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## The Text of Henry I.'s Coronation Charter

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Transactions of the Royal Historical Society / Volume 8 / December 1894, pp 21 - 48

DOI: 10.2307/3678033, Published online: 12 February 2009

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### How to cite this article:

F. Liebermann (1894). The Text of Henry I.'s Coronation Charter. Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 8, pp 21-48  
doi:10.2307/3678033

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# THE TEXT OF HENRY I.'S CORONATION CHARTER

By F. LIEBERMANN

CORRESPONDING FELLOW OF THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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I. THE historical importance of Henry I.'s charter of liberties has been fully recognised by the leading writers<sup>1</sup> of our time. Shortly quoted and confirmed by Stephen and Henry II. in their charters of liberties, it was called *Magna Carta* in the beginning of the thirteenth century,<sup>2</sup> if not earlier; its influence on the constitutional struggle under King John has been often pointed out from the St. Albans<sup>3</sup> chroniclers. Messrs. Round and Hall<sup>4</sup> but lately showed its remarkable use in a French document of the same age. No

<sup>1</sup> Stubbs, *Constitut. Hist.* (1874) i. 305; Freeman, *Will. Rufus*, ii. 352.

<sup>2</sup> Glasgow register.

<sup>3</sup> Also Hovedenii Continuator (ap. Walt. Coventr. ii. 218) mentions in 1214 *carta libertatum ab Henrico I. Anglis data*; and S. Edmundi Monachus in his *Electio Hugonis* (ap. Arnold, *Mem. of St. Edmund's*, ii. 126) speaks of the *commotio inter regem et barones, quod rex cartam ab Henrico patre* [scribe's fault for *proavo*] *super maioribus libertatibus confirmatam adnichilare nitebatur*.

<sup>4</sup> *Engl. Hist. Rev.* 1894, 326; cp. below, 26: Fr.

apology, therefore, is needed, if herewith a first attempt is ventured to ascertain its authentic words from 28 texts.<sup>5</sup> It has to be reconstructed, as none of the more than thirty originals<sup>6</sup> once existing is preserved to us. Many former editors<sup>7</sup> have, indeed, picked up in their notes one or other of the numberless variations between the manuscripts, but they have not tried to distinguish scribes' errors, intentional alterations, forging tendencies, and the differences resulting from the fact that several exemplars of equal authenticity went out from Westminster on or shortly after that fifth of August 1100, when Henry was crowned.

2. To begin with this last class of variations, it is clear that the charter,<sup>8</sup> sent throughout all England, was *addressed* to every single county separately. We still possess the wording of the addresses to Worcestershire and Herts;<sup>9</sup> Abetot and Bocland, whom they mention, were then sheriffs. The copyists to whom we owe these addresses both remark that each county received a copy.<sup>10</sup> They might either, as we do now, conclude this from the special restriction of the address to one county; or possibly they had seen copies addressed otherwise.

3. When Wendover<sup>11</sup> tells us that Henry 'had the charters deposited in the abbeys of the single counties,' this is hardly more than a mere inference from the existence of a copy at St. Albans. This was probably not true in the case of all the abbeys, nor certainly would it apply to the abbeys alone. While Wendover seems fain to enhance the importance of monastic archives generally as hoards of constitutional muniments, Matthew Paris<sup>12</sup> goes a step further. In

<sup>5</sup> I have neglected most modern copies, nor do I pretend to know all the copies that may exist, though not mentioned in printed catalogues of manuscripts. Sometimes their references lead us astray through a confusion with other Henries: Julius A IX. f. 160 b, *e.g.*, is Henry III.

<sup>6</sup> On plurality of authentic exemplars see Giry, *Manuel de diplom.* 10.

<sup>7</sup> See below, 30.

<sup>8</sup> *Edicto per Angliam misso*; Will. Malmesbur. *Reg.* v.

<sup>9</sup> Cp. below, 21 sq., classes i. ii.

<sup>10</sup> *Habuit quilibet comitatus talem Sc 2; Facte sunt tot charte quot comitatus* Albwa. Albpa. [These symbols are explained below, 21 sqq.]

<sup>11</sup> Albwa. Albpa.

<sup>12</sup> Albh.

this respect he places St. Albans in a proud position beside the two metropolitan cathedrals, and he aims at the same time a blow at the royal power in a statement confirmed by no other authority, and perhaps due to the excited imagination of this baronial partisan. Henry I., he tells us, afterwards withdrew the exemplars of this charter, so that only Canterbury, York and St. Albans retained one each. This statement may serve as an argument that the charter was rare in the thirteenth century, but that Canterbury possessed a copy ; and this would be identical with the document used by archbishop Stephen Langton. It is now lost<sup>13</sup> as well as the York charter. But Paris's main contention, that only three churches then possessed copies, is refuted by the present existence of at least four versions from other archives. Nor does his story of an ensuing suppression of the charter at all agree with the fact that Stephen and Henry II. confirmed the liberties granted by Henry I., without mentioning that his charter had been in abeyance.

4. Another attempt to enhance the importance of the St. Albans text (if not to exempt the abbey from the shrievalty) appears in the impudent alteration of Bocland's title *vicecomiti*, correctly given in the annals of 1100, into *iusticiario Anglie*, under 1213. Owing to this corruption by Wendover, whom Paris faithfully follows, Hugh of Bocland was erroneously put in the former lists of chief justiciars.

5. One exemplar was deposited in the treasury at Winchester.<sup>14</sup> It bore, I presume, that general address to all England which, though more or less mutilated,<sup>15</sup> exists in three or four classes of our manuscripts, and among them in the version copied by our informant. This was probably the

<sup>13</sup> Then or later on existed, however, among the muniments of the archiepiscopate a copy of the Westminster class (see below, 27 : Cant.). If Langton had seen this, its monastic interpolation would have been probably much wider known, while the St. Albans chroniclers distinctly say the grantees in the charter produced by Langton were *ecclesia Anglicana et magnates* ; Wendover a. 1214 = Mat. Paris, ii. 583.

<sup>14</sup> *In aerario apud Wintoniam conservari praecepit* ; Haug.

<sup>15</sup> We miss the prelates and earls who generally precede *baronibus et fidelibus* in the most solemn Anglo-Norman charters.

record that Stephen and Henry II. confirmed. The latter,<sup>16</sup> and perhaps the former<sup>17</sup> as well, quoted some words from it. It had most likely disappeared before the middle of the thirteenth century, as the compiler of the Red Book of the Exchequer had the Worcestershire version copied.

6. The beginning of the Rochester version, on the other hand, ought long ago to have disappeared from the editions of the charter. Not pretending to be documentary at all, this line inserts an historical remark between the name and the title of the king; and it commences with a gross chronological error.

7. Traces of a Wilts and a Northamptonshire copy may lurk behind the allusions to the charter which we find in William of Malmesbury<sup>18</sup> and in the work of the Anglo-Saxon of Peterborough.<sup>19</sup>

8. While three addresses, different but of equal authenticity, ought to be printed in parallel columns, I shall give the list of witnesses in all the six<sup>20</sup> versions: not because I consider all of them authentic—I shall rather show one to be an invention, and all to have been tampered with,—but because I despair of the list being emended with any degree of certainty. To an author who used the Rochester version only, it seemed to ‘indicate the small number of powerful men who had as yet adhered to Henry.’ The more valuable appears the Worcester list, the fullest of all. All its names but two are confirmed by other versions. All of them fit in perfectly with what we know from other sources about Henry’s earliest court. Robert Fitz Hamon and Robert Malet occur, indeed, in this version only; but the former signed Henry’s recall of archbishop Anselm,<sup>21</sup> and the latter was among the courtiers banished soon afterwards. The monks of St. Albans, Hexham and Westminster<sup>22</sup> give no name which is wanting

<sup>16</sup> *Malas consuetudines* = 1, 2.

<sup>17</sup> *Leges regis Edwardi* = 13; compare 12. 10 with Stephen’s longer charter.

<sup>18</sup> He alludes to Art. 1, 1; 6-8; 13.

<sup>19</sup> He alludes to 1 and (?) 13.

<sup>20</sup> Dm breaks off in 6, 1.

<sup>21</sup> *Epist. Ans.* iii. 41.

<sup>22</sup> If *Giselbert* is interpolated; see below, 10.

at Worcester; each rather leaves out some at the end. It seems scarcely too much to assume that all those barons had once figured in the exemplars of these three monasteries as well as at Worcester, and that only when they had come to be forgotten, their names were omitted by lazy copyists. Such an intentional omission seems, indeed, to be implied in the St. Albans addition *et aliis multis*. Still Worcester lacks *Henr. de Portu*, mentioned at Rochester. This cannot be a Kentish interpolation; nor is this Norman baron totally unknown. Two theories, then, may be suggested: either the Worcester scribe skipped the name (that all the rest did so would be no marvel, as they omitted the precedent names as well), or the authentic originals differed among themselves at the end of the charter just as we know them to have done at its beginning. If so, bishop Gundulf and abbot Giselbert Crispin *may* really have witnessed the Kentish and the Westminster exemplar respectively. A further conclusion would be, that the chief prelates of that county to which the particular exemplar went were mentioned as witnesses. But as such a conclusion is not confirmed by other facts, I rather prefer to assume that only one series of witnesses was authentic, or, in other words, that 'Gundulf' and 'Giselbert' were interpolated by their own monks.

9. As to Rochester, we saw above how this version tampered with the beginning line of the charter, and I shall have to show other instances of inaccuracy. Among the witnesses it lacks three barons mentioned at Worcester—Steward Eudo among them, whom Hexham also records—and skips twice the name of the cathedral city after the bishop's name. The value of this authority has been altogether overrated. Gundulf may, indeed, have hastened to Henry's side at once (as the other disciples of Lanfranc in English monasteries became the King's stout partisans soon after), and may have been present at his coronation. But did he witness the charter? Several arguments raise grave suspicion against this contention. The sainted bishop's name, which no clerk would have failed duly to repeat, appears at Rochester only.

It wants the localising qualification *Roff.* which only to a Rochester monk might seem superfluous. It stands just at the place where the other versions unanimously mention *G. epō Hereford.*, i.e. Gerard, soon after archbishop of York, the very soul of Henry's earliest government.<sup>23</sup> That *he* witnessed the charter admits no doubt; and it is very unlikely that he was left out from the witnesses of the Kentish original. I rather assume that the lazy copyist dropped *Hereford.*, just as he certainly did drop other names, and that he or some later Rochester monk extended the compendium *G.* into *Gundulfo.*

10. As to *G. abb. Crispino*, these words appear only in that version which we shall prove to have been corrupted by a monastic forger.<sup>24</sup> Gilbert must, indeed, have been present at the coronation in his own abbey. Nor would it strike us, if the abbot of Westminster had signed the charter between bishops and earls. But here again the place where *G.* was abbot is wanting. Nor do family names of abbots appear in formal Anglo-Norman records. Gilbert indeed bears the name of *Crispin* (so did his grandfather, father and other relations<sup>25</sup>) with William of Jumièges,<sup>26</sup> Ailred of Rievaulx,<sup>27</sup> and in several books of Le Bec,<sup>28</sup> the abbey from which he came. But he does not call himself so in his 'Disputatio Judæi,' seemingly his only work<sup>29</sup> now extant. He is not addressed as Crispin by Saint Anselm<sup>30</sup> or by the verbose poet of St. Austin's.<sup>31</sup> Several strictly contemporary historians,<sup>32</sup> some

<sup>23</sup> See my *Quadripartitus*, p. 36. Gerard signed the king's invitation to Anselm together with three other witnesses of the charter; see above, note 21.

<sup>24</sup> Below, 20.

<sup>25</sup> *De genere Crispinorum.*

<sup>26</sup> He quotes *Vita Herluini a Gislerberto Crispino postea abbate Westmonasteriensis*, vii. 22.

<sup>27</sup> *Vita Edwardi*, 2.

<sup>28</sup> *Catal. libr. Becc. (Hist. littér. x. 196)*; *Vita Lanfranci*, 7; *Chron. Becc.*

<sup>29</sup> Several writings formerly ascribed to him belong to other Gilberts; Wright, *Biogr. Brit. lit.* ii. 70. The MSS. in Peterhouse, Cambridge, quoted by Cave, do not specify which Gilbert they mean, as Mr. W. E. Barnes has been kind enough to inform me.

<sup>30</sup> *Epist.* ii. 16. 36. 47.

<sup>31</sup> See my 'Raginald von Canterbury,' *Neues Archiv*, xiii. 525.

<sup>32</sup> Eadmer, Nov. IV a. 1108; Florent. Wig. a. 1117; Ann. Anglosax. Petroburg. 1117; Orderic, vi. ; French poem on Edward the Conf. v. 4649.

royal documents,<sup>33</sup> and Anselm's letters<sup>34</sup> mention him, and his epitaph<sup>35</sup> praises him without the family name. We may therefore venture to believe that *Crispino* in the witnesses' list is not authentic, and we may consider the four words *et G. a. Cr.* as a private interpolation.

11. One title among the witnesses remains doubtful. Walter Giffard is called earl in three versions, and in two he is not.<sup>36</sup> If we can trust Orderic, Walter was then earl of Buckingham. If so, *com.* would be authentic. But unluckily the history of this earldom seems far from certain.<sup>37</sup>

12. Lastly, one version, viz. the Quadripartitus, exhibits no particular name in the witnesses' line, but mentions prelates, lay barons, sheriffs, and *optimates* collectively. This form is by no means found in all the copies addressed to England generally, of which three rather agree with the county copies in giving individual witnesses. It has no parallel in Anglo-Norman charters. The legal idea of a witness requires a particular man to be responsible, and not a whole class. Sheriffs were usually the recipients, but not the witnesses, of royal ordinances. *Optimates* savours more of an ecclesiastical scriptorium than of the king's chancery. To contend that four days after the Red King's death the 'archbishops, bishops, earls, barons and sheriffs of all England' could have been summoned, and that they hastened to Westminster, must have sounded absurd at the time, when Anselm was still in Burgundy. Now the formula *archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus, baronibus, vicecomitibus totius Angliae* is indeed well known from Anglo-Norman records; only there it is not the last line, but the first—namely, the address. This

<sup>33</sup> *Monast. Anglic.* i. 301.

<sup>34</sup> ii. 51, perhaps ii. 13, and possibly i. 75, ii. 30.

<sup>35</sup> *Mon. Angl.* i. 301.

<sup>36</sup> Freeman (*Will. Rufus*, ii. 358), using the latter only, asks: 'Why does not Walter Giffard sign as Earl? Or is it his son?' But he confounds the Conqueror's companion and his son, who died in 1102. The latter is called *comes Buccingeham* by Orderic (iv. 20. 183) under the years 1097 and 1102, and leaves a son a minor. Planché ('The Giffords' in *Journ. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.* xxix. 58) had already corrected Dugdale, but does not seem very critical.

<sup>37</sup> Cp. Round, *Geof. Mandeville*, 272. n. 3.



witnesses' line may, therefore, safely be rejected as a private invention, most likely of the author of the *Quadripartitus* himself, who has committed worse forgeries than this.<sup>38</sup>

13. The last line, giving the date, is wanting or only abbreviated in those versions which omit some witnesses too. The coronation was at Westminster, and though the Rochester version puts *London* instead, just as William of Malmesbury does, it has the same meaning, proving that the western minster was already before the middle of the century<sup>39</sup> loosely spoken of as an outpost of the growing city. The authentic copies had no doubt all of them *Westm.* The last word, *Valete*, found in two good versions, seems unusual in royal charters. Possibly two clerks independently subjoined it from letters or deeds.

14. If, then, the authentic exemplars of the charter differed certainly in the address, and possibly in the concluding lines, may they not have presented various readings in the main body, the articles, as well? These articles are not numbered in the manuscripts. Nor do breaks, full stops or initials occur at the same points everywhere. The originals, therefore, seem now and then, quite arbitrarily, to have begun a fresh sentence with a majuscule. I shall retain the usual numbering, but, for the convenience of quotation, I have introduced a subdivision into paragraphs. The splitting of the charter into two chapters, on the other hand, must be abandoned. This whim is due to a rubricator of the '*Leges Henrici*' heading article 9 with *De confirmatione legum Edwardi regis*. *Quadripartitus*, whom the '*Leges*' follow, does not give it; it is therefore not authentic. Some other rubrics must also be discarded, as they come either from those '*Leges*,' or are marginal additions, by another hand than the scribe's in Sc 2. That any original could have borne a general inscription like *Institutiones* or *Leges regis Henrici* need scarcely be refuted. These general rubrics, widely different in the various manuscripts, ought to be relegated from the heading of the text to the annotations.

<sup>38</sup> My *Quadr.* p. 163.

<sup>39</sup> My *Leges Angl.* s. xiii. p. 62, 67.

15. There are, indeed, fifteen variations in the articles which I cannot otherwise explain than by the assumption that the originals themselves differed, viz. all those cases where some *whole* classes deviate from several other whole classes of manuscripts. As mediæval scribes hardly ever copied two pages without a dozen errors, we shall not expect to find chancery clerks perfectly correct in minute matters. Now all these variations concern the style only, never affect the sense, and are without any exception<sup>40</sup> of the most trifling kind. The corruption of *geldis* into *gildis* [11] was most likely in two (or more) originals; Domesday clerks often distorted English words. Differences like these seem to be original; they must not be dropped in the future final edition. I shall mark them below by an asterisk\*.

16. Fifty variations will be distinguished below by a dagger †. Resting each on one prototype only, they are due either to a private copyist or (what seems much less likely) to a clericus regis unintentionally slipping from the ideal chancery text, and not carefully enough collating it afterwards. Instead of *gravamine alleviati* one version has *allevamine alleviati* [11]; the meaning required is 'freed from a burthen;' exactly the same sense is expressed by this variant (which, for stylistic reasons, I cannot help considering as a corruption), viz. 'relieved by a relief.' None of these variations concern the sense, most of them are transpositions, omissions, or additions of superfluous words, and the interchanging of *sive*, *seu*, *vel*, *et*, *aut*, *non*, *nec*. The widest deviations are *viro* for *marito*, *concedo* instead of *facio*, and *facere consueverat* for *faciebat*.<sup>41</sup> I, for one, should rather ascribe them to private copyists than to official clerks, the more so as *esse concedo* for *facio* occurs in another private alteration,<sup>42</sup> and *assuetum erat* stands instead of *faciebat* [8] at another place with another compiler.

17. All the remaining variations, more than two hundred, I consider as corruptions. The bulk of them are clearly not due to the readings of the prototypes, but to individual and

<sup>40</sup> See, however, below, 18.

<sup>41</sup> 2; 1, 1; 3, 3.

<sup>42</sup> Another explanation remains, however, possible; see below, 27 Gl.

later scribes, as in those cases where sister-manuscripts of the same class present a reading in harmony with the other main classes.<sup>43</sup> Though I must, below, overload the notes with these variations, I do so only in order to enable the reader to examine my classification of the manuscripts. The future final edition of Henry's charter may safely drop at least all these and perhaps many more variations. While most of them are mere slips, especially unintentional omissions, some are intended as embellishments, or to give fuller or clearer readings.<sup>44</sup> The historical compilation possessed by Bromton,<sup>45</sup> and the quasi-legal one composed by a London citizen under John,<sup>46</sup> offer striking examples. The scribe here alters the obsolete old English *lagam* into the more classical *legem*.<sup>47</sup> He expresses his respect for the baronial share in government, and his hatred of royal taxation by four small insertions.<sup>48</sup> The Glasgow scribe wants goods, stolen during the interregnum from the king or other owners, to be returned 'to the Church' (14). A similar ecclesiastical tendency may lurk behind his alteration of the Church's *dominium*, which the king promises to take nothing away from during a vacancy, into *res ecclesiae* [1, 1].

18. A certain group of variations, though resting on a prototype, must be excluded from the dagger-class of possibly authentic variations, because they are grammatical<sup>49</sup> errors, or for historical reasons. As the king's title then was *rex Anglorum*, it is an error if, according to the style adopted after Richard I., *Anglie* is read. Nor do I consider the omission of *Dei gratia* in only one version as original, though

<sup>43</sup> One must not feel puzzled if in a few cases manuscripts of different classes deviate from the correct text in the same way. This is only to be expected in such a host of variations.

<sup>44</sup> *marito*, 3, 2 ; 4 ; Fr likes to alter *quis* into *aliquis*, 6, 1 (and Lond. adds the word, 4, 1 ; 5, 1) ; Fr alters *consilio* into *non nisi secundum consilium*, 3, 2.

<sup>45</sup> *gero*, 1, 1 ; *quidem* ; *fore istas*, 1, 2.

<sup>46</sup> *assuetum erat*, 8.

<sup>47</sup> 9, 13 ; cp. William I.'s Articles *Hic intimatur*. For *Eadward* most MSS. have the modernised form *Edward*, one *Aedward*, the Frenchman *Edovard*.

<sup>48</sup> He adds *assensu* (*consilio*) to *consilio* (*consensu*) *baronum*, 1 ; 10 ; and to the articles on taxation *occasionibus* and *omnino*, 1, 1 ; 11. See my *Leges Angl.* p. 71.

<sup>49</sup> *Revelare* for *relevare* constantly in Sc 2.

it used to be left out in charters<sup>50</sup> addressed to a county for the benefit of a private grantee. *Culpa* for *iustum* [8, 1] savours more of foreign than Anglo-Norman law. Between *tempore patris* and *aliorum antecessorum* the insertion of *fratris* would disturb the chronological order [8]. Henry wanted to charge his brother, but not his father (and certainly not him alone), with the abuse of having heirships redeemed. He reformed the wardship of baronial lands and of children. *Patris* for *fratris* and the omission of *et* are therefore errors of the scribe [2; 4, 1].

19. Liberating the domain lands of tenants by knight's service from taxes, the king expressed the hope that in return they would the better prepare themselves for military service; here Quadripartitus adds: '*sicut benignitas mea propensior est in eis, ita michi fideles sint*' [11]. This superfluous line, personifying an abstract quality and employing two words with a higher flight of style, does not seem to have proceeded from the pen of that clear and straightforward business man who drew up Henry's charter. As *propensus* and *benignitas* occur again in those few pages of Quadripartitus<sup>51</sup> which are the author's own work, as inflated language was his foible, and as we know him to have altered another part of this charter as well,<sup>52</sup> I consider the line in question was invented by him.

20. From a mere flourish we pass lastly to a forgery. In one class of MSS., altogether the least correct of all, the king is made to grant, at the end of his charter, 'to the monks of the present church the liberties, dignities, and royal customs once confirmed to them by the charters of kings.' Need we prove that such a sentence was impossible in a very solemn document composed no doubt by the most practised chancery officials? While all the articles, true to the character of a general charter of liberties, concern either the whole nation or certain recognised classes and estates of the commonwealth, this pretended grant

<sup>50</sup> See originals printed by Birch, *Journ. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.* xxix. 236.

<sup>51</sup> P. 78, 84.

<sup>52</sup> See above, 12.

deals with *one* church. While genuine charters to an ecclesiastical house mention either its head or its place, here the grantee is *praesens ecclesia*. While they specify the single privileges of immunity in legal terms, here the expressions are of vague indistinctness. While they quote names of kings who had formerly granted such liberties, the forger speaks only of *regum*. But which church did he mean? Certainly a monastic one enjoying large political privileges at least as early as Edward the Confessor's reign. Could he devise his forgery for the benefit of each of the twenty monasteries or more which belonged to that high rank? A French translator<sup>53</sup> took indeed *praesens* for all the *églises ke ore sunt* (while another copyist, using a Canterbury volume, imagined the Christchurch monks to be meant).<sup>54</sup> In fact, however, such a general monastic tendency, if it ever existed, did not gain its purpose, as Worcester, St. Albans, Rochester, Hexham and Bury St. Edmunds<sup>55</sup> kept free from this forgery, which on the other hand is received in at least five books not owned by English monks. He rather meant by *praesens* one particular church, viz., the *present* monastery where, as he read in the last line, the charter was given, *i.e.* Westminster. We saw above how it is only this version that mentions Gilbert Crispin. Hardly any doubt can now remain that this name was interpolated, and the passage in question was forged by a Westminster monk.

21. The manuscripts may be divided into seven classes.

i. The original sent to Worcestershire is represented first by **Fl**, *i.e.* Florence of Worcester's short abstract<sup>56</sup> of articles 1, 12, 13, 10, under the year 1100. This abstract serves to show that at least one deviation of the other representative of this class was not yet in its original: Fl has *retinuit* [10] where the rest of the MSS. give *retinui*, while Sc 2 has *tenui*.<sup>57</sup> By

<sup>53</sup> See below, 28.

<sup>54</sup> See below, 27: Cant.

<sup>55</sup> See above, notes 3, 13.

<sup>56</sup> It must not be called a *summary* of the whole charter.

<sup>57</sup> Sc 2 therefore was not the source of any other MS.; cp. *omnino*, 9, and the omissions *meis*, 6; *eas*, 10; *suarum*; *proprio*, 11. Address and list of witnesses, on the other hand, prove that Sc 2 does not depend on the following classes.

**Sc 2** the editors design the second entry of our charter in Scaccarii liber rubeus, f. 163v., of the thirteenth century. A copy of **Sc 2** two centuries later exists in **K 3**, *i.e.* the Cottonian codex Claudius D II, f. 41.<sup>58</sup> **Sc 2** exhibits altogether the best text.

22. ii. The original sent to Hertfordshire was copied at St. Albans. This copy, which I call **Alb**,<sup>59</sup> is lost and has to be reconstructed from two versions of the annals of this house. Version **a** exists under the year 1100 in Wendover, in Paris's greater chronicle, and in his 'Historia Anglorum'; I call these three authorities **Albwa**, **Albpa**, and **Albh** respectively.<sup>60</sup> As **Albpa** and **Albh** share all the faults of **Albwa**,<sup>61</sup> add some of their own, and correct Wendover nowhere, they seem derived from him.<sup>62</sup> I shall call the second entry of the charter, under the year 1213, version **b**. Here also Wendover,<sup>63</sup> whose text I call **Albwb**, is faithfully followed by **Albpb**, *i.e.* Paris a. 1213.<sup>64</sup> This version **b** does not depend on **a**, as it avoids **a**'s faults; but it forges Bocland's title.<sup>65</sup> Paris here commits an error of his own, anticipating five words from article 4 in 3, 3.—In the footnotes below I shall designate by **Alb** the variations common to all these five texts of St. Albans.

23. iii. The Rochester version, the lost prototype of which I call **hrl**, is represented by two manuscripts, viz. **H** and **Bl**. By the symbol **H** editors are long used to denominate the Textus Roffensis,<sup>66</sup> written about 1140 and therefore the

<sup>58</sup> Cp. my *Leges Angl.* § 28. I have not collated **K 3**.

<sup>59</sup> The omission (*rectis*) and the addition (*regi*) in 6 as well as *culpa* (8) and *patris* (2) prove that **Alb** was not the source of the other classes.

<sup>60</sup> I collated them in the editions of Coxe, ii. 161; Luard, ii. 115; and Madden, i. 177. The *Hist. Anglorum*, a. 1213, quotes the charter (without repeating it) from 'Hist. Regum,' *i.e.* Wendover or Cron. Maiora.

<sup>61</sup> Omitting *eiusdem regni*, 1; *imprimis*, 1, 1; adding *his* before *Testibus*, and altering *vellet* into *voluerit*, 3, 1; *barones* into *homines*, 4, 2; and *aliorum antecessorum meorum* into *fratris*, 8.

<sup>62</sup> **Albpa** is less good (omitting *opere*, 11), and **Albh** least correct (see the same place, and *quicquam*, 1, 1).

<sup>63</sup> Ed. Hewlett, ii. 84.

<sup>64</sup> Ed. Luard, ii. 552.

<sup>65</sup> Above, 4.

<sup>66</sup> I herewith beg to express my cordial thanks to the Very Rev. the Dean and Chapter of Rochester, and especially to their courteous librarian, Rev. G. M. Livett, who kindly allowed me to work in their venerable cathedral in July 1893.

oldest MS. of all. R1 means the Bodleian codex Rawlinson C 641, written about 1180. I have remarked before <sup>67</sup> how nearly akin R1 is to H. One would indeed suppose that R1 did merely copy our charter from H, if it did not avoid two very slight mistakes of H.<sup>68</sup> The first line of this version shows sufficiently that hrl was not the source of the other classes; besides it is guilty of some omissions as well.<sup>69</sup> The Rochester origin of hrl is based on the appearance here only of the name of Gundulf.<sup>70</sup>

24. iv. Richard, prior of Hexham, entered about 1140 a copy of our charter in his chronicle under the year 1135. His text has come down to us in a manuscript of the thirteenth century, in which the scribe may be responsible for some errors. I call this text, which I collate from Mr. Howlett's edition,<sup>71</sup> **Haug**. Trifling omissions<sup>72</sup> and some faults<sup>73</sup> prove that Haug cannot have been the source of one of the other versions. On the other hand Haug retains the beginning line more faithfully than hrl, the only version coeval with (or a little older than) Haug. This good text has been hitherto unduly neglected.

25. v. The Cottonian MS. Domitian viii, f. 118,<sup>74</sup> which I call **Dm**,<sup>75</sup> contains a fragment written at the end of the twelfth century. The writer broke off in the middle of article 6, 1, leaving the back page blank. He copied, with a good many faults of his own,<sup>76</sup> a text which was better than any of the other versions.

26. vi. The legal compiler of 1114, called *Quadripartitus*<sup>77</sup> (**Quadr.** below), begins his second book with our charter

<sup>67</sup> *Transact. R. Hist. Soc.* N.S. vii. 102.

<sup>68</sup> *ea*, 3, 1; *pro*, 6, 1.

<sup>69</sup> *baronum vel hominum meorum*, 8; *ut apti et parati sint*, 11. R1 alone leaves out *graviter michi*, 14, 1.

<sup>70</sup> See above, 9.

<sup>71</sup> *Chronicles of Stephen* (Rolls Ser.) iii. 142; cf. p. lv.

<sup>72</sup> *baronibus*, Prol.; *sicut iustum fuerit*, 8, 1.

<sup>73</sup> *actionibus*, 1, 1; *expono hic partes*, 1, 2.

<sup>74</sup> I owe a copy of the first and last lines to the kindness of Miss M. T. Martin.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. my *Quadripartitus*, p. 63, about another work contained in Dm. This text of our charter did not form a part of the *Quadripartitus*.

<sup>76</sup> *gratia*, 1; *iustus*, 6, 1.

<sup>77</sup> See my *Quadripartitus*, p. 150. 58.

headed by a prologue. He distinguishes himself from all the other versions by his addition of a whole line, by his alteration of the witnesses,<sup>78</sup> and by his omission of article 12. As he avoids, however, their mistakes, he must have used, at least indirectly, a lost original. He is the first author who embodies the charter in a collection. From there the charter, together with the end of the prologue, found its way into the 'Leges Henrici I.,' a contemporary compilation which I call **Hn**. **Hn** introduces rubrics of its own.<sup>79</sup> **Hn**'s best codex is **Sc**, i.e. the first<sup>80</sup> entry in Scaccarii liber rubeus, fo. 16, written about 1230. A corrector emended some clerical errors and collated the other class of **Hn**-MSS., viz. the London one.<sup>81</sup> **Sc** is a good copyist of the Quadripartitus text, but still falls into a few errors.<sup>82</sup> **Sc** in its turn was copied by **Hg** f. 5, i.e. the MS. Hargrave 313, written about 1260, and in Simonds d'Ewes's book Harley 311 f. 40, both in the British Museum. The latter is collated with **K2**. The other class of **Hn**'s MSS., viz. the London one, deviates as far as our charter is concerned in most respects<sup>83</sup> from **Hn**, tending towards the Westminster class (See below, 27). While **Hn** used the earliest Quadripartitus edition, those MSS. of Quadripartitus itself which contain our charter belong to two later editions.<sup>84</sup> One of them is represented by the Cottonian codex Titus A 27, f. 152, of about 1220, called **T**.<sup>85</sup> The other exists in four MSS., viz. **M** f. 81v., written about 1150, once Macro's, now Mr. J. H. Gurney's;<sup>86</sup> **Hk** f. 100, written about 1200, i.e. no. 228 at Holkham; **Br**, i.e. Bromton's chronicle,<sup>87</sup> edited by Twysden, and **Fr**.<sup>88</sup> **Fr** was written by a French<sup>89</sup> clerk in the beginning of the thirteenth century.

<sup>78</sup> See above, 12, 19.

<sup>79</sup> See above, 14.

<sup>80</sup> Carefully to be distinguished from **Sc** 2; above, 21.

<sup>81</sup> *et assensu*, 1. <sup>82</sup> *iniuste* is omitted, 1, 2; cf. *servabit*, 4; *iustus*, 4, 1.

<sup>83</sup> Lond. agrees however with **Hn** = **Quadr.** in *suppono*, 1, 2; *sicut benignitas*, etc. 11. <sup>84</sup> Cf. my *Quadr.* p. 64-70.

<sup>85</sup> **T** writes *cum dono*, 6; *acta*, 9; and omits *eius*, 7, 1.

<sup>86</sup> **M** writes erroneously *debeantur*, 6, and omits *meorum*, 7.

<sup>87</sup> **Br.** omits *regni*, 1; *omnes*, 1, 2; adds *fore istas*, 1, 2; cf. above, 17.

<sup>88</sup> **Fr.** omits *sive uxor*, 4, 1, together with **M** and **Br.**

<sup>89</sup> He writes *Edvard*.



It is preserved in the French archives and thence printed by A. Teulet.<sup>90</sup> According to Mr. H. Hall<sup>91</sup> it was drawn up most likely in 1216-7 for the information of Lewis (VIII)'s English government. It omits and corrupts a good deal,<sup>92</sup> but at other places seems to attempt refinements of style.<sup>93</sup> Variations occurring in Sc and the four Quadripartitus MSS. will be noted under the symbol 'Quadr.'

27. vii. The last class, which according to the two reasons given above [20] is to be localised at Westminster,<sup>94</sup> may be called **West**. It is represented by several classes of MSS. The oldest is *Registrum vetus episcopatus Glasguensis*, f. 25, written about 1225. Its edition, by C. Innes,<sup>95</sup> will be collated below under the symbol **Gl**. It has omissions,<sup>96</sup> additions,<sup>97</sup> and alterations<sup>98</sup> which are in no other MS. In one case Gl reads *esse concedo* instead of *facio*, where Haug also has *concedo* [1, 1]. I formerly thought this was a reason for presuming that Gl and Haug were akin. If so, Gl would have used two classes of MSS.<sup>99</sup> But this coincidence may be a mere chance.<sup>100</sup>

In the 'Leges Anglorum sac. XIII in. Londoniis collectae,'<sup>1</sup> which I shall call here **Lond**, the Guildhall compiler included the 'Leges Henrici,' of which our charter forms the first and second chapter. Lond. offers however, besides Quadr.-variations,<sup>2</sup> West's two characteristic interpolations, viz. the monks' privilege and Crispin. It clearly uses two different versions. As it commits errors of its own,<sup>3</sup> it cannot have been the source of the other MSS. It exists in three

<sup>90</sup> 'Layettes du Trésor des chartes' (Inventaires et Documents), i. p. 34.

<sup>91</sup> *English Hist. Rev.* 1894, 326. This paper drew my attention to Fr.

<sup>92</sup> *tam Francis*, Prol. ; *eius*, 1, 1 ; *cum terra sua*, 3, 2 ; *mortuo marito*, 3, 3.

<sup>93</sup> See above, 17.

<sup>94</sup> The remaining deviations of West. are but trifling ; it leaves out four witnesses and the last line, it alters *quoniam*, 1, 1 ; *hiis*, 6.

<sup>95</sup> For the Bannatyne Club, ii. p. 591, with facsimile ; cf. i. p. x. ('12th cent.') liii.

<sup>96</sup> *malas consuetudines*, 1, 2 ; *toto* 12.

<sup>97</sup> *aliorum*, 8 ; and see above, 17.

<sup>98</sup> *quidem*, 5 ; *recte*, 9.

<sup>99</sup> As Lond certainly did.

<sup>100</sup> Above, 16.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my *Über die Leges*, etc. p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Above, 26.

<sup>3</sup> *et genies*, 7, 1 ; *prompti*, 11 ; and above, 17.

Guildhall volumes of the first half of the fourteenth century, viz. **K2** (Cotton Claudius D II, f. 44),<sup>4</sup> **Co** (Corpus College Cambridge 70, p. 76), and **Or** (Oriel College, Oxford, 46 f. 39). Here, as in other pieces of this compilation, **Or** is nearer akin to **Co** than to **K2**.<sup>5</sup> **Co** was collated, by a contemporary corrector, with **T** or a text almost identical with **T**.<sup>6</sup> A variation occurring in **K2**, **Co**, **Or** will be ascribed to **Lond**, in the footnotes below.

Another class of **West.** manuscripts is represented by **H1** and **S**. By **H1** I designate Harley 458, f. 3, of the beginning of the thirteenth century.<sup>7</sup> By **S** editors are used to denominate Harley 746, f. 59, of the fourteenth century.<sup>8</sup> Readings common to **H1** and **S** may, as these two MSS. do not depend on each other, be ascribed to their lost source, **hls**.

**VI**, Cotton Vitellius E. V., f. 180 (formerly 166),<sup>9</sup> of the sixteenth century, seems to be a slavish copy of **S**, judging from characteristic faults in this and seven other Anglo-Norman legal pieces contained in both.

**Cant**,<sup>10</sup> Cotton Vespasian C.XIV., f. 129, was written in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The copyist contends in the heading that the monks' privilege concerned Canterbury, most probably only because he drew our charter, as he himself says, *ex libro cartarum archiepiscopatus Cantuariensis*.<sup>11</sup>

28. **H1**, f. 4 contains a French translation of the charter. I shall call it **Hlf**. Its handwriting is of the middle of the thirteenth century. As **Hlf** does not share all the errors of **H1**,<sup>12</sup> the translator must have inspected **H1**'s source again. I subjoin this translation to my text below. I owe a complete copy to the kindness of Miss M. T. Martin.<sup>12a</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Without connection with **K 3**, the later entry in the same volume, above, 21.

<sup>5</sup> *de*, 1; *vero*, 10.

<sup>6</sup> See last line and my *Über die Leges*, p. 2.

<sup>7</sup> **H1** skips a line in 3, 3, and extends the compendium *G* among the witnesses erroneously into *Galfrido*.

<sup>8</sup> **S** alone reads *misericordia* in the prologue.

<sup>9</sup> The volume was confusedly bound, and afterwards damaged by fire.

<sup>10</sup> I owe some excerpts to the kindness of Miss Martin.

<sup>11</sup> See above, 3.

<sup>12</sup> *hominibus*, Prol.; the line 3, 3, wanting in **H1**, is in **Hlf**.

<sup>12a</sup> Mr. H. Hall has been good enough to collate the proof.

The translation is verbal ; date and witnesses are omitted and very few insignificant words<sup>13</sup> added. The word *praesens*, which in 14a has a local meaning, is translated by *ore*, as if it were temporal. Though the spelling sometimes shows a tendency to approach the French *kouř*, as a rule the Norman vowels are clearly to be distinguished ; cp. the *u* instead of Parisian *o* or *ou*, *-ouent* for *-oient*, *-ein* for *-ain*, and *-eit* for *-ait*.<sup>14</sup> For *eius anima* the translator writes *s'arme*. The dictionaries notice this form for *âme*, as they do some other words which do not seem to be very often used.<sup>15</sup> As the Anglo-Saxon words *lage* and *geld*<sup>16</sup> are retained, it is clear that the translation was addressed to Englishmen. *Hlf* may be a mere copy of a lost original. But we look in vain for forms which had become obsolete by the middle of the thirteenth century.<sup>17</sup> That *Hlf* was rather the translator's autograph appears probable from four places where some letters with which he at first intended to begin a word have been crossed out and replaced by others, while, as it would seem, the work was still in progress.<sup>18</sup>

[Prof. H. Suchier, of Halle, who has been good enough to look through the French text,<sup>19</sup> kindly informs me that the translator's home was Normandy, and not England. Forms like *purtenouent* for *-eient*, *muirt* for *muiret*, *muneur* for *muneur*, look Anglo-Norman indeed ; but the *ie* correctly preserved in twenty places seems too good for an Englishman, who would have been sure sometimes to substitute an *e*. Nor do we meet with the English way of spelling *aun*, *-tz*, and *ai* instead of *an*, *-z*, and *ei*. The cancelled letters *fach* also

<sup>13</sup> *mult* ; *sun* after *tresque*, I, I.

<sup>14</sup> *curunt*, I ; *amur*, *vus*, I, I ; *custumes*, I, I ; *seignurs*, *lur*, 2, I ; *durai*, *duaire*, 3, 3 ; *puint*, *sulunc*, 8 ; *ancesurs*, 8, I ; *purtenouent*, 6 ; *peis*, 12 ; *seinte*, I, I ; *eit* 8.

<sup>15</sup> *nundreituel*, I, I (see Godefroy, s. v. *nondroiturier*) ; *acovenancier* 6 (see *aconv.*) ; *enmaladir*, 7 ; *ne* for modern *ni*, 7, I. <sup>16</sup> 9. 13 ; II.

<sup>17</sup> The sporadic dental at the end of *amenderat* or the retention of *al*, *el* (for later *au*, *eu*) in *altres*, 3, 2, *altrui* 6, *mielz* 6, proves nothing.

<sup>18</sup> See notes 5, 9, II, 13.

<sup>19</sup> For some forms which puzzled me, as *veille* (for *vueille*), and *precein* (for *proc.*), this scholar quotes parallels from his unequalled knowledge of the Middle-French language.

betray a Norman hand intending to write *fache*, while the Anglo-Norman form would have been *face*.]

29. The charter has been printed at least 32 times; among them 18 times from St. Albans MSS. Archbishop Parker edited it in 1571<sup>20</sup> in his 'Matthew Paris,' from Albpa and Alb. Two reprints appeared at Zürich in 1589<sup>21</sup> and 1606. Wats edited 'M. Paris' anew in 1640, and his edition was reprinted at Paris in 1644, and at London in 1684. The French and the English translators of 'Matthew Paris,' Huillard-Bréholles and Giles, used Wats. Coxe and Hewlett edited the charter in their editions of Wendover; Madden and Luard in theirs of 'Matthew Paris.' In Twysden's 'Historiæ Anglicanæ scriptores X' it was published<sup>22</sup> in 1652 from Haugustaldensis (now superseded by Raine's<sup>23</sup> and Howlett's editions) and from Bromton; Hearne published it from H in his 'Textus Roffensis' in 1720. This text was repeated by Blackstone in 1759,<sup>24</sup> whom Stubbs<sup>25</sup> in 1874 followed. Innes printed G1 in 1843, and Teulet Fr in 1863.

30. While the precedent editions each adhere to one manuscript, the following editors give a few variations from different versions. R. Twysden edited for Wheloc's collection,<sup>26</sup> printed in 1644, 'Leges Henrici' from Sc, and collated their text of our charter with Sc 2 and M. Paris. Somner<sup>27</sup> edited these Leges again, adding a collation of the charter from H. In the 'Statutes of the Realm'<sup>28</sup> it was printed in 1810 from H and collated with Sc and Sc 2 (which are there called R1 and R2). Thorpe<sup>29</sup> repeated in 1840 Somner's work, adding but a few readings from K2, while Schmid<sup>30</sup> collated in 1858 all the prints (Haug excepted). Lastly, Bémont<sup>31</sup> gave, in 1892, Blackstone's text, collated with Sc.

<sup>20</sup> P. 73 a. 1100 and p. 321 a. 1213.

<sup>21</sup> P. 53. 230.

<sup>22</sup> C. 310. 1021.

<sup>23</sup> Surtees Soc. 44 a. 1864. Stevenson translated Richard of Hexham.

<sup>24</sup> *The Great Charter*, p. iv. n. 2.

<sup>25</sup> *Select Charters*, p. 100.

<sup>26</sup> *Lambardi Archæionomia*, p. 175.

<sup>27</sup> His work appeared in 1721 in Wilkins's *Leges Anglo-axonicae*, p. 233.

<sup>28</sup> i. *Charters*, p. I.

<sup>29</sup> *Ancient laws*, fol. p. 215.

<sup>30</sup> *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 432.

<sup>31</sup> *Chartes des libertés Angl.* p. 3. He sometimes confuses Sc and Sc 2.

31. My text retains the orthography of H, which I had intended to choose as a basis, but found in the course of my work often enough reason to deviate from. I shall relegate H's readings into the footnotes wherever they are certainly not authentic, on account of internal evidence, or most likely not, because they stand alone against those of several of the other classes of manuscripts.

*Prol.*<sup>1</sup> Henricus<sup>2</sup> Dei<sup>3</sup> gratia<sup>4</sup> rex Anglorum<sup>5</sup>

[*Worcestershire.*  
Samsoni episcopo et Ursoni de Abetot et omnibus baronibus et fidelibus suis tam Francigenis quam Angligenis de Wirecestre-scira

[*Hertfordshire.*  
Hugoni de Boclande vicecomiti<sup>6</sup> et omnibus fidelibus suis tam Francis<sup>7</sup> quam Anglis in Hertfordscire<sup>8</sup>

[*Roch. Haug. Dm. Quadr. We. tm.*]  
omnibus<sup>9</sup> baronibus<sup>10</sup> et fidelibus suis<sup>11</sup> tam<sup>12+</sup> Francigenis<sup>13</sup> quam<sup>14+</sup> Anglis<sup>15+</sup>

salutem.

[1] Sciatis me Dei<sup>16+</sup> misericordia<sup>17</sup> et<sup>18</sup> communi consilio<sup>19</sup> baronum<sup>20+</sup> regni<sup>21</sup> Angliæ eiusdem<sup>22</sup> regni<sup>23\*</sup> regem coronatum<sup>24</sup> esse. Et quia<sup>25</sup> regnum oppressum erat iniustis<sup>26</sup> exactionibus,<sup>27</sup> ego, respectu<sup>28+</sup> Dei et amore<sup>29</sup> quem erga<sup>30</sup> vos omnes<sup>31\*</sup> habeo,<sup>32</sup> sanctam<sup>33</sup> Dei<sup>34</sup> æcclesiam imprimis<sup>35</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Carta regis Henrici I, filii regis Willelmi, de libertatibus concessis Anglis. Et habuit quilibet comitatus talem *Sc 2*; Institutiones Henrici regis *H. M. Hk*; Incipiunt leges H. r. Anglorum *T*; Magna carta H. I. r. Anglie *Gl.* [*Rubrae in Sc. Lond. pertinent ad 'Leges Henrici.'*] <sup>2</sup> primus *add. Albpb. Albh.*; Anno incarnationis dominicæ MCI. [*sic*] Henricus, filius Willelmi regis, post obitum fratris sui Willelmi, Dei g. *hrl* <sup>3</sup> D. g. *om. Sc 2.* <sup>4</sup> misericordia *S.* <sup>5</sup> Anglie *Alb.* <sup>6</sup> iusticiario Anglie *Alwb. Albpb.* <sup>7</sup> Francigenis *Alwb. Albpb.* <sup>8</sup> Heref. *Albwa. Albpa. Albh*; Herif. *Alpb.* <sup>9</sup> hominibus *add. Hl*; comitibus *add. S.* <sup>10</sup> b. et *om. hrl. Haug.* <sup>11</sup> s. t. F. q. A. *om. hrl.* <sup>12</sup> *om. Quadr.*; t. F. q. A. *om. Fr.* <sup>13</sup> Francis *Quadr. Lond. S.* <sup>14</sup> et *Quadr.* <sup>15</sup> Anglicis *Haug. Gl. hls. Cant.*; totius Anglie *add. Haug.* <sup>16</sup> m. D. *Haug*; de *Co. Or.* <sup>17</sup> gratia *Dm.* <sup>18</sup> *om. Dm.* <sup>19</sup> et assensu *add. Lond*; *add. inter lin. Sc.* <sup>20</sup> totius *add. hrl*; meorum *add. Br. Lond.* <sup>21</sup> regno *T*; *om. Br.* <sup>22</sup> e. r. *om. Albwa. Albpa. Albh.* <sup>23</sup> *om. Sc 2. hrl. M*; *inter lin. Sc.* <sup>24</sup> e. c. *Alb.* <sup>25</sup> quoniam *Dm. Gl. Lond*; quod *Hl.* <sup>26</sup> occasionibus et *add. Lond*; multis *Dm.* <sup>27</sup> actionibus *Haug.* <sup>28</sup> D. r. *hrl*; misericordie *add. Lond.* <sup>29</sup> amoris *Br.* <sup>30</sup> illos et *add. Lond.* <sup>31</sup> *om. Sc 2. hrl. Br.* <sup>32</sup> gero *Br.* <sup>33</sup> i cām *Lond.* <sup>34</sup> ec. D. *Gl. om. Albwa. Albpa.*

liberam facio: <sup>36+</sup> ita quod nec <sup>37\*</sup> vendam nec ad firmam ponam nec, mortuo archiepiscopo sive <sup>38+</sup> episcopo sive <sup>39+</sup> abbate, aliquid <sup>40</sup> accipiam <sup>41</sup> de dominio <sup>42</sup> æcclesiæ vel de <sup>43</sup> [1, 2] hominibus eius, <sup>44\*</sup> donec successor in <sup>45</sup> eam ingrediatur. Et omnes <sup>46</sup> malas consuetudines, quibus regnum Angliæ iniuste <sup>47</sup> opprimebatur, inde aufero: quas <sup>48</sup> malas <sup>49</sup> consuetudines ex <sup>50</sup> parte hic <sup>51+</sup> pono: <sup>52</sup>

[2] <sup>53</sup> Si quis <sup>54</sup> baronum meorum, <sup>55+</sup> comitum sive <sup>56+</sup> aliorum qui de me tenent, mortuus fuerit, hæres suus <sup>57</sup> non redimet <sup>58</sup> terram suam, sicut faciebat <sup>59+</sup> tempore fratris <sup>60</sup> mei, sed [2, 1] legitima <sup>61\*</sup> et iusta relevatione <sup>62</sup> relevabit eam. Similiter et <sup>63+</sup> homines baronum meorum legitima <sup>64\*</sup> et iusta relevatione <sup>65</sup> relevabunt <sup>66</sup> terras suas de dominis <sup>67</sup> suis.

[3] <sup>68</sup> Et si quis baronum <sup>69+</sup> vel aliorum <sup>70</sup> hominum meorum filiam suam nuptum <sup>71</sup> tradere <sup>72</sup> voluerit, sive sororem <sup>73</sup> sive neptem <sup>74</sup> sive cognatam, <sup>75</sup> mecum inde loquatur. <sup>76+</sup> Sed [3, 1] neque <sup>77</sup> ego aliquid <sup>78</sup> de suo pro hac licentia accipiam, neque defendam <sup>79</sup> ei quin eam det, excepto si eam <sup>80</sup> vellet <sup>81+</sup> [3, 2] iungere <sup>82</sup> inimico <sup>83</sup> meo. Et si, mortuo barone vel <sup>84+</sup> alio

<sup>36</sup> concedo *Haug*; esse concedo *Gl.* <sup>37</sup> eam *add. Alb. Haug. Br.* <sup>38</sup> seu *Sc 2. Sc. hls*; vel *Alb. Haug. Fr. Lond*; *om. Br. Gl.* <sup>39</sup> vel *Albwb. Albpb. Albh. Haug. Br. Sc. Fr.*; nec *Gl.* <sup>40</sup> quicquam *Albh*; inde *add. Lond. hls.* <sup>41</sup> de rebus ec. vel de ho. eorum accipiam, donec *Gl.* <sup>42</sup> dominico *Rl. Lond. S.*; dno *M*; rebus *Gl.* <sup>43</sup> *om. Sc. Br.* <sup>44</sup> *om. Alb. Haug*; eorum *Gl.* <sup>45</sup> eius *pro in eam Fr.* <sup>46</sup> *om. Br.* <sup>47</sup> *om. Albh. Sc.*; o.i. *Albwb. in ed. Hewlett.* <sup>48</sup> quidem *add. Br.* <sup>49</sup> m.c. *om. Gl.* <sup>50</sup> in *Alb.*; expono hic partes *Haug*; ex p. *om. Br.* <sup>51</sup> *om. Quadr.* <sup>52</sup> suppono *Quadr. Lond.*; fore istas *add. Br.*

<sup>53</sup> De relevationibus dandis *manus post. in marg. add. Sc 2.* <sup>54</sup> aliquis *Haug.* <sup>55</sup> c. m. *hrl*; vel *add. Haug*; sive *add. Gl*; seu *add. Or.* <sup>56</sup> vel *Alb.* <sup>57</sup> eius *Fr.* <sup>58</sup> -mat *Haug. Br.* <sup>59</sup> facere consueverat *Alb*; in *add. Co.* <sup>60</sup> patris *Alb.* <sup>61</sup> iusta et leg. *Albwa. Albh. hrl. Lond.* <sup>62</sup> revela. *revelabit Sc 2.* <sup>63</sup> *om. Haug.* <sup>64</sup> iusta et leg. *hrl. Lond.* <sup>65</sup> revela. *revelabunt Sc 2.* <sup>66</sup> -bit *Or.* <sup>67</sup> dominiis *Gl.*

<sup>68</sup> De mulieribus maritandis *add. m. post. in marg. Sc 2.* <sup>69</sup> meorum *vel a. [om. Fr.] hom. [h. a. Gl]. fi. Sc 2. Fr. Gl. Lond.* <sup>70</sup> *om. Quadr*; h. a. *Gl.* <sup>71</sup> *om. Alb. [sed vide ann. 75]*; nuptui *Haug. Br. Lond.*; nubitum *Sc*; nuptiis *Fr*; nuptam *Gl.* <sup>72</sup> v. t. *Albh.* <sup>73</sup> suam *add. Lond.* <sup>74</sup> -tim *hrl*; -tam *Gl. Co. Or.* <sup>75</sup> nuptui *add. Albh. Albwa.* <sup>76</sup> loquetur *Haug.* <sup>77</sup> nec *Co. Or.* <sup>78</sup> pro hac li. de s. al. *Fr.* <sup>79</sup> ei d. *Sc.* <sup>80</sup> ea *H.* <sup>81</sup> iu. v. *Haug. Sc. hls.*; velit *M. Lond*; voluerit *Br*; *pro v. i. habet dare vellet Albwb. Albpb.*; dare voluerit *Albwa. Albpa. Albh*; dare velit *Fr*; nubere voluerit *Gl.* <sup>82</sup> *om. Alb. Fr. Gl.* <sup>83</sup> m. i. *Lond.* <sup>84</sup> meo vel a. ho., fi.

- homine meo,<sup>85</sup> filia hæres remanserit, illam<sup>86</sup> dabo<sup>87</sup> consilio  
 [3, 3] baronum meorum cum<sup>88</sup> terra sua. Et si, mortuo<sup>89</sup> marito,<sup>90+</sup>  
 uxor eius<sup>91+</sup> remanserit<sup>92</sup> et sine liberis fuerit, dotem suam<sup>93+</sup>  
 et maritatem<sup>94</sup> habebit;<sup>95</sup> et<sup>96</sup> eam non dabo marito<sup>97</sup>  
 nisi secundum velle suum.
- [4] <sup>98</sup> Si vero uxor<sup>99</sup> cum liberis remanserit, dotem quidem<sup>100+</sup>  
 et<sup>1</sup> maritatem<sup>2</sup> suam<sup>3+</sup> habebit, dum<sup>4</sup> corpus suum  
 legitime servaverit;<sup>5</sup> et eam non dabo<sup>6</sup> nisi secundum velle  
 [4, 1] suum. Et<sup>7</sup> terræ et<sup>8</sup> liberorum custos erit sive<sup>9</sup> uxor  
 sive<sup>10</sup> alius<sup>11</sup> propinquorum,<sup>12</sup> qui iustius<sup>13</sup> esse debebit.<sup>14+</sup>
- [4, 2] Et precipio ut<sup>15</sup> barones<sup>16</sup> mei similiter<sup>17</sup> se contineant<sup>18</sup> erga  
 filios et<sup>19+</sup> filias vel<sup>20</sup> uxores hominum suorum.
- [5] <sup>21</sup> Monetagium commune<sup>22</sup> quod capiebatur<sup>23</sup> per civitates  
 et<sup>24+</sup> comitatus, quod non fuit tempore regis<sup>25\*</sup> Eadwardi,<sup>26</sup> hoc  
 [5, 1] ne amodo sit,<sup>27\*</sup> omnino defendo.<sup>28</sup> Si quis captus<sup>29</sup> fuerit,<sup>30</sup>  
 sive monetarius sive<sup>31</sup> alius, cum falsa moneta, iusticia<sup>32</sup>  
 recta inde fiat.
- [6] Omnia placita et omnia<sup>33</sup> debita quæ<sup>34+</sup> fratri meo debe-

*Sc* 2; sive *superscr. Rl*; sive *H.* <sup>85</sup> *om. Sc.* <sup>86</sup> *d. i. Alb*; illam—  
 remanserit *om. M. Br. Or.*; eam non dabo marito nisi secundum consilium  
*ba. Fr.* <sup>87</sup> *cum add. Alb.* <sup>88</sup> *c. t. s. om. Fr.* <sup>89</sup> *mo. ma. om. Fr.*  
<sup>90</sup> *viro hrl.* <sup>91</sup> *om. Sc 2. Fr.*; *r. ei. Haug.* <sup>92</sup> *absque pro rem. et s. Fr.*  
<sup>93</sup> *do. et ma. su. [om. Br.] ha. Quad. Gl.* <sup>94</sup> *suam add. Rl*; maritagium  
*Alb. S*; maritagium suum *Fr.* <sup>95</sup> *dum corpus suum legitime servabit add.*  
*Albpb. [ex art. 4]* <sup>96</sup> *et—habebit [art. 4] om. Hl.* <sup>97</sup> *om. Fr.*  
<sup>98</sup> *De custode terre et heredis, mortuo tenente regis add. m. post. in marg.*  
*Sc 2.* <sup>99</sup> *cum li. uxor Fr.* <sup>100</sup> *om. Alb. Fr.* <sup>1</sup> *suam et ma. ha. Alb. Lond*;  
*in Albwb.* <sup>2</sup> *maritagium Alb. S*; *mariat. Fr.* <sup>3</sup> *om. hrl. Gl*; *superscr. Sc 2.*  
<sup>4</sup> *modo add. Br*; *uxor add. Sc.* <sup>5</sup> *servabit Albw. Albpb. Sc*; *custodierit*  
*Lond.* <sup>6</sup> *marito add. Albwb. Albpb. Fr.* <sup>7</sup> *om. Gl.* <sup>8</sup> *om. Alb. Haug.*  
*Co. Or*; *vero Gl.* <sup>9</sup> *s. u. om. M. Br. Fr.* <sup>10</sup> *aliquis add. Lond.* <sup>11</sup> *aliquis Fr.*  
<sup>12</sup> *-quorum Co*; *-quior Alb. Fr. K 2.* *Co*; *-quarius hrl.* <sup>13</sup> *iustus Sc.*  
<sup>14</sup> *debet Alb*; *debeat hrl.* <sup>15</sup> *quod Gl. Lond*; *omnes add. Lond.*  
<sup>16</sup> *homines Albwa. Albpa. Albh.* <sup>17</sup> *bis scr. Sc 2*; *consimiliter Br.* <sup>18</sup> *-nent*  
*Br.* <sup>19</sup> *vel Haug. Sc. T. Gl.* <sup>20</sup> *et Albwa. Albpa. Albh. Br. Fr.*  
*Lond.*

<sup>21</sup> *Et add. Lond.* <sup>22</sup> *quidem Gl.* <sup>23</sup> *capiatur Br*; *capiunt Fr.*  
<sup>24</sup> *per add. Haug. Quadr.* <sup>25</sup> *E. r. Sc 2*; *Ædw. r. M*; *Edw. r. Alb. Sc.*  
*Br*; *Edouardi r. Fr.* <sup>26</sup> *ita Sc 2*; *Edw. reliqui.* <sup>27</sup> *fiat Alb. Quadr. Gl.*  
<sup>28</sup> *-nsio M.* <sup>29</sup> *monetar. s. a. c. f. moneta ca. fuerit, iu. Gl.* <sup>30</sup> *fuit Lond.*  
<sup>31</sup> *aliquis add. Lond.* <sup>32</sup> *r. i. Br*; *iustum pro iu. re. Fr.*  
<sup>33</sup> *om. Dm.* <sup>34</sup> *regi add. Alb.*

bantur<sup>35</sup> condono,<sup>36</sup> exceptis rectis<sup>37</sup> firmis<sup>38</sup> meis<sup>39</sup> et exceptis illis quæ pacta<sup>40</sup> erant pro aliorum hereditatibus vel [6, 1] pro<sup>41</sup> eis<sup>42+</sup> rebus quæ<sup>43</sup> iustius<sup>44</sup> aliis<sup>45</sup> contingebant. Et si quis<sup>46</sup> pro<sup>47</sup> hereditate sua aliquid pepigerat,<sup>48+</sup> illud<sup>49</sup> condono et omnes relevationes<sup>50</sup> que pro<sup>51</sup> rectis<sup>52</sup> hereditatibus<sup>53</sup> pacte erant.<sup>54+</sup>

[7] Et si quis baronum vel<sup>55</sup> hominum meorum<sup>56</sup> infirmabitur,<sup>57</sup> sicut ipse dabit vel dare disponet<sup>58+</sup> pecuniam suam, [7, 1] ita datam esse concedo. Quodsi ipse<sup>59</sup> preventus vel<sup>60+</sup> armis vel infirmitate pecuniam suam non<sup>61+</sup> dederit nec<sup>62+</sup> dare disposuerit, uxor sua sive<sup>63</sup> liberi aut parentes<sup>64</sup> aut<sup>65\*</sup> legitimi homines<sup>66</sup> eius<sup>67</sup> eam<sup>68</sup> pro anima eius<sup>69</sup> dividant, sicut eis<sup>70\*</sup> melius visum fuerit.

[8] <sup>71</sup> Si quis<sup>72</sup> baronum<sup>73</sup> vel<sup>74</sup> hominum meorum<sup>75</sup> forisfecerit,<sup>76</sup> non dabit vadium in misericordia<sup>77+</sup> pecuniæ sue,<sup>78</sup> sicut faciebat<sup>79</sup> tempore<sup>80</sup> patris<sup>81</sup> mei<sup>82+</sup> vel<sup>83+</sup> fratris mei,<sup>84</sup> sed secundum modum<sup>85+</sup> forisfacti<sup>86</sup> ita<sup>87</sup> emendabit sicut

<sup>35</sup> debebant *Haug*; debeantur *M*; debentur *Sc. Br.* <sup>36</sup> cum dono *T*; *corr.* ex cum dono *Cant.* <sup>37</sup> *om. Alb.* <sup>38</sup> *superscr. H.* <sup>39</sup> *om. Sc 2.*

<sup>40</sup> pro al. her. et heredibus pa. er. vel pro *Lond.* <sup>41</sup> *om. Dm.* <sup>42</sup> hiis *Dm. Westm*; illis *Alb. Br*; aliis *Fr. Cant.* <sup>43</sup> *om. Gl.* <sup>44</sup> iuste *Haug.*

<sup>45</sup> alios *Albwa. Albpa.* <sup>46</sup> aliquis *Fr.* <sup>47</sup> *om. H*; aliquid pro h. s. *Alb. Sc.*

<sup>48</sup> -git *Haug*; -gerit *Dm. T. Lond*; vel porrexerit *add. Co.* <sup>49</sup> id *Dm.*

<sup>50</sup> revelat. *Sc 2.* <sup>51</sup> *om. Br. Fr.* <sup>52</sup> rectibus *Cant*; iustis *Dm.* <sup>53</sup> -tationibus *Sc 2*; heredibus *Lond*; desinit *Dm.* <sup>54</sup> fuerant *hrl*; sunt. erant *Sc 2.*

<sup>55</sup> meorum vel [aliorum *add. Gl. Lond*] ho. [meorum *add. Fr*] inf. *Br. Fr. Gl. Lond.* <sup>56</sup> *om. M.* <sup>57</sup> -matur *Fr.* <sup>58</sup> -posuerit *Alb*; -posuit *Fr.*

*Hl*; -nat *Br.* <sup>59</sup> morte *add. Br.* <sup>60</sup> *om. hrl*; vel a. vel i. prev. pec.

*Lond.* <sup>61</sup> nec *Sc 2. Albwb. Alb. Hl.* <sup>62</sup> vel *hrl. Haug.* <sup>63</sup> *corr.*

ex vel *H.* <sup>64</sup> leg. ho. aut pa. ei. *Br.* <sup>65</sup> et *Alb. hrl. Haug. Gl.* <sup>66</sup> *om.*

*Fr*; et gentes *add. Lond*; heredes minus recte supplet *Teulet*, et emendare velis *Bémont.*

<sup>67</sup> sui *Albwa. Albpa. Albh.* <sup>68</sup> *om. Quadr*; pro a. ei. eam

di. *Alb.* <sup>69</sup> *om. T*; sua *Gl.* <sup>70</sup> m. eis *Sc 2. Haug. T. Br. Fr.*

<sup>71</sup> Et *add. Haug.* <sup>72</sup> meorum *add. Hl*; hom *add. sed punctis suppositis*

*del. Sc.* <sup>73</sup> meorum *add. Gl. Lond*; b. v. h. m. *om. hrl.* <sup>74</sup> aliorum

*add. Gl.* <sup>75</sup> hic *om. Gl.* <sup>76</sup> foref. *Gl.* <sup>77</sup> totius *add. Quadr. hls*;

totus *M.* [Cf. *Dial. Scacc. ii. 16*, 'in misericordia regis de pecunia idem est ac si

'de tota' dixissent.'] <sup>78</sup> *om. hrl. Br. Gl.* <sup>79</sup> temp. p. m. vel fr.

m. assuetum erat, sed *Lond.* <sup>80</sup> fratris *add. sed punctis suppositis*

*del. Sc.* <sup>81</sup> fra. vel p. mei *Gl.* <sup>82</sup> *om. Alb. Hl.* <sup>83</sup> et *Albwb. Quadr*

<sup>84</sup> *om. Haug.* <sup>85</sup> f. m. *Haug*; forisfacture mo. nec ita *Alb.* <sup>86</sup> -ctum *Sc*

<sup>87</sup> em. ita *Hl.*



emendasset retro a tempore patris mei<sup>88</sup> in<sup>89</sup> tempore  
[8, 1] aliorum<sup>90</sup> antecessorum meorum. Quodsi<sup>91</sup> perfidiæ vel  
sceleris<sup>92</sup> convictus<sup>93</sup> fuerit, sicut<sup>94</sup> iustum<sup>95</sup> fuerit,<sup>96</sup> sic  
emendet.<sup>97</sup>

[9] <sup>98</sup> Murdra<sup>99</sup> etiam retro<sup>100</sup> ab illa<sup>1\*</sup> die qua<sup>2</sup> in regem<sup>3</sup>  
coronatus fui omnia<sup>4+</sup> condono; et<sup>5</sup> ea quæ amodo facta<sup>6</sup>  
fuerint<sup>7</sup> iuste<sup>8</sup> emendentur<sup>9</sup> secundum lagam<sup>10</sup> regis Ead-  
wardi.<sup>11</sup>

[10] Forestas<sup>12</sup> communi<sup>13+</sup> consensu<sup>14</sup> baronum meorum in  
manu mea ita<sup>15+</sup> retinui,<sup>16</sup> sicut pater meus eas<sup>17+</sup> habuit.<sup>18</sup>

[11] Militibus qui<sup>19</sup> per loricas terras suas deserviunt<sup>20\*</sup>  
terras<sup>21</sup> dominicarum carrucarum suarum<sup>22</sup> quietas<sup>23</sup> ab  
omnibus geldis<sup>24\*</sup> et ab<sup>25+</sup> omni opere<sup>26</sup> proprio<sup>27+</sup> dono<sup>28</sup>  
meo<sup>29</sup> concedo, <sup>30</sup>ut,<sup>31</sup> sicut<sup>32</sup> tam<sup>33</sup> magno gravamine<sup>34</sup>  
alleviati<sup>35</sup> sunt, ita<sup>36+</sup> equis<sup>37</sup> et armis se<sup>38</sup> bene instruant,

<sup>88</sup> et *add. Co. Or.*; vel fratris *add. Albwa. Albpa. Albh.*; et fratris mei *add. Quadr.*

<sup>89</sup> in t. *om. Alb.* <sup>90</sup> *om. Gl. Co. Or. Hl.*; al. ant. me. *om. Albwa. Albpa. Albh.* <sup>91</sup> Et si *Gl.* <sup>92</sup> cel. *Rl. Fr.* <sup>93</sup> *superscr. super damnatus Hl.*

<sup>94</sup> s. i. f. *om. Haug.* <sup>95</sup> erit culpa *pro iu. fu. Alb.* <sup>96</sup> erit *Alb. Quadr.*

<sup>97</sup> -dabit *Albh. Lond.*

<sup>98</sup> De confirmatione legum Edwardi regis *rubra Sc.* unde al. editores hinc  
*alterum caput incipiunt.* <sup>99</sup> Murthra *Gl.* <sup>100</sup> ab i. die retro q. *Lond.*

*Hl.*; que ab ipso d. re. quo *Gl.*; quam *add. Fr.* <sup>1</sup> illo *Albwb. Albpa.*

*Albh. hrl. M. Br. Lond.*; ipso *Gl.*; ipsa *Hl.* <sup>2</sup> quo *Albwb. Sc. Gl. Lond.*

<sup>3</sup> rege *T.* <sup>4</sup> omnino *Sc 2. Fr.* <sup>5</sup> sed *Albh.* <sup>6</sup> acta *T.* <sup>7</sup> sunt *Hl.*

<sup>8</sup> em. iu. *Lond.*; recte *Gl.* <sup>9</sup> -detur *Sc 2.*; -dantur *Sc.* <sup>10</sup> legem *Lond.*

<sup>11</sup> ita *Sc 2.*; *Æd. M.*; Edovardi *Fr.*; Edw. *reliqui.*

<sup>12</sup> vero *add. Co. Or.* <sup>13</sup> omni *hrl. K 2. Or.*; omnium *Co.* <sup>14</sup> consilio

*Alb.*; concessu *Fr.*; assensu *Gl.*; assensu et communi consilio [cons. com. *Co. Or.*] *Lond.* <sup>15</sup> *om. hrl. Lond.*; sic *Quadr.* <sup>16</sup> tenui *Sc 2* [*sed retinuit recte Flor. Wig.*]; constitui *Gl.* <sup>17</sup> *om. Sc 2.* <sup>18</sup> et retinuit *add. K2.*

<sup>19</sup> autem *Lond.* <sup>20</sup> defendunt *Alb. hrl. Br.*; defendunt et des. *Lond.*

<sup>21</sup> terram dominicorum *Fr.* <sup>22</sup> suas *Rl.*; *om. Sc 2.* <sup>23</sup> -tam *Fr.*

<sup>24</sup> gildis *hrl. M.*; gylidis *Br.* <sup>25</sup> *om. hrl. Albwa. Albpa. Albh. Br.* <sup>26</sup> *om.*

*Albpa.*; tempore condono et proprio *Albh.* <sup>27</sup> *om. Sc 2.* <sup>28</sup> m. d. *Fr.*

<sup>29</sup> omnino *add. Lond.* <sup>30</sup> ita *add. Gl.* <sup>31</sup> sicut benignitas mea propensior

est in eis [meis *pro* in eis *M.*], ita michi fideles [fideliores *Lond.*] sint et *add.*

*Quadr. Lond.* <sup>32</sup> a *add. F.* <sup>33</sup> tamen *T.*; ita *Br.* <sup>34</sup> allevamine *hrl.*

<sup>35</sup> -vati *Sc. Gl.*; alienati *Fr.*; s. al. *Hl.* <sup>36</sup> in *Alb. Fr.* <sup>37</sup> se eq. et

a. b. *hrl.*; ar. et eq. *Gl.* <sup>38</sup> b. se *Albwa. Albpa. Albh. Fr. Lond.*

ut<sup>39</sup> apti<sup>40</sup> et<sup>41+</sup> parati sint ad servitium meum et ad<sup>42</sup> defensionem regni mei.

[12] <sup>43</sup> Pacem firmam in<sup>44+</sup> toto<sup>45</sup> regno meo pono et teneri amodo precipio.

[13] Lagam<sup>46</sup> regis<sup>47</sup> Eadwardi<sup>48</sup> vobis reddo<sup>49</sup> cum illis emendationibus quibus pater<sup>50</sup> meus eam<sup>51</sup> emendavit<sup>52+</sup> consilio baronum suorum.<sup>53</sup>

[14] Si quis<sup>54</sup> aliquid<sup>55</sup> de meo<sup>56+</sup> vel de rebus alicuius post obitum regis<sup>57+</sup> Willelmi,<sup>58+</sup> fratris mei, cepit,<sup>59</sup> totum cito

[14, 1] reddatur<sup>60</sup> absque<sup>61+</sup> emendatione. Et si quis inde<sup>62</sup> aliquid<sup>63</sup> retinuerit, ille super quem inventum<sup>64</sup> fuerit graviter<sup>65</sup> michi<sup>66</sup> emendabit.<sup>67</sup>

[Testl.]

[Worc.]

Test. Mauricio Lundeniensi episcopo et Willelmo electo Wintoniensi episcopo et Gerardo Herefordensi episcopo et Henrico comite et Simone comite et Waltero Giffardo et Roberto de Munforde et Rogero Bigodo et Eudone dapifero et Roberto filio Hamonis et Roberto Malet.

[Herts.]

<sup>68</sup> Testibus Mauricio Lundeniensi episcopo, Willelmo Wintoniensi electo, Gerardo Herefordensi episcopo, Henrico comite, Simone comite, Waltero Giffard comite et Rodberto de Monteforti, Rogero Bigodo et aliis<sup>69</sup> multis.

[Roch.]

Testibus M. Londoniæ episcopo et Gundulfo episcopo et Willelmo electo episcopo et Henrico comite et Simone comite et Waltero Giffardo et Rodberto de Monfort<sup>70</sup> et Rogero Bigoto et Henrico de Portu.

<sup>39</sup> ut a. et p. s. om. *hrl*; prompti et *add. Lond.*

<sup>40</sup> par. et a. sint *Lond.*

<sup>41</sup> sint et pa. ad *Haug.*

<sup>42</sup> om. *T. Gl.*

<sup>43</sup> *hanc sententiam om. Quadr.*

<sup>44</sup> pono in t. r. m. et *Alb.*

<sup>45</sup> om. *Gl.*

<sup>46</sup> Et legem *Lond.*

<sup>47</sup> E. r. *hrl.*

<sup>48</sup> *ita Sc 2; Ædw. M; Edoua. Fr;*

*Edw. reliqui.*

<sup>49</sup> concedo *Fr.*

<sup>50</sup> eam em. p. m. cons. *Sc*; eam p. m.

em. cons. *M. Br. T. Fr.*

<sup>51</sup> *superscr. H.*

<sup>52</sup> cum *add. Sc 2. Lond.*

<sup>53</sup> meorum *M. Br. Gl*; meorum *add., sed punctis suppositis del. Sc.*

<sup>54</sup> aliquis *Fr.*

<sup>55</sup> de m. al. vel *T*; om. *Gl.*

<sup>56</sup> rebus meis *hrl.*

<sup>57</sup> W. r. *Sc 2. hrl*; om. *Quadr.*

<sup>58</sup> fr. m. W. *Quadr.*

<sup>59</sup> cepit *H*;

ceperit *Fr. Gl. Lond*; ecclesie *add. Gl.*

<sup>60</sup> reddat *Quadr*; sine em. r. Et *hrl.*

<sup>61</sup> sine *hrl. Br.*

<sup>62</sup> om. *Br*; a. i. *Fr. Co. Or.*

<sup>63</sup> om. *Gl.*

<sup>64</sup> f. i. *M.*

*Br*; inve. *bis scr., sed punctis suppositis del. Sc.*

<sup>65</sup> m. g. *H*; g. m. om. *Rl.*

<sup>66</sup> om. *Gl.*

<sup>67</sup> Presentis vero ecclesie monachis libertates [et *add. Or*; dig., lib. *Cant.*], dignitates regiasque [regias quoque *S*] consuetudines sibi per cartas regum olim confirmatas concedo *add. Westm.*

<sup>68</sup> His *add. Albwa. Albpa. Albh.*

<sup>69</sup> a. m. *verba, ut videtur, annalistae S.*

*Albani.*

<sup>70</sup> Mumf. *Rl.*

<i>Test.</i>	[ <i>Haug.</i>	<i>Quadr.</i>	<i>Westm.</i>
	Teste Mauricio Lundeniensi episcopo et Willelmo electo Wintonie episcopo et Gerardo Herefordensi episcopo et Henrico comite et Simone comite et Waltero comite Gifardo et R. de Muntfort et Eudone dapifero et Rogero Bigoto.	Testibus archiepiscopis, <sup>71</sup> episcopis, comitibus, <sup>72</sup> baronibus, vicecomitibus et optimatibus totius regni Anglie.	Testibus <sup>73</sup> Mauricio <sup>74</sup> Lundeniensi episcopo et <sup>75</sup> Willelmo electo <sup>76</sup> Wintoniensi episcopo <sup>77</sup> et G. <sup>78</sup> Herefordensi episcopo et <sup>79</sup> G. abbate Crispino et <sup>80</sup> Simone comite et <sup>81</sup> Henrico comite et <sup>82</sup> Waltero comite <sup>83</sup> Giffard et <sup>84</sup> Rodberto de Munforde.
[ <i>Dat.</i> ]	Apud <sup>85</sup> Westmonasterium, <sup>86</sup> quando coronatus <sup>87</sup> + fui. Valet! <sup>88</sup> *		

NORMAN-FRENCH TRANSLATION<sup>1</sup> OF HENRY I.'S  
CORONATION CHARTER

[*Proh.*] Henri, par la grace de Deu rei d'Engleterre, a tuz ses barons e a ses feals, Franceis e Engleis, saluz.

[1] Sachiez, ke jo *par* la misericorde de Dex e *par* le commun conseil des barons del reaume d'Engleterre sui de meimes le

[1, 1] reaume rei curune; e ke le reaume fu mult greve de nundreitureles demandes; e jo, *par* le regard de Deu e *pur* l'amur ke jo ai *vers vus* tuz, tut al cumencement fai seinte eglise franche: si ke jo ne la venderai ne a ferme ne meterai ne, se arcevesque muirt u evesque u abbe, jo ne prenderai rien del demeine de l'eglise u de ses hummes, tresque sun

[1, 2] successur i seit entre. E tutes les males *custumes*, dunt le reaume d'Engleterre fu a tort greve, joes<sup>2</sup> en ost: lesqueles males *custumes* jo met a *partie*.

<sup>71</sup> *hanc testium seriem fortasse scriptor Quadripartiti composuit.* <sup>72</sup> *ita T. Br.; om. Sc. M. Fr.* <sup>73</sup> *Testimonio Cant.* <sup>74</sup> *ecclesie add. Gl.* <sup>75</sup> *om. Gl. Lond.* <sup>76</sup> *W. el. Lond.* <sup>77</sup> *om. Gl.; ep. et om. Lond.*

<sup>78</sup> *Galfrido Hl.* <sup>79</sup> *et G. om. Lond.; et G. a. C. om. Or.* <sup>80</sup> *om. Lond.* <sup>81</sup> *om. Gl. Lond.* <sup>82</sup> *om. Lond.* <sup>83</sup> *filio Gl; G. c. Cant.*

<sup>84</sup> *et R. de M. om. Gl.* <sup>85</sup> *hanc lineam om. Alb. Haug. [ubi tamen Valet] Westm.; A. W. q. c. fui add. manus post. [fort. ex T.] Co.* <sup>86</sup> *Londoniam hrl.*

<sup>87</sup> *f. c. hrl.* <sup>88</sup> *ita Sc 2. Haug; om. hrl. Quadr.*

<sup>1</sup> Here printed from Hlf; see above 28. I put italics where the MS. has a compendium, and *u* for the vowel, *v* and *j* for the consonant, while the MS. reads *u*, *v* and *i* indiscriminately.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* joe les, *ego illas*.

- [2] Se nul de mes barons u de cuntes u de altres qui de mei  
 tienent seit mort, sun heir ne rachatera pas sa terre, sicum il  
 faseit al tens mun frere, mes par leal e dreiturel relief la  
 [2, 1] relevera. Ausi les hummes a mes barons par leal e dreiturel  
 relief releverunt lur teres de lur seignurs.
- [3] E si aucun de mes barons u de mes autres hummes veille  
 sa fielle<sup>3</sup> marier u sa suer u sa niece u sa cusine, si en  
 [3, 1] par[ler]ont<sup>4</sup> od mei. Ne jo pur ces cungie rien del suen ne  
 prendrai, ne ne li defenderai, ke il ne la duinst, fors si il la  
 [3, 2] vosist duner a mun enemi. E si un de mes barons muirt u  
 aucun de mes altres hummes, e fielle remaigne eir, jo la durai  
 [3, 3] od sa terre par le conseil de mes barons. E si femme<sup>5</sup> remaint  
 apres sun seigneur e seit sanz heir,<sup>6</sup> ele avera sun duaie e sun  
 mariage, e jo<sup>7</sup> ne la durai fors a sa volente.
- [4] Mes si la femme remaint e eit heirs,<sup>8</sup> ele avera sun dueire  
 e sun mariage tant cume ele leaument se tendera ; e jo ne la  
 [4, 1] durai fors a sun voleir. E garde de la terre<sup>9</sup> as heirs sera la  
 femme u aucun de lur preceins ki mielz a dreit i devera estre.  
 [4, 2] E jo cumant ke mes baruns ausi se cuntient vers les fiuz  
 e vers les fielles u vers les femmes a lur hummes.
- [5] La cummune munece que hum perneit par les citez et par  
 les cuntez, ke ne fu pas al tens le rei Edward, ke co ne seit  
 [5, 1] mes, jo le defend del tut. Ki ke seit pris, u muneur u altre,  
 od false munece, dreite justice en seit fete.
- [6] Tuz les plaiz e tutes les dettes ke hum deveit a mun frere  
 jos parduins, estre mes dreites fermes e estre les choses que  
 furent acovenancies pur altrui heritages u pur les choses ke  
 [6, 1] mielz a dreit purtenouent a altres. E si aucun eit rien  
 acovenancie pur sun heritage, co li parduins jo, e tuz les reliefs  
 que pur dreiz heritages furent acovenancies.
- [7] E se nul de mes barons u de mes hummes enmaladira,  
 sicum il dura u duner vodra sun aveir, eissi la grant jo estre  
 [7, 1] donee. E se il par arme u par maledie muirt despurveue-

<sup>3</sup> ' Cf. *dierre* pro *dicere* in R, Mont S. Michel 411 ' ; Suchier.

<sup>4</sup> paront *ms.*

<sup>5</sup> reme *add. ms.* ; *forsitan sequentis verbi primas litteras bis scripsit auctor.*

<sup>6</sup> liberis *Orig.* <sup>7</sup> The following line is wanting in HL. <sup>8</sup> cum liberis *Orig.*

<sup>9</sup> des *add. sed linea transversa del. ms.*

ment<sup>10</sup> ke il<sup>11</sup> sun avoir ne duinst ne ne devist, sa femme u ses eirs<sup>12</sup> u ses parenz e ses leaus humes le partent pur s'arme, sicume mielz lur sera vis.

- [8] Se nul de mes hummes u de mes barons eit forfait, il ne dura puint de gage en merci de sun avoir, sicum al tens mun pere u mun frere, mes sulunc la maniere del forfait eissint l'amenderat, sicum il l'eust amende avant le tens mun pere al [8, 1] tens mes ancesurs. E se il est ataint de traisun u de felenie, sicume dreit est, si l'amend.
- [9] Tuz les murdres, des icel jur en ariere que jo fui corune a rei, jos parduins ; et tuz ces que des ore en avant serunt fait,<sup>13</sup> par dreit soient amendez sulunc la lage le rei Edward.
- [10] Les forez par le conseil commun de mes barons ai retenu en ma mein sicume mun pere les out.
- [11] As chevaliers que deservent lur terres par haubercs jo lur grant par mun propre dun, ke lur terres de lur demeines charues seient quites de tutes geldes e de tutes overaignes, ke, desi cum il sunt de grant grief alegie, si s'apareillent bien de chevals e d'armes, ke il seient prest e apareillie a mun servise e mun reaume defendre.
- [12] Jo met ferme peis en tut mun reaume e comand k'ele seit des or tenue.
- [13] Jo vos rend la lage le rei Edward od celes amendes ke mun pere l'amenda par le conseil ses baruns.
- [14] Si nul hum<sup>14</sup> eit pris rien deu mien u del altri puis la mort [14, 1] le rei Guill', mun frere, tost seit rendu sanz amendement. Si nul rien en retient, celui sur ki il sera truve, grifment le m'amendera.
- [14a] <sup>15</sup> Jo grant as moines des eglises ke ore<sup>16</sup> sunt franchises e dignitez e reaus custumes que jadis lur furent confermees par les chartres as reis.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>10</sup> despurvenement *ms.*      <sup>11</sup> *fach add. sed del. ms ; forsitan pro disposuerit auctor fache, i.e. faciat, scribere voluerat.*      <sup>12</sup> *liberi Orig.*

<sup>13</sup> *ios add. sed del. ms.*

<sup>14</sup> *prist add., sed del. ms.*

<sup>15</sup> This sentence proves that Hlf translated from the West. version ; see my introduction, 20.      <sup>16</sup> See *ib.* 20. 28.      <sup>17</sup> Date and witnesses are wanting.