

Student: Andrew Ward (2112922)

Tutor: Dr. Charlie Crozier

Module: HPHI7009 History & Historians

Word Count: 2183 words.

### The Chronicon Anglicanum of Ralph of Coggeshall - Critical Apparatus.

The year from the Incarnation of the Lord 1066<sup>1</sup>. William, duke of the Normans, assembled an immense army from parts across the sea, he landed in England at Hastings<sup>2</sup>, and by the fair judgement of God on the day of Pope St Calixtus<sup>3</sup>, King Harold, who had unjustly usurped the English rule<sup>4</sup>, [William] deprived him of his life and kingdom at the same time, although some people contend that Harold hid himself amongst the dead<sup>5</sup>, and by night to slip away into flight, after much travelling about,

---

<sup>1</sup> Using the date of the Incarnation, *Ab Incarnatione*, when Jesus was 'made flesh' developed following Dionysius Exiguus Easter Table in the year AD 525. This method of chronology was adapted by Bede in the 8<sup>th</sup> century. The year of incarnation was regularly used by Royal documents until the 12<sup>th</sup> century, after which it was replaced by the year of Grace. For more information on development of the reckoning of time see; Cheney, Carl D. *A handbook of dates: for students of British history*. No. 4. Cambridge University Press, 2000. Pg 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> While the landing place is given as Hastings, consensus places the actual landing place as Pevensey. *Gesta Guilelmi* covers this and further discussions on the nature of the landing site can be found in Lawson, *Battle of Hastings*, pg. 147-8.

<https://archive.org/details/LawsonBattleofHastings3rdedn> [accessed 18/12/2021 @11:27am]

<sup>3</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> October, the day Pope St Calixtus or Callistus was Martyred

<https://catholicreadings.org/saint-callistus-pope/> [accessed 16/12/2021 @ 17:32pm]

<sup>4</sup> William believed that the kingdom of England was rightfully his having been promised by Edward the Confessor and having received an oath from Harold.. Harold believed that he was the rightful king having been given the crown by the great and good of England. This controversy was discussed in the years immediately after the invasion beginning with William of Jumieges *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*; *gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni*, ed. And trans. Elisabeth M. C. van Houts, 2 vols., OMT (Oxford 1992-5), William of Poitiers; *The Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, ed. and trsl. R. H. C. Davis and M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1998) and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; <http://mcllibrary.org/Anglo/> [accessed 18/12/2021 @ 12:43pm]. For further discussions on the case for William's succession to the English throne read Garnett, George. *Conquered England: Kingship, Succession, and Tenure 1066-1166*. Oxford University Press, 2007. On the conquest of England and how this fed into the Norman identity see Davis, Ralph Henry Carless. *The Normans and their myth*. London: Book Club Associates by arrangement with Thames and Hudson, 1976: pg. 103 - 134

<sup>5</sup> This story is told in the *Vita Haroldi*, written in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century and therefore contemporary with the *Chronicon*. The *Vita* is found in a single manuscript, British Library Harley MS 3776 and translated in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century by Walter De Gray Birch. de Gray Birch, Walter, ed. *Vita Haroldi: The romance of the life of Harold, king of England. From the unique manuscript in the British museum*. E. Stock, 1885.

he led an eremitical life at Chester, and until the time of Henry II<sup>6</sup>, he lasted, blessed by the saints.

[BIG GAP!]

Concerning the coronation of King John and how he succeeded his brother.

After King Richard died<sup>7</sup>, Count John<sup>8</sup>, his brother, succeeded him, in the duchy and in the kingdom. When he heard of the death of his brother, (whose court he had left a little while before because of the shortage of cash and because of certain disagreements which had arisen between them), he immediately went to Chinon castle, which was being kept by the royal treasurer<sup>9</sup>, and the castle and the treasurer were handed over to him by Robert of Turnham, soon he took other castles and cities of Normandy, without any resistance; and so by the common election of the nobles

---

<https://ia800206.us.archive.org/8/items/vitaharoldiroma00musegoog/vitaharoldiroma00musegoog.pdf> [Accessed 18/12/2021 @ 11:46am]

<sup>6</sup> Reigned 1154 – 1189 CE. For further information on the accession of Henry II following the period of The Anarchy see Amt, Emilie. *The accession of Henry II in England: royal government restored, 1149-1159*. Boydell & Brewer, 1993., for the writing of vernacular historiography during his reign see Urbanski, Charity. *Writing history for the king: Henry II and the politics of vernacular historiography*. Cornell University Press, 2013., and on the cultivation of history read Gillingham, John. "The cultivation of history, legend, and courtesy at the court of Henry II." *Writers of the Reign of Henry II*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2006. 25-52.

<sup>7</sup> King Richard's regnal dates begin on 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1189 CE to 6<sup>th</sup> April 1199 CE following those given in Cheney, Carl D. (2000): 32. For an analysis of Richard's incarceration in Germany (1192-94 CE) read Gillingham, John. "The Kidnapped King: Richard I in Germany 1192–1194." *German Historical Institute London Bulletin* 30 (2008): 5-35. John Gillingham "The unromantic death of Richard I." *Speculum* 54.1 (1979): 18-41. provides an in-depth discussion around Richard I's death, discussing whether it truly did occur at the result of an unknown crossbowman at Chalus following a disagreement over 'buried treasure.' Gillingham investigates five contemporary sources that mention Richard's death: Rigord, William the Breton, Roger of Howden, The Margam Annals and Ralph of Coggeshall.

<sup>8</sup> King John reigned from 27<sup>th</sup> May 1199 until 19<sup>th</sup> October 1217 (Cheney, Carl D (2000): 32-33). Sidney Painter provides an excellent overview of King John's reign. *The reign of King John* was originally published in 1949, but has been updated in 2020: Painter, Sidney. *The Reign of King John*. JHU Press, 2020. See 203-226 for a discussion of whether King John was truly a tyrant or not.

<sup>9</sup> Many discussions have been undertaken regarding the financial systems under Richard I and his successor King John. H.G Richardson published in 1932 an investigation of William of Ely, dating his role as Chancellor from 1195 to 1215. For discussions on financial reforms undertaken by King John read Booker, Daniel. "The 'custodial experiment' of 1204: comital administration and financial reform under King John of England." *Journal of Medieval History* 47.1 (2021): 42-61.

and the acclamation of the citizens, he was made Duke of Normandy at Rouen in the octave of Easter<sup>10</sup>.

However the Bretons hearing of King Richard's death, relying on the advice and aid of King Philip<sup>11</sup>, took possession of the county of Anjou and the city of Le Mans and were received by the citizens of the area; who unanimously rebelled against the duke, and tried by every means to make the prince of that land, the boy Arthur, their lord, namely the son of Geoffrey, count of Brittany, who was born second after King Richard. So Duke John then burned down Le Mans, and sent his army against the Angevins. But King Philip, invading Normandy from other side, did not allow the duke to combat the Bretons for long.<sup>12</sup>

Although he was being invaded thus one after the other by foreign armies, Duke John meanwhile secretly sailed to England with his intimates, was crowned with much pomp among the citizens on Ascension Day by Lord Hurbert, Archbishop of Canterbury at Westminster. Then King John returned to Normandy taking with him a mighty English army, which fought eagerly all that summer against the French army, a sufficiently aggressive army it showed its worth.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> Octave denotes the eighth day after a feast day, including the day of the feast itself (See Cheney, Carl D (2000): 80). This explains why John's regnal years begin on the 27th of May 1199, when he ascends to the throne of England. John eventually loses Normandy in 1204, an aspect of his reign heavily investigated. For a discussion on the role of the church in the loss of Normandy see, Power, Daniel. "The Norman church and the Angevine and Capetian kings." *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 56.2 (2005): 205-234. The first discussion of the loss of Normandy was Powicke, Maurice. *Loss of Normandy, 1198-1204*. Manchester University Press, 1913.

<sup>11</sup> Philip August who reigned between 1180-1223. For a discussion of his reign and his success when compared with the Angevine kings read Bradbury, Jim. *Philip Augustus: King of France 1180-1223*. Routledge, 2015. King Philip often used his political acumen to influence rivals both externally and internally in order to incite rebellion. The Bretons had repeatedly rebelled against the English kings including a rebellion in 1173 alongside Henry, the Young King that was included in Roger of Howdens *Chronica*, see *The Annals of Roger de Hoveden*. 2 vols. London: Bohn, 1853.  
<https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/1173hoveden.asp>.

<sup>12</sup> King John would eventually be accused of Arthur's murder, as a result of his drowning in the Seine. This episode and how it was viewed by contemporary chronicles is elaborated in Holt, James C. "King John and Arthur of Brittany." *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 44 (2000): 82-103.

<sup>13</sup> King John's accession took place on the 27th of May 1199 (Cheney, Carl D (2000): 32). A discussion of the *Chronicum Anglicanum* can be found in Carpenter, D. A, 'Abbot Ralph of Coggeshall's Account of the Last Years of King Richard and the First Years of King John', *The English Historical Review*, 113.454 (1998), 1210-30. He discusses how the account between the years 1195 - 1200 represents a 'separate and unified part of his chronicle.' (pg. 1216.) The Chronicle of Bury St Edmund, covering the years 1173 CE to 1202 CE describe how John, dropping all other concerns visited the abbey. According to the account John did

## Concerning the peace treaty between the king of England and the King of France.

1200AD. After the wearisome exhaustion of each king's army, after many discussions about making peace, at length the two kings, treating together reciprocally about a final agreement, drew up a peace formula of the following nature<sup>14</sup>. Namely that King John quit claimed to the king of France and his heirs in perpetuity the whole of the Norman Vexin, with Gisors and the rest of the castles located in the Vexin, this land King Henry his father had once given to King Louis in return for his assistance against King Stephen<sup>15</sup>. King Louis then gave away this land again as a marriage portion with his daughter Margaret, whom the young King Henry<sup>16</sup> married. However an exception was made of all the land of the archbishop of Rouen; also of the beautiful castle de Faro [Gaillard?] and the island of Andelys and Boutavant, which are sited in the aforesaid land of the archbishop, and which King Richard had built. Moreover King John gave as a marriage portion with his niece (namely the daughter of Petit, King of

---

not offer a gift to the abbey except 'a silken cloth which his servants had borrowed from our sacristan' and a minor payment of 'thirteen pence sterling' for a private mass. The tone of the Chronicle leaves little to the imagination that the monks were unhappy with the new King's behaviour. See Jocelin of Brakelond, *The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond Monk of St. Edmundsbury: A Picture of Monastic and Social Life on the XIIth Century*, newly translated and edited by L.C. Jane, Introduction by Abbot Gasquet, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1907), <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/basis/jocelin.asp> [Accessed 20/12/2021 @ 17:15pm]

<sup>14</sup> Phillip II had already seized Evreux at the news of Richard's death, leaving John with a number of issues to resolve now that he was in power. William Stubbs provides an excellent explanation of John's succession, Stubbs, William. *The Early Plantagenets*. Longmans, Green, 1896. According to Stubbs, the peace treaty between John and Phillip II was cemented by the marriage of Lewis, Phillip's son and heir to Blanche of Castille, John's Neice. (pg. 134).

<sup>15</sup> For discussions of events towards the end of King Stephen's reign during The Anarchy read; White, Graeme J. "The End of Stephen's Reign." *History* 75.243 (1990): 3-22. Dukes of Normandy, both those before the Conquest and subsequent Kings of England were historically seen as subordinate to the Kings of France, hence the political struggles which had plagued the Angvin kings from Henry I onwards. For a discussion of the theme of Homage see; Hollister, C. Warren. "Normandy, France and the Anglo-Norman Regnum." *Speculum* 51.2 (1976): 202-242. The symbology behind the homage ritual is best explained in van Eickels, Klaus. "> Homagium< und> Amicitia<: Rituals of Peace and their Significance in the Anglo-French Negotiations of the Twelfth Century." *Francia* 24.1 (1997): 133-140.

<sup>16</sup> Henry The Young King rebelled against his father in 1173-74 and again in 1183. Roger of Howden relates the events of the sons' rebellion in his *Chronica* translated by Henry T Riley as *The Annals of Roger de Hoveden*. 2 vols. London: Bohn, 1853

<https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/1173hoveden.asp> [accessed 20/12/2021 @ 18:36pm] and <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/1183hovden.asp> [accessed 20/12/2021 @ 18:37pm]. King Louis was involved in a number of the rebellions against Henry II, with Roger of Howden stating how 'it did not suit the purpose of the king of France that the king's sons should at present make peace with their father' suggesting that in order to succeed with France's goals; submission of the English throne, a weak Henry II was ideal for Louis VI.

Spain) whom Louis, a young man of nice disposition, the son of King Philip married, all the castles which the same Philip had captured in Normandy, of which he was seized on the day on which the bravest of kings, Richard, died, namely Vernon, Pascy, and Ivry and Normancourt.<sup>17</sup>

He also gave as the marriage portion the city of Evreux, with the whole county, and the Auvergne and Berry. Also King John granted that if he should die without an heir of his first wife, the son of the King of France should have the homage of Hugh of Gounay and the county of Aumarle after the king's death; but if the niece of the King of England died without issue, the aforesaid homage and the whole of the aforesaid marriage portion would revert to the rightful heir of the king of England. Moreover King John gave King Philip 30 000 marks. Then the King of France restored to the King of England Tours, and all the castles which he had captured in Touraine, and he received the homage of the king of England for all the lands, fees and tenements which King Richard, or King Henry his father, had ever held of him, or of his predecessors, except quit claims and marriage portions. And he took his homage for Brittany and this was according to the judgement of his court; and the King of France handed over Arthur to the King of England, who received his homage for Brittany and Richmond.<sup>18</sup> Then the King of England gave the earldom of Gloucester to the count of Evreux in exchange. And then both kings swore in their bodies that they would keep the peace that had been set down in writing and sealed with their seals<sup>19</sup>.

---

<sup>17</sup> The role of marriage portions in Late Medieval and Early Modern England is investigated in Peters, Christine. "Gender, sacrament and ritual: The making and meaning of marriage in late medieval and early modern England." *Past & Present* 169 (2000): 63-96.

<sup>18</sup> Four years after this treaty was signed, Philip 'Augustus' went on to conquer Normandy, confiscating lands belonging to Anglo-Norman barons. Explanations of the effect that this loss had on King John's reign and on the aristocracy of Scotland, England and France were first explored by Powicke, Maurice. *Loss of Normandy, 1198-1204*. Manchester University Press, 1913. Modern scholarship has sought to re-examine this period of King John's reign. Turner, Ralph V. "King John's military reputation reconsidered." *Journal of Medieval History* 19.3 (1993): 171-200 examines John's military reputation and how this was marred by the loss of Normandy, Pollock, M. A. *Scotland, England and France After the Loss of Normandy, 1204-1296: "Auld Amitie"*. Vol. 3. Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2015 examines the impact of Normandy's conquest by Philip 'Augustus' on the nations of Scotland, England and France while Moore, Tony K. "The loss of Normandy and the invention of terre Normannorum, 1204." *The English Historical Review* 125.516 (2010): 1071-1109 analysing the Rotulus de valore terrarum Normannorum, a list of properties and their former owners in a similar guise to Domesday. By investigating the use of *Terra Normannorum*, the land of the Normans Moore examines the impact faced by English kings, particularly in the thirteenth century, of the loss of this prime source of income.

<sup>19</sup> Modern scholarship has thoroughly investigated the use of Medieval seals; their importance, their increasing use in royal charters and their role in establishing power and

### Concerning the king's taxation (*exactio*)

After King John had made this peace overseas, in as much as he was a lover of peace and had arranged to lead a quiet life without any battles, considering how many had laid in wait to ambush the kingdom, and how many unfortunate things had happened to his father and his brothers and all the kingdom as a result of frequent recourse to battle, he returned to England urgently demanding an aid from all the kingdom to pay the aforesaid 30 000 marks. Therefore an edict went out from the king's justices throughout all England, that each working plough should pay three shillings; this undoubtedly heavy tax very much weakened the people of the land, since a heavy exaction of scutage had preceded it. For two marks had been paid on the shield although never more than twenty shillings on the shield had been levied.

### Concerning the disagreement which arose between the king and the Cistercians and the making of peace.

Then the King of England coming to the province of York, demanded money from certain abbots of the Cistercian order coming there to meet him, and also from the rest (of the order); wishing to subject the order to the servitude of taxation, which up till then had been free of all kinds of customs.<sup>20</sup>

---

identity as well as a multitude of other uses. For an analysis of the use of seals in marking authenticity read, Worm, Peter. "From subscription to seal: The growing importance of seals as signs of authenticity in early medieval royal charters." *Strategies of Writing: Studies on Text and Trust in the Middle Ages: Papers from "Trust in Writing in the Middle Ages"* (Utrecht, 28-29 November 2002). 2008. 63-83. Schofield, Phillipp R., ed. *Seals and their Context in the Middle Ages*. Oxbow Books, 2015 pulls together a vast collection of scholarship examining the role of seals in government under the Angevin kings, their contemporaries in France, within the rule of law among many other topics. Another edited collection investigating the power of seals to construct identity in the Medieval people is Solway, Susan, ed. *Medieval Coins and Seals: constructing identity, signifying power*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2015 which has a particular focus on the use of seals by women in the Medieval world.

<sup>20</sup> The taxation imposed by King John in order to cover the debt he had paid to Philip of France is given as one of the causes leading to the Civil War and the eventual signing of Magna Carta in 1215. In particular the refusal of the Cistercian Order to pay the tax, with them having previously been exempt (see Alamichel, Marie-Françoise. "Magna Carta in Chronicles of Medieval Britain." *Magna Carta*. 2015: pg. 6). An explanation is provided in *The Dialogue concerning the Exchequer* written sometime between 1178 – 1188 by Richard, son of Nigel Bishop of Ely, of the nature and meaning of *Scutage* "when the machinations of enemies threaten or attack the kingdom, the king decrees that, from the different knights' fees, a certain sum shall be paid, - a mark, namely, or a pound; and from this come the payments or gifts to the soldiers. For the prince prefers to expose mercenaries, rather than natives to the fortunes of war. And so, this sum, which is paid in the name of the shields, is called scutage." (IX 'what scutage is, and why it is so called'. <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/excheq1.asp>, From Ernest F. Henderson, *Select*

