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Matthew Paris' Manuscripts

Working Books and Artefacts in Medieval and Early Modern Collections

The illustrated histories of Matthew Paris can appear almost untouched by the passage of time. It is not at once clear that the custodians of Matthew's books have altered them for reading, display and conservation. These include the monks of St Albans; connoisseurs such as Matthew Parker (1504–75) and Robert Cotton (1571–1631) who acquired manuscripts following the dissolution of the monasteries; and institutional libraries, who continue to conserve and present these objects in new ways.

While the works of most medieval writers must be pieced together from distant copies, so many autograph manuscripts of Matthew Paris survive that they form a corpus in themselves, encompassing both his own works and earlier books that he annotated. This directly reflects Matthew's relative obscurity before the sixteenth century and achieving fame through modern publishers, as well as early modern collecting priorities. Understanding the reception of widely copied works such as *Flores historiarum* and its continuations is a separate question. Vaughan identified seventeen manuscripts with the handwriting of Matthew Paris. Their story is an ideal example of the typical path that manuscripts produced in English monastic houses took through the later Middle Ages and after the dissolution of the monasteries in 1536–40, as extensive evidence survives for Matthew's books. A volume such as Matthew's *Historia Anglorum* (London, British Library, Royal MS 14 C VII) was borrowed and misappropriated during both the medieval and modern periods. Matthew's books also illustrate a gradual shift in collectors' attitudes from treating manuscripts as parts of a working

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library to be changed at will, towards the creation of modern conservation practice that treats them as artefacts.

As with all collections, surviving books reflect the interests of those who inherited them. Recent scholarship has emphasised Matthew's labours as a collective effort by the monks of St Albans, correcting an earlier focus on his individuality.[1] The shared nature of the process becomes even clearer when one considers the survival and reception of Matthew's artistic and written work. The monks of St Albans Abbey treated Matthew's manuscripts as artefacts worthy of exhibition, but the books they preserved were already a selection. The dissolution of the monasteries scattered them to the crown, scholars and nobility. Since that time, Matthew Paris' manuscripts have scarcely fallen from the gaze of collectors.

Collecting History at St Albans

Medieval writers were keenly aware of the rhetorical power of writing surfaces. Geoffrey of Monmouth's prologue to *De gestis Britonum* claims that the work translates 'a certain ancient book in the British language' (*quendam Britannici sermonis librum uetustissimum*). Citing and outdoing Geoffrey's example, William of St Albans (fl. *c*. 1178) introduces his *Passio sancti Albani* as a translation of a book written in early English (*liber Anglico sermone*). This work in turn presents itself as an interpretation of crumbling carvings on the walls of Verulamium.[2] Its author, who wishes to remain anonymous for fear of pagans who still rule the land, concludes with an intent to bring his book to Rome. Matthew Paris reflects this material orientation, referring specifically to his other manuscripts and reminding his readers to examine them.

The manuscript that best encapsulates Matthew's ability to combine individual craft and collaboration to create books of interest both to his fellow monks and lay audiences is the 'Book of St Albans', an anthology on Alban and Amphibalus (Dublin, Trinity College, MS 177). This volume was a work in progress, made from low-grade parchment and scraps rejected for other books. Its fluid character illustrates vividly how he conceived volumes with texts and illustrations as a unity, and where this vision could flounder when involving other scribes.[3] The book includes Matthew's *Vie de Seint Auban* based on William's work, as

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well as a versification by Ralph of Dunstable, liturgical lessons and the abbey's foundation charters. The abbey kept the book alternately in the abbot's study and at the high altar as an object of veneration.[4] A note added to the beginning of the manuscript in the fifteenth century states that the monks showed it to King Henry VI on his way to a great council at Westminster (fol. 1^{v}). The artefact links the abbey's saints to its own community.

Though the primary audience for the 'Book of St Albans' might seem to be purely monastic, it also shows how the abbey engaged its patrons and other contacts. The Dublin manuscript was likely a maquette or model for other copies: Cecilia de Sanford, a widow who became a benefactor of St Albans, and her protégées Eleanor Plantagenet and Joan de Munchensi, were likely recipients.[5] Surviving inscriptions show that Matthew's other manuscripts had similar audiences. A note on the flyleaf in Matthew's hand reads:

> Send word, if you please, to the lady Isabel, countess of Arundel, that she should send you the book about St Thomas the Martyr and St Edward which I translated and drew, and which the lady countess of Cornwall will be able to [keep] until Pentecost.[6]

This draft refers to a lost illustrated collection of saints' lives: the women named are Isabel de Warenne, countess of Arundel (1226 × 1230–1282) and Sanchia of Provence, countess of Cornwall (*c.* 1228–61). On the other side of the leaf is a note directing an illustrated book for a countess of Winchester.[7] Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.3.59, a copy of Matthew's *Estoire de seint Aedward le rei*, was probably one of the books made from a St Albans model for a noble patron. The Benedictines of Westminster made this manuscript, with whom Matthew also collaborated for *Flores historiarum* (Manchester, Chetham's Library, MS 6712).[8] Such direct evidence for lay audiences of books produced in monasteries rarely survives.

Like the 'Book of St Albans', Matthew's manuscripts fall into the category of bespoke collections that writers produced at once personally and collaboratively in religious communities. The *Ormulum* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 1) is one of the most famous such books of this period, a collection of Middle English homilies written in the 1170s or 1180s by Orm, a canon of Bourne Abbey in Lincolnshire. The earliest

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French-language autograph is a verse collection on Gregory the Great (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. Français 24766), made in 1212–14 by Frère Angier at St Frideswide's Priory in Oxford. He explicitly directs the work towards a lay audience, fitting a broader programme at the priory to encourage pilgrimage to its shrine.[9] At St Albans Matthew Paris was not the only monk creating original collections. John of Wallingford (d. 1258) created a collection of astrological diagrams, prayers, chronicles, notes on timekeeping and understanding the climate and other texts useful for daily life (London, British Library, Cotton MS Julius D VII).[10] John includes some leaves from Matthew's own hand and adapts some of his writing, such as his description of an elephant (fols. 114^{r}–115^{r}). When the creators of such collections asserted an individual identity, they often did so within a collaborative frame. Matthew's self-portrait in *Historia Anglorum* depicts him not so much as a writer as a devout member of a community.[11] These collections form unique books that creatively addressed specific needs, and their creators updated them with experience.

These collections were infinitely malleable, and Matthew constantly rearranged his work. He overhauled the arrangement of his anthology of Henry of Avranches at least once, leaving a labyrinth of codicological evidence.[12] This is a tame example in comparison to the *Chronica maiora*. Vaughan shows that Matthew originally conceived Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MSS 26 and 16 as a single book.[13] He rearranged the gatherings as two volumes as he extended the chronicle. Conservation at Corpus Christi in 2003 showed that this happened before they were bound for the first time, as there is no evidence that the two volumes were ever sewn together.[14] Matthew records that he met King Henry III in 1247 at the translation of the relic of the Holy Blood at Westminster, and this year was pivotal for his expansion of the *Chronica maiora*.[15] In this year, he developed a *Liber additamentorum*, which had a shifting position within this evolving collection. It includes shorter historical works (notably *Vitae duorum Offarum* and *Gesta abbatum*), and especially charters, to which the term often refers.[16] This supplement enabled cross references to documents in the style of a cartulary, ending the need to copy them out in full. Matthew intended the collection originally as an appendix to a single *Chronica maiora* volume but separated it soon after 1250 as it became more unwieldy.[17] These documents form not merely

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official evidence, but part of the narrative, both visual and textual.[18] The collaborative and flexible manuscript culture of this period enabled Matthew's hagiographical, historiographical and poetic collections, both working within and innovating on established genres.

After Matthew's death, the monks at St Albans continued to value his books, but volumes strayed from the abbey library. Thomas Walsingham (*c.* 1340–*c.* 1422) used Matthew Paris' texts extensively for his own historical writing. By his time, book production at the abbey was in a more organised state.[19] Other members of the community looked to extract value from its library rather than expand it. The abbey allowed Richard Bury (1287–1345) to borrow fine books and had to buy them back from his executors.[20] The Bible to which Matthew contributed left the abbey by the fifteenth century, to judge from an inscribed price.[21] Abbot John of Wheathampstead (*c.* 1392–1465) presented the third part of the *Chronica maiora* to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (1390–1447) not long after Thomas Walsingham or an associate had extended the manuscript with a continuation.[22] It later came into the hands of John Russell (*c.* 1430–94), the bishop of Lincoln. The monks sought to recover it: he wrote a note in 1488 indicating that he wished to leave it to New College, Oxford, but would return it to St Albans if the abbey could prove that the book was its property.[23] It was again available for Polydore Vergil (*c.* 1470–1555) to annotate along with Matthew's copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth (Royal MS 13 D V). Polydore uses both in *Anglica historia*, finished by 1513 and first printed in 1534.[24] Few could have imagined the scale of the upheaval that would soon scatter the abbey's collections and put its remnants into private hands.

Collecting the Dissolution of the Monasteries

The modern period transformed Matthew Paris' collections both physically and intellectually. Documentation shows that St Albans Abbey still had a rich collection by the end of the medieval period.[25] The antiquarian John Leland (*c.* 1503–52) obtained a royal charter to examine the libraries of religious houses throughout England. He visited St Albans Abbey in 1533–34, where Thomas Kingsbury (d. 1545), the last prior of St Albans, showed him the library.[26] He saw the *Liber additamentorum* as well as a 'most beautiful history stolen by theft'

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(*pulcherrima historia furto sublata*) by Matthew Paris.[27] The latter might refer to the case of John Russell and Royal MS 14 C VII. King Henry VIII dissolved St Albans in 1539, scattering these books. Those that survived did so only because they caught the interest of a collector.

Leland and other scholars complained of the loss of books resulting from the monasteries' closure. Proposals from Leland and others to collect monastic libraries wholesale and set up a national library went unheeded. John Bale (1495–1563), a former friar turned Reformation polemicist, urgently called for 'one solempne lybrary'.[28] Nonetheless, hundreds of books from former religious communities flowed into the crown's libraries at Greenwich, Hampton Court and Westminster (Whitehall), soon merged into the last of these palaces.[29] The Royal Library did not take over entire collections but chose books reflecting interests of the day. Books about the history of the English crown were far more likely candidates than local chronicles. Leland had paid close attention to books in monastic libraries relating to marriage, and texts among the royal manuscripts collected as evidence for Henry VIII's 'great matter' still form a sizeable proportion of royal manuscripts on theological topics.

At least twenty-nine St Albans books entered the Royal Library, either directly from the abbey or via Thomas Wolsey. While holding the abbacy of St Albans *in commendam* between 1521 and 1530, Thomas Wolsey (1470/71–1530) commandeered at least two manuscripts that Matthew annotated among other books: a collection of British historians (Royal MS 13 D V) and Ralph de Diceto (Royal MS 13 E VI).[30] Following his fall from favour, Wolsey's books entered the Royal Library. There are no known intermediaries in the case of the *Historia scholastica* that Matthew augmented with Robert Grosseteste (Royal MS 4 D VII) and the third part of his *Chronica maiora* (Royal MS 14 C VII). The latter, which John Russell had already coveted, soon strayed from the royal collection. Bartholomew Traheron, Keeper of the King's Library between 1549 and 1553, lent the book to Henry Fitzalan, the twelfth earl of Arundel (1512–80). John Bale had seen the book there and alerted Matthew Parker of its anti-papal potential: 'It were muche pytie that that noble storye shulde perish in one coppye. For no chronycle paynteth out the byshopp of Rome in more lyuely colours, nor more lyuely decalreth hys execrable procedynges, than it

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doth.'[31] Parker borrowed the volume and had a transcript made that often attempted to imitate the script and illustrations of the original (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 56).[32] Parker sent the original back to Arundel, who kept it for himself: the book only returned through the library of John Lumley (*c.* 1533–1609), which Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales (1594–1612) integrated with the royal collection.[33] Though the old Royal Library did not collect as ambitiously as it might have and was not always managed with rigour, the collection survives in the modern British Library.

Far more monastic books went into private hands. Some former monks kept volumes from their libraries. They focused on utility, which meant that they took printed books just as often as manuscripts. Thomas Kingsbury kept John of Wallingford's miscellany (London, British Library, Cotton MS Julius D VII). He died within six years of the dissolution and passed it to another probable former monk, John Conyngesby. The last abbot of St Albans, Richard Boreman, also kept books, selling them to John Dee (1527–1609) in the 1550s.[34] Other books passed to collectors, through those who bought former monastic properties. The first generation of the secular collectors of Matthew's most impressive books had close connections to the court. Edward Aglionby (1520–91?) acquired the first volume of the *Chronica maiora* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 26). He was an undergraduate at Cambridge during the dissolution and became a Member of Parliament beginning in 1547. Robert Talbot (1505/06–1558) is the first known owner of the second volume (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 16); the book caught his interest as an antiquary. The courtier Sir Henry Sidney (1529–86) later acquired it, probably viewing it on the level of collectable art, as was becoming fashionable in the Tudor court.

Though the crown had wiped away monastic communities, early collectors treated books in continuity with their medieval predecessors. Manuscript culture was still a living part of the circulation of texts, meaning that there was not a clean division between handwritten and printed volumes: they were all merely books that formed part of a working library. Readers valued books for being more legible or richly decorated: an author, for example, might commission a handwritten presentation copy for a patron. This approach protected Matthew Paris'

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illustrated books. Owners sometimes discarded manuscripts in favour of new printed equivalents, as textual criticism was nascent, and it was not yet fully clear that manuscripts were still valuable after the publication of a print edition. This attitude also entailed combining manuscripts with other volumes, a practice inherited from the Middle Ages. John Stow (1524/25–1605) owned the fair copy of the *Chronica maiora* (Cotton MS Nero D V) and likely Matthew's *Abbreviatio chronicorum* (Cotton MS Claudius D VI). Either he or Robert Glover (1543/44–88) combined Matthew's *Chronica maiora* with another copy from the later thirteenth century into one volume. The catalogue of Henry Savile of Banke (1568–1617) shows that the book was also once bound up with Arthurian materials, which Robert Cotton later moved into another volume (Cotton MS Julius B XII, fols. 67–82).[35] Early modern collectors did not preserve books as they received them, viewing them as functional items rather than artefacts, and they attempted to make them more useful through rebinding and rearrangement.

Following the dissolution of St Albans Abbey, Matthew Paris' manuscripts quickly passed into the hands of more than a dozen different collectors and scholars. Reformers also ransacked university libraries. Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto (1514–85) saw a *Chronica maiora* or *Historia Anglorum* when he visited the University of Oxford in the sixteenth century, probably in Duke Humfrey's Library, which raises the possibility that Abbot John of Wheathampstead might have given another manuscript to the duke together with Royal MS 14 C VII, but it has disappeared.[36] Even more significant than the rearrangement of volumes was the selection process, resulting in losses but also giving Matthew a wider prominence he never held during the Middle Ages. The books that did not connect with early modern interests were often sold as waste material. Reformers often viewed hagiography as superstitious and inaccurate, but Matthew Paris' historiography became popular with early modern antiquarians in part because they viewed him as a proto-Protestant. John Bale presented these writings as supporting the anti-papal cause.[37] Matthias Flacius Illyricus (1520–75) printed *Historia Anglorum* excerpts in a collection of precedents for Lutheran theology probably sourced from the exiled Bale.[38] Matthew's entrance into the historical canon thus occurred through early modern battles over the interpretation of history.

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Matthew Parker's Collections and Publications

John Bale and other polemicists brought Matthew Paris to the attention of Matthew Parker (1504–75), the archbishop of Canterbury, whose collection became the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. He also published editions of historians including Ælfric, Gildas, Asser and Thomas Walsingham alongside Matthew Paris.[39] Parker sent books to Flacius Illyricus for the Magdeburg Centuries, a large project to gather sources for ecclesiastical history. Matthew Paris was among the writers the Magdeburg Centuriators wished to include but had difficulty obtaining.[40] Flacius Illyricus sent a copy of his extracts to the archbishop in 1561, commiserating on the problems of manuscripts in private ownership.[41] Parker also brought *Flores historiarum* into print in 1567 and 1570, but under the author 'Matthew of Westminster'. He did not know Matthew Paris' connection to the work and was not fortunate in his selection of manuscripts.[42] These publishing projects were core to Parker's collecting and treatment of manuscripts.

With monastic libraries closed, Parker could not obtain a copy of every work that he wished to publish. His solution was to 'borrow' manuscripts such as Matthew's from their private owners. In 1568 the privy council had given him powers to impel the owners of manuscripts to loan them for study.[43] In many cases, Parker never returned them, as for his partial edition of the *Chronica maiora* (1571), which used five manuscripts.[44] A letter of 1569 displays his techniques for requesting loans, appealing to William Cecil (1520/21–98) for his copy of Matthew Paris (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. Latin 6048B).[45] He borrowed the first part of the *Chronica maiora* from Edward Aglionby, and the second from Sir Henry Sidney (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MSS 26 and 16). He proudly announced the owners of the manuscripts in the resulting publication and praised their '*exquisita pictura*'.[46] As already noted, he had to content himself with a transcript of Royal MS 14 C VII after he learned of it through Bale. He had realised that the illustrations were Matthew's own through reading the St Albans *Liber benefactorum* (London, British Library, Cotton MS Nero D VII).[47] Parker argues that the scarcity of the *Chronica maiora* was the result of papist attempts to suppress the text, a sentiment he also expresses to Flacius, and he saw his work and collecting as addressing this injustice.[48]

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Parker and his associates left distinct marks of their work. He sometimes convinced others to loan them books with the offer that he could improve them. He employed a man named Lyly to rewrite missing pages for manuscripts in an imitative script, presumably Peter Lyly (d. 1569), Parker's registrar.[49] He advertises in his *Chronica maiora* preface that he had replaced text missing from Sidney's manuscript (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 16). Leaves were missing after folios 3, 103, 116 and 232; he had new leaves made from the copy then belonging to John Stow (Cotton MS Nero D V). On folio 38^{v}, he cleaned up a dark blotch by having a slip added on top with the text recopied. Following this, Reyner Wolfe (d. in or before 1574) used the book in his print shop as a copy text, leaving pages covered in ink stains and black fingerprints. His colleagues added notes comparing the text with the printed version, using the pagination of Parker's edition, directly into the margins. A printer even used an ink-stained wooden block to prop a page open.[50] It is not known whether Sidney ever saw the manuscript again, or whether he agreed to its staying in Parker's collection, but in 1574 the archbishop was still asking to borrow books with a proposal to 'enlarge them'.[51] In contrast to Parker's own cavalier treatment of manuscripts, the donation of his books to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, came with strict guidelines for their use and handling.

Like the users of manuscripts of the Middle Ages, early modern readers treated all books, whether handwritten or printed, as part of a working collection. This is especially vivid in Parker's case, who saw custodianship as creating tidy-looking and above all complete volumes that he and his associates could use for daily scholarship.[52] Within this context, it was entirely acceptable, for example, to take Matthew Paris' copy of William of Conches' *Dragmaticon philosophiae* and combine it with other thirteenth- and fourteenth-century theological texts (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 385). The connoisseurship of Matthew Parker and other early modern collectors aimed to maintain books as reference books, but at the cost of obscuring historical evidence. Their new, straight, matching bindings looked impressive on a shelf, but carelessly trimmed off the edges of annotations and images. Nonetheless, Parker spread knowledge of Matthew Paris' work and brought his manuscripts to greater prominence.

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Robert Cotton's Connoisseurship

Sir Robert Cotton (1571–1631), a Member of Parliament and antiquarian, was the last of the connoisseur collectors of Matthew Paris' manuscripts. Cotton was already acquiring and lending out books by the 1590s and soon developed his own library as a public resource. He used his position at court to acquire books from older collectors as they died, to borrow volumes and even to trade books with the Royal Library.[53] His fair copy of the *Chronica maiora* (Cotton MS Nero D V), for example, came from the sale of Henry Savile of Banke's collection in 1626.[54] Like Parker, he aimed to formulate books and archives into a working library, which meant rebinding and rearranging print and manuscript materials of every kind. Located in central London, Cotton's library was influential in English intellectual life of this period, and his collecting practices defined books as they now survive.

The annotations and records of loans from Cotton's library allow us to know some of the people who read Matthew Paris most actively in this period, such as Arthur Agarde (1540–1615), John Selden (1584–1654) and Sir Simonds D'Ewes (1602–50). Improved access to these books allowed scholars to continue raising Matthew Paris' profile and to build on the growing realisation that he had created his own manuscripts. The cardinals Caesar Baronius (1538–1607) and Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621) suggested that passages criticising the papacy were insertions by Matthew's Protestant editors, which led to the prohibition of Parker's *Chronica maiora* on the Roman *Index*. In response, Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614) examined Cotton MS Nero D I and Royal MS 14 C VII, showing that Matthew had written the passages in his own hand.[55] Access to this collection was not continuous: when Cotton's loyalty fell under question, King Charles I ordered the library's closure in November 1629, and it reopened only in 1633 under Cotton's eldest son, Sir Thomas Cotton (1594–1662). This enabled a new edition of the *Chronica maiora* by William Watts (*c.* 1590–1649), reprinting Parker's text with pages of variant readings, along with Matthew's *Gesta abbatum* and *Vitae duorum Offarum* (1639–40). Thomas' son Sir John Cotton (1621–1702) eventually arranged for the collection's sale to the nation and it formed part of the basis for the British Museum in 1753.

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Cotton inherited the approach of treating books as a living archive, which he combined with the sense of connoisseurship that developed in the early modern period; as seen in Parker, he overhauled his books without hesitation. This has obscured the original form of books in the Cotton collection and erased their earlier history. Cotton bound manuscripts together that had similarities in content with the aim of making it easier to find related materials.[56] The only surviving copy of Matthew's life of Edmund of Abingdon is in Cotton MS Julius D VI, folios 123^{r}–156^{v};[57] it is now bound with another life of Edmund that historically had no relationship to it. Cotton acquired the fair copy of the *Chronica maiora* (Cotton MS Nero D V) already combined with unrelated materials, modifying and splitting them up further to such an extent that it is not possible to reconstruct the relationship between the surviving materials.[58] Cotton MS Nero D I, the *Liber additamentorum*, came to Cotton still with loose leaves in the volume.[59] Cotton extensively rearranged the book and added new material.[60]

Cotton's connoisseurship extended to improving books by cutting out decoration from manuscripts that he considered less valuable and adding it to his books to give them openings and closings that fit his aesthetic sense. He took apart an illuminated psalter from the fourteenth century in 1612–16 and added its decoration to various manuscripts, especially on flyleaves. Cotton MSS Claudius D VI, Nero C V and Nero D I were among the manuscripts he dressed up with such additions. That was not the end: beginning in the 1870s, staff at the British Museum started to remove identified leaves and gather them into a new volume, Royal MS 13 D I*, as an appendix to a manuscript where more of the psalter can be found, though it has no relationship to the original Royal MS 13 D I.[61]

Cotton's most misleading creation among the Matthew Paris manuscripts is Cotton MS Claudius D VI. Along with Matthew's *Abbreviatio chronicorum*, it includes a chronicle of William Rishanger, one of Mathew's immediate continuators at St Albans. Without knowing anything of the manuscript's history, one would assume that the later section was designed to go with the *Abbreuiatio*, constituting an essential unity produced at St Albans after Matthew's death. The scribe even applies coloured borders in vertical bands to leaves, as one sees in Matthew's manuscripts. A closer look reveals Cotton's tracks. The manuscript is heavily trimmed, cutting off

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features such as the names of the kings that open the manuscript. The pages were once at least seventeen millimetres wider, as diagrams folded in on folios 28 and 40 show. Cotton's binder was presumably looking to match the smaller size of the William Rishanger manuscript. Cotton, with the cooperation of the royal librarian Patrick Young (1584–1652), had taken apart Royal MS 14 C I and exchanged parts of the two manuscripts to improve his own.[62] The *Abbreviatio chronicorum* historically had nothing to do with the rest of the volume. The harmony of this manuscript, and its convenient coverage of English history from around 1000 to 1324, is an illusion created by Cotton. This prompts questions on almost everything about the manuscript. The first eight leaves, a gallery of kings closing with a map of Britain, were not originally part of the manuscript: the following quire was marked as the first at the time of its creation. It is impossible to know whether they were added in Matthew's time. This illustrates that examination of material evidence and provenance of any manuscript is necessary before making claims about the intentions of its creators or the impressions of later readers.

Balancing Function and Conservation in Modern Libraries

The working library was the dominant rationale for access and preservation decisions well into the twentieth century, until the emergence of modern conservation practice in the 1970s. The British nation bought the Cotton library in 1702 and moved it in 1712 from the dilapidated Cotton House to Essex House, The Strand, alongside the Royal Library. After authorities declared this a fire hazard, it migrated in 1730 to Ashburnham House, near Westminster Abbey. This proved disastrous when a fire broke out on 23 October 1731, damaging both collections, but especially the Cotton manuscripts. A copy of Matthew Paris' *Vie de Saint Edmond* and *Vie de Seint Auban* in Cotton MS Vitellius D VIII was among the books that disappeared.[63] A restoration effort began at once. Staff cut apart the leaves of the most damaged books, which had shrunk during the fire. They placed leaves in paper frames, rebinding them in imitation Cotton bindings.[64] This procedure resulted in the modern shape of the *Chronica maiora* excerpts in Cotton MS Vitellius A XX, making it difficult to untangle the components of the composite manuscript that Cotton had created in this volume. While modern conservators make changes that are

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minimal and reversible, custodians of Cotton's books in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries instead aimed to restore an idealised version of the collection, adding yet another layer of intervention and rearrangement.

Restoration work on the Cotton manuscripts lasted well into the nineteenth century and was a central concern of Sir Frederic Madden (1801–73). He continued the tradition of Matthew Paris scholars who were also responsible for the writer's manuscripts. Madden had become assistant keeper in the British Museum's Department of Manuscripts in 1828, heading the department from 1837 until his retirement in 1866. He put a strong emphasis on illuminated manuscripts and in 1837 introduced a system of 'common' and 'select' manuscripts to restrict the use of these books, which remains in use. These categories became crucial at the outset of the First and Second World Wars, when curators hurriedly expanded them to prioritise collections for evacuations.[65] Madden also taught Henry Octavius Coxe (1811–81) palaeography as his junior at the British Museum in 1833–39, following which Coxe spent the remainder of his career at the Bodleian Library. Coxe combined his experience of the two collections in his edition of Roger of Wendover's *Flores historiarum* with an additional volume on Matthew Paris.[66] The success of this work likely influenced Madden's decision in 1858 to accept the invitation of John Romilly (1802–74), Master of the Rolls, to edit the *Historia Anglorum* and *Abbreviatio chronicorum* for the Rolls Series. He found it difficult to complete the project alongside British Museum responsibilities and soon expressed regret in his diary for having accepted the commission, which he completed after hours.[67] The three volumes appeared beginning in the year of his retirement.[68] Madden's direct access to the manuscripts allowed him to pioneer much of what is now known about Matthew's life and work, and later scholarship largely confirmed his assessment of the author's handwriting.[69]

Madden's contemporary editor was Henry Richards Luard (1825–91), a clergyman and registrar of the University of Cambridge. He was also active at the University Library and one of the main contributors to its printed manuscripts catalogue.[70] Among other Rolls Series volumes, he edited *La estoire de seint Aedward le rei*, *Chronica maiora* and *Flores*

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historiarum.[71] The editions of Madden and Luard stem from extensive experience with manuscripts and have yet to be replaced. They made it possible to analyse Matthew's historical writings independent of their manuscripts, but also divorced these works from their illustrations until reproductions became more widely available.

Advances in photography and printing enabled the creation of manuscript facsimiles, making it possible for anyone to gain a sense of their images without access to the original. Although Madden was critical of the growing trend of exhibiting manuscripts, he took part in the rapid introduction of photography at the museum. This gradually brought more manuscripts into the public eye.[72] At first energy was focused on either selected photographic plates in publications or facsimiles, which are expensive and bulky but also allow readers to experience reproductions at their original scale, sometimes even their original format. James (1924) is an early example, reproducing much of Dublin, Trinity College, MS 177. Beginning in the early 1930s, the Library of Congress began to microfilm manuscripts in British libraries, beginning industrial-level reproduction of special collections and setting the basic expectations for digitising manuscripts, which focuses on single images of pages.[73] It became possible for an overseas reader to view black-and-white reproductions of almost the entirety of Matthew's work, but only through a single dimension framed by an anonymous photographer. During the second half of the twentieth century, libraries also sold thematic sets of thirty-five-millimetre slides of colour manuscript photographs for research and teaching, focusing on illustration. This process created new artefacts out of Matthew's manuscripts. It was far less destructive than early modern habits of physically rearranging books to make them more useful, but like these earlier patterns it resulted in both democratisation and decontextualisation.

Though the ideas of Parker and Cotton in prioritising an aesthetically pleasing working library now seem foreign, preserving reader access is still a key determiner in custodianship decisions. Libraries frequently rebound manuscripts until the early twentieth century with no records of what they replaced. British Museum staff removed maps and itineraries from Matthew Paris' manuscripts in the early twentieth century, framing them individually, making it possible to display these leaves outside the constraints of a tightly bound volume, but leaving blank

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sheets in their original locations. These detached leaves took, for example, a prominent place in a 2011–12 exhibition of the royal manuscripts, where the public could view them from either side.[74] A 1950s rebinding of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MSS 16 and 26 used inappropriate conservation techniques that resulted in unusably stiff bindings. The college decided to rebind the manuscripts again in 2003 after holding a symposium on the *Chronica maiora,* which discussed either assembling them based on how they were thought to have existed at Matthew's death or creating 'a structure more suited to modern purposes'. The library determined on splitting MS 16 into two parts on the basis that the preliminary leaves were not always part of the manuscript.[75] Microfilming and manuscript digitisation also influence decisions in the foliation, labelling and binding of books, sometimes resulting in a proliferation of reference systems. Curators and conservators continue to change manuscripts in small but often undocumented ways to meet new needs.

Scholars still hope to find more examples of Matthew Paris' work in manuscript fragments. Work in this vein has so far focused on identifications of artistic styles, which has proven contentious. Based on the sketchbook of Villard de Honnecourt (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. Français 19093), Lewis conjectures that Matthew kept a similar notebook and lists twenty-four leaves as part of this, mostly from the known corpus of Matthew's books.[76] One of the exceptions, London, British Library, Arundel MS 157, folio 2^{r}, is a leaf added to the front of a psalter written in the 1200s showing the Veil of Veronica, made for St Frideswide's Priory, Oxford.[77] Lewis attributes it to Matthew based on his illustrations of the same subject in the *Chronica maiora*.[78] Morgan shows instead that it draws on a broader English iconographical tradition, arguing against any association with St Albans.[79] Similarly, *Sol meldunensis* (Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg.6.42), a miscellany of the works of Alexander Nequam (1157–1217) made by his nephew Geoffrey Brito in 1246–60, includes an inserted leaf (fol. 5) illustrating a series of robed clerics featuring Francis of Assisi. Lewis and Morgan suggest a 'direct connection' to Matthew, but Zutshi rejects the possibility.[80] Backhouse and de Hamel present the 'Becket leaves' (Stokenchurch, Wormsley Library, MS BM 3750), fragments of an Anglo–Norman life of Thomas Becket, as copies

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of Matthew's work, though Morgan suggests that they might instead have been his model.[81] Art historians have largely abandoned the idea of a 'St Albans school' that was prominent in earlier literature. Libraries nonetheless hold thousands of uncatalogued manuscript fragments in which discoveries are still to be made.

The history of books often emphasises creation, but it is equally important to understand survival. Medieval readers treated books as fundamentally functional items, modifying and recycling them at need. The Reformation resulted in vast loss of books and art. The surviving manuscripts of Matthew Paris caught the intellectual or aesthetic interests of early modern collectors. It was many more decades, however, before they began to distinguish between printed manuscript books, or before medieval approaches to working libraries began to change. The sense of connoisseurship that figures such as Matthew Parker and Robert Cotton brought to books displaced their original form. Modern collections must still balance between ensuring that books can still be read and best conserving them as artefacts. In the past century, library staff have changed shelf marks, rearranged volumes, modified folio numbers and moved collections to new buildings. Reproduction at scale has made images of manuscript pages far more widely available, but also decontextualised collections and created the illusion that all evidence can be represented digitally. The ownership and adaptation of Matthew Paris' manuscripts, together with the creation of printed editions, created a different writer from the one that his contemporaries knew. The next eight centuries will pose more challenges and changes for Matthew's manuscripts, but also present new opportunities to make his work accessible to new audiences.

Appendix: Manuscripts Written by Matthew Paris

These manuscripts are Matthew Paris' own copies of his work as well as copies of other authors that he either wrote himself or annotated. They are no longer in the same form as Matthew knew them: their owners have since rearranged, expanded, rebound and sometimes combined them with formerly separate volumes. Their provenance shows that they began to circulate during Matthew's own lifetime: the lists here include any notes or inscriptions that can be linked to a specific person,

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as well as records of loans from Robert Cotton's library, showing that some of the most influential early modern antiquarians consulted these volumes.[82]

The critical studies cited include descriptions of manuscripts and codicological analysis, especially those supplementing Vaughan's 1953 and 1958 studies. The list omits works superseded by recent scholarship.

The sigla indicate the letters that the Rolls Series editors and Vaughan use to refer to the manuscripts. The contents lists are not exhaustive, noting only the most significant items.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 16 (Siglum *B*)

A 2003 conservation programme split the volume into MS 16 (I) and MS 16 (II).[83]

Contents

Fols. i^{r}–v^{v} (MS 16 (I)): Preliminary material, including lists, maps, diagrams, and the illustration of the elephant given by Louis IX to Henry III.

Fols. 1^{v}–282^{r} (MS 16 (II)): Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, part 2.

Extent

360 × 245 mm; 5 (16I) + 281 (16II) leaves. Refoliated since Luard's edition.

Provenance

Matthew Paris gave the volume to St Albans Abbey: inscribed, fol. 1^{r}.

Robert Talbot (1505/06–1558): inscribed, believing he has the *Liber additamentorum*, fol. 248^{v}.

Sir Henry Sidney (1529–86).

Matthew Parker (1504–75): borrowed from Sidney (Parker 1571, preface).

Reyner Wolfe (d. in or before 1574): used the manuscript directly in his print shop while publishing Parker's 1571 edition.[84]

Stephan Batman (*c.* 1542–84): names the annotation on fol. 248^{v} as Talbot's. Compare his similar note in Talbot's notebook: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 379, fol. 24^{r}.

Critical Studies

James (1912, 1:54–58); Morgan (1982–88, no. 88).

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Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 26 (Siglum *A*)

Contents

Fols. i^r–vi^v: Preliminary matter.
Fols. 1^r–141^v: Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, part 1.
Fols. vii^r–ix^r: Added illustrations, diagrams and notes.

Extent

360 × 250 mm; 2 + 6 + 140 + 2 + 1 leaves.

Provenance

Edward Aglionby (1520–91?): inscribed, fol. ix^r.
Matthew Parker (1504–75): borrowed from Aglionby (Parker 1571, preface).

Critical Studies

James (1912, 1:50–53); Morgan (1982–1988, no. 88); Jefferson (2006).

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 385, Pages 89–212

Contents

William of Conches, *Dragmaticon philosophiae*, with some diagrams by Matthew Paris.

Extent

185 × 140 mm; 2 + 44 + 62 + 5 + 12 + 2 leaves.

Provenance

Matthew Parker (1504–75): combined four thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts into this volume.

Critical Studies

James (1912, 2:232–235); Ronca and Jeauneau (1997, xxxix–xl).

Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.11.78

Contents

Fols. 1^r–238^v: Poems of Henry of Avranches, copied by Matthew Paris and others.

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Extent

185 × 130–40 mm; 238 leaves.

Provenance

John Moore (1646–1714), Bishop of Ely: King George I acquired his collection and gave it to Cambridge University.

Critical Studies

Hardwick and Luard (1856–67, 1:469–476); Townsend and Rigg (1987).

Dublin, Trinity College, MS 177 (Formerly E. i. 40)

Some scholarship refers to this manuscript as the 'Book of St Albans'.

Contents

Fols. 3^{r}–20^{r}: Ralph of Dunstable, versification of William of St Albans, *Passio sancti Albani* (*BHL* 212).
Fols. 20^{r}–28^{v}: William of St Albans, *Passio sancti Albani* (*BHL* 213).
Fols. 39^{r}–50^{r}: Matthew Paris, *Vie de Seint Auban*.
Fols. 50^{v}–52^{v}: Liturgical readings for the invention and translation of Alban (*BHL* 215).
Fols. 52^{v}–62^{v}, 66^{v}–68^{v}: Invention and translation of Alban (*BHL* 216).
Fols. 63^{r}–66^{r}: Foundation charters of St Albans Abbey.
Fols. 68^{v}–69^{v}, 73^{r}–77^{r}: Invention and miracles of Amphibalus (*BHL* 396).
Fols. 70^{r}–72^{r}: Translation of Alban (incomplete).

Extent

242 × 165 mm; 77 leaves.

Provenance

St Albans Abbey: 'de armariolo A', fol. 3^{r}. Note by Matthew Paris on a loan of his lives of Thomas Becket and Edward the Confessor between Isabel de Warenne, Countess of Arundel (1226 × 1230–82) and Sanchia of Provence, Countess of Cornwall (*c.* 1228–61), fol. 1^{r}, along with directions on illustrations for a book to be given to the countess of Winchester, fol. 1^{v}, referring to a different volume (James 1920, 20–21; James et al. 1924, 15–16; Vaughan 1958c, 170; Henderson 1967, 75; Wogan-Browne and Fenster 2010, 32–33). Cecilia de Sanford, Eleanor Plantagenet and Joan de Munchensi may have been among the early intended readership for the *Vie de Seint Auban* (Slater 2018).

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? Loaned to William Dolte, likely a monk of Wymondham Priory (Riley 1872, 1:147): St Albans borrowers' list, 1420 × 1437 (Sharpe et al. 1996, no. B87.†50a).

? Richard Boreman, last abbot of St Albans (1538–39): sold books from the abbey to John Dee in the 1550s (Carley 2002, 341).

John Dee (1527–1609): his mark, fol. 77^{v}, and notes at fol. 20^{r}, but apparently not in his catalogues (Roberts and Watson 1990).

James Ussher (1581–1656): his collection came to Trinity College in 1661.

Critical Studies

James (1924); Harden (1968); McCulloch (1981); Morgan (1982–88, no. 85); Colker (1991, 339–43); Crick (2007, 45–48); Colker (2008, 185); Baswell (2010); Quinn (2010).

London, British Library, Cotton MS Julius D VII

The British Museum removed folios 50–53 for exhibition, now Cotton MS Julius D VII/1.

Contents

Fols. 1^{v}–134^{v}: John of Wallingford, miscellany and chronicle; integrates some leaves created by Matthew Paris, including his drawing of John of Wallingford (fol. 42^{v}), a map of Britain (fols. 50^{v}–53^{r}) and an illustration of Christ in majesty (fol. 60^{v}).

Extent

200 × 165 mm; 138 leaves.

Provenance

John of Wallingford (d. 1258): inscribed, fols. 1^{v}, 112^{v}; John died at Wymondham Priory, a dependency of St Albans.

Thomas Kingsbury (d. 1545), last prior of St Albans: inscribed, fol. 1^{r}.

John Conyngesby, sixteenth century: given to him by Kingsbury, inscribed, fols. 1^{r}, 34^{r}, 61^{r}.

Philip Howard, the thirteenth earl of Arundel (1557–95): inscribed, fol. 46^{r}.

Sir Robert Bruce Cotton, first baronet (1571–1631): inscribed, fols. 10^{v}, 10^{r}, 46^{r}; loaned the manuscript to Arthur Agarde (1540–1615) in 1612–15.

Critical Studies

Planta (1802, 15–16); Vaughan (1958c); Morgan (1982–88, no. 91); Tite (2003, 97–98).

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London, British Library, Cotton MS Claudius D VI, Folios 5–100

The British Museum rebound the manuscript in 1929 and removed folio 12 for exhibition, now Cotton MS Claudius D VI/1.

Contents

Fols. 5^{v}–98^{v}: Matthew Paris, *Abbreviatio chronicorum*.

Extent

320 × 217 mm (originally at least 15–20 mm wider); 221 leaves.

Provenance

? John Stow (1524/25–1605): extracts in London, British Library, Harley MS 545, fol. 186^{r} (*c.* 1575), which Madden (1866–69, 3:156) thought suggested ownership, but without firm evidence. John Joscelin (1529–1603) also made extracts, Cotton MS Vitellius E XIV.

Sir Richard Hutton (bap. 1561, d. 1639): inscribed, fol. 9^{v}.

Sir Robert Bruce Cotton, first baronet (1571–1631): inscribed, fol. 6^{r}; combined two manuscripts into a composite volume, with some parts of the second manuscript now Royal MS 14 C I; table of contents by Richard James (bap. 1591, d. 1638), his librarian (fol. 3^{r}). Cotton also decorated the manuscript with leaves from a psalter, removed in 1912 along with those from other volumes to Royal MS 13 D I* (Carley and Tite, 1992).

The Cotton library loaned the manuscript to Richard Bancroft (1544–1610) in 1608 via John Pory (bap. 1572, d. 1633); George Allington and Patrick Young (1584–1652), before 1611; 'Mr Colwell', John Selden (1584–1654), John Speed (1551/52–1629), or Augustine Vincent (*c.* 1584–1626) in 1621–22; and Sir Simonds D'Ewes (1602–50) in 1626.

Critical Studies

Planta (1802, 196–197); Watson (1979, no. 520); Morgan (1982–88, no. 93); Carley (1992, 57–60; 1997); Tite (2003, 127).

London, British Library, Cotton MS Nero D I (Siglum *LA*), *Liber additamentorum*

Cotton decorated the manuscript with leaves from the same psalter as that used in Cotton MS Claudius D VI, removed to Royal MS 13 D I* (Carley

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and Tite, 1992). The lower part of fol. 197 is now Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII, fol. 133. Vaughan (1958c, chapter 5) argues that fols. 168–69 originally fell before fol. 85, with fols. 145–47 following fol. 63.

Contents

Fols. 2^{r}–25^{r}: Matthew Paris, *Vita Offarum*.

Fols. 30^{r}–73^{v}: Matthew Paris, *Gesta abbatum monasterii sancti Albani*, in two parts, with attached documents.

Fols. 74^{r}–201^{v}: Miscellaneous historical documents, the earliest added by Matthew Paris, and others added up to the fifteenth century; includes Matthew's tract on the St Albans gems (fols. 146^{r}–147^{r}) and a fragment of his life of Stephen Langton (fols. 197^{r}, 198^{r}: Liebermann 1879). Cotton probably added or rearranged the leaves from folio 162 onward.

Extent

380 × 250 mm; 202 leaves. Vaughan (1958c, 79–80) diagrams the collation of quires 1–25. After his research, folio 120* was refoliated as folio 121, along with all subsequent folios, meaning that his references must be incremented by one after this point.

Provenance

Matthew Paris gave the volume to St Albans Abbey: inscribed, fol. 2^{r}.

'Symons Thomas', early fifteenth century: inscribed, fol. 199^{r}.

? Robert Talbot (1505/06–58): annotates Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 16 (II), fol. 248^{v}, 'sunt librum additamentorum puto me habere'.

Edward Ferrers (1524 × 1527–64) and Henry Ferrers (1550–1633): their names inscribed alongside those of Christfar Comons, Thomas Ward, Henry Sengeord and William Bery, fol. $202^{r–v}$.

Sir Robert Bruce Cotton, first baronet (1571–1631): inscribed, fols. 2^{r}, 162^{r}; table of contents by Richard James (bap. 1591, d. 1638), his librarian (fol. $1^{r–v}$). According to Cotton's catalogue, there were loose leaves in the manuscript in his time (London, British Library, Harley MS 6018, no. 199: Tite 2003, 136).

The Cotton library loaned the manuscript to William Camden after Christmas 1604; Richard Bancroft (1544–1610) in 1608 via John Pory (bap. 1572, d. 1633); Arthur Agarde (1540–1615) in 1612–15; John Selden (1584–1654) in 1622 and 1638; William Watts (*c.* 1590–1649) before 1640 (no record, but see Watts 1640, preface); Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614) had access to this and Royal MS 14 C VII after moving to England in 1610 (Signaroli 2013).

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Critical Studies

Planta (1802, 236–37); Watson (1979, no. 542); Morgan (1982–88, no. 87); Tite (2003, 136); Crick (2007, 49–51); Collard (2022).

London, British Library, Cotton MS Nero D V, Folios 162–395 (Siglum *C*)

Contents

Fols. 162–395: Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, a fair copy of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 16; annotations from Matthew suggest that he oversaw its production (Vaughan 1958c, 110).

Extent

370 × 250 mm; 395 leaves.

Provenance

? Robert Glover (1543/44–88): possibly 'Y' in his list of books, London, British Library, Lansdowne MS 58, fol. 105^{r} (cf. Selwyn 1997).

John Stow (1524/25–1605): inscribed, fols. 2^{r}, 161^{r}; annotated, fols. 9^{r}, 20^{r}, 21^{r}, 192^{v}.

Henry Savile of Banke (1568–1617): his catalogue suggests that Cotton MS Julius B XII, fols. 67–82, was bound into the volume in his time (Watson 1969, 21).

Sir Robert Bruce Cotton, first baronet (1571–1631): combined several manuscripts into a composite volume (Madden 1866–69, 1:lxiii); inscribed, fol. 2^{r}.

The Cotton library loaned the manuscript to William Watts (*c.* 1590–1649) before 1640 for his edition of Matthew Paris (Watts 1639–40, preface). Madden (1866–69, 1:lxiii) identifies a note, fol. 1*r, as being in the hand of Thomas Gale (1635/36–1702).

Critical Studies

Planta (1802, 238); Watson (1979, no. 545); Tite (2003, 137).

London, British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius A XX, Folios 67–108 (Siglum *V*)

The Ashburnham house fire in 1731 damaged the leaves badly, now separated and mounted in paper frames.

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Contents

Fols. 77^{r}–108^{v}: Excerpts from the *Chronica maiora* and other historical documents, with some text and additions by Matthew Paris, probably written in 1246–59.

Extent

210 × 145 mm; 242 leaves.

Provenance

Tynemouth Priory: inscribed, fol. 67^{r}, as a gift of Ralph de Dunham (prior, 1252–66/67).

Sir Robert Bruce Cotton, first baronet (1571–1631): the contents list on fol. 1*v suggests that this composite volume was already bound together by the time it reached him.

Critical Studies

Planta (1802, 381–82); Smith (1696, 84); Watson (1979, no. 576); Tite (2003, 160).

London, British Library, Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII, Folio 133

Detached from Cotton MS Nero D I, fol. 197.

London, British Library, Royal MS 4 D VII

Predates Matthew Paris; he added folios 1^{v}–2^{v}, 232^{v}–247^{r}.

Contents

Fols. 1^{v}–2^{v}: Additions by Matthew Paris, including two plans of Noah's Ark and the candelabrum in the Temple.

Fols. 3^{r}–181^{v}: Petrus Comestor, *Historia scholastica*.

Fols. 182^{r}–232^{r}: Richard of Saint-Victor, *Liber exceptionum*.

Fols. 232^{v}–246^{v}: Robert Grosseteste, *Testamenta duodecim patriarcharum*, the work that Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora* mentions (Luard 1872–84, 5:284–85; Thomson 1940, 42–44).

Fols. 246^{v}–248^{r}: Robert Grosseteste, *De probatione uirginitatis beate Marie*, translated from *Lexicon Suida*: Matthew Paris indicates in a colophon that he used a copy from Robert himself.

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Extent

385 × 260 mm; 249 leaves.

Provenance

Raymond (prior of St Albans, 1195–1214) commissioned the manuscript and William de Trumpington (abbot, 1214–35) later presented it to the abbey; pressmark 'B 8 gradus', fol. 1^{r}. Matthew Paris mentions the book in *Gesta abbatum* (Riley 1867–69, 1:233–34, 294).

Royal Library, Westminster: appears in the 1542 inventory, 'n^{o} 1335', fol. 1^{r} (Carley 2000, no. H2.1335).

Critical Studies

Warner and Gilson (1921, 1:90); Watson (1979, no. 867); Thomson (1982, no. 28).

London, British Library, Royal MS 13 D V

Matthew wrote some of the rubrics (e.g. fols. 42^{v}–44^{r}) and annotates parts of the volume, sometimes extensively, showing his use of these historical works. See for example his notes on Offa (fol. 65^{r}, which Vaughan 1953b, plate xviii(e) reproduces).

Contents

Fols. 1^{r}–37^{v}: Geoffrey of Monmouth, *De gestis britonum*.

Fols. 38^{r}–45^{r}: *Historia Britonum* (here attributed to Gildas).

Fols. 45^{r}–50^{v}: Ralph of Coggeshall (?), *Visio Thurkilli*.

Fols. 51^{r}–142^{r}: William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, with the *Historia novella* added as book 6.

Fols. 142^{r}–151^{v}: Aelred of Rievaulx, *De genealogia regum Anglorum*.

Fol. 152^{r}: Short lists of the shires and dioceses of England; the genealogy of the counts of Flanders, as far as Robert II (1093–1111); and the kings of France, as far as Louis VI (1108–37).

Fols. 153^{r}–200^{v}: William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, second recension.

Extent

381 × 279 mm; i + 201 + i leaves.

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Provenance

St Albans Abbey: lost and later recovered during the time of John of Wheathampstead (abbot, 1420–40, 1452–64) according to an inscription, fol. 37^{v}; pressmark, 'de almariolo B primus liber in primo gradu', fol. 1*v.

Polydore Vergil (*c.* 1470–1555): notes in his hand – for example, fols. 39^{r}–40^{r}, 44^{v} (see also Royal MS 13 D V).

Thomas Wolsey (1470/71–1530), abbot of St Albans (1521–30): 'TC' monogram, fol. 1^{r}.

Royal Library, Westminster: acquired before 1542, inventory 'n° 1138', fol. 1^{r} (Carley 2000, nos. H2.1138, H4.38, H4.44).

John Lumley, First Baron Lumley (*c.* 1533–1609): inscribed, fol. 1^{r}. Not in his catalogue (Jayne and Johnson, 1956).

Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales (1594–1612): added Lumley's collection to the Royal Library.

Critical Studies

Warner and Gilson (1921, 2:110); Schmidt (1978); Thomson (1982, no. 35); Crick (1989, 184–86).

London, British Library, Royal MS 13 E VI

Matthew referred to this manuscript in his *Historia Anglorum* and made additions (Vaughan 1953b, 381).

Contents

Fols. 1^{r}–48^{r}: Ralph de Diceto, *Abbreuiationes chronicorum*.

Fols. 49^{r}–136^{r}: Ralph de Diceto, *Ymagines historiarum*.

Extent

411 × 304 mm; i + 138 leaves.

Provenance

St Albans Abbey: pressmark 'A 6 gradus 2 p', fol. i^{r}.

Borrowed in 1209/10 by Richard de Morins (d. 1242), prior of the Augustinian house at Dunstable (Cheney 1969).

Thomas Wolsey (1470/71–1530), abbot of St Albans (1521–30): 'TC' monogram, fol. i^{r}.

Royal Library, Westminster: acquired before 1542, inventory 'n° 1044', fol. i^{r} (Carley 2000, nos. H2.1044, H4.18).

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Critical Studies

Warner and Gilson (1921, 2:112–13); Thomson (1982, no. 38).

London, British Library, Royal MS 14 C VII (Siglum *R*)

The British Museum removed folios 2–5 for exhibition in 1952, now Royal MS 14 C VII/1.

Contents

Fols. 1^{v}–8^{r}: Maps and other prefatory material.
Fols. 8^{v}–156^{v}: Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*.
Fols. 157^{r}–218^{v}: Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, part 3.
Fols. 219^{r}–231^{r}: Thomas Walsingham (?), 1259–72 continuation.

Extent

360 × 245 mm; ii + 232 leaves.

Provenance

Matthew Paris gave the volume to St Albans Abbey: inscribed, fol. 6^{v}. He began *Historia Anglorum* after 1250 (fol. 10^{r}). Pressmark 'A 19', fol. 1^{r}.

Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (1390–1447): presented to him by John of Wheathampstead (*c.* 1392–1465), abbot of St Albans (Clark 2004, 97); inscribed, fol. 231^{r}.

John Russell (*c.* 1430–94), Bishop of Lincoln: declares in 1488, folio 1^{r}, that he will return the book to St Albans if proven to be the abbey's property, but otherwise bequeaths it to New College, Oxford.

St Albans Abbey presumably recovered the book, since Polydore Vergil had access to both this and Royal MS 13 D V for his *Anglica historia* (first version completed by 1513, printed 1534). Leland records a 'most beautiful history stolen by theft' written by Matthew Paris ('*pulcherrima historia furto sublata*': Sharpe et al., 1996, no. B91.10), which Madden (1866–69, 1:xvi) assumed to indicate a recently stolen volume, but which might refer to Russell's inscription (Carley 2010, lxxiii).

Polydore Vergil (*c.* 1470–1555): notes in his hand, folios 10^{r}–100^{r}; presumably used the book at St Albans, since he also had access to Royal MS 13 D V; he uses the *Historia Anglorum* in his *Anglica historia*, following Matthew's narrative, for example, of the peace between Stephen and Matilda (Madden 1866–69, 1:295; compare Vergil 1534, 205). Madden (1866–69, 1: xli) erroneously assumes that these borrowings occurred with the 1555 edition.

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Royal Library, Westminster: acquired before 1542, inventory 'nº 1041', fol. 1r (Carley 2000, nos. H2.1041, H4.17); John Skewys (d. 1544) probably made extracts from the book there, now London, British Library, Harley MS 2258 (Madden 1866–69, 1:xlii–xliii).

Henry Fitzalan, the twelfth earl of Arundel (1512–80): lent to him by Bartholomew Traheron, Keeper of the King's Library (1549–53), according to John Bale, who had seen it in the Royal Library (Graham and Watson, 1998, 29–30; Carley 2000, lxxviii–lxxix).

Matthew Parker (1504–75): lent to him by Arundel (Parker 1571, preface).

? John Minsheu (1559/60–1627): inscribed, fol. ii^{r}.

John Lumley, First Baron Lumley (*c.* 1533–1609), son-in-law of Henry Fitzalan: inscribed, fol. 1^{r}, but not in his catalogue (Jayne and Johnson 1956).

Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales (1594–1612): added Lumley's collection to the Royal Library.

Critical Studies

Warner and Gilson (1921, 2:135–36); Watson (1979, no. 893); Morgan (1982–88, no. 92).

Manchester, Chetham's Library, MS 6712 (Siglum *Ch*)

Contents

Fols. 7^{r}–295^{v}: Matthew Paris, *Flores historiarum*.

Extent

250 × 190 mm; iv + 295 + iv leaves.

Provenance

Passed between St Albans Abbey and Westminster Abbey, with both communities making additions to the text. The book was at Westminster until at least the fifteenth century: inscribed, fol. 1^{r} and elsewhere.

Nicholas Higginbotham of Stockport, 1657: inscribed, fol. iii^{r}.

Critical Studies

Ker (1969–2002, 3:348–50); Morgan (1982–88, no. 96); Carpenter (2012); Hawks (2023).

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 304

Matthew Paris wrote the entirety of this manuscript apart from folios 53^{r}–55^{v}.

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Contents

Fols. 2^{r}–30^{v}: Bernardus Silvestris (attrib.), *Experimentarius*, in two versions.
Fols. 31^{r}–40^{r}: *Prenostica Socratis Basilei*.
Fols. 40^{v}–52^{v}: *Prenostica Pitagorice consideracionis*.
Fols. 52^{v}–55^{v}: *Sortes duodecim patriarcharum*.
Fols. 56^{r}–63^{v}: *Quaestiones Albedaci*.
Fols. 64^{r}–70^{v}: *Diuinacio ciceronalis*.

Extent

172 × 127 mm; 72 leaves.

Provenance

Copies of this manuscript were made in the late fourteenth (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 46) and seventeenth centuries (London, British Library, Sloane MS 3857).
'Thomas West', 1602: inscribed, fols. 1^{r}, 67^{v}–68^{r}.
Given to the Ashmolean Museum by '— Vaughan' of Brasenose College between 1697 and 1709: note by Edward Lhuyd (d. 1709), fol. 1^{r}.

Critical Studies

Pächt and Alexander (1966–73, 3:40–41, no. 437); Morgan (1982–88, no. 89); Iafrate (2013, 2015).

Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 2

Fols. 1^{r}–2^{v} now mounted separately as MS 2*.

Contents

Fols. 1^{r}–2^{v}: Bifolium with two full-page miniatures on 1^{v}–2^{r}, in a style suggestive of a psalter; on the verso, Matthew Paris wrote notes towards the *Chronica maiora* and a map of Palestine (fols. 1^{r}, 2^{v}).
Fols. 3^{r}–369^{r}: Vulgate Bible, with Matthew Paris writing some rubrics and prologues.

Extent

360 × 240 mm; 2 (MS 2*) + 368 (MS 2) leaves.

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Provenance

No longer at St Albans Abbey by the fifteenth century: inscribed 'Bryn[?] Chetwode' with price, fol. 369^{v}.

Morgan Kidwelly (d. 1513), lawyer: inscribed, right pastedown.

John Tyson, who studied law at Oxford in 1520s and 1530s (Emden 1974, 585): inscribed, fol. 3^{r}.

Critical Studies

C.M. Kauffmann (1975, no. 72); Thomson (1982, no. 59); Thomson (2011, 3–4)

Notes

* I am grateful to James Carley, Alexander Devine, Kathleen Doyle, Alexandra Gillespie, Anne McLaughlin and Jane Muskett for their help in the research for this chapter.

1. Weiss 2017; Weiss 2018; Weiler 2019.
2. O'Donnell and Lamon 2010, 139–40.
3. Kauffmann 2020.
4. Clark 2001, 222–23; Clark 2004, 85.
5. Baswell 2010, 181–82; Slater 2018.
6. Dublin, Trinity College, MS 177, fol. 1^{r}: '*Mittatis si placet ad dominam comitissam harundell' Isabellam vt mittat vobis librum de sancto thoma martire et sancto edwardo quem transtuli et protraxi que[mque po]terit domina comitissa cornu[bie retinere] usque ad pentecosten*.' The ink is rubbed away at the edge of the page: James 1920, 20–21 gives a more accurate reading than Colker 1991, 339.
7. Gransden 1974b, 358–59; Wogan-Browne and Fenster 2010, 32–33.
8. Morgan 1982–88, no. 123; Binski 1990; Binski 1991 argue for this attribution; Hawks 2023, 180–87 discusses *Flores historiarum*.
9. Dunning 2018, 286–89.
10. Vaughan 1958c; Vaughan 1958c.
11. BL, Royal MS 14 C VII fol. 6^{r}: Collard 2015.
12. Townsend and Rigg 1987.
13. Vaughan 1958c, 50–59.
14. Jefferson 2006, 77.
15. Greasley 2021; Collard 2022.
16. Ashdowne et al. 2018, s.v. 'additamentum'.
17. Vaughan 1958c, 66–71.
18. Cleaver 2018, 146–55.
19. Clark 2002, 842–44.
20. Cheney 1973.

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21. Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 2, fol. 369^{v}.
22. Clark 2004, 97.
23. BL, Royal MS 14 C VII, fol. 1^{r}.
24. Hay 1952, 86.
25. Hunt 1978; Sharpe et al. 1996, 538–85.
26. Clark 2000.
27. Sharpe et al. 1996, no. B91.10; Carley 2010, chapter 249.
28. Wright 1951, 211.
29. Carley 1999.
30. Carley 2000, xxxi–xxxii.
31. Graham and Watson 1998, 29–30, 52; Carley 2000, lxxviii–lxxix.
32. McMahon 2023, 242–47.
33. Barron 2003.
34. Carley 2002, 341.
35. Watson 1969, 21.
36. Thomson 2015, 54–55 and no. UO3A.11.
37. Bale 1548, fol. 143; Bale 1557–59, 315–16.
38. Illyricus 1556, 593–625.
39. Wright 1951. See also Chapter 10, 230–35.
40. Jones 1981.
41. Bruce and Perowne, 1853, no. 99.
42. Madden 1866–69, i. xix–xxviii.
43. Bruce and Perowne 1853, 327–28; Robinson 1998, 1067–70.
44. Madden 1866–69, i. xxix–xxxi.
45. Bruce and Perowne 1853, no. 371.
46. Parker 1571, preface.
47. Clark 2006.
48. Bruce and Perowne 1853, no. 221.
49. McKisack 1971, 34–36; Graham 1994, 432; Woudhuysen 1996, 118; Parkes 1997, 123–27.
50. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 16 (II), fol. 82^{v}. See Page 1993, 59 and plates 45–47.
51. Collins 1746, i. 67.
52. Graham 2006; Grafton 2017.
53. Tite 1994.
54. Watson 1962.
55. Signaroli 2013; Hardy 2017, 109–10.
56. Summit 2008, chapter 4.
57. Lawrence 1960, 70–100, 222–89.
58. Tite 2003, 137.
59. Tite 2003, 136.
60. Vaughan 1958c, chapter 5.
61. Carley and Tite 1992.

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62. Carley 1992, 57–60; Carley 1997.
63. Smith 1696, 92.
64. Prescott 1997.
65. Prescott et al. 1998, 131–32.
66. Coxe 1841–44: his edition is based on Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 207.
67. Ackerman and Ackerman 1979, 21, 69.
68. Madden 1866–69.
69. Vaughan 1958c, 156.
70. Hardwick and Luard 1856–67.
71. Luard 1858; Luard 1872–84; Luard 1890.
72. Harris 1998, 226–27.
73. Prescott 2019, 147–50.
74. McKendrick et al. 2011.
75. Jefferson 2006, 73.
76. Lewis 1987, 471–72.
77. Morgan 1982–88, no. 24; Dunning 2018, 290–92.
78. Lewis 1987, 127–29.
79. Morgan 2017.
80. Morgan 1982–88, no. 84; Lewis 1987, 483; Zutshi 2018.
81. Backhouse and de Hamel 1988; Morgan 1988.
82. From Tite 2003.
83. Jefferson 2006.
84. Page 1993, 59.

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