries, given the value of the traditional. Some, such as Henry of Huntingdon, strive to provide a continuum between mythic past and the present day, to smooth over the difference between past and present and turn the experienced world into the comfortably familiar. The inherited literary form potentially, therefore, offers a way in which to patch over the fragmentation of the present with national tradition, with the familiar and revered.

For the later Middle Ages, hagiography and the histories of the rise and fall of nations provide a plethora of traditional narrative patterns that came with pre-assigned meaning and cultural weight. One might use these innovatively, and many did—I certainly do not mean to

suggest that no one in the Middle Ages was capable of utilising different forms of narrative. Equally, however, one must to some extent use these familiar shapes as means with which to understand and interpret one's own experience of events, and one might, particularly in troubling times, attempt to cling more closely to these forms in the process of recording and shaping new historical narratives.

Of the four chroniclers of their own time at whom I have glanced (however fleetingly) so far, all attempt to translate contemporary events into a traditional narrative and assign it meaning within that form. Not all succeed. The *Brut's* author, writing a decade after events and able to close them off from the present, is almost successful; Murimuth's and Henry of Huntingdon's unease is palpable; the author of the *Vita* turns to traditional signification only at moments of anxiety, hinting at frames of references for events and people which do not fit them elsewhere in his work. All, to varying extents, show a very human desire to overwrite incomprehensible experience with familiar narrative forms, and, in the process, to contain or subdue its continuing effect on the present in which they live. The moments of particular disquiet for most of them are those in which they cannot establish or maintain that stylistic (temporal) distance, and thus assign a meaning to events.

It is perhaps the same impulse that leads the Fineshade chronicler to carefully write the Engaynes and Roscelyn out of the events in which they participated, despite their probable role as his informants for those events. Similarly, he draws a blank when it comes to offering his readers an interpretive guide for one of the most central figures of his narrative and of his informants' experience, Thomas of Lancaster. Rather than attempting to manipulate existing generic conventions to produce something new, he does his best to wrestle the events of the preceding few years into a familiar generic shape—and, as we will see, he is not entirely successful. This limited success affords us a glimpse of history in the making, as it were: a

narrative that is not quite yet a story, in which the reality of recent experience is still too vivid to permit the chronicler to smooth experience entirely into the resolution of genre.

Chapter 3

Chronicles and Time-bound Narrative

Structuring

Any firm or consistent differentiation between the terms “annal,” “chronicle,” and “history” is necessarily a modern one. As Bernard Guenée notes, mediaeval scribes and authors rarely maintained a strong distinction between the terms, often using them almost interchangeably (1003). This is true of style as well as of nomenclature. Even a single historical manuscript in a single hand, such as the *Liber Alani de Ashbourne*, may contain annalistic lists of dates and events in the same quire as fully developed narrative, and everything in between. For example, the *Liber*, which is now bound in the same codex as the Fineshade manuscript and was written in the same decade, contains (among other things) a history of England which visually resembles an annal, especially in its use of rubricated headings to order the contents by year and king, but usually employs prose rather than note form (see pp. 116-117 below). Moreover, from one entry to another, the history moves freely between terse annalistic entries and fully developed narrative, depending on the amount and importance of information about a given period. It contains elements of both annal and chronicle throughout, using the conventions of one or the other as necessary, and it is hardly unusual in this regard. I therefore use the terms “annal” and “chronicle” as convenient stylistic markers, indicating the end points on a continuum between list form and full narrative, rather than as absolute descriptions of any one work.

Even histories written in prose form do display annalistic traits on occasion, especially a lack of temporal or causal connection between consecutive events. This is a marked characteristic of the early years of Murimuth’s chronicle, for example. Each year opens with the annalistic “In hoc anno” and a full statement of the regnal, dominical, and papal year. In any

given year, *Murimuth* deals with most events in a sentence or two, and those sentences are complete in themselves with few or no conjunctive expressions to link them by grammar or sense to surrounding sentences. His entry for each year remains essentially a glorified list, which might be rearranged (or, as is the case in many manuscript copies, augmented with other items of local interest) without harm to its sense. In effect, *Murimuth*'s events are grouped solely by virtue of having a year in common: it is the external temporal label that does the work of unifying them, rather than internal characteristics such as grammar, or thematic or narrative flow.

Stylistically, the *Fineshade* chronicle is far from the list of dates and deeds that characterises the annal in its most extreme form, or even *Murimuth*'s taciturn prose. Events within the narrative are positioned temporally in terms of their signification relative to each other, rather than to an absolute external dating system. Far from ordering his contents by the year, the chronicler provides only one statement of objective time, at its very outset. The dominical and regnal year and the age of its protagonist (the young prince Edward) are all cited:

The year of the incarnation of our Lord 1295, the twenty-second year of
the reign of King Edward, and the fourteenth of the age of Edward his
son. (f. 86r ll. 5-6)

From this point onwards, time is defined relative to narrative flow, through previously invoked events and people, rather than to some universally agreed measurement. Even the corpses of the hanged after the battle of *Boroughbridge* are not left there from, for example, March until December, or for a specified number of months, but rather "so long as sinews could hold the bones together" (f. 87v l. 19). The date invoked, we move directly into narrative time:

When that same king crossed the sea to Flanders in order, so it was
said, to negotiate the return of peace between the king of France and
the duke of Flanders, but also that he might aid that duke against the

lord king if peace were to fail and both parties were to prefer war, while
 he lingered there in that fashion... (f. 86r ll. 6–11)

Events are timed by their relation to other events, emphasised by the repetition of “When that king... while he lingered there” (uncomfortable in English, but permissible in Latin). Time is determined by the pace of the story. Temporal clauses, the ablative absolute, and relative pronouns with referents in previous sentences are employed regularly to emphasise each sentence’s place relative to its neighbours. Edward I adopts Gaveston into his household “without delay,” and he is soon a firm favourite with the king’s son (*ibid.*, l. 12). “After some time ha[s] passed,” the prince goes to the king to request that the earldom of Cornwall be granted to Gaveston (l. 15).¹¹ The elapsed time is neither discussed nor quantified, as it does not in itself belong to the story. It has relevance only in that it has passed, that its workings have (presumably) allowed Gaveston’s influence over the prince to become an established fact. Time’s effect need not be explained, only invoked: it is presumed to be familiar to everyone, common to humanity.

The narrative for the years 1303–12 smooths events out into a more effective and comprehensible story. It has foreshadowing, appropriate punishment of sins, pat morals expressed in conventional sayings. The effect is of a confident, ordered sequence of events, each with a meaningful place within a larger story. As the chronicle proceeds beyond Gaveston’s death, however, it loses some of its polish. The story of more recent years becomes less easily reduced to a meaningful narrative form, giving the impression that events remain

¹¹ The request was, in fact, for Gaveston’s native county of Ponthieu. Cornwall was the earldom granted him by Edward II on his accession to the throne. Eliding the two makes for a smoother story, and makes this earlier demand more outrageous, as Cornwall was usually held by a member of the royal family.

undigested. Sympathies are divided, the story semi-formed, motivations and morals less clear-cut, and the ending unforeseen, because not yet seen by the chronicler.

The chronicle thus divides naturally into two halves, the first shorter and neater than the second, the second an incomplete attempt to mirror the first. The first half tells of the rise of one royal favourite—Piers Gaveston—the baronial reaction, and the violent crisis that resulted (ff. 86r l. 5—86v l. 25; that is, the years 1295—c. 1312). The second half tells of the rise of another favourite—Hugh Despenser, and his father—the baronial reaction, and the crisis of civil war, resulting this time in the deaths not of the favourites but of the men who stood against them (ff. 86v l. 25—88r l. 39; c. 1314—1322). Being more focussed and more closely under authorial control—and being the more readily given a story-like shape, as its events were already half-legend—the first half of the chronicle makes visible the moral and symbolic foundations from which the author works. It provides, therefore, a basis against which to evaluate his account of more recent years, in which this certainty falters. Two ideas dominate the first section: the betrayal of the father figure's wishes, and the waste of resources. Both of these are expressed and criticised in terms that reveal a deep concern for a lost connection to the past.

Temporalities and moral foundations.

Edward I dominates the story until his death twenty lines in, but his vividly written fury over his son's inappropriate favouritism and his exclamation that Edward would let the realm trickle through his fingers for Gaveston cast a long shadow over the first half of the chronicle, if not further (f. 86r ll. 16–18). As (in narrative time) the old king's death follows immediately upon his exclamation, this moment carries the emotional weight of a dying father's grief at seeing his son's disobedience and the waste he will make of his patrimony, but it also has the effect of a deathbed prophecy. In both guises, this forms an emotive pattern for the remainder of the story, guiding the reader's interpretation. Edward I stands as the fading champion of

England's past, a creature left over from Bakhtin's epic, but he cannot enforce his wishes on the present. It is not merely material goods that Edward II will waste, but that which he has inherited from his father: his family's (and thus his realm's) past.

Within ten lines of Edward I's death this message is repeated, with reference to another father figure. The death of the Earl of Gloucester, which actually took place in 1295, is here recounted as the climax of the shower of ill-advised gifts that Edward bestows on Gaveston in 1307-08:

For once he had exhausted his own treasury he demanded the aid of
the people and imposed tallages upon them. Thus he extorted and
forcibly raised money, to the great impoverishment of his people.

During these events ["inter hec"] the Earl of Gloucester departed the
way of the flesh, leaving behind him three daughters and but one son,
his heir, which that earl had begotten on lady Joan of Acre, daughter of
King Edward [I]. The said king [Edward II] gave one of these daughters
to the aforementioned Piers in marriage, and gave him that same
earldom of Cornwall according to his earlier desire and determination.

(f. 86r ll. 28-34)

The adjustment of timing makes Gloucester almost appear to die specifically so that Edward can make a gift of his daughter Margaret, Edward's niece, to Gaveston in marriage.

Gloucester's death immediately preceding the betrothal, and perhaps acting as a catalyst for it, dovetails neatly with the theme of the betrayal of the dead patriarch. Just as Edward seems destined to throw away all that his father has gained, no sooner is Gloucester's daughter left

alone by the death of her father than the man who ought to have replaced him as her protector—her uncle the king—wastes her on an upstart Gascon.¹²

The idea of using the betrayed dead patriarch as an interpretive lens for this period of Edward II's reign is not unique to this chronicler. The story that Edward I insisted on his deathbed that his bones not be buried but be carried with the army until his son had conquered Scotland, and that Edward II abandoned the campaign and buried him in despite of this, is probably apocryphal. Its appearance in several contemporary chronicles, however, suggests that it was believed as typifying Edward's attitude toward his father's legacy, at least on a symbolic level. The *Brut* chronicle provides a more direct comparison to the Fineshade chronicle's treatment of Gloucester. It claims that Edward I charged the earl of Lincoln with enforcing Gaveston's exile if Edward II should attempt to recall him, and that Lincoln, upon his death in 1311, passed this charge on to his son-in-law—Thomas of Lancaster.¹³ Lancaster would then have been charged with a double weight of paternal responsibility, which he discharged faithfully, in contrast to the actions of Edward I's true son. His obstructive attitude towards Edward's government and his part in Gaveston's murder, under this schema, take on pious overtones, as upholding the wishes of the men who provide a link to the country's past.

The Fineshade chronicler is not concerned only with waste as it directly affects or betrays the absent father. The material ramifications of both greed and excessive generosity also

¹² Gloucester's wife was Joan of Acre, daughter of Edward I by his first wife, Eleanor of Castile, and was therefore Edward II's full sister. The new Gloucester, another Gilbert de Clare, was less than ten years old at the time of his sister Margaret's marriage. He died in the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314.

¹³ The timing of Lincoln's death may have been a factor in the Fineshade chronicler's erroneous placement of Gloucester's.

concern him, but even these more practical concerns are often couched in terms of their betrayal of the past, increasing the emotional and moral weight of the transgressions.

Both Edward II and his father are generous to Piers Gaveston, to an extent that the chronicler finds remarkable. Edward I's adoption of the Gascon into his retinue is the first action of the chronicle, and the narrative thereafter until Gaveston's death is concerned with nothing but Edward II's gifts to Gaveston, and their consequences. The chronicler does not comment negatively on Edward I's generosity, although he does find it remarkable that Gaveston should have found "such favour with the king" (f. 86r l. 11). The generosity of Edward II, however, is labelled "importunate," an active threat to the kingdom, entirely negative in both its excess and in its recipient (f. 86r ll. 16-17). Edward I himself makes explicit the danger that the chronicler never states outright in his own voice, that Edward II's actions—indeed his very character—will lead to the kingdom's ruin, in some way more profound than mere financial upsets. After the young king's first open indulgences of Gaveston, the chronicler confirms Edward I's prediction that his son's actions would damage the realm ("to his own shame and with grave harm to himself and to all the people of England," f. 86r ll. 27-28), before turning to describe the civil disorder that resulted. This is a negative model of generosity, both in its excesses and in the king's choice of recipient. By the time this chronicle was written it was commonplace to express indignation at a Gascon receiving such favours at the expense of the true English peers. There were, presumably, people to whom and ways in which a king might appropriately be generous in the chronicler's eyes, but Edward II had flouted any such convention. In this troubled account, written in the wake of famine and civil strife, the king's misdirection of this noble virtue early in his reign seems to lead directly to the later crises.

We glimpse this worsening in the first few years of the next half, where the shadow of Despenser grows—perhaps not coincidentally, the years of the Famine.

But when he had obtained this office, it was not long before he showed himself to be altogether savage, so that no man could gain the favour of speaking with the king nor of treating with him, no matter how necessary or difficult the business, unless he had first satisfied the said lord Hugh with a great quantity of money. By his rigor and harshness he acquired many manors, properties, and unlimited treasure for himself.

(f. 86v ll. 30–34)

To this chronicler, Despenser's greatest sin—like Gaveston's—is greed, but where the Gascon was rude, the Marcher lord is cruel. Once again, Edward II is to blame. The cause is the same, the besetting evil is the same, but it has intensified and darkened. It worsens indeed to outright destruction, in apparent fulfilment of Edward I's prophecy, in what seems the logical conclusion of Edward II's actions upon his father's death. For the Fineshade chronicler, appropriate and judicious management of the country's resources is an essential element of good kingship, and he has lately seen kingship fail the land.

Edward's gifts to Gaveston cost the land more than their material value. In particular, the jewels given him are precious because they were deposited in the Tower of London by Edward's ancestors "a tempore a quo non extitit memoria" ("so long since that no memory of it remained," f. 86r l. 26). By implication this augments their value immeasurably, not only for the sake of those ancestors but also for the elapsed time itself. The ancestors are venerable not only because they lived so long ago, but also because, in depositing the jewels that were to remain in the Tower until Edward's reign, they laid the groundwork for the *now*, forming an unbroken connection to the narrated present. The value of the treasure lies in the passing of time between past and present—or, more specifically, an element of time: memory, and its failure. That the jewels' origin is beyond cultural memory makes them priceless, as they stand in materially for that memory. In giving them away, Edward irreparably severs the link with the

past. Once more the *Brut* goes one step further in making the betrayal explicit, identifying these treasures as having belonged to “þe noble Kyng Arthure,” guardian and epitome of England’s epic past. (206). It is not money that is lavished on Gaveston here—that earns a separate reproach from the Fineshade chronicler for its “great impoverishment of his people” (f. 86r l. 30). The gift of the jewels is criticised more strongly, for “his own shame and [the] grave harm to himself and to all the people of England,” a damage to Edward and the realm that must be something beyond the material damage of the lost money (f. 86r ll. 27–28). The jewels have been sitting unused time out of mind, so their presence or absence can make no substantial difference to the realm: all that is lost is something less substantial and (apparently) of greater value, a connection with England’s epic past.

Time-based Narrative Structure.

The first half of the chronicle, then, provides a strong narrative structure and a value system, closely embedded within that structure, that lends the events meaning and makes them comprehensible. In the second half, the chronicler appears to seek to map more recent events onto this pattern, like Henry of Huntingdon shaping the Norman invasion after the pattern of the Danish; but the story is too unruly to be entirely comprehended within these constraints.

A useful point of departure for analysing the Fineshade chronicle’s treatment of chronology is the model supplied by William Brandt, which has perhaps received less attention to date than it deserves. Brandt offers a powerful assessment of the way in which the overall structure of late-mediaeval chronicles was based on its treatment of time. At the level of the individual sentence, of the slightly longer “fact-event” (in Brandt’s terms), and of overall unity, the structural integrity of the chronicle shows a marked deterioration as it approaches the chronicler’s present.

Brandt proposes that the clerical chronicle of the later Middle Ages is composed of a series of units or blocks, which he calls “events.” These are only superficially linked without any fundamental continuity of action, so that “[e]very new page of the clerical chronicle was potentially, at least, a new beginning” (65). These events are of two kinds, distinguished by their level of complexity. The first is the basic event, an unelaborated statement of action, which Brandt labels the fact-event or event entry. The second is the more complete triadic event, a miniature story in itself which always follows a certain pattern. A typical annal, such as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, is made up entirely of fact-events, while a more narrative chronicle such as Matthew Paris’ *Chronica Majora* would contain a mixture of both types. A fact-event may be along the lines of “In this year, King Louis did penance for his excessive grief,” or “At that time the king restored his lands to the bishop of Chester.” It lacks consequences “and hence, however much elaborated, it refers to one particular instance in time” (66). The fully-fledged triadic event, on the other hand, contains a fuller account of the situation, action, and outcome, structured around three basic elements: “a preexisting situation, an intrusive disturbance, and a consequence” (70). Matthew Paris’ account of the first example given above is one such event. It describes the grief of King Louis at the failure of his crusade in 1254 (the grounds), the intervention of a bishop who rebukes him and advises patience (intrusive action), then the king’s penance and consolation (consequence and resolution) (Brandt 70–71).¹⁴

¹⁴ Brandt primarily discusses universalising chronicles, those chronicles which include a variety of subjects rather than being dedicated to a “single line of action” or unifying theme, as is an occasional chronicle (45, 76). Brandt would probably class the Fineshade chronicle as the latter; he argues, however, that authors of occasional chronicles still find their thoughts shaped by this event pattern, due to a shared “basic perceptual structure,” and there are sufficient stylistic similarities to make his observations valuable (76).

It should be stated now that, while I appreciate and utilise Brandt's analysis of these patterns within chronicles, I do not follow him to his ultimate conclusion. While valuable in itself, his treatment of chronicles is (to my mind) hampered by his desire to deduce a broad late-mediaeval zeitgeist from structural patterns. He seeks above all, through his study of twelfth- to fourteenth-century chronicles, "to define the word 'medieval' (particularly as it applies to England) in a more fundamental way than has heretofore been attempted," to identify "the essential character of the Middle Ages" through the isolation of "mental habits" and "modes of perception" of the period (xiii-xiv). He selects chronicles for the subject of this study because they are, to his mind, written by "men who fall considerably short of genius," who may therefore be taken as unremarkable examples of their time: "[w]e can safely assume that the repetitive patterns we find in the chronicles were implicit in experience for the chronicler and hence a fundamental constituent of his mental equipment" (xv, xvii). Consequently, he argues from a position that makes it impossible for him acknowledge the chance that any patterns or variants he observes may be, in part or whole, due to stylistic considerations, to elaborations on rhetorical conventions, or to the individuality of an author. Because he seeks a mediaeval mode of perception, these patterns must be the symptom of it, and therefore he must, on several occasions, argue vehemently that it was impossible for any mediaeval writer to think outside of the modes of thought revealed by these patterns. His ultimate goal thus puts him into a position in which he must minimise the contribution of the individual writer, regarding him primarily as a product of his time.

Brandt's model pre-supposes a non-continuous narrative in which each event is felt to stand alone. An essential element of his argument is that the style of chronicle writing limits the event in its scope only to itself, without reference forward or backward in time. In Brandt's analysis of the clerical chronicle, the event—however completely realised—is not only the basic unit of the chronicle but, in a rather fundamental way, the only unit. The mortar of narrative

does not exist—the events are simply placed beside each other, like bricks, “collections of incidents or events... [without] a basic continuity of action” (93). No temporal or causal relationship exists between these events: each seems to stand alone in its own moment in time. To Brandt, this is not merely a stylistic feature but a result of the mediaeval mode of perception that he seeks to characterise.

The world of the clerk... was nontemporal, at least as time is perceived today. Our modern feeling for time is a function of our feeling for the process; time is the means of continual change. The discrete and self-contained character of action as perceived by the medieval clerk meant that the world could not be perceived as process. (171)

This inability to perceive process, for Brandt, goes hand-in-hand with a supposed mediaeval inability to detect any kind of causal relationships at all. For example, he is disappointed with Matthew Paris’ failure to provide an explanatory background for his various anecdotes of the conflicts between Henry III and the church. His conclusion is that the chronicler must see only a series of events, that “[t]he things that make these struggles intelligible for a modern reader—the church-state controversy, for instance—were invisible to Matthew” (76). A chronicle, then, could not be a truly united narrative, but a series of superficially linked observations, with little or no causal connection offered by the chronicler.

Unquestionably, this “mortarless bricks” model applies in part or whole to many chronicles of the period, among them those of the chroniclers Brandt examines, such as Matthew Paris, and of others whom he does not mention, such as Adam Murimuth. If we accept Brandt’s observations merely as a description of inherited stylistic features of the chronicle genre they become a valuable tool for close analysis.

Brandt’s model does not apply entirely to the Fineshade chronicle. As I have already shown, this chronicler takes care to link events both causally and grammatically, rather than

leaving them in isolation from each other. On the very simplest level its author is capable of setting up and demonstrating the causal connection between a reasonably complex series of events by merely syntactic means. This gives the narrative a forward momentum that Brandt finds absent altogether from clerical chronicles, and present only in a limited fashion in the aristocratic equivalent (85-6). The inherited model observed by Brandt is, however, visible in this chronicle as something on which the chronicler draws and from which he occasionally departs, to which he cannot entirely adhere. Traces of it are visible in the Fineshade chronicle, not in its lack of mortar, but in the internal structure of each “brick”—that is, of the smaller narrative units within the broader story, in those places where these smaller units can be discerned. Brandt’s model is, therefore, a valuable tool with which to begin an analysis of this chronicle’s representation of reality as it is structured by time—particularly when it allows us to pinpoint those moments in which this inherited structure becomes inadequate to contain the chronicler’s material.

Sentence structure.

The early years of the Fineshade chronicle are structured around a series of events, similar to those observed by Brandt. However, rather than leaving them entirely discrete, with no causal connection between them, the chronicler links these events thematically into a semi-continuous narrative, building tension and demonstrating a pattern of behaviour on the king’s part.

The internal structure of these narrative units enhances this effect. Brandt’s “event” is initiated by a disturbance to the status quo, and ends with a return to it. In the Fineshade chronicle, one might select almost any narrative moment as an intrusive disturbance upon what has gone before, but any succeeding moment that might be tentatively considered a conclusion leads in turn to some new disturbance, which takes the preceding actions for its pre-existing

situation. Edward I's death, for example, disrupts the previous situation (which is invoked and established as such by "Eodem Rege postea...", "When afterwards that king...", f. 86r l. 21), leading to the further disruption of Edward II's accession to the throne, resulting in the recall of Gaveston from exile, which in turn leads to Edward impoverishing his kingdom to lavish gifts upon his favourite, up to and including his own niece to wife.

Consider this passage early in the chronicle. This is not a series of unconnected annal-style fact-events, nor can it easily be divided into a few of Brandt's triadic events.

Eodem Rege postea in anno regni suo trecesimo quinto a carnis
 ergastulo resolutus; filius suus regni sui monarchiam cepit occupare. qui
 non prius nomen regis adeptus est; quam ipsum Petrum reuocauit ab
 exilio & in statum pristinum restituit. solitique flaminam amoris
 infrenata mente renouauit. Quid plura? Antiquos thesauros & preciosa
 iocalia in gazophilacio Regis apud Westmonasterium per suos
 antecessores a tempore a quo non extitit memoria salvo depositos
 eidem Petro contulit & distribuit in proprium detrimentum &
 dampnum grauissimum sui ipsius & totius populi anglicani. Quia
 exhausto thesauro suo proprio, statim indigebat auxilio populari
 talliagique eis imposuit. Sic pecuniam extorsit & leuare fecit non
 modicam ad depauperacionem gentis sue. Inter hec Comes Glouernie
 vniuerse viam carnis est ingressus relinquens post eum tres filias &
 vnicum filium heredem suum quas & quem idem comes de domina
 Johanna de Aconio filia regis Edwardi suscitauit. Quarum vnā dictus
 Rex prefato petro dedit in vxorem & ipsum Comitem fecit Cornubie
 iuxta sui desiderium prius conceptum & ordinatum. (f. 86r ll. 21-34)

When afterwards that king, in the 35th year of his reign, was released from the prison of flesh, his son took over the throne. And no sooner had he taken the name of king than he recalled that Piers from exile and restored him to his former state, and gave new life to the flame of his accustomed love in his fervid heart. What more? There were old treasures and precious jewels in the treasury of the kings at Westminster, safely stowed there by his ancestors time out of mind: these he lavished on the same Piers, to his own diminishment and with grave harm to himself and to all the people of England. For once he had exhausted his own treasure, he demanded the aid of the people and imposed tallages upon them. Thus he extorted and forcibly raised money, to great impoverishment of his people. At this time the Earl of Gloucester departed the path of the flesh, leaving behind him three daughters and but one son, his heir, which that earl had begotten on lady Joan of Acre, daughter of King Edward. The said king gave one of these daughters to the aforementioned Piers in marriage, and gave him that same earldom of Cornwall according to his earlier desire and determination.

In the hands of another chronicler this sequence could doubtless be written as a series of events, whether brief fact-events or full triadic events, but here the syntax resists reduction to discrete units of any size. Pronouns (“qui non prius,” “ipsum Petrum,” “quarum unam”), temporal and causative conjunctions (“solitique,” “quia,” “inter hec”), and the ablative absolute (“Eodem Rege... resolutio,” “exhausto thesauro”) are used consistently to link the action back to the previous sentence. Almost every sentence seems, by its content and cadence, to expect a continuation of the action; those that seem to offer a natural close to the ear (“infrenata mente

renouauit,” “depauperacionem gentis sue”) are followed by a sentence that insists correspondingly more strongly on its connection to the former (an aural pattern which, given the standard education in rhetoric and verbal effects that the chronicler would have received as a young man, could hardly be accidental). “Quid plura?” rhetorically offers to expand on the results of Gaveston’s return and hints that what follows was, perhaps, inevitable in the light of Edward II’s previous favouritism. “Inter hec” initially performs the simple function of noting the temporal correspondence between Gloucester’s death and Edward’s excesses, but it is soon proved to correspond also in its result: another lavish gift for Gaveston. The death of Gloucester is equated temporally with Edward II’s gifts to Gaveston described in the previous sentence, and the marriage of his daughter Joan to Gaveston is equated causally with the same, while the ordering of the narrative overall suggests a steady crescendo of morally concerning actions on the part of the king. Each sentence is thus temporally and causally linked both forward and backward.

Lines	No. of lines	Years	Incipit... explicit	Summary of action
86r 5-6	1.5	-	<i>"Anno dominice... quarti decimo."</i>	<i>Statement of year.</i>
6-14	8.5	1295-1305	"Cum idem Rex transfretasset in flandriam... & firmiter disposuit innodare."	EI goes to Flanders. He encounters Gaveston, who endears himself to the king and prince.
15-21	5.5	1305-06	"Elapso vero aliquanto tempore... spe in postmodo redeundi. factumque est ita."	Young Edward asks his father to grant Cornwall to G. EI reacts with anger, then banishes G.
21-24	4	1306-07	"Eodem Rege postea... infrenata mente renouauit."	EI dies, EII recalls G. and loves him as before.
25-30	5.5	1307-08	"Quid plura? Antiquos thesauros... ad depauperacionem gentis sue."	EII lavishes gifts on G. to the ruination and shame of king and country.
30-34	4	1308	"Inter hec Comes Glouernie... iuxta sui desiderium prius conceptus & ordinatum."	Gloucester dies, EII gives his daughter Joan to G. in marriage.
34-36	2	-	"Et ecce sicut prouerbialiter dicitur... cum surgit in altum."	The pride of the lowly raised above their station.
36-86v 7	10	1308-1312	"Ita Petrus ille... capitis amputacione puniendus esset."	G.'s behaviour drives the magnates to plot his death.
86v 7-17	10	1312	"Hoc itaque sic prouiso... super foedum & tenementum Comitis Lancastrie."	G. is caught and executed.
17-25	8.5	-	"Totque fuerunt lictores qui sibi uulnera mortalia dederunt... ad plenum dicitur."	The guilt of all involved in G.'s death. Prediction of their deaths.
25-87r 1	18	1312-1319	"Hiis ita peractis; facte fuerunt ordinaciones... imposuit comiti Lancastrie in eius	Ordinances confirmed. Household of king reorganised. Despenser

			defensionem.”	appointed chamberlain. D.’s monopoly of king’s ear, his greed. His treachery.
87r 1-5	6	-	“O virosa doli iniquitas... respectu malorum futurorum.”	Despenser’s evil nature. The warning of evil to come.
87r 5- 87v 9	45	1320-22	“Nunc vero post premissa mouentur corda magnatum... compassio & angustia dicere non permittunt.”	The rebellion against Edward II and the Despensers. Its failure. Lancaster executed.
87v 9- 16	6.5	-	“O sanguis regius... tacendum est ad presens.”	Lament for Lancaster
16-22	6	1322	“Alii milites Barones & qui fuerunt cum dicto Comite... remanserunt in vinculis usque parliamentum.”	Fate of the other rebels.
22-32	11	1322	“In quo quidem parlamento... nichil actum fuit ea vice.”	Remaining business of that parliament.
33-88r 40	45	-	“ <i>Hec sunt nomina Comitum Baronum et Militum... Summa omnium v^x & xvij.</i> ”	<i>Boroughbridge Roll: list of the dead, fled and imprisoned.</i>

Figure 1: Sections within the Fineshade chronicle. Exclamatory moments are shown in bold, event sections in Roman face, other text in italics.

Paragraph or event structure.

This pattern repeats itself on a larger scale. The narrative is not entirely continuous—there are naturally felt divisions, descendants of Brandt’s triadal events (see fig. 1). Similar to modern paragraphs, they provide logical narrative pauses. These divisions are defined by temporal phrases, linking what follows to what precedes, but also by a certain narrative unity within each section. Each section, especially in the earlier part of the chronicle, is clearly delineated less by its contents than by the pattern of narration. The divisions come at the moments when one might, in reading aloud, instinctively pause to draw breath and re-gather one’s audience. The final sentence of each section has a falling cadence that encourages a pause, providing a natural close. The next sentence then resumes with a conjunctive phrase which, by recollecting the previous action, uses it as grounds for the new action to be described (“Hiis ita peractis,” “Hoc itaque sic prouiso,” “Nunc vero post premissa,” etc.). These phrases carry the heaviest burden in establishing the break between sections, as they confirm the close of the action implied by the end of the previous sentence and announce the change of focus. Having established its relation with the previous section, the new section will then turn its attention to the new action, often with a new actor in view. In the long quotation already given, the conjunctive phrases are “Eodem Rege postea,” “Quid plura?” and “Inter hec.”

Each section is concerned with the disturbance (to use Brandt’s term) caused by one intruding individual. This individual provides the main action of the section; others react to him. This actor is usually the subject of the first sentence, and often of the majority of sentences within that section. The chronicler, in fact, will often go to careful lengths with passive or subordinate constructions to avoid making anyone but the actor the subject of a main clause. So, for example, the first section (discounting the declaration of the year, which does not belong to any section) opens with “Cum idem Rex transfretasset” (“When that same king

crossed the seas”), as if to begin an account of the political actions of Edward I. But this is a subordinate clause: the main clause is “accessit ad eum quidam Petrus de Gualstona” (“a man by the name of Piers de Gaveston joined him”). Piers Gaveston is the subject of the opening sentence of this section, and his intrusive actions make him the disturbing influence with which it is concluded. The son of the king is the subject of the next sentence, but responds to and confirms Gaveston’s disturbant action rather than initiating one of his own. The section concludes with young Edward’s passionate devotion to his new favourite.

The second section (“Elapso vero aliquanto tempore... in postmodo redeundi; factumque est ita”) has the firmest structural integrity of any, and in fact conforms perfectly to Brandt’s triadic model. With “Elapso vero aliquanto tempore” (“after some time had passed”), the outcome of the previous action is established as the grounds. The deeds of Prince Edward, this section’s actor and the subject of the first sentence, are the intruding action; Edward I—the proponent of the established order, as we have seen, symbolic of the order being disturbed by the actions of his son—responds, as the subject of the second and third sentences. The concluding “factumque est ita” (“and so it was done”), following Edward I’s declaration of Gaveston’s banishment, functions with the lapse of time implied by the conjunctive phrase that follows to reinforce the sense of closure and completion here.

It is significant, however, that this section is the only one to conform completely to Brandt’s model, in that no true conclusion is provided to any section that follows. The following few sections are of a similar length, and all follow the pattern I have described, but as the story progresses the action of each section becomes less firmly contained by the ostensible close of the section. The newly crowned Edward II is the actor of the next three sections, and the subject of the first sentence of two,¹⁵ but the action drives relentlessly onwards through

¹⁵ The exception is “Inter hec Comes Glouernie... sui desiderium prius conceptum &

Edward's profligacy and Gaveston's pride, producing a dramatic tension which would be impossible in a less cumulative narrative. The predicted structure of the chronicle apparently begins to break down with the death of Edward I, corresponding with the "grave harm" inflicted by Edward upon the nation (f. 86r l. 27).

The next section ("Ita Petrus ille sic de nihil... capitis amputacione puniendus esset") begins the process of dilation that will characterise the remainder of the chronicle. It is a little longer, and has two actors—Gaveston and the magnates. Gaveston gloats and the magnates plot to bring about his end ("Piers... made enemies of the magnates of the land", f. 86r ll 36-7; "the magnates decided one and all", ff. 86r l. 39—86v l. 1). This section concludes with the magnates' decision to have Gaveston decapitated ("they found a plain road against their adversary, that is, that... he should be punished with decapitation," f. 86v ll. 5-7). This, of course, is no conclusion at all: it implies decisive future action with inevitably stirring consequences. The drama of the narration drives on into the even longer section that follows, in which they bring this about ("Hoc itaque sic prouiso... super foedum & tenementum Comitis Lancastrie").

The following section is considerably longer, taking up the remaining third of the page, and here the chronicler becomes very careful about specifying the actor. Perhaps this is caution: here Hugh Despenser appears, and Hugh Despenser was a dangerous figure to cross in English politics at the time of writing, as the Engaynes would have been well aware. The first two sentences, which tell of Despenser's appointment as chamberlain to the king, are passive constructions without an agent. Despenser is appointed: he does not engineer his own

ordinatum," in which Gloucester "takes action" in dying ("Comes... vniuerse viam carnis est ingressus"), removing his restraining influence both as magnate and father. Edward II remains the actor of the section, taking advantage of the death to give ("dedit," an active verb governing this main clause) Gloucester's daughter to Gaveston.

appointment, neither does Edward II, nor anyone else by name, even the magnates as a group. The resulting revelation of Despenser's inherent evil nature seems thus to come as a stroke of ill fortune, unanticipated and unintended by man.

In the following section, event blocks divisions break down altogether. Properly speaking, the next section covers the entire remainder of the chronicle, until the lament on the execution of Lancaster (*"Nunc vero post premissa... compassio et augustia dicere non permittunt"*). It includes the resentment of the magnates, their movement to action, the king's response, the battles, Lancaster's submission and his subsequent judgement and execution, running to a formidable forty-five lines (the previous sections together total only sixty-five). There are two sentences within it that resemble new sections, opening with conjunctive phrases of the type that has typically signalled the opening of a new section earlier in the chronicle (*"Interim Rex cum suo exercitu," "Quo ibidem adueniente,"* f. 87r ll. 17 and 40). While they assist the ear by giving the impression of re-setting the scene, however, they have little structural force. There is no internal cohesion to the segments they delineate, nor does the preceding sentence offer the faintest of conclusions, to the ear or to narrative logic.

This section, and the remainder of the chronicle that follows it, is marked not only by an absence of divisions, but by the chronicler's increasing reluctance to specify an actor, and frequently even a grammatical subject. The magnates react to Edward's actions rather than initiating action of their own. Passive constructions abound. The barons, and Lancaster in particular, are usually direct objects rather than subjects in sentences. Almost everything they suffer, moreover—attacks, executions, imprisonments, Lancaster's harassment, the proceedings of the parliament—is told in passive construction without agents. Andrew Harclay and the king are named as agents so long as the armies are only manoeuvring, but as soon as battle is joined and deaths result we are told only that "the Earl of Hereford was killed, and many others on both sides" (f. 87r l. 36). Of the corpses of the hanged men, we are told not that "they left the

corpses on the gallows” or even that “the corpses were left on the gallows” but that, as already noted, “[the corpses] hung there so long as sinews could hold the bones together” (f. 87v l. 19). For the harassment of Lancaster on the way to his execution, the chronicler almost avoids verbs altogether in favour of nouns, reluctantly mentioning “the insults and taunts, the indignities and abuse heaped and hurled odiously upon him” (f. 87v l. 8). The chronicler is biased towards the barons’ part, but is also reluctant to attribute the worst actions on their opponents (amongst whom, with whatever reservations, Sir John and Sir Nicholas Engayne stood). Structure in this section seems to have quite broken down, together with the expected possibility of closure and the ability to specify agent and culpability. The story simply continues, as does the conflict, with devastating results.

The sections throughout the chronicle grow longer and longer, more unmanageable. The effect is disturbance upon disturbance, with no chance to re-establish order or to achieve the resolution expected by the triadic event model. One might regard this dilatory effect as natural amplification, detail and excitement increasing as the narrated time approaches the author’s own present. After all, one would expect a chronicler writing in 1322 or 1323 to have more to say about the Battle of Boroughbridge than, for example, the Battle of Bannockburn against the Scots in 1314. It was closer temporally and geographically, its repercussions for an institution such as Fineshade were potentially graver, and the author had direct information available. One might conclude that the chronicler, impassioned or horrified by his subject, became careless of structural integrity. This supposition is belied, whoever, by the care with which he designed the structure of the chronicle as a whole.

Narrative structure.

As I have argued, rather than following a model similar to Brandt’s in which each event stands independently outside time, the Fineshade chronicler has established each event in a careful temporal relationship to each other. From the simple level of grammatical structure to

well-sustained suspense, he insists on the effect of past on future and relevance of both to the narrated present. But the most essentially unifying moments have no chronological stamp at all. Instead, they invite the reader to step outside of the chronological sequence, to consider it and to observe its workings.

There are four of these moments in the chronicle, easily recognised by their apostrophic character—exclamations of “ecce” and “o!”, direct address, proverbs and rhetorical questions are used—and they fall at crucial moments in the narrative. The first follows the account of Gaveston’s greed and pride and precedes the magnates’ movement against him (“Et ecce... surgit in altum”); the second responds to his death and is followed by the introduction of Hugh Despenser (“Totque fuerunt lictores... ad plenum dicetur”); the third follows the revelation of Despenser’s evil character and precedes the magnates’ rise against him (“O virosa doli iniquitas... malorum futurorum”); the fourth is prompted by the execution of Lancaster and is followed by a brief notice of the fates of some other barons, and the notice of the proceedings of Parliament (“De opprobriis... tacendum est ad presens”). Structurally, these apostrophes resemble columns supporting and defining the shape of the chronicle. The second of them concludes the first half, while the fourth ends the main action of the narrative. The first and third provide moments of reflection in the centre of each half. In sharp contrast to the factual tone of the bulk of the chronicle, these apostrophes openly demand an analytical and moral reaction to the action narrated, reflecting meaning both forward and backwards.

The third of these reflections will serve as an example:

O virosa doli iniquitas qui cum perperam egerit de fraude sua non est
contentus nisi prius alios & innocentes commaculet eis venenum
infundens quod numquam gustare curauerunt. Sed adhuc hiis tanquam
minimis omissis ad mala que sequuntur stilum uertamus. Sicut enim
tempestates grandes quandoque quasi ebullire videntur in nubibus aeris

antequam ad terram descendant. sic omnes iniquitates pretextate;
 ebulliciones & preambulaciones sunt tantummodo respectu malorum
 futurorum. (f. 87r ll. 1–5)

*O rank and deceitful Iniquity, who, not content with wrongly passing
 her time in fraud, must stain others and innocents with her venom,
 pouring out what they never cared to sip. But as little has been omitted
 hitherto, let us turn our pen to the evils that followed. Indeed, even as
 great tempests when they seem almost to boil in the clouded skies
 before they descend to earth, so can every burgeoning wickedness be
 seen to have been boiling over and signalling its own coming, through
 the hindsight of future evils.*

The immediate impetus for this outrage is Despenser's attempt to frame Lancaster for his own sins: i.e., the revelation of Despenser's true character that will drive the final dissolution of civil unity, and the first hint of the wronged martyr as a frame of reference for Lancaster.¹⁶ The first sentence consequently reflects back on what has passed, heaping adjective on noun to condemn the poison of "iniquitas"; the second takes an instant to turn about, pivoting on a

¹⁶ Although these revelations do serve to make it a pivotal moment in the chronicler's narrative, it seems an odd choice of occasion to support such rhetorical weight – no other chronicler, to my knowledge, lays such structural emphasis on this event as a turning point in Edward's reign. This may perhaps be explained if we remember again that the Engaynes were present at this encounter, would have received a vivid impression of the disruption and disunity it provoked amongst the magnates, and probably heard first-hand many of the accusations that were flying about – not least between Lancaster and Despenser (see p. 7 above and p. 101 n. 15 below). It might therefore have lodged itself in their memories (and been presented to the local community and the chronicler) as a moment that prefigured and initiated the slide into civil war.

momentary invocation of the present; the third reflects forward on what is to come, offering a moral framework within which to view it. Although it engages with narrative time, it is not bound by it: rather, it addresses the reader in an eternal “now,” in which both the reader and the author—he who wields the “pen”—exist. Nor has this “now” anything to do with the author’s own present, in the sense of the week, month, or year in which he writes. Like the present through which Henry of Huntingdon conveys the past to the future, and in which Adam Murimuth informs his readers that it is a worthy thing to record past deeds, the only visible present here is the one in which the writer and reader communicate, unaffected by historical immediacy.

Within this present, the reader is invited to reflect not only upon the specific case in front of him, but upon a more general moral framework. Despenser is not condemned by name: it is abstract “iniquitas” that is execrated. Elsewhere, the target of reproach is pride of a lowly man suddenly raised too high, the injustice of murdering even an unjust man, and the wrongs done to Lancaster, rather than (respectively) Gaveston, Gaveston’s murderers, and the people responsible for Lancaster’s execution. Placed as they are at pivotal moments in the narrative, the chronicler’s uses of the present tense involve the reader in the act of interpretation, encouraging him or her to fit the particular sins or failings of the actors in the chronicle into a framework of universal morality.

The chronicler shapes the story he creates around these four pivotal moments in such a way as to encourage reflection. Gaveston’s murder mirrors the executions of Lancaster and the other barons, and the reflections on these are preceded by the accounts of increasingly violent baronial action. Gaveston’s pride mirrors Despenser’s wickedness, and these reflections follow proof of the king’s indulgence to his favourites. The first and third are preceded by slightly atemporal accounts of the favourites’ actions which are descriptive of character rather than properly chronological, and each is followed by a metaphor of gathering clouds that

approaches the prophetic. The second and fourth reflections, both prompted by deaths, are followed by laments for the cruelty of those deaths and for the deaths of good men (prophesied in the first case, completed in the second). The prophecy of Warwick's and Lancaster's deaths in the first instance may even be answered in the second by the bleak "it is certain that no men remain in England so strong or so powerful in arms" (f. 87v l. 20): no man of their stature remains, and there is nothing to prophesy. The earlier half of the chronicle arguably provides context and meaning for the later events thus mirrored, which were both more recent and incomprehensibly ruinous.

If the chronicler shows such care for the structure of the chronicle as a whole, the gradual disintegration of the individual structural event-unit as the action progresses can be no accident. Brandt notices, almost in passing, the essentially pessimistic view of the world that is so prevalent in those clerical chronicles that comprehend time in terms of the triadic structure of status quo—intrusion—outcome. With such a style of narration, action must always come as a disruption to stability, "a disturbance of the norm, an unnatural state of affairs" (79). Brandt argues that Matthew Paris, while approving of the baronial action against Henry III, could only do so because he "did not regard the barons as initiating anything. Henry III was the great initiator from Matthew's point of view; the barons were seen as reacting, bent upon expelling the disturbance to quiescence" (79–80). For the Fineshade chronicler, action is almost invariably morally culpable. Edward II and Gaveston are unambiguously the actors in the first half of the narrative, the easily comprehensible early years. When it comes to the long slide into civil war, on the other hand, it is not so easy to point to an initiator, to assign an active subject to his sentences. It is telling that this increasing reluctance to identify an actor corresponds to the breakdown of the triadic event structure.

By implication, the world ought to be stable, as (doubtless) ordained by its Maker—hardly a surprising opinion for any society to develop, and likely to be felt with particular strength in

the wake of civil disturbances such as the events of 1320–22, and the recurring of the Great Famine from 1315–1320. I would argue that the stable event unit observed by Brandt is not a reflection of a mediaeval mental habit but a rhetorical device used to contain and limit events to a neatly recognisable form, which, by its finite nature, denies the possibility of real or lasting change. The Fineshade chronicle narrates the events of the past reign as nothing but disturbances, a country broken and agitated, disconnected from its traditional roots, with no hope of a real conclusion beyond the names of the many dead.

The chronicle tradition provided the author with one stylistic and conceptual model for the structure of time and causality and for the articulation of events relative to them, but it was not the only one. As we have already seen, throughout most of the Fineshade chronicle time is defined subjectively, an aspect of major events within the chronicle, rather than possessing an absolute independent character of its own. More than that, the relationship between these events is not merely temporal but causal: ramifications reach forward and backwards through time, situations compound. A finite and self-contained event structure is inadequate to the story that the chronicler has to tell.

The chronicle form was not, however, the only one available for early fourteenth-century historical narrative. This chronicle also owes an undeniable debt to hagiography in some of its subject matter and language. As its event structure disintegrates, the structure of the chronicle is shaped most strongly around moments of emotion and moral meaning instead, in a way more reminiscent of a *vita sancta* than of a chronicle such as Murimuth's. To consider the extent to which the chronicler made use of the conceptual tools of the hagiographic tradition, we must focus on his portrayal of one figure: that of Thomas of Lancaster.

Chapter 4

Truth and Memory: The Hagiographical Legacy

Julian Hospitaller is the patron saint of travellers and guests. He acquired this Zeus-like portfolio, appropriately enough, through a story with ancestors in Greek mythology. He pursues a hart, who turns to him and foretells that he will murder his parents. Fleeing this prophecy, he is adopted by a great man in a distant land who gives him a large fief, a castle, and the hand of his daughter in marriage. Years later, his parents come in search of him, and in his absence his wife gives them the conjugal bedroom for the night—a gesture of respect which backfires when her husband, returning, finds a man and a woman in his wife’s bed and slays them in jealous fury before he realises their identity. Repentant, he retires into poverty with his wife, and devotes the remainder of their days to giving hospice to poor or ill travellers and helping them across a nearby river. For this devotion, the reformed sinner attains sainthood, and a set of celestial responsibilities appropriate to his story.¹

Hagiography, by its nature, answers to very different structural demands than does the chronicle. Rather than imposing order upon a disjointed series of events along a vast time scale with many actors, hagiography typically tells the story of one man or woman whose life is defined by a single clear divine

¹ This is the version told in Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda Aurea*, completed around 1267, which was very popular in England during this period. Jean de Vignay’s translation, the *Légende Dorée*, was written within two decades of this chronicle, probably between 1333 and 1340, and quickly became an integral part of the English legendary tradition. The *Légende Dorée* was translated into Middle English in 1438 as the *Gilte Legende*, and William Caxton’s *Golden Legend* of 1483 translates the *Legenda Aurea* directly, supplemented from the *Légende Dorée* and the *Gilte Legende* (*Supplementary Lives* xiii and *Gilte Legende* v I xi). The *Legenda Aurea* is available in the Kessinger reprint of Georg Graesse’s 1846 edition, and in a handsome recent edition with facing-page translation into modern Italian by Giovanni Maggioni and Francesco Stella. William Ryan has published a complete modern English translation.

purpose. The essential unity this provides stands in contrast to Brandt's model of the chronicle's series of superficially linked observations that are united only by date. Every detail of Jacobus de Voragine's story of Julian emphasises the divine symmetry that governs the saint's life and thereby reveals God's purpose, to Julian and to the reader. The prose *Brut*, on the other hand, remains nominally a chronicle. Although its generic boundaries are fluid when it comes to content and signification, its universalising scope and vast timescale forbid so tidy a meaning as can be conveyed by pure hagiography. The section that covers Edward II's reign does, however, borrow heavily from hagiographical traditions when inherited chronicle forms prove too dry to convey the author's interpretation of events.

Hagiographical tradition potentially provides another model for a mediaeval historical writer to unite the events of a given period, one that relates events and persons more directly to a comprehensible divine purpose and message. It is a model more closely controlled than the chronicle or annal, and therefore, in one sense, more limited. It must omit certain details, and is restricted in the angle from which it can tell others. In the case of Thomas of Lancaster, his wife's abduction (to which she may have consented) by the earl of Surrey in 1317 would have reflected poorly on Lancaster's honour and on his behaviour within his household, and had therefore to be erased from any history that wished to portray him in a positive light.² The political events of the final year of his life, meanwhile, would have to be related very carefully to give the impression that he was motivated by principle, not by self-interest and personal resentments. Outright hagiography, as opposed to the hybridity of the *Brut*, must also leave out altogether any events and details during the years in question that simply have nothing to do with Lancaster. Adam Murimuth's meticulous records of episcopal appointments, for example, could not appear in the anonymous "De Beato Thome,"

² For Alice de Lacy's abduction by Surrey, see Maddicott (*Lancaster*, 197–98), Haines (*Edward II*, 106 and notes), and Seymour Phillips (291–93). Ranulf Higden, weighing the competing arguments for Lancaster's sanctity or villainy in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, mentions as a point against him the rumours relating to his character as a husband: among other things, it was said that, despite being married, the former earl "rou3t nou3t of his wyf, and defouled a greet multitude of wommen and of gentil wenches" (314–15, Trevisa's translation).

an early hagiographical reaction to Lancaster's death. The result is a narrower and more focussed narrative, with a stronger emphasis on comprehension of an event than on its literal aspects.

In writing the *Legenda Aurea's* version of the Julian Hospitaller tale, Jacobus de Voragine is meticulous in his emphasis of symmetry and symbolically charged detail in the structure of the story, the better to convey its message and to increase its value as an instructional text. Julian's saintly functions relate perfectly to the events of his life, and the repetitions of events and language are so pointed and unequivocal that it is next to impossible either to fail to notice them or to misinterpret them. They encourage comparison and analysis as a guide to the moral heart of the story. For example, the story is driven by three revelations—the prophecy, and the revelations of his murdered parents' and his angelic guest's identities—each of which follows an action of Julian's—pursuit of the hart, murder of his parents, charity to the leper. Each revelation leads to a journey—away to foreign lands, away to found a guesthouse, up to heaven. The first journey is directed superficially upwards—up the social scale, into a castle, presumably situated on high ground—and the second, after he repents, down into humble society and down to the banks of a river. The wisdom he acquires here allows him to ascend correctly in the final journey.

The tidy structure of this legend serves an effective didactic purpose. It is memorable, and, precisely by being so neatly shaped, it gives the impression of a divine plan. The horror at the heart of the story—the chaotic murder of guests and parents—leads in the end to an outcome that redeems it, gives it meaning, gives it a place within an eternal plan. Julian's atonement fits his sin, and so transforms it. After his grotesque failure of hospitality, it is no coincidence that he first works to become a model of hospitality on earth, then defends the same quality from heaven when he becomes a saint. The form of his atonement would have been commendable but meaningless without the sin, and so, consequently, would his saintly portfolio.

None of the characters within the story can glimpse the symmetry that is clear to those in the privileged position of reader. If one is reading silently, one can turn pages or re-read sections; if one is listening to another read or recount a story, one can request repetition or engage in discussion. A reader can lay any moment of narrative time alongside any other for comparison and consideration, while

remaining cognisant of its place within the story as a whole. The reader thus occupies a position relative to narrative time that is analogous to God's position relative to historical time. Freed from the immediacy of place and time within the story, the reader can appreciate the pattern of the whole, can observe how God has shaped this particular part of history—and by implication how he might, according to the author, be supposed to be shaping the reader's own historical moment.

The story of Saint Julian is not the only one to show this level of narrative symmetry. Other saints, figures of history as well as hagiographical tradition, made a similar transition. Thomas Becket's early friendship with Henry II and lack of religious motivation prior to his appointment as Archbishop of Canterbury were emphasised in some later accounts precisely to lend his later piety weight and meaning. The "De Beato Thoma" and the *Brut* each compare Thomas of Lancaster to his archiepiscopal namesake on several occasions, equating the arc of their careers (*Brut* 219, 222, et passim; "De Beato Thoma" 181). For anyone writing about Thomas of Lancaster in the first years after his execution, before the understanding of his life had settled into an established shape, stories within this tradition provided a potential model for making Lancaster's life and death comprehensible.

The Fineshade chronicle is not in itself hagiography, nor is it a direct result of the martyr cult that blossomed in the wake of Lancaster's execution. It has some roots in the same traditions as the cult, however, and uses the same terms and contexts (although not always to the same ends) to create a more comprehensible narrative. As perhaps the earliest surviving narrative response to the civil war (excepting possibly the relevant passages in the *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, unfortunately partly lost), and one that originates far from the cult's earliest centres in Pontefract and London, this chronicle is a largely independent witness to such an impulse. The documents included in the manuscript, while they are in themselves even further from hagiography, express and contextualise some of the political concerns (such as mismanagement of money) that were to be employed in more symbolic terms both by the cult and the Fineshade chronicle. The canon who compiled the manuscript and wrote the chronicle employs information, images, terminology, and ideas gleaned from word of mouth, the Engaynes' experience, and from sources such as those documents he chose to attach to the chronicle. While the result never quite departs from the secular plane to ascend into true hagiography, it does on occasion make use of

hagiographical interpretations to filter these images into meaningful narrative. Examination of the characteristics of the Lancaster cult in its early years therefore provides a valuable benchmark against which to judge the extent of this chronicler's use of what were to become the most powerful and enduring aspects of Thomas of Lancaster's legend.

Thomas of Lancaster, martyr of Boroughbridge.

Sainthood, by its nature, carries an easily recognised symbolic weight which can be transferred to almost any historical figure of importance, especially if they are perceived to have died in pursuit of some commendable ideal. As such, hagiography provides a cultural cache of meaning that is readily available in the event of social trauma—and this symbolism was rapidly attached to Thomas of Lancaster.

Within a week of his execution, according to one chronicle, miracles attributed to him were being reported.³ Devotion to the new martyr quickly became so widespread that Edward II and the Despensers were obliged to do their best to suppress it (Pirovansky 25). Access to his tomb was denied, and on 28 June Edward wrote to the Bishop of London, warning sternly against allowing people to continue to “worship and adore” Lancaster (“col[ere] et adora[re]”) at the board in St Paul's that commemorated the Ordinances—a convenient London focus for the cult (*Foedera* 2.i: 525; cf. *Anonimalle* 114). The *Brut* claims that Hugh Despenser persuaded Edward to seal the doors of the church at Pontefract, denying access not only to his tomb but to any form of ordinary worship (230). On 9 September 1323 Edward ordered an inquiry into a recent incident in which his constable of Pontefract castle had personally, on his orders, gone to the place of Lancaster's execution to “prohibit a multitude of malefactors and apostates from praying and making oblations there in memory of the said earl not to God but rather to idols, in contempt of the king and contrary to his former command.” The constable and his servants had been assaulted, and two of them had been killed (CIMisc 528–29). In that month and again in the next, the Archbishop of York leant his authority to Edward in the matter, ordering the cessation of worship of

³ *Anonimalle* (108)—the date would be 29 March 1322, after his execution on 22 March.

Lancaster at Pontefract, to no avail (Theilmann 251). By the time Queen Isabella invaded in 1326, devotion to Lancaster was sufficiently popular that she found it convenient to align her cause with his and advance in the martyr's name—a tactic which, in combination with her own and the Bishop of Hereford's adroit handling of her image, effectively won most of the country to her support.⁴ Edward III was to follow her example, publicly attaching himself to his great-uncle Lancaster's cult. In February 1327, and again in March 1330, he wrote to Pope John XXII requesting Lancaster's canonisation, extolling his virtues in terms by then characteristic of the rhetoric of sanctity surrounding Lancaster.⁵ For the next century, the kings of England—particularly the usurping Lancastrians—associated themselves closely with his memory (Pirovansky, *Martyrs* 28, 41; Walker 202–03).

A flurry of scholarship on “Saint” Thomas in recent years has elucidated the most characteristic elements of the early representation of Lancaster as a saint⁶. He is generous, both to the poor and to his

⁴ AP 299; Walsingham 181; S. Phillips 504, 509–10. Theilmann discusses Isabella and Mortimer's use of the popular perception of Lancaster as martyr to strengthen their own cause and damage Edward's (251). For the sermons of Adam Orleton, Bishop of Hereford, during the invasion, then later for the deposition, and their effect in shaping Isabella's image and positioning her cause relative to that of Edward and the Despensers and the ideals attributed to Lancaster, see Haines (*Church and Politics* 164–69) and S. Phillips (527–29). Gwilym Dodd discusses a more political use of Lancaster's legacy by Isabella and Mortimer, their use of “a veil of ‘Lancastrian constitutionalism’” when setting up parliament in 1327 after deposing Edward II (179).

⁵ Most characteristically, it speaks vividly of rivers of his sacred blood flowing forth from the place of his passion to heal England (*Foedera* 2.ii: 695). Later, Edward III refers to him as “nobilis Christi miles & athleta” and “consanguineus noster” (“noble knight and warrior of Christ” and “our kinsman”), the latter emphasising his literal royal blood as well as tactically highlighting the king's reasons for private devotion (*ibid.* 782).

⁶ Throughout this section I draw principally upon the work of Simon Walker, L. A. Coote, Danna Pirovansky, John McQuillen, and James Robinson. The most hagiographic narrative sources from the first decade after Lancaster's death are the *Brut* and the *Anonimale Chronicle*, together with the “De Beato Thome.” The *Brut* and *Anonimale Chronicle* were both written in or around York in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, and the “De Beato Thome” probably at Pontefract within a decade of Lancaster's death.

peers (*Brut* 222 and elsewhere; “De Beato Thoma” 182; *Foedera* 2.ii: 695); his knightly virtues are equated with Christian virtues by repeated use of phrases such as “miles Christi,” “Dei athleta,” and “flos militiae” (“knight of Christ,” “God’s warrior,” and “flower of chivalry”), occasionally extending to his being characterised as a Crusader;⁷ reference is made to his noble lineage and feudal strength;⁸ he wears humble clothing at his capture, judgement, or execution (*Brut* 220, 222; Pirovansky, *Martyrs* 34; McQuillen 10–11); false accusations are levelled at him, particularly of treachery and collusion with the Scots (*Brut* 218 and elsewhere; “De Beato Thoma” 185; *Foedera* 2.ii: 731); his death is understood to be unjust and senseless (“De Beato Thoma” 185; *Anonimalle* 106); he is closely associated with his namesake and predecessor in the resistance of royal tyranny, Thomas Becket, and sometimes with Thomas of Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford (1275–82), who was canonised in 1320 on Lancaster’s (and Edward II’s) petition (*Brut* 222; “De Beato Thoma” 181–82, 186; McQuillen 11; Pirovansky, *Martyrs* 35; Maddicott, *Lancaster* 321; S. Phillips 70); and, both before and after death, he directly fights for the liberty and well-being of England (“De Beato Thoma” 181; *Anonimalle* 108). The last point in particular came to characterise his cult in the early years after his death, with England still in turmoil—as Walker finds of most late-mediaeval political saints in England, Lancaster’s saintly powers of intercession “characteristically extended beyond the individual to the community, seeking to effect the recreation of concord in a disordered body politic” (213–24).

Moreover, in the overtly hagiographic texts, Pirovansky identifies several additional characteristic elements (all present in the *Brut* and several elsewhere) that work specifically to depict Lancaster’s death as an emulation of Christ’s passion (*Martyrs* 48, and throughout chapter 2). Lancaster is betrayed by his

⁷ See “De Beato Thome” (181–82), *Foedera* 2.ii: 695, Walker (209), McQuillen (10 and 24–25 for the same expressions in suffrage prayers addressed to Lancaster), and chapter 2 of Pirovansky’s *Martyrs*. The *Brut* attaches the phrase “þe flour of chivalry” collectively to all the knights and barons executed after Boroughbridge (224).

⁸ See “De Beato Thome” (181 and throughout), McQuillen (11), and the office written in Lancaster’s honour in MS BL Royal 12 C. XII f. 1r.

“disciples” (*Brut* 216, 219; *Anonimalle* 112)⁹; he, or the narrator, typically predicts the death of one or both traitors (*Brut* 217, 218; *Anonimalle* 112); he maintains silence either before his persecutors or before the mockery of others (although this element blurs with the king’s refusal to allow Lancaster to speak in his own defence) (*Brut* 221 and elsewhere; “De Beato Thoma” 185); an old chaplet is placed on his head and his pretensions are mocked (“O Kyng Arthur, most dredefull,” *Brut* 222–23); on his way to judgement or execution he is jeered by the crowd, and objects are thrown at him (*Brut* 220–23, “De Beato Thoma” 185); he utters a cry that recalls either “why have you forsaken me” or “into your hands I commend my spirit,” sometimes addressed to Thomas Becket (*Brut*, 222 to Becket and 223 to “þe Kyng of Heuen”); and his role as the saviour of humanity (or at least of England) is emphasised (*Foedera* 2.ii: 695, 782; *Anonimalle* 108; McQuillen 9).

“Saint” Thomas’ role as divine intercessor for England, particularly as regarded the healing of a broken community and a “disordered body politic,” in Walker’s phrase, help to explain his rapid popularity. Civil war, famine, increasing taxes, brawling and pillaging among the gentry and nobility, displacement of families from their traditional land, and a king increasingly willing to bend the letter of the law to his will made for a disordered and unstable society throughout the 1320s. In Wright’s collection of political songs from the time of King John to that of Edward II, J. R. Maddicott finds evidence of a curious trend in the songs of this and the previous decade, which he attributes to the unsettled and difficult times. Edward II’s reign, he argues, sees a rise of complaint songs that refer to specific grievances rather than

⁹ Both Andrew Harclay and Robert Holland played key roles in Lancaster’s defeat. Holland, though nominally Lancaster’s man, changed sides to support the king at a crucial moment, just before the battle of Burton-upon-Trent, taking a substantial portion of Lancaster’s army with him (see p. 11 above). Harclay led the royal army that cut the fleeing rebels off at Boroughbridge. Harclay’s relationship with Lancaster was slighter than Holland’s—Lancaster knighted both men, but Holland was active in his service—so Harclay is a less obvious candidate for the role of treacherous disciple than is Holland (*Brut* 216–17, 218–20; Maddicott, *Lancaster* 309–10; *Vita* 108–09, 210–11). Holland was murdered in October 1328, probably for his desertion of Lancaster (ODNB, “Sir Robert Holland”; see p. 28 above).

general, and which are more “particular and circumstantial” (“Poems” 141). In this new trend, specific government and church officials were often targeted as figures of blame and satire (132–33). This blame is not purely derogatory. Implicit in it is an ideal of what these officials ought to be and do, the ultimately useful function of their office, which these corrupt individuals of these corrupt times fail to fulfil.

Particularly interesting, given the cult’s mention of Lancaster as a crusader, is the lament that chivalry is dead, that the nobles who should be heroically fighting Crusades are instead occupied with killing each other at home (132). The “Poem on the Evil Times of Edward II,” most notably, specifies the Famine, the livestock plagues, the civil war, and the execution of Lancaster himself as the evils of the time (142; Wright 323–45). Maddicott attributes this rise of the particular to the English having “more to protest about”: increasing tax demands from 1297 onwards, famine in 1314–17, and further dearth and civil war in 1321–22 (142). There appears to have been a common perception of some kind of time of crisis, complaint being one way to comprehend it. It is, of course, only one way. It gives the crisis a meaning, in this case the corruption of the governing classes. A new saint arising under circumstances that placed him in direct opposition to the king provided another angle for comprehending the present, and the promise of redress to civil disorder would have been an attractive halo indeed.

The Scottish question: collusion, treachery, or defence.

In the wake of the Battle of Boroughbridge, as the hasty worship and the equally hasty ban of worship at Pontefract and Saint Paul’s suggest, both sides scrambled to take control of Lancaster’s posthumous image. If Lancaster was to have died for the good of the land, either as traitor or as martyr, his merits or faults must be made to correspond directly to its woes. One of the most important issues at stake was the question of collusion with the Scots. Rumours that Lancaster was dealing with Robert Bruce had been simmering since at least the collapse of the English siege of Berwick in 1319 (see p. 7 above and p. 101 note 15 below). Insinuations of Scottish collaboration had been a standard weapon in the arsenal of both sides in the lead-up to the civil war, and appear in all three documents transcribed with the Fineshade

chronicle (ff. 84v ll. 10–11, 85r ll. 2–3, 86r ll. 1–3). At Lancaster’s execution, the charge of negotiating with the Scots was the weightiest brought against him (*Foedera* 2.ii: 40–42; Maddicott, *Lancaster* 311–12).

There is some reason to suspect that the accusations against Lancaster had foundation. According to Maddicott, by the time of the Doncaster meeting, or possibly because of lacklustre attendance at it, Lancaster was desperate enough to consider a Scottish alliance. On 6 December, eight days after the date set for the meeting, letters of safe-conduct appear to have been issued by James Douglas to two of Lancaster’s men to meet him at Jedburgh “pro Nuncio ab adhaerentibus Comitibus Lancastriae” (“by a messenger from adherents of the Earl of Lancaster,” Maddicott, *Lancaster* 301; *Foedera* 2.ii: 29). Further negotiations seem to have followed. The only evidence is the series of letters contained in the *Foedera* (transcripts having been sent to Edward II), which were made public at the time of Lancaster’s trial as evidence against him. Although these letters could have been forged, Maddicott finds no reason to doubt their essential truth, as “cumulative evidence for Lancaster’s collaboration with the Scots is very strong” (*Lancaster* 302). He concludes that “even allowing for the context of the document it seems circumstantially very probable” that Lancaster did at least attempt to strike a bargain with Robert Bruce (*Lancaster* 303). Certainly Lancaster was in the position by this stage to need all the help he could get, in the form of allies actual or threatened. The important point for our purposes, however, is that these threats were made: Lancaster was tried and found guilty of, among other things, allying with the Scots. It was part of the court’s public indictment of him, and therefore a stain on his character that any sympathiser would have to address.¹⁰

The *Brut* chronicler shows particular sensitivity to the charges of collusion with the Scots brought against Lancaster at his trial, not only refuting many of the details, but actively turning them to Lancaster’s advantage by writing them into the narrative of martyrdom. In the *Brut*’s version of events, Robert Bruce, rather than being slyly invited in by Lancaster, invaded as a direct result of the strife between Edward and

¹⁰ For discussions of Lancaster’s collusion with Scots, see Maddicott (*Lancaster* 301–03) and Seymour Phillips (406). The author of the *Vita* gives the possibility considered attention several times, his attitude changing over the years in which he was writing (132–34, 176–8, 166–70, intro liii–lv).

the barons: when he “herd of þe debate þat was in Engeland bituene þe Kyng and his lordes,” he seized his opportunity (*Brut* 207–08). The fault is therefore more Edward’s than Lancaster’s.

More specifically, the fact that the defeated rebels were cut off by Harclay at Boroughbridge—in other words, fleeing north from Lancaster’s main stronghold at Pontefract—was taken by many for a sign of guilt (Maddicott, *Lancaster* 311; *Vita* 123; AP 302). The *Brut* chronicler parries this charge with a double deflection. Firstly, he makes it clear that they were aiming for Lancaster’s northern holdings, not for Scotland (the Fineshade chronicle only says “ad alias partes,” “to other parts,” f. 87r 33). Secondly, he has Lancaster hold out against the plan in an attempt to avoid even the appearance of treachery, concerned that “if we gone toward þe north, men wil seyn þat we gon toward þe Scottes; and so we shul be holde traitoures.” It is not until Sir Roger Clifford threatens him with drawn sword that he is compelled to yield (217).¹¹

The chronicler clearly knew of an even finer detail: the pseudonym “King Arthur,” with which it was alleged Lancaster had signed his letters to Robert Bruce. Rather than being acknowledged as a symbol of royal subversion, the name is, in the *Brut*, hurled at Lancaster in mockery by the crowd as he is dragged to his execution (222). The accusation is not acknowledged outright, but rather pre-empted and replaced with a scenario that redounds to Lancaster’s credit, not to Edward’s. The (implicitly) false accusations made by the crowd are par for the course in a martyrdom tale. In so accusing him, ironically, the crowd proves his righteousness by assuming to themselves the role of Christ’s tormentors and deriders on the way to Calvary. The name of the legendary protector of England, from this perspective, carries a deeper

¹¹ Given its function within the narrative and the *Brut*’s pattern of attempting to rehabilitate Lancaster’s character through manipulation of details such as this, this anecdote should probably not be read literally, as it usually is (Maddicott, *Lancaster* 310–11; Mortimer, *Mortimer* 123; S. Phillips 407–08; J. Phillips 224; Haines, *Edward II* 139). The only other known reference to the event is a single manuscript of a chronicle which, according to the British Library’s online Cotton catalogue, dates from the second half of the fourteenth century and is based on Trevelyan and Murimuth (MS BL Cotton Nero D. X f. 112). As neither chronicler mentions this incident, it was probably borrowed from the popular and widely spread *Brut*.

meaning than the literal, more appropriate to “Saint” Thomas of Lancaster than the jeering crowd can know.

The *Brut* chronicler is a northerner, and as such has good reason to be sensitive to the Scottish elements in the developing story of Lancaster. For the Fineshade chronicler, the details of these elements are less clear, but the question of Lancaster’s guilt or innocence of treachery remains crucial. The notion of Scottish collusion is clearly in play in the documents copied into the manuscript, including those in the chronicler’s own hand. Lancaster’s letter of summons accuses the Despensers’ faction of tempting “aliens & les rebeaux d’Escoce” to enter England (f. 85r ll. 2–3). In listing Lancaster’s false grievances, Edward’s letter refers to this charge in language that echoes Lancaster’s: “ad ducendum in idem regnum alienigenas & rebelles nostros de scocia” (“to bring into this land aliens and our Scottish rebels,” f. 84v ll. 10–11).¹² The charge is not reiterated in the petition: the only reference to Scotland is the closing sentence, in which the petitioners ask that Edward give hasty remedy in order that the Northern march may be defended against “les enemys d’Escoce”—a common enemy, but also a veiled threat (f. 86r ll. 1–3). Lancaster and his followers are armed and in place to unite either with Edward against the Scots, or with the Scots against Edward. More immediately, this means that they are also perfectly placed to delay battle by negotiations with both sides, while the Scots continue to make inroads on English territory beyond them, and while they themselves could blame the invasion and disunity on Edward’s failure to give in to their demands.

A Scot, of course, is never just a Scot. The Scots were unambiguously enemies, a touchstone for treachery against the England, never allies or peaceable subjects as the French or Welsh could be. This is particularly true for a man such as the Fineshade chronicler, for whom they could also symbolise Edward I’s victories and aggrandisement of the kingdom, now fading under his son’s mismanagement. As John and Nicholas Engayne had already fought twice against the Scots and lost (1314 and 1318) and were at the time of writing on campaign against them or recently dead at their hands, the chronicler had personal

¹² Maddicott reads this line in the prohibition to Lancaster as an accusation from the King that the earl was himself attempting to bring Scots into the kingdom, and considers that “it is probable that the earl had been holding this threat in reserve as a last resort” (*Lancaster* 301).

reason to regard them in purely hostile terms. Scottish depredations in the north and the collusion of “mals conseylers” with the Scots, therefore, can stand for the weakness and folly of the present king and his ruin of the legacy of his forbears. The Lancaster of this chronicle can have nothing to do with the Scots if he is to resemble in any way a martyr to English unity. Instead, Despenser shoulders the blame.

The Fineshade chronicler uses accusations to his advantage by turning them against Despenser. Lancaster and Despenser stand throughout this manuscript as opposites. In the Doncaster petition and Lancaster’s letter to Engayne, Lancaster is the responsible steward and Despenser the spendthrift,¹³ Lancaster the advocate for traditional baronial rights and Despenser the man who would divide the king from the barons to the ruin of the realm. Edward’s letter switches the roles, but retains the diametric opposition. In the chronicle, the dead Lancaster and the yet-living Despenser hint at the martyr for the constitution and the symbol of unrestrained royal favouritism. But the opposition is a troubled one. Both sides, in fact, accuse each other of the same thing. In their attempts to control the signification of each other’s actions, each man accuses the other of violating the same tenets of the Ordinances and the Magna Carta. Lancaster is vulnerable where he attacks. When, in his letter, he accuses Despenser “and certain other bad counsellors” of forcibly seizing the lands of others and “arresting their persons, devouring their livestock, causing damage, and seizing their goods and manors without law, or process, or legal judgement of their peers” (f. 85r l. 25, ll. 28–30), he could well be describing the actions of the Marcher lords on his own side against the Despensers, Baldock and Arundel. In addition, Edward’s letter accuses Lancaster of organising meetings—effectively, summoning parliament—without his permission, contrary to his earlier decree, and of usurping royal prerogative to himself.¹⁴ Lancaster is on tricky legal ground, as both Edward’s letter and the Lancastrian documents make clear.

¹³ Seymour Phillips calls the Doncaster petition “the steward of England’s last throw,” highlighting the echo in several of its clauses of Lancaster’s earlier rhetoric around his former position as steward (399).

¹⁴ This reciprocal accusation, especially of contraventions of the Magna Carta and the Ordinances, is a consistent pattern of the interaction between Edward and Lancaster (and, to a lesser extent, the Earl of Hereford) over the previous decade. Most recently, for example, in April 1321, Hereford had

The Fineshade chronicler accuses Despensers of three treacherous collaborations: first, that he arranged Gloucester's death at Scottish hands in the battle of Stirling in order to annex his lands; second, that he counselled Edward to flee after the battle and not face the Scots again, so that a large part of the retreating English army was slaughtered; and third—somewhat bizarrely—that he sold Queen Isabella to the Scots while Edward was busy besieging Berwick, “to aid the Scots against the king” (f. 86v l. 41). Why Despensers should be aiding the Scots against his protector and patron, what he could hope to gain by it, and how Isabella is supposed to have escaped are not made clear. The chronicler's reason for including the accusation, however, becomes immediately apparent: the dastardly Sir Hugh, not content with his crime, “secretly blamed [it] on the Earl of Lancaster in his own defence” (ff. 86v l. 42–87r l. 1).¹⁵ Several

failed to answer Edward's summons to appear at Gloucester on the 6th, informing the King that he would not come while Despensers was in the king's company and taking his stance on legal grounds, citing Despensers's crimes against the laws of the realm and the Ordinances. He then sent a proposal that Despensers should be charged in parliament and held, until that time, in Lancaster's custody. Edward “refused to do as Hereford asked because Despensers had never been charged with any crime, and took his stand upon Magna Carta, the Ordinances, the common law, and his Coronation Oath” (J. Phillips 204). The same letter was sent to Roger Mortimer (CCIR 8: 367–68).

¹⁵ In reference to this chronicle, Seymour Phillips says that “[i]t was even rumoured that Hugh Despensers the Younger had betrayed the queen to the Scots and had then passed the blame on to Lancaster,” although he thinks it likely that this “was probably written in hindsight with knowledge of later events” (350). The later events to which he refers are presumably Isabella's accusations against Despensers while she was in France in late 1326 (for which see p. 14 above), well after the latest date I argue for the chronicle's composition (see pp. 127–29 below). Both elements—Despensers shifting blame onto Lancaster and the capture of Isabella—were, however, present in earlier sources. The *Vita* mentions that Lancaster “was also blamed for the Scots coming to seize the queen”, without specifying an accuser (166–67). Despensers himself, four days after the siege was lifted, accused Lancaster openly of organising the Scottish invasion and deserting the siege in a letter to his sheriff in Glamorgan, John Ingge (and very possibly said the same to others) (MS BL Cotton Vespasian F. VII f. 6, printed in *Cartae de Glamorgancia* 1063–65; S. Phillips 350; J. Phillips 186–87). As these rumours were clearly already circulating before 1322, hindsight from 1326–27 is not necessary to explain this chronicler's repetition of them, especially as John Engayne himself was present at the

chroniclers commented on the discord between the leading parties during this siege, distributing the blame variously between the king, Lancaster, and Despensers, according to their biases. In this chronicle, the responsibility for the failure of the siege and the further scurrilous action is attributed firmly to Despensers, and the existence of rumours against Lancaster accounted for by laying this promulgation at Despensers's door.

At this moment, the actors almost become symbols. In his greed, Despensers compasses the death of a person who ought to be sacrosanct. With no apparent motive other than evil, he turns the English army into cowards with "ill counsel" and brings about the death of many, thus weakening the land to their enemy. The third accusation in particular makes sense only if we consider Hugh as acting not against Edward—his friend, his protector, and the ultimate target of the chronicler's implied criticism—but against England as represented by the king. All four actors here become tinged with their symbolic positions. Edward, of course, makes a poor representative of the kingdom, as his interests and England's are hardly synonymous at this moment, although of course they ought to be: the king ought to represent the kingdom, both in the allegorical sense and the political. Edward, however, is blind, with the blindfold not of Justice but of partiality. By surrendering his judgement to men like Despensers, Edward makes himself and the kingdom (and his own royal line, via his queen) vulnerable to their treachery and greed. Isabella, who was to prove herself no fainting damsel scant years after this chronicle was penned, becomes here the inert object of conspiracy and treason. Mother of the royal progeny and embodiment of the charitable and forgiving aspects of the throne, she is handed over to England's external enemies by Despensers, that dramatic embodiment of all its internal ones. In the process, the Earl of Lancaster is maligned, which both reinforces his status as martyr and provides a framework within which the chronicle's readers might

same siege. The amalgamation of these two elements into Despensers himself blaming Lancaster for conniving at the queen's abduction may, however, be the chronicler's: such an elision would be characteristic. It is worth noting that, if Isabella and Despensers were already commonly perceived to be at odds before 1326, Isabella may have been deliberately capitalising on this when she chose to blame her estrangement from Edward on his favourite.

understand any other accusations against Lancaster that seem to contradict his noble character. While not so powerful a re-writing as the one that the *Brut* provides, nor so overtly hagiographical, the version offered by the Fineshade chronicler deals firmly and effectively with the less spiritual aspects of rumours of treachery and disunity, in a way perhaps more immediately accessible to men like the Engaynes who had witnessed its immediate and material effects.

Glimpses of martyrdom.

Despite the hints of symbolism around some of the major figures, particularly Lancaster and Despenser, the Fineshade chronicler does not seem to be aware of the developing cult Saint Thomas of Lancaster. There are, nevertheless, points of similarity between his work and those texts that most overtly seek the earl's sanctification, as he draws on many of the same interpretative patterns. Some of the elements of the rhetoric of martyrdom that were developing elsewhere are used little or not at all in this manuscript, while others are diverted to different ends. It is not hagiographic in its primary purpose: its Lancaster is a political figure, not a saint, and the chronicler praises neither his heavenly virtues nor the posthumous miracles that would prove sainthood in a man and hagiographic intent in a text. There are glimpses, however, of similar elements to those used in the development of the cult, and of the impulse to forge some comprehensible meaning out of them. Although the meaning grasped for in the Fineshade manuscript differs from that arrived at by the "De Beato Thoma" and the *Brut*, it also draws on broader hagiographic narrative traditions.

Some of the elements of the Lancaster-martyr story listed above are, for this chronicler, less important than others. For example, at this early stage the "treachery" of Harclay and Holland is a minor point. Harclay's portrayal as hypocritical traitor in some of the texts of the later 1320s was probably developed retrospectively, as a conflation of his role in Lancaster's capture, Holland's treachery and death, and the irony of Harclay's own execution within a few years for colluding with the Scots. In the early *Vita*, for example, Holland's defection is mentioned as the primary reason for Lancaster's defeat at Burton-upon-Trent, but Harclay's role a few pages later in no way recalls Holland (208-09, 210-11). Harclay

appears only as the king's knight and an opponent sufficiently chivalrous to negotiate a truce overnight. The later *Brut*, by contrast, has Lancaster lament Holland's treachery then enter into a protracted debate with Harclay on what it truly means to be a traitor to one's country or lord, as the men spar mid-battle for moral victory (216–17, 218–20). That both knights died what could be considered well deserved deaths within a few years of Lancaster's fuelled the later Lancastrian sources' condemnation of them, and added ironic weight to prophecies of divine revenge embedded in some of the texts. As one proof in favour of Lancaster's sainthood, Ranulf Higden mentions that "his enemyes durede afterward [outlived him] but a while, and deyde in schentful [shameful]¹⁶ deep," probably in reference to Holland and Harclay (although possibly also to the Despensers and Edward) (312–15, Trevisa's translation). At the time of this chronicle's composition, neither man's significance had yet been proven by the outcome of events. Harclay's association with Lancaster is not mentioned: Harclay is only "a certain knight" (f. 87r l. 35). Holland is called "traitor to the Earl of Lancaster" (f. 88r l. 13), but it comes merely as an epithet to his name in the list of those knights incarcerated after Boroughbridge. His role is not a key one, and no mention of it is made in the actual narrative of Lancaster's defeat: he has no part in the "passion." Neither man's death is predicted explicitly, despite the symmetry this would have given to the deaths predicted for those involved in the murder of Piers Gaveston (86v). Harclay and Holland do not yet function as a unit, or as figures of blame within the narrative.

The hagiographical texts' insistence on Lancaster's royal blood does find an echo in the Fineshade chronicle. Although its emphasis is different, the Fineshade chronicler's use of the idea contains the seeds of the importance it was to develop in other texts over the following years. There is no reference to his lineage as a facet of his human character, but there is one reference literally to his blood, and that in the even more literal context of his execution:

... but like a thief he was immediately dragged violently to the gallows, and there
beheaded. Of the insults and taunts, indignities and abuse heaped and hurled

¹⁶ Higden uses the word "dira," "cruel" or "fierce," rather than "shameful."

odiously upon him on his road to death, compassion and dignity forbid me to write. O royal blood, excellent blood, noble blood, blood of great price, why so contemptibly spilled [“effusus”]? What evil had you done? What treacheries had you stirred? Against what man or men did you bear arms? Against the king, or against other disturbers of the peace? If against the king, that would be a sin; if against enemies of the land, that may be borne. Which of these did you do? (f. 87v ll. 7-13)

The blood of the Lancaster of the earlier pages of the chronicle, the Lancaster who simply performs deeds that appear in the historical record, is not commented upon, is given no meaning. It is only at the moment of his execution (or martyrdom), with the author at his most rhetorical and the physical blood itself exposed to view, that it is invoked, and named as royal. It is addressed as if it were the embodiment of Lancaster himself, containing all his personal qualities and capable of answering for his actions. The language of affective piety is momentarily adopted, perhaps intended to invoke the emotional responses that correspond, without explicitly hailing Lancaster a martyr. Even the word “effusus” contains a hint of the direction in which the cult was to develop, echoed when Edward III wrote to the pope to request Lancaster’s canonisation in 1327:

Qui jam, velut fluvius, de loco voluptatis, ad irrigandum egrediens paradisum, in partes divisus, terram Angliae, sancti sui sanguinis effusione rubricatum, rore coelesti temperat salubriter & foecundat; dum, ad piam ejus invocationem, tot gloriosa, supra naturam, divinitus fiunt miracula, & infinita salutis remedia, favente Deo, per ipsius preces & merita conceduntur. (Foedera 2.ii: 181, emphasis mine)

Who already, like a river flowing from that blessed place and dividing into streams to irrigate every field, makes the soil of England wholesomely temperate and fecund by the grace of Heaven through the ruddy effusion of his holy blood; while, at his pious bidding, so many divine miracles beyond the doing of nature have been caused to take place, and an infinite number of healings, by the favour of God, have been granted through his prayer and desert.

The blood that is in the Fineshade chronicle spilled “contemptibly” has, by 1327, become a healing spring dedicated to the good of England. This later power of Lancaster’s blood is almost anticipated in the Fineshade chronicle by the implication that he fought for “peace” and for “the land” (or at least against their “disturbers” and “enemies”). But the certainty behind Edward III’s version of the past is not available to the Fineshade chronicler: the spilling of the blood remains negative, Lancaster fought but did not win, the questions remain questions.

The Lancaster of this text does, however, undergo what is recognisably a version of Christ’s *via dolorosa*. The detail of his humble clothing has not yet appeared, but Lancaster is led out “like a thief to the gallows” (f. 87v l. 7). He undergoes humiliation and mockery on the road to his execution, and objects are thrown at him by the crowd, although no reference is made to the snowballs thrown in the *Brut* (223). The chronicler does not dwell on the details of this scene in the way we might expect from a hagiographer, as “compassion and dignity” forbid it, but perhaps his very insistence on not speaking of the “insults and taunts, indignities and abuse” experienced by Lancaster, by its lack of specificity, leads the mind to fill the blanks by recollection of the torments suffered along that most remembered walk to execution (f. 87v ll. 8–9).

The chronicler also writes of Lancaster’s silence before his judges in a way that suggests he is thinking of the incident in hagiographical terms. The *Brut*’s Lancaster uses his voice as a weapon and is pointedly deprived of it: he repeatedly cries out his innocence of the charge of traitor, only to be ignored or silenced by the voices of Harclay (at Boroughbridge) and Robert Malmesthorp (at his trial). Narrating without direct speech, the Fineshade chronicler does not have the option of a dramatised conflict between voices available to him, but he hints nevertheless at the symbolic importance of this confrontation and Lancaster’s silence within it. Lancaster is taken to York, not to be tried, but “to hear his judgement,” as if the sentence has already been decided, and he is himself vocally passive (f. 87r ll. 41–42). Clearly this judicial process is flawed from the start: his ear’s reception of the words of another’s mouth is to be the decisive moment of Lancaster’s fate. Worse is to come: those words are spoken by a man whose mouth is not his own, “in whose mouth words had been placed” (f. 87v ll. 2–3). That the speaker goes on to say (“dixit”) that the full traitor’s death has been remitted to decapitation “by the king” hints at the origin of

those words (f. 87v l. 5). If this were a *vita*, this would be the scene of the martyr's confrontation with the tyrant, at which he would confound him with either haughty silence or divinely inspired debate. But Edward denies him his expected script by refusing to confront Lancaster directly and depriving the earl of his voice. Lancaster, "when he asked to be heard in response... was in no way permitted, nor a response allowed," and in the same sentence he is led away "like a thief" to the gallows (f. 87v ll. 6-7).

The chronicler's preoccupation with the voice in the space of such a brief description—the sequence covers only seven lines in the manuscript—suggests a concern with the implications and consequences of Lancaster's inability to speak in his own defence. The analogy of Christ before the priests and Pilate is not clearly drawn, as it is in the *Brut*, but it does appear to hover behind Lancaster's silence as a possible frame of reference within which meaning might be sought. Like Christ's accusers, the chronicle seems to imply, Lancaster's "quaerebant falsum testimonium contra [eum] ut eum morti traderent" ("sought out false testimony against him that they might betray him to his death," Vulgate Matthew 26.59).

The question of Lancaster's generosity is a more complex one, as it conflicts with the chronicler's non-hagiographical concerns. His handling of it therefore diverges early. For the hagiographers the virtue generosity appears primarily as a positive qualification of Lancaster for sainthood, but the Fineshade chronicler, as has been suggested in the previous chapter, is troubled by the material ramifications of great men's generosity. The chronicler addresses Lancaster's blood as "generosus" when lamenting his death, thereby offering it as a criterion with which to judge his participation in preceding events, but nowhere in the narrative before that point is it a quality explicitly associated with the earl. Generosity is most conspicuous throughout the chronicle in the character of its worrying extreme, profligacy. This seems a reasonable backdrop against which the chronicler might paint England's saviour as a Lancaster who embodies the virtues of generosity in contrast to the faults of profligacy, if it were his intent to write a purely hagiographic text. However, while the negative effects of open-handedness are a constant preoccupation of the chronicle, Lancaster is not explicitly associated with their remedy. The reported efforts of the baronial party to contain the damage in the Welsh marches can be only indirectly linked to hagiographical generosity, and the chronicler does not attempt to strengthen the association. While he is

seen to move against the forces of profligacy and wanton destruction, no mention is made of the complementary virtues that were later to be attributed to him.

In the context of hagiography, of course, generosity is not a simple matter of financial management, but a spiritual virtue and a form of social responsibility, especially for a man of Lancaster's power. An equation of bounty with responsible leadership is implicit whenever the hagiographic texts attribute it to Lancaster, an essential facet of his knightly perfection. Generosity carries a weight of associated meaning with it, for which the action of giving alms to the poor—or the simple adjective “generosus”—may provide a convenient conceptual symbol. Walker observes that “[a]s the flower and gem of knighthood, the knight of the English church, who never held the poor in contempt, Lancaster is portrayed as an emblematic reminder to the nobility of their duty of protection towards the poor and orthodox” (209–10). On an allegorical level, this “duty of care” extends to Lancaster-as-martyr's perceived role in interceding with God for the English people, or more personally in pouring his blood forth to give life to the land, as in Edward III's letter to the pope. The early suffrage prayer printed by John McQuillen seems to take it for granted that the man “who regarded no pauper as vile” should naturally attain “the lament and palm of a martyr for peace and the state of England.”¹⁷ Lancaster's supposed generosity is inextricable from his royal blood and the role of responsibility he ought to be performing in society. The Fineshade chronicler also attests to the power of this idea, even before it became firmly established in the popular imagination. While he makes no mention of it when he speaks of Lancaster as a living man, at the crucial emotional moment in which he addresses Lancaster's blood, he calls it both “generosus” and “regius” (“royal”).

It is appropriate that, in the wake of the Great Famine, the correct distribution of resources and a judiciously managed generosity should emerge as major concerns. We have already noticed in the Fineshade chronicle a fear of loss, practical and symbolic, associated with magnates' waste of resources and disregard for the responsibility implicit in their position towards those who depend upon them. The

¹⁷ “[Q]ui numquam pauperes tenuisti viles” and “querelam martirique palmam pro pace & statu anglie,” (McQuillen 10; MS Dallas Bridwell Library 13 ff. 2v–3r.)

chronicler could have used this as a background to the figure of Lancaster as a remedy to the evils of careless extravagance, a model of appropriate aristocratic behaviour, generous to the poor in a way that sustained social unity rather than discarding the past and severing traditional bonds. He had a wealth of material even in the documents that he chose to include for such a figure. The Doncaster petition and Lancaster's letter represent Lancaster at his most persuasive, his rhetoric long-practised and now honed by necessity. They also contain an exhaustive amount of detail as to the grievances that could be brought against the king and the Despensers as regards financial mismanagement and abuse of feudal ties. Even a little of this rhetoric set in the mouth of the chronicle's Lancaster could, with little effort, have made of the earl a powerful and principled opponent to the king's carelessness, and link him by implication to the Lancaster of the "O sanguis regius" lament. Its absence leaves Lancaster with a limited symbolic weight, unable to draw on the contents of the petition and his letter for signification and given very little in the chronicle before the moment of his death. For the hagiographers, Lancaster's association with generosity allows him to stand against the king who—at least in the written memory of chronicle tradition—has failed so spectacularly at everything that ought to be symbolised by a king. The Fineshade chronicler, by contrast, invokes these associations only once—albeit at a crucial rhetorical moment—and never fully integrates them into his narrative. Too occupied, perhaps, by a very literal lack of resources, he cannot make the final step to representing Lancaster's "generosity" on a symbolic level.

This is not the only trace of indecision or uncertainty in the chronicler's handling of Lancaster. Unlike the Lancastrians, he does not make Lancaster's death an unreasonable or senseless act. The bipartite structure of the chronicle rather sets up Lancaster's death as an answer to Gaveston's. Both, moreover, are glossed with similar rhetorical outbursts as violent, impious acts that bring shame on their perpetrators, and death is promised—at least for the first—as a natural and inevitable result of compassing the act. Warwick's death proves the point, after Gaveston's death. The death of Lancaster, the other primary culprit, confirms the rule. The chronicler does not go so far, however, as to expect or predict death for the king or the Despensers as a result of Lancaster's, although the intensity of his reaction suggests that he considers this death the worst of the two. One of two obvious interpretations might be drawn from this structural symmetry: that Lancaster died, if regrettably, as a result of his own sins and that

the story is now finished; or that Lancaster's death is like Gaveston's all over again, and that the king and Despensers must eventually face Lancaster's punishment. If the latter, the story can have no true conclusion, as the chronicler knows nothing of the events of 1326–27: at the time he wrote, Edward and the Despensers were more powerful than they had ever been, and there can have been little immediate prospect of Fortune's wheel turning against them. The chronicler does not, probably cannot, go so far as to suggest this, nor can he commit himself to an interpretation in which Lancaster's death is a completion, a logical and deserved result of his own actions that answers the trajectory of the first half of the narrative. The structure provides for, and indeed expects, the emergence of one or the other meaning from the events, and a sentence or two further on the chronicler's part would have made the story unambiguous; but they never come.

If we attempt to read this chronicle as hagiography, or even as chronicle with overt hagiographical intent like the *Brut*, Gaveston's death presents further problems. It is not only a twisted mirror or prediction of Lancaster's death, but the moral (and practical) cause of it. Lancaster dies because of his part in Gaveston's murder. If the chronicle were consistently hagiographical on any level, it should be possible to account for this, the one moment in which the chronicler admits Lancaster to be at fault.

The chronicler has Lancaster give his consent ("assensu," f. 86v l. 13) to Gaveston's death, sit as one of the two earls who directly passed judgement on him "by the consent of the other earls" (ibid. ll. 14–17), and volunteer his lands (and thus responsibility and his virtual immunity from revenge) for the execution. Three times Lancaster consents, and, that the reader might not mistake the physical cleanness of his hands for moral spotlessness, the chronicler emphasises that the earls who "consented to his death" are exactly the same as "those attendants who gave him the deadly wounds" (ll. 17–18). Nor is Gaveston's poor moral character any excuse for killing him in such a fashion: the death was "as scandalous as he" (ll. 19–20). That "on its account a gory price was later demanded" is both proof that it was "vile and base" and a punishment for that fact (ll. 21–22). Lancaster is in large part responsible not only for the death that he brought upon himself, but for the civil strife that affected the whole country. He makes a poor use of his privileged and responsible position in society, fostering division rather than unity, and the chronicler does not allow him (or the reader) to evade that fact.

A cohesively hagiographical story would have to account for this serious fault in the protagonist by understanding him in the context of a pattern such as a reformed sinner-saint like Julian. In both halves of the chronicle, strife arises because of Edward's favouritism, and the barons attempt to rectify the situation. In the first half, Lancaster is culpable, but in the second Lancaster acts (or could be argued to act, as we will see) as a restraining influence, forbidding harm to the king and trying to minimise fighting. The remainder of the narrative, however, makes no concessions to such a plot. While Despenser's false accusations, the mockery of a trial, and the *via semi-dolorosa* momentarily invoke hagiography as a body, Lancaster has no moment of realisation or repentance that would allow him to take on the persona of a reformed sinner or indeed resemble any other specific trope of saintliness. In fact, Lancaster takes very little active part in the story at all. His grammatical inactivity, noted in chapter 3, has a broader effect than keeping him from blame—he can also receive no real credit. He makes no speeches about political ideology, stands for nothing, initiates nothing, realises nothing. This may be to his credit in a pure chronicle form, as he cannot be regarded as disturbing the status quo, but as soon as we are prompted to think in hagiographical terms his personality becomes insufficient to satisfy the terms of this genre. Despite the hint in the chronicle's bipartite structure of such a life as Julian's, the actual narrative content within this structure does not interact with these impulses.

The same non-committal approach to a truly hagiographical portrayal of Lancaster becomes even more evident if we seek in this manuscript the "miles Christi" theme so prevalent in other Lancastrian texts. Under Lancaster's guidance, the baronial party at every turn seek to avoid fighting. They try law first, and are thwarted by Edward's favouritism; they are reluctant to move against the king; they give themselves up when they witness the destructive effect of war on the marches of Wales; Edward advances on them rather than the other way around; they defend the bridge at Burton-upon-Trent; and when they learn that he has out-manoeuvred them they flee to Boroughbridge, not for more defensible ground from which to resume the engagement, but "wanting (it was said) to retire to other parts" (f. 87r l. 33). Harclay, on the king's behalf, cuts off their retreat and thus forces the final encounter. Lancaster seems reluctant to actively bring war to the land.

The chronicler could make the case, based on this summary, that Lancaster seeks peace and reconciliation. He does not go so far, however: he ascribes nothing to Lancaster before his trial. He is, in fact, remarkably reticent in describing the living man. He gives no explicit motivation or even character traits to Lancaster, although he has no qualms about describing Gaveston (“The ape snarls when he is seated on high,” f. 86r l. 35), Despenser (“sold the queen to the Scots... to aid the Scots against the king,” f. 86v ll. 40–41), and even Warwick (“certainly a wise man,” f. 86v l. 22), or attributing motivation and sentiment to the baronage as a whole (“Now indeed the hearts of the magnates were moved against the aforesaid Sir Hugh,” f. 87r ll. 5–6). The only interpretive guide he gives us to the crucial figure of the earl comes in the passage already discussed, the lament on his death, in which Lancaster is suddenly almost a fully-fledged martyr.

In this passage we do see traces of the “miles Christi,” England’s divine protector: Lancaster only bore arms, we are told, against “disturbers of the peace” and “enemies of the land” (f. 87v ll. 12–13). Moreover, this assertion directly refutes the accusation of the final Judgement, with its resonant repetitions of “oue baners desplerez” and “contre vostre lige seigneur le Roi”—“with banners unfurled against your liege lord”—words that the Engaynes and others must have heard read aloud several times to the condemned men, and which were distributed across the land to ensure their endurance (f. 90r, l. 4 et passim). The chronicler asks, rhetorically, in the address to Lancaster’s blood already quoted, whether he had borne arms “against the king, or against other disturbers of the peace,” acknowledging that the former would be a crime but that the latter might be excused (f. 87v ll. 11–12). The heroic, peaceable knight is unambiguously hailed in this moment, which is set outside narration and time, couched in very different language to the chronicler’s usual prose—lyrical, and almost versified, making use of rhythm and rhyme to slow speech and weigh down the phrases with significance.

There is, however, nothing to connect this picture with the Lancaster prior to this point, the Lancaster who actually takes part in events, who gave orders that Thomas Engayne followed and whose movements John and Nicholas Engayne dogged across the land with the king’s army. Lancaster appears to attempt to avoid engagement, but the chronicler does not offer comment, either to commend or condemn, nor does he ever mention any decision or emotion or even action on Lancaster’s part besides

movement. The earl might as well be a chess piece. Even his denial of help to Badlesmere on the grounds of personal dislike is side-stepped, by a now-familiar tactic of grammatical avoidance: the fleeing knights and barons go to Lancaster, who passively allows them all to enter, “excepting Sir Bartholomew de Badlesmere who could find no grace with him” (“qui coram eo nullam gratiam potuit inuenire,” 87r 25–26). Lancaster does not reject or obstruct: Badlesmere simply does not find what he needs, and the chronicler does not ask why. Lancaster moves, and that is all: he is incomprehensible, and the sudden glimpse of a saint that we see after his death is hardly reconciled with the man whom we have previously barely glimpsed at all.

While the moments in which the chronicle touches on generosity, royal blood, Christ-like passion, and other saintly tropes need not indicate direct interaction with the martyr cult that was developing in London and Pontefract, they do suggest a similar parentage: common concerns, leading to a similar discourse around the leading characters of these events, from which could arise both the terms of the hagiographic discussion and of this chronicle. The most powerful proof of a saint, of course, would be miracles, and the chronicler makes no mention of them. Either he has not yet heard of them, or he has no reason to give them credit, or he consciously decided to leave them out due to royal suppression of the cult or a choice to steer closer to chronicle form than to hagiography. Whatever the reason, the absence of miracles or any other overt comment on Lancaster’s saintly status denies the possibility of finding any true “meaning” in his execution—or, consequently, in the country’s turmoil. The confident structure of the chronicle overall, with the narration planned around two major crises and four moments of exclamatory interpretation, gestures towards a meaningful shape. Unlike Jacobus de Voragine’s story of Julian, however, the chronicle is too involved in the events it recounts to finish this shaping and to reform those events meaningfully around it. Where the readers of the Julian story are privileged to glimpse a pleasingly tidy version of “history,” with its neatly packaged divine meaning and implicit lessons for one’s own life or times, the readers of this chronicle are not freed from the immediacy of place and time and cannot stand back to evaluate the pattern of the whole.

In the end, the Lancaster of this manuscript remains a fragmented image. The Lancaster in the chronicle wavers between a character of chronicle, of hagiography, and of personal memory, none of them

entirely integrated with the others. The Lancaster of the attached documents is a fourth figure, whose connection with the other three is tenuous and unspecified. While the chronicler can shape the report of his actions to suggest a certain angle of interpretation, he does it awkwardly and sporadically. He uses it to understand only the most powerful moments—it cannot account for the mundane between them, the Engaynes’ movements with the army in the Welsh marches and the pursuit north, the everyday effects of famine and civil turmoil on a small Northamptonshire community.

Conclusion.

Ultimately, neither hagiography nor the chronicle genre is adequate to the story that the Engaynes and the Fineshade chronicler are trying to tell at this moment. While the chronicler does put care into shaping the overall structure, drawing on chronicle-derived tradition, he seems unsure at times of what to do with it, and is unable to make the more recent of the events he narrates truly conform to it. On the other hand, while hagiographic motifs would lend meaning to some aspects of recent history, he, or the Engayne family, has too many memories of Lancaster’s human side to make a perfect saint of him, or perfect tyrants of Edward and the Despensers. In the end, too close to the events he narrates, he forces them into competing frames of reference, none of which can quite contain all of his material.

In the Fineshade manuscript, we have a glimpse of history “in the making”: an author who remains too close to the events he narrates and perhaps too affected by them, who cannot yet control his material sufficiently to make of it a coherent narrative in a traditional form. I have pointed briefly to suggestive similarities in several other near-contemporary chronicles, particularly a discomfort with narrating a present that is imperfectly distanced from the writer, which may bear further investigation. The virtue of the Fineshade manuscript, from this perspective, is precisely its inability to polish away its rough edges, allowing us a glimpse into the authorial process. While it is clear that the chronicler can put an independent shape on his material, even while drawing on common patterns of discourse, he finds current or recent events harder to manipulate and will slip back into a flatter, less shaped narrative. He is capable of recognising causal and temporal connections between different events, but may attempt, in times of

crisis, to detach those events from present reality. Together with other chroniclers of his uneasy generation, he encounters difficulty in relating the years of his “history” directly to the present, rather than writing it as a completed past presented to an imagined future audience.

Part II.

Codicology: The Fineshade Manuscript

The Codex.

The Fineshade manuscript is one of several that now form MS BL Cotton Cleopatra D. IX. Bound for Sir Robert Cotton between 1615 and 1616, the composite volume contains four early- to mid-fourteenth-century English historical manuscripts, and a portion of an English saints' legendary. The codex has since been rebound with the British Library's coat of arms.

- I. Ff. 5–79.¹ The Lichfield chronicles, or *Liber Alani de Ashbourne* (so labelled on the first folio in the author's hand). This consists of historical lists, annals, and stories, collected or written by Alan of Ashbourne, vicar of Lichfield, with a few later additions. Most noticeably, this manuscript includes the sole extant witness to the long redaction of the Anglo-Norman poem *Des Grantz Geanz*, and Alan's own history of the bishopric of Lichfield and Coventry up to his present day, with many additions and corrections in his own hand in the margins and on inserted leaves. Composition seems to have begun c. 1323, the year after Alan's appointment at Lichfield (Greenslade 8), and continued until his death in 1334 (it records in his hand the investiture of John of Stratford as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1333, f. 37v).

The insertion of extra folios and even small quires into the original quire containing his own

¹ It should be noted that pre-1913 references to the contents of the codex (most significantly, of course, Planta's catalogue of the Cotton collection) use different foliation, due to a rebinding in that year. The current foliation is written in pencil in the bottom right corner of each folio, and the pre-1913 foliation in ink at the top right. In most cases, the old foliation is lower by two than the modern, so, for example, the Fineshade manuscript begins on folio 81 by the old numbering, and 84 by the new.

history, and the abundance of his marginal additions in this section, suggest a continuous process of composition and reworking.

- II. Ff. 80–83. A brief chronicle of unknown origin, arranged by year from 1066 to 1314. According to Thomas Duffus Hardy, it imitates the Chronicle of Wignmore to 1279 (though scantily), and then continues independently to 1304, where the main hand ends. A second hand continues through to 1314, and a single entry in a third hand notes the truce between France and England in 1341 (352).
- III. Ff. 84–90. The Fineshade manuscript, consisting of a collection of transcribed letters and a chronicle relating to the civil wars of 1321–22, from the priory of Fineshade, Northamptonshire. A related proclamation from 1322 is attached.
- IV. Ff. 91–115. William of Pagula’s *Epistola ad Regem Edwardi III*, written c. 1331, complaining of the practice of purveyance. It takes the form of a long list developing a formal argument, most points beginning with the formula “O domine mi rex.” The manuscript dates from the late fourteenth century (or early fifteenth), attributes the work to Archbishop Islip (1349–66), and is unique in the volume in being the only manuscript in paper. The *Epistola* is sometimes referred to as Recension A of the *Speculum Regis Edwardi III*, which was written a little later. This label derives from Joseph Moisant, who published both works in 1891 and decided that the *Speculum* proper was merely a later revision of this *Epistola*. In labelling it the *Epistola*, I follow Leonard Boyle’s work establishing relationship between the tracts, and their the differing intents (“Oculus Sacerdotis” and “Speculum”).
- V. Ff. 118–168. The end of a mid-fourteenth-century manuscript of the *South English Legendary*, a popular collection of saints’ lives in vernacular verse. This manuscript lacks at least five leaves from its first quire and probably several other quires containing a more complete collection of the poems. Manfred Görlach’s study of the dissemination and variations of the *Southern English Legendary*, together with the dialect and orthography of this version, led him to place this witness in the Gloucestershire/Oxfordshire region (112).

Cotton Cleopatra D. IX thus contains three large manuscripts (the *Liber Alani de Ashbourne*, the *Epistola* and the *South English Legendary* fragment), between which are bound two briefer manuscripts (the anonymous chronicle and the Fineshade collection). The texts of the first four booklets are all fourteenth-century local histories with a broader political view. There is some order in the collection and arrangement of the manuscripts in the volume, but it remains superficial. This volume was one of many assembled by Cotton from similar manuscripts in the early- to mid-1610s, and as such is part of a larger project in which page size and number of folios seem to have been considerations as weighty as content or literary style. There is, however, some loose thematic continuity between the concerns of the Fineshade chronicler and William of Pagula's reproaches against Edward III's governance. All five manuscripts are products of early-fourteenth-century England, and Cotton appears to have gone to some effort to arrange them according to the chronological order of their texts' composition—with the exception of the *Legendary* fragment—which would require more than a passing glance at their contents.

The codex begins with what Cotton probably considered the most useful manuscript of the book. The Lichfield collection's quality as a historical source appears to have raised its value in the eyes of Cotton and his fellow antiquarians. Its popularity in this regard is attested by its regular appearance in his list of loaned manuscripts, which also provides us with the best evidence we have as to the date of the binding. The manuscript was borrowed by Archbishop Bancroft in 1608, at which time it appears to have been circulated independently (the entry reads only "Lichfield chronicle"), and consulted by John Selden in 1616–17 as part of the current codex (Tite, *The Early Records* 45 and 215; Selden 482 and 495). This gives us a date of binding between 1608 and 1616.

Furthermore, until 16 December 1912, the codex had flyleaves formed of two leaves from a fourteenth-century psalter. Sometime around 1615–18, the same psalter was also cannibalised for binding material for at least twenty-five other newly assembled Cotton volumes. Most of these volumes are historical collections similar to that in Cleo. D. IX, often local or monastic. James Carley and Colin Tite document this fragmentation, and have concluded that the remaining bulk of the psalter, which was bound into what is now MS BL Royal 13 D. I, was intended by Cotton simply as filler after he removed

something else from that volume (97 et passim). The psalter has now been reunited with its missing leaves, rebound in 1913 as Royal 13 D. I*, but its traces leave a useful record of Cotton's activities in the mid-1610s.² Considering this evidence in combination with the evidence offered by Cotton's loans list allows us to pinpoint the date of the binding of the codex to 1615–16.

Cotton's generation was not the first to appreciate Alan of Ashbourne's work from a historian's perspective. Before it fell into Cotton's possession, it had already been copied and incorporated into other histories of the bishopric and the county. Around 1450 Thomas Chesterfield, prebendary of Tervin in Lichfield Cathedral, had made a copy of the manuscript and donated it to the cathedral. The copy survives as MS Bodl. Bodleian 956, pp. 113–229, and the inscription of the donor's name on this copy led to the attribution of the authorship of both manuscripts to him in subsequent centuries (Greenslade 8–9 and notes; Joseph Planta attributes the chronicle in Cleo. D. IX to Chesterfield). The Franciscan house at Lichfield was dissolved in 1538, though other parts of the Lichfield establishment remained, including the cathedral (Knowles and Hadcock 192). One of the two manuscripts seems to have remained in the cathedral library, as it was consulted there by William Whitelocke in the composition of his own history of Lichfield Cathedral in the late 1560s (ODNB, "Whitelocke"). This was probably the Chesterfield manuscript, as Whitelocke attributes the chronicle to him. The absence of both from Patrick Young's 1622 catalogue of the Lichfield Cathedral library suggests that both passed into the hands of private collectors at some time after 1570 (Ker, "Young's Catalogue"). Perhaps Whitelocke, "[o]ne of the few clergymen of the period to make a significant contribution to antiquarian studies" (ODNB, "Whitelocke"), felt it would be no disloyalty to his cathedral to allow such a manuscript to pass into the burgeoning library of some fellow antiquarian, or possibly the private circulation of his histories piqued someone's interest in his source.

If the codex opens with Cotton's most valued of the five manuscripts, it closes with what was without

² Elsewhere, Tite has defended Cotton against the charges of violence against manuscripts sometimes laid on him by modern codicologists for this sort of utilitarian treatment of his collection (*The Manuscript Library of Sir Robert Cotton*, 104–05).

a doubt the least. The *South English Legendary* is almost incongruous in its inclusion, and possibly served no better purpose in the binding than scrap filler. A product of popular culture, non-historical (at least to post-Reformation eyes), overtly Catholic, Middle English, and clearly incomplete, the only elements in common with its companions seem to be its size and date.

We have a record of the response to this manuscript of one other post-Reformation reader. The manuscript had been owned previously by Sir John Prise, who was employed by Henry VIII during the 1530s to close down monasteries in the west of England, and thereby acquired a large number of manuscripts for his personal collection (Ker, “Sir John Prise” 5). There are several indignantly Protestant notes in the margins in Prise’s hand, especially by the legend of Thomas Becket. For example, by a passage in which Becket rejects the “folie” of the bishops in England and their foolish customs “agen righte” that have “long... isoffrede beo” [“been suffered long”], Prise has written “What arrogance / is this! of one / that had spent / his tyme more / in merchandize / hauking and hunting / than in lernyng. / Note he confesseth / they were customes / of long tyme / [hel?]d and recived that / [he?] withstode” (f 138v).³ Despite this sentiment, the number of manuscripts at Prise’s disposal, this manuscript’s fragmented state, and the fact that Prise was primarily interested in chronicles of a historical nature, Prise appears to have kept this manuscript long enough for his son Richard to inherit it. The whole fragment is enclosed by a bifolium, on the inside of which is written “Sum Richardi Preisei et Amicorum eius ex dono Patris sui Joanis Preisei” (f. 167r).

As demonstrated by his treatment of the psalter, Cotton’s approach to his library was utilitarian rather than reverential, and he frequently disassembled or rebound manuscripts according to convenience of consultation. Kevin Sharpe observes that items “were bound together that were often consulted together” (69). This codex seems to embody that impulse only if one discounts the *Legendary* fragment. The most logical conclusion seems to be that, being an appropriate size, it was included simply to

³ The page has been trimmed, and a letter or two is missing at the start of each line. In most cases the missing letters are obvious. I have indicated my guesses, but the sense is clear without them.

complete the bulk of the volume for binding, as with the psalter in Royal 13 D. I, possibly to be discarded later if a more appropriate manuscript could be found to fill its place.

There is less evidence as to the provenance of the other manuscripts in the volume. The paper of the *Epistola* ought to be traceable, but the watermark is of a very common design. It resembles most closely Charles Briquet's entries 10798, 11166 and 11223, but Briquet has found no samples from those presses dating to within fifty years of this manuscript's approximate date.

There are no later additions to the Fineshade manuscript save the local jottings on ff. 88v–89, nor is there any evidence of its movements after the date of the last of these in 1349. It seems reasonable to suppose that it remained at Fineshade until the priory was dissolved in 1536 (Knowles and Hadcock 137). The date and source of Cotton's acquisition are not known. Unlike the Lichfield collection, however, it seems not to appear on any of his loan lists. It was therefore probably not among his most popular possessions with his fellow antiquarians.

As for the brief anonymous chronicle, its style and the number of scribes suggest a religious house. Hardy notes that local references would suggest Gloucester or nearby Wales, with influence from Wigmore, Herefordshire (352). As Sir John Prise was very active in the dissolution of the religious houses in Gloucestershire, and had a penchant for collecting chronicles (Ker, "Sir John Prise" 5), it is possible that it passed directly into his hands in 1535 or 1539, and thence to Cotton by a similar path to the *South English Legendary* manuscript.

Notices of Individual Manuscripts.

- I. *Liber Alani de Ashbourne*: Georgine Brereton describes the few folios containing *Des Grantz Geanz* in her edition of that poem, and adds a few notes about the handwriting and layout of the remainder of the manuscript as it is relevant to ascertaining the date of the text.
- H. L. D. Ward adds some cursory details of the page size and material, together with the incipit of the poem. M. W. Greenslade details the confusion between Alan of Ashbourne and the later Thomas Chesterfield.

- II. Brief chronicle: Only Hardy has noticed this manuscript, giving page size, material, and incipit, analysing the three periods of authorship based on the different hands, and identifying its main source.

- III. Fineshade manuscript: No description has been published. George Haskins has published editions of Lancaster's letter and the Doncaster petition, of the chronicle, and of the final Judgement ("Doncaster Petition," "Chronicle," and "Judicial Proceedings"). George Sayles has corrected his interpretation of the latter and elucidated the circumstances of the Judgement's issue.

- IV. *Epistola*: No description of this manuscript is available. Boyle mentions it in passing as a fourteenth-century witness to the text ("Speculum" 330). The chief notices of the text are Moisant's edition, Boyle's two articles determining the author and the relationship of the *Speculum* to the *Epistola*, and more recently Cary Nederman and Cynthia Neville's work on the significance of text and author to legal history.

- v. *South English Legendary* fragment: No detailed description has been published. Prise's marginalia are mentioned by Ker ("Sir John Prise"). Görlach briefly discusses its orthography and dialect (112).

The Fineshade Manuscript.

The Fineshade manuscript consists of a short chronicle and several supporting documents, with a few later records jotted onto the verso of the main quire's final leaf. The first two documents are copies of letters from Edward II and the Earl of Lancaster respectively, the one forbidding and the other commanding one Sir John Engayne to attend Lancaster's proposed council at Doncaster on 29 November 1321. The third is a petition apparently drawn up at that council which delivers the king a set of ultimata and demands a response from him by 20 December. Fourth is the chronicle, which covers Edward II's career from 1295 to the parliament of spring 1322. Most of its length is devoted to the civil wars of 1321–22, and it concludes with a list of the knights, barons, and earls who were killed in battle, executed, imprisoned, or fled into exile as a result (the Boroughbridge Roll). The final page of this main quire was left blank by the chronicler and was used in the following two decades to record various transactions and grants concerning the priory. Two further leaves are attached: a similar notice on a small leaf of a different shape, and another half leaf containing the standard text of the judgement against the rebels of the civil wars. One hand dominates the manuscript, writing the first, third, and fourth items, and two more write the letter from Lancaster. The later notices and the judgement are in different hands.

Although Planta's catalogue, still the official catalogue used by the British Library for the Cotton collection,⁴ describes this manuscript as a whole simply as "Fragments relating to the civil wars," even my brief summary of the contents above reveals a greater cohesion of purpose than the term "fragments" implies. Gathered as they are, this manuscript, even including the additional leaf containing the judgement, narrates and reflects upon a story, and the story has its personal side. The first three documents seem to be copies of those possessed by the priory's patron, John Engayne, with relation to a single fraught political event of late 1321. The chronicle becomes more accurate, more detailed, and more

⁴ According to the British Library website, "a new online catalogue of the Cotton manuscripts is in preparation, to be completed at the end of 2009" ("Manuscripts and Archives: Cotton Manuscripts," accessed most recently 19 August 2011, but the same message has been displayed since August 2009 or earlier).

emotionally invested as it approaches the outcome of that event: the final battles of 1321–22, in which Engayne, his brother Nicholas, and one Sir Thomas Engayne most likely participated, on opposing sides (see pp. 22–29 above). Although the chronicle’s account of the earlier years of Edward II’s reign is marked by the generalised lurid speculation and frequent inaccuracies that characterise rumour-fuelled accounts of this period, it nevertheless makes of those years a coherent narrative in which the seeds for the discord of 1321–22 are sown. The judgement adds a literal closing page to a grim chapter of recent history, recalling the epitaphic list of the victims of Boroughbridge incorporated by the chronicler into his final pages.

Location.

London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra D. IX; booklet III within the composite codex, being ff. 84–90.

Contents.

For incipits and explicits, see transcription below (pp. 141–164).

- 84v:
 - Ll 1–26: Letter, Edward II to Sir John Engayne, forbidding his attendance at the Doncaster meeting. Dated from Westminster, 12 November 1321. Hand A¹.
 - Ll 28–32: Letter, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, to Sir John Engayne, requiring his attendance at the Doncaster meeting on 29 November 1321. Dated from Pontefract, 18 October 1321. Hand B.
- 85r:
 - Ll. 1–12: Lancaster to Engayne continues. Hand C.
 - Ll. 14–39: Doncaster petition. Hand A².
- 85v: Doncaster petition continues.
- 86r:
 - Ll. 1–3: Doncaster petition continues.
 - Ll. 5–39: Fineshade chronicle. Hand A².

- 86v–88r: Fineshade chronicle continues, incorporating Boroughbridge roll (f. 87v ll. 33–40 and f. 88r).
- 88v: Notices of grants to and purchases by the priory, in various hands.
 1. Ll. 1–3: Notice of purchases for prior’s and guests’ quarters. Feast of St Augustine of Canterbury 1338.
 2. Ll. 4–8: Notices of appointments. Feast of St Peter ad Vincula 1348.
 3. Ll. 9–16: Notice of land claim, specifying boundaries of the land. 1342.
 4. Ll. 17–27: Notice of further land claims, specifying boundaries and extent of land, together with the origin of that right (“ex dono Vitalis Engayne,” who died 1249). Undated, but written in the same hand as the previous notice. The ink differs, however, so they were probably not written at the same time.
 5. Ll. 28–29: A note with no obvious purpose, possibly a *probatio pennae*, regarding manual tools.
 6. Some further notices, more faded and almost entirely illegible.
- 89r–v: Notice regarding priory lands near Irelingborough, frequently illegible. Feast of St Nicholas 1348.
- 90r: A copy of the official judgement against the Boroughbridge rebels, issued in 1322 to be read out before the various condemned. Hand D.

Collation and binding.

1, 1⁴, 1, 1 (7).

Ff. 84–88 form a continuous manuscript containing the main documents and chronicle. F. 84 is a singleton, and seems to have originally been a little smaller than the other pages, as its prickmarks are still visible and it is ruled with only 32 lines, rather than the 39–42 of the other lined pages. A change in handwriting mid-sentence from f. 84v to f. 85r suggests that the original first folio of the manuscript, perhaps a bifolium enclosing the whole, may have been lost or damaged and replaced with the current

folio.⁵ The interval cannot be a long one, however, as the hands are contemporary and the first hand on 84v is the same as that in which the petition and chronicle are written (A).

Wearing and fading to the ink on f. 88v and corresponding signs of wear on the blank f. 84r suggest that this manuscript was uncovered and unprotected for some time. That the wearing is not noticeably less on that part of the page now protected by f. 89, and that f. 89 itself is equally worn on both sides, indicate that f. 89 was a loose folio until bound some time later with the main manuscript, either by whoever inherited the documents directly from Fineshade upon the Dissolution, or by Cotton.

At some later date f. 84 seems to have come loose from the main quire, as a pair of adjacent puncture marks at the top left corner of ff. 84 and 85 suggests that they were once pinned together.

Ff. 89–90 are single leaves of different shapes, attached later.

Ruling.

The ruled pages are ruled with lead plummet, and the writing is below the top line. In the outer margins, horizontal lines typically run well outside text block, ending irregularly. All four bounding lines of text block are typically carried to edge of page. Ff. 88v–90 and the blank f. 84r are unruled.

The number of lines is inconsistent. F. 84v has 32, 85r–86r 39, 86v 42, 87r 41, and 87v–88r 40 lines.

Prickings.

Prickings are visible only on f. 84. The other ruled folios have been trimmed, presumably

⁵ The alternative is a scenario in which the two letters were transcribed into one bifolium and the second folio was replaced with the remainder of the quire when the decision was made to transcribe the petition and add the chronicle. This, however, would be a rather wasteful use of parchment for a priory that used one blank page, f. 88v, to record grants for over two decades. If it were the case, moreover, one would expect the catchword on f. 84v to resemble C (the hand that resumes the letter on f. 85r) rather than B (the hand that breaks off at the end of f. 84v).

removing any prickings.

Catchwords.

There is only one catchword: in the lower inner corner of f. 84v (the singleton), “e de deshonor” matches “& deshonor” on f. 85r. The hand looks similar to B, the last hand on f. 84v. It is certainly not C, the hand that resumes the same text on f. 85r. There are some strokes uncharacteristic of B. For example, the angle between **f** and **h** is rather careless, and **e** is written in a single stroke, where B usually uses several distinct strokes to form that letter and leaves a clear shoulder. These differences, however, are no greater than can be accounted for by the awkward angle at which the catchword is written, and the difference between the display hand used in the main text and the carelessness of the scrawl used for the catchword.

Origin.

The priory of Fineshade. The notices on ff. 88v–89v of priory business repeat the name, and the two letters copied into the manuscript are addressed to Sir John Engayne, the priory’s patron. F. 90 is one of the official 1322 issues of the judgement against the baronial rebels, probably kept by the priory.

Provenance.

Notices on ff. 88v–89v suggest that the main quire remained at the priory until at least the mid fourteenth century, and there is no reason to suppose that it was removed before the priory’s dissolution in 1508. There are no traces of its influence in any other known chronicles of Edward II’s reign, which suggests that it did not circulate widely, if at all. By the 1610s, it belonged to Sir Robert Cotton, and was bound c. 1615–16 into Cleo. D. IX.

Dating.

All hands belong to the first half of the fourteenth century, save for two titles on the final leaf, added

later.

The texts of the letters and documents copied into the manuscript date from late 1321. Both letters are internally dated to the day. The petition contains knowledge of events in the south that took place in late October (Robert Ewer's appointment), and gives 20 December as the deadline for Edward II's response. Allowing time for news of the first to reach the north, and for the petition to reach the king and his response to return, Maude Clarke suggests a date in late November for the composition of the text (165). This implies that it was, as it purports to have been, drawn up at the Doncaster meeting of 29 November that is the subject of the previous two letters.

The chronicle appears to be original to Fineshade, and owes no obvious debt to any other extant chronicle, although there are passing similarities to *Castleford's Chronicle* and Walter of Guisborough's chronicle (see p. 150 note 35 below). Several corrections in the text of the chronicle amend phrasing and word order in a way that suggests authorial revision rather than a copyist's errors, including two corrections that must have been made before the sentence was completed (ff. 87r l. 78 and 87v ll. 23–24). On 87v, there are several emendations to wording, a marginal addition, and one erasure of several lines, over which the lament to Lancaster's "sanguis regius" is written (ll. 9–11). The comparatively heavy revision of this page is also suggestive of an autograph manuscript, as this is the page on which the chronicler describes and laments the fate of Lancaster and the other rebels, the page on which he seems most emotionally engaged with his subject. The composition date is in all probability very close to the date of this semi-fair copy, and we may rely on internal evidence for both.

The chronicle's focus is on events of late 1321 to April 1322. No awareness of events later than 1322 is shown in chronicle. As the author narrates the events of 1306–1320 in the light of the events of 1321–22 (as discussed in chapters 3–4), it seems likely that, had he been writing after Queen Isabella's defiance of 1325, the invasion of 1326, or the deposed Edward II's death in 1327, he would have foreshadowed these events in his narrative, or more likely included them as his dénouement. An early date is also suggested by a lack of awareness of the execution of Sir Andrew Harclay for treason in March 1323 (speaking of the 1322 parliament, the chronicler notes that Harclay was later created Earl of Carlisle but not that he lost title and life within a year, f. 87v l. 31; see also p. 104 above), of the permission given

in 1324 to bury the remains of the executed rebels (the chronicler speaks of their bodies rotting where they hang, f. 87v ll. 18–19), and of the martyr-cult of Thomas of Lancaster that burgeoned rapidly in the wake of his execution in March 1322 (the chronicler’s shock at his execution and reverence for his “royal blood” suggest that he would have been susceptible to influence by the language of that cult had it been available to him—see chapter 4). Allowing time for the Engaynes’ retinue to return from the battles and the following Parliament to carry news to the priory, I suggest late 1322 or the first half of 1323 for the composition of the chronicle and the transcription of the Petition. The two letters may have been transcribed a little earlier, or at the same time.

The jottings on the blank final page of the main manuscript, 88v, are internally dated 1338–1348, although the notices are not entered in chronological order. F. 89 is internally dated to December 1348.

The text of the Judgement is the same as those we retain against several other executed ringleaders of the rebellion, save that it lacks a specific addressee (see p. 138 below). Sayles suggests that this manuscript of the Judgement is among those “transmitted to various commissions of justices appointed to pronounce it upon those condemned to death for the part they had played in the rebellion of 1322... in such circumstances copies must have been plentiful and the chronicler would have little difficulty in securing one for his own use” (57).

Size.

84–88: 260x160 mm, having been trimmed to that size. A marginal note on f. 87v has been trimmed of a few letters, enough to make it difficult to decipher. The pricking is visible on the singleton, f. 84, and nowhere else, suggesting that folio was initially smaller. The text block for ff. 84v–88r is 220x135 mm and is a single column throughout, but ruled to varying numbers of lines. F. 84v is ruled for 33 lines, ff. 85r–86r for 39 lines, ff. 86v–87r 42 lines, ff. 87v–88r 40 lines. F. 84r is blank; f. 88v is unruled.

89: 72x225 mm. The text is written lengthwise along the leaf, and the leaf has been attached with the writing perpendicular to spine and the extra length folded back. The writing is edge to edge, with no

margins. The text on the verso is upside down, as on a leaf that was never intended to be bound into a codex or roll.

90: The original leaf is a little more than 230x130 mm. Its left and base sides are intact, while the right has been trimmed to fit the codex and the top is damaged and cut. With the added framing parchment, the entire leaf measures 260x165 mm. The leaf has been attached with the writing parallel to the spine of the codex, with the bas-de-page at the spine.

Ink.

84v–88r: Dark brown, carbon-based. The ink has been renewed for each change of hand, at the beginning of the chronicle, and at several points within it.

88v–89. Various shades of faded brown carbon ink, particularly worn at the edges of the leaf. The wearing is such that the writing is frequently illegible.

90r. Carbon-based ink, although almost black and barely faded, particularly the heavier flourishes on the loops of **d**, **f** and **f**. The upper title is browned, written over discolouration and damage at the edge of the parchment. The lower title is of grey ink, scratchy and a little blotched.

Hands.

There are three hands in the main manuscript, of which one (A) is dominant, writing the first letter, the Doncaster petition, and the chronicle. Hands B and C share the second letter, with the change of hand at the page break. The notices on ff. 88v–89 are written in several different hands. The Judgement on f. 90r is written by another hand, D.

All hands, including the records on ff. 88v–89 and the Judgement (f. 90r), are variations of informal book anglicana rather than more formal book hands, although some show minor formal or decorative features. Samples of A, B, C, and D are provided with the transcription.

Hand A: Letter from Edward I (A¹); Petition (A²); Chronicle (A² and A³).

This is the main hand of the manuscript, referred to in other chapters as the Fineshade chronicler. The first document copied in this hand, the letter from Edward I, appears different in its general aspect from the petition and chronicle, due to the use of a finer nib, a greater attention to letter forms, and some decorative features (A¹). I use A³ to denote that section of the chronicle that Haskins interprets as being by different hand from the main chronicle hand (f. 87v ll. 22–33; “Chronicle” 79). Closer analysis of the letter forms reveals A^{1–3} to be different aspects of one hand.

Throughout, A is clear and a little squat, with no attempt at decoration save in copying the royal missive (A¹), and the occasional perfunctorily forked ascender, usually in proper names (e.g., **H** and **I** in “Huge le Despenser” throughout the text of the Petition, and each **I** in “Andreas de Hertle... comes Carlealensis,” f. 87v l. 32). Punctuation is usually medial and is used lightly. In writing Anglo-Norman (A², the Doncaster petition), space is rarely left between an elided definite article or preposition and the following noun (e.g., “delestate” for “de l’estate,” but “dela coroune”). Majuscules are little larger than minuscules and are often little distinguished from them in form or by decorative additions. For those letters that share a form between majuscule and miniscule, such as **P**, an effort is made in A¹ to distinguish more clearly the difference in size, but those that are distinct in their form as well as their size (such as **R**) remain consistent throughout the manuscript. A usually employs the tironian 7-sign for “et” rather than spelling it out, in both Anglo-Norman and Latin, and the form of that sign is characteristic and consistent in all instances.

While the general aspect of A differs visibly between A¹, A², and A³, the differences between A¹ and A^{2–3} are only those that can be explained by a slimmer nib and an attempt at greater formality. In copying the royal missive, A¹, like B, writes with more care and an eye to display. Subsidiary features popular in late thirteenth-century anglicana, such as forked ascenders, make occasional appearances (e.g., “Angliae,” l. 1, and “fidei,” l. 2, but not “Ibernie” and “Dilecto,” l. 1). Suspension marks and the stroke over **i** also take on decorative functions that

they lack in A²⁻³. Unlike B, however, A¹ retains a few workaday characteristics, which are also to be found in A²⁻³: minims are written continuously rather than individually, most letters are written in a single pen stroke, and utilitarian ligatures are common.

Although Haskins states that the main hand of the chronicle (A²) stops at f. 87v l. 22 and resumes after 12 lines, the only difference between A² and A³ is size. A³ is abruptly smaller than the preceding letters, giving the appearance of a change of hand, but the size gradually increases over the next ten lines to return to A², with no discernible breaks. At its smallest, A³ is identical to the authorial correction written over an erasure previously on the same page, where size has clearly been decreased to fit a slightly longer sentence over the original. As A² leaves off mentioning the parliament to be held at York, and A² resumes with a report of the activities of that parliament, there may well have been a pause in composition pending the arrival of this information and the list of names of the condemned that follows. If this is the case, A may simply have been concerned about his ability to squeeze the new information into the space remaining in the quire, and so temporarily compressed his hand.

There is one other curious difference between A² and A³, or rather, between the chronicle before and after f. 87v ll. 22: after the point at which Haskins marks a change of hand, the chronicler writes **et** out rather than using the tironian 7-sign for **&**. This is, however, the only difference of any note, and while the chronicler never uses **et** elsewhere, in Latin or in Anglo-Norman, he is not always consistent with his use of other abbreviations, and he continues to use **et** sporadically throughout the remainder of the chronicle rather than returning to **&** at l. 33, where Haskins notes a return to the previous hand.

Looking past the change in size of letterforms and nibs, A¹, A², and A³ share similar letterforms, including several personal idiosyncrasies. A few of the characteristics common to all aspects of A and found nowhere else in the main manuscript (i.e., in the only other two hands we know to have been writing in the same priory in the same decade), are:

- The shallow bow-shaped curve in the standard suspension mark, with an occasional slight lift towards the right end.

- A distinctive form of the tironian 7-sign for **et**, resembling a very upright, slightly elongated minim with pronounced serifs and a medial stroke. Neither **B** nor **C** uses the tironian 7-sign, and where it is used by other hands in the manuscript it differs in form substantially.
- The stroke over **i** to distinguish it from other minims. This is consistently present, and is a hairline stroke lifting lightly to the right, often curving a little. No other hand in the manuscript resembles **A** in this: **B** and **D** distinguish **i** only occasionally, and **C** does it with a tightly curled stroke.
- The distance of the letters from the baseline. **A** consistently writes a little farther from it than does **B**, while **C** writes precisely on the line.
- Carelessness with minims. This is hardly an uncommon trait, but it is not one shared by **B** or **C**, both of whom distinguish consistently between **n**, **m**, and **u**.
- A common ductus for **e**. All three aspects of **A** write **e** with consisting of a squarish bowl, followed by a second stroke forming the loop and tongue, the latter small but distinct and rising to the right. The tongue of **B**'s **e**, by contrast, is longer and protrudes horizontally, while **C**'s **e** is almost encircled by its tail and thus has no tongue.
- An **r** which is well on the way to losing its shoulder and has a marked descent below the line. These are characteristics of the Anglicana **r** that became more pronounced over the first half of this century. **B**'s **r**, by comparison, barely descends at all, while the tail of **C**'s slopes away to the left.
- The height of **d**. This letter in both **B** and **C** is semi-upright, a little after the fashion of anglicana formata, and approaches **h** and **l** in height. **A**'s **d** is squat, with its upper bowl flattened and pulled towards the left, little taller than **a** and serpentine **s**. It is usually (although not consistently) a little more upright in **A**¹.

Hand B: Letter from Thomas of Lancaster (f. 84v ll. 28–33).

This is the most calligraphic of hands in the manuscript, with several otiose strokes, few ligatures, and each letter spaciously written and comprised of several distinct pen strokes. The

first line begins with a slight diminuendo, possibly accidental. Suspension marks and the tails of letters such as **y** and **z** take on a decorative function. In comparison with A's writing in the previous letter, B's minims are neater and tighter, carefully serifed. Some features of late thirteenth-century anglicana, such as the elaborately forked ascenders and the elaborately looped tail of **f**, are used to decorate majuscules. His letters sit a little above the baseline, though not so high as A's. **r** barely descends, **i** is dotted occasionally and only lightly, and he writes "e" for "et."

Hand C: Letter from Thomas of Lancaster, cont. (f. 85r ll. 1–12).

This hand is clearly written but not decorative, with a more rounded aspect than the other hands in the main manuscript. Round letters such as **o** and **e** curl in upon themselves, and **c** and **t**, having a distinctly curved bottom left corner, become rounded letters also, impossible to confuse with minims. The minims of **u** and **n** are usually united by a curved stroke, and there is no ligature between minims of different letters. **C** is distinguished from the other hands in the main manuscript particularly by the length and angle of the tail of **r**, which pulls back towards the left, and the hook-shaped curl of both the virgule and the dash over **i**. He writes precisely on the baseline, and uses an ampersand rather than the tironian 7-shaped "et" sign. His **f** and **f** are as tall as **l**, in contrast to the other hands in the main manuscript, in which they only ascend so far above the x-height as necessary to descend into the next letter.

Notices ff. 88v–89.

- 1 (88v). Written in a hand approximately contemporary to the main manuscript, being very similar in style and size to those hands. It is similar in many respects to A, but not so similar as to be unmistakably identical with it.
2. Written in a hand smaller than the previous notice, in ink that has paled to brown. It probably belongs to the second quarter of the fourteenth century. The aspect of the hand is dominated by distinctively broad downstrokes on **p**, **f** and **f**, and heavily clubbed ascenders on **b** and **k**. Its suspension strokes are a loop, open to the bottom left.
- 3 and 4. Written in one hand, probably of the mid-fourteenth century. The ink is more faded

and rubbed than the two previous notices. This, together with this scribe's general carelessness with precise letter forms, makes these two notices considerably more difficult to read. The suspension strokes in particular are often close to invisible. This hand's most distinctive features are the very deep and open tail of **r** (its shoulder has quite vanished), and the descender of **q**, which loops generously to the left beyond the upper bowl and usually closes at the baseline.

5. Written in what appears to be an earlier hand than 2-4, possibly of the 1320s. It approaches a more formal book-hand *anglicana*, with some gothic traits—it is more *quadrata*, serifs and loops are minimal, and the **d** is uncial-form rather than the double-looped *anglicana* **d**. The text appears pointless by comparison with the other notices, and the ductus is self-conscious, suggesting that the scribe may be practising an unfamiliar script.
6. Illegible, probably first half of the fourteenth century.
- 7 (f. 89). Written in a hand similar to that of 2 in general aspect, though lacking its pronounced ascenders. It is a little smaller, but has the same curled suspension strokes. Like the hand of 3-4, **q** has a tail curving to the left of the descender, but it is much smaller and does not loop. The parchment is discoloured and ink is rather faded, and the scribe has an odd habit of omitting some spaces between words and transposing English legal terms into Latin forms. The text is, consequently, often illegible, as in many cases neither the suspension strokes nor then overall shape of the word can be guessed at.

Hand D: Judgement (f. 90).

This document is clearly written, with dark ink, in a hand contemporary to main manuscript. Sayles calls it “a very neat and apparently ‘official’ hand” (57). The scribe often uses an elaborate initial majuscule mid-sentence, apparently for emphasis (e.g., “**B**aner,” l. 7, “**R**oberies & **H**omicides,” final line). Forked ascenders appear commonly, though not consistently. **r** has almost no shoulder but descends only a little, and it occasionally appears in the short form with no tail, especially in a final position (e.g., “Baner,” l. 7, “Lancastre,” l. 6).

Ascenders and descenders are relatively short, and minims are often drawn independently. The scribe uses unusually elaborate punctuation, distinguishing between a medial punctus, punctus elevatus, and two different virgulae, one suspensiva and another a fine hairline stroke. Of the two titles added later, the first is of the mid-fourteenth century and the second modern, perhaps belonging to the nineteenth century.

Languages.

The letter from Edward II, the chronicle, and the notices are written in Latin, while the letter from Lancaster, the petition, and the judgement are written in Anglo-Norman.

The only hand in the manuscript that writes more than one document, A, writes with equal fluency in Latin and Anglo-Norman. There is no distinction in his script between the chronicle and the petition (Latin and Anglo-Norman): even his abbreviations are equivalent, so far as is possible. Only Edward II's letter differs in his hand, distinguished by greater formality and more frequent flourishes. The fundamental difference for this canon seems to be not the language but the royal origin of the first letter, which provokes greater care.

The textual and functional differences that we associate with Latin and Anglo-Norman respectively also remain relatively unimportant demarcations here. Documents are juxtaposed according to their contents, in such a way as to stimulate reflection and comparison. The reader is assumed to be capable of moving between languages and genres fluently and making meaningful comparisons between them; so, the Doncaster petition (Anglo-Norman) illustrates the chronicle's account of 1321 (Latin) by elaborating upon the specific concerns of the barons. At the same time, it supports Lancaster's version of the truth in the preceding letter (Anglo-Norman), which is placed in direct contention with Edward's (Latin), down to the echo of certain words and phrases across documents and languages.

Corrections and errors.

There are no later additions to the text save the titles on the final leaf.

In the first three documents there are several copying errors, particularly in the letter from Edward II. These have been each corrected by their scribe, with superfluous words and letters struck out or expuncted and marginal and interlinear space used to insert missing words.

Within the main manuscript, several errors are corrected by the same hand interlineally or midway through the line. F. 87r is corrected most heavily.

All corrections and errors are noted in the transcription below.

Decoration, rubrication, etc.

None.

Other witnesses to texts.

- Letter Edward II to John Engayne: Save for the name and occasional differences in spelling, the text is the same as that recorded in as being sent by Edward to 107 earls and barons, and, with appropriate changes in pronoun, to Lancaster himself (*Foedera* 2.ii 26–27).
- Letter Thomas of Lancaster to John Engayne: No other witness.
- Doncaster Petition: No other complete witness. MS Bodl. Rolls Kent 6 box I (f), however, contains a mutilated copy sent by Lancaster to the city of London on 2 December, with his accompanying letter. Maddicott transcribes this letter in full (*Lancaster* 297–98, footnote).
- Fineshade Chronicle: No other witness, save to the section comprising the Boroughbridge Roll. A very similar list survives in MS BL Egerton 2850: each supplies a few names absent in the other, but this manuscript is a little more complete. The Egerton roll has been published in the appendix of CPW 2: 200–01, and in translation by James Greenstreet (whose interest is primarily heraldic). The relative ordering of the names between the Egerton and Fineshade manuscripts suggests that the original was in two columns, which one copyist read from left to right while the other read down (noted by Haskins, “Chronicle” 74). Vicary Gibbs assembled his own version of the Boroughbridge Roll, considering those of CPW and Greenstreet to be inadequate, but himself listed only those

men who were at some time summoned to Parliament and their close relatives (Cokayne 1.II: App. C 597–602). He seems to rely primarily on the Close and Patent Rolls and does not appear to have been aware of this manuscript.

- Notices 88v–90: No other witnesses. The British National Archives have no other documents pertaining to Fineshade, nor are any of its records preserved in the calendars or rolls published by the Public Records Office.
- Judgement: This manuscript appears to have been amongst those issued in 1322 to be read out before the various condemned (Sayles). No other witness survives of these, but the same text is preserved in later copies of 1324–25 into the parliamentary rolls. These are each addressed by name to one or two men: the former royal favourite Roger d’Amory, Henry de Willington and Henry de Montfort, Bartholomew de Ashburnham, Henry Tyes, Bartholomew de Badlesmere, Francis de Aldeham and Bartholomew de Ashburnham (again), and another for Bartholomew de Ashburnham alone (CPW 2: App. 261, 262, 263, 265, 266–67). As these copies are for specific individuals, they differ from this earlier copy in containing their names and occasional one-line variants, where one was absent at a given engagement. That for Badlesmere adds that his head will be “mys outre la porte de la Ville de Caunterburez pur doner ensauple as autres qe il nenpreignent tieles traysouns & mauvestes come vous avetz faitz” (“set outside the gates of the City of Canterbury to give example to others that they may not be infected by such treasons and evil as you have done”) (265). That for Roger d’Amory, who died within two days of wounds sustained at Burton-upon-Trent, omits the account of movements after that engagement, but adds “mes Roger pur ceo qe notre Seignour le Roi vous ad en temps moult amez & fuistes de sa meygne & prives de lui & avez sa nyece esposee, notre dit Seignour le Roi de sa grace & de sa Realte met en respit execucioun de cel jugement a sa volunte” (“but Roger, because our lord the king did at one time love you greatly and you were of his company and close to him and did marry his niece, our said lord the king, by his grace and his royalty, defers the execution of the said judgement according to his will”) (261).

Transcription

Editorial practice.

General Format:

Line breaks and numbering correspond to those in the manuscript. Page breaks between different items are mine, where the scribes have left a blank line to indicate the division. Foliation and changes of hand are noted on unnumbered lines. Lines are numbered according to ruling, so blank lines are given a value, except on unruled pages (i.e., 88v).

Amendments:

Obvious errors have been corrected in the text, and the manuscript reading noted (usually where the scribe has written a word out in full, but also used an abbreviation mark). Suggested alternate readings for dubious words are given in footnotes, as are Haskins' readings where they differ from mine (with the exception of punctuation, capitalisation and spelling, all of which he standardises).

Contemporary corrections have been incorporated into the text, and mentioned in a footnote (together with the original reading, where it can be deciphered).

Spelling:

Spelling and capitalisation are unaltered. Each scribe's distinction between *v* and *u* has been preserved, as has the difference between *&* and *et/c*. Abbreviations have been expanded as far as possible according to the individual scribe's usual spelling habits, where these are evident elsewhere.

Punctuation and Spacing:

A punctus in the manuscript has been rendered as a full stop, a virgule by a comma, and a punctus elevatus by a semicolon. However, none of the scribes is entirely consistent in his use of punctuation, either within his own writing or in comparison with the others.

I have added punctuation in square brackets where it might aid comprehension, but have tried to do this sparingly. Where the manuscript's punctuation may be misleading (for example, a punctus where the

sentence obviously continues) I have suggested an amendment in square brackets; e.g., “*prelatorium.*[*]* *mag/natum*” and “*instigare.*[*]* *ad diuersa*” on 84v.

I have added apostrophes in Anglo-Norman (*l'assent*, *q'il* etc.), to aid legibility. All apostrophes are editorial. In the case of scribe A, I have also found it necessary to consistently amend two of his spacing habits, which I have explained in footnotes, for the sake of clarity.

Where the scribe has used a hyphen to indicate the breaking of a word over two lines, I have reproduced this; where he has omitted it, I have supplied it in square brackets.

1. Letter from Edward II to Sir John Engayne.

Edward II writes to Sir John Engayne, patron of Fineshade, forbidding him to attend Lancaster's meeting at Doncaster and condemning the meeting as illegal. Chronologically, this follows the next letter.

84v *Hand A'*.

1 Edwardus dei gratia Rex Anglie dominus Ibernice & dux aquitannie, Dilecto &
fidei suo Iohanni Engayne salutem, Cum de consensu & ausamento prelatorum[,] mag[-]
natum & procerum regni nostri pro tranquillitate & quiete populi eiusdem regni & conseruatione
pacis
nostre ante hec tempora per totum regnum nostrum fecerimus puppice [sic] inhiberi, ne qui
cuiuscumque status
5 seu conditionis existerent, infra idem regnum, congregiones, seu conuenticula aliqua facere
presumerent
sine mandato nostro speciali. & dilectus consanguineus & fidelis noster Thomas comes Lancastrie
iam asserens grauia pericula, oppresiones [sic], & dampna in nostro regno predicto existere¹ per
consiliarios
nostros quos asserit esse malos & nobis consulere & instigare.[]² ad diuersa contra uo[-]
luntatem dei ad nostri dedecus[,] dampnum regni nostri predicti[,] & destructionem populi nostri in-
10 debite faciendam necnon & ad ducendum in idem regnum alienigenas³ & rebelles nostros
de scocia. Ad tractandum super huiusmodi malis reformandis diem domenicam proximam post
quin[-]
denam sancti Martini proximo iam futuram apud Donescastere ordinauerit, & litteras suas vobis
& aliis pluribus⁴ fidelibus nostris de interessendo tractatui predicto[,] dicta inhibitione nostra non
obstante[,]

¹ MS: *existerere*. The abbreviation mark is superfluous. *predicto esistere* has been inserted interlineally in the same hand, above *presitere*, which has been struck out.

² MS: *dicit*, struck out.

³ MS: *alieninogenas*, with *no* subpuncted for deletion.

⁴ *pluribus* inserted interlineally.

direxerit, prout in aliquibus de dictis litteris suis⁵ in quibus inseritur ipsum comitem sub forma illa
 15 omnibus bonis paribus suis regni predicti scribere vidimus contineri iurisdictionem nostram regiam
 sibi in hac parte vsurpans, de quo miramur plurimum & merito commouemur. Pre[-]
 sertim cum reformacio huiusmodi malorum & dampnorum si in dicto regno existerent[,] quid
 absit, et tractatus inde habendi ac conuocationes quecumque super hiis que nos & statum regni
 nostri contingunt faciende; ad nos ratione regie dignitatis nostre & non ad alium perti[-]
 20 neant in eodem regno. Nos[,] volentes huiusmodi nobis prejudicialibus obuiare;[,] vobis man[-]
 damus in fide & homagio in quibus nobis tenemini sub forisfactura omnium que nobis forisfa[-]
 cere poteritis firmiter inhibentes ac etiam iniungentes, ne ad diem & locum predictos seu
 alios, huiusmodi conuocationibus absque autoritate nostra super hiis que nos vel statum regni
 nostri quomodolibet⁶ contingunt faciendis, intersitis. nec de cetero huiusmodi mandatis seu
 requisitionibus⁷ aliorum
 25 quam nostris obediatis, seu quouis modo pareatis; Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium. xiii die
 nouembris
 anno regni nostri . xvo . per ipsum regem. Anno domini mo ccco vicesimiprimo.⁸

Sample 1. Hand A: Edward II's letter, f. 84v ll. 6-8.

Sample 2. Hand B: Lancaster's letter, f. 84v ll. 28-30.

⁵ *suis* inserted interlineally.

⁶ MS *cquomodolibet*, with *c* subpuncted for deletion.

⁷ *seu requisitionibus* inserted interlineally.

⁸ 12 November 1321.

2. Letter from Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, to Sir John Engayne.

Lancaster summons Engayne to the meeting at Doncaster, citing the great wrongs done to the realm by the king's bad counsellors.

84v *Hand B.*

28 | A honorable homme & nostre trescher amy monsire Johann Dengayne, Thomas
 | Counte de Lancastre, & de Leycestre, Seneschal dengleterre, saluz,
 30 | e cheres amitez, Sire pur les granz periles & oppressions & grantz maux qe nous
 | sentoms e entendoms qe vus les sentez en ce Reaume par mauueis conseil[-]
 | lers nostre seignur le Rey qe le menunt e abettunt en desplesaunce de deux⁹

85r *Hand C.*

1 | & deshonor de lui & a damage du Roialme a destruccion de son poeple en noemm dite
 | manere; & entre les autres maux; q'il conseilient; attreant aliens & les Rebeaux
 | descocce a entrer la terre; nostre seignur le Roi; nient aperceiuant leur malice par leur
 | mauueise & sotile informacion, & compassement. Vus prioms Sire qe vous plese
 5 | qe nous puissions auoir voz¹⁰ conseaux d'ordiner remedie & de redrescer touz les
 | maux tochantz le damage & les perils du Roialme. Sor quoi Sire vous requerroms
 | qe vous voillez estre sanz nule excusacion a Dancastre le prochein Dimenge apres
 | la quinzeine de seint Martyn prochein auenir;¹¹ ou nous auoms prie touz noz bons
 | pieres par my la terre, qe nous purra souenir; q'il voillent as ditz iour & lieu por
 10 | ordiner remedie en les dites busoignes. E ceo Sire qe vous volez de ceste chose
 | nous voillez signefier voz volenteez par voz lettres & le portour de cestes. A dieu
 | Sire q'il vous gard. Donne a nostre chastel de Pountfreit le xvij. iour. Doctobre.

⁹ There is a catchword in the lower right margin: *e de deshonor*. The hand may be B—it is not C. See p. 127.

¹⁰ MS: *noz*. As this scribe distinguishes between *u* and *n*, and uses *v* for an initial consonant, it cannot be read as *uo*. Possibly the scribe's misreading of *uo* in the original letter.

¹¹ 29 November 1321.

3. The Doncaster petition.

The petition, addressed to Edward II, drawn up by Lancaster and other attendees at the Doncaster meeting held on or around 29 November 1321. Consists of a declaration of the rights by which they make these demands, a list of grievances to be addressed (each new item declared by some variant on “E ausint sire...”), and a request for response by 20 December.

85r *Hand A*².

14 | A touz honours e reuerences & cetera. Sire pleyse¹² a vostre seynurie sauer come plusurs e de-
 15 | uerse greuaunces qui sount monstrez a nous e a nos autres bon piers de la tere.[,] en
 blenissement¹³ del'estat du realme e dela coroune¹⁴. de la qele nous sumes iurez a sau-
 uer e mayntener solum nos powers. par force de qel serment nous sumes chargez
 les dit greuaunces mustrer a vostre seignourie. Cest a sauer sire en vos progenitours
 en temps de vos auncestres granterent par la grant chartre la qele est puy par vous
 20 | confirmez par les ordinaunce par vous grauntez; sumes iurez a coe mayntenir qe les Reys
 ne prendreyent ne enprisunereyent ne desheritereyent nul delur franc tenaunz,
 ne de lour franchises ne de lur franc custumes. ne ke nul serreit vlage ne exille
 ne en autre manere destruyt par eus, ne queil maundreyent, ne irreynt sour nul
 si noun par leal iugement de lour piers e par la ley de la tere. La ou Sire Hige
 25 | Dispenser le fiz qui est exile e ascouns autres mals conseylers, vous ount procu-
 res e abette que les vos en vostre noun ount seysi chastels e teres de piers de la
 tere¹⁵ en blenissement e ensaunple des autres. quels chastels e forcilez ount enclos par

¹² *pleysea*, with *a* subpuncted for deletion. Haskins prints *pleysea*.

¹³ MS: *blenissement*. Cf. *blemissement*, l. 27.

¹⁴ MS: *del'estate du realme e delacoroune*. In writing Anglo-Norman, A often (but inconsistently) omits the space following a preposition, a definite article, or *e*. I have inserted these spaces to avoid confusion where they directly precede a noun or a verb or where the meaning is otherwise ambiguous. The correction is common enough that I have not noticed every instance. See pp. 131-33 above.

¹⁵ MS: *terere*.

feet e cunge de Reys. prendre lour cors, prayer lour bestes, destrure, & oute
 eus de lour teres.[.] e enporter lour bens e lour chateus saunz ley, ou proces, ou
 30 leal iugement de lour piers, countre l'estat de la coroune e vostre serment.[.] e la grant
 chartre, e les ordinaunces de la sentence sour cee done e affirme. E ausint sire com
 le dit Sire Huge le Despenser le fiz fuyt exile e forsuigt hors du reaume par
 l'assent de vous, e par agard de tus vostre barnage en vostre pleyn parlement, pur diuerses
 enchesuns resonables. la le dit Huge par abet de dit mals counseilers venuz
 35 est en vostre compaygnie e est mayntenuz e recepte, en countre l'estat de la coroune e l'estat
 du realme e des piers dela tere. E ausint sire vous ount les dit mals conseylers
 tant procurez que vous auez baile le dit sire Huge engarde ales gent des portz,¹⁶ e les
 auez parles voz charge sour forfeiture, a sauuer e garder par mer e par tere e par
 lour serment, la ou il¹⁷ est foriuge e exile. quel chose est encountre l'estat dela coroune

85v

1 e du realme. E ausi Sire la ou le dit Sire Huge est mayntenuz parle dit portz, e
 autre genz o grant nombre par mer e par tere, e par le dit mals conseilers, e
 ausint par vostre power ele power le dit Sire Huge robbent les nefz par mer e
 les marchaunz venaunz vers les parties dengleterre, en graunt esclaundre
 5 dela tere, e encontre l'estat de la coroune, e a graunt¹⁸ damage de pouple.
 E ausi Sire le dit Sire Huge e les autres mals conseiller vous procurent e abettent
 de coure sour les bone genz de vostre tere, e primes par couerture a destrure les
 vns e puyz les autres e eus desheriter sant parlement e agard de lour piers;[.]
 encountre le dites ordinaunces par vous sire grantez.[.] e encontre l'auant dite grant
 10 chartre ela franchise dengleterre, e encontre l'estat de la coroune. E ausi Sire
 le dit Sire Huge eles autres mals conseilers vous procurent de faire parles voz alli-
 aunce e retenaunce encontre les bone genz de vostre tere. e sount comaundez sour for-

¹⁶ The Cinque Ports. See *Vita* 196–97.

¹⁷ MS: *ouil*.

¹⁸ MS: *agraunt*.

feture, que chescoun vous sue a destrure voz dit bone genz, par qui le mauueys
e les barouns leuent en la tere en diuerse parties, e robbent e praient le pople
15 e chyuaient armes de totez parz, issur que ley ne pees poent estre gardez
ne mayntenuz nela commune viure en pees ne enquite com il soleyent en temps
de vos auncestres a destruccioun de vos dit genz e encontre l'estat de la corou-
ne. E ausi Sire ¹⁹ de cee que les granz de la tere vodreynt entreparler souent
pur estauncher les dit outrages, e pur amendement mettre que bone pees fuyt
20 garde e mayntenuz.[,] par qui les bone genz de la tere poeyent le menz viure en
pees; e la par le dit Hige e les autres mals conseillers estoiez vous sire procure
e abette a maunder vos brefs a vos bone genz que nul ne venge a autre
sour quant qu'il porreyent forfere a vous, issint qu'il ne porreynt nul amendes
mettre. mes lour donnent enchesouns a reueiler en countre lour seigneur lige.[,]
25 encountre lour gre e lour volunte.[,] par qui la commune du pople ne poent pas robbe-
ours e duresces en lour pays ne en lour mesouns demorer, e sount destruz
e enpouri en grant esclaundre de vous. E ausint de coe ke le dit Hige e les autres
mals conseillers vous conseillent a doner garant a Robert le Ewer e autre tels gent de
uient a prendre les piers de la tere la ou il vount a faire garant a les viscoun-
30 tes de estre entendaunt a eus a les ditz outrages faire encountre ley e resoun
e l'estat de la coroune.²⁰ Les quels choses sousdites nous vos bone genz e li-
ges e piers de la tere prioms Sire nostre seigneur lige que vous voilez entre cy e le dymenge
procheyn apres la feste seynte Lucie procheyn auenir,²¹ par bon conseil repeller e

¹⁹ *com les* struck out.

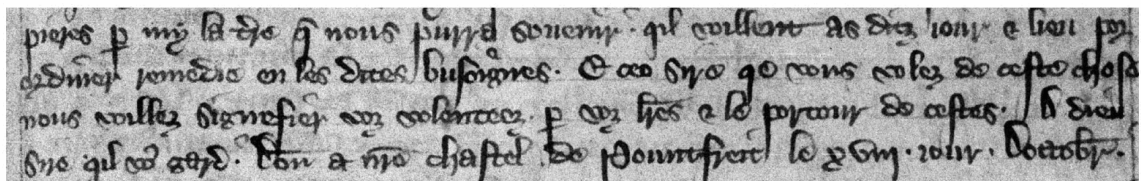
²⁰ On 19 October 1321, Robert Ewer was commissioned by the king “in conjunction with the keepers of the peace and the sheriffs of the counties of Surrey, Sussex, Southampton, Wilts, Oxford, Berks, Somerset and Dorset, to enquire touching malefactors making confederacies there, and to arrest and attach the guilty and to send them to the nearest gaols until further order”—that is, to prevent exactly such meetings at that at which this petition was drawn up (CPR EII 4: 28). For a sketch of the history and character of this rather thuggish knight, see *Vita* 200–01 and notes.

²¹ 20 December.

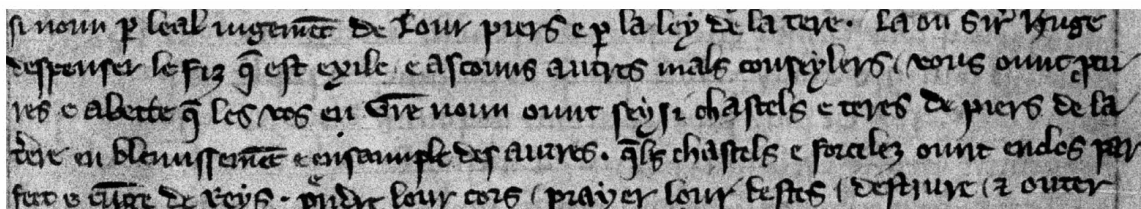
redrescer en si bone manere que nous pussoms sentir vostre bone seignurie e vostre
 35 bon gouvernement. e ke vous e vostre bone genz puyssent viure en pees. E sire si cee
 ne voilez, ne voilez si vous plect a mal prendre si nous defendoms nos
 dreyz e nos heritages a meuz²² que nous pooms a pursure les dit mals conseillers,
 la ou nous les truouoms ea redrescer le mal gouvernement du realme, com nous
 sumes tenuz. E ne voilez sire lesser ne estre desturbe par les mals conseillers

86r

1 auantditz que vous ne voilez ordiner que hastuie remedie seit mys de deynz le
 iour pur la sauuacioun dela marche de vers le North encountre les ene-
 mys descoco.



Sample 3. Hand C: Lancaster's letter, f. 85r ll. 9–12.



Sample 4. Hand A: Doncaster petition, f. 85r ll. 24–28.

²² Haskins: *menz*. Earlier in the sentence, he amends “si cee ne voilez, ne voilez” to “si cee ne voilez ne voilez, [sic],” rejecting the repetition of “ne voilez” as accidental and moving the scribe’s punctuation in order to do so. His reading, then, must be “E sire si cee ne voilez, si vous plect a mal prendre si nous defendoms nos dreyz e nos heritages a menz que nous pooms a pursure les dit mals conseillers,” but both the sense and the grammar of this fail to satisfy.

4. Chronicle.

86r Hand A² continues.

- 5 Anno dominice incarnationis Mo CCesimo Octogesimo quintodecimo & Regni Regis Edwardi
 xxoiio. Et etate Edwardi filii predicti Regis Edwardi quarti decimo. Cum idem Rex transfre-
 tasset in flandriam causa pacis inter Regem francie et Comitem flandrie, ut dice-
 batur[,] reformande. vel eciam ut staret cum comite in subsidium eiusdem contra dominum
 Regem si pace non accepta partes inter se guerram pocius elegissent; in ipsius mora
 10 ibidem sic facta accessit ad eum quidam Petrus de Gualstona nomine de eadem
 prouincia oriundus tantamque²³ gratiam coram rege inuenit quod officium armigeri in curia sua
 gessit familie regis ascriptus absque mora. Quem filius regis intuens in eum
 tantum protinus amorem iniecit quod cum eo firmitatis fedus iniit. & pre ceteris morta[-]
 libus indissolubile dileccionis vinculum secum elegit & firmiter disposuit innodare.²⁴
 15 Elapso vero aliquanto tempore adiit pro eo patrem suum & petiit sibi dari Cornubie²⁵
 comitatum. Quod rex ut audiuit grauiter mouebatur in animo & petitionem impor-

²³ Where the chronicler occasionally omits spaces in certain circumstances in Anglo-Norman, he has an opposite habit in Latin, consistently inserting a space before the enclitic *-que*. I have removed the space, because there are instances where the enclitic might be confused with the pronoun *qu(a)e*, and this is a confusion that is not present in the manuscript due to the difference in abbreviation.

²⁴ Edward I did not “discover” Gaveston in Gascony, as this version of events implies. On the contrary, Gaveston’s father, Arnaud de Gabaston, had been in the king’s service and household for twenty years by the time of his death in 1302, and had served in Wales, Scotland and Ireland (Hamilton, *Gaveston* 21–28).

²⁵ The chronicler errs in this detail: Edward’s request was, in fact, for Gaveston’s native county of Ponthieu. Cornwall was the earldom granted him by Edward II on his accession to the throne.

- tunam²⁶ ferens indignanter ipsam²⁷ ad terram deiecit pedibusque conculcavit dicens totam regionem anglicanam per ipsum fore amittendam. Huius igitur petitionis occasione aliisque gestibus illicitis & inhonestis idem rex ira succensus predictum
- 20 Petrum iussit exulem fieri absque aliqua gracia seu spe in postmodo redeundi. factum[-] que est ita.²⁸ Eodem Rege postea in anno regni suo trecesimo quinto a carnis ergastulo resolutus; filius suus regni sui monarchiam cepit occupare. qui non prius nomen regis adeptus est; quam ipsum Petrum reuocavit ab exilio & in statum pristinum restituit. solitique flaminam amoris infrenata²⁹ mente renouavit.
- 25 Quid plura? Antiquos thesauros & preciosa iocalia in gazophilacio³⁰ Regis apud Westmonasterium per suos³¹ antecessores a tempore a quo non extitit memoria salvo depositos eidem Petro contulit & distribuit in proprium dedecus³² & dampnum grauissimum sui ipsius & totius populi anglicani.³³ Quia exhausto thesauro suo proprio, statim indigebat auxilio populari talliagiaque eis imposuit. Sic pecuniam extorsit & leuare fecit non

²⁶ MS: *imporortunam*.

²⁷ Haskins: *ipsum*. The word is abbreviated (*ipm*) and the gender left to context; *ipsam*, however, scans better within the sentence, both syntactically and logically. The mistake directs Edward I's violence not against the inanimate petition but against its author, his son. I discuss this reading more fully in my *Notes and Queries* article.

²⁸ Walter of Guisborough also tells of this incident, adding some choice details to Edward I's behaviour: the king calls his son "fili meretricis male generate" (ill-born son of a whore) and tears out as much of his hair as he can manage before throwing him out and banishing Gaveston (382–3).

²⁹ MS: *in frunita*.

³⁰ *gazophilacium*: "treasury", from Greek γαζοφυλάκιον. A deliberate stylistic reaching for effect characteristic of the chronicle.

³¹ *suos* added interlineally.

³² Haskins: *detrimentum*.

³³ While the charge of impoverishing the realm is a common one levelled at Gaveston and Edward II for this period, the specificity of this charge may suggest a slight confusion with the robbery of the royal treasury at Westminster in 1303, in which treasures rather than money were carried off (Prestwich, *Edward I* 536).

30 | modicam ad depauperacionem gentis sue. Inter hec Comes Glouernie vniuerse viam
 carnis est ingressus³⁴ relinquens post eum tres filias & vnicum filium heredem suum
 quas & quem idem comes de domina Johanna de Aconio filia regis Edwardi suscita-
 uit. Quarum vnam dictus Rex prefato petro dedit in vxorem & ipsum Comitem fecit
 Cornubie iuxta sui desiderium prius conceptum & ordinatum.³⁵ Et ecce sicut prouerbi-
 35 | aliter dicitur. Ringitur³⁶ in excelsa simia sede sedens. Item asperius nichil est humili
 cum surgit in altum.³⁷ Ita Petrus ille sic de nichilo in altum sublimatus;[,] mag-
 natibus terre cepit aduersari. opprobria derisiones & contumelias eis inferens
 grauesque minas eis intentans multis modis. Illi vero talia audientes nec
 valentes³⁸ sub dissimulacione tantas iniurias preterire auribus obtusis; cogi-

86v

1 | tauerunt vnanimiter qua vi uel arte tanti maligni viri hostilitatem & iniquitatem elide-
 rent aut omnino delerent de terra; ne pestis eius³⁹ venenosa tocius populi sanguinem inficeret
 & in confusionem diuitum & pauperum in terram anglie gentem introduceret alienam. Circum-

³⁴ Gloucester died in 1295. The chronicler's placement of his death here serves a narrative purpose, but is possibly also influenced by the fact that the Earl of Lincoln died in February 1311, as the barons were beginning to move against Gaveston.

³⁵ These early years show similarities to the account in *Castleford's Chronicle*. It also makes an explicit temporal connection between Edward's and Gaveston's folly and the death of Lincoln ("Qwiles þe kyng and Peres was so foln, / Diede þe gode erel of Lincoln" 38882–82), and its litany of the waste of England's resources recalls that of this chronicle (38898–905). As it was probably written in 1327, and the years after Gaveston's death differ strongly in emphasis and interest, it is unlikely to be a direct source for the Fineshade chronicler. They may have shared a source, or simply be drawing on the same rumour-fed perception of events.

³⁶ MS: *Ringit*.

³⁷ This couplet is an inversion of the close of the fourteenth parable from the third book of Alain of Lille's *Liber Parabolarum*. *Ringitur* is more commonly quoted as *Pingitur*. The second line derives ultimately from Claudian, *In Eutropium* I.181.

³⁸ Possibly read *volentes* (so Haskins).

³⁹ MS: *eius*. Haskins amends to *enim*.

spectis igitur viis & modis quibus eius maliciis possent obuiare & populo terre sub-
 5 uenire planum iter aduersus eum inuenerunt, videlicet quod postquam exilio dampnatus
 extiterat communi interueniente assensu & contra communem assensum rediisset capitis ampu-
 tatione puniendus esset.⁴⁰ Hoc itaque sic prouiso cum transitum faceret versus castrum Bampton
 sub custodia & saluo conductu domini Eymeri de Valencia⁴¹, hospitabatur ad quandam
 villam prope Warewycum eademque nocte ibidem morabatur cum sua familia.[,] domino cum
 10 Eymero aliunde in suis negociis transeunte. Audiens autem Comes Warwici noua
 de eius aduentu, assumptis secum paucis de familia sua, accessit ad locum ubi dictus
 Petrus incepit pernoctari. Cepitque eum & ad castrum Warwici deduxit posuitque
 eum in custodia usque aduentum comitis⁴² Lancastrie de cuius assensu talia erant gesta.
 Comite vero Lancastrie adueniente in breui⁴³, sedebant hii duo Comites pro tri-
 15 bunali de consensu aliorum Comitum dictum Petrum morti adiudicauerunt. fecunt[-]
 que amputare capud eius apud quendam locum qui dicitur Cauersike super
 feodum & tenementum Comitis Lancastrie. Totque fuerunt lictores qui sibi⁴⁴

⁴⁰ No explicit mention is made of Gaveston's second or third exiles, those that fell during Edward II's reign.

The chronicler simplifies his version of events by having Gaveston's behaviour after his first return increase in its outrageousness until the magnates are obliged to act by killing him, rather than by insisting on the Ordinances and his exile. This simplification is made easier by his avoidance of dates. This is characteristic of his handling of Edward's reign until 1321: he only mentions the Ordinances after Gaveston's death (rather than preceding it) and makes no distinction between their initial application and their reassertion in 1318, at which the young Despenser was appointed Edward's chamberlain (f. 86v ll. 26–29). Similarly, he almost elides the English defeats at Bannockburn (1315) and Berwick (1319) into one event, the outcome of which is to prove the villainy of the young Despenser (f. 86v ll. 34–42).

⁴¹ Earl of Pembroke. Pembroke is the only earl besides the Despensers and Gaveston to whom the chronicler refers by family name, rather than by title.

⁴² *comitis* inserted interlineally.

⁴³ MS: *breviter*, *ter* erased.

⁴⁴ MS: *sibi uul*, *u* subpuncted for deletion and *ul* erased. The descender of *per* directly above has been slightly erased and re-inked.

uulnera mortalia dederunt, quot ad ipsius mortem comites consenserunt.

O uiri execrabilis mors execranda. o mors nepharii quam nephanda. o mors impii im-
 20 piissima. o mors scelerati sceleratissima. Nec immerito est mors eius tam vilis

& reproba censenda, cuius pretextu tantus cruor & tam preciosus falso & maliciose
 effunditur subsequenter. Ecce nobilis Comes Warwici vir utique sapientissimus non
 longo postea tempore vitam finiuit & suspicatur a multis quod non morte naturali sed
 impotionatus interiit. Aliorum quidem qui mortis dicti Petri fuerunt conscii. mors in tempus

25 futurum exportatur.⁴⁵ de qua in suo forsitan euentu ad plenum dicetur. Hiis ita perac-
 tis; facte fuerunt ordinationes pro custodia domus domini Regis ut sapiencius vinceret ad
 euitandum⁴⁶ talliages & oppressiones populi communi consensu interueniente. Inter quas assignatus
 fuit dominus Hugo Dispencator filius non pater ad officium Camerarii domini Regis. de cuius
 diligentia & fidelitate magnam gerebant fiduciam tunc temporis proceres & magnati.

30 Adepto ergo huius officio post modicum tempus crudelem omnino se exhibuit in tantum ut nulli pa-
 tuit gracias cum domino rege colloquendi aut pro negociis suis quamquam arduis & celeriter expe-
 diendis cum eo tractandi, nisi prius predicto domino Hugoni in magna quantitate pecunie foret
 satisfactum. Acquisiuit sibi per rigorem & austeritatem maneria plura, possessiones,

& thesaurum infinitum.⁴⁷ Dicebatur etiam quod cum rex esset apud Striuelyn in bello contra

35 scotos, Comes Glouernie cuius terras idem Hugo desiderabat interfectus fuit; habita super
 morte eius conuentione inter scotos & ipsum Hugonem, cuius factum euidentiam reliquit mani[-]
 festam. Nam ipso comite interfecto. ipse & pater suus regem detinuerunt reducentes

& consulentes ut terga verteret nec ulterius procederet ad bellandum. quod factum scoti viden-
 tes, persequabantur & magnam exercitus fugientis multitudinem occiderunt. Item Rege

40 obsidente Berwicum cum proceribus & magnatibus suis ipse Hugo cum complicitibus
 suis vendidit Reginam scotis ut dicebatur in auxilium scotorum contra Regem. que

⁴⁵ Haskins amends to *expectatur*.

⁴⁶ MS: *evitand*, due to a forgotten abbreviation stroke.

⁴⁷ For Despenser's legally aggressive acquisitions of land, rights, and revenues, see *Vita* (184–85, 194–95).

cum minime capta fuit quia ab aliis premunita. quod scelus clam imposuit comiti

87r

1 Lancastrie in eius defensionem.⁴⁸ O virosa doli iniquitas qui cum perperam⁴⁹ egerit de fraude
sua non est contentus nisi prius alios & innocentes commaculet eis venenum
infundens quod numquam gustare curauerunt. Sed adhuc hiis tanquam minimis omis-
sis ad mala que sequuntur stilum uertamus. Sicut enim tempestates grandes quandoque
quasi⁵⁰ ebullire videntur in nubibus aeris antequam ad terram descendant. sic omnes iniquita-
5 tes pretextate⁵¹; ebulliciones & preambulationes sunt tantummodo respectu malorum futurorum. Nunc
vero post premissa mouentur corda magnatum contra predictum dominum Hugonem de consensu
domini Regis parliamentum seu consilium statuerunt de extorsionibus iniuriis⁵² predictum
dominum Hugonem factis ipsum instanter accusantes in tantum ut exigentibus demeritis suis
ac patris sui vterque regnum anglie euaceret. rege ad hoc consenciente & verba exilij
10 in puplico pronunciante. Quo facto magnates regni credebant quicquid actum fuerat
ratum & stabilem fieri absque dolo. Tandem pater mutauit aerem & ad partes transma-
rinas se transtulit, filio in anglia sub alis domini regis latitante. Comites & ba[-]
rones indigne ferentes quod ipse ad talem gratiam eis non consentientibus⁵³ fuisset admissus;
preparauerunt se cum equis & armis ut ipsum caperent, sed minime poterunt quia dominus Rex
15 se pro eodem semper opposuit cui nec uolebant nec audebant quicquam iniurie facere quia per
comitem Lancastrie prohibitum fuit ne domino Regi aliquam molestiam inferrent quoquo modo.
Interim Rex cum suo exercitu ex vna parte Comitesque & barones ex alia parte in

⁴⁸ For this event, see note 15 on p. 101 above.

⁴⁹ Haskins reads *properam* (adjective, fem. sing. acc). The abbreviation, however, is clearly that for *per* rather than *pro*, and there is no noun in the sentence that *properam* could legitimately modify.

⁵⁰ *quasi* inserted marginally.

⁵¹ MS: *pretaxate*.

⁵² MS: *iniuriis factis per*, with *factis per* struck out. As *factis* appears on the next line this amendment must have been made before the sentence was completed, and suggests composition rather than copying. Cf. f. 87v ll. 23–34.

⁵³ MS: *consentiebuz*.

confinibus Wallie diu fluctuabant patriam deuastantes & compatriotas grauiter oppri-
mentes.⁵⁴ Comites vero & barones videntes mala intollerabilia & grande periculum immi-
20 nere accesserunt ad regem ut se ei redderent & eius gracie se summitterent. inter quos
Rogerus de Mortuo mari & auunculus eius alios precesserunt & se reddiderunt, quos sic reddi-
tos Rex iussit in ferris poni & saluo custodiri. Comes Herefordiensis hoc audiens
transtulit se cum aliis qui fuerunt in Comitua sua ad comitem Lancastrie ab eo petens
consilium & refugium in hoc casu. Comes vero hoc audiens ipsum admisit aliosque qui
25 secum venerant preter dominum Bartholomeum de Batlismere qui coram eo nullam gratiam potuit
inue-
nire.⁵⁵ Rex vero cum audiret quod ad Comitem fugissent preparauit se & exercitum magnum col-
legit & accessit ad villam que dicitur Bartona super trentam & ad pontem ultra trentam qui
dicitur anglice Bartonebrigge ut ad debellandum comites pertransiret. Illi vero exerci-
tui eiusdem ad dictum pontem obuiauuerunt; Moxque adinuicem dimicantes vna pars Regis
30 ex vna parte & alia pars comitum ex altera. pontis transitum mutuo defendebant. Rex in-
terim cum magna parte gentis sue recessit & ad vada a dicto ponte modicum distancia
accessit & transiuit. quod comites intelligentes fugerunt & peruenerunt ad pontem burgi
volentes ad alias partes ut dicebatur recessisse. Illisque ibidem quiescentibus; superuenit
subito quidam miles dominus Andreas de Harcle cum maiore Eboraci & cum eorum exercitu
35 bene ad quingentos homines armatos. Moxque conflictum dederunt adinuicem super
pontem; ibique interfectus fuit Comes Herefordensis & alii quidam ex utraque parte. Nocte
autem pugnam parcium impediende subtraxerunt se abinuicem usque mane. Adueniente die
secundo Comes Lancastrie cum .xvii. baronibus & .iiijxx. militibus & armigeris se red-
diderunt ad gratiam domini Regis. ductique fuerunt ad Eboracum usque aduentum Regis apud

⁵⁴ This is as close as this chronicler comes to criticising the violence on the part of the rebellious barons. Elsewhere he does his best to minimise it, by contrast with (for example) the author of the *Vita*, who lists by name those Marcher barons violently opposing Despensers in early 1321, and condemns their illegal plundering of his lands (185–88).

⁵⁵ For L's hatred of Bartholomew de Badlesmere see *Vita* 198; *Anonimale* 102–03; Murimuth 34; AP 299.

40 | pontem fractum. Quo ibidem adueniente. ductus fuit ibidem predictus Comes ad iudicium suum
audiendum. Assignatis ergo Comitibus Richemundie.[.] de Penebrok.[.] de Aroundel.[.] de

87v

1 | &⁵⁶ Cancie; & vtroque Dispensatore associatio eisdem quodam Roberto de Malmisthorp nar-
ratore de banco ad iudicium dandum contra dictum Comitem. Dictus Robertus in cuius ore
uerba fuerunt posita iudicialiter proposuit⁵⁷ contra eum quod ipse fuit proditor domini Regis
& Regni & inimicorum domini Regis & pacis receptator & multa alia⁵⁸ grauia & enormia,
5 | & ideo tripliciter puniendus quas tamen puniciones preter decollacionem⁵⁹ dixit per Regem remissas.
Ille vero petens se audiri ad respondendum ad premissa, nullo modo fuit admissus nec⁶⁰ responsio sibi
concessa, set statim quasi latro ad furcas suas violenter tractus ibidem fuit decollatus[.]
De opprobriis⁶¹ & iniuriis, contumeliis & conuiciis odiose sibi illatis & obiectis in
eundo ad mortem mentis compassio & angustia⁶² dicere non permittunt. O sanguis
10 | regius, sanguis egregius, sanguis generosus, sanguis etiam preciosus, cur tam contemptibiliter
effusus?⁶³ Quid mali fecisti? Que sunt insidie quas parasti? Contra quem vel quos ar-
ma portasti? An contra regem an contra alios pacis perturbatores? Si contra regem nephas

⁵⁶ *de* // & Read *de* *de*.

⁵⁷ Haskins: *preposuit*.

⁵⁸ *alia* omitted by Haskins.

⁵⁹ ; for *m* written over an erased letter, which may be *s*. Not D's usual abbreviation, either for *-ionem* ending or for *decollacionem* as a full word; the irregularity is presumably due to the error.

⁶⁰ Haskins: *vero*. The word is abbreviated to two minims with a small circle above. Haskins reads *u^o*; however, D almost without exception uses *v* for an initial consonant, invariably abbreviates *vero* to *vo* with a hook-mark above *v*, and usually distinguishes *n* from *u* when they stand alone rather than in a series of minims—these two minims are linked at the top to give *n*. The small circle should be read instead as *c* (it is not entirely closed) and the two minims as *n*, to give *nc*. The *nec* eight lines below (*non affert commodum ne factum sceleratum*) is written exactly thus, and is clearly meant for the same word. Syntactically, *nullo modo ... nec* is satisfying.

⁶¹ MS: *opprobriis*.

⁶² Possibly read *angustia* (so Haskins).

⁶³ *O sanguis ... effusus?* (ll. 9–11) Written over erasure.

extitisset. si contra inimicos terre tolerabile. Quod horum fecisti? Querela ista quanto
 plus recitata, tanto magis lamentabilis, & ideo quia non affert commodum nec factum sceleratum potest
 15 reuocari, maxime cum inimicis suis huius⁶⁴ querela tamquam odiosa displiceat. De eius
 morte tacendum est ad presens. Alii milites Barones & qui fuerunt⁶⁵ cum dicto Comite tracti
 fuerunt & suspensi numero⁶⁶ ⁶⁷. de quibus dominus Rogerus Clifford, dominus Johannes Moum
 brai & dominus Gocelinus de Deivilla tracti fuerunt & suspensi, quorum corpora de furcis
 aliquis postea non audebat.⁶⁸ & sic pendebant quamdiu nerui ossa simul tenere poterunt.⁶⁹
 20 Et certum est quod tot viri fortes & validi in armis intra fines anglie non remanserunt.
 Animalibus eorum propicietur altissimus. Alii quamplures remanserunt in vinculis usque par-
 liamentum[.] In quo quidem parlamento die ad hoc assignato adueniente tantummodo proposuit
 rex statum domini Hugonis ut fidelem & absque aliqua prodicionis macula palam esse pronunciaretur
 &

⁶⁴ Haskins: *huiusmodi*.

⁶⁵ Haskins amends silently to “ad presens; alii barones et milites qui fuerunt.”

⁶⁶ Haskins expands *neruo* (“with a thong / sinew / cord”). Either is a valid expansion of the abbreviation in question (*nuo*, with a hook above to indicate *er*. I have preferred *numero* because the *er* abbreviation mark is, in this instance, above the *u* rather than the *n*, as would be more natural for *neruo* (the scribe writes *nerui* thus two lines below), and because the number .xxxv. is faintly visible under the erasure that follows.

⁶⁷ Erasure of four letters. .xxxv. is faintly visible below the erasure. The number thirty-five matches “the total of knights drawn, hanged, beheaded, fled, and surrendered” (f. 88r l. 39), and would be incorrect in this case because it includes Lancaster and those who fled, were beheaded, or died in battle or of their wounds. The chronicler (or another canon) may have erased it, realising this error, and forgotten to recalculate the correct number.

⁶⁸ This phrase lacks an infinitive as written.

⁶⁹ There is a note written in the outer margin by ll. 14–19, with no indication in the main text of where it is to be inserted. The note is in the same hand, but a darker ink. As the pages have been trimmed, several letters of each line are missing. The remainder reads “...atis apparet / ...ns qui zelo / ...usticie non / ...imulo i^uidie / ...oni fateri / ...itatem contractum / ...iscunt. Set/...”.
 &

eius fama tamquam bona⁷⁰ & illesa in omnibus restitueretur, et quod falso ipse ac pater suus in exilium
mitti
25 iudiciabantur aut⁷¹ amitterentur predia[,] bona[,] uel possessiones qualescumque. Et ideo idem rex pro[-
]
nunciauit utrumque ad omnia amissa et allata penitus esse restituendum. eorumque exilium esse
nullum
et hic est primus tractatus parlamenti. Secundus punctus siue articulus est; de morte comitis
Lancastrie, videlicet quod eius gesta essent publice recordata & quicquid doli[,] prodicionis[,] seu
iniquitatis cuiuscumque posset ab aliquo seu ab aliquibus contra ipsum interfectum recitari siue
30 enarrari, esset pro historia registratum. Factusque fuit ibidem dominus Hugo pater comes Wyn[-]
Cestrie. dominusque Andreas de Herttele tunc uel ante comes Carlealensis⁷². De aliis
terris & tenementis comitum[,] Baronum et⁷³ Militum interfectorum, nichil actum fuit ea vice.⁷⁴
Hec sunt nomina Comitum Baronum et Militum quorum quidam fuerunt decolati, quidam
tracti & suspensi et quidam fugiebant ultra mare. et quidam in carcere sunt detenti.
35 Comes Lancastrie decolatus apud pontem fractum, Comes Herefordie, dominus Willelmus
de Sulee, dominus Roger de Burghfeld, isti fuerunt occisi apud Pontem Burgi. Item
dominus Garinus de Insula, dominus Willelmus Tochet, dominus Thomas Mauduyt, dominus
Henricus
de Bradebourne, dominus Willelmus filius domini Willelmi, & dominus Willelmus Cheyny, isti

⁷⁰ *palam esse pronunciaretur & / eius fama tamquam bona & illesa* This has been edited several times, by the same hand. *esse* was omitted, then inserted above the line. *bona* is written at the end of l. 23 but struck out, only to be moved further along when *tamquam bona* was inserted above the line following *fama*. Before corrections, then, this would have read “*palam pronunciaretur & bona / eius fama & illesa*.” As this makes nonsense of syntax, it seems reasonable to assume that this was an amendment in the process of composition, rather than an error in copying. Cf. f. 87r l. 7.

⁷¹ Haskins: *ac*.

⁷² *r* inserted interlineally.

⁷³ *et* inserted interlineally.

⁷⁴ *In quo quidem parlamento... nichil actum fuit ea vice* (ll. 22–33). Haskins attributes these lines to another scribe (not A, in my terms). See pp. 131–33 above.

fuerunt

tracti & suspensi apud Pontem Fractum. Item dominus Johannes de Mounbray, dominus Roger.[]

40 de Clifford, & dominus Gocelinus de dei villa, isti fuerunt tracti & suspensi apud⁷⁵

88r

1 Eboracum; Item dominus Bartholomeus de Batlesmere et dominus Bartholomeus de Burwasham isti
fuerunt

tracti & suspensi apud Cantuariam; Item dominus Henricus de monte forti et dominus Henricus de

Wilyntonne.[,] tracti & sus. apud Bristolliam; Item dominus Rogerus de Elmebrigge et dominus

Johannes Geffarde tracti & sus. apud Gloucestriam; Item dominus Willelmus Flemminge tract & sus.

5 apud Kerdif; Item dominus Thomas Colepepir tract. & sus. apud Wynchilsee. Item dominus

Henricus Tyeys tract & sus apud Londonne; Item dominus Franciscus de Aldenham tract. & sus.

apud Wyndocium; Item dominus Stephanus Baret tract & sus. apud Gower; Item dominus Johannes

de Euere.[,] decolatus apud⁷⁶; Item dominus Rogerus damori obiit morte propria apud

Burtonam super Trentam; Item duo Mortimeres.[,] dominus Hugo de Audele pater et

10 dominus Johannes de Charltonne reddiderunt se domino Regi; Item dominus Johannes Botetoure.[,]

dominus Johannes de Kyngestonne.[,] dominus Nicholaus de Percy.[,] dominus Johannes Mautrauers
filius. Isti fuge[-]

runt ultra mare; Item dominus Willelmus Trussel euasit; Isti sunt incarcerati.

dominus Robertus de Hoyland proditor Comitis de Lancastria.[,] dominus Hugo Daudele filius.[,]

dominus

Johannes de Wilingtonne.[,] dominus Ricardus Waleys.[,] Item le Rey Bruaunt.[,] dominus Philippus

de la

15 Becche.[,] dominus Robertus de Watevile.[,] dominus Robertus de Schirland.[,] dominus Thomas

Wyther.[,] dominus Henricus

⁷⁵ MS: *apud*. The scribe has absent-mindedly added the abbreviation stroke through the *d* despite including the *u*.

⁷⁶ Blank space left by scribe, presumably pending further information. John de Eure was caught by adherents of the king as he fled, and beheaded at Aukland in the bishopric of Durham (CCIR 7: 430, 474; CPR EII 4: 127–28).

- de Leyburne.[,] dominus Johannes de Bek.[,] dominus Coynel Heroun.[,] dominus Rogerus
Gacelyn.[,] dominus Walterus
- de Pauely.[,] dominus Robertus Walkefarre.[,] dominus Johannes de Wroxhale.[,] dominus Willelmus
de Someruille.[,]
- dominus Radolphus de Bechetonne.[,] dominus Johannes de Actona.[,] dominus Willelmus Wynd.[,]
dominus Oweyn filius
- Johannis.[,] dominus Rogerus de Pilketonne.[,] dominus Johannes de Clyf.[,] dominus Bengons de
Batyousd.[,] dominus
- 20 Thomas blauncfrount.[,] dominus Robertus de Rithere.[,] dominus Robertus de Reygate.[,] dominus
Nicholaus de Lange-
forde.[,] dominus Johannes de Bischoptonne.[,] dominus Willelmus filius Willelmi le Cosyn.[,]
dominus Robertus de Neweburnne.[,]
- dominus Edmundus de Wandirvile.[,] dominus Johannes Blaket.[,] dominus Nicholaus de
Stapiltonne.[,] dominus Edmundus de Riuers.[,]
- dominus Owel a powel.[,] dominus Symon de Bereforde.[,] dominus Rogerus de la Mare.[,] dominus
Normannus
- Darcy.[,] dominus Henricus de Suthuffe.[,] dominus Nicholaus de Langetonne.[,] dominus Otho de
Beryngan.[,]
- 25 dominus Robertus de Daltonne.[,] dominus Richardus de Holande.[,] dominus Walterus de
Kirkebruere.[,] dominus Adam de
Remesby.[,] dominus Adam de Eueryngham.[,] dominus Rogerus Mauduyt.[,] dominus Hamelynus
Byngel.[,]
- dominus Willelmus de Fysschebourne.[,] dominus Thomas Gurnay.[,] dominus Hugo de Eland.[,]
dominus Johannes Lestrangle.[,]
- dominus Rogerus de Trumpetona.[,] dominus Hugo de Stirkeland.[,] dominus Adam de
Wandirville.[,]
- dominus Bartholomeus de Burghays.[,] dominus Hugo Coyle.[,] dominus Hugo de Mortonne.[,]
dominus Ricardus de
- 30 Derleye.[,] dominus Johannes de Miners.[,] dominus Johannes Mauueysyn.[,] dominus Nicholaus de
Turbeuille.[,]
- dominus Thomas Louel.[,] dominus Petrus de Lymeseye.[,] dominus Richardus de Lymeseye.[,]
dominus Willelmus Wander.[,]

dominus Baudewynus de Freuilla.[,] dominus Bogo de Kneville.[,] dominus Johannes de Tuyford.[,]
dominus Mauricius de Berkelee.[,] dominus Robertus frater suus.[,] dominus Johannes de
Wethefelde.[,] dominus

Edmundus Hancelut.[,] dominus Henricus de Boun.[,] dominus Johannes Sapy.[,] dominus Johannes
de Goldynton.[,]

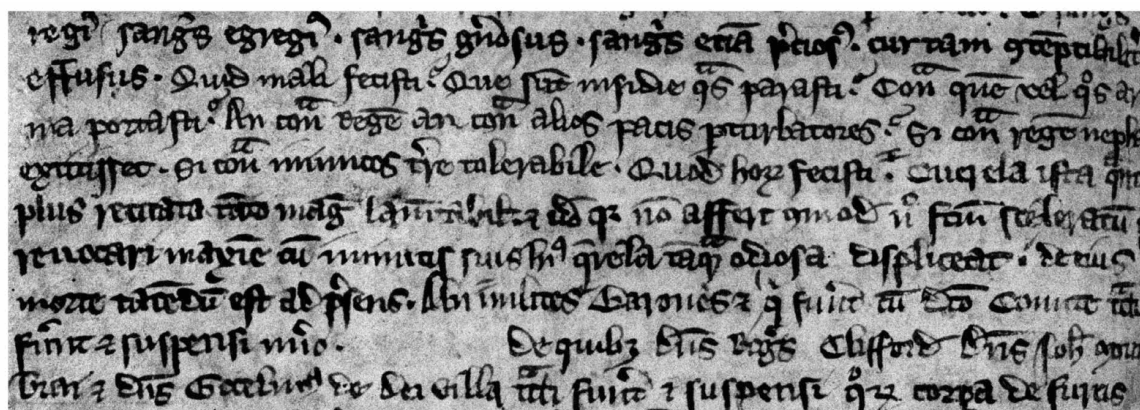
35 dominus Loges de Bathous.[,] dominus Rogerus Cheyny.[,] dominus Rogerus de Percy.[,] dominus
Gilbertus

Taleboth.[,] dominus Johannes de Leybourne.[,] dominus Hugo de Triplington.

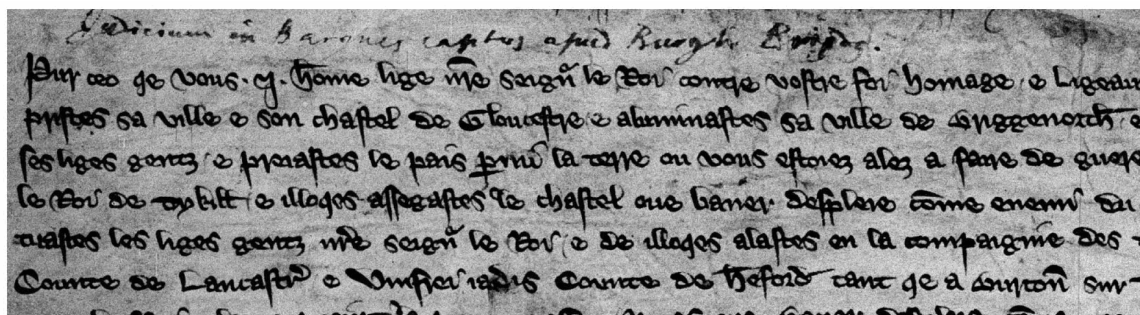
Summa militum captorum & incarceratorum, preter eos qui se reddiderunt .iiij^x. & .iiij.

Summa militum. tract. & suspensorum.[,] decollatorum.[,] fugiencium.[,] & se reddencium .xxxv.

40 Summa omnium .v^x. & .xviij.



Sample 5. Hand A: Chronicle, f. 87v ll. 10-17.



Sample 6. Hand D: Judgement, f. 90r second heading and ll. 1-6.

5. Notices.

For descriptions of the hands, see pp. 130-136. For the long notice that covers both sides of f. 89, I have included only the incipit and explicit, as it is frequently illegible and I have rarely discussed it.

88v

- | | |
|----|---|
| 1 | Die sancti Augustini anglorum apostoli Anno domini .m.ccc.xxx.vijj. ⁷⁷
fuerint in camera prioris pro lecto prioris, & pro ospitibus, videlicet quatuor
tapeta de ueluto. & vnum couerlid. |
| 4 | [Notandum?] de titulis concessis apud Fynneshed a festo sancti Petri aduincula Anno domini
.mo.cccmo.xlvijjo. ⁷⁸ ...
In primus concedebatur Johannes filius Ricardi Hanred de Pisforde ad ossis sacri ordinem ad
instanciam Johanni de ...
Secundus Thomas filius Ricardi ad parsonagium de Aylington ad ordinem presbiteri ad
instanciam Hugonis Carcr...
Tercius Rogero Aunfrey de Deen ad ossis sacri ordinem ad instanciam Ricardi Knyuet.
... Johannes filius Hugonis Aunfrey de Kyrby ad ordinem subdiaconi & diaconatus. ad instanciam
Henrici de Hatton. |
| 9 | Conuentus de Fynnesheud Clamat habere pro se & omnibus tenentis de f...
...a dictum boscum a Tywe in foresta de Cleue & Rokyngham
... Videlicet a ponte de Stanford vsque pontem de Walinefforde & a ponte
de Walinefforde vsque bestowe & a bestowe vsque predictum pontem de
de Stanforde cum omnimodis animalibus suis omni tempore anni. Exceptis ...
de Banefelde Parco de Cleue & Haya de Suyley. Redditum per |
| 15 | annum domino Regi .xiiij. & .vijj. sabbathi ad Finem Natale domini & .vij ^{xx} |

⁷⁷ 26 May 1338.

⁷⁸ 1 August, 1348.

ad festum Pascalis.⁷⁹

- 17 Prioratus & Conuentus de Fynneshed Clamat habere quandam partem de bosco de Laxtonne set
...
... illam partem apud orientem vsque Lambecotes[?], de via que iacet de Peretur
... Wakerle absque vllo retinemento & liberumtinementum[?]. a exitum Conuentus
20 ... & quietam omnibus auerijis suis tam in iumentis quam in alijs.
bestijs[?] in bosco & in plano & in omnibus locis. Et ex dono Vitalis Engayne
quadraginta acras iuxta Fynneshed & quandam partem de bosco de Laxton
in illam partem nemoris que est inter locum qui vocatur Lyndesseye, & alium locum
qui vocatur Peretre, sine vllo Retinemento Item Clamat habere singulis
25 diebus annis inperpetuum vnum equitum seruiencium[?] itinerante bis in die in forest[am]
de Cleue, extra dominijcum parcum Regis ad Mortuum boscum & dictum[?] ad focum[?]
27 ...bationem. Prioratus & Conuentus.

28 Willelmus adekin habet malleum ferreum
& thomas filius paulini habet magnum gavelocum.

89r

- Inc. ... quod terra prioris de Fynneshed apud Irelingburge iacet per diversas[?] parochias in campis
occidentibus eisdem ville videlicet procedendo per regiam vnum versus Wal-/...burge

89v

- Expl. Datus apud Fynnehed die sabbathi in festo sancti Nicholai Episcopi. Anno Regi Edwardi terti a
conquestu vicesimo secundo.⁸⁰ & deditur / pro messu .xxiij.c[?].iij. d'.

⁷⁹ Probably February 1342.

⁸⁰ Saturday, 6 December 1348.

6. Judgement after Boroughbridge.

The generic text of the judgement issued on the rebels after Boroughbridge, without any specifics as to the individual. I have noted differences in wording between this version and the versions preserved in the Parliamentary Writs (II.ii: App. 261-67).

90r

Coment Le Cunte de Lancastre Fu Acoupe Devant ... la mor ...

Judicium in Barones captos apud Burgh Bridge.⁸¹

Hand D

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | <p>Pur ceo qe vous j.⁸² homme lige nostre seignur le Roi, contre vostre foi homage, e ligeaunce, fausement e treiturousement</p> <p>pristes sa ville e son chastel de Gloucestre, e aluminastes sa ville de Briggenorthe, e illuques tuastes ses gentz e robastes</p> <p>ses liges gentz, e preiastes le pais parmi la terre ou vous estoiez alez a faire de guere, tant que vous venistes au chastel</p> <p>le Roi de Tykille, e illoques assegastes le chastel oue baner desplere comme enemy du Roi e du Roialme, e naufrastes e</p> |
| 5 | <p>tuastes les liges gentz nostre seignur le Roi, e de illoques alastes en la compaignie des treiturs atteintz, Thomas, iadis</p> <p>Counte de Lancastre, e Umfrei, iadis Counte de Hereforde, tant qe a Burtonne sur Trente, e illuques arestutes les</p> <p>gentz le Roi, q'ils ne poeint le pount passer; armes oue baner desplere comme treitours e enemis contre vostre lige</p> <p>seignur le Roi, vostre foie, vos homages, e ligeaunces, e naufrastes e tuastes ses liges gentz illoques, e puis vous e les</p> <p>autres treitours enemis le Roi aperceiuaunt la venue le Roi aforceement⁸³, aluminastes la ville de</p> |

⁸¹ MS: *captus* and *Brigde*.

⁸² I.e., "un."

⁸³ *aforceement*: Variant (judgement on d'Amory): *forciblement*.

Burton, e vous

10 meistes en chaumpe en batailles oue baners despleres attendants vostre lige seignur d'auoir combatu
 oue luy.[,] Si vous
 e les autres treitours eussez eu a ceo le pouer, e quant vous veissez la sarre e forciable venue vostre
 seignur lige e de ses batails,
 les queux vous ne osiez attendre neue poer aresteer;[,] tournastes le dos, e fuistes deuers le Northe
 enrobaunt le pays de[-]
 uante vous.[,] come treitours e robeours tanqe vous venistes au Pount de Burghe, ou vous trouastes
 les gentz le Roi
 eant son poer a leuer le poeple, e de aresteer les treitours e les enemis le Roi. Et vous e les autres
 treitours e

15 enemis illoques assemblastes a eux oue baner desplere, e ascuns gentz le Roi tuastes, e ascuns
 naufrastes, Ou vous e
 les autres treitours de vostre faux accorde e coueigne feustes descomfiz. e ascuns tues, e vous e ascuns
 autres des
 enemis pris, e les autres s'enfuirent issint q'en vous ne demura point, qe vous ne eussez encontree⁸⁴
 vostre seignur lige
 a Byrtonne e puis⁸⁵ ses liges gentz eant son poer a Pount de Burghe, si vous eussez en a ceo la force e
 pouer. Les
 queux treisons, arzons, homicides, Roberies, cheuauchees oue baners desplerez;[,] sount notoirs as
 Conts, Barons, e

20 altres grantz e petitz de son Roialme. Et nostre seignur le Roi de son Roial pouer le recorde, Par quei
 ceste Courte
 agarde qe pur la treisone serez treine, e pur les Roberies e homicides; pendu.

⁸⁴ *entree* : Variant (joint judgement on Aldeham and Ashburnham, separate judgement on Ashburnham):
outree (CPW 2: App. 266).

⁸⁵ *pris*: Variant (Aldeham and Ashburnham, Ashburnham): *puis*.

Translation.

Letter from Edward II to Sir John Engayne.

[f. 84v l. 1] Edward, by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland and duke of Aquitaine, to his beloved and faithful liegeman John Engayne, greetings.

As, by consent and advice of the prelates, magnates, and nobles of our realm, for the tranquillity and peace of the people of that realm and conservation of our peace, we did before this time publicly forbid across our entire kingdom that any man, of whatsoever rank or condition, should presume to summon assemblies or convocations without our express mandate. And our beloved kinsman and liegeman Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, now alleging that our realm is menaced with grave perils, oppressions and damages through the actions of our counsellors, whom he calls evil and alleges incite and counsel us unto many things against the will of God, causing shameful damage of our aforesaid realm and undue harm [l. 10] to our people, and inciting us even to bring into this land aliens and Scottish rebels.

To treat of the remedy of these evils, he has ordered a council at Doncaster on the Sunday following the fifteenth after Saint Martin next, and directed letters to you and to many other of our liegemen ordering your presence at the aforesaid treaty, notwithstanding our said prohibition, as in certain of his said letters addressed to his good peers of the realm we saw writing contained therein which usurped our royal jurisdiction in those parts to him, at which we marvel greatly and are justly troubled.

And most particularly in such a time, if indeed it is so (which God forbid) that evils and damages are lately rife within the said realm, the summoning of treaties or convocations upon such matters touching on ourselves and the state of our kingdom should pertain to us and to no other in the realm, by reason of our royal office. [l. 20]

We, wishing to counter that which is prejudicial to us, command you by that faith and homage that you hold to us, on pain of the forfeiture of everything that can be forfeited unto us, firmly prohibiting and forbidding you to be present on that day at that place aforesaid, or to attend any other convocation without our authority touching these matters, the summoning of which convocations pertains to us and to our

royal state. And that you not obey any other commands or requests of this sort as you ought to obey ours, nor attend so at any other place.

By our own seal at Westminster, 12 November in the 15th year of our reign. By that king. Anno domini 1321.

Letter from Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, to Sir John Engayne.

[f. 84v l. 1] To the honourable man and our very dear friend monsire John d'Engayne, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster and of Leicester, seneschal of England, greetings [l. 30] and dear friendship.

Sir, in consideration of the great perils and oppressions and evils that we perceive, and understand that you perceive, to have arisen in this realm due to the bad counsellors of our lord the king, who lead him and abet him to the displeasure of God, to [f. 85r l. 1] his own dishonour, to the injury of the realm, and to the destruction of his people in that same way; and among these other evils, that they who counsel him attract aliens and Scottish rebels to enter the land, our lord the king perceiving nothing of their malice, by reason of their wicked and crafty informations and machinations.

We pray you, sir, that it may please you to allow us your counsel to [l. 10] seek remedy and to redress all ills touching on the damage and the perils of the realm.

And therefore, sir, we require that you should be pleased to attend, with no excuse given, at Doncaster next Sunday following the fifteenth of St Martin next; whence we have also prayed of all our good peers of the realm who may be able to assist us that they may be pleased to be there likewise on the said day, to seek remedy in this necessity.

And also, sir, may it please you to indicate to us your will in all this, by your letters and by the bearer of these. A Dieu, sir, and may He watch over you. Given at our castle of Pontefract, the 18th day of October.

The Doncaster petition.

[f. 85r l. 14] With all honour and reverence, et cetera. Sire, may it please your lordship to know of the many and diverse grievances which have been made known to us and upon our other good peers of the realm, to the detriment of the estate of the realm and of the crown, the which we are sworn to guard and maintain according to our power. And by the strength of that oath, we are charged to bring these grievances before your lordship.

Be it known, sire, that as was granted by your progenitors by the terms of the Great Charter in the time of your ancestors and [l. 20] confirmed by you in the Ordinances which you granted, we are sworn to maintain that the kings may not arrest, nor imprison, nor disinherit any of their frank-tenants, nor their privileges, nor their frank-customs, and that they may not be outlawed, nor exiled, nor in any other manner destroyed by those kings, nor be arrested, nor suffer royal anger except by legal judgement of their peers and by the law of the land.

Whereas Sir Hugh Despenser the Younger, who is exiled, and certain other bad counsellors, have so procured and abetted you that your men in your name have seized castles and lands of peers of the land, to the detriment and example of the others. And these castles and fortalices they have enclosed, by deed and writ of the king, arresting their persons, devouring their livestock, causing damage, and seizing their goods and manors without law, or process, or [l. 30] legal judgement of their peers, contrary to the estate of the crown, and your oath, and the Great Charter, and the Ordinances given and confirmed in the spirit of the same.

And also, sire, that the said Sir Hugh Despenser the Younger was exiled and banished from this realm by your assent, and by the judgement of all your baronage in your full parliament, for many causes full reasonable. And the said Sir Hugh, with the aid of the said bad counsellors, came into your company and was maintained and received, contrary to the estate of the crown and the estate of the realm and of the peers of the land.

And also, sire, that they so procured you that you placed the said Sir Hugh in the guard of the men of the [Cinque] Ports, and charged them on pain of forfeiture to protect and guard him by land and by sea

and by their oath, in that place from whence he was banished and exiled. And this thing is contrary to the estate of crown [f. 85v l. 1] and of the realm.

And also, sire, that there where the said Sir Hugh is maintained by the said Ports, together with other people in great number on land and sea, and by the said bad counsellors, and also by your strength and the strength of the said Sir Hugh they plunder the ships at sea, and the merchants approaching England, to the great shame of the land, and contrary to the estate of the crown, and with great harm to the people.

And also, sire, that the said Sir Hugh and the other bad counsellors procure and abet you to proceed against the good people of the land, and especially to destroy by deceit first some and then others, and to disinherit them without parliament and judgement of their peers, contrary to the said Ordinances which you granted, and contrary to the aforementioned Great [l. 10] Charter and the freedoms of England, and contrary to the estate of the crown.

And also, sire, the said Sir Hugh and the other bad counsellors procure you to act against the good people of the land by the maintenance of your factions and retinues. And they are commanded on pain of forfeiture to follow you to a man in harming your said good people. And so both the evildoers and the barons raise armed bands in the country and both pillage and plunder the people, and make armed chevachees on all sides, so that neither law nor peace may be kept nor maintained, nor may the common folk live in peace and quiet as they were accustomed to do in the time of your ancestors, to the ruin of your good people and contrary to the estate of the crown.

And also, sire, the great folk of the land have often wished to discuss the staunching of these said outrages and the implementation of some remedy whereby the good peace may be [l. 20] kept and maintained, that the good people of the land may at least live in peace. And you, sire, by the said Hugh and the other bad counsellors have been procured and abetted to send out your writs to your good people forbidding that any man revenge himself on another, on pain of all that he may forfeit unto you, such that remedy may be found. And so they are given reasons to stir against their liege lord, against their desire and will. And so the common folk cannot endure the robbers and hardships in their land and their houses, and so they are ruined and terrified to your great shame.

And also that the said Hugh and the other bad counsellors advised you to give a warrant to Robert le Ewer and to other such men to arrest peers of the land where they should wish, and to give warrant to the sheriffs [l. 30] to attend upon them to perform these outrages against law and reason and the estate of the crown.

The which affairs abovementioned, we, your good liegemen and peers of your land, pray that you, sire, our liege lord, be pleased to revoke and redress by good counsel between now and the Sunday following the next Feast of Saint Lucy, in so good a manner that we may be sensible of your good lordship and good government, and that you and your good people may live in peace.

And, sire, if you should not wish this, may you not take it ill if we defend our rights and our heritage as best we can and pursue⁸⁶ the said bad counsellors wherever we may find them, and redress the ill government of the realm, as we are oath-bound to do. And sire, may you not be prevented or hindered by these aforesaid bad counsellors such that you be unwilling to [f. 86r l. 1] to give any but swift remedy before the assigned day, for the salvation of the Northern Marches against the Scottish foe.

⁸⁶ *pursure*, which may mean either *prosecute* or *hunt down*. Both are probably implied.

Chronicle.

[l. 5] The year of the incarnation of our Lord 1295, the twenty-second year of the reign of King Edward, and the fourteenth of the age of Edward his son.⁸⁷

At this time, that same king crossed the seas to Flanders to negotiate the return of peace between the King of France and the Duke of Flanders, so it was said, but also that he might aid that duke against the lord king if peace were to fail and both parties were to prefer war. While he lingered [l. 10] there in that fashion, a man by the name of Piers de Gaveston joined him, a native of that province, who found such favour with the king that he was given the post of squire in his court and appointed to the king's household without delay. And looking upon him, the son of the king was immediately struck with such love that he formed a strong union with him, and he decided and firmly determined to be bound with him before all other mortals in imperishable chains of delight.

After some time had passed, the prince went to his father on his behalf, and requested that the earldom of Cornwall be given to this Piers. When the king heard this he was gravely moved in his soul and, indignantly taking the importunate petition, he flung it to the ground and crushed it with his feet, saying that his son would give away all the realm of England. And so, by the occasion of this petition and of other deeds both illicit and dishonest, that king, aflame with rage, commanded that the said [l. 20] Piers be exiled without grace or hope of return, and so it was done.

When afterwards that king, in the 35th year of his reign, was released from the prison of flesh, his son took over the throne. And no sooner had he taken the name of king than he recalled that Piers from exile and restored him to his former state, and gave new life to the flame of his accustomed love in his unbridled mind.

⁸⁷ Paragraph breaks for the chronicle are editorial, and follow the structure observed in chapter 3 (pp. 76-77). The only exceptions are the final list of names and the long section that covers the civil war ("Now indeed the hearts of the magnates were moved against the aforesaid Sir Hugh ... but like a thief [Lancaster] was immediately dragged violently to the gallows, and there beheaded"), both of which I have chosen to break up in the interests of legibility.

What more? There were old treasures and precious jewels in the treasury of the kings at Westminster, safely stowed there by his ancestors time out of mind: these he lavished on the same Piers, to his own shame and with grave harm to himself and to all the people of England. For once he had exhausted his own treasury, he demanded the aid of the people and imposed tallages upon them. Thus he extorted and forcibly raised money, to the great [l. 30] impoverishment of his people.

During these events the Earl of Gloucester departed the way of the flesh, leaving behind him three daughters and but one son, his heir, which that earl had begotten on lady Joan of Acre, daughter of King Edward.⁸⁸ The said king gave one of these daughters to the aforementioned Piers in marriage, and gave him that same earldom of Cornwall according to his earlier desire and determination.

And thus may it be said, as in the proverb, The ape snarls when he is seated on high. Also no man is so intolerable as the lowly raised above himself.

And just so this Piers, being raised on high from nothing, made enemies of the magnates of the land, flinging taunts, mockery, and insults, at them, and offering them grave threats in many ways. Indeed, in hearing these and lacking the strength⁸⁹ to dissemble and let such insults pass with deaf ears, the magnates decided one and all [f. 86v l. 1] that by force or art they must expel and exterminate the hostility and wickedness of so malicious a man entirely from the land, that his⁹⁰ venomous plague might not infect all the people, nor, by confusing the rich with the poor, introduce foreigners into the land of England. Having considered the ways and means by which they might confront his malice and come to the rescue of the people of the land, they found a plain road against their adversary, that is, that because he had been condemned after his exile by common assent and against common assent he had returned, he should be punished with decapitation.

⁸⁸ Edward I, that is. The “said king” of the following sentence is Edward II.

⁸⁹ *nec valentes... preterire*. Possibly read *volentes*, thus “being unwilling to dissemble.”

⁹⁰ *eius*, MS *eiūs*. Haskins amends to *enim*, thus “that indeed the venomous plague might not infect all the people.”

And so, the barons thus prepared, when the said Piers was journeying towards Castle Bampton under the custody and safe-conduct of lord [l. 10] Aymer de Valence, he guested at a certain house near Warwick; and that same night he remained there with his household, while the lord Aymer went away on business. And when the Earl of Warwick heard this news of his coming, he took with him some few of his retainers and went to the place where that same Piers was boarding for the night. He captured him and took him to the Castle Warwick and put him in custody, pending the arrival of the Earl of Lancaster, by whose consent these things were done. Indeed, the Earl of Lancaster was quick to come, and these two earls sat as tribunal by the consent of the other earls to judge that Piers to death. And they had his head cut off at a place called Caversike, on the lands and tenements of the Earl of Lancaster.

And just as those attendants who gave him the deadly wounds are the earls who consented to his death. O accursed death of man accursed, o abominable death of an abominable man, o death as impious as the dead, o death as scandalous as he. [l. 20] His death was not undeserved but vile and base, and on its account a high and gory price was later demanded, falsely and maliciously. And see! this Earl of Warwick, certainly a wise man, reached the end of his days not long afterwards, and it was suspected by many that he perished not by natural death but by poison. And another among those involved in the death of this Piers was later to be borne away by death, which will perhaps be spoken of more fully in its own time.

These matters completed, ordinances were made for the maintenance of the king's household by consent of the people, in order that it might be managed with prudence and that tallages and oppressions might be avoided. Among these was the assignment of lord Hugh Despenser the Younger to the office of chamberlain to the lord king, whose diligence and faithfulness were at this time much trusted by the peers and magnates. [l. 30] But when he had obtained this office, it was not long before he showed himself to be altogether savage, so that no man could gain the favour of speaking with the king nor of treating with him, no matter how necessary or difficult the business, unless he had first satisfied the said lord Hugh with a great quantity of money. By his rigor and harshness he acquired many manors, properties, and unlimited treasure for himself. It was said also that, when the king was at Stirling battling the Scots, the Earl of Gloucester whose lands Hugh desired was slain, after a meeting between the Scots and this Hugh about his death, and there was ample evidence of this deed. And once this earl had been killed, he and his father

held the king back, advising that he turn his back and proceed no more with the battle. And seeing this, the Scots gave chase, and slaughtered many among the fleeing army. Also, while the king was [l. 40] besieging Berwick with his peers and magnates, that Hugh with his accomplices sold the queen to the Scots (so it was said) to aid the Scots against the king. She was captured with a small guard and protected by others. This crime he secretly blamed on the Earl of [f. 87r l. 1] Lancaster in his own defence.

O rank and deceitful Iniquity, who, not content with wrongly passing her time in fraud, must stain others and innocents with her venom, pouring out what they never cared to sip. But as little has been omitted hitherto, let us turn our pen to the evils that followed. Indeed, even as great tempests when they seem almost to boil in the clouded skies before they descend to earth, so can every burgeoning wickedness be seen to have been boiling over and signalling its own coming, through the hindsight of future evils.

Now indeed the hearts of the magnates were moved against the aforesaid Sir Hugh. And, with the consent of the lord king, they held a parliament or council to examine the unjust extortions done by the said Sir Hugh, prosecuting him so rigorously that when his crimes and those of his father were examined they had both to leave the realm of England, the king consenting to this and pronouncing the sentence [l. 10] publicly. Once this was done, the magnates of the realm believed that the act was set and stable, with no trickery.

After some time the father took a change of air and crossed the seas; but his son remained in England, hiding beneath the wings of the king. The earls and barons, indignant that he was admitted to the king's grace without their consent, prepared themselves with horses and arms to take him, but they could do little because the lord king always opposed them on his behalf, and they did not want to injure him nor dared do him any injury because the Earl of Lancaster had forbidden any harm to come to the king in any way. And so the king with his army on the one hand and the barons on the other skirmished in the Welsh Marches for a long time, devastating the land and gravely oppressing the inhabitants.

However, seeing the intolerable evils and great dangers threatening [l. 20] the land, the earls and barons went to the king to give themselves up to him and submit to his mercy. Among those who did this were Roger de Mortimer and his uncle, who were the first to give themselves up, and once they had done

so the king ordered them put in irons and guarded. Hearing this, the Earl of Hereford went to the Earl of Lancaster with others of his retinue to ask counsel and protection. And when the earl heard this, he admitted him and the others who came with him, excepting Sir Bartholomew of Badlesmere who could find no grace with him.

When the king heard that they had fled to the earl he prepared himself, gathered a great army and progressed to the city which is called Burton-upon-Trent and on to the bridge over the Trent which is called Burtonbridge in English, that he might cross over to fight the earls. They met his army at that bridge, and soon, each striving with the other, the king's army [l. 30] on the one hand and the earls' on the other each defended passage of the bridge. Meanwhile, the king drew back with the greater part of his force and crossed at a ford a little distance from the bridge. Learning of this, the earls fled until they arrived at Boroughbridge, thinking (it was said) to retreat to other parts. And while they rested there, a certain knight arrived by the name of Sir Andrew de Harclay with the mayor of York and their army, totalling five hundred armed men. Soon they came to mutual blows on the bridge, where the Earl of Hereford was killed, and many others on both sides. And when the night hindered the fighting of the armies, they both withdrew until morning. When the second day arrived, the Earl of Lancaster, with seventeen barons and eighty knights and squires surrendered themselves to the king's mercy. They were taken to York to await the arrival of the king at [l. 40] Pontefract.

When he had arrived, the earl was taken to hear his judgement. The Earls of Richmond, of Pembroke, of Arundel and [f. 87v l. 1] of Kent and both Despensers were assigned to try him, with one Robert de Malmesthorp as spokesman to pronounce judgement upon the earl. This Robert, in whose mouth words had been placed, charged that he was a traitor to the king and the land and shelterer of enemies to the king and many other grave and serious things, and that he must be triply punished, which punishment he said had been remitted by the king to beheading. And truly, when he asked to be heard in response to the charges, he was in no way permitted, nor a response allowed, but like a thief he was immediately dragged violently to the gallows, and there beheaded. Of the insults and taunts, indignities and abuse heaped and hurled odiously upon him on his road to death, compassion and dignity forbid me to write.

O royal [l. 10] blood, excellent blood, noble blood, blood of great price, why so contemptibly spilled? What evil had you done? What treacheries had you stirred? Against what man or men did you bear arms? Against the king, or against other disturbers of the peace? If against the king, that would be a sin; if against enemies of the land, that may be born. Which of these did you do? This complaint was as much repeated as it is sorrowful, and therefore because it offers no comfort nor can undo the scandalous deed, may this tiresome complaint greatly displease his enemies. Of his death we must be silent for now.

Other knights, barons, and those who had been with the said earl were drawn and hanged, ____ in number. Among these Sir Roger Clifford, Sir John Mowbray and Sir Gocelin de Deville drawn and hanged, and no one dared remove their bodies from the gallows. And so they hung there so long as sinews could hold the bones together. [l. 20] And it is certain that no men remain in England so strong or so powerful in arms. May their souls please the Highest. Many others remained in chains until the next Parliament.

When the day assigned to that parliament arrived, the king put forward merely that Sir Hugh should be pronounced faithful and openly declared to be free from any stain of treachery, and that his good name and his goods should be restored to him quite uninjured, and that he and his father had been falsely judged to exile and deprived of all their estates, goods and possessions. And therefore that king pronounced that everything taken from them in punishment should be restored and that their exile was void. And this was the first business before the parliament. The second matter of business was regarding the death of the Earl of Lancaster, specifically that his deeds should be publicly declared and that each deceit, treachery and iniquity, however small, that might by any person or persons told or [l. 30] recounted against him, should be recorded for history. And there Sir Hugh the Elder was created Earl of Winchester, and Sir Andrew de Harclay then or later Earl of Carlisle. Nothing was enacted regarding the lands and tenements of the earls, barons, and knights who had been killed.

These are the names of the earls, barons and knights who were beheaded, drawn, and hanged, who fled across the sea or were detained in prison.

The Earl of Lancaster, beheaded at Pontefract. The Earl of Hereford, Sir William de Sulee, Sir Roger de Burghfeld, these were killed at Boroughbridge.

Also Sir Garinus de Insula, Sir William Tochet, Sir Thomas Mauduyt, Sir Henry de Bradbourne, Sir William son of Sir William, and Sir William Cheyny, these were drawn and hanged at Pontefract.

Also Sir John de Mounbray, Sir Roger [l. 40] Clifford, and Sir Gocelin de Deiville, these were drawn and hanged at [f. 88r l. 1] York.

Also Sir Bartholomew of Badlesmere and Sir Bartholomew de Burghwash, these were drawn and hanged at Canterbury.

Also Sir Henry de Montfort and Sir Henry de Wilyngton, drawn and hanged at Bristol.

Also Sir Roger de Elmbridge and Sir John Giffard, drawn and hanged at Gloucester.

Also Sir William Flemming, drawn and hanged at Cardiff.

Also Sir Thomas Colepepir, drawn and hanged at Winchelsea.

Also Sir Henry Tyeys, drawn and hanged at London.

Also Sir Frances de Aldenham, drawn and hanged at Windsor.

Also Sir Stephan Baret, drawn and hanged at Gower.

Also Sir John de Ewer, beheaded at _____.

Also Sir Roger d'Amory died his own death at Burton-upon-Trent.

Also the two Mortimers, Sir Hugh d'Audley the Elder and [l. 10] Sir John de Charleton surrendered themselves to the lord king.

Also Sir John Botetower, Sir John de Kingston, Sir Nicholas de Percy, Sir John Mautravers the Younger, these fled beyond the sea. Also Sir William Trussel escaped.

These were imprisoned. Sir Robert de Hoyland, traitor to the Earl of Lancaster. Sir Hugh d'Audley the Younger. Sir John de Wilington. Sir Ricardus Wallace. Also le Rey Bruaunt. Sir Philip de la Becche. Sir Robert de Watevile. Sir Robert de Schirland. Sir Thomas Wyther. Sir Henry de Leyburne. Sir John de Bek. Sir Coynel Heroun. Sir Roger Gacelyn. Sir Walter de Pauely. Sir Robert Walkefarre. Sir John de Wroxhale. Sir William de Somervile. Sir Ralph de Bechetonne. Sir John de Actona. Sir William Wynd. Sir Oweyn son of John. Sir Roger de Pilketonne. Sir John de Clyf. Sir Bengons de Batyousd. Sir [l. 20] Thomas Blauncfrount. Sir Robert de Rithere. Sir Robert de Reygate. Sir Nicholas de Langeforde. Sir John de Bischoptonne. Sir William son of William the Cosyn. Sir Robert de Newburnne. Sir Edmund de

Wandirvile. Sir John Blaket. Sir Nicholas de Stapiltonne. Sir Edmund de Rivers. Sir Owel ap Owel. Sir Symon de Bereforde. Sir Roger de la Mare. Sir Norman Darcy. Sir Henry de Suthuffe. Sir Nicholas de Langetonne. Sir Otho de Beryngan. Sir Robertus de Daltonne. Sir Richardus de Holande. Sir Walter de Kirkebruere. Sir Adam de Remesby. Sir Adam de Eueryngham. Sir Roger Mauduyt. Sir Hamelyn Byngel. Sir William de Fysschebourne. Sir Thomas Gurnay. Sir Hugh de Eland. Sir John Lestrangle. Sir Roger de Trumpetona. Sir Hugh de Stirkeland. Sir Adam de Wandirwille. Sir Bartholomeus de Burghays. Sir Hugh Coyle. Sir Hugo de Mortonne. Sir Richard de [l. 30] Derleye. Sir John de Miners. Sir John Mauveysyn. Sir Nicholas de Turbeville. Sir Thomas Lovel. Sir Peter de Lymeseye. Sir Richard de Lymeseye. Sir William Wander. Sir Baldewyn de Frevilla. Sir Bogo de Knevile. Sir John de Tuyford. Sir Maurice de Berkeley. Sir Robertus his brother. Sir John de Wethefelde. Sir Edmund Hancelut. Sir Henry de Boun. Sir John Sapy. Sir John de Goldynton. Sir Loges de Bathous. Sir Roger Cheyny. Sir Roger de Percy. Sir Gilbert Taleboth. Sir John de Leybourne. Sir Hugh de Triplington.

The total of knights captured and imprisoned, excepting those who surrendered: 83.

The total of knights drawn, hanged, beheaded, fled, and surrendered: 35.

[l. 40] The total sum: 118.⁹¹

⁹¹ These final three lines are the only paragraph breaks in the chronicle that I copy from the scribe, rather than inserting myself.

Judgement after Boroughbridge.

How the Earl of Lancaster was Condemned to Death.

Judgement on the Barons Captured at Boroughbridge.

[l. 1] For that you, a liegeman of our lord the king, contrary to your faith, homage and allegiance falsely and traitorously took his castle of Gloucester, and burnt his city of Bridgenorth; and there you slew his people and robbed his liegemen and plundered the country throughout the land where you had gone to make war, until you came unto the king's castle at Tykille.

And there you besieged the castle with banners unfurled as enemies of the king and of the realm, and wounded and slew the liegemen of our lord the king; and you went from that place in the company of the attainted traitors Thomas, sometime Earl of Lancaster, and Humphrey, sometime Earl of Hereford, unto Burton-upon-Trent; and there you impeded the king's men that they might not cross the bridge, armed and with banners unfurled as traitors and enemies against your liege lord the king, your faith, your homage, and allegiance, and wounded and slew his people there.

And then you and the other enemy traitors of the king, perceiving him approaching with great strength, burned the city of Burton and took [l. 10] to the field of battle with banners unfurled, awaiting your liege lord to fight against him, if you and the other traitors should have the strength thereto.

And when you saw the well-armed and mighty approach of your liege lord and his battalions, which you dared not meet and could not hinder, you turned your backs and fled towards the North, plundering the country before you, like cowards and thieves, until you arrived at Boroughbridge, where you found the king's men, bearing his power to raise men and to arrest traitors and enemies to the king.

And you and the other traitors and enemies assembled there, with banners unfurled, and slew some of the king's men, and wounded others; and there you and the other traitors of your false accord and covenant were defeated, and some were slain, and you and certain others of the enemies taken, and the others fled so that not one remained for you, that would not have met with your liege lord at Burton and then with his liegemen bearing his power at Boroughbridge, if you had had the force and power to avoid it.

And these treasons, arsons, murders, robberies, and raids with banners unfurled, are notorious to the earls, barons and [l. 20] other greater and lesser men of the realm. And our lord the king by his royal power records it. For which this court finds that for the treason you should be drawn, and for the robberies and murders, hanged.

Works Cited.

Manuscript Sources

Dallas, Bridwell Library 13. (Containing an early suffrage prayer to Lancaster, discussed by McQuillen.)

Exeter, Cathedral Library 3514. (Manuscript of Welsh history, discussed by Crick.)

London, British Library Cotton Cleopatra D. IX. (Codex containing Fineshade manuscript.)

--- Cotton Nero D. X. (Containing a chronicle based on those of Trevet and Murimuth.)

--- Cotton Vespasian F. VII. (Containing a letter from the younger Despenser to his sheriff.)

--- Royal 12 C. XII. (Containing an office written in Lancaster's honour, discussed by McQuillen.)

--- Royal 13 D. I*. (A psalter, disassembled by Sir Robert Cotton and reassembled in the first quarter of the twentieth century, discussed by Carley and Tite.)

--- Egerton 2850. (Boroughbridge Roll.)

London, National Archives C 81/1725. (Warrant of Great Seal granted Sir John Engayne.)

--- C 133/80/2. (Inquisition into estate of deceased Sir John Engayne, 1297.)

--- C 134/77/2.1. (Inquisition ordered into estate of deceased Sir John Engayne, 1322.)

--- C 134/77/2.2. (His nephew John Engayne declared his heir and of age.)

--- SC 1/63/150. (Letter from Edward II to his niece Elizabeth de Burgh.)

Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 956. (Thomas Chesterfield's copy of Alan of Ashbourne's history.)

--- Rolls Kent 6, box I (f). (Letter from Lancaster to London.)

Published Chronicle Sources

- Annales Paulini*. In *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, ed. W. Stubbs. Rolls Series 76 v. 1. London: Longman, 1882. 254–370.
- The Anonimale Chronicle, 1307–1334, from Brotherton Collection MS 29*. Ed. and trans. Wendy Childs and John Taylor. Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series 147. Leeds: Leeds UP, 1991.
- Baker, Geoffrey. *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynbroke*. Ed. Edward Maunde Thompson. Oxford: Clarendon, 1889.
- The Brut; or, the Chronicles of England*. Ed. Friedrich Brie. EETS 131. London: Paul, Trench and Trubner, 1906.
- Capgrave, John. *Abbreviacion of Cronicles*. Ed. Peter J. Lucas. EETS 285. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1983.
- Castleford's Chronicle, or the Boke of Brut*. Ed. Caroline D. Eckhardt. EETS 305–306. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996.
- Haskins, George L., ed. “A Chronicle of the Civil Wars of Edward II.” *Speculum* 14.1 (1939): 73–81.
- , ed. “The Doncaster Petition, 1321.” *English Historical Review* 53.211 (1938): 478–85.
- , ed. “Judicial Proceedings against a Traitor after Boroughbridge, 1322.” *Speculum* 12.4 (1937): 509–11.
- Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon. *Historia Anglorum: the History of the English People*. Ed. Diana E. Greenway. Oxford: Clarendon and Oxford UP, 1996.
- Higden, Ranulf. *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, Monachi Cestrensis, together with the English Translation of John of Trevisa and of an Unknown Writer in the Fifteenth Century*. Ed. Joseph Rawson Lumby. Vol. 8 of 9. Rolls Series 41. London: Longman, 1865–66.
- Murimuth, Adam. *Continuatio Chronicarum*. In *Adae Murimuth Continuatio Chronicarum et Robert de Avesbury De Gestis Mirabilibus Regis Edwardi Tertii*. Ed. Edward Maunde Thompson. Rolls Series 93. London: Longman, 1889. 1–276.
- Paris, Matthew. *Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani. Chronica Majora*. Ed. Henry Richards Luard. Rolls Series 57. 7 vols. London: Longman, 1872–1884.
- Vita Edwardi II*. Ed. and trans. Wendy R. Childs. Oxford: Clarendon, 2005.

- Walsingham, Thomas. *The St Albans Chronicle: the Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham*. Ed. Wendy Childs, John Taylor, and Leslie Watkiss. Oxford: Clarendon, 2003.
- Walter of Guisborough. *The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough, previously edited as The Chronicle of Walter of Hemingford or Hemingburgh*. Ed. Harry Rothwell. Camden Society 3rd ser. 89. London: Royal Historical Society, 1957.

Published Archives and Records.

- Calendar of Chancery Warrants*. Vol. 1 (1244–1326). London: Public Record Office, 1927.
- Calendar of Charter Rolls*. 6 vols. London: Public Record Office, 1903–27.
- Calendar of the Close Rolls*. 21 vols. London: Public Record Office, 1902–27.
- Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers—Papal Letters*. Vols. 1–3. London: Public Record Office, 1893–97.
- Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery)*. 3 vols. London: Public Record Office, 1916–2003.
- Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and Other Analogous Documents*. 5 vols. London: Public Record Office, 1901–08.
- Calendar of Patent Rolls*. 49 vols. London: Public Record Office, 1891–1986.
- Cartae et Alia Munimenta Quæ ad Dominium de Glamorgancia Pertinent*. Ed. Clark, George Thomas. Vol. III (1271–1331). Cardiff: William Lewis, 1910.
- Palgrave, Francis, ed. *The Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Military Summons*. 3 vols. London: Eyre, 1827–34.
- Rothwell, Harry, ed. *English Historical Documents*. Vol. 3 (1189–1327). New York: Oxford UP, 1975.
- Rymer, Thomas, ed. *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae, et cujuscunque generis Acta Public etc., with English Syllabus*. Vols. 2.1 and 2.2. London, 1816–21.

Other Primary Sources

- “De Beato Thoma Comite Lancastriae.” *De Codicibus Hagiographicis Iohannis Gielemans, Canonici Regularis, in Rubra Valle prope Bruxellas Adiectis*

- Anecdotis*. Brussels: Gregg Associates, 1961. Rpt. of Brussels: Polleunis and Ceutrick, 1895. 168–88.
- Grandisson, John de. *Register of John de Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter, 1327–1369*. 3 vols. London: 1894.
- Voragine, Jacobus de. *The Gilte Legende*. Ed. Richard Hamer and Vida Russell. 2 vols. EETS 327–28. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006.
- *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*. Trans. William Granger Ryan. 2 vols. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1993.
- *Legenda Aurea: Vulgo Historia Lombardica Dicta*. Ed. Georg Theodor Graesse. 2 vols. Dresden: 1846.
- *Legenda Aurea: con le Miniature del Codice Ambrosiano C 240 inf*. Ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni. Trans. (into Italian) Francesco Stella. Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 2007.
- *Supplementary Lives in Some Manuscripts of the Gilte Legende*. Ed. Richard Hamer and Vida Russell. EETS 315. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000.
- William of Pagula. *De Specula Regis Edwardi III, seu Tractatu quem de Mala Regni Administratione*. Ed. Joseph Moisant. Paris: J. Picard, 1891.
- Wright, Thomas (ed). *The Political Songs of England, From the Reign of John to that of Edward II*. Camden Society 1st ser. 6. London: J. B. Nichols, 1839.

Secondary Sources

- Aers, David. "Vox Populi and the Literature of 1381." *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*. Ed. David Wallace. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999. 432–53.
- Ainsworth, Peter. *Jean Froissart and the Fabric of History: Truth, Myth and Fiction in the Chroniques*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1990.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail. "Epic and Novel." *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. Ed. Michael Holquist. Trans. Michael Holquist and Caryl Emerson. Austin: Texas UP, 1981. 3–40.
- Blacker, Jean. *The Faces of Time: Portrayals of the Past in Old French and Latin Historical Narrative of the Anglo-Norman Regnum*. Austin: Texas UP, 1994.
- Boroughbridge Town Council and Ronald Walker. "The Battle of Boroughbridge and Myton." *Boroughbridge Community Website*. Web. 5 September 2011.

- Boyle, Leonard E. "The Oculis Sacerdotis and some other works of William of Pagula: the Alexander Prize Essay." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th ser. 5 (1955): 81-110.
- . "William of Pagula and the Speculum Regis Edwardi III." *Mediaeval Studies* 32 (1970): 329-36.
- Brandt, William J. *The Shape of Medieval History: Studies in Modes of Perception*. London: Yale UP, 1966.
- Brereton, Georgine E., ed. *Des Grantz Geanz. An Anglo-Norman Poem*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1937.
- Briquet, Charles Moïse. *Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire Historique des Marques du Papier dès leur Apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*. 2nd ed. 4 vols. New York : Hacker Art Books, 1966.
- British Library. "Manuscripts and Archives: Cotton Manuscripts." *The British Library*. Web. 19 August 2011.
- Buck, Mark. *Politics, Finance and the Church in the Reign of Edward II: Walter Stapeldon, Treasurer of England*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983.
- Carley, James P., and Colin G. C. Tite. "Sir Robert Cotton as Collector of Manuscripts and the Question of Dismemberment: British Library MSS Royal 13 D. I. and Cotton Otho D VIII." *The Library* 6th ser. 14.2 (1992): 94-99.
- Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990.
- Chaplais, Pierre. *Piers Gaveston: Edward II's Adoptive Brother*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1994.
- Clanchy, Michael T. *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*. 1979. 2nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 1993.
- Clarke, Catherine A. M. "Writing Civil War in Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 31. Ed. C. P. Lewis. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008. 31-48.
- Clarke, Maude V. *Medieval Representation and Consent*. London: Longman, 1936.
- Coleman, Janet. *English Literature in History, 1350-1400: Medieval Readers and Writers*. London: Hutchinson, 1981.
- Coleman, Joyce. *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996.

- Cokayne, George Edward, et al. *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct or Dormant*. Vol. 5. 1926. Microprint edition. Gloucester: Sutton, 1982.
- Coote, L. A. *Prophecy and Public Affairs in Later Medieval England*. Woodbridge: York UP, 2000.
- Crick, Julia. "The Power and the Glory: Conquest and Cosmology in Edwardian Wales (Exeter, Cathedral Library 3514)." *Textual Cultures: Cultural Texts*. Ed. Orietta da Rold and Elaine Treharne. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010. 21–42.
- Cubitt, Catherine. "Introduction: Writing True Stories—A View from the West." *Papaconstantinou* 1–12.
- Darlington, Reginald R. *Anglo-Norman Historians*. London: British Library, 1947.
- Dodd, Gwilym and Anthony Musson. *The Reign of Edward II: New Perspectives*. Woodbridge: Rochester, 2006.
- Dolnikowski, Edith Wilks. *Thomas Bradwardine: A View of Time and a Vision of Eternity in Fourteenth-Century Thought*. New York: Brill, 1995.
- Dryburgh, Paul. "The Last Refuge of a Scoundrel? Edward II and Ireland, 1321–27." *Dodd and Musson* 119–39.
- Dugdale, Sir William. *The Baronage of England*. London, 1675.
- Evans, Michael. *The Death of Kings: Royal Deaths in Medieval England*. London: Continuum, 2006.
- Fisher, Matthew. "Genealogy Rewritten: Inheriting the Legendary in Insular Historiography." *Broken Lines: Genealogical Literature in Medieval Britain and France*. Ed. Raluca L. Radulescu and Edward Donald Kennedy. Turnhout: Brepols, 2008. 123–141.
- Gillingham, John. *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000.
- Goetz, Hans Werner. "The Concept of Time in the Historiography of the Eleventh and Twelfth Century." *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*. Ed. Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, Patrick J. Geary. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002. 139–65.
- Görlach, Manfred. *The Textual Tradition of the South English Legendary*. Leeds: U of Leeds P, 1974.
- Gransden, Antonia. *Historical Writing in England*. 2 vols. London: Routledge, 1974–1982.

- Greenslade, M. W. *The Staffordshire Historians*. Staffordshire Record Society 4th ser. 11 (1982).
- Greenstreet, James. "The Boroughbridge Roll of Arms." *The Genealogist* ns 1 (1884): 51-54.
- Greenway, Diana E. "Authority, Convention and Observation in Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 18. Ed. Christopher Harper-Bill. Woodbridge: Boydell, 1995. 105-21.
- Griffiths, Ralph A. "Edward I, Scotland, and the Chronicles of English Religious Houses." *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 6.4 (1979): 191-99.
- Guenée, Bernard. "Histoires, Annales, Chroniques: Essai sur les Genres Historiques au Moyen Age." *Annales-Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 28 (1973): 997-1016.
- Haines, Roy Martin. *The Church and Politics in Fourteenth-Century England: The Career of Adam Orleton, c. 1275-1345*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1978.
- . *King Edward II: Edward of Caernarfon, his Life, his Reign, and its Aftermath, 1284-1330*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 2003.
- Hamilton, J. S. *Piers Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall, 1307-1312: Politics and Patronage in the Reign of Edward II*. London: Harvester-Wheatsheaf, 1988.
- . "The Uncertain Death of Edward II." *History Compass* 6.5 (2008). 1264-78.
- Hardy, Thomas Duffus. *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*. Rolls Series 26. London: Longman, 1871.
- Harrison, Julian. *The Cotton Library: An Inventory of the Cotton Manuscripts and Charters in the British Library, London*. London: British Library. In preparation.
- Justice, Steven. *Writing and Rebellion: England in 1381*. Berkeley: California UP, 1994.
- Ker, Neil R. *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*. London: Royal Historical Society, 1964.
- , ed. "Patrick Young's Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lichfield Cathedral." *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* (1950): 151-68.
- . "Sir John Prise." *Library* 5th ser. (1955): 1-24.
- Ker, Neil R., and Andrew G. Watson. *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books. Supplement to the Second Edition*. London: Royal Historical Society, 1987.

- Kilpatrick, Hannah. "Correction to Haskins' 'Chronicle of the Civil Wars of Edward II.'" *Notes and Queries* 58.3 (2011): 356–358.
- Knowles, David, and R. Neville Hadcock. *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*. London: Longman, 1953.
- Maddicott, J. R. "Poems of Social Protest in Early Fourteenth-Century England." *England in the Fourteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1985 Harlaxton Symposium*. Ed. W. M. Ormrod. Woodbridge: Boydell, 1986. 130–144.
- *Thomas of Lancaster, 1307–1322: A Study in the Reign of Edward II*. London: Oxford UP, 1970.
- Matheson, Lister M. *The Prose Brut: The Development of a Middle English Chronicle*. Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1998.
- McQuillen, John T. "Who was St Thomas of Lancaster? New Manuscript Evidence." *Fourteenth Century England IV*. Ed. J. S. Hamilton. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006. 1–25.
- Morse, Ruth. *Truth and Convention in the Middle Ages: Rhetoric, Representation and Reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991.
- Mortimer, Ian. "The Death of Edward II in Berkeley Castle." *English Historical Review* 120.489 (2005): 1175–1214.
- *The Greatest Traitor: The Life of Sir Roger Mortimer, Ruler of England 1327–30*. London: Jonathan Cape, 2003.
- "A Note on the Deaths of Edward II," <<http://www.ianmortimer.com/EdwardII/death.htm>>, 4 April 2008. Web. 5 June 2011.
- "Sermons of Sodomy: A Reconsideration of Edward II's Sodomitical Reputation." Dodd and Musson 48–60.
- Review: "'The Uncertain Death of Edward II' by J. S. Hamilton," <<http://www.ianmortimer.com/essays/uncertainties.htm>>, 7 October 2008. Web. 5 June 2011.
- Nederman, Cary J. and Cynthia J. Neville. "The Origin of the *Speculum Regis Edwardi III* of William of Pagula." *Studi Medievali* 3rd ser. 38.1 (1997): 317–329.
- Ormrod, W. M. "Monarchy, Martyrdom and Masculinity: England in the Later Middle Ages." *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*. Ed. P. H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis. Cardiff: Wales UP, 2004. 174–91.

- Nederman, Cary J. *Political Thought in Early Fourteenth-Century England: Treatises by Walter of Milemete, William of Pagula, and William of Ockham*. Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2002.
- Ormrod, W. M. "Monarchy, Martyrdom and Masculinity: England in the Later Middle Ages." *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*. Ed. P. H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis. Cardiff: Wales UP, 2004. 174-91.
- *The Reign of Edward III: Crown and Political Society in England, 1327-1377*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1990.
- "The Sexualities of Edward II." Dodd and Musson 22-47.
- Otter, Monika. *Inventiones: Fiction and Referentiality in Twelfth-Century English Historical Writing*. London: North Carolina UP, 1996.
- Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Online ed. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004-2011. Web. January-June 2011.
- Page, William (ed). *Victoria County History: A History of the County of York v. III*. London: Boydell and Brewer, 1974.
- Pantin, W. A. *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century*. Toronto: Toronto UP, 1980.
- Papaconstantinou, Arietta, ed. *Writing 'True Stories': Historians and Hagiographers in the Late Antique and Medieval Near East*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010.
- Partner, Nancy. *Serious Entertainments: The Writing of History in Twelfth-Century England*. Chicago: Chicago UP, 1997.
- Phillips, John Roland Seymour. *Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, 1307-1324: Baronial Politics in the Reign of Edward II*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1972.
- Phillips, Seymour. *Edward II*. London: Yale UP, 2010.
- Piroyansky, Danna. *Martyrs in the Making: Political Martyrdom in Late Medieval England*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- Planta, Joseph. *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library Deposited in the British Museum*. London: British Museum, 1802.
- Powicke, Frederick Maurice. *King Henry III and the Lord Edward: the Community of the Realm in the Thirteenth Century*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1966.
- Prestwich, Michael. "Cavalry Service in Early Fourteenth-Century England." *War and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of J. O. Prestwich*. Ed. John Gillingham and J. C. Holt. Woodbridge: Boydell, 1984. 147-58.
- *Edward I*. London: Methuen London, 1988.

- *Plantagenet England, 1225-1360*. Oxford: Clarendon, 2005.
- *The Three Edwards: War and State in England, 1272-1377*. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Ray, Roger. "Rhetorical Scepticism and Verisimilar Narrative in John of Salisbury's *Historia Pontificalis*." *Classical Rhetoric and Medieval Historiography*. Ed. Ernst Breisach. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, 1985. 61-102.
- Robertson, D. W. *A Preface to Chaucer: Studies in Medieval Perspectives*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1963.
- Robinson, James. "Pilgrimage and Protest: Badges at the British Museum Relating to Thomas of Lancaster and Isabella, Queen of Edward II." *Beyond Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges: Essays in Honour of Brian Spencer*. Ed. Sarah Blink. Oxford: Oxbow, 2007. 170-81.
- Sayles, George. "The Formal Judgement on the Traitors of 1322." *Speculum* 16.1 (1941): 57-63.
- Selden, John. *The Historie of Tithes that is, the practice of payment of them, the positive laws made for them, the opinions touching the right of them: a review of it is also annexed, which both confirms it and directs in the vse of it*. London, 1618.
- Serjeantson, R. M., W. Ryland, and D. Adkins, eds. *Victoria County History: A History of the County of Northampton*. Vol. 2. London, 1906.
- Sharpe, Kevin. *Sir Robert Cotton 1586-1631: History and Politics in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1979.
- Spiegel, Gabrielle. "Political Utility in Medieval Historiography: A Sketch." *History and Theory* 22 (1983): 43-53.
- Stones, Lionel. "English Chroniclers and the Affairs of Scotland 1286-1296." *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages. Essays Presented to Richard William Southern*. Ed. R. H. C. Davies et al. Oxford: Clarendon, 1981. 323-348.
- Strohm, Paul. *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation, 1399-1422*. Foreword by John Watts. 1998. Paperback edition. Notre Dame: Notre Dame UP, 2006.
- *Hochon's Arrow: The Social Imagination of Fourteenth-Century Texts*. Appendix by A. J. Prescott. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1992.
- Summerfield, Thea. "The Testimony of Writing: Pierre de Langtoft and the Appeals to History, 1291-1306." *The Scots and Medieval Arthurian Legend*. Ed.

- Rhiannon Purdie and Nicola Royan. *Arthurian Studies* 61. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005. 25–41.
- Taylor, Andrew. “Why did Edward I Own *La Chanson d’Aspremont*?” International Medieval Congress. Kalamazoo, Michigan. May 2011. Conference paper.
- Theilmann, John M. “Political Canonization and Political Symbolism in Medieval England.” *Journal of English Studies*, 29.3 (1990): 241–266.
- Tite, Colin G. C. *The Early Records of Sir Robert Cotton’s Library: Formation, Cataloguing Use*. Bury St Edmund’s: St Edmundsbury, 2003.
- *The Manuscript Library of Sir Robert Cotton: The Panizzi Lectures*. London: British Library, 1994.
- Walker, Simon. “Political Saints in Later Medieval England.” *Political Culture in Later Medieval England*. Ed. Michael Braddick. Manchester: Manchester UP, 2006. 198–223.
- Ward, John O. “Some Principles of Rhetorical Historiography in the Twelfth Century.” *Classical Rhetoric and Medieval Historiography*. Ed. Ernst Breisach. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, 1985. 103–66.
- Ward, H. L. D. *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*. Vol. 1. London: British Museum, 1962.
- Warner, Kathryn. “The Adherents of Edmund of Woodstock, Earl of Kent, in March 1330.” *English Historical Review*, 126.521 (2011): 779–805.
- White, Hayden. “The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality.” *Critical Inquiry* 7:1 (1980): 5–27.
- Wilkinson, B. “The Sherburn Indenture and the Attack on the Despensers, 1321.” *English Historical Review* 62.246 (1948): 1–28.