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The Art of
Matthew Paris
in the
Chronica Majora





Burn of Christ and the Virgin. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 20, p. 283.

The Art of
Matthew Paris
in the
Chronica Majora

SUZANNE LEWIS

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FOR DAVID

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Preface

WHEN ASKED TO GIVE A SHORT INFORMAL PAPER ON THE CHRONICLE illustrations of Matthew Paris for the Medieval Studies Symposium held at Stanford in 1978, little did I expect that five years later I would be composing a preface for my own rather hefty volume on that fascinating subject. At the time, I was both pleased and not a little surprised to discover that many interesting aspects of Matthew Paris's role in the creation of the large corpus of illustrations in the *Chronica Majora* had not been explored in any depth, and that some important questions had indeed not yet been asked. After having been concerned for many years with various relationships between art and politics in late antique, Byzantine, and early medieval art, particularly those involving text-image problems, I approached Matthew's drawings for the *Chronica Majora* with a special enthusiasm.

Although somewhat far afield in thirteenth-century England, I quickly succumbed to the formidable charms of what must surely be one of the most eccentric, outspoken, and gifted figures in medieval art and literature. I wanted to know not only how Paris went

about illustrating his great chronicle, but also why. Since the subject of my investigation could still communicate his thoughts and feelings through the discursive narrative of his massive histories as well as through the ingenious images that bring his prose to life in another dimension, I felt those questions stood a fairly good chance of being answered. By the spring of 1979 I set to work on this book, for by that time it was apparent that nothing short of a full-length study could do justice to the richness and complexity of the problems posed by this unique medieval genius.

In undertaking an ambitious study of Matthew Paris's chronicle illustrations, the art historian runs some serious risks, for the work must take many roads and detours outside the author's specialized competence. My approach to Matthew Paris, however, was not dictated by methodological bias but grew directly out of the multifaceted character of the man's work and of medieval art itself. Throughout the book I have envisaged my role as that of translator and interpreter, for my goal was to give Matthew an opportunity to talk about his art in his own way. Because the work as a whole has been structured to reflect Paris's wide-ranging interests, readers will inevitably encounter the same kinds of overlapping and repetition contained in the *Chronica Majora* itself. In an effort to alleviate potential tedium and exasperation for some readers, individual chapters have been written to be read independently; art historians, for example, may wish to consult only the first, second, and last chapters on questions of style and attribution, while textual scholars may turn immediately to Chapters 2 through 5.

As I now cast my mind over the many shortcomings in my work that will inevitably come to light under the scrutiny of specialized readers whose knowledge and understanding of its many components far exceed my own, I can only seek refuge in quoting a passage from M. R. James's preface to the last volume of his catalogue of Trinity College manuscripts:

The [scholar] who undertakes the task of describing a large and heterogeneous mass of [material] . . . not restricted to one language or even to three or four subjects, is necessarily giving many hostages to fortune. He is exposing himself to the onslaughts of every ferre specialist who has recourse to his laboriously compiled volume. Absences of references . . . failures to detect the identity of a nameless treatise, omissions of what prove to be important details in the descriptions of miniatures, ignorance of famous heraldic bearings, will all merit and perhaps meet with sharp reproof. . . . to these errors and failings I plead guilty; but I have deliberately preferred risking mistakes and producing the best [book] I could . . . to [not producing one at all].

No one can approach the subject of Matthew Paris without acknowledging an immense debt to Richard Vaughan's magisterial study, published more than twenty years ago, which still remains the standard and best work. As frequent citations of his work attest, my own efforts would have been impossible without it. Because I found it necessary to deal with so many different areas of specialization—social, political, and religious history, literature, paleography, cartography, and heraldry, as well as special problems involving the codicology of manuscripts, the book could not have gone forward without the suggestions, criticism, discussion, and encouragement of many medieval scholars in several different disciplines who generously provided their expert advice and opinions on various aspects of Matthew Paris's work. Among my colleagues at Stanford I owe a large debt of thanks to Gavin Langmuir who gave invaluable criticisms and insights on matters pertaining to social and political history, and to Brigitte Cazelles for her indispensable collaboration in translating the Anglo-Norman legends on Matthew's maps and itineraries. I am particularly grateful to Nigel Moegao, Director of the Index of Christian Art, who generously shared with me his thoughts on Matthew Paris and whose first volume on early Gothic manuscripts appeared just in time to be formally acknowledged in this book, and to Adelaide Bennett for her painstaking criticisms and suggestions on various problems of style, iconography, and codicology. A special note of thanks also goes to Dr. H.-E. Hilpert of Regensburg University, who very generously put at my disposal prior to its publication a summary of his findings from his book on the papal and imperial documents used by Paris in the *Chronica Majora*.

I am particularly indebted to Dr. R. I. Page, Librarian of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, as well as to Mrs. Jane Rolfe, Assistant Librarian, for their indispensable help and cooperation. I would also like to express my appreciation to the following individuals and institutions for their assistance in making available other manuscript materials on which this study was based: Mr. William O'Sullivan, Keeper of Manuscripts, Trinity College, Dublin, and his successor, Mr. Bernard Meehan; the Librarian and staff of Trinity College, Cambridge; the Keeper of Manuscripts, the British Library, and his staff; Mrs. Rosalind Fisher, Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, London; and Mr. Bruce Barker-Benfield, Department of Western Manuscripts, Bodleian Library, Oxford. The librarians and staff of the Stanford University Libraries and their counterparts at the University of California at Berkeley have provided valuable assistance throughout the course of the research. No list of acknowledgments would be complete without my sincere thanks to Mrs. Robert

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All the quotations from Matthew Paris's works constitute revisions of Giles's translations, either to make corrections based on the more accurate Latin text of Laird's *Rolls Series* edition, or to alter the language and syntax to make them sound a little less like a nineteenth-century scholar and, with luck, more like Matthew's own thirteenth-century voice. In cases where the Latin has been retained, abbreviations which appeared in the original texts and inscriptions have been routinely extended. For the sake of consistency, I have followed Powicke (1947) throughout in the spelling of Anglo-Norman proper names.

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Cambridge, The President and Fellows of Queens' College: Fig.

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 Fig. 14.
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The Art of
Matthew Paris
in the
Chronica Majora

I

Matthaeus Parisiensis *Historicus et Pictor*

ENGLAND HAS HAD MORE THAN ITS SHARE OF REMARKABLE AND sometimes eccentric individuals whose creative energies have spilled over the boundaries between literature and art. From the anonymous early medieval illustrator of Caedmon's Anglo-Saxon paraphrase of the Bible to William Blake, Insular artists have been nourished by a culture deeply rooted in the passionate veneration of the written word. Even Turner felt obliged to mortgage his Romantic genius to a more "elevated" literary muse by providing his paintings with verse titles from his long bathetic poem called *The Fallacies of Hope*. Within a tradition of text illustration beginning with the Hiberno-Saxon illuminators of the Gospels and continuing through Beardsley, however, English artists have tended to lavish their talents on the literary efforts of others. Blake and Dante Gabriel Rossetti offer rare and notable exceptions as having been equally acclaimed as both writers and artists. In the long history of English literary art, one of the earliest and most singularly multifaceted individuals to achieve that dual distinction is the thirteenth-century Benedictine monk Matthew Paris.

A man who was celebrated in the Middle Ages as “a magnificent historian and chronicler,” as well as “an artist since unequalled in the Latin world,”¹ Matthew Paris stands well apart from his nineteenth-century artist-poet countrymen as a master of illustrated prose. Of all the artists who worked in England during the Middle Ages his is the only name well known to us today,² largely because his reputation as a writer ensured its survival. Among the impressive roster of medieval chroniclers from Bede to Holinshed, Matthew Paris stands alone as a *genius senex* who also illustrated his works. Ignited by strong personal feeling and pungent rhetoric, his extravagantly wrought chronicles still possess the power to move us by transforming human history into the suspenseful drama of medieval fiction. Further enlivened by the author’s own ingenious tinted drawings in the margins, the autograph manuscripts of the *Chronica Majora*, now housed in the Library of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, offer access to one of the most compelling personalities of the Middle Ages as well as to his thirteenth-century world.

Although Matthew Paris may be counted among the few English medieval historians whose works are still widely read, it is very difficult for the modern reader to know his chronicles in a way even remotely resembling the kind of experience envisioned by their author. To comply with Matthew’s wish that “what the ear hears the eyes may see,”³ we must have his text and illustrations before us at the same time. While we may still read Lunard’s excellent Latin edition or Giles’s less satisfactory English translation, Matthew’s pictorial “presences” are profoundly absent. By the same token, the cumbersome process of matching the appropriate passages in either edition with the isolated illustrations published in 1925 by M. R. James brings us no closer to the singular fusion of visual and aural perceptions Paris had in mind when he illustrated his massive chronicle. Consequently, his work is too often seen in only one dimension. The art of Matthew Paris cannot be fully understood or accurately assessed outside the context of his writing. His great illustrated chronicle forms a monumental stage on which fact and fiction, reality and imagination, merge in a uniquely conceived visual and textual drama.

In an effort to expand what has often been too narrow a perception of Matthew’s art, this book seeks a wider perspective by bringing together many texts and images from that monumental work, approximating wherever possible their original juxtaposition in the Cambridge manuscripts. Inordinate attention may at times appear

to be given to the literary and historical aspects of the *Chronica Majora* illustrations, but this has been done in the hope that the patient reader shall be rewarded by rediscovering its Benedictine artist-chronicler in another dimension. By examining the interrelationship between his art and writings in their original historical and literary framework, we shall attempt to recover some neglected aspects of Matthew Paris and the unique medieval experience he brought to life in his great chronicle at St. Albans Abbey in the thirteenth century.

Despite his renown in his own time as chronicler and artist, the biography of Matthew Paris is limited to what we have been able to deduce or conjecture from his writings. Although his surname, which he usually wrote as "Parisensis" or on rare occasions "de Parisus," could suggest French origins, nothing in his work or elsewhere indicates that he was anything other than an Englishman trained in a Benedictine monastery to be characteristically literate in both Latin and Anglo-Norman French. He became a monk at St. Albans on January 21, 1217, perhaps having come from nearby Lincolnshire.¹ From this date we may surmise that he was probably born around the turn of the century.² However, there remains the possibility that Matthew may have studied at one of the Paris schools instead of having been trained exclusively in England. Parisian ties are suggested not only by the unusual number of references to the University of Paris in the *Chronica Majora*,³ but also by the peculiarly secular character of his handwriting,⁴ as well as his knowledge of French sources for some of his chronicle illustrations.⁵ Although the only surviving documentary evidence that St. Albans had sent a few of its prospective brethren to the abbey of St-Victor in Paris dates from 1167 to 1173, John de Cella (1195–1214), who was abbot of St. Albans just three years prior to Matthew's entry into the order, had been a scholar and master in the Paris schools.⁶ Matthew's later penchant for the kinds of occasional Latin verse introduced at St. Albans by John de Cella may be seen in his liberal quotation of Leonine and other rhythmic verses, including some of his own invention, throughout the *Chronica Majora* and clearly reflects the literary taste and influence of Continental school traditions.⁷

Between 1217 and 1247 nothing certain is known about Matthew's life as a monk at St. Albans. Shortly after 1236, following the death of Roger Wendover, we may assume that Paris succeeded him to become the next historian of the abbey.⁸ His eyewitness accounts

in the chronicles suggest that he was probably at Canterbury on July 7, 1220, for the translation of the relics of St. Thomas Becket and attended the marriage of Henry III and Eleanor of Provence at Westminster in 1236.¹¹ On October 13, 1247, Matthew tells us that he was again present at Westminster for the feast of St. Edward the Confessor, and it is in this annal that the St. Albans chronicler first reveals Henry III's acknowledgment of his skills as a historian:

And while . . . the king was seated on his throne, he noticed the writer of this work, summoned him, made him sit down on a step between the throne and the rest of the hall, and said to him: "Have you observed all these things, and are they firmly impressed upon your mind?" To which he answered: "Yes, my lord, for the splendid doings of this day are worthy of record." The king went on: ". . . I beseech you . . . therefore . . . to write an accurate and full account of all these events . . . lest in future their memory in any way be lost to posterity." And he invited this person with whom he was speaking to dinner, together with his three companions.¹²

The routine of Matthew's apparently uneventful life at St. Albans was interrupted only once, when he was sent in 1248 by papal mandate on a mission to the Benedictine abbey of St. Bener Holm in Norway to settle a jurisdictional dispute with the local archbishop. Although Matthew reports the request for his services in some detail along with the text of the papal mandate itself, he never explains why he was chosen for the mission nor does he provide any further information about his visit to Norway.¹⁴ After his return, probably in 1249, we then hear of Matthew with the king at Winchester in July 1251 and at Christmas in York the same year for the marriage of Henry III's daughter Margaret to Alexander III of Scotland.¹⁵

Paris's life as a Benedictine monk at St. Albans was by no means isolated from the world. Although he is known to have made only one long journey outside England, he appears to have attended many important royal celebrations at Westminster and York. In his capacity as monastic chronicler he traveled the short distance to London to observe other events as well. On one memorable occasion in February 1255, his mission was to inspect at firsthand an elephant presented to the king by Louis IX of France; his "scientific expedition" is commemorated by the celebrated drawing made from life which now appears among the prefatory pages in the second volume of the *Chronica Majora* (see Fig. 129).¹⁶

More important than Matthew's rather infrequent and usually short peregrinations outside the abbey was the wide circle of contacts he maintained with prestigious visitors to St. Albans, personages ranging from the king of England to some exotic monks from distant Armenia, all of whom were apparently eager to put at his disposal useful information, letters, and documents. Among his closest informants were Richard, earl of Cornwall and brother of Henry III, and the earl of Kent, Hubert de Burgh, both of whom figure as special heroes in the annals and illustrations of his great chronicle. He also gleaned material from the king, Richard de Clare, Countess Isabella of Arundel, several of Henry III's councillors, and Alexander Swereford, baron of the Exchequer, as well as the various bishops of London, Canterbury, Winchester, Durham, Bath, Ardfert, Chichester, Bangor, and Lincoln, the last of whom at that time was Robert Grosseteste.¹⁷ Paris's other acquaintances ranged from Franciscan friars to Cahorsin moneylenders. Judging from the number and costliness of the gifts he received from various individuals, which he later passed on to the abbey,¹⁸ along with evidence given in the chronicles themselves, Matthew became something of a celebrity. As time went on, conversations with the inquisitive and urbane chronicler seem to have offered an important social diversion to the abbey's many distinguished visitors. In March 1257, Henry III remained for a week at St. Albans and during his visit he honored Matthew by inviting him to the royal table and chamber where, the chronicler tells us, he was flattered by the king's insistent demonstrations of his own knowledge of historical matters, such as the names of the electors of Germany, English sovereigns who had been canonized, and the titles of 250 English baronies.¹⁹

From the colophon closing his text in the *Chronica Majora*, we may conclude that Matthew Paris died in June 1259, a revered and famous man. Accompanied by a portrait of the St. Albans historian on his deathbed (Fig. 1),²⁰ with his *Liber Chronicorum* on the desk beside him, and the legend "Hic obit Matheus Parisiensis" written above, the text reads:

Thus far wrote [*perscriptit*] the venerable man, brother Matthew Paris; and although the handwriting [*manus in scripto*] may vary, nevertheless, as the same method of composition is maintained throughout, the whole is ascribed to him. What has been added and continued from this point onwards may be ascribed to another brother and, unworthy to continue them as he is unworthy to undo the latchet of his shoe, has not deserved to have even his name mentioned on this page.²¹

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MATTHEW PARIS THE HISTORIAN

The striking hyperbole of the obituary composed by Matthew's anonymous continuator in the *Chronica Majora* reveals a profound admiration which extended well into the next century. The widely quoted eulogy ascribed to Thomas Walsingham in the *Gesta Abbatum* attests that

At this time, too, flourished and died Dom Matthew Paris, monk of St. Albans, an eloquent and famous man full of innumerable virtues; a magnificent historian and chronicler, an excellent author [editor], who frequently resolved in his heart the saying, "Latinus in the enemy of the soul," and whom widespread fame commended in remote parts where he had never been. Diligently compiling his chronicle from the earliest times up to the end of his life, he fully recorded the deeds of magnates, both lay and ecclesiastical, as well as various and wonderful events, and left for the notice of posterity a marvelous record of the past.⁴⁷

Even as late as the seventeenth century Milton described Paris as "the best of our Historians."⁴⁸ Nothing, however, could be more antithetical to current notions of modern scientific history than Matthew's massive chronicles. As Walsingham points out, the writing of history meant storytelling, a plotting of one-thing-after-the-other,



FIGURE 1. Matthew Paris on His Deathbed. B. 1., Roy 14 C VII, fol. 218r.

"headlining" the great events and celebrities of the past. Unlike today's social historian, who is concerned with the structures of everyday life and attempts to penetrate the private and least accessible parts of past human activity, Paris focuses his medieval lens on life's surfaces—*unusque* public figures and extraordinary happenings. In a sense, the chronicles of Matthew Paris should be approached in much the same way that we read Victorian novels—as a big and sweeping form of fiction whose strength lies not in structural elegance or verisimilitude, but in narrative complexity and high moral drama.

Matthew's awesome achievement in historical writing grew out of a venerable tradition in Benedictine scholarship. Drawn partly from the official monastic service of composing saints' lives and partly from the private character of individual readings, the writing of history, as Southern has observed,

called forth at all times the best resources of the Benedictine scholar: it opened a field for the laborious, exacting, patient work of compilation and arrangement which the spirit of the Rule required. At the same time, it was fostered by the very practical and human desire which members of a community feel to preserve and glorify their past, to justify their position in the world, and . . . to defend their privileges and assert their independence. Here was a vast field of research in which practical expediency and literary ambition could both find their place, and where the work to be done ranged from the classification of the monastic archives, the defence of the genuineness of its holy relics, and the history of its landed properties, to the writing of annals, biographies and the major histories of the time.²¹

By the thirteenth century the keeping of a chronicle had become part of the routine business in a large house like St. Albans. The office of historian was a quasi-official duty rather than a voluntary pastime, the compilation of the abbey chronicle being a labor assigned to an individual monk by the abbot.²² At the end of each year, as the Winchester chronicler tells us, the monk "who has been appointed to the task, and not just anyone who so wishes, should write out . . . what he thinks truest and best to be passed down to the notice of posterity."²³ In the case of St. Albans, the position of historian seems to have been created in 1166 under Abbot Simon.²⁴ However, none of the abbey's historians are known until Matthew's predecessor, Roger Wendover, who came to St. Albans after having been removed as prior of Belvoir,²⁵ and who may owe his escape from anonymity to the prestige of his former position as head of the

important St. Albans cell. In this respect Wendover and Paris were exceptional. After Matthew died, the abbey chroniclers lapsed back into nameless obscurity until the late fourteenth century, when Thomas Walsingham assumed the task.

With the establishment of its scriptorium shortly after the Norman Conquest, the writing and production of books became a major enterprise at St. Albans, especially after the scriptorium was enlarged under Abbot Simon in the late twelfth century.²⁷ As in many of the larger monastic houses, however, the abbey historian worked in relative seclusion in separate, smaller quarters which could accommodate only one or two monks.²⁸ After his removal as prior of Bevoir, Roger Wendover compiled his history in convenient isolation, probably with the aid of a single scribe, until his death in 1236. In the same solitary accommodations apart from the main scriptorium, Matthew Paris then worked alone for almost a quarter of a century amid the stacks of unbound quires containing the annals he had edited, composed, written out, and illustrated.

The rich intellectual and artistic life of St. Albans during this period provided an atmosphere both materially and socially conducive to the prodigious writing and illustration of historical works. From about 1237 to 1259 Matthew Paris produced both local and "world" histories, as well as saints' lives. His mammoth output surpassed anything ever attempted in a medieval Benedictine abbey. Matthew was nevertheless a characteristic product of a comfortable and cosmopolitan order whose best progeny tended to be practical men of strong aristocratic leanings and secular urbanity. Like his older Benedictine confrere Richard of Devizes, who wrote an account at St. Swithun's, Winchester, of the early years of King Richard I,²⁹ Paris displays a curious mixture of rhetorical elegance and crass materialism. While he frequently lauds his usualistic prose with ostentatious but often piquant quotations from Ovid, Horace, and Juvenal,³⁰ he also mentions sums of money at every possible turn. A shrewd mercenary concern with profit and loss is played off against a more rarefied interest in classical learning, to reveal contrasting aspects of an essentially worldly outlook. Relatively free from the self-effacing constraints of his religious vocation, Matthew flourished in the secular and increasingly commercial atmosphere of St. Albans where, in the first half of the thirteenth century, the Benedictine world had all but lost its earlier spiritual commitment to learning and devotion and had become one with the outside world of business and politics.

Matthew's most important historical work, the massive *Chron-*

Chronica Majora, is a universal history of the world. Cast into annalistic form, it begins with Creation and proceeds year by year up to the chronicler's death. It was not, however, a single-handed undertaking. Up to the annal for July 1235, it consists of a revision of the *Flores Historiarum* written by Roger Wendover and represents Matthew's work only in the continuation of the monumental history to 1259.³¹ An illustrated autograph copy of the *Chronica Majora* survives in three volumes: MS 26 in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, containing the annals from Creation to 1188; MS 16, also at Corpus Christi College, with annals from 1189 to 1253; and British Library MS Roy. 14. C. VII, which contains the entries from 1254 to Matthew's death in 1259 on fols. 157 to 218.³² The relative scale of Paris's contribution to the *Chronica Majora* may be suggested by noting that his annals for the last twenty-four years (1235–1259) are roughly as long as the whole preceding history from Creation. Matthew made extensive use of archival and documentary material throughout his part of the chronicle, at first incorporating copies of letters, charters, and decrees in the text and then collecting them in an appendix which became a separate volume known as the *Liber Addamentorum* (B.L. MS Cotton Nero D. I, fols. 62v–63v and 70–200).³³ A shorter work, the *Historia Anglorum*, largely abridged in annalistic form from the great chronicle to cover the period from 1066 to 1253, also survives in an illustrated autograph version bound with the third volume of the *Chronica Majora* on fols. 1–156v in MS Roy. 14. C. VII. Another short history of England, the *Abbreuiata Chroniconum* (B.L. MS Cotton Claudius D. VI), is based in turn on the *Historia Anglorum*, with annals to 1253.³⁴ Another abridgment of the *Chronica Majora*, Matthew's own *Flores Historiarum* in Manchester, Chetham's Library MS 6712, is virtually a transcript of the great chronicle to 1066, followed by a revised abstract completed in 1264 after Matthew's death and probably compiled for Westminster.³⁵

At the same time that Matthew Paris was writing historical works in Latin, he was also composing hagiographical works in Anglo-Norman verse. His major surviving effort in this genre, the lavishly illustrated vernacular verse *Life of St. Alban* in Dublin, Trinity College MS 177, probably dates from ca. 1245 to 1252.³⁶ Although the autograph manuscript in Dublin has often been singled out as the seminal work which initiated the thirteenth-century fashion for picture books in which large illustrations are provided with extensive captions and the text is relegated to a secondary role, Matthew was more likely pursuing a trend begun earlier in illustrated saints' lives

such as the Guthlac Roll dating from ca. 1210.³⁹ The *Vie de Saint Auban* text was not Paris's original creation but an imaginatively translated, slightly revised version of one of the Latin legends of the British proto-martyr included in the Dublin manuscript, a prose composition written in the twelfth century by William, a monk of St. Albans.⁴⁰ Matthew probably also produced illustrated lives of St. Edward the Confessor and St. Thomas of Canterbury in Anglo-Norman verse, as well as Latin biographies of two other notable archbishops, Stephen Langton and St. Edmund of Abingdon.⁴¹ Sometime after 1247 and perhaps as late as 1255, Paris then translated his own Latin *Life of St. Edmund* for Countess Isabella of Arundel.⁴² Although the jottings on the flyleaves in the Dublin *Vie de Saint Auban* record that Matthew's saints' lives were borrowed by noblewomen, and his *Edward* was a translation of Ethelred of Rievaulx's Latin *Vita* made for Queen Eleanor, the old epic meter of *Alban*, as well as the fact that it remained in Matthew's personal possession, suggests that it was initially intended for a masculine audience.⁴³ In the final rubric, however, Matthew called his verse *Life of St. Alban* a romance ("Li romanz de l'estoire de saint Auban"), a telling epithet that reveals an approach which, as we shall see, prevailed in his colorful literary conception of history as well.⁴⁴

More narrowly reflecting the corporate self-interests of his own house, Matthew's *Gesta Abbatum* chronicles the history of St. Albans to 1253. As it survives in an autograph version bound with the *Liber Addamentorum* in MS Cotton Nero D. I, the first part of the *Gesta* on fols. 30–62, from the origins of the abbey to the death of Abbot William de Trumpington in 1235, is followed by some documents written on spare leaves at the end of the quire; the second part, on fols. 64–69, consists of a short description of the abbacy of John of Hertford (1235–1263), which soon gives way to more documents pertaining to the monastery.⁴⁵ Lastly, Paris's *Vitae Offarum*, probably finished ca. 1250, is essentially another Latin work of domestic history, describing the foundations of St. Albans and emphasizing its antiquity and royal connections.⁴⁶ Like his Anglo-Norman verse *Life of St. Alban*, the autograph *Offa* manuscript was planned for half-page illustrations throughout. These now survive in fragmentary form on fols. 2–4v in MS Cotton Nero D. I, where only the first six incomplete drawings are carried out in Paris's hand (see Figs. 3 and 234–234).⁴⁷

The thirteenth century was a period of synthesis and consolidation in historiography. As traditional annalistic genres developed, the monastic chronicle, which had its heyday in England during the

late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, tended to merge with the broader scope of universal history.⁵⁸ Originating within the modest framework of tables for reckoning the date for Easter, monastic annals evolved from a simple set of recorded events added to the margins of the Easter Tables to the routine writing of chronicles, to be kept up to date either systematically or occasionally, in almost every major religious house in England.⁵⁹ The annalistic tradition continued to operate in full force throughout the writing of Matthew's great chronicle beyond the middle of the thirteenth century. Not only is the *Chronica Majora* structured as an awkward and disjunctive set of journalistic entries reported in chronological sequence, but the text itself often becomes a mottled multilayered pastiche as a result of the monastic practice of making constant additions and emendations to bring it up to date. Further proclaiming its origins in earlier monastic annals, the great St. Albans chronicle still carries an Easter Table and liturgical calendars as a regular part of the prefatory apparatus. However, Matthew transformed the Easter Table on fol. v in MS 26 into an ingenious thirteenth-century "computer" by attaching the large circular table of lunar cycles, epact, and other reckoning data, cut from another piece of vellum, to the folio by means of a metal pin so that it could be rotated.

By the end of the twelfth century the historian began to distinguish his task from that of the monastic chronicler. As Gervase of Canterbury explained in 1183,

the historian proceeds diffusely and elegantly, whereas the chronicler proceeds simply, gradually and briefly. The chronicler computes the years Anno Domini and months and kalends, and briefly describes the actions of kings and princes which occurred at those times; he also commemorates events, portents and wonders. There are many, however, writing chronicles or annals who exceed their limits.⁶⁰

Although Matthew Paris has long been counted by posterity among the most prodigious of historians, and he himself never intended to remain a humble compiler of dated events, the *Chronica Majora* is nevertheless a cumbersome annalistic production. Despite such admirable advice as that given by Gervase of Canterbury to distinguish between *memorable* (memorable events) and *memoranda* (events worth remembering) and to write down only the latter,⁶¹ Matthew's great chronicle still retains the thick woolly texture of the old monastic *omnino gatherum* in which the downfall of a great king must compete for attention with the birth of a two-headed calf.

Harking back to such Latin models as Sallust and Cicero, the monastic chronicler often assumed the role of moral censor whose

purpose in writing history was to provide compelling examples of good and evil for his readers' spiritual edification. In his preface to the *Chronica Majora*, Matthew's predecessor adopts a characteristically stern moral tone as he expounds the purposes of history:

The lives and customs of good men from the past are revived here for subsequent imitation; the examples of evil men are not described to be emulated but to be shunned. Moreover, past prodigies and portents, whether they be famine, death or other scourges of divine punishment, are given as signals to the faithful insofar as their memory is committed in writing so that, if ever similar events occur again, sinners who have incurred God's wrath may repent and appease him.³²

Rooted in the later Roman tradition of universal history initiated by Orosius, Matthew's own world chronicle paints a more pessimistic and often lurid picture of the history of mankind as a narrative of unmitigated folly and crime. The St. Albans chronicler thus assumes the exaggerated cynical stance of Latin historians who, like Sallust, were generally inclined to believe the worst of their fellow men.³³

Much of the pungent vituperation of Paris's prose was motivated by his strong antiroyal, antiforeign, and antipapal bias. Fairly typical of a conservative Benedictine outlook in the first half of the thirteenth century in England, Matthew's homiletic invectives opposed centralized authority in both church and state, adopting a protective stance toward the *status quo* in an effort to maintain the enormous wealth, independence, and special privilege of a great house like St. Albans in the face of mounting pressure and interference from increasingly powerful kings and popes.³⁴ Partisanship of this sort was neither new to the thirteenth century nor unique to Matthew Paris. Going back to Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of England*, parochial bias inevitably became involved in setting down a record of church and nation. Monastic chronicles of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries reflected an even narrower outlook of corporate self-interest, often tending to distort the history of events whenever it impinged on the monastery's well-being.³⁵ Still speaking for the generation of chroniclers who came on the scene at the end of King John's reign, Matthew held strong political views of kingship and the papacy largely shaped by such men as Walter Map, Gerald of Wales, and Gervase of Canterbury, who had all become to one way or another bitterly hostile to the king and court and espoused the limitation of royal power.³⁶ The most direct and powerful influence on Matthew Paris in this respect was Roger Wendover. In revising his predecessor's annals in the *Chronica Majora* up to 1235, Paris often

merely added colorful phrases and anecdotes to brighten the dramatic effect of a view which already saw history as a continuing conflict between kings and barons and between the English Church and the papacy in Rome.⁵⁷

One of the most impressive aspects of Matthew's chronicle, his Benedictine partisanship notwithstanding, is his prodigious use of documentary evidence. Following the venerable precedent established by Eusebius, who first broke the rules of rhetorical composition in the fourth century by inserting copies of imperial letters and decrees as well as acts of the Church councils into the text of his universal history, an English tradition of copying documents *in extenso* into narrative works began very early, with Eddius Stephanus and Bede.⁵⁸ Writing Christian history in the grand manner of Bede, Anglo-Norman chroniclers from the late eleventh through the twelfth century, such as Ordericus Vitalis, John of Salisbury, Henry of Huntingdon, and Ralph Diceto, made a regular practice of inserting documents into their works. Matthew's chronicle, however, broke all records in its inclusion of charters, letters, and proclamations.⁵⁹ In an age which still had relatively few books and virtually no books of reference, official documents commanded special respect as objects *sui generis*. In the annals of the *Chronica Majora* these archival texts are often accompanied by visual reminders of their physical appearance in sketches of sealed charters and letters which appear in the margins (see Figs. 107, 109, 110, and 159). Matthew was allowed to inspect and copy royal documents by Alexander Swereford, baron of the Exchequer, and he may have obtained further transcripts of documents through John Mansel of the Chancery.⁶⁰ Because the great St. Albans chronicle was probably regarded as useful to the crown, some of these documents may have been "leaked" to Matthew Paris with a view to gaining wider currency as well as ensuring their posterity.⁶¹ By the early thirteenth century, however, English historical writing had become so overcrowded with archival material that historical narrative was literally eclipsed by it. For example, Roger of Howden's chronicle of 1201 to 1202 peters out at the end, with the last pages given over almost entirely to documents. Staggering under the weight of his own documentary evidence, Matthew eventually hit upon the idea of relegating much of this material to a separate book in the *Liber Additamentorum*, perhaps inspired by the example of Henry of Huntingdon, who had intended to make a similar appendix for his historical writings.⁶²

Contrasting with the almost legalistic realism of Matthew's heavy reliance on documentary evidence is his equally strong pen-

PAGES 18A, 190, 191 & 233

chant) for embellishing his reportage of important events with sensational accounts of dreams, portents, and prophecies. Roman historians had already laid the groundwork for the intrusion of divine intervention in human affairs in the form of omens and marvels. By the Christian Middle Ages, the supernatural tended to dominate the narrative. Matthew's contemporary, Gerald of Wales, offers an analogous case of apparent contradiction in copying out voluminous documents and records into a text filled with credulous reports of supernatural happenings.⁶³ Yet at the same time, like his earlier counterpart the monastic chronicler William of Malmesbury, the St. Albans historian exhibits a conscientious and determined effort to distinguish between myth and fact by interviewing witnesses.⁶⁴ Working on the principle that informants tend to be swayed by self-interest, Matthew often pursues the matter a step further by astutely analyzing such oral accounts from the standpoint of motives, both real and avowed.

Paris's great emulgence as a historian of the thirteenth century, however, rests not upon the reliable accuracy or philosophical depth of his perceptions, but upon his disarming ability to orchestrate the most blatantly biased distortions of fact into irresistible experiences of present "reality." At each turn of Fortune's wheel, he masterfully coaxes from his audience responses of profound empathy through the sheer force of language and imagination. Although he sometimes reveled in telling spiteful stories and too often immortalized trivial or malicious gossip, Matthew injected new freshness and vigor into the writing of history. With many other chroniclers in medieval England he shared a gift for vivid narration, colorful description and characterization, punctuated by lively anecdotes and direct speech. But his real genius lay in his extraordinary capacity to mold history into an epic moral drama, artfully drawn in the recognizable conventions of medieval fiction. Following precedents set down at the end of the twelfth century by such men as Richard of Devizes and William of Newburgh, whose works were already dominated by the formal traditions of fictional narrative,⁶⁵ Matthew composed Latin chronicles as if they were vernacular epic or romance. The significance of his narrative is always given to the reader as overtly and self-consciously retrospective. Unlike Sartre's existentialist historian Roquentin who complained that "everything changes when you tell about life; it's a change no one notices. . . . You seem to start at the beginning. . . . And in reality you have started at the end. . . . But the end is there, transforming everything,"⁶⁶ Paris took particular delight in transforming the raw stuff of human events into a "true"

history whose ultimate outcome was already known. Without artificial elegance or rhetorical subtlety, the rough-hewn, sometimes abrasive texture of Matthew's prose captures a unique human history filtered through a vigorously biased intellect and expressed with blunt candor. Moving among court circles with the ease of a privileged baron, the St. Albans chronicler created a mirror of prodigious size and brilliance in which the great events and figures of his time are reflected in the vibrant but often violently distorted outlines of polemic and romance.

MATTHEW PARIS THE ARTIST

In a later St. Albans chronicle Thomas Walsingham informed his fourteenth-century readers that Matthew Paris was not only "an eloquent and famous man . . . a magnificent historian and chronicler," but that he was also "an artist since unequalled in the Latin world."⁶⁷ Although his artistic reputation is still inextricably bound with his historical writings both figuratively and literally as a corpus of text illustrations, our understanding of his art has remained strangely isolated from his literary output. Notwithstanding his stellar position among medieval chroniclers, Matthew Paris now occupies an ambiguous and somewhat less exalted place in the history of English medieval art. In their wholesale rejection of Walsingham's claims as conventional medieval hyperbole, a number of art historians have raised several serious questions of attribution which remain unresolved.

The largest and most persistent obstacle to a modern acceptance of Paris's medieval reputation as an artist lies in the problematical status of the united drawings in the two manuscripts of the *Chronica Majora* in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Of the more than one hundred illustrations drawn in the margins of these monumental volumes, only two or three of the largest drawings have been unanimously attributed to the hand of Matthew Paris without reservation: the elephant on fol. iv in Corpus Christi MS 16 (Fig. 129), the Veronica head of Christ on fol. 49v in the same manuscript (Pl. IV), and the heads of Christ and the Virgin at the end of MS 26 (Frontispiece). Based on formal analogies with his widely accepted and well-documented illustrations in the *Life of St. Albans* in Trinity College, Dublin (see Figs. 7, 58, 61, 67, 70, and 225-228),⁶⁸ the attribution of this handful of united drawings, rendered in a solemn, monumental, and almost archaic style, hardly justifies the stature he was ac-

FIG. 129

FIGS 29, 109, 113, 129,
123 & 381-384

corded as an artist during the Middle Ages. Indeed there is a widespread consensus among art historians that Matthew Paris "despite his renown . . . is not a highly original or forward-looking artist." Perceived as being too deeply rooted in the Transitional style of ca. 1200, his art is regarded by many as "too conservative" and "not quite Gothic."⁶¹

The controversy over the attribution of the marginal drawings in the historical manuscripts goes back to Sir Frederick Madden who, in his introduction to the 1866–1869 Rolls Series edition of the *Historia Anglorum*, first drew attention to the artistic work of Matthew Paris by ascribing all the illustrations in MS Roy. 14. C. VII, as well as those in the two Corpus Christi manuscripts of the *Cronica Majora*, to the personal hand of the author.⁶² Madden's discovery of Matthew's artistic achievement was immediately challenged in 1871 by Hardy, who asserted that the drawings were the work of several different hands,⁶³ while Luard in his introduction to the Rolls Series edition of the *Cronica Majora* chose not to mention the illustrations at all. In 1916–1917, W. R. Lethaby once more argued for Matthew's authorship of the drawings in his great chronicle.⁶⁴ Although M. R. James, in his magisterial 1925–1926 study of the historical illustrations, strongly implied that they were the work of Matthew Paris, he never committed himself to a definitive statement of attribution, suggesting instead that many of the drawings were executed by assistants.⁶⁵ While Wormald later expanded Madden's initial list by adding the illustrations in the collection of prognosticating tracts in Bodleian MS Ashmole 304 (Figs. 229–231),⁶⁶ the more reticent position taken by James prevailed. In 1928 O. E. Saunders adopted a radically more conservative view by rejecting the *Alban* cycle as well as the historical works altogether and narrowing Matthew's oeuvre to a half-dozen drawings.⁶⁷ Several decades later Margaret Richter revised Saunders's small number of ascriptions by centering her attributions on the style of the *Alban* drawings in Dublin and the Enthroned Virgin and Child on fol. 6 prefacing the *Historia Anglorum* (Fig. 2) and relegating all the historical illustrations to shop assistants, with the result that she too would concede only two drawings in the *Cronica Majora* to Matthew's hand.⁶⁸ The conservative position taken by Richter in 1954 was followed a few years later by Peter Brieger in his Oxford survey of English Gothic art. While asserting that "of all the manuscripts which have line drawings produced at St. Albans, either by Matthew Paris himself or by his assistants under his influence, those of his Chronicle have to be considered first if one wants a firm basis for the definition of his style," Brieger still



FIGURE 2. *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Matthew Kneeling Below.*
B.L., *Reg. 14 C. VII, fol. 6*

maintained that many of the illustrations were executed by different hands.⁷⁷

The first genuine challenge to the narrow view which had been reached solely on the basis of style and connoisseurship came in 1958, when Richard Vaughan offered new arguments stemming largely from codicological and paleographical evidence that Matthew Paris had indeed illustrated the *Corpus Christi* volumes almost single-handedly, without the extensive aid of shop assistants. Vaughan pointed out that most of the illustrations are provided with legends invariably written in Matthew's own hand, consistent with the chronicler's personal execution of the text script, rubrication, flourished initials, page headings, and quire numbers throughout the autograph manuscripts of the chronicle.⁷⁸ More important, Vaughan was able to demonstrate, drawing upon paleographical evidence developed in his earlier study of Matthew's handwriting, that the uneven character and quality of the drawings in the *Cronica Majora* correspond to similar changes discernible in his script over the long period from ca. 1240 to his death in 1259.⁷⁹ On the basis of his analysis of Paris's historical style as a chronicler, coupled with the new paleographical and codicological evidence, Vaughan was then able to assert that

the straightforward drawings of events are intimately related to the text of the chronicle, and all this artistic work seems to represent the aesthetic feelings and expression of one man only. . . . the marginal pictures, as well as the other pictorial and decorative work, form an integral part of the historical manuscripts.⁸⁰

Following Vaughan's ground-breaking study, George Henderson developed further stylistic evidence to demonstrate that the many close resemblances between the marginal drawings in the *Chronica Majora* and the picture cycle in the *Trinity Vie de Saint Augustin* "make it certain that the same artist was responsible for both works."⁸¹

Despite the persuasive arguments of Vaughan and Henderson, an unreserved attribution of the whole corpus of bold, lively sketches in the margins of the *Chronica Majora* to Matthew Paris still stands at odds with the older perception of his personal style as that of a painstaking and somewhat backward-looking thirteenth-century artist. In the revised edition of her 1954 study Rickert rejected Vaughan's findings and held fast to her estimate, arguing that his attributions "seem to be based on the kind of mechanical evidence useful for identifying handwriting but unreliable for distin-

guishing the qualities of an artist from a collaborator or copyist.⁶² The past two decades have seen, with the singular exception of Henderson's studies in the late 1960s, a persistent tendency to acknowledge Matthew's hand only in directing a shop of assistants or in making preliminary sketches to be completed by others. Most recently, however, Nigel Morgan has not only reaffirmed Vaughan's attribution of the *Chronica Majora* drawings to its author but has also suggested a reassessment of Paris's role in thirteenth-century English manuscript illumination.⁶³

The dilemma posed by the long-standing contradictory perceptions of Matthew Paris's basic style stems in part from an apparent incompatibility between the findings of art historians and those of historiographical and paleographical scholars. As Vaughan has already suggested, the demonstrable connections between text and illustration to be found in the Corpus Christi manuscripts offer a rich body of readily available evidence that could tell us a great deal about the relationship between chronicler and illustrator. The time has now come to take the next step in dealing with the problem of attribution, namely, to explore the evidence from a wide range of connections between the pictorial illustrations and narrative text in the autograph volumes in Cambridge. By analyzing in close detail a broad spectrum of structural analogues, we may be able to assert with new confidence that the author of the great thirteenth-century chronicle was also its gifted illustrator and, in the end, accord Matthew Paris a secure place in the history of English medieval art as an important innovator.

At the outset, many who have dealt with the attribution problem have tended to ignore or underestimate the fact that the Cambridge manuscripts of the *Chronica Majora* constitute the first known medieval example of a historical text to have been provided with an extensive body of illustrations. Although a few twelfth-century chronicles contain an isolated frontispiece or pen drawing in the margin, the profusion of 130 illustrations in the *Chronica Majora* represents an unprecedented and even revolutionary pictorial addition to the English medieval chronicle. It seems unlikely that Matthew would have left the execution of such unique and innovative illustrations to assistants. The whole corpus of marginal drawings appears to form a personal and highly inventive pictorial commentary on the text, too heavily larded with the distinctive eccentricities of the author to have been done by anyone else, even by an assistant working from preliminary sketches. There is, moreover, no evidence in the Corpus Christi manuscripts that assistants worked on the *Chronica Majora*

at any time after Matthew Paris became historian at St. Albans until a few months before he died, when another scribe took over the transcription of the text. Although the first part of the chronicle up to 1213, comprising Roger Wendover's revised *Flores Historiarum*, was written out in fair copy by professional scribes, all Matthew's text as well as Roger's revised annals from 1213 to 1235 are in Paris's own hand. Since Matthew had no assistance in the transcription of his own text in the *Cronica Majora*, and since he also executed all the rubrics, flourished initials, page headings, corrections, quire numbers, and legends for the pictures himself, there is no reason to assume that he relegated any part of the illustration to others.²⁴

Another obstacle to resolving the attribution problem appears to have been created by the inflated position traditionally given to Matthew Paris as the head of an important center of artistic production at St. Albans in the first half of the thirteenth century. Owing in part to such misleading claims as those put forward by Saunders that "by 1236 [he] had risen to be head of the scriptorium, reintroduced the art of outline and tinted drawing into English book decoration, and gave St. Albans a great reputation for work of that type,"²⁵ Paris has been misconstrued as a monastic impresario, delegating the bulk of his work to a standing army of scribes and illuminators. From the number of identifiable hands writing at St. Albans during Matthew's tenure as abbey historian, the scriptorium appears to have been a rather modest establishment, employing at the most four or five scribes during a twenty-five-year period²⁶ and very probably even fewer artists. Erroneously declaring that Matthew served in an official capacity as historian to King Henry III, Saunders laid another spurious foundation upon which others have tended to see Matthew linked directly with later works produced for the Westminster Court.²⁷ Although there is some evidence that the great Benedictine house enjoyed a reputation as an important artistic center in the early thirteenth century—the shrine of St. Thomas Becket was commissioned in 1220 for Canterbury Cathedral from the St. Albans goldsmith and sculptor Walter of Colchester—there is no evidence that the abbey scriptorium was a focal point from which major currents in English painting radiated at mid-century.²⁸ In any event, the artistic heyday of St. Albans seems to have peaked at least a decade before Matthew Paris first began his career as chronicler of the abbey in the late 1230s.²⁹

By the early thirteenth century, book production in the old monastic centers such as Canterbury, Durham, Winchester, and St. Albans had slackened rather sharply. Lack of continuity in figure style,

script, and format, as well as a significant drop in output, suggests a break in older medieval scriptorium traditions, with lay artists and scribes replacing monastic craftsmen.²⁸ This development was anticipated at St. Albans as early as the 1170s and 1180s by the "Abbot Simon Master,"²⁹ who appears to have been a lay artist working on a variety of books for different patrons.³⁰ While scribes seem to have been attached to the abbey on a permanent basis, most artists were itinerant lay professionals who probably worked at St. Albans for a period of time but who certainly worked elsewhere, notably at other large and wealthy houses, producing lavishly illuminated service books.³¹ In view of what may now be perceived as a significant shift of book production from established monastic scriptoria to itinerant professional artists or lay workshops in urban centers such as London or Oxford, Matthew Paris should be regarded as exceptional in his status as a monastic artist who stands apart from the predominantly commercial enterprise of book illumination in the thirteenth century.³²

Contrary to repeated assertions that he headed a workshop, commanding a cadre of pupils, followers, and assistants, all the evidence offered by his autograph manuscript indicates that Paris worked alone and unassisted as editor, author, scribe, rubricator, and artist in the creation of the monumental *Corpus Christi* volumes of the *Chronica Majora*. The physical character of the manuscripts themselves tells us that these are not the finished works of professional artists and scribes but are instead the author's working drafts, constantly subject to correction, expurgation, and change. Not only is the quality of the vellum generally uneven and poor, but the folios vary (sometimes drastically) in thickness and size. Matthew's most celebrated and widely accepted tinted drawings, namely, those in the Dublin *Life of St. Alban* as well as the heads of Christ and the Virgin in *Corpus Christi* MS 26, were executed on defective and clumsily patched pieces of unevenly cut vellum which would have been rejected as unsuitable for a scriptorium artist. As we have noted, Matthew more probably occupied a position on the periphery of the St. Albans scriptorium in his capacity as abbey historian. Indeed his status may very well have been that of a gifted amateur who learned to draw rather late in life, probably sometime after 1236, and whose reputation as an artist was acquired during the 1240s as his pictorial skills quickly developed and matured. Clearly the idea of illustrating his chronicles seems to have been generated primarily to meet his literary needs. However, his innovative pictorial enrichment of the English chronicle died with him, for even his continuators at St. Al-

bans did not pursue it, which further suggests that the corpus of drawings in the historical works represents a unique creation from Matthew's hand for which there could be no followers.

Even more significant for our problem is the obvious legacy of evidence left by Matthew Paris himself as author of the chronicles. Many of the drawings in the *Chronica Majora* reveal eccentric interpretive elements which, although they clearly espouse Matthew's distinctive views, are not to be found in the texts they illustrate. The marginal drawings offer such consistent and striking structural analogies with his pungent literary style and biased interpretation of events that both may be demonstrated to have proceeded from the same hand. Again and again, the sketches of vigorous figures caught in a fleeting instant of strenuous and often violent ongoing action find direct counterparts in the distinctively dynamic figures of speech which recur throughout Matthew's text, as in the following similes expressing rapid and uncontrollable motion: "like bees coming out of a hive . . . a mouse in a sack . . . pouring cold water into a boiling cauldron . . . like a bladder on a frosty morning."³⁴ The pictorial images in the *Chronica Majora* reveal far too many explicitly interpretive elements not found in the text to be regarded as straightforward illustrations in the literal sense. They appear to have been frequently intended to serve as a pictorial commentary on the annals, evoking moral, social, and political judgments that would seem almost inconceivable from the hand of an assistant. Even the frequent careless errors, lapses, and blunders that characterize Paris's undisciplined approach to his historical writings³⁵ may be recognized in the unsystematic way in which the illustrations were conceived and executed, as well as in occasional inadvertent mistakes in the drawings themselves. The most persuasive evidence, however, comes from the profuse additions of both text and drawings in the margins of the earlier entries written by his predecessor up to 1235. Here the words and images function in concert to capture vigorous responses to events distinctly different from those expressed in Roger Wendover's text. Voiced in striking unison with the tangy rhetoric of the later annals composed by Matthew Paris, these marginal additions to Wendover's chronicle stand apart as unmistakable textual and pictorial intrusions from the pen of his younger successor.

While a good deal of the disturbing unevenness in style and quality in the historical illustrations of the St. Albans chronicle coincides with a demonstrably progressive loosening and then deterioration in Matthew's script, his handwriting at all stages reveals an eccentric

inconsistency in the basic formation of several letters. As Vaughan has pointed out, his hand is obviously not that of a professionally trained scribe, and the letters *a*, *d*, *e*, *g*, and *r* were especially vulnerable to a wide range of peculiar or unorthodox formations.⁵⁶ This conscious rejection of formulaic regularity and routine repetition observed in Paris's own script may go a long way to explain the rather abrupt variations in style among the illustrations in the *Chronica Majora*. Within a broadly progressive development from a tight, careful, rather cramped style to a more open and monumental pictorial conception over a period of more than twenty years, it seems quite probable that Matthew indulged in a somewhat disconcerting habit of suddenly shifting stylistic gears, drawing the same features, such as the waves of the sea or ground lines, in rather different ways,⁵⁷ while at the same time maintaining enough stylistic consistency to cause attributions made along traditional lines of connoisseurship to be given to one or more assistants. Just as a fairly wide range of paleographical variations may be detected in his still-distinctive script at any given moment over a long period, it is possible to recognize a rather extraordinary set of stylistic variations within a relatively narrow range of possibilities characteristic of his distinctive artistic style.

Lastly, however, the more basic and most disturbing dichotomy dividing the innovative series of vigorous marginal sketches from the handful of large "finished" tinted drawings which have been universally acknowledged as the essential art of Matthew Paris cannot be satisfactorily explained away as eccentric variations in personal style. The disparity between the informal, unframed narrative vignettes, with their consistent emphasis on movement and uncompleted action, and the static, monumental framed devotional images is too great. It is tempting simply to reverse the direction of stylistic attribution to argue that these few images occupy an anomalous place in Matthew's total oeuvre of dynamic narrative inventions, particularly since all the framed pictures are executed on separate pieces of vellum and either inserted or pasted into the manuscripts of the *Chronica Majora* and the *Historia Anglorum*. On the other hand, we have never given careful consideration to their intended function and character within the chronicles. As we shall see, it is very likely that these iconic renderings of Christ and the Virgin were meant to be perceived as representations of well-known sacred images or works of art, carefully articulated in a deliberately contrasting and dignified style to set them apart from the quick pictorial narration of historical events in the margins of the *Chronica Majora*.

As far as the attribution of hands is concerned, the only intrusion by assistants appears to occur at the very end of Matthew's career, probably during the last few months of his life and perhaps even after his death. At the end of the third volume in MS Roy. 14. C. VII, the scribe who took over the transcription of the text from fols. 210 to 218v (Hand A) added some painted shields and small tinted sketches of miters and crosiers in the margins in the same heavy-handed crude style that may be recognized on fols. 155–156v in the marginal drawings at the end of the *Historia Anglorum* and on fols. 91–96v in the unfinished autograph of the *Abbatie Chronicorum* in MS Canon Claudius D. VI. As Vaughan has pointed out, when an assistant was finally called in at the end, he did all the work formerly carried out by Matthew; that is, he took over not only the writing of the text but also all the pictorial work.⁵⁰ The same scribal hand (A) was probably also responsible for the addition of gold leaf outlined in heavy black line in Matthew's illustrations from fol. 51 on in the Dublin *Alban* manuscript.

Another very different hand (B) added facial details and hair to three heads at the far left and right in Paris's last drawing in the *Offa* cycle in Cotton MS Nero D. 1 (Fig. 3), a project which Paris must have abandoned sometime in the 1250s, leaving it unfinished at his



FIGURE 3 *Burial of the Rebels*, B.L., Cotton Nero D. 1, fol. 40r

death. On the next folio Hand B then added an entirely new illustration (Fig. 4). The same hand, clearly that of an artist rather than a scribe, is also responsible for adding two tinted drawings and parts of a third at the beginning of MS 26 in the *Chronica Majora*. On pp. 28 and 35 (Figs. 91 and 189) this Sr. Albans artist carried out all the ink drawing and tinting for two illustrations that had probably been left unfinished as plummet sketches when Matthew died. The same hand also added hair and facial details to the head of the Virgin in the Nativity scene on p. 30 (Fig. 56), where the hair is rendered as a network of many fine parallel wavy lines, the corner of the eye is elongated, and the chin becomes shallow and narrow.¹⁰⁷ Like Hand A, Hand B seems only to have been involved in finishing work already conceived and begun by Paris rather than to have added anything of his own invention. Almost all the illustrations in the *Chronica Majora* have been worked up from preliminary sketches, and signs of lead point are still visible in many, including those on fols. 28 and 35.¹⁰⁸ Characterized by a rather rapid, delicate style in which the figures tend to be flaccidly immobile, Hand B is very similar to the hand that executed the preliminary illustrations on fols. 8–11v in MS 809, 2. B. VI, a St. Albans psalter dating from ca. 1246 to 1260.¹⁰⁹ Clearly dependent upon Paris's style, this series of tinted

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FIGURE 4. *Offa Returning to Warmund, Offa Receiving Homage*. B.L., Cotton Nero D. I, fol. 5.

drawings includes literal copies of the compositions of the martyrdoms of St. Alban and St. Amphibalus from fols. 38 and 45 in the *Trinity Alban* in two registers on fol. 10v (see Figs. 5 and 8).

Apparently Matthew's works were quickly forgotten at St. Alban after his death, for after 1260 there is no discernible direct influence of his work until the fourteenth century, when the *Offa* cycle in MS Cotton Nero D. I was finished in a series of unpainted drawings on fols. 5v-25.⁴⁰ These illustrations reveal several compositions



FIGURE 5. Martyrdoms of St. Alban (above) and St. Amphibalus (below). *B.L., Roy. 2. B. VI, fol. 10v.*

copied from the Trinity *Alban* (e.g., fols. 56v–57 and 59–60); indeed the same fourteenth-century hand may be detected in several redrawn heads on fols. 33v and 34 in the Dublin manuscript itself. Thus, while the drawings in Paris's illustrated autograph manuscripts now bear the unmistakable evidence of at least three other hands dating from 1259 to 1260 and the 1330s, these works were most probably, at least up to a few months before he died, the exclusive creations of the St. Albans chronicler himself.

Although Matthew's special position as historian enabled him to work in relative isolation, independent of the monastery's now largely inactive scriptorium, he was by no means unaffected by the stylistic traditions introduced by the professional artists who executed works for the great abbey. Under Abbot John de Cella (1195–1214) their most notable productions were carried out in an early or transitional Gothic style characterized by a solemn and pretentious grandeur. In the monumental glossed Gospels in Cambridge, Trinity College MS B. 5. 3 (see Fig. 6), dating from ca. 1190 to 1200, the same itinerant professional artist who painted the five prefatory miniatures in the Westminster Psalter turned out four very large richly painted historiated initials in a majestic style whose origins hark back to the gigantic Winchester Bible of the 1160s and 1170s.⁸⁰ Solid sculptural figures of bulky proportions are contoured in firm but softly curving black outlines, while the interior surfaces are very delicately modeled in subtle tones. Within the structured framework of the floral initial, strong contrasts are developed between the emphatic, smooth contouring of large masses and small fussy patterns finely etched in white paint or vermilion line. Passages of highly saturated color (deep indigo and brilliant vermilion) and heavy burnished gold leaf are played off against softly diluted milky pastels, such as dusky pink and pale ochre. The sumptuous illuminations in the St. Albans glossed Gospels offer an admirable coupling of lavish display and monumental dignity, but their heavy immobilized figures, wooden gestures, and expressionless large heads with delicate but solemn features already appear curiously old-fashioned and conservative.

The grandeur of such early Gothic manuscripts seems to have been short-lived at St. Albans, for very few works have survived from the 1220s and 1230s. By the time Matthew Paris began working on the *Chronica Majora* sometime after 1236, the activity of professional lay artists in the abbey scriptorium had peaked and was now overshadowed by the presence of a workshop of goldsmiths headed by the celebrated Walter of Colchester, who flourished at St. Albans

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until his death in 1248, but whose works have unfortunately not survived.¹⁰ As we shall see, Matthew's own artistic endeavors were very probably influenced by Walter's magnificent works produced for the abbey church, but there is no way we can gauge the nature or degree of their impact on the formation of Matthew's style beyond conjecturing that many of its strong divergences from St. Albans manuscript traditions may be attributable to the influence of metalwork.¹¹

Although Matthew's technique of tinted outline drawing is very different from the heavy painting and gold leaf characteristically employed for St. Albans service books, we may nevertheless discern a few basic features which he may have absorbed from sources avail-



FIGURE 6 *Symbol of Matthew*. Cambridge, Trinity College B. 1. 5, fol. 49.

able in the manuscript repositories of the great abbey. His stocky figures with large solid heads are always firmly drawn in clear, emphatic outline in heavy, softly rounded, unbroken contours, while the interior linear detail and tinted modeling color remain very delicate. While more evident in the *Trinity Alban* cycle than in his historical manuscripts, small fussy patterns on the drapery, such as dotted rosettes and crescents, occur throughout his work. Two rare examples of his painted style attest to the influence of the work by the professional master who produced the major initials for the *St. Alban* glossed Gospels in Cambridge: the large heads of Christ in *Corpus Christi* MS 16 and MS Arundel 157 (Pls. IV and V), where Matthew adopts an overall expression of static, solemn monumentality, as well as the distinctive mannerism of placing milky pastels against deeply saturated passages dotted with tiny white rosette patterns.

However, when we compare his rendering of the two seated figures of *Sts. Alban and Amphibalus* in Dublin, Trinity College MS 177 (Fig. 7) with that of the enthroned Evangelist symbol for Matthew in Cambridge, Trinity College MS B. 5. 3 (Fig. 6), which may have served as Paris's model, several significant differences reveal how far he has moved away from this early thirteenth-century



FIGURE 7. *Sts. Amphibalus and Alban*. Dublin, Trinity College 177, fol. 20v.



FIGURE 8. *The Trinity*.
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library
M. 997, fol. 40.

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source. While the details of the thrones are almost identical and the same tiny pursed mouth appears in the figure at the left, the proportions are not as heavy, the slightly taller figures are more agile, and the thick drapery has acquired more mobility; above all, the faces have become more alert and expressive. Paris's line is crisper, bolder, and more confident, moving with a rapid, sure touch to mold more vivid and dynamic images. The broader gestures and drapery patterns in his figures are advancing toward the simpler but more vigorous rhythms observable in the Lothian Bible, which was probably made for St. Albans, perhaps by a lay workshop at Oxford ca. 1220 (see Fig. 8).¹⁶⁶ At some points Matthew's style seems to have been influenced by the more progressive style of the unknown master of the Evesham Psalter (B.L. MS Add. 44874), with its sinuosity modeling of draperies, bright spots of vermilion on the lips and cheeks, and the wide-open expression of the eyes with their large round pupils heightened with dark ink.¹⁶⁷ A number of peculiar but similarly effective mannerisms recur throughout Matthew's work, suggesting that his sources ranged far beyond the monumental but inert style introduced at St. Albans ca. 1200. Profile faces are almost invariably caricatured with the furrowed brows, blunt noses, downturned mouths, and strong jutting chins frequently encountered in Romanesque works of the late twelfth century. As in the Guthlac Roll or the Lambeth Bible, Matthew's hems sometimes form thick rolls along the bottom edges of the drapery. Similar features persist in secular illustration well into the thirteenth century as seen, for example, in the informal sketches copied into the margins of Gerald of Wales's *Topographia Hibernica* (see Figs. 17–18).

Although the renewed popularity of tinted outline drawing in England has often been attributed to the influence of Matthew Paris, he was simply following an old Anglo-Saxon tradition which had already been revived and modified during the first decades of the thirteenth century.¹⁶⁸ Representing a simpler, less courtly form of manuscript illustration, tinted drawings appear in a number of early Gothic monastic psalters, as well as secular books for which no tradition of luxury copies existed.¹⁶⁹ In contrast with the early Anglo-Saxon use of light tinting along the outlines and drapery folds, the Gothic technique involves larger areas of transparent wash to color several parts of the drawing or to highlight salient details. Matthew's distinctive application of tints to his ink drawings is particularly advanced and frequently anticipates the more sophisticated modeling techniques of the 1250s and 1260s. He also expanded the usual palette of green, brown, and ochre by making extensive use of rubric

and flourishing inks mixed and diluted to produce a wide range of red and blue tones.

The art of Matthew Paris presents a curious mixture of contradictory features in which old-fashioned elements going back to the late Romanesque and early Gothic styles of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries merge with innovations that did not come into vogue until mid-century. The eclecticism of his sources, coupled with his restless experimentation and invention, strongly reinforces our view that the St. Albans chronicler was largely self-taught and independent of the conventional constraints of style and consistency normally imposed on scriptorium-trained artists. He probably acquired his skills and ideas by copying a wide range of images available to him both at St. Albans and the many places to which he traveled, such as Winchester, Canterbury, London, and Westminster. As we shall later observe, he continued to seek inspiration from works of art throughout his long career. The case of the glossed Gospels in Cambridge Trinity College offers evidence that he consulted its richly historiated initials on two different occasions several years or perhaps even a decade apart. We have already cited its influence on the enthroned saints in the Dublin *Alban* manuscript dating from the early 1240s. The second instance is even more striking, for he quite literally copied in a much later style the small half-nude veiled figure which appears in the tail of the initial for Luke's Gospel (Fig. 9) in his small isolated sketch on the verso of Brother William's drawing of the Apocalyptic Christ in the *Liber Additamentorum*, MS Cotton Nero D. I. (see Fig. 10); he also wrote at the top of the page in a late hand a reference to "beatus Edmund," archbishop of Canterbury, who was not canonized until 1247.¹⁰ Unlike scriptorium-trained artists who, once they had mastered the basic skills of drawing and painting and had developed successful methods of rendering figures, drapery, and the like, tended to repeat their formulas with little variation over very long periods, Matthew continued to seek new avenues of pictorial expression in copying older models long after his artistic career had been launched.

Although no precedents existed for the subjects of his illustrations, Paris's compositions throughout the *Chronica Majora* as well as the Dublin autograph of *Alban* are replete with reminiscences of familiar types borrowed from a rich pictorial tradition of biblical and secular imagery in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Such dependencies as these, along with the evidence offered by the little sketch just cited in the *Liber Additamentorum*, strongly suggest that Matthew kept a portfolio in which he collected drawings of fig-



FIGURE 9. Detail of the Luke Initial. Cambridge, Trinity College B. 5. 3, fol. 11r



FIGURE 10. Sketch of a Veiled Figure. B. L., Cotton Nero D. I., fol. 156a

ures and motifs from various sources for later use. It is very likely that he taught himself to draw by copying models from pattern books available at St. Albans, perhaps from one that belonged to the sculptor Walter of Colchester. While most surviving medieval model books date from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, enough is known about earlier examples, particularly from the extensive evidence presented by the contemporary sketchbook of Villard de Honnecourt (Paris, B. N. MS fr. 19093) dating from ca. 1230 to 1240 (see Figs. 130, 145, and 154),¹¹ to enable us to recognize their most salient characteristics in Matthew's illustrations. Because model books belonging to a single artist or atelier were used as practical compilations of images to be copied, clarity of form was of the utmost importance, with stressed contours and little or no overlapping of forms. Like Villard's drawings as well as all other early pattern book examples, Paris's figures are always painstakingly drawn in pen and ink over preliminary outlines in leadpoint with heavy closed contour lines. All Matthew's marginal illustrations in his historical works betray the pattern book's most characteristic quality of a highly finished, carefully wrought drawing as opposed to the spontaneous sketch, although both appear on empty vellum grounds without frames. Paris's heavy dependence on identifying captions and labels inscribed next to each figure or scene, even where they are clearly redundant, may also be seen as typical of medieval model books. Since the drawings in these portfolios typically attempted to preserve faithfully the style as well as the forms and attributes of the prototype, the likelihood of Matthew's dependence on such practical aids outside the context of a workshop tradition would help to explain the curious stylistic eclecticism of his artistic production. Given the considerable number of Paris's miscellaneous drawings which are now bound into his own as well as other manuscripts of the period, it appears very likely that many of these surviving *disiecta membra* represent what remains of Matthew's own portfolio or model book, thus enabling us to reconstruct its partial contents.¹²

The *Chronica Majora* drawings constitute a revolutionary monument in the history of medieval art. Executed by a largely self-taught chronicler-turned-artist, this massive corpus of innovative secular drawings stands outside the artistic conventions of the monastic workshop tradition as the creation of a uniquely gifted individual. As we turn the pages of the great St. Albans chronicle, Paris's unprecedented images unfold in exciting but disjoint sequences, full of abrupt stylistic shifts and changes which not only represent his ingenious efforts to create new genres of visual documentation

for his historical texts but also reflect the artist's own internal development over almost a quarter of a century. In the final chapter we shall plot the elusive course of that evolution, locate the first tentative beginnings of his style, and trace its early development into maturity, as we reconstruct the long and complex chronology of drawings in the *Corpus Christi* manuscripts.

THE ILLUSTRATED CHRONICLE

By and large the role of author (*dictator*) was kept distinct from that of scribe (*scriptor*) in the production of medieval books. Matthew Paris, however, followed the precedent set by the celebrated monastic historians Ordericus Vitalis and William of Malmesbury, as well as by lesser lights like Richard of Devizes, in penning his own fair copy onto the vellum folios of autograph manuscripts. He probably worked from notes written on wax tablets or odd pieces of parchment.¹¹³ In four different places in MS Cotton Nero D. 1 the St. Albans artist-chronicler tells us that he is writing out the text.¹¹⁴ As we have already observed, however, the variation and carelessness of his hand, as well as its lack of finish and technical quality, suggest that he was probably not trained as a professional scribe.¹¹⁵

Although much has been said about the unevenness and eccentricity of Matthew's handwriting, very little has been observed about its special character. Clearly distinct from the symmetrical, closely written "book hand" or *textus* normally used for copying liturgical works at St. Albans, Matthew's script has sometimes been associated with late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century court hand, reminiscent of earlier Insular half-uncial and ambiguously described by one writer as a "Semi-Gothic minuscule book hand with some formalized court-hand forms."¹¹⁶ Matthew's set hand has a curiously archaic character that seems a deliberate or self-conscious affectation of an older script which, though no longer in vogue, was intended to lend an aura of dignity and authenticity to his historical compositions.¹¹⁷ However, even professional scribes did not cultivate a style of handwriting unique to themselves but commanded a variety of scripts appropriate to different functions and occasions. In the twelfth century Alexander Neckham described three basic styles of writing: one for documents and charters, another for books, and a third for glosses and marginalia.¹¹⁸ And it is the last script, the glossing hand used for writing commentaries around texts in an intermediate style between a weighty book hand and rapid cursive

court or charter hand, to which Matthew's own peculiar script corresponds most closely. Elaborate, yet quick to write as well as spatially economical, his adaptation of a twelfth-century glossing hand reveals what is found in almost every other aspect of his great chronicle—an eccentric but ingenious departure from tradition which proved to be both practical and expressive. Like the various charter hands developed in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries,



FIGURE 11. A Cleric Imposing Penance. *B.L., Roy. 10. C. IV, fol. 129.*



FIGURE 12. Judicial Combat. *Londax, Public Record Office, Curia Regis Roll 227 (KB 26).*

Paris's distinctive script was the product of license, not discipline or training, an expedient solution contrived to meet the urgent need to write prodigiously but with elegance and authority. To transform so unslylish a production as a set of monastic annals into an imposing and dignified work, Matthew Paris developed a script which looks like a slightly archaic amalgam of *textura* and court hand, enlivened with a wide variety of letter forms. He sometimes even introduced whiplike flourishes in the ascenders along with a lobe resembling the "papal knob," in apparent imitation of the diplomatic script used by the Roman chancery in the late twelfth century.¹²⁷

Matthew's expressive eccentricities and variations in calligraphy tend to blur the distinctions between the practical and artistic aspects of his manuscripts. Functional devices, such as the rubrics and large initials in vermilion and ultramarine ink embellished with delicate flourishes, designed to enable the reader to find his place more easily, form colorful decorations executed in the author's own hand. Along with the page headings, blue paragraph markers, and vernation quire numbers, the functional layout of Matthew's chronicle becomes a form of abstract art in itself, approaching the color and richness of illuminated service books.

By the end of the thirteenth century, even the most mundane manuscripts sometimes displayed a startling and often bizarre mixture of functionalism and pictorial embellishment.¹²⁸ A rare marginal illustration dating as early as the 1270s or 1280s may be cited in the collection of canon laws in B. L. MS Roy. 10. C. IV (Fig. 11), where in the upper margin of fol. 119 above the left-hand column there is a small but meticulously executed line drawing of a seated cleric imposing penance upon a kneeling sinner, whose corporal punishment we may surmise from the bundle of birch rods lying on the ground beside the judge.¹²⁹ In Matthew's own time it was not unusual to encounter occasional drawings, mostly caricatures, in the margins of the public record. A plea roll dating from 1249 carries at its head a sketch of a judicial combat and the hanging of the loser (see Fig. 12).¹³⁰ Even more common throughout the public records were caricatured heads in profile, which appear to be doodles made by bored enrolling clerks, as seen for example in the earliest account roll of Crowland Abbey for 1258–1259 (see Fig. 13).¹³¹

While the marginal drawings in the *Chronica Majora* cannot be classed with the rough caricatures and undisciplined doodlings found in public records during the reign of Henry III, the work's unprecedented stream of narrative illustrations and visual symbols manifests a compulsion toward pictorial embellishment which may



FIGURE 13. Sketch of a Head. Cambridge, Queen's College, *Coltonum Account Roll of 1258*.

be observed among the most mundane of secular manuscripts in the thirteenth century. Given Matthew's documented access to the records of the Exchequer,⁴² a possible influence from that quarter should perhaps not be discounted altogether. The two monumental Corpus Christi manuscripts of the *Canonica Majora* contain over 130 tinted drawings, 92 painted coats of arms, and unnumberable pictographic symbols generally scattered over the margins of 422 folios. Although we cannot know how much of this material was intended for its present context, each volume is now prefaced by elaborate pictorial prolegomena consisting of lavishly vignettted itineraries and maps, genealogies of English kings, a diagram of the winds, the customary Easter Tables and Calendar, as well as the celebrated representation of King Henry's elephant.

Illustrated histories, however, were extremely rare and did not become common until the fourteenth century. It was not the practice of monastic scriptoria to illustrate profane works in Latin. Historical

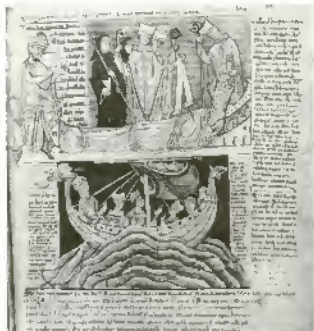


FIGURE 14. Henry I's Vision (above); His Crossing from Normandy (below). Oxford, Corpus Christi College 157, fol. 383.

works were regarded primarily as scholars' books for which anything so costly as illumination was considered a frivolous extravagance.¹²³ Latin chronicles were sometimes provided with an author portrait or a presentation scene in a pictorial frontispiece, while narrative illustrations appeared only later in vernacular histories to meet the demands of a lay audience for concrete images.¹²⁴ The French translation of William of Tyre's *History*, for example, was provided with illustrations, but the original Latin text was not. Dating long before profusely illustrated histories or deluxe editions of "history-in-pictures" came into vogue, Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora* is truly exceptional in its prodigious cycle of marginal illustrations.

While the very great number of drawings in the St. Albans chronicle in Cambridge is unique in English historiography, illustration in Latin historical texts is not entirely without precedent. Among the earliest are four tinted drawings dealing with the reign of Henry I in the Worcester chronicle in Oxford, Corpus Christi MS 157, dating from ca. 1130 to 1140 (see Fig. 14).¹²⁵ Closer in format to the unframed marginal drawings in the *Chronica Majora*, however, is the pen sketch at the bottom of fol. 68v in B.L. MS Arundel 48, showing Baldwin FitzGilbert exhorting his troops before the Battle of Lincoln in 1141 (Fig. 15) in a late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century copy of Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*.¹²⁶ Although Matthew could not have been aware of the remarkable eleventh-century pen sketches so similar to his own in the

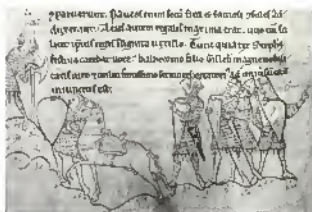


FIGURE 15. Baldwin FitzGilbert Exhorting His Troops.
B.L., Arundel 48, fol. 168r.

Beneventan manuscript of Orosius's *Historia aduersum Paganos* in Vatican MS Lat. 3340, no monastic library could afford to be without a copy of this standard universal history, and he may have known something similar to the late twelfth-century English manuscript now in the British Library, MS Burney 216, which contains two unframed marginal colored ink drawings analogous to those in the *Chronica Majora*.¹² The colorful sketch of one of Pyrrhus's battle elephants bearing a fortress filled with armed warriors, heightened with ochre, green, and vermillion tints, in the upper right margin of fol. 33 (Fig. 16) offers a striking precedent for Paris's illustration of the elephant procession at Cremona in MS T6 (see Fig. 177).

Fig. 16



FIGURE 16. An Elephant Carrying Soldiers.
B.L., Burney 216, fol. 33.

Another interesting and more immediate example may be cited in a short universal history from Creation to A.D. 1245 composed by an anonymous chronicler, based on Peter of Poitiers's *Compendium Historiarum*, in Eton MS 96.¹⁰ Among its twenty-three large folios are four small tinted drawings of subjects which are also illustrated in the *Chronica Majora*: the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury (Fig. 44), the prophet Mohammed (Fig. 55), Alexander the Great (Fig. 75), and St. Francis preaching to the birds (Fig. 200). Although the Eton manuscript was written and illustrated at the same time that Matthew was working on the great chronicle,¹¹ the exact nature of the relationship between the two illustrated histories is difficult to judge. In contrast with the marginal position of the *Chronica Majora* sketches, the unframed tinted drawings in the *Compendium Historiarum* are incorporated into the text columns to supplement a long series of framed medallion portraits of kings, bishops, and other personages in the diagrams adopted from Peter of Poitiers. As we shall see, despite a few remarkable but isolated coincidences in the subjects chosen for illustration, there may have been little or no relationship between the two manuscripts beyond a shared but pervasive interest in the pictorial enticement of a variety of secular books in thirteenth-century England.

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During this period a number of texts ranging from the *Bestiary* to an Anglo-Norman translation of Roger of Salerno's treatise on surgery were illustrated with unframed marginal tinted drawings very close in format to Matthew's pictorial gloss for the *Chronica Majora*.¹² One of the most striking examples of the growing taste for this kind of informal secular illustration may be found in the set of lively colored drawings which appear in the lower margins of two copies of Gerald of Wales's *Topographia Hibernica*, dating from ca. 1220. Probably based on sketches added ca. 1190 by Gerald himself to a no longer extant autograph copy, the earliest surviving manuscripts in B.L. MS Roy. 13. B. VIII and MS 700 in the National Library, Dublin, both contain forty-five marginal tinted drawings in a vigorous style closely resembling Paris's later chronicle illustrations, even to the unusual use of additional blue and red tints in MS Roy. 13. B. VIII (see Figs. 17-18).¹³ In their new frequency, informal format, and spirit of pungent caricature, the animated scenes in these two versions of Gerald's *Topography of Ireland* anticipate Matthew's earliest pictorial vignettes for the *Chronica Majora* by less than two decades. In both cases, these Latin works were written to be read aloud to monastic audiences.¹⁴ Just as lively anecdotes were generously interpolated to hold the audience's interest, unpropor-

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figures and scenes were sketched in the margins of the narrative to serve the same entertaining function.

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Perhaps inspired by the popularity of such secular illustrations as those designed for Gerald of Wales's Latin *Topographia*, Matthew was moved to create similar pictorial addenda in the same improvisational mode of unframed marginal vignettes in the *Chronica Majora*. Positioned not only at the bottom of the page in the widest margin below the text, Paris's illustrations are also spotted unpredictably on both outer and inner side margins, and occasionally between and within the columns of text. For example, in the upper left margin of p. 36 in MS 26 (Fig. 19), we see a minuscule representation of St. Stephen's martyrdom elegantly poised on a makeshift ground line fortuitously formed by a rubric signaling the next unrelated passage.¹⁴¹ Matthew has abandoned the heavy painted style of the St. Albans tradition for a light, almost transparent sketch akin to the marginal pen drawings encountered in early thirteenth-century secular manuscripts such as MS Arundel 48 and MS Roy. 10. C. IV (see Figs. 15 and 11). His elfin figures spring to life with a few deft strokes of the pen, while light touches of thinly washed color animate a few salient details. Although the scene has been reduced to two protagonists silhouetted against the empty vellum of the mar-

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FIGURE 17. An Irish King Balthaz in a Saw of Mare's Meat.
B L., Roy 15. B. VIII. fol 280

gin, the essential action has been captured in an accretion of successive narrative moments frozen into a single coherent image. The wide gap between the figures serves to focus and intensify the dramatic contrast between the impact of the heavy stones being thrown downward on a sharply angled trajectory and the gentle upward movement rising through the martyr's kneeling body. Masterfully composed as a series of rising and falling diagonal movements interlocked across the interval which separates them, the two figures move in a synchronous rhythm with the structured scribal cadences of the flourished initials moving seriatim down the text column on the page.

Beyond providing his readers with an almost cinematic panorama of dynamic, colorful scenes of conflict and pageantry, Matthew was at times also clearly interested in creating a pictorial documentation of how things actually looked. Interspersed in the *Chronica Majora* among the kaleidoscopic images of half-completed actions caught between one moment and the next are careful renderings of imperial seals, maps, works of art, and royal charters, along with an assortment of isolated objects ranging from church bells to pillories. One of the most innovative aspects of these pictorial documents is the extensive series of brilliantly painted heraldic devices on the



FIGURE 18. *Spanna of Paris Embracing a Lion*.
 Dublin, National Library of Ireland 700, fol. 25r.

shields which mark the accessions and deaths of the kings of England from William the Conqueror to Henry III, as well as the rulers of France, Norway, Spain, and the German Empire. Coupled with the arms of almost every British magnate who lived during the first half of the thirteenth century, 193 painted shields in the margins of the *Chronica Majora* and the *Historia Anglorum* constitute the earliest known collection of heraldic insignia in the Middle Ages.



FIGURE 19. Martyrdom of St. Stephen.
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, p. 36

Matthew's remarkable repertory of heraldic devices also functions as part of a regular system of signs in which a crown and painted shield appearing upright in the margin of the chronicle announce the coronation of a king, while their inversion denotes his death. Similarly, the inverted shield of a baron or knight is accompanied by a reversed sword to signal his obituary among the annals for that year (see, for example, Fig. 117); the succession of bishops is marked by miters and croziers (see Fig. 122, lower right).¹¹⁶ After 1247 Paris also uses simpler schematic signs very similar to those later used by the Estchequier to help the reader find cross-references from the *Chronica Majora* to the appendix of documents in the *Liber Additamentorum*, as may be seen for example on fol. 41 in MS 16 (Fig. 109), where an anchor is used.¹¹⁷ On rare occasions, the St. Albans chronicler was not above indulging in outrageous pictorial puns to draw attention to particular passages. Toward the end of the *Chronica Majora* in MS Roy. 14. C. VII, for example, a large octer-tipped lion's paw (Fig. 20) suddenly breaks into the outer margin from the edge of fol. 182, its sharp claws spread toward a reference in the adjacent text to the capture of the Roman senator Bruncalene, thus offering the reader a far-fetched pun on his name in the "lion's claws" (*braccia leonis*), as well as a dramatic visual metaphor for *capere*.¹¹⁸

In a work as massive as the *Chronica Majora*, which eventually reached a length of more than 400 folios in the two Corpus Christi volumes alone, locating an item in its unpaginated annals could prove to be a time-consuming task without some sort of indexing device in the margins. Matthew's system of visual symbols was thus very probably intended to be used as a pictorial index to aid the reader in finding passages dealing with a particular person or subject.¹¹⁹ Paris did not, however, invent the system, but borrowed and expanded Ralph Diceto's late twelfth-century method of distinguishing the secular from the ecclesiastical notices in his historical works by inserting appropriate symbols in the margins. Within the restrictions of his annalistic format, Diceto could then manage to keep the deeds of kings, records of battles, and church history quite separate from one another, while at the same time observing the chronological sequence of events. He began his *Abbreviationes Chronicorum* (Fig. 21) with a list of twelve signs and abbreviations used in the margins of his text to enable the reader to locate passages by subject-indexing them with sketches of crowns, swords, crossed swords (for battles), lances, and croziers.¹²⁰ That Ralph Diceto had invented the system himself is suggested by his explanation to the

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FIGURE 20. Lion's Claw Marking the Capture of Senator Bruncalene. B.L., Roy. 14. C. VII, fol. 182.

reader: "You will find certain *signa* placed in the margin. Do not immediately conclude that this is in any way superfluous for they are there to jog the memory more easily and are very convenient."¹¹ The fine large copy of Diceto's work in MS Roy. 13, E. VI, which belonged to St. Albans, contains his symbols drawn in colors, silver and gold on the first folio (see Fig. 21).¹² Notations in Matthew Paris's hand appear at the bottom of the page as well as elsewhere throughout the text.¹³ Paris even made a few small drawings in the margins of this manuscript: fol. 11 bears a small sketch (Fig. 22) of the first Christian British king, Lucius, presumably immersed in a baptismal font, inscribed "Rex lucius primus in anglia" in Matthew's late hand, while the *corona* and *tunica bractea* sent by Emperor Anastasius to Clovis are displayed on fol. 16. A contemporary

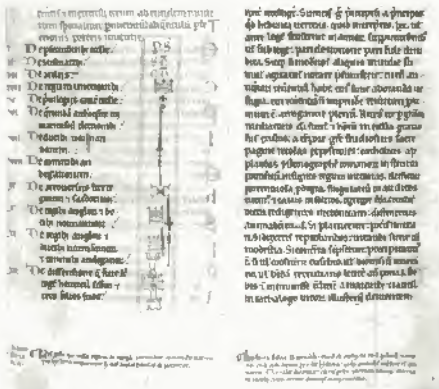


FIGURE 21 Table of Signs with Matthew's Notations in the Lower Margin. B.L., Roy. 13, E. VI, fol. 1.

collection of canon laws from Rochester in MS Roy. 10. C. IV contains similar pictorial signals in the margins where, in addition to the sketch already cited (Fig. 11), a series of small objects appearing in sequence over several pages guides the reader to particular canons.¹⁴⁸ In developing Cicero's rudimentary system into a complex sequence of tinted narrative drawings, painted shields, and pictographic symbols, Matthew Paris very probably conceived the whole cycle of illustrations in the *Chronica Majora*, at least on one level, as a means of indexing its long text with marginal images.¹⁴⁹

Beyond serving a practical referential purpose, Matthew's illustrations in his historical works were intended more importantly to provide a reservoir of images in which a visual memory of past events could be retained, comparable to the collections of symbolic objects to be found along with written documents in a monastic archive. Since it was customary to symbolize the conveyance of property by an object laid upon the altar, cups, rings, staffs, knives, and other items associated in this way with past contracts were kept together with the sacred books, vessels, and relics of the abbey. As Clanchy has observed,

to the modern eye an early medieval archive would have looked more like a magpie's nest than a filing system for documents. Yet, however bizarre such objects might look at first sight, the sacrificer could no doubt have explained the significance as mementos of each individual object.¹⁵⁰

In a sense, turning the pages of Matthew's *Chronica Majora* is like opening the door of a great abbey cupboard from which spills forth a rich succession of disparate images and objects, each conjuring up its own compelling story from the past, so that each event again becomes visually "present" to the viewer's eye.

No set of images captures the essence of Paris's conception of the great chronicle as a pictorial thesaurus more directly than his illustrated catalogue of the gems and rings belonging to St. Albans in the *Liber Additamentorum*.¹⁵¹ On fols. 146 and 146v in MS Cotton Nero D. I (see Figs. 23–24) each of the thirteen gems is described in careful detail, giving the color and shape, the name of the donor, along with a precise quantitative evaluation of its weight and monetary worth. Each item is accompanied by a life-size painted representation outlined in heavy dark line set halfway into the text column, in which the color of the gems is roughly approximated in bright blue, green, or vermilion and the gold settings are burnished in modeled tones of yellow and ochre. Realizing that he could not reproduce their colors with as much precision as he would wish, Matthew has

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Fig. 10. E. 22. Baptism of King Lucius. B.L., Roy. 13. E. VI, fol. 11.

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Of particular interest is the large Roman cameo, nearly six inches long and "almost too big to hold in one hand," which had purportedly been given to the abbey by the Anglo-Saxon King Ethelred II, the Unready. Matthew misconstrued the engraving on the cameo as "a figure clad in rags (imago quaedam pauperis), holding in one hand a spear on which a serpent is climbing and in the other a boy with a shield on his shoulder"; the gem is shown in the drawing to bear a



FIGURE 24. Gems and Rings Belonging to St. Albans.
B.L., Cotton Nero D. I, fol. 146v.

portrait of a Roman emperor wearing a fringed military kilt, holding the caduceus of Aesculapius and a small winged Victory. This loss of iconographical literacy, however, merely added to the mystique of various antique gems whose carved figures and inscriptions took on magical curative properties in the Middle Ages.¹⁴ Popularly known as "Kadamau," the St. Albans cameo, we are told, was especially prized for its beneficial powers in aiding childbirth and was lent to favored friends of the abbey, but its efficacy was said to diminish if kept away too long. Although Matthew did not apply any colors to his rendering of the antique gem, probably in order to preserve the clarity of its design, he very carefully described each color so that we know that the image was carved in chalcidony and reddish sardonyx (*Imaginem vero partem colorem est, [partem quoque] sibirgh*), while the background was onyx (*campem videlicet fuscum*).

Despite the obvious advantages of making his work visually accessible and more convenient to consult through the addition of marginal drawings, Paris's drawings failed to attract any followers. A more lasting tradition of illustrated chronicles did not take root in England until the later Middle Ages.¹⁵ The *Chronica Majora* seems never to have passed into general circulation, and its innovations were largely ignored by succeeding generations. The copying of Matthew's prodigious work of several hundred folios proved too formidable a task to be attempted more than three times during the Middle Ages, and it was copied only in part, without the illustrations. Two late thirteenth-century copies of the annals up to 1188 (MS Cotton Nero D. V, pt. I, and MS Harley 1620) were made after Matthew's death; only one copy is known of the second part of the chronicle in MS Cotton Nero D. V, pt. II, which is a fair copy of the annals from 1189 to 1250 made during Matthew's lifetime.¹⁶

Although Paris regarded the autograph version of the *Chronica Majora* as his personal possession, to be given to St. Albans presumably only after his death,¹⁷ a number of features in the Corpus Christi manuscripts suggest that he intended his illustrated work for a broader public. For example, most of the principal figures and scenes in the drawings are labeled and frequently provided with speech scrolls, enabling readers with little Latin to examine the chronicles profitably without actually reading the text. Evidence of Matthew's efforts to make his work accessible to a wider audience is further demonstrated by the several abbreviated or abridged editions he made of the *Chronica Majora* after 1250.¹⁸ Indeed, his marginal instructions to expurgate most of the offensive allusions to kings and popes (e.g., "Vocat quis offendiculum") in the annals

from 1189 to 1250 were written for the scribe who made the fair copy now in MS Cotton Nero D. V, pt. 11, probably intended for Westminster.⁶³

Latin historical works were generally intended to be read aloud, particularly those of such monumental dimensions and weight as the *Chronica Majora*. Hence the speeches and frequent use of dramatic dialogue in monastic chronicles. To the same end, the system of punctuating and abbreviating words in Matthew's Latin works was meant primarily to assist someone reading the text aloud rather than scrutinizing its pages silently; many abbreviations were designed to aid in pronunciation rather than save the scribe's time in copying the book.⁶⁴ Because the autograph working copy of the *Chronica Majora* never left the author's hands during his lifetime, its contemporary audiences were obviously confined to listeners within the abbey. There is abundant evidence, however, that Paris's ongoing work was widely publicized beyond the walls of St. Albans and was even well-known to the king. Over the period of more than twenty years that Matthew worked on his massive chronicle, it seems likely that he or a fellow monk would have been called upon to read aloud from it on many occasions and that passages were carefully selected for the ears of notable visitors to the monastery, including Henry III. Although monastic chronicles were liable to be examined by the king or his commissioners, few were written with an outside audience in mind,⁶⁵ making the *Chronica Majora* a significant exception in this respect. Within this social context of "public" readings at St. Albans, the addition of visual improvisations could readily be exploited to enhance and prolong the entertainment of such occasions, as well as to promote the special interests of the abbey with dramatic pictorial examples of its traditions of independence, royal patronage, and special privilege. Just as the illustrations of Matthew's vernacular *Life of St. Alban* had functioned within the context of readings both in the abbey and at court, the *Chronica Majora* was furnished with images because, as its author tells us in his *Épître de Saint Audoard*, dedicated to Queen Eleanor on the occasion of the rebuilding of Westminster Abbey in 1245, "I desire and wish that what the ear hears the eyes may see."⁶⁶ It is also quite possible that many of Matthew's notations to expurgate offensive passages, especially those referring to Henry III, were intended as instructions for reading aloud in the presence of distinguished visitors as well as editorial excision for future copyists.⁶⁷

When we consider Matthew's illustrated chronicle within a framework of the author's performances reading aloud to visitors

and his fellow monks at St. Albans, several puzzling features may then be explained by the book's intended function in that more public and sometimes quasi-secular context. The idea of illustrating the *Chronica Majora* was perhaps conceived primarily to cater to the tastes of laymen, not monks. Paris might well have been seeking new ways to entertain his occasional but prestigious secular audiences, as well as to provide a convenient indexing of the text so that he could find wanted passages without undue delay during the reading. Significantly in this respect, we may observe that the majority of Matthew's marginal illustrations were added to Roger Wendover's part of the chronicle rather than his own, thus serving to index more thoroughly an important section of the work which, although he had revised parts of it, was less familiar to him. His otherwise seemingly eccentric choice of illustrated subjects may now be read as a kind of homiletic iconography, in many instances addressed to various, often conflicting, interests within the elite ranks of English medieval society, particularly the frictions between the king and his barons. When the annals of the *Chronica Majora* were copied in MS Cotton Nero D. V, presumably for Westminster, the illustrations were omitted.

The curious absence of illustrations in the great St. Albans chronicle in the annals after 1247 may be explained by a number of various conjectures, including the possibilities of Matthew's failing health, flagging interest, or distraction by other projects. As we shall see, however, Paris continued to add timed drawings in the margins of earlier annals at least up to 1255 and very probably close to the time of his death. Perhaps he was simply responding to what he felt was a more urgent need to make "present" in pictures the events of the more distant past rather than those still vivid in recent memory. In a very real sense, Matthew's *Chronica Majora* and his later *Historia Anglorum* may be seen as monuments created in part to help foster and sustain St. Albans' relationships with the outside world. If Paris saw his Benedictine monastery as a microcosm of the kingdom, his illustrated chronicles became yet another microcosm of that world in which monk and layman, chronicler and king, joined together in the enjoyment of history.

The apparent shapelessness and dense texture of Matthew's illustrated *Chronica Majora*, caused on the one hand by its basically repetitive and sequential pattern of events and its unexplained abrupt shifts on the other, leave the disoriented and sometimes irritated twentieth-century reader with no sense of controlling structure. Although Paris himself apparently conceived his task as writing what was essentially a history of England and explicitly referred

to the great chronicle several times as the "historia regni Anglorum" or the "historia Anglorum,"¹¹⁴ he eagerly pounced upon every item of news that came his way, particularly from the Middle East, France, and Rome. There seems to be no unifying design in a history of unconnected events, disrupted by constant lapses, backtracking, and confusion, which simply ends at an arbitrary point where the chronicler laid down his pen. As we shall see, Matthew Paris concluded the *Chronica Majora* with a resounding climactic epilogue in 1250, only to resume writing the annals a few years later without bothering to remove it.¹¹⁵ The massive St. Albans work is written in the best tradition of what Auerbach has called a "paratactic" style, characteristic of medieval narrative, in which the essential components are juxtaposed as equal, without causal, subordinating, or even temporal relationships.¹¹⁶ Paris's great chronicle must be deciphered as if it were a palimpsest of different histories superimposed in both transparent and opaque layers of disjunctive episodes, in which the ubiquitous conjunction *et* serves simultaneously to link and to separate.

Matthew's cycle of illustrations must also inevitably adhere to the same pervasive medieval taste for unconnected multiplicity, producing an effect close to cinematic montage in which the only discernible pattern is one of startling juxtaposition and jarring contrast. He builds tension and suspense in his compound narrative by interlacing various episodes in a kind of ongoing counterpoint.¹¹⁷ After beginning one episode, a second is introduced before ending the first, only to return to complete the story, and so on, enabling him to keep several simultaneous actions moving together at some length, creating a momentum of conflicting motives and emotions in a powerful epic drama. Sudden shifts of setting and personae, such as that from the great conclave in Rome at Lateran Council IV to the atrocities of King John in the English countryside as we turn the pages of MS 26 from 43v to 44v (Figs. 69 and 112), or the legend of the Wandering Jew on fol. 70v opposite a student riot outside Paris on the facing page (see Figs. 188 and 31), produce quick, strong effects typical of Matthew's paratactic style now expanded into the dimension of pictorial illustration.

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In dealing with Matthew's densely textured compound narrative structure, both in text and images, our analysis of the illustrations in the *Chronica Majora* unfolds in chapters which, while making large concessions to the modern demand for a compartmentalized and coherent organization, nevertheless attempts to preserve an essentially medieval conception of history. In separating and reordering the various strands of history so loosely juxtaposed in Paris's long

discursive narrative, we find ourselves faced with a task reminiscent of Beryl Smalley's apt simile that compares the reading of medieval annals to peeling an onion, finding that one set of entries always has another "skin" beneath.¹⁰ Beginning with the outer layer of the *Chronica Majora*, we shall first examine the epidermis of marginalia covering Roger Wendover's original nucleus with a rich mantle of associative amplifications in both textual and pictorial additions, transforming the first 236 folios of the great chronicle into a veritable volume of *additamenta illustrata*. The next layer is constituted by a firmly structured *gesta regum* in which the deeds of English kings and magnates are traced from the legendary Brutus to Henry III. This forms a tight chronological grid upon which the more ambitious but uneven narrative of the *chronica universale* unfolds, in which a powerful drama is enacted upon a wider stage, with its centers at Rome and Jerusalem. In an effort to provide a fuller and more precise visual sense of geographical context for his vast universal chronicle, Matthew created a remarkable pictorial atlas of maps and itineraries to serve as prefaces for both the *Chronica Majora* and the *Historia Anglorum*. Together these may be seen as a compendium of *imagines mundi*, providing a unique cartographic guide to the history of the world as it was known to the St. Albans chronicler in the middle of the thirteenth century. Given the secular and worldly viewpoint from which both Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris wrote the great chronicle, their sense of monastic piety is indulged not unexpectedly in the smallest and ostensibly least significant aspect of the work. Surfacing occasionally as reminders of the special relationship between God and what transpires on earth below, pious legends, saints' lives, relics, miracles, and visions express those vertical links with divine providence which for the Middle Ages provided the key to understanding man's destiny in what might be called a *historia sacra* or book of *mirabilia*.

Smalley's onion simile, however, merely provides a convenient lens through which we may perceive the larger pattern of ideas, images, and sentiments in Matthew's work which might otherwise tend to become lost in its richly digressive paratactic structure. Each of the "histories" in our imaginary palimpsest is actually interlaced and fused with the other. When restored to its complex integrity, the brilliant montage of texts and images in the *Chronica Majora* offers us a *speculum mundi* which reveals the singular microcosm of a compelling medieval mentality, the persona of a *genius saecularis* projected onto the vellum folios as a presence still living.

2

Addimenta Illustrata: Matthew's Illustrated Additions to Roger Wendover's Text

THE *CHRONICA MAJORA* SURVIVES IN THREE VOLUMES, THE FIRST two in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and a third in the British Library. The first volume contains entries from Creation through 1188; the second chronicles the period from 1189 through 1233; and the third contains the last annals, from 1234 to 1259. All the entries up to July 1235 were written by Roger Wendover; those after that date were composed by Matthew Paris, presumably after his predecessor's death in May 1236.

Although the first part of the *Chronica Majora* has long been regarded as a revision of Wendover's *Flores Historiarum* begun by Paris after 1236,¹ it may instead represent a scribal copy of Roger's own revision begun under the author's supervision at St. Albans and appropriated by Paris only after Wendover died. Rather than undertake the formidable task of compiling a new edition of Roger's history from the beginning, the new St. Albans chronicler may have simply taken over the revised work which had already been copied into the Corpus Christi manuscripts up to the annal for 1233.² Matthew's first task in his new post would then have been to finish ed-

iting Wendover's revision of the *Flores Historiarum* from surviving drafts to bring the chronicle up to the point where his predecessor had left off when he died. From the middle of the annal for 1235 on, the *Chronica Majora* was then written and transcribed by Matthew Paris alone.

The composition of the great chronicle thus falls into three distinct phases. In the first phase, from the beginning at Creation to anno 1213 on fol. 35 in MS 16, the work is a scribal copy of Roger's own revised version of the *Flores Historiarum* in which Matthew's later revisions do not appear in the text, but as additions or emendations in the margins, on inserted pages, or written over erasures or between the lines. In the second, from anno 1213 to July 1235 on fols. 35 to 95 in MS 16, we may observe a transitional stage in which the heaviest concentration of additions and revisions appears in Wendover's text; these changes are now almost exclusively composed by Matthew and are incorporated into a text still partially written by scribes, but Paris's own hand begins to appear on fols. 36–46, 50v–54v, and then from fol. 62v on.⁵ In the third phase, from July 1235 on fol. 95 to the end, MS 16 is an autograph copy composed and transcribed by Matthew Paris. Up to fol. 35 in MS 16 the main text of the chronicle gives the impression of having been written out as a fair copy by St. Albans scribes to incorporate Roger's revisions into the text of his *Flores Historiarum* from another manuscript now lost. After that point, the text assumes a patchwork character that reveals several changes in scribal hands, including the sporadic introduction of Matthew's own hand which then finally takes over in mid-sentence on fol. 62v in anno 1225 and continues until shortly before his death in 1259. In the annals from 1213 to 1235 Matthew's revisions of Wendover's text are not only much more extensive but also more substantive in character.

Since Paris was not a professional scribe and there is no evidence that he undertook any sort of historical writing until after Roger's death, it has been suggested that he may have served as Wendover's assistant before 1236.⁶ The break between Roger's text and that of his successor occurs abruptly in mid-sentence at the end of his account of the marriage of Frederick II in 1235. However, Matthew's marginal notation of the transition on fol. 95 is uncharacteristically terse and distant: "Dom Roger, once prior of Bevoir, set his chronicle in order [digestit] up to this point. [Here] begins Brother Matthew Paris."⁷ Further undermining the probability of a master-pupil relationship is the sudden shift in the character of the revisions in the annal for 1213. Up to that point Wendover's earlier chronicle had

been copied almost verbatim, after which a large number of substantive changes begin to alter its tone significantly, revealing for the first time the strongly opinionated presence of the younger chronicler within the main body of the text.⁶ Over the next two decades Paris found it necessary to make many additions and changes in Roger's part of the chronicle, and in doing so he had to resort to a variety of expedients, such as writing over extensive erasures and inserting new pages, as well as interpolating interlinear and marginal emendations. Even the pattern of his corrections in Wendover's text tends to confirm the likelihood that it was not copied out under Paris's supervision. Up to p. 75 in MS 26 he made more than one hundred corrections, but then abandoned the effort until the annal for 1066, at which point the corrections again become very frequent.⁷ It would appear more probable that, upon becoming the new abbey historian, Matthew fell heir to a project left unfinished by Roger Wendover in the form of a revised edition of his *Flores Historiarum* taken up to the year 1213 in MSS 26 and 16. Appropriating the work that had already been done to form the foundation upon which he then built his own *Chronica Majora*, Matthew eventually succeeded in doubling its size, while at the same time enveloping Roger's earlier annals in a thick mantle of illustrated additions.

Paris apparently assumed his duties as historian at St. Albans shortly after Roger died in May 1236. By 1237 at the latest Matthew had already begun collecting documents and copies of letters that were eventually to form the tremendous stock of notes (*scetulae*) used in revising Wendover's earlier entries and compiling annals for his own continuation of the *Chronica Majora*.⁸ From Hilpert's recent work on the chronology of MS 26 it is now possible to offer some approximate dates for the period during which Matthew worked on the revision of Roger's entries from 1213 to the middle of the annal for 1235. Based upon his citation of a poem by Henry of Avranches in the revised entry for 1219, the annal for this year and thus the whole beginning of the autograph part of MS 26 probably dates before 1243, while his quotation of another work by the same poet in the amended entry for 1229 indicates that it must have been written in 1243 or later.⁹ Thus Matthew was probably occupied with revising and copying Wendover's annals in MS 26 for at least six or seven years, that is, from 1236 or 1237 until 1243 or later, before he began composing his own extension of the chronicle. However, it is also clear that the St. Albans chronicler continued to make marginal additions in both Roger's and his own annals probably right up to the time he died in 1259.

Paris's editing of Wendover's chronicle involved not only additions of historical material,¹⁰ but included "improvements" of a literary and stylistic kind as well, usually by adding colorful or tendentious words and phrases to lend vigor and pictorial virality to the narrative. Apt quotations, illustrative verses, and epitaphs are also introduced, along with inscriptions of direct speech, pithy epithets, and brief character sketches to flesh out the bare bones of Roger's text. Matthew's most typical alterations interject his own opinions, feelings, and prejudices, infusing Wendover's bland prose with a strongly partisan flavor.¹¹ Closely woven into the fabric of these frequent textual annotations are the lively sketches in the margins, which, among the various strategies Paris devised to inject himself into Roger's work, succeed best in transforming the earlier chronicle into his own personal creation. In sum, the textual, codicological, and paleographical evidence in the Corpus Christi volumes of the *Chronica Majora* all points to the probability that Matthew Paris took over a project which he had not initiated himself, and that over the years between 1236–1237 and 1258–1259 he attempted in many different ways to bring the first part within the orbit of his own creation, not only by means of his own textual revisions and additions, but also by providing his own pictorial interpretation of Roger's text.

With its wide margins often filled with additional texts, narrative sketches, heraldic shields, and other emblematic images, the Corpus Christi manuscripts of the *Chronica Majora* gave the visual impression of a disorderly and rambling clutter, the result of a digressive, associative process of amplification that transpired over a period of many years (see Fig. 103). Even after Matthew began to compose the annals himself, he continued to expand the text with marginal addenda, sometimes written out in a disciplined script carefully enclosed within elegant borders, at other times hurriedly dashed off in a careless hand. These volumes are, however, fairly typical of the monastic autograph manuscripts which have survived from that period. On a much smaller scale, the Benedictine chronicle of Richard of Devizes in Cambridge, Corpus Christi MS 339, reveals a similar layout in which generous margins are filled with the author's second thoughts (see Fig. 25).¹² Within a medieval tradition in which the reputation of a writer was based on his ability to recast received materials into a magnified and elaborated form, Matthew's amplification of his own and Roger Wendover's texts was intended to demonstrate the essential mark of an elegant writer.¹³ Additions which we would consider to be extraneous, spoiling the tight structure and logical coherence of the narrative, were intended to infuse the book

FIG. 103

with greater dignity and impressive fullness. Thus the apparent redundancy of inserting into the margin a second account of an event which differed from the first version only in a few seemingly insignificant details was meant to have the effect of enriching the impact by the sheer added weight of its presence. Within a canon of literary taste focused on amplitude, variety, and multiplicity, Matthew's textual and pictorial marginalia expand the narrative nucleus of Roger's text onto the periphery of the page, moving backward and forward in a leisurely process of filling its interstices, however small, with explanatory digressions in word and images.

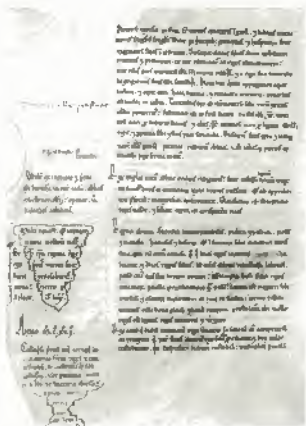


FIGURE 25. Richard of Devesey, *Chronicon*.
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 139, fol. 110.

TYPES OF ILLUSTRATION

Of the 130 drawings³⁹ in the Corpus Christi manuscripts of the *Chronica Mayora*, 78 appear as Wendover's part of the chronicle, and of these almost a third illustrate Matthew's additions rather than Roger's text. Although the illustrated additions occur throughout Wendover's chronicle, the heaviest concentration of textual and pictorial addenda occurs in the annals from 1215 to 1235, dealing with events in Matthew's own lifetime. Paleographical evidence indicates that they were made over a long period covering Paris's whole career, but that they were not executed in chronological order or indeed in any coherent sequence at all. Differences in handwriting and drawing, along with the nature of the historical material, suggest that Matthew kept going back into Roger's earlier text in an unsystematic way as the occasion arose. Immediate contemporary concerns may have caused him to seek confirming precedents in the past, and he would then make textual and pictorial annotations in the margins of his predecessor's earlier work.

With only two exceptions, the illustrations are unframed tinted ink drawings sketched in the margins of the pages. While the reference of image to text is always obvious, there is no consistent positioning of the pictures on the folios. Some illustrations appear at the foot of the page below the text columns; others are placed next to the text rubric in the right or left margins. First sketched roughly in lead point, each illustration is worked up in a dark brownish-black ink and enlivened with delicate washes of green, blue, vermilion, ochre, and brown, to which stronger ink outlines and fine details are then added. Most are provided with detailed explanatory legends and captions identifying the various figures, invariably in Matthew's own hand.

Like Paris's eccentrically variable handwriting, his corpus of illustrated additions reveals a striking absence of order and consistency in the wide range of pictorial methods used to illustrate the texts. While several additions are accompanied by well-developed narrative scenes, some are illustrated by a single isolated figure representing the major protagonist in the narrative. In other cases Matthew illustrates his annotations in an emblematic fashion, abstracting salient aspects of the episodes as isolated objects or bits of figures. As we shall see, he introduced still another mode of representation to depict other images, such as the seals and sacred icons which figure prominently among the subjects of his additions to Wendover's chronicles.

Narrative Scenes

Without exception Matthew Paris develops his narrative images as unit-scene illustrations. Working within the severely limited space of the margins, he often conflates various aspects of a given episode but never uses the cyclical mode of repeating the protagonist to represent successive phases of a continued action. The narrative scenes invented to accompany his additions to Wendover's text feature diverse subjects typical of the kinds of expanded pictorial episode that occur at random throughout the *Chronica Majora*: in MS 26, a Nativity scene on p. 30, the Martyrdom of St. Alban on p. 116, and the baptism of the Sultan of Iconium on p. 254; in MS 16, the shipwreck of Hugh de Boves on fol. 42v, Lateran Council IV on fol. 43r, a naval battle on fol. 52, and Hubert de Burgh's vision on fol. 90v.

The elaborate depiction of the sea fight on St. Bartholomew's Day 1217 (Fig. 1) offers a quintessential example of the bold action, violence, and pageantry for which Matthew Paris is best known. Extended across the whole width of the page at the foot of fol. 52 in MS 16, the brilliantly lit drawing accompanies an explanatory text added by Matthew in which he gives a second version of Roger's account of the defeat of the French fleet under the command of Eustace, a notorious adventurer nicknamed "the Monk." Paris's annotations fill the entire right margin as well as that on the lower left. The complex illustration presents an interesting mixture of elements drawn from both his own and Roger's version. Wendover first tells us that, "On the day of the Apostle St. Bartholomew, the French fleet was entrusted to the command of Eustace the Monk, a most infamous man, to conduct it safely to London and deliver it intact to Louis [of France]," to be used in his attempt to usurp the throne from young Henry III. On their way across the Channel they encountered a fleet of English ships off Sandwich and, despite finding themselves outnumbered two to one, engaged them in battle. The English crossbowmen and archers

soon caused a great slaughter among their opponents. . . . They also threw out hot lime-dust which, being borne by the wind, blinded the eyes of the French. A severe engagement took place between the fleets, but that of the French . . . was soon defeated. The crews were smothered down by the weapons and arrows of the English sailors who . . . pierced them with their javelins and arrows, or cut them down with swords and lances, while others bored holes in their ships' hulls and sank them; therefore the French, having no hope of escape, threw themselves of their own accord into the waves. . . . Among the other

prisoners, that traitor to the king of England and wicked pirate Eustace the Monk . . . [was] dragged forth from the hold of one of the ships; and when he found himself a prisoner, he offered a large sum of money for his life. . . . Richard, the illegitimate son of King John, who seized him, said, "Nerer again in this world, wicked traitor, shall you deceive anyone with your false promises," and with these words he drew his sword and cut off his head.¹⁵

From Roger's account we may recognize in Matthew's drawing the slaughter with lances and swords, and flasks of pulverized lime being shot with bows and hurled at the enemy with a catapult, as well as the French jumping overboard to escape capture. However, the axes and grappling iron illustrate details introduced in Matthew's second version:

[The English] eagerly rushed on the enemy; as soon as they reached the vessels of their adversaries, they threw grappling irons and made them fast to their own ships, and boarding them with their axes . . . the English then attacked them.¹⁶

Both versions describe the capture and decapitation of Eustace the Monk, but Matthew's illustration follows Wendover so closely that we may recognize the infamous pirate at the right, identified by the legend, "Eustachius monachus defiguratus," pleading for his life as Richard draws his sword. On the other hand, Matthew represents the large sum which Roger reported Eustace having offered as ransom for his life in a money bag held by another Frenchman ready to be axed by a second English knight, as if he were not sure which figure he intended for Eustace. His text, however, makes it clear that Eustace, "the bloody pirate leader," must be singled out for special retribution so that "at length the robber was himself robbed, and he gathered the fruits of his ways." The five banners of Robert de Courtenai and the other French nobles, inscribed "Vexillum Roberti de Curtenai et aliorum magnarum Francie," have been introduced into the drawing without a textual basis in either version of the naval battle, to enliven the image with colorful pageantry.¹⁷

Matthew's second account of the English victory over the French fleet introduces a significant alteration of Roger's text concerning the identity of the hero. Contrary to Wendover's report that it was Philip de Aubeney who was appointed by the king to head the defensive attack on the French fleet, Paris does not mention him, but tells us instead that his friend Hubert de Burgh led the English ships:

When Hubert de Burgh was informed of the arrival of such a formidable host, he said to the bishop of Winchester, the marshal, and other

nobles, "If these people come to England unopposed, the kingdom is lost. Let us therefore meet them with courage, for God is with us." . . . and then, assuming the boldness of a lion, he said to those he had entrusted with the safekeeping of Dover, "I beseech you, by the blood of Christ, if I should by chance be taken prisoner, to let me be hung rather than give up the castle to any Frenchman, for it is the key of England."
 . . . When Hubert, after his miraculous victory, reached the English coast, all the bishops who were in that quarter came out to meet him, clad in their sacred robes . . . singing psalms and praising God.¹⁴

In Matthew's drawing we see two of these bishops and a layman at the left, inscribed "Hic ornatus cum processione sollempni in vestimentis festiuis occurrebant triumphantibus scientes quod miraculosa fuit victoria." One of the bishops holds a speech scroll declaring, "I absolve those who died for the liberation of England" (*Absolutio pro liberatione Anglie maritima*). While only three figures are represented, many more members of the welcoming committee are listed around them: Bishop Peter of Winchester, William Earl Marshal, Richard of Sarum, Jocelyn of Bath, and Hugh, chancellor of Chichester, along with the counts of Hertford, Salisbury, Warenne, and Albemarle.¹⁵

Paris's textual and pictorial reworking of Weydever's account of the naval battle between the English and French in 1217 reveals some of his most characteristic partisan biases. In a xenophobic burst of moral triumph, he gloats over the defeat of the hated French and the vindictive punishment of the pirate, Eustace the Monk. As suggested by his rubric added in the margin next to Roger's description of Eustace's capture, "Miraculum et virtus divina," Matthew interpreted the event as a striking instance of divine justice in which the virtuous are rewarded and the guilty destroyed. He then transformed the English victory into a vehicle to demonstrate the courage and loyalty of Hubert de Burgh, who is not even mentioned in Roger's account. As we shall see, Hubert, earl of Kent, figures prominently in later illustrated episodes in the *Chronica Majora* when he is unjustly persecuted by Henry III and later reconciled to the king.

While Matthew's ambitious illustration serves to draw the reader's attention to his own interpretation of the battle, added in all probability out of fierce loyalty to his friend, the earl of Kent, his drawing nevertheless functions successfully as pure illustration by lending zealous pictorial excitement to the text's recreation of the event. The chaos and noise of the melee are captured in the broken staccato silhouettes of clashing figures, weapons, and banners. Brilliant spots of vermilion are played off against the subdued contour

drawing in light brown line and pale washes of tint in muted tones of green and ochre to heighten the overall effect of motion and excitement. As the large overlapping ships interlock in the swirling waves, the opposing movement of warriors and weapons surges relentlessly toward the climactic gory decapitation and figures falling overboard at the far right. Linked to the violence at sea only by a thin scroll, the three figures awaiting the outcome at the left seem small and isolated on the distant shores of Dover. At the same time as they evoke the anticipated return of the victors after the battle, these three figures serve as a visual catalyst, propelling the image into action by the strong directional impulse of their gesturing hands. In his masterful orchestration of complex narrative elements combining two different textual accounts, Paris's illustration is both faithfully accurate and allusively interpretive.

Single Figures



FIGURE 26. Assumption of the Virgin. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 26, p. 39.

In stark contrast with his ambitious narrative scenes, Matthew chose to illustrate several of his additions to Roger's text by inserting a single isolated figure standing in the margin next to the rubric. While these static effigies all function as generalized representations of the chronicle's protagonists, they vary widely in style and treatment, depending on the context, ranging from the minuscule sketch of the Virgin in MS 26 (Fig. 26) to the large, carefully rendered portrait of the Franciscan Brother William in MS 16 (Fig. 27).

Roger's entry for A.D. 45 gives a brief account of the Assumption of the Virgin based on the text of Pseudo-Jerome. Next to the initial for the *anno*, Matthew has drawn a small veiled figure of Mary (30 mm. high) standing with her hands raised in a traditional *orans* pose (Fig. 26). Although the usual nimbus and crown are absent, the unadorned figure looks as if it had been abstracted from the traditional iconography for the *Assumptio corporis* in which the praying Virgin ascends on a cloud surrounded by angels as, for example, in the mid-twelfth-century window in the south transept of Le Mans Cathedral.²⁶ The fluid drapery patterns of this dainty figure seem to function as an ornamental extension of the delicate flourishes embellishing the adjacent initial, while the curvilinear upward sweep of her mantle parallels the outer stem of the "A". Matthew's text addition appears at the foot of the page and amplifies Roger's terse entry with material which we are told he had extracted from the rolls of St. Albans (*secundum rotulum abbatis*). The appended paragraph is con-

cerned mainly with reckoning Mary's age as sixty-three when she died,¹⁷ and then concludes with the so-called Second Annunciation in which Gabriel announces the Virgin's impending death by giving her a palm. In his marginal sketch, however, Matthew makes no reference to this additional material; the figure merely serves as a visual marker for the text entry.

One of the most remarkable of all Matthew's single figures is the portrait of the Franciscan friar on fol. 67 in MS 16 (Fig. 27). He is identified by a caption as "Frater Wilhelmus natione anglicus socius sancti francisci." Paris may have been personally acquainted with the English friar, whose striking image is repeated in an almost identical sketch in his later style on fol. 26 (Fig. 28). In the first repre-



FIGURE 27. Brother William
Cambridge, Corpus Christi
College 16, fol. 67.



FIGURE 28. A Franciscan Friar,
Cambridge, Corpus Christi
College 16, fol. 26.

sensation Brother William stands in the right-hand margin next to a lengthy text addition made at the end of Roger's annal for 1227. Following Wendover's account of St. Francis and the rapid spread of the order, Matthew inserted a folio giving the full text of the Rule as mandated by Pope Innocent III.²⁰ The cowed figure stands in a frontal pose glancing toward the text column at the left near the top of the page. Brother William is shown with bare feet and a knotted rope suspended from his waist, corresponding to Matthew's own later description ("ipsi Minores nudi pedes et rufiter tunicati cinctu funiculis") and reflecting the strict standard of dress observed in England, as well as the fact that the Minors as a rule wear barefoot even in the depths of winter. Unlike the rather cursorily drawn figure on fol. 26 showing the Franciscan brother holding a vermilion-tinted book and standing on a rough ground line, the portrait on fol. 67 is rendered with painstaking care. Matthew has delineated the latter figure entirely in brown line and wash to maintain a poignant sense of self-effacing humility suggested by the actual color of his mendicant robes; the delicate monochrome effect is then intensified by the contrasting addition of a rubric in bright vermilion headed by a blue paragraph marker.²¹

Brother William has been identified as the contemporary artist whose drawing Matthew inserted into the *Liber Addamentorum*.²² In MS Cotton Nero D. I, Matthew again copied out the Rule and prefaced it with a full-page drawing of the Apocalyptic Christ on the preceding verso (Fig. 29), executed in lead point and ink with delicate washes of color, in a dignified, refined style radically different from his own vigorous, forthright sketches. In several places the inked line appears to have been worked up by another, less accomplished, hand. Among the several inscriptions in Paris's hand we read at the right: "This is the work of Brother William of the Order of Minors, companion of St. Francis, second in that order, holy in conversation, English by birth." Based on Apocalypse 1, the drawing represents the Lord standing between seven candlesticks, with red flames perhaps added by Matthew; near his right hand are faint traces of stars, while the keys are held in the left hand. The two swords are rendered in faint outline, with the hilts meeting at Christ's mouth. At the left of Christ's hand, Paris has added "Alpha et Omega vivens in secula seculorum." Although the vellum appears to be of the same thickness and quality as the other folios, the sheet was originally larger, for the top of Christ's nimbus and one of the candlesticks are cut off. The injunction on the verso also suggests that it was a loose leaf: "Nothing more is to be written on this page

lest the image [of Christ] be injured, since the parchment is transparent, and it can be seen better if held up to the light." A pale-ocher tint was used for the hair and drapery to retain this translucence.

While it seems fairly certain that the Franciscan friar portrayed in Matthew's chronicle sketches is the artist whose drawing of the Apocalyptic Christ is preserved in the *Liber Additamentorum*, we



FIGURE 29. *The Apocalyptic Christ by Brother William B.L., Cotton Nero D.1., fol. 156.*

know nothing further about him. It is possible that he was the William of London listed in the register of the Gray Friars and who, according to the Franciscan chronicler Thomas of Eccleston, was the second brother received by Brother Angellus in England, and a *familiaris* of Hubert de Burgh, who, as we have already noted, was a friend of Matthew Paris.²⁰ In any case, his portrait, along with the drawing bound into the *Liber Addamentorum*, provides striking visual documentation of Matthew's involvement with the friars whose visits to St. Albans had become so frequent by 1247 that a special lodging was set up inside the gate for their use.²¹

Matthew's sympathetic treatment of Brother William, however, stands at sharp variance with his often expressed feelings of bitter resentment against the English Franciscans. Soon after eight Minors arrived at Dover with their leader Agnellus of Pisa in 1224, the friars won active support from secular bishops like Grosseteste and were taken into positions of confidence at the royal court.²² After the Franciscans had become papal tax collectors and began attracting monks away from the older orders, their luster quickly faded for the St. Albans chronicler. In the annals written from 1235 on, Paris frequently contrasts the early simplicity and spontaneity of the friars with what he perceived to be their growing arrogance and complicity in papal avarice.²³ His annotation, "Nota de primitiva paupertate et vitae excellentia fratrum Minorum," accompanying his later drawing of the Franciscan friar on fol. 26 next to Wendover's annal for 1207 concerning the first friars, makes a pointed reference to their original poverty, implying an invidious comparison with their later affluence and power. As we shall see, Matthew resorts to the same ironic device to upbraid the Templars, who rose to great wealth and influence from similarly humble origins.

Emblemata

A number of Matthew's additions are signaled in the lateral margins by abbreviated images that often function on a more abstract level than his narrative scenes or single figures. More than one hundred of these terse pictorial annotations occur throughout the two volumes of the *Chronica Majora*. Many of the drawings refer to the text in an emblematic way by isolating a single salient aspect of the narrative for the illustration of the whole text, so that these reduced images may be perceived to function as symbols *pars pro toto*. Others are conventional signs, such as reversed shields to mark the death of

their bearers or two hands clasped to represent a truce or marriage, similar to Dicoeto's *signa*, serving as visual figures of speech in a kind of pictorial synecdoche.⁷⁷ Matthew uses this method frequently to illustrate death notices, as in the obituaries in MS 16 for Hugh de Nevill (Fig. 32) and Fawkes de Breaute (Fig. 66). In other cases architectural drawings, such as the *Domes Conversorum* on fol. 86 in MS 16 or the walls of Leicester in MS 26 (Fig. 30), serve as illustrations for the foundation or destruction of buildings and towns. Another common device, perhaps inspired by caricatures doodled in the margins of legal documents (see Fig. 13), consists of drawing small busts of the protagonists in appropriate poses, such as those of a Parisian student and townsman (Fig. 31) to represent a riot in 1229, while in other cases Paris fixes upon a single object, such as the pillory in MS 16 (Fig. 33), to encapsulate the text. Matthew's imaginative expansion of Ralph Dicoeto's ingenious system of pictorial symbols, such as crowns, swords, and pastoral staves, to classify his subjects in the margins of his historical works thus provided his readers with a richer and more dramatic visual indexing of the material.

A characteristic example of Paris's emblematic illustrations may be observed in the rumbling walls drawn in the margin of p. 265 in MS 26 (Fig. 30), above his addition to Roger's account of the king's siege of Leicester in 1173. Wendover tells us that after the king had burned most of the city and the citizens had asked for a truce, "permission was therefore granted to them to go and reside in the king's towns or castles."⁷⁸ At this point Matthew interjects his own text, written in the margin in a fairly neat early hand within a frame finely drawn in red line, to inform his readers that

the nobles of the city were then dispersed: and those who had offended the king by the defense of their town sought a place of refuge to avoid his threats and trouble. They therefore fled to the territory of St. Alban, the protomartyr of England . . . as if to a protecting bosom.⁷⁹

Then Roger's text resumes to report that "after their departure, the gates of the town and part of the walls were destroyed." While the marginal drawing actually represents an action reported by Wendover, the broken gates and battlemented walls of Leicester function more broadly as a visual metaphor for the destructive revenge of Henry II and at the same time, by implied contrast, draw attention to St. Albans as a refuge from the king, who had come to be regarded as a treacherous villain in the years directly following the murder of Thomas Becket in 1170. While the image is clearly meant to serve as

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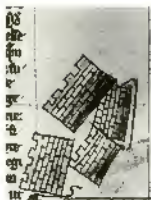


FIGURE 30. *The Fall of Leicester*
Cambridge, Corpus Christi
College 26, p. 265



FIGURE 31. *Riot at St-Marcel*.
Cambridge, Corpus Christi
College 16, fol. 71.

a pictorial illustration in conjunction with the text narrative, each of the four towers is brightly tinted in a different hue (ocher, green, vermillion, and brown), leaving the contradictory impression of merely a colorful marginal decoration.

The two busts of a cleric and townsman confronting each other with a mace and axe in MS 16 (Fig. 31) signal the addition of an event not reported in Roger's annal for 1229, but in this case Paris's added material is interpolated into the body of the text rather than in the margin. In his lengthy account of the dispute, Matthew tells us that during the week before Ash Wednesday, when student clerks at the University of Paris had their traditional holiday, some students went to a tavern in the suburb of St-Marcel and engaged in a drunken brawl with some townsmen over the price of wine. The fracas became so violent, and the subsequent harshness of the bishop, queen, and Roman legate in dealing with the affair so unjust, that in protest the whole faculty of masters along with the student body abandoned Paris for a short time. Matthew ends his tale with a favorite ploy, quoting a topical verse in which the city of Paris laments:

Clergy, I tremble with weeping,
You are too proud to give me a hearing;
I am thoroughly drenched with crying.
We are each for his own losses sighing.³¹

Although Wendover seems to have had little or no interest in university life at nearby Oxford, much less at Paris, his successor makes frequent references to both, among which his report of the riot in 1229 is the first.³²

One of the most dramatic of the many eulogies Matthew wrote to honor knights' deeds throughout the *Chronica Majora* is his addition on the death of Hugh de Nevill at the foot of fol. 57v in MS 16 (Fig. 32). Following Roger's report of the fall of Danielta in 1222, a long addendum appears in the margin dealing with a number of unrelated matters, at the end of which Paris tells us:

In the same year also died Hugh de Nevill who, during his whole youth, in King Richard's time, had been a special member of that king's household. Among other examples of his prowess and daring when he was in the Holy Land, he slew a lion. First he transfixed the lion with an arrow, and then with his sword; it expired dissolving in blood. Thus we have the following rhyme:

Before Hugh's strength, so goes the tale
A lion's strength was found to fail.³³

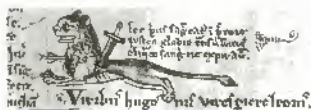


FIGURE 32. *Obituary of Hugh de Nevill*.
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 57r

Hugh's shield is reversed in the margin,¹⁴ along with a drawing of a lion running to the left with an arrow in its chest and a sword stuck in the middle of its back. The animal is confidently drawn in light brown ink and skillfully modeled with washes of pale brown and ochre; the sword blade has been shaded in blue to simulate its gleaming metal surface. In Matthew's late hand on three lines ruled in ochre at the right is: "Leo prius sagittatus in pectore, postea gladio transverberatus, eliquato sanguine expiravit," and below, in a larger but still irregular late rubric script: "VIRIBUS HUGONIS VIRESCERE LEONIS." Because this addition does not appear in the copy of the *Chronica Majora* made shortly after 1250 in MS Cotton Nero D. V, the drawing furnishes evidence that Paris added new material, both textual and pictorial, to Wendover's annals over a very long period after he assumed his predecessor's position as abbey historian. A date after 1250 is also confirmed by the unevenness of the script in the text and inscriptions and by the fact that they were written after the quire numbers had been added. Matthew's afterthought, however, resulted in an egregious but not uncharacteristic error in which he not only misdated Hugh's death by twelve years, but appears also to have confused him with someone else.¹⁵ Although Nevill's activities were reported in earlier entries by Roger Wendover,¹⁶ Matthew seems not to have known who this knight of Essex actually was. Far from having been a familiar of King Richard, Hugh had been a loyal supporter of King John and later paid tributous homage to Louis of France. While the blunder may be laid at the door of a failing memory or diminished ability toward the end of his life, Paris's mistake in the date and even identity in Hugh de Nevill's obituary is typical of the kinds of errors which occur throughout the *Chronica Majora* and seem to reflect a brushness and lack of fastidious attention to accuracy that occasionally flaw the credibility of his historical enterprise.



FIGURE 33. A Pillory. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 21v.



FIGURE 34. A Pillory within an Initial S. Cambridge, Trinity College O. 7. 27, fol. 90.

Another late addition probably dating after 1250 concerns the assizes for bread issued by royal proclamation in 1203. Like Hugh's death notice, this report constitutes an entirely new interpolation in Roger's text inserted in Paris's late hand at the foot of the page and does not appear in MS Cotton Nero D. V.¹⁷ Most of the text is taken up with a detailed list of legal measures of ingredients and prices for bread, but the illustration in the margin of fol. 21v in MS 16 (Fig. 33) gives a graphic image of the penalty specified for failure to observe the new assizes. A pillory (*collustrigium*) is pictured adjacent to the text as a timber frame tinted in ochre, mounted on a tall pale green shaft; the beam confining neck and hands is designed to accommodate two miscreants. Like the early fourteenth-century initial in Cambridge, Trinity College MS O. 7. 27 (Fig. 34),¹⁸ this equally rare medieval representation of a pillory is given in connec-

tion with a legal statute, thus suggesting a possible source for the illustration (cf. Figs. 11–12). The forbidding image of this punishment for fraudulent bakers further attests to one of Matthew's most deep-seated concerns recurring throughout the illustrations in the *Chronica Majora*, crime and its retribution on all levels of human history.

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Documentary Representations

As we have just observed in the text and illustration for the addition on bread assizes, Matthew's approach often takes on a mundane, factual character in contrast to his other more dramatic and highly colored personal interpretations of historical events. Although his eager acceptance of the most far-fetched legends and fantastic rumors seems to have been sometimes credulous and naïve even for a medieval chronicler, Paris is on other occasions capable of assuming a remarkably objective and even scientific approach to his material. This aspect of his historical method is most clearly demonstrated in his insistent citation of documentary evidence. Whenever possible he consulted letters from eyewitnesses, charters, papal bulls, and other archival material, which he copied at first into the text of the *Chronica Majora* and then, from 1247 on, in the special appendix called the *Liber Addamentorum*. Matthew extended his copious collection of corroborative evidence to the making of precise pictorial replicas of important images. Unlike his other illustrations, these drawings perform a more direct documentary function to confirm the factual accuracy of his text. Subjects vary widely, ranging from official seals and coins to sacred icons. Four strikingly diverse examples occur in his additions to Roger's chronicle. In MS 26 on p. 226 Matthew reproduces the emblem from the Templars' seal, while in MS 16 he gives a meticulous rendering of the emperor's seal on fol. 74v. One of the most remarkable of these images is his "replica" of the Veronica icon on fol. 49v.

The diagrammatic drawing on fol. 83v in MS 16 (Fig. 35) reproduces a sketch made by an eyewitness of an unusual solar phenomenon that occurred in 1233. In this case Matthew substituted a long interpolation of his own into Wendover's account, but without changing its substance in any way. Both the original and amended texts express a strong concern for the accuracy and authenticity of the visual record kept by an actual witness to the event. According to Roger, "on the eighth of April, about the first hour of the day, in

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the areas around Hereford and Worcester, there appeared four spurious suns around the real sun,

... of different colors, some of semicircular form and others round. These suns formed a wonderful spectacle and were seen by more than a thousand credible persons, and some of them, in commemoration of this extraordinary phenomenon, painted suns and rings of various colors on parchment, so that such an unusual phenomenon might not escape from the memory of man.¹⁰

Mathew then altered the descriptive text to read:

... of reddish color. The four stars mentioned appeared in semicircles extending from the sides of a large circle of crystalline color ... [with]



FIGURE 35. *Parkes' Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 16, fol. 87v.*

the true sun staying in the eastern zone and in the purest air. And what cannot be described in words of this prodigious portent is drawn as a demonstrative figure; that sky thus formed in a circle enters in replica, painted in very close likeness to the appearance of the thing, similar to the wondrous new phenomenon. This vision appeared to many, among whom was John, bishop of Ardfeet, who personally, although hastily, had the figure formed in a circle made by the hand of his very ingenious and perspicacious chaplain, namely, William the canon. And to this rare spectacle John of Monmouth was a witness, and innumerable others who brought forward testimony of this incredible thing, and their testimony is true.⁴¹

In this case the second text is interpolated into the text column instead of the margin. The curved outline of the diagram in the right-hand margin extends into the text column and was apparently drawn with a compass before the text was transcribed. Paris has rendered the drawing very carefully in vermilion line, except for the half-circle at the upper left, labeled "borealis plaga" (the northern zone), which is modeled in light green. The circumference of the large circle (diam. 58 mm.) is marked with five very small roundels representing "sol verus" at the top (sun), surrounded by a smaller circle of light described as "similar to a rainbow" (*quasi iris*), and the four mock suns, each accompanied by a separate rubric describing its brilliant light. All five are heavily filled with burnished gold leaf, reproducing quite literally the effect of light described for the lower two, "Claritas quasi aurum politum bene," while the upper mock suns are captioned "Claritas quasi sol parvus." The four directions of the compass are given in enframed legends, and below, the inscription reads, "This sign of the sun was seen in the sky over England at that time, and the circular form was seen on the spot, so that a true replica is represented in copies; it lasted from the first hour to the sixth."⁴² Within the circle in blue are written the legends, "The wondrous sign in the sky" (*Signum in celo [sic] admirabile*) and "This space embraces almost all England" (*Hoc spatium quasi eorum Angliam complectens*). Matthew's drawing and description are so accurate that the modern reader may readily recognize the "mock suns" as a meteorological condition known as the "halo phenomenon" or parheliion, caused by the refraction and reflection of the sun's rays on ice crystals in the atmosphere, similar to a rainbow.⁴³

The *Liber Additamentorum* contains another drawing in Matthew's hand (Fig. 36) of the spectacular parheliion observed in the sky over England in April 1233, similar to the complex diagram in MS 16 but now occupying the whole page. In MS Cotton Nero D. I

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the central circle (diam. 170 mm.) is drawn in dark brown ink with smaller whole circles intersecting its four sides; the largest (76 mm.) at the top represents the sun (*sol*) as a solid red disc surrounded by flames in the center, while four other smaller solid red discs representing the mock suns appear along the circumference of the main circle, each marked "Claritas quasi aurum minus politum." At the upper left, there is a quarter circle, captioned "Iris." While a small section of text in the upper right corner of the folio has been erased to make room for the drawing, all the empty spaces remaining around the parhelion diagram have been filled with various memoranda dealing with several different events dating from 1239 to 1240, written after the drawing was made, thus fixing a terminus aequem for Matthew's sketch. Very possibly the version in the *Liber*

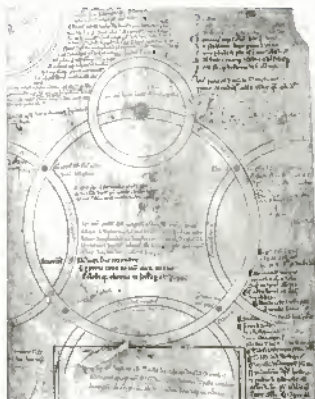


FIGURE 16. Parhelion. B.L., Cotton Nero D. I., fol. 185v.

Aditamentorum provided the working model for the smaller but more elaborate illustration in the *Chronica Majora* and, after it was no longer needed, was then used for random notions, thus placing the diagram in MS 16 sometime after 1240.

These drawings not only serve to demonstrate Paris's scrupulous efforts to authenticate Wendover's report of "painted suns" by finding and reproducing an actual drawing which he could attribute to a specific and reliable source, they also reveal Matthew's fascination with prodigies.⁴⁴ He singled out this spectacular solar phenomenon as one of the most significant portents of the half-century in his summary of events up to 1250. Along with the occurrence of solar eclipses twice in three years, "another remarkable portent appeared in the sky, an account of which is fully given in this book, in the year of grace MCCCXXXII."⁴⁵ Matthew then interprets the freakish phenomenon of mock suns in an unmistakably eschatological sense by concluding that "no evident reason could be found for this event in the book on meteors, except that Christ's threat was impending over mankind: 'There shall be signs in the sun,' etc. (Luke 21:25)."⁴⁶ As we shall see, prophetic signs of imminent apocalyptic doom became an important factor in shaping Paris's conception of contemporary history.

TEXT-IMAGE RELATIONSHIPS

Matthew's decision to add illustrations to his textual annotations of Roger's *Flores Historiarum* produced a wide range of different relationships between text and image, for the introduction of visual representations modified the interpretation not only of his own textual additions, but that of his predecessor's chronicle as well. The various connections between text and illustration may be observed to affect the meaning of Roger's original entries in essentially five different ways:

1. In a few cases, the new visual and textual material appended to Wendover's annals caused no significant change in meaning, as we have seen, for example, in the illustrations for the Assumption of the Virgin (Fig. 26) and the mock suns (Fig. 33).

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2. On other occasions Matthew's textual additions result in a perceptible alteration in the original treatment of the material, but the change is not reflected in the illustration, as, for example, in the drawing of the falling walls for the siege of Leicester (Fig. 30).

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3. In most cases, however, where Paris's addition alters Wendover's original entry, the marginal illustration clearly expresses the

change in meaning or emphases, as we saw in the elaborate drawing of the sea fight off Sandwich (Pl. I).

4. Matthew often introduced entirely new and unrelated subjects into the earlier part of the chronicle and drew the reader's attention to his novel material by means of his marginal illustrations. We have already seen instances of this approach in his drawings of a pillory for the bread assizes (Fig. 33), a lion for the death notice of Hugh de Nevill (Fig. 32), the figure of Brother William standing next to the Rule of St. Francis (Fig. 27), and two confronted busts representing a civil disturbance in Paris (Fig. 31).

5. In two isolated cases, Matthew introduced marginal illustrations for which no text reference is given either in Roger's original entry or in an addendum by Matthew, although a textual basis may be found elsewhere in the *Cronica Majora* or in the *Historia Anglorum*, as we shall see for the drawings of the martyrdom of St. Alban (Pl. VIII) and the device on the Templars' seal (Fig. 47).

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Because the complex interrelationships involved in Parls's dual emendations of his predecessor's chronicle produced such an illuminating variety of nuances in his interpretive responses to the material, we shall examine a few examples of the last three categories in greater detail.

Type 3. Meaning Altered by Added Text and Image

At first glance, Matthew's addition on fol. 72v in MS 16 (Fig. 37) of a drawing and description of the imperial seal at the end of a letter



FIGURE 37. Seal of Frederick II.
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 72v.

written by Frederick II to the king of England would appear to be of little or no special significance, particularly since Wendover made a point of mentioning that the imperial letter was “sealed with gold” (*Sacras legit Romanus imperatoris aureo bullatas*).⁴⁷ Precedents for including drawings of seals to accompany copies of charters may be found in twelfth-century mosaic chronicles, for example, in the sketch of the *rosa* of William II of Sicily in the chronicle of “Benedict of Peterborough” (see Fig. 38).⁴⁸ Indeed it is entirely possible that Paris copied the drawing from a representation of the gold bulla present in Wendover’s lost original.⁴⁹ Here Matthew has broken with his customary practice of relegating illustrations to the margins and has instead drawn the image of the emperor’s seal, both obverse and reverse, in the text column, enclosed within a green rectangular frame. In the later copies of Roger’s *Flores Historiarum* in MSS Cotton Orho B. V and Douce 207, both dating from the fourteenth century, there is a blank space left in the text column for a drawing of the seal. As Hilpert has observed, Matthew’s rendition of the city of Rome on the reverse of the seal fails to correspond to any known type among Frederick’s surviving gold bullae. Although Paris later rendered the seal’s representation of Rome correctly on fol. 126 in the *Chronica Majora*, here he shows the waters of the Tiber flowing past a continuous wall with three towers, an apparent misperception of the city gate which normally appears on the reverse of the imperial gold bullae (see Fig. 39). Such a mistake could easily have occurred while copying an unclear sketch from Wendover’s manuscript.

Rendered entirely in fine vermilion line against a pale ochre



FIGURE 38. *Rosa* of William II of Sicily. B.L., Cotton Viteles E. XV.1, fol. 28.



FIGURE 39. Gold Bulla of Frederick II, obverse and reverse. Karlsruhe, Reichsarchiv-Gesamtfamilienarchiv, D. 18.

tioned ground, ingeniously approaching an illusion of gold, the two small circular images (diam. 34 mm.) are drawn with extraordinary finesse and precision of detail. This is particularly remarkable given the probability that Matthew had not yet actually seen an imperial gold seal and was working from a sketch in Roger's earlier version of the chronicle. In an apparent effort to clarify his meticulous illustration, Paris later appended a full description elegantly written in rubric minuscule, perhaps after he had seen for himself an imperial letter with a gold seal.⁵⁰ The text runs in two long lines lengthwise along the inner margin of this verso page:

On one side of the imperial seal is the royal effigy, around which is written, "Frederick, by the grace of God, emperor of the Romans and eternal Augustus." On the other side of the seal is engraved that city, namely, Rome, and around it is inscribed, "Rome, the head of the world, rules over the round globe." This seal is somewhat larger than that of the pope. On the side with the royal figure, over the right shoulder is written, "King of Jerusalem." On another part of this image, namely, above the left shoulder, is inscribed, "King of Sicily."

In the left margin Paris provided an equally elegant rendering of the imperial shield, suspended from a nail or peg, bearing the double-headed eagle in dark gray on a pale yellow ground; on either side of the erect shield is inscribed in rubric "Scutum imperatoris," while below we read "Scuti campus atreus, aquila nigra."⁵¹

Frederick's letter to Henry III contained the momentous announcement of his successful crusade and the liberation of Jerusalem in 1229. Under excommunication for having delayed his departure for the Holy Land, Frederick negotiated peace with the Saracens purely as an affair of state, a matter concerning the Empire, not the Church.⁵² On March 18, 1229, the excommunicated emperor proceeded to the altar of the Holy Sepulcher and crowned himself king of Jerusalem, thus claiming the reality of a title he had assumed on all his official documents following his marriage to Isabella, the daughter of King John, in 1225.⁵³ However, it was not until 1232 that Pope Gregory IX finally granted the Hohenstaufen emperor the long-withheld title of king of Jerusalem.⁵⁴ Immediately following his self-coronation in Jerusalem, Frederick made a public speech to the assembled pilgrims which, in a greatly expanded form, constitutes the text of his manifesto quoted by Wendover, announcing his victory to the whole world.⁵⁵ By ascribing to God what he himself had achieved on this Crusade, the emperor succeeded in praising himself with admirable humility and at the same time demonstrating how

God proved the rightness of the Hohenstaufen cause by giving him miraculous success without bloodshed. The emperor's entry into Jerusalem marked the first vindication of Frederick's struggle against a long series of efforts by Gregory IX to thwart the imperial mission to the Holy Land.⁵⁴ Against the pope's accumulated accusations and rumors, Frederick began to issue circular letters addressed to the princes of the world to keep his friends informed of his part in the global contest.

While Paris conscientiously included the drawing of Frederick's gold seal that had probably appeared in the copy of the *Flores Historiarum* from which he was working, he omitted Roger's next two entries following the imperial letter, so that his transcription of the text could proceed directly to an account of the Christian occupation of Jerusalem and the restoration of the holy places.⁵⁵ By eliminating his predecessor's earlier digressions, Matthew cleared the way to focus on Frederick's role as the messianic ruler of the West who set Jerusalem free. Ever since Saladin had captured the Holy City in 1189, the Christian world had been waiting for an Emperor of the West to make his entry into Jerusalem.⁵⁶ The presence of the Hohenstaufen shield hanging from a peg in the lower margin of the same folio may allude to the fulfillment of the Sibylline prophecy that the rulers of the East and West would be united in one person in Jerusalem and "the dry tree shall send forth green shoots when the Emperor of the West shall hang his shield upon it as a token of his law-giving."⁵⁷

Matthew's fascination with the enigmatic figure of Frederick II continued to express itself in a rich collection of imperial letters and manifestos quoted throughout the *Chronica Majora* right up to the emperor's death in 1250. In his own annual for 1239, ten years after Frederick's crusade, Matthew took the occasion of quoting a letter to Richard of Cornwall, written at the peak of the Hohenstaufen struggle against Gregory IX, to produce a larger and more elaborate drawing of the imperial seals. At the foot of fol. 126 are two representations of Frederick's seal (Fig. 40), carefully rendered in an elegant and laudious style very different from the quick, vigorous sketches that make up the bulk of the illustrations for the *Chronica Majora*. In this case his concern for providing accurate visual documentation of the imperial seal again led him to shift his normal mode of representation in order to reflect as precisely as possible the true character of the original image. As we shall see, other sudden shifts in pictorial mode occur on similar occasions when Paris set out to replicate the appearance of an image of intrinsic importance.

PLATE 80

In the large seal (diam. 90 mm.) at the left, designated in rubric as the “*Scema impressiois cereae sigilli imperialis*,” the enthroned emperor is inscribed “*Rex Ierusalem*” and “*Rex Sicilie*,” while the surrounding legend again reads: “*Frothericus Dei gratia imperator Romanorum et semper Augustus*.” In its elegant articulation of the figure, Matthew’s dark line ranges from a fluid but emphatic black outer contour to the most delicate wisps of hair around the face. Only a suggestion of color is given in minuscule accents of vermillion on the scepter and globe, along with a faint blush on the cheeks and lips, while the face and drapery have been modeled in pale ochre. Since the text has given way to the upper curvature of the seal at the bottom of the column, the meticulous rendering was either drawn or anticipated before the imperial letter was transcribed onto the page.¹⁴ The two sides of the smaller seal (diam. 44 mm.) beneath the text column at the right, identified in rubric as the “*Scema bullae aureae*,” are identical to those represented on fol. 76v, except that the position of the arms is reversed in the portrait of Frederick, as is also the case in the large replica of the wax impression at the left.

When we compare Matthew’s drawings with the surviving seals of Frederick II, we are first struck by their impression of accuracy. Both the obverse and reverse of the small gold bulls at the right on fol. 126 are remarkably close to the emperor’s Italian seal of 1229 now in Karlsruhe (see Fig. 39),¹⁵ except that Paris apparently forgot to include the second title, “*King of Jerusalem*.” However, the drawing of the large wax seal at the left, although it resembles some

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FIGURE 40 Seal of Frederick II. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 126.

examples dating from 1225 on, where the inscription runs horizontally flanking the throne,⁶¹ reveals some significant deviations which suggest that Matthew perhaps unconsciously anglicized the image by making certain features conform to the effigies of English kings on their seals. For example, Frederick wears a crown and holds a scepter marked by the fleur-de-lis of the Anglo-Norman dynasty. Instead of being seated on the high-backed throne which invariably appears on his seals, the emperor sits on a backless, benchlike throne characteristic of those used by English sovereigns on their seals from William the Conqueror to Henry III, the similarity runs even to the detail of portraying the royal mantle gracefully draped over the seat, as on the seal of King John (Fig. 41).⁶² One of the most idiosyncratic aberrations in Matthew's image of Frederick II is his portrayal of a short beard, despite the fact that one of the most distinctive aspects of that celebrated countenance was the absence of beard or moustache, giving him an almost legendary youthful appearance.⁶³ Instead, the emperor is given the familiar bearded guise of Henry III, the only sovereign whom Paris knew at firsthand.

The second and more elaborate representation of the imperial seals on fol. 126 authenticates one of Frederick's most impassioned statements of self-vindication of the allegations made against him by Gregory IX, a letter in which the emperor gives a lengthy recapitulation of his victories in Jerusalem, Sicily, and Rome.⁶⁴ Following his second excommunication in 1238, Frederick II bombarded the world with thunderous manifestos. His pronouncement of 1239 marked the culmination of ten years of embittered accusations launched by both parties, each claiming the highest secular and spiritual authority. Catering to the prevailing mood of Europe and particularly of England, the emperor assailed the pope's insatiable thirst for money. Paris's sympathetic espousal of the imperial cause had nothing to do with ideological considerations. The St. Albans chronicler seems not to have grasped the profound political implications of the momentous church-state conflict to which he was witness secondhand through this deluge of epistolary attacks and counterattacks. On a more mundane level, Matthew simply perceived Frederick II as a fellow victim who, like the English churches and monasteries, valiantly attempted to defend himself against what he saw as the base greed of Gregory IX and the Roman Curia.⁶⁵

A more obvious example of how Matthew's appended texts and images work hand-in-hand to alter the interpretation of Roger's chronicle occurs in the depiction of the shipwreck of Hugh de Boves in 1215 in a full narrative scene at the bottom of fol. 42v in MS 16



FIGURE 41. Seal of King John, obverse. B. L., Department of Manuscripts.

(Pl. II). Wendover reported the event as a secondary action in his account of the rebel barons' capture of Rochester Castle after Innocent III annulled Magna Carta, and it was probably chosen for textual expansion and illustration by Matthew to demonstrate the providential protection of England and God's retribution against the foreign mercenaries hired by King John. Roger recounts:

In the meantime Hugh de Boves, a vigorous knight but a proud and perverse man, came with a large army to the port of Calais in Flanders to aid the king of England, and there he embarked with all his forces and sailed for Dover. However, a sudden storm arose before he reached his port of destination, and all were shipwrecked, swallowed up in the waves. The body of the said Hugh was cast ashore not far from the town of Yarmouth, with those of several other knights and followers, and at each of the ports on that part of the coast was found such a multitude of bodies of men and women that the very air was tainted by their stench.

Here Matthew Paris interjects, "Alas! How many were brought to ruin by that John, king of the English, dissipator of wealth and disseminator of discord?" Then Roger continues, with a few more brief interruptions by Paris (in brackets):

All these people had come to England . . . with the intention of expelling and totally exterminating all those native to the realm and of possessing the land themselves by perpetual right; for the king [indeed that bloody tyrant] had by his charter . . . given to their leader Hugh de Boves [the aforesaid cruel sequezer and deserter] the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, but the grace of God altered their plan for the better. But when the news reached the king, he was vehemently enraged and took no food that day, but remained until evening as if he were possessed by madness.⁶⁶

While the disaster at sea is spectacular enough in its own right to be illustrated quite literally with dramatic effect, the textual addendum at the bottom of the page invests the tumult with an element of the marvellous by focusing on the prodigious vision witnessed by a monk of St. Albans:

During the night on which Hugh de Boves was lost, there arose an unprecedented storm of wind, rain, thunder, and lightning, such as had not been seen before. It happened that a certain monk of St. Albans named Robert de Westou, who was staying at Bisham, was going to Norwich to fulfill the duties of his calling, and at midnight, when he was about halfway on his journey, that storm came up, and in the storm he saw an army of countless men riding on very large black steeds, with torches of sulphur.⁶⁷

This text was added in the lower margin after the illustration was drawn, as indicated by the contraction of the last five lines of text, displaced by the two figures and the rearing horse emerging from behind the waves. The wreck unfolds as a dynamic centripetal design of capsized and broken ships whose vermilion planking stands out in active contrast against the bright green sea. The "countless men" of the monk's vision have been reduced to two horsemen who appear on the horizon at the right: one gazes backward dispassionately at the catastrophe of tossing boats and drowning bodies, while the second rider turns in the opposite direction as his horse rears up in front of the added text, as if to rivet the reader's attention upon Matthew's conflation of the historical and the visionary to explain this strange spectacle. Paris chose to develop an aspect of Roger's account that was clearly ancillary to the main line of action in England, the siege of Rochester Castle. However, the spectacular death of Hugh de Boves provides a much more satisfactory moral conclusion in the divine retribution against the mercenary knight's cruelty and blasphemy, which were reported earlier in Wendover's account of the Battle of Bouvines in 1214, accompanied by an illustration at the foot of fol. 37 in which Paris has portrayed Hugh as a coward fleeing from the battle (see Fig. 106).

PLATE 187

Type 4. New Material Introduced in Text and Image

Among the many instances where Matthew introduces entirely new and unrelated material into Roger's earlier chronicle, one of the most characteristic is his interpolation of the vision of Hubert de Burgh. The addition is incorporated into the text in Paris's own hand beginning at the bottom of fol. 90, MS 16, and continues on the verso where a small drawing appears in the upper left corner margin to illustrate the vision (Fig. 42). The interpolation occurs at the beginning of Wendover's entry for 1234 in which we are told that the king spent Easter at Gloucester and made peace with Hubert after he had been dismissed two years earlier from his office as chief justiciar.⁶² Matthew then adds:

PLATE 184

And the king, regarding him with a calm look, embraced him and gave him the kiss of peace, restoring him along with other exiled nobles to his former favor. Then Hubert, earl of Kent, with his hands clasped in heartfelt prayer, looked up to heaven and gratefully recalled: "Oh Jesus, crucified Savior, I once when sleeping saw you on the cross pierced with bloody wounds, and the following day, according to your re-

mander, I was struck by your image and worshiped it, and now you have paid me for so doing at an opportune time." And that this narrative may be clearly elucidated for our hearers, we shall make a small diversion from the matter at hand to explain it.

When the war was raging in the time of King John, some knights with their retainers, under Hubert's command, were indulging in plunder and pillage according to the customs of war. One night, as Hubert was in a deep slumber, the Lord appeared to him, suspended on the cross crucified, as he is usually represented in carved effigies, and said to him, "When you see my image again, spare me in it, and carry it away to be worshiped." On the following day, while he was on march, he met a priest returning in great alarm, clad in white, wearing an alb, stole, and maniple, and carrying on his shoulder a large cross with the image of Christ on it. The priest cried in a mournful voice, "My Lord, save the church which I serve from these destroyers who are ravaging this country and plundering it of all its wealth." And looking back,



FIGURE 42. *Hubert de Burgh's Vision*
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 90r.

Hubert beheld the image on the cross to be in every respect similar to the one he had seen the previous night, whereupon he dismounted his horse and worshiped the cross; and in once, under the guidance of that priest, he liberated his country, restoring all the property of the despoiled church. Having remembered the vision, Earl Hubert of Kent then gave praise and glory to God, on being reconciled to the king and his faithful friends, and free from his many oppressions and sufferings; Earl Hubert ascribed (his good fortune) not to death but to God alone.⁴⁰

In contrast with his addition on the death of Hugh de Boves, here Matthew intends to stress God's reward for virtue. As we have already observed in the text and illustration appended to Wendover's account of the naval battle on St. Bartholomew's Day in 1217, in which Hubert de Burgh was made the hero, Paris availed himself of another opportunity to put the earl of Kent in the best light as a pious man favored by a divine vision. The small sketch in the upper corner of the page does not evoke the event as a narrative scene but instead isolates the apparition in the small figure of the priest bearing a crucifix. Struggling under the weight of a tall processional cross, the tormented cleric steps quickly toward the right. Silhouetted against the empty vellum ground, the figure strikes an elegant profile with his bent back cuboing the tipped arch of the cross as his front leg parallels the long downward diagonal line of its stem, to create a single concentrated motion.

One of the most subtle but revealing among the illustrated additions of new material in Wendover's chronicle concerns the secret baptism of the sultan of Jerusalem. The illustration appears at the bottom of p. 254 of MS 26 (Fig. 43) to signal the beginning of an insertion of 1½ leaves on pp. 253–256 on which Matthew transcribed the text of a letter sent from Pope Alexander III in response to an inquiry from the sultan in 1169.⁴¹ The bold but careless style of the drawing as well as the loose, open script in the caption places the illustrated addition about 1296 or later. Here Matthew has chosen to freeze an ongoing action at its moment of completion. Dressed in a cope and mitre delicately modeled in tones of light green, the ruddy-cheeked patriarch of Antioch vigorously anoints the bent head of the sultan, who kneels with upraised hands in a large wooden tub, while a tormented cleric holds the vessel of oil. The composition is enclosed and bracketed by confronted figures who bend inward to form a closed lunette-shaped design. The inscription in vermilion ink is broken into three segments to correspond to the appropriate actions below: thus "Antiochenus" appears above the head of the bishop, while

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above the sultan and priest holding the chrism is "Baptizatur soldanus Yconii, sed clamo."

The addition interrupts Roger's text and is inserted between a letter sent by Pope Alexander to Thomas of Canterbury according to King Henry II's request that the legate power over all England be transferred to the archbishop of York, and Wendover's description of the mental anguish of Thomas Becket who "suffered a martyrdom of the mind which had not yet reached his body."¹⁸ Matthew explains his interpolation by telling us that Pope Alexander's message to the sultan was sent on the same day as his letter to Thomas.¹⁹ At the end of the long papal missive, Paris then adds in the margin the astonishing statement that "the sultan was baptized, but in secret [*secl clam*] on account of the pagans speaking against it," although there is no evidence whatever that anything ever came of the pope's efforts to convert the sultan. Matthew then concludes, "In this way the cunning [*malicia*] of the Roman Curia generated a scandal also among the Saracens."²⁰ Hence the illustration at the foot of p. 254 actually refers to an annotation appended to Pope Alexander's letter on p. 256. The purpose of this rather bizarre interruption of Wendover's narration of events leading to the martyrdom of Becket becomes apparent in a second addition which follows, giving an account of the remarkable Tuesdays in the life of Thomas, noting that he was born,



FIGURE 43. Baptism of the Sultan of Iconium.
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 20, p. 254.

baptized, exiled, and martyred on that day.⁷⁵ This excursus on Tuesdays plays variations on a theme given by Wendover in a short passage following the martyrdom of Becket: "On a Tuesday the archbishop left the king's court at Northampton; on Tuesday he returned to England according to the pope's mandate; and on Tuesday also he suffered martyrdom."⁷⁶

In his thirteenth-century chronicler's conception of history, Matthew does not see relationships between events as causal, but rather as coincidental.⁷⁶ He attaches unusual importance to the coincidence that the pope's letters to Thomas and to the sultan were sent on the same day, just as he stressed the remarkable Tuesdays in the life of Thomas of Canterbury. We see Matthew's illustration of Becket's murder cast in the same vigorous, loose style as that of the sultan's baptism (Fig. 44). The main agents, four knights in mail armor, rush in with drawn blades, inflicting a bright red wound on the head of the crumpled figure of Thomas, as his friend Edward Grim thrusts a cross between the two extended swords. In a characteristic medieval conception, the analogy drawn by Matthew's illustrations between the baptism of the sultan and the murder of Becket is structured as a visible coincidence: the heads of the protagonists in both scenes function as a receptive focal point of the action, the anointing of the sultan and the sword blows of martyrdom for Thomas. The visual analogy drawn between the heads of the baptized sultan and martyred bishop is explained by the great significance attached to this seemingly trivial detail in Wendover's account of Becket's murder:

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This was slain this glorious martyr before the altar of St. Benedict, by a mortal wound received in that part of his body where he had formerly received the holy oil which consecrated him to the Lord. Neither were they content with the blood of a priest nor to profane the church and that most holy day, but they also cut off the crown of his skull, and with defiled swords scattered his brains over the pavement bloody with gore . . . he suffered not in any member of his body whatever, but in that place where he had received the tonsure of his priesthood, and where the holy anointing oil had been poured.⁷⁷

On one level, the coincidence may reveal a blatant contrast between good and evil—the sacramental anointing with holy oil versus the blasphemous violence of the unholy sword on an anointed head. In another vein, however, an ironic contrast is implied by the synchronous papal letters, one expressing solicitous concern for the soul of an infidel and the other a callous refusal to support Becket's cause

against the king until it was too late. In the case of the curious interjection of the text and image dealing with the baptism of the sultan of Iconium, Matthew's illustration establishes a visual connection with events chronologically separated in the chronicle to dramatize an important coincidence.

Like the fairly typical representation of Becket's martyrdom dating from the late twelfth century in MS Harley 5402 (Fig. 45), Matthew's pictorial interpretation contradicts Roger's text by shifting the murder to the altar, with the obvious intention of laying melodramatic emphasis on the horror of its sacrilege.¹⁹ In the same iconographical tradition, the *Chronica Majora* illustration conflates two successive actions not reported in the text: as the right, Edward Grim, Thomas's last loyal companion, is wounded on the arm as he thrusts out the archbishop's cross-staff to break the force of the first attack made by William de Tracy; the mortal blow is then landed on Becket's crown by Reginald FitzUrse, who led the four assailants into the cathedral, but he is no longer identified by the heraldic device of the bear rampant on his shield as in the earlier version.

Unlike the large number of smaller illustrations of the martyrdom dating from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, Mat-



FIGURE 44. Murder of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 26, p. 263.

their representation does not show Becket still kneeling with his hands raised in prayer toward the altar at the right. Instead, Thomas faces his executioners at the left, fallen and shrouded within the heavy folds of a canon's cloak (*cappa*), as he is depicted on early thirteenth-century seals of the archbishop of Canterbury,²⁹ as well as in the earliest extant manuscript illustration (Fig. 46), dating from about 1180.³⁰ At the extreme right, however, the column near which Thomas was slain has been curiously transmuted into a tall pedestal surmounted by a cross. By enclosing the figure of the prostrate martyr within his cloak so that his hands no longer reach out in a pleading gesture toward his executioners but are instead crossed limply before him as he falls, the artist has transformed the figure of the murdered archbishop into a pathetic Christlike victim. At the same time he has also invigorated and dramatized the heroic attempt of Edward Grim to protect his friend. Unlike the blinding of Alban's executioner in Paris's illustration of the protomartyr's death (Pl. VIII), divine retribution against Thomas Becket's murderer is not immediate and will only be addressed in the great chronicle when the martyred bishop takes his vengeance on Henry II's later namesake in 1241.³¹

While Matthew's dramatic interpretation may be seen as a masterful infusion of new life into the earlier iconographical tradition, his image could also have been inspired by the now lost representation created in 1220 for Becket's shrine in Canterbury Cathedral by the celebrated St. Albans goldsmith and sculptor Walter of Colchester.³² Among the few remaining illustrations in the fragmentary copy of Paris's own illustrated *Life of St. Thomas*³³ the martyrdom scene unfortunately does not survive. However, we might speculate that his illustration of the death of Thomas of Canterbury in the *Chronica Majara* offers a reprise of the scene he created for his Anglo-Norman verse translation from the well-known *Quadriologus*.³⁴

Type 5. Illustrations Without Text

At the foot of p. 220 in MS 26 is a rare drawing (Fig. 47) for which there is no reference in the text. Woodover's entry gives the origin of the Order of Knights Templar in 1118 as follows:

About this time some noblemen of the equestrian order, religious God-fearing men, devoted themselves to the service of Christ and made a vow to the patriarch of Jerusalem to live according to the cus-



FIGURE 45. *Martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury*. B. L., Harley 5102, fol. 37.



FIGURE 46. *Martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury*. B. L., Cotton Claudius B. 11, fol. 32r

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sons of the regular canons, renouncing their own wills in celibacy and obedience. The first of these were the venerable Hugh de Payens and Geoffrey de St-Omer. . . . Their numbers so increased in a short time that there were more than three hundred knights in their house. . . . They are said at present to have such immense possessions on both sides of the sea that there is no province in Christendom which has not given them a portion of its wealth, and today they are considered to be more distinguished in riches than kings. From their residence near our Lord's Temple, the brother knights are called Templars; and, although they long remained true to their promise, they now neglect their professed humility . . . and have become obnoxious to everyone.¹¹

Based on William of Tyre's account of the rise and decline of the Templars, Roger's unsympathetic view was shared and vigorously expounded by Matthew throughout the rest of the chronicle.¹² His drawing at the foot of p. 220 offers an ironic reference to the humble origins of the first Templars who were so poor that they had but one horse. However, the text for the illustration does not appear in the *Chronica Majora* at all, but rather in Paris's later *Historia Anglorum*, where on fol. 429 he recounts how, in commemoration of the order's impoverished beginnings, the Templar seal bears the image of two knights on one horse.¹³ A drawing similar to that in the *Chronica Majora* is given at the bottom of the page (Fig. 48). The two helmeted effigies of Hugh de Payens and Geoffrey de St-Omer are thus



FIGURE 47. Two Templars on a Horse: Queen Maulde's Hospital. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 26, p. 220.

mounted on the horse and in the *Cronica Majora* version bold shields emblazoned argent a chief sable. Planted before them is the *Vexillum Templi* which, from the thirteenth century on, was also called *Beauseant*, denoting in Old French "black-and-white."¹⁴ Paris probably knew the device of the two Templars on a single horse from a French seal (see Fig. 49), for it does not occur on any surviving English seals of the order.¹⁵ In both sketches, however, Matthew eliminated the seal's circular frame to evoke the actuality of the event rather than its more abstract sigillographic design.

As an ironic barb the Templar drawing in *Corpus Christi* MS 26 works more effectively than the reversed sketch in the *Historia Anglorum*. Instead of moving smartly forward, the pale brown horse has stopped as if too weary to go on, while the large shields, which are absent in the second version, lend added weight to the poor beast's burden. As in his evocative portrait of Brother William standing next to the Rule of St. Francis, Matthew injects a sharply etched visual reminder of the knightly order's undignified origins in humble poverty. In both cases the silent reproof has been prompted by his disillusionment with the rapidly increasing wealth and influence among the new mendicant and military orders. Functioning as a purely visual addendum to Wendover's text, Paris's sketch at the foot of the page stands alone without his customary explanatory legends as a mute reminder of the Templars' impoverished beginnings.



FIGURE 48. Two Templars on a Horse
B. L., *Reg.* 14. C. VII, fol. 420.



FIGURE 49. Seal of the Templars.
Paris, Archives nationales.

MAJOR THEMES IN THE ADDITIONS

While Matthew's additions embrace a remarkably abundant repertory of subjects and interests, they respond to a narrow range of issues in predictable patterns. His vigorously partisan reinterpretation of Wendover's chronicle reveals him as a historian whose vision was both broader and narrower than that of his predecessor. In one sense, Paris's additions focus more closely on colorful details, re-creating past events with a more vivid realism of pictorial images and direct speech. Both his textual and visual addenda are more obviously motivated by strong personal loyalties and prejudices, sometimes leading him to distort or undermine Roger's original intention. On the other hand, Matthew has a greater sense of structure and destiny in his overall medieval conception of history as the unfolding of a divine plan through the course of human events. As we shall soon see, his overriding moral and political loyalties to England and St. Albans led him to make a significant attempt at synthesis, altering the traditional disjunctive pattern of the annalistic chronicle by introducing a set of ideas that bind events and figures otherwise widely separated in space and time into interrelated clusters of actions and images.

The expanded scope and distinctive direction of Paris's historiographical approach may be observed to function on three levels in the additions, involving three disparate but interrelated spheres of interest: (1) history as prophecy on the most ambitious and abstract level, reflecting the widespread eschatological speculations of the early thirteenth century; (2) God's providential protection of St. Albans on a more local level, as revealed in discoveries of relics, miracles, visions, and dreams; and (3) the cynical pessimism and distrust of the papacy in typical contemporary terms, focusing on the practical economic and political impact of papal policies on all aspects of life and expressed in a variety of ways ranging from reports of malicious slander to miraculous portents, all signaling the disastrous moral decay of the Roman See.

Prophecy

Matthew Paris's conception of history in the monumental *Chronica Majora* rests largely on the medieval conviction that prophecy can provide a reliable framework for the entire course of human history. Taken in its historical sense, prophecy involves divinely revealed knowledge of matters past, present, and future, lying beyond the scope of our observation. Aquinas tells us that "the further removed

the facts are from human cognition, the more they belong to prophecy.¹⁰⁶ Operating within this context, three prophetic images appear at the beginning of the great chronicle in MS 26 to illustrate the earliest and remotest stages of human history beginning with Creation: the birth of Christ, the prophecies of Merlin, and the death of Mohammed. All three images occur in conjunction with Matthew's textual additions to Wendover's early annals in the *Crónica Majora*, but they vary widely in date. The Mohammed drawing was probably done in the 1240s, contemporaneous with the *Alban* cycle in Dublin; the Merlin illustration was carried out in two stages, the first of which was probably contemporary with the Mohammed figure, while the second could have been done in the late 1250s; the Nativity scene also appears to be a very late addition and was probably finished by another hand after Paris died in 1259. Despite their wide disparity in date, style, and even intention, this odd assortment of images interpolated into the margins of his predecessor's text offers some interesting insights into Matthew's ideas of historical prophecy.

From the middle of the twelfth century to the end of the Middle Ages, the widely disseminated prophecies of Merlin were regarded, along with the Sibylline Books, as important links between pagan and Christian revelation.¹⁰⁷ Matthew's fascination with the secular eschatology of Merlin is revealed several times in the *Crónica Majora*, but its first and fullest expression occurs in his long series of glosses on the prophecies, written between the lines and in the margins of Roger's annual for A.D. 465 on pp. 66–68 in MS 26. In the left-hand margin next to the incipit on p. 66 are sketches of Merlin and three of the symbolic animals which figure most prominently in his prognostications, the white and red dragons and the boar of Cornwall (Fig. 50). Although the unpinned drawings in brown ink appear to form an integral part of Paris's gloss at the beginning of the Merlin prophecy, they have been erased, leaving the contours and details of the figures very faint but still clearly discernible on the surface of the vellum. The original drawings were carefully but confidently rendered with bold line and salient details and would appear, as far as we can judge, to have been done in Matthew's style of the 1240s. However, the marginal glosses were written after the drawings had been erased. The brilliant rubric captions for the red and white dragons, "Rubeus draco" and "Albus draco," appear to have been executed at the same time as the flourishes for the initial were drawn and thus date from ca. 1250 to 1252, when Paris was putting the finishing touches on the first stage of the great chronicle ending at mid-century. After having erased these early ink sketches, the St. Albans

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chronicler then seems to have changed his mind, for he later redrew the figure of Merlin in dark brown inked line in a later style somewhat similar to the Brutus and Lear illustrations on pp. 7 and 11 (Figs. 89–90). The new outlining appears to be contemporary with the minuscule script in the margin and may also date from the 1250s.³² Thus the original drawings were made to accompany Wendover's text of Merlin's prophecy and then erased. Only later were the marginal and interlinear glosses written, at which time Matthew partially restored the drawing of the prophet.

Although we may never know what prompted this curious turn of events in Paris's additions to Wendover's part of the chronicle, the Merlin drawings are worth analyzing in detail not only as an example of his eccentric working methods, but also because they focus on some central themes which recur throughout the illustrations in the *Chronica Majora*: the providential destiny of England revealed through portents and predictions, moral exempla of good and bad rulers, and foreign oppression of the English people.

Based on Books 6 and 7 of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*,³³ Roger's text tells us of the wicked king of the Britons, Vortigern, who ravaged the country and whose people rose up against him. Having invited the Saxons to help him, he tried to build a strong tower to defend himself, but each night the earth swallowed up what the masons had done during the day. The king then consulted the young Merlin, who told him that the tower was built on a pool below the earth and that as soon as it was drained he would find two dragons. After the pool had been emptied, the king saw two dragons coming forth, one red and the other white, and they began to fight and breathe flames. When asked to explain the dragon combat, Merlin burst into tears,

and full of the spirit of prophecy, he thus began: "Woe to the red dragon, for his banishment is at hand! The white dragon, which signifies the Saxons whom you have invited here, shall seize his caverns; whereas the red dragon signifies the Britons who shall be oppressed by the white dragon. His mountains shall be brought as low as valleys, and the rivers in the valleys shall flow with blood; his religion shall be destroyed, and his churches shall lie in ruins. At last the oppressed shall prevail and resist the cruelty of strangers; for the boat of Cornwall shall offer aid, and shall tread their necks under his feet; the isles of the ocean shall be subdued by his power, and he shall possess the forests of the Gauls; the house of Romulus shall tremble at his rage."³⁴

In the left-hand margin Matthew sketched a half-length frontal figure of Merlin pointing to the text and now clearly linked to it by

the later addition of the descending tail of the flourished initial. The representation of Merlin strongly suggests the supernatural and even divine origins of his prophecy: he is a Christlike apparition enveloped in clouds, now only faintly visible in contrast with the more salient figure of the prophet redrawn in dark ink. Below, the softened profiles of the partially erased dragons confront each other with menacing gestures, while at the bottom the boar of Cornwall stands stoically aloof and isolated from the combat. Written in a minuscule hand often difficult to read, Paris's extensive explanations, added after the drawings had been erased, were apparently intended to supplant his pictorial commentary on the text of Merlin's prophecy. While the white and red dragons had already been identified in Roger's text as symbols for the Saxons and Britons, Matthew's additional interpretation of the boar of Cornwall as King Arthur⁹⁷ significantly sees the fulfillment of Merlin's prophecy in the future destiny of England ruled by a model monarch renowned for his goodness and generosity. Nor should it be forgotten that Arthur, with a dragon's head mounted on his helmet, defeated the Saxons at Lincoln and Bath and even went to Rome to subdue the ancient seat of the Empire.⁹⁸

Matthew's textual gloss on Merlin continues to explicate the obscure prophetic images in events extending through the history of England into the contemporary reign of Henry III.⁹⁹ An interesting document preserved in Princeton University Library MS 57 gives some evidence that such juxtapositions of prophetic future and historical past may have been fairly pervasive in thirteenth-century England: one section of a genealogical roll dating from ca. 1250 shows the kings of England from Alfred to Henry III in a series of medallion portraits (see Fig. 78), while the *Prophecies of Merlin* are given on the reverse.¹⁰⁰ Although Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Prophetia Merlini* exerted an enormous influence on subsequent historical literature in the Middle Ages and was incorporated into a number of chronicles, there had been up to this time very few attempts to elucidate its obscurities. Matthew's interlinear and marginal glosses in Wendover's text consist of a disjunctive series of terse annotations which, for the most part, merely paraphrase the commentary written by Alain de Lille in the 1170s. Nonetheless, his extended application of the prophecy to include contemporary events makes his addition in the *Chronica Majora* the most extensive Merlin commentary of the early thirteenth century.¹⁰¹ More important, Paris's emblematic images in the margin of p. 66 in MS 26 probably represent the earliest pictorial illustration of the Merlin legend.

Paris's text interprets Merlin's prophecy in terms of an idealized

vision of what England ought to be as opposed to the unhappy realities of the mid-thirteenth century. His illustration reveals Matthew's conception of how this utopia might be achieved: at the bottom, the secular power of the king provides the stability, strength, and courage of the boat as a solid base from which the people (symbolized by the red dragon) can rise to fight the foreign enemy (the white dragon), while above, divine providence (for whom Merlin speaks as a prophet) presides over them as a static spiritual presence, completing the symmetry of this vertical structure of medieval reality. A brief comparison with a somewhat later but more literal illustration of Geoffrey's *Prophetia Merlini* in MS Cotton Claudius B. VII (Fig. 51),⁴⁰⁰ dating from about 1250 to 1270, reveals Matthew's pictorial genius in capturing the visionary and allusive aspects of Merlin's prophecy. In the framed tinted drawing Merlin stands with his prophetic scroll unfurled before the enthroned King Vortigern in a conventional architectural setting, while below, in the three arches opened in the foundations of the palace tower, the white and red (ocher-tinted) dragons symmetrically flank the pool in the cen-

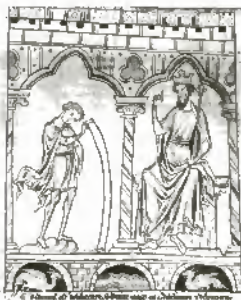


FIGURE 51. Merlin and King Vortigern.
B. L., Cotton Claudius B. VII, fol. 22a.



FIGURE 52. *Wreck of the White Ship*.
Cambridge, Cotton MS. A. 9. 2,
Fol. 122, p. 122.

ter. Declaiming their lines like actors on a stage, Merlin and the king dominate this more ambiguously scaled scene, but the exciting dragon combat has shrunk to a small and insignificant pair of heraldic figures forming a decorative band beneath, and the heroic boar has disappeared altogether.

Matthew's ingenious illustration presents a view of history as the action of two dynamic and conflicting forces operating between two fixed figures, providential destiny revealed by the prophet above and the power of the earthly kings who rule below. Human action and change are perceived as a disturbance or a disruptive force upsetting the natural fixed state of affairs. Hence action always leads to reaction, and events are explained as the inevitable consequences of moral antecedents.¹¹¹ Not yet bound by modern assumptions of a regular order of causation in a related chain of events, the medieval chronicler assembles discontinuous and fragmentary conflated actions without apparent sequential relationships. There is no continuous narrative, only a series of reports of what happened that disturbed the natural and normal fixed order of things. Oracular prophecies and other portents thus have an important function in Matthew's chronicle. They reveal the moral imperatives of a divinely willed destiny and provide a static ground against which human action then devolves as disaster, oppression, and discord.

The historical fulfillment of Merlin's prophecies forms a minor leitmotiv running throughout the long *St. Albans* chronicle and supplies the subject of an interesting sketch in connection with Wenderover's account of the sinking of the White Ship in MS 26 (see Fig. 52). In 1120 a vessel carrying Henry I's only legitimate son, William the Aetheling, struck a rock in the Channel and sank. Roger tells us that

King Henry, having subdued all his enemies in France . . . crossed in triumph to England. However, his sons William and Richard . . . and many nobles, of whom all or almost all were said to have been implicated in the disgrace of sodomy, were shipwrecked at sea. All perished miserably . . . and indeed inadvertent death swallowed them with all their impurities, although the sea was very tranquil at the time.¹¹²

Paris then interprets the disaster as the fulfillment of Merlin's prophecy. In the left margin next to the rubric there is a small outline drawing, very roughly executed but apparently finished, since it has been tinted with pale brown and light green washes. In a rare instance of what appear to be two consecutive stages of action, the ship, although ripped almost upright in the waves, still contains six passeeo-



FIGURE 13. Mohammed. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 26, p. 87.

gers, who then plunge into the sea below. In the margin beneath is the caption in Matthew's late rubric hand: "Merlin called these men *calamistrans* [those with the curled hair, that is, effeminate,]" and on the other side of the text column: "Merlin described the other Normans as having been shaved and [in their appearance] transformed [*quasi rasos et recubillatos*]." ¹⁴⁴ By means of a double-entendre Matthew is here referring to Merlin's prophecy that "the lion's whelps [Henry's sons] shall be transformed into fishes of the sea."¹⁴⁵ Although the king married again, he had no children by his second wife, and his later years were clouded by the painful irony of being surrounded by bastard sons whom neither custom nor the Church would permit to succeed him.¹⁴⁶

Just as it was important for the medieval chronicler to corroborate prophetic revelations that were believed to have been divinely inspired by marking their fulfillment in the unfolding of history, it was equally essential to discredit false prophets. From the late twelfth century on, the writings of Mohammed were fairly well known to Latin scholars who had access to the Clunian translation of the Koran, the *Liber Legis Saracenorum quem Alcoran vocant*, commissioned from Robert of Ketton by Peter the Venerable.¹⁴⁷ But medieval readers were shocked by its explicit description of Mohammed's vigorous sexual life and came to regard him as a lecherous reprobate. For Matthew Paris, as well as for his predecessor, Mohammed's frank indulgence in sensual pleasure was a fundamental disproof of Islamic claims that his writings were revelations from God.¹⁴⁸



FIGURE 54. Mohammed.
Paris, Bibliothèque de
l' Arsenal 1162, fol. 11

Matthew's image of the wicked pseudo-prophet of the Saracens in MS 26 (Fig. 53) is obviously meant to stand in telling contrast with his vision of the divinely inspired British oracle, Merlin. Although the villain of the polemical biography in the *Chronica Majora* is no longer typically caricatured as a monstrous hybrid creature, as he is in a late twelfth-century Clunian manuscript in the Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal (Fig. 54),¹⁰⁸ Matthew's portrayal of Mohammed is still clearly anti-hagiographical, focusing on his horrible death as punishment for his evil life as a licentious hypocrite and false prophet. The figure occupies an unusual central position at the top of the page. Solemnly unfurling two scrolls which preach his malignant doctrine, Mohammed presides over the columns of text below, which contain a lengthy expansion and revision of Roger's original entry written in Paris's small hand over an extensive erasure. The illustration, however, refers only to Matthew's addition, a gruesome account of the prophet's death in which "the most cunning magician" is torn to pieces and devoured by a swine on a dung heap. Rejecting other, tamer, versions in which the prophet is merely poisoned, Matthew writes:

At a certain hour in the evening . . . intoxicated with wine and perceiving that his accustomed sickness was coming on him, [Mohammed] went out, forbidding anyone to follow him . . . He then [however] fell on a dung heap and . . . rulled about, gnashing his teeth and foaming at the mouth. A hungry pig, upon discovering that shameless man whose open mouth exhaled the stink of undigested meat, set upon him and suffocated him until he was half-dead, dismembered and torn. Hearing the loud noise of the swine, his wife and family went out and were stunned to find the body of their lord for the most part gnawed away.¹⁰⁹

This account of Mohammed's death represents one of the goriest among such medieval slanders circulating in England at the time and incorporates all the disgusting and unsavory aspects gleaned from the then current versions by Gerald of Wales and Ranulph Higdon. At the bottom of the same page Paris further contrived a schematic diagram outlining how Mohammed's death corresponds with punishments for sins against the three persons of the Trinity:

<i>epileptica</i>	<i>pecca-</i>	<i>in Patrem</i>
<i>venenata</i>	<i>vii</i>	<i>in Filium</i>
<i>crapulosa</i>	<i>etiam</i>	<i>in Spiritum Sanctum</i>

Thus Mohammed was handed over to be torn to pieces by a swine through the threefold agents of epilepsy, poison, and drunkenness,

simultaneously avenging the false prophet's blasphemy against the Trinity. In the margin Matthew refers the reader to his own later account written in the annual for 1236 where he repeats the same version of the legend.¹⁰⁹

Paris's illustration of Mohammed's death, like that for Merlin's prophecy, is non-narrative and emblematic. The agent of his horrible demise is shown as a bright vermilion pig (SVS) harmlessly crouching under the feet of "the prince of the Satacem" as he stands in a solemn frontal pose holding out a long speech scroll in each hand on which his preachings announce indictments of his sins: (left) "I proclaim polygamy, for it is written, 'You shall increase and multiply'" (*Polygamus esto. Scriptum est enim, Crescite et multiplicamini*), and (right) "Do not reject present pleasures for the sake of the future" (*Praesentes delicias pro futuris non spernate*). By way of contrast, the contemporary illustrator of the *Compendium Historiarum* in Eton MS 96 has chosen to adopt the more conventional grotesque symbol of a black bird flying from the mouth of the dead prophet to represent his false doctrine and wicked soul (see Fig. 55). As we shall observe throughout our discussion of the *Chronica Majora* illustrations, Paris's conception of history is often shaped by an irresistible impulse to demonstrate patterns of moral retribution, even if at times he is forced to invent them. In this instance, a particularly apt and grisly providential punishment is meted out to the infidel blasphemer, glutton, and polygamist. However, Matthew's penchant for violence and gore has not yet begun to express itself in bold narrative images to match the extravagant rhetoric of his text. With the unfurled scrolls serving as a graceful device to enable the small figure to extend its dominance over both columns of revised text, the restrained and static effigy of Mohammed forms an unusually elegant composition among Matthew's chronicle illustrations. The figure is drawn in fine line, with pale washes of vermilion mixed with brown to tint and model the prophet's robe; only the outer contours have been emphasized by a heavier dark line, while the hair and beard are accented with dark brown and black paint. Perhaps written and illustrated shortly after 1243,¹¹¹ Paris's addition on Mohammed reveals an early phase of his development in the *Chronica Majora* in which his expressive power as a graphic artist has not yet reached the forceful level of his prose, producing a somewhat disconcerting but provocative inconsistency in style and content between his text and illustration.

Near the beginning of MS 26 a Nativity scene (Fig. 56) has been sketched at the foot of p. 30 above a marginal addition in Matthew's



FIGURE 55. Mohammed.
Woolsten, Eton College 96, fol. 160v.

hand at the bottom of the page. Within the fixed traditions of the medieval universal chronicle, the birth of Christ ushers in a new age in the history of salvation; Roger's text characterizes it in conventional terms as the Sixth Age under the New Law.¹¹⁷ While the Nativity marks the beginning of a new book in the other extant versions of Wendover's *Flores Historiarum*, the *Corpus Christi* manuscript of the *Chronica Majora* continues the narrative leading into the account of the Incarnation without a break and omits the text of Roger's earlier second prologue.¹¹⁸ To mark the inauguration of the Sixth Age, the marginal sketch represents the Christ Child being worshipped by the ox and the ass under the watchful eye of the recumbent Virgin.¹¹⁹ The scene is rendered in brown ink and heightened by the application of dull green modeling tones in the drapery.

While at first glance the illustration may appear to express, in a conventional way, the inauguration of a new stage in the history of salvation, the verses which Matthew added in the margin invest the image with momentous portent for the future, ending:

When twice six hundred years and fifty more
Are gone since blessed Mary's son was born,
Then Antichrist shall come full of the devil.¹²⁰

Paris's introduction of the advent of Antichrist in connection with the Nativity text reflects an important medieval conception of a closed historical chronology beginning with Creation and moving through clearly defined periods toward the Last Judgment at the end



FIGURE 36. Nativity of Christ. Cambridge, *Corpus Christi* College 29. 3. 30.

of time.¹¹⁶ Within the conceptual framework of the universal chronicle, God as the Creator of the world is the true author of its history, revealing its most remote past and future in Scripture. Like all medieval Christians living through the course of human events as if in an expanding Bible,¹¹⁷ Matthew believed in the coming reign of Antichrist. Unlike his predecessors in the twelfth century, however, for whom the end of the world was a remote expectation, Paris became caught up in the general wave of apprehension which overtook Europe in the first half of the thirteenth century that the end was close at hand. As his contemporaries saw the approaching end of the Sixth Age, they assumed in increasing pessimism that all changes must be for the worse, and all catastrophes of nature and human corruption were interpreted as messianic signs of the impending advent of Antichrist.¹¹⁸ Although this change in historical perspective was brought about largely by the eschatological speculations of the Calabrian abbot Joachim of Fiore (d. 1202), many leading figures of the thirteenth century subscribed in one way or another to the general expectation of the world's imminent end.¹¹⁹ In 1227 and again in 1249, Frederick II wrote, "Perhaps we have reached the end of time" (*Forse nos sumus, ad quos devenerunt seculorum fines*),¹²⁰ a belief shared by the emperor's archadversary, Pope Gregory IX.¹²¹ Similar apprehensions were later expressed by men of such intellectual stature as Thomas Aquinas, Roger Bacon, and Dante.¹²²

The sense of impending crisis was both confirmed and exacerbated in 1238 by the horrifying news that the ravages of the dreaded Tartars had reached the frontiers of civilized Europe. Interpreted by many as the final unloosing of Gog and Magog, whose apocalyptic devastations signaled the approach of Antichrist, the Mongol threat turned vague eschatological apprehensions into expectations of a more concrete and immediate order.¹²³ Matthew's own interest in eschatological predictions concerning Antichrist is further documented by his insertion of three half-leaves on the Sibylline prophecies at the beginning of the *Chronica Majora* on pp. 15-20, which ends with an account of Antichrist as the satanic magician who subverts the world and releases the fierce peoples enclosed by Alexander, Gog and Magog.¹²⁴ The new urgency created by the appearance of the Tartar hordes very probably accounts for Matthew's quotation of the prophetic verses beneath Wendover's text of the Nativity in the *Chronica Majora*. He quotes them again at the end of one of five different letters describing the ravages of the Tartars in 1241-1242 which he had collected in the *Liber Addamentorum*, prefaced by the observation that, "In these times also, on account of

the terrible rumors of this kind, the following verses, declaring the coming of Antichrist, were spread about.¹²⁵ That these verses were of Joachite origin and were circulating in England during the thirteenth century is clearly documented by their appearance in several other manuscripts of the period, more frequently, however, giving the date for the advent of Antichrist as 1260 rather than mid-century.¹²⁶ For example, a Bible belonging to a Gilbertine house contains the following verses on the end leaf after the Apocalypse:

According to the prophet Joachim,
When a thousand two hundred years and six decades
Have passed since the Virgin gave birth,
Then Antichrist shall be born full of the devil.¹²⁷

Another codex from Bury St. Edmunds similarly ascribes the prophecy to Joachim of Fiore but gives the year as 1250.¹²⁸ Matthew's own awareness of Joachim's writings is evident in two separate references in the *Chronica Majora*, of which the first is signaled in the margin by a sketch of the Calabrian abbot's staff.¹²⁹ A concrete example of the seriousness with which Joachite calculations of the impending end of the world were taken near mid-century in England may be observed in Henry III's response to a rumor predicting the Last Judgment on the Feast of St. Lambert (September 17) in 1247: the king held a vigil throughout the preceding night, surrounded by the nobles of his court, in fasting and prayer.¹³⁰

The prophetic verses predicting the coming of Antichrist in 1250 had a profound impact on Matthew Paris's overall plan for the *Chronica Majora*. At one point he decided to end the work with the annual for that year and concluded his universal world chronicle with a dramatic summary of the prodigious events of the last half-century, all portending the end of the sixth and last age of the world, which had begun with the Incarnation of Christ. Although he was again to take up writing the *Chronica Majora* a few years later, presumably after his eschatological expectations had failed to materialize, and continued making entries until the end of his life in 1259, the resounding finality with which he invested his concluding assessment in 1250 leaves little doubt that Matthew felt compelled by some overriding portentous belief that his life's work was at an end in 1250. He begins his conclusion by saying:

At the expiration of this year, twenty-five half-centuries have elapsed in the era of God's grace, that is, one thousand two hundred and fifty years. . . . And there are some, indeed many writers and diligent observers of history, who say that not in all the other half-cen-

tures have so many prodigies and astonishing novelties both seen as in the one now ended; and even greater events than these are now expected with dread.¹¹¹

After recapitulating the most significant events of the last half-century, among which he awarded pride of place to the invasions of the Tartars, Paris concluded:

Here ends the chronicle of Brother Matthew Paris, monk of St. Albans. He committed it to writing for the benefit of posterity, out of love for God and for the honor of St. Alban, the English protomartyr, in order that the memory of modern events might not be destroyed by age or oblivion.

Since first the Virgin bore her son, now Phoebus
One thousand, fifty and two hundred times
His annual course has run; in all that time
Easter has never fallen on the sixth day
Preceding April's calends, in a year
That ends half a century, save the year now ended.

There have then elapsed twenty-five half-centuries since the Incarnation of our Lord . . .

Matthew's Chronicle here ends,
And the Jubilee Year sends
Repose down from the skies;
May repose to him be given,
Here on earth, and in heaven,
When he there shall rise.

Matthew, here your toils are over,
Stop your pen and labor no more:
Seek not what the future brings,
Another age has other things.¹¹²

At what point he decided to end his great chronicle at the year 1250 remains unknown, but it was very probably sometime after the Mongol scare of 1241-1242. The addition to Wendover's Nativity annal is written in Matthew's later, somewhat uneven hand. The verses, however, were written at the foot of the page before the drawing was made, as may be seen from the awkward cutting off of the lower extremities of the four-poster bed. The drawing is very sketchy and carelessly executed, giving the impression that it was done in great haste. The posts of the Virgin's bed wobble, and many lines have been clumsily drawn over several times, suggesting that the illustration probably belongs to the last months of Matthew's life, before Hand A took over the transcription of the text. However,

Paris appears to have left the Nativity drawing in an unfinished state. While the crude renderings of the four-poster bed and the Christ Child watched over by the animals bear unmistakable signs of Paris's late style, the head of the Virgin is very different and was evidently carried out by another hand. The delicate treatment of the hair, eyes, and mouth suggests the same hand (B) that was responsible for completing some of the heads and the whole of the next scene on fols. 4v and 5 in Matthew's unfinished cycle of illustrations in the *Lives of the Offas* (see Figs. 3-4).¹³¹ The Nativity drawing in MS 26 of the *Chronica Majora* might very well have been completed by Hand B after Matthew's death. Nonetheless, the drawing must have been originally conceived by Paris. It is tempting to conjecture that the tinted sketch was intended to draw the reader's attention back to the initial salvific impact of Wendover's entry on the birth of Christ after the apocalyptic prophecy for 1250 had failed to materialize. Yet we may still observe that the conventional composition is carefully structured to form a striking visual link between the texts of the two advents, the past coming of Christ and the future coming of Antichrist. We should also remember that Matthew Paris did not live to see the uneventful passing of the second portentous year of 1260 and that he left his prophetic verses and concluding resignation in the annal for the year 1250 intact and unchanged.¹³² Thus the last of Matthew's images in the great St. Albans chronicle still stands as a moving visual witness to an ephemeral but nevertheless profound response to the implications of a medieval prophecy.

St. Albans

Paris's deep interest in the prophecies of Metlan and the Sibylline Books represents the more intellectual aspect of his fascination with a much larger body of extraordinary experiences in dreams, visions, and miracles, particularly those occurring in religious communities. The monastic chronicles of his time are filled with enthusiastic accounts describing visionary experiences of a prophetic kind generally touching upon strictly local interests. As one would expect, a large number of entries in the *Chronica Majora* first written by Roger Wendover and then by Matthew Paris are concerned with visions and revelations relating to St. Albans.¹³³ Although these portents aim no higher than the discovery of relics or the miracles of local saints, they constituted evidence on a local scale that historical events could be known through prophetic revelation, and the divine

inspiration of their occurrence invested them with a special efficacy and significance sometimes reaching far beyond the walls of the abbey.

The illustration of the martyrdom of St. Alban at the foot of p. 116 in MS 26 (Pl. VIII) offers an example of this genre replete with a wealth of interpretive refinements. Unlike the images accompanying Paris's marginal additions to Roger's text, the drawing of St. Alban's martyrdom is pure interpolation. The account of the English protomartyr's death does not appear in Wendover's annal dealing with the discovery of his relics,¹⁷⁶ and the drawing is explained only by a few terse lines in the caption:

Slain Alban, you tear out your executioner's eyes,
And the dried-up stream gives forth a fresh spring.

(*Albanus caesus, sua tunc tibi Iamque carere,
Erata, sicca flumina fonsque datur.*)

The legend in dark brown script accompanying the illustration refers to two miracles from Bede's Life of St. Alban.¹⁷⁷ A prodigious spring of fresh water is reported to have gushed forth near the executioner's feet, but the stream in Matthew's drawing is almost imperceptible, rendered in a faint blue wash with *fons* written above in the same pale tint. His version of the martyrdom focuses instead on the first, more dramatic miracle of divine vengeance upon the beastryman, whose eyes fall out at the moment of Alban's decapitation. Paris repeats Bede's emphasis on God's demonstration of omnipotence on earth through divine rewards and punishments and the miraculous power of his saints to suspend the laws of nature.¹⁷⁸

It seems very probable, however, that Matthew originally added a similar textual account of Alban's martyrdom next to his illustration on p. 116. Immediately to the right, the erased outline of a triangular green and red frame surrounding several lines of text is still faintly visible.¹⁷⁹ Since the erasure fits so snugly against the tinted sketch with its legend at the left, we may assume that the text addition was contemporary with it and was sponged or scraped off at a later date. The textual basis for the illustration now occurs more than fifty pages earlier in the *Chronica Majora* in Wendover's entry for A. D. 304, in which the simultaneous actions of the beheading of Alban and the blinding of his executioner are given on p. 52:

Thereupon he who leveled his sword on the neck of the highest of men cut off the head of the martyr with one blow: but at the same time as he struck the martyr's head, his eyes fell onto the ground, leaving him in total darkness.¹⁸⁰

In the margin Matthew added the following verses in rubric:

Sancus Albanus martirizatur
Cujus percussor lumine privatur.
Unde quidam:
Martyr obii victor.
Privatur lumine victor.

A local precedent for the depiction of this gory scene already existed in a full-page miniature in the early twelfth-century *Albani Psalter* (Fig. 57), in which the executioner's eyes are shown falling to the ground.¹⁴¹ However, the *Albani Psalter* version dating from 1119 gives a fuller narrative to include the judge standing with his staff of office at the left and an angel receiving St. Alban's soul released from his mouth as his decapitated body falls to the ground. The drawing in the *Chronica Majora* may have been inspired by another, more celebrated twelfth-century model, now lost, which had been executed in gold and silver by Magister Johannes on the front



FIGURE 57. *Martyrdom of St. Alban.*
Hildesheim, Library of St. Gudbert, fol. 200r.



110V KR 54. *Martyrdom of St. Alban*. Dublin, Trinity College 177, fol. 38.

face of the outer casket of St. Alban's shrine and which was placed above the main altar in the abbey church in such a way that the celebrant would have before him the image of the protomartyr's decapitation as he recited mass over the relics.¹⁴¹ In Matthew's striking rendition of the headsman catching his eyes, it looks almost as if he were plucking them out; his illustration of the scene in the *Trinity Life of St. Alban* in Dublin (Fig. 38) is identical in this respect.¹⁴² The ghastly gesture suggests a characteristic moral interpretation in which we are invited to see the evil deed generating its own retribution. In the *Chronica Majora* version, however, Paris omits the rich details of the distinctive brown woolly cloak and the peculiar ferule-shaped cross, which function throughout the Dublin illustrations as important narrative elements as well as the protomartyr's attributes.¹⁴³ With the two figures now facing each other, locked together in a dramatic confrontation, the stark composition concentrates on the simultaneous martyrdom of Alban and the blinding of his adversary. The artist rivets our attention on this relationship between crime and punishment by conflating the two frozen gestures of the executioner: action and reaction are poised at opposite ends

of a plunging diagonal movement that ends in the severed head of Alban. The figures are drawn in talient outline which becomes almost vehement in its delineation of the curving contours around the lower part of Alban's prostrate body; here the delicate pale green tones of the satiny drapery are enclosed within a heavy black line, forming a dramatic contrast with the angular shape of the executioner dressed in a tunic sprinkled with small red dotted rosettes, looking as if it had been spattered with the blood spouting from the decapitated martyr at his feet.

Among the Benedictine houses of England the great abbey of St. Alban held its unique position of privilege and wealth because of its possession of the relics of the British protomartyr.¹⁶⁵ Illustrating Wendover's text on p. 117, a similar composition depicting the discovery of St. Alban's relics by King Offa (Fig. 59) faces Matthew's drawing of the martyr's execution. The action unfolds from left to right, but the figures are enclosed in a bracketed configuration to echo the action of the adjacent martyrdom scene. Thus the analogues in visual structure connect events otherwise separated by almost five hundred years. In this case Paris has chosen to place his illustration of the martyrdom far from its proper chronological position in the manuscript in order to bring the image into immediate juxtaposition with King Offa's discovery of the relics.

While St. Alban's execution gave England an illustrious proto-



FIGURE 59. King Offa Discovering St. Alban's Relics. Cambridge, *Corpus Christi College 16*, p. 117.

martyr, it was the miraculous discovery of his relics in 793 by the Mercian king Offa from which purportedly flowed all the special privileges of the Benedictine monastery that was built on that sacred spot. Following the discovery of Alban's remains, Roger's chronicle tells us, King Offa went to Rome, where he succeeded in obtaining from Pope Adrian I both the canonization of Alban and authorization to found a monastery:

The Curia yielded readily, and especially since the discovery of the martyr was brought so light by heaven. On the founding of the monastery and exempting it from all episcopal jurisdiction, [the king] consulted the Curia, to which the Roman pontiff responded as follows: "Most beloved son Offa, most powerful king of the English, we greatly commend your devotion to the protomartyr of your kingdom, and gladly give our assent to your petition . . . and we will adopt that monastery as a favored daughter of the Roman Church . . . without the intervention of bishop or archbishop."¹³⁶

King Offa's solicitous concern for the abbey's future welfare and privileges and Pope Adrian's willing generosity in exempting St. Alban from episcopal jurisdiction and payment of apostolic rents (the *Romescon*) offer a utopian paradigm to the greedy popes and submissive kings whose policies threatened the monastery's corporate wealth and traditional liberties in the thirteenth century.

Matthew's pictorial celebration of the miraculous invention could have been partly motivated to quell rival claims to St. Alban's relics; the controversy between St. Alban and Ely over this issue lasted for several hundred years.¹³⁷ In Paris's drawing the good King Offa, having been guided by heavenly signals, points with a vermilion staff held in both hands as if it were a divining rod to the spot where St. Alban is buried; in the rough ground two men with pick and shovel uncover the shrouded corpse in a wooden coffin "which had been forgotten for about three hundred and forty-four years."¹³⁸ The obvious contradiction between the myth of the neglected tomb and Bede's account of the continuous veneration of St. Alban's remains since the late fifth century has been ignored by Roger's text and Matthew's illustration. Instead, they dramatize the legend first documented by William of Malmesbury in connection with the early twelfth-century dedication of the new church under Abbot Richard (1097-1119).¹³⁹

To support these claims for the foundation of his house by King Offa and its papal exemptions dating from the eighth century, Matthew Paris brought together an impressive collection of documents and foundation charters in the *Liber Adducentorum*. His train of

terest lay in proving his abbey's traditional claim that its sweeping exemptions from ecclesiastical and royal supervision all dated from its foundation, although they had in fact been acquired during the twelfth century. In MS Cotton Nero D. I, Matthew inserted two charters written in another hand on fols. 148–155v which in their present form are both forgeries. Labeled in Paris's rubric hand, "Antiqua et primitiva munimenta ecclesie Sancti Albani Anglorum protomartyris," they purport to date the exemption of St. Albans and all its possessions from royal and episcopal authority to the period of Offa in the eighth century.¹²⁸ Even Offa's journey to Rome seems to have been fabricated, for there is no mention of the abbey in Vatican records until two centuries later.¹²⁹ In fact, all St. Albans' special privileges date from the twelfth century, from the earliest granting of papal protection by Callixtus II in 1122 to the abbey's independence from the bishop of Lincoln's jurisdiction sanctioned by Adrian IV in 1155–1157 and the testating of its release from taxation and control by Clement III in 1188.¹³⁰

The drawings in MS 26 of the *Chronica Majora* serve to counter thirteenth-century threats against St. Albans from both crown and papacy by reasserting the authenticity of the abbey's relics, thereby supporting the pious fiction of its special position conferred by the English king and the Roman pontiff at the end of the eighth century. Paris repeated his illustration of the martyrdom of St. Alban in the upper right-hand margin at the end of Offa's first charter of 793 on fol. 149 in the *Liber Additamentorum* (Fig. 60). The rough untimed sketch in light brown ink over a preliminary drawing in lead point is almost identical with the *Chronica Majora* illustration. At the foot of the same folio in the *Liber Additamentorum* the following note in Matthew's hand provides a clue for dating both his addition to Wendenover's chronicle and the compilation of spurious documents in the *Liber Additamentorum*:

From the foundation of the monastery of St. Albans by the illustrious King Offa, which he established in the first year of his reign . . . [these privileges] proceeded up to the thirtieth year of his reign . . . [these privileges] the same great king who in the middle of his fortieth year held a parliament shortly following the Council of Lyons . . .¹³¹

Although he left the sentence unfinished, it seems clear that Matthew's insistence upon the priority of the Offa charters constitutes a vigorous response against the papal revocation at the Council of Lyons of all such English exemptions, which was read at the king's



FIGURE 60. Martyrdom of St. Alban. B.L., Cotton Nero D. I, fol. 149.

parliament held in London in 1246.¹⁵⁴ Ten years later a rule was made at St. Albans that at the end of each canonical hour, and at other times as well, the prayer, "May the soul of King Offa repose in peace," be repeated aloud by all the monks.¹⁵⁵ Moreover, Paris concluded the Dublin *Life of St. Alban* with yet another image to authenticate his abbey's claims. The last illustration (Fig. 61) reveals King Offa kneeling at the altar as he presents his sealed charter to the conspired abbot, while outside a small figure rings the monastery bells in joyous celebration.

In the late twelfth century a new and extended *passio* of St. Alban was written by William, a monk of the abbey, on command of the abbot.¹⁵⁶ This revised version included the miraculous discovery of the relics of his companion martyr Amphibalus, whose name seems to have been invented by Geoffrey of Monmouth in 1136–1138. According to the later twelfth-century monastic legend, St. Alban is said to have been converted and baptized by a fugitive priest in whose mantle he was disguised when he was arrested and condemned to death. The priest, who may have been named Amphibalus from some confusion with this cloak (*amphibalus*), was then stoned to death a few days later at Redbourn.¹⁵⁷

Roger Wendover's entry for 1178 in the *Chronica Majora* above gives a lengthy account of how Robert, a pious layman of the town of St. Albans, had a vision of the sainted protomartyr in which he



FIGURE 61. King Offa Presenting His Charter to the Abbot, Dublin, Trinity College 177, fol. 61.



FIGURE 62. *Discovery of the Relics of St. Amphibalus.* Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 26, p. 270.

was taken to the spot where the priest Amphibalus was buried in a small chest.¹¹⁴ Matthew's drawing appears at the foot of the page next to his own substantial addition describing in detail St. Alban's wondrous appearance to the townsman (Fig. 62).¹¹⁵ Although he framed his text addition within a heavy green line to make it stand out on the page, the drawing does not illustrate his interpolation but instead represents the actual finding of the bodies, reported later in Roger's text on pp. 271–272. The marvellous nature of the discovery is emphasized by the presence of Robert, the townsman who appears at the beginning of the legend on p. 270, standing at the left in a red cap, anxiously pointing at the small chest described in his vision. Matthew labeled this figure in rubric, "Robertus civis sancti Albani cognomento Mercet"; the surname must be from another source, since it does not appear in Roger's account. The two workmen with pickaxes, we are told by the inscription, "Inventio sancti Amphibali martyris sociorumque eius," are uncovering the remains of St. Amphibalus and his companions, an event that occurs two pages later. Although Matthew's drawing appears immediately next to one of his text additions in the margin, the image actually functions as an illustration of two conflated episodes from Roger's text. In both the later *Historia Anglorum* (Fig. 63) and the *Abbreveiatio Chroniconum*,



FIGURE 63. *Discovery of the Relics of St. Amphibalus.* B.L., *Reg. 14. C. VII, fol. 68.*

MS Cotton Claudius D. VI, fol. 33v, the representation of the exhumation of St. Amphibalus is reduced to a pair of arms digging into the brown earth with a pickaxe.

In this sequence of three illustrations dealing with Sts. Alban and Amphibalus we may observe a characteristic example of Matthew's efforts to synthesize and unify events over more than 150 pages of text to counteract the discursive and disruptive flow of unrelated materials within the restricted format of his chronological annals. Judging from the differences in handwriting and drawing style, however, the marginal additions in Corpus Christi MS 26 seem to have been made over a long period of time at widely separated intervals. The illustration of Alban's martyrdom was apparently executed first and was probably accompanied by a text addition giving an account of the *passio*. Since many of the most significant details present in the Trinity version of Alban are absent, such as the martyr's distinctive cross and the brown woolly mantle borrowed from Amphibalus, the *Chronica Majora* drawing might have been done earlier. Because of its clumsy drawing and heavier proportions in the figures, the scene of King Offa discovering Alban's relics on p. 117 looks to have been done much later. Having added the Offa illustration on the facing page, Matthew then apparently decided to erase the triangular text addition next to the illustration on p. 116 because it would have disrupted the continuity between these two important visual reminders of St. Alban's foundation. The rough sketch of the martyrdom in the *Libre Additiones* probably also dates from this period. Although very far removed from the pair of Alban illustrations on facing pages in MS 26, the third sketch toward the end of that volume, depicting the invention of Amphibalus's relics, looks earlier than the Offa drawing and closer to, but probably not contemporary with, the Alban martyrdom. The first illustration on p. 116 intersects material not present in Wendover's text but probably given in a marginal addition subsequently erased; the sketch concerning the relics of his companion martyr on p. 270 conflates episodes from Roger's chronicle and is accompanied by a marginal addition by Matthew, and the last on p. 117 is a literal illustration of Wendover's text. From our observation of the protracted and complex development of this sequence of marginal additions to Wendover in MS 26, we may surmise that Paris's concern with the welfare of his abbey caused him to devise various strategies in both text and image over a remarkably long period to stress a single dramatic message.

In the second volume of the *Chronica Majora* we encounter three more closely unrelated drawings accompanying a series of addi-

tions to Wendover's text, all having to do with the punishment of an enemy of St. Alban, the villainous knight Faukes de Beauté. The first illustration, in the right-hand margin of fol. 50 (Fig. 64), deals with his crime against the abbey and town in 1217 and the prophecy of the culprit's retribution revealed in a dream. Roger reports the event as follows:

The wicked robber Faukes assembled a force of knights . . . and went to the estate of St. Alban, made an unexpected attack on the place, pillaged it, and made prisoners of the men and children. . . . After the



FIGURE 64. *Dream of Faukes de Beauté*
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 50.

perpetration of this abominable crime by these agents of the devil, he sent an order to Abbot William to deliver in all haste a hundred pounds of silver; otherwise he would burn down the whole town, along with the monastery. Whereupon the abbot, after many arguments, having no other recourse, paid the money demanded.¹⁰⁰

Matthew then interjects a new conclusion to the episode by recounting Fawkes's vision and pretended repentance:

One night afterward, the same Fawkes saw in a vision an enormous stone from the tower of St. Albans fall upon him like a thunderbolt and crush him into dust . . . a sign of future revenge for the crime he had perpetrated.

In this case the addition is not written in the margin but is interpolated into the body of the text in the same scribal hand (not that of Paris). The marginal drawing illustrates only the episode described in the added text, Fawkes's premonition of providential punishment, signaled by the legend in rubric above, "Mark the miracle of St. Alban."

A huge dull green stone has fallen on the back of the villain creeping stealthily from St. Alban's tower.¹⁰¹ Although the image represents a fair accomplishment, the composition suggests an incomplete action with unseen consequences to follow on succeeding pages. The steep descending angle of the falling action does not stop with the bent figure but continues forward in the directional thrusts of the knight's arms and legs dancing in anguish toward the right, thereby hinting at more to follow with the turning of the page. Matthew's visual anticipation reinforces the promise of future retribution given by his added text, in which he tells us that Fawkes went to the abbey and obtained absolution from the monks, but that he did not return any of the property or ransom he had seized:

Christ's faith [sic] stood at the entrance to the chapter house, hoping for at least some reparation, [but] he spurned those expectant looks and passed on, not knowing that threatening prophecy of revenge which the Lord God of vengeance, at the complaint of the blessed Alban, had reserved for him. "Woe unto you, robber, for you shall be robbed." And in the end he learned this from experience, as the ensuing narrative shall make clear.¹⁰²

Seven years and ten folios later, the ominous prediction is at least partially fulfilled in the king's capture of Bedford Castle and the subsequent hanging of twenty-four of Fawkes's men. Both ruthless and devoted to the memory of his former patron, King John, Fawkes

rebelled against Henry III by refusing to relinquish Bedford Castle to the royal domain. After a siege of eight weeks, his brother, William de Braune, and his garrison of eleven knights surrendered.³⁴³ The episode is illustrated at the bottom of fol. 60 (Fig. 65) to accompany Wendover's text:

On the following day all the rest [of the garrison] came out of the castle dreadfully bruised and wounded, and were taken before the king who ordered them all to be hanged.³⁴⁴

When Fawkes learned of the hanging, he came to beg the king for mercy but was instead deprived of all his castles, lands, and possessions.

And indeed almost in a moment, the same Fawkes, from having been the richest, became one of the poorest of men and can be put forward as an example, mostly to the wicked.³⁴⁵

Matthew Paris adds his own flames to the fire of retribution by reporting in the margin that Fawkes had destroyed a church at Bedford and this was its vindication. He then adds a second account of the seizure of Bedford Castle by Fawkes and its recapture in which he



FIGURE 65. Capture of Bedford Castle.
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 60.



FIGURE 66. *Obituary of Fawkes de Breougé*.
 Cambridge, *Carpus Christi* Coll. 16, fol. 62v.

describes the villain as “a native of Normandy, a dirty bastard on his mother’s side, who had lately arrived on a shaggy plow horse with a knapsack on his back.”¹³⁹

The illustration of this episode is very similar to that of the first: the high tower of St. Albans at the left is now the tower of Bedford Castle; the bent fleeing figure of Fawkes at the lower right is replaced by the blindfolded figures of Fawkes’s men, identified by the banner emblazoned with rosettes from his coat of arms mounted on the makeshift gallows. Since neither Wendover nor Paris mentions it, the triumphant royal banner flying from Bedford tower was apparently based on another source, such as the Dunstable chronicler who concludes his account, “and the enemy . . . submitted to the king’s will, raising the royal standard on top of the tower.”¹⁴⁰ The open-ended triangular composition again suggests that there is more to follow in the saga of Fawkes.

In 1226, nine years after his crime against St. Albans, Fawkes finally received his just desert. After announcing on fol. 64v that Fawkes de Breougé ended his wicked life at St. Cyr, Wendover gives a long litany of the abbey’s grievances against him, into which Matthew interpolates two further complaints that he ruined St. Albans’ crops and murdered the abbot’s cook, and concludes:

He [Fawkes] did indeed feel the stone descend upon his head when, after having beheld his brother and friends hung at Bedford a short time afterward, he himself went forth into exile a poor man, and now he ended his life in a miserable death.¹⁴¹



FIGURE 67. *St. Alban Being Led to His Execution.*
 Dublin, Trinity College 173, fol. 37v.

Then at the bottom of the page in a cursive hand Paris adds:

Would that many formidable stones crush him even now in bell!
 He died of poison, having gorged himself with fish that was very effi-
 caciously poisoned; after taking his supper he lay down to sleep and
 was later discovered dead, black and stinking, inexcuse, without re-
 ceiving the Sacrament of any rites, and was at once ignobly buried; and
 thus reaping the fruits of his deeds, he ended his wicked life horribly,
 lamented only by dry tears.¹⁹⁶

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At the top of the page near the heading, Matthew represents a hairy brown devil urging the poisoned pale blue fish into the open mouth of the hapless Fawkes, while an inverted shield bearing a white rosette on a red ground appears below to signify his decease (Fig. 66).¹⁹⁷ Fawkes's Norman emblem appears again in the *Dublin Life of St. Alban* (Fig. 67) where one of Alban's chief persecutors is portrayed as a knight wearing a helmet and surcoat marked with rosettes. Just as Matthew's text gloats over Fawkes's sordid end, the closed composition conveys a sense of finality to the triumph of St. Alban over his wicked Norman foe, bringing to a conclusion a series of events unfolded over the course of nine years.

Paris's vindictive sentiments toward Fawkes were not assuaged entirely, however, by the horrible demise of the villain. In a much later entry on the death in 1252 of his widow Margaret, Countess de Liske, he repeated the earlier story of the robber's vision of "a stone

of astonishing size falling like a thunderbolt upon him from the tower of St. Albans' church, crushing him to dust."⁶⁷ In this later version the complaint is changed into a cautionary tale to suit the occasion of Countess Margaret's obituary, ending with "an infidel husband . . . saved by a faithful wife." Urged by his pious spouse, Fawkes went to St. Albans and summoned the abbot:

with beaded knees, clasped hands, and untimely tears, he said: "My lord, have pity on me; I have seriously offended God, his martyr St. Alban and you, but have mercy on this sinner. With your permission I will now speak to the community assembled in the chapter house and ask their pardon in your presence for the offenses I have committed." The abbot granted this request, admitting in the woful the gentleness and humility of the laity. Fawkes was thereupon stripped of his clothing, followed by his attendants and men-at-arms similarly stripped; and bearing in his hand a rod (*viga*), commonly called a *bates*, he entered the chapter house and, after he confessed his guilt . . . discipline was administered to his naked flesh by each of the brothers. And then, having put on his clothes, he sat down next to the abbot and openly declared: "My wife made me do this on account of a dream. But if you exact restitution of what I have taken from you, I shall now listen." And on that he withdrew.⁶⁷

A tiny sketch in red line (15 mm. high) representing a bundle of birch rods, captioned "disciplinas," stands in the right-hand margin of fol. 263 (Fig. 68) as a visual symbol of Fawkes's punishment at the hands of the injured monks of St. Albans. At last Matthew's obsession with revenge against this knight has been satisfied.

The Papacy

The early decades of the thirteenth century witnessed in the papal monarchy of Innocent III an awesome consolidation of political power and amassing of wealth as well as the achievement of supreme moral and spiritual authority. Founded on traditions established by Gregory VII and Alexander III, the Church's claim to absolute jurisdiction over all moral, spiritual, and ecclesiastical issues inevitably led to papal intervention in the internal political affairs of Europe's sovereign kingdoms.⁶⁸ In its extension of Church government into the realm of terrestrial power, the new rigors inaugurated by Pope Innocent III exerted particularly painful pressures upon England. In the midst of a civil war, King John was forced to make his submission to the papal legate in 1213 and to surrender his kingdom

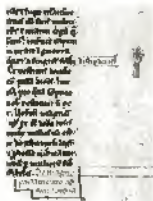


FIGURE 68. A Bundle of Birch Rods. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 263

as fief to the Roman See. In return for a burdensome annual tribute, papal support succeeded in restoring a measure of stability to the English throne and in warding off the threat of French invasion. However, the political reality of the Church's overlordship that was to endure throughout the reign of John's successor, Henry III, was rendered intolerable to many Englishmen who, like Matthew Paris, objected to the papacy's increasing dependence on the Curia and papal legates to administer petitions, ecclesiastical patronage, taxation of benefices, and clerical incomes.

For rich and heavily propertied older houses like St. Albans, the new papal demands of discipline and taxation were especially onerous, threatening losses of both income and privilege. While English prelates at home witnessed what they regarded as constant papal interference in local affairs and appropriation of goods and land by an army of Italian legatine agents, English churchmen's experiences of Rome and the Curia were marked by pervasive disillusionment and bitterness.¹²⁴ From 1200 on, the annals of the *Chronica Majora* ring out with expressions of grievance and invective against the popes and the Curia. With papal taxation as the chief cause of clerical alienation, Rome is perceived as a relentless and tyrannical Leviathan of monetary greed. On the other hand, although habitually outspoken and blunt in assailing the character of kings and barons, Matthew Paris more frequently prefers to attack the popes indirectly. By reporting that "certain holy and religious men are disgusted with the pope,"¹²⁵ for example, he vents his own spleen with impunity.¹²⁶

In his illustrated addition to Wendover's account of the Fourth



FIGURE 69. Lateran Council IV. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 41r.

Lateran Council in 1215, Matthew launched a characteristically oblique attack on the presiding pope, Innocent III. The sketch which appears at the foot of fol. 43v in MS 26 (Fig. 69) is one of the most curious and enigmatic illustrations in the entire chronicle. Roger's text describes the opening convocation of bishops at which Innocent III preached "concerning the business of the cross and the subjugation of the Holy Land" and then quotes the papal sermon on the Crusade in full.¹⁷ Instead of representing the pope addressing the assembly, however, the illustration shows the bishops facing each other in two opposing groups. The caption written in the space between them simply designates the scene as "Concilium sub Innocentio Papa celebratum in ecclesia Lateranensi," but in many respects the composition resembles Paris's drawing in *A/Bar* illustrating the dispute between the bishop of Auxerre and the Pelagian heretics (Fig. 70). Eleven bishops, among whom Pope Innocent III may be represented at the right holding a cross staff,¹⁸ all gesticulate wildly as if engaged in a vehement argument. They emerge as half-length figures from a rough ground modeled in light green. The densely compacted heads erupt into two small volcanic peaks from the undulating ground, each with jagged outlines broken by the angular shapes of the bishops' miters and red crosses. Two of the prelates thrust aggressive gesticulating hands into the interval separating them in the center. The intense, solemn expression of their faces is heightened by the addition of light brown wash around the eyes and a faint pink flush on the cheeks; a pale blue shadow of beard appears along the jawline of each figure.¹⁹



FIGURE 70. *Dispute with the Pelagians*. Dublin, Trinity College 177, fol. 54r.

While the image could have been intended simply as an exaggerated visual metaphor to convey the feeling of suffocation mentioned by other chroniclers describing the crowds at the first session of Lateran IV¹⁰⁰ (and indeed the numbers of various prelates are listed below in small cursive script),¹⁰¹ the tone of the sketch suggests something more dramatic and momentous. The contentious groups seem to be mired in bilious green waves that evoke the flavor of the insulting epithets cast at Rome by Matthew Paris and other thirteenth-century English chroniclers, such as “quicksands of Roman subtlety” or “sulphurous fountain of the Roman Church.”¹⁰²

Paris had immediate and pressing reasons to view Lateran IV in a bad light, for its canons dealing with church reform had a devastating effect on the independence and prestige of his abbey. Innocent III stripped all Benedictine houses of their autonomy and placed St. Albans under the jurisdiction of Canterbury. Each new abbot-elect was compelled to present himself in person at Rome for papal confirmation, thus subjecting the head of the most prestigious Benedictine house in England to the additional indignity of paying huge fees and bribes to a host of greedy officials both within and without the Curia. As a result of Lateran IV, the popes of the thirteenth century came to be regarded as oppressive masters by the monks of St. Albans.¹⁰³

In the *Historia Anglorum* Paris reports that before Innocent would give permission for the delegates to leave after the last session of the council, each was required to pay a large sum which he was obliged to borrow at high interest from the bankers of the Roman Curia.¹⁰⁴ Elsewhere, in the *Gesta Abbatum*, he describes the scene of Abbot William of St. Albans taking leave of the pope as an exploited victim escaping an extortionist. At the moment when the abbot was to receive the apostolic blessing, the pope asked, “Are you not the abbot of St. Albans who has received so many privileges and benefactions from the Roman See? Is it fitting for a person of your importance and worth to take leave without having consideration for the pope?” The abbot offered fifty marks, but Innocent grumbled at him for giving so little. William was not able to leave the pontifical chamber without having been taxed a hundred marks which he had to borrow, at very hard terms, from papal bankers. But he endured this ordeal without complaints because, as Matthew explains, “the pope plays the same trick on all the prelates.”¹⁰⁵

Paris’s disconcerting image of Innocent III disputing among the bishops in the *Chronica Majora* (Fig. 69) may indeed allude to the pope’s avaricious haggling at the close of Lateran IV, for the cryptic text at the left reports a slanderous tale referring to his greed:

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Someone who was present at this council said about the noble tower that Pope Innocent had built for his brother Count Richard with money stolen from the Church: "Through the vice of Jezebel, Bel stands at Rome in a new shrine. Abel is condemned by his brother's possession of Babel."

Matthew then explains that by Abel is meant the pope and that Babel "was and is the tower of confusion and sin." The verses actually refer to an old scandal that had occurred fifteen years before Lateran IV in connection with the infamous *Tor de' Conti*, built by Innocent III in front of the Capitol as a fortress for his brother and ally, Richard of Segni, to stand as a challenge against the Roman commune and senate.¹³⁵ "Surpassing in height and width all other towers," the huge fortified structure sheltering the Conti and their retainers was viewed by the pope's detractors as tangible evidence of his overweening pride.¹³⁶ The bulky base of this hated symbol of factional strife and arrogant power now stands on the Via Cavour, still massive even after its partial destruction in a mid-fourteenth-century earthquake.¹³⁷ During the civil disorders and constitutional crisis of 1202–1203, the pope's open support of his brother caused widespread rumors of embezzlement and accusations of nepotism and extortion. Although the crisis eventually ended in a papal triumph over the Roman commune, Innocent's strategies long remained the target of malicious gossip.

Pacci was fond not only of satirical verses of this kind, but also of plays on words having a similar sound but different meanings. Since he usually disguised his own strong opinions of the pope by attributing derogatory speeches and rumors to others, the use of his favorite Leonine hexameter and the heavy play on words with similar sounds suggest that these scandalous verses were probably written by Matthew himself.¹³⁸ Poetic barbs at the papacy were by no means uncommon in the thirteenth century. A work entitled *Pizzo*, written by an anonymous Ghibelline in connection with the Council of Lyons in 1245, satirized all the delegates as various birds presided over by the pope, who is portrayed as a peacock.¹³⁹

Matthew's drawing mirrors a whole stream of complaints against the avarice of the papal court that runs throughout his part of the chronicle. In one particularly pungent invective passage, he uses the same Jezebel image of barkot to describe the Curia:

The insatiable cupidity of the Roman court grew to such an extent, confounding right with wrong, that, laying all modesty aside, like a common brazen-faced strumpet exposed for hire to all, it considered usury a trivial offense and simony no crime at all.¹⁴¹

Elsewhere we read:

And what is to be said of you, oh Pope, who ought to stand forth as an example to the whole world . . . you defend this drainer and extorter of the wealth of England [King John] . . . that everything may be absorbed into the gulf of Roman avarice.¹⁹⁵

Taken together, the sardonic sketch and bold "quotation" of slander against Innocent III at the Fourth Lateran Council constitute a strongly biased indictment clearly emanating from the hand of Matthew Paris.

In the annual for the following year (1216) Matthew made an unusual intrusion into the middle of Roger's chapter on the siege and capture of a royal castle by Louis of France and the rebel barons. Written in Paris's hand on fol. 49v, it reads:

While the fortunes of the English king were in such a state of turmoil, Pope Innocent, whose unsteady hand upset the administration of the Church, according to custom carried the image of the face of the Lord, which is called the Veronica, in procession from the Church of St. Peter to the Hospital of the Holy Spirit. That having been done, this effigy, while standing in its place, turned around upon itself and was reversed in such a way that the forehead was below and the beard above. Very much taken aback, the pope sadly believed that a foreboding prophecy had occurred, and in order that he might be reconciled to God, on the advice of the brothers [the Hospitallers under whom Innocent had placed the hospital],¹⁹⁶ he composed an elegant prayer in honor of this effigy called the Veronica.¹⁹⁷

Matthew then quotes the orison and its indulgences in full to accompany a sensitively rendered tinted drawing of the Veronica on a piece of fine vellum (80 × 85 mm.) which he pasted onto the page (Pl. IV).¹⁹⁸ In order to fit the text as well as the picture into the small space within the text column, Matthew had to reduce the scale of his script to an almost illegible minuscule hand.¹⁹⁹

With the exception of the imperial seal on fol. 76v, the Veronica is the only illustration in the *Chronica Majora* that has been framed and inserted into the text column. Here we are confronted with one of the handful of drawings unanimously attributed to Matthew Paris—a masterful, meticulously rendered and tinted representation of the Holy Face very similar to the rigid frontal bust of Christ at the lower right on p. 283 in MS 26 (see Frontispiece). The *Vultus Domini* is delicately modeled in pale brown washes, with a faint blush of vermilion tint on the cheeks and lips, as well as at the inner corners of the neck at the collar line. Paint touches of pink tint also

appear at the corners of the eyes, while almost imperceptible bluish-white irises have been painted around the large dark brown pupils to intensify their already hypnotic gaze. The sudden shift in scale from the small lively figures in the marginal sketches to this huge staring face creates a dramatic effect which ingeniously suggests the supernatural aura of the miracle without actually depicting the grotesque reversal of features described in the text.

In England this type of *effigies Christi* represented in the form of a short bust without hands, very similar to the *Chronica Majora* version, occurs in at least four other thirteenth-century manuscripts as full-page miniatures accompanied by the text of the Office, for example, in the end-pieces in the Westminster Psalter (MS Roy. 2. A. XXII, fol. 221v),¹⁷¹ and in the Lambeth Apocalypse (Lambeth Palace MS 209, fol. 33v),¹⁷² as well as the vermillion at the bottom of fol. 6v in the Evesham Psalter (B. L. MS Add. 44874). By far the most impressive, however, is the extraordinary frontispiece which was later pasted onto a binding strip at the beginning of a psalter probably made for Oxford use ca. 1200 (Pl. V).¹⁷³ Dating from ca. 1240, the image on fol. 2 in B. L. MS Arundel 157 represents the earliest Veronica in Western art. The face of Christ is drawn and painted on an isolated page of slightly smaller dimensions with a blank verso in a remarkably elegant but powerful style by a hand unmistakably that of Matthew Paris.¹⁷⁴ Within an almost square frame (145 × 130 mm.) the frontal bust stands above the text of the same prayer given on fol. 49v in the *Chronica Majora*, with only a few variations, written in Matthew's early small fastidious script.¹⁷⁵ The figure is drawn in flowing but emphatic dark contour lines, while the interior details are delicately executed with a finer, lighter touch. Like the head of Christ in MS 16, the face is subtly modeled in pale brown and ochre washes, the cheeks and lips tinted vermillion, while the hair and beard are similarly but more finely drawn and tinted with various brown washes, with the moustache rendered as fine hairs at the corners of the mouth and the beard distinctively parted in the center and ending in two elegantly curled points. The more heavily shadowed eyes have the same touches of pink at the corners and the circle of white paint around the dark pupils to represent the irises. In contrast with the *Chronica Majora* version, the ground in MS Arundel 157 is heavily painted an intense blue but is still decorated with tiny white dotted rosettes, while the dusky pink hue is reserved for the inner border. Outlined in burnished gold patterned with dotted punch marks, the interior of the nimbus cruciger bears a striated gray-blue cross marked with small open white circles against a

shaded vermilion ground. Unlike the simply clad figure in MS 16, Christ is elaborately dressed in a tunic of soft gray-blue with a wide collar magnificently decorated with rosettes finely etched in plum and vermilion between burnished gold bands, while a soft green mantle covers the right shoulder. All these features occur again in the same configuration, albeit in a more cursory form, in Matthew's majestic enthroned Virgin in the *Historia Anglorum* (Fig. 2).

FIG. 17

The Veronica bust in MS Arundel 157 is an anomaly within the manuscript. In contrast with the traditional psalter illustrations which follow, Paris's extraordinary Byzantine head of Christ strikes us with the spiritual force of a genuine cult image. Its deliberately archaizing design lifts the representation from the ordinary sphere of religious painting to the realm of Eastern icons as an exemplification of the most rarified type of holy *achteropaiton*. Although Matthew Paris's painted drawings of the Veronica in MS 16 and MS Arundel 157 constitute the earliest extant pictorial records of this most treasured relic of Western Christendom,¹⁶⁰ and the authenticity of his painted image in the *Chronica Majora* as a reproduction of the Roman sudarium seems never to have been questioned, it also seems very probable that the St. Albans chronicler never saw the Veronica itself.

While it is impossible to know what the Vatican relic actually looked like in Paris's time, his iconic bust differs in several significant ways from Roman representations. Although they date no earlier than the fourteenth century, the small souvenir replicas in the form of lead pilgrim's badges quite literally show only the Holy Face rather than a bust-length portrait, with a crown of thorns and no nimbus.¹⁶¹ The image of the Holy Face known as the Edessa mandylion, which was among the relics sold by Baldwin II to Louis IX in 1241, adheres to the same masklike type.¹⁶² As Pächt has astutely pointed out, this contradiction leaves two possibilities: either Paris's drawings do not accurately reflect the appearance of the Vatican relic, or both Matthew's nimbed busts and the later fourteenth-century images are faithful recordings of the Roman Veronica, but represent different chronological stages of its appearance.¹⁶³ Favoring the latter alternative, Pächt argues that the first surviving description, by Gervase of Tilbury, dating from ca. 1220 to 1215, clearly indicates a bust ("a figure from the chest upwards") and not just the face, for which he would have used the term *oculus*: "Est ergo Veronica pictura Domini veta secundum carnem reprodscriptans effigiem a pectore superius in basilica S. Petri."¹⁶⁴ Whether Gervase of Tilbury's report may be relied upon or not, his description in the

Ona Imperialis could have provided the basis for Matthew's representations. Indeed, whereas the Veronica is clearly characterized in the text of the Office as an impression miraculously left on a white cloth (*induratum*), Matthew's framed portraits of Christ, with their differently-colored grounds, remain faithful to Gervase's description of the image as a painted icon (*in tabula pictura*).

Perhaps depending on a textual rather than pictorial source, the St. Albans artist very likely believed that his image was as accurate a rendering as he could manage without actually having seen the Roman relic. Quite naturally Paris may have assumed that the sacred image resembled an awesome frontal Byzantine icon, and fashioned his "true portrait" now in MS Arundel 157 accordingly. He could have been inspired by the remarkable Byzantine-influenced images painted on the vaults of the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre in Winchester Cathedral. Dating from ca. 1230, the majestic bust of Christ on a blue ground in the upper vault has already been singled out as a probable model for Matthew's head of Christ in MS 26 (Frontispiece).²⁹¹ His inclusion of the Alpha and Omega in the *Chronica Majora* version would suggest that, having no precise visual conception of how the Veronica actually looked, he could have excerpted the rigid frontal visage of Christ from the apocalyptic Majesty to serve as an appropriate surrogate.²⁹² On the other hand, all five thirteenth-century English versions of the Veronica resemble one another closely enough to have been modeled on the same prototype in the form of a single leaf sent from Rome on which a framed iconic bust portrait appeared together with the text.²⁹³

When we compare Paris's frontal busts of Christ in MS Arundel 157 and Corpus Christi MS 16, we may observe his conception change from a strongly Byzantine form, with its pronounced elongation of the head and neck with both shoulders visible, to a broader, more anglicized head with a shorter, thicker neck and the shoulders cut off by the frame. The Arundel Veronica appears to have been an earlier detached drawing intended for private devotional use. Its elegant painting and lavish use of gold leaf suggest an image much closer to a possible Hulo-Byzantine model.²⁹⁴ The pasted insertion of the majestic head flanked by the Alpha and Omega in MS 16 would appear to represent a somewhat more mature and independent conception, but still dating before 1250, as indicated by the fact that in the copy of the *Chronica Majora* in MS Cotton Nero D. V a blank space is left for the same illustration.

Matthew's interest in the celebrated Roman image of Christ probably marks its visual introduction into England, which may

the "Disappearing Christ," only the legs and feet are visible below the clouds, while beneath is Mt. Olivet on which the miraculous footprint has been left.¹¹⁷

In his startling tinted drawing of the Veroneta, Matthew provides a visual documentation of the sacred icon and at the same time dramatizes its portentous reversal as a striking metaphor for the papacy's moral decline. The "foreboding prophecy" purportedly feared by Innocent III when he saw the reversed Holy Face was not fulfilled in the *Chronica Majora*, however, until sixteen years later. Accompanying his report of the open discord between the Greek and Latin Churches under Gregory IX in 1232 is Paris's most moving and eloquent protest against the erosion of spiritual authority in Rome, his drawing of the single seated figure of Patriarch Germanus of Constantinople in MS 16 (Fig. 72). Like the melancholy prophet Methuselah in the strikingly similar stained glass effigy at Canterbury (Fig. 73), which may have inspired this drawing, the Greek patriarch conveys an impression of inner turmoil and fateful resignation that mirror the conflict and impasse marking the discord between the Churches. The monumental figure is elegantly drawn in a very dark but fluid line, subtly varied to suggest a sculptural contouring of the solid masses, while the tinted washes of soft green and a pale dull pink (apparently produced by mixing dilute brown and vermilion tints) have been applied with remarkable delicacy and modeling power.

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In this case we are dealing with a singular instance in which Paris illustrates a significant text addition to his own entry in the *Chronica Majora*. The marginal drawing accompanies a letter written to the pope by Germanus, which Matthew incorporated into the text of his annal for 1237 and into which he introduced more than a page of forged material consisting mainly of complaints against papal abuses. While it was fairly common practice for medieval chroniclers to indulge in such unscrupulous tampering with documents, this is the most substantial interpolation Matthew Paris is known to have made in his documentary texts.¹¹⁸ He introduces us to the situation by quoting a letter received by the English legate decrying the woeful state of the Roman Church:

By this [letter] and other similar indications, it was obvious that the Roman Church had incurred the anger of God. For its magisterial office and governance sought not the people's devotion, but purses full of money: not to gain souls for God, but to seize revenues and collect money. . . . At the sight of such wickedness and oppression, the Greek Church rose against that of Rome.¹¹⁹

A few salient passages from Matthew's forgeries inserted into the letter of Patriarch Germanus to Gregory IX complete the bleak picture:

Deign to descend a little from the height of glory and pay attention to my words. . . . These things are indeed bitter, and to a man of understanding they are the worm that gnaws his bones. . . . many powerful and noble men would obey you, if they did not fear the unjust oppressions, the wanton extortion of money which you practice, and the undue services you demand of your subjects. . . . endure my words, although they contain much bitterness, for they are the sighs of a languishing heart. For no one can ever see anything ugly in his own face unless he looks into a mirror.²¹⁵



FIGURE 72. Patriarch Germanus of Constantinople.
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 120.

Here Matthew is holding up a mirror in which he sees history reflecting a moral truth. He ends the series of letters with a short commentary in which he surmises that the Greeks refused to submit themselves to Rome "through fear of its tyranny or avarice." Paris's allegation that the schism between the Greek and Latin churches had arisen only recently from the voracious exactions of the Roman Church under Gregory IX initiates a new line of self-critical thought. Although the English chronicler's story illustrates both his own bias against Rome and the vast ignorance of Westerners about the state of the Greek Church, it also shows the beginning of a larger tendency for Latin writers to soften their attitudes toward the Greeks and to recognize shortcomings within their own Church.²⁴⁷

In these very disparate images Matthew Paris ingeniously formulates a powerful visual statement of his outraged sense of moral crisis in the contemporary papacy. He begins with a biting satire in the witty sketch depicting the bishops at Lateran IV bogged down in a quagmire of haggling over the price of an extorted papal benediction, followed almost immediately by a stark and sober reminder of God's greater power to change the course of human events through portentous miracles in the disturbing reversal of the Veronica. Apparently driven by the same impulse that caused him to add his interpretive annotations to Wendover's early material, Matthew continued the sequence of antipapal images in one of his own earlier entries with the moving embodiment of consternation, disillusionment, and resignation in the angry, brooding figure of Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople.

The illustrations of Matthew's additions to Roger Wendover's entries in the *Chronica Majora* demonstrate at the very least a brash assertion of ego sufficient to serve as a persuasive argument for their attribution to Paris. On a practical level the marginal sketches function as a pictorial index of the textual additions which could only have furthered the special interests of their author. But, more important, they serve to reveal his conception of history as a mirror of moral truth. Matthew himself remarked through the lips of one of his protagonists that "No one can ever see anything ugly in his own face unless he looks into a mirror, or is informed by some other person how he looks in his face, whether ugly or otherwise."²⁴⁸ His sketches stand as piercing signals in the margins, alerting and even compelling the reader to perceive and feel the moral impact of the events they interpret. The illustrations then structure these events into an epic moral drama that would otherwise be lost in the rele-



FIGURE 73. *The Prophet Methuselah. Stained glass window in the southwest transept of Canterbury Cathedral.*

less stream of disjunctive chronological entries in the medieval chronicle. What we are privileged to witness is not, however, a clumsy attempt to provide the connective tissue of modern historical narrative through pictures. The images clearly reinforce a characteristically medieval conception. Without modern assumptions of cause and effect, human action and change are still regarded as disruptive forces upsetting a natural fixed order.¹⁹ Hence action always leads to reaction, and events are explained as the inevitable consequences of moral antecedents. The genius of Matthew Paris as a thirteenth-century artist and historian lies in the new visual dimension he has given to his medieval conception of human history: his readers may now see as well as read or hear of human actions unfolding as disaster, oppression, and discord against a static set of divinely inspired moral imperatives.

3

Gesta Regum: Kings and Magnates

ONE OF THE LARGEST AND MOST BASIC COMPONENTS OF THE *Chronica Majore* is the traditional framework of indigenous political history embodied in its *gesta regum*. As conceived by both Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris, the orderly succession of kings' reigns forms a stable internal structure within the larger scope of the universal chronicle. At times Matthew even refers to the work as the "*historia regni Angliæ*."¹ Based on a typical medieval conception of society as a static hierarchy, the St. Albans chronicle deals with the English monarchy as a macrocosm of life in the monastery.² The continuous thread of royal accession from the coronation to the death of one king, followed by the crowning of the next, echoes on a grand scale the local succession of St. Albans abbots. Kings and abbots are seen as princely feudal lords whose power derives from election and consecration. By the thirteenth century, however, both have felt the impact of a greater spiritual and political power emanating from Rome. Unlike twelfth-century chroniclers who, like Ralph Diceto, tended to compartmentalize their historical accounts to the point of composing two distinct histories of church and crown in separate but

synchronized parallel columns, the authors of the *Chronica Majora* no longer insist upon sharp distinctions between religious and secular history. Proceeding year by year in an undifferentiated narrative of events, their political chronicle of the deeds of the kings is woven into the same annalistic fabric as the ecclesiastical history of popes and church councils.

Since St. Albans owed its very existence and continuing prosperity to royal patronage, the *gesta regum* holds a position of paramount importance in the *Chronica Majora*. Much of its later source material is based on firsthand accounts of visitors to the monastery from the court. As the succession of English kings marks a stable, cadenced structure throughout the St. Albans chronicle, the activities of the reigning monarch constitute the primary organizing principle for the chronology. Beginning with Roger's annal for A.D. 1170 ("Henry king of England held his court on Christmas day at Nantes"), each new year is heralded by a notice of the king's festivities at Christmas. On the other hand, the abbey's dependence on the good will of the crown imposed little or no restraint on the St. Albans chroniclers' frequent and often vehement expressions of hostility toward the king's actions and policies. Largely influenced by the negative climate of opinion prevalent during King John's reign, both Wendover and Paris assumed a role of moral censor to the crown, eagerly believing the worst of their royal protagonists. Like their late twelfth-century predecessors, Walter Map, Gerald of Wales, and Gervase of Canterbury, Roger and Matthew consistently subjected the reigning kings John and Henry III to severe criticism as they pressed their claims for limiting royal power.¹ For the most part, however, kings were treated not as unique individuals but as collections of regal and moral attributes from which emanated all their actions, good and bad.

Since Matthew wrote within a tradition in which historians were expected merely to copy and adapt their predecessor's views to changes in popular feeling, his judgments of rulers rarely represent opinions uniquely his own.² Closely following the views on royalty in Gerald of Wales's *De Principis Instructione*, Paris's *gesta regum* tends to interpret every national misfortune in terms of divine vengeance for the ruler's past sins. However, unlike most monastic chroniclers, whose traditional conceptions of old feudal loyalties left them unprepared to deal with the emerging political integration of monarchies in England and France, Matthew reveals a remarkable sense of English identity and pride, often verging on xenophobia.

Heavily colored by the political views of Roger Wendover, Paris's

drawings illustrating both his own and his predecessor's annals frequently express their mutual disapproval of royal action and policy. Matthew's conception of the *gesta regum*, however, is more emphatically moralizing and exemplarist in purpose. His stirring series of royal portraits, battle scenes, and other spectacles are clearly intended to dramatize the political and moral thrust of the chronicle. Beginning with Alexander the Great, his political illustrations extend back to the legendary kings of ancient Britain—Brutus, Lear and Cassibelanus, the Anglo-Saxon rulers Offa and Alfred the Great, and the Danish invader King Canute. Then inaugurating a new dynastic era with the accession and death of Harold in 1066, Paris punctuates the steady succession of Anglo-Norman kings from William the Conqueror to his own time with the colorful pageantry of heraldic arms and crowns. In the annals from King John's reign and Magna Carta to the end of the *Chronica Majora*, Matthew provides a particularly rich pictorial documentation of his keen interest in the barons. Their exploits are marked by a series of vivid illustrations, as well as by a large number of painted shields which constitute the first medieval collection of heraldic arms for the magnates of England.

Close to the beginning of the *Chronica Majora* Matthew introduced a portrait of Alexander the Great (Fig. 74) to accompany Wendover's abbreviated version of his conquest based on the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor.³ The decision to include this particular image was perhaps inspired by the portraits of the Macedonian conqueror which figured prominently in contemporary pictorial genealogies illustrating Peter of Poitiers's *Compendium Historiarum* (see Fig. 73).⁴ Although several notable chroniclers of the twelfth century had singled out Alexander as the ancient paradigm against whom they measured the great kings of the Middle Ages,⁵ the negative view expressed by theologians, moralists, and writers of *exempla*, who regarded the Macedonian ruler as the epitome of *superbia*,⁶ tended to dominate his iconography in thirteenth-century art.⁷ On the other hand, both Latin and vernacular epics and romances held him up as the perfect prince, a chivalric paragon whose magnificence as a global hero overshadowed all other moral considerations. One of the earliest illustrated manuscripts of the *Romance of Alexander* (Cambridge, Trinity College MS O. 9. 34), dating from ca. 1240 to 1250, contains more than 150 tinted outline drawings.⁸ Based on this secular conception of the valiant conqueror overlaid by courtly conventions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Matthew Paris's Alexander becomes an exalted image of a godlike king.

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FIGURE 74. Alexander the Great. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 20, p. 24.



FIGURE 75. Alexander the Great. Windsor, Eton College 96, fol. 80.

In the left margin of p. 24 in MS 26, Alexander sits on a backless patterned throne suspended in space in a loosely drawn sketch weighted down by generous additions of dull green wash. The Macedonian king holds the globe of the world divided into the traditional three continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa. In a gesture symbolizing conquest, his feet rest upon a lion and a dragon. Following in the footsteps of the late twelfth-century *Alexandria* by Gauier de Châtillon, the most popular of all medieval Latin epics, Matthew envisages Alexander as a man of superhuman powers sent by God to destroy the Persian Empire, presumably represented by the symbolic beasts crushed at his feet. The hyperbole of Alexander's ancient gesture of *calvario* casts him in a magisterial Christ-like guise based on the familiar text of Psalm 91(90): 13: "Over the asp and basilisk you shall go, and trample the lion and dragon under foot." Although the medieval iconography of the seated Majesty is rarely conflated with that of *Christus triumphans* trampling the beasts,¹¹ it appears in a full-page tinted drawing in Matthew's own hand in the collection of miscellany compiled at St. Albans by John of Wallingford (Fig. 76). On fol. 60v in MS Cotton Julius D. VII the image of the enthroned Christ, crowned and raising a chalice in his left hand, shows his feet resting on a doglike lion and dragon very similar to the beasts in Paris's portrait of the world conqueror in the *Chronica Majora*.¹²

Based on the iconography of the victorious *Rex Regum*, Matthew's Alexander serves not only as a Christlike model ruler, but also as an important figure in the eschatological scheme of his universal history. As he gazes at the *orbis terrarum*, the world conqueror is seen to embody a powerful civilizing force holding at bay the savagery and violence of "barbarians" symbolized by the beasts beneath his feet. The legend of Alexander's wall built to contain the dreaded tribes of Gog and Magog was almost universally known and enormously popular during the Middle Ages.¹³ As we have already seen in connection with Paris's belief in the impending advent of Antichrist in the year 1250, the St. Albans chronicler shared the widespread belief that the ultimate catastrophe would be accompanied by the unleashing of Gog and Magog to ravage the civilized world, a process which he saw as already having begun with the Mongol invasions of 1240–1241. Thus Alexander plays a key role at the head of a long succession of rulers illustrated in the *Chronica Majora*, beginning with the founder of Britain and reaching into Matthew's own time, when the awesome task of governing Europe fell divided upon the shoulders of Henry III, Louis IX, and Frederick II.



FIGURE 76. Christ Enthroned. B.L., Cotton Julius D. VII, fol. 600.

GENEALOGIES

At the beginning of the great chronicle the fixed internal structure of its *gesta regum* is given pictorial expression in the several genealogies included in the prefatory pages of the two Corpus Christi volumes. In MS 16 Matthew has traced the Anglo-Saxon lineage from Alfred down to Harold and then the Anglo-Norman line from William the Conqueror down to Henry III (see Fig. 77) in two parallel columns separated by tinted bands of blue, pale green, and ochre. The names of each monarch are inscribed in rubric on a small roundel attached to a central vertical stem from which smaller circles branch off, bearing the names of their male offspring, while abbreviated acronyms of the most notable reigns are given in the interstices. With their large medallion portraits of Alfred and William at the head of each dynasty, these two prefatory folios constitute a short illustrated genealogical chronicle in which the kings of England are listed with a brief commentary beneath each name. The numerous versions of this genealogical diagram indicate that such conveniently capsulated dynastic histories evidently formed a popular genre in thirteenth-century England. An example dating from about 1250 on the vellum roll in Princeton University Library MS 37 gives a brief genealogical diagram of kings from Alfred to Henry III (Fig. 78) very similar to that in Matthew's prefatory pages in MS 16,¹⁴ while the contemporary *Compendium Historiae* in Eton MS 96 contains a very elaborate linkage of dynastic portraits filling twenty-three large folios.¹⁵

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Although Matthew also included a list of kings from Ine to Henry III on fol. i in MS 16, it is possible that he had intended to preface the *Chronica Majora* with a fuller and more elaborate royal genealogy in the form of a "gallery of kings" on several folios, analogous to those which introduce the *Historia Anglorum* and *Abbreuiato Chroniconum*. The eight seated kings on folios 8v and 9 in MS Roy. 14. C. VII (Fig. 79 and Pl. VII) are distributed four on a page, each enthroned within an arched frame fitted within a rectangular compartment. A somewhat distant precedent for the new format of the pictorial genealogy in the *Historia Anglorum* may be seen in the rare series of nineteen portraits of English rulers ranging from Ine to Richard I in the Abingdon Chronicle, B. L. MS Canon Claudius B. VI, dating from ca. 1220 to 1230 (see Fig. 80). There, however, instead of consolidating several royal figures within a single tectonic architectural framework, the designer dispersed the small rectangular miniatures individually throughout the text.¹⁶

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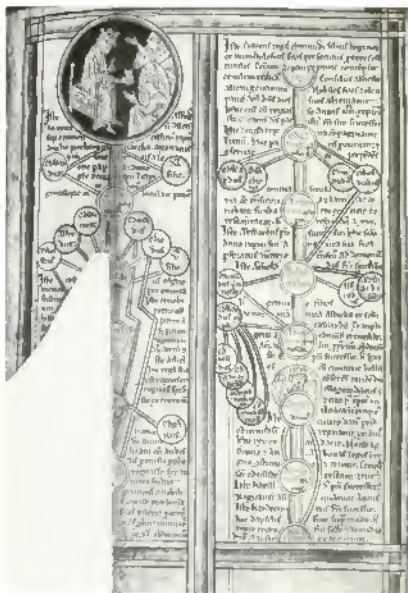


FIGURE 75. Alfred the Great: Heading of a Genealogy of English Kings.
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 10.

Perhaps inspired by the sculptured gallery of kings on the facade of Wells Cathedral, Matthew's solid figures resemble carved effigies seated in front of shadowed niches,¹⁷ as they are silhouetted against dark grounds alternately painted deep blue, bright vermilion, and dark pink. Wearing unusual crowns surmounted by crosses instead of the customary fleur-de-lis, the Anglo-Norman kings are portrayed as pious patrons and defenders of the great monastic houses of England and France. In eight variations on the theme of kingly power and piety, each holds the model of a building whose royal foundation is described in long rubrics in Matthew's hand at the top and bottom of the page. On fol. 8v William the Conqueror initiates the series at the upper left. His feet rest on an overturned ship symbolizing his crossing of the Channel, and he holds up a model of Battle Abbey; William Rufus at the right holds a scepter and an emblem of the new Westminster Hall. Below, at the left, Henry I cradles a model of his church at Reading, in which he was buried; King Stephen holds a scepter and the monastery of Faversham, which he founded and where he was buried in 1154. On the facing recto we then see Henry II with a model of Waltham Abbey, which he had reformed in 1182. In a pose similar to his Abingdon Chronicle portrait (see Fig. 86), Richard holds a sword as a reminder of his prowess as a Crusader, and he raises an emblem of the church of St. Thomas of Canterbury founded in 1190 at Acre. In a small niche between them is a bust of Henry the Younger, who was crowned while his father was still living but died before he could reign. Below, at the left, King John holds a model of the abbey he had built for the Cistercians at Beaulieu; and Henry III holds a foliated scepter and a model of the new Westminster Abbey.

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While the eight kings prefacing the *Historia Anglorum* offer a royal genealogy covering the period of Matthew's abbreviated history of England from 1066 through the reign of Henry III, the gallery of kings for his *Chronica Majora* would have required considerable expansion, going back to Brutus, the Trojan founder of Britain, and including such legendary figures as Uther Pendragon and Arthur. To gain a more complete idea of what Paris's genealogy would have been for the great chronicle we may turn to the set of thirty-two sovereigns roughly sketched on eight small folios forming the prolegomena to the *Abbreuiatio Chronicorum* (Figs. 82-88).¹⁸ Indeed, since the annals of this second abridgment of Matthew's English history do not begin until the year of the millennium during the reign of King Ethelred, its long genealogy seems to have been

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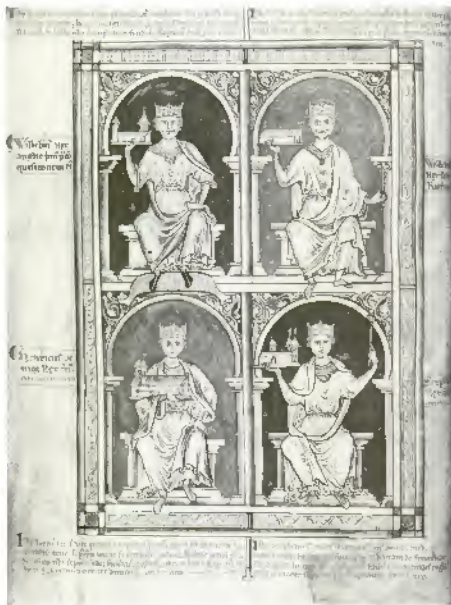


FIGURE 79. *William the Conqueror, William Rufus, Henry I, and Stephen. B. L., Bay 14. C. VII, fol. 8r.*

designed for another work, that is, a full-length chronicle beginning with Creation, like the *Flores Historiarum*¹⁹ or the *Chronica Majora*.

Similar in format to the kings' gallery on fols. 8v–9 in MS Roy. 14. C. VII, with four figures enthroned within arched niches on each page, the long sequence of rulers in the *Abbreuiatio Chroniconum* extends from Brutus to Henry III and corresponds to the history of England contained in the *Chronica Majora*. However, its smaller dimensions (320 × 210 mm.) preclude the possibility of its having been intended for the great chronicle.²⁰ Carried out in Matthew's late style of the 1250s, this pictorial genealogy could conceivably represent a set of working sketches for a prolegomenon to the *Chronica Majora* which never advanced beyond the planning stage and remained in his portfolio only to be later bound into the *Abbreuiatio Chroniconum*.²¹

Several inconsistencies and unexpected shifts in sequence and format may be observed within this series of regal portraits, suggesting that Paris was rather uncertain about how he was going to set it up. While the first and third pages (fols. 6 and 7) follow the static arrangement in the *Historia Anglorum* where the succession of kings proceeds from top left to top right and then bottom left to right, so that paired figures form upper and lower registers, fols. 6v and 7v–8v are laid out to be read in the same way as Matthew's itineraries, moving vertically down the columns from left to right, in a format more closely resembling a genealogical chart; the last two pages (fols. 9–9v) then return to the initial format, exactly parallel to the sequence in MS Roy. 14. C. VII. The basic framework of the genealogy in the *Abbreuiatio Chroniconum* has been laid out in vertical columns separated by the same tripartite colored bands that Paris used for his "strip-tups." In the *Historia Anglorum* emphatic horizontal bands divide the architectural compartments into upper and lower registers, and wide decorated borders contain the four effigies within a frame. In MS Cotton Claudius B. VI, however, the three vertical strips proceed uninterrupted from the top to the bottom edges of the page, with the horizontal dividers suppressed behind them, giving the impression of small rectangular compartments slotted within continuous channels moving up and down from one page to the next.

Unlike the more finished and elegantly wrought static effigies in the *Historia Anglorum*, the rough sketches in MS Cotton Claudius B. VI are entirely lacking in fine decorative detail. Although similarly silhouetted against heavily painted grounds, alternately deep blue and dark pink, the figures are more colorfully delineated with draperies and accessories tinted in deeper tones of ochre, green, and



FIGURE 90. Richard I.
B. L., Cotton Claudius
B. VI, fol. 176v.



FIGURE 81. *Brutus, Lochmas, Dardelle Molwunus, and Lucius. B.L., Cotton Claudius D. VI, fol. 6.*

pale blue, frequently heightened with generous touches of brilliant orange. More importantly, the profusion of minor figures and attributes transform these secular icons into lively actors engaged in a dynamic flow of narrative as we move from one framed figure to the next, thus forming a pictorial *gesta regum* on a miniature scale.

Apparently Paris first ruled the whole series of eight pages into vertical bands with rectangular compartments and wrote the names of each of the thirty-two kings in the margins next to their allotted spaces, but these have all been partially or completely cut off by the binder and are now given in Sir Robert Cotton's seventeenth-century hand beneath each figure. On fol. 6 (Fig. 81) we thus read in the marginal notations and inscriptions that Matthew had initially intended to portray Brutus and his three sons, Loocrinus, Albanactus, and Camber, on the first page in a vertical "strip" sequence. Brutus is clearly recognizable at the upper left, holding a model of the ship on which he and his companions voyaged to the isle of Albion. Matthew's portrayal of the legendary kings of Britain from Brutus to Arthur was probably based on Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, which had served as the source for Roger's entries in the *Chronica Majora*. Thus, the three huge caricatured heads below probably refer to the race of giants who purportedly inhabited Britain before Brutus arrived, or, since his foot rests upon the shoulder of one of them, the triumph over the giant of Cornwall.¹² However, the figure labeled "Albanactus" at the upper right must instead be Brutus's oldest son, as indicated by the small hooded figure at the left brandishing a battle ax as he points an accusing finger at the king. Geoffrey of Monmouth's elaborate tale about Loocrinus, whose passion brought calamity upon Britain, is repeated by Roger Wendover.¹³ When Loocrinus decided to desert Gwendolyn to marry the captive daughter of a German king, Gwendolyn's father, Corineus of Cornwall, threatened the king with a battle ax. Loocrinus later abandoned his Cornish wife and made his mistress queen, causing civil war to break out between Cornwall and Loegria (later England). In Matthew's dramatic vignette we see the bearded, crowned Loocrinus seated on a high-backed throne, holding a long scroll, perhaps representing his betrothal agreement, unfurled around the bust of a young woman (Gwendolyn?) who, like an ideogram, is not present physically but rather as an abstract object of contention.

When we then look carefully at the figure directly below Loocrinus at the right, we see a king seated in a similar pose, holding a scroll unfurled around a bishop's mitre, and immediately realize that this cannot be Camber, another of Brutus's sons, as indicated in Paris's

marginal nose and Cotton's inscription, but rather a later, Christian king. Apparently Matthew changed his original plan to prevent the genealogy from leaping so precipitately from Brutus and his sons on fol. 6 to Utter Pendragon and Arthur on the verso. To make a better transition he substituted two later kings in the lower register of the first page. Although we can only speculate about the identity of the figure at the lower right, the most likely possibility which comes to mind is Lucius, who in A.D. 181 proclaimed Britain a Christian country and established episcopal sees throughout the land. This would account for the miter and scroll, while the small figure holding a bow and arrows at his feet could be construed to represent his converted subjects.²⁴ Since the figure at the lower left can no longer be identified as Lochnus, we may also surmise that Matthew intended to make another substitution here. Enthroned, holding a large foliated scepter and long scroll unfurled toward his feet, this king looks as if he might have been meant to represent an important lawgiver. If this is the case, the best candidate would then be Geoffrey of Monmouth's mythical figure, Duxvallo Molmutius, who purportedly began a new dynasty, ruled alone over the three kingdoms of Britain (Loegria, Cambria, and Albany), and established a legal code called the *Leges Molmutinae*, which was later reinstated by Alfred the Great.²⁵ As it was thus revised from Matthew's initial plan, the first page of his genealogy now displays two facing pairs of kings in three-quarter poses: Brutus and his son Lochnus representing the founding dynasty; and perhaps Lucius, Britain's first Christian king, and Duxvallo Molmutius.

On fol. 6v (Fig. 32) the format then shifts to a vertical sequence of frontal figures where at the upper left we recognize the young Utter Pendragon, his cheeks and lips flushed with vermilion tins, raising his sword toward the portentous vision of an orange beam of fire in the shape of a dragon.²⁶ Below is his son Arthur, the severed head of his treacherous nephew Mordred at his feet, surrounded by five different crowns symbolizing his conquests over the Saxons, Scots, Irish, Gauls, and Romans.²⁷ Next, at the upper right, we encounter the first of England's many sainted kings, Ethelbert of Kent, another important lawgiver depicted with a scroll, who was converted by St. Augustine in 597. Below is St. Oswald (634-642), king of Northumbria, preacher and missionary to the Scots, holding the dark green cross which he planted as a victorious standard at Hefenfeld (Heavenly Field) where he triumphed over Penda, the Mercian king sent to slay him, who is here represented in a pose of pensive dismay beneath Oswald's feet.²⁸

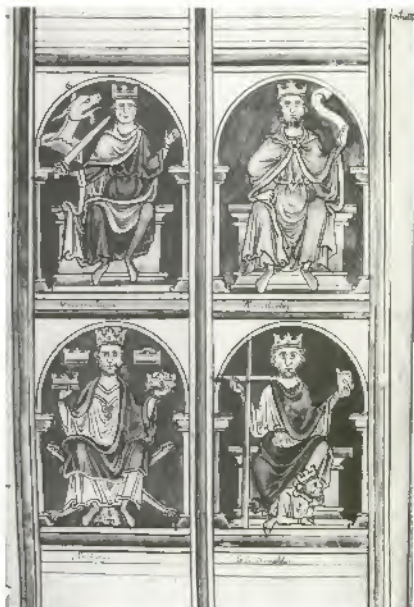


FIGURE 83. *Ulster Pynhogen, Arthur, Eirikber, and St. Oswald. B.L., Cotton Claudius D. VI., fol. 60*

On fol. 7 (Fig. 83) St. Oswin, a seventh-century martyred king who was given special honors at St. Albans, is portrayed inexplicitly as a warrior-king holding an upright lance as he tramples a kneeling figure wearing a soft cap, prostrated in submission with his arms across his chest,²¹ while Egbert (654–663), king of Kent, is seated next to him at the right. Quite possibly Paris inadvertently reversed the positions of these figures, for the passive blessing gesture of the beardless king at the right would be more appropriate for a young martyr, and the prostrated figure being punished at the left may represent the evil servant Thorer whom Egbert discovered to have murdered his two nephews.²² In the lower register a bearded Offa holds a huge model of St. Albans on his lap at the left, while at the right young St. Kenelm (Cynehelm), decapitated by an officer on the instructions of his aunt, holds an inverted sword by the tip of the blade in one hand and a small globe surmounted by a flower in the other.

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The next set of four kings on the verso page (Fig. 84) begins with St. Edmund, holding the arrows with which he was martyred by the Danes in 869, while below Alfred the Great raises a crown and vial representing his coronation and anointing by Pope Leo IV at Rome. In the right column, Alfred's son Edmund the Elder (899–924) points to his floriated scepter. Below, Athelstan (924–939) raises a long scroll unfurled around his head like a veil but oddly broken above his crown. Although praised by later historians as a generous and literate king, Athelstan is chiefly remembered in the *Chronica Majora* as having done seven years' penance for having had his brother Edmund drowned.²³ Athelstan's half-brother Edmund I

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(929–946) heads the gallery of kings on fol. 8 (Fig. 85). Seated on a faldstool decorated with eagles' heads, he is the triumphant monarch of all England, trampling upon his defeated enemies in Northumbria and Cumberland. His son Edgar the Peaceful (949–975), holding a book and scroll below, continued to rule a united England as patron of a great monastic revival under the tutelage of St. Dunstan. At the upper right, the young, clean-shaven St. Edward Martyr (975–978) raises a prophetic sword, casting a cloud of doom over his younger brother's reign below. At the coronation of Ethelred II the Unready (978–1016), Dunstan predicted a disastrous future of plague and Danish tribulations for Edmund's murderer: "Because you have aspired to the kingdom by the death of your brother . . . the sword shall not depart from your house and shall slay your seed until the kingdom is given to another people."²⁴

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On fol. 8v (Fig. 86) Ethelred's son Edmund wears a shield slung



FIGURE 83. St. Ozzin, Eibert, Ojfa, and St. Kinnem B.L., Canon Cleodine D., VI, fol. 7



FIGURE 84. St. Edmund Martyr, Edward the Elder, Alfred the Great, and Athelstan
R.L., *Cousin Claudius D. V.F.*, fol. 79.



FIGURE 85. Edward I, Edgar, St. Edward the Martyr, and Ethelred "the Unready"
 D.L., *Golden Clew* D. VI, fol. 8.



FIGURE 10 Edward Ironside, Queen the Dowager, Alfred I, and St. Edward the Confessor
B. L., Cotton Cleland D. VI, fol. 80.



FIGURE 87. William the Conqueror, William Rufus, Henry I, and Stephen.
R. L., Cotton Claudius D. VI, fol. 9.

from straps to create a literal allusion to his epithet "Ironside." Although he is armed with a sword, his right hand is raised as if to grasp a lance above Canute the Dane, portrayed as a savage bearded Viking king holding a longship and a battle-axe. The conflict over the succession when Canute died in 1035 is reflected in the confusion concerning the identity of the figure enthroned at the upper right. While his two sons Harold I and then Hardecanute ruled briefly from 1035 to 1042, Matthew has ignored them, insisting instead upon setting an English sovereign on the throne in the person of Ethelred's son, Alfred, who came over from Normandy after Canute died but was blinded by Harold and sent to Ely where he died in exile.²¹ In the right margin we can clearly make out the beginning of "Alfredus" inscribed in Matthew's hand, but Sir Robert prudently decided to pass over this blatant contradiction of historical fact in diplomatic silence and omit the caption below the figure altogether. The long sequence of Anglo-Saxon kings finally ends with the accession of Alfred's younger brother, St. Edward the Confessor, holding up a closed book, with his right hand raised in a pious gesture proclaiming his faith.

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The dramatic narrative character of Paris's royal genealogy in the *Abbeatiato Chroniconum* becomes all the more evident when we compare the last two pages of Anglo-Norman kings on fols. 9–9v (Figs. 87–88) with their counterparts on fols. 8v–9 in the *Historia Anglorum*. Instead of being portrayed as the pious founder of Battle Abbey, William I is depicted more literally as a military conqueror who, like Canute the Dane, holds a small ship and weapon. His son William Rufus grasps the arrow which caused his accidental death in 1100. Henry I and Stephen, however, carry models of their abbey foundations at Reading and Faversham in a conventional show of piety, as in MS Roy. 14. C. VII, but Stephen's bravery and skill on the battlefield are also alluded to by his upright sword. On fol. 9v Henry II, holding up a model of Waltham Abbey, turns in a rare profile view to stare across at his son Richard, whose left elbow is cocked over an upright shield emblazoned with the Angevin coat of arms introduced for the first time on his royal seal. Below, King John's crown topples from his head,²² while Beaulieu Abbey appears behind him; Henry III holds the shrine of Edward the Confessor instead of Westminster Abbey and points upward in a gesture analogous to that of the sainted king on fol. 8v whose life he attempted to emulate.

As Matthew's pictorial genealogy proceeds through the prefa-



FIGURE 38. *Henry II, Richard I, John, and Henry III*. B. L., Canon Claudius D. VI, fol. 90

tory pages in MS Cotton Claudius D. VI, we see a mini-chronicle unfold in which the kings of Britain and then England are cast as heroes and villains in a series of powerfully dramatic vignettes. Seven of the thirty-two rulers are saints (Ethelbert, Oswald, Oswin, Kenelm, Edward Martyr, Edmund Martyr, and Edward the Confessor), six are heroes (Brutus, Uther Pendragon, Arthur, Edmund I, Edmund Ironside, and Richard I), and several others are singled out for their noble accomplishments and generosity, especially to the Church (e.g., Lucius, Offa, Alfred, Edgar, Henry I, Stephen, and Henry III), while four are characterized as wicked villains (Lotharius, Ethelred the Unready, and, as we shall see, William Rufus and King John). Among the bearded Saxon kings, martyrs are invariably identified as young and clean-shaven (Oswin, Kenelm, Edmund, and Edward), along with the Saxon "martyr" Alfred and such heroes as Uther Pendragon and Edmund Ironside. Running throughout this microcosmic visual chronicle of England are the same themes of moral retribution that form some of the main structural threads from which the *gesta regum* is woven in the *Chronica Majora*. Here they are graphically represented as virtuous kings triumphing over their enemies (Brutus tramples the giants, Arctur slays Mordred, Oswald kills Penda, Edward subdues Anlaf and Reginald, and St. Edward Martyr holds a sword of portentous doom over the reign of Ethelred the Unready).

While single figures of enthroned rulers, as well as bust portraits of kings in complex genealogical diagrams, appear with increasing frequency around the middle of the thirteenth century, Matthew's series of English sovereigns in the *Historia Anglorum* and the *Abbreuiatio Chroniconum* remain unique among the secular illuminations of the period. His kings' gallery offers a perfect format in which he has orchestrated an impressive series of full-length royal images artfully provided with attributes and gestures that can, as we have seen, epitomize a whole reign in a single dramatic detail. Although we cannot be certain that the genealogy of kings now in the *Abbreuiatio Chroniconum* was conceived as a set of preliminary sketches for the *Chronica Majora*, we shall encounter many of its ideas more powerfully stated and developed in the text and illustrations of that work. Indeed one could not imagine a more appropriate or engaging pictorial prolegomenon for the *gesta regum* contained within Matthew's great chronicle, for its dramatic personae provide the long rambling narrative with a synthesizing visual structure that succinctly captures the essence of its moral and political content.

LEGENDARY KINGS OF BRITAIN

The first of Matthew's marginal illustrations to appear in Wendover's chronicle is a representation of the legendary founder of Britain, Brutus, at the foot of p. 7 in MS 26 (Fig. 89). In the popular legend reported by Geoffrey of Monmouth, Brutus is the exiled grandson of the Trojan hero Aeneas.³¹ Destined to achieve great honor and fame by soothsayers' prophecies at his birth on the bank of the Tiber, Brutus has made his way to the isle of Leogecia where he consults the oracle of Diana:

They came to a deserted city and there they found a temple of Diana. In the city there was a statue of the goddess which gave answers if by chance it was questioned by anyone. . . . Brutus took with him the augur Gero and twelve of the older men and set out for the temple . . . Brutus stood before the altar of the goddess, holding in his right hand a vessel full of sacrificial wine mixed with the blood of a white hind, and with his face upturned toward the statue of the deity he broke the silence with these words: "Oh powerful goddess, terror of the forest glades, yet hope of the wild woodlands, you who have the power to go into orbit through the airy heavens and the halls of hell,



FIGURE 89. Brutus Sacrificing to Diana.
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 26, p. 7.

pronounce a judgment which concerns the earth. Tell me which lands you wish us to inhabit. Tell me of a safe dwelling-place where I am to worship you down the ages and where . . . I shall dedicate temples to you." This he said nine times; four times he proceeded around the altar, pouring the wine which he held up on the sacrificial hearth; and then he lay down upon the skin of a hind which he had stretched before the altar. Having sought slumber, he at length fell asleep. It was then about the third hour of the night, when mortal beings succumb to the sweetest rest. It seemed to him that the goddess stood before him as she spoke these words: "Brutus, beyond the setting of the sun, past the realms of Gaul, there lies an island in the sea, once occupied by giants. Now it is empty and ready for your people; and (for your descendants) it will be a second Troy. A race of kings shall be born there from your stock and the round circle of the whole earth shall be subject to them."

When he awoke from his vision, the leader remained in doubt as to whether it had been a dream . . . or whether the living goddess really had prophesied the land to which he should travel.¹⁶

In fulfillment of the prophecy, Brutus then journeyed over the world, first stopping in Gaul, before he finally reached the island of Albion which he renamed Britain after himself.

In this pastiche of altered details from Books 3 and 7 of the *Aeneid* and the *Thebaid*, Book 4, the oracular dream of Brutus reflects a traditional medieval association of Diana with the supernatural.¹⁷ Paric's drawing leaves little doubt that he conceived the portentous episode as an oracular vision.¹⁸ In Matthew's peculiar conception of a pagan deity, Diana becomes an Acteon-like effigy furnished with a deer's antlers and ears, while the wings of Mercury are fixed to her ankles. The image functions effectively, however, to convey a vivid sense of supernatural connection between Brutus and the ensuing prophetic utterance. In a preposterous but ironic merger of the hunter and hunted, the bizarre attachment of antlers to the half-nude figure of the goddess on the altar was probably intended to conflate the slain animal, whose blood fills the sacrificial vessel offered to her by Brutus, with the oracle who accepts the libation.

Matthew's illustration of the Brutus legend celebrates the bond uniting the origins of Britain with the heroes of ancient Troy, thus giving England a glorious past comparable to that claimed by the French. The curious solemnity with which Paric invests his image of this pagan oracular etc, as well as the serious spirit in which Wengedover repeats Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of the pagan sacrifice

and prophecy, may be explained not only by its function linking the history of Britain with the legacy of ancient Rome, but also by its place within the Christian history of salvation rooted in Scripture. Sandwiched between entries drawn from the Books of Judges and Kings, Geoffrey's saga of the eponymous ancestor of the Britons thus becomes literally embedded in the Old Testament history of God's first chosen people. We are informed that the subsequent reign of Brutus, "rex Briannorum," was contemporary with the reign of Saul in Judea."

Between sections on the kings of Israel and Assyria and the early history of Rome, the story of King Lear constitutes the next stage in the legendary history of Britain and is illustrated by a narrative frieze of small lively figures heightened with touches of pale brown and green tint at the foot of p. 11 (Fig. 90).²⁰ Brutus's descendant King Lear is seated at the left in the pose of a judging Solomon as his two older daughters Goneril and Regan swear their undying love for him. At the far right the youngest daughter Cordelia refuses to flatter her father in his old age; instead she rears him by declaring in her speech scroll, "You are worth just as much as you possess, and that is the measure of my own love for you." Breaking with his usual habit of supplying inscriptions in Latin, Matthew renders the text's "Quantum habes, tantum vales, et ego te tantum diligo," in Anglo-Norman, "Tant as, tant vaur, tant te pris pere." The names of Lear's three daughters have been added in a late fourteenth-century hand: "prima filia Gonorilla, secunda filia Regan," and "Junior filia nomine Cordella."

The ancient tale of the foolish king who attempts to discover how to divide his kingdom among his daughters by asking which one



FIGURE 90. King Lear and His Daughters. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 26, p. 11.

loves him the most appeared for the first time in Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Britanniae* 2. 14–15 and is repeated almost verbatim by Wendover in the *Chronica Majora*. Matthew's illustration not only provides pictorial continuity to the next phase in Roger's disjunctive history, but also seizes upon an opportunity to indulge his own propensity for cautionary tales on the moral weaknesses of English kings, however remote they might be from his own troubled times. His drawing masterfully captures the essence of the moment and its consequences by spreading the figures loosely across the bottom of the page so that the resulting wide spatial intervals invest their gestures with a special pungency. He sets the plaintive and appealing attitudes of Lear and his two older daughters on the left in dramatic contrast with the audacious gesture of Cordelia on the right as she breaks away from them and points upward, anticipating the ongoing consequences of the scene which are given in the text continued at the top of the next folio. As in the preceding sketch of Diann's oracle, Paris follows his literary instincts in choosing to focus on a declarative speech to function as the pivotal moment from which will then flow its inevitable conclusion in the narrative. Later abandoned by his two older daughters, King Lear falls from power and is forced to turn to Cordelia whom he had married off to the king of the Franks; as a reward for her generosity after her father's death, she becomes queen of England. With a few deft strokes Matthew isolates the commanding figure of Cordelia so that the majestic sweeping curves of her lower body and drapery, left arm and speech scroll characterize her as a heroine at this turning point in the legendary drama.

Following a long interval taken up with the early history of Rome, Persia, Alexander the Great, and the Diadochi, Wendover's next entry dealing with the ancient legendary kings of Britain focuses upon the heroic figure of Cassibelanus. In this version, based on Geoffrey of Monmouth's account which pitted the virtuous king of Britain against Julius Caesar, Cassibelanus is perceived as Britain's first challenger to what developed into a long succession of unreasonable demands made by Rome in the centuries that followed. The courageous king's refusal to pay tribute to Caesar is given in a stirring letter:

Cassibelanus, king of the Britons, sends his greetings to Gaius Julius Caesar. The cupidity of the Roman people, my dear Caesar, is really quite beyond belief. They have an insatiable thirst for anything made of gold or silver, to the point that they cannot leave us alone, although we live over the edge of the world and far beyond the perilous seas. They even have the nerve to stretch their greedy fingers towards

our small revenues, which up to now we have enjoyed in peace. This does not satisfy them: they want us to surrender our liberty and to endure perpetual bondage by becoming subject to them. What you have sought from us, Caesar, is an insult to yourself, for a common inheritance of noble blood comes down from Aeneas to Briton and Roman alike, and our two races should be joined in close amity by this link of glorious kinship. It is friendship you should have asked of us, not slavery. For our part we are more used to making allies than to enduring the yoke of bondage. We have become so accustomed to the idea of liberty that we are completely ignorant of what is meant by submitting to slavery. If the gods themselves try to take our freedom from us, we shall still do our utmost to resist them with all our strength in our effort to preserve that freedom. If you start attacking the island of Britain, as you have threatened, you must clearly understand, Caesar, that we shall fight for our liberty and our kingdom."¹⁸

Cassibelanus then rallied his Britons twice to defeat the invading Roman legions.



FIGURE 91. King Cassibelanus, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 28, p. 38

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Reaching back to the time of Julius Caesar, the ancient king's bold refusal to yield to Rome's demands and his brave defense of Britain's freedom and independence apparently struck a deep chord of nostalgia for the simple virtues Paris found so woefully lacking in John and Henry III and what he regarded as their weak capitulations to the papacy. Employing a technique similar to his juxtaposition of the moving portrait of the Greek patriarch Germanus with his emotion-filled missive addressed to Pope Gregory IX in MS 16 (see Fig. 72), Matthew here introduced an image of the ancient king below the text recounting his victory over the Romans to reinforce the courageous spirit of his protest. In the illustration of Cassibelanus we now see at the foot of p. 28 (Fig. 91) only the preliminary plummet sketch survives from Matthew's hand and remains readily visible beneath the tinted ink drawing later executed by the same hand that completed the figure of the Virgin in the Nativity scene on p. 30 (Fig. 56) and took over the unfinished *Offa* cycle in MS Cotton Nero D. I (see Figs. 3-4). Unlike the rapidly sketched figures in the first two illustrations of the legendary kings Brutus and Lear, the figure of Cassibelanus is meticulously rendered in the softer, more restrained and fastidious style of this later St. Albans draftsman. The head is characteristically rendered with a shallow pointed chin, fine wavy strands of hair, and softly shaded eyes and brows. When compared with the dynamic and aggressive figure of Richard I similarly posed but vigorously sketched in the bold, loose strokes of Matthew's late style in the *Abbreuiatio Chroniconum* (see Fig. 88), the passive figure of Cassibelanus, as completed by the later St. Albans hand, emerges as a pale and disappointingly timid reflection of the bold and energetic image envisioned in what must have been Paris's late style in the lead point drawing beneath.

In the basic pose of the figure, Matthew's preliminary sketch portrayed Cassibelanus quite literally as a personification of *fortitudo*, based on an early thirteenth-century iconography exemplified in the well-known series of Virtues and Vices adorning the cathedral portals at Paris, Chartres, and Amiens (see Fig. 92).⁴ Holding an upright sword in his right hand, an attribute harking back to the warrior's virtues in the early *Pegonmachia* tradition, Matthew's heroic king is cast in the conventional pose of the contemporary *Fortitudo* which, in being the only frontal figure among the seated Virtues on the Gothic portal, conveys a clear sense of courage and forceful resolution. Like the seated effigies of King Richard in the pictorial genealogies in the *Historia Anglorum* and *Abbreuiatio Chroniconum* (see Pl. VII and Fig. 88), Matthew's figure of the an-



FIGURE 92. *Fortitudo*.
Plinth relief, west facade,
Amiens Cathedral.

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cient British king represents an idealized chivalric thirteenth-century conception of the disciplined Christian soldier, waiting with a clear determination and direct gaze, ready for any turn of Fortune's wheel. Rather than a painted or sculptured *Fortitudo*, however, Paris's more immediate model was probably the enthroned effigy of the British sovereign as he appears on his great seal in a frontal pose with a sword held upright in the right hand (see Fig. 41). Matthew thus offers a stunning visual reminder that the heroic deeds of ancient British kings like Cassibelanus stand behind the venerable iconographic tradition which envisions the ruling monarch as the living embodiment of that virtue.

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ANGLO-SAXON KINGS: OFFA AND ALFRED THE GREAT

As we have already observed, the great Benedictine house of St. Albans owed its special position of privilege and wealth to the miraculous discovery of the relics of its British precomartyr by the Mercian king Offa in 793. Matthew's illustration of the discovery of St. Alban's remains (Fig. 59) stresses both the miraculous and royal circumstances surrounding the legendary foundation of the abbey at the end of the eighth century.⁴³ In the eyes of the abbey chronicler, Offa's generous patronage and Pope Adrian's exemptions offered a utopian contrast with the greedy popes and submissive kings of the thirteenth century whose policies threatened St. Albans' corporate wealth and traditional liberties. Probably in response to the revocation of all such English exemptions at the Council of Lyons in 1245, Paris felt obliged to "prove" the great antiquity of his abbey with evidence provided from legendary traditions and forged charters.⁴⁴ Offa's image thus draws the reader's attention to his special pleading for St. Albans on grounds of the venerable age of its royal and papal charters and particularly God's own intervention in providing the monastery with the martyr's sacred relics upon which those privileges were based. Matthew's illustrated *Vita Offarum*, a largely fictitious work partly based on Old English epic texts, was written about 1250 to offer further claim to St. Albans' foundation by the early Anglo-Saxon king.⁴⁵

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Also dating from the 1250s, an even more striking illustration of Paris's insistence upon Offa's dual role in the intertwined histories of England and St. Albans is given in his portrait of the early Anglo-Saxon king in the *Abbatario Chroniconum* (Fig. 93). Awarded pride of place prefacing the elaborate gallery of kings at the begin-

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FIGURE 93. King Offa and a Diagram of the Heptarchy. B. L., Cotton Claudius D. VI, fol. 5.

rang of the chronicle, Offa is enthroned within a pale green and pink banded medallion frame (diam. 85 mm.) at the head of an empty column at the left. Drawn in light brown ink with touches of light pink, green, and ochre wash, and posed against two concentric circles heavily pointed in deep contrasting tones of red and blue filled with dotted rosettes, King Offa holds a book (charter?) as he raises his right arm in a generous open-handed gesture of proclamation. At the right a circular diagram of the Heptarchy heads a brief text giving the dimensions of England and an account of Offa's discovery of the relics of its celebrated protomartyr. Each kingdom is marked by a pink church tower capped by a blue spire and red cross, among which the one at the lower right is identified as St. Albans.

In addition to the purported founder of St. Albans, who ruled a large block of Midlands territory in the second half of the eighth century, there was yet another, very obscure Offa who, according to William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum* 1.98), reigned as king of the East Saxons for a few years at the beginning of that century. Roger Wendover included a brief notice of this Offa in his annal for A. D. 705, in which we are told that

[Offa] was a young man of pleasing countenance, in the flower of his youth, and dearly loved by his people, but . . . he learned to long for heaven's love, and he traveled to Rome; there, pious and tamed, he embarked toward the kingdom of heaven.⁴⁶

In the lower right corner of the page, Matthew sketched his portrait (Fig. 94) in a profile head showing Offa as king and monk, wearing a light brown cowl and an ochre crown with a green band; his face is delicately tinted with a pale blush of vermilion on the cheek. The rubric caption reads "Nona de Offa rege sancto factu monacho." Above this legend a second, slightly larger bust of Offa appears in rougher outline without tinting. Here the cowl is pulled down around his neck to reveal the tonsure,⁴⁰ while the rejected crown falls behind him. A discernible difference in style between the carefully drawn and tinted profile portrait below and the looser untinted sketch above suggests that Matthew added the upper drawing somewhat later, probably in an effort to clarify the significance of Offa's rejection of his earthly kingdom. The dual illustration of Roger's passing reference to this early and obscure Offa was apparently intended to anticipate and stress the connections of his later namesake both with monasticism and Rome by calling the reader's attention to the Saxon king who abandoned his crown for the tonsure. Paris's later addition of a second portrait to reinforce a point which he may have felt was not sufficiently clear in his original illustration bears eloquent witness to its pervasive importance in the mind of the St. Albans chronicler.

Alfred the Great is accorded three separate images in the *Chronica Majora*. His fame and achievements are celebrated on a purely secular and governmental level quite apart from his well-known role as royal instigator of the Benedictine revival in the late ninth century. The first of Alfred's portraits appears at the foot of p. 129 (Fig. 95) to mark Roger's announcement of the beginning of his reign (in 871). Within a medallion banded by a circular frame tinted bright green, the Anglo-Saxon king, mantled in the same bright green tint over a pale blue robe, is labeled in majuscule "ALFRED REX." He holds a long scroll extending beyond the frame inscribed "Primus in Anglia regnavi solus," while below Matthew has added in small script, "scilicet monarcha." In Alfred's time we first hear about the working of the royal treasury and the king's seal.⁴¹ Although no examples survive before the time of Edward the Confessor, the format and inscription of Matthew's image suggest that he may have modeled it after Alfred's seal or at least on a lost Anglo-Saxon type.

The portrait accompanies Roger's text in which we are told that after the death of his brother Ethelred, king of the West Saxons, Alfred, "who had been earlier crowned and anointed king by Pope Leo at Rome, took the helm of government of the whole of that kingdom." The announcement of his accession is followed by a genealogy



FIGURE 94. King Offa Becomes a Monk. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 26, p. 105.

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tracing Alfred's origins back to Adam.⁶⁹ The portrait, however, refers instead to Alfred's later accession to the English throne in 886 given on p. 126: "and there [at London] all the nations of the English joined together and made themselves subject to him. . . . From this time to the end of his life King Alfred remained monarch of the entire kingdom of England."⁷⁰ The rubric caption beneath the roundel which reads "Alfredus primus monarcha Anglorum a quo incipit genealogia orbiculata" alludes to the enumeration of the seven kingdoms of the Heptarchy in Roger's entry for 886: "As we have now come to the time of the sole monarchy, I think it right to recapitulate the names of the kings of England who reigned up to this period, with the order of their succession."⁷¹ At this point there follows a list of kingdoms in the Heptarchy, formed by Woden's seven legendary sons, whose descendants drove out the Britons and reigned in Kent, Mercia, Wessex, Northumbria, Sussex, East Anglia, and Essex.⁷²

The second portrait of Alfred the Great forms the centerpiece of an elaborate genealogy called the *Genealogia Orbiculata*, diagramming the consolidation of the Heptarchy, which appears in the prefatory matter in MS 26 (Fig. 96). Here a brief genealogy inscribed "Cronica sub compendio ab[bi]te[n]siana a fratre M. Parisiensi" is accompanied by a large, elegant foliated roundel made up of three con-



FIGURE 95. Alfred the Great. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 26, p. 129.

centric circles. The small inner circle contains a frontal bust of King Alfred on a milky rose-pink ground, framed by a narrow green band. Labeled "Alfredus rex" above and "prothomonarcha" below, the two innermost circles are surrounded by a wide band inscribed in large letters alternately red and blue: "TOPOGRAPHIA BRITANNIAE REGIONIS." Like the petals of a flower, seven semicircular lobes radiate outward from this band, each inscribed both within and on the surrounding frames with the names of the seven Saxon kingdoms of the Heptarchy: "Primum regnum—Regnum Cantie (Kent), Secun-



FIGURE 96. *Genealogia Orbiculata*.
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 26, fol. 10 verso.

dum regnum—Regnum Suthsexie [Sussex], Tertium Regnum—Regnum Westsexie [Wessex], Quartum regnum—Regnum Essexie [Essex], Quantum quod fit amplissimum regnum—Regnum Northunbeorum amplissimum [Northumbria], Sextum regnum—Regnum Estanglie [East Anglia], Septimum regnum—Regnum Merciorum ex quod fuit nobil. Offa [Mercia].³⁴ The four directions of the compass are also marked on the circular diagram representing England, with "Oriens" in its traditional medieval position at the top and "Occidens" at the bottom. The numbering of the kingdoms fails to correspond in all but two cases with the sequence assigned to Woden's sons in Roger's text on p. 136.³⁵ However, the peculiar order of kingdoms around the circle proceeding clockwise from the top (4, 1, 2, 3, 7, 5, and 6) positions each one in roughly the correct geographical part of the diagram so that East Anglia and Essex are in the east, Kent and Sussex in the south, Wessex and Mercia in the west, and Northumbria "amplissimum" is in the north and is indeed twice the size of the other lobes. To indicate Alfred's consolidation of the Heptarchy, Matthew joined the central inner portrait bust with each of the seven lobes by means of seven thin straps articulated by double red lines attached to the thin green frame in the center, which then extends behind the outer inscription band ending in two delicate volutes in each lobe. Above Alfred's bust is a *signum* alerting the reader to an additional text outside the diagram at the lower right dealing with Alfred's reign, while a second appendix has been added concerning Offa at the left, joined to the Mercian lobe by double and triple lines. The intricate circular diagram rests on a narrow stem in which the name of Alfred's son Edward within a lobe on a foliate base continues the Saxon dynasty. The genealogical chart ends abruptly with Edward's children at the bottom of the page but is resumed at the end of the volume on p. 285, where the ancestral line is traced, without illustration, to the reign of Henry II.³⁶

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Alfred's third portrait heads the genealogy of English kings in a large roundel in the prefatory pages of MS 16. On fol. iij (Fig. 77) Matthew traced the royal Anglo-Saxon line from Alfred down to Harold in two parallel columns, with the names of each monarch inscribed in rubric on small roundels evenly spaced along a central vertical stem and from which smaller circles branch off, bearing the names of their male offspring. In the interstices on either side, Paris wrote an abbreviated account of the most notable reigns. The genealogy is completed on fol. iij verso with the line of Anglo-Norman kings from William the Conqueror to Henry III.

Unlike the first two portraits, in which Alfred is presented as a

static frontal effigy, abstractly symbolizing the newly consolidated royal power of the Heptarchy in MS 26, the large roundel (diam. 65 mm.) heading the genealogy in MS 16 portrays him as an active ruler. Here Paris chose to celebrate Alfred's achievement of a more stable, peaceful and civilized kingdom through his revival of English laws. Against a dark blue ground the king in pale green robes is enthroned at the left, presiding over his assembled court; he exercises his authority not by power of the sword, but by persuasion of the written word. In this lively informal scene, Alfred holds a book toward four men, who eagerly reach out for his gift. Like a new Moses, the great Anglo-Saxon king is portrayed as a giver of laws. In issuing his legal code Alfred was reviving a tradition neglected in England for a century. Based on his conviction that human law is a reflection of divine law, the long introduction to Alfred's published *Laws* attempts to bind Anglo-Saxon laws with Mosaic precepts, while the rest of his legal canon represents a selection of what he regarded as valuable and necessary from earlier Anglo-Saxon codes. Matthew's portrait admirably captures the king's scrupulous concern for the immediate acceptance of his laws as well as for past tradition and posterity, expressed in this first extant description of English lawmaking:

Then I, King Alfred, collected these together and ordered to be written many of them which our forefathers observed, those which I liked; and many of these which I did not like I rejected with the advice of my councillors, and ordered them to be differently observed. For I dared not presume to set in writing at all many of my own, because it was unknown to me what should please those who should come after us. But those I found anywhere, which seemed to me most just . . . I collected herein and omitted the others. Then I, Alfred, King of the West Saxons, showed these to all my councillors, and they then said that they were all pleased to observe them.¹⁶

Thus, within the expanded range of three royal portraits Matthew has shifted his conception of Alfred as an abstract personification of Saxon monarchy in MS 26 to a more human and accessible interpretation in MS 16 as a great law giver.

CANUTE THE DANE

The only other king whose image appears in the genealogy on fol. iii in MS 46 is Canute the Dane (see Fig. 77). In a very rough untinted sketch in a small roundel in the lower right column above Harold,

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the crowned Canute is portrayed as a conquering warrior holding a shield and battle-ax. Matthew envisaged Canute, like Alfred, as the unifier of a divided England. Most monastic chroniclers of the twelfth century, however, regarded the Danish invasions as an unmitigated disaster. Hugh Candidus, for example, wrote in the *Battle Chronicle* that "the Danes came like wild dogs, leaping from their ships, attacking unsuspecting people, burning towns, villages and monasteries."¹¹ Nevertheless, the Danish kings of England were remembered by other historians almost as favorably as the Saxons. Matthew's own view coincides with that of the Ramsey chronicler who wrote that Canute was "inferior to none of his predecessors in virtue and military skill."¹²

The period just prior to the final acknowledgment of Canute as king in 1016 is a very confusing one. Supported by the three great Viking leaders, his elder brother Harold, king of Denmark, Eric, regent of Norway, and Thorkell the Tall, Canute returned to England and at one point held Wessex and Mercia, while King Ethelred reigned in the southeast and his son, Edmund Ironside, held the northern Danelaw. A few months after the old Saxon ruler died, Edmund was decisively beaten by the Dane at Ashingdon in October 1016. The uneasy truce which followed was quickly ended by Edmund's sudden death in November, after which Canute reigned as successor to King Edgar until 1035.

Canute's accession to the English throne is marked in the *Chronica Majora* by an ambitious battle scene (Pl. III) in which we see a dramatic but legendary single combat unfold between Edmund Ironside and the Danish king. Wendover tells us that, after fruit months of pitched battles in which heavy casualties were inflicted on both sides, the two rivals agreed that "they alone should fight who alone are contending for the kingdom." The illustration captures the climactic moment of this final armed confrontation:

The kings, clad in the most splendid armor . . . with the people watching, entered into single combat. Parrying the thrusts of the spear by their own skill as well as by the interposition of their very strong shields, they drew their swords and fought long and fiercely hand to hand, his valor (*virtus*) protecting Edmund, and his good luck (*fortuna*) Canute. The swords rang on their helmets, and sparks flew from their collision. . . . [Edmund] raised his right hand, brandished his sword and redoubled his blows on the head of his antagonist with such vehemence that he seemed to hurt lightning rather than to strike. Feeling his strength failing him and unable to endure such an attack, Canute considered agreeing to an early peace.¹³

Guarded intently by their watchful troops clustered in brilliantly tinted towers at the left and right, the splendid royal protagonists, mounted on horses tightly girt and bleeding from the spur, charge in ferocious hand-to-hand combat. Paris executed a curious reversal of the roles in Roger's text, so that it is Canute, his cheeks brightly flushed, who lands the devastating sword blow on Edmund's helmeted head. The figures are unmistakably labeled in vermilion ink "Aedmundus terreum latus" and "Canuto rex danie" in Matthew's distinctive crabbed hand, so that in his pictorial interpretation it is the Dane who clearly emerges as the victor in the fray. This disconcerting reversal of roles should not, however, be taken as the artist's misreading of the text. Instead of following Wendover's account of the battle, Matthew chose to refer to his own Anglo-Norman version from *La Estoire de Saint Aedward le Roi*, in which the older but wiser Canute leigs vigor and prowess by immediately launching a violent assault on the younger Edmund, taking him by surprise and then persuading him that it would be to their mutual advantage to abandon the struggle:

Nel puei Knuta lung souffrir,
 Mais il se [je]int par frès a boid,
 A [A]edmund fait un fer assaut,
 Ferr e refert: le du mivell
 Escu Aedmund fait un chancel,
 Del haubert fouse le maille,
 Du brand d'acer hi mot bien taillé.
 Plus le deti. Aedmund. aml.
 Ore entendez ke jo vos di.¹⁰⁹

As we have already observed in his drawing of the two poor Templars on a horse, Paris did not hesitate on occasion to illustrate material from his other works in the margins of Wendover's part of the chronicle without giving an explanation or citation of the source to account for the apparent discrepancy between text and image.

The elaborate composition of large-scale figures expands across the whole lower width of the page. The combat area between the text columns is cordoned off by the tall battlemented towers posted like armed sentinels at each end, the Saxons with lances at the right and the Danes with axes at the left. All the directional force of the conflict is weighted on Canute's side as his horse and shield are propelled forward by his thrusting toward the smaller figure of Edmund, who is falling back as he weakly parries his thin lance against the overpowering force of Canute's thick sword. Ironside, in blue mail and crowned helmet, wears a sleeveless surcoat powdered with red

crosses (poorly gules) and vandyked at the bottom, but these devices were probably not intended to be distinctive heraldic markings since they also appear on surcoats worn by other figures in several of Matthew's drawings. Canute's shield bears heraldic emblems delineated in unusual detail: on a dark pink ground bordered in pale brown are drawn two ships replete with red flanking and blue and green sails. Although there is no evidence that these or any other arms were borne by the Danish king, the imaginary device invented for Canute documents Matthew's long-standing fascination with heraldry. The Dane's arms seem to have been based on the heraldic device belonging to a later Scandinavian king, Haakon IV of Norway, whose shield is drawn in the margin of fol. 216v in MS 26 to mark his coronation in 1247: gules, three galleys or, one above the other. The horses have been very carefully outlined and modeled in contrasting pale tones of light blue and soft dusky pink (including the manes), while their hooves are more realistically tinted with a light brown wash. Further evidence of Matthew's meticulous approach in this drawing may be noted in his uncharacteristic correction of two mistakes by covering them over with white paint. It is applied along the upper blade of Canute's sword, which he had originally made too thick, and below the chest strap on Edmund's horse, where he had apparently spilled some vermilion ink.

THE ANGLO-NORMAN KINGS FROM WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR TO RICHARD I

In MS 26 the transition from the brief reign of the last Saxon king to William of Normandy is heralded by the introduction of shields charged with royal arms in the margins of the annal for 1066. In the normal upright position, they accompany notices of accession; upside down they signal the death of their royal owners. In addition to the shields of the English kings, Matthew enriched the margins of his chronicle with the arms of France, Norway, Spain, and the German Empire, as well as nearly all the most notable and even some of the lesser magnates of England during the first half of the thirteenth century. Among Matthew's several historical works in autograph manuscripts there are 143 different coats of arms for about 400 persons; of the seventy-two British coats, twenty-seven are given for the first time. Altogether the two *Corpus Christi* volumes of the *Chronica Majora* are emblazoned with ninety-two coats of arms; fourteen shields are painted in the margins of MS 26, beginning on p. 172 and

continuing to the end of the volume; seventy-eight colored shields appear throughout MS 26. The *Historia Anglorum* contains ninety-two shields painted in the margins. A whole folio of seventy-six painted shields aligned in rows and inscribed with the names of their owners and Latin blazons appears on both the recto and verso of fol. 171 in the *Liber Admamentorum* (Pl. XV).⁴⁹ On the evidence of a marginal note on the recto describing Henry III's preparations for war in Scotland, we may conclude that Matthew compiled this systematic pictorial collection of heraldic devices for reference use before 1244.⁵⁰

As we have just observed in the drawing of the combat between Canute and Edithund Ironside, arms comprise a normal component of Paris's illustrations involving kings and barons. Since heraldry had become part of everyday life by the thirteenth century, Matthew's keen interest seems a very natural preoccupation for both artist and chronicler. However, his pioneering role in the history of heraldry cannot be overestimated. The colorful shields painted in the margins of his autograph historical manuscripts constitute the first extant collection of medieval arms and an important innovation in medieval historiography. The earliest surviving roll of arms, Glover's roll, is thought to have been compiled about 1255, probably more than a decade after most of Paris's shields had been painted in the *Chronica Majora*.⁵¹ Matthew's impressive knowledge of heraldry, both English and European, was probably not based upon a lost roll of arms. More likely he gathered his material firsthand from the abbey's distinguished visitors, among whom he could have consulted Richard of Cornwall, Hubert de Burgh, and Richard of Clare.⁵² Matthew Paris collected coats of arms in much the same way as he hoarded documents and probably regarded his remarkable compilations of blazons and shields merely as a colorful extension of his routine archival duties.

Matthew's systematic introduction of heraldic shields to mark the reigns of the English kings in Roger's annal for 1066 signals a definitive break between the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman periods in the *Chronica Majora*. Corresponding to the point at which he chose to begin his later *Historia Anglorum*, the sudden appearance of painted shields in the margins of MS 26 beginning on p. 172 imposes a dramatic visual sense of a new era upon Roger's otherwise undifferentiated chronology of events. Paris devised an ingenious system of upright and inverted crowns⁵³ and swords, developed from the schematic signs invented by Ralph Diceto to classify the subject matter of his histories, to which he then added shields and other ob-



FIGURE 97. Coronation of Harold. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 26, p. 172.

jects, forming a pictographic shorthand capable of conveying an astonishingly complex body of information.

At the foot of p. 172 in MS 26 a shield and crown (Fig. 97), inscribed "Scutum et corona Regis Haroldi sibi Regnum usurpatis," precede the text of Roger's account of Harold's coronation on the facing recto. The white shield emblazoned with a gold rampant lion, however, is pure invention. There is no evidence that Harold ever bore a coat of arms, nor has this lion ever been found outside the works of Matthew Paris.⁶⁰ Harold's shield is shown suspended from a nail, giving the impression of having been hung on the vellum surface of the page in a somewhat startling medieval example of trompe l'oeil. The image offers a piercingly effective emblem signaling the imminent end of the Anglo-Saxon dynasty through what Paris perceived to be Harold's epic treachery. Roger sees Harold merely as a self-serving opportunist, based on Malmsbury's *Gesta Regum* 3.238:

Edward, the most holy king of the English, being dead . . . the nobles in the realm were in doubt whom to choose for their king . . . Harold, a cunning and crafty man, knowing that delay is always injurious, on the day of the Epiphany, when King Edward was buried, extorted the assent of the nobles and placed the diadem on his own head.⁶¹

But Matthew, in his later prologue to the *Historia Anglorum*, painted Harold as a traitor and perjurer:

And at this point we also begin the chronicles of the English, from William, the leader of the Normans, who, being provoked by the perfidious and perjured Harold, drove him from the throne of the kingdom as one who had broken his faith.⁶²

At the foot of p. 174 Harold's death is then signaled by an inverted crown and shield ("Scutum Haroldi Regis") on which a cross moline sable has been inserted behind the rampant lion, presumably to symbolize the end of the Anglo-Saxon line.

Immediately adjacent to Harold's inverted arms and crown are the upright shield and crown of William I of Normandy (Fig. 98), inscribed:

Scutum Willelmi Bazarzi Conqueroris.
In hoc scuto tres leopardi vel leones figurantur
Quia rex est, est et comes, et Angliæ gubernator.

Although Matthew attributes this coat of arms, three lions passant guardant or, to the Conqueror and all his successors, there is no evidence for its use before 1195, when it appeared on the second great seal of



FIGURE 98. Coronation of William the Conqueror. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 26, p. 174.

Richard I.⁶⁸ Contrasting with the symbolic retirement of Harold's armorial bearings in the suspension of his shield, William's arms spring from a rich pale green foliated stem, as if from a Tree of Jesse, heralding the fresh root of the new Anglo-Norman dynasty. Paris heads the second section of his royal genealogy on fol. iii verso with a roundel containing a portrait of the Conqueror holding an upright sword and a shield bearing the same arms.

Following a regular system of marginal signals in MS 26, William's shield and crown, inscribed "Mortuus Willelmus conq[ue]stor Angliæ," are reversed at the foot of p. 186, and the accession of William Rufus succeeds on the following page with the same shield and crown again upright and now inscribed "Creator Willelmus Rufus in regem." Matthew's orderly sequence of crowns and shields painted in the margins of Roger's text suggests nothing of the turbulent quarrels that marked the beginning of Rufus's reign nor the repressive rule that followed. Despite the red-faced William's place in medieval history as one of the three or four truly villainous English kings who was universally hated by the chroniclers for his blasphemy and oppression, he receives surprisingly mild treatment from Matthew's ordinarily more caustic pen. A drawing of an arm extending into the right margin from the text, holding an enormous tall lighted taper (Fig. 99) rendered in dark brown ink with a brilliant vermilion flame, focuses our attention on a story illustrating the king's arrogance and lavish expenditures:

In the same year, which was a.d. 1099, William, king of the English, returning from Normandy, held his court for the first time in the new hall at Westminster. When he first entered with a large retinue of soldiers to inspect it, some said that it was much larger than necessary, but the king replied that it was not half as grand as it ought to be and would be only a bedroom in proportion to the palace which he intended to build.⁶⁹

As was the case among other medieval chroniclers, however, it was the sudden and mysterious death of William Rufus that captured Matthew's attention. In the summer of 1100 the king boasted that he would spend Christmas at Poitiers, but on August 2

he went to hunt in the New Forest, where Walter Tyrel, intending his arrow for a stag, unwittingly struck the king. Pierced in the heart, the king fell to the ground without uttering a word, and thus by a miserable death ended his cruel life.⁷¹

In the left margin on p. 212 Matthew added the reversed shield and crown of William Rufus, with a bow and arrow pointing upward



FIGURE 99. Lighted Taper in the New Hall at Westminster. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 26, p. 211.



FIGURE 100. Obituary of William Rufus. Cambridge. *Cooper-Carter College* 26, p. 222.

from below (Fig. 100). His genealogical portrait in the *Abbreuiatio Chroniconum* (Fig. 87) shows the king holding the fagel arrow as an identifying attribute. Between the shield and crown is the inscription "Corona et clipeus Willelmi secundi videlicet Rufi sagittati." William's death made a tremendous impression on the chroniclers. Because the king's death was widely interpreted as an ominous retribution for Rufus's blasphemies and oppression, reports of the accident were often embellished with stories of prodigious portents prognosticating his sudden end. Roger Wendover tells us that

blood was seen to ooze out of the earth at Finchampstead in Berkshire, and the whole night after, the heavens appeared red, as if they were on fire. . . .

The day before his death he dreamed that he was bled by a physician and that the stream of blood reached heaven and obscured the sky.⁷²

Below the inverted shield Paris made a lengthy addition filling the whole left margin and half the bottom of the page, in which he reports the king's prophetic dream from Gerald of Wales, followed by the story of an apparition to the earl of Cornwall, William of Mortain:

The king in a dream on the night before his death saw a very beautiful child on an altar; being abnormally hungry . . . he approached and gnawed away at the child's flesh; seeing that what he ate was sweet-tasting, he wanted to consume it all the more, but the child gave him a fierce look and in a menacing voice said, "Desist, you are taking too much." Awakening from the dream, the king consulted the bishop about this. The bishop, suspecting vindictive judgment, said, "Desist, good king, from persecuting the Church; this is a penitential and benign punishment from God . . . do not go hunting." [But] the king rejected this salutary admonition and went hunting in the forest . . .

At this hour [of the king's death] the earl of Cornwall was hunting in the forest two days distant from the accident . . . he met a large black he-goat covered with hair, carrying a wounded black king naked to the waist. And the goat, commanded to identify himself, answered "I bear . . . your King, indeed the tyrant William Rufus. I am truly a malignant spirit and his malicious avenger who rages in Christ's church; thus I stalked him who is the lumen of God on the command of the protomartyr of England, St. Alban, who was the first priest on the isle of Britain."⁷³

On the same page at the foot of the adjacent text column, the accession of Henry I is marked by his upright shield inscribed "Clipeus et corona regis Henrici I." The crown, which seems to have no

fixed position relating to the shields in Matthew's system of armorial annotations, is given separately in the margin. Henry's death in 1134 is signaled in the usual way by an inverted shield and crown in the upper right corner of p. 225.²⁴ From the first rubric, "De morte Henrici regis Anglorum," near the bottom of the preceding text-column Matthew has drawn a reversed sword extending downward to a long text addition at the foot of the page, giving an account of the death of the king's older brother, Robert of Normandy. This is the first time that Paris has adopted the sword as an additional symbol from *Dieta* to signify the death of a baron or king.²⁵

The succeeding reigns of Stephen (1135–1154) and Henry II (1154–1189) are marked in the usual way in the margins of pp. 225 and 238 in MS 26 and continue onto fol. 19 in MS 16, where the inverted shield and crown of Henry II appear at the foot of the page in the center. In the midst of this uneventful sequence an interesting image occurs in which we may observe Matthew manipulating heraldic devices to convey further meaning. The shields of Henry the Younger, who in 1170 became an associate king during the lifetime of his father Henry II, are painted to denote the failure of the prince's accession. On the inner left margin of p. 261 in MS 26 Matthew has painted the royal shield to mark the succession, but it is already dimidiated by death, the right half gules, the left sable.²⁶ The two halves of the shield are inscribed "porpositum principium" in red and "vita brevis" in black. Below is the rubric legend, "In medietate rubea vitale, in nigra vero accipe mortale auspicium," anticipating the death of young Henry in 1183. Above the shield next to the rubric a crown is tipped at an angle to signal the pope's effort to prevent the coronation.²⁷ In the *Historia Anglorum* the ill-fated reign of Henry the Younger is expressed by placing his bust in a small niche between his father and brother (see Pl. VII).

The heraldic emblem marking the coronation of Henry II's eldest surviving son Richard I in 1189, at the foot of fol. 2 in MS 16, reflects for the first time a coat of arms actually documented as having been borne by the monarch in question. Surmounted by a crown, the shield bearing three lions is inscribed "Corona et scutum bellipotentis regni Ricardi." On his first great seal Richard carried a shield charged with a single lion rampant toward the left, but this coat was soon discarded. Richard's second seal, cut in 1198, displays the three lions passant guardant (Fig. 101) which have served as the royal arms of England ever since.²⁸ In the *Abbreuiatio Chroniconum* (see Fig. 88) Richard is the only sovereign to carry a heraldic shield and sword, denoting his renown as a Crusader. Richard's ceremonial

FIGURE 100

FIGURE 101



FIGURE 101. *Second Seal of Richard I, reverse. H.J., Cotton Charter XVI. 1.*

bearings accompany the first long description of coronation ceremonies in the *Cronica Majora*, giving rich details of the ritual and trappings at Westminster.²⁸ Richard's death ten years later is treated with similar pomp and ceremony. According to Wendover's text,

[the king] arrived in the duchy of Aquitaine . . . and had siege to the castle of Chalus; there, on the twenty-sixth of March he was wounded by one Peter Rasal with an arrow . . . but he thought nothing of this wound. . . . However, the wound he received, having been all this time unattended, began to swell, and a sort of blackness spread over the site of the injury, mixed with swelling, and caused him intolerable pain. At length, when the very wise king perceived the imminent danger, he prepared for his end . . . he forgave the author of his death, namely, Peter, who had wounded him, and ordered him to be released from his chains. . . . He was buried . . . at Fontevrault, and with him, in the opinion of many, were buried the glory and honor of the chivalry of Hesperia [the West].²⁹

Richard's shield is reversed in the margin, while above it is a cross-bow with an arrow in the notch; his inverted crown is placed below the shield between two reversed swords (Fig. 102). The descending

tail of the flourish for the text initial has then been drawn down to lightly touch the tip of the bow, as if to connect the emblematic image to the text by a visible thread. A similar configuration marking the end of Richard's reign is given on fol. 85v in the *Historia Anglorum*.⁴¹ Matthew's small sketch of a crossbow above Richard's inverted shield was probably intended to draw attention to the king's magnanimous forgiveness of the man who had caused his death, a true story first told by Roger of Howden, but with a different thrust. It was originally meant to illustrate Richard's stern, unforgiving character, since he only pardoned Peter Basal when he was sure he was going to die; but the *Cronica Majora* adapted a later popular conception of the generous-hearted *preux chevalier*, transforming history into romance.⁴²

KING JOHN

With the accession of King John in 1199 the dynastic saga of English kings in the *Cronica Majora* enters a new era coinciding with the lifetimes of Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris. This section of the chronicle constitutes one of the most heavily worked-over parts of Roger's text, marked by a constant stream of text additions and illustrations intruding from Matthew's pen. John's reign was a turbulent period of conflicts whose resolutions reverberated to the end of the Middle Ages and beyond. The momentous confrontation between the king and Pope Innocent III, brought to a crisis in the Interdict of 1208, was resolved five years later by John's submission to the pope. John's quarrel with the French and his own barons ended in two devastating defeats for the king in the Battle of Bouvines in 1214 and the following year at Runnymede with Magna Carta.

Although not without justification, no other medieval English monarch has suffered so much abuse at the hands of the chroniclers as King John. The traditional picture of a cruel and wicked tyrant stems almost entirely from the portrait given by Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris in the *Cronica Majora*. Whereas all the Angevin kings were considered ruthless and despotic to some degree, John was clearly perceived as significantly worse than his predecessors.⁴³ In contrast with the veiled accusations and reserved complaints of earlier historians contemporary with John, the St. Albans chroniclers attacked his character head-on with full-blooded homiletic invective.⁴⁴ By the time Roger began to write about him, King John was already something of a legend. Although Wendover set it down



FIGURE 102. Obituary of Richard I. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 46, fol. 170.

some ten years after the king's death, his account is more copious and filled with rich anecdotes than those written shortly after the events they describe. Remarkably gullible even by medieval standards, Roger eagerly accepted and repeated the current caricatures circulated in clerical and monastic circles, so that John emerges as a monster of personal depravity. Matthew's lavish addenda merely render Wendover's already exaggerated portrait more lifelike and colorful. Paris worked over the text, polishing, amplifying, and transforming his predecessor's plodding prose into what has become a traditional judgment on John's character—greedy, libidinous, wicked, cruel, and tyrannical—the personification of every royal vice.⁶⁵ In one of his lengthy additions on John, Matthew typically casts his characterization of the king in a speech attributed to a third party:

John was a tyrant rather than a king, a subverter rather than a governor, an oppressor of his own people, and a friend to strangers, a lion to his own subjects, a lamb to foreigners and rebels; for, owing to his idleness, he had lost the duchy of Normandy and many other of his territories, and moreover was eager to lose or destroy the kingdom of England; and he was an insatiable extorter of money, and an invader and destroyer of the possessions of his own countrymen.⁶⁶

John's coronation is marked in the usual way (Fig. 103) by an upright crown above the Angevin shield in the outer right margin, inscribed "Johannes coronatur in regem Anglorum." But there is also another crown inclined at an angle in the inner left margin to signify that "Philip, bishop of Durham, made an appeal to prevent this coronation from taking place in the absence of Geoffrey, archbishop of York, but did not obtain his wish."⁶⁷ As we shall soon see, the tipped crown is a visual harbinger of the turbulent reign that followed. In the margin at the foot of the page Matthew makes a very long addition giving the text of the speech delivered by Hubert Walter of Canterbury at John's accession:

"Here, all of you, and he it known that no one has an antecedent right to succeed another in the kingdom unless he shall have been unanimously elected . . . not as the son of a king nor born of royal ancestry. . . . We have said this to maintain the cause of Earl John . . . we have, under God's Holy Spirit, unanimously elected him for his merits and his royal blood." . . . Archbishop Hubert was afterwards asked why he acted in this manner, to which he replied that he had a presentiment that . . . John would one day corrupt the kingdom and crown



FIGURE 104. Church Bell Silenced by Interdict. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 27v.

FIGURE 103



FIGURE 105. Interdict Lifted. B.L., Reg. 14. C. VII, fol. 91

of England and cast it headlong into great confusion. Therefore he determined that he should owe his elevation to election and not to hereditary right.⁸⁸

The proberonial thrust of Matthew's addition not only reveals his own political bias, but sustains the tone of the annals on John's reign written by his predecessor.

The Interdict imposed by Innocent III in 1208 when the king refused to accept the papal choice of Stephen Langton as archbishop of Canterbury is illustrated in the lower margin of fol. 27v by an ingenious and elegantly rendered church bell with a rope thrown over the gudgeon so that it cannot be rung (Fig. 104). The bell is subtly tinted in shades of blue with the lightest tone at the bottom to give the effect of light striking it from below, while the rope is drawn in a contrasting vermilion line. In the *Historia Anglorum* a similar drawing refers to the Interdict by depicting an inverted bell with a detached clapper beside it.⁸⁹ The lifting of the ban is illustrated a few pages later (Fig. 105) by two bells being rung by hands pulling ropes attached to long wooden gudgeons, very similar to those represented in the *Dublin Life of St. Alban* (see Fig. 61). During the five-year Interdict John's relationship with St. Albans deteriorated into open animosity over his insistence that he continue to receive the Sacrament.⁹⁰ Up to 1208 King John had been a frequent guest at the abbey, but after ordering the abbot to defy the papal prohibition he ceased to be a welcome visitor.⁹¹ The king then seized the house and installed secular custodians,⁹² setting off a wave of monastic hostility toward the crown reaching far beyond his own reign. During the whole period from 1208 to 1213 John is portrayed as a persecutor and corrupter of the English Church.⁹³

The text of the king's letter of submission to Innocent III, bringing the Interdict to an end in 1213, is copied into the *Chronica Majora* and is accompanied in the margin by a small drawing of the document, very neatly rendered in fine brown ink, fixed with the royal seal tinted pale yellow, and labeled "carta detestabilis" below. Paris regarded John's surrender of his realm to the papacy as an outstanding blot upon his character. In the later *Historia Anglorum* one of the barons is made to exclaim to the king: "When have you seen or heard from anyone of a free king . . . who subjected himself willingly to servitude? But you, who were the freest of monarchs, have consigned yourself and your realm to perpetual slavery."⁹⁴ By Matthew's time the full ramifications of John's submission had made themselves felt in what was perceived to be oppressive papal inter-

ference and taxation on English churches and monasteries. In retrospect he saw the king's capitulation as opening England's door to an army of Roman tax collectors. The inverted shield marking John's death on fol. 48 is inscribed with the bitter recrimination, "thus died John, king and first tributary of England" (*Obiit rex Angliae Johannes primus tributarius*), accompanied by a falling crown inscribed, "Woe to the tottering crown of England" (*Vae labenti coronae Angliae*; see Fig. 119). In the *Abbeviaire Chroniconum* (see Fig. 88) King John is represented with his crown tipped at a rakish angle to drive home the same point of his landless ignominy; even the monastery he founded for the Cistercians at Beaulieu appears behind him, so that he is quite literally empty-handed.

The St. Albans chroniclers perceive John's reign after his submission to Rome as an unbroken chain of disasters and defeats. In the summer of 1214 the king launched a last effort to recover the lost Norman lands in France, but the great master plan miscarried when his Poitevin vassals proved unwilling to fight against the French monarch. On an open plain near the village of Bouvines, the army of John's ally, Emperor Otto IV, was soundly defeated after three hours of confused small engagements. The decisive French victory at Bouvines shattered John's hopes of recovering Normandy and left the king to return home facing an empty treasury and discontent among the barons.⁴¹

Matthew's spirited illustration of the battle (Fig. 106) interprets the whole venture as an epic moral drama in which a wicked villain is singled out for just punishment. While following Roget's text

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PAGE 157



FIGURE 106. *Book of Bouvines*. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 37.

fairly closely, Paris typically reduces the large-scale military operation to a single conflated episode and epitomizes its moral thrust in the actions of a single individual, one of John's men who conveniently shares his lord's wicked character. Roger's text informs us that the English expedition into Poitou included Hugh de Boves, "a brave soldier though a cruel and proud man, for he showed his cruel disposition in those regions by sparing neither women nor young children."⁹⁶ Having reached Bouvines, most of the English knights decided that "it was improper to profane such a day [Sunday] by slaughter and the shedding of human blood . . . on hearing this Hugh de Boves broke forth into blasphemy." He accused the others of being traitors and refused to delay the engagement. "By these and other abusive words of the said Hugh, the whole multitude was stirred up and excited to battle."⁹⁷ The illustration picks up the narrative at this point to focus on the action of the only man among John's vassals to gain the initiative. By lending a sudden cavalry charge against the French, Count Reynaud of Boulogne is able to launch a direct attack on King Philip:

The battalions . . . burst upon the ranks of the French with such impetus that in a moment they broke their ranks and forced their way even up to where the French king was. Count Reynaud, when he saw the king who had disinherited him and expelled him from his country, directed his lance against him and, having forced him to the ground, was preparing to slay him with his sword; but one of the soldiers, who had been appointed bodyguard for the king, exposed himself to the blows of the count and was killed in his stead.⁹⁸

In the ensuing counterattack we see the weakness and wounded pride of John's vassal played off against the vigorous loyalty of Philip's man in the episode at the left: "While these events were taking place around King Philip . . . nobles of the French kingdom made an attack on the troops commanded by Hugh de Boves and put that noble to flight."⁹⁹ In Matthew's eyes the English defeat at Bouvines was just as much a punishment of John's wicked knight for his blasphemy as it was a fitting retribution against the king himself.

In its conflation of the two episodes—King Philip's narrow escape from Reynaud and the fast retreat of Hugh de Boves—the drawing captures the essence of the drama in a masterful pictorial contrast: the dense melee of falling men and surging horses is played off against the isolated figure of the fleeing Hugh, who fearfully looks back as a bowman strikes his shield with another arrow, wounding his pride more than his person. Here, as in Paris's other battle

scenes, the major protagonists are carefully identified by their heraldry as well as by captions, thus heightening the intensity of the otherwise monochrome drawing with touches of dark green and vermilion. At the left, the French king (*Rex francorum Philippus*), crowned and in mail, is protected by a shield bearing the bear-de-lis, while his attacker, Reynaud of Boulogne, bears a shield argent covered with annulets gules. Hugh de Boves and his mount are literally covered with the same bealdic devices which appear on his shield argent, a quatrefoil in an orle of rings gules.

As we have already observed, even the humiliating rout at Bouvines was not regarded by the St. Albans chroniclers as sufficient retribution against the wickedness of John's knight, for he was then shipwrecked and drowned on the return voyage across the Channel (see Pl. II).¹⁰⁰ With Matthew's addition concerning the grisly vision witnessed by a St. Albans monk, the shipwreck death of Hugh de Boves brings the whole chain of events beginning at Bouvines to a resounding moral conclusion and ultimately functions to inflict an indirect punishment on the king. Roger concluded his account of the battle at Bouvines by having John complain, "Since I became reconciled to God and submitted myself and my kingdom to the Church of Rome, woe to me, nothing has prospered with me and everything unlucky has happened."¹⁰¹

Magna Carta forms the dramatic turning point in the chroniclers' epic narrative of King John's reign. The romantic but unreliable tradition which pictures a baronage united in arms against the crown, confronting a meek and humiliated king at Runnymede in June of 1215 and obliging him to set his seal to a declaration of constitutional liberties is largely derived from Roger Wendover¹⁰² and reflects the strong antiroyal, probaronial bias of his abbey. In the *Chronica Majora* the St. Albans chroniclers present their own distinctive version of these momentous revolutionary documents: Roger gives a text of Magna Carta consisting of conflated versions of the 1217 and 1225 charters, a text of the Forest Charter falsely attributed to John, and a version of the *forma securitatis* from 1215, all of which are accompanied by extensive additions made in the margins by Matthew Paris. As Holt has pointed out, these writers were not lawyers and consequently saw no need to distinguish between different and sometimes conflicting legal enactments; the monastic chroniclers regarded the different versions that came their way as variants of a single true declaration.¹⁰³ On the other hand, Matthew's additions succeeded in bending history to his own passionate

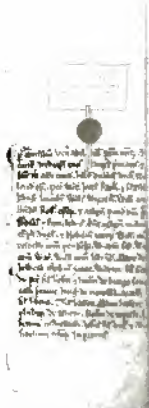


FIGURE 107. *Magna Carta*.
Cambridge, Corpus Christi
College 16, fol. 38.

interests and prejudices, attributing to men long since dead his own feelings toward the king and pope, royal and papal taxation, and the growing influence of foreigners over affairs of church and state. To signal the reader's attention to this imposing series of heavily annotated documents Matthew carefully drew representations in the margins not only of John's letter of submission to the pope, but also of *Magna Carta*, the Forest Charter, and the papal bull of 1215 denouncing the rebel barons, all meticulously affixed with seals in different colors.

The copy of the great charter of King John which appears in the *Chronica Majora* is a garbled version based on the 1215 *Magna Carta* only for its introduction and first clause, and thereafter constitutes a conflation of the 1217 reissue and the truncated version promulgated in 1225 under Henry III; however, a number of important additions based on material from 1215 were made in the margins by Matthew Paris. At best *Magna Carta* is a solemn but practical document whose provisions were designed to block up the loopholes in custom through which the Angevins had weakened their vassals.¹⁰⁴ The charter thus constitutes a commentary not on John's reign alone, but on a half-century of vigorous Angevin government. For Matthew, *Magna Carta* must have seemed a landmark comparable to the revival of Saxon law under Alfred the Great. Among the several extensions he made in the margins to the text of the Great Charter in the *Chronica Majora*, based on the 1215 version unavailable to Roger Wendover,¹⁰⁵ is a list of prelates and nobles who appear as advisers to the king in the formulation of the charter. At the foot of fol. 38 the roster of names is signaled by a small representation of *Magna Carta*, 30 x 25 mm. (Fig. 107), fixed by a large royal seal drawn in the margin above.¹⁰⁶ To judge by the exemplification of King John's charter of 1215 now preserved in the British Library (MS Cotton Augustus II. 106), the format is accurately rendered in fine brown line as a short, wide document carrying long lines of text. As it appeared in Matthew's time, *Magna Carta* is shown bearing a large dull green wax seal suspended from a cord threaded through a fold at the foot. Since the lower ends of the cord extend downward into Paris's added text, displacing several words in the first two lines, it is obvious that he appended his marginal text a *fter* he executed the drawing. When we compare his representation of *Magna Carta* with the version from which Matthew probably incorporated his addition, that is, the third and final revision issued by Henry III in 1225,¹⁰⁷ in an exemplification in B. L. MS Add. 46144 (Fig. 108), we may again observe the meticulous care with which the St. Albans chronicler

handled the pictorial documentation of actual objects, reproducing every distinctive aspect of the charter, from the proportions of the vellum sheet to the color of the wax seal.¹²²

Matthew's perception of Magna Carta had a profound effect on his subsequent treatment of English monarchs. Both John and Henry III are presented as opponents of lay and ecclesiastical liberties and as equally untrustworthy in adhering to the provisions of the charters. Royal government is represented as an almost unrelieved succession of denials of Magna Carta, beginning with King John in 1215 and continuing with Henry III up to 1257 in a wearisome reiteration of promises and confirmations followed by backsliding and breaches of faith. Paris interjected into the middle of Magna Carta itself a new leaf (fol. 40) which contains the text of a letter written by Innocent III to John a few months before his capitulation at Runnymede, followed by a long vituperative diatribe against the king's weakness, double-dealing and vassalage to Rome. In March 1215, King John's first response to the initiative demanding a charter was a delaying tactic, sending envoys to Rome to consult Innocent III, while at the same time trying to raise an army of mercenaries abroad. The pope's answer, when it arrived late in April, was predictably to the king's advantage, for he urged the barons to abandon their conspiracy and any thought of civil war against the crown. The rebels then gathered at Brackley near Northampton and issued another set of demands. Matthew's addition deals passionately with the bitter disillusionment of the barons at what he saw as the duplicitous actions of their raging king:

[On first receiving the papal letter] they all exulted in the belief that God had . . . touched the king's heart. . . . One and all hoped that England . . . would enjoy peace and liberty, not only by the protection of the Roman Church, under whose wing they thought they were sheltered . . . but also on account of the wished-for humiliation of the King, who they hoped was happily inclined to all gentleness and peace. But it was far from being the case—oh shame! oh sorrow!—and very differently from what was expected did events happen. Fortune was believed to have smilingly offered them peace, when it had prepared drafts of gall and poison: for behold, on the instigation of the devil . . . the sons of Belial, like wicked pirates, who love war rather than peace, insulted their whispered words of discord in the king's ears . . .

The too credulous king, at the whisperings of these abominable bandits . . . changed his mind and inclined his heart to the very worst counsel; for it is easy to turn a wavering man, and it is easy to hurry one prone to evil headlong into wickedness.



MS. A. 108. Henry III's
Rescue of Magna Carta.
B.L., Add. 46144.

Then John began preparations for war against the barons.

But as there is nothing done in secrecy which is not discovered, these dangerous preparations and designs were soon made known to the nobles by possessors. And some of the more prudent of them went to the king to find out if what they had been told was true, and if so, to endeavor by salutary discourse and counsel so to dispel his anger and to recall him from his unjust purpose before it commenced. The king, however, in the presence of his nobles, concealed his inward bitterness under a calm countenance and boldly swore by God's feet that he planned nothing sinister. And thus by false assertions he skeptically talked the report which had arisen. Nevertheless, as it is difficult for a furious man to restrain himself, these nobles discovered by many indications, before the interview was broken off, that the king's heart was set against them . . . and they pondered the event in their minds: "Woe to us, yea to all England, for it has not a true king, but is oppressed by a tyrant who endeavors to make his people miserable. He has already placed us in subjugation to Rome and the Roman court that we might obtain protection from it. We fear that we shall find the assistance from thence injurious to our posterity. We never heard of any king who was unwilling to withdraw his neck from slavery; but this one willingly submits to it."¹⁰⁹

At the foot of fol. 41 Matthew has sketched the papal bull and an anchor below (Fig. 109) next to the rubric "Nota optinam concessionem dupliciter confirmatum," along with a marginal addition informing the reader that, if he wishes to see it, the *carta bullata* may be found in the *Liber Adduamentorum* as the sign of the anchor. This is the first reference in the *Chronica Majora* to Matthew's supplemental collection of documents (MS Cotton Nero D. I); Innocent's letter is copied out on fol. 121v.¹¹⁰ In the *Chronica Majora* it is also

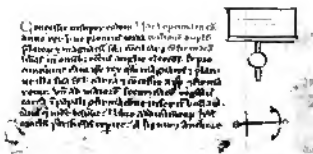


FIGURE 109. Papal Bull of 1213. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 70, fol. 41.

given on the inserted leaf in Paris's hand on fol. 40, accompanied by another representation of the document with a seal in the upper right margin (Fig. 110), and it is here that Matthew's indignant excursus on the king's double-dealing betrayal of the barons appears. The pictorial documentation of Innocent III's papal bull is carried out in the same careful style in fine brown line as John's charters, although the outer contour has been gone over in a heavier outline, with the pope's leaden bulls painted blue and threaded through a fold at the foot by silk cords. That Matthew very probably based his representation on firsthand inspection of the document is suggested by comparing his drawing with a contemporary bull of Innocent III accepting John's vassaldom in 1214 in B. L. Cotton Charter VIII. 24 (Fig. 111), which was kept in the Treasury of the Exchequer. To distinguish this document from the royal charters drawn on the previous two folios, Paris accurately rendered the papal seal as being much smaller and carefully painted it dull blue to denote that it was lead rather than colored wax.¹¹¹

One of the most striking impressions left by the dense and muddled section on Magna Carta in the *Chronica Majora* is its evidence for the wide circulation and copying of that momentous document, particularly the 1217 and 1225 charters. Most of the large monastic houses must have possessed a vast assortment of important contemporary records.¹¹² Although Matthew's imaginary representation of Offa's eighth-century charter at the end of his *Dublin Album* (see Fig. 61) treated the royal gift as a dramatic occasion, his depiction of St. Albans' acquisition of such sealed documents probably had a more mundane and factual basis in the everyday life of the thirteenth-century abbey. The chronicles of the period became so overcrowded with archival material that historical narrative was often eclipsed. As we have already noted, Paris intended to collect documents cited in the *Chronica Majora* in an appendix following his annual for 1250, the point at which he initially ended the chronicle. Then he removed the collection to a separate volume, the *Liber Additamentorum*, to which he continued to add material. His inclusion of the papal letter of March 1215 as an insertion on fol. 40 and his reference to the copy in the *Liber Additamentorum* on fol. 41 thus appear to have been made at different times. The insertion was probably made before 1250, while the marginal reference to the separate collection of documents dates well after 1250. The disparity of dates between the two additions is evinced not only by the differences in Matthew's handwriting, but also by the two renderings of the papal letter in the margins of fols. 40 and 41, offering a modest but unique



FIGURE 110. Papal Bull of 1215. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 40.

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FIGURE 111. Papal Bull of 1214. R.L., Cotton Charter VIII. 24.

instance in the *Chronica Majora* of the same object first drawn in Paris's more careful style of the 1240s, in which the fastening of the seal to the parchment is fastidiously rendered, and then crudely sketched in his late heavy hand of the 1250s.

The last and what was probably the worst year of John's oppressive rule is commemorated with an illustration of the king's reign of terror during the civil war that broke out in the autumn of 1215 following Magna Carta. Instead of celebrating Christmas in the usual way at Nottingham, John set off on a fearful expedition of revenge, torture, and murder, scouring the northern countryside for his enemies. The medieval chroniclers are unanimous in their outrage and horror at the atrocities committed by this terrible archy.¹⁶¹ Wendover gives an unusually colorful account enlivened by constant interpolations of more pungent language by Matthew Paris:

The whole surface of the earth was covered with these locusts, satellites of Satan, and ministers of the devil; they assembled here from remote regions. . . . The assassins ran about cruelly killing people, assassins wandering by night, sons of Belial shaved by swords, to obliterate everything from the face of the earth, from man down to his cattle, and everything necessary for human life. Ruaning about with drawn swords and open knives, they ransacked towns, houses, cemeteries, and churches, robbing everyone and sparing neither women nor



FIGURE 11a. Assassins under King John. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 44v.

children. . . . They inflicted similar tortures on knights and others of every condition, some of them they hung up by the middle, some by the feet and legs, some by the hands, and some by the thumbs and arms, and then threw salt mixed with vinegar in the eyes of the wretches, taking no heed that they were made after God's image and were marked by the sign of Christ. . . . and then, in their tortures, the wretched creatures uttered piteable cries and dreadful groans, [but] there was no one to show them mercy, and their torturers were satisfied with nothing but their money.¹¹⁹

The drawing at the foot of the page (Fig. 112) is an almost literal rendering of the text in which John's man is depicted as a cruel giant brandishing a club as he pushes a small, childlike, pleading victim toward his horrible fate. The marked contrast in scale between the figures not only observes a medieval convention to symbolize social status, differentiating common people from knights, but also emphasizes the helpless plight of the victims. With long gauntlets hanging down behind him, John's sadistic minion wears a surcoat semé with hummers gules, probably meant to signify the marshal or one of his staff by a canting device later associated in the *Chronica Majora* with Richard Earl Marshal.¹²⁰ At the right we then see the atrocious torture of three naked and fettered men. The composition skillfully builds to a minor dramatic crescendo from left to right as the threatening gesture of John's marshal sweeps upward on an oblique line to the first man hung, who still struggles on the beam, then the motion is quickly reversed, running downward to the grisly image of the third man hung upside down and vomiting blood.

After having been excommunicated in the same year, the rebel barons abandoned all hope of improving their condition under King John. In May of 1216 they decided that their only course of action was to accept Louis, son of King Philip of France, as the leader of their cause and attempt to place him on the throne of England. Into Roger Wendover's straightforward reportage of the barons' resolution, Paris interpolates a lengthy account of their deliberations, which serves as an opportune platform from which to launch, through the barons, some of his own venomous attacks on King John:

Cursing the king's wiles, evasion, and faithlessness, they thus gave vent to their grief, "Woe to you, John, last of kings, principal abomination of the English, disgrace to the English nobility! . . . We read that many other kings and princes have fought even to the death for the liberation of their subjugated land, but you, John, of mournful memory to future ages, have conspired and managed to enslave your country which has been free since antiquity; and, that you might drag

others with you into slavery, like the serpent who dragged down half the host of heaven [Apocalypse 12], you have dragged yourself down. From a free king you have become a tributary, a tenant and servile vassal; you have, by a charter of eternal slavery, bound this most noble land. . . ." And the barons in their complaints and lamentations uttered curses upon the king and the pope, thus committing inexcusable sins. . . . At length they determined to choose some other prince through whom their possessions could be restored, believing that no one could be a worse or harsher ruler than John.¹⁰

In an apparent attempt to vindicate the barons of treachery against their church and sovereign, Paris conferred upon their cause the righteous emblems of faith and religion in the schematic drawings which appear beneath each text column at the foot of fol. 45v (Fig. 113). Finely drawn on either side of the large bed-quire number IIII in dark brown ink without tint, his representations of the two shields, one inscribed "Scutum fidei" and the other "Scutum anime," are among the earliest extant examples of these symbolic devices.¹¹ The Shield of Faith at the right is marked by four small roundels labeled "deus," "pater," "filius," and "spiritus," denoting the doctrine of the Trinity. Between the central and lower roundels of God and the Son is a cross inscribed "Verbum caro factum est." Each corner roundel is joined to the center by a line marked "est," while the outer contour lines of the shield bear the words "non est," proclaiming that each part of the Trinity is God, but at the same time

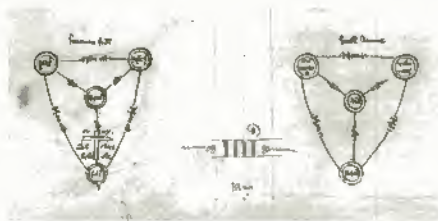


FIGURE 113. Scutum Fidei and Scutum Anime. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 45v.

maintaining the distinctness of each. The triangular diagram of the *Scutum Fidei* was not Matthew's invention, for it accompanies Robert Grosseteste's *Declaratio* on the Shield of Faith on fol. 14v in Durham Cathedral MS A. III. 72 (Fig. 113A), which dates before 1237.¹¹¹ The shield also figures in an allegorical illustration for one of the moralizing treatises in MS Harley 3244 dating sometime after 1235, as an important attribute for an equestrian knight preparing to battle the Vices (Fig. 114).¹¹² At the right of the Shield of Faith in the *Chronica Majora* there is a similar device inscribed "Scutum animae," but the roundels are differently named, with "anima" in the center, surrounded by three medallions marked "memoriae," "voluntas," and "ratio." The second emblematic shield appears to be Paris's own creation in which the soul's memory, will, and reason are, in another extended allusion, enlisted by the barons to combat the vices of their wicked king.

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The meaning of the *Scutum Fidei* is further clarified by a more elaborate full-page painted representation in Matthew's hand, which has been preserved in John of Wallingford's *Miscellanea* (Fig. 115). Measuring 188 x 130 mm., the damaged vellum sheet bears an upright green shield within a red frame, with roundels marked "Pater," "Filius," and "Spiritus Sanctus" in the three corners in red and blue ink. Below the central circle inscribed "DEVS" and adorned by a pair of wings, the vertical band carries a miniature image of the crucified Christ inscribed "verbum incarnatum." At

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FIGURE 113A. *Scutum Fidei*.
Durham Cathedral MS A. III. 12, fol. 140.

Ephesians 6:16 concerning Christian warfare to be applied to the opponents of King John, urging them in the most strident Pauline terms to

put on the whole armour of God that you may be able to withstand the wiles of the devil. For we are not contending against flesh and blood, but against . . . the earthly rulers of this present darkness.

The rebel barons labeled themselves "the Army of God and the Holy Church," an epithet that was not only picked up by monastic chroniclers such as Walter of Coventry and Ralph of Coggeshall from King John's reign but was also repeated several times in the *Chronica Majora*.¹¹²



FIGURE 115. Scurro Fidei. B. L., Canon Johnes D. VII, fol. 10.

At the foot of the next verso page an illustration of Louis's landing (*Applicat lodovicus*) follows Roger's account of the event (see Fig. 116). After having given his oath to the English barons and having obtained permission from King Philip,

Louis then sent messengers to the court of Rome, there to set forth in the presence of the pope the right which he claimed for himself to the kingdom of England, and then, in company with his earls, barons, knights, and numerous followers, he made all haste to the sea-coast. . . . They therefore all immediately embarked and put to sea with all speed, making for the isle of Thanet, where they landed at a place called Stonor. . . . Louis, finding no one to oppose him, disembarked at Sandwich and soon subdued the whole district. . . . He then went to London and was there received with great joy by all the barons.¹²¹

Matthew's conventional drawing shows four ships with vermilion planking in the dark green waves, filled with an assembly of nine assorted figures, including three knights in mail armor and a cowed monk.¹²² Louis is presumably the young man in a short tunic who steps gingerly into a small boat where he will be assisted by a figure in a close-fitting cap.

Matthew's profound sympathies for the justice of the barons' cause both in the rebellion of 1215 and in their massive defection to Louis of France in 1216 found another, more subtle pictorial expression in the margins of the *Chronica Majora*. Of the twenty-five barons whose obituaries are commemorated by painted shields between 1211 and 1246, fifteen participated in actions against John, while only four remained loyal to the king. The introduction of the first



FIGURE 116. Louis of France Arriving in England. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 46v.

barons' coats of arms in 1211 on fols. 29 and 29v coincides with the eve of the rebellion and marks the demise of two noblemen whose loyalties went in opposite directions. The first was Roger de Lacy, constable of Chester, the "renowned knight" who was John's heroic but unsuccessful defender of Château Gaillard against Philip Augustus.¹²⁵ The second figure was one of the discontented barons whose fate at the hands of John became a cause célèbre around which the rebellion rallied in 1214–1215. On fol. 29v are the inverted arms of William de Braose the elder "who had fled to France from King John, chased his life at Corbeil, and was buried with honors at the monastery of St-Victor in Paris."¹²⁶

Contrary to Roger Wendover's fundamentally adverse moral judgment of the barons who revolted against the king as "the chief promoters of this pestilence,"¹²⁷ Matthew Paris took the position in a lengthy addition on John's destructive malevolence that

the English are the most patient of men until they are offended and injured beyond endurance. But now, like a lion or an elephant, when it feels itself hurt or sees its blood, they are enraged and are intending and striving, although late, to shake the yoke of the oppressor from their necks.¹²⁸

Each baron in his own way had become a victim and martyr.

Three of the rebel leaders who were killed during the civil war of 1216 are celebrated in the margins of the *Cronica Majora*. Geoffrey de Mandeville, who was accidentally killed in a joust, is commemorated by his inverted sword and shield (Fig. 117):

About this time the barons (who were loyal to Louis) went from the city of London, in company with the knights who had lately come from France, to enjoy the sport of tilting with only lances and cloth armor. After spending a great part of the day unging their horses, to speed and striking one another with their lances, one of the French knights in the sport aimed his lance against Geoffrey de Mandeville, earl of Essex, and mortally wounded him; the earl, however, forgave the man who had wounded him, and a few days afterwards died, to the regret of many.¹²⁹

One of the confederate barons excommunicated by Innocent III, Geoffrey had been forced to pay 20,000 marks to marry John's former wife, Isabella, countess of Gloucester; the earl's indebtedness to the king was given by the Dunstable Chronicler as cause for his disaffection.¹³⁰ Eustace de Vesli, lord of Altwick, whose inverted shield and sword appear in the margin of fol. 48v, was killed in 1216 while attempting to take Burnard Castle for Louis.¹³¹ Along with Robert



FIGURE 117. Obituary of Geoffrey de Mandeville. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 46.



FIGURE 118. Obituaries of Henry de Baluac and Saer de Quincy. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 56.

FitzWalter, de Vesci was in the forefront of the baronial uprisings from 1212 to 1216.¹²² The obituary of FitzWalter, who died in 1235, is marked by a reversed shield in the margin of fol. 95v.¹²³ This “baron of illustrious race, renowned in feats of arms,” and who styled himself “Marshal of the army of God,”¹²⁴ was, like many of the other confederate barons, probably no more commendable than John’s strong-arm mercenaries against whom he set himself up as champion. Matthew, however, tended to romanticize and enable his baronial heroes, just as he was prone to exaggerate the evil character of the king.¹²⁵

In several instances Matthew added obituaries as well as painted coats of arms to mark the passing of the heroes of the 1214–1216

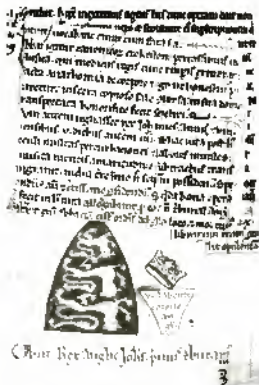


FIGURE 119. Obituary of King John. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 98r.

rebellion. On fol. 56 (Fig. 118) the deaths in 1220 of the confederate barons Henry de Bohun, earl of Hereford, and Saer de Quincy, earl of Winchester, are given with their reversed shields together in the margin: "Obierunt hoc anno Henricus de Boum comes Herefordiae, Saerus de Quinci, comes Wintoniensis."¹⁶ In an earlier text addition Paris draws particular attention to King John's animus against the earl of Winchester: "He hated, like viper's venom, all men of noble rank in the kingdom, and especially Saer de Quincy [and] Robert FitzWalter."¹⁷ On a preceding folio Matthew had noted the death of Saer de Quincy in another pictorial context during the Battle of Damietta (see Pl. XII), where he is depicted at the lower right as a fallen knight partially covered by his shield, which is distinctively emblazoned with voided red lozenges on a light yellow ground.¹⁸

After a year's reign of terror, John's death in October 1216 brought a resolute end to the atrocities, and an uneasy peace settled over England as the barons rallied to support his young heir, Henry III. We have already remarked upon Matthew's bitter epithet which accompanies the king's inverted shield (Fig. 119) and his lament over "the tottering crown of England" that falls beside it. Sometime after he painted the shield, Paris substituted on a piece of parchment pasted over Roger Wendover's original epitaph a different ending to King John's reign:

King John . . . departed from his life after a generation of political disorder and useless labor, leaving bitterness in the minds of many; he possessed no lands; indeed, he was not even his own master.

A profane chresten thus says of him,

With John's foul deeds England's whole realm is sinking,

As doth hell, too, wherein now he is sinking.

But because it is dangerous to write in that which can so easily be made known publicly, and because it is neither for me nor for you to refuse his endless reprehensible crimes, as the poet Juvenal says, "I'll aim my shafts of satire at the dead."¹⁹

HENRY III

When John died, Henry III was only nine years old. Because it would be a number of years before the young king could rule on his own, he and his kingdom were placed under the protection of the able but aging William Earl Marshal, who acted as regent under the authority of the papal legate. Matthew signaled the coronation of Henry III at the foot of fol. 49 with the customary Angevin shield

capped by a crown, explaining in the inscription that this Henry was called "the third" because the earlier Henry who had been the third in succession died while his father was still living and thus did not reign on his own.¹⁴⁰ The ceremony at Gloucester was simple but dignified. Henry was knighted and took the customary oaths. Because the primate Stephen Langton was in Rome and the crown, regalia, and jewels were not at hand, the new monarch was crowned by the bishop of Winchester with a circlet provided by his mother.

Before Henry's minority could be firmly established, however, a war had to be waged against the rival brought to England by the rebel barons in the person of Louis of France. With the main thrust taken out of the baronial opposition to the crown by the death of John and the succession of an innocent boy, the campaign assumed the character of a crusade against a usurper.¹⁴¹ The war against Louis of France was won in decisive engagements at Lincoln and off Sandwich in 1217. Matthew underlined in the *Carmica Majora* the major importance of these battles, one on land and the other on sea, by giving them elaborate illustrations, spread across the lower margins of two contiguous pages on fols. 51v and 52. The two separate events may be seen to merge in a single concentrated and aggressive surge below the text columns across the entire width of the open book, thus clarifying the apparent incoherence and confusion of the campaign following Louis's return to England in 1217.

The war was largely a matter of capturing and holding castles. The strategically important fortress at Lincoln was in the hands of the rebel barons under the command of Louis's captain, the constable of Arras, but was badly in need of reinforcements. The baronial forces thus moved through the valley of Belvoir and then turned north to Lincoln. Roger Wendover, who was at this time prior of the Benedictine house at Belvoir, remembers with disgust and dismay the ravages of the French troops:

And there everything fell into the hands of these robbers, because the soldiers of the French kingdom, being as it were the refuse and scum of that country, left nothing at all untouched, and their poverty and wretchedness were so great that they had not enough bodily clothing to cover their nakedness.¹⁴²

Having heard the news of the march to Lincoln, the earl marshal saw his chance to surprise the enemy.

In his illustration on fol. 51v (Fig. 126) Paris characteristically focuses on the single decisive action that turned the battle, in this case the only casualty that marred this remarkably bloodless rout.

When the barons were thus weakened, and great numbers of their soldiers had been made prisoners and safely secured, the king's knights rushed in a close body upon the count of Perche, entirely surrounding him. . . . But he could not withstand their force as they rushed against him, and they called on him to surrender, that he might escape with his life. However, he swore with horrible oaths that he would not surrender to the English who were traitors to their lawful king. On hearing this, a knight rushed at him and, striking him in the eye, pierced his brain, and he deserved it because through his brain he had often perjured himself to God. And, in falling to the ground, he neither invoked God nor uttered another word, but went to hell at the height of his rancor and pride. Then the French battalions, seeing the fall of their commander, took flight.¹⁵

From a bird's-eye view, the battle scene unfolds in a broad panoramic montage across the bottom of the page. The protagonists have become lively elfin figures scattered loosely over a wide, empty space. At the far left, the circular turret of Lincoln Castle is shown as having been already captured, flying the royal standard. But the hindquarters of two horses disappearing through the gate of the circular keep signal the antecedent action, which is completed by a hand emerging from the other side to kill the count of Perche. In the meantime, from the battlement above, a knight resembling a Crusader with a cross on his surcoat shoots a crossbow at two retreating French cavalry-

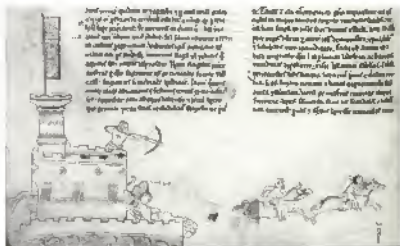


FIGURE 120. *Siege of Lincoln Castle*. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 51r.



FIGURE 121. *Troce between England and France.* Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 52v



FIGURE 122. *Second Concordance of Henry III.* Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 56.

men.¹⁴⁴ The composition is cut awkwardly into two sections by the wide spatial interval that separates the fleeing horsemen from the castle and its defenders. But the piercing backward glance of the second rider toward the Bowman taking aim from the tower above, along with the strong directional pull of the pointed arrow, serves to bridge the gap and hound the figures into a single surging action. On that exciting but relatively bloodless day, 600 French and English knights were taken prisoner or put to headlong flight, and Lincoln was recaptured for the crown.

Louis's last hope now rested on the efforts of his wife, Blanche of Castile, to send reinforcements under the command of Robert de Courtenai who had already served with Louis in England. The Channel was still controlled by the most infamous pirate of the day, an adventurer from Boulogne called Eustace and nicknamed "the Monk," who had at one time been in the service of King John, but after a quarrel joined Louis and commanded the narrow seas in his interest. We have already discussed in detail Matthew's remarkable illustration of the naval battle off Sandwich on St. Bartholomew's Day (see Pl. I) in which Hubert de Burgh emerged victor for the forces of Henry III.¹⁴⁵ Although Matthew ostensibly intended to juxtapose the two decisive military and naval engagements at Lincoln and off Sandwich in a visual sequence of royalist victories on contiguous pages, the two illustrations were obviously executed at different times. The Lincoln sketch is drawn in an early, more delicate style, with small-scale combatants spread out over a wide empty space, while the later sea battle forms an overcrowded composition of much larger, more vigorously conceived figures.

The peace made on September 12, 1217, less than three weeks after Sandwich, is celebrated by a small sketch in the margin of fol. 52v (Fig. 122) of two half-length figures, beardless and crowned, representing the two princes Louis and Henry, with the inscription "De pace et concordia facta inter Henricum regem Anglorum et Ludowicum." Perhaps as a pictorial allusion to the fact that the agreement was reached on an island in the Thames near Kingston, the river's waves partly engulf the royal figures. The peace treaty provided for general amnesty, restoration of land, and release from all ransoms, in addition to which the royalists paid the dauphin 10,000 marks to get out of England, an enormous sum equaling almost a quarter of the crown's yearly revenue and ten times John's annual tribute to the pope.¹⁴⁶ The danger of French invasion was removed at great cost, but stability was at last established for Henry's reign.

On Whitsunday 1220, the young king was crowned again by the

archbishop in the Confessor's Church at Westminster. On this occasion the ceremony was properly performed with the full splendor of regalia, jewels, and crown. Paris commemorates the second coronation with a marginal drawing (Fig. 122) of two small half-length figures of the archbishop (*Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis Stephanus*) placing the crown with both hands on Henry's head (*Rex Henricus III.*), accompanied by an inscription above, "In cuius rei testimonium et memoriam exitit preceptum et regale edictum et quilibet praeter ordinatos tertis florum utcretur."¹⁴² Henry, however, did not reach majority until 1227, when at age twenty he declared himself king.

Henry III's love of pomp, rich trappings, and elaborate ritual was well served by the lavish ceremonies attending his marriage to Eleanor of Provence in January 1236. After several unsuccessful attempts to find a suitable wife, the king married the French queen's sister and through her formed new alliances with France that were to have a profound and generally negative influence on the rest of his reign. Matthew attended the coronation at Westminster and provided the *Chronica Majora* with an eyewitness account accompanied by several sketches in the margin of fol. 96 (Fig. 123) of the regalia and ceremonies described in the text.¹⁴³ A few days after the royal wedding at Canterbury, which is represented emblematically by two hands clasped beneath a ring and crown,¹⁴⁴

the king went to Westminster, where an unprecedented and incomparable celebration took place the following day, which was Sunday, at which the king wore his crown and Eleanor was crowned queen. Thus Henry the Third was married at Canterbury, and the nuptials were celebrated in London, at Westminster. . .

There were assembled at the king's nuptial festivities such a host of nobles of both sexes, such numbers of religious men, such crowds of the populace, and such a variety of acres, that London, with its capacious bosom, could scarcely contain them. . . The archbishop of Canterbury, by the prerogative especially belonging to him, performed the duty of crowning, with the usual ceremonies, the bishop of London assisting him as deacon, the other bishops taking their stations according to their rank. In the same way all the abbots, at the head of whom was the abbot of St. Albans, as was his prerogative, since as the protomartyr of England St. Alban was the chief of all the martyrs of England, so also was his abbot the chief of all the abbots in rank and dignity, as the authentic privileges of that church set forth. The nobles, too, performed the duties which by ancient right and custom pertained to them at the coronation of kings. . . The earl of Chester carried the sword of St. Edward, which was called "Curia," before the king, as a sign that he was earl of the palace and had by law the power of re-



FIGURE 123. Coronation of Henry III and Eleanor of Provence. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 90.

straming the king if he should commit an error. The earl was attended by the constable of Chester and kept the people back with a rod when they pressed forward in a disorderly way. The grand marshal of England, the earl of Pembroke, carried a rod preceding the king and cleared the way before him both in the church and the banquet hall. . . . The ceremony was splendid, with the clergy and knights admirably appointed. The abbot of Westminster sprinkled the holy water, and the treasurer, acting the part of subdeacon, carried the paten.¹⁰⁸

The accompanying drawings are arranged in four tiers in the margin. The upper two rows are given over to ecclesiastical figures, while the lower ones represent royal regalia carried by the barons. Paris further differentiates the sacred and profane aspects of the coronation by representing the bishops, abbots, and monks as half-length figures holding the crown and holy water, while the noble bearers of the sword and staff are reduced to arms holding these objects extended from the text into the margin. In the top register we see the archbishop of Canterbury holding up the crown, attended by the bishop of Lincoln and the abbot of St. Albans with his crozier; below, the abbot of Westminster, accompanied by three tonsured clerics, holds the *situla* and *aspergillum*, sprinkling holy water, while a bishop preaches next to him at the left. Beneath these two rows of half-length ecclesiastical figures, the elaborately decorated sword of St. Edward is held by two hands, presumably those of the earl of Chester; at the bottom, a long scepter or rod is held out by the single arm of the grand marshal, the earl of Pembroke. Beneath all this Paris had added, "*Hæc unum in consuetudinario saccerdii melius et plenius reperimus.*"

The wedding coronation in 1236 was the first of many occasions on which Matthew had the opportunity to observe the king at firsthand. In October 1247, as we shall see, he was again at Westminster for the Feast of St. Edward the Confessor, and his account of the event clearly shows that by this time Henry III was well acquainted with him and knew that he was writing a chronicle.¹⁰⁹ Paris's frequent references to meetings and conversations with the king at St. Albans, Westminster, Winchester, and York suggest that he was on good terms with Henry and that the king had some interest in his historical writings.

Despite Matthew's apparently cordial relationship with the king, he considered Henry III to be not much better than his father. While King John had been vociferously condemned as the personification of all the vices, Paris's picture of Henry more frequently de-

generates into spiteful caricature. His deep-seated mistrust of all monarchs and his violent disapproval of most governmental actions often caused Matthew to portray Henry III as avaricious, tyrannical, weak-minded, and contemptible in his subservience to the popes, and to express openly his resentment of the king's preference for the advice of the queen's French relatives to that of his own counselors.¹² From time to time, however, Paris had second thoughts on the matter and seems to have either revised his bad opinion of Henry for the better or realized that many of the offensive remarks, scandalous gossip, and insulting invectives against the reigning sovereign ought not to find their way into public readings or written copies of the chronicle. He thus went through not only the *Chronica Majora* but the *Historia Anglorum* as well, giving instructions in red ink to omit offensive passages in the text, using "vacat quia offenciosum," "offenciosum vacat," or some similar phrase, spaced vertically in the margin.¹³

Matthew's privileged personal contacts with the royal house, however, produced surprisingly few illustrations in the *Chronica Majora* beyond the emblematic ceremonial drawings we have just discussed. Most refer to royal actions which elicit the chronicler's open disapproval: Henry's unsuccessful expeditions to France in 1230 and 1242, the forest incursion of 1244-1245, the coinage reform of 1248, and the king's mistreatment of Hubert de Burgh. Although somewhat less enthusiastic than one might expect in praising Henry's pious devotion to St. Edward and the rebuilding and embellishment of Westminster Abbey, Paris dutifully recorded these royal acts in marginal drawings in the *Chronica Majora*.

Henry III's first vain attempt to recover lost Angevin lands in France came in 1230, after he had foolishly become persuaded that he could gain a foothold across the Channel by joining forces with Peter of Dreux, who had defected, against the dowager, Queen Blanche. Optimistically believing that an invasion led in person by the English king would cause a rebellion in Normandy, Henry made lavish preparations for the most ambitious military expedition since the invasion of France John had planned in 1204-1205. With the king in his own galley, an enormous fleet of about 230 little ships set sail from Portsmouth in May 1230. Henry III came in all pomp and majesty, wearing the regalia of the monarchy, crown, scepter and mantle, arriving as a magnificent conqueror at Nantes where he waited in vain to be recognized, receive gifts, and make treaties. During the long months of the ensuing summer, demoralization and sickness prevailed. The king fell ill and decided to return home in

October. The expedition was a fiasco. Henry had merely transferred his court temporarily across the Channel; the French soon expelled the intruder, and the rebellious count of Dreux was reconciled to Louis IX.

Wendover anticipates the sorry outcome of Henry's adventure in France by reporting an eclipse of the sun which coincided with the capture of Houdan Castle as the king waited at Nantes:

In the same year [1250] on the fourteenth of May . . . an unusual eclipse of the sun took place very early in the morning immediately after sunrise, and it became so dark that laborers, who had begun their morning's work, were obliged to leave it, and returned to their beds to sleep, but in about an hour's time, to the astonishment of many, the sun regained its usual brightness.¹⁰⁴

At the top of fol. 75v (Fig. 124), as if to draw attention to the coincidence as some kind of portent, Matthew depicts the solar eclipse in two stages, with the sun not quite completely obscured (*Sol parum vel nihil pressus magis accenditur*) at the left, and then the sun in total eclipse (*Luna in costu*) in the center, darkening the earth (*Terra*) at the right. In the lower margin of the same page Matthew illustrates Henry's crossing to St-Malo in a small ship whose mast carries a large billowing sail bearing the royal arms painted in brilliant vermillion (Fig. 725). The king appears alone in the front of the vessel, his chin aggressively thrust forward in a truculent pose, suggesting something of his pompous and blind determination, while four knights in mail huddle apprehensively behind the mast, and the helmsman steadies their course with a lateral steering oar.¹⁰⁵ As the ship surges relentlessly forward on the dark green waves, its curved

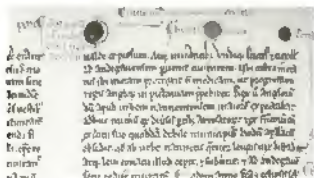


FIGURE 124. Solar Eclipse. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 75v.

proW stubbornly presses against the text column, as if threatening to push through the neat lines of the annal itself. While Roger Justy records Henry's return from France without comment, Matthew notes bitterly that the king came back empty-handed, "having wasted an infinite amount of money, and having caused the deaths of innumerable nobles, weakened them with sickness and hunger, or reduced them to extreme poverty."¹⁹

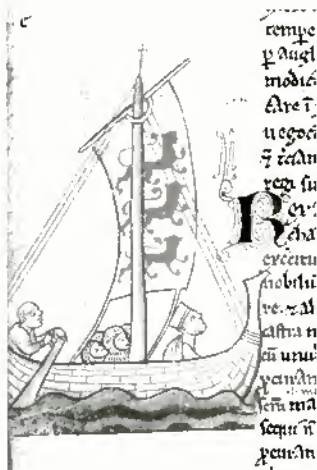


FIGURE 125. *Henry III's Voyages to Brittany.*
 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 75r.

Henry's second but equally unsuccessful expedition to France in 1242–1243 is illustrated in the same conventional way, by representing the departure of the king in a single vessel on the waves at the foot of fol. 155 (Fig. 126). In contrast with his exciting battle scenes at Lincoln and Sandwich, Matthew's pictorial handling of the military exploits during Henry's later reign seems singularly laconic and flat. Perhaps he was modeling his pictures of the royal voyages on illustrations in the tradition of the twelfth-century chronicle of John of Wotcester, in which we may see Henry I's stormy crossing from Normandy a century earlier depicted in a similar fashion on fol. 383 in Oxford, Corpus Christi MS 157 (see Fig. 14). In May 1242, Henry III, Queen Eleanor, and Richard of Cornwall, with six earls and three hundred knights, set sail across the Channel for Royan in Saintonge. Matthew's cursory sketch in his later, looser style on fol. 155 (Fig. 126) shows the figures huddled in a small ship with a short bellying sail, this time without the royal arms, while the steersman points to the captain above, "Rex transfretat versus Pictaviam." Both prow and stern carry a curious spherical object in the notch of the masts.

Having been informed by his French allies that financial aid was needed more than men, Henry took with him thirty casks filled with money. Matthew's outrage at the king's extortion of England's wealth for his foolish enterprise occupies four pages of text. When the assembly of prelates, earls, and barons refused to support Henry's venture, the king dissolved parliament in retaliation.

The king . . . swore . . . that he would embark on the Octave of Easter and, undaunted, try the fortunes of war on the Continent against the French. . . .



FIGURE 126. Henry III's Voyage to Royan
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 155.

In the meantime, [Henry] frequently received the most urgent messages from Count de la Marche and other nobles of Poitou and became unalterably fixed in his determination, believing that he should, without fail, receive all that the count had promised him. . . . Count de la Marche had sent him word to trouble himself only to collect money and bring it with him, for he would, he said, supply him with a sufficient military force. In so saying the count shamelessly exceeded the bounds of truth, as the outcome of the event shall hereafter prove.⁶⁷

On June 8 Henry renounced his truce with King Louis and moved south, but there was no substance or organization to the rebel movement, and the venture came to nothing. Matthew's penchant for vindictive spite against the French found an opportunity for splendid pictorial expression in a gory episode in which the treacherous Poitevin troops, having deserted Henry, are revenged by an outbreak of plague. Paris tells us that the French king, knowing that Henry was deprived of assistance from the Poitevins, decided to bring the war to a conclusion by driving him into retreat at Bordeaux.

Behold, the Lord "who gives salvation to kings" wanted to have compassion for the king and kingdom of the English and thus disturbed the hearts of the invulnerably proud Frenchmen by causing disputes and dissension among them. Moreover, their army, which was very large, labored under a dearth of provisions, so that they were overcome by



FIGURE 137. *French Troops Dying of Plague.*
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 150r.

hunger and thirst and wasted away in sickness, and, afflicted by various sufferings, gave up their enfeebled lives. The inhabitants of the country had stopped up the wells, had poisoned . . . the rivers and springs, ploughed up the meadows, and had taken away the grain; because of this the horses perished for want of water; and in the dog-days, which were at their height, men became ill and, being unable to obtain rest and medicine, soon died. Of their army, eighty nobles who carried standards died, and of the foot soldiers, about twenty thousand fell victim.¹⁵⁴

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Matthew's xenophobic thirst for revenge is satisfied with obvious relish in his illustration (Fig. 127) of the sufferings of the French troops (*Pellis mortem Francorum in Picardia*).¹⁵⁵ Softly tinted in subdued tones of ochre and green, his drawing shows six soldiers in various attitudes of death and dying on a hilly ground, with a cup and jug of contaminated water placed beside them at the right and left. Clashing lines of falling standards and the struggling gestures of the soldiers and knights convey a sense of confusion, while the presence of death and suffering is intensified by disturbing shifts in scale, in which large grotesque heads seem to loom up among the small figures from the ground behind them. The pain and despair of the calamity are epitomized in the striking pose of the program figure at the far right who covers his face in his hands as he bends forward, letting his lance fall to the ground where a sword and axe have already been dropped by his stricken companions.



FIGURE 128. Truce between England and France. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 162.

These reverses, however, proved to be only a temporary delay in ousting the English king and the rebellious French nobles from Gascony. In April 1243, Henry, having failed, renewed his truce with Louis and returned to England. The peace negotiated at Lorris is marked by a small drawing of two clasped hands beneath two crowns (Fig. 128), labeled "Tregue." Henry III returned from Gascony in September, but the chastening effects of his extravagant folly were short-lived. Matthew tells us that when the king landed at Portsmouth, he immediately ordered that he be greeted with full ceremony, "and thus he was received with superstition and pride, as pompous as it was sumptuous."¹⁵⁶

Aside from the symbolic royal handshake marking the truce of 1243, contacts between Henry III and Louis IX over their respective long reigns produced only one more occasion for pictorial documentation in the *Chronica Majora*, a remarkable event which occurred more than a decade later. The celebrated full-page tinted drawing which now appears among the prefatory pages in MS 16 (Fig. 129) commemorates Louis's gift of a magnificent elephant, brought



FIGURE 129 Henry III's Elephant. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 10r.

across the Channel in February 1255. Matthew gives only the briefest account in passing of the exotic beast in his annual for that year:

About this time, also, an elephant was sent to England by the French king as a present to the king of the English. We believe that this was the only elephant ever seen in England, or even in the countries this side of the Alps; thus people flocked together to see the novel sight.²⁶⁰

However, he composed a short tract to accompany the large drawing made from life (*ipsa elephantis exemplariter assistente*) which is now inserted at the beginning of MS 16. The elephant is described as being ten years old and ten feet high. Paris observes that the prodigious creature is grayish-black and that, unlike other animals, it has no fur but a very hard, rough hide. It has small eyes in the upper part

of the head and uses its trunk to obtain food and drink. The rest of the tract is compiled from the Bible, Bernard Silvestris, Vergil, Horace, and the medieval Bestiary. Upon hearing the news of its arrival in England, Matthew must have gone to London to observe at first-hand the marvelous beast which had been brought across the Channel by John Gouch, and was housed at the Tower in a specially constructed elephant house forty feet long and twenty feet wide, where it lived for four years.¹⁰² The St. Albans chronicler rendered the huge animal in profile to reveal its most characteristic silhouette while at the same time graphically illustrating the elephant's unique method of feeding with its trunk. Filling the page with its bulky form, the beast is colored with a drab dark gray wash, while the keeper, inscribed "magister bestie, Henricus de flor," is left in uninked outline. Matthew informs us that "by the size of the man portrayed here, the dimensions of the animal represented may be imagined" (*per quantitatem hominis hic portrahi considerari potest quantitas bestie hic figurate*). He was, however, not the first thirteenth-century artist to make a rare point of informing his audience that his drawing was based on direct observation. Two drawings of lions, one with a hedgehog and another with its keeper (Fig. 130), appear in the Sketchbook of Villard de Honnecourt, inscribed, "know well that this lion was drawn from life."¹⁰³

A larger and more accurately detailed rendering of the African elephant, with its characteristic large flapping ears, is preserved on fol. 169v in the *Liber Additamentorum* (Fig. 131).¹⁰⁴ It is drawn bor-



FIGURE 130. A Lion Drawn from Life, by Villard de Honnecourt. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 10093, fol. 23.

horizontally on the page in heavy brown line and tinted with similar dark gray and ochre washes, and the details of the skin folds on the trunk and rear flanks, as well as the flap covering the upper part of the tusk, are more freshly observed and convincing than those in MS 16. This version probably represents Matthew's first drawing from life, to which he added a second rendering of the trunk in another position which he later incorporated into the more finished illustration in the *Chronica Majora*. Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of both Paris's sketches of the elephant, which has thus far gone unnoticed, is the pronounced articulation of the knee joints, accurately placed very low, just above the massive feet. Based on the chronicler's observation of a living specimen, these drawings may constitute the earliest contradiction of the familiar physiological myth of the "jointless" elephant which had prevailed in the Middle Ages since Ambrose.¹⁶

Matthew's keen interest in the French king's zoological presents to Henry III obviously had nothing to do with politics. Notwithstanding the unprecedented realism of his observation, the pictorial

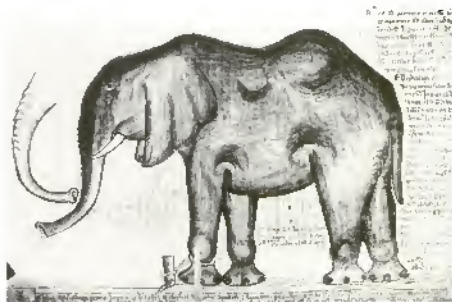


FIGURE 131. Henry III's Elephant. B.L., *Cotton Nero D. 1*, fol. 169a

documentation of the king's elephant may be seen as a journalistic exploitation of the exotic creature solely for its sensational value. The drawing offers a welcome respite from the chronicler's unrelieved litany of complaints against the king, for, aside from this colorful notation of Louis IX's spectacular gift, Paris's cumulative opinion of Henry's dealings with the French stands as a frank and unwavering disapproval of the king's judgment in diplomacy and military strategy.

Despite a few minor triumphs between 1240 and 1246, Henry's attempt to impose English control over Wales also ended in failure. Although Paris, following in the footsteps of Gerald of Wales, perceived the Welsh in an appalling light, his pictorial chronicle of truces punctuated by outbursts of guerrilla warfare and treachery is intended to reveal the instability and inherent weakness of both sides. The Welsh clash with the English crown arose from their refusal to allow their land to be held in fief at the king's pleasure, insisting instead upon being recognized as a self-directing lordship like the kingdom of Scotland. During Henry's reign the bellicose Welsh princes held their own with spear and bow, considering it, in the words of Gerald of Wales, "ignoble to die in their beds and an honor to fall on the field of battle."⁶⁵ Their laws allowed the "king" or local chief to lead all his freemen on warlike excursions and regarded marauding and collecting spoils as routine support for a healthy royal household.⁶⁶ Matthew's dislike of the Welsh may be seen as an inevitable outgrowth of his pervasive xenophobia, and he saw them as savage and faithless insofar as their customs were antithetical to English conceptions of law and honor. In the annal for 1237 he made the bitter observation

The faith of the Welsh is to be without faith, and they show no mercy when they have it in their power to do so; and when fortune befriends them, they persecute those who fall into their power, but when defeated, they either flee or humiliate themselves, and such persons are never to be trusted, for, as the poet [Virgil] says, "I fear the Greeks, even when they bring gifts."⁶⁸

To illustrate his point, Paris inserted a sketch of the castle at Montgomery (*Castrum montis Gomerici*) in the inner margin of fol. 57 to accompany Roger Wendover's earlier assertion in 1221 of the necessity to take up fortified positions against the treacherous Welsh: "The king therefore, for the security of that district, ordered a castle to be built there, on account of the well-known incursions of the Welsh."⁶⁹ Two years later Hubert de Burgh as justiciar tried to estab-



FIGURE 132. Death of Lionel of Wales. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 172.

lish an impregnable position in the Marches of Wales when Montgomery Castle came to the English crown under treaty.¹⁷⁰

As Matthew seems to have been aware, the problems raised by the death of Llywelyn in 1240 revealed the crux of the friction between the king of England and the Welsh princes. Llywelyn had worked hard for the succession of David, his son by King John's daughter, Joan, and issued an ordinance to disinherit his troublesome illegitimate son Gruffydd (Griffin). Llywelyn's action was tantamount to acknowledging the superiority of English law and feudal practice over the Welsh custom of placing sons born in and out of wedlock on the same footing as heirs. In a small drawing (Fig. 132) which accompanies the report of Llywelyn's death we see the two sons Gruffydd and David as young boys grief-stricken at the foot of the dying father's bed (*Leofinus moriens*). The turbulent conflict over the succession is described as follows:

Llywelyn, prince of North Wales . . . went the way of all flesh. At his death, his son David, to whom his father had assigned possession of Wales for his inheritance, with the consent of his eldest brother Gruffydd, fraudulently summoned his brother, the said Gruffydd, to a council. . . . And David, having defiled their brotherly relationship and good faith, ordered him to be seized and, despite the protests of his leaders, consigned him to prison.¹⁷¹

In August of 1241 David submitted to Henry's demand for homage and released his brother Gruffydd, while the king decided whether the case should be settled by English or Welsh law. Henry then decided to maintain his own succession to North Wales and keep Gruffydd in honorable captivity in the Tower of London. Thus Llywelyn's illegitimate son was not only denied the succession, but was exiled from his homeland in prison. The unhappy man's attempt to escape from the tower in 1244 is told with some sympathy in the *Chronica Majora*:

While the risks of fortune thus affected the affairs of the world, Gruffydd, the eldest son of Llywelyn, prince of North Wales, was still held captive in the Tower of London. . . . He was gravely affected by this tedious and unadorned long imprisonment and considered seriously how he could escape his incarceration. One night, then, having deceived his jailors and having made a rope out of his sheets, tapestries, and tablecloths, he let himself down perpendicularly by this rope from the top of the Tower. And when he had thus descended some distance, the rope snapped under the weight of his body, and he fell from a great height. He was a big man and very corpulent. And, having broken his



FIGURE 132. Death of Gruffydd of Wales. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 26, fol. 169.



FIGURE 134. Death of Gruffydd of Wales. *B.L., Roy. 14. C. VII, fol. 136*

neck, he died. His pitiable corpse was found in the morning near the wall of the Tower and afforded a lamentable spectacle to all who saw it. His head, together with his neck, was almost buried in his chest between the shoulders.¹⁷²

In the margin of fol. 169 Gruffydd's fatal plunge is captured in a starkly literal illustration over his inverted shield emblazoned with the arms of North Wales (Fig. 133). The Welsh prince's entangled body is shown falling headlong, still holding a fragment of the broken makeshift rope in his hand, while the other knotted end hangs over the tall rampart of the Tower above. The illustration of Gruffydd's death on fol. 136 in the *Historia Anglorum* (Fig. 134) is more prosaic, but far less literal, with a svelte Gruffydd diving freely from the Tower. By contrast, the confusion in the *Chronica Majora* drawing of both the active and static phases of the event in simultaneously representing the actual fall and the subsequent state of the corpse results in a more affective and moving image. Both figures of Gruffydd falling headlong from the Tower may have been based on representations of King Abaziah catapulted from his turret illustrating 4 Kings 1:2–17 in thirteenth-century Bibles, but Paris probably

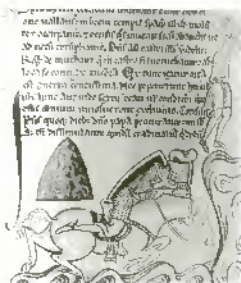


FIGURE 135. Death of Herbert FitzMaurice. *Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 183a.*

did not attach any particular moral significance to the biblical analogue.⁶³

The following year Matthew recorded and illustrated the death of the English knight Herbert FitzMatthew during the Welsh attack on Mold (Clwyd):

In the same week David, wishing to redeem his losses, harassed the English by continued nightly raids and engaged in widespread slaughter and plunder. But when the vigorous English militia resisted them, along with their neighbors, their own subjects in the Marches, the Welsh, as was their custom, fled to the crags and inaccessible parts of the mountains to wait in ambush for their passing enemies. From the summits of rocks they hurled stones and weapons, wounding many of the English; among the others one of the English nobles named Herbert FitzMatthew was overwhelmed by a mass of rock that broke his neck and crushed him to death.⁶⁴

The St. Albans chronicler then dramatizes his report by revealing that Herbert's death had been preceded by a fateful premonition. Next to his inverted shield (Fig. 135), FitzMatthew in helmet and mail is represented receiving the fatal blow on the head by a huge stone. As the knight falls forward under his vermillion shield, his indigo-tinted horse stumbles on rough terrain. In an antecedent action, a Welshman in a short tunic stands poised on a rocky promontory preparing to drop a rock on FitzMatthew below. Here the artist resorts to a frequently used but effective ploy to signal the ancillary character of the preceding action by leaving the figure of the Welshman uncolored, thus diminishing its pictorial weight in the composition. The violent actions of the large figures are tightly squeezed into the marginal spaces adjacent to the text, conveying a vivid sense of being caught in the narrow pass. Paris cleverly turns the awkward, densely packed composition to an expressive advantage and intensifies the feeling of helpless entrapment engulfing FitzMatthew described in the text.

In the same year an important English victory over the Welsh is marked by a drawing lightly tinted in pale brown and green washes (Fig. 136) of the king's castle at Gannock (Diganwy), the traditional cradle of the Welsh people, on a rocky promontory overlooking an estuary of the River Conway in the principality of Snowdon (Gwynedd):

This castle of Gannock . . . well supplied with men, provisions, engines of war, and arms, was, as it were, a thorn in the eye of the wretched, indeed most wretched Welsh; and they could not by any



FIGURE 136. Gannock Castle. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 194r.

meane pass into England without being intercepted by the castellans who commanded the whole couny by the king's order; to a certain exten they prevailed, and yet they could not remain in their country because of famine.¹⁷⁵

Like Montgomery Castle, Gannock is given as an elaborate multi-towered structure with the Angevin banner painted in red and yellow flying from its crenellated battlements, but in this case surrounded by the rolling green waves of the River Conway below.

Matthew's pictorial concern with Welsh affairs ends in the *Chronica Majora* with the death of David in 1246:

Around the beginning of spring in this year . . . David, prince of North Wales and nephew of the king on his sister's side, a perjured man and fratricide, as if worn out by various troubles, departed from this valley of mortals to the valley of the dead, after . . . seeing the destruction of his lands and witnessing the various slaughters and sufferings of his people from hunger, and even now leaving Wales in a disturbed and wretchedly desolate condition.¹⁷⁶



FIGURE 137. *Obituary of David, Prince of Wales, Cambridge. Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 198.*

David's coat of arms (Fig. 137) is painted on his inverted shield along with a bow and two arrows not to symbolize his means of death, as is usually the case, but more probably to signify his mode of life as a Welsh warlord. While David is blamed for the death of his brother Gruffydd and for breaking his treaty with Henry III, the chronicler's obituary betrays an unmistakable note of sympathy for the plight of the Welsh people. Since David died without an heir, Henry III claimed the succession in North Wales under the agreement of 1241, but peace did not come until 1247. In his annual for that year Matthew's attitude changed profoundly from the xenophobic hostility of an earlier decade to compassion for the wretched and oppressed condition of the Welsh under Henry's rule:

Wales at this time was in a most straitened condition and owing to the cessation of agriculture, commerce, and the sending of flocks, the inhabitants began to waste away from famine; unwillingly too did they bend to the yoke of English law. The ancient pride of their nobility died away, and even for churchmen, "the byre is turned to mourning and lamentation." [Job 30:31]¹⁷⁷

Like the Welsh on the western borders, the Scots to the north also resisted absorption into the Anglo-Norman kingdom. Unlike Wales, however, Scotland successfully pursued a policy of resisting English pressure by imitating English strength, as the native dynasty became inseparably linked to the Anglo-Norman kings from a

very early period.¹⁵⁴ Given the relatively smooth course of its relations with England, the kingdom of the ancient *barbari* to the north offered less fertile ground than Wales for Matthew's imagination to develop exciting visual commentaries in the margins of the great chronicle. The first illustrated reference is limited to two crowns, one erect and the other reversed, to mark the death of Alexander I and the succession of his son David on p. 223 in MS 26, along with a bust portrait of the dead king of the Scots (*Nota de rege Scocie Alexander I*), ruddy-checked, bearded, and dressed in the pointed hood that invariably appears in all Paris's depictions of Scots to distinguish them as "barbarian" foreigners.¹⁵⁵ In a later sketch in the *Abbreuiatio Chroniconum*, Matthew illustrates the same event by giving three small bearded heads, each wearing a tall pointed hood, with a crown above each to signify the succession one after the other of the sons of the Anglo-Saxon queen, St. Margaret of Scotland, and Malcolm III Canmore ("Big Head"): Edgar, Alexander I, and David I.¹⁵⁶ The death of David in 1153 provided yet another occasion for the delineation of a characteristic Scottish king in a pointed hood and fringed cape next to his lovetted open crown.¹⁵⁷

Although David's successors continued his policy of cultivating Anglo-Norman connections and institutions, William the Lion joined the great rebellion against Henry II in 1173 but was captured at Alnwick in Northumbria and forced to become Henry's vassal, holding his kingdom as fief of the English crown.¹⁵⁸ The humiliation of the Scottish king offered an irresistible opportunity for the creation of a dramatic image to illustrate Wendover's text:

[William] invaded Northumbria, as he had done the year before, for the purpose of uniting it to his own dominions, but the nobles in that part of the country met him in arms and, after a pitched battle, took him prisoner. . . . The king was placed in custody at Richmond Castle, thereby fulfilling the prophecy of Merlin that "a rein shall be placed upon his necks, fabricated in the bosom of Armenia," that is, the castle of Richmond, which was at that time possessed by Armenian princes.¹⁵⁹

At the bottom of the page (Fig. 438) we see two busts: a grimacing young man with flushed cheeks, his crown falling off his head (*Willelmus rex*) next to a hooded man rubbing tears from his eyes, who presumably represents his defeated Scottish troops; they are bound together by a bright green circular band in a literal pictorial translation of Merlin's prophetic and metaphorical "rein" to evoke their imprisonment in Richmond Castle.



FIGURE 438. Capture of William the Lion. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 26, p. 147.

After Henry III's older sister Joanna married Alexander II in 1221,¹⁰ the royal succession of Scottish kings seems to have acquired a new legitimacy in the eyes of the St. Albans chronicler, signaled not only by his drawing of the king's charter of allegiance replete with a circular royal seal marked with gold paint on fol. 180 in MS 16, but also by the full-fledged large paired shield displayed on fol. 254 between an upright lance and sword, with a belt and scabbard below, to celebrate the knighthood of Alexander III on the eve of his marriage to Henry's daughter Margaret.¹¹ Matthew attended their nuptials at York on Christmas in 1251.¹²

By 1247 the king's efforts to bring the Welsh and Scottish territories within the orbit of his Anglo-Norman kingdom proved so successful that Matthew had to look elsewhere for reasons to reproach Henry and his government. This proved an easy task, however, for Paris's antroyal bias was so deeply entrenched that he could not resist finding cause for complaint even when Henry's actions benefited the country, as was the case with the coinage reform of 1248. The corrupted state of English currency had become a scandal of international proportions. Matthew reports that so many coins had been debased, forged, or clipped that King Louis of France forbade the circulation of English money in his kingdom, forcing Henry to seek some remedy:

About this time the English coin was so intolerably debased by de-
 estable money-clippers and forgers that neither natives nor foreigners
 could look upon it without injured feelings. For it was clipped around
 almost to the inner part of the ring, and the border which bore the
 letters was either largely or entirely defaced.¹³

Silver pennies were the only common currency. While the barons and monasteries dealt in large sums of marks, ordinary people used these small coins in their daily transactions. When Henry decided to reform the minting of English coins, the preliminary bullion for more than 1.5 million silver pennies was provided by Richard of Cornwall in return for a half-share of the eventual profits. Instead of changing the metal from sterling, Henry altered the design on the silver penny. The new money was distinguished from the old by the cross on the reverse of the new die. Its arms extended almost, but not quite to the rim; no coin was acceptable unless the cross was intact. A further innovation was the addition of three pellets in each angle of the cross, a device which continued for nearly 300 years (see Fig. 139).¹⁴ The resulting abundance of good money attested to the success of the venture in which this time Henry had worked



FIGURE 139. *Long Cross Silver Penny (1248–1250), reverse, British Museum.*

in close cooperation with his advisers and two expert royal clerks, the treasurer William of Haverhill and the goldsmith Edward of Westminster.

Following his customary practice whenever he was representing the actual appearance of an important object for its documentary value, Paris inserted his drawing of the new silver penny (Fig. 140) into the text column rather than the margin. Sketched in red line and tinted with a pale ochre wash, the reverse side in question is shown with its distinctive long cross and an indication of the inscription by a series of dots. The rim was originally rendered as a perfect circle (diam. 10 mm.), but the circumference was then redrawn in heavier outline to show a marked indentation at the right, suggesting that Matthew doubted the efficacy of the device and showed that the reformed coin could still be clipped. In the text annal he complains that people were made to go to a great deal of trouble and expense for the new money which

differed from the old insofar as a double cross traversed the border where the letters were marked; but in other respects, namely, weight, chief impression, and lettered characters, it remained the same as before. The people were therefore reduced to great straits and suffered no slight injury, inasmuch as twenty shillings could scarcely be obtained from the money-changer's table for thirty without the trouble and expense of several days' duration and tedious waiting.¹⁷⁰

Matthew's unshakable presumption of royal amice seems to have so blinded him that he failed to perceive accurately the critical change in the design of the newly minted silver penny and could only find a new cause for complaint instead of applauding Henry's successful monetary reform. Unlike his crude illustration of the long cross penny of 1248 in the *Chronica Majora*, however, Paris's marginal drawing in the *Historia Anglorum* (Fig. 141) is a large, detailed, and careful rendering in black ink of the reverse of the new coin on which the legend of the moneyer Richard B. of London may be clearly read ("RIC. BIS. ON. LVN."), along with the rubric "Altera denarii pars pristinam retinet impressionem."¹⁷¹

Matthew's almost obsessive concern with monetary injustice produced yet another personalized thrust against royal government in his protest against Robert Passelew's persecution of trespassers and squatters in the royal forests in 1244–1245. The archdeacon of Lewes, who had been the clerical ally of Fawkes de Breuné, Passelew was one of Henry's most disliked servants and was particularly detested by the St. Albans chronicler. We are told, for example,

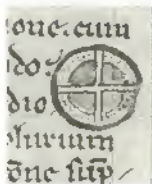


FIGURE 140. Long Cross Penny, reverse. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 219.



FIGURE 141. Long Cross Penny, reverse. B.L., Roy. 14 C. VII, fol. 147



FIGURE 142. Obituary of John de Nevill. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 200r.

that Henry's chief forester, John de Nevill, died in 1246 as a result of Passelew's persecutions. Next to Nevill's inverted shield at the top of fol. 204v is a hunting horn suspended from a hook (Fig. 142), graphically demonstrating the tragic outcome of Passelew's injustice:

This noble had formerly been a man of considerable importance among the nobles of England and . . . had attained the summit of earthly honor, but now left a plain example to the inhabitants of this world not to trust the favor of kings and to avoid the fluctuations of court. For in the prime of his manhood, when he was high forester of all England, many heavy accusations were made against him by Robert Passelew, of unlawful occupations of the forest and other transgressions . . . and he was condemned . . . and fell into such disgrace that from that time on his life was a succession of deaths. For he was judicially condemned to pay two thousand marks . . . besides this, he was ignominiously and irrevocably deprived of his barony. He therefore languished and was consumed by grief.¹⁰⁷

The first reference to the forest inquisition appears on fol. 182v, from which we may surmise that Matthew probably had close knowledge of the business, since a clerk of St. Albans was involved.¹⁰⁸ The passage is marked in the margin with a stag's head, and a note in rubric informs the reader that the rest of the chapter is to be found at the end of the book at the sign ⊕+, although it is not there.¹⁰⁹ However, the account is continued on fol. 186, where the chronicler repeats his complaints in the annal for the following year:

Meanwhile, the king's clerk, Robert Passelew, with his accomplices, was diligently occupied with the king's enrichment, emptying out the small subsistences of the poor and increasing the king's treasury, draining the little wells of the needy with the bucket of his cupidity, in order that, by the drops of those in want, the ocean of those living in abundance might be increased; he unceasingly made the circuit of different provinces of England, discharging his duties as iusticiar, and especially where the forests abounded and people lived on their borders. By diligent investigation, he looked into new encroachments in the forests and those found guilty were burdened with a heavy monetary fine, so that he drove many from their dwellings and rendered them homeless and beggars.¹¹⁰

Paris appears to have been so incensed at Passelew's oppressive inquisition that he spoiled his earlier sketch of Henry's newly rebuilt abbey church at Westminster by adding another antlered stag's head

with its red tongue hanging out to signal his second complaint and refer to additional documentary evidence (see Fig. 143).¹⁷

Despite his keen interest in contemporary artistic projects, Matthew's treatment of Henry's lavish rebuilding and enrichment of Westminster Abbey is curiously lackluster and terse, as is his sketch of the projected new building (Fig. 143):

In the same year [1245], the king, inspired by the devotion he felt toward St. Edward, ordered the Church of St. Peter at Westminster to be enlarged. He therefore caused the old walls, along with the tower on the eastern side, to be pulled down, and new and handsome ones to be erected by skilled architects at his own expense, and the remainder of the building on the western side to be altered to correspond to it.¹⁸

Enlivened somewhat by the addition of green, blue, and red tints, his drawing is a conventional schematic sketch, presumably representing the central crossing tower with its spires and weathercock. The strange intrusion of a stag's head looming above in reference to the forest inquisition of that year leaves the reader to draw the inescapable inference that the new abbey was at least partly financed by the punitive fines collected by the king's ruthless forester, Passelen.¹⁹

One pious royal deed, however, succeeded in inspiring Paris to produce a single splendid full-scale narrative illustration to match the Jewish pomp and ceremony characteristic of Henry's entire reign. Not to be outshone by Louis IX, who had received the Crown of Thorns in 1241 for which he had already begun to build the stunning architectural reliquary of Ste-Chapelle in Paris, Henry III obtained a relic of the Holy Blood. Matthew's account is both long and stately in tone, savoring every detail of the solemn occasion:

About the same time [1247] the king wrote to all the nobles of his kingdom, ordering them to assemble [in London] on the feast of St. Edward . . . to hear the most agreeable news of the holy benediction lately conferred by heaven upon the English. . . . The master of the Templars and Hospitallers, with the testimony of a great many seals . . . had sent a portion of the blood of our Lord, which he shed on the cross for the salvation of the world, enclosed in a handsome crystalline vessel. . . . And the king, as a most Christian prince, had obtained it from the . . . emperor, following the example of the then living French king who was bestowing all honor at Paris on the relic of the cross. . . .

The king then gave orders that all the priests of London should assemble in proper rank and reverence at St. Paul's early on the morning of St. Edward's Day, dressed for a feast . . . attended by their clerks



FIGURE 143 Westminster Abbey and the Forest Inquisition of Robert Passelen. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 10, fol. 180.

also appropriately clad, and with their symbols, crosses, and lighted tapers. The king also went thus and, receiving the vessel containing the aforesaid treasure with the greatest honor, reverence and awe, he carried it above his head publicly, going on foot and wearing humble dress consisting of a poor cloak without a hood, and preceded by priests, proceeded without stopping to the Church of Westminster, which is about a mile distant from St. Paul's. Nor should it be overlooked that he carried it with both hands when he came to any rough or uneven part of the road, but always kept his eyes fixed on heaven or upon the vessel itself. The canopy was borne on four spears. .

On his arrival at the gate of the bishop of Dunham's court, he was met by the conventual assembly of Westminster, accompanied by all the bishops, abbots, and monks who had gathered. . . singing and rejoicing.¹⁹⁸

Following a further excursus on the sermon preached in the abbey on Christ's blood, Matthew then tells us that he was an eyewitness to the event and that the king summoned him to sit on the step separating the royal throne from the rest of the nave and said to him:

"You have observed all these things, and is what you have seen firmly impressed on your mind?" To which he [Matthew] replied, "Yes, my lord, for the splendid events of this day are worthy of being recorded." The king then continued, ". . . I therefore beseech you to write an accurate and full account of all these proceedings and write them in a noble and indelebible script in a book that their memory may not in any way be lost to posterity."¹⁹⁹

Whether Paris was inspired by the weight of the occasion or moved by this gesture to soften his customary hostility toward the king, Henry's command produced not only a richly detailed text, but a splendid pictorial description of the impressive ceremony as well. The drawing of the royal procession carrying the Holy Blood from St. Paul's to Westminster on St. Edward's Day in 1247 (Pl. X) constitutes the last full-scale narrative illustration to appear in the *Chronica Majora*. After this the drawings fall off drastically both in scope and quality to a few small and infrequent emblematic sketches. The great procession is executed in the monumental style of the *Offa* manuscript, and the frieze of large figures fills the whole lower margin of the page. Beneath a brocaded canopy rendered in a curious perspective which shifts the viewpoint from below in front to above in back, the king fixes his gaze on the small covered vessel containing the *sanguis Christi*, carried reverently in his covered hands.²⁰⁰ The procession is met by two bishops and an abbot, all

holding crosses and identified by inscriptions as "Episcopi Anglie et alii prelati." The drawing is confident and loose, with the drapery rendered in long, heavy strokes, foregoing the fastidious attention to small details that characterized Matthew's earlier illustrations. Notwithstanding a few mistakes, such as forgetting to complete the first bishop's crozier below his grasp (it appears to have been added as an afterthought when the rubric inscriptions were added), the sweeping majesty of the procession ranks among the best of Paris's later works.

Throughout Henry's reign Matthew's probaronial, anticourtist bias continued to make itself felt in his preoccupation with the magnates of Britain. As was the case with the coats of arms introduced in the margins of the *Chronica Majora* during the reign of King John, the dissident barons and those grievously abused by the king tend to prevail over the loyal servants of the crown. One of the main sources of contention continues to be, as it was in John's time, royal favoritism toward foreigners over Englishmen; in Henry's case, however, it is more directly caused by his marriage to Eleanor of Provence. During this period Matthew is much closer to the events and personalities involved, and his partisanship, even more strongly motivated by personal outrage and passion, inspires a more extensive pictorial commentary. Moreover, from 1235 onward, Paris also had taken over the composition of the text. In contrast with the earlier period in which the barons were visually relegated to symbolic images of their painted shields accompanying their obituaries, several individuals emerge during Henry's reign as dramatic protagonists in fully developed pictorial narratives. The St. Albans chronicler singled out two magnates in particular for romantic treatment as heroic embodiments of an oppressed English baronage: Hubert de Burgh and Richard Earl Marshal each became in his own way the center of a cause célèbre against the king.

We have already encountered Hubert de Burgh as the hero of the battle off Sandwich in 1217 (see Pl. I). This son of a Norfolk country squire acquired legendary fame as liberator of England in his naval defense against the invading French fleet of Eustace the Monk. Already justiciar in 1216–1217, Hubert de Burgh was an ambitious man whose career depended on the royal court. Created earl of Kent in 1227, he amassed a fortune, was entrusted with great castles, and built up a kind of palatinate in Wales.²⁰¹

In the annal for 1222 Matthew drew visual attention to another demonstration of Hubert's loyalty to the king against Louis of



FIGURE 144. Wrestling Match at London on St. James Day. From Villard de Honnecourt's Sketchbook. Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, fol. 58.

France in putting down a riot in London which grew out of a wrestling match outside the city, reported by Roger Wendover as follows:

On the day of St. James the Apostle, the citizens of the city of London met . . . outside the city, to engage in wrestling with the citizens of the suburban districts in see which of them possessed the greatest strength. After they had contended for a long time amidst the shouts of both parties, the Londoners, having put their antagonists into disorder, gained the victory. . . . The seneschal [of Westminster], however, with his suburban companions and fellow provincials, who sought revenge rather than sport, without any reason, flew to arms and severely beat the Londoners who had come there unarmed, causing bloodshed among them. The citizens, shamefully wounded, retreated to the city in great confusion. After they had got into the city, a tumult arose among the populace. . . . The irational mob, with others of the city, went forth in disorder, with Constantine at their head, and embarked upon a civil uprising.²⁰²

At this point in the narrative Matthew makes the following addition in the margin:

Thus said Constantine called out in a loud voice, as a sort of rallying cry, "Mont-joie, Mont-joie! May the Lord assist us and our lord Louis!" And this greatly exasperated the friends of the king and prompted them to take vengeance.

Roger's earlier text then continues: "But this circumstance, since it could not long remain secret, came to the knowledge of Hubert de Burgh, justiciar of England, and he collected a force and proceeded to the Tower of London." Having determined the culprit in this sedition, the justiciar had Constantine captured and hanged. Matthew's addition giving evidence that he was an agent of Louis and traitor to Henry [II] pointedly enhances Hubert's position as loyal defender of the crown and the king's peace.

The sprightly little drawing of two wrestlers at the foot of fol. 58 (Fig. 144) belies its apparent simplicity. Derived from antique images of physical struggle which were absorbed into Christian iconography in such scenes as Jacob wrestling with the angel, this composition was used to represent *Discordia* among the allegorical figures of Prudentius's *Psychomachia*.²⁰³ Given the striking similarities between the two wrestling men in the contemporary sketchbook of Villard de Honnecourt (Fig. 145) and those in the *Crónica Majores* drawing, the figures seem to have been taken from a common model.²⁰⁴ In both drawings the salient features are almost identical. Although Matthew applied the allegory to a contemporary event, he



FIGURE 145. Two Men Wrestling. From Villard de Honnecourt's Sketchbook. Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, fol. 120.

may have intended at least a peripheral aspect of its moral impact to enhance the character of Hubert de Burgh as loyal peacemaker and opponent of *Discordia*.

After the fall of Fawkes de Breauté in 1224 and the death of Stephen Langton in 1228, Hubert de Burgh became a dominant figure in the governing of England. He had, however, exposed himself to envy and criticism by his precipitous rise to power, especially by presuming to marry as his fourth wife in 1221 Margaret, sister of Alexander II of Scotland, who had been intended for Henry III or Richard of Cornwall.²⁹⁵ By 1232 the wheel of Fortune had turned. Hubert could no longer deal effectively with his enemies, and no treason was too ugly to be attributed to him by court gossips.²⁹⁶

When the people saw the king's regard for Hubert, of whom he had once been so particularly fond, change into hatred, many of his enemies rose against him and accused him of many enormous crimes. Some accused him of having caused the deaths of two nobles, William, earl of Salisbury, and William the Marshal, earl of Pembroke, by poison, and [claimed] that he had killed Fawkes and Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, by the same wicked means. The citizens of London laid a complaint before the king that the said Hubert had hanged their fellow citizen Constantine unjustly and without trial, for which crime they demanded justice; the king therefore issued a proclamation throughout London, calling on all who had any complaint against Hubert, for any injury done to them whatsoever, to come to him and they should have justice done there.²⁹⁷

A dossier of Hubert de Burgh's impossible crimes was produced, and the king dismissed the justiciar from office. Hubert fled in alarm to the church at Merton, and, refusing to return as the king's summons to answer the charges, deepened the royal anger even further:

At this the king flew into a rage, and, although it was then evening, he sent orders by letter to the mayor of London to take with him all the citizens of the city who could carry arms to attack Merton and to bring Hubert before him dead or alive. The mayor, then having rung the common bell, ordered the citizens to assemble and read the king's letter to them, commanding them all to take up arms and to execute the king's orders early the next morning.²⁹⁸

In the margin of fol. 81 (Fig. 146) Matthew rendered the bell (*Campana de communia Londoniarum*) as an ominous emblem of the king's vindictive command inciting the violent mob against his former loyal servant. Roughly outlined in vermilion line and modeled with pale washes of brown and ochre, the bell is provided with a very large



FIGURE 146. Common Bell of London. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 81.



FIGURE 147. Hubert de Burgh Seeking Sanctuary at Merton
B.L., Reg. 14. C. VII, fol. 119.

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bright red clapper. At this point, however, a long account in Paris's late hand is interjected in the margin below the drawing, describing how the king's plan was frustrated by a combination of human prudence and divine anger:

On the following day, before it was light, the citizens went forth . . . and marched toward Merton to execute the king's order. Having received news of this, however, Hubert prostrated himself in prayer before the great altar and confidently entrusted his life to God. In the meantime . . . 100 messengers were then sent to recall the mob tumultuously rushing to shed innocent blood.³⁷⁷

In the *Historia Anglorum* (Fig. 147) Matthew portrayed Hubert in the margin, barefoot and dressed only in a gray cap, breeches, and shirt, kneeling with a cross in his hands before an altar tinted green and other on which stands a chalice and paten. Above his head is the rubric "Hubertus de Burgo, discalcatus et in canisia solum ante altare de Meretona, monem orando expectat; adveniunt enim cives Londoniensis, hostes ejus."³⁷⁸ Hubert, however, was later seized in a chapel in Essex where he had fled for sanctuary, a cross in one hand and the Host in the other. He and his followers were dragged out by the king's men, fettered, and brought to the Tower of London.

De Burgh then submitted to the confiscation of his treasures by the crown. In the course of this exercise in royal avarice, Henry III forced the earl of Kent to instruct the Templars to surrender the treasures they had held for him at the New Temple in London. On the inner margin adjacent to the text on fol. 82 Matthew carefully drew three elegant vessels of various shapes, tinted brown and ochre, to correspond to the "vasa aurea et argentea imprectabilia" mentioned in the text; the earl's three covered cups reappear on the inner margin of fol. 119 in the *Historia Anglorum*, somewhat differently arranged and this time tinted blue and ochre with fine touches of red. Although the general feeling against Hubert ran high, his trial was deadlocked, and he was imprisoned at Devizes for more than a year in disgrace. At Easter in 1234 the earl of Kent was reconciled with the king, an occasion which, as we have already observed, was celebrated by an illustrated text addition reporting Hubert's remarkable vision of a priest bearing a crucifix (see Fig. 42). This divine reward for patience and virtue constituted the ultimate and most authoritative vindication of Hubert de Burgh.

The earl of Kent died an old and broken man in 1243. His passing is marked in Matthew's customary way by inverting his coat of arms in the margin:

On the twelfth of May, the earl of Kent, that is, Hubert de B., full of years, in the most praiseworthy manner ended his days . . . after having sustained many arbitrary attacks and persecutions from the king and many changes of fortune . . .¹¹¹

to which could have been added another appraisal of him written in the annal for 1239 in connection with Henry's last persecution of Hubert:

The earl . . . by whose old and well-ried fidelity England had been preserved to the English, bore all the king's ingratitude, reproaches, and insults, and all the attacks of ill fortune, with equanimity and patience.¹¹²

Thus Hubert de Burgh joined Matthew's small pantheon of secular saints and political martyrs.

We first meet Matthew's second hero, Richard Earl Marshal, as an equestrian knight in a moment of triumph as he wields the decisive blow with his long lance against Baldwin of Guisnes at Monmouth Castle in 1233. The drawing at the foot of fol. 85 (Fig. 148) marks an early victory for the uprising against the king that had begun in May of that year, rallying around the cause of Hubert de Burgh.¹¹³ Discontent had found a powerful voice in Richard, the earl marshal, a fine soldier and cultivated man who had become spokesman for the English baronage. Because he had lived in Normandy and had connections with the French court, King Henry hesitated to recognize his rights in England, but Richard managed to succeed his brother William as earl of Pembroke and lord of Leinster in 1231. In protest over the king's treatment of the earl of Kent, Richard organized a confederation of barons who were pledged to get rid of Henry's advisers, refusing in August 1233 to attend a meeting of the king's council until they got satisfaction. After his castle at Usk was seized, Richard joined with Llywelyn of Wales and waged war against the king in the middle Marches.

The battle for the castle at Monmouth on November 25 was a prelude to the rebel victory at Shrewsbury in January 1234. Despite the fact that Matthew went over Roger's account carefully, pointing out, for example, that Count Baldwin of Guisnes was Flemish, not Poitevin, his illustration at the bottom of the page interprets the battle very differently. Wendover's text describes the combat between Richard and Baldwin as follows:

The bellicose knight Baldwin, whom the marshal defended himself single-handedly against all his enemies for so long a time, made

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a powerful rush at him and, seizing his helmet, tore it from his mouth and nostrils; he then seized the marshal's horse by the bridle and endeavored to drag it with its rider toward the castle, while others insisted him by driving against the marshal from behind. The latter, however, sweeping his sword behind him, struck two of his enemies, stunning them to the ground, but still he could not release himself from their grasp. At this juncture, however, a crossbowman among the marshal's company, seeing his lord in danger, discharged an arrow from his bow, striking Baldwin, who was dragging the marshal away . . . and he fell to the ground, believing himself to be mortally wounded.¹⁴

Instead of portraying the earl marshal being rescued by a crossbowman, Matthew romanticized Richard as the hero, still mounted in noble dignity on his indigo-tinted horse, his shield marked with the hammer emblem of the marshals, charging with a long lance against the unseated Baldwin. To signal the decisive finality of Richard's blow, a small groom leads two riderless horses off the field at the left. Although the figures are spread loosely over the wide empty space at the foot of the page, the surging movement from left to right initiated by the earl marshal's charging lance is adroitly contained by turning Baldwin's falling horse at the far right and the groom at the left on short downward and upward curves back toward the center.

Peace was negotiated later that year by Brother Agnellus of Pisa, provincial head of the new Franciscan order in England, and Henry III was eventually compelled to recognize Richard's view. Although negotiations had already begun in April, the earl marshal was



FIGURE 148. Battle between Richard, Earl Marshal, and Baldwin de Ganneu. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 85.

mortally wounded in another battle, defending some of his lands which had been seized in Ireland, and died on April 16. Roger Wendover gives the following account:

When the troops were drawn up, the earl marshal saw that there were a great many to engage only a few; however, he exhorted his men to battle . . . assuming that they were all loyal to him, when in fact they were traitors. He then dashed boldly into the midst of the enemy, and forcing his way through them he opened a road for his knights with his sword.²¹⁵

Plunging into an overwhelming force, the earl marshal, after a long battle, was gravely wounded and later died in the hands of his enemies. Next to his death notice only his inverted sword appears in the margin. However, accompanying the text describing his capture in Ireland, Paris drew a heroic portrait (Fig. 149) of Richard in full armor, his helmet, shield, and surcoat all bearing the marshal's badge of the red hammer, riding into the last combat with his sword raised against overwhelming and treacherous odds. In paying this last and highest pictorial tribute to the king's noblest knight, Matthew cast the equestrian image of the earl marshal in the familiar guise of the sovereign's own idealized effigy as defender of the realm on his contemporary counterfeits. Like the figure on the reverse of the great seal of Henry III (see Fig. 150), Richard appears in profile astride his mount, bearing his shield and upraised sword, his face hidden behind a flat-topped cylindrical helmet, his foot pressing hard in the stirrup, as the cloth draped over the saddle flies away in graceful folds.²¹⁶ Although the small image is very carefully drawn in fine line, with the horse's minuscule vermilion ornaments elegantly rendered and the body delicately tinted in pale brown wash, Matthew inadvertently left uncorrected a mistake whereby he had first made the surcoat end in a straight line and then decided that it should be vandyked (cf. Fig. 112). Above the equestrian portrait is the earl marshal's upright shield (*Scutum marescalli*) emblazoned with a lion rampant and marked "gules" but left untinted, on a field tricked "ex auro viridique."²¹⁷ As he had done for the confederate barons under King John, Matthew commemorates Richard's closest allies, Gilbert Basset and Richard Seward, who had both repudiated their allegiance to Henry III in 1233 to uphold the cause of Hubert de Burgh, at their deaths in 1241 and 1248 by painted shields inverted in the margins of fols. 141v and 217.²¹⁸

It is worth noting that the earl marshal and his friends were not seeking power but were defending a legal principle and seeking to maintain a moral conception of kingship implicit in the charters.²¹⁹



FIGURE 149. Death of Richard, Earl Marshal. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 88b.



FIGURE 150. Seal of Henry III, reverse. B. L., Cotton Charter XI, 53.

As loyal “constitutionalists” these men insisted on their right to criticize the king’s choice of ministers and a noble’s right to be tried by his peers. Their successful fight for the charters was crucial and conclusive. At Easter in 1234, Henry was reconciled with his dissident barons, including Hubert de Burgh, for whom the earl marshal had been “martyred” in Ireland.

Indirectly connected with the death of Richard was the sensational murder of Henry Clement by William de Marisco, a prominent member of an important Anglo-Norman family with large holdings in Ireland. While on business with his father, Geoffrey, at the court of Westminster in the spring of 1235, William de Marisco killed a man who had been sent to London on a mission for the justiciar in Ireland while he was under royal protection near the palace. The murder was apparently precipitated in some way by rumors that held Geoffrey de Marisco and his family responsible for the earl marshal’s death.²¹⁹ Fleeing to Lundy Island after killing Clement in London, William became an outlaw and was believed to have made an assassination attempt on the king at Woodstock in 1238.²²⁰ Having survived seven years as a desperate, doomed man, William de Marisco was finally captured by the king’s army in 1242. With obvious vindictive relish Matthew reports his execution in gruesome detail:

On the vigil of St. James, by the king’s order, the said William . . . was tried and condemned and, by the king’s order, was sentenced to an ignominious death. He was therefore first dragged from Westminster to the Tower of London, and from there to that instrument of punishment commonly called a gibbet, suspended on which he breathed the last of his miserable life. After he had grown stiff at death, his body was let down and disemboweled; his entrails were immediately burned on the spot, and his wretched body divided into four parts and sent to the four principal cities of the kingdom, that the sight of them might strike terror into all beholders.²²¹

The most inglorious aspect of William’s death is illustrated at the foot of the page (Fig. 151). Propelled by the inscription, “Trahitur Willelmus de Marisco miles ad patibulum” he is being dragged to his execution, while the man riding the horse glances backward to check the horrendous progress of his prisoner. By diverting our attention on the prone figure of William, the relentless pulling and dragging action from left to right momentarily stops and becomes fixed on the excruciating punishment of the man rumored to have been involved in the death of the earl marshal. In an exquisite touch demonstrating Matthew’s keen visual and narrative sensitivity in dealing with even the most mundane, practical aspects of the book,

the small arrow marking quire XIII with its superscript for page 3 then functions to resume the directional momentum of the grisly spectacle proceeding from left to right. In a later vindictive outburst, Paris gives the following condemnation of William's father Geoffrey next to his inverted shield at his death in 1245 (*Obit Galfridi de Marisco, exul, pauper et profugus*):

Geoffrey de Marisco, a man who had formerly been a noble and not the least among the magnates of Ireland, who had incurred an indelible stain by the treacherous murder of Richard Earl Marshal, and who was now an exile, a wretched and hunted man, having been expelled from Scotland, deported from England, and disinherited in Ireland, after the ignominious death of his son and the loss of all his friends, banished from public view, finally ended so many deaths with his own.¹²²

In the *Historia Anglorum* on fol. 133v Matthew included Geoffrey's inverted shield (gules, a lion rampant argent), identified in rubric "Patris Willelmi, scilicet Galfridi," next to that of his son in the annual for 1242. Here the degradation and execution of William de Marisco for piracy and treason are symbolized by representing his shield (or, a lion rampant sable) not only reversed but cut in half, with his sword and banner broken beneath it, accompanied by the rubric "Arma Willelmi de Marisco, de prodicione convicti, deprehensi, et Londoniis suspensi."¹²³



FIGURE 158. Execution of William de Marisco. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 155r.

Another prominent figure associated with William de Marisco and the murder of Henry Clement was the earl marshal's brother and successor, Gilbert. Along with the Marisco family, Gilbert was accused of the crime, but he was acquitted. In 1236 he officiated at the coronation of Henry and Eleanor, and then married Margaret, sister of Alexander II of Scotland, who had divorced Hubert de Burgh. In 1238 Gilbert joined Richard of Cornwall against the king, but was reconciled with Henry two years later. In 1241 the earl marshal was killed in a tournament at Hertford, and his death is marked in the *Chronica Majora* by a striking representation of the fatal accident, which appears at the foot of the page, with his sword, shield, and spear inverted in the margin (Fig. 152):

While the mutability of time was thus jesting with and defuding the world with various misfortunes, Gilbert Earl Marshal had, with some other nobles, arranged a tilting match at Hertford, called by some a "venture" but which might rather be called a "misadventure." . . . At this tournament he was mounted on a noble horse, an Italian charger, to which he was not accustomed. . . . While the earl was amusing himself by checking his horse at full speed and goading its sides with his sharp spurs to urge it to greater speed and, as the case required, rapidly drew rein, both reins suddenly broke off at the juncture with the bit. The horse then became unruly and, tossing up its head, struck its rider a violent blow on the breast. There were some who affirmed truly that the bridle had been seditiously cut by some envious person, in order that his tyrannical horse might violently kill him or pull him to pieces, or that he at least might tremble under the control of his adversaries. Moreover, he had dined and was nearly blinded by the heat, dust, and sweat, and his head was oppressed by the weight of his heavy helmet. His horse, too, could not be recruited by him or anyone else; but he, at the same time, fainted away, began to totter in the saddle, and soon after fell, half-dead, from his horse—with one foot, however, still fixed in the stirrup; and in this manner he was dragged some distance over the field, whereby he suffered internal injuries which caused his death. . . . When his body was afterwards opened, his liver was discovered to be black and broken from the force of the blows he had received. . . . Many other knights and men-at-arms were also wounded and seriously injured with horses at this same tournament, because the jealousy of many of the parties concerned had turned the sport into a battle. The affairs of the cross and the interests of the Holy Land suffered great loss by the death of the said earl, for he had intended to set out for Jerusalem the following month.¹²⁴

Matthew's drawing of Gilbert, like that of William de Marisco, freezes a terrible moment of violence. The clumsy, stiff body of the

heavily armored knight falls back helplessly as the powerful horse, bleeding from the spurs, charges out of control and the broken reins fall to the ground. Finely articulated in brown ink, the tinted drawing has also been heightened by some unusually rich polychrome effects achieved by closely juxtaposing contrasting hues. While Gilbert's pale green surcoat is covered with small open red circles, his coat of mail and his horse are modeled in blue with light touches of ochre wash. In the left margin an inverted sword and lance flank a reversed shield emblazoned with his coat of arms.

Thirteenth-century tournaments were not like the later sports of chivalry, where knights fought under strict rules in confined lists. Nearly as dangerous as actual battles, they were trials of arms and horses held in the open countryside. Until certain precautions were taken against loss of life and limb, inducements to violence were too great, for it was the first earl marshal's prowess on the tournament ground that laid the foundations of Gilbert's later wealth and earldom.²²¹

A few months before his fatal accident, Gilbert joined some English nobles in a tournament against a party of foreigners favored by the king and led by Peter of Savoy, the queen's uncle, upon whom Henry had just bestowed the earldom of Richmond. Although the tournament was called off just before it began, Paris seized the opportunity to express his objection not only to the king's preference for his wife's foreign relatives, but also against the waste of men and arms that could have served on the Crusade being prepared by Richard of Cornwall:

In this year [1241] Peter of Savoy, earl of Richmond, held a tournament . . . in order that the foreigners might try their strength with the English, to see which of them were superior in a tilting match. When the king heard of this, he began by bribes and threats to corrupt and influence the hearts of many of the most noble and powerful English . . . in order that the party of foreigners might prevail. . . . The king, however, listening to wise counsel and regretting that he had wished foreigners to triumph in the martial sport rather than his own subjects, sent a messenger, namely, Brother John, a Templar . . . with all haste to the parties, with his royal warrant to forbid that unfortunate tournament which was just going to begin.²²²

Just as he lamented the loss of a needed Crusader in the death of Gilbert, Matthew again arbitrarily shifts his ground to draw attention to the knights' higher purpose. At the foot of the folio on which the shield of Peter of Savoy appears in the margin, he has painted the

banners of the Hospitallers and Templars along with the Oriflamma of France (Fig. 153), inscribed "Behold the three standards more formidable than all others to the infidel" (*Ecce tres signa inter omnia magis infidelibus formidabilia*). The "Vexillum hospitalis" is first, with a cross argent on a red banner with five streamers; "Vexillum Templi"—argent, a chief sable; and the "Oriflamma [sic] France," a red banner with eight streamers.⁴⁷

Throughout the *Chronica Majora* Matthew Paris continues to complain of the king favoring the French at the expense of the English barons, seldom missing an opportunity to provide distressing examples of what he perceived to be the fundamental untrustworthiness and general moral turpitude of the French over which providential punishment frequently prevailed. Paris characteristically takes special satisfaction in seeing a particularly reprehensible individual receive his just desert. In the annal for 1244 he blames the deterioration of the friendship between Henry and the king of Scotland on the latter's matrimonial alliance with the daughter of Enguerrand de Coucy who, "like all the French, was known to be the chief, or rather one of the chief, enemies of the king of the English."⁴⁸ We soon learn, however, that in the same year,

as the month of August drew on, Enguerrand de Coucy, father of the queen of Scotland, met with his death in a remarkable way . . . the said Enguerrand, the old persecutor of the Church, but especially of the church of Clairvaux which his ancestors had magnificently founded and built on his estate, died . . . as it were, a double death. While living

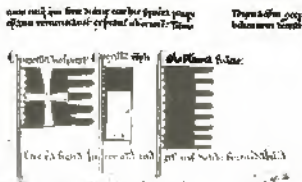


FIGURE 153. Banners of the Hospitallers and Templars and the Oriflamma of France. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 121

he was a zealous builder in material matters, but in spiritual matters a sad dissipation. One day, when travelling, he had occasion to cross a certain ford, when his horse's foot stumbled over some obstacle and he fell backward into deep water into which he was unfortunately dragged by his stirrups; as he fell headlong, his sword escaped from its sheath and pierced through his body. And thus drowned and pierced by the sword, he departed this life to reap the fruit of his ways.²²⁸

In the drawing (Pl. XI), inscribed "Engeltraucus de Cusca submersus et gladio transverberatus obit; necnon et ad hoc genus mortis propria szepa pertractus," we see the frozen action of Coucy falling over the horse's head, his foot caught in the stirrup, transfixed by his own



FIGURE 154 *Superbia*, from Villard de Honnecourt's Sketchbook. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 19093, fol. 30.

sword.²⁰ His "second" death by drowning is depicted by immersing the wounded fallen horseman in green waves filled with swimming fish. As in the case of the London wrestlers, based on a standard thirteenth-century iconography for Discordia, Matthew here evokes a well-known visual allegory—Superbia, based on another of the vices in the illustrations of Prudentius's *Psychomachia*—to lend a more particular moral dimension to his portrayal of Concy's demise.²¹ In Villard de Honnecourt's contemporary sketchbook drawing of Pride (Fig. 134) the man falling over the head of his horse is clearly captioned "Orgieus cui came il tribuiche." While Villard seems to have copied almost exactly from the south porch of Chartres Cathedral the pier relief of Superbia's fall, Matthew seems to have adapted his model more freely to suit his topical purpose.²² For the St. Albans chronicler, the image of the falling figure frequently serves as a familiar visual metaphor, signalling a sudden turn for the worse on Fortune's wheel. The ultimate violent disruption of the status quo, precipitated by pride and misplaced courage, may be seen again in the plunging deaths of the Flemish mercenary, Baldwin de Guines; the Welsh prince, Gruffydd; the French baron, Concy; and even the English earl marshal, Gilbert. In the overall scheme of Matthew's moral epic, retribution almost inevitably finds its proper victim.

The illustrated *gesta regum* in the great St. Albans chronicle gives a history of English kingship which may be characterized as both eccentric and distorted. At the same time, however, it provides a fairly typical collection of monastic views current in England during the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In his idiosyncratic selection of subjects for illustration, as well as in the aggressively interpretive manipulations of figures and events, Matthew offers his audience a montage of images seen through a lens of flagrant anti-royal, probaronial bias. For Paris royal virtue is a thing of the past. Gone are the fortitude and wisdom of prelapsarian heroes like Casibellanus, Offa, and Alfred, who in turn valiantly fought off Roman demands for tribute, bestowed wealth and privilege on great monasteries like St. Albans, and unified the country into a nation governed by her own ancient code of laws. With the arrival of the Anglo-Norman kings, only Richard I emerges as a pale reflection of those ancient heroic virtues, while the rest fall into various categories of moral and political ignominy.

As Wendover and Paris approach their own time, the tarnish of familiarity evokes even greater contempt for the reigning monarchs, John and Henry III, while a new species of hero emerges in a small

band of courageous barons who rebel against royal greed and injustice. Measured against the ancient paradigm of Alexander, illustrated in an exaggerated portrait of godlike power at the beginning of the *Chronica Majora*, few rulers survive Paris's withering scrutiny. As we shall see, within the inflated romanticism of Matthew's moral epic only two figures will emerge to measure up to his nostalgic idealization of what a ruler ought to be: Emperor Frederick II, the larger-than-life successor of Alexander who became an admired adversary of the popes, and Henry III's younger brother, Richard of Cornwall, the only man Matthew deemed worthy to rule England but to whom fate had denied the crown, reserving his talents for the glory of a Crusade.

4

Chronica Universale: Rome and Jerusalem

WHILE THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE *GESTA REGUM* WITHIN the *Chronica Majora* provides a traditional and stable framework of political chronology, the work was conceived from the outset as a universal history. Unwieldy and shapeless, its intended scope was the all-inclusive history of mankind, whose multifold reality encompassed everything from Creation to the present as part of the commonly held Christian pattern of revelation and human destiny. Unlike the inevitable succession of English kings, the universalizing chronicle does not pursue a single line of action but moves freely among very wide and disparate interests beyond the borders of the Anglo-Norman world. Unified only by the chronicler's pervasive concern for ethical imperatives within the history of salvation, the external structure of the *Chronica Majora* as universal history expands its epic moral drama onto the world stage.

Continuing in the polemical tradition established in the late antique universal histories of Eusebius and Orosius, Matthew Paris paints a lurid picture of human history as a pessimistic record of crime and folly. By the thirteenth century the world had reached the

evening of its sixth and last age, and it seemed only natural to assume that the course of human events had taken an ominous turn for the worse.¹ Historians of the twelfth century had already begun to reflect upon the periodization handed down by Orosius and to consider the problems of world monarchy in terms of the increasingly uncertain figure of the Empire. In the thirteenth-century *Chronica Majora* the unresolved conflict between papacy and Empire in Europe, as well as the ongoing Crusades in the Middle East, still held center stage, as Matthew's perception of the global threats to the order of Christendom remained fixed on Rome and Jerusalem. On the one hand, he decried the erosion of spiritual authority in the papacy through the avarice and political ambition of the Roman Curia, its adverse effects upon relations with England and the Empire, as well as its undermining influence upon the Western presence in the Holy Land. On the other, Europe's inability to subdue and convert the vast multitudes of Islam offered a dismal record of repeated failures. By Paris's time the religious wars launched by the early Crusades had degenerated into a series of desperate military skirmishes and negotiations to protect the narrow, ever-dwindling coastal strip in Asia Minor that had begun in the late eleventh century as a promising stronghold from which Christian Europe hoped to establish a permanent Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

These distant threats to the security and well-being of England and St. Albans provide a unifying theme which runs throughout Matthew's part of the *Chronica Majora*. His bitter complaints against England's vassalage to Roman greed reveal the other side of the same hard coin on which he stamped his fundamental distrust of Britain's own monarchs to serve the best interests of church and nation. The successive popes Innocent III, Gregory IX, and Innocent IV are conceived as ecclesiastical counterparts to King John and Henry III. Although, in a broad sense, the papacy and Islam represent the antipodes of the medieval world, the St. Albans chronicler drives home the bitterness of human ironies in his disillusioned perception of Rome as a perverse foe thwarting the efforts of heroic figures like Frederick II and Richard of Cornwall to rescue Jerusalem from the Saracens. Not only is the Holy Land to be inexorably lost, despite the valiant efforts of these last Crusaders, but the invasion of Europe itself is threatened by the apocalyptic Mongol hordes, believed to be Gog and Magog unleashed beyond the frontiers of civilization as harbingers of the end of the world.

Matthew's malevolent delineations of Rome and Islam provide the central moral concerns which unify his universal chronicle of the

first half of the thirteenth century. They do not, however, initiate a continuous or sustained narrative, but instead trigger many separate, disjunctive actions of enormous impact. Like exceptionally long-lived volcanoes setting off a chain of eruptions, these cataclysmic events reverberate with sudden and intermittent force throughout the long narrative. Often perceived by the St. Albans chroniclers as anticipated by or coinciding with equally disturbing portents in the violent prodigies of nature, these recurrent patterns of threatening disruption and change emanating from Rome and Jerusalem constitute an essential continuity in the larger structure of the *Chronica Majora* as universal history.

ENGLAND AND ROME

When King John made his submission to Pope Innocent III in 1213 to break the five-year Interdict, he surrendered his kingdom as fief to the Roman See and pledged himself and his successors to pay an annual tribute of 1,000 marks. Papal support helped to consolidate the Angevin reign and ensured its succession to Henry III, but the financial burden aroused increasing resentment against the Roman See among English barons and clergy.¹ The collection of papal revenues and absentee Italian clerics holding prebends and ecclesiastical livings in England became the source of bitter complaint. We have already had occasion to remark upon Matthew's vituperative outburst against the Roman Curia and Innocent III in connection with Lateran IV in 1215.² Throughout the *Chronica Majora* he unreservedly equates Italians with greed. The middle period of Henry III's reign was marked by another storm of discontent. In opposition to the papal expansion of ecclesiastical government through which Innocent III and succeeding popes claimed England as a province of the Roman See, a strong wave of English reaction and agitation against foreign exploitation began to make itself felt around 1230.³

Toward the end of 1231 local baronial agitation against Italian clerics living off English lands began to cause alarm. Under the pseudonym of William Wither, a young knight named Robert Thweng collected small bands of armed, masked men who issued manifestos in the name of the "community of those who prefer to die rather than join together with the Romans." The agitators pillaged the barns of absentee landlords and sold the grain or gave it to the poor. A few Italians were even seized and detained. If challenged,

the plunderers produced forged royal letters patent forbidding interference with their patriotic duties.³ The marauding campaigns of Thweng and his friends were widely approved both in the countryside and in ecclesiastical circles. Matthew adds his own hearty applause for this thirteenth-century Robin Hood by illustrating a particular incident in 1231 (Fig. 155) at Wingham in Kent with a small drawing of a bearded man, dressed in a pale brown tunic and cap with green stockings, vigorously flailing two sheaves of grain:

During the week of Christmas the very full barns belonging to a Roman cleric, at Wingham, were pillaged by a small body of armed men with their heads covered, who acted . . . on orders of the above-mentioned society. . . . By the time the sheriff arrived with soldiers, they



FIGURE 155. *Plundering Grain at Wingham*
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 79.

discovered that these men had embezzled the greater part of the granaries and sold the corn on good terms for the benefit of the whole district and had also given a portion of it in charity to the poor.³

Upon receiving complaints, Pope Gregory addressed long letters to the king denouncing these insults to papal envoys, but by the time the letters had reached England the trouble was over. Based on the Calendar iconography for the month of September in twelfth-century English psalters (see Fig. 156),⁴ Matthew's sketch of a man threshing grain with a flail is repeated in a later, lifeless copy to illustrate the same event in the *Historia Anglorum*.⁵

Another way in which the papacy elicited the odium of the English clergy and barons was through the operations of Italian bankers, whom Matthew regarded as "merchants of the pope." Called Cahorsins, they came to England about 1235 to make loans to those who had to pay papal taxes, for which they charged various rates of interest.⁶ Incensed at this latest outrage, Matthew unleashes a bitter diatribe against them in one of the first annals he composed after succeeding Roger Wendover as the author of the *Chronica Majora*:

In these days the detestable nuisance of the Cahorsins prevailed to such a degree that there was hardly anyone in all England, especially



FIGURE 156. September Grain Harvest. Cambridge, St. John's College K. 30, fol. 5



FIGURE 157. Purses of the Cahorsin Usurers.
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16,
fol. 95.

among the bishops, who was not caught in their net. Even the king himself was obligated to them in insupportable debt. Indeed they cheated the poor . . . masking their usury under the cloak of bankers' business and pretending not to know that whatever is added to the principal is usury under whatever name it may be called.¹⁰

In the margin of fol. 95 (Fig. 157) next to the rubric, "*Forma Caurgnorum obligandi debitores, undies tamen ingravescentis*," he represents two purses hung from a thin horizontal rod, one a drawstring pouch suspended by a strap, the other a long tubular bag with sliding rings. By the visual suspension of the purses Matthew creates, with characteristic ingenuity, a biting pictorial metaphor for the extortion of the usurers of Cahors in a dramatic symbolic image *pari pari raris*. Matthew concludes by contriving an outrageous and malignant etymology:

Such were the inextinguishable bonds by which the Cahorsins bound their debtors. They were truly named *Caurgnis*—if we may play upon the word—for they are cheaters [*causantes*], taxers [*causantes*] and bears [*ursini*]. They first entice those in need with soft and honeyed talk; but in the end it was just as if they had wounded them with a spear; thus, on account of their cunning legal words, written below and akin to the tricks of lawyers, many think that these transactions did not take place without the connivance of the Roman Curia.¹¹

In 1246 Matthew's personal experience in dealing with the Cahorsin moneylenders in London on behalf of the Norwegian monks of St. Bened. Helm only served to reinforce his bad opinion and conviction that they were agents of the Curia:

The Transalpine usurers whom we call Cahorsins were so numerous and became so rich that they built noble palaces for themselves in London, remaining as permanently as native-born citizens. Even the prelates were silent because they [the Cahorsins] declared that they were mechanics of the pope, nor did they hear the reproaches of the citizens, for these men were protected by the favor of certain magnates whose money, it is reported, they put out to amass interest, after the fashion of the Roman court.¹²

From the period of Henry III's minority on, papal legates played an increasingly prominent role in English life. In 1226 Otho, cardinal deacon of San Nicola in Carcere Tulliano, was sent as a special agent by the papal court to collect taxes, opening a new phase in the direct ecclesiastical taxation of England. With delegated powers that earned him the nickname "second pope,"¹³ Otho's first attempt to organize England's benefices to insure a regular permanent revenue

for the papal exchequer⁴⁸ was thwarted by vigorous local opposition, forcing his eventual departure. Ten years later, however, when Henry III fell back upon the Church's protection in a time of political difficulty and sent for a papal legate, he arrived in the summer of 1237 in the person of the same Cardinal Otto. So deeply entrenched was the association of the legate with papal taxation that his mission was believed by contemporaries to be purely fiscal.⁴⁹ Matthew's apprehension concerning Otto's return in 1237 echoes this widespread assumption:

In the same year . . . to what end it was not known, Master Otto . . . came as a legate to England unknown to the barons, on a summons from the king. For this reason, a great many magnates were excited to indignation against the king, saying, "The king perverts all laws, faith, and promises, and transgresses in everything he does. . . . And now he has secretly summoned a legate in exchange for the whole kingdom; first he gives away what is his, and then takes back what he has given." . . . It was said that Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, reproached the king for acting as he did, especially for summoning the legate, knowing that before long it would be the cause of great loss to the kingdom. . . . But the king had contempt for his advice, as well as that of others of his counselors. . . .⁵⁰

Although the cardinal's position was difficult, his tact and diplomatic skill enabled him to pursue the long course of his stay in England with dignity until 1241. Matthew's description of the Legatine Council in St. Paul's conveys a sense of masterful control exercised by the papal statesman over the hostile assembly of English prelates, but the St. Albans chronicler is filled with feelings of mistrust and disapproval as he reacts against the reforms threatening the large properties belonging to the great houses of the old religious orders:

As the time for holding a council drew near, the legate ordered an excessively dignified and stately seat, raised up on long beams and steps, to be built for himself in the western part of St. Paul's Church at London. He then sent his letters to all the prelates of England, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors, ordering them to hand over procuratorial letters . . . that whatever the legate should establish at the council would be ratified on both sides. At this summons, all the prelates of England under the jurisdiction of his legateship came, although greatly harassed and fatigued.⁵¹

When the legate entered St. Paul's on the second day

he ascended the steps to his seat which . . . was prepared for him with much pomp, and was now made more ostentatious with tapestries and

hangings. . . The assembled crowd having been called to order, the legate, from his seat, raised his voice, as if it were a trumpet, and began his discourse.¹⁸

At the beginning of Otho's pronouncement of the papal ordinances there is a drawing of the Council of London (Pl. IX) presided over by the legate at the foot of fol. 107r (*concilium Londonie celebratum ab Othone legato*). Seated alone at the left in his miter and pale vermillion cope on a high-backed throne covered with green drapery, Otho raises his right hand in an oratorical gesture as he addresses the English bishops and clerics densely huddled together at the right. Soft modeling colors are used throughout to render the drapery folds as a series of shining satiny surfaces. The pomp and gravity of the solemn assembly are suggested by the monumentally scaled figures with large expressive heads animated with touches of vermillion on the lips and cheeks. However, the solid authority of the papal legate suggested in the text appears to be undermined by his unstable position, as he seems to slide downward on an ill-defined throne set at a sharp oblique angle toward the agitated assembly of English churchmen before him. In contrast with his later illustration in the *Historia Anglorum* (Fig. 158), which adheres more closely to the text in representing Otho's high throne on a solid base of raised steps and



FIGURE 158 Legatine Council of London. R.L., Ray. 14. G. VII, fol. 126

stabilizes the whole ensemble of figures within a rectangular frame, the *Chronica Majora* drawing conveys an uncomfortable feeling of distress and consternation among the English clergy in their confrontation with the Italian cardinal. The negative mood cast over Matthew's perception of the council at St. Paul's reflects the general sense of gloom with which England greeted the legate's arrival. Although Otbo steered the king and made peace between the quarreling barons, the king's reliance upon the legate from Rome was met with widespread disapproval, particularly among the clergy, for it meant opening the way for even more foreign clerics living off English benefices,²⁰ thus sowing the seeds of the larger discontent that broke out following the Council of Lyons.

By the 1240s Anglo-papal relations had deteriorated into an endless series of litigations. Monastic and cathedral archives overflowed with papal rescripts and *privilegia*, papal commissions and mandates. What had in previous centuries been a union of faith and loyalty now became a contract of law, discipline, and authority. As the English Church became increasingly caught up in the huge legal bureaucracy of the papal monarchy, its more conservative members felt constrained to protect a vestige of autonomy by mounting a vigil of protest. As one of the most vociferous spokesmen for this dissident faction, Matthew Paris reacted with anger and disgust at the failure of the English delegation to have its grievances against the excesses of papal government redressed at the Council of Lyons. In 1246 a general parliament of prelates, abbots, priors, and bishops, as well as earls and barons, was assembled at London on a summons by royal warrant.

to consider, as urgent necessity demanded, the now tottering condition of the kingdom. [The people] were indeed distressed by intolerable troubles incessantly thrust upon them by the Roman Curia and which could not be endured without shameful apathy and imminent ruin. Mental anxiety wounded them all the more because the pope, violating his promise, aggravated them more deeply than he did before they made their complaint.²¹

Paris then proceeds to list the promises made to the English by Innocent IV at the Council of Lyons the previous year. In a paragraph added in the margin of fol. 198v he cries out in angry frustration that the statutes are rendered worthless by legal loopholes:

But all these and other decrees are impaired by that stumbling-block, "notwithstanding" [*non obstantibus*]. Where then is the faith? Where then are the rights which used to be confirmed by writings? They are banished!²²

Above the marginal addition is a drawing of the *priuerlega* granted to the English by the pope at Lyons. In the top left-hand corner of fol. 198r three charters outlined in red are clustered together in a symmetrical group, with the central one superimposed upon the other two. Each is provided with a blue lead papal bulla attached by a red cord threaded through the bottom fold. Matthew perceived these papal concessions as duplicitous documents which in practice turned out to be a withdrawal rather than a granting of the privileges in question, since the escape clause (*non obstante*) could nullify all benefits, causing them to fall back into the hands of the Italians. The emblematic device of various charters meticulously observed and rendered in the margins of the *Chronica Majora* to draw attention to the rights of the barons against the tyranny of King John in 1215 is used here to plead England's case against Innocent IV three decades later. These subdued but authoritative visual evocations of written legal authority, abrogated by the bad faith of kings and popes alike, stand as Matthew's silent but vigilant reminders of the fundamental legal rights of individuals and institutions outspokenly defended throughout the great chronicle.

In 1253 Paris found a new spokesman for his antipapal sentiments in the unlikely person of Robert Grosseteste. Although the illustrious bishop of Lincoln had assailed the selfish patronage of the Roman court and had denounced the practice of filling English prebends with foreign priests at the Council of Lyons, Grosseteste had never advocated resistance or revolt. He regarded the Italians, whether present or absent, as seriously undermining his primary task of pastoral care for his flock. Like Matthew Paris, Grosseteste was an Englishman with a grievance, but he was also a bishop who felt his mission was being thwarted by the travesty of papal commissions created by an ingenious and shortsighted Curia.²² In 1251, Matthew tells us, the bishop of Lincoln "was suspended from his episcopal office because he would not admit a certain Italian, ignorant of the English language, to a rich benefice in his diocese, but it was believed that he did [it] to keep from sin those for whose souls he was accountable."²³

When in 1252 Grosseteste received a papal mandate to appoint the pope's nephew, Federigo di Lavagna, to a canonry at Lincoln, he was again forced to take an open stand against Innocent IV, this time earning him Matthew's unreserved admiration. In the heat of his holy indignation the bishop repudiated the mandate with such venom that the authenticity of his reply has been questioned.²⁴ However, the letter of refusal is copied out not only in the *Chronica Ma-*

iona, *Liber Additionum*, and the *Historia Anglorum*, but in the contemporary *Annales Manusci* as well.²⁵ In recording Grosseteste's letter to Innocent IV, Matthew probably intended it to voice his own distaste. But Grosseteste's reply, while a masterpiece of antipapal invective, espouses a cause somewhat distant from the St. Albans chronicler's fierce defense of English liberties, complaining that Innocent's mandate

is not consonant with apostolic sanctity, but utterly dissonant and discordant thereto. First, because of that letter and others similar to it, which have been spread far and wide, heaped with [that clause] "notwithstanding," which is not inserted from the necessity of obeying natural law, there bursts forth a deluge of inconsistency, audacity, and impudence, of shamelessness, lying and deceit . . . and from the consequent vices, which are without number, the purity of the Christian religion and the tranquility of human social converse is agitated and disturbed. Moreover, since the sin of Lucifer, who at the end of time will be that of the son of perdition, Antichrist . . . there is not and cannot be any other kind of sin so adverse and contrary to the doctrine of the apostles and the Gospels, and at the same time so odious, detestable, and abominable to our Lord Jesus Christ than to mortify and lose souls by defrauding them of the offices and ministries of pastoral care.

No one who is untrained and sincerely obedient, who is not cut away by schism from the body of Christ and the Holy See, can submit to mandates, precepts, or any other endeavors of this kind, no, not even if the author were the highest body of angels, but must repudiate and rebel against them with all his strength. . . . as an obedient son I disobey, I contradict, and I rebel.²⁶

At the top of fol. 275 (Fig. 159) in the margin adjacent to Grosseteste's reply to the pope in 1253, Matthew has provided a visual reminder of the document, inscribed "Optima epistola episcopi I. incolumensis R[oberti]." Carefully rendered in fine outline, 22 mm. wide and ruled in four lines, the letter is furnished with an episcopal wax seal distinctively oval in shape, tinted ochre, and attached with a red cord.

It seems, judging from the vagueness of his introductory remarks, that Paris did not have a clear understanding of what precipitated Grosseteste's attack.²⁷ In the *Liber Additionum* Matthew made an addition in the margin of Grosseteste's letter that distorts its meaning, by explaining that "that letter and others similar [con-similia]" were intended to invoke a denunciation of "papal usury, simony, and plundering,"²⁸ thus bending Grosseteste's complaint



FIGURE 159. Grosseteste's Letter of Protest. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 275.

closer to his own antipapal position. Grosseseste had taken no part in the English opposition to papal taxation or litigation and clearly did not share the St. Albans chronicler's desire to see the king and clergy united in a common struggle against the pope. His letter of refusal constitutes an agonized moral denunciation of Innocent's pride and betrayal, but Matthew perceived Grosseseste's rebellion as the outcry of another victim subjected to the same indignity and oppression that beset St. Albans in 1251 when Innocent IV claimed a benefice belonging to the abbey. Matthew quotes the pope's claim to the church of Wingrave for his nephew and chaplain, John de Camezana, and with self-righteous indignation explains:

We have inserted this letter in our book that all may know with what sufferings and injuries the Roman court has afflicted us wretched English. Whoever considers its purport may find in it much contempt, injury, and oppression. . . . Our father the pope exasperates [us] with the austerity of a stepfather, and . . . our mother the Roman Church . . . vents her fury with the persecution of a stepmother.²⁹

Given his irresistible penchant for interpolating fantastic but morally satisfying plots of retribution, Paris was not content to let the matter rest with Grosseseste's rebellious outburst. As he had done for Fawkes de Breauté, Matthew invented a divinely ordered punishment for Innocent IV more appropriate for the pages of a fictional romance than history. At the beginning of the third volume of the *Chronica Majora*, the phantom of the dead bishop of Lincoln returns in 1254 to take his revenge for yet another wrong intended against him by Innocent IV. The startling image of Robert's arms (Fig. 160) suddenly thrusts itself into the margin of the page, violently shaking his pastoral staff. Angered by the pope's plan to have his bones exhumed and cast out of Lincoln Cathedral, Grosseseste appears to the pope in a terrible dream:

With a severe and grim look [he] approached him and addressed him with a dreadful voice, as he pierced him in the side with violent blows from the point of the shepherd's staff which he carried. And he said to him, "Wretched Pope Sewebald, did you intend to cut my bones from the church to disgrace me and my church of Lincoln? . . . It would be more worthy of you, who are exalted and honored by God, to cherish the zealous servants of God, even though they be dead. The Lord will not suffer you henceforth to have any power over me. . . ." With these words Bishop Robert departed, leaving the pope half-dead, as if he were pierced with a lance each time he was poked with the staff. . . . Nor did the anger and vengeance of the Lord rest here.³⁰



FIGURE 160. Grosseseste's Angry Phantom. *B.L., Rom. 12. C. VII, fol. 158b.*

Not only was the pope's army defeated shortly afterward, but Innocent IV fell gravely ill, "as if afflicted . . . by a lance wound." As we shall see, the pontiff never recovered from "the angry blow he had received from the shepherd's staff of Robert, bishop of Lincoln," and died that year at Naples.¹¹ Although hastily drawn in crude dark outline and cursorily washed over with green and ochre tints, Paris's marginal sketch nonetheless lends strong emotive impact to the thrust of his text. The imagined intensity of Grosseteste's anger is keenly felt not only in the swift, aggressive gesture of the fractional image from the edge of the page, but also in the vehemence of the heavy repetitive strokes of the drawing itself.

PAPACY AND EMPIRE

Notwithstanding the impetuous ardor of Matthew's pictorial images concerning events that occurred in England from the Interdict of 1208 to the "rebellion" of Robert Grosseteste in 1253, nothing could match the momentous scope and dramatic fury that marked Frederick II's long struggle against Gregory IX and Innocent IV. Matthew's selective chronicle of the Empire from the Hohenstaufen emperor's marriage to Henry III's sister Isabella in 1235 to his death in 1250 reveals a sustained and sometimes awestruck preoccupation with the larger-than-life, enigmatic figure of Frederick II.

Matthew's fascination with the German rulers and the Empire begins with the reign of King John. On the same page on which the coronation of the English monarch is observed with a pointed shield and crown, the artist has marked Innocent III's recognition of John's nephew, Otto IV, as emperor, in the margin, although the event actually took place two years later in 1201. Three crowns are superscribed "Corona argentea, corona aurea, corona ferrea" (Fig. 161). The central one has a conical green cap surmounted by a small gold orb, while the other two are closed by simple round green caps. Below the three crowns is Otto's shield emblazoned or with the double-headed eagle sable, inscribed "Otto creatus in imperatorem Romanorum." Beneath the imperial shield Paris painted yet another shield on which the eagle of the Empire is impaled by dimidiation with the lions of England; it is inscribed "Scutum mutatum pro amore regis Angliae" to signify Otto's alliance with King John.¹²

Otto, king of Germany, was elected emperor of Rome by Pope Innocent and all the Roman people. . . . In the capital and throughout the whole city of Rome, the cry was raised, "Life and health to the em-



FIGURE 161. Election of Otto IV. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 48.

perur Otto." Being thus confirmed in his title by all, he remembered that it was through King Richard that he had been promoted to that great honor . . . and so informed King John.³¹

The career of John's new ally, Otto IV of Brunswick, was, however, short-lived and based on vain hopes, for in 1214 at the Battle of Bouvines the king's nephew was put to flight. With the French victory, Otto's adherents were forced to come to terms with his Hohenstaufen rival for the crown of the Empire, and Frederick received from Philip the imperial golden eagle which Otto, in his hasty retreat, had left lying on the battlefield at Bouvines.³²

Frederick's coronation at Aachen in 1215 escaped Matthew's customary armorial embellishment in the *Chronica Majora*, but the imperial shield appears later in the margin of fol. 72v next to the emperor's report of his 1229 victory in the Holy Land, which included the artist's careful replica of the imperial seal (see Fig. 37). In 1235 another alliance between England and the Empire was formed when Frederick married Henry III's sister Isabella at Worms. Matthew documents the occasion pictorially at the foot of fol. 94v with a small drawing of two clasped hands beneath a crown from which the marriage ring is suspended in the center (Fig. 162). Next to the illustration Paris added in the margin a preposterous story to the effect that the emperor refused to have intercourse with his bride until the hour appointed by his astrologers; having then made her pregnant, he pompously declared, "Know that you now have in your womb the care of a male child."³³ Frederick's arrogant attitude toward his English bride is more adequately conveyed by Matthew's later illustration of the imperial marriage in the *Historia Anglorum* (Fig. 163) in which we see the emperor vigorously placing the ring on the finger of a meekly receptive Isabella, while raising his left hand in an oratorical gesture of command. The entry concerning the imperial marriage is then followed by Roger Wendover's long discourse on Isabella's noble pedigree, labeled in the margin "Digressio necessario" in Matthew's rubric hand:

There were many, however, in the Roman Empire who thought that it was degrading for the emperor, who was so powerful and rich and who was, as it were, the lord and governor of the whole world, to marry the sister of an English king. But, since everyone knows that there is greater dignity in being of a noble race than in being rich, the reader ought to know that the father of this empress was John, king of the English.³⁴

Roger then traces Isabella's genealogy back to Adam through Alfred the Great.

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FIGURE 162. Marriage of Frederick II and Isabella. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 94v.

The illustrations concerning the Hohenstaufen struggle against the popes begin in the annual for 1239 with the elegant and meticulous renderings of the imperial seals at the foot of fol. 126 (see Fig. 40). The image authenticates one of Frederick's most impassioned statements of self-vindication in which he denies the allegations made against him by Gregory IX and gives a lengthy recapitulation of his victories in Jerusalem, Sicily, and Rome. Following his excommunication in 1238, Frederick bombarded the princes of Christendom with thunderous manifestos. His pronouncement of 1239 marked the culmination of ten years of embittered accusations launched by both parties. Catering to the dissident factions in Europe and especially in England, the emperor assailed the pope's insatiable thirst for money. Matthew's sympathetic espousal of the imperial cause apparently had no ideological basis, for he seems to have been largely unaware of the profound political implications of the momentous conflict to which he was a secondhand witness through this deluge of epistolary attacks and counterattacks. Paris simply perceived Frederick II as a heroic fellow-victim who, like the English monasteries and churches, valiantly attempted to defend himself against Gregory IX and the Roman Curia.¹⁷

The violent storms of feeling which had been kept in check and

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FIGURE 163 Marriage of Frederick II and Isabella
B.L., Reg. 14. C. VII, fol. 427v.

limited to verbal parries on both sides soon erupted into action. Immediately after excommunicating Frederick II, Gregory IX set into motion the convocation of a general church council to depose the emperor. Upon learning of the pope's plan, Frederick initiated countermeasures to prevent such a council from taking place. He secured all land routes to Rome after the capture of Faenza so that no delegates could reach Rome without passing through imperial territories. In a strategy to circumvent the imperial blockade, however, the pope employed the Genoese to provide a fleet of cargo ships and war galleys to conduct the prelates from England, France, and Spain to the mouth of the Tiber from the Ligurian Sea.¹⁹ After embarking from Genoa in April 1241 amidst cheers and blaring trumpets, the Genoese convoy sailed safely past Pisa and was approaching its goal, the Roman harbor of Civitavecchia, when it was attacked by the emperor's combined Pisan and Sicilian fleets lying in ambush off the island of Monte Cristo. The ensuing battle brought Frederick a decisive victory; twenty-two ships were captured, three were sunk, and more than one hundred church dignitaries of high rank were taken prisoner. Among those taken to Apulia were the abbots of the celebrated monasteries of Cluny and Clairvaux, a host of archbishops and bishops, and three papal legates, including Otho of San Nicola and the emperor's hated enemy, James of Palestrina.

Just as this unexpected event shocked the world at large, the emperor's unprecedented capture of a hundred priests had its impact on the chronicler of St. Albans. The sea battle off Monte Cristo is reported twice in the *Chronica Majora*, first in an account given by



FIGURE 164. Sea Battle between the Pisans and Genoese. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 26, fol. 126.

Matthew Paris and then more fully in a letter from the emperor to his brother-in-law Henry III copied into the annal on the next folio:

A most bloody fight then ensued at sea between the Pisans . . . and the Genoese in which the Genoese were defeated, and the prelates and legates were made prisoners, with the exception of some who were slain or drowned. . . . Of this unfortunate event we are informed by the following letter, to which common rumour bears [further] testimony.

" . . . and entering into a confederacy with the rebellious Genoese . . . they assembled a large naval force, manned by armed pirates, with whom they agreed to come to the pope, for the sake of increasing discord. To oppose their progress and prevent their approach, we caused our fleet . . . to [be] sent to the places and ports which they could not fail to pass . . . with orders to oppose them by force. Our chief then attacked their galleys with ours, and the all-powerful God whose aid and battles from on high . . . considering their wicked ways and the malice of their hearts, as well as their insatiable cupidity, by his divine favour delivered these legates and prelates bound [into our power, from which they could not escape either by land or sea."⁷⁹

Spread across the bottom of the page (Fig. 164), an elaborate pictorial representation of this extraordinary sea battle unfolds in a panoramic view, as if seen from a great distance. Between the two cities of Pisa and Genoa, rendered as tall battlemented towers mounted with banners and labeled "Pisa" and "Janua," extend the thick green waves of the Ligurian Sea in which two great open ships are headed on a collision course. The Pisan war galley at the left is filled with armed men in mid with six of them posed as rowers, although their oars are missing, all facing a coxswain commanding them with a pipe. Arrows from the Pisan bowmen are flying toward the Genoese ship, carrying the prelates, four mitred bishops, and five tonsured abbots holding croziers. The largest bishop points his staff to the legend above telling us that the captured delegates include the archbishops of Roden and Bordeaux, other bishops, three legates, the bishop of Palestrina, Cardinal Otto, Gregory of Romagna, and the abbots of Chany, Cîteaux, Clairvaux, and Pomigny.

Because most of the English delegates were deterred by the dangers of the journey and remained behind,⁸⁰ Matthew probably saw no immediate cause for alarm or indignation at the capture of these eminent churchmen. His visual interpretation casts the event in a singularly dispassionate light. Reflecting the neutral reportorial tone of his textual account, the drawing represents the prelates as unlucky victims of a factional dispute between the two Italian city-states of Pisa and Genoa. The imperial presence in the conflict, how-

ever, may be implied by the distant and lofty vantage point from which the pictorial representation of the naval battle is seen, perhaps alluding to the emperor's claim that his action was sanctioned by divine providence "from on high." Frederick's letter sees the victory as a judgment of God, revealing to the world the emperor's destiny to castigate the clergy and the Church, thereby restoring peace and justice. A contemporary Dominican announced that "God himself was the ally of the victorious Caesar," but others decried what they saw as the fulfillment of the prophecy that "the sea will be crimson with the blood of the saints."¹⁴¹ A certain horror was mixed with admiration for Frederick's power, for nothing so strongly advanced the growing conviction held by his enemies that the Hohenstaufen emperor was the herald of Antichrist as his capture and imprisonment of these church worthies. Paris wryly observes in conclusion that "letters . . . were sent [by Frederick] to the other princes, as it were, to give them comfort; but they were not all pleased with its contents for 'None will claim as his own the glory that comes from crime.'"¹⁴²

For the next few years Frederick II was able to hold the pope at bay, frustrating the proposed general council first under Gregory IX and then under his successor Innocent IV. By 1244 a provisional peace had been reached, but negotiations broke down over the thorny Lombard question, and the emperor refused to evacuate papal territories before receiving absolution. In a last-ditch effort to resolve their differences, Innocent IV reluctantly agreed to meet Frederick at Narni. Daunted by fear of an unacceptable compromise, however, the pope hid himself in the back rooms of the Lateran palace for a few days and then fled to Civitavecchia where he prearranged for a number of galleys lay at anchor ready to sail to Innocent's native town of Genoa. While the emperor waited at Narni, the pope was en route to Genoa, where he stayed until he could convene a general council at Lyons. Frederick was deeply disturbed by the pope's flight and deception. To the Pisans he complained a few weeks later, "I was playing chess with the pope and was about to checkmate him or at least take a castle when the Genoese burst in, swept their hand across the board and ruined the game."¹⁴³ In one move the pope had captured a whole series of important positions. His escape to Genoa put him in the sympathetic role of an exile persecuted by a savage tyrant. Innocent's subsequent flight to Lyons placed him beyond Frederick's reach; now he could summon from France the council that the emperor had thwarted four years earlier. Within a few weeks of his arrival the pope issued the call convening an ecumenical assembly for the express purpose of deposing the Hohenstaufen emperor.

Not yet having reached the conclusion that the new pope was as bad as, if not worse than, his predecessor, Paris appears to have been largely taken in by Innocent's claim of persecution. Although suggestions of papal avarice still color his report, he portrays Innocent's precipitous flight in terms surprisingly favorable to the pope, while Frederick is cast in the role of his treacherous persecutor:

While the year's orbit was revolving amidst these worldly changes, the emperor Frederick, urged on by the goad of pride, began to repent of having . . . humbled and bound himself in submission to the Church, and he now laid traps for the feet of the pope. . . . On the other hand, being forewarned of this, the pope avoided as much as possible the futile meanderings of the emperor, and kept vigilant watch against them. . . . The pope, therefore . . . determined on making a sudden and clandestine flight, and without anyone's being privy to his plans, lest the emperor should discover and throw obstacles in the way of his retreat. There were suttles, however, who asserted that he did this more out of love for the persons which people from this side of the Alps were about to bring him . . . and that he fled more for the purpose of meeting and receiving them in his ever-open bosom than from the fear of anyone persecuting him. He therefore made some pretext or other and diligently directed his steps toward Genoa, which was congenial to him . . . at the hour of first slumber, leaving his papal ornaments, and again becoming Senebald; and lightly armed, he mounted the swiftest horse . . . and suddenly and secretly took his departure, not sparing his horse's sides; before the first hour of the day he had



FIGURE 165 *Innocent IV Fleeing to Genoa.*
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 177.

traveled thirty-four miles unattended by anyone; nor was anyone able to follow him. . . .

When the fact of the pope's flight became known to the emperor, he gnashed his teeth like a satyr and said, "It is written, 'The wicked flee when no man pursues.'" . . . And now the emperor proclaimed himself the open enemy of the pope.⁴¹

Disguised in a vermilion cap and a short mantle over his robe, but still carrying a gold scepter studded with red jewels, Innocent is represented spurring his horse until it is bleeding and foaming at the mouth, as he gallops over the rough terrain toward Genoa (Fig. 165). Enclosed within a thick bright green frame, the accompanying caption reveals Matthew's shift in sentiment toward the pope, as he tells us that Innocent is fleeing from the persecution of Emperor Frederick just as the first Christians in the Gospels fled the emperor: "Papa Iugens persecutiones Frederici imperatoris, secundum illud evangelicum, 'Si vos persecuti fuerint,' etc."⁴² Loosely drawn in Paris's late style, the equestrian figure of the fleeing pope still manages to convey a sense of pressing urgency in his flaming cheeks and the agitated folds of the flying drapery, while the turbulent rolling motion of the rough ground offsets the awkward stasis produced by the stiffened chionic structure of the bright blue wooden horse poised on an arbitrary flat platform below the rocky ground.

The depletion of English coffers late in 1244 at the hands of the pope's clerk Master Martin, called by some "owing to his famous rapacity, 'Master Martin' [pirate]," caused Paris to change his opinion of Innocent IV. By the time he is called upon to give an account of the Council of Lyons in the annals for 1245, the St. Albans chronicler has reverted to his more characteristic diatribes against papal avarice, now asserting that it was probably not fear of imperial persecution but greed that drove Innocent IV from Rome.⁴³ Following his report that on the eve of the council the exiled pontiff tried unsuccessfully to install his relatives and friends in the vacant prebends belonging to the church of Lyons, Matthew introduces a coincidental minor episode which further establishes a suitably hostile tone for his ensuing account of the great assembly:

About the same time, one of the pope's doorkeepers was overly impudent and rude in denying admission to a citizen. . . . The same citizen, becoming saagry and indignant, cut the doorkeeper's hand completely off. The wounded man at once had a serious complaint before the pope, showing at the same time his mutilated arm, whereupon his holiness demanded vengeance according to the law of the city, which Philip of Savoy, the Church's guardian of the peace, procured in some way or other, so that the pope's honor was at least superficially saved.⁴⁴

On fol. 185 the arresting outlines of the doorkeeper's arm and severed hand appear suspended in the inner margin adjacent to the text. Vigorously drawn in heavy dark line and copiously garnished with bright red splashes of spouting blood, the small sketch stands as a grisly visual emblem of vindictive triumph over the pope's zealous lackey.

The Council of Lyons was important to English clerics as a forum at which they could at last voice their complaints against papal exploitation to the ecclesiastical world at large. The St. Albans chronicler tells us that, after receiving Innocent's letter convoking the general council,

the king began to reflect somewhat and was struck with abhorrence at the insatiable cupidity of the Roman Curia and at the injurious seizures and unlawful robberies perpetrated by it on the churches and, indeed, on the whole kingdom.⁴⁷

Master Lawrence and other delegates were thus dispatched primarily to air their complaints to the assembly. At the concluding session, the English prelates finally managed to raise their charges of fiscal plundering by the Curia, but this most unwelcome subject was quickly dismissed to get on to the main business of deposing the emperor. Matthew also saw the council primarily as a confrontation between pope and emperor, the culmination of a long series of attacks reaching back to the imperial excommunication of 1239.⁴⁸ Although Frederick had been summoned to appear at Lyons in person, he dispatched Thaddeus of Suessa, "a man of prudence and singular eloquence, a knight and doctor of law, and justiciar of the imperial palace, to answer boldly as well as carefully for his lord."⁴⁹ According to testimony from both sides, Thaddeus's defense during the first two days was brilliant, but the case had been prejudged in secret session. Despite protests on Frederick's behalf by envoys from the French and English kings, the pope read the decree of deposition at the last session.⁵⁰

Matthew's drawing (Fig. 166)⁵¹ focuses on the climactic moment of the solemn papal pronouncement. We see Innocent (*Innocentius papa quartus*), dressed in vermilion robes and seated on a high-backed throne, enumerating on his fingers the emperor's crimes of perjury, breach of the peace, sacrilege, and heresy. Significantly differing from the triangular mitre worn by Innocent III in Matthew's sketch of the Fourth Lateran Council, the high pointed tiara of Innocent IV symbolizes his temporal power over Frederick as the basis of his pronouncement at Lyons. While a small tonsured clerk sits at his feet, a misered bishop, perhaps intended to represent the hated

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Master Martin, heaves behind him, in the familiar pose of a devil whispering evil advice in the ear of a sinner. The group of bishops with miters and croziers (*Concetrum lugdunense*) huddled together before him seem, by their agitated gestures and knit brows, to be moved by the recital of imperial transgressions. As the chronicle reports,

the pope, then proceeding with these subjects as far as seemed expedient, effectively touched all his hearers with grief, for their eyes poured forth an abundance of tears, and their sighs broke in on his discourse, and at the conclusion of his sermon he set forth the enormities of the emperor Frederick, namely, heresy and sacrilege.²³

Having declared the emperor so sunk in iniquity, Innocent then decreed his deposition and the release of all territories from their allegiance to the Hohenstaufen ruler:

When this letter was published in open council, it struck terror into all who heard it, as if it were flashing lightning. . . . Master Thaddeus of Suessa . . . and other agents of the emperor and those who were with them, with doleful lamenas, and making known their anguish by beating their thighs and breasts, scarcely contained themselves in a flood of tears. And Master Thaddeus exclaimed, "This day is a day of weath!" But the pope and prelates sitting around him in council, with lighted tapers, thundered forth terrible sentences of excommunication against the emperor Frederick, as his agents retreated in confusion.²⁴

In Matthew's drawing we thus see Thaddeus of Suessa (*Thaddeus de Saessa procurator Frotherici recedit confusus*), holding a speech scroll



FIGURE 160 Council of Lyons. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 189a.

inscribed "Dies ista dies irae." The physical barrier and empty space separating the lobe figure of the emperor's faithful advocate at the right from the crowd of figures within the cathedral at the left serves as a moving and effective evocation of Frederick's isolation and banishment. As in the naval battle between the Pisans and Genoese off Monte Cristo, the artist represents all the figures in small scale, as if seen from a distance. In the later *Historia Anglorum* illustration (Fig. 167) the conflation of Innocent's pronouncement and Thaddeus's outcry is made more emphatic and immediate by compressing all the figures into half the space: as the enthroned pope holds a scroll announcing, "Omni honore privamus Fredericum," before three mitred bishops, Thaddeus points to Innocent and holds an unfurled scroll declaring, "Dies ista dies irae calamitatis et miseriae."

The *Chronica Majora* provides a rare and heavily biased account of the Council at Lyons in which Matthew perceives a rising volume of protest against the excessive concentration of patronage in the hands of the Curia.⁵⁵ The English delegation departed "in great anger, giving vent to their ire and swearing a terrible oath that they would never satisfy the detestable avarice of the Romans by paying the tribute, nor would they suffer any longer the produce and revenues of the churches to be exported from them as heretofore."⁵⁶ In all probability, Paris saw in Thaddeus of Sion a spokesman for his own pervasive sense of outrage and disgust at the whole outcome of



FIGURE 107. Council of Lyons. B. L., Roy. 12 C. VII, fol. 138o

the Lyons council. In contrast with his biting satirical treatment of Lateran IV, the tone of Matthew's pictorial representation of the assembly at Lyons seems lusty and solemn.¹¹ In the *Chronica Majora* Thaddeus's resounding pronouncement of doom, "Dies irae," at the close of the thirteenth ecumenical council found its fulfillment in the tragic scandal of Henry Raspe in 1247.

Since nothing concrete had been achieved by the papal deposition of Frederick II at Lyons, the spring of 1246 saw the opening of a new offensive designed to crush the Hohenstaufen in every country of the Empire. In an unprecedented step, Pope Innocent IV was rumored to have plotted the emperor's death and did in fact establish a rival king in Germany, presumably to take his place.¹² An aspirant to the throne was found in the person of the Thuringian landgrave Henry Raspe, whom the emperor had appointed a few years before as regent of the Empire. Henry Raspe was elected near Würzburg in May 1246 to be king of the Romans, or "Rex Clericoctum" as he was mockingly called, since no secular elector was present. Despite a papal endowment of 25,000 silver marks and further subsidies from the Curia, however, the landgrave was never anointed or crowned. To Innocent's great chagrin, Henry Raspe strenuously died a few months later in 1247. The passing of the landgrave of Thuringia is marked in the *Chronica Majora* with his inverted shield and spear in the margin of fol. 211 (Fig. 168) to accompany the following text:

During Lent, that the above-mentioned earthquake might not fail in its threatening significance, the pope, who had planned to promote the landgrave to the imperial dignity, vainly trusting to the immense sums of money he had plundered from all directions, now thought of solemnly crowning him king of Germany without opposition from anyone; but Frederick's son Conrad, being informed of this by his spies . . . suddenly came with an immense army collected from all quarters, to the place where, by the pope's arrangements, the landgrave was about to be crowned and where all the necessary preparations had been made for such a great celebration. . . .

The struggle of war was now renewed, and the very air seemed to be disturbed by the ringing of armor, the shivering of spears, the crash of blows, the neighing of horses, the shouts of the combatants exhorting one another, the cries of the wounded, and the groans of the dying, together with the clouds of dust raised, the steam from panting bodies, and the streams of blood. However, the Germans could not withstand such a vigorous attack and gave up the contest . . . the landgrave fled and, taking himself to a place of hiding, was consumed with grief. Now indeed was verified in great measure what Thaddeus, Frederick's agent at the Council of Lyons, said when the pope thundered the sen-



FIGURE 168. Obituary of Henry Raspe of Thuringia. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 211

gence of excommunication against his lord: "Alas! alas! truly this day is a day of wrath, misery, and calamity!" The landgrave then, who, according to his own estimate, was to have been crowned king of Germany on the following day, now seeing his glory changed into confusion, his relatives and friends along with their followers slaughtered and defeated, and all the money arrogantly sent him by the pope taken from him by his enemies, was touched to the heart with grief; and . . . suffocated by his own anguish, he breathed forth his womanly spirit, lamented by no one.⁹⁹

Eschewing the opportunity to mount a splendid battle scene to illustrate the violent end of Innocent's plan to defeat Frederick, Paris is content to mark the climactic fulfillment of Thaddeus's prophetic cry with a laconic pictorial obituary. But within the context of his written account, the conventional inversion of the traditional symbols of power carries a special significance.

Matthew saw the landgrave's defeat and death as God's judgment against Innocent IV in favor of the Hohenstaufen cause. In his biased portrayal this prince of the Church emerges as a villain totally without scruples in his single-minded campaign to annihilate the German emperor.¹⁰⁰ In another context, Paris has one of the pope's own agents make the following declaration:

The pope, who ought to be a pattern and example of all religion, has become a palpable usurer, a kindler of simony, a coveter and plunderer of money, and his court is a forum for hucksters, indeed a brothel for barlots.¹⁰¹

In the end Matthew chose to see the causes of Innocent's death in 1254 as two events to which he had drawn attention in his marginal illustrations earlier in the *Chronica Majora*, the defeat and death of Henry Raspe in 1247 and the wounds inflicted by Robert Grosseteste's ghost in 1253:

Pope Innocent the Fourth died at Naples, having been stricken by a double misfortune. For ever since he had received the angry blow in his side from the shepherd's staff of Robert, bishop of Lincoln, as has been mentioned before, he had suffered from incurable pleurisy; and since his army was defeated and dispersed by his enemy Conrad, he ceased to prosper either in mind or body, but gradually declined into death.¹⁰²

Innocent's inverted insignia in the margin (Fig. 169) reveal the dual claims of his papacy over church and state. The pastoral cross signifies his spiritual authority over all the churches, while the pointed green and white ribbed tiara with two lappets (*cordae*) symbolizes



FIGURE 169. Obituary of Innocent IV, B.L., Roy. 11, C. VII, fol. 167.

his temporal power over kings and emperors;⁶⁷ the arm extended above the papal crown is holding what may be an aspergillum.

Within the framework of Paris's initial plan to end the great chronicle in 1250, the death of Frederick II, the other protagonist in the monumental struggle, constitutes the last entry. Illustrated by the shield of the Empire averred below (Fig. 170), it reads:

About the same time, Frederick died. The greatest prince on earth, wonder of the world, and worker of miracles, he was remarkably contrite and humbled after being absolved from the sentence passed upon him and, as it is reported, having taken the habit of the Cistercians. He died on St. Lucy's Day, so that the earthquake which occurred on that day was evidently not without its significance. . . . His death was kept secret for several days, that his enemies might not be so suddenly moved to rejoice. But on St. Stephen's Day it was publicly made known and announced to the people. His noble testament is written in the *Libro Additamentorum* at the sign $\odot - || - \odot - ||$.⁶⁸

The emperor's obituary was added in the lower margin, which suggests that at this point Matthew had not only completed his annal for 1250 but had also composed and entered his concluding summary of events of the past half-century before news of Frederick's death reached St. Albans sometime after December 26, 1250. The sense of urgency with which the chronicle ends so precipitately is also revealed in the significance attached to the coincidence of the emperor's death with the earthquake on St. Lucy's Day (December 13). On the preceding verso Paris reports this portentous geological violence as follows:

On the day of St. Lucy, about the third hour of the day, an earthquake occurred at St. Albans and the adjacent district. . . . where from time immemorial such an event had never been seen or heard of. The land there is solid and chalyb, not hollow or watery nor near the sea; consequently such an occurrence was unusual and unnatural, and the more to be wondered at. . . . This earthquake indeed struck horror into the hearts of all, which I think to be more than amazement or fear, and it was believed to be indicative of future events. In this year, the land as well as the sea was affected by unusual and dreadful commotions, which, according to the menacing words of Gospel, "there shall be earthquakes in diverse places," threatened that the end of the world was at hand.⁶⁹

Matthew perceived the death of Frederick II to be the ultimate confirmation of his eschatological expectations.⁷⁰ The *Chronica Majora* is thus brought to a resounding but temporary halt:

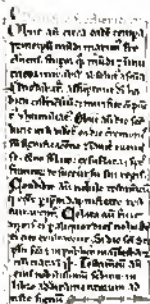


FIGURE 170. Obituary of Frederick II. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 241r.

On St. Lucy's Day, Frederick, wonder of the world, died in Apulia. All these remarkable and strange events, the like of which have never been seen or heard of, nor are they found in any of the writings of our fathers in times past, occurred during this last half-century.

Here end the chronicles of Brother Matthew Paris, monk of St. Albans, which he committed to writing for the benefit of posterity, out of love for God and for the honor of St. Alban, the English protomartyr, that the memory of modern events might not be destroyed by age or oblivion.³⁷

As seen through Matthew's eyes in the illustrated texts of the *Chronica Majora*, the figure of Frederick II emerges as the only legitimate heir to the glorious world conqueror Alexander the Great. Although he did not escape an occasional thrust from the chronicler's sharp moral sword, particularly toward the end of his career, the German emperor is generally delineated in inflated tones of awe-struck admiration. This sentiment was probably generated as much from an English and Benedictine antagonism against a perceived common enemy in Popes Gregory IX and Innocent IV as from genuine regard for Frederick's real or imagined virtues as a ruler. Disillusioned by the familiar foibles of his own sovereigns, the St. Albans chronicler tended to romanticize both the heroic stature of the German emperor and the villainous role of the popes, whose struggle he knew only at a distance through the powerful but self-serving rhetoric of Frederick's manifestos and letters to his English brothers-in-law, Henry III and Richard of Cornwall. The distant glamour of the struggle played out on the great stage of Europe ignited Matthew's imagination to create a larger-than-life protagonist in an apocalyptic epic drama that was to end in 1250.

SARACENS, TARTARS, AND THE LOSS OF JERUSALEM

The existence of Islam was one of the most far-reaching and persistent problems in medieval Christendom. It posed a danger that was both unpredictable and incomprehensible, causing a permanent sense of uneasiness in Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. With vast numbers of adherents resisting both conquest and conversion, Islam could not be ignored. On a theological level, the followers of Mohammed held views so close and yet so repugnant to Christians that an explanation was required for its very existence and role in providential history. On a practical level, military action was required in the Holy Land.³⁸ The early Crusades brought Islam close

to Christian Europe for the first time at the end of the eleventh century. In the wake of the successes of the first Crusades, however, the prophet and his teachings tended to be pictured largely in legendary and fantastic terms. We have already had occasion to discuss Matthew's pictorial and textual additions to Wendover's account of Mohammed's death in the *Chronica Majora* in which we could observe a typical example of Western efforts to discredit Islam as an obscene parody of Christianity.¹⁶

The reverses suffered by the West in the second half of the twelfth century suddenly brought Islam's existence into a sharper, more immediate focus. In the *Chronica Majora*, the perception of the Saracens shifts from legends of an exotic and distant malignancy to reports of a real and present threat. From the beginning of the thirteenth century on, the St. Albans historians view Christendom as having been caught in an inexorable vise formed by a resurgent Islam on the one hand and a faithless, morally corrupt papacy on the other.¹⁷ For Matthew Paris, immediately pressing military dangers overshadowed the religious issues. From the rise of Saladin in the 1180s through Richard of Cornwall's Crusade and the eruption of the Tartar invasions of 1241–1242, events in the Middle East inspired the St. Albans artist to create some of his most gripping and dramatic scenes of combat and gore in the margins of the *Chronica Majora*.

Once begun with the capture of Edessa in 1145, the Moslem recovery from the initial setbacks suffered during the early Crusades



FIGURE 174. Saladin Capturing the True Cross. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 26, p. 279.

quickly moved forward. By 1183 the great Saladin ruled a united Islam from the Euphrates to the Nile, literally engulfing the small Christian states of the Crusaders. After Baldwin died and left the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the hands of Count Guy, Saladin moved quickly to capture the Holy City. Distanced by almost half a century, Paris caivisions the fall of Jerusalem in symbolic terms as the physical capture of the True Cross by the infidel, literally following Roger's earlier text:

Hearing that the king was approaching to raise the siege, Saladin boldly hastened to meet him and, perceiving that the Christians were hemmed in by the narrow and precipitous rocks . . . at a place called Murescallia [Hiriz], he rushed with confidence upon the king's army. The Christians greeted the enemy as bravely as the narrowness of the place would allow. The fighting was bitter, and many were killed on both sides . . . King Guy was captured with the Holy Cross . . . and in this manner the Holy Cross, which once released us from the yoke of captivity, was now made captive for our sins and profaned by the hands of the infidels. . . . Thus the Holy City was surrendered to the enemies of Christ, and the Sepulcher fell into the hands of those who persecuted him who was buried therein; and those who blaspheme the one who was crucified are in possession of his cross.²¹

Wendover's text is full of allusions to Saladin's victory as divine punishment for the sins of the Christians. He prefaces the capture of Jerusalem by reporting a prophetic dream of the king's chamberlain "that an eagle flew over the Christian camp, bearing in his talons seven arrows and crying aloud, 'Woe to you of Jerusalem! woe to you of Jerusalem!'" explained by the disc warning of Psalm 7:13-14, "The Lord hath bent his bow, and in it has prepared the vessels of death."²² To his predecessor's apocalyptic vision, Matthew added in the margin a report from Dico of a contemporary omen in a broken stone image of the Christ Child dripping blood.²³

At the foot of the page in MS 26 (Fig. 171), the battle between Saracens and Christian knights for the Holy Cross rages on horseback over the blood and severed arms, legs, and heads of the fallen dead. Saladin and Guy are engaged hand-to-hand in a violent tug-of-war over the sacred relic. At the left the Saracen leader surges relentlessly forward to overpower Guy and his men, as the Christian knights are thrown into confusion. One knight, with a brown shield bearing a gold rampant lion on his back, clutches the dark green stem of the cross. Already in retreat, Guy (*Guido Rex*) is now caught by Saladin from behind and is being pulled backward off his horse as he desperately holds onto the arms of the cross. In order to main-

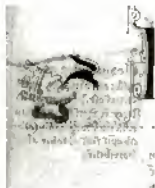


FIGURE 173. *Drawn of Saladin Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 90r.*

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tain a clear pictorial focus on the contended cross in the center of the dense battle scene, Matthew omits the lances from the hands of the two Saracens on the left and shows only the hindquarters of the several horses, alternately tinted light brown and pale indigo. By marking Saladin's capture of Jerusalem in this way, Paris establishes the first in a series of Saracen victories as visual rallying points for Richard of Cornwall's Crusade in 1241–1242.

Although the legend celebrating Saladin's chivalry and generous treatment of his Christian captives was long and widely known in the West, Matthew's opinion of the great Saracen king was far less charitable. Like his predecessor, he perceived Saladin as an archenemy and evil infidel. His death in 1193 is noted in the margin of fol. 90r by a grotesque crowned bust from whose gaping mouth a black bird symbolizing his wicked soul flies from his body (Fig. 172) to accompany Roger's text: "Saladin, the public enemy of truth and the cross, was struck by the visitation of God at a feast in Nazareth, and suddenly expired."⁵⁴ Drawn in light brown ink, Pacie's small sketch (25 mm. high) is so meticulously rendered that even the teeth and pink tongue are visible in Saladin's head as it emerges from the green collar. As we have already observed, the contemporary illustrator of the *Compendium Historiarum* in Eton MS 96 used the same formula to portray the wicked soul of Mohammed (see Fig. 55).⁵⁵

Matthew celebrates the Crusaders' fleeting victory at Damietta in 1219 by illustrating two successive phases of the siege and capture of the Nile port on fols. 54v and 55r in MS 16. As Saladin's empire was being undermined by internal quarrels, the fifth Crusade (1218–1221) initiated at Lateran IV created for itself a genuine opportunity to recapture Jerusalem and regain a foothold in Syria by launching an experiment in crusading strategy, based on the premise that a direct attack on Saracen headquarters in Egypt rather than Palestine would be more likely to produce profitable results.⁵⁶ The port of Damietta in the Nile delta was taken, and the sultan of Egypt was ready to give back Jerusalem for its return. But the Crusaders foolishly refused to negotiate and were eventually cut off from their bases by the flooding Nile, thus being forced to surrender Damietta and return empty-handed.

The first illustration (Pl. XII) depicts a pitched battle between the Crusaders and Saracens in the midst of the siege of Damietta in the delta. Seen at close range, the fierce combat of charging horses and men parrying lances unfolds in a vigorous and exciting style. At the right, one of the Saracens is shown plunging backward off his horse as he is thrust through by a Crusader's lance. Behind him an-

other Saracen in a pointed cap inexplicably bears a round shield emblazoned with a foliated cross.¹⁷ The terrible casualties suffered by both sides are documented by fallen horses and soldiers whose decapitated heads, helmets, broken swords, and blood are densely strewn below:

In the vehemence of the burning sun, the foot soldiers were overpowered by the weight of their armor; the heat increased the toil of the march, and those who had brought wine with them drank it pure, in the agony of thirst, for want of water; those who, after first fleeing, ran back panting and surrendered, expired without being wounded. . . . As the Crusaders afterward learned from the Saracens, the heads of five hundred Christians were presented to the sulca.¹⁸

Contrasting with the close-up view of hand-to-hand combat in the first sketch, the second illustration of the siege of Damietta (Fig. 173) gives a panoramic vista seen from a distance. The action unfolds in two successive stages: the capture of the tower at the left and the actual seizure of the town at the right. The lapse of more than two months between these two events is suggested by the wide empty space in the center. In a rare departure from his usual close juxtaposition of text and image, Matthew's conflation of chronologically separated actions stresses the strategic importance of occupying the tower before the town could be captured. The illustration of the paired episodes accompanies Roger's description of the final victorious occupation of Damietta by the Crusaders.

At the left we see a representation of the siege of the Tower of



FIGURE 173. *Siege of Damietta*. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 46, fol. 55b.

Damietta on August 24, 1119, loosely based on Wendover's descriptions from fols. 53–53v. Matthew reduced the complex series of events to a single concentrated action in which a heroic gesture by a young Frieslander becomes the focal point of an earlier and difficult phase of the campaign:

After this the followers of Christ saw in the middle of the River Nile, not far from Damietta, a high and very handsome tower strongly built of stone, from which an immensely thick iron chain was extended across the river to the city that stood on the other bank. It was the opinion of all that this tower ought to be reduced before laying siege to Damietta. . . The Frieslanders . . . then fortified a ship with balistarks and a small castlelike structure at the top of the mast. This ship was fiercely attacked by the soldiers of the city, tower, and bridge, with Greek fire and missiles, and was at length set on fire. . .

[After constructing scaling ladders against the tower], a young Frieslander then ascended it, holding in his hand an iron flail used for threshing grain but made into a weapon for fighting, with which he boldly cut down the enemies of the faith on the other side of the ramparts.⁷⁹

The "Turris Damiate" appears at the far left as a castle with crenelated walls, manned by three Saracen bowmen with another dropping a large stone on the Crusaders' ship below. Lashed to the stern of the Frieslanders' galley is a makeshift fortified tower from which two soldiers sling stones with hand-cannapults, while two others return the Saracen archers' fire. Our young hero, instead of being the first to climb the tower on a scaling ladder, as Roger describes him in the text, is shown precariously perched on the prow of the Frieslanders' ship preparing to strike a Saracen missileman with a great iron flail like the threshing tool depicted on fol. 79 (see Fig. 155) in connection with the plundering of the Wingham barn. The Crusaders' actual entry into the tower by scaling ladders is not shown but becomes the focal action of the final capture of the city in the scene on the right, as it is recorded on fol. 55v. After a very long siege

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the Christian army, having made fierce assaults on the city of Damietta, saw that the ramparts were empty of defenders, whereupon the Crusaders with all haste applied their scaling ladders to the walls and eagerly entered the city. And thus, with the intervention of the Savior of the world, on the fifth day of November, the city of Damietta was captured.⁸⁰

Two scaling ladders have thus been set against the three concentric walls of the city, as described in Roger's text:

The city of Damietta, besides being defended by the natural terrain, is surrounded by three walls, having a low wall outside to protect the outer moat, a second higher than the first, and the third higher than the second.³¹

At the top of the now defenseless citadel a Crusader beckons to the soldiers below. The strong diagonal pull of the men scrambling up the ladders, as well as the abrupt cutting off of the city walls by the edge of the page, suggests that the action is incomplete and alerts the reader that there is more to follow concerning the capture of the "Civitas Damiate." The *Chronica Majora* continues on succeeding folios to report both the Crusaders' grisly discovery of dead bodies and their unexpected reward of great riches within the city's walls. The saga of Damietta did not end until two years later, when Roger Wendover reproduced two letters giving separate accounts of its eventual surrender to the Saracens.

Ten years later Frederick II finally achieved by negotiation what the Crusaders had been unable to accomplish by military action. Celebrated in the chronicle by Matthew's drawings of the imperial seal (see Fig. 37) within the text of the emperor's letter announcing the return of Jerusalem to the Christians, Frederick's ten-year truce marked the beginning of a long silence on the subject of the Saracens in the St. Albans chronicle. In 1239 a new wave of enthusiasm for the Crusades emerged, only to be temporarily overshadowed by the conflict between Gregory IX and the emperor in Europe. In that year, however, a large number of French Crusaders assembled at Lyons, and Richard of Cornwall met with crusading nobles at Northampton to organize an expedition to the Holy Land. Despite Frederick's efforts to delay their departure, the French Crusaders led by Theobald of Champagne left France in August 1239. In November the Saracen capture of a French expeditionary force at Gaza caused the emperor to reverse his position, and the French setback spurred the immediate departure of the earl of Cornwall's expedition.

The *Chronica Majora* begins a series of seven illustrations richly documenting Richard of Cornwall's Crusade with a very ambitious representation (Pl. XIII) of the Saracens taking French prisoners at Gaza. It is drawn across the foot of fol. 133v and extends onto the adjacent recto to accompany the quotation of two brief letters reporting the event:

While these events were passing in France, our people [preceding 10] Damascus under an unlucky war suffered a miserable loss in their

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army, of men, horses, and arms, as well as of honor. We sadly refer to what has been attested in the following letter: ". . . Be it known to you that the count of Brerary [Peter of Dreux] made a cavalry attack [on the way to] Damascus and took a great plunder, and he led the army to safety. Because of this, the earls of Bar [Henry] and Montfort [Amaury] and the duke of Burgundy [Hugh] envied him, and eight days later they made another foray [into Gaza] without the counsel of the count of Brerary, and the earl of Bar, the lords Simon de Clermont, John des Barres, Robert Malet, Richard de Besumont, and innumerable others were killed; Earl Amaury de Montfort was captured and taken in Cairo; however, the duke of Burgundy escaped."

About the same time, this letter came from the earl of Montfort to the countess, his wife, and she transmitted it to Earl Richard: "Be it known to you that Damascus is not taken, as was stated before, but all have returned to Acre. . . . And also be informed that . . . sixty were taken alive."²²

Matthew represents the disaster in two complementary actions of flight and capture. The long frieze composition at the bottom of the page is divided into two distinct halves, pulled apart at the center and moving in opposite directions. This conflicting action is initiated by the twisting branches of a bifurcated tree in the center, which serves as a visual metaphor to dramatize the separation of the captured French Crusaders from their fleeing comrades. At the left, three knights gallop away in wild disorder over the severed limbs and fallen horses of their companions. As their broken standards fall to the ground, the last escaping figure turns back, pointing to the caption above: "Franci per fugam elapsi et vix salvati."

The rapid flight and confusion of the escaping figures on the left are contrasted with the agonizingly slow but orderly march of the captured prisoners at the right. Followed by several "Damasceni victores" on stately caparisoned horses, six French Crusaders (*Captivi arabici*) march over the rough terrain, arms bound behind them. Between the Saracen captors and their prisoners another caption informs us that "locus istius belli fuit ante Gathce," presumably meaning Gaza. Matthew's concern for topographical accuracy and completeness is reflected in his extension of the representation onto the adjacent fol. 134. There, beneath the left text column, is a colorful drawing of the walled city of Damascus along with the rivers "Euphrat" and "Albana" (referring to the Barada, which bisects the city), standing as a vivid reminder of the goal the foolhardy French Crusaders failed to reach.

In the meantime, Richard of Cornwall, ignoring the efforts of the pope and his imperial brother-in-law to delay the expedition,

launched his own Crusade from the coast of England on June 10, 1240. Richard's departure for the Holy Land is marked in the upper margin of fol. 136 by a small conventional sketch of the ship, its sail bellying in the wind, with four faceless passengers and a steersman holding the rudder. Despite the unpretentious character of the illustration, taking up the cross proved to be a turning point in the life of the king's younger brother, giving him an opportunity to attain distinctions he was unable to achieve in England under Henry's shadow.¹¹

Earl Richard and all the other crusading nobles who were present at this place [Reading] bade farewell to all assembled there, for they were ready to start on their journey to Jerusalem. All the prelates, when they saw this, burst into tears and said to Earl Richard, "Earl, our only hope after the king, why do you abandon us? For whom do you leave us desolate? In your absence rapacious foreigners will invade us!" The earl then replied to one of them, the archbishop of Canterbury, for all: "My father and lord, even had I not assumed the cross, I would certainly still go and absent myself, so that I might not see the evils of the people and the desolation of the kingdom, which it is believed I am able to prevent, although I cannot."¹²

After visiting St. Albans to seek the monastery's prayers for his Crusade, Richard then set sail across the Channel to make his way on land to Marseilles, from which he then sailed for the Holy Land.

When the earl of Cornwall landed with his party at Acre in October 1240, he was met with an immediate crisis. Theobald of Champagne and Peter of Dreux, who had arrived there a year earlier with the first French contingent, had sailed for France ten days before Richard's arrival, leaving Jerusalem an open city. He was thus forced to deal with the results of the truce hastily negotiated with the Saracens by the French. Having surveyed the situation with his customary detachment and practical common sense, Richard decided to proceed with the peace negotiations in an attempt to solidify the flimsy truce made by his French predecessors. While waiting for the sultan's reply to his offer, he repaired the fortifications at Ascalon, the Crusaders' main stronghold on the southern coast. After some delay, favorable terms were reached on both sides. On April 23 Richard secured the release of Amaury de Montfort and many other French prisoners, a deed for which he was feted on his return to Europe, and the old Kingdom of Jerusalem was partially restored to its former Christian status by the new treaty.

Paris's illustration deals with this aspect of Richard's Crusade in an unusual way. At the foot of fol. 138v on a page containing the text

of a letter from the master of the Templars in the annals of 1240, reporting a treaty with the sultan of Damascus,⁶⁵ there is an elaborate representation (Fig. 174) of the temporary truce made by the count of Brittany with Nazir, lord of Krak, described in a letter from Richard of Cornwall, which appears twenty pages later on fol. 148:

We have been consumed with boundless grief and cannot be altogether silent, but must loose our tongue in bitter eloquence, not with pleasant matters. . . . For some time past, indeed without justice in the Holy Land, discord has reigned instead of peace, schism instead of union, hatred instead of affection.

. . . Because, on our first arrival here, the nobles who were thought likely to help us were taking their departure, relieving the country appeared to be difficult and painful. . . . For, when we were expecting on our arrival here . . . as was incumbent upon us according to our vow, to revenge the insults offered to the cross by its enemies by attacking their territory and then occupying it . . . behold the king of Naware, then the commander in chief of the army, and the count of Brittany, although forewarned of our approach for fifteen days before we arrived at Acre, took their departure with unnumerable men. Before they left, however, in order that they might appear to have done something, they made a kind of truce with Nazir, the lord of Krak. . . . Before the agreed time had elapsed, however, the king and count departed, disregarding the terms of the truce.⁶⁶

Although the drawing has sometimes been confused with the later truce at Ascalon in April of 1241,⁶⁷ the scene is clearly labeled in the artist's own hand as the peace negotiated with Nazir in Octo-



FIGURE 174. Treaty between Nazir and the Count of Brittany. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ed., fol. 128v.

ber 1240. The illustration thus coincides chronologically with the dated annals in which the event actually occurred, but it was not reported in the *Chronica Majora* until the following year in Richard's letter. At the bottom of fol. 138v we see the two mail-clad protagonists, Peter of Dreux (*Comes Britannie*) and Nazir (*Nazir domnus Crac*), kneeling in the center as they shake hands to seal the truce, with their helmets lying on the ground to symbolize the cessation of hostilities.⁵⁸ That Matthew intended his illustration to convey not only the difficult position in which Richard found himself upon his arrival but also the faithlessness of the French is suggested by the legend "foedus irritum," inscribed above the clasped hands of Nazir and the count of Brittany. In an earlier entry for 1237 concerning the pope's selection of the count of Brittany to command the Christian army in the Holy Land, the St. Albans historian remarked that there were "many who wondered that he [the pope] should call on a man notorious for such manifold acts of treachery to manage this arduous business."⁵⁹ The "worthless truce" thus demonstrates how the French let Richard down and left him to cope with the enemy on his own. As the two sides join together in this shaky agreement, the directional movements of the composition converge in the center on the Saracen and French leaders kneeling to swear an oath of temporary reconciliation. The reluctance and uncertainty with which the truce was reached is vividly expressed in the wide intervals of empty space isolating the central protagonists from their armies; the apprehensive troops withdraw into tightly compressed knots of figures in their fortresses at Krak and Accr (*ACON sive Thommarada*) with lances ready for action. Richard's letter describing these events is far from modest, but in Matthew's eyes he was justified in his contempt for the French who agreed to the preliminaries of a truce with the sultan of Krak and then hastily left the Holy Land, taking their armies with them, although they knew that the east of Cornwall was on his way.

Instead of accompanying Richard's letter with an illustration of his negotiations for a lasting peace, Paris chose to portray its consequences in the release of the French prisoners abandoned by the count of Brittany at Gaza (Fig. 175).⁶⁰ In the lower right margin of fol. 148 we see four pathetic, bedraggled figures emerging from the tall towered prison of red masonry and green stone. The first is bearded, barefoot, and half-naked; behind him, the busts of three other prisoners are visible as they step forth from the gloom (*Exeunt Franci a Saracenis liberati domicilio*). For the St. Albans chronicler, Richard of Cornwall is clearly a heroic savior. The four illus-

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trations dealing with his Crusade of 1240–1241 on fols. 133v, 136, 138v, and 148 form a close sequence of images focused on Richard's role as a glorious Christian knight who goes to the Holy Land to save the inept, unreliable, and impetuous French knights from the Saracens, while the larger issue of the restoration of the Kingdom of Jerusalem is relegated to the background.

In the next few pages of the *Chronica Majora* Matthew makes three lively little sketches in the margins, depicting various aspects of Richard's return. His reception by Henry III in England pales beside the exotic celebrations staged by Frederick II to welcome the crusading hero in Italy. On his way home Richard first landed at Trapani in July of 1241 and then made his way in triumph under imperial escort to the court of his brother-in-law near Terzi. The emperor, having just captured Faenza and the Pisan fleet bearing papal delegates to Rome, was flush with triumph in his successful opposition of Gregory IX and eager to meet the man who had become his victorious successor in the Holy Land.

Probably based on firsthand accounts given by the earl of Cornwall at St. Albans after his return, the pictures and text in the *Chronica Majora* vividly detail the lavish entertainments performed at Frederick's court:

Among the astonishing novelties, he praised and admired one more than the others: two Saracen girls of fine form stood upon four spheres



FIGURE 175. Release of French Prisoners.
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 56, fol. 148.

placed upon the floor, one on two balls and the other on the other two, and they danced across these spheres to and fro; and in a festive spirit they gesticulated with their arms, singing in various contorted ways, and twisting their bodies according to the tune, beating cymbals or castanets together with their hands, and prodigiously twisting themselves around in fun. And indeed they afforded a marvelous spectacle.⁵¹

Two small Saracen acrobats (*locomutrices sive saltatrices de quibus mirum*) are poised on bright green spheres, one above the other, in the margin (Fig. 176); one clicks her castanets, while the other shakes a tambourine.⁵²

A few pages later another drawing (Fig. 177) records a second exotic spectacle in which we see Richard's triumphant procession being received at Cremona by a brass band mounted on an elephant (*Elephas Cremonensis procedens obviam comiti Ricardo iussa domini imperatoris Fratherici*):

On his approaching Cremona, the Cremonese gladly came to meet him, preceded by the emperor's elephant, handsomely decorated and bearing a wooden fortress in which the masters of the beast sat, playing trumpets and merrily applauding by clapping their hands.⁵³

Unlike Matthew's strikingly accurate rendering of King Louis's elephant observed firsthand in London in 1255, the creature bearing the tower of red wooden planks strapped to its body by three buckled girths conforms to the fanciful conventions of the so-called Elephant and Castle in medieval Bestiary illustrations. As on fol. 39 in MS Harley 3244 (Fig. 178), the trunk, conspicuously labeled "promiscida," flares out at the end like a trumpet, while the bowdah carries a company of revelers and an elephant goader brings up the rear.⁵⁴ In Paris's sketch, however, the trumpeters join pipers and drummers in the bowdah, and the "magister bestiae" rides on the forehead, ringing a bell as he urges the huge beast forward. Frederick II's menageries of rare animals brought Italy and northern Europe into renewed contact with the exotic African elephant.⁵⁵ Thus the proud showpiece of the Cremonese, which had been given to his favorite subjects by the emperor, provided a spectacular vehicle for this medieval revival of an ancient Roman "triumph" befitting the *adventus* of a prince.⁵⁶ The chronicler's description of the celebration at Cremona ends with a reminder that many French knights had accompanied the earl to Italy and that, before returning home, "each related . . . the great dangers he had endured in the service of Christ, and how, after being treacherously abandoned by those who were



FIGURE 176. Saracen jugglers. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 149



FIGURE 177. *Elephant Parade at Cremona.*
 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 26, fol. 157r.

bound to assist them, they were liberated and supported by the wisdom and munificence of Earl Richard alone."⁷⁷

The joyful din of trumpets, cythnals, and pipes made by the musicians at Cremona stands in sharp contrast with the conventional little sketch at the foot of fol. 153v depicting Richard in a mustless ship huddled together with six other Crusaders and the steersman guiding the rudder as they approach Dover to be met by the king. Instead of continuing in the exuberant vein of the Italian welcoming celebrations, our hero's return to England ends on a quiet, almost nostalgic note in which we see the small figure of the earl of Cornwall raise his hand in a restrained gesture as his vessel nears the shore.⁷⁸

Although the truce achieved by Richard brought a measure of security in its restoration of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, an unexpected cataclysmic event occurred in the same year that overshadowed the Saracen problem and even the disruptive conflict between the emperor and the pope: in 1241 the Tartars breached the frontiers of eastern Europe. Despite the fact that this terrible assault on Christendom remained very distant from England, Matthew Paris gives a fuller account of the Mongol invasion than most Continental writers of the period.⁷⁹ The first reference to the Tartars in the *Chronica Majora* appears in the annal for 1238 in two separate accounts expressing fear of the approaching "Assassins."⁸⁰ As rumor and panic spread following the devastations of 1240–1241, Matthew

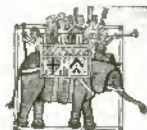


FIGURE 178. *Exoticus Elephanti.*
 B. L., Harley 5224, fol. 39.

carefully collected and recorded a remarkable number of eyewitness accounts of the Mongol atrocities: four documents are quoted in the *Chronica Majora*, while seven more firsthand accounts are reproduced in the *Liber Additamentorum*.¹⁰¹ Much of the material apparently came from Benedictine houses on the Continent which had taken in eastern European refugees. Matthew suggests that St. Albans had received frequent communications concerning the Mongols during this period, for he writes, "If anyone is desirous of learning about the filth, mode of life, and customs of the Tartars, or about the fury and superstitions of the Assassins, he may find information by making a diligent search at St. Albans."¹⁰²

The trail of horror and death left across eastern Europe between 1238 and 1242 quickly demolished the widespread Christian belief that the ferocious Tartars were the legendary people led by Prester John who had come to destroy the Saracens. With impartial savagery, the Mongols slaughtered Christians and Moslems alike, and many Westerners soon became convinced that these were godless pagans who had been loosed upon the world as an apocalyptic punishment for the sins of mankind and even as a harbinger of the impending end of time. Matthew seems to have known the legend of Prester John, since he drew attention to Roger's quotation of a letter from Pope Alexander III to the "King of India" in 1181¹⁰³ by sketching a green crown with blue and red ornaments in the margin of p. 275 in MS 26 with the rubric "Nota de Johanne presbytero rege Indiarum." There is no indication, however, that the St. Albans chronicler was aware of the many hopeful prophecies that became widespread after the fall of Damietta connecting Prester John with the Mongols and the defeat of Islam.¹⁰⁴

Although lengthy reports of the Tartar ravages appear in the *Chronica Majora* as early as 1238 and again in 1240, the first illustration (Fig. 179) appears considerably later, to accompany a letter quoted in 1241, written by Count Henry of Lorraine, palatine of Saxony, to his father-in-law, the duke of Brabant. Following as it does directly upon the heels of Matthew's report of Frederick's generous clemency toward the vanquished populace of Faenza, the dreadful ravages of the Mongols are made to seem all the more horrifying and, conversely, buttressed by a quotation from Ovid *Tristia* 3.5.33, the emperor's character all the more noble by invadious contrast:

The royal city of Faenza, which . . . had been besieged by the emperor Frederick, was at length subdued, and surrendered to him. . . . When he saw . . . that he had triumphed over his rebellious subjects, then

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indeed his generous blood triumphed at last, according to the word of the poet,

"The fox destroyed, the noble lion rests content,
The brute orer, his fiery rage is fully spent.
Wolves, bears and lesser beasts, by baser feelings led,
With vengeance still unsated, prey on their victims' dead."

During all this time that inhuman and wild, lawless and barbarous, indomitable people, the Tartars, in their wanton and cruel violence, attack the northern provinces of the Christians with horrible devastating destruction, filling all Christendom with great fear and terror. . . These events are attested by the following letter. . . "The dangers foretold long ago in Holy Scripture are now, owing to our sins, springing up and erupting. A cruel tribe of people beyond number, lawless and savage, is now invading and occupying our borders, and has now reached the land of the Poles, after roving through many other lands and exterminating the people."⁹¹

This is followed by another, even more alarming report concerning the approaching Mongols, purportedly sent by the emperor to Henry III, but perhaps invented by Matthew:

We cannot be silent on a matter which concerns not only the Roman Empire. . . but also all the Kingdoms of the world. . . and threatens the general destruction of all Christendom, and we therefore hasten to bring it to your knowledge, although the true facts of the matter have but lately come to ours. Not long ago a people of barbarous race and mode of life called Tartars emerged from the ends of the earth in the regions of the south. . . and from there marched toward the northern parts, taking forcible possession of the country and remaining for a time, multiplied like locusts, and has now come forth, not without God's foreseen judgment to reprove and chasten his people, but nor, I hope, laid up for the total loss of Christendom in the end of time. Their arrival was followed by general destruction, widespread desolation of kingdoms, and by utter ruin of the fertile lands which this godless tribe of people passed through, sparing none regardless of sex, age, or rank, and they firmly believe in annihilating the rest of the human race and are endeavoring to rule and dominate it alone, through their immense power and incomparable numbers. . . This race of people is savage, lawless and ignorant of humanity. . . The men are small and of short stature as far as height is concerned, hirsute, broad and bulky; resolute, strong and courageous, and ready at the nod of their leader to rush into any uncertainty; they have large faces, a fierce aspect, and horrible war cries, echoing their hearts; they wear the hides of hullocks, asses, and horses; and they are protected by pieces of iron scathed to them in place of armor.⁹²

Matthew first visualized the ferocious barbarian menace in the *Chronica Majora* not as a thundering horde, but as a single Mongol horseman piercing one of his fallen victims with a long lance as he gallops over broken bleeding bodies, with the rubric legend, "Formidabile exterminium Tartarorum." The Tartar warrior is carefully depicted as a stocky figure in scale armor, wearing an exotic cap with a long nosepiece. The illustration appears to be a generic image, giving a composite visual description of the terrible Mongol horseman whose features and costume have been drawn from several sources. For example, the "very large head, by no means proportionate to the body" seems to derive from the chronicle's first reference to the Mongols in 1238.⁴⁰ Following in the vein of the letters on which the drawing is based, Paris is chiefly concerned, along with their strength in numbers and weapons, with their bizarre and ferocious appearance.

The full horror of the Mongolian devastation made its visual impact felt in the *Chronica Majora* in Matthew's second representation (Fig. 180). It accompanies a letter from Ivo of Narbonne to Bishop Gerak of Bordeaux, giving a vivid account of their ravages, which Paris then embellished by adding even more sadistic and horrifying details:

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At the same time, the following letter, sent to the archbishop of Bordeaux, which in many things corresponds to the imperial letter addressed to many Christian kings, concerning the horrible devastations



FIGURE 180. Invasion of Tartars. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 46, fol. 144.

of this inhuman people who are called Tartars, greatly alarmed even the most undaunted men. . . .” For, touching upon the cruelty and cunning of that people, there can be no infamy [great enough]; and, in briefly informing you of their wicked habits, I will recount nothing of which I hold either a doubt or mere opinion, but what I have with certainty proved and what I know. . . . In consequence of heresy and many other sins emerging among us Christians, the angry Lord has become a hostile devastator and formidable avenger. I say this because a monstrous tribe of inhuman men, whose law is lawlessness, whose wrath is fury, the rod of God’s rage, is passing through and dreadfully ravaging endless lands, killing and exterminating with fire everyone in their way. . . . all perished alike, by different kinds of death. The Tartar chief, with his dinner guests and other love-eaters [cannibals], fed upon their carcasses as if they were bread and left nothing but the bones for the vultures. . . . The old and ugly women were given to the cannibals. . . . as their daily allowance of food; those who were beautiful were not eaten, but were suffocated by mobs of ravishers in spite of all their cries and lamentations. Virgins were raped until they died of exhaustion; then their breasts were cut off to be kept as dainties for the chiefs, and their bodies furnished an entertaining banquet for the savages. . . . They have hard and robust chests, lean and pale faces, rigid and erect shoulders, short and distorted noses; their chins are sharp and prominent, the upper jaw low and deep, the teeth long and few; their eyebrows grow from the hairline to the nose; their eyes are oblique and black, their countenances oblique and fierce, their extremities bony and nervous, their legs thick but short below the knee. In stature they are equal to us, for what those lose below the knee is made up for in the greater length of their upper parts.”¹⁰⁰



FIGURE 180. A Tartar Cannibal Feast. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 166.

Closed off by a tree on which a bow has been hung at the left, we see a group of three ugly, squat Mongols in scale armor and baggy trousers, indulging in a cannibal feast inscribed "Nephandi Tartari vel Tattari humanis carnisbus vescentes." While one decapitates a naked corpse with an ax, another gnaws voraciously on two bloody legs. His scowling comrade, preferring a cooked meal, turns a small body on a spit over a fire as he sits on two more severed heads and arms spurning blood on the ground. As the far right, tied to a tree by her long hair, the naked figure probably refers to one of the ravaged women interpolated into the report by Paris. Although the illustration develops material mainly from Iwo's letter, this depiction of the "homines monstruosi et inhumani" represents an accumulation of gory images from several different sources. The horse on his hind legs feeding on the tree at the right, captioned in rubric with a blue border "Equi Tartarorum qui sunt rapacissimi cum desunt uberiora pabula frondibus et foliis necnon et corticibus arborum sunt contenti," does not refer to the text at hand, but to an earlier report from the annals of 1240: "They have large and powerful horses which eat leaves and even the trees themselves."¹⁰⁹

Like many of the firsthand witnesses to the shocking bestiality and devastations wrought by the Mongol invasions, Matthew and other chroniclers saw the Tartars as the legendary ferocious people, Gog and Magog, who had been locked up by Alexander and who, when unleashed, would bring an end to the world.¹¹⁰ For Christendom the Mongols signified the unknown darkness and unspeakable depravity beyond the edges of civilization. In such prophetic works as the *Carmen de Invasione Tartarorum*, their savage atrocities sounded the trumpets of the approaching Last Judgment.¹¹¹ Paris's second Tartar illustration (Fig. 180) is given over to the visual documentation of their cannibalism, the most disgusting and horrifying aspect that linked them with the people of Antichrist, Gog and Magog. Based on the prophetic descriptions of Pseudo-Methodius, contemporary reports repeatedly called into evidence Mongolian eating habits to support their belief that the Tartars were unleashed as an apocalyptic plague upon mankind: "They eat frogs, dogs, serpents, and all things alike,"¹¹² or worse, "The men are inhuman and of the nature of beasts, rather to be called monsters than men, thirsting after and drinking blood, and tearing and devouring the flesh of dogs and human beings. . . ."¹¹³ Matthew's gory representation of the Tartar's cannibalistic atrocities may have been inspired by contemporary depictions of Gog and Magog similar to those in the copy of the *Romance of Alexander* in Cambridge, Trinity College MS O.



FIGURE 181. *Greg and Mages*.
Cambridge, Trinity College O.9.34,
fol. 230v.

9. 34, fol. 23v (Fig. 181) in which hideous hairy men devour human arms and legs.¹¹⁴

As we have already observed in connection with the marginal addition of verses proclaiming the arrival of Antichrist in 1250 to accompany the image of the Nativity at the very beginning of the *Chronica Majora*,¹¹⁵ the Tartar threat suddenly turned a vague eschatological apprehension into an obsessive belief in the imminent end of the world. The impact of the Mongol invasion of Europe on the prophecy of Antichrist's advent in 1250 was so profound that Matthew decided, probably in the 1240s, to end his chronicle at mid-century, concluding his history with a dramatic summary of events portending the end of the sixth and last age that had begun with the Incarnation of Christ. The Mongol invasion thus appropriately beads the list: "For in this half-century the Tartars left their places of retreat and ravaged, with the cruelty of wild beasts, the countries of the East, those inhabited by Christians as well as infidels."¹¹⁶

In 1244 the Tartars were expelled from Hungary and, under pressure from the emperor's armies, dispersed eastward toward Persia. As the Mongol terror began to fade, its place was immediately taken by a new scourge of fierce infidels called Khorezmians, who suddenly loomed up to destroy the fragile peace in the Holy Land achieved only a few years before by Richard of Cornwall. The St. Albans chronicler thus tells us that "certain extremely cruel and inhuman men who dwell on the shores of the Red Sea . . . fled from the threatening storm [of Tartars]" to the sultan of Cairo. Joining forces with the Cairenes, the Khorezmians then proceeded to attack Jerusalem in October 1244 and massacred all its Christian inhabitants. Matthew thus ends his pictorial documentation of the Saracen menace in the Holy Land, at the foot of fol. 170v (Fig. 182), with the cavalry battle between the Crusaders and the barbarian successors to the Tartars, in which Jerusalem was again lost to the infidel. On the same folio he interpolates a brief narration of the massacre between two detailed accounts given by Frederick II in a letter to Richard of Cornwall and by William de Châteaufort, master of the Hospitallers. Duped by standards raised by the Khorezmians on the walls, the Christians who had fled into hiding all returned to Jerusalem,

but when, with a feeling of security, they reentered the city . . . [the Khorezmians], armed to the teeth . . . suddenly rushed upon the unsuspecting Christians and slew them all at sword's point. Then our people, who still remained uninjured and unhacked in other towns

and castles, gathered together a numerous and strong army, unanimously determining to require a heavy vengeance for the blood of their brethren at the bloody hands of their enemies, and cruelly entered into intense battle with them; but the Christians were defeated—a misfortune to be deplored by all the ages.¹⁷

Like his earlier representations of the French defeat outside Damascus in 1240, Matthew's elaborate visualization of the loss of Jerusalem is a synthesis of details drawn from different accounts, including another letter sent by prelates and nobles from Acre in November 1244 and copied on fols. 174–174v. At the left three dejected bound prisoners are being driven to the gates of “Babilonia” (Cairo) by an infidel warrior. In the center, Saracen and barbarian lancers (*Choroasmini cum babiloniis*), with the foremost warrior mounted on a brilliant vermilion horse, charge in a formidable phalanx against the already falling and wounded Crusaders (*Exercitus Christianus*), as the standard-bearer of the Templars (*batanifer*) flees. The bloody ground is littered with casualties and abandoned gear, bearing gory witness to the massacre. The momentum of the violent battle is kept at a high pitch by the constant rising and falling action of figures, horses, and weapons in swift, diagonally directed movements: a rising head-on collision dominates the center as the lateral flanks are propelled outward and away from the center to form a wide W-shaped matrix of figures spread across the page.

A dark tone of impending doom pervades Matthew's reaction to the loss of Jerusalem and the Khorezshian massacre of the Crusaders in 1244. In the margins of fol. 179, following the third epistolary



FIGURE 182. Battle between Crusaders and Khorezshians. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 170v.

account of the loss of Jerusalem, he adds an ominous commentary on the apocalyptic signs of the end of the world in Matthew 24:2:

Mark that those threatening words of the Lord are now fulfilled, thus indeed as never before in the holy city of Jerusalem. "Not one stone," he said, "shall be left upon another," etc., etc. And it should be known that a few years before, the image of Mohammed at Mecca fell down, and for greater revenge . . . these said Khorezmians now waged more furiously against the Christians and their holy places, and said that they had obtained this victory through the favor of God and by the intervention of Mohammed. . . . By this time, the preaching of the Preachers and Missionaries has reached to the ends of the world, according to the words of the Savior, "You shall be my witness in all Judaea and Samaria," etc. And indeed he said, "When you see these things, a general judgment is impending."¹⁹

Conceived as the unfolding of the last great age in the prophetic history of the world, Paris's *chronica universale* reaches a climactic momentum in the disasters of the 1240s, culminating in the loss of Jerusalem in 1244. Its denouement is then played out in Europe in the stunning defeat of Frederick at the hands of Innocent IV at the Council of Lyons the following year, and it ends with the emperor's death in 1250. In Frederick and Richard of Cornwall the St. Albans chronicler found two genuinely heroic figures around whom he could weave a colorful mantle of romantically inflated virtue. Faced against the popes and the infidel as irreconcilable adversaries in their respective struggles to prevail, each in his own way, over Rome and Jerusalem, these two men became the tragic protagonists in an epic drama that Matthew believed, at least for a time, would ultimately end in apocalyptic doom.



▲ PHASE 1
Sea Battle off Sandwich
Cambridge, Corpus Christi
College 16, fol. 52.



▲ PHASE 2
Shipwreck of Hugh de Boves.
Cambridge, Corpus Christi
College 16, fol. 120r.



▲ PHASE 3
Combat between Canute the
Dane and Edmund Ironside
Cambridge, Corpus Christi
College 16, p. 160.



PLATE IV
*The Veronica. Cambridge, Corpus
 Christi College 16, fol. 490*

PLATE V
*The Veronica. B. L., Arundel 157,
 fol. 2.*





PLATE VI
Virgin and Child Enthroned. B. L., Roy. 2. B. VI, fol. 170

Deus...
...
...

Deus...
...
...



Haroldus rex
...
...

Haroldus rex
...
...



Haroldus rex
...
...

Haroldus rex
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Deus...
...
...

Deus...
...
...

Deus...
...
...

◆ PLATE VII
*Henry II, Richard I, John, and
 Henry III. B.L., Roy. 74. C. VII,
 fol. 9.*



◆ PLATE VIII
*Martyrdom of St. Alban. Cambridge,
 Corpus Christi College 26, p. 116.*

◆ PLATE IX
*Legatine Council of London
 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College
 26, fol. 107.*

▼ PLATE X
*Procession with the Relic of the Holy
 Blood. Cambridge, Corpus Christi
 College 26, fol. 275.*





PLATE XI

Death of Emperor Frederick II.
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College
26, fol. 177a.

PLATE XII

Battle of Demetria. Cambridge,
Corpus Christi College 26, fol.
54b.

PLATE XIII

Defeat of the French at Guis.
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College
26, fol. 113a.



Opposite. PLATE XIV
Interior from London 10
Beaumont, Cambridge, Corpus
Christi College 26, fol. 2.





PLATE XV
Heraldic Shields. B. L., Cotton Nep.
D. 1, fol. 177b.

5

Mirabilia: Portents, Legends, Relics, Miracles, and Visions

WHILE MARVELS AND OMENS APPEAR AS FAMILIAR BUT MINOR components in Roman historical writing, supernatural events play a central and commanding role in the conception of history during the Middle Ages. For the medieval chronicler, manifestations of divine will are both definite and concrete. In Matthew Paris's view, human events reveal the unfolding of a providential history in which the sacred and profane constantly tend to merge. Visions, miracles, and divine portents are so indissolubly fused with the practicalities of political, social, and economic life that distinctions between the two orders of reality often blend in a single undifferentiated perception. Ordinary happenings become infused with elements of the miraculous, while miracles and visions are often chronicled in a factual, explanatory way that outlines their practical, mundane consequences.

Matthew's attitudes toward visions, miracles, and other prodigies both natural and supernatural were not totally credulous. Frequent reservations and admonitions accompanying such reports reveal his healthy skepticism toward unsubstantiated stories and

rumors; Paris often goes to great lengths to provide eyewitness accounts and other authenticating evidence. On the other hand, his basic view of events as the serial disclosure of providential destiny ensures an eager acknowledgment of a supernatural presence that pervades the natural course of a human history flowing directly from Scripture.

PORTENTS IN NATURE

The medieval world of the *Chronica Majora* sometimes strikes us as an unfamiliar planet overwhelmed by extraordinary phenomena. Comets and meteors, eclipses of the sun, and the unnatural behavior of animals, birds, and fish are often perceived as potentially charged portents. Confident that careful observation and interpretation of these natural events could often reveal truths of the supernatural, or forewarn against future harm or disaster, Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris describe a world filled with the multifold reality of divine or infernal omens of an unseen present or future. Despite the almost obsessive concern for the extraordinary which pervades the text of the *Chronica Majora*, however, these bizarre superphysical events are rarely represented pictorially. Two spectacular solar phenomena are singled out for illustration in the annals for the 1230s, while a third drawing of a solar eclipse in 1256 appears near the end of the chronicle; two representations of extraordinary natural events are given in connection with the sea and the Thames in 1247–1242, ten years later an invasion of destructive birds is commemorated by a small marginal sketch.

Although as many as eighteen eclipses of the sun are reported in the *Chronica Majora*, the only one singled out for pictorial treatment is the event which coincided with the king's departure on an expedition to France in 1230.⁶ In the upper margin of fol. 75v in MS 16 (see Fig. 124), the sun, moon, and earth are drawn as equidistant circular disks of slightly diminishing size in a straight line across the top of the left-hand text column. Matthew's drawing not only demonstrates the visual effect of full darkness created by the total eclipse reported by Wendover, he also shows its scientific or natural cause by diagramming how the celestial bodies are aligned in this unusual solar phenomenon.⁷ At the left, the sun is shown as a black disk in a late stage of eclipse with the far side not yet completely darkened by the moon and still visible as a pale yellow crescent at the edge, emitting a few red rays (*Sol parum vel nihil verum nos accendat*); then a

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totally eclipsed black solar disk (*Luna in coena*) with tiny red rays still visible around the circumference, is placed next to the darkened earth (*Terra*) at the right. From the black disk of the earth a wavy red line descends vertically along the inner margin, with "Sic" written across, to a trapezoidal frame enclosing the caption "Eclipsis matutinalis." In the later sketch of the solar eclipse on December 30, 1256, in MS Roy. 14. C. VII (Fig. 183), Paris represented only the two superimposed circles of the sun and moon, with their centers marked and captioned "centrum solis," and "centrum lune." Above the bright portion of sun is the rubric, "Hoc lucidem de corpore solis non edificatur," to explain that the eclipse was not yet complete in his diagram,² while the obscured segment of the sun is painted over with a muddy dark mixture of ocher and grey.



FIGURE 183. Solar Eclipse. B.L., Roy. 14. C. VII, fol. 181.

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At the bottom of fol. 75v in MS 16 Paris has added a sketch of Henry II crossing the Channel to St-Malo in 1230 (see Fig. 125), setting out on his first disastrous expedition to recapture lost Angevin territories in France. No explicit connection is made in Wendover's text between the two events, one superphysical and the other political, but their textual and visual juxtaposition suggests that the solar eclipse was interpreted in retrospect by both St. Albans chroniclers as a portent of the king's eventual failure. This curious mixture of scientific awareness and ready acceptance of the fatalistic warnings for the future typifies Matthew's medieval perception of a multifold reality and belief in correspondences between all levels of creation. In their enthusiasm for the extraordinary, medieval chroniclers seldom lose sight of the most natural explanation of what they saw. On the other hand, their familiar acceptance of the supernatural made them receptive to potentially prophetic possibilities.⁴ In the case of the phenomenon of the mock sun seen in 1233 (see Fig. 35), Wendover makes a more explicit connection with the course of human events in his comment that "this was followed in the same year by a cruel war and terrible bloodshed in those counties, and general disturbances happened throughout England, Wales, and Ireland."⁵

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While Roger tends to see the significance of these solar phenomena on a local political level, portending the immediate future of England and the king, Matthew interprets them more broadly as eschatological signs affecting the whole of Christendom. After having ended the *Chronica Majora* with the apocalyptic year 1250, Paris in his concluding summary lists these two solar events among the most remarkable superphysical portents during the preceding half-century:

An eclipse of the sun occurred twice in three years, and another remarkable portent appeared in the sky, an account of which is fully given in this book, in the year of grace one thousand two hundred and thirty-three.

He then remarks that "no evident reason for these events, as well as for the earthquakes, floods, and falling stars, could be found in the book of meteors, except that Christ's threat was impending over men—"There shall be signs in the sun," etc. etc."⁶ Thus the marginal illustrations of the solar eclipse of 1230 and the perihelion of 1233 seem to have been intended to draw attention to what Matthew had come to regard as prophetic signs of imminent apocalyptic doom. His enthusiasm for the extraordinary, however, did not blind him to more ordinary possibilities, as indicated by his remark that the first

sought a natural explanation in a medieval treatise on astrology (*in libro meteororum*). Another aspect of seeing unusual natural phenomena as potentially prophetic is revealed in the extreme care with which Matthew provided additional documentation in the form of eyewitness accounts and drawings to authenticate the veracity of Roger's initial report of what had actually been observed. If strange configurations were charged with significant meaning, then it was all the more important to establish beyond all doubt that they were true signs which satisfied both a cautious skepticism concerning the accuracy of human perception and a familiar acceptance of the supernatural.⁷

Just as strange solar events were charged with meaning, so too the freakish and violent behavior of animals, birds, and fish was sometimes interpreted as reflexively coinciding with other events. For example, Roger concludes his remarks on the coincidence between the appearance of mock suns and the civil wars of 1233 by observing that "about the same time, two immense snakes were seen by the inhabitants near the seacoast in the southern part of England, fighting in the air, and after a severe struggle one overcame the other, and putting it to flight, pursued it to the bottom of the sea, where they were both lost to sight."⁸ In a later annual for 1240 Paris reports a similar prodigy of nature in the form of a fierce battle of whales off the coast of England, which he expands into a longer and more detailed narrative, with an illustration in the margin of fol. 140 (Fig. 184). As in Wendover's earlier entry, this terrible destructive violence among the great creatures of the sea comes as the culmination of a whole series of natural and human disasters:

The course of events in this year was unfavorable to the kingdom of England, adverse to Holy Church, and injurious to the eastern as well as the western countries. . . .

Although other great and unprecedented wonders happened in this year, we have considered one which is extraordinary to be included in this work. As it is the nature of the sea to vomit up on dry land the carion thrown into it, about eleven whales, besides other marine monsters, were cast up on the seacoast of England, dead, as if they had been injured in some kind of struggle—now, however, by human attacks or invention. The sailors and old people dwelling near the coast, who, "doing business on the great waters . . . saw [God's] wondrous works in the deep," declared that there had been an unprecedented battle among the fish, whales, and marine monsters which, by wounding and gnawing one another, had caused several to die; and those which had been killed had been cast ashore.⁹

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Next to his text Matthew brilliantly captures the desperate violence of the marine combat in an elegant but terrible image whose artistic antecedents may be found among the Hiberno-Saxon monsters of the Lindisfarne Gospels. The contorted, twisting bodies of the four whales (*Beluae marinae*) form a densely packed interlace design, heightened by the shimmering rainbow patterns of their scales. Alternately shaded in bright vermilion, indigo, and ochre, the whales' powerful bodies writhe against a turbulent sea softly etched in light green waves. That the artist attached a larger and more sinister significance to this extraordinary explosion of turbulence in the sea is made explicit in his rubric, "Terribile prognosticum de piscibus in



FIGURE 184. *Battle of Whales*.
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 140.

mari pugnantis." However, since no further clue is given, the reader is left to judge whether the whale fight was meant to resonate with the coincidence of the first detailed report on the irruption of the Tartars, the last part of which appears on the same folio, or whether the battling sea monsters were meant to portend the momentous naval battle between the Pisans and Genoese the following year, and to anticipate the monumental drawing at the foot of fol. 146.

The recurrent pattern of significant coincidences between natural and human violence is not consistently maintained throughout the *Chronica Majora*. Occasionally Matthew's sketches merely signal an unusual natural event without attaching any further significance to it. For example, the small but carefully tinted sketch of a boat in the water in the margin of fol. 160v (Fig. 185) marks one of the many floods reported in the *Chronica Majora* and is simply captioned "*Nota inundationem insolitam et inauditam*":

On the feast of St. Edmund in the same year, clear thunder with lightning, in sad presage of a future and long-lived tempest, terrified the hearts and ears of mortals. Nor was the warning false. It was followed by continued intemperate weather, persevering for several days, in a disturbance of gloomy atmosphere. Also, the rains inundated the waters to such an extent that the River Thames overflowed its usual banks.¹⁹

The last illustration dealing with natural phenomena concerns an unprecedented invasion of voracious birds in 1251:

In the course of this year, during the fruit season, there appeared, especially in the orchards, some remarkable birds, somewhat larger than larks, which had never been seen in England before, which ate the seeds of the fruit and nothing else; thus they ruinously deprived the trees of much of their fruit. The beaks of these birds were crossed, so that they opened the fruit as if with pinners or a knife. The parts of the fruit which they left were as if they had been infected with poison.²¹

Details provided in the account of these curious birds which broke open the fruit to extract only the pips enables us to identify the species as crossbills, which occasionally swarm over the British Isles in large flocks from northeastern Europe.²² In the upper right-hand corner of fol. 252 (Fig. 186) there is a small untinted profile sketch of a single crossbill with fruit in its beak, perched on a line enclosing a bit of text (*ataulis parum majores*) which has been extended into the margin. Again, no sinister or portentous significance seems to have been attributed to the unusual occurrence. It is not mentioned



FIGURE 185. Boat on the Flooded Thames. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 26, fol. 160v.



FIGURE 186. A Crossbill. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 26, fol. 252.

in the summary of events for that year, where contradicting his earlier estimate of the damage, Matthew declares that "this year throughout produced grain and fruit in sufficiency, even to abundance, though it was stormy, turbulent, and awful, with lightning."¹⁴ The tiny sketch seems merely to function as a pictorial rubric for the entry on the crossbill invasion.

LEGENDS

Notwithstanding its frequent reports of miracles, visions and extraordinary portents in nature, the *Chronica Majora* contains remarkably few legends beyond the mythical history of early Britain. Although English chroniclers beginning with William of Malmesbury had already made an effort to distinguish between legend and history, twelfth-century writers like Malmesbury, Walter Map, and Gerald of Wales frequently embellished their work with fanciful stories and anecdotes.¹⁵ While this colorful material was usually included to entertain rather than to edify readers of the twelfth-century chronicles, the legends in the *Chronica Majora* are more cautionary and pious in their serious tone and intent. Both Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris seem to have been strongly influenced by the *exempla* introduced into thirteenth-century histories by the friars. Like the Franciscans Thomas of Eccleston and Richard of Durham, the St. Albans chroniclers make a decisive break from the colorful, anecdotal tradition of twelfth-century entertainments in favor of moral stories of divine reward for the virtuous and retribution for the wicked.¹⁶ Only two legends in the St. Albans chronicle are illustrated: the Maid of Burgundy and the Wandering Jew. Both appear in the annals of the 1220s composed by Roger Wendover, and both tales offer unusual and ironic *exempla* of divine punishment.

The first is represented by a small but lively sketch at the foot of fol. 61v in MS 16 (Fig. 187). It illustrates a legend reported in Roger's annual for 1225 concerning the triumph over the devil by a young Burgundian woman turned mendicant. In its emphasis on feminine chastity, poverty, and the rejection of earthly pleasures, the episode is unique among the images in the *Chronica Majora*. The moral content of the legend is clearly Franciscan in character and finds its closest analogues in the *exempla* of Thomas of Eccleston. A beautiful heiress finds spiritual refuge in a Minorite convent and is tempted without success by the devil to return to the riches and beauty of her former life. After abandoning his efforts to dislodge the woman from

her ascetic mendicant vocation, the devil surrenders to her virtue and puts himself at her service:

After a few days, when this young woman had been altogether freed from these attacks of the devil, he returned to her and, saluting her, said, "Greetings, my mistress and virgin well beloved of the God of heaven; I am truly that Satan who has for these seven months introduced every temptation, although in vain, in order to recall you from your good intentions and to catch you in my snares. But, since you have triumphed over my vain frauds, a punishment has been imposed on me by the Lord of Heaven, which is that I shall henceforth never be allowed to tempt any kind of person or to impede anyone from good works. Moreover, I am commanded by the Lord, whom I must obey, to perform whatever you order me, and also to submit to any punishment you may impose on me." On hearing this, the young woman said to the devil, "My God preserve me from your partnership and servitude, for he knows that I never liked such attendance."

After this, the mendicant virgin went to another town where she soon became the object of a persistent young man's infatuation. His unwelcome advances having been refused,

the young man, inflamed by lust's fire, stubbornly determined in his heart that if he could not obtain the maiden's voluntary consent he would achieve his purpose by violence. He therefore went to her and



MS. 107.1. 187. *Burgundian Maiden and the Devil.*
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 81r.

sued what he intended to do. The religious woman then was . . . afraid lest her virginal purity should be violated by the youth's burning passion and, recalling to mind what the devil had told her, namely, that he would immediately fulfill her every wish, she raised her voice and spoke; "Devil," she cried, "where are you?" The devil responded immediately, saying, "Mistress, here I am. What would you like?" The young woman then said, "Free me from this scoundrel who disturbs me and does not permit me to sleep." And immediately the demon seized the young man roughly by the feet and, with a verbal attack as well, threw him far away from her. And indeed three times that night was God's beloved maiden freed by the devil from the young man's ardor, and in the morning she left the city, her virginal modesty saved.¹⁴

Matthew's sketch focuses selectively on the ironic punishment of the devil who must now protect the chastity of the Burgundian girl. The virtuous ascetic commands a hideous gray horn-jointed devil who violently swings the lustful youth around by one leg. Although Paris illustrates the ridiculous punishment of the devil with obvious relish, it is the wicked young man, with flushed face and sunken head, who becomes the dramatic object of the moral tale, while the maiden's satanic vassal serves as the supernatural instrument of retribution. Unlike his twelfth-century predecessors, the St. Albans chronicler has little or no interest in devils or other infernal creatures, but concerns himself instead with the practical moral ramifications of divine justice in concrete human situations. In the dramatic pictorial conclusion of the moral tale, each of the three protagonists is forced by the other to act in a way contrary to his or her nature or desire: as a last resort, the young woman must seek the devil's aid; by oath, the devil must then defend her virtue; and the young man's lust is violently thwarted by both.

In contrast with the ascetic story of the Burgundian maiden and the devil, Matthew clearly perceived the legend of the Wandering Jew as a tale of more profound moral implications. In its earliest and simplest form dating from ca. 500 A.D., the legend of the Wandering Jew is a tale of a man in Jerusalem who, when Christ was carrying the cross to Calvary and paused to rest for a moment on his doorstep, drove him away, crying, "Walk faster!" And Christ replied, "I am going, but you shall walk until I come again!"¹⁵

The story does not occur in the West until the early thirteenth century, when the first Latin account appears in a Bolognese monastic chronicler's annal for the year 1223.¹⁶ Five years later, the same tale, with many embellishments not found in the earliest Italian version, figures in Roger's entry for 1228 in the *Chronica Majora*.

We are told that St. Albans was visited that year by an Armenian archbishop and that

he was asked whether he had ever seen or heard anything of Joseph, a man of whom there was much talk in the world, who was present when our Lord suffered and spoke to him, and who is still alive in evidence of the Christian faith; in reply to which a knight of his retinue, who was the interpreter, replied in French: "My lord knows that man well, and a little before he made his way to the Western Indies, the said Joseph ate at the table of my lord the archbishop in Armenia, who often saw and converted with him."

He was then asked what had passed between Christ and this same Joseph, to which he replied, "At the time of the sufferings of Jesus Christ, he was seized . . . and led into the Prætorium before Pilate the governor that he might be judged. . . . [He] delivered Jesus . . . to be crucified. But when the Jews who were dragging Jesus forth had reached the door, Cartaphilus, a porter of the Prætorium . . . as Jesus was going out the door, struck him contemptibly with his fist from behind and said mockingly: 'Go quickly, Jesus, go quickly. Why delay?' And Jesus, looking back at him with a stern expression, said, 'I am going, and you shall wait until I return.' . . ."

And just as the Lord said, this Cartaphilus is still awaiting his return. . . . Indeed, after the Lord's Passion . . . Cartaphilus was baptized and called Joseph. He frequently dwells in both parts of Armenia and other Eastern countries. . . . He is a man of holy conversation and



FIGURE 138. Legend of the Wandering Jew. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 20v.

religion, a circumspect man of few words . . . always afraid and waiting for the coming of Jesus-Christ in fire to judge at the end of time.⁴⁹

In the fuller and more dramatic St. Albans version, the protagonist is no longer referred to as an anonymous Jew, and the event has been transferred from the Via Crucis to Pilate's tribunal. Roger's account further stresses the exemplary life led by Joseph in atonement for his sin, as well as the miraculous survival of the remarkable witness, "still alive in evidence of the Christian faith."⁵⁰

The fact that the story was told at St. Albans because one of the monks inquired about "Joseph, a man of whom there was much talk in the world," indicates that the legend was apparently already known in England in the first decades of the thirteenth century. Moreover, both Matthew's textual additions and his illustration at the foot of fol. 70v (Fig. 188) suggest that Roger's successor knew other versions of the story.

In his own later annal for 1252 Paris reports a second visit by the Armenians in which the legend is referred to again:

At this time, some Armenians came to St. Albans. . . . The pale faces of these men, with their long beards and their austere life-style, bore witness to their sanctity and the rigor of their discipline. . . . They also stated that they knew, without a doubt, that Joseph Carpophilus who saw Christ crucified and who is awaiting our judgment, is still living as usual. And this is one of the wonders of the world and a great proof of the Christian faith.⁵¹

In his revision of Roger's account of 1228, Matthew adds the name of the Armenian bishop, Anticbenius, to lend authenticity to the tale. In obvious apprehension that his readers might have reservations concerning the veracity of this remarkable story, he also appends the corroborating testimony of another eyewitness, a certain Richard de Argentan, a noble knight who once visited Armenia as a pilgrim. More importantly, however, the second chronicler makes the sentence of punishment more specific by adding that Carpophilus must wait until the Second Coming: "Tu autem secundum adventum meum expectabis." In connection with Joseph's subsequent moral rehabilitation, the chronicler adds that he "is given to reproof and argument . . . looking ahead to the coming of Christ in fire to judge the world."⁵² This new eschatological emphasis offers further evidence of Matthew's increasing concern with the end of time, already observed in his quotation of a chiliastic prophecy to accompany his illustration of the Nativity at the beginning of the *Chronica Majora*, and his decision to end the universal history with the apoc-

alyptic year 1250.²⁷ Thus the legend of the Wandering Jew provides not only a profound example of his central moral theme of divine retribution but also a dramatic image of apocalyptic expectation.

The illustration at the foot of the page (Fig. 188) deviates so radically from Roger's text that it seems almost independent of it.²⁸ Harking back to the earliest sixth-century version, the action occurs on the Via Crucis. Christ appears at the right, shouldering the cross. However, the vertical shaft has a spike at the bottom so that it resembles a processional cross, causing the instrument of the Passion to traverse time and space from the Crucifixion in Jerusalem to the medieval present in a visible reflection of the legend's central temporal juxtapositions. Dressed as a peasant, Cartaphilus lurches over a pickaxe as he utters the fateful taunting cry, "Vade Ihesu ad iudicium tibi preparatum," in a speech which differs from Roger's text. As his long speech scroll unfolds to touch Christ's elbow, it appears to assist him momentarily in supporting the arm of the cross. Inscribed on a second scroll extending stiffly to the right, Christ's response is also at variance with Roger's text: "Vado sicut scriptum est de me. Tu vero expectabis donec veniam."

These emendations tend to interpret the encounter between Christ and Cartaphilus as the ineluctable unfolding of a predetermined sequence of events—"the judgment prepared for you" and "just as it is written of me," infusing the legend with the gravity and ongoing efficacy of a scriptural text. Indeed Matthew has given Cartaphilus the attribute of Cain, a pickaxe, perhaps to reinforce the idea of eternal wandering as the punishment by alluding to Cain's fate in Genesis 4:12: "When you till the ground, it shall no longer yield to you its strength; you shall be a fugitive and a wanderer on the earth."²⁹ The bent and aging figure leaning on the ax conveys the long harsh punishment that was to be his vindicating destiny. In contrast, the smooth youthful body of Christ rises to form a graceful gliding movement in a masterful composition of parallel diagonal lines. Moving upward from left to right, they are counteracted by the oblique angular shaft of the heavily tinted dark green cross delicately balanced between its spiked point at the bottom and the effortless support given by Christ's bent arm. While the open expansive figure of Christ suggests an uplifting release from the burden of the cross, the knotted closed figure of Joseph Cartaphilus turns inward upon itself, with the point of the ax angled toward his feet in an affecting metaphor of his internal suffering and remorse. Paris's drawing in the *Chronica Majora* is the earliest known representation of the Wandering Jew and was very probably his original invention, but its

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sophisticated interpretation, temporal conflations, and allusion to the legend of Cain suggest that the newly invented iconography was based on a richer set of literary traditions than is evident in Wendover's text.

RELICS AND MIRACLES

In his pictorial interpretation of the legend of the Wandering Jew, Matthew's deviation from the text to include the Passion cross being carried to Calvary reflects a strong preoccupation with relics, miracles, and sacred images associated with the True Cross that recurs throughout the *Chronica Majora*. The first image appears at the beginning of the chronicle in the upper corner margin of p. 35 in MS 26 (Fig. 189) to illustrate Roger's text for the Passion. However, the small conventional drawing of the Crucifixion is not in Paris's hand but was executed by the later St. Albans artist who finished the Nativity scene on p. 30 (see Fig. 36) and was responsible for the tinted ink drawing of Cassibelanus over Matthew's preliminary sketch on p. 28 (see Fig. 91). Although it would be impossible to ascertain whether this illustration, like the portrait of the legendary British king on p. 28, represents a later inking over and tinting of Paris's original drawing, we may observe a few telling details, such as the peculiar horizontal fold rolled up at the hem of the Virgin's dress, and the violently heaving mounds of earth on which the figures stand, that would suggest the presence of his hand.

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FIGURE 189. Crucifixion. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 26, p. 35.

Similar in style to the Crucifixion scene on fol. 99 in MS Roy. 2. B. VI, a St. Albans psalter dating from ca. 1246 to 1260, the tinted sketch in MS 26 shows Christ slumped in death on the cross, flanked by the mourning figures of Mary and John, delineating a traditional iconography current in thirteenth-century England. The simple green wooden cross is furnished with both a side board and footrest tipped in opposing oblique angles; Christ's feet literally rest on the *suppedaneum* in an archaic Byzantine formula current in the West from the ninth century on, but somewhat rare for the thirteenth century. The detail does occur, however, in the Crucifixion on fol. 30v in Matthew's *Life of St. Alban* in Dublin,²⁵ suggesting that it may have been inspired by an important image in the abbey, perhaps either the Crucifixion with Mary and John on the east end of the shrine of St. Alban executed by Master John in the late twelfth century or the panel of a diptych in front of the main altar made by Walter of Colchester for Abbot John (1195–1214).²⁶

The next pictorial reference to the cross does not occur until the

end of the first volume of the *Chronica Majora*, where on p. 279 (see Fig. 171) we see the True Cross captured by Saladin in 1179. In the context of this violent struggle, the sacred cross is depicted again as a simple structure of two wooden crosspieces with a short side board set at an oblique angle at the top. After two more generations of contention between Muslims and Christians in the Holy Land, however, the celebrated relics of the Passion were finally removed from Jerusalem to become focal points of a more familiar landscape in the shrines of France and England in the 1240s.

Just as Henry's reception of the relic of the Holy Blood at Westminster provided the St. Albans chronicler with an inspiring occasion for the visual celebration of a sovereign whom he otherwise regarded as generally unworthy, Louis's acquisition of the Crown of Thorns in Paris in 1240 and his recovery of the True Cross from the Holy Land in 1240–1241 offered similarly momentous opportunities for special pictorial commemoration in the *Chronica Majora*.

In his annal for 1240 Matthew describes King Louis's acquisition of the Crown of Thorns:

In this year France flourished and exulted twice over in the favors of our Lord Jesus Christ. Beyond being truly rewarded by obtaining the lofty confessor Edmund who had removed himself from England, is rejoiced to possess our Lord's Crown of Thorns, obtained at Constantinople. For, beset by necessity and a dearth of money, a condition common among those who wage war, Baldwin, emperor of Constantinople, informed the French king that he was entirely destitute of money and that, in exchange for the king's assistance in filling his empty treasury, he would, in consideration of his old affection and blood ties, give him the crown of our Lord, which the Jews had placed on his head when he suffered on the cross for the redemption of humanity. The French king, on the advice of his councillors, gladly accepted the offer and, with his mother's blessing, he sent a large sum of money to the emperor Baldwin. . . . In return for this great benefit obtained from the king, the emperor, according to his promises and agreements, faithfully sent him the crown of Christ, precious beyond gold or emeralds; it was therefore solemnly and devoutly received . . . in grand procession, amidst the ringing of bells and the devout prayers of the faithful; and it was reverently placed in the king's chapel in Paris.²⁷

In contrast with the expansive narrative scene of Henry's procession to commemorate his reception of the relic of the Holy Blood, the Crown of Thorns is removed from its social and ritual context. Matthew reduces the illustration to a static visual documentation of the

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FIGURE 190. Crown of Thorns. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 10, fol. 129v.



FIGURE 191. Louis IX's Relics of the Crown of Thorns and the True Cross. *B. L., Roy. 14 C. VII, fol. 131r.*

relic alone, displayed in two different views in the left-hand margin of fol. 139r (Fig. 190). Modeled in soft green tint, the "Spinea corona Salvatoris" is first seen within a square frame on a dark pink pointed ground, with a white cross marked in the center and dotted rosettes at the four corners, as if we were looking down on the relic lying upon a square paten. Below this is another representation of the pale green crown, more thickly plaited, surrounded by a dense layer of fine nettlelike fibers radiating from it and tied in a heavy knot at the base extending into the framed caption below, which reads: "Talis est corona domini sicut de tricus ceparum et nodus in parte posteriori et est de iuncis marinis habentibus eminentissimos aculeos." In rubric above is "ex iiii" plectis comorta, coloris subalbi qualis solem esse cirpi maricidi," while below, within a small trapezoidal frame, as if in a footnote, Matthew adds, "unde plectentes de plecto unde dicitur plecta bart."²⁸

The meticulous physical description of the Crown of Thorns reveals the same detached curiosity and scrupulous attention to visual detail which characterized Matthew's remarkable pictorial documentation of the Veronica and the seals of Frederick II. On the other hand, the untinted outline drawing which accompanies his short notice of the event in the *Historia Anglorum* in the margin of fol. 131r (Fig. 191) takes a somewhat different turn in which the True Cross and a similar Crown of Thorns appear together in a unique relationship: while the cross has its characteristic form of a *crux gemina*, the right half of the main arm is missing and in its place is the Crown of Thorns.²⁹ However, all three representations accurately reflect the fact that the actual relic sold to Louis IX was not a crown of thorns, but a wreath of rushes bound together by spiral ties, thus accounting for its unusual configuration as a fillet of twisted or plaited stems tinted pale green, notwithstanding Paris's description of them as "whitish in color" (*coloris subalbi*).³⁰

The illustration of Louis exhibiting the True Cross the following year (Fig. 192) returns to a more conventional narrative treatment of the event, in which the king assumes a dominant role. Although the royal procession plays an important part in Matthew's text, the drawing concentrates on a more static presentational moment in which the king displays the cross to the people from a high platform. The event is then visually conflated with a separate secondary episode in which the Crown of Thorns is displayed by the king's brothers:

On the Friday preceding Easter, the day on which our Lord Jesus Christ was nailed to the life-giving cross to redeem the world, this cross was brought to Paris from the church of St. Ansoine, next to which was

constructed some kind of standing platform which the king mounted with the two queens, namely, Blanche, his mother, and Margaret, his wife, and his brothers, and in the presence of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and other religious men, as well as the French nobles, surrounded by a countless multitude of people who were awaiting this glorious sight with great joy of heart, he fearfully raised the cross above his head, while the prelates who were present cried with a loud voice, "Behold the cross of our Lord." . . . [The king's brothers] carried the Crown of Thorns . . . and, raising it on high in a similar way, presented it to the gaze of the people.²¹

On a tall double-tiered timber scaffold hung with curtains, the half-length crowned Louis (*Rex francorum Ludovicus*) raises the double-armed cross and proclaims, "Ecce crucem domini," while his brothers, one holding the Crown of Thorns, lift their hands in adoration. The religious solemnity of the scene is somewhat marred, however, by the intrusion of a "price tag" in the framed caption above the king's head. Here Matthew draws attention to the fact that the cross was first sold to the Venetians for 25,000 pounds by the two sons of the King of Jerusalem, but was then pawned for a still larger sum by Baldwin, who finally sold it to King Louis of France.²² Here again the Benedictine chronicler betrays an obsession with money both characteristic of his time and unrestrained even when dealing with the sacred relics of the Passion.

The venerable relic of the True Cross moved Matthew to execute yet another illustration of its connection with Louis IX in the annual for 1244:

In this year, in the Advent of our Lord, Louis the French king, who was still suffering severely from the effects of the illness which he had contracted while waging war in Poitou, fell into a deathlike coma and lay for some days as if dead, and, according to the statements of several who sat around him, he was entirely deprived of life. His mother and brother, and some others of his intimate friends who stood by, thought that the king had grown stiff in death, and his mother, who was more affected with sorrow than the others . . . applied to her son's body the Holy Cross and Crown of Christ . . . and made a vow in his name that, if Christ would deign to visit him and restore him to health, he, the king, would assume the cross and visit his Holy Sepulcher. . . . After his mother and all the others present had continued praying for some time . . . the king, when they thought to be dead, with a sudden sigh drew up his arms and legs, and afterwards stretched them out again, and, with a deep voice, as if of one aroused from the tomb, said, "He who came from on high in the East, by God's grace, visited me and recalled me from the dead."²³



FIGURE 103. Louis IX Displaying the True Cross. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 147v.

In a monochromal style heavily laden with bright color, Matthew's dramatic representation at the foot of fol. 184 (Fig. 193) shows Louis covered with a deep blue satiny counterpane, elaborately patterned with red dotted rosettes, falling in active, intricate folds around his inert body, as his mother, Queen Blanche, touches his crowned head with the sacred relic (*Cruz gemina*), tinted deep green. Having eliminated the Crown of Thorns and lance mentioned in the text, Paris has instead introduced a number of other elements to emphasize the miraculous nature of the king's recovery. Louis lies stiffly like a corpse, his crown silhouetted against a deep indigo pillow, his eyes closed and his face already distorted in a deathlike grimace. An altar behind him bears a chalice and other vessels for the last rites, which presumably have already been administered by the bishop who now gesticulates with astonishment, anticipating the miraculous cure. Along with the figure kneeling before the altar at the left, the bishop serves to carry Blanche's ministering gesture forward to the next moment of recovery, thus conflating several sequential moments from an ongoing narrative into a single vigorous image. In the interval between writing his account in the *Chronica Majora* and executing the illustration Matthew seems to have modified his interpretation somewhat. The initial focus on the ensuing Crusade¹⁹ has given way to a pictorial demonstration of the awesome curative powers of the holy relic. The miracle is also illustrated in the *Historia Anglorum* on fol. 137v (Fig. 194), but the figure of Louis rising to grasp a small



FIGURE 193. Louis IX Healed by the True Cross. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 187.

plain cross extended to him by the bishop, and the inscription, "Rex Francorum a portis mortis revocatus crucem accepit a manu episcopi Parisiensis," stand in odds with the abbreviated textual account which gives the gist of the earlier entry in the *Chronica Majora*.

In Matthew's representation of the cross in the annals for 1243 and 1244 (Figs. 192–193), the appearance of the celebrated relic has been significantly changed from the simple wooden form captured by Saladin (Fig. 171) to a double-armed patriarchal cross. Not to be outdone by the French in acquiring sacred relics from Golgotha, this more elaborate form is intended to evoke its famous English counterpart enshrined in the Rood of Bromholm, an object of fashionable pilgrimage until well into the fourteenth century, as attested by the passing references in Chaucer's "Reeve's Tale" and Langland's *Piers Plowman*.⁵⁷ One of the earliest accounts of the history and miracles of the Bromholm Cross is given by Roger Wendover in the *Chronica Majora* in his annal for 1223:

In the same year divine miracles became frequent occurrences at Bromholm, to the glory and honor of the life-giving cross on which the Savior of the world suffered for the redemption of humankind. And since Britain, a place in the middle of the ocean, merited such a treasure from the divine bounty, it is proper, indeed most fitting, so impress upon the memory of posterity by what series of events that cross was brought from distant regions to Britain.⁵⁸



FIGURE 194. Louis IX Healed by the True Cross.
B.L., Roy. 14. C. VII, fol. 137v.

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FIGURE 195. *Cross of Bromholm.* Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 26, fol. 59.

We are then informed that King Baldwin's chaplain brought the relic from Constantinople to England sometime between 1205 and 1223 and first attempted to sell it to St. Albans, but that when he showed the monks a wooden cross which he declared to be a piece of the True Cross, he was disbelieved. The abbey acquired from him instead a cross set with silver and gold, along with some gold rings and jewels. After being refused by several other monasteries, Baldwin's former chaplain brought the wooden cross to a poor priory in Norfolk called Bromholm where the monks were overjoyed to have it.

In this year . . . divine miracles began to be wrought in that monastery to the praise and glory of the life-giving cross; for there the dead were restored to life, the blind recovered their sight . . . and any sick person who approached the aforesaid cross with faith went away safe and sound. This cross is frequently worshipped, not only by English people but also by those from distant regions and those who have heard of the divine miracles.¹⁷

Next to the beginning of Roger's entry is a small representation of the Cross of Bromholm (Fig. 195), 20 mm. high, finely drawn in a firm but delicate line and tinted with brown wash. It does not, however, match the description in Roger's text as being "constructed with two pieces of wood placed across each other, and almost as wide as a man's hand." Instead, Matthew's pictorial conception of the relic appears in the form of a patriarchal cross, that is, a tall vertical shaft with two transverse arms, the upper one shorter than the other, and corresponding with the earliest surviving image of the relic on a conventual seal of Bromholm Priory dating from the middle of the thirteenth century (see Fig. 196).¹⁸ Here, the Bromholm Cross, held by the priory's patron saint, Andrew, is clearly a *crux gemina*. As in Paris's drawing, the cross on the Bromholm seal appears within a protective outer sheath of gold or silver gilt. Like Christ's cross in the illustration of the Wandering Jew, the Bromholm Cross in the margin of the *Chronica Majora* has been provided with a spike at the end of the vertical shaft, a detail perhaps inspired by reports by both Wendover and Ralph of Coggeshall that the relic was carried by the Byzantine emperors into battle.¹⁹ Although the Bromholm Cross is mentioned only once again in passing in the *Chronica Majora* in connection with the king's visit in 1234,²⁰ other sources indicate that after Henry III made his first pilgrimage in 1226, the Bromholm Cross was a frequent object of royal visits and donations between 1232 and 1248. In this period of the zealous collection of relics from the Holy Land, the acquisition of the Bromholm Cross represented



FIGURE 196. *Seal of Bromholm Priory (enlarged detail).* B.L., Topham Charter 54.

a great coup for England, especially in view of the fact that its arrival preceded King Louis's acquisition of a relic of the True Cross by several decades. On the other hand, both the small scale of Matthew's drawing and its placement on an inner margin, as well as his failure to mention the Brotholme Cross in his own annals, may reflect a mixture of envy and regret that St. Albans did not acquire the miraculous relic when it had the chance.

During the first half of the thirteenth century, the cross became a pervasive visual symbol in many different contexts beyond the immediate milieu of the Holy Land and its relics of the True Cross. We have already had occasion to refer to Matthew's illustration (see Fig. 42) of Hubert de Burgh's vision of a crucifix carried by a monk in connection with the king's forgiveness of his former loyal justiciar whom he had wrongfully persecuted. A second drawing illustrating a story associated with the king's mercy (Fig. 197) offers further evidence of the remarkable powers of the cross to generate forgiveness.

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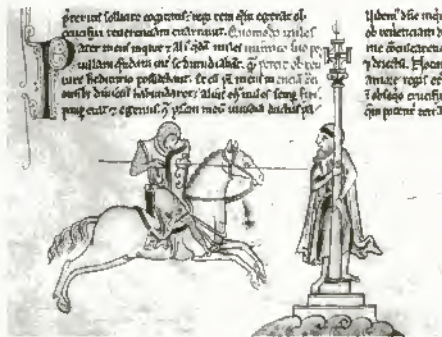


FIGURE 197. Knight Sparing His Father's Murderer. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 790.

In his *annal* for 1232 Roger recounts a similar tale-within-a-tale concerning the noble King Richard who forgave a knight for stealing venison after he saw the crucifix bend its head and shoulders as if to answer the knight's prayer. Richard then asked the knight if he had ever done any action in honor of the Holy Cross, to which he replied by relating the following story:

"My father," said he, "and another knight divided between them a town which belonged to them by hereditary right; and while my father abounded in all kinds of wealth, the other knight, on the contrary, was always poor and destitute, and, having become envious of my father, he treacherously murdered him. I was then a boy, but when I arrived at manhood and was established in my paternal inheritance, I made a resolute determination to slay that knight in revenge for my father's death; he was, however, forewarned of my purpose, and for several years by his cunning escaped the snares I had laid for him. At length, on Good Friday, the day on which Christ Jesus bore his cross for the salvation of the world, as I was going to church to hear mass, I saw my enemy before me, also on his way to church; I hastened behind him in order to draw my sword to kill him; but he accidentally turned, looking back, and . . . fled to a cross which stood near the road, because he was so greatly burdened by old age he was unable to defend himself. And when I endeavored with upraised sword to slay him and dash out his brains, he embraced the cross with his arms and begged me in the name of Christ . . . not to slay him. . . . When I saw the old man weeping, my heart was moved, and compassion triumphed, and I replaced my sword in its sheath, refusing to inflict injury. And indeed in my love and reverence for the life-giving cross . . . I forgave the knight for my father's death."⁴⁹

Here Paris departs significantly from the circumstances reported in Wendover's text in which both protagonists are making their way to church. Instead he portrays the knight in the guise of an equestrian warrior in full armor, galloping at full tilt with his lance leveled at his intended victim. His thrust stops short by a hair's breadth of his father's murderer who, having clambered up the three steps of its tall base in barefooted penitence, embraces a columnar shaft surmounted by a small cross, very similar to the late ninth-century Gosforth Cross in Cumberland, which is 14½ feet high.⁵⁰ Claspings the column with both hands like a bound flagellant, the murderer turns his head to reveal a caricatured profile, gaping in horror as he faces the violent onslaught of the avenging knight. The dramatic tension created by the horizontal lance rapidly advancing against the fixed vertical target is intensified by the weight of its heavy dark green

color contrasted with the light, transparent figure of the galloping knight. Matthew's illustration veers away from the act of forgiveness inspired by the crucifix which was central to the thrust of Roger's text, to concentrate instead on the vindictive violence of the knight's anger and the murderer's terror in the antecedent phase of the story. Paris regards this event as a true story and hence focuses on a more characteristic but secondary phase of the action that allows him to play down the miraculous aspect to reveal the psychological and emotive responses of the protagonists in more concrete and dramatic terms.

VISIONS

Unlike the harsh punishments that provide the impetus for many of Matthew's illustrations of legends, miracles, and visions, the last two stories concerning the power of the cross to engender merciful pardon and forgiveness in the hardest of hearts belong to a gentler sphere of moral sentiment more readily associated with the new Franciscans. While both St. Albans chroniclers appear to have been influenced in their treatment of legends and stories in the *Chronica Majora* by the friars' use of moral *exempla*, cynicism still tends to prevail in their perception of divine intervention in human affairs. Nowhere is the uncomfortable tension between the worldly pessimism of the Benedictine chroniclers and the spiritual idealism of the new friars more painfully evident than in Roger's account of the life of St. Francis as it is amplified by Matthew's later textual additions and illustrations in the annal for 1227.

In his long entry written on the occasion of the death of Francis, Wendover seems less interested in the founder of the Minorite order than in launching an attack on Rome and Pope Innocent III. Laying great stress on sacrificial poverty and denial of worldly wealth and comfort, his account of Francis focuses exclusively on Rome, his petition for papal confirmation of the Rule, and his preaching to the Roman populace. Set against Francis's exemplary character, recounted in full detail, Innocent III is cast as a callous villain who, when he first read the petition to found a new order, said, "Go, brother, go to the pigs, to whom you are more fit to be compared than to men, and roll with them, and to them preach the rules you have so ably set forth."¹⁰ To the pope's later astonishment, Francis humbly obeyed his command, thus shaming Innocent III into granting his request.

The pointed emphasis laid on the Rule both here by Roger Wendover and by Matthew's later addition of a folio containing the Rule of St. Francis and papal letters on the limitations of the order, accompanied by a portrait of the English Minorite Brother William, seems to express support for the resistance of English Minorites against papal efforts to relax their Rule. The early English friars had adopted the so-called *Regula bullata*, a revised version approved by Honorius III in 1223 which Matthew later copied into the *Chronica Majora*, but in 1230 a papal bull arrived declaring that the sum's original testament had no binding force. The primitive simplicity and poverty of the Rule were undercut several times (from 1241 on) by Gregory IX and Innocent IV, as well as by hostile factions within the order itself.⁴⁵ Yet it was the humility and directness of their insistence on purely spiritual action that first commanded Matthew's admiration for the early Franciscans. His portrait of their early communities is as appealing as any to be found in mendicant literature, while his description of the origin and early struggles of the Minorite brothers gives even greater emphasis to the lofty conception and practice of absolute poverty by way of contrast with contemporary religious life at St. Albans.⁴⁶ In the inscription above his earlier sketch of a Franciscan friar (see Fig. 28) to accompany Roger's first reference to the Minorite order in 1207, the St. Albans monk extended a special invitation to his readers to "observe the original poverty and exemplary life of the Minorite brother." Throughout the *Chronica Majora* and the *Historia Anglorum*, however, Paris contrasts the early spontaneity, simplicity, and independence of the mendicants with their later plunge into arrogance. By 1234, having become papal agents for collecting redemption fees for crusading vows, the friars had already begun to lose their inspiring spiritual luster.⁴⁷ Matthew's repeated emphasis on the integrity and strict observance of the Franciscan Rule, reflected in his addition of the early Honorian version as an inserted folio (67-67v) in the *Chronica Majora* and in the *Liber Additamentorum* as well, seems to have been motivated on the one hand by an initial admiration for its new spiritual vigor and on the other by a later antagonism toward the mendicants' willingness to compromise the legacy of their saintly founder on behalf of papal fiscal interests.

Roger's initial attack on Rome sets the tone for his whole account of the legend so that Innocent's demeaning command to preach in a pigsty serves as an anticipatory metaphor for Francis's subsequent attempt to preach to the Romans, "the enemies of all righteousness, [who] so despised the preaching of this man of God, that they would

not hear him or listen to his holy exhortations."⁴⁰ In an account which differs significantly from all the Italian versions, Roger tells us that Francis

then went out of the city, and in the suburbs found crows sitting among the carrion, ravens, kites, magpies, and several other birds flying about in the air, and said to them, "I command you in the name of Jesus Christ . . . whose preaching the wretched Romans have despised, to come to me and hear the word of God, in the name of him who created you and delivered you from the waters of the flood in Noah's ark." And that flock of birds drew near and surrounded him; and having ordered silence, all the chirping stopped, and for the space of half a day those birds listened to the words of that man of God without moving from their spot, but the whole time gazed into the face of the preacher. This wonderful occurrence was discovered by Roman citizens who, at the same time, were going to and from the city; and [when] for a space of three days the same had been repeated by the man of God to the assembled birds, the clergy went out from the city, conducting a crowd of people to the man of God, and brought him back to the city with great reverence.⁴¹

Unlike the contemporary Italian accounts which saw the remarkable sermon as the supreme symbol of the "rapture of devotion" with which Francis embraced all God's creatures,⁴² Wendover interpreted the preaching to lowly birds scavenging carrion in a sordid suburb of the Eternal City as a bitter rejection and desperate humiliation inflicted on Francis by the deprived people of Rome, among whom he had been sent "like a noble warrior, [to] engage in battle against evil spirits and carnal vices."⁴³ In the left margin of fol. 66v (Fig. 198) next to Roger's text, Matthew inserted one of the earliest known pictorial representations of St. Francis preaching to the birds. The small monochrome sketch is heightened only by the addition of a soft green wash to the rough ground and stylized tree. Matthew's addition of two texts to his illustration demonstrates that he knew Celano's version and that he intended to reconcile Roger's aberrant account with the Italian legend. He added a speech scroll which has Francis declaim: "Hail birds, praise your Creator, who feeds you and clothes you with feathers, although you toil not, neither do you spin, plow, sow, or gaffice into barns" (*Ave ave, laudate Creatorum vestrum, qui omni parte et ordinis plumis vestit, nec laboratis, neis, aratis, vel seminatis, nec in horrea congregatis*).⁴⁴ Beneath the drawing Paris wrote, "This happened while he was walking in the valley of Spoleto, and not only with doves, crows, or daws, but with vultures and birds of prey" (*Idem iter agebat per vallem Spoletanam, hoc*



FIGURE 198. St. Francis Preaching to the Birds. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 66v.

ovens), nec tantum columbis, corvibus, vel monedalis, sed vulturebus et volucris rapacibus). Following Celano, Matthew contradicts Roger's injurious association of the sermon with Rome and the periton to Innocent III, but maintains his predecessor's assertion that Francis preached not merely to Bonaventure's harmless, "little birds," but also to large birds of prey.¹⁹

Notwithstanding his textual additions, Matthew's drawing of the sermon reinforces Wendover's version of the legend by depicting St. Francis alone leaning on a pilgrim's staff. Cast out of the city as a solitary exile, the saintly preacher stands on the rough ground at the left addressing an assembly of very large birds, including a heron or crane and an eagle perched on a small tree. In these respects the *Chronica Majora* illustration appears to be unique among the thirteenth- and later fourteenth-century English representations of St. Francis preaching to the birds,²⁰ standing at wide variance with the Italian iconography of the Berlinghieri altarpiece of 1235 from which they were ultimately derived. As in the Pescia panel (Fig. 199) where Francis, holding a book, stands to address a swarm of small birds, the English version in a nearly contemporary drawing on fol. 22 in Eton MS 96 (Fig. 200) depicts Francis accompanied by a cowed friar, as he preaches to an attentive audience of three highly stylized birds. Matthew may have known the Eton drawing, just as he knew the more lyrical version of Celano's legend, but he chose instead to stress the loneliness and despondency of Francis as a rejected victim, preaching among captured but despised carrion birds.

At the foot of the same folio in MS 16 is an illustration of the second and most important episode in Wendover's account of St. Francis, his vision and stigmata (Fig. 201). Again, Matthew's pictorial interpretation forms a visual commentary and extension rather than a literal rendering of Roger's text and is replete with textual and iconographical additions which differ even more significantly from the earlier chronicler's version. At the left we see Francis reclining as if asleep and dreaming with his head supported on his elbow, while directly beneath the text column at the right is a large six-winged seraph nailed to the cross. Wendover's text describes the stigmata, but there is no reference to the seraph:

On the fifteenth day before his death, wounds appeared on his hands and feet, continuously emitting blood, just as appeared on the Savior of the world hanging on the cross when he was crucified. . . . His right side also appeared open and sprinkled with blood, so that the secret recesses of his heart were plainly visible. Why then? Astonished at



FIGURE 199. *St. Francis Preaching to the Birds*. Pescia, San Francisco



FIGURE 200. *St. Francis Preaching to the Birds*. Windsor, Eton 96, fol. 22.

such a rare thing, people flocked to him; among others, cardinals came to him and inquired what the vision meant. To this he replied, "This vision is displayed to me in order that you, those to whom I have preached the mysteries of the cross, may believe in him who, for the salvation of the world, suffered on the cross the wounds which you see here, and that you may know that I am a servant of him whom I have preached to you, crucified, dead, and resurrected; and in order that, all doubt being removed, you may persevere in this faith to the end; these wounds in me which you now see open and bloody, will, as soon as I am dead, become healed and closed, so that they will appear like the rest of my flesh." And without any bodily pain or suffering he was immediately released from the body and resigned his spirit to his Creator.³⁴

In Paris's drawing, however, the seraph is the dominant image. The inscription above the reclining figure informs us that "in the penultimate year of his life St. Francis saw the seraph thus" (*Sanctus Franciscus vitae suae anno penultimo vidit Seraphin sic*), and above the seraph, flanking the title board of the cross in rubric, "Angelus magis consilii Seraphin." Standing on the narrow platform of the *suppedaneum*, the great angel, whose nimbus is marked by a cross,



FIGURE 201. Vision and Suppedaneum of St. Francis. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 66v.

is the crucified Christ nailed to a rough-hewn green cross, his body enveloped in six elaborately feathered peacock wings. This pictorial conception of the stigmata vision is directly inspired by Celano's chapter, "Of the vision of the man having the likeness of a seraph crucified":

While he dwelled in the hermitage which . . . is called Alveros, two years before he gave back his soul to heaven, he saw in a vision of God a man like a Seraph, having six wings, standing over him with hands outstretched and feet joined together, fixed to a cross. Two wings were raised above his head, two were spread out for flight, and two veiled the whole body.³⁷

Sources for the *Chronica Majora* drawing, however, are not limited to Celano. Matthew further interprets each of the five feathers of the seraph's six wings as embodying a separate virtue. The wings are numbered in red rubric "Ala prima, Ala secunda . . . Ala sexta," while at the right appear six columns listing the virtues which correspond to the feathers of each wing, for example, in the first column, "Pennae primae alae: Veritas, Integritas, Firmitas, Humilitas, Simplicitas."³⁸ The scheme is based upon diagrammatic representations widely current in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, illustrating the attribution of various virtues to the plumage of the winged cherubim, described by Alain de Lille (d. 1202) in his tract *De sex alis Cherubim*.³⁹ A close analogue to Matthew's seraph, its feathers inscribed with virtues, may be seen in the late twelfth-century Cistercian *History of England* (Fig. 202).⁴⁰ In further emulation of the twelfth-century diagrammatic tradition of ascribing moral qualities to the limbs of the body, tree, or cross, Paris labels the left arm of the seraph "Contemplatio" and the right arm "Actio."

Unlike the Italian representations of the stigmata of St. Francis beginning with the Berlinghieri panel of 1235 of the seraph flying through the air, the St. Albans illustration is faithful to Celano's text in depicting the angel "standing over him."⁴¹ As in his interpretation of the sermon to the birds, however, Paris has not lost sight of the aberrant version in Wendover's text. Instead of seeing Francis awake and kneeling, with rays joining the wounds of the crucified seraph to his stigmata, we are reminded of the saint's impending death stressed in Roger's account. Francis reclines in the same pose later used to portray the death of Matthew Paris himself at the end of the *Chronica Majora* in MS Roy. 14. C. VII (see Fig. 1). Moreover, its striking resemblance to contemporary representations of the reclining visionary Evangelist in mid-thirteenth-century English Apocalypse manuscripts⁴² evokes an image of the death dream which



FIGURE 202. Seraph Inscribed with Virtues. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 66, p. 100.

FIGURE 6

Roger had associated with the vision of Francis. Matthew's own interpolation of thirty virtues ascribed to the plumage of the seraph from Alain de Lille also may have been motivated by a desire to infuse Celano's image with the tone and gist of the St. Albans text. Roger's long excursus on St. Francis is documented by the litany of his virtues which appears at the beginning of the entry and their incorporation into his Rule. In his conclusion, Wendover characterized the vision, stigmata, and death as "a reward for his labors," for "like a good usurer, [Francis] had restored the talent entrusted to him to the Giver with interest manyfold."

In his pictorial reworking of the *Chronica Majora* text for both illustrations of the legend, Matthew seems to share Wendover's enthusiasm for the fresh vitality and independence of St. Francis. His life is offered as an inspiring *exemplum* to counteract the fetid moral atmosphere of Rome, as well as the spiritual desiccation that had even begun to invade the sacred precincts of St. Albans in the early thirteenth century. In the eyes of both chroniclers, Francis was perceived as a persecuted victim and martyr to Roman depravity, an unwavering man of God who was ultimately rewarded for his virtue by the vision and miraculous stigmata which revealed the truth of his preaching before his death. In the context of the St. Albans chronicle, the sermon to the birds and the stigmata function as God's vindication of Francis over the papacy and the people of Rome who had failed to recognize the moral rightness of his mission.

Among the illustrations of visions and miracles in the *Chronica Majora*, these two episodes from the Life of St. Francis, along with the two stories of forgiveness associated with the cross, are somewhat exceptional in the optimism and gentle sentiments of their moral outlook. For the most part, Matthew's visualizations of divine intervention in human affairs tend to dwell upon dark and violent punishments for the wicked, as, for example, in God's gory reprisal against St. Alban's executioner or the horrible fate of Fawkes de Breaute. Thus the tale of a vision accompanying the untoward collapse of the king's new walls built near the Tower of London provides an opportunity for a more characteristic pictorial demonstration of vindictive violence. In this case, St. Thomas Becket vents his wrath upon Henry III for his repressive treatment of Londoners in 1241:

About this time, something was revealed to a priest . . . in a nocturnal vision wherein a superintendent, dressed in pontifical robes and carrying a cross in his hand, came to the walls which the king had at that time had built near the Tower of London, and, after regarding them with a scowling look, struck them hard and violently with the



FIGURE 203. *New Tower Walls Falling*. Cambridge, *Copia Christi* College 16, fol. 142.

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cross, saying, "Why do you rebuild them?" And suddenly the newly erected walls fell to the ground as if they had been violently shaken by an earthquake. And the priest, frightened by this sight, said to a clerk whom he saw following the supernatantius, "Who is this archbishop?" The clerk replied, "It is St. Thomas the martyr, a Londoner by birth, who considered these walls to be an insult and prejudice to Londoners and therefore irrevocably destroyed them." . . . Early in the morning a report spread through the city of London that the walls built around the Tower, on the construction of which the king had expended more than twelve thousand marks, had fallen irreparably to the ground. . . . At this misfortune the citizens of London were exceedingly astonished, but very little saddened. For these walls were like a thorn in the eye.⁴¹

On the inner margin near the top of fol. 142 (Fig. 203) we see a very small sketch in fine line and green tint of the king's new bastions tumbling into the Thames, while the old Norman fortress stands erect at the head of the text column. Although smaller in scale, the drawing closely resembles the earlier illustration of Henry II's destruction in 1173 of the walls of Leicester (Fig. 30), in which Thomas's royal murderer vented his wrath against the people of the town. Now the angry martyr has returned to repay a later King Henry in kind, almost sixty years later in London.

Unlike the characteristic "mythic paradigms" of thirteenth-century hagiography, Matthew's illustrations of saints' legends fail to evoke superhuman examples of moral perfection or penitence.⁴² The St. Albans chronicler is not at all concerned with demonstrating the exceptional character of his saintly protagonists to serve the purposes of homiletic *exempla*. Alban, Thomas of Canterbury, and even Francis are portrayed instead as victims who are rewarded by God in special ways for their sufferings at the hands of kings and popes. None of Matthew's hagiographical heroes fled from the world into monastic asceticism; all were public men actively involved in the world. For Paris hagiography is not illusory legend, but historical reality in which the miraculous powers of saints and relics operate to affect the course of ordinary human events in a sporadic and unpredictable sequence of moral transactions. Their visual presence in Matthew's chronicle is neither mythic nor exemplary but phenomenologically "present" in action and event.

6

Imagines Mundi:

Matthew's Cartography

MAPS OCCUPY AN IMPORTANT POSITION IN THE HISTORICAL WORKS of Matthew Paris. Systematically arranged within the preliminary material prefacing *Corpus Christi* MSS 26 and 16 of the *Chronica Majora* and the *Historia Anglorum* in MS Roy. 14. C. VII, his major cartographic productions include two maps of England, three itineraries from London to Apulia, and three maps of Palestine, as well as a *mappa mundi* appended at the end of *Corpus Christi* MS 26. As Vaughan has convincingly demonstrated,¹ the maps are identical in style and handwriting to the chronicle illustrations. Architectural and decorative details, the distinctive use of blue paragraph markers, rubrics, and enclosures for inscriptions are exactly analogous to Matthew's pictorial embellishments in the margins of the historical text. In addition, two more maps of England and a fourth London-Apulia itinerary survive from his hand in other manuscripts.² Although the maps are closely linked both to each other and to the texts of the chronicles, no two are identical. This suggests that Matthew's contribution to medieval cartography extends far beyond the copying and preservation of older maps now lost, and that his geograph-

ical illustrations may be regarded in large part as original conceptions and inventions.

Paris's cartographic enterprises are direct extensions of his work as historian and artist. Like most medieval maps, those in the *Chronica Majora* are not independent scientific documents, but diagrammatic sketches converted into illustrations to accompany and clarify the written historical text. Almost every place-name on the maps and itineraries occurs in the text of the great chronicle. The maps function as a visual *estoire*. Analogous to Matthew's encyclopedic gathering of pictorial heraldic devices for the multitude of noble personages who populate the text, cities, towns, rivers, and mountains take on a new concreteness and immediacy in his cartographic illustrations. The maps and itineraries also provide an abstractly conceptualized graphic organization through which his analogistic chronology acquires a needed spatial dimension. Like his various genealogical schemes that neatly synthesize sets of chronological relationships, Paris's cartographic diagrams transform the chaotic jumble of geographical locations into coherent visual patterns of spatial relationships.

The sometimes preposterous inaccuracy of Matthew's maps, embellished with bright colors, pictorial vignettes, and naive legends, reflects not so much the mentality of a credulous and uncritical age as it expresses a typical medieval conception of the map's real function.¹ Medieval mapmakers in England usually designated their productions by some Latin word meaning illustration, e.g., *pictura*, *figura*, or *effigies*.² Thus the scale of some regions is often exaggerated out of all proportion, to emphasize the most interesting or significant localities. In the same vein, plans of cities are usually enlarged in relation to the scale of the surrounding country. No one, however, believed that such proportions actually obtained. Symbolic scale simply functioned as an effective visual means of conveying the idea of prominence within an abstract hierarchic perspective in which Jerusalem was traditionally placed at the center of the world. Other kinds of spatial distortion often amount to a complete failure to show places in their proper positions. Although such wild inaccuracies were often due to sheer ignorance, distortions in contour and location were also at times conscious and even deliberate, either caused by the necessity of making a map fit the page on which it was drawn, or of conforming to a preconceived idea of an oval, circular, or rectangular world.

Like all medieval maps, Matthew's cartographic schemes tend to follow certain conventions. A large variety of subjects is represented by symbols, vignettes, and legends. Features such as city

walls, buildings, and mountains are invariably shown in profile. Seas and oceans are tinted green, while rivers are blue and mountains are yellow or ochre. The width of rivers is always exaggerated, and mountain ranges are portrayed as jagged, sawtooth patterns running parallel to straight lines. At the same time, however, Matthew's maps are remarkably free of the general medieval tendency toward symmetry and stereotype, and contain surprisingly few biblical, classical, and legendary features. Towns are represented by stylized views of walls and towers, usually seen in profile, but sometimes obliquely from above in a bird's-eye view showing buildings inside the town walls. Matthew is one of the first medieval artists to distinguish between one town and another by drawing and naming prominent buildings. His maps of England offer a revolutionary shift from traditional medieval orientation to the modern compass position; the top of the page represents north rather than east. In their insistence on contemporary material and modernization of nomenclature, the *Chronica Majora* maps are landmarks in the history of cartography. While Matthew Paris never surmounted the limitations of a medieval bookman's geography, his constant reworking and updating of information, his wide-ranging curiosity, and concern for accurate details are nonetheless remarkable as the distant harbingers of modern scientific mapmaking.

THE ITINERARY FROM LONDON TO ACRE AND THE LATIN CRUSADER KINGDOM

The most important cartographic document in the *Chronica Majora* is the itinerary from London to Rome and Apulia which occupies the first five pages of MS 26 (Pl. XIV and Figs. 209–212). Not a map in the strict sense, Matthew's elaborate itinerary assumes the form of a "strip-map" on which the major stops on the route from England to South Italy are laid out in vertical columns separated by bands lightly tinted in blue, pink, pale rose, and green, and each segment is read from the lower left corner from bottom to top. Each town is captioned and marked by an architectural vignette comprising crenellated walls, towers, and churches. The distance from one place to another is usually indicated as a day's journey (*journee*) on a connecting vertical line. London and Rome are established as the major terminal points and are provided with city plans giving important buildings, gates, and other landmarks.

Very similar itineraries exist in three other autograph manu-

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scripts, the closest analogue being that in MS Roy. 14. C. VII, fols. 2-4 (Figs. 204-208), forming the first part of the pictorial preface to the *Historia Anglorum*. An incomplete half-leaf covering the last segment of the London-Apulia itinerary is bound up with the preliminary matter of MS 16 in Corpus Christi as fol. ii, while a fourth and abbreviated version is condensed onto two folios in the *Liber Additamentorum*, MS Cotton Nero D. I, fols. 183v-184. In all but the last example the itinerary continues onto the next verso and recto to include the major sites in Syria and Palestine. At one time it was thought that Matthew's map was intended as a pilgrims' guide to Jerusalem,⁵ but Konrad Müller's assertion that the two parts of Matthew's itinerary are independent and have no connection with each other has prevailed since the end of the nineteenth century.⁶ The London-Apulia itinerary is now thought to have been occasioned by the papal offer of the crown of Sicily to Richard of Cornwall in 1253 on the evidence provided in the Apulia section of the *Historia Anglorum* version, which is inscribed:

APULLA, that is, the kingdom. Earl Richard, brother of the King of England, was offered the crown of all this country. . . . This was in the time of Pope Innocent IV, who made him the offer in the year of grace 1253.⁷

However, this reference to Innocent's proposal to the earl of Cornwall is unique; it does not appear in the other three autograph versions, suggesting that Matthew's allusion should perhaps be interpreted as a less purposeful, incidental explanatory note. Although the papal offer is reported in the *Chronica Maiora* at the end of MS 16 on fol. 266v as a firsthand account,⁸ both Corpus Christi versions of the itinerary fail to mention it; hence it seems unlikely that this was the intended purpose or even occasion for the itinerary to Rome and Apulia. Nevertheless, Matthew's reference to the crown of Sicily offers important evidence for dating the *Historia Anglorum* version of the London-Apulia map after 1253 or 1254.⁹

Matthew's journey from London appears to have had two important goals. Rome provides the first and clearest terminus on the itinerary in a walled city plan with landmarks in the upper right corner and a long inscription attached to fol. iii in MS 26 (Fig. 212), as an appropriate analogue corresponding to the point of departure in a walled city plan of London in the lower left corner of fol. i (Pl. XIV). Captioned "terminus itineris multorum" in MS Roy. 14. C. VII (Fig. 208), Rome was visited by an increasing number of English brigands to the papal court, both clerics and laymen, from the

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time of Lateran IV on. The Eternal City stands as the polar magnet on an axis between England and Rome that remains constant throughout Matthew's part of the *Chronica Majora*. Sicily and South Italy (Apulia) were also important centers of travel for many Englishmen from the time of Henry II on, first in connection with the Norman kingdom and later with Frederick II and the later Crusades. Richard of Cornwall returned from the Holy Land in May 1241 by way of Sicily. Including as it does the names of all the places the St. Albans chronicler knew and wrote about in his history, the London-Apulia itinerary appears to have been intended as an elaborate and detailed topographical illustration for his whole chronicle, in which the geographical sites of the events reported are laid out in an ordered spatial sequence from London to Rome and South Italy. The creation of this cartographic collection of place-names needed no special occasion or purpose beyond Matthew's own avid propensity to collect and pictorialize information of every kind. On the other hand, the Anglo-Norman legends suggest an English traveler as a major source, and, as Hilpert has argued, the whole itinerary may have been conceived in connection with Richard of Cornwall's Crusade.¹⁰

Although the London-Apulia itinerary and the so-called Palestine map which follows are generally regarded as separate and independent cartographic documents, Matthew himself provides a clear connection between them on fol. iii in MS 26 (Fig. 212) by drawing particular attention to the road linking Apulia to the sea and eventually to Acre. Otranto is marked "port de mer," with a ship in the harbor and a special symbol ⊕ for which two separate explanations are given on the map of Apulia:

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⊕ This is the route to Acre via Apulia, which leads to the tip of Apulia. That is, to Otranto, which is the city in Apulia on the Sea of Venice [the Adriatic] which is closest to Acre. On the other route by sea to reach the place where the patriarch of Acre resides¹¹ [where] are islands. The first route from Messina leaves Sicily at the left. And Malta at the right, which is [off] the Barbary Coast, then one finds Crete and then Cyprus.¹²

At this sign ⊕ above, where the ship is painted, at this sign is the route to Acre in Apulia. That is, as far as Otranto which is the city in Apulia on the Sea of Venice [Adriatic] which is closest to Acre. On the other sea route to reach the place where the patriarch of Acre resides, there are islands. The first [is at] Messina, and one leaves Sicily at the left and Malta at the right, which is [off] the Barbary Coast. Then one finds Crete. And then there is Cyprus at the left.¹³

The two other versions of the itinerary in the *Chronica Majora*, MS 16, fol. ii, and the *Historia Anglorum*, MS Roy. 14. C. VII, fol. 4, give directions from the port of Otranto to Constantinople: "Par devers la mer de Venise a devers Constantinople."

The map which then follows on fols. iii verso and iv in MS 26 is not actually a Jerusalem itinerary, but a map of the Latin Crusader Kingdom, dominated by a large detailed plan of the principal city of Acre, more than four times larger than that of Jerusalem at the left. Matthew's cartographic illustration appears to have been intended not as a pilgrims' journey to the Holy Land, but rather as a visualizing of all the important political and military sites mentioned in his chronicles of the Crusades. The so-called London-Apulia itinerary thus merges with the map of the Crusader Kingdom to form a single panoramic encyclopedia of all the known places of interest which occur in the text of the *Chronica Majora*, and the two itineraries were meant to be viewed as a single cartographic illustration. Not only are its two sections physically contiguous in all three versions, continuing from the recto to the verso of the same folio en route from Apulia to Acre, but they appear to be contemporary, identical in style and using the same mixture of Latin and Anglo-Norman inscriptions throughout. The layout of the last section of the London-Apulia itinerary corresponds exactly to that for the Syria-Palestine segment on the following verso and recto. Matthew has abandoned the vertical columns of place-names in both parts for a more maplike dispersion of towns and other landmarks along the coasts and over the page; both segments are now accompanied by lengthy descriptive texts, so that the visual layout of Rome and Apulia tends to merge with that of Acre and Palestine. The intended scope of the so-called itineraries forming the main preliminary matter for both the *Chronica Majora* and the *Historia Anglorum* should thus be expanded to include the Latin Crusader Kingdom and its ultimate goal at Acre. Consequently, the long and detailed seven-page cartographic survey should be more accurately regarded as an itinerary from London to Acre, meant to serve as a political sketch or diagram encompassing most of the known world within Matthew's parview ca. 1250-1255.

Although the itineraries in the *Chronica Majora* and the *Historia Anglorum* are almost identical, fols. 2-4v in MS Roy. 14. C. VII reveal some striking and important differences. Instead of forming a sequence of regular folios continuing from recto to verso, they comprise a series of separate single sheets pasted back to back, suggesting that they were perhaps originally intended to be laid out side

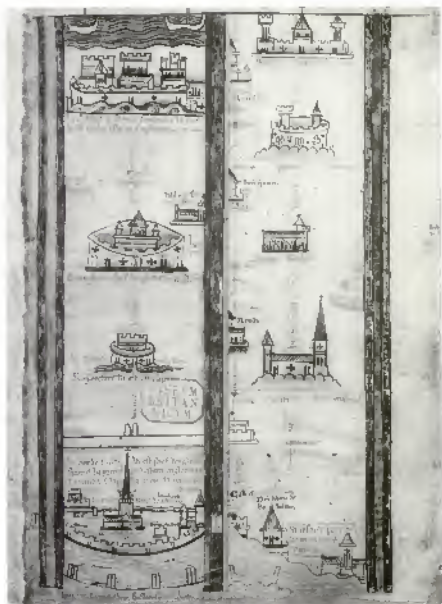


FIGURE 204. Itinerary from London to Bevois. B L., Reg. 19 C VII, fol. 2.

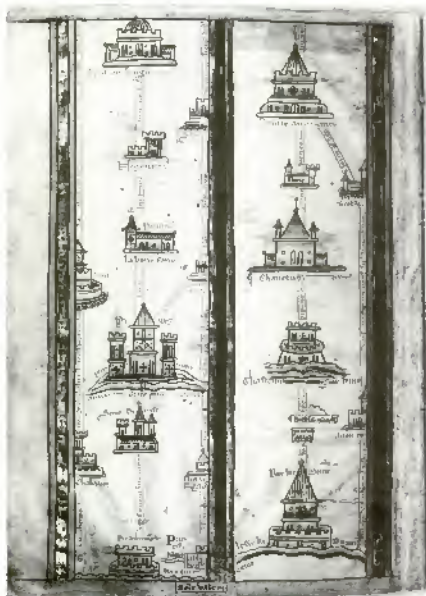


FIGURE 203. *Itinerary from Beaumont to Beauve*. B.L., Roy. 14. G. VII, fol. 20.

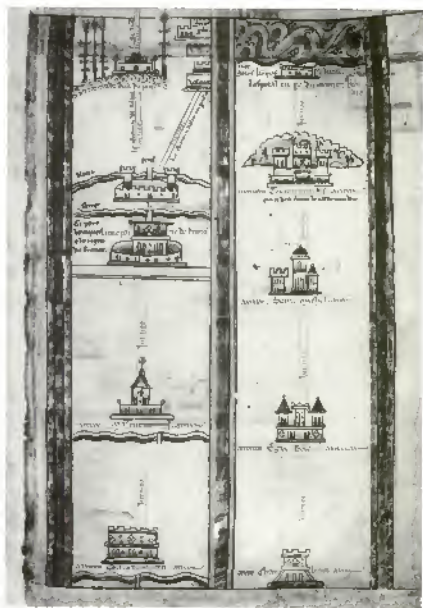


FIGURE 206. *Itinerary from Châlons-sur-Marne to Mont Cassin. B.L., Roy. 14 C. VII, fol. 1.*

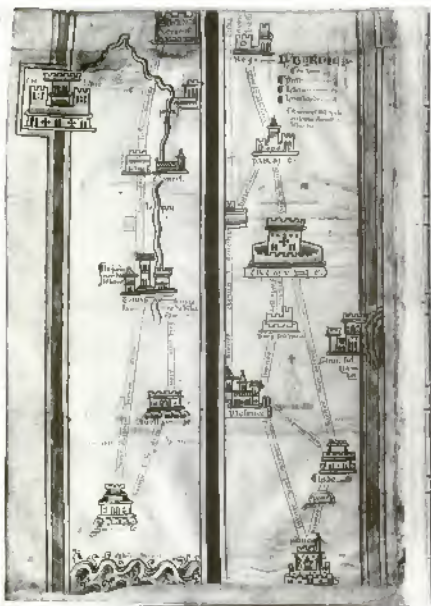


FIGURE 307. Itinerary from Mont César to Reggio. B.L., Roy. 14. C. VII, fol. 37.

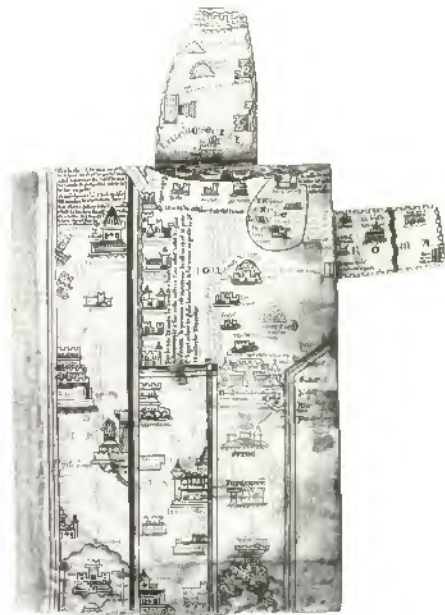


FIGURE 206. *Itinerary from Portsmouth to Aptaia. B. L., Roy 14. C. VII. fol 3*

by side. Moreover, the "strip-map" in the *Historia Anglorum* (Figs. 204-208) also reveals vertical sequences of numerals written in minuscule rubric and spaced at wide intervals. Reading from bottom to top along the extreme right and left edges of each page in a continuous series from *i* on the lower left edge of fol. 2 to *xxxv* at the upper right edge of fol. 3v, they provide some kind of numerical guide, perhaps referring to the number of days needed for the journey to specific points on the route. Unlike MS 26, the first three pages in MS Roy. 14. C. VII use gold leaf as well as color in the vertical bands separating the columns. Taken together, these features may indicate that Paris's original itinerary was not made on folios for inclusion in a book but was instead begun in the form of a continuous document about 175 cm. (70 in.) long, thus accounting for the curious format of his "strip-map." Oriented in a horizontal format, the separate vellum sheets would then have been connected along their vertical edges so that the whole itinerary could be laid out and read across from left to right, up and down the columns in an unbroken sequence to the end of the so-called Palestine map. The duplication of the borders at the vertical connections could indicate that the original format was a long folding map, designed to reveal only one section at a time to the user.¹⁴ Flaps and other folded appendages occur in Matthew's maps on fol. iii in MS 26 and fol. 4 in MS Roy. 14. C. VII. It would have been but a small step for Paris to break up the long "strip-map" into five shorter segments by pasting them together to form folios for inclusion at the beginning of the *Historia Anglorum*. Thus, the itinerary in MS Roy. 14. C. VII may represent the first version, while that in MS 26 was perhaps copied from it after the long "strip-map" had been recast into book form.

From London to Dover

In MS 26 Matthew's itinerary begins with a fairly detailed plan of London in the lower left corner of fol. i (Pl. XIV), accompanied by a legend informing us that the chief city of England was founded by Brutus and was called "the New Troy": "La cite de lundres xi est chef de engleterre. Brutus ki premiere inhabita bretaine ki oee est engleterre: la fonda e lapele troue la nuvele: Sis porcs ia es murs et la seite."¹⁵ Although the medieval city was actually a rough rectangle as defined by its old Roman walls, Matthew shows London as oval in plan, surrounded by a high curving crenellated wall, so that the city resembles a vast colosseum into which we are given a composite

perspective from an aerial view, but at the same time we see all the buildings in profile.¹⁹ Of London's six medieval gates only three are given: Ludgate, Newgate (*Neugate*), and Cripplegate (*Crupelegate*), and, although they are described as double gates by FitzStephen, they are drawn as single openings in the Roman walls.¹⁷

The city is bisected by a wide horizontal wavy blue line representing the Thames. In the center the newly rebuilt St. Paul's Cathedral (*seint paul*) rises in a dramatic vertical silhouette; the Gothic structure, 585 feet long, with its spire reaching 480 feet, dominated medieval London as insistently as it claims first attention on Matthew's map.¹⁸ Other familiar landmarks are noted in the Tower (*la tour*), London Bridge (*le puns de lundre*), and Westminster (not labeled), but the orientation is reversed from north to south so that the Tower appears at the left and Westminster at the right.

Of the multitude of churches in the city in Matthew's day, only two are named and no architectural vignettes are provided for them: at the left, Holy Trinity at Aldgate (*la trinite*), an Augustinian priory founded by Queen Matilda in 1107-1108 and the only religious house to be located inside the walls until the coming of the friars;¹⁹ at the right, St. Martin-le-Grand (*seint martin le grant*), a collegiate church founded by one of Edward the Confessor's chaplains ten years before the Norman Conquest, to which William I granted the special privileges of a free royal chapel, under a dean, with rights of permanent sanctuary rivaled only by Westminster, as well as freedom from ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction.²⁰ Matthew's selection of religious landmarks seems to have been motivated not by spiritual concerns but rather by strong personal sentiments of patriotism and resistance to diocesan authority. Both churches were important royal foundations by English rulers dating before the Norman Conquest, and both enjoyed powerful liberties. The prior of Holy Trinity played a special role in the political life of the city as alderman of the Portsoken, while the Augustinian house itself was held free and independent of the bishop as well as the dean and canon of St. Paul's, a privilege of which Matthew takes particular note in the *Chronica Majora* when the canons of Trinity refused to admit Archbishop Boniface as visitor in 1250.²¹ St. Martin-le-Grand's secular character was even more pronounced insofar as it functioned as a governmental office for conducting the business of the royal court where its clerks met to manage the land and larger life of the city, and whose bell rang curfew to keep Londoners indoors. Indeed Matthew singled out two urban churches very similar to his own St. Albans; both were extremely rich, well endowed by royal patrons, enjoyed special

privileges and liberties, with close court associations, and, in the case of St. Martin-le-Grand, functioned more as "a corporation of officials than as a religious house."²² Perhaps also significant in Paris's choice is the fact that St. Albans, like the other great monasteries, had a *rofe* in London, that is, a district of private jurisdiction granted by the Crown, in Wood Street, directly adjacent to the land of St. Martin-le-Grand.²³

At the upper left a third church appears outside the walls in Paris's plan of London, the Cluniac priory of St. Mary Magdalene at Bermondsey (*Birsmundsee*), a mile and a half southeast of the city. Described in the Domesday Book as a royal domain and residence of William the Conqueror, Bermondsey was the site of the first monastic house founded in or near London after 1066.²⁴ Founded in 1089 by William Rufus and a Londoner called Alwine Child for monks brought from La Charité, the priory became one of the main centers of Cluniac influence in England through its wealth and continued royal patronage under Henry I and King John.²⁵ Major events in the history of Bermondsey are carefully recorded in the *Chronica Majora*, and its inclusion in the map of London is unique to the version in MS 26. The priory apparently served as an important ecclesiastical and secular center: in 1249 the Benedictine abbots of England convened there to settle the statutes of the order, and in the following year a meeting of Crusaders was held at Bermondsey.²⁶ In Matthew's time, the king's manor lands of Bermondsey still extended from London Bridge to Rotherhithe.

Two important sites are marked across the Thames from Westminster: Lambeth (*lambet*) and Southwark (*Sauere*). Opposite Henry III's royal palace, Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, papal legate and royal justice, built a palace on the south bank. Rising in the midst of a sheep pasture and marshes rich with game and lampreys, Lambeth Palace came to symbolize the seat of medieval church government and the authority of the primate's office opposite the center of secular power at Westminster.²⁷ The suburban settlement of Southwark to the east had been London's southern defensive work (*sudwerk*) in the Viking wars and now served as a travelers'2 territories absorbing an overflow of foreigners unable to carry on business in London. By Matthew's time the suburb across the Thames had degenerated into a disreputable waterfront town, best known for its sleazy taverns, inns,²⁸ gaming houses, brothels, and prisons, including the famous "Clink." Outside the scope of the city's justice, Southwark was a place of bizarre contrasts. Although the greater part was owned by three great dignitaries of the Church, the archbishop of Canterbury, the abbot of Bermondsey, and the

bishop of Winchester, this haven for criminals just across the bridge was a low-life mecca whose prostitutes were known as "Winchester geese," after the bishop's London residence near which they plied their trade.²⁹ Paris apparently knew a good deal about this slum on the south bank, judging from the numerous references to Southwark throughout the *Chronica Majora*, and was particularly well informed concerning the bishop of Winchester's town house there.

Matthew's London reveals a characteristically astute grasp of the city's political geography in the first half of the thirteenth century. Eschewing religious shrines and pious hospital foundations, our cosmopolitan monk from St. Albans sees the city as a network of urban centers of royal and ecclesiastical power, wealth, and influence, against which are set the suburban strongholds of the archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth, the bishop of Winchester in Southwark, and the priory of the abbot of Bermondsey.

From London the itinerary then proceeds on a day's journey along a central vertical line (*le chemin a romescetre*) to Rochester, depicted as an elaborate castle (*Romesetra li est roescite ce u chasciel eu*) on the River Medway (*la etue de Medeweic*) approached by a bridge (*le punt de rouescetre*). From Rochester, the main route continues along a central vertical line (*le chemin a canterburie*) through Kent (*CANCLIA*) to Canterbury (*Canterburie chief des eglises d'engleterre*), represented by a walled town with a high watchtower and two double gates, and the triple-towered silhouette of Christ Church within the walls, while at the right the abbey church of St. Augustine is pictured without a caption. From Canterbury the central road then leads to Dover (*Doerua*) Castle³⁰ and the Channel with two large ships in the pale green water at the top of the left column.

From Rochester an alternate route is given at the left on an oblique line (*le chemin vers le costere et la mer*) to a small towered structure on the Medway labeled "la premiere iglise n seint austin preché," apparently referring to the cathedral of Rochester begun in 1077 on the site of St. Augustine's first church founded by King Ethelbert in 604. Continuing on the oblique line at the left on another day's journey along "le chemin ka roeur vers la mar," Matthew's side excursion reaches Faversham Abbey (*labbey de faversham ki le rois este neue funda*). Mentioned frequently in the *Chronica Majora*, the Benedictine abbey was founded by King Stephen in the mid-twelfth century and served as the burial place for the king, his wife Matilda, and their son Eustace; King Stephen is represented holding a model of his monastery on fol. 8v in the *Historia Anglorum* (see Fig. 79). From Faversham the alternate route then proceeds on another day's journey "vers la marine."³¹

From Wissant to Mont Cenis

Arriving at Wissant (*Wissant*), a small port on the French side of the Channel midway between Calais and Boulogne, the itinerary resumes at the bottom of the right column on fol. i and then proceeds upward (south) along a central vertical line marked "le chemin vers orient" on a four-day journey through Monreuil (*Monreuil*), St-Riquier (*Seint Riquier*), and Pois (*Pois*) to Beuvrais (*Beuvrais*). At the far left, an alternate route is given from Boulogne (*Notre Dame de Baloune*) and Calais (*Calais*) on a 5½-day journey with stops at St-Bertin Abbey at St-Omer, Arras (*Arras*), and St-Quentin, reaching Reims (*la Cité de Reims*) by way of "un chemin plus vers senestre. Ne pur quant vers orient e un poi vers hise."

Continuing along the main route at the bottom of the left column on fol. i verso (Fig. 209), the southern road (*vers orient*) apparently crosses the Oise River (*leue Oise*) at Beaumont (*Beaumont*). Then it proceeds to St-Denis (*Seint denis*), surrounded by a crenellated wall, before reaching Paris (*PARIS*), represented as a walled city on the Ile surrounded by the Seine and approached from the northwest by a bridge. From Paris the route proceeds on a four-day journey to Sens (*Sens*), with "Sanctonus in burgundia" beneath the architectural vignette, Troyes (*TROIS*),²¹ and Bar (*BAR sur seine*). The alternate route at the left continues from Reims (at the top of fol. i) to Châlons-sur-Marne (*Chalons*) along a road marked "un chemin a senestre de vers orient la puis repointe en l'autre ki est plus a dextre mais cest chemin est plus pres de alemoigne." Two towns are marked by architectural vignettes along this route "de vers orient par autre chemin," but they are not identified with captions. At the far right, along the opposite edge of the column, this alternate itinerary continues in a series of small buildings partially cut off by the band dividing the left from the right column, while along the left edge of the right column the road is marked in a straight line, "le chemin a senestre landroit et le chemin senestre vers orient landroit." Circling Paris to the east, the route goes from Luzarches (*Luzarches*) to Moret (*Moret*) near Fontainebleau to Sens, Auxerre (*Auxerre in burgundia*), Nogent, and the shrine of Mary Magdalene at Vézelay (*Vezelay*) before reaching Beaune. The main itinerary then continues at the bottom of the right column of fol. i verso at Châtillon-sur-Seine (*Chastellun sur seine*), Chânceaux (*CHANCEUX*), Fleury (*florie*),²² and Beaune (*BEAUNE*) on a five-day journey to Chalon-sur-Saône (*CHALON*) at the top of the page.²³

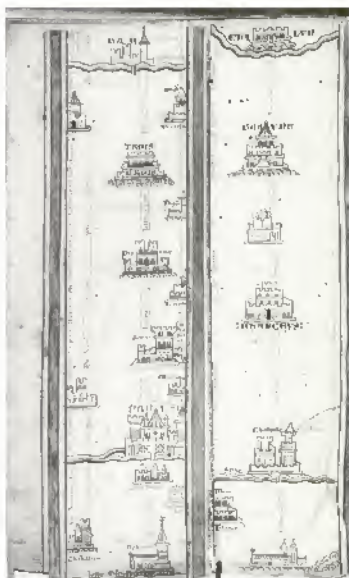


FIGURE 209. Itinerary from Beaumont to Cañons-sur-Maine
 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 26, fol. 1 verso.

After Beaune, the route becomes a single road leading from Mâcon (MASCYN) at the bottom left on fol. ii (Fig. 210) to the pass at Mont Cenis over the Alps at the upper right. From Mâcon on the Seine the itinerary proceeds to Lyons, represented in two distinct parts: across the Saône, "l'une partie de lians sur le Roone" is depicted as a huge fortress with a bridge leading south across the Rhône which disappears and then returns, bending sharply upward, and continues to flow south along the right edge of the first column; on this side of the Saône, "l'autre partie lians," inscribed "Ci part le empire e la regne de france," denotes a large fortification on hills. The route divides briefly again outside Lyons: one road detours sharply south to the right toward Valence, Vienne (*Viane*),¹⁸ and St-Gilles (*Saint Gile*) along the Rhône (*Co est le chemin de vers proterus*), while the other road (*Cest le chemin vers romme e si avani de vers orient*) continues the main itinerary on a one-day journey to La Tour du Pin, depicted as a towered structure surmounting rocky hills, surrounded by three tall pine trees (*sapins e pins*). At Chambéry (*Chamberai*) at the bottom of the second column on fol. ii begins a 4½-day ascent on "le chemin vers orient" to Aiguebelle (*igne Bele*), St-Michel-de-Maurienne (*saint michel*), Ternaguon (*Ternunum est apele par ce he co est fin le val de moriane*), and finally to Mont Cenis (*le main senis hem passe ki va en lumbardie*) and the hospital at the foot (*le hospital en pe du main*). From Lyons on, all the buildings are now situated atop stylized hills and mountains to indicate the changing terrain, and the Alps rise as high wavelike peaks tinted brown with foliated patterns representing trees behind the hospital at Mont Cenis at the top of the right column on fol. ii.¹⁹

From Susa to Rome

PAGE 341 From the Alps at the bottom left of fol. ii verso (Fig. 211), the first town is Susa (*Sise*). Matthew has drawn a stork nesting in one of the towers, a harbinger of spring taken from the medieval Bestiary and perhaps quoted here as an emblem of safe crossing over the treacherous Alpine pass. The itinerary into Italy from this point becomes very confused, with various alternate routes suggested for crossing the Apennines, so that only someone who knows the roads from other itineraries could puzzle them out from here to Rome.²⁰ The "chemin vers orient" no longer links one town to another, and place-names are no longer arranged in a vertical line but are scattered in a more maplike fashion within the space of the column.

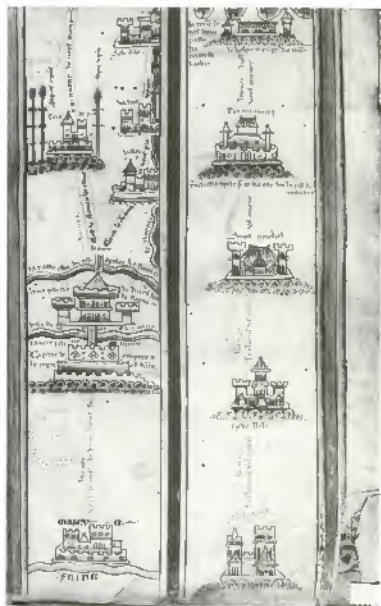


FIGURE 210. Itinerary from Mideon to Mont Coxis. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 26, fol. ii.

From Susa the route goes to Turin (*Torins le premier vife de Lombardie*), also provided with a stork perched on one of its towers and at which point the Po (*Cette ad le pou en latin ad nun Padus*) begins to wind its way upward to Avigliana (*Avellane*), Chivasso (*Claveus*), Mortara (*Mortens*), and finally to Vercelli (*Versus*) marked at the top of the column by a domed building. A sharp detour is made to Milan (*melane*) at the left where the curving course of the Po River is shown to end.

From Vercelli the route continues at the bottom right column on fol. ii verso at Pavia (*patie la cite seint augustin*), then to Piacenza (*presence a mar*), Borgo San Donnino (*Burc seint donna*) to Parma, moving through a region captioned "L'EMBARDEE VEL ITALIA VEL LATINUM. Co est lombardie li garnie." At the bottom of the second column a brief alternate route is given at the left which stays north of the Po from Pavia to Lodl (*Jodes*) and Cremona (*Cremonne*) to Parma (*parme*). Matthew was apparently aware that the area from Pavia to Cremona and Borgo San Donnino lay on a level plain, for the mountains disappear and then reappear at Parma to indicate the impending ascent over the Apennines. The western crossing is by a familiar land route: Monte Bardone (*mont bardun*) and Pontremoli (*pout tremble*) at the upper left of the second column on fol. ii verso to Luni (*lune*) at the upper left edge of the inner column on the facing fol. iii, where the little town is represented as a series of falling towers, presumably to indicate its already ruined state in the thirteenth century.³¹ The eastern route from Parma on fol. ii verso turns south-east (left) to Reggio (*Rege*) and Modena (*Moche*).³²

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The Italian itinerary on fol. iii (Fig. 212) becomes very muddled and confusing. In the left column the western crossing at Monte Bardone is repeated at the bottom, with Tortona (*tortue*) marked by a small tortoise. We also see Pontremoli again flanked by its familiar pine trees. From Modena (*Moche*), one route seems to veer eastward to Bologna (*Bologne la grosse*) and Imola (*ymole*), but then breaks off. Presumably it would have continued, as it does in the *Historia Anglorum* version (cf. Fig. 268), to Faenza and Forlì, where it would then turn southeast to cross the Apennines towards Bagno di Romagna and Rieti before reaching Rome.³³ The western route then continues from fol. ii verso to Lucca (*LUCES*), whose skyline is surmounted by a large cross, perhaps denoting the celebrated large wood-en-crucifix-reliquary known as the Volto Santo, which was kept in the cathedral.³⁴ But Pisa (*pise sur mer*) is misplaced near the bottom of the column and should appear after (south of) Lucca, along the Ligurian coastline, while the island of Sardinia (*Sardannie*) is

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FIGURE 111. *Itinerary from Sidon to Saida*. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 26, fol. 4v verso.

given at the left. From Lucca, the itinerary proceeds to San Quirico (*seint clerik*). More confusion arises in the adjacent column where we next encounter Siena (*Seint la ville la sene*), Florence, Lago di Bolsena (*le lac seint cretine*), Montefiascone (*mont flascun*), and Siena (*Seint*) again, all out of sequence. Two variant routes are also given beyond Florence in the lower right column of fol. iii: (1) from Arezzo (*arece*) at the bottom, with charming vignettes of a goat and bird (*bianole*) below and a peasant driving a donkey in the countryside outside the town, to Viterbo (*Biterbe*) at the left, then to Sutri and Rome; (2) from Arezzo to Perugia (*peruse, la cite la poste*) perched on hills, to Assisi (*asise u seint francis giu*), Foligno (*fuline*), and Spoleto (*Spoletum*) to Rome.

From the landing at Wislani on the Channel to Mont Cenis, Matthew's itinerary provides for twenty-five to twenty-seven stops in France, each one a day's journey apart. Then, on less determinate routes from Susa to Rome, at least twenty-one more stopping places are given, bringing the total to a minimum of forty-six.⁴¹ When four more days are added to complete the journey from London to Dover and the Channel crossing, Matthew's itinerary from London to Rome would take a minimum of fifty days.⁴² According to his routes, the total distance by modern roads from the Channel to Rome via Paris may be calculated at 1183 miles; thus the time of forty-six days or a daily average of twenty-five miles seems to be a reasonable pace, assuming that the trip was made on horseback. Matthew's *journee*, however, is a highly variable and consequently unreliable measure, encompassing distances of forty-five miles (from Vercelli to Pavia) and sixty-five miles (from Lyons to Valence), so that the itinerary may have taken longer than fifty days to reach Rome, particularly if the detours were taken. Judging from the curious mixture of surprisingly accurate information and naïve confusion, it seems likely that the St. Albans monk was not working exclusively from existing itineraries, but that his unique version was compiled largely from material provided by contemporary travelers to Rome who furnished him with firsthand accounts.⁴³

Rome

In both MS 26 in Corpus Christi and MS Roy. 14. C. VII, the plan of Rome is appended on a separate piece of vellum pasted to the outer edge of the last recto page of the London-Apulia itinerary.⁴⁴ While in the *Historia Anglorum* version this appendage consists only of a

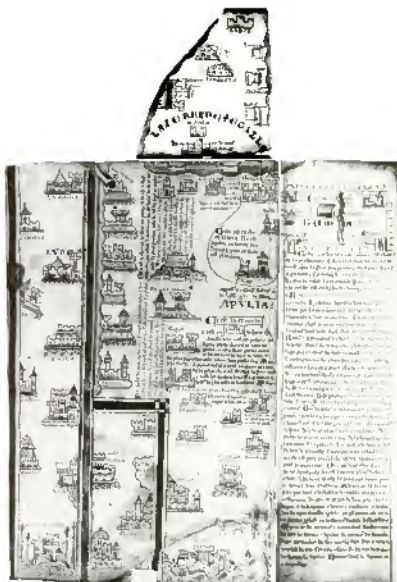


FIGURE 12. Itinerary from Positano to Apulia. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 20, fol. 80.

small rectangle a few centimeters high, in the *Chronica Majora* Rome (ROMA) occupies a vellum attachment equal to the height and width of an additional column, containing the city plan in the top, followed by a long textual discourse.⁴³

Matthew's appended plans are identical in the two manuscripts, showing Rome laid out within a walled rectangle, with one double gate at the lower right, captioned "la porte vers humbaridi," and another in the lower left corner, "la porte de vers poille" (Agnilia). Rome is bisected vertically by the Tiber (*la tevere*), with St. Peter's on the Vatican (*seint pèze*) at the right, St. John Lateran (*seint Jehann de Latrone*) as the largest building in the center, and St. Paul's (*seint pol*) at the left. A fourth church is also sketched at the left beneath St. Paul's and is inscribed "Domine quo vadis," naming the medieval shrine on the Appian Way;⁴⁴ the present small church of Santa Maria della Piante dates from the seventeenth century. According to the most widely known twelfth-century medieval guide, the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*,⁴⁵ the church outside the Appian gate marked the spot where, following the legend first found in the apocryphal Acts of Peter 35, the words "Domine quo vadis?" were spoken by St. Peter when, fleeing from Rome, he met Christ on the Appian Way, and the Lord answered, "I am coming to be crucified again." Peter, taking this to mean that the Lord was to suffer again in his disciple's death, turned back to Rome and was martyred. In the *Chronica Majora*, the story is told by Roger Wendover in the annal for A.D. 66 in MS 26, p. 40.⁴⁶

The most extraordinary aspect of Matthew's description of Rome appears not in the plan, but in the long text given beneath it, occupying almost the whole column:

This city, which has the name of Rome, is the capital of Christendom. It was once the capital of the whole world when the great emperors were lords and governors over it, and conquered all the lands. Thus the whole world holds it in awe. That is why the ringle which is on the seal of the Roman emperor reads: "Roma caput mundi tenet orbis frena rotundi."

The holy Apostles of God, Sts. Peter and Paul, converted it to the law [of] Jesus Christ and sanctified it with their holy blood. And as Rome had been the capital of all miscreance and error, thus God wanted it to be the capital of Christendom.

Romeus and Romulus, who founded it, were the sons of Mars. Mars was the best knight and the wisest warrior in the world at that time and he taught his sons chivalry and war, by means of which they were good conquerors. When he died, the sons had an image made in his honor and granted it such dignity that criminals would go to this image for

refuge and protection. Thus many worshiped it in the name of the god. And they gilded the image which they called the statue of Mars. There came [a] devil who was clever at deceiving souls and spoiled through the image and received sacrifices and homage from them and, by this rick, made them conquerors of vast lands. Thus they had victory over many. Therefore they named the third day of the week after him. And they named him, and believed, they said, that he was the god of battle, and they also named after him a planet, Mars, whose orb is near the orb of the sun. Then God caused to be in that place the pope, who is the sovereign priest of the Holy Church, upon whom God bestowed St. Peter's privilege of binding and loosing souls. And the noble emperor Constantine justly inherited the dignity of the empire—he who by the grace of God was cured of leprosy and was baptized and became Christian and defender of the universal Holy Church. And it is thus recounted throughout the Holy Church in the story of St. Sylvester. And it is for that [end] that Remus and Romulus founded the city of Rome: It is called Rome for Romulus, because Romulus, who vanquished his brother Remus, made the city. And in the whole world the city was called Rome for Romulus. And so much we have heard and hearkened to about Rome.⁹

Although Matthew perceives Rome in its traditional role as the center of Christianity, the city of Peter and Paul, and the imperial capital, he is more strongly drawn to the legends of its most ancient past. For the St. Albans chronicler, Rome was also the city founded by Romulus and Remus, whose legendary father was Mars, "deu de bataille." "Knight and wisest of warriors," his image (*la statue martis*) is eccentrically singled out by Paris as one of the landmarks of medieval Rome. Ironically, however, he must have been referring to the colossal marble figure of an old river god, now in the courtyard of the Capitoline Museum (Fig. 213), which had stood throughout the Middle Ages and well into the sixteenth century on the Via Marforio, a street which ran between the Roman Forum and the Forum of Augustus, often called the "Forum of Mars" for its temple dedicated to Mars Ultor. The *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* speaks of the statue as a likeness of the god himself, saying that "in front of the Materline Prison was the Temple of Mars, where his image now is."¹⁰ Although the same statue was more correctly regarded as the river god Tiber in the eighth century by the compiler of the Einsiedeln Itinerary, the misinterpretation of the figure as the *simulacrum Martis* prevailed during the Middle Ages from the twelfth century on.¹¹ On the other hand, the so-called *statua martis* does not appear to have been regarded by medieval travelers as an important Roman monument. Apart from his apparent interest in Mars as the legendary



FIGURE 213. Colossal River God from the Marforio, Rome, Capitoline Museum.

father of Romulus and Remus, reported by Roger Wendover in the *Chronica Majora*,²⁴ we shall probably never know what prompted Matthew to select the ancient god of battle and the curious legendary statue purporting to be his image, which he had probably never seen, as the centerpiece of his excursus on the city of Rome.

South Italy and Apulia

PAGE 343 From the plan of Rome attached to the right edge of fol. iii (Fig. 212) Matthew's itinerary moves south into a region at the left enclosed within a looping linear frame: "Ceste est le terre de labur. Ele est apelee en Latin terra leporis par ce kele est plentine." Beginning at Capua (*capos*), then to Aversa (*averse*) and Naples (*Neapolis*), this route then follows the coastline along the Tyrrhenian Sea (*Ceste costere est la costere de calabre et ou mer la mer vers orouse*) with stops at Salerno (*salerne*), Amalfi (*melphe*) and Reggio (*Rise*), before crossing the Straits of Messina (*le fur de meschines*), indicated by green water and two small ships, to Sicily.

Sicily (*LA TERRE DE SECILLE*) is then attached on a separate triangular piece of vellum, following the outline of the island surrounded by the sea, pasted to the top of fol. iii. Approached by two open boats crossing the straits, Messina (*la cite de meschines*) appears at the base of the three-sided appendage as the largest town, with a castle (*le chastel*) lying outside the walls. Five more towers are given along the other coasts: Noto (*Nafis*), Catania (*Carainue*), Lentini (*limerum*), Siracusa (*Sarraquze*), and Trapani (*traper*). While Trapani, where Richard of Cornwall landed on his return from the Holy Land in 1241, is correctly placed at the western tip of the island,²⁵ the other three sites are wrongly located on the north instead of the eastern coast. Also misplaced is the flaming Monte Iblei (*le mont ibel*) which belongs to a long series of sulfuric plateaus in the southern tip near Siracusa, while Monte San Giuliano (*le mont saint Julien*), the ancient Mons Eryx, is correctly located near Trapani. The reverse side of the triangular Sicily attachment is dominated by a representation of the flaming volcano Etna (*Ethna*) in the center, surrounded by a series of long texts,²⁶ while the three corners of the island are marked by more mountain ranges.

Farther to the left of the Capua-Reggio route to Sicily from Rome, there is another itinerary leading in the opposite direction to the southeast. From San Germano (*seint german*) and Monte Cassino (*mont cassie*) this route curves down and proceeds inland to Be-

nevento and then to Foggia (*foggia*), where we are informed that "Ci est leantree de pouille devers la marche de Ancona." Nocera Umbra (*Nosher*) near Ancona is misplaced along with La marre near Foggia. Along the upper left edge of this section, representing the Adriatic, there is a sequence of coastal towns ending at Otranto. The Adriatic towns then read from bottom to top: Lecce (?) (*Lentice*), Trani (*TRANE*), Barletta, Bari (*Bar saint Nicholas*), Brindisi (*Brandis*), and Martano (*La marre*) at the left, to Otranto (*Otrantse port de mer*) with a ship in its harbor veering sharply to the left, cutting across the vertical frame. Although the sequence of Lecce, Trani, and Barletta is somewhat confused, the route is clearly directed to the east beyond the Adriatic to Crete, Cyprus, and Constantinople: "Toward the Sea of Venice [Adriatic] and toward Constantinople and on this coast are those towns that are so far away. The first is Otranto, which is at the tip of Apulia and the next is [Trani?] the first true city which is found in Apulia toward the Marches of Ancona."⁵⁶ As we have already observed, Otranto is a major stopping place on this itinerary and is marked by a symbol ☉ which is provided with two separate texts explaining that this is the Apulian port which leads to Acre.⁵⁶ Thus Matthew's itinerary of South Italy beyond Rome, although somewhat confusing, is clearly intended to lay out two distinct routes, one leading to Sicily and the other to Acre and the Latin Crusader Kingdom which appears on the following verso and facing recto pages, fols. iii verso and iv in MS 26.⁵⁷

Syria, Armenia, and Palestine

In all three manuscript versions (Corpus Christi MSS 26 and 16 and MS Roy. 14. C. VII), the so-called Palestine map occupies the opening immediately following the London-Apulia itinerary and appears to represent the concluding stage of a journey from England to the Latin Crusader Kingdom.⁵⁸ Its format continues the new format adopted in the last part of the itinerary dealing with Rome and Apulia in which the banded vertical columns of vignetted place-names which prevailed from London to Rome have been abandoned for a looser, more maplike arrangement. In contrast with the European segment of the itinerary, the map of the Crusader Kingdom has few place-names. With an inordinate amount of space given over to long text descriptions, the itinerary takes on the appearance of a vignetted text. Only twenty-eight places are marked, but they all carry contemporary names. In many places the text as well as the thirteenth-

century nomenclature of this map is closely related to various itineraries dating from the period of the Latin domination of Syria and Palestine, such as *Les pèlerinages pour aller en Jerusalem* (1230) and *Les chemins et les pèlerinages de la Terre Sainte* (1265), of which a version very probably already existed in Matthew's time.⁶⁰ On the other hand, much of the information in the legends of the so-called Palestine map derives from the *Cronica Majora* itself, suggesting that Matthew did not copy an existing map or itinerary, but made a new cartographic illustration based on information compiled from as many sources as he could find.⁶¹ The reopening of the Levant through the Crusades and the commercial expansion of trade that followed made a detailed and practical knowledge of Syria and Palestine accessible in western Europe by 1200 through firsthand accounts by travelers of all ranks of society. The substantial body of legendary and historical material already available to Matthew Paris in the letters, chronicles, encyclopedias, and poems collected in the library at St. Albans must have been increased immeasurably by the eyewitness information gathered from distinguished travelers, ranging from Richard of Cornwall to the exotic Armenians who visited the monastery in 1252.

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Expanded by the attachment of a wide vellum strip pasted along the entire left-hand edge of the verso half of the opening, the Palestine map in MS 26 is the most detailed and elaborate of Matthew's three extant versions. Spread over fols. iii verso and iv (Figs. 214–215), the map is traditionally oriented with east at the top. From the northern border at modern Tripoli, the Latin Crusader Kingdom extended along a narrow strip of land along the Phoenician and Palestinian coast down to Gaza. On Matthew's map these coastal cities are ranged along the Mediterranean across the bottom of the two facing pages, with the great Crusader capital at Acre inflated out of all proportion. Its large-scale detailed plan dominates the whole kingdom, while Jerusalem shrinks into relative insignificance as a small square city plan at the center of fol. iv, accurately reflecting their respective approximate populations of 30,000 versus 5,000 by the third and fourth decades of the thirteenth century.⁶² While some of the coastal cities flourished as international commercial centers under the Crusaders, the inland areas were entirely in the hands of the Saracens. The small Frankish kingdom was squeezed into a narrow wedge along the sea between two great centers of Islamic power, the great Syrian capital of Damascus, ruled by the Seljuk Turks, with its domain extending over Jerusalem again in 1244, and Cairo, the Fatimid capital of the powerful Shi'ite caliphate of Egypt to the

southwest, while to the northeast, an undefined frontier on the Golan Heights marked the border with the Principality of Antioch.⁶⁴

In the upper left-hand corner of fol. iii verso (Fig. 214) a formidable mountain range called the "Caspian Mountains" forms a semi-circular enclosure which, Matthew's text informs us, was made as a bulwark by God for Alexander the Great against ferocious wild tribes of murderers:

The enclosure of the Caspian Mountains. Here dwell the Jews whom God locked up at the request of King Alexander [and] who will go forth on the eve of the Day of Judgment and will massacre all manner of peoples. They are enclosed by high and great mountains and cannot get out.⁶⁵

In the *Historia Anglorum* version these destructive peoples are identified as Gog and Magog and we are further informed that from this same direction came the Tartars:⁶⁶

This land is far away toward the northeast. Here remain the rows of stupas where King Alexander enclosed Gog and Magog. From here came those people called Tartars, of whom it is said that they have shorn and cut so much of the mountains of hard rock that they managed to gain a passage through and have conquered many large territories and have destroyed what is called India.⁶⁷

What Matthew is actually referring to here is the Caspian Wall, also called Alexander's Wall, built by the Persians in the sixth century A.D. as a bulwark against northern invaders on a narrow strip of land forming a natural pass between the Caucasian foothills and the Caspian Sea at the modern site of Derbent in the USSR. Taken by the Arabs in 728, Alexander's Wall actually fell to the Mongols in 1220. Outside the "Caspian Gate" is the legend, "C'est partie [] devers jnske [] regard de Jerusalem. Mais must est loing vers northeast de Acre e de Jerusalem."⁶⁸

Within the same column of attached vellum at the left, just below the "Caspian Mountains," is a more conventional mountain harboring yet another frightful menace, "the Old Man of the Mountain," symbolized by an irregular mound inscribed, "L'abitacion le veil de la Muntaine, u il fait ses enfanz nurrir et []".⁶⁹ This was believed to be the principal seat of the strange sect of Assassins, the stronghold of the notorious Old Man of the Mountain who struck special terror in the hearts of the Crusaders. Matthew reveals the source of his knowledge about the Assassins, "a race still more detestable [than the Tartars]," in his chronicle entry for the year 1257: "If any-

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FIGURE 214 Map of the Trossender Kingdom, left half
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 26, fol. 10 verso.

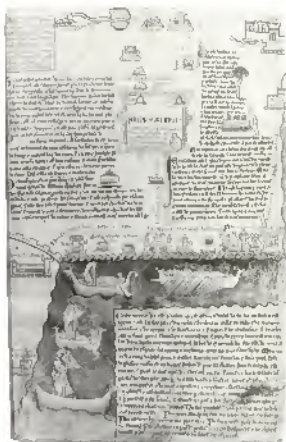


FIGURE 28.5. Map of the Crusader Kingdom, right half
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 26, fol. 10r.

one is desirous . . . to read about . . . the Assassins, he may obtain information by making a diligent search at St. Albans,¹⁴³ probably referring to William of Tyre's discourse on their treachery and murderous character in his *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum* 14.19, and 20.29.¹⁴⁴ In the *Chronica Majora* itself, Roger Wendover provides a full account of the Assassins in connection with the murder of Raynbrod, count of Tripoli, in 1150:

There is a race of men who inhabit the mountains in the province of Tyre in Phoenicia, around the bishopric of Antardus; they hold ten castles, along with large districts belonging to them, and they amount to the number of sixty thousand men or even more. These men, not by hereditary succession, but by the claim of personal merit, elect over them a master and preceptor, whom they call by no other name or title than "Old Man of the Mountain," and they bind themselves to obey him readily and implicitly in everything, however difficult or dangerous; for if any prince becomes an object of hatred or suspicion to these people, one or more of them receive a dagger from their chief and . . . set out for the residence of the victim, whom they make the sole object of their attention until they murder him. These people are called Assassins both by Saracens and Christians.¹⁴⁵

Both St. Albans chroniclers appear to have been well informed by contemporary standards about this secret Islamic order, whose members were marked by their blind obedience to their spiritual leader and by their use of murder to eliminate their enemies, and who were known in Europe by the Arabic epithet "Assassin" (user of hashish). Founded ca. 1090 by Hasan ibn al-Sabbah, who took the title Sheik al-Jabal and was known in the West as the Old Man of the Mountain, this order of the Ismaili sect inspired terror throughout the Moslem world.¹⁴⁶ Although the principal center of the Assassins was at Alamut in Persia, most Crusaders thought that the castle of the Ismailis still standing in Mas'af (Masyaf) on the eastern slope of the Asariyah Mountains in Syria was the headquarters of the "Old Man of the Mountain."¹⁴⁷ While Roger locates their stronghold in the mountains of Tyre, Matthew more accurately places the Assassin fortress near Alamut, although to the west rather than, as it ought to have been, south of the "Caspian Mountains."

Antioch, which remained in European hands as the capital of an independent principality until 1268, is represented by a turreted architectural vignette labeled "Antioche" in small red letters below the city and accompanied by the legend:

This is the renowned city of Antioch, which Antiochus founded 109 ago. St. Peter evangelized it and was bishop there. It was called Car-

saphilis because it was the first great city which was converted to Christ. And there is a patriarch and prince of the city.⁷²

Immediately adjacent to Antioch is a small mountain labeled "le noire montaigne," where apparently there was an important abbey.⁷³

At the top of the page in the center is Armenia (ARMENIE), "twenty days' journey from Jerusalem," where Noah's Ark is shown as it was purportedly still standing after the Flood, perched precariously among inaccessible mountains, with three large serpents winding among the rocks:

Toward these regions, that is to say, to the north, twenty days distant from Jerusalem, is Armenia, which is Christian, where Noah's Ark rested after the flood and is still detained here in the wilderness of the mountains. The Ark [is] where no one can approach it on account of the desert and vermin. And it is well known that this land extended to India.⁷⁴

Matthew's description and illustration of the Ark resting on two mountain peaks appear to have been based directly on information given by the Armenian visitors to St. Albans in 1252, reported in the *Chronica Majora*:

The country of these Armenians is, according to their statement, about thirty days' distance from Jerusalem, and its extreme districts reach to the frontiers of the provinces of India. . . . It should be known that the Ark of Noah rested in this same Armenia, according to the Scriptures, and what is a more remarkable fact is that it remains there still; but, as it stands on the summits of two very high mountains, and the place is, moreover, infested by hosts of poisonous snakes and dragons, no one can get to it. It is, moreover, God's will that no human being should reach it and break it, in order to carry away pieces of it; indeed, by God's unfailing mercy, the destruction of the whole world and its subsequent reconciliation to God may be perpetuated in the memory of mankind.⁷⁵

An earlier notice to the same effect is given by Paris as a marginal addition to his illustration of Wendover's account of the legend of the Wandering Jew, Joseph Caraphillus, related to the monks of St. Albans by the visiting archbishop of Armenia in 1228.⁷⁶ This version of the Patesaine map does not mention the Wandering Jew, but in the *Historia Anglorum* version, Matthew's description of Armenia reads:

In Armenia is Noah's Ark. Toward these regions, that is to say, to the north, twenty days [journey] from Jerusalem, is Armenia, which is

Christina, where Noah's Ark is, which still exists. There dwells Joseph Christophilus, who saw where our Lord was led to be crucified; Ananias, who baptized St. Paul, baptized him.⁷⁷

Jerusalem

At the top of the right-hand corner of fol. iii verso, Damascus (DAMAS) appears as a prow-shaped city plan where two rivers labeled "Albana" and "Farfar" meet and surround the city, presumably a mistaken conception of the Barada River which presently bisects the city. Damascus is then described in a boxed inscription at the right on the facing recto page:

This city with its appurtenances, that is to say, [its] parks and gardens, is worth five hundred pounds of silver to the lord of the city. All the water that comes there is diverted and irrigates its parks and gardens. Adam, our first parent, was created there, and he labored and cultivated the earth.⁷⁸

Below Damascus on fol. iv Matthew gives a further account of the area in a long legend filling all the space to the right of Jerusalem:

All these parts, which are now under the subjugation of the Saracens, were once Christian through the preaching of St. John the Evangelist and the other Apostles who had all understanding and knew all languages and, what is more, had the grace of the Holy Spirit; but the deceiving Mohammed, who preached neither honesty nor a vestige of virtue, but fleshly delights pleasurable to the body, corrupted this entire region and appropriated it to the devil as a pasture to a shepherd.

There are many marvels in the Holy Land, of which [only a few shall be mentioned]. At Sardenay, which is the same as Damascus, there is a table three or four feet long and almost as wide; and there is an image of our Lady and her Child painted in Greek style, from which the oil runs, and when it is preserved, it becomes gummy or like rubber; this oil is holy and medicinal.

In another part there is a large field where there are some stones which resemble chickpeas. This is because when our Lord lived in the land and saw a peasant sowing, he asked him, "Tell me, what are you sowing?" And the man responded in derision, "Stones." And our Lord said, "And stones they shall be." And all the peas that the man had sown or would ever sow became chickpeas, which are a kind of pea: the color and shape remained the same, but they had the hardness of stone.⁷⁹

From Damascus we then move southwest across the top of fol. iv (Fig. 213) through Lebanon (*Liban*), to the Jordan whose two

branches, "Jon" and "Dan," join together and then flow into the Dead Sea (*la mer morte*) which, in the *Historia Anglorum* version, is colored gray, to Mount Tabor and Nazareth (which is displaced to the south). Then, moving westward (down), we encounter Jericho and Bethlehem, marked by a large star, before reaching the outskirts of Jerusalem (*IERUSALEM*) represented as a square walled city in the upper center of fol. iv. Outside the eastern wall is the Valley of Josephat (*Vallis Josephat*) between two small mountains to mark the shrine of the Virgin's tomb (*ubi sepulchrum est beate Marie*). The square plan of the city is marked by four corner towers and a pair of gates in the middle of each side. Within the walls, the city is inscribed with a Latin legend:

Ierusalem, civitatem dignissima omnium, tum quia in ipsa mori ad-
dictus est Dominus, tum quia in medio mundi est, tum quia primum
habitacio fuit.¹⁰

Crusader Jerusalem, however, came to an end in 1244, and the city described in Matthew's map had already become a ruin, its churches having been destroyed by the troops of the Khwarezmians. Only three landmarks are given in his realistically conceived picture of the reduced Holy City. In the southwest corner the Holy Sepulchre (*sepulchra*) is shown as a flat ground plan rather than as a structural vignette in profile, following the conventions of such Crusader maps as the Jerusalem plan dating from ca. 1170, now in The Hague, where the Anastasis is represented as a circle.¹¹ The domed building of the so-called Templum Solomonis in the southeast corner was originally a wing of the caliph's royal palace, the Mosque of al-Aqsa, given to the Templars by King Baldwin II and called the Temple of Solomon by the order which took its name from this structure. Benjamin of Tudela and other sources testify that at the height of its expansion in the twelfth century, it housed three hundred knights, but part of the Templars' headquarters was pulled down after the Saracen conquest of 1187, and the Temple again became a mosque. In 1243 the Templars returned to their namesake shrine, only to be expelled again the following year. In the opposite corner of Jerusalem, Matthew's plan shows yet another domed mosque turned into a church. The Dome of the Rock, transformed by the Crusaders into the Templum Domini, was also recaptured by the Saracens in 1187. Jerusalem offers the only instance on the Palestine map in which Matthew uses Latin for the descriptions and captions of the city and its landmarks, perhaps out of deference to its sacred connotations and the conventions of older Crusader maps, but perhaps also to underline the present reality that the Holy City no longer existed in

its former Crusader state and now belonged to the past. Paris's description of Jerusalem continues at the lower right, where a long text in Anglo-Norman places the ancient city of David and Solomon in its traditional location at the center of the world:

Jerusalem is the noblest city and place in the world, for this is the capital of the country of our Saviour, where it pleased him to be born and suffer death, to save us all. And there is the midpoint of the world, where the prophet David and many others had predicted that the Saviour would be born. David, the great king [who] pleased God, and his son Solomon, who was so famed for his wisdom, was the king of it, and many others of great renown, and there God lived and preached and performed great deeds, and for that reason the city is always called his lordly domain according to the custom of the new law.⁶⁷

The main connecting route from Jerusalem to the coastal cities moves directly west to Jaffa (*le chemin de Japhet a Jerusalem*) on a road marked at its midpoint by an unidentified fortification, perhaps intended to represent the so-called Castellum Emmaus, the site of the Hospitaller commandery at Abu Gosh (Qaryat al-'Anab), the last halting place for the armies of the First Crusade before proceeding to Jerusalem.⁶⁸ An earlier leg of the journey is also plotted out from Acre to Jaffa (*devers jurnees de ci qeska japhet*), as a reminder of a happier period when Jerusalem was held by the French.

The Latin Crusader Kingdom

At the bottom of the far left column of fol. iii verso (Fig. 214) Tyre (Tyros, *TYR*) is shown as a swelling peninsula jutting into the Mediterranean, impregnable from the land behind its strongly guarded narrow isthmus. In its great Phoenician days, Tyre had been an island, but Alexander the Great built a causeway from the land side. After its capture by Baldwin II in 1124, the Crusaders fortified this causeway and prepared the port city as an emergency refuge, surrounding the harbor with walls on three sides, which are represented on Matthew's map by the three towers of the city. To the right is Sidon (*Saene ki en l'auz est apelee Sydon*), but no architectural vignette is given. The coastal cities of Beirut, Tyre, and Sidon are further explained by a long inscription at the left:

This area stretches very far toward the north before turning northeast toward Antioch. And there on the coast are many renowned cities and towns and castles, like Beirut, and many others too numerous to be drawn or described or [even] visited; but the most renowned and

strongest city is Tyre, which in Latin is called Tyrus, and then there is another which is called Sidon, that is, Saete. And everyone knows that, when he was living on earth, our Lord resided in many of these regions, as one reads in the Gospels. Tyre is well fortified, for it is largely surrounded by the sea.⁶⁴

With dimensions magnified out of all proportion to stress its position as the largest and most important port on the Palestinian coast, the plan of Acre (*LA CITE DE ACRE*) dominates the whole map of the Crusader Kingdom. Approached by six ships from both left and right (north and south), its rocky headland has been greatly exaggerated, showing its good harbor to the southeast. As described by Willibrod of Oldenburg in 1122, the seaward side of the city is correctly shown in Matthew's plan as unfortified, but the town no longer displays its original four-cornered layout. Instead, the St. Albans map shows the northern suburb of Monmusard at the left enclosed within the new walls built by Louis IX between 1250 and 1254, thus converting the city's defensive plan from a quadrilateral to a "crusader's shield."⁶⁵ In the *Historia Anglorum* version (Fig. 218), however, Matthew's map of Acre shows the new walls around Monmusard in a somewhat different configuration, beginning more accurately about 150 meters west of the "Turris maudius" rather than forming a continuous line with the old walls, as in MS 26.⁶⁶ In this respect, Matthew's Acre plan in MS Roy. 14. C. V [I] is very similar to the early fourteenth-century plan made by Marino Sanudo Torsello, now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, Tanner MS 190, fol. 207 (Fig. 216).⁶⁷ Coupled with the evidence already provided by Matthew's reference to the papal offer of the Apulian kingdom to Richard of Cornwall in 1253 in the *Historia Anglorum* version of the London-Apulia itinerary, the inclusion of St. Louis's wall around Monmusard at Acre clearly places both versions of the Palestine map sometime after 1253–1254.

Paris describes the Frankish capital and headquarters as follows in a lengthy inscription:

This city which is now called Acre was formerly called Tholonoida: it is the refuge of the Christians in the Holy Land because it faces the sea toward the west, from which the ships come filled with people, provisions, and arms. And all those who live there have great consolation from the islands which are in the sea. And all the peoples of Christendom repair there; thus the Saracens [also] repair there for their merchandise, and many of their splendors are there, and many other people of different religions, who have great wealth in all Christendom, through which Christendom is much richer and more renowned.

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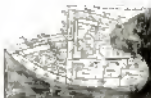


FIGURE 216. Plan of Acre by Marino Sanudo Torsello. (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 190, fol. 207.)

This city is worth fifty thousand pounds of silver yearly to its lord. This is what Count Richard claims from the Templars and Hospitalers.²²

The various architectural landmarks vignetted on the plan clearly reflect the Crusaders' division of Acre into various quarters belonging to the knights' orders and the Italian communes. The southwest corner at the headland given over to the Templars is marked by a characteristic domed church (*le temple*), while the oldest and largest quarter in the center was allotted to the Genoese, indicated on the plan by "*la tur as beneveis*," probably meaning the so-called Old Tower (*Turris Versus*). As the shoreline extends toward the main harbors to the southeast, we encounter the custom house (*la chause*), the palace of the constable (*la maison de constable*), and the patriarch's residence (*la maison le patriarche*), which was mentioned twice on the Apulia map. In the northeast corner there was a special quarter for the Teutonic Order which we may recognize by their hospital (*l'hospital des alemans*). At the opposite end of Acre, straddling the old wall separating the city from the suburb of Montmusard, is the headquarters of the Hospitalers (*la maison de l'hospital*) which, by the early thirteenth century, contained four blocks of large buildings: the residence of the Grand Master (*Grand Maistr*), the infirmary (*Damus Infirmarum*), the Church of St. John, and the storehouses in a spacious vaulted hall, which is still standing, called "the Vault" (*La Voute*).

Just within the walls along the northern perimeter stood the Crusader citadel (*castellum*), identified on Matthew's plan as "*le chastel le roi de acre*," a large fortified structure which served as the royal palace as well as the barracks of the garrison and had a certain tactical value in protecting St. Anthony's Gate, one of the most important entrances to the city. Before the construction of the Montmusard wall by Louis IX, the weakest point of the enceinte was the northeast corner where a huge tower was erected, called "the Accursed Tower" (*la tour maudite*), prominently represented in Matthew's plan as a cluster of concentric round towers near St. Nicholas Gate (*la porte vers saint Nicholas*) leading to the cemetery outside the city. "*Le cimetiere saint Nicholas u hant entree les mortz*" is shown as a curved line enclosing a balloon-shaped area, with a segment of the city's battlements still visible at its base, within which are to be seen the Church of St. Nicholas and sepulchers neatly aligned in rows between furrows of excavated earth.

The northern suburban quarter of Montmusard is described by Matthew as "*le Burg ki est apele mont musard . . . tut le plus in-*

habite de anglais," presumably referring to a special area occupied by the Franks of English origin.⁴⁹ Its main landmarks are shown to lie on the coast, the "Domus milinum Sancti Lazari" near the Gate of St. Lazarus, and "la maison de saint Thomas le martir." Judging from the entries in the *Chronica Majora*, Matthew was well informed about the church in Acre dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury. Founded in 1190 in fulfillment of a vow by an English chaplain and friend of Ralph Diceto named William, the church was transferred sometime before 1236, under the auspices of Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, to a more suitable location and placed under the protection of the Templars.⁵⁰

Finally, Matthew refers to another place outside the walls at the gate leading out of Acre to the mill at Doc: "Co est la porte vers le molin de Dolkes." Albeit in a somewhat modified form, the mill still formed one of the central institutions of the medieval agrarian system in the transplanted European society of the Latin Kingdom in Palestine. Located two miles north of the city, the mill at Doc (Da'udj) on the Acre River was fortified by a strong tower and in 1235 became the object of a dispute between the Hospitallers and Templars, which finally had to be settled by the intervention of the pope.

That Matthew Paris was well aware of the commercial as well as strategic importance of Acre at the end of a major trade route from the interior of Asia to the shores of the Mediterranean is graphically illustrated by the procession of engaging beasts of burden, a camel (*camelus*), ox (*ubelus*), and mule (*musus*) slowly making their way along the merchants' caravan route across the Bedouin territories from Acre to Damascus:

How there are many rich merchants who in these regions are rich in gold and silver, precious stones, silk and spices, oxen, mules, camels, and swift horses that can endure much hardship, and the mares are swifter than the male horses. They have leaven which comes from somewhere else, little wine, and no sea fish at all; they have plenty of oil, almonds, figs, and sugar; from these they make their beverages. They have as many wives as they can sustain.⁵¹

As in the later thirteenth-century Hereford map, Matthew's beast is correctly represented as a Bactrian camel with two humps.⁵² The area at the lower right is designated as being occupied by Bedouins and other "mountain peasants,"

who reverse themselves like the rose in the wind, for when the Christians have the victory, they tolerate Christians and they feign great love and loyalty to them; and when the pagans have the upper hand, then they pursue the Christians, and very viciously, since they know of all



FIGURE 217. *Atap of the Crusades Kingdom, left half. B L, Ray 14 C. VII, fol. 10.*

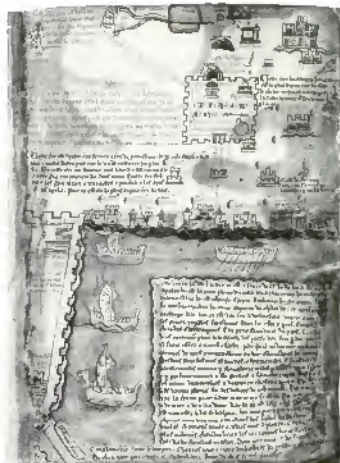


FIGURE 218. Map of the Crusader Kingdom, right half. B.L., Roy. 12. C. VII, fol. 5.

their councils and are thus able to discover them. But they are of small importance and are known as such, and for that reason they are everywhere considered vile and as serfs.⁵⁷

The vast region directly above Acre to the east is described as Saracenic land, including the territory commanded by the followers of the Old Man of the Mountain:

All this region, which is large and rich, is in the seigniorship of the Saracens, and there dwells the Old Man of the Mountain among the other powerful ones, that is to say, the chiefs of the haughty Assassins, who carry knives and kill those whom they have been commanded to kill by their sovereigns, and that obedience, they say, will save them. They know all languages, customs, and trades. In the pagan world there is a caliph who dwells in Mecca and another of his great powers here at Baudac. And there is discord between these two and the third who is caliph of Egypt. Therefore some of the Saracens are circumcised, others are not. There are many high sultans in the pagan world: [those] of Persia, Babilonia [Cairo], Aleppo, Camela [Hama or ancient Emesa], and Damascus.⁵⁸

Immediately above this long inscription at the right is a representation of Nineveh (*Nineve la grant*), accompanied by a sketch of Jonah being spewed from the mouth of a marine monster, represented by the head of a crocodile (*crocodrile*).⁵⁹

Along the coast south of Acre is then the thin chain of Crusader ports to which the Frankish Kingdom was reduced by Saladin in 1187. The fortified cities stretch across the width of fol. iv to the edge of the page: from Haifa (*Kaifar*), Atlit with its new thirteenth century Templar castle (*Chastel pelerin*), Caesarea (*Cesaire*), Jaffa (*Japhes*), and Ascalon (*Ascaloine*), to Darum (*le darum*). Arsuf (*Arzur*) has been placed far inland more than halfway to Jerusalem, instead of between Caesarea and Jaffa.

Egypt

At the Egyptian port of Damietta (*Damiete la enre de egypte*), the coastline makes a sharp right-angled turn, and a road marked "le chemin de Japhes a alisandre"⁶⁰ progresses upward along the vertical edge of the page to the upper right corner, past Alexandria (*alisandre sur mer*) to Cairo (*la vile de babiloine . . . le kair*) on the Nile. Matthew's description of Egypt uncharacteristically falls back on scriptural apocrypha to the story of the Flight into Egypt in which he tells the legend of the miraculous tree which bent down at the command of the Christ Child, enabling Mary to pick its fruit:

This is the tree of obedience, so called for the time when our Lady, St. Mary, fled into Egypt with her Child and Joseph; it happened that our Lady wanted to eat some fruit, the tree was tall and the fruit was at the top. The Child beckoned to the tree and its fruit, and the tree with all its fruit bent down and lowered itself as if humbly to offer him its fruit, and then it straightened itself. And in returning to its original position the tree bent down to her [Mary] as if to salute her, and thus remained bent.⁷⁶

The tree illustrated by Matthew's drawing, however, is not the traditional palm mentioned in Pseudo-Matthew 20:3, but a European fruit tree whose trunk is shown to have a slight but graceful bend, alluding to its miraculous "obedience."⁷⁷ Below the tree, a stream flows down to a fortress on a rocky mound inscribed "la mascur," at Al-Mansûra, built ca. 1220, best known as the site of the disastrous defeat of the French Crusaders in 1250. Reported in lengthy detail twice in the *Chronica Majora*, Matthew's account, based on a letter from Richard of Cornwall, tells us that, as the expedition led by King Louis was moving toward Cairo after retaking Damietta, it became trapped, like the Fifth Crusade, at Al-Mansûra, and a daring sortie led by Count Robert of Artois ended in disaster. The king's brother and his men were drowned in the Nile, while Louis along with the entire Christian army was captured by the Saracens. In return for their release, the Crusaders were forced to evacuate Egypt and pay an exorbitant ransom of almost a million gold pieces.⁷⁸

The map then concludes with a long text on Africa covering a large rectangular land mass occupying the lower right corner of fol. iv:

This [and, which is at the right, that is to say, toward the south, which is called Africa, as the third part of the world; [n] encompasses most of India, and Mauretania, and Egypt, and Barbary, Bijaia [Algeria], Alexandria, and Ethiops, where there are wild people and monsters, and the whole land [of] the emir Muzumelin, which is called Muzumelin, and the [land of] Morocco which is [to the] south, which includes much space toward the east and west, although not as much [to the north and south]. Many [of these places] sustain and hold different peoples and bad Saracens without laws or faith or peace; many must dwell in caves underground because of the heat, for the sun is above them almost all day, which is all the time in the south, and there are some people whom the sun passes twice a year, and for that reason they are withered, sun-burnt, black, and ugly. They work by night, and by day hide themselves and sleep. They are distoyal and lustful, meddlesome and combative, nor at all by chivalry, but by venomous darts and poisons and Greek fire, and they spread traps and make ditches like madmen to

deceive each other. They think of nothing but the pleasures of the world. They have little grain because the land cannot grow and furnish vegetation. They have little wine because the land cannot sustain vines. They have no fish at all from the sea or river, for the fish cannot survive the heat. They live on spices and meat and sweet water and spiced preserves.⁹⁷

Here again Matthew's material appears to be drawn from the *Chronica Majora*, in this case from a lengthy addition to Roger Wendover's annal for 1213 concerning Mohammed el Nassir, "the Emir Murnelius, great king of Africa, Morocco and Spain, who was commonly called Miramumelinus," to whom, Paris preposterously alleges, King John sent an embassy promising to abandon his kingdom and embrace Islam.⁹⁸

The second *Chronica Majora* version of the so-called Palestine map included in the prefatory matter of MS 16 is also fragmentary, occupying two half-pages on fols. ii verso and v, but is far more complete and less tentative than the sketchy London-Apulia segment in that manuscript.⁹⁹ Originally intended to form a pair of facing pages, directly following the Apulia itinerary, the two halves of the Palestine map in MS 16 are now separated by the insertion of a bifolio containing a genealogy and Matthew's celebrated drawing of Henry III's elephant on fols. iij and iv verso. In most respects the second Corpus Christi Palestine map more closely matches the version at the beginning of MS 26 than the *Historia Anglorum* version.

While the Corpus Christi maps of the Latin Crusader Kingdom may be broadly compared to the old Hieronymus Palestine map and in particular to contemporary thirteenth-century itineraries of the Frankish period, the cartographic scheme in the St. Albans manuscript is clearly a new, updated creation from the hand of Matthew Paris to serve as an elaborate pictorial illustration for the historical text of the *Chronica Majora*.

MAPS OF BRITAIN

Corpus Christi MS 16 contains another fragmentary map on the verso of fol. v (Fig. 219) which is not provided in MS 26, but which is nevertheless one of Matthew's most important and original cartographic creations. It constitutes one of four St. Albans maps of England and Scotland. In addition to the fragmentary map of Britain on fol. v verso in MS 16, three other versions exist from Matthew's hand. A map very similar to the *Chronica Majora* design, rougher but more complete, once belonged to MS Cotton Julius D. VII (Fig.

220) and is now bound separately, while a third, even sketchier map of England is included among the prefatory pages in the *Historia Anglorum*, MS Roy. 14. C. VII, fol. 5r.¹⁶¹ The best and fullest version once prefaced the *Abbreuiatio Chroniconum* in MS Cotton Claudius D. VI (Fig. 211) but is now also bound separately. The map in MS Roy. 14. C. VII is only an outline sketch and seems to be either an early effort soon discarded or a late, very rough revision never completed,¹⁶² and now stands apart from the other maps, all of which closely resemble one another. The Julius map, on the other hand, is similar to the finished but fragmentary version in *Corpus Christi* and may represent a first draft that was later discarded.¹⁶³

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The earliest detailed maps of Britain in existence, these documents rank among the finest and most innovative achievements in medieval cartography. Oriented with north at the top and the four points of the compass written at the sides, top, and bottom (*Occidentem, Oriens, Aquilo, Auster*), Matthew's maps of England and Scotland represent a genuine attempt at making a map in the modern sense of the term rather than a diagrammatic geographical illustration, what Beazley has called "a victory of revived scientific feeling over ecclesiastical preference."¹⁶⁴ On the other hand, as Konrad Müller surmised long ago, Paris's "modern" orientation may simply have been the result of a very prosaic, pragmatic consideration; his choice was probably dictated by the exigencies of fitting the long, narrow shape of the British Isles onto a book page, since the traditional eastern orientation would have necessitated spreading the map over two pages with a disruptive break in the center along the binding.¹⁶⁵ Matthew's awareness of this problem, along with the importance of scale, surfaces in a note included in the *Historia Anglorum* version to the effect that, if the format of the page had allowed it, the whole island should have been longer: "Si pagina patretur, hec totalis insula longior esse deberet." In MS 16 an even more precise idea of the size of England is given in a unique scale legend quoted from Gildas in four lines of large script running vertically down the lower section, giving the length and breadth as 800 by 300 Roman miles: "Anglia habet in longitudine DCCC. [m]iliaria Penjesfeld qui locus est ultra montem sancti Michaelis in Cornubia us[que] ad Cantines. In latitudine vero CCC miliaria de sancti David [usque] ad] Doveram."¹⁶⁶ Further evidence that Paris was keenly interested in accuracy of scale is offered by a note in his hand in the margin of another St. Albans historical manuscript, MS Roy. 13. D. V, fol. 152, in which he wrote next to an account giving the size of England and its bishoprics, "Hic est discordia inter hoc et Gildam de dimensione Anglie. Respice in principio Gilda."¹⁶⁷ The Julius and



FIGURE 219. *Map of Britain*. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. v verso.

Claudius maps also provide a relative scale by referring in marginal legends to corresponding locations on the Continent, giving England an exaggerated length, since “*Hæc pars respicit Hollandia*” is written off the Yorkshire coast, and “*Hæc pars respicit Normannia*” off the coast of Suffolk. This method of giving the scale of Britain is, however, the traditional one quoted from Pliny or Orosius by most English chroniclers, and the sequence on the Claudius map corresponds closely with that given in the *Mappe Mundi* of Gervase of Canterbury.¹⁰⁸ Notwithstanding the apparent originality of Matthew’s conception for the Britain map, its use of Latin instead of Anglo-Norman for all the place-names and descriptions suggests a lingering element of conservatism not present in the London-Acre itinerary.

Although Corpus Christi MS 16, MS Cotton Claudius D. VI, and MS Julius D. VII are very closely related to one another, the outline varies so much from map to map that it seems likely that Paris developed each version independently rather than from an ex-

isting map.¹¹⁰ All, however, appear to have been based on some itinerary from Dover to Newcastle.¹¹¹ As among the various versions of the London-Acre itinerary, the differences reveal varying interpretations of widely separated regions, suggesting the results of widened contact with new sources of information over a period of several years. Matthew's maps of Britain are constructed around an itinerary from Dover to Newcastle-upon-Tyne along a road running north-south, so that Dover, Canterbury, and Rochester are placed due south of London, as on the London-Acre itinerary, causing a serious displacement of much of southeast England. This distortion proceeds quite logically from Matthew's inevitable central placement of Dover at the bottom of the map to emphasize its importance as a terminal point on the main route. The route forms a straight vertical line from Dover to London, St. Albans, Belvoir, Pontefract, Durham, and ten other stops, while the remaining towns, rivers, and coastline are placed in relationship to it rather than to one another.¹¹²

The most complete Claudius map bears 252 names: 81 cathedrals and monasteries, 41 castles, 33 ports, 11 route towns, and 86 regional or topographical names, nearly all of which are mentioned in the *Chronica Majora*. Of a total of 166 place-names, 147 are monasteries, of which 68 are Benedictine, reflecting the bias and interests of the St. Albans chronicler. St. Albans occupies a prominent place on all the maps (except Corpus Christi MS 26, which lost its lower third) in a central position directly north of London. Five of the abbot's cells are also marked at Tynemouth, Belvoir, Bisham, Wymondham, and Wallingford.

In MS 26, as in the Claudius map, the British Isles are broadly demarcated into three separate territories comprising Scotland, Wales, and England, although the north of England survives only in the incomplete fragment. Scotland (*SCOTIA ULTRAMARINA*) is represented in less detail than the rest of Britain; its flattened shape and diminished size appear to have been cavalier sacrifices made to meet the exigencies created by the format of the page. The major counties of Ross (*ROS*), Caithness (*CAENES*), Fife (*FIF*), Sutherland (*SYTHERNELAND*), and Sutherland (*STRATHERNE*) are given. The province of Inverness and the Grampian Hills are designated as a "regio montuosa et nemorosa, gentem incultam generosam et pastoralem, quia pars eius mariscus est et harundinearum," while Argyll with its many lakes is described as "Regio iovia et aquosa." The towns of Dundee (*dunde*) on the Firth of Tay, St. Andrews (*ribuaris sancti Andree*), Dunfermline (*Dunfermelin*), and Stirling (*strieclin*) appear on the eastern side, with the two important monastic centers



FIGURE 220. Map of Britania. N. L., Cosm. Julius D. VII, fol. 49v.

at Aberdeen (*aberdan*) and Arbroath (*aberbropoc*) placed much too far north in Sutherland; Dingwall (*castrum Dinkwall*), an unimportant village which had been the capital of Ross, is placed on the west instead of the east. The Orkneys appear much too far south, off the Firth of Forth.

The southern uplands of England are delimited between the Forth-Clyde and the Pict Wall, with counties or provinces marked at *Part maximo*, Galloway (*GALEWIA*), Clydesdale (*Cludsdale*), Tweeddale or the present Peebles (*Tuedsdale*), *Regio Scotorum*, and *Regio Pactorum*. The Isle of Man (*man*) appears at the far left off the coast. Stretching from Carlisle to Newcastle, Hadrian's Wall (*moeris dividens anglis et pictis*) is placed in a nearly correct position, while the Antonine Wall (*moeris scotorum*) is tentatively suggested as a simple curved line moving westward from the east coast above Carlisle. The Cheviot Hills (*montes chivioti*) are depicted as a mountainous mass rising directly north of Hadrian's Wall. The River Clyde (*fluvius Clud*) is incorrectly separated from the Firth of Clyde to the south as a distinct body of water, resulting in the displacement of Dumbarton (*Dunbruan*) to the south of the river. While the position of the Firth of Clyde is fixed correctly in relation to the Firth of Forth, following such old authorities as Tacitus and Bede, Matthew's duplication of the Firth and River Clyde may have resulted from travelers' descriptions of the upper reaches of the Clyde River, locating it far to the south of the Firth.¹³ Other rivers north of Hadrian's Wall are the Tweed (*fluvius Tuid*) and its tributary the Teviot (*fluvius Tisuth*). Two ferry crossings are marked on the near side of the Firth of Forth at Queensferry (*Transitus regine*) near Edinburgh and at Earl's Ferry (*comitis*) in Fife. On the east, the River Coquet (*coe*) is also given. On the western side, the remote bishopric of Galloway at Whithorn (*Episcopatus nens nre candida casa*) is located correctly on a promontory reaching south toward the Solway Firth, but Glasgow (*Glasgu*) appears at the end of the Clyde River too far to the southeast of the Firth of Clyde. On the Tweed River are the towns of Roxburgh (*Roberbure*) and Kelso (*kelstoe*), while on the east coast are the cities of Edinburgh (*edenbure*), Berwick (*Berwic*), and Wallsend (*Wallerend*) at the eastern terminus of the Roman wall near Newcastle. The island of Coquet (*coke*) appears off the coast to the northeast.

In the Corpus Christi map Wales (*WALISA*) is uniquely divided from North England by a four-line legend giving the dimensions of Britain and running vertically in a north-south direction. In a short accompanying description, Wales is characterized as a half-moun-



FIGURE 221. Map of Britain. B. I., *Cotton Claudius D. VI*, fol. 12b.

tainous, half-marshy land of busy and productive but bellicose men descended from the Trojan Brutus: "Terra montuosa et palustris, homines agiles generosus et bellicose de Bruno propagatos, qui a Troianus duali originem." The counties are marked: Chain (*Sein moer*), an old name for Westmorland; North Wales (*north Wallia*); "Terminus Nor-Wallia"; and South Wales (*South Wallia*), characterized as a "regio palustris et inuis ac montuosa." Filled with rivers and mountains, we see Mt. Snowdon (*Mons Snaudus*) and Montgomery (*Mons gomericus*), and Plysmoon from which originate the River Severn (*Sabrina fluvius quod mare sabinum dicitur*) and its western tributary, the Usk (*Orke fluvius*). Along the western coast to the north appear the towns of Carlisle (*Carleolium*) and Chester (*Cesaria*); then Bangor and Criccieth (*Criker*) on the sea south of Caernarvoo; Furness Abbey (*Furnen*), a once powerful and rich Cistercian foundation of the twelfth century,¹¹⁴ St. David's (*St David Memonia*); Carmarthen (*Carmarthen id est civitas Merlini*); and Llandaff (*Lundaf*). Off the coast at Bangor, Anglesey is given as "Englesia insula." Along the Severn are Montgomery Castle (*Mons gomericus*), Pola Abbey (*Pola abbata*) at Welshpool, Shrewsbury (*Salapreber*), Bridge-north (*Brage*), Worcester (*Wigornia*), Tewkesbury (*Theokesbri*), and Gloucester (*Glouernia*) with St. Asaph (*Asaf*) to the northeast.

The fragmentary map of Britain in MS 16 gives the eastern coastline from Newcastle to an area just south of Grimsby on the Humber, comprising the counties of Tyndale (*Tindale*), Northumberland (*Northumbria*), Wetdale, and North Riding (*Blackmoer*) on the moors of northern Yorkshire, through which flow the Rivers Tyne (*fluvius thine*), Wear (*Wet*), Tees (*therse*), and Humber (*Humber fluvius*). Along the coast the towns are labeled from north to south: Tynemouth (*Tainemus*), Bamborough (*bambere*), Guisborough (*Giseburc*), Whitby (*Witbi*), Scarborough (*Scardeburc*), Beverley (*Beverlacum*), and Grimsby (*Grimecsbi*). Further inland, the towns are listed on a route from Newcastle (*novum castrum*) to Durham (*Dunelmum*), to Northallerton (*Athenona*), Boroughbridge (*Pons burgi*) on the Ure River, York (*Eboracum*), Pontefract (*Pons fractus*), Doncaster (*Doncastro*), Bierley (*Bertie*) in West Riding, Lincoln (*Lincolnia*), and Newark (*Newere*). Also marked on the map of North England are Corbridge-on-Tyne (*Corbruge*) and Fountains Abbey (*Fonns Abbata*), a major Cistercian foundation dating from 1127.¹¹⁵

The remainder of the Britain map from Lincoln south in MS 16 must be reconstructed from the Claudius map. Norfolk and Suffolk

fill up the southeast corner, while Kent is displaced due south of London, Sussex southwest of London, and Essex due west. Although Matthew was apparently unfamiliar with the relative positions of Devon, Somerset, and Dorset, Cornwall is correctly located at the southwest extremity of the island.

MAPPA MUNDI

The last of the Matthew Paris maps, his so-called world map, appears in only one version at the end of MS 26 on p. 284 (Fig. 222) on the reverse of a full-page insertion carrying three carefully executed wash drawings of Christ and the Virgin.¹²⁰ Drawn in a careless sketchy style, the *Mappa Mundi* is the most traditional and least interesting of Paris's cartographic efforts. As far as we know, Matthew made no effort to improve upon it in further editions as he had done with his London-Acre itinerary and the Britain map, suggesting that the St. Albans chronicler himself may have had very little interest in it. His inscription tells us that "this is a reduced copy of the world maps of Master Robert Melleley and Waltham [Abbey]. The king's world map, which is in his chamber at Westminster, is most accurately copied in Matthew Paris's ordinal."¹²¹ Since none of these three maps still exists, Matthew's copy in the *Chronica Majora* offers an important documentation of their peculiar form. The St. Albans cartographic scheme is not really a *mappa mundi*, but rather a sketch of Europe and the adjacent coasts of the other two continents. Only the extreme edge of Africa is shown at the right, while Asia is obscured by a long text inscription. The whole layout, however, may not be a totally accurate reflection of the Westminster and Waltham maps, for Matthew's scheme appears to have been at least partly dictated by the format of the page, so that the northern and western coasts of Europe are absolutely straight, without attempting to represent the true coastline, and England has been omitted entirely.¹²² On the other hand, we are informed by the inscription that the world in its truest form resembles an extended military cloak (*chlamys extensa*); consisting of a square with added pleats or gores, the *chlamys* has considerably greater width at the bottom when spread out, rendering it almost triangular (*triangularis*).¹²³ The resulting quadrangular shape thus resembles maps based on the views of Strabo and Ptolemy, in contrast to the prevailing medieval practice of depicting the world as a circle.¹²⁴

As a whole, Matthew's world map does not seem to depend di-

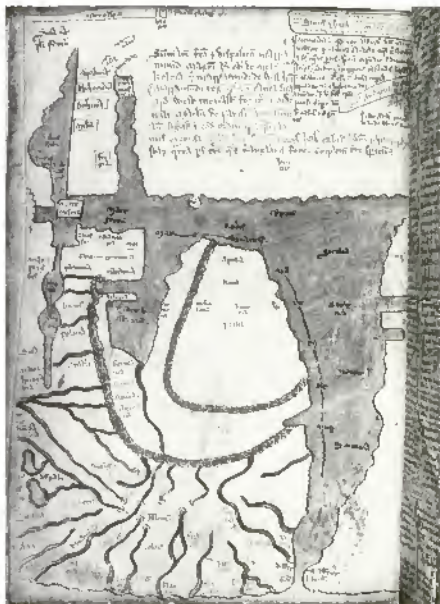


FIGURE 222. Mappa Mundi. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 26, p. 284.

rectly on any known map but is closely related to the general stemma of late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century *mappe mundi* harking back to the Cottonians (MS Cotton Tiberius B. V) dating from the late tenth or early eleventh century, such as the Hereford, Ebstorf, and London Psalter maps.¹¹ Although the forms of the names are mostly old, many new ones appear to correspond to the Ebstorf map: Hollandia, Burgundia, Flandria, Austria, Polonia, Saxonia, Bavaria, Theutonia, Hungaria, Brittonia (Brittany), Normannia, Brabantia, Dacia (Denmark), and Suecia (Sweden). Some legendary elements still appear in features such as the Gates of Hercules, "Gades Herculis," at the bottom, written partly in Europe and partly in Africa, "Colchis" of the Golden Fleece from the Argonaut saga, and on the northern frontier of Europe the land of the "Armaspici Gryphes," the one-eyed people who contended with griffins for gold, reported in Herodotus 4.27. Ovid's exile is given as "Pontos insula ubi Ovidius exul" in the Black Sea instead of Rome in Moesia; "Pachnos" appears off the coast of Pamphylia; and Hierapolis (Je-rupolis) is accompanied by a notice that this was where the Apostle Philip preached (*Hic predicavit Philippus apostolus*), while to the north we are informed that Peter preached in Scythia (*Sicia ubi Petrus predicavit*), following the legendary tradition that the first Apostle along with his brother Andrew evangelized the barbarian lands along the Black Sea and the Bosphorus. Many rivers are represented in Europe, but only three are given names: the Rhône (Rodanus), the Elbe(?) (Ape), and the Danube, assigned to a river flowing into the North Sea. The Alps and the Apennines are portrayed as long mountain ranges carving in two wide arcs extending from sea to sea.

MATTHEW'S SOURCES

In the absence of surviving sources for the maps and itineraries in the *Chronica Majora*, we have no idea to what extent Matthew Paris was their original cartographer. We can only speculate on the measure of his dependence on existing written material and older maps on the one hand, and his personal collections of firsthand information gleaned from travelers, pilgrims, and Crusaders on the other. The St. Albans chronicler and artist was a bookman, not a scientific investigator.

Matthew's idea of prefacing his historical works with geographical material has a long and venerable tradition in medieval historiography going back to Orosius, whose brief description of the

countries of the world in the second chapter of his *Historia aduersum Paganos* set the blueprint stressing the importance of geography as a part of history.¹²¹ Following Orosius and Isidore, Bede began his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* in 731 with a geographical description of the British Isles. Perhaps Matthew's most immediate and closest model in this respect was William of Malmesbury, whose *Gesta Pontificum* (1125) is virtually a gazetteer of ecclesiastical England, sometimes even giving the mileage between places.¹²² Like Matthew, this peripatetic twelfth-century monk and librarian of Malmesbury supplemented his written sources with oral information collected from witnesses as well as from his own journeys as a tireless sightseer in England.

The important role of geography in medieval historiography had rarely been translated into the kinds of elaborate cartographic illustrations encountered in the St. Albans chronicles of the thirteenth century. From the tenth century on, copies of Sallust, Macrobius, Orosius, Isidore, and Bede were occasionally provided with simple diagrammatic sketches of the world which adhered to a traditional T-form defining the three continents of Asia, Europe, and Africa.¹²³ Among medieval historical works before the fourteenth century, Matthew's *Chronica Majora* and the *Historia Anglorum* stand almost alone in their provision of full sets of detailed maps and itineraries. Two rare precedents may be cited from the early twelfth century: Guido's *Geographica* containing both a *mappa mundi* and a map of Italy;¹²⁴ and the twelfth-century *Imago Mundi* of Heinrich of Mainz, in Cambridge, Corpus Christi MS 66, includes an elaborate map of the world.¹²⁵ In contrast with the relative paucity of detailed cartographic illustration in medieval chronicles, maps appear in a number of other disparate texts ranging from Priscian's *Periegesis* (see Fig. 223) to the Beatus commentary on the Apocalypse.¹²⁶ While Matthew could have been inspired by any one of a number of similar texts containing maps belonging to the library at St. Albans, there was clearly no established medieval tradition of prefacing historical works with elaborately colored or detailed cartographic illustrations. In this respect, Paris's autograph manuscripts of the *Chronica Majora* and *Historia Anglorum* broke ground for Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon*, which became the most popular English history of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹²⁸

A more likely inspiration for Matthew's maps may be found outside the manuscript tradition in large mural maps like the Ebstorf and Hereford maps. Independent of texts, these two thirteenth-century encyclopedic maps offer a degree of pictorial richness and detail



FIGURE 223. *Mappa Mundi*.
B.L., Canon Tiberius B. V, fol. 65r.



FIGURE 224. Ebstorf Map
(photographic reconstruction).

not usually found in smaller-scale manuscript versions but which also distinguish the cartographic productions of Matthew Paris. The fact that the inscription on the world map in the *Chronica Majora* tells us that Matthew used at least one such large-scale model at Westminster suggests the possibility that he consulted similar sources at St. Albans or elsewhere for his Britain map or the ambitious London-Acre itinerary which, in the format of his manuscript, had to be spread out over seven pages. Dating from 1230 to 1236, the contemporary Ebstorf map (Fig. 224) has been linked to England through Gervase of Tilbury who, after entering the service of the German emperor Otto IV, returned to England on several diplomatic missions; he died at the Benedictine monastery at Ebstorf.¹²⁸ Composed of three parchment leaves sewn together, measuring more than eleven feet high, the huge Ebstorf map was the largest cartographic production to survive the Middle Ages until it was destroyed during the bombing of Hannover in 1943. The number and complexity of place-names and architectural vignettes, exotic animals, and other embellishments in Matthew's colourful maps, with their mixture of scriptural, legendary, and historical elements, have their closest relationships to such mural-scale examples functioning as independent works of art. The Ebstorf map even included a head of Christ very similar in type to Matthew's drawing of the Veronica in the *Chronica Majora*.¹²⁹ Like Paris's careful renderings of other visual images within the pages of the chronicle's text, such as the seals of Frederick II, his maps and itineraries may have been heavily inspired by large cartographic display pieces visible at Westminster or even at St. Albans in the second quarter of the thirteenth century.

7

Genius Unicus: The Art of Matthew Paris

PROBLEMS OF STYLE AND DATING

For the art historian the most disconcerting and problematical aspect of the illustrations in the two Corpus Christi volumes of the *Chronica Majora* is their sporadic and uneven character. As we have already observed, variations in style and quality among the drawings have caused several scholars to doubt their attribution to Matthew Paris. However, the pictorial illustration of these manuscripts was not (as has often been assumed) undertaken as a single, sustained project after the chronicle was written. The wide range of relationships between text and image we have adduced throughout the work indicates that the illustrations were made over a long period of time. Probably beginning very early in his career as historian of St. Albans, Matthew produced marginal illustrations first in his capacity as editor of Wendover's earlier text and then as author of the great chronicle, working over a span of almost twenty-five years.

The large corpus of drawings in the *Chronica Majora*, however, reveals no discernible sequence or chronological order. In addition,

FOLIOS 138, 167, 186 & 188

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FOLIOS 158 & 164

the lack of observable consistency among the illustrations tends to rule out the often-suggested possibility that they were executed by a series of assistants. If that had been the case, the process of illustrating the manuscripts would have been approached in a more systematic fashion. Instead of finding a regular sequence of stylistically coherent drawings occurring over several consecutive folios, followed by drawings in another distinct hand taking up the project for another segment of the chronicle—as we would expect in assistants' work—we see marginal illustrations spread over more than 400 folios in two volumes in which the closest stylistic analogies are to be found among widely separated images, while contiguous folios carry illustrations in discernibly different styles. For example, in MS 26, the drawings on pp. 24, 105, 254, and 263 (Figs. 74, 94, 43, and 44) form a closely knit group with fol. 215 in MS 16 (Pl. X), the last large-scale illustration in the *Chronica Majora*, while those on fols. 34v and 55v in MS 16 (Pl. XII and Fig. 173), each depicting the siege of Damietta, are markedly dissimilar in style and format. In the second Corpus Christi volume the scenes on fols. 146 and 186v (Figs. 164 and 166) are drawn in the same distinctive style, quite remote from those just noted but clearly related to each other; yet the two drawings are separated by forty folios on which many other illustrations have been executed in various other styles.

Although mannerisms peculiar to Matthew Paris occur throughout all the drawings in the two Corpus Christi manuscripts, providing enough stylistic consistency to secure their attribution to the St. Albans artist-chronicler, the marginal drawings exhibit an astonishing, if not disturbingly wide, range of variations within the general framework of style associated with his hand. These disparities and stylistic shifts occur with such frequency and lack of sequential order that we may only conclude that the illustration of the great chronicle was a sporadic, unsystematic process of very long duration, and that the chronology of drawings often had little or no direct relationship to that of the writing of the text and its transcription as fair copy into the Corpus Christi manuscripts. The contemporary scribe who continued the chronicle after Paris died was struck by its variations and felt obliged to reassure the reader that, despite its disparities of style, the work was nevertheless to be attributed in its entirety to Matthew. Following the advice of his thirteenth-century successor at St. Albans, we may discover for ourselves that beneath the inconsistencies in style, "the same method of composition is maintained throughout [and] the whole is ascribed to him."¹³

At first glance the task of reconstructing a chronology for the *Chronica Majora* illustrations seems almost insurmountable. Al-

though many of the drawings are captioned in Matthew's own hand, perhaps enabling us to ascertain a rough idea of their relative date from Vaughan's chronology of Paris's handwriting, we can never be sure that the captions were written at the same time that the drawings were made. There is some evidence to suggest that this was sometimes not the case. For example, in only two illustrations does Matthew write out the particular configuration of a large blue capital introducing a caption written in a rather florid cursive rubric script. The drawings in question on fols. 46v and 107 in MS 16 (Fig. 116 and Pl. IX) are not only more than one hundred pages apart but are also executed in distinctly contrasting styles. In some cases where illustrations accompany textual additions made in the margins, Matthew's captions and legends may differ from the style of the scrip in the marginal addition. Many of the legends and captions appear to have been added at the same time as the florished initials or rubrication of the text. However, Paris seems to have made a practice of applying inked line and washes of tinted color over his preliminary sketches almost immediately, so that the finished illustration was usually developed from its original conception without a significant lapse of time.

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While a relative chronology of drawings must be constructed almost exclusively on stylistic grounds, we may be able to fix at least a few critical guidelines by dating the project as a whole from internal textual evidence. From the time that Matthew began composing the annals for the *Chronica Majora* for the year 1235 on fol. 95, the dates of the events portrayed in the illustrations are provided with a terminus post quem by the date of the annal itself. But again we have no way of knowing the time interval between the transcription of the text and its pictorial illustration in the margin. However, we may reasonably assume that Paris made no illustrations for the chronicle before he took over the project as abbey historian after the death of Roger Wendover. Thus, all the drawings probably date after 1236. At the other end of the chronology we may surmise, since Matthew initially intended to end the *Chronica Majora* with the annal for 1250, that the two Corpus Christi manuscripts were first finished as one volume early in 1251.

From evidence recently adduced by Hülpert a few more precise dates may be given within the fifteen-year span for the project ending with the annal for 1250. Around the time of the Legatine Council of London in 1237, Paris began collecting the documentary material that was eventually to comprise the *Liber Additamentorum*, as well as a large compendium of notes and letters subsequently destroyed or lost,¹ and we may thus assume that he had taken over as abbey

historian by that time. For at least the next six or seven years Matthew was very probably occupied with revising and transcribing Wendover's annals from 1213 to July 1235, first sporadically on fols. 36–46 and 50–54v and then from fol. 62v on, before he began composing his own annals for the great chronicle.⁵ From Matthew's citation for 1229 of verses by Henry of Avranches from the altered version of the poem which appears in his autograph copy in Cambridge University Library MS Dd. 11. 78, Hilpert concluded that the chronicle entry could not have been written before 1243.⁶ Consequently Paris did not begin composing his own annals in the *Chronica Majora* until 1243 or later. Moreover, the annal for 1239 contains a fragment of a papal letter to Louis IX which can only be dated after the Council of Lyons in 1245, since it alludes to the excommunication of Frederick II.⁷ In the entry for 1243 Paris refers to the election of Henry Raspe, which actually occurred in 1246, placing its composition at least three years later.⁸ Although the annals after 1245 still frequently lagged a year or more behind the occurrence of the events they describe (a delay caused perhaps by Matthew's trip to Norway in 1248–1249), the text was brought up-to-date by the end of 1250 and must have been finished to the end of the annal for that year by January or February of 1251.⁹

No full-scale illustrations appear after the annal for 1247, and Paris must have added the finishing touches of page headings, rubrics, initials, and quire numbers in the first months of 1251.¹⁰ However, since he resumed writing annals in the *Chronica Majora* probably in 1253–1254 and continued writing them until shortly before his death in 1259, he could have added marginal drawings in the earlier sections of the work long after its initial completion in 1251. The overall chronological framework for the drawings may thus be fixed roughly within the fifteen-year period between 1236 and 1251, with the likelihood that some illustrations were added as late as 1255–1258.

When we turn to evidence outside the great chronicle itself, we find another set of guidelines in the other illustrated works which have been attributed to Matthew Paris, notwithstanding their lack of secure dates: *The Vie de Saint Auban* in Dublin, Trinity College MS 177 (see Figs. 7, 58, 61, 67, 70, and 225–228); the collection of prognosticating tracts in Oxford, Bodleian MS Ashmole 364 (Figs. 229–231); the *Historia Anglorum* in MS Roy. 14. C. VII (see Figs. 48, 63, 77, 105, 134, 147, 163, 167, and 194); the *Vitae Offarum* in MS Cotton Nero D. I (see Figs. 3 and 232–234); the *Abbreuiatio Chronorum* in MS Cotton Claudius D. VI (see Figs. 81–88 and 93);

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the full-page tinted drawings in John of Wallingford's *Miscellanea* in MS Cotton Julius D. VII (see Figs. 76, 115, and 235); and the Veronica on fol. 2 in MS Arundel 157 (Pl. V). Because these works offer a series of convincing stylistic analogues, they can furnish a fairly reliable chronometer by which we may gauge approximate dates of the *Chronica Majora* drawings. More important, these illustrated manuscripts offer a valuable, albeit limited and relative, conception of how Matthew's drawing style evolved. Despite their lack of firm dating, these works reveal several striking and obvious shifts of style that occurred over a significant period in his career as artist-chronicler at St. Albans.

Because it is the only work unanimously attributed to Paris, the cycle of illustrations in his Anglo-Norman verse *Life of St. Alban* in Dublin provides the most useful and important evidence. Unfortunately this manuscript has not been dated with any precision. While Wormald regarded the *Alban* cycle as Paris's most mature style,

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FIGURE 225. *Genesis of Kneeling before Bishops Germanus and Lupus*. Dublin, Trinity College 127, fol. 52

Vaughan and others consider it to be his earliest work.³⁰ If the question could be resolved on the basis of a comparison with the stylistic development of Matthew's handwriting as adduced by Vaughan, then a relatively early dating of the *Alban* manuscript to ca. 1240 would be plausible. On the other hand, there is no compelling reason to conclude solely on the basis of Matthew's handwriting that the cycle of illustrations in the *Dublin Alban* represents his earliest artistic production. Several factors argue against such an assumption. Late twelfth- and thirteenth-century scripts in England often tended to change significantly from one language to another, and Anglo-Norman was traditionally written in a smaller, more tightly compacted hand than Latin.³¹ Vaughan's assumption of an early date for Matthew's hand in the Anglo-Norman verse text in the *Dublin* manuscript, on the grounds of these very features, may therefore not necessarily hold. It was also not unusual for scribes to cultivate different scripts for different occasions or genres of text.³²

More important, the relationship between the text and illustra-



FIGURE 226. King Offa Slaying Offa on His Expedition. Dublin, Trinity College 157, fol. 55v.

sions in the Dublin manuscript is by no means clear. Although the text of the Anglo-Norman verse *Life of St. Alban* ends on fol. 50, the pictures and rubrics continue for another twelve folios and, for the most part, bear no direct relationship to the Latin texts below. It is entirely possible, as Harden has already suggested, that Matthew laid out this part of the manuscript (fols. 29–63) for illustration before he copied the poem and that he contemplated an addition to the *Vie de Saint Alban* dealing with subsequent events concerning the relics and the foundation of the abbey, which, for some reason, he never carried out.¹² Further evidence that frames were drawn before the text was transcribed is given on fol. 33v, where the frame makes a salient intrusion into the right-hand column of text. However, we cannot assume that the illustrations were executed in the allotted spaces before the texts were transcribed or that they were all executed at the same time.



FIGURE 223. *Kirtz Chytr*'s *Vacavy* Dublin, Trinity College 177, fol. 50.

All the rhymed legends were written out at one time and must date after 1250, clearly after the drawings were executed. On fol. 63 the last illustration appears on the first page of the text of Offa's charter, and the rubric is crowded into the narrow margin at the top of the page, giving the impression that Matthew had not originally intended that there be one but changed his mind to maintain continuity at the end of his pictorial narrative.¹⁷ The addition of this series of elaborate vernacular explanations for the illustrations, which after fol. 50 do not coincide with the text,¹⁸ could suggest a subsequent change in readership for the manuscript. Although the Dublin *Alban* seems to have been initially produced for his own house, Matthew may have found it necessary later to amplify his drawings with rhymed legends for the benefit of the aristocratic ladies to whom the volume was occasionally lent.¹⁹

The Dublin drawings are far more mature, confident, and accomplished than many of the illustrations in the Corpus Christi volumes of the *Chronica Majora*. Given the probability that the last sequence of Offa drawings in Trinity MS 177 dates after 1250, it is entirely possible, if not probable, that Matthew's project for his illustrated *Alban* was begun considerably later than his earliest drawings in the margins of the great chronicle. Within the series of fifty-four illustrations in the Dublin *Vie de Saint Alban* itself we may observe Paria's style develop very gradually, with no discernible break in three merging phases: the cycle of Alban pictures accompanying the verse life on fols. 29v-50 (see Figs. 7, 58, and 67); those depicting the English pilgrimage of the French bishops Germanus and Lupus on fols. 51-55 (see Figs. 70 and 225); and those illustrating the Latin legend of King Offa's discovery of the relics and his foundation of St. Albans Abbey on fols. 55v-63 (see Figs. 61 and 226-228).

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At the beginning Matthew's style may be characterized as careful and meticulous, rendering the figures in fairly normal proportions, with restrained movements and gestures, small facial features, and much attention given to patterned details of beocaded drapery contained within the emphatic, smooth outer contours. A comparison of similar compositions on fols. 29v and 54v (Figs. 7 and 70) reveals the direction in which Matthew's style is developing: spaces become more densely packed with figures; heads become larger and more distorted to express emotion and violence, particularly in the figures of villains. As we move from the Alban cycle to that of the two bishops, we observe a marked change in the proportions of the figures. They become more monumental in scale, their miters and feet

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breaking the upper and lower frames; all the heads are larger and more expressive, with heavily shadowed eye sockets and cheekbones. In the last section of the Dublin manuscript, which deals with King Offa, the monumental figures with large, expressive heads continue, but they are rendered in a crisper, more delicate line; patterns of hair and drapery tend to be more complex and broken, in a style close to that of MS Ashmole 304. Even the legends and captions change character: in the Alban folios they are written in French in the same vernacular script as the rubrics above the frame, but in the bishops' sequence and the Offa legend, the captions are in Latin and are preceded by blue capitals, while on two of the Offa pages the captions are written in large blue and red majuscule. One of the most dramatic shifts toward a broader and more monumental conception occurs in the handling of the pictorial narrative in the last series of illustrations, where single episodes involving King Offa are spread over facing verso and recto pages. Now encompassing the expanded width of a whole opening, facing pairs of separately framed pictures form complementary components of unit-scenes formerly crowded into single half-page illustrations. For example, on fols. 56v–57 the dreaming Offa is shown on the verso at the left while his vision appears on the facing recto; this is followed by fols. 57v–58 where the king points to the place seen in his dream, and his vision is repeated on the facing recto.²⁸



FIGURE 229. *Æthel and Herman Confronts of Reichemar*, Oxford, Bodleian Library Ashmole 304, fol. 76.

All fifty-four illustrations in the Dublin *Alban* are very carefully executed.²¹ Details in the last drawings are as meticulously rendered and tinted as those at the beginning. Matthew has made a discernible effort to provide a sense of continuity, binding together the three separate parts of the text by making the illustrations as homogeneous as possible, an effect which is enhanced appreciably by the uninterrupted flow of uniform rubrics across the top of each page. However, it also seems fairly clear that the *Alban* project probably took several years to complete. Not only did Matthew obviously spend a great deal of time and effort on the illustrations, but his style underwent a gradual but significant change during the course of their execution. Although we can only conjecture about the date of this manuscript, working back from our terminus ante quem of 1250 for the last series of illustrations, it would seem plausible that Paris began the work sometime in the 1240s, interrupting it when he went to Norway in 1248–1249, and that he completed the illustrations in the early 1250s after his return, with the break most probably occurring at the end of the Anglo-Norman verse poem on fol. 50. Thus we can tentatively date the Trinity *Alban* ca. 1245–1248 for fols. 29v–50 and ca. 1249–1252 for fols. 50v–63.²²

As Wormald has pointed out,²³ the drawings in MS Ashmole 304 (see Figs. 229–231) are closely related in style and date to those in

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FIGURE 230. *Plato and Socrates*. Oxford, Bodleian Library Ashmole 304, fol. 370.

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the Dublin *Vie de Saint-Aubin*. However, since they are much closer to the two sequences at the end of the manuscript than to the first series, the Ashmole drawings should probably be considered contemporary with only the last part. Not only are there remarkable similarities between certain figures—such as Germanus on fol. 52 of the Dublin MS (Fig. 225) and Plato on fol. 31v of Ashmole (Fig. 230), while Socrates on that page resembles Petrus on fol. 54v in the Dublin manuscript (Fig. 70)—but also correspondences may be observed between distinctive details, such as the astrolobes held by Euclid and Herman Contractus of Reichenau on fol. 2v in MS Ashmole 304 (Fig. 229), which reappear on fol. 54v in the Dublin MS. Consequently, the Ashmole drawings could well date from ca. 1249 to 1253.²⁴ Paris himself may provide a clue for the date as well as the source from which he obtained at least one of the prognosticating tracts contained in the Bodleian manuscript, namely, the *Testamentum Duodecim Patriarcharum*. In the *Chronica Majora* we are informed that Robert Grosseteste, aided by Nicholas, a Greek who was clerk to the abbot of St. Albans, translated the *Testament of the Twelve*



FIGURE 231. The Twelve Patriarchs. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 304, fol. 52r.

Patriarchs from Greek into Latin,²² thus providing a terminus post quem of 1242 for MS Ashmole 304. Grosseteste's translation begins on fol. 52v and is headed by portraits of the twelve patriarchs drawn and tinted by Matthew (Fig. 231), inscribed "Duodecim Filii Iacob Iudices veritates et indices" and "Duodecim patriarche Questionibus veraciter respondentes." Ten years later, in the annal for 1252, Paris again mentioned Grosseteste's Latin rendering of this work in the obituary for Master John Basingstoke, archdeacon of Leicester, who helped him obtain a Greek text of what was purported to be a lost portion of the Hebrew Bible, the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, from Athens.²³ Although the reference is only suggestive, we could infer from the fact that it was pointedly made somewhat out of context, a decade after the translation was done, that Paris's contact with this esoteric work may have been of fairly recent date, that is, in the early 1250s.

The next phase of Matthew's style may be seen in the five unfinished drawings for the *Lives of the Offas* (Figs. 3 and 232–234). Written in a careful but clearly later hand to the cod, with spaces left for large illustrations at the top of each page, the autograph copy on fols. 2–25 in MS Cotton Nero D. I was finished in 1250.²⁴ Paris be-

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FIGURE 232. Two Courtiers Attempting to Induce King Wulfstan to Abdicate. B.L., Cotton Nero D. I, fol. 2r.

- gan to draw figures for the first few scenes, but he must have abandoned the idea of illustrating the rest of the text, for on fol. 20 he wrote a lengthy text addition in the space he had originally reserved for a picture.²³ As we have already noted, another St. Albans artist intervened to finish a few heads on fol. 4v (Fig. 3) and then to complete an entire scene on fol. 5 (Fig. 4), only to abandon the project, leaving it unfinished until the late fourteenth century, when the whole cycle was completed by a St. Albans artist according to Matthew's rubric instructions at the bottom of each page.²⁴ Although there is no way of knowing how long a time elapsed between the completion of the text in 1250 and Matthew's execution of the drawings on fols. 2–4v, the new monumentality of the figures and the extremely loose, open, and more discursive linear articulation in these scenes may also be observed in Paris's portrait of Jobo of Wallingford on fol. 60v in MS Cotton Julius D. VII (Fig. 235), dated sometime after 1253.²⁵ Both this figure and the very similar Christ Enthroned on fol. 60v (Fig. 76) in the same manuscript present several close analogies to figures in the *Offa* cycle, and both reveal striking parallels to the style of Paris's only dated drawing of the celebrated
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FIGURE 233. Young Offa (cured of her blindness) and the King's Courtiers Absolve King Weymar of B.L., Cotton Nero D. I, fol. 20.

elephant from 1255 in the *Chronica Majora* (Fig. 129). Both the *Offa* and Wallingford drawings may represent Matthew's style during the period from 1253 to 1257. Thus Paris's decision to abandon the *Offa* cycle of illustrations shortly after it was begun would plausibly coincide with a period when he was still writing the *Chronica Majora* and the *Historia Anglorum*, as well as the second part of the *Flores Historiarum*, and may have already begun the *Abbreuiato Chroniconum*.¹¹ With his energies too widely dispersed to complete yet another ambitious project equal in scope to the *Alban* illustrations, he apparently chose to concentrate on writing at the expense of his art.

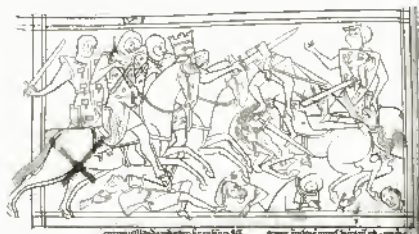
The last stage of Paris's style may be seen in his tinted drawings for the *Historia Anglorum*. Not begun until 1250, the writing of this abridged chronicle continued at least to 1255.¹² The three full-page prefatory images of the Virgin Enthroned and the Angevin kings on fols. 6, 8v, and 9 (Figs. 2, 79, and Pl. VII) reveal close stylistic affinities with MS Ashmole 304 (Figs. 229–231) and the last section of *Alban* (see Fig. 228), particularly in the complex but elegant arrangements of soft drapery, richly embroidered with tiny all-over patterns, and they probably date from the early 1250s, when the project was in its initial stages. But the illustrations drawn in the text margins of MS Roy. 14. C. VII are very different in style and quality,

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230WB 234. Battle between King Warrinus and the Rebels. B. L., Cotton Nero D. 1, fol. 20.

suggesting a lapse of several years. The *Historia Anglorum* ends with the annal for 1253, and the last few annals show unmistakable signs of hurried and sometimes careless execution, degenerating into a dull, lifeless text with little or nothing of the lively narrative description and colorful direct speech so characteristic of the entries for the same years in the *Chronica Majora*.¹³ Paris seems to have lost interest in the project long before it was completed and left it unfinished when he died. Although the very large number of painted shields are, for the most part, carefully executed, the twenty tinted drawings of any narrative pretension, as well as the equal number of pictorial emblems, betray the same haste and indifference as the series of laconic entries comprising the last three or four annals (e.g., see Figs. 63, 71, 105, 147, and 163). Unlike the illustrations in the *Chronica Majora*, those in the *Historia Anglorum* are fairly uniform in style, however poor their quality, and appear clustered together on about twenty folios from 116v to 138v, dealing with the period 1230–1245. As we have already observed, many of the drawings are merely lifeless echoes of compositions which appear in the margins of the Cor-

FIGURE 114. 130, 164, 230 ð 237



FIGURE 235. Portrait of John of Waltham.
B L., *Cosmo Julius D.*, VII, fol. 22v.

pus Christi chronicle (cf. Figs. 47 and 48, 133 and 134, Pl. IX and Fig. 158, Figs. 166 and 167, and 193 and 194), while others are new conceptions. They all appear to have been done within a relatively short period and are so disappointing in quality that they are usually relegated to Matthew's presumed assistants. More probably, however, they represent the St. Albans chronicler-artist at his lowest ebb, vainly attempting to finish as quickly as possible a project for which he had lost his customary energy and enthusiasm. We can only surmise the reasons for this dramatic deterioration in technical control and invention, but it would appear most probable that this disintegrating phase of Paris's artistic style occurred toward the end of his life, perhaps in 1257-1258, when his physical powers were beginning to diminish noticeably. As suggested by the poor quality of his late handwriting, Matthew was probably overtaken in his late fifties by one or both of the most common afflictions of aging in a cold, damp climate—arthritis in the hands and failing eyesight.¹⁴ To this period we may also assign the genealogy of kings in the *Abbreuiatio Chroniconum* (Figs. 81-88). These rapidly sketched but ingeniously contrived effigies are closely related to the style of the *Historia Anglorum* drawings and may represent Paris's last work. His health was already failing badly by March of 1259,¹⁵ and he died in June of that year. All the historical manuscripts on which he was working at the time were finished by the St. Albans scribe we have called Hand A, including the *Historia Anglorum*, whose annals go up to only 1253.

Although our guidelines are still only very approximate and tentative, it would appear likely that we have no work from the hand of Matthew Paris outside the *Chronica Majora* which can be dated before the 1240s and perhaps not before 1245. Thus we first encounter him in the Dublin *Alban* as a man already in early middle age, working on a protracted cycle of illustrations that extends from the 1240s into the early years of the next decade. From ca. 1250 to 1252 we may observe a stylistic overlap between the end of *Alban* and the four large tinted drawings in MS Ashmole 304. The monumental figure style that had gradually been developing in these two works appears in an even more mature stage in the looser, more discursive and confident style of the *Offa* cycle and the Wallingford drawings from about 1253 to 1256, only to be followed at the end by the slack, disintegrating style of the careless illustrations in the margins of the *Historia Anglorum* and on the ten pages of seated kings prefacing the *Abbreuiatio Chroniconum*, all probably dating from 1257 to 1258. In broad outline, although its beginning is now fixed about a decade later, the stylistic development of Matthew's art closely parallels Vaughan's plotting of the shifts and changes in the chronicler's hand-

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writing over the same time span. It seems entirely plausible that the *Chronica Majora* illustrations, given their wide disparity of style ranging from *Alban* to the *Historia Anglorum*, may be perceived as spanning the same long period, indeed almost the whole career from beginning to end.

CHRONOLOGY OF DRAWINGS IN CORPUS CHRISTI MSS 26 AND 16

Thus far we have put forth two important arguments: first, that the *Chronica Majora* drawings were probably executed over the whole period of Matthew's tenure as historian at St. Albans, but that they were carried out in no discernible order; and second, that his drawing style may be perceived to have evolved in several distinct phases, from the style of the 1240s and early 1250s associated with the Dublin *Alban* and MS Ashmole 304 to two later phases dating from 1253 to 1258, which may be linked with the unfinished series for the *Offa* and the *Historia Anglorum* drawings. Now let us attempt to correlate the *Chronica Majora* illustrations with this rough stylistic chronometer adduced from Paris's other illustrated manuscripts, with a view to fixing an approximate chronology. Beginning with the closest observable points of contact with Matthew's style of the 1240s and early 1250s in the Dublin and Ashmole manuscripts, we shall establish a referential nucleus of drawings to which the others may then be compared in conjunction with the other attributed manuscripts. Pursuing this line of investigation, we shall first work out a rough chronology for the illustrations in MS 16 and then proceed, by using the guideposts constructed for the second volume, to suggest an analogous chronological sequence for MS 26.

Among all the images drawn in the margins of the great chronicle, one stands out as offering a genuinely close and striking analogue to Matthew's monumental style in the Dublin *Life of St. Alban*: the single figure of the Greek patriarch Germanus of Constantinople on fol. 110 (Fig. 72), seated next to the text of his letter to Gregory IX copied out in the annal for 1237. The distinctive expressive head-type begins to appear in *Alban* on fols. 33, 33v, 35, and so on, continuing throughout the manuscript as a heroic model for St. Alban, Bishop Germanus, and King Offa—a long-sentent, craggy face with prominent cheekbones, deep-set eyes under curving brows, a piercing sidelong gaze, and a small mouth with pursed lips grimly turned down at the corners into a wiry beard (see Figs. 225 and 228). This

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head-type also has a very close counterpart among the twelve Old Testament patriarchs who appear at the head of fol. 52v in MS Ashmole 304 (Fig. 231), particularly in the pensive pose and gaze of Manasseh at the upper right. With the rare exception of the Ashmole patriarch, the pose of the Greek Germanus is unique among Matthew's works. The drapery falls in soft, heavy folds, swirling around various parts of the body in vigorously modeled convolutions, similar to those in the figure of Bishop Germanus on fol. 52 in *Alban* (Fig. 225).

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Since the figure of the Greek patriarch Germanus coincides most closely with those in the last part of *Alban* and MS Ashmole 304, this drawing may be tentatively dated about 1240-1250. The impressive imaginary portrait on fol. 110 in MS 16 numbers among the first marginal illustrations to appear after Matthew began composing his own annals in the chronicle on fol. 95 and constitutes a decisive break in style from the drawings which precede it. Within quire VIII from fols. 90r to 103v there are five illustrations composed of small emblems and vignettes of minuscule and fractional figures, such as the vision of Hubert de Burgh on fol. 90r (Fig. 42), the purses of the Caborsin usurers on fol. 95 (Fig. 157), and the coronation of Henry III and Eleanor on fol. 96 (Fig. 123). The next quire (IX) contains only two illustrations, the patriarch Germanus on fol. 110 (Fig. 72) and the Council of London on fol. 107 (Pl. IX), which is also executed in a style close to *Alban*. The representations of the coronation of Henry and Eleanor and the Council of London convened by the legate Otho in 1237 are separated by twenty-two pages on which no illustrations appear. Between the last marginal image in quire VIII and the first illustration in quire IX, Matthew's style undergoes a radical transformation. The sudden shift on fol. 107 to heavier, more monumentally scaled figures with large expressive heads enlivened with touches of vermilion on the lips, cheeks, and foreheads, along with the use of modeling colors in soft green and vermilion to render the drapery folds as a series of shining satin surfaces, offers further evidence of the intrusion of the *Alban* style into the *Chronica Majora* at this point. The figure of Otho is very close to both that of Bishop Germanus on fol. 52 in the Dublin manuscript (Fig. 225), particularly in the distinctive motif of the band holding the book enveloped in a sweeping curve of drapery on the lap, and the seated figure of Socrates on fol. 31v in Ashmole MS 304 (Fig. 230), where the drapery falls in two wide looping folds over the hip and thigh.

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The scene illustrating the death of Llywelyn of Wales (1240) on

PAGE 216 fol. 132 (Fig. 132) in the next quire very closely approaches the depiction of the Council of London on fol. 107 (Pl. IX), particularly in the complicated drapery folds, while the curiously incomplete bed—for which only the upper part of the frame is given—leaves a disconcerting impression of the dead Welsh king sliding downward at a precipitous angle, analogous to the unstable position of Otho, who is seated on a similarly precarious piece of furniture. However, the tinting in light green, and especially the dull pale pink in the drapery at the right, more closely resembles the new coloration introduced in the figure of the Greek patriarch on fol. 110.

PAGE 210 Also related to the *Alban* style at the beginning of quire IX is the elegant drawing of Frederick II's seal on fol. 126 (Fig. 40). The enthroned figure of the emperor is very close in proportions, head-type, and drapery patterns to the seated figures of Sts. Alban and Amphibalus on fol. 29v in Trinity MS 177 (Fig. 7).

PAGE 29 In this case we may surmise that the imperial seal was drawn prior to 1250, because the drawing was obviously executed before the text was transcribed,¹⁶ and is thus contemporary with the earliest illustrations in *Alban* dating from the mid-1240s. We may narrow the dating of this pivotal illustration even further, since the annal for 1239 alludes to the excommunication of Frederick II at the Council of Lyons in 1245 and thus must have been written between 1246 and 1248.¹⁷ To this period also belongs the closely related Veronica drawn and painted on a pasted insertion within the text column on fol. 49v.¹⁸

The series of five illustrations on fols. 107, 110, 126, and 132 forms a fairly close-knit stylistic set of images in MS 16. Dealing with events from 1237 to early 1240, they roughly coincide with the shift to annals now composed by Matthew himself and appear to be isolated from the rest of the chronicle illustrations. These drawings were probably executed in a different sequence, beginning with the earliest dating from ca. 1245 to 1248 on fol. 126, followed by fols. 110, 107, and 132, all dating from 1249 to 1252. As we shall see, the next two pictures on fols. 133v and 138v form a related pair very closely allied to this group. Coinciding with his execution of the illustrations for the *Vie de Saint Alban*, these seven images suggest a turning point in the development of Matthew's style and may well represent the transition to his maturity as an artist from ca. 1246 to 1252.

When we look back at the preceding illustrations in the earlier part of Corpus Christi MS 16, beginning with the initial appearance of Paris's hand transcribing Roger's revised text on fol. 35 and continuing to the emergence of the *Alban* style in the Council of London

on fol. 107, we see abundant evidence that the St. Albans artist-chronicler was working in a markedly different style that may well have preceded his illustrated *Life of St. Alban*. Unlike the enframed tableaus densely packed with large-scale bulky figures characteristic of the *Alban* style, the chronicle illustrations in MS 16 from fols. 37 to 96 accompanying the annals from 1214 to 1236 are either tiny marginal vignettes consisting of emblems or fractional figures, such as the minuscule drawing of the truce between Henry III and Louis on fol. 52v (Fig. 121); or loosely composed scenes of very small, slightly built, but active figures, vigorously drawn in outline, with only the barest hint of color to delineate details, such as the atrocities under King John on fol. 44v (Fig. 112); or wide panoramic battle scenes with lively cliff figures arranged in a wide open space as if seen from a bird's-eye view, such as the sieges of Lincoln and Damietta on fols. 51v and 55v (Figs. 120 and 173).

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Among the more than sixty illustrations in the margins of the pages on which Matthew Paris intermittently began transcribing Roger's text between fols. 35 and 95, one drawing appears much more tentative and immature than the others and may be singled out as perhaps representing his first effort at illustrating the chronicle. The drawing of the siege of Lincoln on fol. 51v (Fig. 120) occurs on the inner verso of the central bifolio in quire V in the second set of annals transcribed in Matthew's hand.¹⁸ Scattered across the bottom of the page, the tiny figures are all rendered in profile with rather large heads on dwarfed bodies, and are drawn in a fine dark outline that has none of the confident authority and elastic vigor of Paris's most characteristic or mature draftsmanship. The composition is cut awkwardly into two sections by the wide spatial interval separating the fleeing horsemen from the castle and its defenders, but the backward turn of the second rider toward the Bowman in the tower helps to pull the isolated actions together. The spatial misplacement of the Bowman behind rather than within the tower reveals an ineptitude which is repeated in the right side of the drawing of the siege of Damietta a few pages later (Fig. 173), but which is quickly rectified in the position of the figures at the left on the same page. The key episode involving the single death of the count of Perche is uncharacteristically underplayed and almost lost. The awkward avoidance of representing the actual combat by showing an arm thrusting a lance from behind the castle wall to pierce the count's helmet suggests that at this point Matthew lacked the drawing skill to render the event in a more convincing way, as he was able to do with such consummate dramatic force in the Damietta combat on fol. 54v (Pl.

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XII). In contrast with the overall application of modeling color in the *Aifan*-style drawings, tints are used very sparingly to delineate a few shadows in the castle towers, pale ground colors for the banner and bowman's tunic, and a few touches of indigo are used to model the horse at the far right, while small details of the horses' reins, castle, and banner are drawn in vermilion line.

Although the first illustrations appear in the section of Matthew's initial involvement, as editor and scribe, with the *Corpus Christi* version of Roger's chronicle, where he copied out the revised text from fols. 35 to 95, his earliest drawing does not coincide with the first set of annals transcribed on fols. 35 to 46 but rather with the second, shorter segment on fols. 50v to 54v. His next drawings occur in the following section (fols. 55–61), transcribed by another hand. The two panoramic battle scenes illustrating the siege of Damietta (1219) on fol. 55v (Fig. 173) and the capture of Bedford Castle (1224) on fol. 60 (Fig. 65) are very close in style to the siege of Lincoln. The *Battle of Damietta* repeats and exaggerates the earlier scene at Lincoln by widening the spatial interval between the two phases of attacking the tower and scaling the city walls, and by extending the bracketing towers of the two fortifications at the extreme left and right into the lateral margins to the edges of the page. The slight but noticeable discrepancy between the scale of the figures, as well as the more confident rendering of their complex actions as we move from one side of the composition to the other, suggests that the right half was probably executed first and the left-hand section somewhat later, although the uniformity of color and line would indicate that, unlike the earlier drawing, only a brief interval may separate the two parts of the scene, and that both were planned in the original conception.

Based on the evidence provided by what may be Matthew's earliest illustrations on fols. 51v, 55v, and 60 (Figs. 120, 173, and 65), in which he first formulated his narrative style for the chronicle, it is possible to discern a related sequence of drawings made in roughly the same period, as which time he apparently went back to illustrate the first pages of Wendover's text he had transcribed in the *Chronica Majora*: the *Battle of Bouvines* (1214) on fol. 37 (Fig. 106), the shipwreck of Hugh de Boves (1215) on fol. 42v (Pl. 11), and the atrocities under King John (1216) on fol. 44v (Fig. 112). Closely linked to the events represented on fols. 51v and 60 (Figs. 120 and 65), these images also deal with the end of King John's reign and the difficult transition to Henry III's minority as it was being threatened by Louis of France. All three compositions are loosely strung across the bottom

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margin of the page, made up of very small, lively figures, as if observed from some distance away. Each of these open frieze arrangements is broken into two distinct groups of figures roughly corresponding to the division of the page above into two text columns, right and left, and similarly separated by an emphatic spatial interval. For example, the Battle of Bouvines is given on fol. 37 (Fig. 106) as a dense cluster of French knights at the left, isolated from the single fleeing figure of Hugh de Boves at the far right by a wide empty space in a compartmentalized format like that of the siege of Lincoln (Fig. 120). In both illustrations the major protagonists are identified

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by captions written out in an almost microscopic cursive script in black ink. Similarly, in the subsequent shipwreck scene on fol. 42v (Pl. II), the scene breaks down into the jumble of capsized ships and drowning figures at the left, and the two horsemen described in the monk's vision added by Matthew Paris in the text in the right margin; the two segments of the composition are separated here by the vertical guide lines for the text columns, which Matthew has reinforced by enclosing the left margin of his additional text with a vertical extension from the paragraph marker. In all these scenes the left-hand component is structured to initiate a strong action on an emphatic diagonal line descending toward the right. This device is particularly effective on fol. 44v (Fig. 112) in the illustration documenting atrocities against the people by King John's henchmen, where the two groups of figures are connected by an ongoing narrative action in the three naked men hanging at the right.

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Paris's illustration of the shipwreck of Hugh de Boves (Pl. II) was clearly intended to visualize his own second version of the event and to provide the concluding episode with a more satisfying moral retribution for the cowardice of that knight depicted in the illustration of the Battle of Bouvines on fol. 37 (Fig. 106). Yet Matthew's second text was added after the figures were drawn on fol. 42v (Pl. II), as evinced by the contraction of the last five lines of text caused by the two figures and the rearing horse emerging from the waves. These figures are not mentioned in Roger's text and refer instead to Matthew's account of the monk's vision, in which an army of men on horses was seen in the storm. Consequently, we may assume that the text addition was written out directly after the drawing was made and that the added text and illustration were intended to be perceived together as an integrated whole.

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Closely related to these early frieze compositions are several smaller marginal vignettes interspersed on the intervening pages. These were probably added at roughly the same time to amplify the

	initial thematic sequence illustrating the turbulent period from the end of King John's reign to the minority of Henry III. On fol. 46v, where the text is written in another hand, Matthew added a less ambitious illustration of the arrival of Louis of France in England (Fig. 116); a minuscule vignette symbolizing the truce between England and France (1217) appears in the left-hand margin on fol. 52v (Fig. 121); and the second coronation of Henry III (1220) is illustrated in the upper right corner of fol. 56 (Fig. 122). In all the illustrations in this early group there is a pronounced tendency to render all the heads in profile, revealing Matthew's distinctive facial type, with a sloping forehead, wrinkled brow, blunted nose, and the expressive eye placed well back in the head. The isolated small-scale figures with caricatured profile heads are closely akin to and may have been inspired by the animated marginal illustrations in the early thirteenth-century manuscripts of Gerald of Wales's <i>Topographia Hibernica</i> (see Figs. 17 and 18). Contour lines are firm, continuous, and carefully drawn, while interior folds of drapery are kept to a minimum. We may include in this same group of early vignettes the dream of Fawkes de Brentuté (1217) on fol. 30 (Fig. 64), the wrestling match (1222) on fol. 58 (Fig. 144), the St-Marcel riot (1229) on fol. 71 (Fig. 31), Henry III's voyage to Brittany (1230) on fol. 75v (Fig. 125), plundering grain at Wingham (1232) on fol. 79 (Fig. 155), Richard Earl Marshal (1234) on fol. 83v (Fig. 149), Hubert de Burgh's vision (1234) on fol. 90v (Fig. 42), and the death of Abbot William de Trumpington (1235) on fol. 92v. To this group may be added the exquisite minuscule rendering of Frederick II's gold bulla within the text column on fol. 72v (Fig. 37). ⁴⁶ All occur on pages of older text still composed by Roger Wadsworth, but they coincide with the appearance of Matthew's hand in copying out most of the text beginning on fol. 35 in MS 16. Up to that point, the marginal illustrations in both MSS 26 and 16 are so disparate and inconsistent in style that it seems clear that they were added later at various times. From fols. 37 to 96 in MS 16, however, there is a consistent group of drawings that may be regarded as representing the earliest pictorial additions to the <i>Chronica Majora</i> .
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PAGE 199	Dating from a slightly more advanced but still early period is a group of stylistically related drawings dealing with pious subjects perhaps inspired by a new wave of Franciscan sentiment. Now characterized by more graceful figures and fluid line in compositions of only a few small figures, with several heads rendered in a three-quarter view, Paris's illustrations of the legend of the Burgundian maiden on fol. 61v (Fig. 187) and the two scenes from the life of St. Francis

on fol. 66v (Figs. 198 and 201) are almost in monochrome, except for an occasional touch of dark green and vermilion. Also within this group we may consider a more widely scattered series of fractional figures in a similar monochromatic style in the embracing kings on fol. 52v (Fig. 121) symbolizing the truce between France and England in 1217, the assembled bishops at Lateran IV on fol. 43v (Fig. 69), and the coronation of Henry III and Eleanor on fol. 96 (Fig. 123). While a number of close similarities may be observed among the ecclesiastical figures on fols. 43v and 96, the bizarre device of representing only the upper parts of the figures emerging from a turbulent ground modeled in dark green, instead of the usual straight line, is unique to the two illustrations on fols. 43v and 52v (Figs. 69 and 121).

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In all probability the marginal illustrations which appear from fols. 37 to 96 not only represent Matthew's earliest extant drawings in the *Chronica Majora*, but they also may very well precede the St. Alban cycle in the Dublin manuscript. Although they are somewhat uneven in style, their inconsistencies are no greater than those discernible among the rest of the chronicle drawings or, for that matter, among those in the illustrated *Vie de Saint Alban*, and form a coherent stylistic whole quite separate in style from both. Presumably beginning very shortly after Matthew took up his new position as historian at St. Albans when he first undertook the task of editing and transcribing Roger's annals into MS 46, these drawings probably should be dated ca. 1237-1246. Paris had already been a monk at St. Albans since 1217 and may have been between thirty-seven and forty-six years old at that important juncture in his life. But it is apparent from his handwriting that he was not a professional scribe, and it seems equally unlikely that the position of abbey historian would have been given to a trained artist from the scriptorium. As we shall see, his contrasting chronicle illustrations on fols. 51v and 52 (Fig. 120 and Pl. I), depicting the battles of Lincoln and Sandwich in radically disparate styles on facing pages, reveal all the earmarks of a gifted amateur trying to find a suitable style for himself.

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Once Matthew had taken the first hesitant but unprecedented steps to pictorialize certain selected events in the chronicle, his art developed rapidly, as can be seen in the accomplished drawings of the knight sparing his father's murderer on fol. 79v (Fig. 197), the combat at Monmouth on fol. 85 (Fig. 148), and the Battle of Damietta on fol. 54v (Pl. XII). Although focusing on only a few isolated figures in singular moments of direct confrontation, the illustrations

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PAGE 303 of the Wandering Jew on fol. 70v (Fig. 188) and the combat at Monmouth continue an earlier tendency to spread figures loosely over the wide empty space at the foot of the page. Now, however, the disparate actions are confidently pulled together, in the first case by a subtle interplay of countercurving bodies linked by the broad sweeping lines of the speech scrolls, while in the second image the surging movement of the marshal's charging lance is adroitly contained by turning the other figures on short downward and upward curves back toward the center. A similarly skillful and expressive confrontation between two protagonists is shown on fol. 79v (Fig. 197): the knight draws back on his charging horse, missing by a hair's breadth his father's murderer who is anchored to a high cross extending from the bottom edge of the page into the space between the text columns above. This new mastery of complex poses in dramatically structured compositions signals an overlap with the *Alban* cycle in the illustration of the great chronicle. Indeed the lower part of Christ's body in the scene on fol. 70v, as well as the poignant effect of its contrapposito pose, offers clear links with the martyred figure of Amphibalus in the Dublin manuscript dating from 1245 to 1248.

Moving from the dynamic episodes on fols. 85 and 79v to the violent melee of densely packed mounted warriors in the thick of hand-to-hand combat in the Battle of Damietta on fol. 54v (Pl. XII), we may observe a fairly clear progression of a single type in the charging equestrian lancer. While the horse on fol. 85 still adheres to the elongated type introduced in the early drawings of the siege of Liacolo and the Battle of Bruvines, the galloping steeds in fols. 79v and 54v are both heavier and more compact, closely approaching the monumental animals which appear in the latter part of *Alban*,

PAGE 382 e.g., on fol. 55v (Fig. 226). The vermilion-tinted horse in the Battle of Damietta finds several brilliantly colored counterparts in the *Alban* cycle on fols. 41, 55v, and 56. Not only is the image of the warrior on a charger, hunched over his shield and plunging his lance into a wounded knight in armor falling with his horse at the right in the single combat between Richard, the earl marshal, and Baldwin of Guines on fol. 85 repeated almost exactly in the Battle of Damietta on fol. 54v, but variants of those two combat compositions are also

PAGE 383 found in the Dublin *Vie de Saint Auban* on fol. 56 (Fig. 227). The Battle of Damietta drawing achieves a more convincing result and may be later than the *Alban* illustration of the battle between Christians and pagans on fol. 48, while the knights' combat on fol. 85 in the *Chronica Majora* is clearly earlier than Offa's victory on fol. 56 in *Alban*.

While the recurrence of the distinctive equestrian engagement in both the great chronicle and *Alban* provides additional evidence of an overlap between the two cycles of pictures, the wide disparity between the two *Damietta* illustrations on fols. 54v and 55v (Pl. XII and Fig. 173) again demonstrates a conspicuous absence of chronological relationships between illustrations, in this case dealing with the same event on contiguous pages. Another example of the same disconcerting lack of consistency and order in Paris's execution of the drawings may be seen in the three illustrations dealing with St. Francis. While the two sketches of St. Francis preaching to the birds and his vision on fol. 66v (Figs. 198 and 201) belong to what we might call the second phase of Matthew's early pre-*Alban* style, the portrait of the English Franciscan friar on fol. 67 (Fig. 27), although still executed in monochrome brown ink, offers another contrast in style. Compared with the standing figure of St. Francis preaching to the birds on the preceding page, Brother William is drawn in much larger scale as a heavier, more substantial figure, modeled in subtle tones of brown wash. His large deep-set eyes and tiny pursed mouth, as well as his expressive stance and call, weightier proportions closely resemble figures in the first few illustrations of the *Dublin Life of St. Alban*, such as fol. 29v (Fig. 7), and may well be contemporary with them. Paris's portrait of Brother William constitutes another important example of his penchant for drawing attention to his own textual additions to Wendover's chronicle, in this case to his insertion of the Rule of St. Francis, as well as the haphazard and unsystematic sequences in which the illustrations were executed.

One of the most startling and abrupt stylistic shifts occurs in the elaborate illustration of the sea battle off Sandwich at the foot of fol. 52 (Pl. I), opposite the siege of Lincoln on the same bifolio in the center of quire V. This drawing is unique in its apparent resemblance to the illustrations in the *Dublin Life of St. Alban* and stands as a singular exception to the stylistic consistency observed among the sketches drawn in the margins of the annals from 1215 to 1235. Unlike the loose compositions of small figures which characterize the early illustrations in this segment of the *Chronica Majora*, the battle off Sandwich is a densely packed arrangement of overlapping figures drawn in larger scale, with disproportionately large, expressive heads and heavy shadows around the eyes, close to the style of the *Alban* cycle. Many of the flattened three-quarter heads also occur on fols. 37, 38v, and 39 in the *Dublin* manuscript. Only a few firm and heavy dark contour lines are drawn over the lighter ink sketch to reinforce the articulation of the long outlines of the ships, while the

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figures are more delicately delineated in a lighter brown ink. In a number of *Alban* scenes the original contours are similarly drawn over in a darker, heavier line to achieve the same kinds of contrast with the delicate interior drawing; this is particularly evident on fols. 34v, 35r, 39, 40, 41v, and 50. In the *Chronica Majora* naval battle on fol. 52, color is applied sparingly in thin washes and small spots of darker green and bright vermilion, while the sea is rendered in soft, delicately rippled waves of transparent pale green wash marked by blue lines, as on fol. 53v in *Alban*. Although color functions as an integral part of the image-building process in this as in all Paris's drawings, transparent washes, spots of opaque color, and line in colored inks were obviously added only at the end to fill in such details as the bowsprit, emblems on the banners, and the outer planking of the ships. As in the siege of Lincoln illustration, the major figure of Eustace and the French banners are identified by captions written in minuscule black script.

The illustration on fol. 52 was executed before Matthew added his long second version of the text in the outer margin, as revealed by the contraction of the last sentence at the bottom to avoid overlapping the figures. As we have already observed, Paris's second account introduced Hubert de Burgh as the hero who led the English to victory over the French in this battle, once again demonstrating his loyalty and disproving the king's suspicions of the earl's treachery, and the presence of the ecclesiastical figures at the left then draws attention to his revised version of the sea battle. This unexpected intrusion of a later *Alban*-style illustration into this section of the chronicle suggests that Matthew's decision to include it may have been prompted by some special event or circumstance. Since its style coincides fairly closely with the early drawings in *Alban*, the death of Paris's friend Hubert de Burgh in 1243 may have provided the impetus to interpolate a pictorial as well as textual memorial to his heroic role at Sandwich, as well as to redress Wendover's oversight.

The contrasting styles of the two scenes on fols. 51v and 52 (Fig. 120 and Pl. 1), depicting the battles of Lincoln and Sandwich on facing pages of a bifolio in the center of the quire, offer an instructive demonstration of Matthew's artistic development as an illustrator during the seven- to ten-year period separating these two drawings. In the absence of a traditional format for chronicle illustrations, Matthew first seems to have opted for more discursive constructions of lively small figures loosely dispersed in open rhythmic patterns, which could convey more clearly a visual sense of ongoing action

within a wider spatial scope to match the dynamic character of the narrative text. Then he tried his hand at more complex compositions of large-scale figures, which had proved so well suited in his series of crowded scenes in the *Alban* cycle. Although the two modes were eventually to merge in some of the later illustrations in the *Chronica Majora*, Paris appears to have invented a new and distinctive mode of representation which he considered to be more appropriate for the illustration of a chronicle, quite distinct from that used for the framed frozen tableaux of his illustrated saints' lives. The rich variety of pictorial inventions in the *Chronica Majora* reveals an extraordinarily versatile artist, keenly sensitive to the shifting demands of differing contexts. Given the relative absence of a tradition for chronicle illustration, Matthew adopted the format of unframed marginal vignettes containing small figures which occasionally appeared in such secular works as Orosius and Gerald of Wales's *Irish Topography*, and he quickly transformed and expanded those meager conceptualizations into an exciting cycle of rich narrative inventions.

Thus, shortly after Matthew began transcribing Roger's text on fol. 36 in MS 16, he probably conceived the idea of illustrating the chronicle with unframed marginal vignettes. The uneven and sporadic occurrence of what appear to be his earliest drawings in the *Chronica Majora* would indicate that Paris had not planned to illustrate the annals in any predetermined order but simply visualized isolated events on a piecemeal, impromptu basis, an approach which seems to have established his *modus operandi* as a chronicle illustrator for the rest of his career.

With the appearance of the *Alban* style in the dense battle scene at Damietta on fol. 54v (Pl. XI) and the striking single figure of the English friar William on fol. 67 (Fig. 27), we have reached a stage in Paris's development which brings us to the period of the *Alban* project and the drawings of the patriarch Germainus and the Council of London on fols. 110 and 107 (Fig. 72 and Pl. IX) with which we began our discussion of the chronology of drawings in MS 16. Directly following the close-knit group of images in the *Alban* style dealing with the events of 1237 to 1240 from fols. 107 to 132, the next two illustrations on fols. 133v and 138v (Pl. XIII and Fig. 174) form a related pair close to the monumental *Alban* style. This brings us into the orbit of Matthew's most intensive activity in illustrating the *Chronica Majora*, coinciding with the project for the Dublin manuscript. His spirited responses to the momentous events of 1240–1244 propelled his imagination to even more ambitious ventures in

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pictorial drama. The richly orchestrated designs of this period are filled with bold confidence and vivid invention.

In the two scenes on fols. 133v and 138v, illustrating the defeat of the French at Gaza and the treaty between Naoir and the count of Brittany to set the stage for Richard of Cornwall's Crusade of 1241, we encounter for the first time the full merger of Paris's earlier panoramic format with the monumental frieze composition developed in the *Alban* cycle. Spread across the whole width of the page, and in the case of fol. 133v extending onto the next recto, these two compositions form a complementary pair of contrasting images which serve to establish the nature of the dilemma facing Richard of Cornwall on his arrival in the Middle East. The first scene, at Gaza (Pl. XIII), is divided into two distinct halves, separated in the center by the bifurcated trunk of a large tree branching off in opposite directions to initiate the contrasting directional movements of the two groups of figures. The motif of the twisting tree occurs several times throughout the course of the *Alban* illustrations with similar expressive effect, and the curious treatment of the leaves filled with vermillion veins also finds frequent analogues in the Dublin manuscript, for example, on fols. 46v and 47. The large-scale figures are densely overlapped in a broad tableau comparable to the framed scenes in *Alban*. Matthew even cut off the fleeing movement of the French knight at the far left by adding a fragmentary linear frame. A small but significant detail in the rendering of the armor in the figures at the right as a series of close-set patterns in blue rather than the usual black line to match the modeling tint offers a unique instance of this device among the *Chronica Majora* illustrations. It finds a counterpart in *Alban* where another singular and isolated example of the same blue-patterned armor is used for the soldiers on fol. 36. The *Alban* and *Chronica Majora* illustrations convey a heightened pitch of crowded action, not only by virtue of their many figures but also by their common use of contrasting textures, colorful patterns, and broken contours, further suggesting that they are probably very close in date. In the sequel illustration on fol. 138v (Fig. 174) the two sides are joined temporarily in a shaky truce, with the directional movements in the composition now reversed to converge in the center on the Saracen and French leaders kneeling as they swear an oath of temporary reconciliation. The contemporary Crusader drawings in MS 16 were executed before 1250–1251, as evinced by the displacement of the quire number from its customary position to the bottom edge of the page on fol. 138v,⁴¹ and by the fact that the Saracen's sword in the center of fol. 133v was

drawn before the initial and its flourish were added. Close parallels with fol. 36 in the Dublin manuscript would suggest a date of ca. 1246 to 1248 for these two drawings.

The less ambitious drawings which follow in the margins for the annals from 1240 to 1244 proceed, with a few notable exceptions, in a fairly regular succession. Beginning with the lightly tinted sketch of King Louis displaying the True Cross on fol. 141v (Fig. 192), the sequence moves to the more colorful and violent figure of Gilbert, the earl marshal, on fol. 147v (Fig. 152), the lively illustrations of the French prisoners emerging from prison on the facing recto (Fig. 175), and Richard of Cornwall's reception at Cremona on fol. 151v (Fig. 177). The most accomplished among these drawings is the gory but highly effective execution of William de Marisco on fol. 155v (Fig. 151), with its wrenching action stretched painfully across the bottom of the page. Although separated by fourteen folios, the scene of Gruffydd falling from the Tower on fol. 169 (Fig. 133) appears also to belong to this group, as well as the elaborate battle scene filling the lower margin of fol. 170v (Fig. 182). With the exception of the last illustration, this series of compositions, while still closely related to the style of *Alban*, tends to revert to the dramatic simplicity of Matthew's earlier vignettes in which only a few figures, bereft of complicating landscape elements, are economically but effectively silhouetted against the empty vellum ground of the page. The figures themselves tend to be somewhat smaller, as well as less solid and weighty, thereby regaining some of the agility and animation so often lost in the monumentality of the *Alban* style. In the dramatic portrayals of the death of the marshal (Fig. 152) and the execution of William de Marisco (Fig. 151), we may observe the introduction of a new detail from *Alban* in the crossed saddle cinches. Since this feature only begins to appear in the Dublin manuscript on fols. 55v and 56 (Figs. 226-227), a date of about 1250-1251 may be suggested for these two *Chronica Majora* illustrations.

Interspersed among this sequence of drawings from fol. 141v to 170v is a related but more closely knit group of three illustrations that appear to have been done at the same time. While the illustration of the Poitevin troops dying of plague on fol. 159v (Fig. 127) and the Tartars' cannibal feast on fol. 166 (Fig. 180) are linked by the introduction of a new and distinctive handling of the ground line as a series of smoothly undulating, pale green satiny surfaces, the fierce Mongol warrior with his meticulously rendered scale armor on fol. 144 (Fig. 179) clearly belongs to the same tribe as the figures enthusiastically indulging in the horrible banquet depicted on fol.

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166. Although a precise chronology cannot be fixed for the long series of illustrations which follow the Crusader drawings on fols. 133v and 138v from fol. 141v to 170v, they all appear to be contemporary with the first part of *Alban* and thus probably date from ca. 1246 to 1248.

After 1245 Matthew's entries in the *Chronica Majora* frequently lag a year or more behind the events he is recording,⁴⁷ a lapse probably caused by his trip to Norway in 1248–1249. He apparently applied himself with redoubled energies after his return, for by the end of 1250 or the beginning of 1251 he had succeeded in bringing the text of the chronicle up to date. He must have concluded the last annual before the news of Frederick II's death on December 13, 1250, reached him, since the momentous event of the emperor's demise is not recorded in the text but in the margin as a later addition. In his haste to finish the text of the annals to the end of 1250, however, Paris seems to have lost interest in illustrating the chronicle.

In the annals covering the last five years there are only three marginal illustrations of any importance: the death of Herbert Fitz-Matthew on fol. 183v, the Council of Lyons on fol. 186v, and the procession with the king's relic of the Holy Blood on fol. 215. However, the striking disparity in style among these three drawings suggests a lapse of more than a few months or even a year between them. Unlike the loose monumental drawings on fols. 183v and 215 (Fig. 133 and Pl. X), the illustration of the Council of Lyons (Fig. 166) is composed of tightly knit groups of diminutive figures whose faces are very different in type: in several cases the eyes are reduced to dots and the eyebrows curved in various ways to express consternation, with several other lines drawn on the cheeks and below the eyes to intensify and vary individual expressions; and the drapery patterns are complicated in broken, agitated folds. For the first time we see something resembling enframing devices around the figures, anticipating those used in the illustration of the Council of Lyons on fol. 138v in the *Historia Anglorum* (Fig. 167) dating after 1250. The vertical line separating the figure of Thaddeus from the quire number (XVIII), which appears in its normal position at the right, and the descending flourishes for the initial on the left severely restrict the space available for the illustration, suggesting that it may have been made after 1250–1251. This "new" style may represent Matthew's return to the *Chronica Majora* after the lapse caused by his Norway mission. While there is no loss in expressive skill, the illustration seems somewhat fussy and tentative, reverting to an earlier format of small, nervous figures developed at the beginning of his career as

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illustrator of the *Chronica Majora*. A brief comparison with a similar scene executed in the *Ablon* style in his illustration of the Council of London on fol. 107 (Pl. IX) confirms this perception.

Presumably at the same time Matthew executed another illustration in the same curious style on fol. 146 (Fig. 164), depicting the capture of prelates at Monte Cristo. Densely packed within the ship manned by the Genoese, the delegates are frustrated in their efforts to reach an earlier council called by the pope to condemn Frederick II at Rome. With the same distinctive linear flourish marking the cheekbones, curved eyebrows, and dotted eyes, they are drawn in a "miniature" style almost identical with the group of bishops assembled before Innocent IV at Lyons. However, the figures at the left have clearly interrupted the flourishing for the initials, indicating that this drawing was executed before the one on fol. 186v but in the same style. This in turn suggests that the illustrations on fols. 146 and 186v were made at the same time as the final touches were being made on MS 16 and thus date from 1250 to 1251. Like the Council of Lyons, the sea battle between Pisans and Genoese rests on a lower frame formed by two parallel horizontal lines at the bottom, creating an arbitrary platform base which serves to deaden the narrative action, a device which Paris also uses in a less emphatic form in the battle scene on fol. 170v (Fig. 182) and which he tended to use fairly frequently in the *Historia Anglorum* drawings.

While these elaborate and fussy compositions on fols. 146 and 186v (Figs. 164 and 166) illustrating two events relating to the general council called by Innocent IV to condemn the emperor form a unique pair representing a short-lived phase of Matthew's style which probably dates from 1250 to 1251, the two illustrations on fols. 183v and 215 (Fig. 135 and Pl. X) illustrating events in 1245 and 1247 respectively appear to be too distant in style from all the other illustrations in MS 16, including the papal council drawings, to date before 1251. In the FitzMatthew illustration the severe compression of the falling horse's body caused by the spatial limitation imposed by the flourished initial indicates that it was drawn after 1250-1251. The closest dated stylistic parallels to these two drawings appear in Paris's 1255 drawing of King Henry's elephant (Fig. 129) and the five incomplete illustrations in the *Offa* cycle (see Figs. 3 and 232-234), which must date after 1250 and which we have tentatively assigned to ca. 1253-1256. Details of the beads in the facial features and hair, the broad sweeping drapery patterns, as well as the loose drawing style and monumental scale of the figures in these last illustrations in the *Chronica Majora*, correspond very

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close to the *Offa* drawings. Even FitzMatthew's horse on fol. 183v finds a close counterpart in the cavalry steeds on fol. 3v in MS Cotton Nero D. 1 (Fig. 234). Both late chronicle illustrations introduce passages of solid color for the first time, for example, the canopy and black boots in fol. 215 (Pl. X) and the shields in fol. 183v (Fig. 135) in juxtaposition with faintly tinted or plain outline figures, as in the contrast between the heavily modeled painted elephant and the outline sketch of his keeper (Fig. 129).

In the folios immediately preceding 183v Paris executed three more illustrations in a similarly open monumental style. Enlivened by intense colors, the figure of Innocent IV on fol. 177 (Fig. 165), wearing a vermillion cap and fleeing on a brilliant blue horse over a bright green ground emerging from behind a platform base, clearly belongs to this late group dating from ca. 1253 to 1256. In this case the hasty and slightly careless execution would suggest that the image may even be dated as late as 1257. Although more carefully articulated and less violently colored, the forcefully conceived falling figure of Coucy at the bottom of the verso (Pl. XI) resembles the FitzWalter drawing in its oppressive crowding of heavy weights and landscape elements into the confined space between the descending tail of the flourished initial at the left and the large red quare number at the right, again establishing a terminus post quem of 1251 for its execution. Also closely related to the bold coloration and turbulent movement of the FitzMatthew drawing is the dramatic illustration on fol. 182 (Fig. 193). With its strong contours emphatically outlining the heavy figures, the solemn episode of Louis IX's miraculous cure is transformed into a scene of vigorous movements initiated by a series of unrestrained flailing gestures and extending into the ponderous masses of dark blue drapery nervously rippling around the recumbent figure of the dying king.

In MS 16 we have seen Paris's style evolve from its earliest beginnings to about 1256. When we analyze the distribution of his illustrations throughout the annals written in his hand from 1244 to 1247, it becomes fairly clear that his initial impulse to illustrate the chronicle was generated by his intense personal interest in the events of his own lifetime during the last years of the reign of King John. Beginning with the Battle of Bouvines (1214) on fol. 37, with only one drawing for that year, the illustrations immediately gain considerable momentum with six for 1215 and five for 1216 and then subside to one or two for the next few years up to the second coronation of Henry III on fol. 56. Following this initial burst of activity, Matthew's picturing of events in the chronicle then settled into a slow

but steady succession of drawings, with one or two per year up to 1236 and the coronation of Henry III and Eleanor of Provence on fol. 96, although none appear in the annals for 1223, 1231, and 1236, taking us up to the point where Matthew had ceased editing and transcribing Roger's text and had begun composing the annals himself. After a short but significant break, two illustrations were executed for 1237 on fols. 107 and 110 in the *Alban* style, but no drawings were made for 1238, and only one, also in the monumental new style, for 1239. For the richly textured long annals covering the turbulent years between 1240 and 1245, Matthew's energies reached their peak in an outpouring of exciting images, with as many as ten drawings documenting events for the year 1241 alone. After 1245, however, the marginal drawings suddenly drop off almost altogether. With the isolated exception of the late illustration for 1247 on fol. 213, Paris's pictorial expansion of the chronicle was reduced to a few small and insignificant emblematic sketches, although painted coats of arms continued to enliven the pages in unabated profusion to the end of the second volume up through the year 1253. Judging from the even greater number of painted heraldic devices in the *Historia Anglorum*, Paris's interest in heraldry may well date from the period between 1250 and 1255, when he was engaged in writing his abridged history of England. After having begun that work, Paris seems to have lost much of his earlier enthusiasm for chronicle illustration and may have turned his energies to heraldry and the making of maps.

Although Matthew's artistic interests may have been partially diverted to other channels during the last decade of his life, the St. Albans artist and chronicler continued to make drawings in the great universal history begun by his predecessor. As we have already observed, at least five of the illustrations in MS 16 were probably added not much before 1255, several years after Matthew had put the finishing touches on the second volume of the Corpus Christi manuscript. It should come as no surprise then that over half the drawings in MS 26, as well as the first illustrations of any importance to appear in the first three quires of MS 16, preceding the introduction of Matthew's hand in the transcription of the revised text, probably date from 1249 and later, after his return from Norway.

When we turn to the first volume of the *Chronica Majora* we are dealing with a work composed entirely by Matthew's predecessor, in which Paris's script appears only in his marginal additions and captions for the illustrations but not in the text of the annals. Significantly fewer drawings appear in MS 26 to mark Wendover's an-

nals from Creation to 1183, the total amounting to less than one third the number of illustrations in MS 16. The earlier manuscript was also illustrated over a long period of time in the same sporadic manner as MS 16, with drawings done in markedly different styles interspersed in the margins throughout the book, again ranging from the early pre-Alban style of about 1236 to 1255 or later. We may surmise that Matthew Paris regarded the two Corpus Christi volumes as a single continuous work and kept them close at hand throughout his career as historian at St. Albans, adding illustrations to both parts from time to time over a period of more than twenty years.

In all probability the earliest illustration to have been executed in MS 26 is the manuscript sketch of St. Stephen's martyrdom on p. 36 (Fig. 19). Confidently drawn with an expressively varied line and delicate touches of light dull green wash, these sparsely figured are identical in style, technique and tinting to Matthew's small-scale pre-Alban vignette on fol. 90r in MS 16 (Fig. 42). Unlike the many drawings in this early style to be found in the margins of Wendover's annals in the second volume of the *Chronica Majora*, the martyrdom of St. Stephen is curiously isolated in MS 26. The only other pre-Alban drawing in the first Corpus Christi manuscript occurs on p. 105 (Fig. 94), where the lower profile bust of King Offa, who has become a monk, may be closely related to the head of the figure at the left in the early illustration on fol. 43r in MS 16 (Fig. 69). The two small sketches on pp. 36 and 105 in MS 26 appear to have been done at different times in the early 1240s.

Perhaps only a short time later the standing effigy of Mohammed (Fig. 53) was inserted at the top of p. 87 between the columns of text containing Matthew's long addition written over an extensive erasure in Roger's text. Articulated in carefully drawn but firm contours and delicate interior lines, the figure of the Islamic prophet appears to be contemporary with fol. 50 in the *Vie de Saint Aubin*. Matthew's prophet bears a strong resemblance to the priestly figure at the right, not only in its proportions and drapery but also in the heavy dark line drawn over the outer contours of the figure; the use of vermilion as a modeling tint for the pig also has close counterparts in this section of the Dublin manuscript, where several horses are brilliantly tinted in the same hue. The image may date from about 1244-1245, having been prompted by the long excursus on Mohammed composed for Matthew's own annal for 1236,²¹ to which he refers the reader in the margin of Roger's annal for A.D. 622: "Haec omnia in anno gratiae MCCXXXVI. quae de machometo vera sunt plenius dicuntur."²²

Very close in style to the figure of the eloquent prophet on p. 87 are the beautifully drawn and skillfully modeled figures in the martyrdom of St. Alban on p. 126 (Pl. VII). As we might expect, the addition of this scene to the margins of the *Chronica Majora* seems to be roughly contemporary with Paris's illustrated *Life* in Dublin. The figure of Alban is somewhat slighter in proportions and more sketchily drawn than the figures in the *Alban* illustrations. Moreover, two of the martyr's most salient attributes, which serve an important narrative function throughout the Dublin cycle—namely, his peculiar ferule-shaped cross and the distinctive brown woolly mantle borrowed from Amphibalus—are both absent in this version. It is possible that both the Mohammed and St. Alban drawings in MS 26 are slightly earlier than *Alban*, perhaps dating from about 1244 to 1245, but the scale and format of the drawings in the two manuscripts are so different that it is very difficult to judge. They do, however, appear to be earlier than the *Alban*-style illustrations in MS 16.

Although related in both style and content to the martyrdom of St. Alban, the sketch illustrating the discovery of the relics of St. Amphibalus on p. 270 (Fig. 62) toward the end of MS 26 was not done at the same time and is clearly later, coinciding more decisively with the drawings in the Dublin manuscript. The heavier figures with their large expressive heads and complex drapery patterns find many close counterparts in the middle section of *Alban*, particularly on fols. 45, 51, and 53.

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The closest points of contact and overlap between the illustrations in the first volume of the *Chronica Majora* and those in the Dublin *Life of St. Alban* occur in the two magnificent but widely separated battle scenes on pp. 160 and 279. In the legendary single combat between King Canute and Edmund Ironside (Pl. III), the surging equestrian warriors exhibit the monumental scale and carefully wrought detail characteristic of the mature *Alban* style (see Fig. 226). The patterning of the mail armor is distinctively articulated in blue rather than black or brown line, linking this illustration with fol. 36 in *Alban* and fol. 133v in MS 16, where we have already noted the relationship between these two singular examples of the same detail, thus enabling us to fix a tentative date of ca. 1246–1248 for this illustration. When we remember that Matthew's pictorial interpretation of the battle between Canute and Ironside was based not on Wendover's account in the *Chronica Majora* but on his own *Life of Edward*, which was probably composed ca. 1245,²⁹ this dating appears all the more plausible.

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- PAUL 270 Executed in roughly the same period, the fierce struggle between King Guy and Saladin over the True Cross on p. 279 (Fig. 171) offers more direct connections with the *Alban* cycle, for it is the only chronicle illustration in which the nails of the horseshoes are represented, as they appear in the Dublin cycle on fols. 41, 41v, 43v, etc., although in both this drawing and that on p. 166 in the *Chronica Majora*, the horses' hooves are tinted with brown wash. Another telling and unique detail on p. 279 in MS 26 is the fringe drawn on Saladin's saddle blanket, a feature which may be seen on fols. 43v and 45v in the Dublin manuscript. The figure of Saladin very closely resembles the figure of King Offa on fol. 55v (Fig. 226), down to the rare detail of crowns closed by a rounded cap, a feature which very rarely occurs among Matthew's royal figures in either *Alban* or the *Chronica Majora*. Although the linear articulation and tinting are much more subtle and refined, the composition of the Saladin illustrations has two close parallels in MS 16 in the equestrian combat on fol. 85 (Fig. 148) and the Damietta battle on fol. 54v (Pl. XII).
- PAGE 382 A few years after Paris first ended the *Chronica Majora* with the annal for 1250, he must have resumed his illustration of the first volume, for a number of drawings in MS 26 appear to date from ca. 1253 to 1256. All executed in a loose monumental style similar to the Wallingford portrait and the fragmentary *Offa* cycle (see Figs. 232–234), the first of these late drawings appears in MS 26 on p. 24 (Fig. 74) in a remarkable portrait of Alexander the Great, boldly sketched in brown ink with accents in dull green wash on the belt, throne, and drapery folds. The cursorily drawn features of the head are very like those of the second bust of the monk-king *Offa* on p. 205 (Fig. 94), as well as the Franciscan friar in the margin of fol. 26 at the beginning of MS 16 (Fig. 28). All in turn bear unmistakable resemblances to the style of the last full narrative illustration on fol. 215 in the second volume of the chronicle (see Pl. X). Also among these later tinted drawings added to MS 26 in the Wallingford style is the closely related pair of illustrations on pp. 254 and 263 (Figs. 43–44) depicting the baptism of the ruler of Iconium and the martyrdom of Thomas of Canterbury. In both these scenes, as well as the procession of the Holy Blood in MS 16 (Pl. X), the contours and interior lines are executed in broad sweeping lines to articulate monumental figures with large expressive heads whose exaggerated features are sketched with a few quick strokes of the pen. While vague hints of color are added in delicate washes of light blue, clear green, and pale ochre, dark accents of solid black in the shoes of Becket's murderers at the left on p. 263 (Fig. 44) offer a further detail corresponding to the *Offa* cycle (Figs. 232–234) and fol. 215 in MS 16
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(Pl. X). As in the Holy Blood procession, where Matthew forgot to complete the staff of the first bishop's crozier and clumsily drew it in later with rubric vermilion, a careless mistake appears in the martyrdom of Thomas on p. 263 in MS 26 (Fig. 44), where the lines of the second sword incorrectly pass through the cross-scepter held out by the bishop's companion. Despite minor lapses in accuracy of drawing, the impressive breadth of these late illustrations attests to Paris's undiminished artistic powers in the mid-1250s, closely paralleling his vigorous activity as historian of St. Albans during that period.

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A remarkable number of drawings in MS 26 appear to have been added as late as 1257–1258. Executed in the same careless, sketchy style as Paris's hurried illustrations for the *Historia Anglorum*, the quick sketches of Brutus on p. 7 (Fig. 89) and King Lear on p. 11 (Fig. 90) at the very beginning of the volume belong to this late phase. The figure of Empress Isabella on fol. 123v in MS Roy. 14. C. VII (Fig. 163) closely resembles Lear's three daughters, while the crude caricatured heads of Brutus and Lear reappear in the tiny ancillary figures on fols. 6–6v in the *Abbreuiatio Chroniconum* genealogy (Figs. 81–82), as well as on fol. 122v in the *Historia Anglorum*. Drawn in a minuscule scale similar to that of the figure of Gruffydd falling from the Tower on fol. 136 in MS Roy. 14. C. VII (Fig. 134), the sparsely sketches of the legendary British kings, comprising the first illustrations for MS 26, seem to have been hastily conceived as last-minute pictorial additions to the chronicle; Matthew may have done them in conjunction with his sketches for the genealogy which now appears at the beginning of the *Abbreuiatio Chroniconum*. Paris probably made preliminary lead pencil sketches for three more drawings on pp. 28, 30, and 35, which were finished, presumably after his death, by another St. Albans hand. Matthew also appears to have redrawn the figure of Merlin over the erased ink sketch on p. 66 (Fig. 50) as a part of his late effort to complete the illustrations in the first volume of the massive chronicle, but then abandoned the idea, leaving the revived features of the oracle to preside over shadows of the earlier effaced images below.

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An illustration in the same style depicts Offa discovering the relics of St. Alban on p. 117 (Fig. 60), where the ineptly drawn head of the king closely resembles that of Louis IX on fol. 137v in the *Historia Anglorum* (Fig. 194), and the lower edges of the drapery end awkwardly in an abrupt straight line, as occurs often throughout MS Roy. 14. C. VII (cf. fols. 122 and 122v). Also from the same period, although more heavily tinted than the others, is the representation of the two poor Bromptons on one horse on p. 220 in MS 26 (Fig. 47);

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the beveled platform on which the adjacent sketch of the hospital built by Queen Matilda is drawn appears again on fol. 121 in the *Historia Anglorum*. Within its dark green circular frame, perhaps copied from a seal, the unique image of Alfred the Great on p. 129 (Fig. 95) also dates from this period and offers a close counterpart to the king in the *Abbreuiatio Chroniconum* genealogy, particularly King Richard on fol. 9v (Fig. 88). Contrasting with the meticulous elegance of Frederick II's seal portrait on fol. 126 in MS 16 (Fig. 46) or the head of Alfred in the *Genealogia Dehinculata* on fol. iv verso at the beginning of MS 26 (Fig. 96), the drawing is hurried and sketchy, and the contour lines have been hastily drawn over several times, while a careless but still effective application of pale green wash models the satiny drapery.

With as many as six illustrations and preliminary sketches projected for three more dating from ca. 1257 to 1258, we have ample evidence in the margins of MS 26 of Matthew's continuing, albeit faltering work on the massive project for the illustrated *Chronica Majora* almost to the end of his long and productive career as historian at St. Albans. Paris must have spent more than twenty years filling the margins of the two Corpus Christi manuscripts with a steady stream of lively images in a chronologically disordered, zigzag path. He began drawing marginal scenes in MS 16 on fol. 51v in the middle of quire V in the second set of pages he had transcribed of Wendover's text in the great chronicle, followed by two more drawings on fols. 55v and 60 in the next section written out by another scribe. After a rather hesitant start, Paris then added a remarkable number of more confidently drawn sketches, moving freely back and forth among the folios of quires IV through VIII (fols. 37, 42v, 43v, 44v, 46r, 50, 52v, 58, 61v, 66v, 71, 72v, 75r, 79, 88v, 90v, 92v, and 96), as well as a drawing in the center of quire XII and another at the end of XIV (15), in no particular order sometime between 1236 and 1246. During the same decade, he also added a small drawing in the margin of p. 26 in MS 26.

After Matthew began working on *Alban* ca. 1245, the number of illustrations in the *Chronica Majora* slackened somewhat, with only two drawings in quire V (fols. 49v and 52), two in quire VI (fols. 67 and 70v), two in quire VII (fols. 79v and 83), and one at the beginning of quire XI (fol. 126), corresponding to the first part of the Dublin cycle (fols. 29v–50), while the illustrations on pp. 87 and 116 in MS 26 appear to date slightly earlier. After the *Alban* project got underway, the momentum of illustration picked up again in MS 16, with an unbroken sequence of drawings dating from ca. 1246 to 1248 from fols. 133v to 166 from the second half of quire XI to the begin-

ning of XXVII (14), but only one drawing for MS 26 on p. 270.

After the break caused by the trip to Norway, Paris resumed illustrating the great chronicle, with four widely separated *Alban*-style drawings in quires V (fol. 54v), IX (fols. 107 and 110), and XI (fol. 132), as well as another in MS 26 on p. 279, carried out in the masterful style of the last section of the Dublin manuscript, all probably dating from about 1249 to 1252. From the same period, when Matthew was putting the finishing touches on the *Chronica Majora* as a universal history ending at mid-century, illustrations appear on fols. 146 and 186v, executed in a fussy "miniature" style which, while seeming to revert to the minuscule scale of his earliest work, at the same time anticipates mannerisms of his style in the later 1250s. These two illustrations apparently represent a short-lived experiment, for the rest of Paris's work from 1249 to 1252 continued in the monumental style which he had been developing in the years immediately preceding the Norway trip, both at the end of *Alban* and in the annals of the *Chronica Majora* up to mid-century.

Shortly after Paris resumed writing entries in the great chronicle in 1252-1253, he also began to add several illustrations to the earlier annals in both Corpus Christi volumes. From ca. 1253 to 1256 he executed two drawings in MS 16 at the end of quire XXVII (14), two more in XIV (15), and one in XVII (18). Although he left the last five quires in MS 16 without illustrations, he added five more drawings to MS 26 in the same open monumental style, contemporary with the *Offa* cycle and Wallingford drawings, on pp. 24, 26, 105, 254, and 263. In the last efforts to complete his herculean labors, Paris passed over MS 16 to return to Wendover's early annals in the first volume of the great chronicle where, after adding three more drawings on pp. 117, 129, and 220, he made pencil sketches for six illustrations at the very beginning of the manuscript (pp. 7, 11, 28, 30, 32, and 35), of which he finished only half, and also began to redraw an earlier erased illustration on p. 66 but completed only one figure. His return to the legendary history of ancient Britain in MS 26 may have been prompted by his recent involvement with this material in carrying out the pictorial genealogy of kings which now prefaces the *Abbreuiatio Chronicorum*.

At the beginning Matthew's efforts at illustration were ambitious but amateurishly inept. His first few drawings reveal complex narrative scenes in which tiny figures are too widely spaced and fail to meld with their architectural and landscape settings into coherent images. Apparently aware of his initial difficulties, he soon began to compress and simplify his drawings, often reducing them to abbreviated vignettes of busts or hands. By so doing, he began to achieve

far livelier and more expressive pictorial results. When he returned to the *Chronica Majora* after working on the *Alban* cycle for a while, his illustrations became more ambitious again, but with an important difference; he now had full control of both his technical skills and inventive powers and was able to orchestrate active figures into complex and dynamic compositions capable of sustaining their own rich dramatic narrative. The steady flow of chronicle illustrations coinciding with the *Alban* drawings closely follows the same gradual development toward a broader and more monumental pictorial conception that can be observed in the Dublin cycle up to the break caused by the Norway mission. With only a brief hesitation represented by two isolated drawings which hark back to his earlier miniature cycle, his work then continued to develop into the fully mature and expressive monumental style observed in the last series of *Alban* illustrations and a few masterful drawings added in MSS 26 and 26 of the *Chronica Majora*. A few years later Matthew achieved a second artistic peak in the expansive, more relaxed and open style of the *Offa* cycle and Wallingford drawings of ca. 1253–1257, represented in several illustrations in both Corpus Christi manuscripts. At the end, however, probably plagued by failing eyesight or an arthritic hand, his physical energy and inventive powers seriously flagged as he added a few pictorial embellishments to the first volume of the *Chronica Majora*, while also trying to complete the *Historia Anglorum* as well as the *Abbreuiatio Chronicorum*.

In the end, Matthew's unsystematic and haphazard artistic activity in the two Corpus Christi manuscripts of the St. Albans chronicle achieved a wonderful sense of dynamic flux and energy that constantly changed and revitalized its pages long after they had been written. Through his drawings, Paris's feelings and imagination responded with fresh insights even to the oldest annals written decades earlier by his predecessor: their content never became deadened by a sense of finality. Like a moving kaleidoscope, the colorful pages of the great chronicle unfold in a series of expanding images with no fixed points in space or time.

MATTHEW'S PORTFOLIO AND WORKS OF ART AT ST. ALBANS

Judging from the number of Paris's loose drawings which are now bound as miscellaneous frontispieces and insertions in his own and other contemporary manuscripts, it appears very likely that the St.

Albans chronicler kept a portfolio of visual images comparable to his collection of documentary material in the *Liber Additamentorum*.⁴⁰ Many of the surviving individual drawings are collected with the written documents in MS Cotton Nero D. I, suggesting that these pictorial *dissecta membra* were probably intended to be kept in the same way for future reference. Several of the representations on the loose sheets occur again in Matthew's work and have already been cited as models or sources for his illustrations in MS 26 of the *Chronica Majora*: the drawing of the parbelion on fol. 106 in the *Liber Additamentorum* (Fig. 36) was copied on fol. 83v (Fig. 35); the elephant drawn from life on fol. 169v in the same collection (Fig. 131) probably served as the basis for the painted version on fol. 1v (Fig. 129); the Veronica image now bound as a prefatory psalter page in MS Arundel 157 (Pl. V) appears to stand behind the painted insertion on fol. 49v (Pl. IV); and the elaborate scheme of the *Scutum Fidei* in John of Wallingford's *Miscellanea* in MS Cotton Julius D. VII (Fig. 115) very likely served as a reference for the sketch of the same symbolic shield on fol. 45v (Fig. 113).⁴¹ The collection of heraldic coats of arms on fols. 171–171v in the *Liber Additamentorum* (Pl. XV) perhaps served as a primary source for the painted shields which occur throughout Paris's illustrated chronicles. The various maps and itineraries that occur in several versions, some of which (for example, the fragmentary sketches on fols. ii, iii verso, iii, v, and v verso in MS 26, as well as the incomplete map of Brian in MS Roy. 14. C. VII) may represent working sketches for the more complete, finished maps in his other manuscripts. Lastly, the roughly drawn but full pictorial genealogy of English kings now bound at the beginning of the *Abbreuatiō Chroniconum* (Figs. 81–88) in MS Cotton Claudius D. VI was obviously not designed for that shorter work and perhaps represents a set of preliminary sketches for a genealogical prolegomenon intended to precede the massive *Chronica Majora*. It may have been a late project, conceived toward the end of Matthew's career, that was never carried out.⁴²

Although it seems likely that most of the surviving sheets of drawings from Matthew's portfolio were dispersed and bound into various manuscripts at St. Albans sometime after he died, particularly in the cases of the *Chronica Majora* and the *Liber Additamentorum*, which he considered as his own and had bequeathed to the abbey, Paris may have given other drawings to various friends and acquaintances during his lifetime. For example, the five drawings now bound in the *Miscellanea* compiled by John of Wallingford were probably given to this St. Albans monk before he left the abbey

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in 1237 for the cell at Wymondham, where he died the following year.³⁰ The elegant painted Veronica inserted at the beginning of the psalter made for Oxford use in Arundel MS 157 may have been presented by Matthew to a friend or acquaintance there.³¹ And the majestic Virgin and Child on fol. 12v in MS Roy. 2. B. VI may have been given to another St. Albans monk, John of Dalling, for his psalter.³² Conversely, as we have seen in the case of the drawing of the Apocalyptic Christ by the Franciscan brother William (Fig. 29)

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which Matthew had carefully preserved in the *Liber Adduamentorum*, the St. Albans chronicler also received pictorial mementos from his friends.³³ On at least two occasions during his lifetime Matthew provided devotional images of the Virgin and Child from his collection of drawings, accompanied by prayers written in his own hand, to serve as pious frontispieces for his own works, the *Dublin Alba* and the *Historia Anglorum* (see Fig. 2).³⁴ Unfortunately, we have no idea how many loose drawings have been lost from the portfolio, but those which survive may represent only a small part of its original contents.

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Notwithstanding its present fragmentary and dispersed state, one of the most striking aspects of Matthew's portfolio is the number of images intended to document and preserve the appearance of celebrated works of art. We have already noted the meticulous care Paris lavished on his two renderings of the Veronica icon based on the description by Gervase of Tilbury, as well as his conscientious documentation of the source for his *Mappa Mundi*, now bound at the end of MS 26, as having been copied from the king's world map at Westminster.³⁵ That Paris's artistic interests extended to rare objects d'art surviving from classical antiquity is documented in his drawing on fol. 146v in the *Liber Adduamentorum* (Fig. 24) of the large cameo belonging to St. Albans, along with the small sketch of a half-nude veiled figure, on the reverse of Brother William's drawing in the same manuscript (Fig. 10), which may also have been copied from a Roman cameo.³⁶ Matthew was, however, chiefly concerned with contemporary art and most particularly with the celebrated works created for his own abbey of St. Albans.

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An extraordinary ensemble of three large-scale heads of Christ and the Virgin appears on a single sheet (Frontispiece) inserted from Matthew's portfolio at the end of MS 26 on p. 283; the reverse bears the *Mappa Mundi* (Fig. 222). Within a banded linear frame, now largely trimmed away, busts of the Virgin and Child dominate the upper center; delicately scalloped clouds separate them from two equally large and imposing visages of Christ below. While these

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heads are clearly not preliminary sketches, but carefully executed and finished tinted line drawings, they have been rendered on the darker, flesh side of an imperfect sheet of vellum originally cut larger than the folios in MS 26. A rectangular patch (50 × 30 mm.), visible beginning at the lower right side of the crucified Christ's nimbus and extending across the central vertical line into the left lower part of the nimbus cruciger of the Majesty, was pasted over a smaller lacuna (30 × 12 mm.) on the verso before the drawing was made. Consequently, we may assume that Paris probably copied the *Mappe Mundi* from the Westminster map first and then rendered the images of Christ and the Virgin on the reverse at a later date.

The sacred heads on p. 283 are finely articulated within a neatly compartmentalized format. Each occupies an oddly truncated space, resembling a shield at the top resting on an open diptych below, defined by a fine but firm line. Only vague suggestions of color are added to enhance the crisp articulation of these heads in fine brown line: Christ's hair in the lower two heads is tinted in subtle shades of ochre, while the tresses of the Virgin and Child above are accented in touches of darker brown wash; the nimbus of the crucified Christ at the left is filled with a graded tone of clear blue, while those of the Infant and Majesty appear to have been filled partially with silver paint which was later scraped away, leaving muddy streaks of indeterminate color. The net effect of the transparent color wash upon the elegant linear articulation of these striking heads is the gossamer luminosity of painting on silk.

Drawn in a refined, dignified, and "finished" style, these restrained, almost archaic figures are markedly different in character from the vigorous, rapid sketches in the margins of the great chronicle. The solid, heavy proportions of these large solemn heads, delineated in long, unbroken curving strokes, have more in common with late Romanesque productions of the late twelfth century and the early Gothic style of ca. 1200 in the Westminster Psalter (MS Roy. 2. A. XXII) than with the more delicate, fragile and attenuated figures prevalent in English monastic art of Matthew's own time, such as the mid-thirteenth-century Amesbury and Evesham psalters (Oxford, All Souls MS lat. 6 and B.L. MS Add. 44874) or the Missal of Henry of Chichester (Manchester, John Rylands MS lat. 24, fol. 150), with which Paris's Virgin and Child have so often been compared. In their almost self-consciously old-fashioned style and meticulous articulation, Matthew's heads are very close to his equally careful but more fully modeled and painted rendering of the Veronica head of Christ on fol. 49v in MS 16 (Pl. IV), where he delineated

a sacred icon in a deliberately contrasting and dignified style to set it apart from his own quick pictorial narrative inventions in the chronicle.

In his striking collection of sacred heads on the last page inserted at the end of MS 26 of the *Chronica Majora* we may again observe Paris adopting a different stylistic mode to create an accurate visual documentation of important images. In this case, their startling archaism may be accounted for by the fact that they are probably faithful renderings of older works of art. Each figure represents a facial excerpt from an easily recognizable iconographic type. The crowned Virgin and Child with their eyes locked in an intense tender gaze belong to a familiar thirteenth-century image of the Madonna enthroned, while the gentle bear head of the dead Christ at the left is taken from a larger Crucifixion scene of the same period; the frontal staring face of the Savior at the right is typical of an Enthroned Majesty surrounded by the four Beasts of the Apocalypse.

As it now stands out of context, introduced abruptly as an intrusion at the end of the first volume of the great chronicle, the pictorial epilogue comprising the head of Christ together with another from the Crucifixion along with the Virgin and Child offers an iconographical scheme unprecedented in medieval art and unique to Matthew Paris. On the other hand, the bizarre ensemble of heads excerpted from monumental types bears the characteristic stamp of the medieval pattern or sketchbook tradition and could represent a typical modelbook pastiche of images abstracted by Matthew from several well-known works of art.

In fact, these three images were combined in a singular ensemble on the main altar in the abbey church of St. Albans and could have conveniently served to inspire Paris's drawing. Elevated on a stone base behind the high altar so that it could be seen by the celebrant was the Romanesque shrine of St. Alban, completed under Abbot Simon (1166–1183) by Master John in gold, silver, and precious gems. According to Paris's description in the *Genia Abbatum*, the west end of the shrine facing the nave carried an image of the Virgin and Child Enthroned, while the rear face bore a representation of the Crucifixion.¹⁶ Either in front of or, more probably, on top of the main altar there also stood a gilded silver diptych ("two pictures [panels] joined together"), executed by Walter of Colchester for Abbot John (1195–1214), with a Crucifixion represented on one panel and a Majesty on the other.¹⁷ The similarity between the Veronica which appears on fol. 49v in MS 16 (Pl. IV) and the staring frontal face of Christ at the lower right in the ensemble on p. 283 in MS 26

(Frontispiece) suggests that the careful representation of the Veronica pasted into the second volume of the *Chronica Majora* may have been based on Walter of Colchester's Majesty for the St. Albans altar frontal, thus accounting for the otherwise inexplicable intrusion of the Alpha and Omega into the Veronica. Colchester's diptych attracted so much notice that Henry III ordered a replica for Westminster, and a whole workshop of craftsmen went into residence at St. Albans to execute the commission.³⁴ The unusual layout of Paris's tinted drawing of heads thus may have been intended to evoke the lofty position of the Enthroned Virgin and Child presiding in the center over the diptych of the Crucifixion and Majesty of Christ below, as it existed at the main altar of St. Albans in the early thirteenth century.

Matthew's decision to extract from this ensemble only the heads results in a dramatic juxtaposition of contrasting emotive statements ranging from the lyrical sweetness and serenity of the Virgin and Child above to the pathos and austere authority of the Christological images from the Crucifixion and Majesty below. Paris's care and delicacy in rendering these images pays homage not only to a familiar set of sacred icons in the late Romanesque and early Gothic styles, but also, like the lower diptych, to the artistry of Walter of Colchester. Regarded as one of the most gifted English artists of his day, Master Walter, who became a monk and sacristan at St. Albans ca. 1200, was extolled by the younger Matthew Paris in the *Gesta Abbatum* as an "incomparable painter and sculptor" (*pictor et sculptor incomparabilis*), a "marvellous craftsman whose equal in every kind of work had hitherto not been seen nor would be seen hereafter."³⁵

The tender lyricism and warm rapport between mother and son in the busts of the Virgin and Child in the *Chronica Majora* drawing, however, suggest that Matthew may have also had in mind a model somewhat more recent than the late Romanesque image, now lost, which appeared on the west end of St. Alban's shrine above the high altar. Both the tinted drawing in MS 26 and Paris's more celebrated depiction of a full-length enthroned Virgin and Child prefacing the *Historia Anglorum*, MS Roy. 14. C. VII, fol. 6 (Fig. 2) belong to a newer, more intimate type that did not become popular in England until the second quarter of the thirteenth century. While the monumental heads of the Virgin and Child in MS 26 are drawn together psychologically by their mutually intense gaze, a warmer relationship is developed in more active and physical terms in MS Roy. 14. C. VII, where the small clambering figure of Christ strokes his mother's hair and presses his face to hers, catching his toes in her

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belt as he playfully reaches for the proffered red apple. Very probably both drawings were inspired by a later and "most elegant image" of Mary carved by Walter of Colchester for Abbot William (1214–1235) to be placed above her altar in St. Albans abbey church. Moreover, the prominence of the Virgin in the *Chronica Majora* drawing, as well as Matthew's self-portrait in prostrate prayer beneath the enthroned Madonna in the *Historia Anglorum*, reflects the renewed intensity of devotion to the Virgin at St. Albans under Abbot William de Trumpington, who ordered that masses be sung daily in her honor by six monks in rotation, a rite for which a sonorous new bell was made to be rung at each mass and for which Walter of Colchester's new statue of the Virgin was placed on her altar under a special canopy.⁴⁰

Matthew's best-known drawing of the full-length Virgin Enthroned in the *Historia Anglorum*, to which a well-meaning but inept hand added his misspelled signature,⁴¹ is very likely a careful rendering of Walter's new sculptured figure for St. Albans. Contrasting with the more attenuated style of the 1240s and 1250s, the bulky proportions of this figure, with its heavy but fluid drapery articulated in strong black contour lines, betray the characteristic mannerisms of an older Gothic style in vogue a generation earlier.⁴² Despite the thinness of the vellum on which it is drawn, the framed composition is heavily polychromed in an unusual technique of mixed colors, giving an uncharacteristic opalescent effect to the surfaces of the lower drapery that was perhaps intended to reproduce the impression of painted sculpture.

In the *Historia Anglorum* drawing Matthew's artistic homage to the image of the Virgin at St. Albans takes on the special character of a private personal devotion. The presence of his self-portrait in the prostrate figure beneath the frame creates a mood of spiritual intimacy which is reinforced by the tender sentiment voiced in the prayer inscribed in the chronicler's hand after the drawing was made.⁴³ An equally fine but now damaged and incomplete rendering of a similar figure appears on the verso of the second flyleaf in the *Dublin Abbat* (fol. 23v), also accompanied by a prayer.⁴⁴ Because Paris recorded his gift of MS. Roy. 14. C. VII to the abbey of St. Albans in his own hand on the verso of this leaf, he clearly intended the devotional image to serve as a commemorative frontispiece to the *Historia Anglorum*.⁴⁵ A striking contemporary example of this practice of prefacing secular texts with sacred images comparable to those in missals or psalters occurs in the nine untinted drawings at the beginning of the Black Book of the Exchequer in the Public Rec-

ord Office, dating from ca. 1240 to 1250, among which a seated Virgin and Child very close to Matthew's intimate type appears on fol. 10.⁵⁸

It now seems clear that the puzzling disparity between the small group of carefully finished tinted drawings (traditionally attributed to Matthew Paris and the marginal sketches in the *Chronica Majora* so often ascribed to shop assistants) may be explained by their intended function in Matthew's oeuvre as independently conceived renderings of works of art destined either for the artist's portfolio or as devotional frontispieces. The heads of the Virgin and Christ in MS 26 (Frontispiece) and the Enthroned Madonna in MS Roy. 14. C. VI (Fig. 2), as well as the flyleaf sketch in the *Trinity Album*, were all meant to serve in some sense as documentary representations of well-known sacred images in works of art executed by Matthew's admired older colleague, Walter of Colchester. Close stylistic analogues have been drawn between these three images and the first sequence of narrative illustrations in the *Life of St. Alban*, suggesting that they too may have been heavily inspired by a celebrated work of art belonging to the abbey. The sequence of scenes depicting the Passion of the proto-martyr "episode by episode" on the sides of the outer casing of St. Alban's shrine, carried out in gold and silver by Master John in the later twelfth century, and the more recent representation of the legend executed on a frontal or beam (*trabz*) for the main altar by Walter of Colchester⁵⁹ come readily to mind as available models.

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Matthew's pictorial expressions of admiration for his fellow St. Alban artists were not, however, confined to monumental sculpture, but also included works by Walter's nephew, Richard the Painter, also a monk at the abbey. Strong reminiscences of his large Majesty, nearly eleven feet high, painted in the abbey church on the west wall above the chancel arch, in which Christ held a chalice in his left hand while blessing with the right, survive in Paris's impressive drawing of the Enthroned Christ preserved on fol. 60r in Wallingford's *Miscellanea* (Fig. 76).⁶⁰ In the *Liber Additamentorum* Paris gives a list of Richard's works executed between 1241 and 1250.⁶¹

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Reflections of yet another painted image in the abbey church survive in what may have been Paris's last effort in this genre. The full-page framed tinted drawing on fol. 129 in a St. Alban psalter dating after 1246 in MS Roy. x. B. VI (Pl. VI) appears to be a fairly close replica of the wall painting on the fifth pier on the north side of the nave, where the Virgin and Child are enthroned beneath a trilobed

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arch with foliated scrolls in the spandrels.²⁰ The stiff frontal poses form a sharp contrast with the intimate mobility of the figures in the *Historia Anglorum* drawing. The hieratic aloofness of this group resonates from its earlier monumental model in St. Albans and in this respect is comparable to the majestic enthroned Virgin and Child on fol. 2 in the Glazier Psalter dating from ca. 1220 to 1230.²¹ Although the tinted drawing on fol. 129 in MS Roy. 2. B. VI is bound at the end of a series of nine full-page framed illustrations prefacing the psalter, it is isolated from the others by a blank page on the preceding recto and clearly stands apart in both format and style as the work of another, much more accomplished hand (cf. Fig. 5).²² Silhouetted against a painted blue ground, the regal figure of the Virgin with one arm akimbo, holding a large red foliated scepter, closely approaches the enthroned kings on fols. 8v-9 in the *Historia Anglorum* (see Fig. 79 and Pl. VII), particularly in the proportions of the figure, treatment of the heads, and the complicated drapery folds. Although these relationships with Matthew Paris have been interpreted as evidence of close collaboration or familiarity with his work,²³ the style is not the careful hesitant hand of an imitator or younger assistant. The drawing has the dashing confidence and quick vigor of a mature draftsman with absolute mastery of his craft, willing to take risks with the pen and allow "mistakes" to stand as, for example, in the overshoot line of the scepter running into the Virgin's hand or the line of the Child's right shoulder running through his mother's fingers. In this respect, the style seems to represent a more polished version of the later seated kings in the *Abbatia Chronicorum* (see Figs. 81-88). Several features of this work place it very late in Matthew's career. Not only do the taller, thinner proportions of the figure and the more animated, complex drapery patterns betray the influence of a more advanced mid-century style, but the inner surfaces of the drapery are painted in contrasting colors, a mannerism confirming a date close to 1260. A note on fol. 1 informing us that the psalter was, with the permission of Abbot John of Hertford (d. 1260), used by John of Dalting, a monk of St. Albans,²⁴ suggests that the splendid regal image of the Virgin and Child may have been given by the artist to a fellow monk in much the same way he had presented similar loose drawings to John of Wallingford and perhaps to the unknown owner of the Oxford Psalter in Arundel MS 157.

Matthew's portfolio drawings offer a rare glimpse into the world of art in thirteenth-century England, seen through the eyes of a perceptive and sensitive connoisseur. When he listed the artistic treasures of St. Albans in the *Gesta Abbatum*, Paris explicitly expressed

his desire to commemorate the artists whose works adorned the abbey church:

Haec idcirco scripturae immortali, ac memoriae, dominus commendanda, ut proes nos, haud ignotos, eorum vigeat cum benedictionibus recordatio, qui studioso labore suo opere ecclesiae vestrae adumbrata post se reliquerunt.⁷³

By extending his written descriptions in the *Gesta* to the pictorial documents he made for his portfolio, Matthew created a unique record, preserving for posterity the appearance of these great works of art which are now lost.⁷⁴ In a sense, Paris's collection of representations of monumental paintings and sculpture from St. Albans, however fragmentary and incomplete, comprises a miniature gallery of lost masterpieces.

Carefully rendered in a deliberately contrasting and dignified style, very different from his bold pictorial inventions in the margins of the chronicles, Matthew's "reprints" stand as remarkable works of art in their own right. The Enthroned Madonna in MS Roy. 14. C. VII appears to be the earliest, dating from the 1240s, whereas the consummate delicacy of line smoothly articulating the monumental head on p. 283 in MS 26 reveals a mature style that transcends the Offa cycle at the end of the Dublin *Vie de Saint Aaban* from the beginning of the next decade. While the drawing of Christ Enthroned in Wallingford's *Miscellanea* was done ca. 1253-1257, the magisterial Virgin and Child on fol. 12v in MS Roy. 2. B. VI probably represents one of the artist's last works.

MATTHEW'S IMAGERY

Despite the unprecedented character of Matthew's imagery, the traditional formulas and types which recur throughout his chronicle drawings, as well as those for the Dublin *Alban*, make it clear that he was not inventing his imagery from observation or imagination. His working method was, like that of the artists in the St. Albans scriptorium and elsewhere throughout the Middle Ages, largely a matter of selecting and assembling stock figures, details, and even whole compositions from pattern books or other sources and then recomposing them in a pictorial scheme appropriate to illustrate the new subject at hand. What distinguishes Paris from his contemporaries is the striking variety of his figures and details, as well as an unusual absence of formulaic repetition in such staple features as

landscape or architecture. Rarely satisfied to write out certain letters the same way twice in succession, Paris was similarly impatient with stale formulas in his approach to the stock pictorial sources available to him.

In reconstructing the chronology of illustrations in the *Chronica Majowa* we have seen Paris's style evolve from what may have been its earliest beginning in united sketches dating between 1237 and 1246, before he undertook his cycle of illustrations for the *Life of St. Alban*, to drawings which may date from the last years, 1257 and 1258. Working from a traditional stock of models but almost without precedent for his new subjects, Matthew reveals remarkable ingenuity in his attempts to re-create the visual effect and dramatic presence of events described in the chronicle text from the artistic sources at hand. The variety of poses, gestures, and facial expressions in the figures, as well as details of their dress, armor, weapons, heraldry, and horses, displays an almost obsessive concern for an accuracy to match Paris's keen knowledge of how they actually appeared in life as he knew it in thirteenth-century England, and from firsthand accounts of such distant peoples and places as the Mongols and Saracens in the Middle East.

In this respect Matthew shows himself to have been a most unorthodox medieval artist. As an imaginative writer he simply extended his recording of reality as he saw it into the realm of pictorial illustration. Like most creators of fiction, he exploited and developed his material by constantly referring to the particular. Events are perceived concretely as visual images and sensory detail. In a sense, the narrative demands imposed by the conventions of fiction ironically drove him to follow a course of artistic development that might be characterized as the pursuit of "realism." A close examination of his treatment of a single feature, such as the waves of the sea in his many marine scenes in MS 16, offers striking evidence of Matthew's trenchant and sometimes remarkably modern "realism." Variations in visual interpretation reveal wide-ranging experiments with different forms in an effort to create increasingly more convincing sensory images in the illustration of a single natural phenomenon.

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On fols. 42v and 53v (Pl. II and Fig. 173) the sea is represented as a solid light green mass with no suggestion of waves, as if on a map, while on fol. 46v (Fig. 176) the waves are painted with an unpleasantly brilliant verdigris in long waving strokes to echo the motion of the water; and on fol. 75v (Fig. 125) the solid green waves are given an even more intense darker tone to model long, deep shadowy troughs furrowing the surface. In all four drawings the sea is defined

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as a mass contained within a strong dark outer contour in a broad wavy line.

In the later annals composed by Paris a new set of variations appears: on fol. 155 (Fig. 126) illustrating the departure of Henry III for Ruyan (1242), the waves are now drawn in regular, widely spaced undulating lines shaded with green, so that the upper surfaces of the water are left untouched and white, reproducing an older and more conventional treatment of water, such as that in the twelfth-century illumination of Henry II's Channel crossing in the chronicle of John of Worcester (Fig. 14) in which the steering oar is visible beneath the water. Here Matthew represents the water as more consistently transparent by revealing the ship beneath the waves; the same conservative rendering reappears in the *Historia Anglorum* on fol. 16v.

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A more realistic effect of light reflecting on the surface on the water is attempted on fol. 163v in the voyage of Henry III (1234), in which the sea is rendered as a series of close-set, irregularly undulating lines, alternately colored dark green and left unlined, so that the untouched yellow striations convey the impression of reflecting surfaces. This direction is then pursued a step further on fols. 140 and 177v (Fig. 184 and Pl. XI), where the water is shown as a fine network of waving lines drawn in delicate green wash instead of line; in the later drawing of Coucy (Pl. XI) this effect results in a new transparency, revealing the half-submerged figure in a river full of fish. On fol. 153v quite another effect of transparency is achieved by retaining a firm dark contour line around the body of water, but the waves are delicately tinted in barely perceptible touches of pale green wash, allowing the lower part of the ship and its steering oar to be completely visible beneath the water line. Fol. 52 (Pl. I) provides a unique instance where Matthew has rendered the sea in delicately scalloped billowing patterns, lightly washed in rhythmic striations of pale green and dark blue tints to suggest the bubbling foam of the surf. On fol. 146 (Fig. 164) in the sea battle between the Pisans and Genoese, the sea is again filled with waving lines, but now in a close-set pattern covered over in a solid green wash in alternating broader bands of light and dark tone.

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Several lessons may be learned from the observation of these variations of a single feature in the chronological evolution of Matthew's style. Above all, we come away with the impression that Paris's chronicle illustrations were a fledgling experiment in which he was constantly challenged to produce visual images which had few precedents, so that the restless variation in certain features may be seen as the result of his searching for satisfactory solutions to basic

problems posed by representing what had not been represented before. Unlike his contemporaries, Matthew seems newer to have developed a fixed set of formulas. In his search for more convincing sensory effects to match those in his narrative, he rarely rendered a particular pictorial detail in the same way more than once or twice. Although the remarkable variations which we have observed in his marine scenes may have been motivated by the innate restlessness and impulsive inconsistency evident elsewhere in Matthew's work, we may also discern a desire to achieve more interesting sensory effects in reproducing the multiple aspects of how the sea actually looks and behaves, to capture its dynamic power in undulating lines, while at the same time conveying the capacity of its variegated surfaces to reflect and absorb light as well as the inherent transparency of the water.

Although it would be difficult, if not impossible, to establish a chronology of Matthew's drawings on the basis of his progression toward greater "realism," we may observe a shift in his visual conceptualization of the sea as an undifferentiated, abstract flat green mass in the earliest pre-*Alban* illustrations to a later interest in reflecting surfaces and transparency in those for the annals from 1240 to 1244. In the latter part of the Dublin *Alban* cycle the same reflecting and transparent modes of representing the sea may be observed on fols. 53, 53v, and 62.

A similar phenomenon occurs in Matthew's handling of landscape grounds, although it is far less varied and more often than not he omits the ground line altogether. On fol. 51v (Fig. 120) the ground is rendered as a series of conventional wavelike rocks, rounded and smooth at the top, with smaller concavities depicted in concentric semicircular lines within, while the whole ground is tinted with a flat pale green wash similar to his handling of the sea on fol. 55v (Fig. 173). On fol. 79v (Fig. 197) the wavelike rocks end in curling volutes rising to the surface, again covered by a flat green tint. But in most cases, the ground is treated as a more violently undulating, unstable surface, as on fols. 43v, 66v, 133v, 138v, 177, and 183v (Figs. 69, 201, Pl. XIII, Figs. 174, 165, and 135), with dark green shadows creating a strong chiaroscuro, sometimes softened, as on fol. 133v (Pl. XIII), by the addition of an ochre tint to the inner concavities. Similar grounds appear throughout the *Alban* manuscript. However, in two striking images on fols. 159v and 166 (Figs. 127 and 180), the turbulent ground is softened into a series of gentler curves, clearly defined by a firm undulating outer contour line; but instead of being disrupted by vigorous linear hatching in its irregular

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surfaces, the ground is gently modeled with pale green wash, creating an oddly unstable surface of satiny reflections very similar to the effect of the transparent waves of green wash on fols. 140 and 177v (Fig. 184 and Pl. XI), suggesting that they may have been executed at roughly the same time.

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From the very beginning Matthew rose the challenging problems of representation with inventive enthusiasts. At first he rendered his active little figures in complex poses but with the heads all in profile. As his skill and confidence grew, he soon expanded the spatial dynamics of his figure compositions with the introduction of heads in three-quarter view. As time went on, Paris began to distort his figures by increasing the size of the heads in proportion to the bodies to achieve a greater degree of feeling and drama in their facial expressions, while at the same time striving for increasingly larger scale for his compositions as a whole. At first the drapery tended to fall limply in narrow folds close to the body, passively echoing its basic contours and movements. Then, as Matthew became increasingly bolder in his representations of violent action, drapery forms began to take on a life of their own, flying away in fluttering, rippling folds, as on fols. 79v, 54v, and 88v (Fig. 197, Pl. XII, and Fig. 149), to brighten the drama and quicken the pace of the narrative action.

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Judging from the perspectival handling of architectural settings, it appears that Paris was much more observant of castles than of churches. In contrast with the flat schematic views of St. Albans and Westminster Abbey on fols. 50 and 186 (Figs. 64 and 143), his representations of impressive concentric round fortifications, even in such early drawings as the castles of Lincoln, Damietta, and Bedford on fols. 51v, 55v, and 60 (Figs. 120, 173, and 65), give more convincing views looking down into the towers from above, with the foreshortened sides of the curved wall bent sharply upward on an oblique line in an awkward effort to render a curved plane receding into depth. Indeed, Matthew's renderings of such castles could have been based on his actual viewing of Lincoln Castle from atop the facade of the cathedral, an accessible vantage point which still offers a spectacular perspective into the ruined fortifications below. On the whole, the illustrations in MS 16 reveal a unique thirteenth-century experiment in the direction of pictorial realism which could only have been initiated by an artist-channeler of Paris's special genius and independence. Freed from the restraints of tradition and convention, and working apart from the scriptorium at St. Albans, he could venture into uncharted paths of secular art and fresh visual observations of life.

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It goes without saying, however, that Matthew's representations were always deeply colored and indeed initially generated by his forceful attitudes and strong personal opinions concerning the people and events he portrayed. Each illustration in its own unique way constitutes a highly individual response and often biased interpretation of what is given in the text of the chronicle. We may now make some further observations about his choices of format, placement, and size for the illustrations throughout the two manuscripts. Apparently having no direct relationship to chronology or style, decisions concerning the dimensions and format for the illustrations were often dictated by the nature, complexity, and importance of the subject, as well as its proximity to the text. In contrast with the frequent pictorial reduction of complex ideas and events to small abbreviated symbols, some illustrations are cast into full-page tableaux stretching across the whole width of the page. Complex narratives involving many figures, such as battle scenes, councils, and processions were quite naturally expanded into the largest formats. But there is also an absence of order and logic in Matthew's treatment of various subjects. While some choices seem obvious and inevitable, others appear somewhat bizarre or even capricious. For example, the distant and untenable truce between Nazir and the crown of Britanny on fol. 138v (Fig. 174) was magnified into a fully orchestrated monumental composition, whereas the truces between England and France were relegated to tiny abbreviated vignettes in the margins of fols. 52v and 162 (Figs. 121 and 128). The momentous proceedings of Lateran Council IV (Fig. 69) are treated as a modest but enigmatic pictorial vignette consisting of fractional figures, while the Council of Lyons (Fig. 166) unfolds in a clearly focused, fully developed narrative frieze. The two major coronations of Henry III (see Fig. 122) are dealt with in a fairly cursory and emblematic way, while the procession to Westminster with the relic of the Holy Blood (Pl. X) is accorded a full-scale illustration across the bottom of the page, perhaps reflecting a significant elevation of Matthew's estimation of the king over the years between 1236 and 1256.

In a sense, Paris's chronicle illustrations are curiously modern in their patent subjectivity and unabashed indulgence in eccentric self-reference, as well as in their unprecedented bold thrusts in the direction of sensory experience and realism of detail. Turning through the pages of these volumes creates the lively impression of an elastic rhythm of expansion and contraction, of folios breathing in and out in a kaleidoscopic montage of marginal images. As in all truly great works of art, that is, in images that still possess the power to affect

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us over the centuries, innovation and tradition, realism and distortion, self and non-self all merge into a single, moving visual experience.

CONCLUSIONS

If we may now draw any general conclusions about the art of Matthew Paris from our investigation of the *Chronica Majora* illustrations, we should probably first lay to rest several earlier misconceptions of the artist-chronicler as head of the scriptorium at St. Albans or as the central and pivotal figure who created what has come to be known as the St. Albans style in thirteenth-century English art. From the secular character of his charterlike hand, it seems clear that Matthew was not trained as a young monk to transcribe religious texts in the normal book hand of the abbey scriptorium, but was instead schooled in copying legal documents, charters, and letters for the abbot or copying glosses as a student at Paris or Oxford. Paris's eventual position as historian of the abbey then served to isolate him even further from the normal activities of the scriptorium, which was primarily involved in producing sacred books in another part of the monastery. Judging from the hesitant and awkward inconsistency of the earliest drawings in MS 16, we may also surmise that Paris was not trained to be an artist before he assumed his duties as abbey historian and that he probably learned his art in a somewhat informal way fairly late in life. When we first encounter him as the writer of his own annals in the great chronicle, he was already by medieval standards middle-aged and was very probably in his late thirties or early forties when he made the first tentative sketches in the margins of his predecessor's text. The curiously archaic flavor of both his drawing and script would suggest that he may have been largely self-taught, learning by copying older works of art and copying out old charters from the late twelfth century.

The close correspondence between Matthew's style, especially in the *Alban* cycle, and the metalwork of ca. 1200, noted by Henderson and others, may be attributable to the strong possibility that he modeled his most ambitious drawings after the celebrated works executed by Walter of Colchester and other St. Albans artists, including Richard the Painter. Further evidence that Paris could not have been the head of or even very closely connected with the abbey scriptorium is offered by the fact that, with few exceptions, he transcribed not only the revisions of Roger's earlier annals, but also his

own text for the entire *Chronica Majora*, the *Liber Additionum*, the *Historia Anglorum*, and the *Abbrevisatio Chronicarum*, almost single-handedly, adding all the rubrics, corrections, decorated initials, page headings, and quire numbers in his own hand. Unlike scriptorium artists and scribes, he consistently worked with sub-standard materials. Even his most polished and mature drawings, such as those for the *Alban* cycle, the *Arundel Veronica*, and the magnificent sacred heads in *Corpus Christi MS 26*, were all executed on patched and poorly prepared vellum. Paris kept these manuscripts with him until he died, executing all the illustrations himself over a twenty-year period without the help of assistants. Upon his death he bequeathed his historical manuscripts to the abbey as if they had been his own personal possessions.⁷⁷ Despite suggestions of a certain gregariousness in Matthew's personality, there is every indication that from 1236 to 1257 until his death twenty-three years later, his work as historian and artist was carried out in relative isolation, apart from the normal activities of writing and illumination that took place in the scriptorium at St. Albans.

Freed from the constraints that normally would have confined a scriptorium artist within the boundaries of local artistic tradition, Matthew's privileged and independent position as abbey historian afforded him unique opportunities to explore and develop in his own way new avenues of narrative representation. As we have observed, his superficial inconsistencies of style sprang from two related conceptions of image-making peculiar to an art that arose primarily from a written text. First, Paris shifted artistic modes with almost chameleonlike ease to adapt his style to the nature of what was being represented, so that his renderings of sacred icons, seals, coats of arms, and coins would offer as accurate a pictorial documentation of their actual appearance as possible. Second, the constant and restless changes in the ways he would render almost every conceivable figure and object in his drawings, so that horses' manes, for example, are rarely represented twice in exactly the same way even within the same illustration, seems to have been the result of Matthew's searching among available models for a variety of forms that could provide the most convincing visual extension of the vivid narrative descriptions in his text. His status as something of an amateur may have contributed a certain degree of impetus which permitted him to experiment with such impunity and lack of concern for consistency or tradition. He probably had no thought that his artistic efforts in illustrating the *Chronica Majora* would ever be copied, for he had no pupils or assistants. Perhaps for some time the chronicle drawings

may not have been seen by anyone else and remained inaccessible to the rest of the St. Albans community in the privacy of Paris's own workroom.

As for the chronicler's fame, we have evidence for his reputation as a historian during his own lifetime, but no indication that he was regarded as an important artist. We know only that his illustrated saints' lives were known among a few aristocratic ladies, from the record on the flyleaf of the Dublin *Vie de Saint Auban*.⁷⁹ It is entirely possible that Matthew's chronicle illustrations were known only to his abbot, the brothers, and those few visitors to St. Albans who were privileged from time to time to hear him read aloud from the great history, and to whom Matthew might have shown some of his drawings as part of his hospitality to honored guests of the abbey. The illustrations may not have been regarded as works of art either by Paris himself or his contemporary audiences, but merely as an unusual and entertaining pictorial extension of his chronicles.

Written more than a century later, Walsingham's hyperbolic praise of Matthew's artistic achievements and reputation may have misled us into assuming a much more important and influential role than he actually played in the formation of English Gothic art. It is obvious that Walsingham merely paraphrased Paris's own extravagant praise of Walter of Colchester from an earlier chapter of the *Genes Abbatum*, applying its generous claims to a man who was probably neither painter nor sculptor in the traditional medieval sense of having functioned as a regular member of a monastic workshop. Instead, all the evidence points to Matthew Paris having been first and foremost a historian who became an artist almost fortuitously as an avocation, and whose art functioned as an innovative adjunct to his writing of chronicles. It seems likely that he undertook the illustration for his *Life of St. Alban* only after he had been drawing tinted sketches in the margins of the *Chronica Majora* perhaps as long as eight years from 1237 to 1246. It is also possible that the dramatic stylistic shift evident in the *Alban* illustrations could have been inspired by Matthew's careful observation of Master John's relief style as he copied scenes of the proto-martyr's Passion from the gold and silver outer casket of St. Alban's shrine. The profound impact of that late twelfth-century sculptor's work may have resulted in the formation of what we now recognize as Matthew's mature and most characteristic style. In any case, his appearance as anything like a full-fledged artist apart from his official position as abbey historian could not have occurred until the later 1240s when he started working on the illustrated *Vie de Saint Auban*, by which time he must

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have been, by most calculations, at least forty-five years old. Unfortunately, aside from the figures sketched for his copy of the prognosticating tracts in Ashmole MS 304 (Figs. 229–231) and the unfinished drawings for the *Liver of the Offas* (Figs. 3 and 232–234), the *Alban* cycle must remain the only evidence we have of Matthew's art outside his chronicle illustrations.⁷⁹

As far as his chronicle illustrations are concerned, however, Paris had no followers. None of his historical works was ever copied with the illustrations. After his death, the autograph manuscripts were kept at St. Albans and were continued in the traditional way without pictorial embellishment. Many decades elapsed before illustrated chronicles came into vogue in England, independently of any influence from the *Chronica Majora* and following a fashion imported from across the Channel. That is not to say that Matthew's art had no subsequent impact. Although it is difficult to assess, his influence seems to have made itself felt primarily through his illustrated saints' lives, not only *Alban*, but perhaps also the lost autographs of *Thomas*, *Edmund*, and *Edward*. In at least two instances his compositions from the *Life of St. Alban* were copied, in the mid-thirteenth-century St. Albans Psalter in MS Roy. 2. B. VI (see Fig. 5) and in the fourteenth-century continuation of the *Offa* illustrations in MS Cotton Nero D.I. Perhaps Paris's Veronica was known and copied in the endpieces for the Westminster Psalter (MS Roy. 2. A. XXII) and the Lambeth Apocalypse. While we may confidently lay to rest the myth that Matthew was head of a large workshop at St. Albans, the broader question of the dissemination of his style is far more difficult, if not impossible, to answer. It is tempting to see resonances of Matthew's prodigious art in the illustrated Apocalypses of the period, particularly Paris, B.N. MS fr. 403, but there is always the strong probability that the St. Albans artist was drawing inspiration from the same or similar sources. Aside from his occasional forays into the documentation of older works of art, Paris's style tended to develop and mature by keeping pace with the increasingly advanced and sophisticated works produced by lay artists in large urban centers such as Oxford and London. There is, however, no firm evidence which would permit us to judge whether Matthew Paris was a fountainhead or reservoir of stylistic currents between 1240 and 1260.

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Given the peculiar circumstances of his position as a chronicler-artist working in a monastic center that was no longer in the mainstream of Gothic art, there would appear to be a greater likelihood that he absorbed more than he generated in terms of stylistic influence. But this is a question which shall remain up-

resolved until the dust settles on the larger problems of defining the major stylistic currents and sources of his artistic milieu.

What emerges from our study of Matthew's drawings in the great chronicle is a unique corpus of secular illustrations which in all probability remained largely unseen in the workshop of the St. Albans historian during his lifetime. His stunning innovations in the creation of the first extensive cycle of illustrations for a secular history therefore went largely unnoticed and unappreciated by his contemporaries, while his illustrated saints' lives had an immediate impact in the creation of a whole new genre of Gothic illumination in England. Thus, at the same time that Paris drew sustenance from the artistic traditions of St. Albans in the realm of religious art, the secular side of his pictorial genius remained private and without influence, developing in directions so diverse from his saints' lives that many scholars have been understandably reluctant to acknowledge the work as his. Rather than works of art, the lively sketches in the *Chronica Majora* have sometimes been regarded as cartoons to match the extravagant and ephemeral character of Matthew's journalistic prose.⁶⁶ Produced by a late-starting and likely self-taught illustrator, the lined drawings of events recorded in the chronicle as well as the elaborate system of pictorial symbols lie entirely outside the realm of the traditional book illustration of his time. However, the unprecedented pictorial images in the margins of the *Corpus Christi* manuscripts offer a rare and intimate glimpse into the personal world of one of the thirteenth century's most gifted and outspoken individuals. Here we are given an unprecedented view into the workings of a hand unfettered by the workshop conventions of the monastic scriptorium and of a mind giving full rein to a vividly active imagination in a veritable outpouring of new images.

The High Middle Ages was a time for versatile generalists, men of diverse talents who could turn their hands to so many tasks they elude classification by modern specialists. In Matthew Paris we have met the classic paradigm of that medieval versatility whose genius lies not in any basic distinction from his contemporaries but in the exceptional concentration of talents and interests in his single prodigious work of a lifetime as scribe, editor, writer, and artist. His *Chronica Majora* offers so rich and diverse an experience that the work defies the simple and narrow definition of chronicle. In part a compendium of history copied and edited from other sources, but largely a contemporary universal chronicle of St. Albans, England, and the world, composed by Matthew himself, it is also a

sequence of images intended as much to entertain as to inform, a cartulary of documents (partly in the *Liber Additamentorum*), a roll of heraldic arms, prefaced by an atlas of maps and itineraries, as well as a "museum" filled with visual records of works of art, sacred relics and icons, seals, and scientific observations of spectacular natural phenomena.

The unique value of the *Corpus Christi* manuscripts of the illustrated *Chronica Majora* does not lie in their historical accuracy. We have already observed too many examples of Matthew's blunders, careless mistakes and distortions of fact, not to mention his frequent fantastic inventions, to pretend for a moment that the St. Albans artist-chronicler may be considered a distinguished historian in that modern sense.⁸² Working within an essentially fictional mode, he scrambled the structure and strained the credibility of his chronicle as he wrote to fulfill the demands of a good story. He perceived his romanticized version of history largely in terms of sensory detail and visual images so that, from the outset of his career as historian at St. Albans, the text of the great chronicle was quite naturally and almost inevitably expanded into pictorial illustration. Governed by the ebb and flow of events, the circular patternings of fate, uncertainty, and resolution, the illustrated *Chronica Majora* is more often than not a fictionalized reworking of history. Yet it is precisely this vivid merger of reality and legend in both text and image that draws us to the colorful pages of Matthew's dramatic and acutely personal narrative, while other more reliable historical works from the Middle Ages gather dust. Shaped by a prodigious imagination, the brilliant cycle of illustrations in the *Chronica Majora* transforms the medieval past into a present visible reality still infused with the singular compelling persona of its author.

REFERENCE

APPENDIX I

Drawings Attributed to Matthew Paris

The following list of attributions is based upon an examination of all the drawings which have been connected in any way with Matthew Paris and is in basic agreement with Vaughan, *Manuscripts*, pp. 215-220, and Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, Nos. 85, 87-89, and 92-93; asterisks denote those instances where my attributions differ from their lists.

- CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI MS 26 (*Chronicle Major*, Pt. I): All the drawings, maps, diagrams, *zibero*, and painted shields, except the dated drawings on pp. 28 and 35, and parts of the illustration on p. 30,* which have been inked by another hand.
- CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI MS 28 (*Chronicle Major*, Pt. II): All the drawings, maps, diagrams, *zibero*, and painted shields.
- LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, MS Roy 14, C. VII (*Historia Anglorum and Chronicle Major*, Pt. III): All the drawings, maps, diagrams, *zibero*, and painted shields, except those on fols. 155-156* and fols. 221-221b.
- LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, MS Canon Misc. B. 115 (*See Officium, Great Altar, and Liber Admonitionum*): All the drawings and diagrams, except those on fols. 5-25, 156, and three beads on fol. 47.*
- LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, MS Canon Claudius D. VI (*Abbey of St. Albans*): All the drawings and diagrams on fols. 5-17; those on fols. 92-94* are by another hand.
- LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, MS Canon Julian D. VII (John of Wallingford, *Miscellanea*): Drawings and diagrams on fols. 2, 3,* 20,* 21,* 25* (now mounted separately), and 60*.
- LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, MS Arundel 157 (Parker's fol. 2*).
- LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, MS Roy 2, B. VI (Parker's fol. 23*).
- DUBLIN, TRINITY COLLEGE MS 477 [E.E. 40] (*Vie de Saint Andrew*): All the illustrations, except for some beads on fols. 33v* and 34* which have been redrawn in a later fourteenth-century hand, and the addition of gold leaf outlined in black (on fol. 31 90,* also on another bead but roughly contemporary with Matthew and very close to Head A, which was responsible for the cobble and painted shields that appear on the first folios of the *Chronicle Major*, the *Historia Anglorum*, and the *Abbey of St. Albans*). This is particularly evident on fol. 31 where the bishop's mitre on the left is entirely redrawn by this later hand and is very similar to those on fols. 228, 229, and 274 in MS Roy. 14, C. VII.
- OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MS Ashmole 304 (Collection of Paganizing Tracts): Littered drawings on fols. 29, 31*, 42, and 50*; diagrams of the spheres on fol. 33-33a, and some drawings of birds in the margins of fol. 43-52.
- OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MS 385, Pt. II (*De Tempore*): Twenty-three diagrams.

OXFORD, CORPUS CHRISTI MS 2 (Bible from St. Albans): Map of Palestine on fol. 2v.

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, MS Roy. 12, B. VI (Ralph Diceto, *Magistri Ricardus et Abbatensis Chronicon*): A small drawing of the baptism of King Canute on the margin of fol. 11^v and sketches of the crown and vestments worn by the Byzantine emperor so Clovis on fol. 46.^v

Along with Vaughan (*Medieval Paris*, pp. 220–22 and 224–226) and Morgan (*Early Gothic Manuscripts*, Nos. 61, 81, and 86), I would select the nine coronation illustrations in Manchester, Chetham MS 6732 (*Flores Historiarum*), although the five paired shields may be attributed to Man-

thew (cf. Albert Hollaender, “The Pictorial Work in the ‘Flores Historiarum’ of the So-Called Master of Westminster,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 28 [1944], pp. 361–381), the five shield drawings on fols. 219^v–221^v in the Westminster Psalter (MS Roy. 2, A. 5XII); the illustrations in Cambridge University Library MS Bn. 3. 39 (*Le Brevet de Saint Anshard le Roi*); the eight surviving illustrations in the *Life of St. Thomas of Canterbury* published by Paul Meyer (*Société des sciences ecclésiastiques* [1904] 22); and the unused drawings on fols. 8–11 in MS Roy. 2, B. VI (St. Albans psalter). Also, I do not think that Pury was so any direct way connected with the production of illustrated Apocalypses.

APPENDIX 2

Description and Analysis of the Contents of Matthew Paris's Illustrated Historical Manuscripts

ÆRONICA MAIORA. CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE MS 20

Matthew Paris gave this volume along with MS 26 to the abbey of St Albans. The screen-covered signature of Edward Agilnoth of Babel Thaple Warwick appears on fol. 1r, from which MS 26 was obtained by Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury (1559–1575), who then bequeathed this manuscript to Corpus Christi College.

Comprising the annals from Chronica to 1188, the first volume of the great chronicle contains vi + 141 + 40 folios (folios of variable size, roughly averaging 92 × 244 mm, written in double columns of 56 lines (subdivision 55 × 270 mm.) by scribes Sr Altham hands, but rubricated and provided with large red and blue initials throughout in the opposite order by Matthew Paris throughout. The quires are numbered in large red numerals centered at the bottom on the verso of the last leaf: II^m (+ 3 half-leaves written in Paris's hand started after 7), III^m (+ 3 half-leaves written in Paris's hand after 4), IIII^m, IV^m, V^m, VI^m, VII^m, VIII^m, IX^m, X^m, XI^m, XII^m (+ 2 inserted leaves), and XIII^m. Page headings begin on p. 174 and continue to the end, giving the reign of each king, beginning with Wilbarr the Conqueror (*Et annuare regit . . .*) spread over each facing verso and recto. Pref-

aced by eight pages of rubrics and maps, a genealogical diagram, and four pages of Lower Table and Calendar, the text contains 29 uncoloured illustrations, 14 printed sheets, 27 crowns, and 27 letters and corners in the margins. See James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, I (Cambridge 1912), pp. 50–51; MA 2:10–18; and Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, pp. 126–439. The reader should note that Matthew's dates for the election and coronation of the bishops are often parallelable and thus increase dates based on William Stubbs, *Regnum Sancti Anglorum*, 2nd ed. (Oxford 1875) are given in the Index. Although in various years MS 20 has been refoliated, I have retained the older system of pagination (pp. 284) as a useful indication for readers who consult the earlier literature on Matthew Paris, most notably such major sources as James and Vaughan. In the description of the contents which follows, the new folio numbers are given in brackets, the contents in parentheses refer to Lunt's edition of the *Chronica Majora*, captions and legends are abbreviated, and their abbreviations have been formally recorded.

- 184 [92v] Death of Paul of Caen, Abbot of St. Albans, 1093 (2:34)—left margin: inverted cross. *De obitu Pauli abbatis sancti Albani*
- 197 [99] Consecration of Simeon, Bishop of Worcester, 1097 (2:71)—right margin: upright cross†
- 201 [106] William Rufus Holds Court in the New Hall at Westminster, 1099 (2:10)—right margin (Fig. 99): a hand holding a tall lighted taper
- 202 [108v] Death of William Rufus, 1100 (2:113)—left margin (Fig. 100): inverted open crown above a reversed shield of arms, with bow and arrow below; *Corona et clypeus Willielmi regis uisibilis Rufi signatus*, cf. *AG*, fol. 20v
- 202 [109r] Coronation of Henry I, 1100 (2:95)—bottom right margin: erect shield of arms; crown on outer margin. *Clypeus et Corona regis Henrici I*; cf. *HA*, fol. 36, *AG*, fol. 20r
- 204 [107v] Coronation of Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, 1100 (2:120)—inner right margin: erect crown. *De coronatione regis Balduini in regno iherosol.* cf. *HA*, fol. 37
- 208 [109r] Consecration of the Bishops of Winchester, Salisbury, Hereford, Evesham, and Gloucester by Anselm of Canterbury, 1107 (2:134)—right margin: five very small pastoral staffs and a crown. *De consecratione quorundam episcoporum*
- 215 [109r] Consecration of Richard de Bevis, Bishop of London, 1108 (2:137) very small cross†
- 218 [109v] Death of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1108 (2:139)—right margin: inverted cross and pastoral staff; cf. *HA*, fol. 40r
- 220 [110r] Two Templars on a Horse, 1118 (2:144–145)—bottom left margin: Fig. 47; cf. *HA*, fol. 42r
- 220 [110v] Death of Queen Matilda, 1118 (2:141)—inner right margin: a crown
- 220 [110v] Queen Matilda's Hospital, 1118 (2:144)—bottom right margin (Fig. 47): *Monsieur regis Matildae hospitalis Londonie* (above), *Monsieur Matildae regis. Sacer hospitalis Sanchi Egilii quondam Londonie* (below)
- 221 [111] Death of Baldwin I, King of Jerusalem, 1118 (2:145)—inner left margin: inverted crown
- 222 [111v] Death of Herbert, Bishop of Norwich, 1119 (2:148)—upper left margin: an inverted pastoral staff
- 222 [111v] Wreck of the White Ship, 1120 (2:148)—lower left margin; Fig. 52: *Sand petrus* in sea
- 223 [112] Consecration of Philipp of Corbeil, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1123 (2:175)—small rough sketch between two columns: a cross and pastoral staff
- 223 [112] Death of King Alexander I of Scotland and the Succession of David I, 1125 (2:152)—between two columns: two crowns, one reversed and a lion passant, at the bottom of the page: *Nova de regno Sanctae Alexandrie I*; cf. *AG*, fol. 23v
- 223 [112] Death of Emperor Lothar II, 1126 (2:155)—right margin: reversed crown closed with a tall pointed cap
- 223 [112] Death of Richard, Bishop of London and Election of Gilbert as his Successor, 1127 (2:154)—right margin: two small pastoral staffs, one inverted
- 224 [112v] Deaths of Bishops Ralph of Durham and William of Winchester, 1128 (2:156)—left margin: two small pastoral staffs reversed
- 224 [112v] Election of Three New Bishops (Henry of Winchester, Robert of Hereford, and Robert of Lincoln), 1128 (2:156)—between two columns: three small pastoral staffs
- 224 [112v] Death of Philip, Son of Louis VI, King of France, 1128 (2:156)—top right margin: inverted crown; cf. *HA*, fol. 45
- 224 [112v] Death of Balduin II, Prince of Antioch, 1130 (2:155)—lower right margin: small inverted crown
- 225 [113] Death of Robert, Bishop of Châlons, Succeeded by Roger, 1132 (2:158)—between two columns: two pastoral staffs, one inverted
- 225 [113] Death of Henry I, 1134 (2:161)—upper right margin: inverted shield of arms surrounded by an inverted closed crown. *De morte regis Henrici qui rex erat in regno iherosol.*; between two columns: an inverted cross; inner left margin: a small inverted crown; cf. *HA*, fol. 46
- 225 [113] Coronation of King Stephen, 1135 (2:162)—lower right margin: erect shield of arms surmounted by a closed crown. *Coronatio regis Stephani*; cf. *HA*, fol. 46

- 220 [115] Death of Fulk, King of Jerusalem, 1141 (2:175-176)—right margin: inserted crown, cf. *HA*, fol. 49
- 230 [115] Death of Geoffrey de Gurbans, Abbot of St. Albans, 1145 (2:178)—inner left margin: a pastoral staff
- 232 [117] Death of King David I of Scotland, 1151 (2:190)—left margin: two porcupine in a pointed hood and fringed cap (see 10) on a tiered crown: *Obitus regis Scottorum David*
- 238 [119] Death of King Stephen, 1154 (2:204)—bottom margin on left: inverted shield of arms above an inverted crown; cf. *HA*, fol. 53
- 238 [119] Coronation of Henry II, 1154 (2:204-205)—bottom right margin: erect shield of arms above an erect crown; cf. *HA*, fol. 53
- 240 [125] Election of Simon, Abbot of St. Albans, 1167 (2:226)—upper right margin: a pastoral staff; *Eligium Simonis in abbatem Sancti Albani*
- 254 [127] Baptism of the Sultan of Iconium, 1169 (2:286)—bottom left margin (Fig. 43): *Bartholomaeus militem Ysaac, ut dicitur*
- 261 [131] Coronation of Henry the Younger, 1170 (2:274)—above left margin: erect shield (party per pale gules and sable, three furs passant guardant or; and six spots above it tipped at an angle above: *Purpureus principium [in red], sixa decem [in black] / 7 / rubens ruber cruce, in nigra terra arcipresbiterale insignium [in red]*)
- 265 [132] Martyrdom of St. Thomas Becket, 1171 (2:311)—bottom right (Fig. 44)
- 266 [133] Fall of Leicester, 1173 (2:319)—right margin (Fig. 30) walls falling down
- 267 [134] William of Scotland Captured, 1173 (2:301-302)—bottom left margin (Fig. 13): *burns of the lung and a hooded Scotsman*
- 280 [135] Discovery of the Relics of St. Amphibalus, 1176 (2:391-392)—bottom margin (Fig. 62): *Kolumba sancti Albani regis in Merce (left); Locus sancti Amphibali martiris ad orientem eius (right)*; cf. *HA*, fol. 68; *AC*, fol. 339
- 273 [137] Joachim of Fiore's Attack on Peter Lombard's Writings on the Trinity, 1179 (2:312)—right margin: a pastoral staff. *De Joachim abbate*
- 274 [137] Coronation of Philip Augustus of France, 1179 (2:324)—inner right margin: erect shield (azure, six fleurs-de-lis or; with an open crown above; cf. *HA*, fol. 69)
- 274 [137] Death of Louis VII of France, 1180 (2:314)—inner right margin: an inverted crown, cf. *HA*, fol. 69
- 275 [138] Pope Alexander's Letter to Prester John, 1181 (2:316)—right margin: an upright closed crown: *Nata de Johanne presbitero rege Indiar*
- 276 [138] Death of Simon and Simeon of Warin as Abbot of St. Albans, 1182 (2:314)—left margin: two small pastoral staffs and spires, not erect, the other inverted; cf. *HA*, fol. 70
- 276 [138] Death of Henry the Younger, 1182 (2:312)—inner left margin: lozenge crown above erect shield (gules, three furs passant guardant or, demurring sable; below: *mar* (in black) and *no* (in red); above: *Carra in scabra Africa regis iacobus qui dicitur pater alvis*; cf. *HA*, fol. 70)
- 278 [138] Death of Jocelyn, Bishop of Salisbury, 1184 (2:320)—inner right margin: a small inverted pastoral staff
- 278 [138] Saladin Capturing the True Cross, 1187 (2:328)—bottom right margin (Fig. 31): *Saladinus—Criste rex*
- 283 [161] *Birth of Christ and the Virgin*—full-page illustration (FRODOPEC)
- 283 [161] *Mappa Mundi*—full-page illustration (Fig. 222)

CHRONICA MAIORA. CAMBRIDGE. CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE MS 86

Matthew's gift of this volume to St. Albans is recorded on fol. 17: "Hinc de rebus sancti Gregorii Martini Parsonis Dni. Animo frater Mauduici de Animo monachi defensor sui respiciens in papa. Anno. 1171. Sicut de Reformatione, according to a note on fol. 245v, it belonged to Robert Talbot of Norwich (1547-1558) and then passed into the possession of Sir Beatty Salney

(1520-1590). The volume was then obtained by Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury (1534-1575), who bequeathed it to Corpus Christi College.

Comprising the annals from 1186 to 1235, the second volume of the great chronicle contains 1 + 261 + 949 + 1010 (362 + 248 mem.), written in double columns of 36 and 32 lines

1 justified (160 × 270 mm.) by various St. Albans hands to fol. 90, where Paris's hand begins to appear on fols. 90–96, 98–99, and then from fol. 101. In addition to the usual rubrication and flourished initials, Matthew also executed 7 large painted initials elaborately decorated with filigree, small animals, and birds (fols. 121v, 128r, 152, 164, 167r, 201r, and 254r). Except for the last two, the gatherings are numbered throughout in large red numerals ornamented with blue instead of red coils (as in MS 26), all the quire numbers, except XXV (XXVII) are written over erasures (see below, p. 498, n. 239; p. 509, n. 32). Since the structure of this manuscript is too complex to be summarized, the reader is advised to consult the careful collation and clear diachronic analysis made by Vaughan, *Manuscript Paris*, pp. 53–54. Where the gatherings are regular and complete (e.g., V, VIII, XII, and XIII), they vary between 12 and 14 folios. Page headings continue from MS 26, but they change format slightly at fol. 243 after *secus* 1250. Prefaced by a diagram of the world, 4 half-pages of fragmentary Itineraries and maps, a page of pencil sketches, and a half page (lined drawing of an elephant, the rest contains 101 varied illustrations, 78 painted shields, 23 crowns, 20 swords, 5 lances, 77 crosses and crosses, and 5 pe-

nal cross-staffs and stars in the margins). See James, *Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College*, I, pp. 42–52; *HA* I, 175–182; and Vaughan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, pp. 236–359.

In recent years MS 16 has also been refoliated. The original folios 2–8 replacing 104 leaves in quire I (though we are not certain whether four or eight folios are missing) were not numbered folios 2–11. In quire VII the new numbering has corrected an old error which mistakenly assumed that fol. 77 was missing, when in fact Matthew himself had clearly marked the first six folios in this quire consecutively, with fol. 77 designated as “v” and fol. 79 as “ix.” In quire IX, however, the omission of fol. 104 and 216 in the old system is accounted for by a missing bifolium (see Vaughan, p. 44), but the corresponding lacunae no longer appear in the refoilation. The new foliation stops at fol. 150 in MS 16, and fol. 150 of the old sequence is repeated on the next leaf. Again, to avoid confusion for readers who consult the older literature, I have retained the old system of foliation. In the description of crosses which follows, the new folio numbers are given at brackets:

- | | |
|--------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| fol. 1 verso | Diagram of the World |
| ii | Itinerary from London to Ayrin—40 geometric half-page |
| ii verso | Map of the Crusader Kingdom—fragmentary half-page |
| iii | Genealogy of English Kings from Alfred to Harold (Fig. 77) |
| iii verso | Genealogy of English Kings from William I to Henry III |
| iv | Elephant <i>Secus</i> 1250 in Jordan in 1255 (Fig. 192) |
| v | Map of the Crusader Kingdom—fragmentary half-page |
| v verso | Map of Britain—fragmentary half-page (Fig. 219); cf. <i>HA</i> , fol. 59, <i>CONTRA CRUCIFEROS</i> VI, fol. 82v |
| fol. 2v | Death of Henry II, 1189 (2:344)—bottom margin: inverted shield above a reversed cross. <i>Orbis imperatoris Henrici in orientibus, sed in imperio sine coronis</i> ; cf. <i>HA</i> , fol. 77 |
| 3 | Coronation of Richard I, 1189 (2:346)—bottom margin: erect shield surmounted by a crown. <i>Corona et scutum bellipotentis regis Ricardi</i> ; cf. <i>HA</i> , fol. 77 |
| 5v [23v] | Death of Saladin, 1193 (2:393)—left margin (Fig. 372): <i>Morsus Saladinis</i> |
| 7v [15] | Death of Warin, Abbot of St. Albans, and the Successors of John of Celis, 1195 (2:412)—between two columns: two small painted staffs and crosses, one inverted and the other erect |
| 15 [10] | Death of Henry of Champagne, King of Jerusalem, 1195 (2:435)—lower right margin: an inverted crown, cf. <i>HA</i> , fol. 85v |
| 36 [10] | Coronation of Otto IV, King of Germany, at Aachen, 1198 (2:443)—between columns: a crown; cf. <i>HA</i> , fol. 84 |
| 37v [21v] | Death of Richard II, 1198 (2:451)—left margin (Fig. 160): below a crescent an inverted shield surmounting inverted cross between two swords; cf. <i>HA</i> , fol. 85v; <i>AC</i> , fol. 40v |
| 78 [27] | Coronation of King John, 1199 (2:456)—upper right margin (Fig. 103): erect shield surmounted by an upright crosser. <i>Abbasque coronatus in apice Anglorum</i> ; on inner left margin: a papal crown, cf. <i>HA</i> , fol. 85 |
| 88 [32] | Coronation of Otto IV as Emperor at Rome, 1199 (2:457–458)—lower right margin (Figs. 103 and 261): three crowns (<i>Corona imperatoris, corona regis, corona ferrea</i>); above a shield (a, a double eagle tangle); <i>Orbis creator in imperatoris Romanorum, sed a seculo shield (gold), three hois pinnate guarder, demid-linget, a double eagle tangle. Scutum militum pro amore regni Anglorum</i> , cf. <i>HA</i> , fol. 88v |
| 20 [24] | Coronation of King John and Queen Isabella, 1200 (2:487)—inner left margin: two very small crowns |

- 52v [56d] Peace between England and France, 1213 (f. 95)—upper left margin | Fig. 156: arms of two kings embracing
- 53v [57d] Death of Sophadin, 1218 (f. 39)—inner right margin: head with a crown rising from the mouth
- 54 [58] Death of William, Earl Marshal, 1219 (f. 42)—right margin: inverted shield (per pale or and vert, a lion rampant gules); *Obit Willielmi Mariscalci miles incomparabilis*; cf. *HA*, fol. 104r
- 54v [58d] Battle of Damietta, 1218 (f. 48)—bottom right margin (Pl. XII)
- 55v [59d] Siege of Damietta, 1219 (f. 54)—bottom margin (Fig. 173)
- 56 [60] Death of Hugh de Marquet, Bishop of Hereford, and Succession of Hugh Foliot, 1219 (f. 56)—inner left margin: inverted tower and cross, and an erect tower and cross
- 56 [60] Death of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, 1219 (f. 57)—inner left margin: more and helmet above and behind a shield; argent, a lion rampant gules; *Obit et sepelitur Simonis comitis de Montfortii Simonis*; cf. *HA*, fol. 104r
- 56 [60] Second Coronation of Henry III, 1220 (f. 58)—upper right margin (Fig. 122): *Henricus tertius Corroboratus, Supplicans—Res Henrici III*; cf. *HA*, fol. 103r
- 56 [60] Deaths of Henry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and Sir de Quincy, Earl of Winchester, 1220 (f. 60)—right margin | Fig. 118: two shields revealed (or, a bend gules cotised white, gules, seven wavylets lozengy ensigned or); *Obit et sepelitur Henricus de Herefordia Comes de Quince, comes Winchestrie*; cf. *HA*, fol. 104
- 56 [60] Election of John, Abbot of Fountains, as Bishop of Ely, 1220 (f. 68)—upper right margin: a tower and cross
- 57 [61] Construction of Montgomerie Castle, 1221 (f. 64)—inner left margin: *Castro monti Gomerii*
- 57 [61] Resignation of William as Bishop of London and Succession of Eustace de Fauconberg, 1221 (f. 66)—right margin: two pastoral staves and mitre, one inverted, the other erect; cf. *HA*, fol. 106r
- 57 [61] Death of William de Aubeney, Earl of Arundel, 1221 (f. 66)—right margin: inverted shield (gules, a lion rampant or); *Obit comes Arundel*; cf. *HA*, fol. 106r
- 57v [61v] Death of Hugh de Nevill, 1221 (f. 71)—bottom margin (Fig. 32): inverted shield (per fess indented gules and vert, a bend or) and a rounded lion; *Vindicta Henrici regis contra leonem*
- 58 [62] Wedding March on St James Day, 1223 (f. 71)—bottom margin (Fig. 144)
- 58 [62] Death of Bishop Ralph of Chichester and Succession of Ralph de Nevill, 1223 (f. 74)—right margin: a small tower and inverted cross
- 58v [62v] Construction of Walter Mauleverer, Bishop of Carlisle, 1223 (f. 77)—inner right margin: a tower and cross; cf. *HA*, fol. 107r
- 58v [62v] Death of Philip Augustus, King of France, 1223 (f. 77)—inner right margin: inverted shield (argy, seven of nine fleurs-de-lis or), with jeweled crown above; cf. *HA*, fol. 107r
- 59 [63] Cross of Brothelm, 1223 (f. 30)—inner left margin | Fig. 195
- 60 [64] Capture of Bedford Castle, 1224 (f. 87)—bottom left margin (Fig. 45)
- 60v [64v] Legend of the Burgundian Maiden and the Devil, 1225 (f. 98–101)—bottom left margin (Fig. 187)
- 61v [64v] Death of Richard de Marisco, Bishop of Durham, 1226 (f. 120)—left margin: inverted mitre and crosses; cf. *HA*, fol. 111r
- 61 [64] Death of Louis VIII of France, 1226 (f. 116)—right margin: reversed shield (sable fessy of nine fleurs-de-lis or) surmounted by an inverted crown; cf. *HA*, fol. 112r
- 61v [64v] Coronation of Louis IX, 1226 (f. 118)—left margin: small upright shield (or, pale); surmounted by a crown (three fleurs-de-lis); cf. *HA*, fol. 112r
- 61v [64v] Death of Fulk-lez-de-Bretonis, 1226 (f. 121)—between text columns: an inverted shield (gules, a chequy salt argent); top right margin (Fig. 66): head encasing a shield, with a dove in the right
- 61v [64v] Death of Bishops Benedict of Rochester and Wendell of Norwich, 1226 (f. 121)—inner right margin; reversed and inverted crosses
- 61v [64v] Death of William de Mauleverer, Earl of Essex, 1227 (f. 124)—more right margin: inverted shield (quarterly gules and or); cf. *HA*, fol. 112r

- 81 [84] Citizens of London Summoned by the Common Bench, 1232 (3:224)—right margin (Fig. 146): shield: *Comitatus de civitate Londinensi*
- 82 [85] Confraternity of the Treasury of Hubert de Burgh, 1232 (3:232–233)—lower left margin: three vessels of *HA*, fol. 119v
- 82 [85] Death of Ralph de Bunsyville, Earl of Chester, 1232 (3:229)—between text columns: 60 inverted shield (base), three garbs on top and a sword; cf. *HA*, fol. 119v
- 83v [86v] Neck Scent, 1233 (3:242)—left margin (Fig. 35): *Hic signum est in ea castro de pie in Anglia et curia: interfecti et alii de re officio videlicet, ut servatus exemplum exemplis a comitibus, 20000 p[er] hunc p[ro]p[ri]o aique ad certum; in the center of the main circle: *Signum in castro admodum, hoc signum quatuordecim Anglium completum; cf. MS Cotton Nero D. 1, fol. 126**
- 83v [86v] Election of John Blund to Canterbury Quashed by the Pope, 1233 (3:243)—left margin: small inverted mitre and crown-mull; cf. *HA*, fol. 120v
- 83 [86] Combat between Richard, Earl Marshal, and Baldwin de Guines, 1233 (3:254)—bottom margin (Fig. 148)
- 84 [86] Demise of Roger de Mortimer, 1233 (3:262)—lower right margin; cf. *HA*, fol. 121
- 87v [90v] Coronation of Edward, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1234 (3:272)—right margin: cross cross staff and crosier; cf. *HA*, fol. 120v
- 88v [91v] Death of Richard, Earl Marshal, 1234 (3:277)—lower left margin (Fig. 149): Richard on horseback, with an upright shield above (per pale on end vert, a lion rampant guard pale gules); *Signum Ricardus—crucis circūspice—pa*
- 90 [92] Death of Richard, Earl Marshal, 1234 (3:288)—between text columns: an inverted sword; cf. *HA*, fol. 122
- 90v [93v] Vassal of Hubert de Burgh, 1234 (3:298)—upper left margin (Fig. 42): a person carrying a crucifix: *De adu[er]s[us] de eorum que comitatus Cantuar[um] p[ro]p[ri]o*
- 92v [95v] Death of Hugh de Wille, Bishop of Lincoln, and Succession of Robert Grossetest, 1235 (3:306)—between text columns: two mitre and crosiers, one inverted, the other erect; cf. *HA*, fol. 123
- 94v [97v] Death of Henry Sandford, Bishop of Rochester, 1235 (3:308)—between text columns: inverted mitre and crosier; cf. *HA*, fol. 123
- 92v [95v] Death of William de Trumpington, Abbot of St. Albans, 1235 (3:307)—lower left margin: upper half of surmounting (flag with mitre and crosier)
- 94v [97v] Marriage of Emperor Frederick II and Isabella, 1235 (3:324)—bottom right margin (Fig. 162); cf. *HA*, fol. 123v
- 93 [94] Funeral of the Catholicus Anaxim, 1235 (3:328)—right margin; Fig. 157
- 95v [98v] Death of Robert FitzWalter, 1235 (3:334)—bottom right margin: reversed shield (as text between two chevron gules)
- 96 [99] Marriage of Henry III and Election of Ferruccio, 1236 (3:336)—top right margin: hand clasped beneath ring and crosier; cf. *HA*, fol. 124v
- 96 [99] Coronation of Henry III and Eleanor, 1236 (3:335–339)—lower right margin (Fig. 153)
- 100v [103v] Death of Bishop William of Worcester and Thomas of Norwich, and Henry, Abbot of Crowland, 1236 (3:372)—lower left margin: two inverted mitre and crosiers and an inverted crosier
- 102v [104v] Death of Philip de Aulnoy, 1236 (3:373)—between text columns: 40 reversed sword
- 102v [104v] Death of Thomas de Blannville, Bishop of Norwich, William of Blin, Bishop of Worcester, and Henry Sandford, Bishop of Rochester, 1236 (3:376)—upper left margin: three inverted mitre and crosier
- 102v [104v] Death of Thomas, Abbot of Evesham, 1236 (3:379)—left margin: inverted mitre and crosier
- 102v [104v] Election of Walter de Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester, and Simon of Evesham, Bishop of Norwich, 1237 (3:389)—top of the page: two crosier mitre
- 103 [106] Death of John de Branne, King of Jerusalem, 1237 (3:390)—lower left margin: inverted crown; cf. *HA*, fol. 125v
- 103 [106] Death of Richard le Puce, Bishop of Durham, 1237 (3:391)—between text columns: an inverted mitre and crosier; cf. *HA*, fol. 125v

- 103v [106v] Death of John le Scot, Earl of Chester and Humberland, 1237 (3.294)—upper left margin: inverted shield (acute, three garbs) and a sword
- 107 [109] Council of London, 1237 (3.420–427)—bottom left margin (Pl. IX) *Concilium Londinense celebratum apud Othm legatus et HA, fol. 126*
- 110 [112] Princes Germanus of Constantinople, 1237 (3.449)—right margin (Fig. 321) *Archieve de laugensis durandus marit Langes et regis Gregor*
- 115 [117] Death of Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, 1238 (3.482)—between text columns: inverted shield and cross; cf. HA, fol. 127r
- 118 [119] Death of Alexander, Bishop of Chester, 1238 (3.548)—bottom margin: inverted mitre and crozier; cf. HA, fol. 128r
- 119 [120] Election of the Bishops of Norwich and Winchester Transferred, 1239 (3.524)—right margin: mitre topped at an angle; cf. HA, fol. 128r
- 119 [120] Election of William de Rubiq, Bishop of Chester, 1239—lower left margin: upright mitre and crozier; cf. HA, fol. 128v
- 119v [120v] Election of William de Raleigh to the See of Norwich, 1239 (3.534)—between columns: erect mitre and crozier topped
- 123v [124v] Council, 1239 (3.586)—left margin; cf. HA, fol. 129
- 126 [127] Frederick II's Letter to Richard of Cornwall, 1239 (3.575–589)—bottom margin (Fig. 40): Seals of the Empire: *Fredericus Dei gratia imperator Romanorum et regis Anglorum—Seigns imperatoris (1239) (right upper) and (left) (left) Seigns regis (1239)—Roma (1239) (right) regis and (left) (right) (right)*
- 129v [130v] Death of Henry de Trilleville, Seneschal of Gascony, 1239 (3.624)—inverted sword
- 131v [132v] Baldwin de Revers Knighted Earl of Devon, 1239 (4.18)—upper left margin: erect shield (i.e. a lion rampant above)
- 131v [132v] Election of Hugh de Pethill, Bishop of Lichfield, 1240 (4.15)—between columns: a small erect mitre and crozier; cf. HA, fol. 129v
- 132 [133] Death of Llywelyn of Wales, 1240 (4.25)—upper right margin (Fig. 132) *Leolwys uorru—Griffon—Droaf*
- 135v [137v] Death of William de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, 1240 (4.12)—left margin: inverted shield (chessy above and on)
- 135v [137v] Defeat and Capture of the French at Coucy, 1240 (4.26–29)—bottom margin, and continuing in bottom margin of fol. 134 [135] [Pl. XII]: *Francis per regem captus in eia calton—Chamizum curam, capris abhen. Lavez uaz hells (air) and Garder. On fol. 134 [135]: Demacius curam—Fuerit—3.130*
- 134v [137v] Consecration of Hugh de Parthill, Bishop of Lichfield, 1240 (4.31)—upper left margin: erect mitre and crozier; cf. HA, fol. 129v
- 134v [137v] Death of John de Lucy, Earl of Lincoln, 1240 (4.34)—upper right margin: inverted shield (squarely or and gules, a barry chief and 3 label above)
- 136 [138] Richard of Cornwall Setting Out on Crusade, 1240 (4.44)—upper right margin
- 136 [137v] Election of Peter de Aquablanca, Bishop of Hereford, 1240 (4.48)—lower left margin: erect mitre and crozier
- 136v [137v] Consecration of Audelin (Alben) of Clogaig, Archbishop of Armagh, 1240 (4.49)—upper right inner margin: erect mitre and crozier: *Die octava metropole su regis Henricus*
- 136v [137v] Death of Thomas de Malesher, 1240 (4.50)—lower right margin: inverted shield (ergone, three bars gules)
- 138v [139v] Treaty between the Count of Brittany and Naaz, Lord of Kral, 1240 (4.64–65)—bottom margin: Fig. 174: *Fuider inter—Aron sine Thoboride—Christiani—Cra—Sperno—Cores forquatus—Nq—no dominum Cra*
- 139 [140] Death of Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1240 (4.72)—right margin: inverted mitre and crozier
- 139v [140v] Consecration of Peter de Aquablanca, Bishop of Hereford, 1240 (4.74–75)—left margin: erect mitre and crozier

- 1397 [1405] Crown of Thorns Acquired by Louis IX, 1249 (4:75–76)—lower left margin: two drawings of the relic (Fig. 196): *Spina corona Salvatoris—Ex quoniam placis constant, coloris indubii quasi adeni ruz cripi marmis. Tatu cu corona Domini, cum de braci coronam, et nodis in parte portorum; et en de unum marmu arboreum emouantur exalim. Unde pfectus de pferens, ande dicitur pfecta hinc*
- 140 [141] Death of John FitzRobert of Clouering, 1240 (4:80)—upper left margin: inverted shield (quarterly of red gules betel sable): *Hic erat ante pfr(Folium) filius Roberti, qui nobilis et iuxta de pncipum dicitur esse in pte Anglie dicitur*
- 140 [141] Battle of Whains, 1240 (4:81)—right margin (Fig. 114): *Belux ovium*
- 141 [142] Peter of Savoy Knighted, 1241 (4:83)—lower left margin: erect shield (gules, a cross argent)
- 141 [142] Banquet of the Hospitallers and Templars, 1241 (4:85)—bottom left margin (Fig. 143): *Ecce tunc signa inter erant magis infidelibus ferebat hinc—trastere hospitales, terrillare templi, obsequere Francos*
- 141 [142] Election of Nicholas of Furbham, Bishop of Durham, 1241 (4:86)—lower left margin: erect mitre and crozier; cf. *HA*, fol. 832
- 141v [142v] Death of Gilbert Basset, 1241 (4:86)—upper left margin: inverted shield (barry wavy of silver and gules)
- 141v [142v] Death of John Basset, Chief Forester of England, 1241 (4:89)—upper left margin: inverted shield (azure, six bezants); *Obit Johanne Basset*
- 141v [142v] Louis IX with the True Cross, 1241 (4:99)—lower left margin (Fig. 192): *Res Francorum Lodovicus—Eius Crucem tenens*
- 141v [142v] Death of Waldemar II, King of Denmark and his Son Waldemar, 1241 (4:92)—inner right margin: inverted crown and crozier
- 141v [142v] Death of Walter de Lacy, 1241 (4:93)—inner lower right margin: inverted shield (of a fess gules)
- 142 [143] Destruction of the New Walls in the Tower of London, 1241 (4:93)—upper left outer margin (Fig. 203)
- 142 [143] Mongol Invasion, 1241 (4:109)—bottom margin (Fig. 179): *Promissio de pncipum Francorum*
- 146 [147] Naval Battle between France and Genoa, 1241 (4:125)—bottom margin (Fig. 164)
- 147v [148v] Coronation of Nicholas of Furbham, Bishop of Durham, 1241 (4:131)—upper left margin: erect mitre and crozier; cf. *HA*, fol. 832
- 147v [148v] Death of Gilbert, Earl Marshal, 1241 (4:132)—bottom margin (Fig. 157): inverted sword, lance, and shield (party per pale and vert, a lion rampant argent); *Obit Gilbertus Marchialis*; cf. *HA*, fol. 132
- 148 [149] French Prisoners Freed by Richard of Cornwall, 1241 (4:141)—bottom right margin (Fig. 175): *Excessu Franci p Saracenos in Libera domo*
- 149 [150] Saracen Injurers, 1241 (4:147)—inner left margin (Fig. 176): *Saraceni: cum talamitis de quibus minus*
- 150 Shrine of Edward the Confessor at Westminster, 1241 (4:156)—lower right margin
- 151 Death of Pope Gregory IX, 1241 (4:161)—upper right margin: inverted mitre and crozier staff; *Obit Papa Gregorius*; cf. *HA*, fol. 833
- 151v Death of James, Bishop of Præsteburgh, 1241 (4:165)—left margin: inverted mitre and crozier; *Obit Præsteburghensis, volutus imperialis muller*
- 151v Elephant Parade at Crotona, 1241 (4:166)—bottom right margin (Fig. 177): *Elephantus Crotonensi pncipum dicitur esse in hinc dicitur magis et in pte Præsteburghensis—Magister Balfour*
- 152 Death of Cardinal Robert of Somersecote, 1241 (4:168)—upper left margin: inverted mitre and crozier
- 152 Death of Stephen de Segrove, 1241 (4:169)—inner left margin: inverted shield (sable, three bars or, heads and tails gules); cf. *HA*, fol. 133
- 152 Death of Roger, Bishop of London, 1241 (4:169–170)—inner left margin: inverted mitre and crozier; cf. *HA*, fol. 833
- 152 Death of Geoffrey de Lacy, Dean of St. Paul's, 1241 (4:170)—lower lower left margin: a pike-fist
- 152 Election of Fulke, Bishop of London, 1241 (4:171)—upper right margin: erect mitre and crozier; cf. *HA*, fol. 833
- 152 Death of Hugh de Percyvall, Bishop of Lichfield, 1241 (4:171)—right margin: inverted mitre and crozier

- 1527 Election and Death of Pope Celestine IV, 1241 (4:177): cross-staff, crozier, and staff, erect and inverted, cf. *HA*, fol. 133
- 1527 Death of Empress Isabella, 1241 (4:173)—inner right margin: inverted cross
- 1537 Return Voyage of Richard of Cornwall, 1242 (4:182)—bottom left margin: *Applia e roma Ricardus*
- 155 Henry III's Voyage to Rome, 1242 (4:182)—bottom right margin (Fig. 126): *Rez transiret terras Platane*
- 155 Death of Several Nobles, 1242 (4:190)—lower left margin: Gilbert de Gourn's reversed sword and shield (or, three bars azure and a bend gules); Gislebert de Gourn; Hugh Wake's reversed sword and shield (or, two bars gules and a chief three roundels argent); *Wigorn* Wake; sword and shield of Philip de Erme (or, a chevron gules and a bordure sable bezant); *Philippus de Kint*; Henry, son of Penderick II, reversed shield (party per pale or and vert); *Wines* Wines; Baldwin Wake's reversed shield and sword (party of six argent and gules, in chief three roundels azure); *Baldwin* Wines; and Thomas of Newburgh, Earl of Warwick's reversed sword and shield (blacky upon a shield, a hand ermine); *Thomas de Warrwic*
- 1557 Execution of William de Marisco, 1242 (4:196)—bottom right margin (Fig. 151): *Doctur Willelmus de Marisco miles ad patibulum*, cf. *HA*, fol. 133*
- 156 Military Expedition Sent from England to Aid Henry III of Sicily, 1242 (4:196)—right margin: a small sword; *Tropicus de paxano*
- 1597 French Troops Dying of Plague, 1242 (4:225)—bottom left margin (Fig. 127): *Pisces pessime Phoenicem in Periculis*
- 160 Election of Adam, Bishop of Conser, 1242 (4:227)—right margin: erect mitre and crozier
- 1604 Severe Flooding of the Thames, 1242 (4:236)—left margin (Fig. 185): *Non inueniuntur in throno et in stabulis*
- 1607 Death of Richard de Bureh, 1242 (4:252)—inner right margin: inverted sword and shield (party per pale gules and or, a bordure vert)
- 1607 Death of Hugh de Lucy, 1242 (4:252)—inner right margin: inverted sword and shield (vert, a bordure or)
- 161 Death of the Abbot of Evesham and Jocelyn, Bishop of Bath, 1242 (4:253)—between text columns: two inverted mitres and croziers
- 162 Truce between England and France, 1242 (4:245)—upper right margin (Fig. 183): *Tonger*
- 162 Death of Hugh de Aubrey, Earl of Arundel, 1242 (4:245)—right margin: reversed sword and shield (gules, a bend empurporee); cf. *HA*, fol. 133*
- 162 Death of Hubert de Bureh, Earl of Kent, 1242 (4:243)—right margin: inverted sword and shield (quarterly gules and or); cf. *HA*, fol. 133*
- 1637 Henry III's Return Voyage to England, 1242 (4:255)—bottom left margin
- 164 Election of Pope Innocent IV, 1242 (4:256)—inner left margin: erect cross-staff and crozier
- 164 Confirmation of William de Rothay, Bishop of Winchester, 1242 (4:259)—right margin: erect mitre and crozier
- 164 Confirmation of Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1242 (4:259)—right margin: erect mitre and cross-staff
- 1657 Cardinal Otto Made Bishop of Paris, 1242 (4:262)—upper right margin: erect mitre and crozier
- 166 Cardinal Fear of the Tartars, 1242 (4:257)—between margins (Fig. 186): *Apophansi Tartarum et Tartarum Armenum caribus uocantur—Equis Tartarorum qui cum rapacitatem, cum de manu uictoria potabile, frigiditas et felix uentus et cunctis uictoriae ratiocinatio*
- 168 Death of Cardinal John Colonna, 1244 (4:287)—inner left margin: small version of cross
- 168 Commemoration of Roger, Bishop of Bath, 1244 (4:287)—upper right margin: erect mitre and crozier; cf. *HA*, fol. 136
- 168 Death of Thomas of Gloucester, Abbot of Evesham, 1244 (4:287)—right margin: inverted mitre and crozier; Abbot of Evesham
- 168 Death of Ralph de Nevill, Bishop of Chichester, 1244 (4:287)—right margin: inverted mitre; cf. *HA*, fol. 136

- 180 Death of Gaufrid of Wales, 1244 (4 296)—right margin (Fig. 433), reversed shield; quarterly or and gyron, four lions passant guardant; cf. *HA*, fol. 196
- 1807 Battle between Crusaders and Khwarezmians, 1244 (4 306)—bottom margin (Fig. 412), *Cheremienus Bekhuzars*—*crucians Christianus—Bakusler*
- 187 St. Albans' Chron. 1244 (4 324)—between left columns, a rectangle
- 1877 Flight of Pope Innocent IV to Genoa, 1244 (4 355)—top outside margin (Fig. 165), *Papa Innoce[n]tius p[ro]p[ri]e a[n]i[m]e s[an]c[t]i f[r]u[an]c[is]ci p[re]dicatoris, servand[um] illud evangelium, si non p[ro]m[er]it sumus, sic*
- 1877 Death of English noble Count, 1244 (4 364)—bottom margin (Pl. XI), *Engelbert de Cans in burgo et gladio crucis h[ab]uit s[an]c[t]i; an[im]a et d[omi]ni s[an]c[t]i p[ro]p[ri]e s[an]c[t]i f[r]u[an]c[is]ci*
- 180 Election of William de Burgh, Bishop of Lindisfarne, 1244 (4 379)—between left columns; an erect cross and tower
- 189 Death of Richard de Saultville, 1244 (4 381)—right margin; an inverted sword
- 180 Charter of the King of Scotland, 1244 (4 381–383)—right margin
- 1817 Death of Adam, Bishop of Connor, 1244 (4 390)—left margin; inverted tower and tower
- 1817 Election of Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, 1244 (4 394)—left margin; erect cross and tower
- 1817 Consecration of Fulco Basset, Bishop of London, 1244 (4 393)—between left columns; an erect cross and tower
- 182 Death of Wilham, Bishop of Exeter, 1244 (4 397)—right margin; inverted cross and tower
- 182 King Louis IX Cured by the True Cross, 1244 (4 397–398)—bottom margin (Fig. 193), cf. *HA*, fol. 137v
- 1829 Forest Inquisition, 1244 (4 400)—between left columns; a stag's head
- 1830 Death of Baldwin de Reviers, Earl of Devon, 1245 (4 408)—upper left margin; inverted shield (or, a lion rampant argent); cf. *HA*, fol. 238
- 1837 Death of Herbert FitzMatthew, 1245 (4 408)—bottom right margin (Fig. 135), inverted shield (party per pale gules and azure divided by three lions rampant or); cf. *HA*, fol. 138
- 1847 Death of Gilbert de Umfraville, 1245 (4 415)—top margin; unguined-inverted shield (a quartered and a bordure surmounting)
- 185 Pope's Donkey-pen's Head Seized by an Angry Curlew of Lyons, 1245 (4 448)—upper left margin; a pen and severed hand
- 185 Richard de Clare Knighted, 1245 (4 459)—between left columns; erect inverted shield (or, three chevrons gules); cf. *HA*, fol. 238v
- 1857 Death of Gaufrid de Maribus, 1245 (4 471)—left margin; inverted shield (party per fess gules and or, a lion between two crosses in chief and crescent in base all argent)
- 1857 Election of Roger de Winton, Bishop of Chester, 1245 (4 474)—between left columns; erect tower
- 186 Consecration of Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1245 (4 475)—inner right margin; small erect altar and cross
- 186 Consecration of Richard Fitz, Bishop of Chester, and Roger de Winton, Bishops of Chichester, 1245 (4 476)—inner right margin; two erect crosses and crosses
- 186 Robert Passien's Forest Inquisition, 1245 (4 476–477)—upper right margin (Fig. 143) 2143's head
- 186 Rebuilding of Westminster Abbey, 1245 (4 487)—upper right margin (Fig. 143); the new church
- 186a Resignation of the Archbishop of Lyons, 1245 (4 470)—top left margin; inverted cross and tower
- 186a Council of Lyons, 1245 (4 473)—bottom margin (Fig. 186), *Concilium Lugdunense—Innoce[n]tius Papa quartus—Thom[as] de Sautis p[ro]curator f[r]u[an]c[is]ci p[re]dicatoris*; cf. *HA*, fol. 238r
- 186a Death of Raymond Berengar, Count of Provence, 1245 (4 484)—right margin; inverted sword, lance, and shield; gules, three pale or; cf. *HA*, fol. 139
- 186a Colchester Castle, 1245 (4 486)—left margin (Fig. 236), *Castellum*
- 186a Death of Walter, Earl Marshal, and his Brother Amalric, 1245 (4 491)—between left columns; two inverted shields (party per pale or and or, a lion rampant gules); cf. *HA*, fol. 239

- 193 Consecration of Richard de Bles, Bishop of Exeter, 1245 (4.496)—between columns: erect mitre and crozier
- 196 Death of John, Bishop of Ardres, 1245 (4.501)—between 12th column: an inverted mitre and crozier; cf. *HA*, fol. 439
- 197v Privilege Granted to the Dominicans by Gregory IX, 1246 (4.512–515)—lower left margin: crosier, with papal seal: *Privilegium privilegiorum*
- 198 Death of Grandfather Walter, 1246 (4.517)—right margin: inverted shield (Fig. 135)
- 198r Withdrawal of Privileges by Innocent IV, 1245 (4.522)—left margin: documents: privileges
- 202r Death of Isabella, Queen Mother, 1246 (4.563)—between 12th column: small inverted crown
- 202v Death of John de Nevill, Chiel Forester, 1246 (4.563)—between 12th column at the top of the page (Fig. 142): inverted shield (per less-indented gules and vert, a bend sable) below a hunting horn suspended from a book
- 207v Death of Robert de Bingham, Bishop of Salisbury, 1246 (4.585)—near right margin: inverted mitre and crozier
- 208 Election of William of York, Bishop of Salisbury, 1246 (4.587): erect mitre and crozier
- 208 Election of Richard of Creully, Abbot of Westminster, 1246 (4.589)—lower right margin: mitre and crozier
- 210r Death of Pals de Chauxarnet, 1247 (4.602)—upper left margin: inverted lance and shield (gules, a chief vert); cf. *HA*, fol. 440
- 211 Death of Henry Knappe of Thuringia, 1247 (4.610)—lower right margin (Fig. 168): inverted lance and shield (protray of eight or and azure, a roundel in an orb of smaller roundels gules edged argent); cf. *HA*, fol. 140
- 215 Procession with the Relic of the Holy Blood, 1247 (4.641–642)—bottom margin (Pl. 5): *Relic Novusque Illi*—*sanctus Cibus*—*episcopus Augustinus in alio parat*; cf. *HA*, fol. 142
- 216r Willaume of Valence Knighted, 1247 (4.642)—lower left margin: erect shield (gules, three argent and azure, on each peak three lions passant guardant or); cf. *HA*, fol. 442
- 216v Coronation of Haakon, King of Norway, 1247 (4.650)—upper left margin: erect shield (gules, three galleys with dragon heads at each end or, one above the other, surmounted by a crown. *Sic ut regis Norwegie super personam, quod dicitur per Insulorum*
- 218v Death of William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, 1247 (4.654)—bottom right margin: inverted shield (vary re and gules)
- 219 Death of Richard Seward, 1248 (5.2)—upper right margin: inverted shield (able, a cross pancee between four roundels argent)
- 219 Death of Roger, Bishop of Bath, 1248 (5.3)—right margin: inverted mitre and crozier; cf. *HA*, (f. 447
- 219 Coinage Reform, 1248 (5.11)—right 12th column (Fig. 140): reverse of the long-cross penny; cf. *HA*, fol. 142; *AC*, fol. 82
- 222 Death of Frederick II, 1250 (5.190)—right margin (Fig. 170): inverted shield (or, a double eagle sable)
- 243 Death of William de Castillepe, 1251 (5.242)—right margin: inverted shield (gules, three fleurs-de-lis or)
- 156 Death of Patrick Piper, 1251 (5.243)—bottom left margin: inverted shield (argent, six a chevron gules three fleurs-de-lis or); *Rebus ad synon. episcopus Piper. Sic ut ad synon. flores de mare, tilque rubra*
- 250v Death of Geoffrey the Despenser, 1251 (5.245)—left margin: inverted shield (quarterly or beny table and argent, a bend sinister sable)
- 252 Invasion of Crossbills, 1251 (5.254)—upper right corner (Fig. 180): a bird with frons in its beak
- 254 King Alexander III of Scotland Knighted, 1251 (5.261)—bottom left margin: erect shield (or, a lion rampant on a tressure flow argent) only gules; between a lance and sword, with belt and scabbard below
- 255 Death of Nicholas Sandford, 1252 (5.273)—bottom left margin: inverted shield (barry wavy of six argent and gules)
- 159r Richard of Woodover's Cross, 1252 (5.296)—drawing in plenum

- 262a Death of Ernald de Mowbray, 1252 (5.3.18)—left margin: broken lance and pierced shield; crown, a hand between two parrots; or: *Heraults de Mowbray—maison de armes, cour de arms*
- 263 Punishment of Frowke de Brakel, 1252 (5.324)—right margin (Fig. 68): a bundle of birch rods, *discipline*
- 268 Death of Blanche, Queen of France, 1252 (5.354)—lower right: *Blanche*, inverted crown
- 271 Death of Richard Wych, Bishop of Gloucester, 1252 (5.369)—right margin: inverted tower and crosser
- 275 Robert Grosseteste's Letter of Protest, 1253 (5.389)—upper right margin (Fig. 89): *optima epistola episcopi Lincolniensis Roberti*
- 277 Feast and Tally of King Alfonso X of Castile and León, 1253 (5.396)—between left margin: cross shield (quarterly, red and four gates, a triple laurelled eagle or, red and three argent, a lion rampant or); *Sonus regis Hispanie—caput de pulcherrimo de auro, caput de argenteo fide de auro [sic]*
- 279 Death of William de Vesli, 1253 (5.410)—lower right margin: inverted shield (gules, a cross molate argent), cf. *HA*, fol. 459r

ГРЕКОСЛАВЕНСКИ Б. Л. MS. ROY. 14. C. VII

Matthew's gift of this manuscript to St. Albans is recorded in his own hand on fol. 6r: "Hanc librum dedit frater Mathias Parisiensis Animo Mathie de Antiochia latetour defunctioris requisant in pace. Anno M. The St. Albans parchment "A. 19" appears on fol. 8. The manuscript later belonged to Duke Humphrey of Gloucester (1391–1413), as evinced by a new dated inscription on fol. 23r, "Certe hoc scriptum Henrici Ducis Gloucestrie." A further inscription on fol. 1 states that it then passed into the hands of John Russell, bishop of Lincoln (1410–1494) in a note to the effect that he would regard the book as having been lent by the monks of St. Albans if it can be proved to belong to the abbey, but otherwise would bequeath it to New College, Oxford. In the sixteenth century it belonged to Henry Fitzalan, earl of Arundel (1511–1580), and then to Lord John Lumley (1534–1609), whose name appears on fol. 1 and whose manuscripts were acquired by James I. The Royal Library became part of the British Museum in 1757.

The last part of the choicest with initials from 1254 to 1259 is contained at the second half of MS. Roy. 14. C. VII folios 99r and

the *Historia Anglorum* on 61 vellum folios (55 x 25 cm.) written in double columns; justification 964 x 450 mm.) of approximately 50 lines, but fewer toward the end, in Matthew's hand to the middle of fol. 210, where another St. Albans hand takes over to the middle of fol. 219V. The chronicle is contained in a small book 1259 to 1272 on fol. 219–231 in a late fourteenth-century hand. Rubrics and decorated initials continue as in MSS. 26 and 86, each page begun with a larger illuminated initial. This part of the manuscript comprises *hinc inde* numbered in rubric, at its MS. 86, except the upper decoration of the numeral in blue feathers instead of a gold 'P', 'H', 'I', 'V', 'I', 'V', and 'VI'. At the end of the first quire is written: "Finis quatuordecim textorum voluminis," and so on through the remainder. In the margin of the text there are 7 illuminated initials, 9-painted shields, 2 crowns, 4 swords, 2 lances, 23 towers and crosses, and 2 papal cross staffs, however, all those drawn on fol. 219–219V are by another hand. See *HA* 1: 10–11; Warner and Gibson, *Calendar of Western Manuscripts*, II, pp. 125–136, and Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, pp. 142–144.

- fol. 99r Plaque of Robert Grosseteste attacking Innocent IV, 1254 (5.429)—lower left margin (Fig. 260): *Plaque quare de herese herese persequitur et Papa Innocentius IV ad episcopo Lincolniensis Roberti. Nec iniquum potest persequi contra Papam.*
- 99 Consecration of Henry de Lexington, Bishop of Lincoln, 1254 (5.431)—upper left margin: small tower and crosser, cf. *AG*, fol. 95
- 139 Death of William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, 1254 (5.438)—between new columns: inverted shield; stary or and gates; cf. *AG*, fol. 94v
- 162 Death of Henry, Son of Frederick II and Isabella, 1254 (5.448)—bottom margin: inverted shield (gules, three lions passant guardant or, dexter chief or, a double eagle sable); cf. *AC*, fol. 99v
- 163r Death of Hugh, Bishop of Ely, 1254 (5.454)—right margin: inverted tower and crosser, cf. *AG*, fol. 99r
- 164 Election of Thomas de Vipera, Bishop of Carlisle, 1254 (5.455)—upper left margin: erect tower and crosser
- 164r Death of Conrad of Saxony, 1254 (5.459)—right margin: inverted shield (or, a double eagle sable and in chief a crozier encircling a roundel gules) above a reversed crosser, cf. *AG*, fol. 95r
- 165 Nobles Pay Homage to Manfred, 1254 (5.460)—bottom left margin: erect shield (or, a double eagle sable and over all a fess argent); *Sonus fratris Henrici—Mortuo Conrado filio Frederici regemur 1254 inter Manfredum filium eiusdem Frederici et regemur in ecclesia Romanense persequitur et c.* cf. *AG*, fol. 96

- 1657 Death of William de Cantilupe, 4274 (5.463)—right margin: inverted shield (gules, three fleurs-de-lis or), cf. AC, fol. 96
- 166 Election of William of Kildesey, Bishop of Ely, 1254 (5.464)—top left margin: erect shield and crozier, cf. AC, fol. 96
- 167 Death of Henrice IV, 1254 (5.471)—upper right margin (Fig. 189): inverted sun and cross-staff, with arm above holding an scepter, cf. AC, fol. 96
- 167 Election of Pope Alexander IV, 1254 (5.472)—left margin: erect sun and cross-staff, with his arm above holding an scepter, cf. AC, fol. 96
- 1707 Death of Arnold de Bosco, a Warden of the Forest, 1255 (5.487)—between text columns: lowered shield (argent, two bars and a chief gules), and lance with an unadorned banner
- 174 Death of Warin de Monthermy, 1255 (5.504)—inner left margin: inverted shield (or, three ermine bands, vair)
- 181 Solar Eclipse, 1256 (5.539)—top of the page between text columns; (Fig. 183) *Hec luciferus de corpore suo non est ignis: et comburitur: et crepare linat*
- 1817 King John's Charter Granted Free Elections to Bishops and Monasteries, 1296 (1215) (5.842—543)—upper left margin: government with seal, *Nunc commo animum*
- 182 Science of the Roman Seal of Bunschese, 1296 (5.547)—right margin (Fig. 20): a lion's paw
- 1827 Death of William of Holland, King of Germany, 1296 (5.549)—bottom right margin: erect shield (or, a lion rampant queue fourche gules) surmounted by a sword hilt, above an inverted crown
- 192 Election of Roger Longespée, Bishop of Exeter, 1297 (5.813)—right margin: trees and cross
- 1957 Death of Ralph FitzNichol and William Maschil, 1297 (5.846)—bottom right margin: two blank shields inverted
- 1987 Establishment of the Bethlehem Friars at Cambridge, 1297 (5.853)—upper left outer: small red stippled rim
- 2007 Death of Roger de Winton, Bishop of Lincoln, 1297 (5.864)—left margin: inverted sun and cross
- 2077 Death of Nicholas of Furnham, Bishop of Durham, 1297 (5.870)—upper inner right margin: inverted MIT
- 208 Creation of Simon Walton, Bishop of Norwich, Roger de Meulan, Bishop of Chester, and Wilton, Bishop of Exeter, 1298 (5.867)—top left margin: three small roses
- 211 Death of Richard of Coevles, Abbot of Westminster, 1298 (5.790)—upper left margin: inverted MIT and cross (Hand A)
- 213 Death of Henry of Langton, Bishop of Lincoln, 1298 (5.782)—inner left margin: squared sun and cross (Hand A)
- 214 Creation of Godfrey de Kersnon, Archbishop of York, 1298 (5.788)—upper left margin: trees and cross (Hand A)
- 214 Creation of Richard Grosvenor, Bishop of Lincoln, 1298 (5.792)—lower right margin: shield and cross (Hand A)
- 2177 Death of Thomas of Savoy, Count of Flanders, 1297 (5.741)—upper left margin: inverted sun and shield (or, a lion rampant or); *Orbis coronat Flandriae Thomas* (Hand A)
- 2187 Death of 1946, Bishop of London, 1297 (5.747)—lower left margin: inverted outer and cross (Hand A)
- 2217 Matthew Paris on His Deathbed, 1297 (5.748)—bottom right margin (Fig. 2): *He obit Madelinus Parisiensis—In manus tuas Domine spiritus meus, relinquit me, Domine Deus terrarum—Liber Cisterciensis Abbatis Prædicatoris*

MATTHEW PARISHANON B. E. MS B. 14. C. V. 11

The *Annales Anglorum occupat* the first 176 folios (355 × 235 mm), written in double columns of very fine script (approximately 30 lines) in Matthew's hand to the middle of fol. 154r, where another St. Albans hand takes over to the end. Although identical in format to MSS B. 14 and 16, the text is related

throughout and provided with red and blue initials throughout at the opposite end, which are enlarged and decorated at the beginning of each new reign. The quires have signatures marked with rubric numbers on the verso of each leaf from fol. 1 to 100, but the number of leaves, while gen-

- 33 Coronation of Henry II, 1154 (2:300)—bottom margin: shield surmounted by a crown; *Corona et clipeus regii Henrico II.*; cf. *CM*, p. 298
- 35 Death of Richard, Bishop of London, 1162 (1:315)—upper right margin: inverted mitre and crosslet
- 35^a Death of Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, 1186 (1:379)—right margin: surmounted crown
- 36^a Death of Robert, Abbot of St. Albans, 1166 (1:340)—lower left margin: inverted mitre and crosslet
- 63 Election of Richard, Bishop of Winchester; Geoffrey, Bishop of Ely; Geoffrey, Bishop of Lincoln; Reginald, Bishop of Bath; Robert, Bishop of Hereford, and John, Bishop of Chichester, 1171 (1:374–375)—lower right margin: six small mitres and crosslets
- 64 Election of Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1175 (1:375)—lower right margin: small mitre and archiepiscopal cross
- 86 Discovery of the Relics of St. Amphibalus, 1178 (1:406–407)—bottom left margin (Fig. 45): *Invocantur sanctus Amphibalus sancti, cum sancto suo*; cf. *CM*, p. 270; *AC*, fol. 131
- 69^a Coronation of Philip Augustus, King of France, 1179 (1:417)—lower left margin: shield surmounted by a crown; cf. *CM*, p. 274
- 89^a Death of King Louis VI of France, 1180 (1:418)—between two columns: inverted shield; *scure, scanye de l'art*—4, 3, 2, 1; cf. *CM*, p. 274
- 70^a Consecration of Walter, Bishop of Lincoln, 1182 (1:421)—bottom left margin: mitre and crosslet
- 70^b Death of Simon, Abbot of St. Albans and Election of Wern, 1183 (1:424–425): inverted and erect mitres and crosslets; cf. *CM*, p. 274
- 70^c Death of Walter, Bishop of Rochester, 1183 (1:424)—bottom margin: inverted mitre and crosslet
- 70^d Death of Henry the Younger, 1183 (1:426)—inner right margin: inverted shield (gold), three leaves passant guardant (or); *Corona et clipeus regii Henrico iuniori*; cf. *CM*, p. 276
- 74 Death of Queen Matilda, 1183 (1:435)—upper right margin: 9 anemphlogas (north), with epigraph: *Orna magna, ymo magna, ut maxima parva, He pava Henrico filia, ymoia parva*
- 77 Death of Henry II, 1189 (2:1)—top of the page between two columns: inverted shield above a reversed crown; cf. *CM*, fol. 12
- 77 Coronation of Richard I, 1189 (2:1)—upper right margin: shield surmounted by a crown; cf. *CM*, fol. 12
- 77^a Names of 14 Bishops as Piquard: Geoffrey, Archbishop of York; Godfrey de Lucy, Bishop of Winchester; Richard, Bishop of London; Hubert Walter, Bishop of Salisbury; William de Longchamp, Bishop of Ely; 1182 (2:10)—inner right margin: five small crosslets
- 81^a Consecration of Soverus, Bishop of Bath, 1192—upper left margin: mitre and crosslet
- 82 Election of Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1193—bottom margin: mitre, crosslet, and crozier-staff
- 83^a Death of Henry of Champagne, King of Jerusalem, and Succession of John de Beinsme, 1196 (2:61)—lower right margin: inverted shield (unpainted) above reversed crown and erect crown; cf. *CM*, fol. 13
- 84 Coronation of Otto IV, King of Germany, 1198 (2:85)—right margin: unpainted shield (three lions passant guardant, dividing a displayed double eagle surmounted by a crown); *Syrus Ottonis imperatoris, regni mediorum de usque imperii, auctoritate usque regis Anglorum*; cf. *CM*, fol. 10
- 85^a Death of Richard I, 1198 (2:76–77)—lower left margin: inverted royal shield above a reversed crown, in the point of the shield's juncata crosslets with an arrow in the notch; *Corona et clipeus regii Ricardi imperatoris*; cf. *CM*, fol. 13^a; *AC*, fol. 40^a
- 85^b Coronation of King John, 1199 (2:78)—bottom right margin: royal shield surmounted by a crown; *Corona et clipeus regii Johanni*; cf. *CM*, fol. 13
- 86^a Election of Otto IV as Emperor, 1199 (2:83)—upper left margin: shield of the Empire (divided by the arms of England surmounted by three closed crowns); *Argenteo—Aureo—Ferrato*; cf. *CM*, fol. 13
- 90 Birth of Prince Henry, 1207 (2:113–114)—bottom left margin: the infant prince lying in a cradle; *Novo, quando natus erat rex Francie III.*
- 90 Interdict, 1208 (2:115)—right margin: inverted shield (gold) with detached clasper beside it; *Invocantur—Stable d'invocantur ante octavo parvum, Tollerit Angli poma extra muros usque*; cf. *CM*, fol. 27^a; *AC*, fol. 43^a

- 94 Insected lion, 1214 (2:249)—right margin | Fig. 1057: a pair of chess bids being rung by long ropes
- 94 Death of John, Abbot of St. Albans, 1214 (2:249)—right margin, inverted mitre and crozier, cf. *CM*, fol. 36
- 97 Death of Geoffrey de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, 1216 (2:275)—lower right margin: inverted shield (quarterly gules and or) flanked by halves of a broken lance, cf. *CM*, fol. 28
- 98r Death of Euzane de Vesca, 1216 (2:287)—inner lower right margin: inverted shield (gules, a cross guineaz argent), cf. *CM*, fol. 48r
- 99r Death of King John, 1216 (2:293)—bottom margin, royal shield inverted with reversed crown below, cf. *CM*, fol. 48r
- 100 Coronation of Henry III, 1216 (2:296)—bottom left margin: royal shield above a crown, cf. *CM*, fol. 49
- 104v Election of Richard de Marison, Bishop of Durham, 1218 (2:325)—upper lower right margin: mitre and crozier
- 104v Death of William, Earl Marshal, 1219 (2:332)—bottom right margin: inverted shield (party per pale or and vert, a lion rampant gules fourche gules) Other coats: William Mariscal's shield: cf. *CM*, fol. 54
- 104v Death of Simon de Montfort and His Barons, 1218 (2:332)—inner right margin: two small inverted shields (argent, a lion rampant gules fourche gules) with two small circles above each representing the stones which killed them; cf. *CM*, fol. 54
- 105r Second Coronation of Henry III, 1226 (2:225–227)—lower inner right margin, inverted crown, cf. *CM*, fol. 56
- 106 Death of Saer de Quincy, Earl of Winchester; His Son, Robert, and Henry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, 1220 (2:243)—bottom left margin: two inverted shields for De Quincy (gules, seven voided lozenges counterpointed) and one for Bohun (argent, a bend argent) between six bows rampant or), this shield is also drawn without color in the upper right corner with the legend, *traism de quincy, leuys de bohun, brode allez*, cf. *CM*, fol. 56
- 106r Resignation of William, Bishop of London, and Succession of Eustace de Fauconberg, 1221 (2:248)—inner right margin: two small croziers, the first tipped at an angle, cf. *CM*, fol. 57
- 106v Marriage of Johanna, Sister of Henry III, to Alexander II, King of Scotland, 1221 (2:248)—inner right margin: a crown
- 106v Marriage of Hubert de Burgh to Margaret, Sister of the King of Sicily, 1221 (2:248)—inner right margin: a ring
- 106r Death of William de Aubeney, Earl of Arundel, 1221 (2:249)—bottom right margin: small inverted shield (gules, a lion rampant gules fourche or), *Obit Willelmi de Aubeucom: Foruallin*; cf. *CM*, fol. 57
- 107r Election of Walter Mauleverer, Bishop of Carlisle, 1223 (2:255)—inner right margin: a small crozier, cf. *CM*, fol. 57r
- 107v Death of Philip Augustus, King of France, 1223 (2:256)—bottom left margin: inverted shield; *leuys, seny de la cro—3, 3, 2, 1* Obit Philippe r/2 France: cf. *CM*, fol. 58r
- 108 Death of Simon of Aptka, Bishop of Exeter, and William de Cornehill, Bishop of Chester, 1223 (2:260)—right margin: two inverted mitres and crown
- 109r Richard of Cornwall, Knighted and Sent to Greece, 1225 (2:269)—left margin: unpointed shield
- 110 Death of Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, 1225 (2:274)—upper right margin: inverted unpointed shield
- 110 Marriage of Eustace of Salisbury from Shapwick, 1225 (2:274)—right margin: a tall lighted taper in a tripod stand on a table
- 111 Death of William Longespée, Earl of Salisbury, 1226 (2:280–282)—lower inner left margin: inverted shield; *seny: six fleurs de lys sur un chef: Nele m'arrouba de rouys: W' l'elme Longespée*
- 111r Death of Richard de Marisco, Bishop of Durham, 1226 (2:286)—inner right margin: inverted mitre and crozier, the foot of the crozier ends in a spiral point, while an arched bar is attached near the head of the staff, cf. *CM*, fol. 62r
- 112 Death of Louis VIII, King of France, 1226 (2:288)—left margin: inverted shield (argent, six fleurs de lys or) above a reversed crown; *Chapuz regis Francorum Ludouic octoiesim*, cf. *CM*, fol. 64

- 1121 Coronation of Louis IX, King of France, 1226 (2:290)—right margin: crown; Gilles Ladsorin fils Ladouso porteur epaf Amoiseur, cf. *CM*, fol. 64r
- 1122 Death of William de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, 1277 (2:392)—left margin: inverted shield; quarterly or and pale 1: Or a Griffin of Montmorency, ermine Ermine, gules Amphor, cf. *CM*, fol. 64v
- 1129 Death of Pope Honorius III and Succession of Gregory IX, 1229 (2:394)—bottom right margin: an inverted pale and cross staff: Cibus Gregorius [sic] pape. die de sancto magi; deo, ferretis, argenteo magi, capoferris; de ebor; magi and cross staff: Cibus Honorius [sic] sancte alige maximus, cf. *CM*, fol. 65
- 1131 Robert of Bingham Made Bishop of Salisbury, 1225 (2:395)—lower right margin: a small cross
- 1132 Transfer of Richard, Bishop of Salisbury, to Durham, 1228 (2:399)—upper left margin: two roses joined together at the head of a cross
- 1137 Death of Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1228 (2:402)—right margin: inverted miles and cross staff, cf. *CM*, fol. 69r
- 1142 Death of Eusace, Bishop of London, and Succession of Roger Niger, 1228 (2:395)—inner left margin: two anchors and crosses, one reversed; cf. *CM*, fol. 71
- 1144 Death of Geoffrey, Bishop of Ely, and Election of Hugh, 1226 (2:385)—bottom left margin: inverted mitre and erect cross
- 1147 Election of Walter as Archbishop of Canterbury Cancelled by the Pope, 1229 (2:410)—inner right margin: cross staff reversed and mitre falling down
- 1149 Election of Richard, Chancellor of Lincoln, as Archbishop of Canterbury, 1229 (2:398)—inner right margin: mitre and cross staff
- 1152 Consecration of Robert de Bingham, Bishop of Salisbury, 1229 (2:418)—lower right margin: mitre and cross, cf. *CM*, fol. 72r
- 1153 Consecration of Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury; Roger, Bishop of London, and Hugh, Bishop of Ely, 1229 (2:418)—lower right margin: three mitres, a cross staff, and two crosses
- 1156 Murder of William de Burce, 1230 (2:322)—lower right margin: inverted shield; pale per pale lanced gules and azur; Nois or pas pas surindis; cf. *CM*, fol. 75r
- 1160 Henry II's Voyage to Brittany, 1230 (2:325)—upper left margin: *Reis Henricus III*, scriptura in brassarium; cf. *CM*, fol. 75v
- 1166 Death of Raymond de Burgh, 1230 (2:328)—right margin: inverted shield supported by ermine and vair; cf. *CM*, fol. 76r
- 1171 Death of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, 1230 (2:328)—between two columns: inverted shield (or, three chermals gules), cf. *CM*, fol. 76r
- 1172 Marriage of Richard of Cornwall to Isabella, Countess of Gloucester, 1231 (2:334)—lower right margin: two hands clasped together
- 1177 Death of William, Earl Marshal, 1231 (2:331)—lower right margin: inverted shield; pale per pale or and a lion rampant gules; cf. *CM*, fol. 76v
- 1179 Attempt to Poison the Tomb of Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1231 (2:336)—between right margin
- 1181 Poisoning of Gisle at Wingham, 1231 (2:337–338)—right margin; cf. *CM*, fol. 79
- 1186 Election of Peter John as Archbishop of Canterbury Set Aside by the Pope, 1232 (2:342)—upper right margin: a mitre falling and a broken archiepiscopal cross
- 1189 Hubert de Burgh Seizing Sanctuary at Merton, 1232 (2:346)—right margin (Fig. 147) *Habemus de Burgo. alio rictorio et in sancto adre ante thore de Merton, auctoritatis imperial, subventis erant eius Lodowicus hodes epu*
- 1192 Death of Ralph de Bunsellie, Earl of Chester, 1232 (2:349)—inner right margin: inverted shield; surcoat, three garbes; *Cibus Ermasse, que sum in deo pene regis iustitiam eis*, cf. *CM*, fol. 82
- 1194 Confiscation of Hubert de Burgh's Treasures, 1232 (2:350)—lower right margin: three covered vessels; cf. *CM*, fol. 82
- 1203 John Blaud's Election to the See of Canterbury Annulled by the Pope, 1233 (2:355)—upper left margin: inverted mitre falling down, and a broken cross staff; cf. *CM*, fol. 83v

- 1209 Election of Bernard of Akiingdon, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1223 (2:156)—lower left margin: mitre and cross-staff with a hand holding down from the clouds
- 1209 Death of Walter Bames, 1233 (2:157)—right margin: a blank inverted shield
- 1211 *Beatus Gervaseus*, 1233 (2:162)—bottom right margin: cf. *CM*, fol. 86
- 1214 Hospital Founded by Henry III at Oxford, 1233 (2:264)—left margin
- 1222 Consecration of Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1234 (3:165)—bottom left margin: Edmund, wearing mitre and holding a cross-staff, kneels before Bishop Roger of London: *Servus servorum Domini Gervasius episcopus Londonensis*; cf. *CM*, fol. 87v
- 1222 Death of Richard, Earl Marshal, 1241 (3:382)—right margin: quartered shield (party per pale or and vert, a lion rampant) quartered palely; cf. *CM*, fol. 90
- 1227 Henry III Rewriting the Mandates to Gilbert, 1234 (3:370–371)—left margin: the earl marshal embraces Henry III as Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, kneels on: *Nunc coronatus bene Edmundus, qui postquam Gilbertus Mortemilton, et comes Cantuarie Hiberniam, et alios regnum Anglie, dimittere*. Below: the marshal's coat shield
- 1231 Death of Hugh de Willems, Bishop of Lincoln, 1234 (3:375)—upper right margin: inverted mitre and cross-staff and a crown of thorns: *Obitus Hugo Lincolnensis, postre-terre*; cf. *CM*, fol. 92v
- 1232 Election of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, 1235 (2:376)—right margin: mitre and cross-staff; cf. *CM*, fol. 92v
- 1232 Death of Henry Sandford, Bishop of Rochester, 1235 (3:377)—lower right margin: inverted mitre and cross-staff; cf. *CM*, fol. 93v
- 1232 Election of Richard de Wadese, Bishop of Rochester, 1235 (2:377)—lower right margin: erect mitre and cross-staff
- 1237 Marriage of Frederick Haast Isabella, 1235 (2:380)—bottom right margin: Fig. 163: *Imperator Fredericus in aetate sua in Yorkton, interea Henricus III, regis Anglorum*; cf. *CM*, fol. 94
- 1247 Marriage of Henry III and Eleanor, 1236 (3:396)—left margin: the king places a ring on her finger: *Rex Henricus III Alanoie*; cf. *CM*, fol. 96
- 1248 Death of William de Aquilone, of Bebec, 1236 (2:396)—bottom left margin: quartered shield (or, two chevrons and a haurie pale); cf. *CM*, fol. 96
- 1257 Death of John de Beicome, King of Jerusalem, 1237 (3:396)—bottom left margin: two inverted shields: (a) Jerusalem (or, a cross argent); *Servus servorum Domini*; (b) France, above an inverted crown between two swords (argent, a fish lowermost); *Servus servorum Domini*. Beneath: *Obitus Jerusalem Johannes de Britonia, regis Jerusalem archidiaconi Frederico imperatore, post papam et Conradum*; cf. *CM*, fol. 103
- 1267 Death of Richard, Bishop of Durham, 1237 (3:396)—bottom left margin: inverted mitre and cross-staff; cf. *CM*, fol. 103
- 1268 Council of London, 1237 (2:400)—bottom right margin (Fig. 158): *Concilium Londinense referentium*; cf. *CM*, fol. 107
- 1277 Death of the Sultan of Babileon; Cairo, 1238 (2:408)—upper left corner: a crown on a head emitting from the mouth a black bird representing the soul
- 1279 Death of Peter, Bishop of Winchester, 1238 (3:409)—left margin: inverted mitre and cross-staff; cf. *CM*, fol. 113
- 1281 Attempt to Assassinate the King Thwarted at Woodstock, 1238 (3:412–413)—right margin: hand of God excruciated from the clouds above a crowned head: *Nota proventum Dei*
- 1289 Death of Alexander, Bishop of Chester, 1239 (2:417)—left margin: inverted mitre and cross-staff; cf. *CM*, fol. 114
- 1289 Execution of the Bishops of Winchester and Norwich Assaulted, 1239 (2:417–418)—two figures (sitting) on a single shield (two inverted crosses); cf. *CM*, fol. 119
- 1289 Election of William de Raleigh, Bishop of Chester, 1239 (2:418)—left margin: man falling as an eagle and a crosser broken in halves; cf. *CM*, fol. 119
- 1289 Death of William de Cantelupe, 1239 (2:419)—right margin: inverted unquartered shield (three fleurs-de-lis)

- 1279 Birth of Prince Edward, 1239 (2:421)—left margin: infant lying in a square cradle with a crown above
- 1279 Appearance of a Comet, 1239 (2:423)—right margin: *Serpens in corp. of CM, fol. 423r*
- 1279 Death of William of Savoy, Bishop Elect of Valcutis-Rhône, 1239 (2:427)—bottom left margin: inverted shield (gules, three gules on a chief sable a lion passant guardant or), attached to each side of the shield is a cross, with the head of a crozier at the center above
- 1290 Consecration of William de Norwich, Bishop of Norwich, 1239 (2:425)—left margin: mitre and crozier
- 1290 Death of Henry de Truhesville, 1239 (2:425)—between text columns: inverted shield (gules, on a chief sable a dove-like queuz fourchée issuant or)
- 1294 Death of Ralph de Thoy, 1239 (2:427)—between text columns: inverted shield (argent, a maunch gules)
- 1290 Death of Isabel, Countess of Cornwall, 1240 (2:430)—bottom right margin: head depicted as bald, while long tresses flow behind her, showing whether hair had been shaved off before her death
- 1290 Election of Hugh de Ponthall, Bishop of Chester, 1240 (2:430)—bottom margin: mitre and crozier, cf. *CM, fol. 430r*
- 1290 Death of French Crusaders at Gaza, 1240 (2:432)—left margin: three inverted shields: *Serpens coronatus Francorum non procul a Gaza. Capta sunt omnia et ecclesie militu de Templariis et Hospitalibus*; (a) Daerlins (gules, two martlets in pale, or); (b) Henry II, Count of Bar (argent, two barbels addorsed or); (c) John de Barres (gules, a cross erectly or) Below see the several standards of the Hospitiers and Templars: (a) *Versus Hospitalis* (gules, a cross argent) and (b) *Versus Templi* (argent, a cross sable)
- 1290 Death of John de Lucy, Earl of Lincoln, 1240 (2:430)—right margin: inverted shield (quarterly or and gules, a bend sable and a cheft (5) argent), cf. *CM, fol. 430r*
- 1290 Death of William Earl Worcester, 1240 (2:431)—bottom margin: inverted shield (cheeky, azure and or), cf. *CM, fol. 431*
- 1281 Louis IX's Relics of the Crown of Thorns and the True Cross, 1240 (2:443)—upper left margin (Fig. 190), cf. *CM, fol. 439r*
- 1291 Death of Gilbert, Earl Marshal, 1241 (2:451)—bottom right margin: inverted shield (party per pale or and vert, a lion rampant gules), cf. *CM, fol. 449r*
- 1291 Death of Gregory IX, 1241 (2:456)—left margin: inverted cross and cross-staff, cf. *CM, fol. 451*
- 1291 Death of Stephen de Segrave, 1241 (2:457)—bottom left margin: inverted shield (gules, three gules or); *Orni Segraven de Segrave*, cf. *CM, fol. 451*
- 1291 Death of Roger, Bishop of London, 1241 (2:457)—upper right margin: inverted mitre and crozier, cf. *CM, fol. 452*
- 1291 Election of Ralph Basset, Bishop of London, 1241 (2:458)—upper right margin: crozier and crozier, cf. *CM, fol. 452*
- 1291 Election of Pope Celestine IV, 1241 (2:458)—right margin: cross-staff, crozier, and tiara, cf. *CM, fol. 452r*
- 1291 Execution of William de Marston and Death of Geoffrey de Marston, 1242 (2:462)—bottom right margin: (a) shield inverted and degraded by being cut into halves (or, a lion rampant sable), with sword and bymer broken below; *Arms Willielmi de Marston, de predictis comiti, de predictis, et Londoniensi archiepiscopi*; (b) inverted shield (gules, a lion rampant argent); *Pennis B' Marston, videlicet Cantuarii*, cf. *CM, fol. 155r*
- 1291 Death of Three Nobles, 1242 (2:468)—upper left margin: inverted shield of Henry, King of the Romans (or, an eagle displayed on a wreathing gules a cross erectly argent); *Servus Henrici filii imperatoris*; Thomas, Earl of March (cheeky azure and or, a bend argent); *Servus comitis de Marchie*; and Richard de Burgh, Receiver of Ireland (cheeky vert and gules); *Servus Ricardi de Burgh*
- 1291 Death Voyage of Henry III to England, 1242 (2:471)—bottom left margin: King and Queen in the royal galle
- 1291 Election of Pope Innocent IV, 1242 (2:472)—between columns of text: pope (or) and cross-staff
- 1291 Death of Hugh de Aubrey, Earl of Arundel, 1242 (2:471)—lower left margin: inverted shield (gules, a lion passant or); *Servus comitis Harundinior Henrici*, cf. *CM, fol. 462*
- 1291 Death of Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, 1242 (2:477)—lower left margin: inverted shield (azerty vert and gules); *Servus comitis Cantuar*, cf. *CM, fol. 462*

- 150 Five Kings Take Up the Cross, 1299 (3:59)—(a) top of the page between columns: Ferdinand III, king of Castile and León (gold), a triple-towered castle argent; Scotus regis Granati, eras argenti; (b) top right margin: Louis IX of France (blue), six bears-de-lis (or) walk in blazon back to it being silver; three lions-de-lis; Scotus regis Francie, sed bezzilium frontibus indolis; (c) right margin: Henry III (gold), three lions-guardant guardant (or); Scotus regis Anglorum, eras argenti; (d) right margin: Haakon IV, king of Norway (gold), three galleys (or), above the first a cross (or) argent; Scotus regis Norwegie, eras argenti; (e) right margin: John de Brienne, king of Jerusalem (or crossy argent); Scotus regis Jerusalem, regneris in Brevi. Five shields, each accompanied by a crown surmounted by a red cross.
- 155 Death of the Abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, 1255 (5:12)—upper left margin, inverted sword and crosslet (Head A), cf. AC, fol. 92r
- 155 Death of Richard Wynd, Bishop of Chichester, 1253 (3:125)—upper right margin, inverted sword and crosslet (Head A), cf. AC, fol. 92r
- 159 Death of William de Vaux, 1257 (5:127)—bottom right margin, inverted shield (gold), a cross (gold) argent; Scotus Willielm de Vaux (Head A), cf. CM, fol. 273

LATER ADDITIONENFORM B. L. MS COTTON NERO D. 1

Matthew's gift of this manuscript to St. Albans is recorded in the preface dated 1221: "Hic liberum dedit Rogerus Mathieus Dux et ecclesie Sancti Albani. Opus est altissimum vel vixitum delectum omnibus [sic] A sancta caedera Mathieus et omnino omnibus delectum non requiritur in pace." The signature of Sir Robert Curzon (1571–1632) appears on fol. 160. His library was given to the British nation by Sir John Cotton in 1700 and came to the British Museum in 1753.

The *Liber Additionenform* in B. L. MS Cotton Nero D. 1

occupies the first 132 folios (350 × 230 mm). The collection of documents copied out by Matthew and various other St. Albans scribes contains five marginal drawings in the text, three pages of shields, three pages of coronets or maps, two diagrams of the world, and a full page drawing of Christ made by the English Franciscan (see, Wilson). See Vaughan, *Manuscript Paris*, pp. 65–91; Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, pp. 122–136.

161. 121 Lead Seal of the Hospitales (black silhouette), drawn at the bottom of the page to accompany a letter of William of Chauxseuil, Master of the Hospitales, 1257
- 166 Gerns and Rups Belonging to St. Albans: *De manser gennis et rups que sunt de hospitalibus anglie* (Fig. 25)
- 166r Gerns and Rups in the Treasury of St. Albans (Fig. 26)
- 169 Item system of St. Albans, described at the top of the page in the margin accompany the Charters of Otho Anspica et primiva manseris relesse Sancti Albani Anglorum Primitivorum (Fig. 86); cf. C.N., p. 226
- 176 Apocalypse Christ by Brother William (Fig. 29): *Hoc opus fecit frater Willielmus de ordine monach. sancti berni Francie, secundo marino (1202, reversionem sancti, nomine Anglica) (right); Alpha et omega apocal in seculo amenore (left); Brevis descriptio Daniis; Arca arca, locum arca, per omnia secula (bottom)*
- 186r A Small Half-Nude Veiled Figure (Fig. 20)
- 169r Elephant Seal to Henry III in 1225 by Louis IX, with an account of the elephant written at the side and contained on a small slip of vellum attached (Fig. 151); cf. CM, MS 16, fol. 19
- 178 Twenty-five Shields of Arms, some partial, with names and notes of the blazons; in the margin is a note on Henry III's expedition to Scotland in 1242 (see Trenchard, *Roll of Arms*, pp. 45–52, for a list and full description of the coats of arms)
- 181v Forty-five Painted Shields of Arms (see Trenchard, *Roll of Arms*, pp. 36–45, for a list and full description) (Pl. XV)
- 183r Itinerary from London to Aquila, cf. CM, MS 26, fols. 1–62, HA, fol. 2–4
- 184 Itinerary from London to Aquila
- 184 Unfinished Diagram of the Woods, cf. CM, MS 16, fol. 1v
- 184v Diagram of the Woods, with names in Latin and French: *Præter Almonia de seculis*

- 186 Purbeckian seen in April 1233 (Fig. 30); cf. *CM*, fol. 83v
 188 Three Shields of Arms, lower left corner (Thomson), *Rolls of Arms*, pp. 32–33; cf. *CM*, fol. 83v
 189v Outline Map of Britain, showing the four Roman military roads. Note quote *et rursus Britanniae, cuius ante frades non Tolosa, parat in Cornubia, et Castris in Scotia*
 199 Twenty-seven Shields of Arms, roughly treated, all of which are emblazoned on a previous leaf (see Thomson, *Rolls of Arms*, pp. 33–56, for a list and full description)

ABBREVIATED CHRONOLOGICAL B.-L. MS COTTON CLAUDIUS D. VI

Documentation of St. Albans' first ownership of this manuscript is given in the Calendar on fols. 228–229 and the inscription on fol. 104. It is a fourteenth-century band: "Iste est Liber Sancti Albani." An early thirteenth-century inscription on fol. 94 indicates that it was owned by Richard I. The signature of Sir Robert Cotton (1571–1634) appears on fol. 4. His library was given to the British Museum by Sir John Cotton in 1700 and came to the British Museum in 1753.

This sheet obviously is an untrimmed leaf on 102 folios 1300 x 280 mm. It is written in two columns divided by three vertical colored bands, in Matthew's hand up to fol. 91v, where another hand takes over, similar to that in the end of the

Chronica Majora and the *Historia Anglorum*; the text then leaves off in the middle of fol. 91v, followed by a few blank folios similarly ruled out in vertical bands. Preceded by 80 folios with remains of 32 kings of Britain and England, followed by a map of Britain, the ten coronets, 5 coronets, 5 painted shields, 3 unpainted shields, 3 crowns, 10 crosses and croziers, and 2 papal crosses and hats. Those on fols. 91–96v were executed by the same hand responsible for Matthew's other three historical topographical manuscripts. See *HA* 3: 155–157; *Mappea, Early Gothic Manuscripts*, pp. 144–145.

- fol. 5v Genealogical Diagram of the Hapsburgs, with a portrait of Otto at the center (Fig. 93)
 6 Genealogy of Kings: Brunus, Lotharion, Dudovald, Malcolmus, and Lucius (Fig. 81)
 6v Genealogy of Kings: Uther Pendragon, Arthur, Elothien, and St. Oswald (Fig. 81)
 7 Genealogy of Kings: St. Omer, Eghel, Ollis, and St. Kenan (Fig. 83)
 7v Genealogy of Kings: St. Edward Martyr, Edward the Elder, Alfred the Great, and Athelstan (Fig. 84)
 8 Genealogy of Kings: Edward I, Edgar, St. Edward the Martyr, and Ethelred "the Unready" (Fig. 84)
 8v Genealogy of Kings: Edmund Ironside, Canute the Duke, Alfred I, and St. Edward the Confessor (Fig. 86)
 9 Genealogy of Kings: William the Conqueror, William Rufus, Henry I, and Stephen (Fig. 85; cf. *HA*, fol. 8v)
 9v Genealogy of Kings: Henry II, Richard I, John, and Henry III (Fig. 88; cf. *HA*, fol. 9)
 12v Map of Britain (Fig. 321); cf. *CM*, MS 86, fol. v verso
 20v Death of William Rufus, 1100 (3:277): inverted shield supported with a crown above; cf. *CM*, p. 228
 20v Coronation of Henry I, 1100 (3:155): erect unpainted shield surmounted by a crown; cf. *CM*, p. 222; *HA*, fol. 36
 23v Death of Alexander of Scotland, and Succession of David, 1124 (3:282): three small heads, each wearing a tall pointed hood with a crown above each, above the firm Malcolmus
 24v Epith of Robert, Duke of Normandy, 1134 (3:18): inverted blank shield, with a crown, drawn in planisfer
 27v Coronation of King Malcolm IV of Scotland, 1152 (3:104): small head with a pointed hood, with a crown over his shoulder and a crown above; cf. *CM*, p. 234; *HA*, fol. 62
 33v Discovery of the Relics of St. Amphobalut, 1276 (3:203): two arms grasping a pikeax; *Historia sanctae Amphobalut martir, cum sanctis suis*; cf. *CM*, p. 270; *HA*, fol. 68
 40v Death of Richard I, 1199 (3:18): inverted unpainted shield with a reversed coronet; cf. *CM*, fol. 17v; *HA*, fol. 85v
 40v Coronation of John, 1199 (3:216): erect unpainted shield; cf. *CM*, fol. 17v; *HA*, fol. 85v
 42v Interment, 1268 (3:224): a church bell reversed; cf. *CM*, fol. 27v; *HA*, fol. 90

- 87r Reformed Cologne, 1247 (3:304): in the left a cross surmounting the new cross reverse; with an unperforated inscription; cf. *CM*, fol. 219; *NA*, fol. 142
- 91v Death of Robert de Binsac, Abbot of St. Augustin's Canterbury, 1233 (3:324): inverted tower and cross; cf. *NA*, fol. 153 (Hand A)
- 92 Death of Richard Wyck, Bishop of Chichester, 1253 (3:325): inverted tower and cross; cf. *NA*, fol. 154 (Hand A)
- 93 Death of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, 1253 (3:330): inverted cross; cf. *NA*, fol. 156 (Hand A)
- 94r Death of Syrevestre, Bishop of Carthage, 1254 (3:333): inverted cross (Hand A)
- 94v Death of William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, 1254 (3:333): inverted shield (vairy or and gules); *Sireves Crests de Ferrers*, cf. *CM*, fol. 159 (Hand A)
- 95 Coronation of Henry de Lavington, Bishop of Lincoln, 1254 (3:334): cross; cf. *CM*, fol. 159 (Hand A)
- 95 Death of Hugh, Bishop of Ely, 1254 (3:347): inverted tower and cross; cf. *CM*, fol. 169 (Hand A)
- 95 Death of Henry, Son of the Emperor, 1254 (3:356): inverted shield (gules, three lions passant guardant or, a fess argent or a double eagle sable); *Sireves Crests de Imperatoris*, cf. *CM*, fol. 162 (Hand A)
- 96r Death of Conrad, King of Sicily, 1254 (3:361): inverted shield (or, a double eagle sable and in chief a cross; gules en losange small sable gules); *Sireves Crests de Sicilorum*, cf. *CM*, fol. 164 (Hand A)
- 96 Nobles of Apulia Pay Homage to Manfred as Their King, 1254 (3:358): erect shield (or, a double eagle sable and over all a fess argent); *Manfredus rex apulie*, cf. *CM*, fol. 165 (Hand A)
- 96 Election of William of Rubery, Bishop of Ely, 1254 (3:340): tower and cross; cf. *CM*, fol. 168 (Hand A)
- 96v Death of the Abbots of Crowland, Thoresby, and Ramsey, 1254 (3:340): three crosses joined and reversed (Hand A)
- 96 Death of William de Cantilupe, 1254 (3:339): inverted shield (gules, three beses-de-ha or) *Obitu Willielmi de Cantilupe*, cf. *CM*, fol. 165 (Hand A)
- 96v Death of Pope Innocent IV, 1254 (3:341): inverted papal tiara and cross-staff; *Obitu pape Innocentii IIII*; cf. *CM*, fol. 165 (Hand A)
- 96v Election of Pope Alexander IV, 1254 (3:341): papal tiara and cross-staff; *Crestis et Alexander IIII*, cf. *CM*, fol. 167 (Hand A)

APPENDIX 3

Drawings from Matthew Paris's Portfolio

The following list represents the partial contents of Matthew's collection of drawings on loose sheets of various sizes which have now been bound as frontispieces or inserted into his own and other contemporary manuscripts. All but one are from Paris's own hand, although two others may have been traced or painted by other hands. Several of the drawings appear to have been intended to serve a documentary function, among which are representations of celebrated works of art in St. Albans, while others were later used as models or preliminary sketches for the chronicler's illustrations. John of Wallingford obtained the five drawings now bound into his *Miraculous* before he died and perhaps before he left St. Albans to spend the last year of his life at Wymondham, two devotional images of the Virgin and Child were incurred at frontispieces in the *Historia Anglorum* and the *Dublin Album* by Matthew himself, and there is always the possibility that he executed the drawings now bound in B.L., MSS. Reg. 2 B. VI and Arundel 137 especially for these projects. Nevertheless, it is very likely that most of the drawings included in this list were in Matthew's portfolio for one time and that some were not removed and distributed among the various manuscripts until sometime after he died. The contents of Paris's portfolio, as we know it in this incomplete and fragmentary state, is in some ways comparable to the contemporary Sketchbook of Villard de Honnecourt and represents a rare survival of an artist's "notebook" from thirteenth-century England.

- CANTERBURY, CORPUS CHRISTI 157A MS 26, *Chronica Monachorum*:
p. 283. Busts of Christ and the Virgin (From opposite);
p. 284. *Mapa Mundi* (Fig. 222)
- CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI MS 16, *Genealogia Regum Anglorum*:
fol. 1v. Itinerary from London to *Archie* (Fragment)
ii verso. Map of the Crusader Kingdom (Fragment)
iv. Henry III's Exeterham (Fig. 226)
v. Map of the Crusader Kingdom (Fragment)
vii verso. Map of Britain (Fragment) (Fig. 219)
- DUBLIN, TRINITY COLLEGE MS 177, *Alb de Soma* Album:
fol. 23v. *Virgo and Child Enthroned*
- LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY MS Arundel 137, *Prætor*:
fol. 2. *The Veronesi* (Pl. V)
- LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY MS Cotton Claudius D. VII, *Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis*:
fol. 6-9v. *Genealogy of Kings* (Figs. 21-22)
- LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY MS Cotton Julius D. VII, *John of Wallingford, Mirabilia*:
fol. 2. *Zodiac Cycle*
3v. *Scenes from Fate* (Fig. 225)
42v. *John of Wallingford* (Fig. 225)
49r. *Map of Britain* (Fig. 220)
60v. *Christ Enthroned* (Fig. 26)

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY MS CODEX VERO D. I. Liber
Adelmannensis

- fol. 156 Beater William's Drawing of the Apocalyptic
 Chariot (Fig. 20)
- 156r Sketch of a Half-male Veiled Figure (Fig. 10)
- 169r Elephant (Fig. 131)
- 171r-172v Heraldic Shields (Pl. XV)
- 183r-184a Itinerary from London to Apulia
- 198r Parchment (Fig. 38)

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY MS ROY. 2. B. VI, Platter
 from St. Alban:

- fol. 12v Virgin and Child Enthroned (Pl. VI)

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY MS ROY. 14. C. VII. *Manus
 Anglica*:

- fol. 6 Virgin and Child Enthroned (Fig. 1)

OXFORD, COARFUS CATERY: MS 2, Bible from St. Alban:
 fol. 2 Map of Palestine

Notes

ABBREVIATIONS

- AC Matthew Paris, *Abbatum Chronicon Anglie*, ed. F. Madden, Rolls Series, 1869
 BL London, British Library
 CM Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, 7 vols. Rolls Series, 1871–1882
 EH *Medieval Paris's English History*, trans. J. A. Giles, 3 vols. London, 1852–1854
 FH Roger Woodcock, *The Fitters of History*, trans. J. A. Giles, 2 vols. London, 1849
 GA *Great Abbeys and Monasteries South of the Thames*, ed. H. T. Riley, 3 vols. Bells Series, 1887
 HA Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. F. Madden, 3 vols. Rolls Series, 1866–1869
 PL *Psychologie des Chartes Comptes*, *Séries 4 et 5*, ed. J. P. Migon, 228–206 Paris, 1844–1864

CHAPTER 2

¹ Thomas Washington in GA 1: 394–395, quoted by Richard Vaughan, *Medieval Paris* (Cambridge 1998), p. 19.

² The only other thirteenth-century English man who has left his name attached to an extensive body of surviving works is W. de Brakes. He was probably a clerk in minor orders and

worked in Car Street, Oxford, ca. 1230–1280, at approximately the same time that Peter worked at St. Albans. See S. C. Cockerell, *The Work of W. de Brakes* (Cambridge 1970); Graham Pollard, "William de Brakes," *The Bodleian Library Record* 5 (1955), pp. 262–269; Hana Swarczewska, "Unknown Bible Pictures by W. de Brakes," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 1 (1981), pp. 54–69; Eric G. Miller, "Additional Miniatures by W. de Brakes," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 2 (1990), pp. 106–109.

³ *Estates de Saint-Edouard le Roi*, ed. H. R. Luard, in *Lives of Edward the Confessor* (Rolls Series 1851), lines 970–1005.

Thomaz... caputuritur
 Figure apertement
 Li tunc est liex present
 Par ce he desire vol
 Ke orable ce, vint ce il

On the authorship of this text see Vaughan, *Medieval Paris*, pp. 173–178.

⁴ See Madden, HA 3:74, who quoted MS Cotton Nero B. 1, fol. 165r: "Hoc 1260 ego fratres Matheu Parisiensis habitum suscepit religionis, die sanctae Agnetis." In the same preface, p. 100, n. 3, Madden lists a number of persons with the patronym "Parisensis" living in England during the thirteenth century, especially in the region of Lincolnshire.

the contents of the *Cronica Mayora* as it now survives in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MSS 26 and 16, and in London, British Library, MS Roy. 14. C. VII, see Appendix II, pp. 442-458. Also see Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, I (Cambridge 1912), pp. 50-51; *HA*, 1.119-121, George F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, II (London 1921), pp. 135-136, and Nigel Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts 1290-1250* (London 1942), No. 21, pp. 136-139, and No. 22, pp. 142-144.

The printed edition compiled by H. R. Luard, *Cronica Mayora*, 7 vols. (Roth Series 1172-1184), now supplies the earlier version of Parker's 1571, and Watt's (1846); cf. *Windsor's Flores Historiarum*, ed. H. G. Coxe, 5 vols. (London 1825-1844). An English translation of the *Cronica Mayora* from 1236 to 1259, based on the fairly edition by Watt, was made by J. A. Giles, *Matthew Paris's English History*, 3 vols. (London 1831-1832); the Gaelic translation of Roger Verdery's *Flowers of History*, 2 vols. (London 1891), based on the Coxe edition, gives some of Matthew's minor additions to the text in the notes.

35 For a detailed description of the contents of the *Liber Additamentorum* in B.L. MS Cotton Nero D. 1, see Appendix II, pp. 470-481. See also Vaughan, *Manuscripts*, pp. 65-67; and Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, pp. 134-136. Matthew copied his documents in the last 10 years of the reign for 1247, but thereafter kept them in an appendix at the end of the work, which he called the *Liber Additamentorum*. On fol. 277r of Corpus Christi MS 16 (see earlier references to the *Liber Additamentorum*), provided with a diagram which also appears next to the document. Sometime since 1250 he re-arranged the appendix under the *Cronica Mayora* to make a separate volume and continued to add to it until shortly before his death. The *Liber Additamentorum* has been edited by Luard and is contained in vol. VI of the *Cronica Mayora* (Roth Series 1184).

36 For a detailed description of the contents of the *Historia Anglorum* in MS Roy. 14. C. VII, see Appendix II, pp. 458-467. Also see *HA*, 1.121-12; Werner and Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts*, II, pp. 151-156; Andrew D. Watson, *Catalogue of David and Doulos Manuscripts*, 700-1600 in the Department of Manuscripts, the British Library (London 1979), No. 302, p. 143; and Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, No. 28, pp. 142-144.

For a detailed description of the contents of the *Abbatia Cluniacensis* in MS Cotton Claudius D. VI, see Appendix II, p. 468. See also *HA*, 3.125-127; Watson, *Data Manuscript*, No. 320, p. 150, and Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, No. 93, pp. 144-146.

Madden has edited both histories of England in the *Wintonia Anglorum* (3 vols., Roth Series 1866-1869). On the relationship between these two abbatia and the *Cronica Mayora*, see Vaughan, *Manuscripts*, pp. 110-122.

37 Luard's edition of the *Flores Historiarum* (3 vols., Roth Series 1960) supplies Parker's early version of 1571 ascribed to "Matthew of Westminster" while an English translation was made by C. D. Yonge, *Matthew of Westminster's Flowers of History* (2 vols., London 1893). See Vaughan, *Manuscripts*, pp. 50-52.

38 Dublin, Trinity College, MS 577E i, fol. 8 + 75 vel.

Antifonia (308 x 160 mm.), is a collection of Romanesque hagiographical material, including Ralph Dunstable's *Passion of St. Alban* in Latin elegiac (fol. 3-19), William of St. Albans' version in Latin prose (fol. 20-28), and Paris's illustrated *Vie de Saint Alban* in Anglo-Norman verse (fol. 29-59), all written in Matthew's own hand. The subsequent sections at Lamb group eight lessons for the Feast of the Invention and Translation of St. Alban (fol. 59-127) and a treatise on the same subject on fol. 127-129 by a scribe by another hand, while Paris's illustrations continue, attached to the text below, with French stichos written out in his hand at the top of the page to fol. 69. These are followed by copies of five charters for the foundation of the abbey (fol. 63-66), a continuation of the tract on the invention and translation of the proto-martyr (fol. 66-69), and fragments relating to St. Amphibolus and St. Alban (fol. 69-72). The collection ends with an account of the miracles associated with St. Amphibolus's reburial on fol. 72-77, again in Matthew's script. The quest structure is so complete to determine, and some of the leaves are missing or have been misbound.

Thirteenth-century ownership of this manuscript by St. Alban is documented by a note on fol. 3: "Hic in hodie ecclesie sancti alban iniquorum perhominatio de miraculo A." In the seventeenth century it belonged to James Wishe, archbishop of Armagh (1626-1651), and his library was brought to Dublin by officers of Cromwell's army and purchased by the state, where it was kept at Trinity Castle in 1661. Charles II presented the manuscript to Trinity College.

See the facsimile edition by W. R. L. Lowe and E. F. Jacob, *Manuscript of the Life of St. Alban* (Trinity College, Dublin, MS E. 1. 20 - Oxford 1924), with an introduction by N. R. James; also Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, No. 85, pp. 130-133. For the text, see Arthur B. Haden (ed.), *Vie de Saint Alban: An Anglo-Norman Flores of the Thirteenth Cent.* (Oxford 1908).

39 See Francis Wormald, "Some Illustrated Manuscripts of the Lives of the Saints," *Studies of the John Rylands Library* 35 (1922), pp. 248-266; Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, pp. 21-22. Collections of saints' lives, often intended for use by religious houses or churches where the saints' relics were kept, are known from as early periods in England, but rarely, even in the thirteenth century, were they illustrated. A few books devoted to the life of a single saint with full-page miniatures survive from the twelfth century, for example, the *Life and Miracles of St. Edmund* (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 73), ca. 1220, from Bury St. Edmunds Abbey with thirty-two stained painted miniatures, see C. M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts 1066-1190* (London 1955), No. 24, pp. 92-94, Figs. 79-83, 90. The first English example made in this tradition is the small-format edition of Bede's *Life of St. Cuthbert* from Durham (B.L. MS Yates Thott. 26 = MS Add. 39643), with fifty-two stained painted miniatures dating from ca. 1200; see W. Forester-Louth, *The Life of St. Cuthbert* (Edinburgh 1858)—facsimile, Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, No. 122, pp. 57-59, Figs. 38-43. Somewhat closer to the picture-book type which appears in *Facis Abbas* is the early twelfth-century copy of Bede's *Life of St. Cuthbert* (Oxford, University College MS 485) from Durham Cathedral Priory, with fifty-five large unframed stained outline drawings in the margins of the text, see Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, No. 20, pp. 36-37.

Figs. 95-97. The early thirteenth-century *Life of St. Gertrude* (B.L. Harley Roll Y. 6) represents a unique case in which seventeen large scenes in limited outline drawing appear in roll form with no accompanying text and only a few captions within the illustrations themselves to identify the figures and scenes. This manuscript attributed to Crowland Abbey represents the most important, albeit anonymous, early procedure for the dissemination of pictures since the use of illuminated letters' lives; see G. P. Warner, *The Canterbury Roll* (Roxburgh Club 1928-Biscuit); Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, No. 22, pp. 67-68, Plgs. 72-75.

40. Hurdén, *Le Vie Saint Anthon*, p. 119; Florence McCulloch, "Saints Alban and Amphibalus in the Works of Matthew Paris," *Dublin, Trinity College MS. 177*, *Speculum* 36 (1911), p. 762; see also W. McCulloch, "Alban and Amphibal: Some British Lives and a Latin Life," *Medieval Studies* 42 (1980), pp. 407-430.

41. See Vaughan, *Manuscript*, pp. 159-161. The *Life of Edward the Confessor* exists in a copy illuminated by another, later hand in Cambridge University Library Ms. B. 5. 30; see the edition by Luard in *Texts of Edmund the Confessor* (Roths. Series 1854), pp. 121-25, as well as the facsimile edition of James, *Événement de Saint Édouard le Roi* (Roxburgh Club 1926). New topographic reflections, fragments of an image copy of Matthew's original *Vie de Saint Thomas* (20th Century) have been published by Paul Meyer with facsimile illustrations (Paris 1885); and by H. Waddams, *St. Thomas Becket 1170-1270* (London 1961), Plgs. 11, 15, 16; cf. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, No. 61, pp. 207-212, who considers Paris' ownership more doubtful. The *Life of St. Edmund* has been copied by A. T. Butler, "Vie de St. Edmond," *Romania* 35 (1906), pp. 522-245; Vaughan, *Manuscript*, p. 178, has dated Thomas and *Edward* some after 1240 and *Edmund* after 1250.

42. See C. H. Lawrence, *St. Edmund of Abingdon* (Oxford 1909), pp. 70-72. A fourteenth-century copy of the original survives in a manuscript now on deposit in the British Library from the Collection of the Duke of Portland, Welbeck Abbey, which bears a dedication to Isabella de Warenne, Countess of Arundel, and which gives the abbey's name as "Albani"; see Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, pp. 125-127.

43. M. D. Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and Its Background* (Oxford 1963), pp. 268-269, raises the possibility that the poem was written by an earlier writer and that Matthew Paris merely supplied the drawings and rubrics. Although the only verse life written in old-fashioned rhymed lines of all-iteratives; his other saints' lives, as well as the *Alban* rubrics, are all composed in the new romance meter of cross rhyme complex; see also idem, *Anglo-Norman in the Library* (Edinburgh 1956), pp. 22-23.

44. As McCulloch, "Saints Alban and Amphibalus," p. 777, n. 68, points out, names may have been used merely to designate a work written at the verities. However, the simple and generic meanings of the terms are by no means too readily exclusive, and Matthew very probably intended both.

45. Written in two columns on thirty-two folios (100/100) 270 x 170 mm in a monk's hand, the first part of the text is arranged throughout with small initials (100/220) within square frames (100 x 100) heading the top of each about. Judging from the many stylistic changes discernible in

both his handwriting and drawing, Paris very likely worked on the illustrations *Grise Affiance* over a long period from the 1240s to the next decade. See Vaughan, *Manuscript*, pp. 82-83 and 182-189. The *Grise Affiance* has been edited by Riley as vol. 1 for the Rolls Series, but the text was recompiled from Thomas Walsingham's version of 1364 in MS Cotton Claudius E. IV, with little reference to Matthew's autograph manuscripts in MS Cotton Nero D. I.

46. On the authorship and dating of the *Trise Offenses*, consult Vaughan, *Manuscript*, pp. 41-42 and 189-196.

47. Paris apparently drew out the whole text of the *Deeds of the Office of Sts. 2-25* in MS Cotton Nero D. I in his own hand in two columns, leaving the upper half of each page ruled off and reserved for large illustrations (187 x 108 mm), for which he left descriptive legends on each scene in cursive Gothic script along the bottom of each page through fol. 22, although now largely cut off; they are still partially visible on almost every folio. He never began to work on the illustrations but managed to complete linked drawings for only the first six. The last columns these heads finished by another hand, which is also responsible for the entire drawing on fol. 5. The remainder of the illustrations were not completed until the fourteenth century. See James, "The Drawings of Matthew Paris," *Walpole Society Journal* 14 (1925-1926), p. 21; also Vaughan, *Manuscript*, pp. 230-232; Weston, *British Manuscripts*, No. 542, p. 204; and Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, pp. 134-136. The *View of Norman* also survives in two copies, MS Cotton Claudius E. IV, fol. 34-37, and MS Cotton Vindobona, A. 11, fol. 69-70 which is fragmentary; a fine fourteenth-century copy survives for them of the text, also containing Matthew's *Grise Affiance* and *William's Latin Life of St. Alban*, formerly belonging to the Marguerite of Beza, was bought from Sudeley's by H. E. Krass in June 1963.

48. Riley Smalley, *Manuscripts of the Middle Ages* (New York 1945), pp. 36-37 and 136.

49. Easter Tables were still included in a graduation part of the profane calendar in the Corpus Christi manuscripts of the Cistercian Monks in MS 2600 fol. v and 9 verso.

50. See M. T. Clanchy, *From Mystery to Written Record* (London 1972), p. 78, who quotes from *The Historical Works of Goswin of Cambrai*, ed. W. Sautheir (Paris 1879-1882), I, pp. 87-88.

51. *Chronicle of Canterbury*, I, p. 89.

52. *GM* 1.1. See Smalley, *Historians*, pp. 14-20.

53. See Smalley, "Salient in the Middle Ages," in *Classical Influences in European Culture*, ed. R. Bolger (Cambridge 1971), pp. 165-175.

54. Grandien, "Propaganda in English Medieval Hagiography," *Journal of Medieval History* 1 (1975), pp. 293-294; and idem, *Historical Writing*, pp. 267-269 and 372.

55. Grandien, *Historical Writing*, p. 222; Smalley, *Historians*, p. 36.

56. Grandien, *Historical Writing*, p. 268.

57. Grandien, *Historical Writing*, pp. 268-269; Smalley, *Historians*, pp. 161-162.

58. See Grandien, *Historical Writing*, pp. 25-26 and 154. The early thirteenth-century Latin translation of *Desirees*, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which belongs to St. Albans is now in B.L. MS 109. 15. B. V. See N. P. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 1907 ed. (London 1964), p. 107.

53. On Matthew's place in the tradition of Anglo-Norman historiography, see Hans-Eberhard Höpfer, *Kaiser- und Papstbriefe in der Chronica regum de Mathew Paris* (Stuttgart 1981), pp. 9-12.

54. See Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, pp. 17-18. For a full discussion of Matthew's use of Eucharistic documents, consult Höpfer, *Kaiser- und Papstbriefe*, pp. 44-49.

55. As suggested by Claudio, *From Norway to Britain: Records*, p. 141.

56. Graessle, *Historical Writing*, p. 367.

57. Stalley, *Manuscripts*, pp. 129-125.

58. On William of Malmesbury, see Soudry, *Historians*, pp. 90-98.

59. See Partner, *Series: Enlightenment*, pp. 194-210.

60. Jean-Paul Sartre, *Nausea*, trans. L. Alastair (New York 1964), pp. 39-40.

61. See above, n. 1. In the *Letter-Briefcase* in the MS Canon Nero D. VII, fol. 50r, quoted by Derek Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, 4 (Cambridge 1961), p. 298, n. 1, Walthamsters wrote that Matthew Paris was a "religious monachus, incomparabilis chronographus et pictor personis . . . excellens in doctrina et pictura," and in the conclusion of the *Genea Albertus* (1305, Thomas 2nd of Arn. "Incipit et tunc subitatis in aureo argento, carmineque postea, in scalpedo et in pictura depingendo, ut multum post se in laudo arte creidat reliquiae secundum" As George Henderson, "Studies in English Manuscript Illumination," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 30 (1967), p. 74, suggests, however, Walthamsters' praise is not to be taken literally, since his hyperbole is clearly a paraphrase of Matthew's own description of the contemporary St. Albans scribe and goldsmith Walter of Colchester.

62. The attribution of the drawings in the *Vie de Saint Albain* to Henry Goggin, Dublin, MS 177, is based on Thomas Walthamsters (MS Canon Clarendon E. IV, fol. 211v), who writes in the *Matthew Paris* "ipse et ipse eleganter illustravit [picturas] the Lives of Saints Alban and Amphiboly," see [anonymous] paraphrase of the 1024 facsimile edition, *Illustrations to the Life of St. Alban*, ed. Léves and Jacob, p. 17. How even here James is somewhat evasive in ascribing the finest drawings to Matthew, claiming only that he "must probably draw the pictures or at least designed and supervised their execution" (p. 11).

63. D. H. Turner, "The Evenside Painter," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 29 (1964), p. 46, also, *Early Gothic Illuminated Manuscripts* (London 1964), pp. 15-16.

64. NA 3 23111 "We have yet to consider Matthew Paris in his character of artist. . . Many of these books to admirably illustrated by his drawings and calligraphists are fortunately preserved, and testify amply to his artistic skill. Among these are the original manuscripts of his historical writings," which Madden then cited as *Cotton Christ MS 26* and 28, *Cotton Nero D. I*, *Ray 74*, *C. VII*, and *Cotton Claudius D. VI*.

65. Haldy, *Decorative Catalogue*, III, pp. 122-123.

66. W. R. Leake, "English Penmanship, V and VI," *Burghes Magazine* 21 (1947), pp. 45-51.

67. James, "Drawings," pp. 2-3; see also the facsimile edition of the *Vie de Saint Albain* (*Illustrations to the Life of St. Alban*), p. 18, and of the *Enquête de Saint Asteward le Roi*, pp. 28-34.

74. Francis Wormald, "More Matthew Paris Drawings," *Walthamsters Society Journal* 31 (1942-1943), pp. 109-112; see also Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, No. 83, p. 140. Written on in Paris's own distinctive hand, the manuscript consists of forty-two folios telling traces generally called Books of Paris and includes the *Letter-Experimentum* of Bernard Simeonis and the *Prologium* of Isidore and Pythagoras; see G. Brandt, "Les progressions de manuscrits MS Albanus 304," *Studies in Romance Languages and Literatures Presented to E. E. Kussner* (Cambridge 1961), pp. 37-67.

75. U. Effros Saunders, *English Illumination*, I (Florence 1966), pp. 75-76. "A considerable number of manuscript examples, each drawings in his distinctive style, and they reach such an even level of excellence that it is tempting to attribute them all to the great man himself. But . . . it seems only reasonable to suppose that some of the drawings attributed to him must have been carried out by other members of the scriptorium under his direction. . . . There were no doubt a considerable number of anonymous workers who carried out the decoration of the St. Alban books under Matthew Paris's supervision." *From the Chronicle of Matthew Paris* (London 1965), pp. 183 in MS 26; French piece) and in the *Historia Anglorum* the portrait of the Anglo-Norman king on fol. 10-10 in MS Ray 74, C. VII (Fol. 79 and Pl. VIII).

76. Margaret Karker, *Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages* (Baltimore 1954), pp. 119-120. In the historical illustration Karker saw Matthew's hand only in the sketches beneath the finished ink drawing and used, with regard to the "drawing, drawing work" and color which have been executed later by a scribe.

77. Peter Bagnop, *English Art, 1170-1370* (Oxford 1937), pp. 236 and 230-220, whose reserved opinion was later endorsed by Turner, *Early Gothic Illuminated Manuscripts*, p. 14.

78. Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, pp. 211-214. Cf. Sonia Perrenon, "An Account to Identify Matthew Paris as a Fleury-ian," *The Library* 22 (1977), pp. 367-370, whose opinion that two other hands were responsible for the decoration of Matthew's historical manuscripts remains unconvincing. Although the seven large folios decorated and painted initials in MS 16 have received little or no mention, it should be noted that two of them contain very vignette-like birds and animals (in which very close analogies may be found among Matthew's other drawings at the *Clarendon Manuscript*, On fol. 21r the work at the top of the initial is identical with those in the illustrations fol. 21 in MS 26 and fol. 4 in MS Ray 74, C. VII), and the eagle at the lower folio may be compared with that in the illustration of St. Francis preaching to the birds on fol. 66v in MS 16. The dragon and lion at the initial on fol. 20r are similar to those on p. 66 in MS 26 (Medieval prophetic) and fol. 57r in MS 16 (Bibliothèque de la Haute-Normandie).

79. Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, p. 211; see also idem, "The Handwriting of Matthew Paris," *Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society* 1 (1951), pp. 289-299.

80. Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, p. 212.

81. Henderson, "Studies," pp. 71 and 73.

82. Karker, *Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore 1965), pp. 108-109 and n. 75.

83. For the most recent recognition of the chronicler illustrations of Matthew Paris, see Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, p. 141.

84. A complete list of drawings attributed to Matthew Paris is given in Appendix I, pp. 41–42.

85. Souders, *English Illumination*, p. 75, who is here following Eric Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts from the Era to the Middle Crusades* (Paris and Brussels 1986), p. 65.

86. This is the conclusion of Dr. H. E. Hilgert of Regensburg University, who has examined most of the St. Albans manuscripts of the period 1170–1200 from a general historical standpoint sharing his findings with me in correspondence.

87. Souders, *English Manuscripts*, p. 76. "The fact that Matthew Paris acted in an official capacity to King Henry III in Britain makes it difficult to suppose that he would have had an influence in art matters in the Continent."

88. See L. M. Ayers, "A Thirteenth-Century Manuscript in the Bodleian Library and Some Notes on English Painting in the Late Twelfth Century," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 32 (1969), p. 30. Indeed, as I have also written about St. Albans in an article cover after the 1200s, Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, pp. 133–134, notes that only one extant manuscript (B.1. MS. B.2. v. VI), a psalter whose miniatures are drawn in weak imitations of Matthew (see Fig. 5), can be safely attributed to St. Albans from this period.

89. See T. S. R. Boase, *English Art, 1100–1216* (Oxford 1923), pp. 180–83; Walter Cahn, "St. Albans and the Chancel Style in England," *The Year 1200: A Symposium* (New York 1973), pp. 167–70.

90. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, pp. 82 and 82.

91. See Cahn, "St. Albans," pp. 169–177; Kaufmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, pp. 45–46, discusses the activity of lay artists in the twelfth century. Thomson, *Manuscripts from St. Albans*, p. 26, has argued that even in the early decades of the century, the Abbot Master of the Abbot Psalter was an intellectual of the professional artist who probably studied throughout southern England, thus explaining his influence to work produced at or for Bayn St. Edmunds and Canterbury.

92. Thomson, *Manuscripts from St. Albans*, p. 60; see also Walter Doherty, *The Winchester Bible* (Oxford 1981), p. 9.

93. See Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, p. 30.

94. Vaughan, *Manuscripts*, pp. 277–28.

95. See Vaughan, *Manuscripts*, pp. 37–38 and 136–43.

96. Vaughan, "Handwriting," pp. 38–38 and Pl. XIV.

97. See pp. 427–431.

98. Vaughan, *Manuscripts*, pp. 285–216.

99. Cf. Vaughan, *Manuscripts*, pp. 225–224, who conjectures that these were "the first illustrations to be inserted into that book, and that they are partly the work of another monk, who perhaps instructed Matthew [in the 1200–1200] and Benj is helping hand to the first artistic ventures."

100. Toward the end of MS. B.1. there are three unadorned phrase-stanzas (a small cross on three lines on fol. 259r, representing Richard of Werlanc's cross; C.M. 5 259); an inverted cross on fol. 260r, signaling the death of Queen Blanche of France (C.M. 5 254); and a small boat transporting English funds to the Gascon army in 1255 on fol. 270 (C.M. 5 269).

101. Wilson, *Great Manuscripts*, No. 261, pp. 127–129; Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, No. 87, pp. 133–134. Figs. 286–291. The manuscript was undoubtedly intended for St. Albans and contains a series of nine full-page illustrations preceding the psalter. Because St. Edmund of Abing-

don is included in both the Calendar and Litanies, the psalter must be dated after 1220. An inscription on fol. 119v says that it was given to the abbey by the monk John of Duffing but that Abbot John of Hereford (1235–1262) gave him permission to use it during his lifetime.

102. Because the style of these drawings coincides with the early fourteenth-century date of the St. Albans copy formerly belonging to the Monastery of Ouse, it is quite possible that the permission for the abbot's copy of the *Evangelii ad Officium* occasioned a further undertaking to complete Matthew's projected cycle of illustrations in the thirteenth-century psalter.

103. See Thomson, *Manuscripts from St. Albans*, p. 61; cf. Rickett, *Painting in Britain*, rev. ed., pp. 92–93 and 101–102; and Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, pp. 25 and 51–52, who suggests that the various illuminations of the Westminster Psalter were probably made on the same time by an artist trained either at Winchester or St. Albans.

104. See Charles C. Oman, "The Golden Age of St. Albans Abbey During the 12th and 13th Centuries," *Transactions of the St. Albans and Hemphelston Architectural and Archaeological Society* (1923), pp. 226–229.

105. Henderson, "Sculpture," pp. 73–74, assumes to strong an influence that he conjectures that a unique pupil relationship existed between Walter of Colchester and Matthew Paris.

106. Although the *Evangelii ad Officium* is usually assigned to St. Albans (see *The Year 1200: A Centennial Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, [New York 1970], No. 262, pp. 262–266), Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, p. 84, has recently suggested that, while the text may have been written at the abbey, the manuscript, many of which was painted in Jerusalem, were probably made at Oxford ca. 1200. Cf. Thomson, *Manuscripts from St. Albans*, p. 79, who argues that the manuscript was almost certainly a product of St. Albans dating from the period of John de Cella (1191–1202).

107. Turner, "Evangelii Psalter," pp. 23 and 25, dates the work after 1220 since its Calendar includes the Feast of St. Edmund of Abingdon; the manuscript was later in the possession of Matthew's friend, Earl Richard of Cornwall.

108. For example, the Barber of Baldovin Psalter (London, Society of Antiquaries MS 99), made for the abbot of Peterborough (1212–1222) perhaps in London, contains three pages (fols. 34, 35, and 35) with scenes in limited outline drawing. The single Gothic Roll (B. L. Harley Roll Y. 6), made at or for Crowland Abbey near Peterborough, ca. 1200, has limited outline drawings in seventeen rounds depicting the life of St. Guthlac.

109. See Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, p. 28.

110. I am grateful to Adelaide Bennett for drawing my attention to this relationship. While the only figure (about 20 mm. high) on fol. 111r of Trinity MS B. 5, 3 is fully painted in a landscape setting, with the body modeled in richer tones and the drapery in brilliant blue, Matthew's figure (about 40 mm. high) is roughly sketched in light blue ink over lead pencil and filled with a pale ochre wash, while the surrounding text and notes have been omitted; a sketch of the second leg and foot (which is pulled back and out visible behind a block) in the model was begun in pigment but then rubbed out. See J. C. Higgitt, "The Roman Background to Medieval England," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 36 (1973), p. 17, who suggests that the figure is both St. Albans

manuscript is based on a sketch of a god, perhaps copied from a cameo representation, thus introducing the possibility that Matthew's sketch was not copied from a manuscript source.

101. See Hans R. Hallgröfsson, *Villfréd de Hólmavörð: Kristniðka Græntíngingardeið og Bæturíngingardeið*, no. 19, 1993, *Antiquarisk Historisk Tidsskrift*, and see, ed. (1992, 1973). See also B. W. Scheller, *A Survey of Medieval Medical Books* (Helsinki 1963), pp. 5-35, and M. W. Evans, *Medieval Drawings* (London 1969), pp. 14-15.

102. Like Villfréd's *Skræknað* in its original state, Matthew's model book would have contained a collection of loose sheets of vellum of various sizes and inferior quality, kept together in portfolio without any apparent order, perhaps as part of the *Liber Adornamentorum*. See Scheller, *Medieval Medical Books*, p. 93. Although Plinthus has been credited for his friend-oriented and painted drawings, such as those now bound in the *Missiveiro* of John of Wallingford (MS Canon John D. VII), for inclusion as freestanding in various problem sets (e.g. MS Roy. 1. 2 VI, 407 St. Alban's 150, or MS Arundel 157), probably made for the Augustinian priory at Oxford, it is very likely that soon after he died, several loose drawings were recovered from his portfolio and bound into various manuscripts, including some of his own works.

103. See Clanchy, *From Memory to Manuscript*, pp. 97-103, 97, and 11. References to manuscripts have been collected by W. Wamsley, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, 3rd ed. (Leipzig 1908), pp. 51-86, in the various temporary pieces of parchment were used for notes, otherwise substitute for wax tablets or in addition to them. Such notes are occasionally referred to in the royal pieceroles; Robert Grosseteste also made a practice of writing notes on parchment.

104. MS Canon John D. 1.64, 26, 65, 92, and 166, cited by Vaughan, "Heraldic Writing," p. 385.

105. See Vaughan, "Heraldic Writing," p. 387.

106. N. Denholm-Young, *Handwriting in England and Wales* (Cardiff 1954), Pl. 12.

107. Most of the occur forms which occur in Matthew's script date from the twelfth century, see Charles Johnson and Hilary Jenkinson, *English Calligraphy*, 2. c. 1066-1150 (Oxford 1925), *passim*. One may also note that Penn commenced the old-fashioned method of writing above the line first even into the mid-thirteenth century, see Ken, "From Above Top Line" to "Below Top Line": A Change in Script Practice," *Calligraphy* 5 (1960), pp. 13-16. But in this case he is following a precedent established in both Corpus Christi manuscripts by the several St. Alban's scribes who succeeded the text before he took over on fol. 62r vs. MS 16. Nevertheless, Matthew thus persisted in writing above the top line consistently in all his other autograph works. His contemporary, John of Wallingford, also follows this practice in his *Missiveiro* in MS Canon John D. VII.

108. Alexander Neidhart, "De Nominibus Uterinorum," in *A Volume of Miscellanea*, ed. Thomas Wright (1857), p. 117, quoted by Clanchy, *From Memory to Manuscript*, p. 98.

109. See Denholm-Young, *Handwriting*, p. 11.

110. For example, an English legal text of 1307, MS 12 in the Harvard Law Library, contains marginal drawings illustrating the subject matter of the statutes appended to a copy of Magna Carta. Fol. 3 shows a man shooting a deer with a

longbow alongside Edward I's ordinance of 1266 against trespassers in the king's forest, while a widow points to the statutes of Merton concerning the rights of daughters. See Clanchy, *From Memory to Manuscript*, p. 127, and Pl. XVIII, also Seymour de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *General of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, 1 (New York 1935), p. 302a.

111. Warner and Gibson, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, I, pp. 325-326, and IV, Pl. 64. This abridgement of Gratian's *Concordance Discordantium Canonum* and other collections of canon law on 155 folios (360 × 225 mm) belonged to Prohemer Priory.

112. The combat between the accused robbers, Walter Blouhorne and Hazzo le Sire of Wiltshire, appears in *Curia Regis Roll* 223 (KB 26), see F. W. Maitland, *Select Pleas of the Curia*, I (London 1877), pp. 301-322, and Clanchy, "Highway Robbery and Trial by Battle in the Hundred-Year Eye of 1209," *Medieval Legal Records Edited as Memory of C. A. F. Meekings* (London 1975), pp. 26-48. Matthew Thus gives a detailed account of the trial in *CH* 5:98-60 and *HA* 3:46-47 and might have known the occurrence in the *Hampshire 1276 roll*, since he was appointed a stipendium in the *Hampshire 1276 roll*, MS Roy 10 C VII, fol. 144v, directing the reader to "the rolls of the king's clerks" (*HA* 3:47 and n. 5). An Eschequer receipt roll for 1255 has a note which concerns some prominent Jews of Norwich (E 107:1562, n. 11; see V. D. Lyman, *The Jews of Norwich* (London 1977), p. 33).

113. The Government Account Roll of 1256, published by Francis M. Page, *The Budget of Christened Abbey* (Cambridge 1924), Pl. V. Clanchy, *From Memory to Manuscript*, p. 229, quotes a plea roll from 1229 in which a deed is drawn at the foot of one parchment, the clerk further declared his intention by catching an enfilament and replacing it with what was probably a scratch from a papal French press, which reads, "[I]t my litle lovez that keep me cheerful and give me fun." See *Crone Pleas of the Wiltshire Eyre*, ed. C. A. F. Meekings, *Wiltshire Record Society* 60 (London 1967), p. 25-26. Vaughan, *Medieval Piers*, pp. 45-48.

114. D. I. A. Ross, "Miswritten Manuscripts of Orosius," *Scriptorium* 9 (1955), p. 35.

115. Smalley, *Medieval*, pp. 479-175.

116. See Kaufmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, pp. 87-88. Annotated to two Benedictine monks of Worcester, Florence and John, this chronicle is one of the major historical works produced in England during the twelfth century. The large volume (325 × 390 mm) in Corpus Christi MS 157, Oxford, is the earliest and most accurate version and was copied for John at Worcester. The four lightly dated drawings to which we allude on pp. 381 and 383 illustrate the last events describing the death of Henry I as they were reported to John of Worcester in 1134-1135 by the royal physician Galmbald, who is shown seated at the left of each scene explaining the king's vision. In the upper illustration on p. 383 the dreamer king is visited by two devil bodys and monks who complain of high taxation, while below Henry is caught at a storm at sea which is only averted by his promise to withhold the Domesday for seven years and make a pilgrimage to Bay of Edmonds.

117. The small drawing is known only at the bottom of fol. 169v in the only illustration contained in this small volume

(1298 x 550 mm) of 105 folios. Heightened with faint sketches of pale vermilion on the crowns, bellows, and shields, all the figures had originally been identified by captions, but only Baldwin's name is still legible on a restorative miniature at the left. The drawing is placed directly below the relevant text in the last sentence on the page, one of the heights at the right then points up toward the *king's robe* where the text commences the narration Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, p. 99, cites the book manuscript of Henry of Huntingdon with small-scale marginal figures in Baltimore, Wilton Art Gallery MS 792.

129. Rem. "Oronsus," pp. 36-46 and 51-56, attributes that to medievalized eyes (possibly Oronsus during the Middle Ages, since the few surviving illustrated manuscripts show no exceptions). The pictures in York MS lat. 3240 were executed considerably later than the text, perhaps by an artist's reader. The Bury manuscript (1298 x 160 mm) of 105 folios is written in two columns, with initials decorated with foliage and interlaced. In addition to the elephant sketched on fol. 33, there is another small sketched drawing of a lioness in the margin of fol. 47v, as well as two initials illustrated with figures of horses—armed and crowned, on horseback (fol. 32r) and St. Augustine with a red cross and crosser (fol. 85v).

130. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library at Eton College* (Cambridge, 1895), pp. 35-36, see also Philip S. Moore, *The Works of Peter of Poitiers* (Washington, D. C., 1929), pp. 104-105; William H. Moore, "A Rich Manuscript of Peter of Poitiers' *Compendium*," *History of the Church of England in Art* 65 (1971), pp. 92-107, and Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, No. 90, pp. 140-141.

131. Vaughan, *Manuscript Paris*, p. 223, remarks that it could have been written between 1225 and 1250 at St. Albans, cf. Kay, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, II (Oxford, 1973), pp. 709-710, who suggests that the manuscript may have been written at Canterbury.

132. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, Nos. 20 and 53-55, pp. 66, 100-103, Figs. 71 and 179-194, describes four blemishes dating from c. 1300 to 1320, all profusely illustrated with unframed marginal sketches inserted into or below the text columns. Cambridge University Library MS K.1. 2, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 602; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 214, and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS Reg. lat. 216 Roger of Salerno's *Chronique* in Cambridge, Trinity College MS A. 1. 20, dating from ca. 1230 to 1240, has faint line drawings in the bottom margins, see Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, No. 78, pp. 128-129, Figs. 236-261.

133. The earliest extant copy of the Topographical *Historie* in MS Roy. 13. B. VIII, fols. 6-34, once belonged to St. Augustine's, Canterbury, see Warner and Gelson, *Catalogue of British Manuscripts*, II, pp. 94-95 and P. 79; R. Flower, "Manuscripts of John Gower in the British Museum," *Anglo-Library Historica* 2 (1911), pp. 217-232, Grimsden, *Historical Writing*, pp. 241 and 263, Pl. VIII, item, "Realistic Observation in Twelfth-Century English," *Speculum* 47 (1972), p. 49, and Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, No. 50a, pp. 104-105 and Figs. 462, 496, 497. It contains the third edition of the text, with marginal additions as well as illustrations, both of which have been incorporated into the slightly later MS 700 in the Manuscript Library, Dublin, possibly from the same workshop; see J. J. O'Meara, *The First Version of the*

Topography of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis (Dundalk, 1957), p. 7 and plates opposite pp. 41, 50, 90, and 91, and Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, No. 50b, pp. 105-106, Figs. 493-495, 498.

134. See Smalley, *Medieval*, pp. 42-43.

135. CM 1. 57.

136. Beginning with the Norman bishop of Worcester in 1097, election, consecration, and obituary notices in the *Chronicle Major* are signalled by small dated drawings of erect or inverted crosses and altars for the archbishops of Canterbury and York, as well as for the bishops of Winchester, Salisbury, Hereford, Exeter, London, Norwich, Durham, Lincoln, Chester, Ely, Carlisle, Chichester, Rochester, Arden, and Bath (in order of their first appearance), but with an irregularity except for Canterbury.

137. Elsewhere in the *Libro Admonitionum* (fol. 20^v and 25^v), evolutions of an amulet-shaped sign to refer the reader to the point where the hand position is drawn to another folio signalled by a drawing of the four corners. While Vaughan, *Manuscript Paris*, pp. 47-48 and 65-66, suggests that Paris borrowed his system of signs from Exchequer documents, it seems more probable that, despite their similarities, his cross-referencing signs were developed independently. Cross-referencing signs, pp. 234, 2, and 264, n. 36, argues that there is no evidence of signs in Exchequer documents before the 1290s.

138. *GM* 5:547. Brancaccio de Andò of Bologna was elected senator in 1252 but was seized and imprisoned by the Romans in 1256, the year of his death in 1258 was brought to Henry III at St. Albans (*GM* 5:324). Another example of Matthew's pictorial pointing may be seen on fol. 152 in MS 16, where he could draw a picture of a crown in the margin next to the obituary of Geoffrey de Lucy, dean of St. Paul's, who died in 1241 (*GM* 4:205). In this case, however, the device was probably adopted from an emblem which had appeared earlier on the obituary of Geoffrey de Lucy, bishop of Worcester (1210-1204), see W. de Grey-Buch, *Catalogue of Gifts in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, I (London 1887), p. 355, No. 2245.

139. Galbraith, *Studies in the Public Record* (London 1921), p. 84, observes that records were stored on receptacles of all shapes and colors which were generally marked with a sign, a letter or coat of arms, or a hole-puncture to identify the contents.

140. The crown, for example, indicates material referring to the sealing of kings, the long oval denotes the dates of Nonmundy, and the two hands grasping a crown at the bottom refer to the conflict between Henry II and his son. See Geraden, *History of Writing*, p. 224 and Pl. VII. An illustration exempt in London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 8.

141. *Regnum de Duce Opere Historico*, I, ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls Series 1876), p. 3.

142. *Wynne's St. Alban's 1220*, this manuscript of 133 folios (230 x 320 mm) contains Dunelm's *Emmette Historiarum* and *Abbatricorum* *Chronicon*, copied from Lambeth MS 2 with the author's corrections and additions, to which have been added several entries relating to St. Alban during from 1400 to 1515. Thomson, *Manuscripts from St. Alban's*, p. 74, suggests that Roger Wendover could have been responsible for having the copy of Decretum made for St. Alban.

143. Vaughan, "Handwriting," pp. 381-382 and 392, has

identified Paris's hand on fol. 11r, 40r, and 41. References to Diakon's *Ymagines* are given by Matthew in CM 2:337 and in HA 4:55, n. 6.

144. For example, on fol. 121 verso and 122 recto are two images in the center of the page: marginal, iconical drawings of a chalice and host, then on fol. 130 a vessel-like round on 125r, and on fol. 131 a chalice. The seven pages of images on the first two pages clearly reveal their function as *signa* referring the reader to canon on the sacrament. Another series of repeated images occurs on fol. 123–25 where, against the central vertical ruling line, a series of seraphim drawn in the upper margin above the canon on consecration.

145. Matthew's contemporary, Robert Grosseteste, also devised a system of signs in collaboration with the Franciscan Adam Marsh. However, because their system consisted of about 4000 icons rather than pictorial symbols which were used to build a large concordance as well as an index, the schemes employed by Diakon and Paris appear to have developed independently, see S. H. Thomson, "Grosseteste's Topical Concordance of the Bible and the Fathers," *Speculum* 9 (1934), pp. 139–144, R. W. Hunt, "Manuscripts Containing the Indexing Symbols of Robert Grosseteste," *The Bookman Library Review* 2 (1953), pp. 241–252. I am grateful to Richard H. Rouse for his advice on this point.

146. Clatchy, *From Ministry to Written Record*, p. 127.

147. CM 4:383–388. On fol. 146, from top to bottom: (a) an oval ruby set diagonally in an exceptionally large square gold setting in a ring called a "practical," which bishops and other high dignitaries were entitled to wear over gloves at great ceremonies and which had originally belonged to Archbishop Stephen Langton of Canterbury and was given to the abbey by his chaplain, John de Gloucestre; (b) an oval amethyst of "interior ruby color"; (c) a circular stone of purple color (*gemma nigra*) set in a ring with six sapphires (*gemmae saphiratae*), which had also belonged to Langton; (d) an square opaz or beryl (*gemma oblonga colore carulei*); (e) a sapphire set gold setting given by Thomas, prior of Wallingford. On fol. 146v, left column: (f) another sapphire (*colore rubei*), given by Nicholas, a St. Albans goldsmith; (g) "an eastern sapphire of aemic color," given by John of Wyntonham; (h) a sapphire which had once belonged to Queen Eleanor, given by Richard (aimed at) an irregular sapphire "of extraordinary beauty and size," given by Bishop John of Alder. Right column: (j) a pendant of greenish stone commonly called *apemol*, in the shape of a shield, in the center of which is a small sapphire in a gold setting; (k) a triangular sapphire (*gemma triangularis*) with a sapphire in the center surrounded by four pearls and four garnets given by Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester and brother of the king; and (l) the canon, weighing five talents and two denarii, given by King Erichard, (son of Edward the Confessor, see Oman, "The Jewels of St. Albans Abbey," *Antiquary Magazine* 57 (1901), pp. 41–42, who has demonstrated the accuracy of Matthew's drawings by comparing them with surviving examples. See also Higgin, "Roman Background," p. 12.

148. See Henderson, *Early Medieval Style and Conscience* (Baltimore 1971), pp. 110–113 and 251, who describes in detail the bizarre application of the St. Albans gem (based on Cde 4:387) and other medieval examples in both England and France. The canon was about 150 mm. long, set in a silver mount engraved with the name of the royal donor.

149. A rare exception has been noted by Grassie, *Historical Writing*, p. 305, n. 62, in the rough marginal sketches in the early thirteenth-century canonarium of Matthew's *Flora Historiarum* from Rochester in MS Cotton Nero D. II.

150. See Vaughan, *Manuscript Paris*, p. 153.

151. Vaughan, *Manuscript Paris*, p. 18, n. 5. Both Corpus Christi MSS 26 and 24 of the *Chronica Majora*, as well as the Liber Addamorum in MS Cotton Nero D. I and the *Historia Anglorum* in MS Row. 14, C. VIII, contain inscriptions in his own hand referring his gift "to God and St. Albans."

152. Perhaps following Diakon's example of abstracting his own work, as Grassie in *Historical Writing*, p. 306, suggests.

153. See Vaughan, *Manuscript Paris*, pp. 65 and 107–124, who notes that they are observed in that order. It should be noted that there are two different sets of drawings written into the margins of the *Chronica Majora*: those marked "imperfectus," referring to the completion of the abridgment of the *Historia Anglorum*, and those marked "vices quatuor ordinalium" or something similar, instructing the scribe who copied part of the text into MS Cotton Nero D. V. Another such list series of expurgations dated from the late 1250s was actually carried out in a set of annotated texts written over margins or on pasted sections by Matthew and the scribe who finished abstracting the historical materials during the few months before Paris died. These were probably begun in the autumn from 1253 to 1255, and then go back to 1241–1250, but were left unfinished, for no expurgation appears in the margin for 1256–1263. The over-careful and thorough expurgation was probably first carried out by Matthew as the *Historia Anglorum* before that in the *Chronica Majora* was begun. Vaughan has conjectured that the expurgation of both works was caused by a question of conscience at the St. Albans chronicler was approaching death.

154. Clatchy, *From Ministry to Written Record*, pp. 214–217.

155. See John Taylor, *The Use of Medieval Chronicles* (London 1965), p. 2, who notes the singular exception of Ralph Higden, whose *Polychronicon* survives in more than one hundred copies.

156. See above, n. 3. About the same time Richard de Borel depicted the function of the historians at his *Historie d'Artois* in analogous terms of making that which is depicted seem to be present, and the adventures which one hears read in vivid as if one could see them, *Le brevier d'Artois d'Artois*, Richard de Borel et le response de Berthelin, ed. Cesare Segre (Milan 1957), pp. 3–4, also Fritz H. Rühl, "Varieties and Consequences of Medieval Literary and Literary," *Speculum* 55 (1980), pp. 250–260.

157. Vaughan, *Manuscript Paris*, p. 175, has already remarked on the lack of consistency with which Matthew undertook his expurgation, leaving just a many obsolete passages mentioned as those marked "vices."

158. As pointed out by Vaughan, *Manuscript Paris*, p. 111, who cites CM 4:316, 542, 543, and 544.

159. Henry of Huntingdon favored the history on several different occasions and then summarized, removing and replacing the epilogue and finally turning it off altogether. See Palmer, *Seven's Examinations*, p. 195.

160. Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis* (Princeton 1953), pp. 70–75, 99–104, and 166ff., on the application of Auerbach's stylized definition of pastais to historical narrative in the illi-

22. *CM* 3:135-442; see the diagram of tower VI in Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, p. 53. On the date of the document, see Armando Quilici, "La regalia francicana in Ruggero de Wendover e Matteo di Paris," *Alfonsiana Francicana* 40 (1986), pp. 267-87.

23. Matthew's sketches may not be the earliest lectionary initials of Franciscan friars in English manuscripts. A single leaf (fol. 5) inserted into a copy of various works by Alexander Neckham in Cambridge University Library MS Gg. 6.42 has on the recto a framed drawing listed in pale brown and pink with touches of vermilion showing St Francis bearing the stigmata, standing next to another friar, like Paul's Brother William, both are robed in red represented with blue feet. On the verso is another framed drawing of two more standing friars. Dated ca. 1220 to 1229, the drawings are sufficiently close to Paris to suggest a direct connection. See A. G. Little (ed.), *Franciscan History and Legend in English Medieval Art* (Manchester 1937), pp. 41, 64, Pl. 7; Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, No. 46, p. 139, Figs. 280-281.

24. Little, *Franciscan Papers, Letters and Documents* (Manchester 1943), pp. 19-20; Knowles, *Religious Orders*, I, p. 204.

25. See Lethaby, "English Primitives," p. 51; G. L. Kingsford, *Grey Friars of London*, *British Society of Franciscan Studies* 6 (London 1915), p. 182; J. S. Beveridge, *Monasteria Francicana*, *Rolls Series* 1853, p. 529. On the other hand, Little, *Franciscan Papers*, pp. 21-22, thinks that Matthew's friar was another Englishman named William who was one of the original twelve followers of Francis and was buried at Assisi in 1232. However, Adolphe Benaux has observed that the "large-fold" style of the drapery is too advanced for that date, making the identification rather unlikely; cf. also H. Carrière, "A Lost Cycle of Canterbury Pilgrims of 1220," *The Art Quarterly Journal* 51 (1974), p. 79.

26. *CM* 4:60.

27. See Knowles, *Religious Orders*, I, pp. 127-143.

28. See W. R. Thompson, "The Image of the Mendicants in the Chronicle of Matthew Paris," *Alfonsiana Francicana* 10 (1976), pp. 16-21; and *CM* 3:286ff.

29. Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, pp. 215-212.

30. *CM* 2:296, based on Decret., cf. *Fl* 2:25.

31. *CM* 2:296, not in Decret.; cf. *Fl* 2:23.

32. *CM* 3:106-108; cf. *Fl* 2:317-328.

33. Indeed Matthew's own addition provides several points of similarity with his account of the quarrel between the students and women at Oxford in 1229 (*CM* 4:27-8) which concerned many of the students to go to Cambridge. Roger mentions the university at Oxford only once in the whole chronicle, while a glance at Luard's index (*CM* 9:425 and 445) reveals a large number of entries by Matthew for both Oxford and Paris over a twenty-year period from 1218 to 1239.

34. *CM* 8:71; cf. *Fl* 2:479.

35. Perfectly indented pale and red, a bend of abbreviated notation of the colors for the blasons are given along the left edge of the page 64. *Trappist, Works of Arno*, p. 49, page 1 on fol. 139r gives another, somewhat different version of this shield on fol. 139r in the *liber adha monasterii*.

36. *Trappist, Works of Arno*, p. 62, observes that, according to *The Complete Peerage*, IX (London 1936), pp. 479-480, Hugh de Brevill was appointed chief justice and keeper of the forest in 1222 and died in 1234.

37. *CM* 2:523, 599-590, 408653.

38. *CM* 2:480-481.

39. James, "Drawings," p. 7, observed that pilories occur very rarely at medieval art and cited as an example in Cambridge, Trinity MS O. 7. 27, in a copy of Statutes from the early fourteenth century. The "Judicium Pillorie et Timberzell" is shown on fol. 90r as a pillory with three holes, standing on two uprights connected by crooked supports, while the statue of the *Anna parva* begins on fol. 99. See James, *The Western Manuscripts in Trinity College, Cambridge: A Descriptive Catalogue*, III (Cambridge 1902), pp. 364-365.

40. *CM* 3:242-243, cf. *Fl* 2:567.

41. *CM* 3:242-243.

42. "Hoc signum inuenitur in caelo de ioh[ann]e in Anglia et circunatur et sumit diam[eter] ad hoc videtur, ut veraciter extemp[er]at exemplar[um] inuenitur, dicitur ab hereticis inuenerit verum."

43. However, as Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, p. 254, has noted, either Matthew or the observer who made the diagram seems to have been confused concerning the number and relationship of the stars and their titles.

The halo of light surrounding the sun may be white (the color of the spectrum), with red on the inside. Under certain circumstances a second or outer halo appears, fainter than the inner one. At times, another ring, white and luminous, is also seen lying parallel with the bottom and passing through the source of light. On this pattern circle (not a sun), or perhaps, sometimes appear, a single mock sun, the nebula, directly opposite the sun, may be added. In general a white halo results from the reflection of light by ice crystals, while one which appears as colored rings results from the refraction.

44. An interesting procedure may be cited as a similar observation made by William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, ed. Richard Howlett, *Rolls Series* 2084, pp. 482-483, of a double sun in 1196, which was immediately recognized as portending misfortune preceding the outbreak of war between King Richard and Philip Augustus; see *Pharmacopoeia Galenica*, pp. 210.

45. *CM* 5:192, cf. *Fl* 2:208.

46. *CM* 5:193, cf. *Fl* 2:208.

47. *CM* 5:173.

48. See Grainger, "Ravens' Observation," p. 38, who cites the example of the drawing of the nose of King William II of Sicily at the end of the chimney growing down as he heeded. Henry IV's daughter Joanna in the chronicle of "Benedict of Peterborough"; see *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Brevit[er] Abbat[is]*, ed. W. Stubbs, I (Rolls Series 1865), p. 152, n. 2. Grainger further notes that a picture of the same nose also appears in Roger of Howden's chronicle; see *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Howden*, ed. Stubbs, II (Rolls Series 1896), p. 68.

49. As argued by Hilpert, *Kaiser- und Papstbriefe*, pp. 102-103.

50. See Hilpert, *Kaiser- und Papstbriefe*, p. 104. This could have been the first unindented letter in Matthew's part of the *Chronica Majora* dating from 1277 (*CM* 3:442-444). Indeed Paris points out that the letter used in Richard of Conestable bore a gold seal: "Frater[um] nostr[um] sigillibus, ut moris habet, Ricardo cum[que] Canonicis . . . spicis strigulibus vith hoc foras destinavit." Although Hilpert, *Kaiser- und Papst-*

Matthew Paris, p. 171; Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, No. 68, pp. 107-108.

84. See Meyer, in his edition of the *Vie de Saint Thomas*, pp. 101-104, who identified the source on the basis of a close comparison of the texts.

85. *CM* 2:144, cf. *FH* 1:469.

86. See, for example, *GM* 4:167-168.

87. *NA* 1:223: "Qui primo adeo pauperes fieri virtute fuerunt, quod vitam vitam destruunt illi deo habuerunt; unde propter penitentiam pauperes meminerunt, et ad humilitatem observantiam, in regibus eorum inscriptum est: duo vitam equitate equitantes."

88. Donkeli, *Rolls of Arms*, p. 79. Felix Hausmann, "Die Wappen in der Historia minor des Mathias Parisiensis," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Geographischen Anstalt* 19 (1900), p. 53, quotes a thirteenth-century explanation given by Jacques de Vitry: "Vestibus pigramur et alio et raris, quod seminat hancetia, proventus habemus ex quatuor. Quatuor candidi sunt et benigni, sicut et scriptura minime."

89. Tjemers, *Rolls of Arms*, p. 79. For the French seal, see M. Douët d'Arques, *Archives de l'Anjou*, *Inventaire de documents: Catalogue de sceaux*, III (Paris 1861), p. 242, Nos. 9829 and 9830. Fig. 51 shows a seal (diam. 33 mm.) dating from 1259, inscribed "supremum militem Christi," which was attached to an exchange of letters between the Templars and the abbey of St-Victor at Paris.

90. James Thonissen, quoted by Soestman, "Aspects of the European Transition of Humeral Writing 3: History as Prophecy," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 23 (1972), p. 179; see also pp. 160-161.

91. See O. Holder-Egger, "Italienische Prophetien des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Neue Archiv* 25 (1890), pp. 174-175, who cites a thirteenth-century compilation at Rome, National Library, MS Palaeografo 34, of prophecies from Merlin, the Sibylline Books, and Joachim of Fiore on Antichrist.

92. Beyond the stylistic and palaeographical evidence offered by the drawing and its use, a date of ca. 1255 would be corroborated by *GM* 1:44, which refers to Matthew's intercession of the host in Merlin's prophecy to Henry III given in the interlinear gloss (*CM* 1:208).

93. Geoffrey of Monmouth *The History of the Kings of Britain* 9:17-18, and 7:8-9, trans. Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth 1966), pp. 166-172.

94. *CM* 1:194, cf. *FH* 1:31.

95. *CM* 1:198: "[A]postolus de vobis dicit Cornubiæ gentes sunt, Antibus vobiscum, qui legunt eum et dicit et cetera vobis dicitur cum Sacerdotibus et quod omnia vobis."

96. *CM* 1:239-241.

97. *CM* 1:208: "[S]icut iohannes Henricus III [sic] ipse rursus prope gratia immanebat"]

98. See Gordon Hall Gersond, "A Text of Merlin's Prophecies," *Speculum* 23 (1948), pp. 409-413, and P. J. E. Band II.

99. See Jacob Hammer, "A Commentary on the Prophecies Merlini (Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniarum*, Book VII)," *Speculum* 10 (1935), pp. 3-4 and 25.

100. The dated outline drawing (135 × 102 mm.; 75 wt) at the top of the page at the right next to the script and illuminated an introductory text on fol. 227r which describes this entry and precedes the *Prophecies of Merlin* which follow with an interlinear commentary on fols. 227v-234v. See Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, No. 68, pp. 145-146, section R. 5

and L. M. Looney, *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art* (New York 1911), p. 128 and Fig. 58, who cites a later illustration (initial-fourteenth-century) depicting of Wace's *Brut*, B. L. Egerton MS 3028, fol. 15, in which King Vortigern is shown sitting at the end and white dragons fighting next to his balling tower.

101. See Branch, *Shape of Medieval History*, pp. 70-80.

102. *CM* 2:127-129; cf. *FH* 4:273. See Pappert *Topica: The Politics of Prophecy in England* (New York 1911), p. 13; cf. Cedric Elton, *History of England*, 22.25, and Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. Thomas Arnold (Rolls Series 1879), p. 243. Expanding upon the earlier account by Odo of Stalla, who merely intimated that the sinking of the White Ship was God's revenge for the victims' sins in explaining that the shipwreck was caused by the drunkenness of the crew, Wulfstan repeats the charges made by Henry of Huntingdon that the catastrophe was God's punishment for sexual permissiveness at court.

103. "Hoc appellatur Merlinus calumniosus, ut et effeminatus; hoc vocat Merlinus, scilicet alius Merlinus, quasi unus et reprobus homo."

104. *CM* 1:202: "Cuius terra in aquosum piceo equo-feratibus," to which Aptheker makes the annotation, "Super regem quae vocabatur rona filii regis ante portum de Barthelet."

105. See Christopher Booker, *From Alfred to Henry I*, 171-172 (1972) (New York 1961), p. 163.

106. On the area distribution of Ketton's Korma among the Britons of Europe, including St. Albans, see M. T. D'Alverny, "Des traditions bretonnes de Carno au Moyen Age," *Archives de l'École normale supérieure de la Sorbonne* 22-23 (1847-1848), pp. 49-53.

107. See Norman Daniel, *John and the Wolf: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh 1958), pp. 79 and 96.

108. Paris, *Bibliothèque de Charcut* MS 1062, fol. 11, where the prophet is represented as a grey fish with a human head. See Daniel, *John and the Wolf*, pp. 802-804.

109. *CM* 1:251; cf. *FH* 1:73.

110. "Hanc vestem in anno domini MCCCXXVI. quae de Malherbo vocatur plebs dicitur." *CM* 3:344-361.

111. Matthew very possibly added his non text and illustration to Roger's part of the chronicle about the same time that he wrote its historical account of Malherbo's end at the end of 1236 (*CM* 3:344-361). Since Hilbert, *Chronicle of Fitzpatrick*, pp. 27 and 32-35, has demonstrated that Peter did not begin to write until the conclusion of Windsor's annual for 1235 and after 1243, the drawing may be dated ca. 1245-1246.

112. *CM* 1:81.

113. Cf. Carr (ed.), *Flora Britannica*, I, p. 4.

114. See Gerard Seidler, *Iconography of Christian Art*, II (New York 1971), pp. 60-61. For examples of the profile (angular) frame of reclining Virgin on the four-quarter head, see the Benedictional of St. Aethelwald (B. L. MS Add. 2350, fol. 15v); the Sacramentary of Robert of Junneville (Paris, Bibl. pub. MS Y. 6, fol. 32r); and Boniface 365 Goughbury 2, fol. 13.

115. *CM* 1:81, n. 1.

Annae solis etis detinetur huiusque secundus
Quado fiti Quatuor sacra de Virgine conat.

Items of interest

- Antiquitatem decem litterarum decemque dierum
Unius diei per eum deum dicitur.
Ab origine mundi usque ad incarnationem beate
Virgine
Per decem dies, decem quinquaginta annis
A patre primogenito semel ad Christum unigenitum
Cum beatus spiritus in unum patrem dicitur
Et quinquaginta per annum Virginis aliorum
Totius mundus nascitur deinceps plenus

Next to this in the margin is: "Hoc quod in Manus scriptura super his. scilicet cap. 101."

116. Smalley, *Manuscripts*, pp. 27-28.
117. Smalley, *Manuscripts*, pp. 63-84.
118. M. U. Chemt, *Manuscripts and Society in the Twelfth Century* (Chicago 1968), pp. 183, 192-193.
119. Southey, "History of Prophecy," pp. 173-176; Hans Maron Schäfer, "Endzeit-Erwartung und Apokalyptik-Vorstellungen in der Politik des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Festschrift für Hermann Brunsfeld*, 111 Göttingen 1972), pp. 928-929.
120. Quoted by Schäfer, "Endzeit-Erwartung," p. 908, in reference to 1 Cor. 15:52, also in February 1529 of the emperor's answer "Huius diebus omnium, quibus mundus est huius, que secunda, fore non subsistat in ceteris, etiam in ordine regum," in *Historia Diplomatica Frederici Secundi*, ed. J.-L. A. Huillard-Breholles, VI, p. 2; Paris 1861), p. 705.
121. In 1873 Gervase of Tilbury in John of Vienna: "Cum enim [nos], in quibus hinc seculum secundum apostolum [propheta] dixerunt"; *Parsons*, No. 966, Huillard-Breholles, *Historia Diplomatica*, IV, p. 2 (1861), p. 428.

122. Theodor Aquinas, *Sermones Theologici*, edited by Schäfer, "Endzeit-Erwartung," p. 929, see E. Betz, "Joachim Studien III. Theorem von Aquila und Joachim von Fiore," *Zeitschrift für Kirchenwissenschaft* 53 (1934), pp. 52-116; M. Sautlet, *Das Heil in der Geschichte. Griechische Kirchenväter. Dreyer bei Theodor von Aquila* (Berlin 1964), pp. 223ff. Roger Bacon, in an introductory summary of the *Opus Maius*, written in 1266-1267, as quoted by A. Gougeon, *English Historical Review* 12 (1897), pp. 154-155: "If only the Church would examine the prophecies of the Bible, the sayings of the saints, the sentences of the Old and other pagan prophets . . . it would without doubt be able to provide a useful aid against the coming of Antichrist." *Dauer*, *Corpus*, I, ed. G. Bittel (Florence 1953), p. 222. "Hoc semper est infelicitas etiam del seculo."

123. See David Bagall, *I Turchi e l'Abbazia di S. Maria della Pace in Roma* (Florence 1972), pp. 42-43; Richard K. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages* (Seattle 1981), pp. 55 and 56.

124. *CM* 5:142-52. Matthew's text, "Sabbatum in Verberum Interpretatio," is printed along the sides of Bede in *PL* 90: 1185-1186, introduced at the conclusion of the Fourth Age in Wendover's chronicle. This sabbath was not uncommon. *Luard*, *CM* 4:42, n. 2, cites two Cotton MSS, New B. VII and Vesputian B. XV, v. 111 in Cambridge University Library MS Mm. 5. 20, which was possibly written by St. Athanasius. The corresponding work on Sabbath observance in the Middle Ages is still E. Sauer, *Sabbatliche Feste und Feststellungen* (Halle 1897).

125. *CM* 4:80. At the end of a letter to Gerard of Beaulieu, MS Cotton Nero D. I, fol. 85v-86r.

126. See Miriam W. Bloomfield and Marjorie E. Reeves, "The Penetration of Joachim into Northern Europe," *Speculum* 29 (1954), pp. 787-798, who cite Lambeth MS 425 and a manuscript in Essex Cathedral Library. The text was obviously current in this area, appearing in various places, including a Joachim work, the *Epistola Subscriptorum Figurem* in MS Vat. lat. 3222, fol. 35, to which it was added, see J. Bagnani-Odier, "Notes sur deux manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Vatican contenant des traités inédits de Joachim de Flore," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome* 54 (1937), pp. 724-726.

127. Cambridge, St. John's College, MS N. 2, quoted by Bloomfield and Reeves, "Penetration," p. 787.

Prophecia Iosuch
Cum fuerunt nam completi mille dierum
Et dies usque post partum virginis aliorum
Tunc Antichristus nascetur deinceps plenus.

128. MS Reg. 4. C. IV, fol. 66, quoted by Bloomfield and Reeves, "Penetration," p. 788. Entitled "Prophecia Iosuch in quibus libris de concordantia" it begins, "Anno incarnationis delecti conuenit populus egyptiacus in multo christi et prophetis in conspectu paganism" and then gives an account of the coming of Antichrist, the capture of the Latin West Constantinople, and the return of the Greek Church in Rome.

129. In the lower right margin of p. 273 in MS 36 there is a sketch of a cross in the red outline, with a caption, "De Iosuch abbate," in Paris' hand, so mark Wendover's entry for 1273 reporting Joachim's attack on Peter Lombard's view on the Trinity (*CM* 2:312). Matthew's own name for 1252 (*CM* 5:599-600) = 90 (perhaps a source for the sabbath-Joachim error) corroborated by the August chronicles that year. See also *CM* 8:335-339 for a reference in the Liber Abbatum 1279-80.

130. See Steven Wanger, "The Westminster Abbey Sanctuary Paradox," *Studies* 52 (1973), p. 145, n. 51, who cites the *Annales Monasterii de Wyke* in *Annales Monastici*, ed. Luard, II (Rolls Series 1897), pp. 341-342. "Hoc anno delectum fuit per totam hanc Angliam, quod per octiduum 120 1200, scilicet in Sancto Lamberti, omni diebusse postposita, tempus erat, unde hieronimus res et illi quibus plurimum nocent vltis penitus insurrexerunt dieribus, cum tempore 1200 et deinceps viginti et octiduum diem illius expectauerunt."

131. *CM* 5:191-2; *EH* 2:405.

132. *CM* 4:197-2; *EH* 2:410-411.

133. See pp. 42-43.

134. In his final 1252 (*CM* 5:317), which may have been written at late in 1255, for the first time Roger is speaking apocalyptic doom in his response to the complaints of his faithful and learned dinner companion Roger de Twyberke concerning the injuries inflicted by foreigners upon Englishmen, for he replies that the sensation belongs to read the saying that "in the last days there shall be men who beat themselves" and have no regard for their neighbors 12 Timothy 3:1-3).

135. The more standard accounts of the abbey's history are also recorded a place in both the *Glossa Mariani* and the *Historia Anglorum*, where the election and obituary notices

for the abbots of St. Albans, beginning with Paul of Caen in 1096, are evoked by tailed drawings of miters and crozier in the margins. The death of William de Trumpington in 1235 is signalled on fol. 92r in MS B by a small drawing showing the upper half of the abbot's recumbent body, dressed in cope and mitre and holding a crozier, as if would-be have appeared lying in state before burial or in his tomb effigy (see GA 1.300–302). Curiously, however, no pictorial symbol is given for the election of his successor, John of Hereford, under whose abbacy Matthew spent this whole working career as chronicler and artist. The only other abbots similarly treated with 1200s are Erleham (two entries) and Westminster (died 1246).

136. See GM 2.336–338.

137. *Bele Historia Ecclesiarum* 1.7 15–21.

138. See Gramscius, *Historical Writing*, pp. 20–21; Robert W. Hanning, *The View of History in Early Britain, from Gildas to Geoffrey of Monmouth* (New York 1966), p. 27. Bele seems to have copied some of his miracle stories, such as that see from about 1080, see W. Meyer, "Die Legende des hl. Albanus des Prämonstratensers in Angeln in 'Texen vor Beda,'" *Abhandlungen der Evangelischen Gesellschaft in Göttingen, PÄL - für Klein*, n.s. 8 (1902), W. Levison, "Bele as Historian," in *Bele, His Life, Times and Works*, ed. A. Hamilton Thompson (Oxford 1933), p. 145.

139. A seriously framed text addition, surrounded by a red line shaded in hatched green, occurs on p. 270 next to the illustration of the finding of the relics of St. Amphibolus, another example to be seen on fol. 177 in MS B.

140. GM 1.151.

141. See O. Fierb, C. R. Dodwell, and F. Wormald, *The St. Albans Psalter* (London 1965), pp. 8–9.

142. As reported by Matthew Paris himself in the *Genoa Abbatia* 1.189c: "Ego pater venerabilis Abbas Sanchi 11166–1123] ex eo tempore cepit povero et superius thesaurum non medicum sibi et agrario, et grammario presonario, dilectissimo condare, et decano ceterorum . . . cepit per manus preedictorum archidiaconi, Magistri Johannis, magistri Thibauti . . . et loci vice camerarii, licet, supra hanc partem aliam, contra locum celebratis collegium, ut in loco et in cunctis habitis quilibet ecclesiam Missam super idem aliam Martini memoriam, idoneo in obsequio huius celebratus, Martini emolens, scilicet, decemlibus, signatum."

143. See Lowe and Jacob, *Manuscripts*, pp. 11–12.

144. On the nature of the woody cloak, see p. 112 and p. 157 below. McCulloch, "Saints Alban and Amphibolus," p. 279, points out that the unusual form of St. Alban's cross, representing above the crossbar in a circular disk being an image of the crucified Christ, as described by William of Malmesbury in his fourteenth-century list of relics belonging to St. Albans in *Memorabilia Anglorum*, § L. MS Cotton Cleone E. 15, fol. 349: "Iam habetur hic cruce septimo quoniam beatus Albanus in manibus suis hanc passivis crucem, cum inscriptione formata ad nostrum formam, et habet et thalera ymaginosa quoniam ipse ymaginosa signavit." In 1766 MS 177 Mac-stow depicts this cross with a crucifix appearing on the disk only once (fol. 9c). In the *Genoa Abbatia* 1.23d, Paris records that the relic ("the very cross that Amphibolus had given to Alban, stained with the martyr's blood at his beheading") had been recovered in London by Abbot William de Trumpington (1214–1225) and returned to the abbey.

145. See Jane E. Sayers, "Papal Privileges for St. Albans Abbey and Its Dependencies," *The Study of Medieval Records: Essays in Honour of Katherine Major* (Oxford 1971), p. 58.

146. CM 1.259, cf. FM 1.864. Here Paris inserted in the margin, "Ante hoc conditus fuit omnia vestimenta quoniam confecti est Olla de fundamento et pimentationibus conditus Sanchi Albani, quoniam potest sciri per verba cause alior, quoniam ipse propriam statum signavit faciens obsequia ad principis usum." Matthew had illustrated Olla's departure for Rome and his reception by Pope Adrian II on a lost cow drawing between fols. 81 and 82 in the Bodley manuscript of the *Vie de Saint Alban*, of which copies may be seen on fols. 22v and 23 in MS Cotton New D. 1. See Lowe and Jacob, *Illustrations*, p. 36.

147. See Levison, "St. Alban and St. Albans," *Antiquary* 83 (1911), pp. 339–54, who cites the case of the monastery of Goldhill, which continued to have acquired the relics between 1123 and 1142. That Matthew was aware of Ely's claim to the relics of St. Alban is documented by his marginal addition in the *Genoa Abbatia* 1.88–89, where he reported Pope Adrian IV's appointment of three bishops to examine Ely's claim. In another interpolation Matthew fabricated a story of the relics being transferred from St. Alban to Ely under Abbot Adric (ca. 970–990) to counter the rival claim. See Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, pp. 294–295, who regards Ely's account as far more plausible than Paris's clumsy counterclaim. The projected contest between Ely and St. Albans over the relics is described by George C. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion*, III (Cambridge 1936), pp. 134–136.

148. CM 1.256.

149. GA 1.4.

150. Few claims of religious houses dating before the late twelfth century are above suspicion. It is doubtful, however, that Matthew was aware that the St. Albans document was fraudulent. In the Middle Ages the kind of "forgery" was hardly considered a serious crime, notwithstanding the fact that several medieval writers, including Pseudo-Orosius (see GM 1.221–225), looked a glance at the practice. If a monastic house required a written document to support its title to property in a lawsuit or in claim to exemption in a jurisdictional dispute, particularly where it concerned the priory land of the abbey, an appropriate charter would be created to establish the "truth" for posterity. See Gollub, *Studies in the Public Records*, pp. 48–50, Clancy, *From Monastery to Manor Record*, pp. 179–200 (cf. John Manly, *Review to Speculum* 56 [1082], p. 111).

151. L. F. Brudenell Wilkins, *History of the Abbey of St. Alban* (London 1935), p. 12.

152. See Sayers, "Papal Privileges," pp. 30–34.

153. CM 6.1, n. 2.

154. See CM 4.508–512.

155. CM 4.502. Matthew's drawing of King Othello on 117 very probably dates from this late period, so that the two illustrations may be separated by a maximum of a decade.

156. *Actus SS. Albanus et Amphiboli*, in *Actus Sancti Albanus*, *Index IV* (Antwerp 1707), pp. 146–150.

157. See Claude Jeunin, *The Monastic Chronicle and the Early School of St. Albans* (London 1922), pp. 29–30. See also McCulloch, "Saints Alban and Amphibolus," p. 267, who points out that amphibolus, a rare word denoting "woody cloak," was first mistaken for a proper name by Gildas, *Bele*

had called it a *surcraffe*. Although Matthew does not represent it as his drawing for the *Chronica Mayora*, the early brown wool of the cloak is meticulously rendered throughout the illustrations in his *Vie de Saint Albain*.

152. *CM* 2:301-302.

153. *CM* 2:302-304.

156. *CM* 2:322-23. *FH* 2:386.

161. Matthew's only other representation of St. Albans occurs on the traces right margin of fol. 65v in MS Roy. 43. D. V, a collection of historical works belonging to St. Albans in which Peter also made a number of marginal drawings. Identified by a caption in his small narrative hand ("Nota de sancto Albano"), the small sketch in dark blue ink shows a tower surmounted by a cross and two crosses. In the *Gene Abbatis* (1:286) Matthew described how the tower was rebuilt to an increased height and was roofed with lead under Abbot William de Trumpington (1184-82/5).

162. *CM* 2:32-33; cf. *FH* 2:436.

163. On the siege and capture of Bedford Castle, see Ponsick, *King Henry III*, I, pp. 63-66. For the career of the Norman knight in England, consult Kress, *Udozo de Bona*; "Faukes de Breant," *PLD*, diis. (Stanford 1974).

164. *CM* 3:86, cf. *FH* 2:453.

165. *CM* 3:87, cf. *FH* 2:453.

166. *CM* 3:88-89, cf. *FH* 2:454-455. Matthew Paris was not the only English chronicler to have harbored a deep resentment against the Norman knight. The Worcester localist calls Faukes de Breant "both feign and ignoble" (*Annals Monachi*, IV, p. 216). On monastic warfare between foreigners during King John's reign, see Grauden, *Historical Writing*, pp. 334-335.

167. Quoted by Grauden, *Historical Writing*, p. 335. See also the *Venerabile Coronicum*, in *Anglo-Saxonorum*, III, p. 89.

168. *CM* 3:89-92.

169. *CM* 3:92; cf. *FH* 2:484-485.

170. As Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, p. 213, has pointed out, the drawing transferred with the paper heading across the top of the page, turning the caption of "pore" from "De tempore regis Henrici III," which indicates that the drawing must have been made before the page headings were inserted to 8250-1258.

171. *CM* 5:325, cf. *EH* 2:508-517.

172. *CM* 5:325-326; cf. *FH* 2:516-17.

173. See Geoffrey Barraclough, *The Medieval Papacy* (New York 1968), pp. 182-183. On the growth of papal jurisdiction from Gregory VII to Innocent III, see Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth 1970), pp. 100-105.

174. See Robert Brandom, *Two Churches: England and the Pope in the Thirteenth Century* (Princeton 1968), pp. 19-20.

175. *CM* 2:514.

176. See Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, p. 135.

177. *CM* 2:630-635.

178. Although the figure is wearing a triangular bishop's mitre, the cross-staff may have been intended to single him out as Innocent III. In the later sections of the *Chronica Mayora*, as well as in the *Historia Anglorum*, the cross-staff is given consistently as a distinctive papal insignia. For example, on fol. 83v in MS Roy. 14. C. VII to mark the election of Innocent IV on 6 Oct. 1268 for his death (see Fig. 169). According to E. Müser, "La croce pontificale del XIII e XIV secolo."

Mémoires de l'Institut National de France, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 36 (1848), p. 255. During the period of Innocent III the papal tiara is documented as having been designated a symbol of temporal power that was never worn inside the church, while the successors of St. Peter always carried the pastoral cross.

179. This ecclesiastical detail occurs only once in the isolated instance in the *Chronica Mayora* but appears in several of the pictures of St. Albans abbots in the *Gene Abbatis*. On fol. 60v in the *Dublin Abbe* the tulle on Abbot Willgodt's chasuble depicted by a pale blue tulle similar to that used on fol. 43v in *Corpus Christi* MS 16.

180. Stephen Kuttner and Antonio García y García, "A New Evidential Account of the Fourth Lateran Council," *Traditio* 20 (1964), pp. 130-131, observed that several chroniclers mention the immense crowds, taking their cue from the phrase "angustis aditus restitutum" as the official notice of the Council. Other sources reported a fantastic tale of the mass self-cannibalism of prelates: "Sub presura multitudine episcoporum, abbatum et quorundam aliorum in concilio spiritum sustinere" (*Monasterium Germaniae Histories, Scripturae*, XXX, pt. 1 [Hannover 1896], 581:25-28, 584:29-30). But another source is a letter written in the spring of 1216 from Rome merely complained that "propter turbandam populi quietem nono convenerunt vilius," he could not bear the pope's sedition.

181. Inscribed within a rough frame below: "Hoc concilio generali facti sub Papa Innocentio anno gratiae MCCXII. presentes fuerunt ex toto mundo principes, archiepiscopi et 121 episcopi etc. in 111 abbatibus vero et preseres decem." At the left of this is rubric: "Matthew added: 'Protheca in pectus pectusque pro totum duntaxat. Operam duntaxat pectusque propaga. Conspicimusque, Abbatibus, Anacretum, Innocentiumque. Alii prope duntaxat preseres, Asperitatem, Grandemque, Cantuariensem, Brevitatem, et ceteros, sicut se quondamque concilio pariterque'."

182. See Beuynck, *Two Churches*, pp. 10-16, who quotes Archbishop William Wake's copy of 1698 as a letter dated from the volume; see *The Register of William Wake, Lord Archbishop of York*, ed. William Brown, Surrey Society 112 (Durham 1907), pp. 203-204, 206-208. For Matthew Paris, see *CM* 5:524.

183. Matthew's reply objections to the promulgation of Innocent IV do not appear in the *Gene Abbatis* until 1235, when his excommunication had to direct a new abbot, see *GA* 1:305-309 and 312. See Williams, *Abbot of St. Albans*, pp. 109-109, and Knebel, *Religious Orders*, I, pp. 271-279.

184. *GA* 1:272.

185. *GA* 1:273: "Ideo etiam Abbas Willhelmus, cum solito Cottone, accepta licentia, cum beneficiis vellet recedere, Papa in universis non respecto, dem in Papa 'Nuncio tu es Abbas Sancti Albani, quo tota pro regeborum beneficia a nostro Sede sancta conservantur. Sicque deponi saltem in vestram vitam, me, Papa, non suspicet, recedat.' Et cum objectiones quinquaginta mitteret, sancte redarguitur. cunctis enim, iniquam cunctis a cunctis Papa (in quam quatuordecim sunt) pectus, non sicut 121 episcopi cunctis vestris Papa, super adiutorem certum duntaxat non foveret. Quos vultus ab Innocentio Curia non sicut datus accepti conditionibus. Levius tamen hoc tunc Abbe, et acquiescit, quia hoc idem fecit Papa prelatos universos."

186. See Achille Luchaire, "Innocent III et le quatrième concile de Latran," *Revue d'histoire* 97 (1908), pp. 221-242. Matthew Paris was not the best English chronicler to imitate the popular slender against the papacy elevated at the great church councils of the High Middle Ages. As Laurent Couvreur III (1170, *Walter Map, De nugis curiarum*, trans. F. Wupper and M. B. Cople (London 1924), pp. 102-103, reported that he learned the following etymological acronym "the name Roma . . . is made upon the letters Rom and Grand M and A, and the definition, being unto the word inch, a Runic acronym makes in answer 'I' (God is the root of all evil)."

187. *Thotomagus de Luce Historia Ecclesiastica* 24, quoted by Richard Krieger, *rom, Rome: Profile of a City, 312-1908* (Princeton 1980), p. 204; see also his Fig. 162.

189. Luchaire, "Innocent III et le peuple romain," *Revue d'histoire* 31 (1902), pp. 242-244. One of the cynosures of Rome in the later Middle Ages, the *Tiro de' Cami* was a remarkable coded made of three enormous superimposed blocks. The oldest surviving representation, reproduced by G. S. de Ross, *Plano topografico e prospettivo di un'area di viale XVI* (Rome 1876), p. 32, pl. 1, also Vatican MS 1960, dating from the first half of the fourteenth century, shows the uppermost block crowned by a heliometer which overhangs the tower with a very pronounced projection, thus explaining contemporary references to the great height of the structure. See also F. Berens, *Stroma di Roma, X* (Rome 1927), Pl. XXIII; *Itinerary, Rome Before Augustus: A Social History of Antiquarian-Century Rome* (London 1974), pp. 102-103.

180. See Vaughan, *Manuscripts Paris*, pp. 127-29, for a discussion of Paris as a recorder. His personal collection of typical signs and symbols is preserved in Cambridge University Library MS Ed. 11. 36.

189. Quoted by Charles J. Hefele and M. Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux*, V, pt. 2 (Paris 1913), pp. 663-6634; see Franz Wöhler, "Schriftzeichen-Jordanus von Osnabrück," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Geschichte der Geisteswissenschaften* 19 (1908), pp. 393-395, and 24 (1909), pp. 353-364.

191. *CM* 2:160, cf. *FH* 332.

192. *CM* 3:647; cf. *FH* 2:337-338.

193. See Luchaire, "Peuple romain," p. 255.

194. *CM* 1:7; cf. *FH* 2:372-383.

195. Among the large number of pictorial and architectural compositions inspired by the Holy Face, the prayer of Innocent III is the oldest and occurs for the first time in the *Chronicar Martini*; see Solange Cahier, "Les Officiers de la Sainte Face," *Bulletin des études portugaises* 11 (1947), pp. 27-28. An illustration to this is in his preface to the Veronica (*CM* 4:7), hereafter, to be effective the prayer must be recited in the presence of the image: "Mittis apud caedem nostram cum pertinentiam monachis ruzum naturalis, et ut eos major sacerdotis devotio, pietatis, et dignitas nos coeod."

196. Matthew's hand begins at the top of the page in the left-hand column and continues down to first line from the bottom, in which point the previous scribe takes over again. Like the panel inscription is cut right to the four edges of the picture; and the outer line of the frame was cut after the willow stems were painted onto the folio.

197. Although the head had been attributed to Matthew by James, "Drawings," no. 44 and Pl. XXIX, both Richter, *Painting in Britain*, rev. ed., p. 109, and Vaughan, *Manuscripts*

Paris, p. 222, rightly regard the drawings on fols. 269v-271r as the Westminster Psalter to have been inspired by Paris's style, if not copied from his works, but clearly executed by another hand.

198. In this list may also be added the contemporary drawing of the head of Christ on fol. 152r in a fourteenth-century English Breviary in Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal MS 133; see H. Morgan, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal*, I (Paris 1885), no. 135, p. 72.

199. MS Arundel 157 contains a Psalter and Hours of the Virgin and is prefaced by a Chronological cycle of full-page miniatures on fols. 3-12v in an early thirteenth-century style closely related to the Munich Psalter (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cln 835). The inclusion of the face (not of St. Bridewise in the Calendar suggests that it was made for Oxford use, perhaps for a prominent baronial patron. See *The Year 1200*, no. 260, pp. 266-267; Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, no. 24, pp. 72-73 and Figs. 38-42.

200. Richter, *Painting in Britain*, rev. ed., p. 66, n. 32, in a somewhat confused reference, noted that the Veronica was done in Matthew Paris's style, while Paris, "The Anglo-Norman Dialect and its Roman Ancestry," *Neophilologus* 10 (1916), p. 402, n. 85, relegated it to "the circle of Matthew Paris." Although the drawing is unequivocally by Matthew, the gold leaf was probably applied by a professional illuminator who possibly also had a hand in painting the image.

201. Also on the hand at the top of fol. 14, facing the painted Veronica, Paris gives another account of the prayer composed "in honor effigis rutilae de Domini" and the indulgence "in signis decem periculis huius" whereas per indulgentiam crucis expressit figuram."

202. See Pichl, "Anglo-Norman Dialect," p. 406.

203. See *Beaumont, Rome Before Augustus*, p. 54; George B. Peck, *The English Forester's Marks* (Stanford 1934), p. 245 and Pl. 24. All the examples cited by L. Ross, *Archeologie de l'art chrétien*, II, pt. 2 (Paris 1957), p. 90, and P. Berthoin, "En la Veronique et de Sainte Veronique," *Seminarium Romanicum* 5 (1932), pp. 1-15, date from the fourteenth century and here.

204. See Ernst von Dobschütz, *Christenbilder: Uebersicht über christliche Legende* (Leipzig 1891), pp. 185-187; Severo Ruffiniano, "Some Remarks on the Image of Edessa," *Catholic Historical Journal* 3 (1913), p. 251. A small oval-shaped image of Christ, painted on a wooden panel, was brought to France in the mid-thirteenth century and is now in Liège Cathedral; see André Grabar, *Le Saint-Face de Liège. Le Mystère d'un Pan théologique* (Paris 1931); idem, "La Tradition des théophanes du Christ en orbite chrétien," *Archives des sciences d'histoire de Paris* 1 (1943), pp. 27-78. The Liège example probably inspired the Holy Face elegantly rendered on fol. 85 in the Psalter and Hours of Yolande de Soissons (Munich MS M. 730) dating from 1275 to 1285; see Karen Gould, *The Psalter and Hours of Yolande de Soissons* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), pp. 80-94.

205. Pichl, "Anglo-Norman Dialect," pp. 405-406. Although the picture itself was kept in the Oratory of John VI at St. Peter's until 1525, when it disappeared during the sack of Rome, and if they well have been an *exemplar* in going back to the early eighth century, it is safe to assume that the association with the Veronica legend apparently did not occur before the

early twelfth century. Dobson, *Chivalry*, pp. 197–202, observed that at some point in the medieval development of legends concerning miraculous images, a connection is typically made between a purely literary tradition and a concrete object. According to Joseph Wilpert, *The Miracles of Madonna and Michael*, II (Frankfurt 1971), pp. 1123–1125, who was permitted to examine the relic of the Brown Madonna in close detail, it still exists as a square piece of gold (coloured by age and marked by two amethysts) and various signs. In Wilpert's opinion (repeated and endorsed by Pichler), the likeness of Christ was passed onto the original cloth relic no earlier than the close of the twelfth century. The picture later became detached from the *Madonna* before it was lost altogether.

206. Gerone of Tilbury *Chis Invenitio* 325, quoted by Dobson, *Chivalry*, pp. 292–293; see also p. 302. Gerone's account was possible on the only earlier document available to Matthew. The Veronica was mentioned as early as Beke (*De Loco Sacerdotii* 5), who refers to a linen cloth (*linum*), as well as in the almost contemporary account given by Gerald of Wales *Opera et Merita* 6, 84. J. S. Brewer, *Gesta Stephani Opera*, IV (Rolls Series 1873), pp. 278–279, who carefully distinguished the cloth image in St. Peter's from a painted portrait in the *Kaiserin*. To my knowledge, however, the only thirteenth-century English representation of the Veronica is an image on cloth shown on fol. 13 of the *Gutenberg Apocalypse*.

207. See Rickett, *Painting in Britain*, 107 ed. p. 125. Perhaps the closest artistic link to Winchester, however, may be noted in the elegant collar ornament in Matthew's *Arundel Veronica*, consisting of a series of rectangles containing eight-pointed flowers with leaves fitting the ornaments, which occurs in an artistic of imaginary palatial border from Winchester Cathedral; see D. W. Thompson, *English Medieval Wall Painting*, II (Oxford 1950), Pl. 439.

208. Edgar Breunbach, "The *Veronica* and the *Veronica* Image of St. Peter's," *Monist* 10 (1925), pp. 35–37, has suggested that the head of Christ, with its characteristic garlands, may have been represented in St. Alban by means of Gerone of Tilbury's *Alapa Alapa*. As the top of the *Alapa Alapa* (see Fig. 122), which was presumably based on a cartographic illustration attached to the *Chis Invenitio*, is a head with a large *Alapa* (crown), flanked by an Alpha and Omega in white letters on a red ground. The map is certainly associated with Gerone of Tilbury, who died in the Benedictine abbey at Eborac in 1235 (see Jocelyn Lullin, *Alapa Alapa* [Wurzburg 1953], pp. 89–90), and Gerone was sent to a diplomatic mission in Henry III in 1229. Although the *Alapa* image was at first placed upon a framed *Alapa* design, as in a *Veronica*, but the head of Christ's *Alapa*, whose hands and feet embrace the other three sides of the *Alapa* itself.

209. Evidence for the circulation of copies of the Roman *Alapa* Christ occurs in a letter sent by Jacques Ponsard (also Lybau IV) at 1249, accompanying such a replica requested by a community of Clonmacnoise 1249 at Merriford; see Karl Pearson, *Die Ponsard* 210 (London 1912), pp. 82–83; also Dobson, *Chivalry*, p. 297.

210. The *Alapa* itself is very thin and imperfect. A small rectangular patch 138 × 18 mm. may be observed on the verso covering a small hole above Christ's right shoulder,

which cuts through the frame at an oblique angle. The repair was made before the drawing was executed. A similar repair occurs on Matthew's drawing of the *Alapa* of Christ on p. 283 in MS 26; see p. 227.

211. William of Derby, *The Chronicle of St. Mary's Abbey, York*, 31, 132–30, ed. H. E. Cruser and M. B. Thomson (Durham 1931).

212. *CM* 5:31–32; cf. *EH* 2:312.

213. See Meyer Schapiro, "The Image of the Disappearing Christ: The Ascension in English Art Around the Year 1200," *Gaetano's Review* 4:10 (1943), pp. 135–152.

214. These lengthy inscriptions were first brought to light by Luedd, *CM* 6:48–49. See Hilgers, *Kaiser und Papstbrief*, pp. 53–61; cf. Vaughan, *Matthew's Letters*, pp. 17–44, 132–133. A series of four letters exchanged between Pope Gregory IX and Germanus, dating from 1232, was transcribed into the *Red Book of the Bishopric* as well as the *Chronica Majora*, but variant readings reveal that neither could have derived from the other and that both depended on a collector made at the Curia and entered into the papal register. The letter quoted here from *CM* 3:448–455 is given in Latin and Greek by J. D. Mans, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, XXI, (Paris 1903), p. 47. The text seems to have reached England in connection with Cardinal Otto's legation in 1237 and the Legatine Council at London.

215. *CM* 3:446–447; cf. *EH* 1:96–97.

216. *CM* 3:448–455; cf. *EH* 1:96–99, 101–102, 105.

217. See Southern, *Western Society and its Church*, pp. 43–54.

218. *CM* 3:454: "Nunc domo inquam in propriis facie celebratione reproducere videtur. cum super speculum se inclinat. et ab alio reflectitur. quoniam in circulo facit habet. sic torquet. sic cogit."

219. See Brant, *Ships of Medieval Europe*, pp. 70–80.

CHAPTER 3

1. *CM* 4:314.
2. See Graafland, *Historical Writing*, p. 273.
3. Gieseler, *Historical Writing*, p. 361.
4. As Gilchrist, "Good King and Bad King in Medieval English History," *History* 30 (1941), p. 120, remarks, chronicles' "statements on rulers were pronounced in mass sentiment and as such were moral verdicts upon an individual ruler, not proclamations of national feeling."
5. *CM* 1:65–66. Cf. Peter Comestor, *Historia Secularis*, ff. 108^v–109^r–109.
6. Enclosed within a circular frame, the image was probably modeled after the ruler's effigy on the great seal of the English king (see Fig. 41). In addition to fol. 5 in Eton MS 96, similar representations of Alexander appear in B. L. MS Cotton Vaticanus B. VII, fol. 50^v, and in the Cleveland Roll, CMS 73:2.
7. J. S. P. Tolke, *The Legendary History of Britain* (Berkeley 1901), pp. 312–314, cites Florence of Worcester, Roger of Howden, and William of Malmesbury, who had entries set their royal history side by side with Alexander.
8. See George Cary, *The History of the Conquerors* (Cambridge 1956), pp. 165–166, 173–174, and 192–202.

9. A typical thirteenth-century representation in Cambridge University Library MS Kk. 2. 25, fol. 180, portrays Alexander at a proud despot whose conical legged pose is undoubtedly associated with bad rulers such as Herod or Antichrist. See Brigger, *English Art*, pp. 149-150 and Fig. 50. Matthew also undoubtedly justifies his illustrious genealogy in his illustrated *Life of St. Albans* in Dublin on fol. 72-73.

10. James, *Western Manuscripts 14* Trinity College, Cambridge, III, pp. 484-491, who suggested a link with St. Alban and Matthew's Plutei, but Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, p. 139, convincingly selected such a connection on stylistic grounds. Although the provenance of the Trinity manuscript is uncertain, the recutlar version of the tree appears to have been compiled at St. Albans; see F. P. Magrath, "The Companion of St. Albans and the Old French Prose Alexander Romance," *Speculum* 1 (1926), pp. 225-232. Also Brian Short led *The Anglo-Norman Alexander: Le roman de l'oise d'Alencie* by Thomas of Kent (London 1976-1977).

11. Schäfer, *Handbuch der christlichen Kunst*, III (Gibuzen 1975), pp. 31-40 and Fig. 94, cites an early thirteenth-century English statue at Munich, Bavertische Staatbibliothek, Clm. 833, fol. 29, where the feet of the Maestas Domini rest on the two beasts.

12. Date in Paris's loose, monumental late style, the drawing (186 x 125 mm.) has a blank reverse and is pinned onto a binding strip in the manuscript. The inscription in red and blue minuscule across the top reads: "REX EGRO SPH TRIPLEX QVA SACRATA ONIA SIMPLEX CONDITA QUODVE REGO TRIVRS ET UNVS REGO." Two crowns flank that of Christ, symbolizing the Trinity, while nine other crowns surround the figure to form a regal apse (framework for the canonical King. Below, again in blue and red, is: "EST MEA MAIESTAS CVM DVNCTA FORESTAS."

13. See A. R. Anderson, *Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog* (Cambridge, Mass. 1932). Gary, *Medieval Alexander*, p. 130, cites Jerome *Epistola* 77.3; *Historia of Arcum De Georgio Mando* 8.11 (*PL* 872: 123) and Ralph Dromis, *Alexander's Characorum*, § (Roth Sarum 1870), p. 48.

14. The Anglo-Norman genealogy is recorded on two strips of vellum tacked together, Gerould, "Merlin's Prophecies," p. 102, observes that such dynamic rolls had the advantage of giving a succinct and easily managed summary of past events and apparently served the additional purpose of providing a ready reference to the source. See De Ricci and Wilson, *Catalogue*, II (1927), p. 1175; Clancy, *From Memory to Written Record*, p. 112.

15. See p. 59 and n. 120. Another example of used drawings in framed minuscule (illustrating Pope of France's genealogy) may be cited in B. J., MS Cotton. Faustina B. VI, fols. 45-74, dating from 1206 to 1216, see Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, No. 436, pp. 98-99. Much later thirteenth-century versions of this roll are in roll form with elaborate penwork diagrams comparable to those in Princeton MS 59, c. 8., B. L. MS Roy 14, B. IX and MSS Lat. 40, b. 11 f. and Lat. th. c. 21 f. in the Bodleian Library; see Warner and Gibson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts*, II, p. 127, and Otto Pacht and J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, II (Oxford 1973), Nos. 429-430.

16. Several in various poses against burnished gold grounds, the kings and queens in the Abingdon Chroicoke

hold scepters backward less distinguishing attributes, and they more closely approach the forms and distribution of Matthew's seventh and small framed figures of the second folio of St. Albans in the *Great Abbeys* in MS Cotton Nero D. I, fols. 30-64. See J. Stevenson, *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, [I. Roll Series 1886], pp. 21-24. Harby, *Descriptive Catalogue*, II, pp. 470-471, Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, No. 41, pp. 69-90, Fig. 118, and Briggs, *English Art*, p. 138.

17. See Brigger, *English Art*, pp. 132-40.

18. After much hesitation, noting James's uncertainty, Vaughan, *Matthew's Plutei*, pp. 113, 219, 223, 228-232, attributed the genealogical portraits to later manuscripts in Matthew, concluding that they are "probably the latest surviving examples of Matthew's ancestry." See also Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, p. 105.

19. On Matthew's *Plutei* manuscript preserved in MS 6742 in Chesham's Library, Manchester, see Vaughan, *Matthew's Plutei*, pp. 62-109.

20. Not was it initial for the *Flora Britannica* in Matthew's style. Matthew abandoned work on this 1249 and the style of the drawing in the genealogy is clearly later, dating from the 1250s.

21. On the other hand, the potential genealogy could have been intended or used alone as a small pamphlet of only the folios 20-4 which, once provided with short explanatory texts, would have been compatible to the standard genealogical roll in Princeton MS 57, which also includes Anglo-Norman royal portraits at linked roundels.

22. See CM 8, 16-23; Hanning, *Visual History*, p. 149, notes that in Geoffrey of Monmouth's account (*Historia Regum Britanniae* 2.17-48), the destruction of the giant Gogmagog by Brutus's lieutenant Corineus represents the triumph of a young civilization over the strange forces of nature.

23. CM 1923-24, cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth *Historia Regum Britanniae* 2.2-5.

24. See CM 1, 120-137, and Geoffrey of Monmouth *Historia Regum Britanniae* 4.19-5.1. Matthew inserted a small drawing of King Lucius's baptism (see Fig. 22), inscribed in his late hand. "Key factor prima in aperta," in the margin of fol. 19 in MS Roy 23, f. VI, a early thirteenth-century copy of Doria's *Ymagines Britanniae* belonging to St. Albans. However, another possible identification for the king at the lower right on fol. 4 in the *Alexandria Chronicon* would be Aurelius Ambrosius, the brother of Uther Pendragon, who installed new archbishops in London and York after deposing Hengist, the Saxon king-in-law of Vortigern, who might be seen as the small throning figure with the bow and arrow; see CM 1, 182-187. Bide, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 14, observed that Ambrosius defeated the Saxons in battle, but Bishop Gildas's account of Ambrosius, in his role of missionary, overcame the Saxons and Picts in a battle of faith (see Hanning, *Visual History*, p. 75), the same Bishop Gildas's figure prominently in Matthew's second cycle of illustrations in the *Witney* *Albus* manuscript.

25. Geoffrey of Monmouth *Historia Regum Britanniae* 2.17; cf. CM 2:155. See Tinline, *Legendary History*, p. 270.

26. CM 1, 247-253; cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth *Historia Regum Britanniae* 8.15. When Aurelius Ambrosius was killed by the Saxons, "a star of great magnitude and brilliance

appeared, with a single beam shining from it. At the end of this beam was a ball of fire, spread out in the shape of a dragon." Merlin then interpreted the sign and its fiery dragon as signify Ultha, from which he was then also called "Fendragan" [dragon's head].

27. *CM* 1:196-222; cf. *Geoffrey of Monmouth Historia Regum Britanniae* 2:1-11. See also Haggling, *Vision of History*, pp. 140 and 168. In later representations dating from the fifteenth century, Arthur's banner, mantle, shield, and sword bear these gold crosses on a blue ground to symbolize his lordship over Britain, Scotland, and England; see R. S. and L. M. Loomis, *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art* (New York 1926), Figs. 11-14.

28. *CM* 1:200, 253 and 278-282.

29. *CM* 1:221, 265-268, 298, 424, and 518-532. A special feast day is observed for St. Owen in St. Albans on August 19.

30. *CM* 1:286-289 reports that King Egbert had brought his two sons and various nephews to the palace where one of the servants, "an son of the devil" named Thunor ("Thunder") was their thorn and buried the bodies under the royal throne. An inscription later revealed the criminal's name; the body was built in house after remains.

31. *CM* 1:446, 450-452; cf. *Brooke, Alfred to Henry III*, p. 148.

32. *CM* 1:451-472; see *Brooke, Alfred to Henry III*, pp. 139-152. Unable to escape the curse of Caer Eborac's whole realm was blighted by the studied. A thirteenth-century chronicler records that he was known as *De-rod* (without reason), an epithet corrupted to "Urnady."

33. See *Brooke, Alfred to Henry III*, p. 83.

34. See pp. 184-185.

35. *Historia Regum Britanniae* 1:3-18, listed in two-point Notitia's *Historia Britannia* 10-12. Rk. 31-49, who provided Britons with a family tree going back to Noah; see Haggling, *Vision of History*, pp. 28-32 and 120; *Geoffrey of Monmouth at King's*, pp. 11 and 208-209.

36. *Geoffrey of Monmouth, History of the Kings of Britain*, Thorne text, pp. 65-66. See *CM* 1:10-20.

37. See *Tillock, Legendary History*, p. 261, who cites Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. M. R. James (London 1923), p. 75.

38. On the medieval conviction that the circle was more efficacious as a vehicle of prophecy than dreams, see *Tillock, Legendary History*, p. 264, who cites Macrobius *Commentary on Saturnian Systems* 1:3, and John of Salisbury *Polytechnic* 2:35.

39. *Geoffrey of Monmouth Historia Regum Britanniae* 2:1; *CM* 1:23.

40. See *CM* 1:31-33.

41. *Geoffrey of Monmouth, History of the Kings of Britain*, pp. 107-108. Cf. *CM* 1:70-75.

42. See Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allogenes of the Visages and Faces in Medieval Art* (New York 1964), p. 27. Erleke Mille, *The Gothic Image* (New York 1958), pp. 124-122.

43. See pp. 110-111.

44. See pp. 221-113. Much of Manlyer's material was taken from the St. Albans copy of William of Malmebury's *Geist Regum*, MS Ray. 1:3 D. V, in which he made notes on King Offa in the margin of fol. 63 identical to those on p. 114

in *Corpus Carolus MS 66*. See Vaughan, "Handwriting," pp. 281-282.

45. See Vaughan, *Manlyer Paris*, pp. 42-45, 189-190, and 204, who surveys the opinion of Louisa Tierspeld, *Kirchliche Untersuchungen über die Quellen des anglosächsischen Geschichtsbüches des Johannes Blockmann* (Leipzig 1871), p. 122 ff., that the work which had been attributed by Luard, Chenevix, and Rogers to a St. Albans monk of the twelfth century was in fact written by Matthew Paris. James Roger Wendover did not use the *Vita Offarum*, failing to mention Offa I or any legends concerning Offa II. Vaughan assumes that it was not even when he was writing the early part of the *Chronica Majora*.

46. *CM* 1:320; cf. *PH* 1:126.

47. This early Offa has no connection with the legendary Offa IIaas attributed by Matthew as a military leader in the *Vita Offarum*. However, the lives of the two Offas are mutually linked by the premiss of Offa I to found a monastery, which remained unfulfilled until his descendant Offa II founded St. Albans; see Vaughan, *Manlyer Paris*, pp. 42 and 189-190.

48. See *Brooke, The Saxon and Norman Kings* (London 1961), pp. 61-62.

49. *CM* 1:212-214.

50. *CM* 1:221; cf. *FN* 1:220.

51. *CM* 1:421-424; cf. *FR* 1:221. The tradition of a Heptarchy suggests a division of the country far more sharply defined than ever existed following the departure of the Romans and the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons. It is impossible to point to any period in which there were precisely seven kingdoms. See *Brooke, Alfred to Henry III*, p. 31.

52. Based on William of Malmebury *Geist Regum* 1:5, and the *Libellus de Regibus Saxonibus*. All the kings of each kingdom are listed in four parallel columns on the lower half of p. 126. The names of the Kings in black with alternate red and blue initials.

53. Shaped like a rose window, an analogous genealogical scheme may be found in the *Annales de Peres de Breta*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi MS 53, fol. 2. In the *Annales de Bretonne* an unusual genealogical diagram of the Heptarchy appears on fol. 13 next to King Offa (see Fig. 93).

54. *CM* 1:221-222.

55. The leaf immediately following p. 283 was probably cut out in a very early period, judging from the fact that the copy of this genealogy made at St. Albans toward the close of the thirteenth century (MS Cotton Tiberius E. IV, fol. 51) contains it in the same way.

56. Quoted by *Brooke, Alfred to Henry III*, pp. 43-44.

57. Quoted by *Gransden, Historical Reports*, p. 278.

58. *Chronicon Almois Romanense*, ed. W. Thuan Manlyer (Rolls Series 126), pp. 115-126.

59. *CM* 1:298-299; cf. *PH* 1:298. Although the dramatic outline of this folk tale story is found in Henry of Huntingdon, *Wendover's account* is based on the Pictorial cycle known in Ethelred of Rensselaers *Geowaldra Regum Anglorum* (*PL* 107:732); see A. Squire, *Art of the Middle Ages* (London 1961), pp. 89-90.

60. *La Bible de Saint Andrew à Hn*, ed. Luard, p. 33.

61. On the fact there are three-thy sixths in five rows, with three more below and five in the lower part of the page

margen, of which only eleven are colored, on the reverse, forty-two shields are painted in seven rows. No doubt fol. 171r was originally intended as the front sheet and was at some time incorrectly bound back to front. See Trenchard, *Rolls of Arms*, p. 3.

62 See Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, p. 252; Trenchard, *Rolls of Arms*, p. 5. Vaughan has convincingly demonstrated earlier doubts that heraldry could have figured among Matthew's many attainments. The heraldic shields in the margins are identical to those in his narrative drawings. Moreover, his mastery of heraldic terminology is persuasively evinced by the fact that all the shields in the Liber *de nobilitate* conform to the conventions employed accurately in his own hand.

63 Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, p. 253.

64 See Trenchard, *Rolls of Arms*, p. 9.

65 Sudaikū, *Euphrat*, pp. 31-35, points out that the crown was not conceived of as an outward badge of the king but rather as a symbol of the evolving kingdom which extended beyond the level of individual monarchs; see J. Kappas, "Zur Geschichte des Begriffs Corona Regum Frankreich und England," *Germania* 1911, 314-16; also de Kromart, *Symbol der Krone im späten Mittelalter*, ed. M. Hellmann (Darmstadt, 1908), p. 110.

66 See Trenchard, *Rolls of Arms*, p. 71. Later rolls from ca. 1360 give Harold two bars between the leopard's face. The same coat is repeated on fol. 194r at the beginning of the *Historia Anglorum*, but here Matthew experimented in positioning the painted shields on the page. First he apparently decided to insert a small representation of William the Conqueror's arms into the usual *A*, but then he passed over with a new piece of William bearing a fesseed eagle and placed Harold's fesseed shield between the central columns, while moving William's upright coat of arms to the outer margin.

67 *CM* 2:333; cf. *FH* 1:325-326.

68 *HA* 1:5.

69 *MS* Roy 12 C VII, fol. 77. William found William Rufus probably had no armorial bearings, although Henry I 1099 gave used a lion in an emblematic way, and there are grounds for believing that Henry II bore two lions passant guardant. See Trenchard, *Rolls of Arms*, p. 14.

70 *CM* 2:350-51. *Geist*, *Flowers of History*, I, p. 243, would say Rufus appearing in a rose that "perhaps even William Rufus would be satisfied with the palace which has roses here, like at Worcester."

71 An entirely different version Matthew drew a singularly startling image of a tall taper in a tripod candlestick on fol. 310r of the *Historia Anglorum* to signal the unexpected arrival of William, earl of Salisbury, from imprisonment in 1123. In this case the lighted candle had a dove beating on the story, since it was by means of this illumination that William was struck, he consequently ordered a wax taper to be kept burning constantly on the altar of the Virgin, "ut pro nostro hominibus luceret indefinibilem claritate." See *HA* 2:274-275, cf. Roger Wodwore in *CM* 4: 90.

72 *CM* 2:302, cf. *FH* 1:344.

73 *CM* 2:112-113, cf. *Geist* of *Wales De Principibus Illustratione* 3:30.

74 In place of the customary inscription, a second rubric

is given on the margin: "De morte regis Henrici octavi regis anglie regnantis."

75 *CM* 2:164-165; cf. *FH* 1:482-483. Henry's wife, Queen Matilda (Rikida), later went with to the St. Albans Chronicle, mentioning her death (Nov. 27, 1141) "and her soul ascended to heaven, at 45 (years) from infancy and frequent signs and miracles. This blessed queen built a house for lepers in London . . . which at called in that day the hospital of St. Margaret . . . Next to Woburn's obituary (*CM* 2:324) on p. 220 in *MS* 26 Matthew drew an inverted crown and at the bottom of the page commemorated Matilda's foundation of the lepers' hospital with a large ornate sketch of the building ("Matilda regina fundavit hospitale Londonie") (see Fig. 47). The only other English queen to be given a personal marker in the *Chronica Majora* is Isabella, widow of King John and queen mother, whose death in 1249 is signaled by an inverted crown on fol. 202r in *MS* 16. References to women are rarely dignified by the addition of marginal drawings or rubric. The only other female recipients of such personal distinctions are Empress Matilda (d. 1152), wife of Henry I of Germany and mother of Henry III of England, whose obituary is accompanied by a small fesseed drawing of her scepter and crown (p. 10 rubric, on fol. 72 in the *Historia Anglorum*), Empress Isabella, widow of Henry III and wife of Frederick II, whose death in 1241 is marked by a small crown on fol. 132r in *MS* 16; and Isabella, Countess of Cornwall (d. 1249), whose obituary on fol. 229r in *MS* Roy 12 C VII is accompanied by a fesseed shield of her bird head seen in the long blood stream which was shaved off in penance for her sin as she was dying on childbirth.

76 See Henderson, "Remarks and Prints on Some Medieval English Seals," *Am. Hist. Rev.* (1976), pp. 36-37.

77 Matthew employed the same device to mark the various crucial moments in the coronation of King John (1199 Fig. 201), and again on fol. 119 where a tipped mirror denotes the election of bishops resulted by Henry III in 1230 in the large gallery on fol. 9 of the *Historia Anglorum* (IV VII) the liturgical emblematic sign of Henry the Younger is expressed by relegating this portion to a small box in a line between the eschewed offices of Henry II and Richard. The inverted shield marking the death of the prince is the linear margin of p. 276 (again demarcated, with "Vici" and "Non") which is set and thick respectively under the two halves; above is the rubric, "Coram et acurum Henrici regis junioris qui vivente patre obiit."

78 On the reverse King Richard is shown on horseback, wearing a hawk and a heron of that style but behind, his shield bears three lion passant guardant in pale: "RICARDUS REX NORWICHOPHY ET AQUINOPHY ET CORDIS ANGGVRYAY." See Trenchard, *Rolls of Arms*, p. 14; Barck, *Catalogue of Seals*, I, p. 14, No. 37, p. 92, 95 mm., attached to Canon Charter XVI 1, which contains the following notice giving the reason for the adoption of the second seal: "Dilecti spiritus Choro per abbas W. Elyetris Episcopi Caballarii nostri, ad die Decembris, anno regis nostri anno. In era, anno, anno ante in prelo impio sigillo nostro, sigillo aliquando privilegio fuit, et, ubi capto est in hunc, in statu potestate conservato, conservato est."

79 *CM* 2:348-350.

80 *CM* 2:254-257; cf. *FH* 2:170-170.

81 *HA* 2:76. Here, however, the pair of the upturned

shield is paired in the canton, which faces downward, also strong with an arrow in the notch; and the two swords have been omitted.

12. See Galbraith, "Good Kings and Bad Kings," p. 126.

13. An anonymous contemporary perception of John as "the king of ill repute," see H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, *The Government of Medieval England* (Elihu 1963), pp. 31–32; Gerald of Wales, fol. 101 verso; characteristic John as "causam tyrannicam, atrocitatem et tyrannicam parantissimam causam ipsamque tyrannicam omnium tyrannicissimam" (*De Principis Instructione*, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, VIII [Rolls Series 1891], p. 32ff.).

14. Graudenius, *Historical Writing*, p. 258, remarks on the notable exception of Geoffrey of Canterbury's almost hysterical abuse of John in his *Contra* begun in 1188 and in the *Grata Regum* (1190–1200).

15. On the distortions and general unreliability of these accounts of John, see Galbraith, *King Windsor and Middlesex Poem*, pp. 15–40 and 54–57; W. L. Warren, *King John* (London 1968), pp. 11–45; Graudenius, *Historical Writing*, p. 266.

16. *CM* 2:562; cf. *FH* 2:115.

17. *CM* 2:455; cf. *FH* 2:811.

18. *CM* 2:454–456; cf. *FH* 2:181.

19. A similar sketch of a round church hall is given on fol. 49r in the Aberdeen Chaucer.

20. *Williams, Abbey of St. Alban*, p. 93.

21. See *CM* 2:456.

22. *CM* 2:504; *GA* 1:125.

23. *Selwath, England*, pp. 41–43.

24. *HA* 2:152; cf. *CM* 2:647.

25. See Warren, *King John*, pp. 223–224; Brooke, *Alfred in Henry III*, pp. 219–220.

26. *CM* 2:578; cf. *FH* 2:128.

27. *CM* 2:589; cf. *FH* 2:300.

28. *CM* 2:580; cf. *FH* 2:300–301.

29. *CM* 2:580; cf. *FH* 2:301.

30. *CM* 2:622–623; cf. *FH* 2:336–337. See above pp. 87–88.

31. *CM* 2:581: "Petrusque Deo reconciliatus sic ad illud regnum, post decessu Raynbro, subiecto ecclesie, nullis rebus premissis, sed omnino amicus advenit."

32. Warren, *King John*, p. 224.

33. See J. C. Holt, "The St. Albans Chauciers and Magna Carta," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 14 (1964), pp. 77–78.

34. See Warren, *King John*, pp. 236–237.

35. See Flohr, "Magna Carta," pp. 82–87; idem, *Magna Carta* (Cambridge 1963), pp. 48–139.

36. Since these pairs do not appear in Canon Nero D. V, they were probably added sometime after 1250; but they are also given on fol. 122 in the *Libri Additamentorum*.

37. According to Matthew Paris, copies of the 1225 charter were sent to every county, but that is unconfirmed. The compilation in B. L. MS. Add. 6744 (30 x 900 mm.) was obtained by the count of Warwick and deposited for safekeeping at Lacock Abbey. Other copies of this 1225 survive in the archives of Durham Cathedral and the Public Record Office Museum. Presumably, an exemplification of the 1225 measure was made for Herefordshire, but Matthew also had access to the charters kept in the Treasury of the Exchequer,

where he could have seen copies (the 1215 version of Magna Carta).

38. See Warren, *King John*, p. 237. In 1227 the clauses concerning the forest were deleted, expanded, and put into a separate charter. By the middle of the thirteenth century it became common practice to distinguish them as "the big charter" and "the little charter" (or the charter of the forest), hence the designation Magna Carta. In the *Chronica Majora* the Forest Charter is presented as a document quite separate from Magna Carta and is accompanied by a drawing of the charter with a seal on the lower corner of fol. 39 verso in the rubric: "De libertate foreste." Drawn in the latest fine style, with the same dimensions and format as the illustration of Magna Carta on the preceding folio, the representation of the Forest Charter bears a large royal seal faintly listed in pale ochre to distinguish this document from the Great Charter.

39. *CM* 2:510–512; cf. *FH* 2:325–327.

40. Innocent's letter (*PL* 217:246ff.) is given again toward the end of the *Chronica Majora* under the year 1235, *CM* 3:547–548.

41. Papal documents were consistently sealed with blue lead letters throughout the *Chronica Majora*. For example, fol. 107r illustrates a privilege granted in the Dominicans in 1226 by Gregory IX (*CM* 4:102–103) and fol. 108r shows three blue papal seals attached to privileges withdrawn by Innocent IV.

42. See Flohr, "Magna Carta," p. 83.

43. See Warren, *King John*, pp. 249–250.

44. *CM* 2:469–470; cf. *FH* 2:321–322.

45. See Trevelyan, *Rolls of Arms*, pp. 8–9 and 10, who suggests that, since the device is unique to the work of Matthew Paris, it was probably his own creation.

46. *CM* 2:469–470; cf. *FH* 2:325–328.

47. Trevelyan, *Rolls of Arms*, p. 61, elsewhere it is called the Arms of the Trinity.

48. See S. Hartshorn Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste* (Cambridge 1940), pp. 14–15 and 216. A substantial dossier of the Trinity also appears on fol. 42r in MS Cotton Faustina B. VII, a copy of Peter of Bellert's *Compendium* dating from 1208 to 1216, where, in an Matthew's more substantial 164-page version of the Shield of Faith in John of Walsingham's *Shewellewe* (Fig. 187), it includes an image of the Crucifixion; see Wilson, *David Manuscripts*, No. 550, p. 162; Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, No. 43b, pp. 91–92.

49. The listed drawing on fol. 28 in Harley MS 3224 belongs to a set of four pictures predating Peter of Eborac's *Fiata*. Crowned by an angel and preceded by seven doves symbolizing the Virtues as well as the Gifts of the Holy Spirit, the knight (aces) of devils representing the *Vices* 00 001 27v. See Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, No. 80, pp. 127–128, Fig. 207–210. Along with the Dominicans' king kneeling at the feet of Christ on the preceding folio, the angel carrying a scroll inscribed with a seal from a Timothy 2:5 reflecting on the crowning of an abbot suggests a meditative notice for the contemplative devotee. In January 1217, Pope Honorius III described the Dominican *Fiata* as "the appropriate attributes of Christ, armed with the shield of faith": *Memoriale Ordinis Fratrum Predicatorum Illustrata*, 5v (*Revue* 1933), pp. 90–91; see W. A. Bennett, *The Early English Prayer Booklets* (Rome 1952), p. 230. The Shield of Faith was identified with

the triangular diagram of the Trinity by the Dominicans Hugh of St-Cher in his commentary on Ephraïm during from the 1230s, while the association of the crucified Christ with a shield was widely disseminated in sermons and other mendicant literature of the thirteenth century.

120. "Accipite scutum dedit in quo posuit omnia sua negotia gressu erigere"

121. See Swales, *Études de numismatique*, PL 73; E. G. Millar, "Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de Lambert Patrice à Londres," *Bulletin de la Société française de reproduction de manuscrits à peintures* 8 (1921) 98–66. The Shield of Faith also figures prominently in a complex illustration of the Apocalypse commentary (fol. 33r) in the Galbreath manuscript at Leoben, dating from the later thirteenth century, as well as on fol. 98 in the closely related Aberdeen Apocalypse (B. L. MS Add. 42555).

122. This shield appears in the treaty concerning the custody of London (*Actum, Cartarum, Literarum et sigillorum Genoveve Regine* Publicis, f. 9r, 1, 4d. A. Clark and F. Heymann (Record Commission 1816); see also *Memoriae Fidei Rationis et Concordie*, II, ed. Sobbe (Bibliotheca 1873), p. 220; *Philosophy de Cognitione Christiana* (Amsterdam, ed. J. Steyvers) (Noll Series 1875), p. 177; CM 2:381 and 386, where in the article for 1215 and 1216 Robert FitzWalter is called "maiestatis exercitator Dei et imperii ecclesie"; also HA 2:196, and GA 2:229–300. E. C. Holt, *The Normans: A Study in the Kings of King John* (Oxford 1966), p. 8 and n. 1.

123. CM 2:553–554, cf. FH 2:362.

124. In the lower margin below his shield, Matthew numbered the page with a symbol for the quire, superscripted with a small number to designate page one of quire 5.

125. The arms were depicted in purple per pale gules and argent, three parts or, see Hamilton, *Rolls of Arms*, pp. 60–61.

126. CM 2:532. Tremell, *Rolls of Arms*, p. 61. Per fess gules and argent, three parts or. At the time of a minor but serious Norman baronial house, William de Broose established reputation as a tough, ruthless fighter in the northern Welsh March and had been made the most powerful lord in South Wales by King John. Having been involved in the capture of the king's nephew in Brittany in 1200, William was probably one of the few men who knew the truth of what had actually happened. In a characteristic whim born of envious suspicions, the king suddenly turned against him and determined to break his power. In 1201 John demanded homage of de Broose, but his wife refused to live up to her term, claiming that the king had already been crowned his nephew. The marriage chameleons suggested that William's wife and sons were saved to death by John in the royal prison at Winchester in 1200 (see CM 2:530–331). William de Broose died in exile the following year after being beheaded from his hands. If any event of royal crime can be singled out in pointing the barons to united action against the king, it is likely that it was the tragic fate of de Broose and his family. See Warren, *King John*, pp. 186–188, also Sidney Painter, *The Reign of King John* (Baltimore 1909), pp. 238–240.

127. CM 2:515, 6. Johannes Wenderover's text in "pseudopis. hujus. patris," which Matthew then changed to "pater. pater. pseudopis."

128. CM 2:561; cf. FH 2:285.

129. CM 2:650, cf. FH 2:361. In the *Historia Anglorum*,

fol. 97, two knives of a broken lance pointed downward and painted red and gold, but shield.

130. Grandes, *Historical Writing*, p. 357, n. 190; *The Dominick Chronicle*, ed. Luard, *Anglica Aedificatio*, III (Rolls Series 1891), p. 41. See Holt, *The Normans*, p. 102. 131. CM 2:666; cf. FH 2:376.

A crossbowman in the circle discharged an arrow and wounded the noble and powerful man, Emmeus de Vesli, in the forehead, who, with the weapon piercing his brain, died on the spot . . . The whole party of barons was very much disturbed at heart.

See Traill, *Rolls of Arms*, p. 62. Gules, a cross pattee argent.

132. The barons used de Vesli and the king may have begun when John tried to induce de Vesli's wife but was foiled by the secret substitution of a common woman. See Warren, *King John*, pp. 189 and 228–229.

133. Traill, *Rolls of Arms*, p. 65. On a fess between two chevrons gules.

134. CM 2:334, cf. FH 1:2.

135. Other condemned barons who died before 1222 and 1222 are commemorated by shields painted on the margins of the *Chronica Mayno* next to their obituaries: William de Aubeney, earl of Arundel (d. 1222) (roll 37 (CM 2:671); Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester (d. 1230) and William, earl of Warren (d. 1240), who had both lived beyond the approval of Richard at Coronation at Stamford, on fol. 79r and 137r (CM 2:200 and 4, 121); John de Lucy, earl of Lincoln (d. 1240), who became countess of Hereford (111, on fol. 134r (CM 4:345); Thomas de Muleson on fol. 136r (CM 4:40); John FitzRobert of Cheshire in the same year on fol. 140 (CM 4:405) and Gilbert of Grant in 1242 on fol. 155 (CM 4:194).

136. CM 2:60, based on Ralph of Coggeshall; *Philosophy de Cognitione Christiana* (Amsterdam), p. 183. In the copy of the *Chronica Mayno* in MS Cotton Nero D. V. at the foot of fol. 218, the obit appears as in the *Historia Anglorum*: "Anno quoque sub eodem obitum filii nobilis et magnifici Sacris de Quercu, miles strenuus et sagax, presensque Reipublice suo principatus, quo semper exultavit in amantibus et honoris et Henricus de Bracon miles [sic] Herefordens."

137. CM 2:582; cf. FH 2:286. On the close relationship between these two barons and their arm, see Henderson, "Romance and Politics," pp. 33–38.

138. See Henderson, "Romance and Politics," p. 32.

139. CM 2:468, cf. FH 2:375. This replaced the text of Roger Wenderover, who originally wrote that "Someone had composed his epitaph and an inscription for his tomb in the following lines:

Hec in sarcophago sepelitur regis armis,
Qui meritis motum sedavit in orbis orbantium.
Et cui comitatus deus vixit pater matrem.
Hinc atala post mortem amoris in aula requiritur
Qui lapsa hunc, in hoc duravit in modum.
Dicit quid exrem parat tibi melis dicitum.

140. "Coronatus Henricus III rex, qui incitatus ventis quin Henricus pater, licet inconvulso terribi, obit parte vixit, rex inquam regit."

141. Fowler, *Thirteenth Century*, p. 1.

142. CM 3:17, cf. FH 2:391.

143. *GM* 3:21–22; cf. *FH* 2:395.
144. The royal forces were crosses seen in their gismen to fight to Henry against Louis, as if on crusade; see Powicke, *King Henry III*, I, p. 3. In the far right bottom corner Matthew's page number 164 appears above the symbol for quire V 145. See pp. 59–60.
146. See Powicke, *Western European*, p. 24.
147. *CM* 3:58. Just below the marginal drawing and as described in an earlier notation, accompanied by a sketch of a mitre and crozier, that John, abbot of Fontenay, was consecrated by the bishop of Cy: "Eodem anno consecratus est in Episcopum episcopus [episcopus abbas de Fontenay apud Westmonasterium in crania sanctorum Petri et Pauli]"; *CM* 3:55–58. Matthew apparently also had access to documents of the royal Exchequer, for he offers his readers, in the "compendiosus tractatus" for a fuller account of the coronation; see *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. H. Hall, J. Kelly Series (1971), p. xxx; Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, p. 27.
148. In the *Historia Anglorum*, *MS Roy*: 24 C VII, fol. 124v, the royal marriage is represented by a marginal drawing of the standing crowned figure of Henry placing the ring on Beatrix's finger.
149. *CM* 3:57–23B; cf. *FH* 1:36–40.
151. *CM* 4:744–645.
152. See Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, pp. 148–149.
153. Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, pp. 117–122, thinks that Paris was executed by guillotine of execution and thrown in his old age.
154. *CM* 3:405; cf. *FH* 2:515.
155. A similar but rougher sketch appears on fol. 280v in the *Historia Anglorum*.
156. *CM* 1:149.
157. *CM* 4:187–188 and 480; cf. *FH* 1:358–360 and 403–404.
158. *CM* 4:225; cf. *FH* 1:431–432.
159. See Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, p. 142, who cites some examples of Matthew's coming to his opinions for the French, such as "those wily traitors" (*CM* 4:205), particularly in connection with Queen Eleanor's relatives.
160. *CM* 4:251; cf. *FH* 4:49. In his illustration of the king's return from France at the foot of fol. 163r (see Jones, "Drawings," Pl. XIV), Matthew suggests something of Henry's taste for extravagance in the elaborate and vermillion fittings of the ship with its great dragon's head on the prow and the richly carved related stern. As the queen, accompanied by a woman cradling an infant (Clara 215?) and two other figures look on, the king is brought ashore by a man in a small boat, while the helmsman guides the vessel with a fore-and-aft pole.
161. *CM* 5:480; cf. *FH* 3:105. Matthew also described hulls from observation of speculators owned by Richard of Cornwall; see *CM* 5:275.
162. See H. Stauds, "Extracts from the Documentary History of the Tower of London," *Archaeological Journal* 99 (1902), p. 266; also Madden, "On the Knowledge Possessed by Europeans of the Elephant in the Thirteenth Century," *The Graphic and Historical Magazine*, ed. E. W. Brayley (London 1934), pp. 335–336 and 351.
163. Hübner, *Wörterbuch der Handschriften*, pp. 143–147, 492–93, and Pl. 47. Although Hübner used the figure both in

a standard iconographical type, he maintained that it only signified "from memory." On the other hand, the fact that the sketch illustrates a rhyed proverb would suggest that it was derived from life but from a model.

164. The decorative text in Matthew's hand in *MS Corpus Nero D.* differs substantially from that given on fol. 171 in *MS 16*. The drawing was made on the reverse of a thin sheet of vellum bearing a document written in another small gothic hand. A copy of Matthew's rendering of this elephant appears on fol. 114 in John of Wallingford's *Abbatibus Down* by another hand in rough outline and more pink, the figure is accompanied by an account in Wallingford's hand of its arrival.

165. Ambrose *Hexameron* 6.5. Matthew includes a very abbreviated version of how easily hunters trap elephants from the medieval theory of fol. 171 in *MS 16*, but, instead of giving the traditional explanation that they have no joints in their legs, he merely remarks that it is difficult for them to get up once they are down. See G. C. Druce, "The Elephant in Medieval Legend and Art," *Archaeological Journal* 76 (1919), pp. 21–25; and W. Blunt S. Hockley, "Bernard's Elephant and Obelisk," *Art Bulletin* 29 (1947), p. 165 and n. 24, who notes that it was Albertus Magnus who, basing his information on a renewed study of Aristotle, was the first to explain the fact that "elephants have no joints."

Another striking example of Paris's open-minded acceptance of empirically acquired knowledge and a practical willingness to reject conventional wisdom headed down from classical authority may be cited among his several diagrams of the world. Eva G. R. Toston, "The *Orbis Terrarum* of Matthew Paris," *Imago Mundi* 2 (1937), pp. 21–26, observes that, while the diagram on fol. 184 in the *Tabula Terre Illustratissima* is a traditional twelve-ray sine whorl from the ancients and is labeled "Secundum prophetam [Ierem] de Deherem" to indicate that it was copied (from design by the curate of Salisbury (d. 1245), the other wind rose on fol. 184v is divided into sixteen rays in accordance with contemporary northern practice, accompanied by Matthew's own verses on the winds; two other versions of the sixteen-ray wind rose appear on fol. 1 verso in *MS 16* and on fol. 17v in *MS 16*, so which have been added the Latin names of the sixteen wind directions, whose vernacular equivalents are still in use today.

166. Quoted by Powicke, *Henry III*, II, p. 648. On Geoffrey's *Itinerarium Cambrie* and *Descriptio Cambrie*, see Grainger, *Historical Writing*, pp. 244–246.

167. Powicke, *Henry III*, II, pp. 618–620.

168. *CM* 3:385; cf. *FH* 1:147. See Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, p. 142. On the other hand, Roger Wendover was quick to report gossip of received and false of another man in his observation on the death of William de Braose in 1200, who "was charged by [Edward] the Welsh king, having been caught, as was said, in adultery with the wife of that prince"; see *CM* 4:194. In another instance, John the Scot, earl of Chester and Huntingdon, is reported to have been "possessed by the agency of his wife, the daughter of [Edward]" in 1237; his shield appears inverted in the marginal fol. 109r; see *CM* 1:304.

169. *CM* 3:64; cf. *FH* 2:422.

170. Powicke, *Henry III*, I, p. 51.

171. *CM* 4:8; cf. *FH* 1:260.

172. *CM* 4:205–206; cf. *FH* 1:487–488.

173. If, however, Matthew did contain such a model, the Bible was most probably not English but French. While a large group of *Peniarth Bibles* dating from ca. 1400 into the third quarter of the century contain historical initials with the Lamine figure of King Arthurian (resulting from the manuscript) (see Robert Horner, *Manuscripts Peniarth in Peter Darvill's Reign of Saint Llewellyn* [Berkeley 1977], pp. 178-179 and 182-183), Adelaide Rossini kindly informs me that the illustrations surely occur in English Bibles, with the earliest images probably dating in the 1350s or 1400s. Among these the closest parallel to Macken's figure appears in Cambridge, Jesus College MS Q. a. 11, fol. 93. Although (or because) later served as a popular biblical description of David in the *Somme le Roy*, f. 25, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 268, fol. 97r, dating from ca. 1320, but, as Rosamund Thorp, "Nelson on the Virtues and Vices," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 27 (1964), p. 20, points out, the Old Testament king does not fall in his death through pride.

174. CM 2:207-209; cf. *EH* 2:26-27. At the foot of the page Matthew added in his own account a report of rumored Welsh anarchy:

Other persons state that the said Herbert Fitz-Matthew fell from his horse and, while he was still alive, the Welsh came up and contended with one another as to whose capture he ought to be for the sake of the ransom, and one of them, willing to put an end to the strife, ran forward through his body from behind, saying, "Now, whoever chooses may take him." On the evening he was found with his body pierced through and with his hand placed on the wound, and, being asked, was only recognized among the other dead by an emerald ring.

175. CM 2:209; cf. *EH* 2:28-29.
176. CM 2:217-218; cf. *EH* 2:140-141.
177. CM 2:247; cf. *EH* 2:222-225. Even as 226 under Edward as prince of Wales, Matthew's sympathies still lay with the Welsh (CM 5:302; cf. *EH* 3:700).

The Welsh, who had been oppressed in manifold ways and alien sold to the highest bidder, were at last to measure out and tyrannically oppressed by the king's sword . . . that they could themselves for the defence of their country and the observance of their laws.

178. See Brooke, *Arthur to Henry III*, pp. 208-209.
179. On fol. 13 in the *Historia Anglorum*, King Malcolm III is shown paying homage to William the Conqueror in 1072 in a small rough sketch in red line of a small bearded and pointed head of mail with his crown falling off behind him (*Novae hagiographiae Scandinaviae*; see *HA* 1:16. Malcolm offered no opposition to the Norman army which had established its lat owerth as Abernethy near Perth in 1072, after which he was compelled to exile Edgar the Atheling, whose sister he had married, and promised a regular allegiance to William.

180. MS Canon Claudius D. VI, fol. 249; AC 3:124. Above the first crown is written "Malcolmus."

181. CM 2:190. A similar hooded bear passant is given with an eye held over the shoulder for the coronation of Malcolm IV in 1153 on fol. 179 in the *Abreviatio Cloum* (see 182).

182. See G. O. Searles, *The Medieval Foundations of England* (New York 1964), p. 153.

183. CM 2:193; cf. *EH* 2:24-26

184. Reported by Piers in an addition to *Wendover* in which he notes that his friend Hubert de Burgh married the sister of the king of Scotland (CM 2:166-67). See Pincus, *Henry III*, I, p. 44.

185. CM 5:107. The death of Alexander III in 1249 was equaled by the same paired start of a new coronation (cf. 148) in the *Historia Anglorum*.

186. CM 5:262 and 264-265.


187. CM 5:131-136; cf. *EH* 2:763-763; see also CM 2:632.

188. C. H. V. Sutherland, *English Coinage* (London 1973), pp. 62-64; see Pincus, *Henry III*, I, pp. 320-321.









189. CM 5:18-19; cf. *EH* 2:145. The terms of Richard of Cornwall's bargain with his brother were indeed very hard on the public, for all "shon cross" pennies he was cranked to exchange only as many as he could coin by weight; in every 240 he was authorized to change thirteen pence on average 240 to cover expenses of mintage and seigniorage; see Oman, *The Coinage of England* (Oxford 1924), p. 140.

190. *HA* 3:77. However, Mr. Philip Barrett, Keeper of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, tells me that this reverse's mark only appeared on the earlier, shon-cross penny. Matthew also issued a similar but smaller sketch of the new coin in the first of the *Abreviatio Cloum* (see on fol. 129). Copies of this drawing also appear in John of Wallingford's *Abbot's Tales* on fol. 96 of MS Canon Julius D. VII and in the *Chronica* MS of the *Flower* Manuscript in Manchester.
191. CM 2:253-264; cf. *EH* 2:175-178.
192. CM 2:200; cf. *EH* 2:240.

About this time Robert Cosewe, a royal clerk, gave the king the Sarah and Prigal ad vice to make a diligent inquisition concerning the infamings of the royal forests or unfenced land by the people living nearby, in order that those who presumed to straggle might be fined with heavy penalties. He therefore, by the king's order, summoned all his colleagues for this purpose, namely, Lawrence, a clerk of St. Alban, and Geoffrey de Langley, a knight; and the said Robert then made the circuit of the royal counties, and . . . in order to catch the king, he intentionally impoverished all men, religious and secular, noble and ignoble, to such a degree that many became homeless wanderers and were forced to beg; others were constrained to provide, being destitute of all their property, prolonged their wretched existence in woe and misery.

193. "Capitalis ad libel scribitur ad tale signum  , quod ad hunc spectat."

194. CM 4:428-427; cf. *EH* 2:61-62.

195. In the margin above the stag's head, "Capitalis fortificationis in intro, quod huc est constans in intro, scripta regulariter, ad huc regulariter  ,  ,  ,  ,  ,  ,  ,  , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,

or perhaps was in vision. See Powicke, *Thomas of Cantimpry*, p. 11.

Although Matthew's account of the emperor's gold shrine which Henry commissioned for the Confessors' relics is somewhat doubtful in some, the *St. Albans* artist cannot suppress his admiration for the goldsmith's art (*CM* 4: 357-357):

In this year [1225] King Henry the Third, at his own expense, caused a shrine to be elaborately constructed of the purest gold and costly jewels by special artists at London for his reparation, however, although the materials were more costly, according to the words of the poet [Dante],

The craftsmanship did indeed
The raw materials far exceed.

But the small sketch in the lower right margin on fol. 150 (see James, "Drawings," Pl. XV) seems to lack Matthew's ornamental flourishes and other markings more than a routine copy of his representation of the shrine of St. Alban would fit in the *Proba Libri*. In the *Historia Anglorum* both the new shrine and the shrine of Edward the Confessor at Westminster are illustrated at the foot of fol. 438 (see James, "Drawings," Pl. XXII), where the church is seen in a more coherent view from the north side, with its twin towers now visible, while the elaborate religious ornamentation outside the west facade, as if to prefigure the new building's raison d'être.

198. *CM* 4:341-442; cf. *EH* 2:330-341.

199. *CM* 4:341-345; cf. *EH* 2:342-245.

200. In the *Historia Anglorum* there is a marginal drawing of the vessel on fol. 42, which differs from the elegant crystal container (in question more carefully constructed) at the Cloister's *Historia Illustrata*, taking an architectural form more typical of papal reliquaries. In his rubric, Paris refers to Henry III's acquisition two years prior of a second relic, *Urna's sanctissima* from St. Olavin "Sanguis Christi illatus in et datus ecclesie Westmonasterie, die sancti Edwardi, 8 regis Henrici, et tunc post, postea Christi." See *HA* 3:29 and pp. 120-121 and Fig. 71.

201. Powicke, *Henry III*, I, pp. 66-69.

202. *CM* 4:71-73; cf. *FH* 2:439-440.

203. As pointed out by D. Vaurio, "Matthew Paris and Václav de Henegouwen," *Barrocinum Medievum* 81 (1987), p. 225. The various representations of the *Prophetiae* figures appear as symmetrical drawings in the ninth-century Beza version (MS 264); see Richard Southern, *Das altchristliche Propheten-Handbuch* (Berlin 1895-1905), Pl. 14b. The scene appears in the same way for Jacob illustrating the angel in the thirteenth-century Parisian Psalter of St. Louis.

204. Haskelster, *Václav de Henegouwen*, p. 64, Pl. 28, and p. 355, n. 23, observed that the same composition was copied in the fourteenth-century Ormsby, Gorleston, and Queens Mary psalters.

205. Derbolen-Young, *Richard of Cornwall* (New York 1945), p. 9.

206. Powicke, *Henry III*, I, p. 70.

207. *CM* 3:223; cf. *FH* 2:355.

208. *CM* 3:223; cf. *FH* 2:356.

209. *CM* 3:223-226; cf. *FH* 2:357.

210. Below the drawing Paris added "Hoc est enim imaginis et dicitur alia lecta sanguis Christi, scilicet, apud Francum conbustum, et in Capella apud Deinet."

211. *CM* 4:243; cf. *EH* 1:446.

212. *CM* 4:602; cf. *EH* 1:335-339.

213. Powicke, *Henry III*, I, p. 128.

214. *CM* 3:255-256; cf. *FH* 2:373.

215. *CM* 3:278-279; cf. *FH* 2:386.

216. See Büch, *Genealogy of St. J. p. 15*; No. 109 (1243) given, 96 lines, attached to COLON Charter XI 53; the reverse shows the king on horse, dressed in a tunic of chain mail, surcoat, and helmet surmounted by a lion's crown; in his left hand he holds a shield bearing the royal arms of England: "S. HENRICVS REX: RICHMONDIE. ET AQUITANIE. COMES. ANDEGAVE." Although it is possible that Paris also had in mind Richard's own equestrian seal, personal seals conventionally show the knight's horse at a gallop, not at the stately pace seen on fol. 149 in MS 46, which seems to have been reserved for the king's seal; see J. Harvey Bloom, *English Seals* (London 1960), pp. 137-147. While an equestrian seal is recorded for Richard Earl Marshal in *The Complete Peerage*, X (London 1942), p. 370, no example is to be found in the collection in the Department of Manuscripts of the British Library or in the Public Record Office.

217. *CM* 4:81 (Gild. Gildet. Bontif); 5:3 (Recordat. Scaud. sord. sord. et. sord. sord.).

218. Powicke, *Henry III*, I, p. 144.

219. Roger Wendover, for example, asserted that Geoffrey de Marisco, along with about eighty other knights who held lands in Ireland, was "his pretended ally who was aware of and a confederate in the premeditated treachery" to lead Richard into battle and then abandon him to be mortally wounded; *eds.*, see *CM* 3:265-266.

220. *CM* 3:497-498.

221. *CM* 4:196; cf. *EH* 2:298-299.

222. *CM* 4:222; cf. *EH* 2:31.

223. *HA* 3:262. See Grabbe, *Historical Writing*, Pl. IX (f.).

224. *CM* 4:134-136; cf. *EH* 1:360.

225. See Powicke, *Henry III*, I, pp. 21-22. Matthew Paris gives a vivid account of a "round table" at Walton in 1252 when Henry's episcopate had already begun to reflect the moderating influence of Arthurian romance, but when on the fourth day the knight Erislaed of Hungary was killed by a spear not blunted as it ought to have been. Next to his liberalized shield in the margin of fol. 151b is the broken spear. See *CM* 4:91 f.

226. *CM* 4:115; cf. *EH* 2:321-322.

227. See Trevelyan, *Ralph of Arden*, pp. 66-67.

228. *CM* 4:199; cf. *EH* 2:5. For the rich saga of England's more illustrious progeny, see Barlow's *William, A Different Mirror: The Colonization of 12th Century* (New York 1978).

229. *CM* 4:360-361; cf. *EH* 2:77.

230. The large red page number XXVII should have been replaced with number XIII (14), but it remains unchanged from the original set, appearing in the margin at which MS 46 and 1b were intended to be bound together as a single volume.

231. See Karygin's program, *Vernaculum Vires*, p. 2. In the *Psychopacta*, *Prophetiae* tells how Superbia, in a manuscript to rule down Mars Humilis and Spes, falls into a pit that had been secretly dug and then lightly covered over so that it would be easy for Humilis to decapitate the suddenly fallen vice.

232. See Hahnloser, *Villard de Honescourt*, pp. 19-21 and 385, n. 103; Pl. Grand Fig. 50-51, who either either the earliest or the only example of the cycle of Virtues and Vices at Amiens, Chartres, and Paris; see also Kuehn, "Matthew Paris and Villard," pp. 275-281; Mâle, *Gothic Image*, n. 221; and Kantorowicz, *Vasari and Vico*, p. 56, n. 2.

CHAPTER 3

1. See Smalley, *Ninth Century*, p. 95.
2. See Orlin A. Matt, "Popular Protest and Revolt Against Papal Finance in England from 1226 to 1238," *Protestant Theological Review* 25 (1947), p. 811.
3. See pp. 122-123.
4. Matt, "Popular Protest," p. 610.
5. See Hugh MacKisack, "The Anti-Foreign Movement in England, 1231-1232," *American Essays in Medieval History by the Students of Charles Homer Haskins* (Boston-New York 1929), pp. 283-309. Powicke, *Henry III*, 2, pp. 78-79, points out that in some quarters the injustice was believed to have issued like letters patent carried by the tower, and the misdeed done by "William W. Clerk" had probably been celebrated by the king's adviser, Pierre des Roches, bishop of Winchester, so involved Edward the Barons as an accomplice at his own risk. In the royal proclamation at the end of the year, the people were informed that the wrongs inflicted on papal messengers and foreign clerics were caused by the Justice's Misgovernment.
6. *CM* 3:211; cf. *FH* 2:56.
7. See J. G. Webster, *The Labors of St. Martin in Aquitaine and Artois* (Paris-Genève 1935), pp. 92 and 171-173, who cites the *Stalderbury Psalter* (B. L. MS Lansdowne 385), close in style to the Albert Psalter, dating from the last half of the twelfth century, while St. John's College MS K. 30 is a late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century gutter, see *Index, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge* (Cambridge 1892), pp. 27-58. A similar thirteenth-century ballad also appears in the contemporary *Sachsenspiegel* of Valtherode Honscourt; see Hahnloser, *Villard de Honescourt*, Pl. 39c.
8. See James, "Droverets," Pl. XIX.
9. In the thirteenth century Cahors owed its reputation as an important financial center to colony of Lombard bankers, and the name "Cahorsin" consequently gained currency as a general term to signify "banker" or "usurer." See William E. Lane, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327* (Cambridge, Mass. 1926), pp. 590-902; and Matt, "Popular Protest," pp. 612-613.
10. *CM* 3:238; cf. *FH* 2:12.
11. *CM* 3:251; cf. *FH* 2:14.
12. *CM* 3:245; cf. *FH* 2:130.
13. See *CM* 3:361; Matthew Paris 2:462; Roger Wenzonover.
14. Matt, "Popular Protest," pp. 620-622.
15. See G. H. Llewellyn, "The Thirteenth Century," *The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages*, ed. David Knowles (London 1965), pp. 130-132.
16. *CM* 3:295; cf. *FH* 2:174-75.
17. *CM* 3:418-425; cf. *FH* 2:311.
18. *CM* 3:418, 419-420; cf. *FH* 2:312, 314-75.

19. See Powicke, *Henry III*, 1, pp. 351-352.
20. *CM* 4:518; cf. *EH* 2:241.
21. *CM* 4:521; cf. *EH* 2:244.
22. Powicke, *Henry III*, 1, pp. 389-389.
23. *CM* 5:228-227; cf. *EH* 3:424-425.
24. See Smith, *Church and State*, p. 109.
25. *CM* 5:389-392; *Labors Adhonorarium*, MS Cotton Nero D. 1, fol. 217v; *MS* 3. 126, *Anales Novissimi*, 1, pp. 381-382. See S. M. Thomson, *The Writing of Robert Grosseteste* (Cambridge 1946), pp. 195, 212-213. Powicke, *Henry III*, 1, pp. 283-286. Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, pp. 133-134.
26. *CM* 5:389-392; cf. *EH* 3:36-37.
27. For example, see *CM* 5:389; *EH* 3:33, where he tells us that Pope Innocent IV "sicut synodalia litteras exhortans the bishop of Lincoln to do some act which appeared to that prelate unjust or contrary to reason, in a. e. the pope, had written close to him and other prelates of England."
28. *CM* 5:389, n. 9: "Pax hoc quod dicitur continuatione in arbitrio reprehensio et laetitia, de usuria, symonia, et rapina, quae de per peccatis, et quod Romanus datus committit ad-generandis; cognoscit non subdite colla iustitiam sua per oppressiones. Usura profecto, quae est contra etiam Romanorum hanc excommunicationem, in utroque Testamentis prohibetur."
29. *CM* 5:322-223; cf. *EH* 2:440.
30. *CM* 5:429-430; cf. *EH* 3:66-67. The drawing of fol. 151v is accompanied by a framed epigram: "Non qualiter in vobis hactenus percursum est Pope Innocentius IV. ab episcopo Lincolnensi Roberto. Nec utique postea placet orthodoxis Papis."
31. See pp. 265-268.
32. The datilinated initials attributed to Otto are apparently not Matthew's invention and seem actually to have been used. Beaman, *Keith of Artois*, pp. 25-26, points out that the seal of Mary of Brabant, second wife of Otto IV (1258) shows the arms as they appear to the *Chronica Majora*. They are also given at the margin of fol. 10r in the *Rotulus Anglorum*.
33. *CM* 2:457; cf. *FH* 2:183.
34. See Geoffrey Barraclough, *The Origins of Modern Germany*, 2nd ed. (New York 1957), pp. 209-212. White, *King John*, pp. 26-27 and 223-224.
35. See *CM* 3:324, n. 9. Matthew then reports that indeed a boy was burned and the second Henry, but this is clearly an error, for this practice was the second son to Isabella a few years later, the first, named Jordan, having died.
36. *CM* 3:251; cf. *FH* 2:130.
37. See Smith, *Church and State*, p. 176; Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, p. 148; Schmitt, *England*, pp. 95-98.
38. Kantorowicz, *Frederick the Second*, pp. 542-543; Van Cleave, *Emperor Frederick*, pp. 450-451.
39. *CM* 4:225-129; cf. *EH* 3:354-355. Hüppert, *Kaiser und Papsttum*, pp. 302-304, observes that, although Paris quotes some of his information on the capture of the pretense of Marie Capet in 1244 as having been obtained from the chaplain of Cardinal Rainer of Viterbo, it seems probable that this content was established by members of the English delegation at the Lyons council who met the cardinal's agents there. Matthew's entry and information would then date sometime after 1245.
40. Kantorowicz, *Frederick the Second*, p. 148.
41. Quoted by Kantorowicz, *Frederick the Second*, p. 550; see also Van Cleave, *Emperor Frederick*, pp. 450-452.

42. *CM* 2:329 and n. 3. “Gloria pavonis non repetenda sui est,” a paraphrase of David An sicutus 2:390 (“Gloria pavonis nullatempore sui”).

43. Quoted by Kantorowicz, *Frederick the Second*, p. 589.

44. *CM* 2:353–356, cf. *EH* 2:1–3.

45. The story of devious and frustrating books later than that of the Lyons Council illustration. However, it seems unlikely that Matthew had second thoughts about Innocent, so judge from the increasing bitterness of his diatribes against the pope from the time of the Lyons Council in 1245 to Innocent’s death in 1254.

46. *CM* 2:429.

47. *CM* 2:418, cf. *EH* 2:54–55.

48. *CM* 2:419–420; cf. *EH* 2:55–56.

49. See Baradough, *Medieval Papacy*, p. 135.

50. *CM* 2:432, cf. *EH* 2:66.

51. See Kantorowicz, *Frederick the Second*, pp. 597–598.

52. As at the end of the last quat. Matthew again made a mistake in the numbering. Here, instead of quat XV, he wrote XIII.

53. *CM* 2:435; cf. *EH* 2:68.

54. *CM* 2:436; cf. *EH* 2:68.

55. The Lyons constitution are, however, given in their earliest form in the *Chronica Majora*. Ehdorf, *Kaiser- und Papstbriefe*, pp. 198–200, concludes that Matthew derived his materials, both faulty and reliable, from different sources and later reassembled them into a coherent form himself.

56. See Mark, “Popular Poetics,” p. 648. Heide and Ledetoch, *Historia dei civitatis*, V, pt. 2, p. 4676.

In a brief entry following Innocent’s final departure from Lyons in 1254, Matthew characteristically makes someone else the spokesman for his vituperative assault on the pope; in this case one of the cardinals, who makes at a sermon in the streets of Lyons an entirely rewording of Matthew’s earlier attack on Innocent III in the quat of Laceran IV:

“Sicut we arrius in this city we have done much evil in usuel. . . . When we hem came here, we found thow or four brethren, but now at our departur we leve behind us only one, indeed one that exults from the exortio gane of the city in the western-coat. . . . And this hit of loyng corrupted among many by word of mouth, because its criticis afflicted everyone alike.

57. The council, however, was by no means inanimate from contemporary ridicule, as stressed by the satirical verse entitled *Papa versus* by an anonymous Ghibelline; see p. 125 and n. 185.

58. Kantorowicz, *Frederick the Second*, pp. 635–637; Van Cleave, *Emperor Frederick II*, pp. 494–495.

59. *CM* 2:610, cf. *EH* 2:216–217.

60. Matthew’s view is echoed by Kantorowicz, *Frederick the Second*, p. 614; of the more balanced opinions of Baradough, *Medieval Papacy*, pp. 121ff.; and Squitieri, *Western Society and the Church*, pp. 121ff.

61. *CM* 2:608; cf. *EH* 2:213.

62. *CM* 2:670–671; cf. *EH* 2:160–161.

63. See Miltani, “Time parabolico,” pp. 251–263. Beginning with the death of Innocent III, election and obituary notices for Gregory IX, Celestine IV, Innocent IV, and Alexander IV are signaled at the margins of the second and third volumes of the *Chronica Majora* by ornate drawings of the papal

pal crown and long cross-staff; only the last two popes have been given the additional insignia of what appears to be a scepter-like staff.

64. *CM* 5:190. The copy of Frederick’s will in given in MS Cotton Nero D. 1 on fol. 100v. It is also copied out in the *Chronica Majora*, MS 66, fol. 24b. In the initials for 1254, preceded by a repetition of the emperor’s obituary:

65. *CM* 5:137, cf. *EH* 2:404–406.

66. In the *Historia Anglorum*, fol. 149, the obituary of Emperor Theopold also appears as a marginal addition rather than in the body of the text. Except for the first three lines, however, it has been erased. Below is a drawing of the imperial shield, reversed, with the inscription “Scaucus Imperatoris P[re]thelici” in rubric, flanked by two crowns inscribed “Corona Jerusalem” and “Corona Sicilie.” With the addition “Hec [for Hec] sum adeptus.” Further down are the three other crowns, also inverted, accompanied by a long rubric explaining that the gold, silver, and iron crowns signified his claim over Rome, Germany, and Italy.

67. *CM* 5:196–197, cf. *EH* 2:410–411.

68. See Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass. 1962), pp. 3–7 and 27–28.

69. See pp. 99–101.

70. See Southern, *Medieval in the Middle Ages*, pp. 72–73. On a more mundane level, Matthew observed, albeit irregularly, the succession of the Latin Bishops of Jerusalem from Baldwin I (1100–1118) to John of Brienne (d. 1237) with sketches of small crowns at the margins of the *Chronica Majora* and with painted shields at the *Historia Anglorum*.

71. *CM* 2:328; cf. *EH* 2:60–62.

72. *CM* 2:377. Cf. Apocalypse 1:13.

73. *CM* 2:376.

74. *CM* 2:390; cf. *EH* 2:130.

75. In the *Chronica Majora* the death of Saphadin’s son and successor Saphadin in 1188 is illustrated exactly the same way (*CM* 1:30; cf. *EH* 2:101): “Saphadin, which had grown old in the days of his wickedness, the grandfather of his nephews and uncle of nephew of the kingdom of Ayyub, died and was buried in 804.” In the margin of fol. 59r the artist sketched a black cross lying on of Saphadin’s mouth, his head lying on a rough ground.

76. Van Cleave, “The Fifth Crusade,” *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, II (Madison 1966), pp. 260–287.

77. The same anomaly occurs on fol. 48 in the *Itinerary* of St. Arkes, where Matthew gives a page building over the body of Amphibalus a simple circular shield marked with a red foliated cross.

78. *CM* 2:449; cf. *EH* 2:419–420.

79. *CM* 2:35–36, cf. *EH* 2:406–409.

80. *CM* 2:54; cf. *EH* 2:423.

81. *CM* 2:55; cf. *EH* 2:424.

82. *CM* 2:25–26; cf. *EH* 1:272–273. The same device continued at the lower from the ear of Montfort to his wife Isabella on fol. 23r in the *Historia Anglorum*. In the left margin are three reversed shields of French nobles who fell at Gisors (*Scaucus viduans Francorum arm p[ro]p[ri]a*) of Caer: Dreyous (gules, two bars argent on pile or), De Barre (gules, a cross argent), and De Bar: sauzure, two bars argent; or; below are also the reversed shields of the Hospitallers and Templars (17) with: *Hospitallu*, *Willelm* *Templ[ar]*.

85. See Sidney Painter, "The Crusades of Theobald of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall," *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. Setton, II (Madison 1969), pp. 482–83, and Derhohn-Young, *History of Cornwall*, pp. 31–39.

84. *CM* 4:491–92, cf. *EH* 1:326.

85. *CM* 4:44–45, cf. *EH* 1:309.

In the course of this year, after all the sufferings and reverses which the worshippers of the footprints of Christ, the most Christian kings in the Holy Land, had endured, the Lord gave great consolation to his people, as is related in the following letter: "We have to inform your community that . . . the ruins of Damasco, not through fear of the Christians but the miraculous intervention of the Lord, has restored to the Christian forces the whole of the country, entire from the River Jordan, with that covenant and agreement between the two parties, namely, that the one shall assist the other to the utmost of his power in defending their country against the strain of Balakona [Cairo], and neither party is to make arms with the said man without the other's agreeing so to. This agreement was received with unanimous consent."

86. *CM* 4:139–140, cf. *EH* 1:363–364.

87. Cf. Juchacz, "Drawings," p. 44; Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, p. 213.

88. The drawing was obviously made before Matthew added the quire numbers, since he had to insert the large red numeral XI beneath the figure of Naic in the center of the page rather than in its customary position at the right, near the inner margin of the last verso. See Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, p. 213.

89. *CM* 3:139; cf. *EH* 1:148.

90. *CM* 4:241.

91. *CM* 4:347, cf. *EH* 1:376.

92. On the inclusion of Saxece's death in the emperor's retinue, which papal reproaches later alleged formed a legendary banner of conquests, as well as Kobold, Ottentari, and strange dragons, see Kostełowicz, *Frederick the Second*, pp. 310–312.

93. *CM* 4:166–167; cf. *EH* 1:315–316.

94. It should be noted, however, that the thirteenth-century illustration in MS Harley 5244 is in some respects unusual among Bertary representations of the so-called Elephant and Castle. Instead of armed warriors fighting a battle in the swartlike forests ramped to the elephant's back, the figures in the festive enclosure donned rich shields of status carry triumphal banners. In Matthew's drawing the wooden planking on the "castle" is well as the backed surp holding it in place were typically occur in other Bertary illustrations, such as those in fol. 121v/Oxford, Bodleian MS Bodl. 764. See Bruce, "The Elephant at Medved's Legend and Art," pp. 5–9 and 42–43; and James, *The Bertary* (Oxford 1928), p. 17.

95. On the emperor's menageries, consult Kostełowicz, *Frederick der Second*, p. 312, who notes that on another triumphal occasion at Comares, "the emperor himself rode at the head of this phalanx of exotic animals" (the God-stem visibility element above all the creatures of the world).

96. See Heckelcher, "Bernard's Elephant," p. 143.

97. *CM* 4:167; cf. *EH* 1:376.

98. Perhaps Matthew intended the image to serve as an ironic personal anecdote to the succeeding allusion on

fol. 155r (Fig. 128) in which we observe Richard immediately upon his return obliged to embark on another adventure, this time on his brother's foolhardy expedition to France.

99. J. J. Saunders, "Matthew Paris and the Mongols," *Exploring the Medieval World Presented to Brian Wilentz* (Toronto 1969), p. 177.

100. *CM* 3:418–419. See p. 362.

101. *CM* 4:330–333, 336–375–34.

102. *CM* 3:653; cf. *EH* 3:251; see Saunders, "Matthew Paris and the Mongols," pp. 130–137.

103. *CM* 2:318, quoted from Dierce. In 1122 a mysterious figure who claimed to be the Christian King of an unknown land appeared at Rome and impressed the papal curia with a description of his distant empire. After this brief appearance he vanished only to reappear, over forty years later under the name of John, to address himself to the great powers of Europe, calling upon them to become his subjects. Although Prester John's famous letter is probably a hoax, Pope Alexander saw in it an opportunity to force the eastern frontier beyond the surrounding wall of Islam and dispatched an使者 on September 27, 1177, the year of which was reported by many English chroniclers of the time, including Roger of Howden and Ralph Diceto, see Saunders, *Medieval and Modern Ages*, pp. 78–82. For an extensive treatment of Prester John, see F. Zarncke, *Der Priester Johannes, Abhandlungen der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 7 (Göttingen 1879).

104. See Gary Anrojer Berrois, *The Mongols in the Middle Ages* (Syracuse 1970) (Barn-Munich 1974), p. 43, who cites the *Mémoires de Nicolas de Saxe* and the *Libro Colombino*.

105. *CM* 4:109–110; cf. *J. H. 1:373–379*.

106. *CM* 4:182–183 and 185; cf. *EH* 1:348 and 355. Hilgers, *Kaiser- und Papstbriefe*, pp. 151–154, points out that this document is not preserved elsewhere and was very probably intercepted by Matthew Paris, who used fragments of the alleged letter of Frederick II to *Soladin*, which had been inserted into many English chronicles, to embellish his text.

107. *CM* 3:141–142, probably based on earlier sources, such as Italian and Brother Richard; see Bezzola, *Mongolen*, pp. 35–53.

108. *CM* 4:376–377, cf. *EH* 1:467, 469–470, and 471. Hilgers, *Kaiser- und Papstbriefe*, pp. 160–164, has demonstrated that the most fantastic and offensive passages in the letter were fabricated by Matthew.

109. *CM* 4:377, cf. also the emperor's letter of 1122 in *CM* 4:115.

110. *Annales de Watoules*, in *Annuaire Marseillais*, II, p. 324: "Quasi in eius terra florant, docentur quod cum ultra quendam montem, et terra populam qui vocatur Gog: et eo credo quod ille populis in Gog et Magog." See Bezzola, *Mongolen*, pp. 54–55; Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*, pp. 16, 49, 52, 70, 104–107.

111. Bezzola, *Mongolen*, pp. 405–408.

112. *CM* 3:449.

113. *CM* 4:376, cf. *EH* 1:332–333. Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*, p. 49, quotes Pseudo-Methodius: "Cuncteque bestiarum hi ceteros cauteque speciem ostentant, vinctumque bilem et sparsibilem, ad eos canes, mures, serpentes, monticolium canes, iboscia in formibus corporum, et que in illo seculo per tentamenta consulari aut vel et aliqua parte mundum producta carago formam Agraria possit perficere volum

vel lignata expremere et haec ramesiorum necnon etiam et omne speciem fructuum immunditatem. Moreover a firm requirement is that the text be consistent too.

114. *Theriacal Key's Keyes de curis theriacalis* (Anglo-Norman text) was written in the second half of the twelfth century. This rare early example of an English illustrated romance dates from ca. 1220 to 1230 and contains 153 minuscule drawings on 100 pages, vermilion, and blue, but has no connection with St Albans or Matthew Paris. See James, *Western Manuscripts in Trinity College, Cambridge*, III, pp. 462–466; Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, No. 28, p. 120.

115. See pp. 304–305.

116. *CM* 2:301; cf. *BH* 2:205.

117. *CM* 2:309–310; cf. *FH* 1:496–497.

118. *CM* 2:345–346; cf. *FH* 1:529–530.

CHAPTER 5

1. See pp. 308–309.

2. Paris probably acquired his knowledge of meteorological phenomena from such “scientific” treatises as the Dominican Pseudo-Geoplicus compiled by William of Conches in the first half of the twelfth century. Vaughan, *Medieval Paris*, pp. 234–235 and Pl. XX, has convincingly compared St Matthew’s series of twenty-three diagrams illustrating the cycle of this work contained in the second part of Corpus Christi MS 385 in Cambridge. However, they see no has original designs but considered passed to the illuminators in several other surviving manuscript copies.

3. *CM* 2:379.

4. See Caroly Erickson, *The Medieval Vision. Essays in History and Perception* (Oxford 1978), pp. 31–35 and 40–42. An interesting case in point is Paris’s reaction to the appearance of a comet or meteor on July 24, 1230:

At twilight, when the sky was purple and clear, a large star appeared like a torch, arising from the south and dying . . . [as if it had been] worked into the air. . . . However, when it reached the middle of the firmament . . . it vanished into the air, leaving [a trail of] glowing smoke. This star was either a comet or the constellation Orion, having the form of a fish with large head, very bright in the front part but subsiding and fading at the tail. All who saw this prodigious sign were astounded [and] did not know what it portended.

Matthew, however, quickly provided a possible meaning by stating that a sudden change in the weather occurred immediately thereafter, which saved the crops. He also amplified his already graphic description with a small illustration of a comet in the lower left margin of fol. 223r in MS 16, the elongated oval head, surrounded by a wide becteted fringe, is covered with gold points, while a right blue tail tapers to thin, consisting of seven dotted red spots. A smaller, less imaginative comet appears near to the abbreviated account in the *Historia Anglorum*, unscrubed “Sugnum in aere” (MS Roy. 1. a. C. 50, fol. 120).

5. *CM* 2:245; cf. *FH* 2:376.

6. *CM* 2:280–281; cf. *FH* 2:406.

7. See Erickson, *Medieval Vision*, pp. 40–42.

8. *CM* 2:247; cf. *FH* 2:408.

9. *CM* 4:81; cf. *FH* 4:328. The most recent occurrences of whales breaching shorelines and dying on the shore were in Europe and America but have not been as easily explained, see, for example, “Autopsies Yield No Clues in Breaching of Whales,” *New York Times* [22 November 1982], p. 16; “Biologists Puzzle Over Whale Suicide Riddle,” *Los Angeles Times* [23 November 1982], p. 3.

10. *CM* 4:229–230; cf. *FH* 1:435.

11. *CM* 2:254–255; cf. *FH* 2:458.

12. Vaughan, *Medieval Paris*, p. 170.

13. *CM* 2:285–286; cf. *FH* 2:467.

14. See Grosjean, *Historical Writing*, pp. 174–175 and 222.

15. See Grosjean, *Historical Writing*, pp. 491 ff., on thirteenth-century examples.

16. *CM* 2:304–305; cf. *FH* 2:464–465.

17. See George R. Anderson, *The Legend of the Wandering Jew* (Princeton 1965), p. 18.

18. *Leges Monachi Cisterciensis S. Mariani de Ferriere Chronica et Rhythis de Sancto Germano Cistercia Prone*, quoted by Anderson, *Wandering Jew*, p. 18.

19. *CM* 2:328–329; cf. *FH* 2:520–521.

20. *CM* 2:329–331; cf. *FH* 2:522.

21. *CM* 2:363; *vel non reprehensio nisi indulgentia*.

22. *Leges Monachi Cisterciensis S. Mariani de Ferriere Chronica et Rhythis de Sancto Germano Cistercia Prone*, quoted by Anderson, *Wandering Jew*, p. 18.

23. See pp. 104–106.

24. Matthew’s drawing also differs from the contemporary representation of the scene in a book of hours dating from ca. 1220 by W. de Bruden. In the frontispiece to *Text in fol. 43v* in B.L. MS Add. 19999 one of the four small medallions shows Cain, an ox bearing the cross, burning his oak to speak to a 766-d man behind him, so both figures make vigorous arguments with hand gestures, yet other men, one of whom holds a staff, accompany Carthage. See Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, No. 75, p. 419 and Fig. 246.

25. See Ruth Melnikoff, *The Heart of Cain* (Berkeley-Los Angeles 1981), pp. 38 and 74–75. Cain is shown with a spike or staff in a thicketed field in Manchester, Rylands MS fr. 5, and in an unusual posture representing sin of God cursing Cain on fol. 50r Cambridge, St John’s College MS K. 10, dating from the late thirteenth century. At the beginning of the *Chronica Anglorum* (*CM* 1:3) the story of Cain is given from Peter Comestor, *Historia Scholastica* 26–27. “Cain agricola dolens non obtinere fructus prohibita licet a Domino incipit, fructum septiformis proleto utatof.” On the death of Cain in Peter Comestor, see *PL* 198: 1059.

26. Another close analogue appears on fol. 2 in the Glazier Psalter, dating from ca. 1230, which is sometimes attributed to St Albans; see Meier Schapiro, *The Illuminated English Psalter of the Early Thirteenth Century*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 23 (1960), pp. 179–189.

27. See Matthew’s references to these works in the *Gene Abbatum* 2:180 and 232.

28. *CM* 4:75–76; cf. *FH* 1:731–732.

28. This does not appear in Cotton MS Nero D. V and thus probably dates after 1250.

29. *MA* 2:243.

30. See Elizabeth Horne, "The Crown of Thorns in Art," *The Downfall Review* 53 (1935), pp. 483–52, who gives a sketch of the great relic now preserved in Notre Dame in Paris. From the time it was first displayed to the faithful in 1200 until about 1500, the Crown of Thorns was represented in art as a spiral fillet in the form in which they had seen it.

31. *CM* 2:90–92, cf. *EH* 1:324.

32. "Videtur signum quoque archiepiscopatum Ingerima impetrare impio (sic) cruce a Vinea, quae cum apparuit in duobus filijs regis Jerusalem Jobacis, qui indigentes pecunia Graeco impugnant. Et postea Baldewicus quoniam plus coligavit, et postea vendit de eam regi Frincorum Lodowico."

33. *CM* 2:397; cf. *EH* 2:76–78.

34. "Soon afterwards he [Louis] entirely recovered his health and solemnly took the sign of the cross on his shoulder, offering himself as a voluntary bolocaust to God, and made a vow that, if the council of the kingdom which he had undertaken to govern would allow it, he would strike the Holy Land in person."

35. Geoffrey Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, ed. and trans. N. Cugbill (Harmondsworth, 1973), p. 154; Langland, *Piers Plowman*, Text B, ed. W. Skepp (London, 1963), lines 228–231.

36. *CM* 3:20, cf. *FH* 2:446–447.

37. *CM* 3:21, cf. *FH* 2:448.

38. See Wormald, "The Road of Bismarck," *Journal of the Language and Linguistic Association* 1 (1937–1938), pp. 31–32 and Pls. 40–b. The best surviving example is attached to Explanatory Charter 54 in the British Library, in bronze 1221, affixed to a deed of 1222.

39. *Handbook of English Literature*, ed. J. Sievers (Kells Series 1875), pp. 201–203, also quoted by Wormald, "Road of Bismarck," pp. 44–45.

40. *CM* 3:21, cf. *FH* 2:585.

41. *CM* 3:216–217; cf. *FH* 2:548–549.

42. The Anglo-Norse cross now standing in Gosforth churchyard is the largest surviving example of pre-Norman sculpture in England. Its North Merion form is peculiar to the borderland between England and the Viking provinces and represents a corrupted version of the Jelling style. See David M. Wilson and Ole Kluge-Jensen, *Viking Art* (Ithaca 1966), p. 120; and T. D. Kendrick, *Law, Saegs and Viking Art* (London 1940), pp. 60–72.

43. *CM* 3:113, cf. *FH* 2:695–696.

44. See Kasowicz, *Religious Orders*, I, pp. 142–145.

45. *CM* 1:221 and 511.

46. *CM* 3:166f.; see Thomson, "Image of the Metacritic," pp. 16–22.

47. It seems unlikely, however, that Roger's transfer of the relic from Spoleto to Rome was intended, as claimed by Francis D. Klingender, "St. Francis and the Birds of the Apocalypse," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 16 (1953), p. 87, "to identify Rome in the mind of his readers as the Babylon of the Apoc. apocryph."

48. *CM* 3:132–133, cf. *FH* 2:495.

49. E. g., Brother Thomas of Celano *Poe. Lat.* of St. Francis of Assisi, trans. A. D. Herbert Hessel (London 1908), 2:58 and 2:186.

50. *CM* 3:132, cf. *FH* 2:495.

51. This constitutes a close paraphrase of Celano *Lat.* 2:58: "My brother birds, much ought ye to praise your Creator, and owe to love him who has given you feathers for clothing, wings for flight, and almighty hand of God has made you noble among his creatures, for he has given you a habitation in the purity of the air, and whereas ye neither sow nor reap, he himself doeth and provideth and governeth you without any care of your own."

52. See Klingender, "St. Francis and the Birds," pp. 44–45.

53. *Compendium Historiarum* in Lion MS 98, fol. 22; Gratian *Patris*, B. L. MS Add. 21926, fol. 12 verso 1279v; Laurent *Prater*, B. L. MS Add. 42236, fol. 60 verso 1248v; Termonth House, B. L. MS Yates Thompson 13 (1496?); and Bodleian MS Auct. D. 3. 2, fol. 122 (late 15th c.). See Klingender, *Amusements and Thought to the End of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass. 1921), Pts. 229–241 and 242. The scene also occurs in fragmentary wall-paintings from the second half of the thirteenth century in the church of Winton in Suffolk and Lintle Kumble in Buckinghamshire.

54. *CM* 3:132–133, cf. *FH* 2:495.

55. Celano *Lat.* 2:54.

56. *CM* 3:132, n. 3: "Pennis serena: Divina creatio, Elementarum lapsum, Carnis maceratio, Lacrimarum effusio, Peccati atrox medicatio, Penitus erroris Vitiis prolixio, Austera caritativitas, Filicibus modernis, Gaudio sempiterna, Tenuis sapientivitas; Penitus quiescit: Sempit in pura oratio, Voluntas discretio, Munda et arduis cogitatio, Mente in Domino quietio, Afflictae mentis placidivitas, Penitus quiescit: Nihil nocet verbo nisi opere, Comestis prodesse, Propter arduam dampna sentire, Pro fine arduis prodesse, In his prodesse; Penitus serena: Abrenata concupiscentia, Sine deturbent, Omnia Deum sequendo relinquunt, Absque iniquis. In his magna in fidei perseverantia."

57. *Pl.* 210–216. See Kasowicz, *Religious Orders*, Volume and Verse, p. 162 and n. 3.

58. Kasowicz, *Religious Orders*, p. 123. Dated ca. 1040–1100, the manuscript with five similar diagrammatic illustrations comes from Sankle Abbey (Varkhize), Kasowicz, *Religious Orders*, p. 119, n. 3, dates several late twelfth- and thirteenth-century examples of Alain de Lille's scriphic personification of the Virtues. An example occurs on fol. 109 in MS Harley 3244 already cited in connection with Matthew's Shield of Faith and the Bestiary-leopard.

59. See Little, *Franciscan Papers*, pp. 25–28.

60. E. g., Cambridge, Trinity College MS R. 16. 2, fol. 3v.

61. *CM* 4:93–94; cf. *EH* 1:326–327.

62. For a discussion of some important mythic aspects of thirteenth-century saints' lives, see Brigitte Caillies, "Modelle ou analogie: Marie l'Égyptienne," *The French Review* 53 (1979), pp. 13–22.

LITERATURE

1. See Vaughan, *Matthew Flannery*, pp. 235–238, who cites the early attribution of these maps to St. Albans chronicler by Madden, Miller, and Beales.

2. The maps of Flannery in *MS Cotton Chaucer* D. VI, fol. 12v, and *MS Cotton Julian* D. VII, fol. 49v, are now bound

separately, another London–Apsalis itinerary in MS Cotton Nero D. I, fol. 132v–134.

3. Cornish John Kirkland Wright, *The Geographical Love of the Time of the Crusades* (New York 1925), pp. 247–249.

4. See P. D. A. Harvey, *The History of Topographical Maps* (London 1980), p. 60.

5. H. Michelant and G. Reynaud, *Présentation à Jérusalem* (Paris 1882), pp. 222 and 223–239.

6. Konrad Müller, *Mappa Mundi: Die älteste Weltkarte*, III (Stuttgart 1895), p. 45; Vaughan, *Mapuche Papi*, pp. 233 and 247.

7. "PROLE, BE EN ROMA. A ceste terre tute avoit fu li enjeune Ricard frere Je roi de engleterre apelez lui en fran rois . . . Co fu li vers anostre pope q'ert li be bte l'ofe en lan de grace MCLLII."

8. In the margin Matthew has written, "Ses deux laces seules ont identes comes a nostre anostre." See *CM* 3:24; also *Powche, Henry III*, I, pp. 236–238; De lauden–Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, pp. 81–82.

9. Vaughan, *Mapuche Papi*, p. 248, suggests that "at the time of" probably indicates that the legend was written after the death of Innocent IV in 1254.

10. See Häpeli, *Karten und Reisebücher*, pp. 114–118.

11. See p. 358. The parish's name appears prominently marked on the Aste city plan of fol. 207v.

12. "Co est le chemin de acn en poelle a travers a chief de poelle. Co est a saer a crentie [sic] ki est de vers la mer de vers le plus proceine vers de acn ki est en poelle. A saer chemin [sic] surmer a vers landrois a la mer on le parache de acn sans falles. La premiere en de meschies e lesse des seulle a senestre. E mance a desre la est li coestre de barbaie apes apres son stele. E apres ceste " I am grateful to Rose Veltory for her assistance in translating that as well as several other Anglo-Norman legends in Matthew's maps.

13. "A ceo anostre. ¶ Anostre n la nef en p'prie a tel nage en le chemin de acn en poelle. Co est a saer p'prie a ce p'prie ki est de vers la mer de vers le plus proceine vers a saer sans poelle sans. Al saer chemin surmer a vers landrois a la mer on le parache a saer sans falles. La premiere meschies e lesse, les seulle a senestre e mance a desre ki est la senestre de barbaie apes apres son stele. E apres co ceste a senestre."

14. I am indebted to Larry Price for suggesting that Matthew's long "map map" may have been designed as a folding map. In any case, the gold leaf added to the verso borders on fol. 2, 21, and 3 in MS Roy. 14. C. VII probably does not date from Matthew's time.

15. The episode "New Jew" was first given to London by Geoffrey of Monmouth *Historia Regum Britanniae* 3.20. Of the ten medieval gates in the old Roman walls, only three are named: Ludgate, Newgate, and Crisplegate. In MS Roy. 14. C. VII, Bishopsgate, Aldgate, and Billingsgate are also given, although the latter was not a city gate, but a water gate in London's street below the bridge; the south gate in the Roman wall, Aldersgate, never appears in Matthew's maps of London. The seventh gate to which he refers in MS 26 could be either the postern gate north of the Tower or the so-called Barbican built outside Aldersgate during the reign of Henry III.

16. Although Matthew knew London well at Bedford, he may also have consulted what was the most detailed and realistic description of the city written in medieval England, the

accounts composed in 1173–1175 by William FitzStephen, a clerk who had been in the service of Thomas Becket; see *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. J. C. Robertson and J. B. Stappert, III (Rolls Series 1885), pp. 2–23.

17. In MS Roy. 14. C. VII they are accurately represented in double gates.

18. Dedicated by Bishop Roger Niger on October 1, 1240 (*CM* 4:95), the medieval cathedral of St. Paul's was begun after the Saxon structure burned in 1087. The Norman replacement was commenced on such a colossal scale that the supply of money never kept pace with the grandiose plan, and the building was not finished until almost two centuries later; see William Longman, *A History of the Tower Cathedral* (Oxford 1904) and George H. Cook, *Old St. Paul's* (London 1921); William Barnham, *Old St. Paul's Cathedral* (London 1921); and George H. Cook, *Old St. Paul's* (London 1935). A model of the Gothic St. Paul's may be seen in the Museum of London.

19. See Christopher Brooker and Gillian Kerr, *London 800–1216. The Making of a City* (Berkeley–Los Angeles 1973), pp. 32, 176, and 320.

20. *Brooke and Kerr*, *London 800–1216*, pp. 319–322; Tamara Baker, *Medieval London* (New York 1970), pp. 219–220.

21. *CM* 5:124.

22. *Powche, Henry III*, II, p. 713, n. 3.

23. See William Page, *London: Its Origins and Early Development* (London 1923), pp. 127–128 and 145–146. Carved out of the lands of the King's household, the fee of the abbots of St. Albans apparently included the land on either side of Wood Street from the northern boundary of the parish of St. Albans to Chesapeake; Matthew Paris claimed that the church of St. Allfan on Wood Street had been the chapel of Oda's palace (*GA* 2:25).

24. Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of England*, 1 (London 1801), p. 185.

25. *Brooke and Kerr*, *London 800–1216*, pp. 312–313.

26. *CM* 5:131 and 137, 5702.

27. *Brooke and Kerr*, *London 800–1216*, pp. 157–158; Baker, *Medieval London*, p. 85. Hubert Walter's original plan to establish permanent headquarters in Lambeth in 1199–1196 alarmed the monks of Canterbury, who feared their archbishop would desert them for London; they appealed to Pope Innocent III, who then ordered the new chapel on the south bank to be destroyed, leaving only the archbishop's residence still standing; see *CM* 2:416.

28. The great cathedral of the Southwest establishments, it, of course, the Tabard Inn, where a little more than a century later Chaucer gathered his Canterbury pilgrims.

29. See Robert Gray, *A History of London* (London 1878), p. 130; also Baker, *Medieval London*, pp. 89–92; Brooke and Kerr, *London 800–1216*, p. 198, who point out that Winchester House in Southwark made it possible for the bishop to stay on his own ground during his visits to the city, where he could lock up local debtors in his prison nicknamed the "Clink."

30. *CM* 6:1, 3 in MS Roy. 14. C. VII (Dover Castle) is labeled "le chief de la reche isle de Engleterre." See *CM* 3:20.

31. Matthew had inscribed "TROIIS" on the base of the architectural figure but then removed it unsuccessfully, moving the price-tag to the top, so that it now appears upside

32. Fleury, however, is given again at the lower left at the second column base Châlons. On fol. 21 at the *Historia Augustina*, Fleury appears on the main axis between Châlons and Besançon.

33. Although this segment of the itinerary begins at the same point on fol. 21 at the *Historia Augustina*, the place names are not synchronized and end on MS Roy. 24. C. VII the route terminates at Besançon instead of Châlons at the top of the second column.

34. Vienne and Valence are reversed in order.

35. While the itinerary on fol. 3 in MS Roy. 24. C. VII begins out of step with fol. 2 in MS 26, it catches up to end at the same point of crossing the Alps at Mont Cenis at the top of the second column.

36. See Parks, *English Traveler*, I, pp. 114-1152.

37. See W. L. Bevan and H. W. Palfrey, *Medieval Geography: An Essay in the Interpretation of the Medieval Maps of the World* (London 1873), pp. 131. In the *Historia Augustina* version, fol. 4, Latin is misread "La mouster."

38. Fol. 32 in MS Roy. 24. C. VII is very close to fol. 5 verso in MS 26 as far as Ruggia, where it ends. It does, however, include Coma (Crimea) on the way in the middle of the second column at the right.

39. See Parks, *English Traveler*, p. 112.

40. See Geze de Francovich, "Il Voito Santo di Lucca," *Rivista di Storia e Lettere* 3 (1936), pp. 3-29. The most closely traced Celtic figures represented here on the cross, dressed in a long-sleeved tunic or calothun. According to a twelfth-century legend, the face of the figure was made by angels and was seen to dance on the eighth century from Palestine. See also Rainer Hausheer, "Das Brunnenwunder von der Veltro-Santo Typ," *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 10 (1912), pp. 210-219.

41. Parks, *English Traveler*, p. 112.

42. Parks himself assumes (1912) less than forty-eight days will be spent on the road from London to Rome; see MS Cotton Nero D. 1, 61, 819v. This corresponds to the number of seven weeks given by Reginald of Peck, "The Early Correspondence of John of Salisbury," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 11 (1925-1925), pp. 30-32, although some early thirteenth-century travelers are reported to have made the trip in as few as thirty-eight or thirty-nine days.

43. See Parks, *English Traveler*, pp. 115-116; and Vagabond, *Mémoires*, p. 128.

44. Matthew's picture-map of Rome number among the earliest medieval representations, of which the oldest probable dates from the twelfth century; see A. and M. Levi, "The Medieval Map of Rome at the Ambrosian Library," *Manuscript of Solms*, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 111 (1971), pp. 297-298.

45. In MS Roy. 14. C. VII, however, Rome and the Tiber appears a second time at the head of the last column of the itinerary proper, labeled "Rota incognita interius multorum et laborum altitudo."

46. This church appears to have been known as "Domus quo vadis" as early as the ninth century, but as time went on it was called "de palma," "ad palmam," "ad passus," and "plantatum." In the fourteenth century the church was generally known as Santa Maria della Palma. See C. A. Mills, *The Salaria of Palaeogeography of Rome* (1911), p. 429n by

John Gagnère, in *Antique Frieze of King's Lynn* (London 1911), p. 162.

47. *Itinéraire Urbis Romae* 10, ed. H. Jordan, *Topographischer Stadt-Riss von Athen*, II (Berlin 1871), p. 41: "Foriportum Apparet . . . ubi Domusque apparet. Pars ei dicitur: 'Domus quo vadis?'" Described by L. Duchêne, *Le Liber Cosmæ de l'Épître romaine*, (Paris 1910), p. 98, as "the oldest attempt at a scholarly topography," the *Itinéraire* was probably written before 1143 by Benedictus Canonicus; the earliest manuscript of his oldest recension survives in MS Vat. lat. 2973, which dates from the end of the twelfth century, since it forms an appendix to the *Liber Cosmæ* compiled by Cecilianus Canonicus (Honorius III) in 1122; see Karl Ludwig Ulrichs, *Codex Topographicus Urbis Romae* (Wurzburg 1873), p. 91.

48. *GM* 1 109. "Sed Petrus ab ubi eare ad tempus capiens, ubi veniens eare ad pontam, vadit sub Christiano occidit, et ad eam eare ait, 'Domus quo vadis?' At ille, 'Veni Romam, mecum crucifigi.' Insequens Petrus: quod in se Dominus erat posuerat, qui puer in sacris, non corporis dolores ad compungens mori cogitans, redit in verberis et motu persecutores pueris eare addidit: Constat in eare capes deorum."

49. "C'este cite ki ad nom Rume est chef de la couronne. Et fu s'ele chef de ce le mond quant il grant empereur en furent tires e gouverneur e conquisteur eare terres. Se le me le mond le cremant, fu eore le oide tel herent le baillie lempereur de rume. 'Roma capes mundi' sunt oves istius rolandi' [in rebus]."

"Le saint apostre deu seign pere e saint patre qui venist a la lei fust ch'ien a la sacrestie de her saint sanc. Et si s'ens ele evois e rume chef de ce lempereur et ceor, si vint deu baillie fust chef de la couronne."

"Romus e Romulus le funderent le furent par maris. Mars fu le mouder [meindre] ch'ien e le plus sage gouverneur ki fust en mond e en un acce e enseigna saint ch'ien e ce guerre par que [re] il furent leus conquisteur. Quant fu mort le [re] e en un honneur en un sage e grand pe le digre e ce voyage ki si n'ist capable fu si ce voyage e ce se fust e par que qui [re] en un saint. Dunt plusieurs e en un par que. Et d'ore en le p'age, ki apertent le sage maris."

"Vint diable ki venist en a plain ermine, e par en le monde e en a sacrestie de saint humage, e le fust par se baillie grant terre evois. Dunt de plusieurs saint ch'ien. Dunt eare l'entel il le me fust de la sacrestie en saint sanc. E le p'age e eare e e d'ore en le fust de baillie. En un eare eare ki eare le cercle est, pres du cercle le saint apostre et aposte le maris."

"Que ad deus fust sacrestie de se apostre et en sacrestie pres de saint agite. e ki deus ad eare le p'age seint pere de d'ore her e desier."

"E d'ore ad de empere par leue e le baillie le baillie eore eore. ki par la grace de deu qui de la Repe, e de baillie e deive eore. e de baillie de rume seint agite. Si eare seint eore eore eore eore eore eore de seint Selesme."

"E par to re Roma e Romulus funderent le ore de Rume: apele de Rome de Romulo. Et Romulus le sur voyage un erre romus parisi la ore. Et en se moude fu la cite de Rome de Romulo apele. E que eore de Rome e e eore."

that this map features some new details, appearing mainly in Jerusalem and its environs. Mount Tabot is inscribed "mounz Zacharia et Elizabeth." Two caputae have been added to Nazareth (a note above each is written) and Bethlehem (a few words) with its star (stelle heretotum). Jerusalem is here labeled uniquely among Matthew's maps as "Iherosolima," while additional details of David's Tomb (de tur dom) and the Josephat Gate (portuaria) are given. As in MS Roy. 14 C. VII, Mt. Zion (de mont de zion) and Mt. Sion (mont sion) are identified. Banking the Valley of Joseph. On the road between Jerusalem and Jaffa, the castle at Entman is inscribed "mes," while Azzah is placed (not correctly) near the coast between Caesarea and Jaffa, as it appears in the *Itinaria Aquilana* version.

Matthew's rendering of Egypt also provides some details which being MS 46 closer to MS Roy. 14 C. VII, as, for example, on the inclusion of Gaza (Caesarea) on the land route (de arto de caesarea ad herosolima per terra). The Nile is shown uniquely in the second Cornu Chart map as a wide river branching out from Damascus, where it is described as "le nil qui se partecouste rive egypte en douz fleuves. Et a sei bras principals. Conduite mouvent." Crossing slowly upward along the Nile toward Caesarea is spotted (scilly) rhododendric (rododendro in Nale), much larger and more oblong than the stagnadocent creature which appears at the upper edge of fol. 5 in MS Roy. 14 C. VII. A similar representation of a rhododendric appears on the later thirteenth-century Hereford map seen to where the Nile expands into two branches toward the island of Meroe.

102. See *Features of the British Museum* (London 1971), color plate on p. 166.

103. Vaughan, *Matthew's Maps*, p. 223.

104. This map was originally bound into a small manuscript containing the historical collections of John of Wallingford, abbot of St. Albans and friend of Matthew Paris. Vaughan, *Matthew's Maps*, p. 243, surmises that Matthew may have given the map to John in an unpublished state or that he received it from the scriptorium where both, since many of the place-names have been added in John's hand. More probably it was taken, along with several other drawings now bound in the same manuscript, from Matthew's personal. The folio-sized map was then incorporated into Wallingford's small volume by folding it into four and cutting through two of the folds. Lower John filled in the four empty pages resulting from the blank verso of the map with insular historical material of his own.

105. Barclay, *Down*, II, pp. 581-582, however, also suggests that Paris's northern compass orientation in his map of Britain may not have been the first, since the anonymous Geographer of Ravenna claims to have composed a special map of England which is said to have had north at the top.

106. Miller, *Mappe Mundi*, III, p. 32. There is always the possibility, Miller's argument notwithstanding, that Matthew chose to give his map of Britain a modern orientation as a result of some acquired knowledge of navigational experience. We have already observed his rejection of medieval orientated world maps with regard to his diagram of the winds, drawn in three variants to conform to contemporary Seahorn's plan (see p. 366, n. 165).

107. As pointed out by J. B. Mitchell, "Early Maps of Great Britain. I. The Matthew Paris Map," *Geographical*

Journal 31 (1933), p. 28, the expanded form of Matthew's territorial is less and the original source obscure.

108. Cited by Vaughan, *Matthew's Maps*, pp. 239-240. This memorandum is copied out again on one of the preliminary leaves of the *Abbeville Chronicle*, MS Cotton Claudius D. VI, fol. 19.

109. Mitchell, "Early Maps," p. 28.

110. Vaughan, *Matthew's Maps*, p. 238; cf. Mitchell, "Early Maps," p. 22, who explained the discrepancies by postulating that they are copies of different immediate models, linked by descent from a common ancestral form.

111. Mitchell, "Early Maps," pp. 28-29; Vaughan, *Matthew's Maps*, p. 238.

112. Harvey, *History of Topographical Maps*, p. 240, states that Matthew may well have shown the route from Newcastle to Dover at a straight line, while knowing perfectly well that it makes a right angle turn at London to run east instead of south.

113. See Mitchell, "Early Maps," p. 30.

114. See *EM* 2.433.

115. *EM* 2.254.

116. A medieval copy of this map made ca. 1250 may be found in MS Cotton Nero D. V, fol. 8v, reproduced by Barclay, *Down*, II, p. 186.

117. "Summarium facti sui disposito mappa mundi magistri Roberti de Maffiea et mappamundi da Wilham Map parsoni domini Regis quidem era in camera sua apud Westmonasterium, huiusmodi in ordinis Mathei de perisio." Matthew's source book (probably) has been lost.

118. Barclay, *Down*, II, p. 587.

119. "Versus omnia septem agitur in eodem ordine quod in quatuor eretice. Tunc est secunda nocte parit habitabilem accubationem philosophum, ubi est quatuor partes terre, que est triangulus terre. Corpus autem terre spericum [sphaericum] est." Based on Macrobius *De Somnium Scriptum* 2.9. "Denique inter orientem habentiblen nostram tunc est orientis et unius eorum quatuor," who is here borrowed in from Strabo.

120. See Bacon and Pallen, *Regional Geography*, p. 6.

121. See Miller, *Mappe Mundi*, III, p. 72. For a more recent discussion of medieval world maps, see A. D. van der Brink, *Mappe Mundi* and *Chromographia*. Studien zur Frage mundi des abendlandischen Mittelalters, *Deutsche Akademie für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 22 (1968), pp. 183-186.

122. Smalley, *Manuscripts*, p. 45.

123. Smalley, *Manuscripts*, p. 40; *Crusades, History of West-*

ling, p. 174.

124. See Miller, *Mappe Mundi*, III, pp. 120-126.

125. See Miller, *Mappe Mundi*, III, pp. 54-57. Guido's work, compiled in 1219, contains a description of Italy, excerpted from Isidore of Seville, a general geography of the earth, chronicles, the legends of Alexander, and an account of the Trossen War. Among the six surviving medieval manuscripts, those in Brussels and Florence are provided with maps.

126. Miller, *Mappe Mundi*, III, pp. 28-29. The late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century portion of Corpus Christi MS 46 contains (1) Heinrich of Mainz, *Origo Mundi* (written ca. 1170 for the German emperor, Mainz, daughter of the English king Henry I) prefaced by a mappa mundi; (2) geograph-

49. *GA* 1:260 "Qu [Magister] Waltero de Colchester" in *actibus* comparationis comparum non monachorum prebendae. *et* aliquem credidit affertorem." See also *Orma*, "Goldsmiths," pp. 220-227; Herderson, "Smolles," p. 74, has postulated a probable master-pupil relationship between Walter of Colchester and Matthew to explain the latter's book in the style of 1320 in his *Life of St. Alban*.

60. *GA* 1:264-267.

61. Hardy, *Decorative Calligraphy*, III, pp. 182-182a, argued that Piers could not possibly have written the signature block (see especially pp.181-182) on fol. 6v in the *History of England*, since he would not have mispelled his own name in this way and then have confused the writer further by correcting it wrongly, having corrupted the "X" and written a "V" in superscript to make a *NATHANIEL* of *Vaughan*, "Hawthornden," p. 386. It is correctly spelled in his own hand on fol. 6r.

62. Both Rickett, *Painting in Britain*, rev. ed., p. 209, and Richter, *English Art*, p. 136, have already remarked upon the sculptural quality of the effigy and have compared it with the Madonna on fol. 13r among the prefatory pages of the Westminster Psalter (MS. Roy. 2. A. XXII) ascribed to St. Albans ca. 1220.

63. Matthew may have been inspired by a manuscript found dating from ca. 1225 to 1250 in the name of St. Alban, whose church which still bears traces of what appears to be the kneeling figure of a nunish monk, perhaps St. Benedict, beneath the cathedral's Virgin and Child, see *Watson*, *English Medieval Wall Painting*, II, p. 226. A few contemporary parallels for portraits of monks and clerics kneeling beneath devotional images of the Virgin may be cited, e.g., Henry of Chichester on fol. 350 of his initial at Manchester, John Rylands Library MS. B. 22, and the measured cleric on fol. 4r in the Bible of William of Devon, MS. Roy. 1. D. 3, which appear to date well after that century. A somewhat earlier analogue occurs in the portrait of a Dominican friar kneeling with a prayer scroll before an enthroned Christ on fol. 23 in MS Harley 3244, see Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, Fig. 267.

64. See Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, Fig. 279.

65. Fol. 94 "Hinc invenit de decore Mathieus Patre monachi Anthoni cuiusdam orationis factum de sancto ruminantem requiescenti in pace. Amen." The St. Alban protomartyr "A. 19" is given on fol. 1.

66. London: Public Record Office MS 266. E.36). As in Matthew's drawing, the figures are locked in an intense mutual gaze, as the Virgin holds up a small round object to the child. See M. S. Gwynne, *A Guide to the Manuscripts Preserved in the Public Record Office*, I (London 1923), p. 280. *Public Record Office*, *Manuscript Catalogue* (London 1974), p. 25; Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, No. 83, p. 120, Fig. 278.

67. *GA* 1:189. "Iukano in obsequio riuus colobationis, Macturatum ruderum, scilicet decolatio figuratum, lo cunctum uerum ferunt, uidelet, doctus lateribus, licit uisus Beati Mariani et em. que huiusmodi et prescriptio positione ante, unum huius magnitudinis de quo et uero, opere populano iquid vulgare 'terru'ri' de uero eudenter dicitur." See *Orma*, "Goldsmiths," pp. 222-223. *GA* 1:189. "Pater, ad cunam in huiusmodi quibus Albanus Wulstus gno ror re-

colobationis—quandam cruce uero in huiusmodi cyrus in quo aliter constructa, cum quadam tribu, hactenus Sancti Albani episcopatus, quae totum illud edificatum machinatum interpretantur."

68. As pointed out by Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting*, II, p. 249, who notes that the Christ in Majesty in the *Westminster Psalter* (Oxford, All Souls MS.6), ca. 1250, also holds a chalice. An analogous figure also occurs in a psalter dating from ca. 1225 to 1250 in Cambridge, *Fitzwilliam Museum MS 27* on fol. 120 on the upper side of the full-page *Beatus ronianus*; see Jones, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge 1865), pp. 22-23 and Pl. 11; Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, No. 45, pp. 92-93.

69. *GA* 6:208: "Opera Ricardi Ficticia usque ad annum Domini MCCC. infra se adhibet et diducit."

70. See Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, p. 214. Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting*, II, p. 226 and Pl. 166, dates the fresco in the second quarter of the thirteenth century; a dated idea of the escaped frame may be seen in the painting on the last pier, Pl. 146, which is better preserved.

71. Schapiro, "Humanism of English Poets," pp. 170-180; Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, No. 90, pp. 96-97, Fig. 261.

72. The return of the single leaf is differently prepared and ruled, as well as thinner than the folium which precede and follow, and is about 5 mm. shorter at the bottom. The miniature was drawn and painted on the pointed side of the started leaf, while the book's rule was left blank and is now bound in the next side.

73. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, pp. 131-134, remarks that "the style comes closest to some of the thirteenth century marginal drawings in the *Chronica Majora* and it seems likely that the artist worked at close collaboration with Matthew Paris."

74. See Watson, *Decorative Elements*, pp. 149-150.

75. *GA* 1:133.

76. See Grainger, "Realistic Observations," pp. 29 and 32.

77. See Vaughan, *Manuscript*, p. 18.

78. See James in Lower and Lamb, *Manuscripts*, pp. 15-16.

79. Although the destination in the Cambridge *Life of St. Edward* have often been attributed to Matthew, that manuscript is too far removed from anything we know of his actual output to have come directly from his hand and probably represents a later copy.

80. See Vaughan, *Manuscript*, p. 232, and also, *Manuscript* Paris (St. Albans 1960), p. 11, who remarks that "were he to come to life today, he would find employment, not with the Institute of Historical Research, but on the staff of a newspaper like the *Daily Express* rather than the *Times*."

81. See, for example, his error in recording the date of Hugh de Nevill's death on pp. 68-69 above, his documentation of the spurious "Institution" of the abbey of Leominster on pp. 85-86, and his omitting to change the old quiet number (XXVII) on fol. 150 to 145 16, thus causing all the subsequent numeration to be wrong. See also Vaughan, *Manuscript* Paris, pp. 37, 43, 120-121, and 181 on Paris's habitual carelessness in writing and transcribing all his manuscript texts.

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Illustrations

Dimensions indicate the actual size of the drawing or object.

FIGURE 1. Matthew Paris, *Cronica Majora*. *Matthew Paris on His Deathbed*. London, British Library, MS Roy. 49. C. VII, fol. 218v (W. 140 mm.). By permission of the British Library. PAGE 6

FIGURE 2. Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*. *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Matthew Kneeling Before*. London, British Library, MS Roy. 14. G. VII, fol. 61355 v 235 (m.). By permission of the British Library. PAGE 17

FIGURE 3. Matthew Paris, *Vita Officiorum*. *Barthol of the Rebels*. London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero D. 1. fol. 4v (147 x 185 mm.). By permission of the British Library. PAGE 24

FIGURE 4. Matthew Paris, *Vita Officiorum*. *OBs RETURNING to Waterford, OBs RECEIVING Homage*. London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero D. 1, fol. 5187 v 181 (m.). By permission of the British Library. PAGE 25

FIGURE 5. *Præter Ieros St. Albani*. *Martyrdoms of St. Alban (above) and St. Amphibalus (below)*. London, British Library, MS Roy. 1. B. VI, fol. 107 r 107 v 353 (mm.). By permission of the British Library. PAGE 26

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FIGURE 23. Matthew Paris, *Itinerarium ad insulam Cypri*. Siege of Getho and Rings Belonging to St. Albert. London, British Library, MS Canon Nero D. 1, fol. 126r (H. 350 mm.). By permission of the British Library. PAGE 47

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FIGURE 143. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*. Westminster Abbey and the Forest Inquisition of Robert Paslew (1245). Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library, MS 16, fol. 205^v (H. 55 mm.). Photograph by courtesy of the Courtauld Institute of Art and the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College. PAGE 224

FIGURE 144. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*. West-Sussex March at London of St. James Day (1222). Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library, MS 16, fol. 15 (H. 39 mm.). Photograph by courtesy of the Courtauld Institute of Art and the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College. PAGE 225

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1086/1087. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*. Birth of Christ and the Virgin. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library, MS 16, p. 283 (262) × 224 mm.). By permission of the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College.

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PLATE VI. Psalter from St Albans. Virgin and Child Enthroned. London, British Library, MS Roy. 2, B. VI, fol. 12^v (114) × 120 mm.). By permission of the British Library.

PLATE VII. Matthew Paris, *Norman Angleson*. Genealogy of English Kings: Henry II, Richard I, John, and Henry III. London, British Library, MS. Raw. 14, C. VII, fol. 9 (166) × 242 mm.). By permission of the British Library.

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PLATE XIV. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*. Pilgrimage from London to the Crusader Kingdom: London to Beauvais. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library, MS 16, fol. 1 (162) × 244 mm.). By permission of the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College.

PLATE XV. Matthew Paris, *Liber Admonitionum*. Heretics Shards. London, British Library, MS Canon Nero D. 1, fol. 81^v (160) × 235 mm.). By permission of the British Library.

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