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I. LIBER LUCIANI DE LAUDE CESTRIE.

II. SOME OBITS OF ABBOTS AND FOUNDERS OF
ST. WERBURGH'S ABBEY, CHESTER.

III. GENERAL INDEX.

Hullus murt.
nisi q̄ maligū.

De porta
yuginis.

Accidetur q̄
intelligit qd̄ h̄
legit. qd̄ scriptum
honeste tangit.

partē y meatū. Ibi statuas ordinant. ibi tēpora nectū.
concordiā uerū y maris expectatō. Dāo regia uirgo re-
fectionē. fatigatis requiem. fessis ab unda ul' tūcē repa-
rationē. Recedent inde. retenta memoria reparatō. apd̄
se dico. Populus iste dñi est. y de tta ei egressi sūt. cor
scōy. liberale collegium. mella fluant illis. ferat y ru-
b' asper amomū. Si fuerit homo. reputabit. Si
perit fuerit. reddat d̄s erit. Int' tot uenietes. im-
possibile est. ut ipse nō ueniat q̄ dixit. aut dictū nō
præterit. hospes sui y suscepit me. Qd̄ sentī aliū
ul' tē uetorem nō habeo. qm̄ uos ciues eratis i mea
ciuitate. Omib' par uotū est. regē suscipe nō solū li-
berū s; etiā optantō hospicio. certū qd̄ ubert' suo remu-
nentō obsequio. Quis regem celi fouere. ducat nō solū
fructuosū. s; etiā gloriū. Aut ipse patiet' panē
artū y aq̄m breuem. ubi uidit' feruēdā fidem. Qdes
deniq; memorata. uelut dei castra. foueo in cœstra.
uidim' momentū nūc. qd̄ utinā maneat sempiternū.
Qd̄ si quis sciolus rex y locos. promiserit euident' y bre-
uē inferre uerū. cognationem gr̄gio porta cū patra.
qd̄ ciuē inotūo experientia p̄pā. qui plusculū i pane
contraction y restrictus. a panis fuit erogatione se-
motus. Quod etiā inuendū. q̄tū ipsū uirginis mo-
nasteriū. ambiatur q̄tuor mansionib' alborū mona-



Extracts from the MS.

LIBER LUCIANI DE LAUDE CESTRIE

WRITTEN ABOUT THE YEAR 1195 AND
NOW IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY
OXFORD

TRANSCRIBED AND EDITED

BY

M. V. TAYLOR, M.A. (DUBL.)

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LIBER LUCIANI DE LAUDE CESTRIE

INTRODUCTION

I. HISTORY OF THE MS.

THE MS. entitled *Luciani, De laude Cestrie*, is entered in the register of donations to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, as presented, together with nineteen others of a miscellaneous character, by Thomas Allen, D.D., in 1601. It is thus among the first gifts (though of these the list is long) after Bodley's refounding of the old University Library. Thomas Allen was born in 1542 and came from Uttoxeter in Staffordshire. The last sixty-two years of his life he spent in Gloucester Hall studying and collecting MSS. and books on mathematics, astrology, philosophy, and antiquities. Among his friends and correspondents were the Earl of Northumberland, with whom he lived for some time at Sion House, Dr. J. Dee, Sir Thomas Bodley, Camden,¹ Cotton, Selden, Spelman, and other collectors. The bulk of his MSS. he left at his death (1632) to Sir Kenelm Digby, who handed them over to Bodley's Library in 1634. How or when this MS. came into Allen's hands, it seems impossible to discover or even guess—let it suffice to say he was a collector of MSS. and as unscrupulous as most collectors,² and came from a county adjoining Cheshire.

¹ In one letter Allen asked Camden to appoint his friend Degory Wheare to the professorship in Ancient History which he had just founded, and thus Degory Wheare became the first Camden Professor.

² Two of the twenty MSS. mentioned above came from New College, and were no doubt stolen, while several of Allen's MSS. have a similar history.

It is not improbable that the work of Lucian the monk lay in the monastic library of St. Werburgh, Chester, until its dissolution on 20th January 1540, when no doubt many of the books were sold or dispersed before the Cathedral Church of the new bishopric was established in the following year and the library became the possession of the Dean and Chapter. On the other hand, it is strange that Ranulph Higden, writing only about a century later than Lucian, seems to know nothing of his predecessor, neither quoting him nor mentioning him in his bibliography. It is curious that such a work should have escaped his notice, had it been in St. Werburgh's library, in studying the contents of which, especially historical works, he must have spent many hours. Perhaps Lucian presented his book to his patron, a member of the College of St. John the Baptist, outside the walls of Chester, in which building it may have remained until its disappearance at the Reformation. Yet Henry Bradshaw (*d.* 1513), the author of the *Life of St. Werburgh*, who lived in the abbey some three hundred years after our author, sometimes seems to quote *De laude Cestrie*, or some source common to both, especially in the account of the fire of 1180.¹ He does not, however, give Lucian's name in the list of his authorities, but Bradshaw might have considered him sufficiently unimportant to remain among the unnamed authors to whom he declares himself indebted. Camden saw the MS. before Allen gave it to Bodley's Library and when, no doubt, it still belonged to him; two long and not very accurate quotations appear in the 1600 and subsequent editions of the *Britannia*,² one of which has been frequently repeated in other and later histories of Chester. Both describe the numerous advantages enjoyed by Chester, and, in

¹ See below, pp. 30, 55.

² P. 535, from fol. 113v, l. 11 of the MS.: "Si quis autem petit vel in pleno vel in proximo, secundum habitationem morum provinciales tangere. . . . (fol. 114, l. 15) et per misericordiam Salvatoris divinitatis semper auxilio communita." P. 540 from fol. 12, l. 12, "Primo videndum quod Cestria est, que edificatur . . . (fol. 12v, l. 18), et suo accessu vel recessu, afferre quippiam vel auferre."

fact, form an appreciation of the place. On them and their author Camden thus comments: "Verum prius haec de Comitatu Cestriae praemittam ex Luciano monacho. Ne quis me subiicere quae ad laudem huius regionis faciat, postea coarguat. Author enim ille rarus et vixit primis Normannorum temporibus;" [but I shall first premise what Lucian the monk says of this county of Chester, that I may not be hereafter charged with concealing anything that makes for the honour of its inhabitants, as this author lived in the early Norman times and is scarce to be met with], and in another place, "Luciano illo monacho qui ante annos fere quingentos vixit," [Lucian the monk who lived about five hundred years ago], a statement which is not quite correct, as may be seen below. The MS. is not mentioned in Thos. James's first catalogue of Bodley's Library of 1605. But in the second one of 1620 on p. 302 it is referred to as "Lucianus, De laude Cestriae," with the shelf-mark "MS. Arch. A, 154." It was still in the same place (*i.e.* *Archivum A*) in 1697, when the great *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae* (Oxon. 1697) was drawn up, and is to be found on p. 153, No. 3005 (16) among the list of old miscellaneous books. It was subsequently transferred to "Archivo B," and now it is among Bodley MSS. No. 672. The only known attempt at a copy of the MS. is a MS. compilation of long extracts made by Richard James, a nephew of Bodley's first librarian, himself Cotton's librarian, a scholar and antiquary, an indefatigable transcriber, especially of mediæval chronicles, and a friend of Spelman and Kenelm Digby. He died in 1638, and his collection was acquired for the Library in 1676.¹ It is mentioned in the 1697 *Catalogue*, p. 258, No. 3839; 24 (2). Bishop Tanner thus describes both the MS. and transcript in his *Bibliotheca Britannica Hibernica* (1748), p. 487: "Lucianus monachus A. MC. vel circiter, scripsit *De laudibus Cestriae*, MS. bibl. Bodl. Rich. James II. 24.

¹ Macray, *Annals* (1890), p. 148.

Character refert deformationem literarum hujus aetatis, in qua et autorem vixisse Camdenus testatur. Stylus plerunque est desultorius, et posterior libri pars assumitur in laudibus et officiis clericorum, monachorum, episcopi, abbatis, prioris, supprioris, &c. *Instrumentum historicum Angliæ*, MS. Hatton, et iisdem verbis A. Wood. MS. Pits."¹ ["Lucian the monk, of the year 1100 or thereabouts, wrote *De laudibus Cestriæ*; a MS. transcript of Richard James, ii. 24, is in Bodley's Library. The degeneracy of the Latin is characteristic of the literature of the age in which Camden asserts the author lived. It is desultory in style, and the latter part of the book is taken up with praising priests, monks, bishop, abbot, prior, subprior, &c., and with a description of their several offices. Cf. a document of English history in the Hatton MSS. and A. Wood's description of Pits' MSS."]

The date, however, of the MS. is about 1200, and not 1100. Hardy, in his *Catalogue of Materials for British History*,² adopts Tanner's account, but adds that it is "curious, as being the earliest attempt in England at writing the history of a town. There is, however, but little in reality about the city of Chester." He mistakes the last sentence of Tanner's, which seems to be a comparison with similar documents among the Hatton MSS. (Bodley's Library) and with the works of John Pits as described by Wood (*Athenæ*, Bliss edition, ii. 172), for another work by Lucian. Apart from these references and the quotations mentioned above, this MS. appears to have escaped the attention alike of Chester historians and students of monastic chronicles, until the middle of the last century when the Chetham Society proposed to publish it.³ The scheme fell through, however, and Lucian's work remained in oblivion for another half century. It was again brought to light by Mr. Madan in the compilation of his *Summary Catalogue of*

¹ Hence Gough, *Camden's Britannia* (1789), ii. 421, note.

² *Rolls Series*, ii. 90.

³ *Report of Chetham Society*, 1843, vol. iii. of *Publications*.

Western MSS. in the Bodleian Library. He too was struck by its interest, and thought that at least extracts from it should be published by a local society. He therefore communicated with the Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, who immediately took the matter up, and the result is the appearance of these extracts given below.

2. DESCRIPTION OF THE MS.

De laude Cestrie is a small thick volume measuring 6 inches high, $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches wide, and $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches thick, bound with thick wood boards covered with vellum, traces of writing on which show that it was used for accounts at some time. Originally four round ornaments were nailed on the outside of the front cover through the boards; a leather strap, covered with vellum and stuck into the middle of the edge of the front board, perhaps fastened into the centre of the back board and acted as a clasp. The binding is probably contemporary; the edges of the boards are not bevelled, but are flush with the leaves of the book, which have hardly been cut. Between the front board and the cover is a piece of leather, the remains no doubt of a larger piece in which the volume was wrapped. The MS. is written on vellum sheets folded in eights and tens¹ into 198 leaves (or 396 pages) with four or five or nine leaves missing in the middle (between fols. 2 and 3, 20 and 21, 138 and 139, 163 and 164, 189 and 190) and one or two at the end. All the missing leaves, except those at the end, were perhaps cut out by the writer, as the MS. seems to run on, and the book is therefore complete save for the last leaf or two. The whole volume, in fact, is remarkably well preserved, but little damaged by damp, and never touched by rodents.

¹ A⁷ (one missing), B¹⁰, C⁹ (one missing), D—F¹⁰, G—Q⁸, R⁴, S—T⁸, V⁷ (one missing), W—X⁸, Y¹⁰, Z⁹ (one missing), the letters I and U being omitted from this collation.

Each page contains at first 25 and even 26 lines, then 24, until the middle of the volume is reached, where finally the number becomes 23. The pages are pricked down each side to measure the lines, which have been faintly ruled in ink. The work is not divided into chapters nor the pages broken up into paragraphs. It runs straight on from beginning to end. It is written in a good, clear, even, and uniform late twelfth-century hand—the very best period of English handwriting. It is not illuminated in any way, except that the first letters of the actual work and of the table which precedes it are decorated in red and green, while these colours are also used to distinguish certain letters in the table. Red ink likewise denotes capital letters, and marginal chapter headings or titles of divisions inscribed in the centre of each page beginning at fol. 16v. The latter stop at fol. 64v, but the red ink capitals are resumed again at fol. 109v to fol. 115, and again from fol. 174v to fol. 190, a few pages being omitted, while the headings are continued at fol. 87v (also fol. 76v) in a much smaller hand than the rest of the volume and in black ink. This same hand is also used for little notes in the margin, which are sometimes short abstracts of the text, sometimes slight annotations or explanations, sometimes comparisons or references. Both headings and notes belong to the same period, though not perhaps of the same date, as the text. The volume is paged in small arabic figures in black ink at the right-hand top corner, from fol. 2 to fol. 20 (p. 37). At a later date the folios have been numbered throughout and consecutively in pencil.¹ Altogether the volume is very attractive; it is beautifully bound, and still more beautifully written, very clean and neat, and complete, with no attempt at any kind of decoration or flourish or scrawl, and in the most excellent condition. It is, indeed, hard to believe that it is over 700 years old. It might almost have been

¹ This foliation has been used throughout.

turned out from the binder's the day before yesterday, so fresh and unspoiled is it.

3. CONTENTS

The first page of the MS. was originally blank. It now provides us with some of the few clues for the history of the book. Later hands have written in "Lucianus, De laude Cestriæ," and below it, "Tho. Allen, D.D.," while some one has been trying a pen or practising for a copier of deeds by writing three times "Sciant presentes." In addition, it contains the marks of the shelves in Bodley's Library where it has found a resting-place at different times.¹ Another name, "Rowland Asserus" or "Asherus," is inscribed in a sixteenth-century hand close to, and along, the stitching.² Our monk's own hand begins on fol. 1^v; the first two pages are occupied with a table to find Easter, and an explanation of it. At the bottom of fol. 1^v some one at a later date has noted the use of the word "bavosus,"³ which occurs in the text there, and refers to p. 14, l. 18, where it is repeated. The actual book begins on fol. 2^v with the title in red ink, *Incipit liber Luciani, De Laude Cestrie*. Above this Tho. Allen, D.D., has again inscribed his name, and there is a second reference to p. 14. The whole work consists first of a sort of introduction or preface, explaining how it was the work came to be written and a justification of it; then follows an account of the name "Cestria," then a general survey of Chester—its position, site, history, plan, and at fol. 16^v is a notice of the four gates, placed at the four cardinal

¹ These are: A 154; Bodl. Arch. B 16 (3005); MS. Bodl. 672. On the outside: 16,3005 on a label; Arch. B 16; 672 in ink and white paint; 16 on a label.

² A family of the name of Asser lived in Chester in the fifteenth century. Several were masons, but one, Roger Asser, was rector of St. Peter's (1443-64), of St. Mary's (1464-70), and Dean of St. John's (1443-1470). It is perhaps possible that Rowland Asser owned the MS. before it came into the hands of Thomas Allen. (Ormerod (Helsby ed.), i. 88, 308, 326, 339; ii. 41). Another owner may have been "Henry Tully," who has written his name at the bottom of fol. 125, see p. 69.

³ This is possibly in Allen's hand. According to Du Cange it means stupid. "Bava, saliva ex ore fluens, ut stultis saepius accidit. . . . Hinc forte bavard."

points, and provided with four patron saints (who also preside over Chester churches, see plan), each of whom in turn forms the subject of a long discourse: 1. St. John the Baptist at the Eastgate, fol. 17-23. 2. St. Peter at the Westgate, fol. 23-38. 3. St. Mary the Virgin, who is associated with St. Werburgh at the Northgate, fol. 39-62. 4. St. Michael and All Angels at the Southgate, fol. 62-87. Fol. 87^v is a recapitulation of this, and at fol. 88^v there begins a sermon on the Virgin Mary and another on women, which is followed by a treatise on nuns, especially those of St. Mary (fol. 89^v), with references to other dedications to St. Mary in Chester, the whole ending at fol. 112. The next five folios are occupied with the roads and neighbourhood outside the town and the name "Cestria." At fol. 117 the account of Chester ends, and there begins a long discourse in praise of clerks, who are compared to monks. Fol. 139 treats of the abbot, fol. 147^v of the prior, fol. 160^v of the subprior. At fol. 187^v there follows a recapitulation of these offices and a comparison of the duties of the three, which continues to fol. 189. The remainder of the volume is taken up with a disquisition on "*tempus malorum et bonorum*," and purgatory, hell, and heaven, and on power, wisdom, and goodness, and finally on the day of judgment (fol. 195^v). And though a page or two are missing, it is unlikely a fresh subject was broached, for what more fitting conclusion could be found than a call to the citizens of Chester to repent of their sins, for the whole book is really but one long sermon disguised as a guide-book.

4. DATE OF THE MS.

The only clue to the date, apart from the hand, is the table to find Easter at the beginning of the volume. This begins with the year 1195 and ends at 1224; a different ink has been used after 1209, but the hand throughout is that of the text. Certain

important events in the English history of the time have been added after some of the dates in two different hands. The writers may have been "scriptors" or chroniclers of the monastery, and when writing out a list of years Lucian and others after him added the greater events of the period. First at the head of the table Lucian has written "Incarnationis Dominice anno MCXCIII rex Ricardus venit de Alemannia in media quadragesima." ["In the year of Our Lord 1194, King Richard came from Germany in the middle of Lent."] At the year 1199, it is noted that "Rex Ricardus occisus est" ["King Richard was killed"], and at the year 1200, "Modo hic sumus" ["Here we are now"], but in the same small hand of the marginal notes in the text.

I should suggest that this table¹ was added after the completion of the work to fill up three pages left blank originally for that purpose, or for a table of contents or other thing, and that the year 1195 was the date of completion. Whether it was completed at the earliest date mentioned, 1194, and took some years in the writing (the book being some 80,000 words long) is another matter. The monk probably did it at odd moments and in his spare time, for it appears to be a private work and not an official document or work of the monastery, but his spare time may have been considerable. In 1200 probably some one else marked or annotated the book and made a note to that effect. Internal evidence for the suggested date or any other is very slight. On one occasion (on fol. 88^v) the author mentions a tournament which took place outside the walls of Chester, "ante annos paucissimos" [a very few years ago] before Prince John, son of Henry II., and Philip of Worcester, and graphically

¹ These tables frequently occur at the beginning of chronicles and other mediæval works, and are of the greatest assistance in dating MSS., as Mr. Bannister has recently shown in an article entitled *Signs in Kalendariæ Tables*, printed in *Mélanges offerts à M. Emile Chatelain* (Paris, 1910), p. 145. Since the above was set up Mr. Bannister has very kindly examined the table and certain notes on foll. 89^v-92, 124^v of *De laude Cestrie*, and given me the benefit of his expert knowledge. As the result was to suggest another and earlier date, the question is discussed in an appendix on p. 75.

describes how the whole city rushed out to see the great event and how the Englishman prevailed. This probably took place in 1186, when John was waiting at Chester to take ship to Ireland, whither he was sent by King Henry, but at the last moment he was recalled by his father owing to the death of his elder brother Geoffrey, Count of Brittany, and Philip of Worcester went alone in his place. This would account for the presence of both, or it may have been on some other and earlier occasion when John was returning from Ireland. Two other dateable facts are recorded: first, the great fire of Chester in 1180; secondly, the author notices the Cistercian house of Poulton, near Chester, as still in existence. According to Dugdale the inmates were moved to Dieulacres in Staffordshire in 1215, owing to the frequent incursions of the Welsh. In any case we may say that the MS. cannot have been begun much before 1188 or finished much later than 1215, and was more than probably completed about 1195.

Palæographical evidence points to the same date; the letters are of a fair size, carefully written and round, but angularity is beginning; the "t" generally does not rise above the line at all, and the "a" is open, while "e" by itself (but occasionally "e" with the mark underneath it) is used for "æ" diphthong. Accents dot the "i's" and mark long vowels. No gold appears at all, and green only for some of the capitals in the *Paschale* and the initial letter of the work itself. The abbreviations and contractions everywhere are very clear and quite consistent.

5. THE AUTHOR

The author styles himself "Lucianus";¹ he was a monk of the Benedictine house of St. Werburgh,² and

¹ Mr. Madan suggests that this was not the monk's own name; it certainly seems unusual. He probably took it from the saint of that name on whose day (January 8) he may have professed.

² "Virginee sum regionis alumpnus."

Mr. Madan suggests that he was possibly subprior. Towards the end of the book he discourses on the three chief offices of a monastic house—abbot, prior, and subprior, and the inclusion of the last-named, who was not a very important person, the comparison of his duties to those of the other two, and the fact that twice as much space is devoted to him as to either of the others all support such a view. On the other hand, Lucian tells us that he went about the business of the convent, and that this was the duty of the prior. He may have been only a "scriptor"; that he had been one at some time is obvious from his very feeling discussion of a "scriptor's" work (see fol. 186^v). Another difficulty arises with regard to his birthplace. It might be gathered from many remarks that he was not a native of Chester. In one place he alludes to himself as "*monachus extraneus*," in contrast to his patron, as a "*clericus habitator*," but here he may merely be allowing himself literary licence. He also constantly dwells on the fact that his patron was a Cestrian, as if to infer that he himself was not. Yet again his numerous invocations to Chester made with such fervour, and his continual addresses to the city as that which most deeply held his affections, lead one to believe that it must have been his native place. Be that as it may, he himself clearly relates that he was living in Chester very early in his life and receiving his education at the collegiate church of St. John the Baptist (of Saxon foundation). Some of his remarks suggest that he was English. He was certainly not Welsh,¹ and it is not probable that he was Norman. But he had not been trained in an English school. He never uses English forms of names or letters, except "W," which he employs not only in the Saxon name "*Wereburge*," but also in "*Walter*." Apart from a few chance remarks our author gives us no clue to his history, and indeed seldom descends to personalities, except when he mentions the man to

¹ See foll. 12^v, 28^v.

whom he dedicates his book, and whom he addresses as "my lord and brother." This person was apparently a native of Chester, a clerk attached to St. John's Collegiate Church, but whether he held any high office there or not we do not know. It is just barely possible that he was either Bishop of Coventry, Lichfield, and Chester, or perhaps Archdeacon of Chester. Soon after the Conquest the See was moved by Bishop Peter from Lichfield to the Collegiate Church of St. John the Baptist at Chester, which church was partly rebuilt by him; it was, however, again moved back by his successor, Robert de Lindsey, to Coventry, and there it remained. Of the Bishops at the end of the twelfth century, Hugh Nunant or Novant or Minant was said to have been so learned a man as not to despise but advance the married clergy, chiefly because he turned the monks out of St. Mary of Coventry and established there a collegiate church, and therefore incurred the hatred of William de Newburgh. This may also account for a long diatribe in *De laude Cestrie* against the treatment of monks by bishops at that day, who are unfavourably compared to Gregory, the friend of monks (see fol. 116).¹ Hugh Nunant was succeeded in 1197 by Geoffrey de Muschamp, Archdeacon of Cleveland. Nothing is known of the archdeacons of this period. To this learned priest of St. John's, whoever he may have been, our author says that he was greatly indebted, and, above all, for the idea of the book. He relates how one day he first went to Mass at St. Michael's, next attended the Earl's² Court on business of the monastery, and then, tired out with the hard work and unpleasantness of this task, he betook himself for spiritual rest and refreshment to St. John the Baptist. Coming out thence, apparently after service, and while lingering and conversing in the porch,³ there suddenly appeared, also apparently from the church, his patron, by

¹ For his anti-monachist attitude, see also Stubbs' Preface to the Rolls Ser. ed. of *Roger of Hoveden*, III., p. liii.

² Ranulph de Blundevill, the great palatinate Earl, from 1181-1232.

³ The Norman Church was completed about 1190.

whom he was warmly welcomed. He expresses astonishment at a clerk and a native condescending to take notice of, and speak to, himself, a monk and a stranger (or alien), but nevertheless he appreciated the kindness, and thus was offered to him the first taste of his patron's sincerity, "*gustum prime sinceritatis*." He began complaining on the hardness of the rich (referring perhaps to his business at the Earl's Court), to his patron, who had thrice come to his assistance when hard pressed. As he returned home he began considering how everything fell into threes; first the circumstances: the day being Sunday, the place, the church, the kindness of his patron; then of this latter: the welcome, the conversation, the affection. Then he fell to pondering on the three-syllabled word of "*Cestria*," which itself could be interpreted "*Cis tria*,"¹ and he wondered how it could be set forth clearly for the benefit of citizen and stranger (traveller) alike. And thus it was our author began his work, first on the name and the place, which naturally led to a description of Chester. He keeps alluding all through the work to the great assistance he received from his patron and his learning, and we may well believe this took some form of education or encouragement in scholarship (unless it was actual financial help), the references and passages on the learning of clerks being so frequent and so long. Also it is significant that Lucian received instruction at St. John's in his early youth. He seems in any case to have profited, for his reading was very wide, and he displayed an extensive, if not profound, knowledge of the classics, as well as the more usual acquaintance with theological works, and, of course, the Bible and Apocrypha, both of which he must have known almost by heart.

Elsewhere he tells us of his work that he did not set out to relate the amazing and exciting but often fabulous ("*impudentissima mendacia*") stories told by travellers from India and the east; he was content "*proxima*

¹ Perhaps here we may see the influence of the Welsh triad.

tangere, vicina cantare, presertim cum dixerit aquarie mulieri verbum Altissimi, si scires donum Dei" (St. John iv. 10). ["To dwell upon subjects nearest at hand, to sing the praises of his own country, particularly as the word of the Most High to the woman at the well, had been, 'If thou knowest the gift of God.'"] Thus perhaps he meant to hit at Geoffrey or Giraldus and justify his humble aim. Ranulph Higden went further afield and dealt with the history of the world, and Britain in special. Henry Bradshaw sang the praises of St. Werburgh alone, and barely mentioned Chester at all. Therefore Lucian, even among his brethren of the Abbey, held a place distinct and separate. He must have been a simple-minded man, and if gifted with imagination at all, it was entirely influenced by contemporary literature, which delighted in analogy and metaphor and illustration rather than in the spirit of poetry. Even the few descriptions he gives have little life or attraction. His reasoning and logic is not particularly sound, and his sermons must have been of the dullest, long and pedantic and quite without interest, and would indeed have as somniferous effect on the already sleepy citizens and monks as the words of the worthiest cathedral canon of to-day.

6. STYLE

The work as a whole is well arranged and divided under headings, with here and there a recapitulation, but not broken up into paragraphs; it also has an introduction and a conclusion of a rhetorical kind. The style is curious, though not uncommon at the period. It is, as Tanner says, desultory, and it is discursive and very diffuse. Its chief feature is a curious balancing of the sentences, effected by an arrangement of the words in it (that frequently lacks classical precedent); this is emphasised by the use of pun and alliteration, which I suppose finds a parallel in

contemporary literature in the English tongue.¹ It becomes as affected as Euphuism or Arcadianism at a later date. Metaphor and allegory are worked to death, and much is mere verbiage. Long and often incoherent dialectical arguments occur with an enormous number of illustrations and examples, frequently quite inapt. These are drawn from the Old and New Testaments, the Apocrypha, Ancient History and classical authors, especially Horace and Virgil, the works of the Fathers and legends of every sort and kind. Bede is once mentioned, but no contemporary English chroniclers. So fertile is our author in examples that often it is difficult to see the wood for the trees, and thus the argument becomes obscured. In fact, we might almost suppose the author was influenced by a desire to show that a monk could be as widely read and as capable of scholarship (and as pedantic, we might add) as a clerk, who, the monk Lucian never fails to tell us, was reputed for his preaching and his learning, and whose duty it was to be as learned as the monk's to be charitable and to set an example of a good and holy life. If our author lacked ability in application, his knowledge was certainly very wide and speaks well for the library of St. Werburgh. The list of his quotations and references would indeed be a long one, though it is not sufficiently unusual to justify setting it forth here. It is, however, interesting to note how mythological, biblical and historical characters are placed side by side,² and quotations from the Vulgate with those from secular (or pagan, as Lucian would call them) authors, such as Ovid or Seneca or Virgil. Yet in a quotation from the last on "Fama" (*Aen.*, iv. 173-88), a reference to the gods is omitted.

Another feature of the style is a sort of allegorical or symbolic etymology, apparently common to the

¹ e.g. "perditus plorat, perditior plaudit," "seductus gravabatur, seductor gloriabatur," "gustum gracie, gratis tuli." "Neque enim lapidis instar durescit ingratum, sed dulcescit illatum tue benignitatis officium suaviter et ex sinu bone voluntatis impensum," &c.

² Cf. fol. 43 *et seq.*

age. Words and syllables are made to bear the most curious and impossible derivations and meanings; for instance, "Cestria" is said to come from "cis tria" (and is explained by the use of the triadic form), and another time from "castra dei"; "malignus" from "malo ignis eternus"; "benignus" from "bonus agnus"; "abas" from the Hebrew "ab" (father), and "as" (lord); "monacus" from "unius custos," and "Werburga" meant "custos urbis." This method is extended to the names of the city gates, neighbouring villages, the plan of the city, the roads outside, &c. The frequent occurrence of facts and illustrations grouped in threes should also perhaps be noted here. It suggests that Lucian was at least influenced by the style of contemporary Welsh works, if he was not consciously borrowing from them the triad. It only helps, however, to increase the general heaviness of the style.

Occasionally the monotony and dulness of this discursive style is relieved by quite graphic and simply-worded description, as, for instance, in the passages where he recounts his first meeting with his patron, the gathering of Cestrians to see the tournament, the spread of the fire in the city in 1180, and elsewhere. The picture of the river Dee encircling the walls of Chester with its daily tide, its wide sands (now the Roodeye), its harbour, the ships that sail on it, the fish that live in it, is a really living one and almost as true now as it was then. Thus Lucian shows that could he but have rid himself of the idea that at all costs he must display his wide reading and knowledge, his work might have been both interesting and readable.

Apart from the style, the Latin is not particularly pure; construction is sometimes faulty and sometimes strange; mediæval words are used, such as "bavosus" (stupid), noted by Thomas Allen, "planatio" (interpretation), "aptitudo," "debriare" (drunk, replete), and some Greek words Latinised, such as "lechitus" (vase of lamp oil), "calandra" (ship).

7. COMPARISON WITH CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE

The importance, or rather the interest, of our MS. lies in the fact that it is the earliest-known example of a local guide, and, secondly, that it is the earliest-known account of Chester. It is practically unique. The only contemporary work at all similar to it is the *Description of London*, by William Fitz-Stephen,¹ who describes himself as the fellow-citizen, clerk, and familiar of Thomas Becket. But this is only a sort of preface to his *Life of Becket*. Being probably written before 1170, it is just prior to *De laude Cestrie*. It is altogether superior to the guide to Chester, and has a very different standard. It is what it professes to be—a description of London and its inhabitants—and is interlarded with no irrelevant sermons. Quotations naturally occur, and are mostly from Horace and Virgil as our author's are, but they are generally short and to the point. Fitz-Stephen manages to tell us as much about London as Lucian about Chester, and yet his whole work contains only some 2200 words, that is, about a quarter of the length of *De laude Cestrie*. He describes the walls and buildings of London, its clergy, citizens and other merchants, schools, and recreations. It may well be that Lucian took the *Description* as a model.² Apart from this, however, little is to be found in contemporary historical literature with which it can be compared. Neither of these two pieces can be said to come under any of the three categories of monastic chronicles mentioned by Mr. Gairdner (*i.e.* monastic history: partly local monastic and partly general history: general history), while the earliest of the city chronicles is the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* of London of Edward I. They may rather find their origin in the more or less topographical works of non-monastic writers, among the

¹ *Materials for History of Thomas Becket*, III. (Rolls Series). I owe this reference to Professor Tout.

² For another contemporary description of a particular site, see the *Northumberland County Hist.*, VIII. (1907), pp. 71-3, note, and preface, p. vi.

earliest of whom is Geoffrey of Monmouth. He wrote a history of Britain, tracing it back beyond the limits of history to heroes and gods. He was inspired partly by the prominent position the rulers of England with their Continental possessions were beginning to take among the potentates of Europe, and partly by the independence of his native people of Wales, the original inhabitants of Britain, subdued as yet neither by Saxon nor Norman. This work is notoriously fabulous; the author gave full play to the imagination of his race, but it is to be noted that he was deeply interested in local history and local antiquities as well as in more general mythological or political history. He had been preceded by another historian, the sounder but less attractive or popular William of Malmesbury, and his example was followed by many others, the less original Henry of Huntingdon, the more accurate and sober William of Newburgh, and others, and lastly (for our purposes) by a fellow-countryman, Giraldus du Barri or Cambrensis, as he is more usually known. The last-mentioned is especially interesting from our point of view. He wrote a very detailed account or history of Ireland, describing the nature of the country, the race and character of its inhabitants, &c., and with some attempt at accuracy, the result of personal observation and inquiries made when he visited it with Prince John in 1185. He also compiled an itinerary of his tour in Wales with Archbishop Baldwin in 1188, who was then preaching the Crusade, wherein he endeavours to record local history or matters of local importance wherever possible.¹ We may also mention the work of Gervase of Canterbury, entitled *Mappa Mundi*, which consisted of an ecclesiastical and political geography of Britain and a rough *provinciale* of cathedral churches drawn up about 1200 and which formed the basis of Speed's catalogue, and so of the

¹ It is just possible that Giraldus stayed at St. Werburgh's when Baldwin was a guest there, and so may have met and inspired our author, but more probably he went to St. John's (see below).

first *monasticon*. The two guides may find a place between these historical and topographical works on a large scale, and the local monastic annals and histories of the thirteenth century. While Fitz-Stephen is concerned with London more as the birthplace of Becket than as the metropolis, our author, on the other hand, is evidently impressed by the importance of England in general, and by the still greater importance of Chester in particular, its proximity or close connection with Wales and Ireland (so much noticed of late by Geoffrey and Giraldus) and the Continent, its present position as the stronghold and centre of the great palatine earl, Ranulph de Blundevill, its past glory as a legionary fortress of the Roman Empire. He claims that it looks to Norway on the north, to India on the east, to Wales on the south, and Ireland on the west; it looks out, he tells us, on to the whole world, and, "*forcia facta patrum, series longissima rerum,*" are performed as a spectacle before our eyes; while whatever happens in the whole world, to whatever people, places, or times, if it is good, comes as news to Chester: if bad, as a warning. And he feels that it is thus indeed worthy of a book written in praise of it. But this does not take the form of a history, rather of a sort of account of the city as it was in his day. After a discourse on the name "*Cestria*," he takes the reader first into the centre of the town, makes him admire its site and position, from which resulted its wealth, prosperity, and importance, and then by each of the four gates, then to the Benedictine houses of St. Mary and St. Werburgh, and there having reached the culminating point of the book and a subject which touched him so nearly, he altogether drops the character of guide and enters the pulpit. For Lucian was not a lay or secular clerk, as Fitz-Stephen and many of his literary predecessors, but a monk, who probably spent almost all his life at least in one town, if not in one cloister, and from this fact the book takes its colour and form. What is said in praise of Chester

is really in praise of St. Werburgh and all that it stood for within the city, and thus the name and site of the city, the gates, even the market, are made texts for sermons on the Almighty, the Madonna, the Evangelists, and the various Saints to whose beneficence and patronage these buildings were due and whose worship was maintained by the monastic house of St. Werburgh. Thus from the outset the book is but a sermon or series of sermons, and when in due course St. Werburgh's comes up for treatment, the author can no longer contain himself, and after having compared clerk and monk as a sort of apology to his patron, who was a clerk, he then begins to preach seriously on the duties and labours performed by, and benefits derivable from, the religious community: he next deals in turn with each of the three chief officers responsible for this work—the Abbot, Prior, and Sub-prior (which office our author may have held) and compares them to the Trinity, &c., finally letting himself go—as many of his literary contemporaries—on the end of the world, the day of judgment, and the abode of the soul after death. In all this Chester has no place, except that the sermon appears to be addressed to its citizens, who in common with all the Christian world must take an interest in such matters. Perhaps after all they were originally sermons given with the idea of arousing interest, and the praise of his own city was chosen as the strongest and most direct appeal to a citizen. Herein it differs from Fitz-Stephen's work, which describes London incidentally, because it happens to be one of the chief centres of Becket's activities, while Lucian cares only for St. Werburgh of Chester. So the fact remains that it is almost a unique work in its own period, and one of the two very earliest guide-books known, however much it may be wrapped up in sermon. All the padding cannot conceal from us the fact that the form of the book is that of a guide. Hence its importance in mediæval historical literature generally, while, with

regard to Chester, nothing of the same kind is to be found for several hundred years.

8. LOCAL INTEREST AND VALUE

Lucian, though he is the earliest writer we know on Chester, does not throw much light on the history, —whether ecclesiastical or social, political or topographical—of the city. The extracts from him quoted by Camden bear some resemblance to the following from William of Malmesbury: “Cestra legionum civitas dicitur, quod ibi emeriti legionum Julianarum resedere. Collimitatur Aquilonalibus Britannis. Regio farris et maxime tritici, ut pleraque Aquilonalium, jejuna et inops, pecorum et piscium ferax. Incolæ lac et butirum delitias habent; qui ditiores sunt carnibus vivunt, panem ordeitium et siligineum pro magno amplectuntur. Transmittitur a Cestra Hiberniam revehunturque civitati necessaria, ut quod minus natura soli habet labor negotiantium apportet. In urbe fuit ex antiquo sanctimonialium monasterium, nunc per Hugonem Cestrensem comitem monachis repletum. Predicatur ibi Werburga virgo, filia Wlferii regis Mertiorum et Ermenhilde filiæ Sexburgae.”¹ [“Chester is called the city of the legions because the veterans of the Julian legions were settled here. The region borders upon the country of the northern Britons; it is barren and unproductive of cereals, especially of corn, as are many parts of the north, but abounding in beasts and fish. The natives delight in milk and butter; the richer people live on flesh, and think much of bread made of barley and wheat. Necessaries are exchanged between Chester and Ireland, so that deficiency in any one article, due to the character of the soil, is made good by the labour of the merchant. Where once there was a house for nuns in the city, now is a monastery for monks established there by Hugh, Earl of Chester. Here Werburga, the virgin daughter of Wulfere, king

¹ *Gesta Pontificum* (Rolls Ser.), p. 308.

of the Mercians, and Ermenhilda, daughter of Sexburgha. . . ."]

Giraldus Cambrensis, writing about the same time as our author, testifies to the abundance of salmon in the Dee; he also noted that the flooding of this river was never due to rain, but to wind—probably an unscientific reference to the tidal wave.¹ Ranulph Higden, however, was very indignant with William of Malmesbury for his statements concerning the lack of corn and other such foods in Chester. He must have been dreaming, says Ranulph, when he made them, for "omni genere victualium abundat, farris, carnis, piscis, potissime salmonis optimi copiosa; mercimonia varia recipit et refundit. Quippe quae in suis confiniis salinas habet mineras et metalla."² ["It has a plentiful supply of all kinds of food: grains, flesh, and fish, more especially the best kind of salmon in abundance. It imports and exports various kinds of merchandise. Moreover, in the neighbourhood are salt pits, mines, and metals."] It will be seen, on comparing these various statements, that William, Lucian, and Ranulph, all three, discourse on the Roman origin of Chester, which is especially clear in its name (Ranulph expressing his disbelief in anything earlier), the abundance of food of all kinds (except William, with regard to the corn), and the trade with Ireland. Thus our author might well have obtained many of his ideas from William, and Ranulph certainly did; on the other hand, Ranulph

¹ *Itinerarium Kambriæ*, Lib. ii. ch. xi., Rolls Ser. ed., vi. 139.

² Higden goes on to add many more details of Chester, and especially mentions the Roman remains then to be found, and finally bursts out into verse in praise of his native town: "in cuius urbis laudem metricus quidam sic prorupit:—

Cestria de castro nomen quasi castria sumpsit,
Incertum cuius hanc manus ediderit.
Haec Legecestria tunc est dicta vel, Urbs Legionum,
Anglis et Cambris nunc manet urbs celebris.

Carnibus et farre, sic piscibus affluit urbs haec;
Merces et classes advehit unda mare."

—*Polychronicon* (ed. Babington, Rolls Ser.), ii. 78 seq.

seems to be ignorant of his more immediate predecessor, Lucian, and much of his information is quite original and due to his own observation (*e.g.* on the Roman finds). A still later writer from St. Werburgh's of Chester, Henry Bradshaw, appears only to quote the *Polychronicon*, but he might possibly have seen *De laude Cestrie*.¹ In any case the really interesting fact noted by all these authors is the trade with Ireland. According to William "necessaries" were exchanged. Ranulph and Lucian mention merely merchandise and fish. But the latter alone records that ships also from Aquitaine, Spain, and Germany lay in the harbour on the south side of the city, where they were disburdened of their cargoes of wine, which monk as well as citizen could well appreciate. We learn from Giraldus Cambrensis that trade between Ireland and Western France was very flourishing in the twelfth century. Poitou wines were exchanged for skins of Irish cattle and wild beasts, while one of Chester's earliest charters granted permission to Chester burgesses to trade with Dublin.² This evidence taken together proves the existence of a wide and flourishing trade between the countries mentioned at quite an early date. Chester and Ireland were connected also in another way. Mr. Bannister tells me that the Benedictine Rule of Downpatrick Abbey (refounded 1185) was taken from that of St. Werburgh, Chester, of which it was a daughter house. This would account for the frequent mention of Ireland and of travellers thither who stayed at the Abbey.

"The inhabitauntes of it, manfull and liberall,
Constant, sad and vertuous and gentyll continuall.
Of frutes and cornes there is great habundaunce,
Woddes, parkes, forestes, and beestis of venare,
Pastures, feeldes, comons the cite to avaunce,
Waters, pooles, pondes of fyssh great plente;
Most swete holesome ayre by the water of dee;
There is great marchandise shyps and wyne strang,
With all thyng of pleasure the citezens amonge."

—Bradshaw, *Life of S. Werburgh*, ed. C. Horstman, for
Early English Text Soc., p. 145.

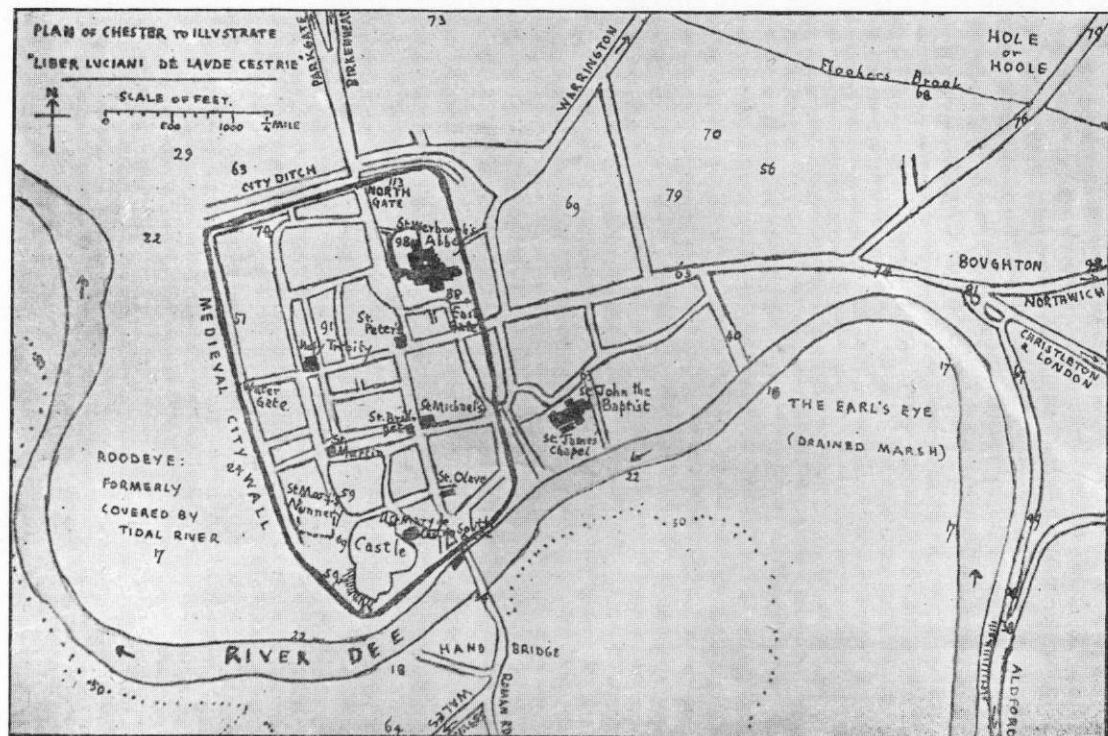
² This was in 1171, but it refers to the trade under Henry I. Three others were granted between 1189 and 1201.—R. Morris, *Chester in the Plantagenet and Tudor Reigns*, p. 11. See also Round, *Feudal Eng.* (1895), pp. 465 7.

One of Lucian's most descriptive passages provides us with a vivid picture of the state of the present Roodeye in his time; he calls it "speciosissimum maris litus . . . nunc existens aqua, nunc arida . . . eodem die, eodem loco et aptissimum iter facit Deus viatoribus ad gradiendum et altissimum gurgitem aquatilibus ad natandum." ["Most magnificent sea-shore . . . at one moment all water, at another quite dry . . . on the same day and at the same place God provides both a road for travellers and deep water for all aquatic beasts to swim in."] It is really yet quite uncertain how early the sands of the Roodeye began to form and the river ceased to wash the city walls below the water gate and water tower. At another place Lucian speaks of "amnem secus urbis muros pulcrum atque piscosum." ["A beautiful stream abounding in fish flows by the walls of the city."]

Turning to the interior of the city, we learn from Lucian that the market was held in the four main streets and at their meeting-point beneath St. Peter's Church, where later a pentice was erected against the south wall of the church for the Sheriff's Court and market.¹ This was pulled down at the end of the eighteenth century, and it and the markets were removed to their present position—the open space outside the Abbey gates, where the great fair had always been held at the Feast of St. Werburgh (June 21st) and three days following, to all profits of which the Abbey was entitled.² To this market, Lucian tells us, were

¹ A drawing of the pentice and church by Randle Holmes is reproduced in Ormerod, *Cheshire* (Helsby ed.), i. 324.

² According to the *Acta Sanctorum*, St. Werburgh's Day was on Feb. 3rd. The day of her translation, however (which is not mentioned in that work), was kept in England on June 21st and was known as "St. Werburgh of Chester." See *R. Whytford's Martiloge*, 1526 (printed by the Hen. Bradshaw Soc.), pp. 97, 221, *Wm. of Worcester* (ed. Jas. Nasmyth, 1788), p. 165, Ormerod, *Hist. of Cheshire* (Helsby ed.), i. 567. The Abbot of St. Werburgh also claimed to hold the fair on the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, which no doubt was but a continuation of that of St. Werburgh. There was also a fair at Michaelmas. The abbot's jurisdictional rights in connection with the fairs, especially that of St. Werburgh, formed the cause of a long quarrel between the civic and monastic authorities which only ended in 1509 with the defeat of the latter. See Morris, *op. cit.*, pp. 123, 137, 480-81.



SKETCH PLAN OF CHESTER

(This rough map is intended only to illustrate the text, and is not to be taken as a correct plan of Chester in 1195)

brought corn and food from England, cattle and meat from Wales, fish from the river and apparently Ireland or the Irish Sea.

Several churches and chapels are mentioned (see plan). These are St. John the Baptist, St. Peter, apparently Holy Trinity, St. Michael, St. James the Apostle, St. Martin, St. Olave, St. Mary near the castle, and St. Mary near St. John's. Of these St. John's, as is well known, was a collegiate church of Saxon foundation; the present building was begun by the Norman Bishop Peter when he fixed his see there, but he died before its completion, and it remained in its unfinished condition until some time towards the end of the twelfth century, when it was more or less completed. Lucian relates how he and others waited in the "atrium" of the church, which proves that the original of the present beautiful porch (restored after the fall of the tower) was in existence in his time at any rate. St. Peter's occurs in Domesday;¹ it was the city church, and contained an official seat for the Mayor. Its advowson belonged to St. Werburgh after 1081. Lucian seems to mention a vicar, "Andrew, the devoted servant of the apostle, who served long at the holy altar in the church of St. Peter." The list of vicars does not extend so far back as the twelfth century, so that we are unable to confirm it, but doubtless we may accept this name as a small contribution to the history of Chester on the part of our monk.² In the same context, moreover, is mentioned, "Walter, the deacon of the little church of Christ," who also lived long in performance of God's service. This church of Christ, it is explained, was

¹ According to tradition a church to SS. Peter and Paul existed on the site of St. Werburgh's in Roman times, and was moved to the centre of the city when St. Werburgh built her nunnery. This, however, can only be accepted as a legend.

² Since writing the above, I find that even this is known otherwise. "Andrew the chaplain of St. Peter's" is a witness to a document of St. Mary's nunnery of c. 1200, printed by Mr. Fergusson Irvine in the *Chester Arch. Soc. Trans.*, x. (1904), 16, and mentioned by Mr. Simpson in his *St. Peter's Church, Chester* (1909), pp. 68-9. See also *Chester Arch. Soc.*, xiii. 98.

built by Him to defend St. Peter's from the sea and protect it from the gates of hell ("Inferi"), and thus formed a blessed and solid foundation. This can only refer to a church lying west of St. Peter's, and the only dedication in any way suitable on this side is that to the Holy Trinity. No "Christ Church" is known in Chester until the nineteenth century. The earliest record of the existence of Holy Trinity is to be found in a charter of 1188, according to which the Rectory then belonged to the barons of Montalt (subsequently passing to the house of Stanley, but never coming to St. Werburgh's), and one "Walter" was the incumbent.¹ Surely this man must be identical with the "Walter" mentioned by our author, for, there being no record of his death or resignation, the dates fit admirably.

Although the foundations of a Norman church have been opened, the earliest notice of St. Michael's is in 1172; it was burnt down in the fire of 1180, but it must have been soon rebuilt, for Lucian tells us he celebrated or attended Mass there. It is a little difficult to account for his presence in this particular church, for it did not belong to St. Werburgh so far as is known. It is generally supposed to be identical with the "monasterium" of St. Michael given to the Augustinian priory of Norton by one of the constables of Chester in the twelfth century and confirmed by Henry III. and Edward III. No house is mentioned in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* or elsewhere, either by itself or as belonging to Norton, and probably the word means minster or church. Lucian would surely not have omitted so entirely any reference to a religious house in the long account of St. Michael's Gate if such had existed in his time, and he distinctly speaks of the "basilica" of St. Michael.²

The mention of St. Martin is specially interesting since no documentary evidence of it exists prior to 1250, though doubtless it was an early foundation. It is

¹ Ormerod (Helsby ed.), i. 327, 330. See also *Chester Arch. Soc.*, xiii. 95, 99.

² See Mr. Fergusson Irvine on "monasterium," *ibid.*, xiii. 68, and below.

thought to have belonged to St. Werburgh. St. Olave was given to St. Werburgh in 1101-1120 (1119). St. James the apostle must refer to the chapel which once existed on the south side of St. John the Baptist, and belonged to the barony of Montalt, passing from it to the crown and subsequently to the Stanleys.¹ Two hermitages built in the fourteenth century have the same dedication; one still standing on a rock just below St. John's and nearer the river; the other, beyond Dee bridge, has disappeared. Lucian states that St. Mary was honoured by three buildings in Chester. In one "comes caput civium cum sua curia pro more observat divina sollempnia"; probably the fine church known as St. Mary de Castro given to St. Werburgh by Earl Ranulph Gernons, 1128-53, still standing on the edge of the cliff, east of the castle;² the second was the Benedictine house for nuns just on the west of the castle, founded early in the twelfth century; the nuns received from the same Ranulph, Earl of Chester, a piece of land on which to build their church about 1150; the third was outside the walls "vicinam ecclesie Iohannis," no doubt the chauntry of St. Mary, later within St. John the Baptist Church, perhaps originally a separate building. Domesday mentions a "monasterium" of St. Mary's near St. John's Church, the lands belonging to which are supposed to have been merged in the chauntry. Others have believed that this was the original site of the nunnery and that it was moved early in the twelfth century to its position near the castle; this, however, does not seem likely, and Mr. Fergusson Irvine has pointed out that "monasterium" often meant a small church or chapel (see *Chester Arch. Soc.*, xiii. 68). In connection with one of these churches dedicated to

¹ This was a ruin in the seventeenth century. See Harl. MSS. 2073, foll. 99, 184 (205), also Scott's *Lectures on the Hist. of St. John*, p. 56 seq.

² The only difficulty with regard to the first of these St. Marys is that there was a chapel in the castle tower known as Julius Caesar's or Julian's. But as this was probably not built until after 1237, the church of St. Mary de Castro was no doubt used by the Earl until then. The tower and chapel still remain; the latter is now used as the store-room of the 3rd battalion of the Cheshire regiment.

St. Mary, but which the context does not reveal, Lucian tells us it was the custom for the clergy of St. John's to visit in procession on Sundays and festivals.¹

Only three religious houses outside Chester and those Cistercian are noticed by Lucian. First, Combermere on the east, founded about 1130-34; secondly, Poulton on the south, a daughter house founded in 1153 in honour of St. Benedict, and moved to Dieulacres in Staffordshire in 1215, owing to Welsh plundering raids; thirdly, Basingwerk in Flintshire on the west, founded apparently in 1157 close to the miraculous well of St. Winifred. Neither the Cistercian house of Stanlaw, founded in 1178 (and moved to Whalley about 1296, nor the Benedictines at Birkenhead and Hillbree, nor any of the Regulars are mentioned, probably only because they did not fit into the form of the Cross described and drawn by Lucian (Frontispiece), of which the three Cistercian houses and St. Werburgh's formed the four arms. It is possible, however, that the "Locus Benedictus" of the north arm of the Cross indicates not St. Werburgh but Stanlaw.

There follows on this account of the position of houses outside the walls a description of the roads outside. The traveller after passing some little way beyond the east gate is offered a choice of three roads. That which goes on straight brings him to "Villa Christi" or Christleton (the London Road); that which turns to the right, to the old ford or Aldford; that to the left, to the "vallem demonium," which, I suppose, is Hoole or Hell (? Flooker's brook). The latter was a dell or valley, and apparently inhabited by persons of ill repute. The only way, we are told, is the straight way, and St. John's points in that direction. If you stray to the right you are bitten by dragons; if to

¹ It is to be noted that not all the churches of Chester built by 1200 are mentioned, viz., St. Bridget, which did not come to St. Werburgh till after the thirteenth century, and perhaps St. Oswald, which probably belonged to it. St. Peter, St. Olave, St. Mary de Castro, and probably St. Martin, are known to have belonged to St. Werburgh. St. Michael apparently did not, nor Holy Trinity, St. James the Apostle, St. John the Baptist, and St. Mary's Chauntry.

the left, robbed by thieves, which may be pure allegory, or may possibly refer to the evil character of the inhabitants on these sides of Chester at that date.

A forest is described as "(Cestria provincia) Lime nemoris (limite lateraliter clausa)," which makes it by distinction of privilege different from the rest of England, by which is meant the County Palatine. "Lime" must be the Forest or Wood of Lyme or Lime, no longer in existence, but which seems to have been more or less of a continuation of Macclesfield Forest to the south-west, on the borders of Staffordshire and Shropshire. The name survives in Lyme Handley (though the latter is not known earlier than 1398, according to Earwaker, *East Cheshire*, ii. 291) and Audlem in Cheshire, Burslem, and perhaps the R. Lyme, on which the Staffordshire Newcastle stands. Norton-in-Hales and Betton in Shropshire lay close to it, and it is mentioned as "nemus quod Lima dicitur" in the chartulary of St. Peter's, Shrewsbury. According to a charter of Ranulph III., Earl of Chester, quoted by Leycester (*Antiquities* (1673), p. 163), it was a recognised boundary of the Palatinate in Lucian's day.¹ Our author dilates on the excellence of the Palatine Earls, who wear the crown and sword as an honour to the people, and rule on affairs of the utmost importance.

¹ The Earl granted his barons freedom from service beyond its bounds ("extra Limam"): For the above see Eyton, *Antiq. of Shropshire*, ix. (1859), 199, 367; *Collectanea Topographica et Geneologica*, I. (1834), 26; hence J. Ward, *Stoke upon Trent* (1843), pp. 20, 21, who also quotes Camden's extracts from *De Laude Cestrie*, hence J. R. Lee, *History of Market Drayton* (1861), p. 146, quoted in *Cheshire Sheaf*, II. (Ser. I.), 251. For the last reference I am indebted to Mr. R. Stewart-Brown, who has also pointed out to me a charter of 1258 granting certain forest rights in "partibus de Lym in Cestresir." It was published in the *Palatine Note-Book*, III. 208, by Mr. Beamont, who contended that "Lym" was to be read as Lymm near Warrington, and not the Forest of Lyme, which, according to Helsby's Ormerod (III. 538), was an ancient name for Macclesfield Forest. It seems to me more probable that Lyme was a separate forest, whether it lay to the north or south of Macclesfield. The latter, in my view, is more likely, and it certainly renders Lucian's remarks more intelligible. To him the "rest of England" would lie to the east and south of Cheshire rather than to the north, where it adjoined another almost independent district. Moreover, if he had required a boundary on that side he would surely have taken the river Mersey in preference to the wood that lay on its banks. No doubt he selected Lyme of all the forests, because it gave him an opportunity of a pun on the word "limes."

The events recorded, or persons named, are very few indeed. Numerous visitors, we are told, stay at the Abbey, especially those who await tide and wind to take them to Ireland, but Prince John and Philip of Worcester are the only names that occur. Nothing is heard of Archbishop Baldwin's visits to the Abbey, either in the character of Papal legate in 1187, or as preacher of the Crusade in 1188 or 1189. Giraldus too must have stayed in Chester on this and many other occasions, but he in all probability would honour his clerkly brethren at St. John's, and not the monks for whose orders he has so great a contempt. However, the great fire of 1180 does not escape notice: "Item ignis invadit plateas civium, incipit lambere lucella temporum et annorum, structa sternere, partis non parcere, pulcra planare, peccata punire, edes evertere, animos mestissimos reddere, deicere decorem, inducere vastitatem, cognicionem adventantibus tollere, confusionem manentibus importare. In memoriam venit nomen illud absque monitore, venit in mentem vocabulum venerabile, strepit populus, petit parvulus, gemit infirmus, Virgo recolitur Virgo recensetur, Virgo memoratur, quasi dormiens excitatur, quasi in viam posita revocatur, quasi in alto consistens invocatur."¹ With this may be compared Henry Bradshaw's description,² which

¹ This is the only miracle of St. Werburgh recorded by our monk, which seems to support the theory that the three passionries were drawn up after 1188. See Horstmann, *Life of St. Werburgh*, Early English Text Society (1887).

² "On sonday in mydylenton the viii houre,
Whan every parnesshen theyr churche went to
As all christen people of dutie shulde do,
A fyre by infortune rose up sodeinly,
All flamying fervent or the people dyd espy.
This fearefull fire encreased more and more
Piteously wastying hous, chambre and hall;

From place to place mervaylously rennyng
As it were tynder consuming toure and wall.

Many riall places fell adowne that day,
Riche marchauntes houses brought to distruction,
Churches and chapels went to great decay;
That tyme was brent the more part of the towne;
And to this present day is a famous opinion

is as poetical as our monk's is prosaic and dull, and yet now and then the accounts are so similar that it would seem that Bradshaw had seen Lucian's work, or both had used some other source unknown to us. The abbey appears to have been immune owing to the presence of the shrine, for neither Lucian, the *Annales*, nor Bradshaw record its destruction, as surely they would have done. On the other hand, according to a statement in the Red Book of the Abbey,¹ "the greater part of the church was in ruins, and rebuilding had proceeded no further than the choir from want of money at the end of the twelfth century. The inroads of the Welsh had deprived the monks of a valuable rectory and two manors, and the inundations of the sea [? Mersey] had been equally fatal in the Wirral and Ince." Lucian merely remarks that all harm came from the north (thus perhaps referring to the Wirral), while as to the Welsh "*novit habitator quam virulenter sepe vicinus accedens, nuditatis stimulo et famis imperio, frequentet locum, coactus comparet alimentum, et tamen recedens, oculo obliquo et animo iniquo, invidet menibus civium.*" ["The native knows how savagely our neighbour often approaches, and, stimulated by hunger and cold, haunts the place, and thus cannot help but compare the difference in supplies. Yet he retires, but with hostile glance and evil thoughts envies the citizens their walls."]

Howe a myghty churche, a mynstre of Saynt Michaell,
That season was brent and to ruyne fell."

Men prayed : women and children cried "out and wail a-way ;" St. Werburgh was appealed to ; water, engines, hooks to pull down houses, nothing was of any avail until the abbot and convent of St. Werburgh

"Toke the holy shryne in prayer and devotion,
Syngyng the letanie bare it in procession,
Compasyng the fyre in every strete and place,
Trustyng in Werburge for helpe, aide and grace."

With the result that

"The fire began to ceese—a myracle clere—
Nat passyng the place where the holy shryne
Was borne by the bretherne as playnly dyd appere."

And thus it was finally put out, and all then went in procession to St. Werburgh's shrine to return thanks to the Saint. *Lib. ii. cap. xx.*

¹ Ormerod I. 250.

In the margin, to leave us in no doubt, is added, "*De benivolentia Walensium.*" Moreover, their pastures supplied Chester market with cattle and flesh. Perhaps the very stronghold of the great Earl Ranulph III. instilled such fear and respect in the minds of the Welsh, that they confined their predatory raids and attacks to less well-defended towns or villages or abbeys. The patriotic Saxon seems equally, if not entirely, appeased by this time, unless we are thus to interpret the combat which took place before Prince John and Philip of Worcester in 1186, in which "*Anglus prevaluit.*" This, however, appears to have been a tournament rather than a serious combat, and in any case we do not know whether the conquered man was Norman, French, Welsh, or Irish, though we may surmise he was the first.

On the whole, Chester, as represented by Lucian, seems strangely little altered from the Chester of sixty or seventy years ago, before the railways made it a suburb of Liverpool and completely changed its conditions and character. It is true Wales was not menacing nor altogether inaccessible then, and sands had long filled up the harbour, but the tidal wave still rolled up every day, salmon was as plentiful and good as ever, and the fishing of it a serious though fickle industry; the market was still supplied with Welsh lamb and Cheshire farm and dairy produce, especially the famous cheese, though that is not noticed by Lucian. Its streets, laid out in the form of a cross, keep their same line even to-day with St. Peter's Church at the centre, the walls still stand in their complete circle, and while the gates, like St. Mary's nunnery, have been swept away by road improvements, St. John's still guards the eastern exit and points "the straight way to the east," and St. Michael's continues to overlook the south gate and the bridge. St. Martin's has been rebuilt and St. Olave restored, but the chapel of St. James, alas, has disappeared, though the hermitage to that saint on the rock just below, has hitherto escaped destruction. Where the all-

powerful abbey once dominated the city, now there stands the cathedral church and its precincts, where Dean in place of abbot holds his sway. The Palatinate has gone, but justice is administered from the same spot and arms still guard the castle walls, while the influence wielded by a peer of the realm has passed from the crown and sword of Palatinate earl to the strawberry leaves of a landed duke.

At the outset it was seen that this MS. guide to Chester contained far too much irrelevant matter to be printed in full, at least as a publication of the Record Society. The discourses that occupy so many of its pages might find a place among documents illustrative of mediæval thought or scholarship as expressed in sermons, but they are hardly suitable in a volume of a series of local historical records. For this reason this MS. has been carefully examined from beginning to end, and all passages that were thought to bear any reference to the history or topography of Chester and the neighbourhood have been extracted and are here printed. It is possible that some allusions to Chester may have escaped notice, for frequently they are so veiled in allegory that it is difficult to recognise them. In addition, one sermon has been transcribed in full as an illustration of the style, and the extracts have been connected by notes in brackets stating the subjects discussed in the omitted passages, in order to give the reader a general idea of the whole work and show its proportions. The Latin marginal notes of the text are inset. The English marginal notes (which are no part of the MS.) form a summary of the paragraphs, and are supplied to assist the reader. Punctuation, paragraphs, and capitals have been added to make the text more legible. The contractions have been expanded and the original spelling preserved as far as possible, except for the substitution of "v" for "u."

I am well aware of the disadvantage of such a method and especially of the shortcomings in my treatment of

it. I may plead in excuse that at the moment it was the only form in which the work could be published at all, and that I seemed to be the only person available at Bodley's Library who had any knowledge of Chester, though my acquaintance with its history is very slight.

In conclusion I should like here to express my gratitude to Mr. Madan, Sub-librarian of the Bodleian Library, who re-discovered Lucian the monk and suggested the publication of extracts from his work, and to whom I am deeply indebted for much help and advice generously offered me at all times ; to Mr. Banister, to whose expert knowledge I owe much information concerning the table to find Easter and certain curious and interesting notes on the text which I have set forth in an Appendix ; and also to Mr. W. Fergusson Irvine, formerly secretary of the Record Society, Professor Haverfield, my father and others for assistance rendered in various ways.

M. V. TAYLOR.

[PRAEMISSA QUAEDAM]

SIMPLICIBUS¹ et inexercitatis hec notatio grata foret et necessaria. Multum se volvet mundus priusquam hec evolvantur.²

Annis triginta prestum pasca notavi hic, quibus elapsis in compoto queratur.

Incarnationis dominice anno mxcxi^o Rex Ricardus venit de Alemannia in media quadragesima.

Table to find Easter.

Dominicales Litere.

Anno mxcv.	A. astans.	Dies pasce.	iiii.	Nonas	Aprilis.
Anno mxcvi.	F. Bissextilis flos.	Dies pasce.	xi.	Kalendas	Maii.
Anno mxcvii.	E. eve.	Dies pasce.	viii.	Idus	Aprilis.
Anno mxcviii.	D. deitate.	Dies pasce.	iiii.	Kalendas	Aprilis.
Anno mxcviiii.	C. cluens.	Dies pasce.	xiii.	Kalendas	Maii.
Anno mccc.	A. Bissextilis ab.	Dies pasce.	v.	Idus	Aprilis.
Anno mcccl.	G. gente.	Dies pasce.	viii.	Kalendas	Aprilis.
Anno mcccl.	F. furenti.	Dies pasce.	xviii.	Kalendas	Maii.
Anno mcccl.	E. et.	Dies pasce.	viii.	Idus	Aprilis.
Anno mcccliii.	C. Bissextilis causa.	Dies pasce.	vii.	Kalendas	Maii.
Anno mccc.	B. bemoth.	Dies pasce.	iiii.	Idus	Aprilis.
Anno mccc.	A. atri.	Dies pasce.	iiii.	Nonas	Aprilis.
Anno mccc.	G. genus.	Dies pasce.	x.	Kalendas	Maii.
Anno mccc.	E. Bissextilis exime.	Dies pasce.	viii.	Idus	Aprilis.
Anno mccc.	D. divum.	Dies pasce.	iiii.	Kalendas	Aprilis.
Anno mccc.	C. cui.	Dies pasce.	xiii.	Kalendas	Maii.
Anno mccc.	B. belue.	Dies pasce.	iii.	Nonas	Aprilis.
Anno mccc.	G. Bissextilis gladius.	Dies pasce.	viii.	Kalendas	Aprilis.
Anno mccc.	F. furit.	Dies pasce.	xviii.	Kalendas	Maii.
Anno mccc.	E. et.	Dies pasce.	iii.	Kalendas	Aprilis.
Anno mccc.	D. discordia.	Dies pasce.	xiii.	Kalendas	Maii.
Anno mccc.	B. Bissextilis bel[la].	Dies pasce.	iiii.	Idus	Aprilis.
Anno mccc.	A. ast.	Dies pasce.	vii.	Kalendas	Aprilis.
Anno mccc.	G. gere.	Dies pasce.	xvii.	Kalendas	Maii.
Anno mccc.	F. fer.	Dies pasce.	vii.	Idus	Aprilis.
Anno mccc.	D. Bissextilis domina.	Dies pasce.	iiii.	Kalendas	Aprilis.
Anno mccc.	C. clipeum.	Dies pasce.	iii.	Idus	Aprilis.
Anno mccc.	B. bellantibus.	Dies pasce.	iii.	Nonas	Aprilis.
Anno mccc.	A. astans.	Dies pasce.	ix.	Kalendas	Maii.
Anno mccc.	F. Bissextilis.	Dies pasce.	xviii.	Kalendas	Maii.

**Rex Ricardus
occisus est.
Modo hic
sumus.**

¹ Fol. iv. The punctuation and capitals of names are not those of the original MS. The Latin marginal notes of the text are inset. English marginal notes (which are not part of the MS.) are added to assist the reader. An attempt has been made to preserve the original orthography, except that "v" is here used for the "u" of the monk.

² This is in the small hand of the notes. Lucian's hand seems to begin at "Annis"; he inserted the table and its explanation.

Its explanation.

Quisquis certus est de die pasce facile debet scire precedentem septuagesimam et subsequentes rogationes ac pentecosten nisi ultra modum bavosus sit.¹

Isto² anno passus est Sanctus Thomas Cantuariæ archiepiscopus anno dominice incarnationis mclxxi³

Flos eve deitate cluens ab gente furenti
Et causa bemoth atri genus exime divum;
Cui belue gladius furit et discordia bella
Ast gere fer domina clipeum bellantibus astans.³

Expletis hiis xx octo partibus: in xx octo annis incipe rursus a capite, scilicet flos eve: prima litera partis dominicam diem ostendit eo anno. Semper annus quartus bissextilis est. Et in bissextili anno dominicalis litera que fuit duobus mensibus, Ianuario et Februario, die sancti Mathie apostoli mutatur et manet eo anno.

Ciclus aureus vel decennovenalis firmus et certus ad inveniendum pasca semper.⁴

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| i. None Aprilis. | xi. Deneseptene Kalende. |
| ii. Octone Kalende. | xii. Pridie Nonas. |
| iii. Idus Aprilis. | xiii. Novene Kalende. |
| iv. None Quaterne. | xiv. Pridie Idus. |
| v. Undene Kalende. | xv. Kalendas Aprilis. |
| vi. Quarto Idus. | xvi. Duodene Kalende. |
| vii. Terne Kalende. | xvii. Quinto Idus. |
| viii. Quatuordene Kalende. | xviii. Quarte Kalende. |
| ix. Septene Idus. | xix. Quindene Kalende Mai. |
| x. Sene Kalende. | |

¹ At the foot of the page in a late sixteenth-century hand is "Bavosus, vide pag. 14, lin. 18"; the word *bavosus* in the text is underlined.

² Fol. 2.

³ The initial letter in each word of these four hexameters corresponds to the dominical letter of the years in the Table. I have searched in vain for another example. Rhymed couplets of a similar nature are printed by S. Butcher, *Ecclesiastical Calendar* (1877), p. 25, and are, I understand, quite common, but the subject has never yet been worked out, nor a series of examples published.

⁴ For these kalendars, see Appendix, p. 75.

Incipit Liber Luciani de Laude Cestrie.¹

TEMPUS et locus et rerum lapsus sensato cuique tribuunt suadibilem, etiam sine literis, lectionem. Multiplicitas invitat oculum, varietas provocat intellectum . . .

Here begins Lucian's book in praise of Chester. History is interesting.

[Here follows a sermon or disquisition occupying six pages, of which the following is an abstract: "Wide is the field of knowledge open to man, and worthy of attention. This attainment of liberty and light is the duty of the human mind, narrow though it be, and shut in the prison of the mortal body. Our true conversation is in heaven. But human nature is weak and sinful. The Saviour offers rest to the weary and to those that labour. He calls us to Him—that is, the voice of the chief and the herald which announced happiness to all. A worthy reward awaits us. Trust in God: walk with firm steps, and help one another. God sent His ministers two and two: so also said the prophet. They helped every one his neighbour (*Isaiah* xli. 6). The way is hard. By faith we begin in doctrine, by hope we continue in perseverance, by charity we finish in joy. Deviation is easy for fools who trust only in themselves: it is easy for even the good to slip. None shall pass through who is separated from a comrade, who is wise in his own conceit, proud and presumptuous. He is mad who hopes to climb into heaven by trust in himself alone. He who wishes God as his father must take man as his brother. What is refused to the merits of one is often granted to the reverence of two. Even human acts and customs teach the great goodness of fellowship. For in loosening our interminable burdens and cares, it helps us and draws away our thoughts, and the difficulties of the way are smoothed by sympathy and friendly comfort and conversation; charity refreshes declining hope. Therefore both by God and man, he is approved who strives, and he who wishes to help is pleasing and acceptable.

Abstract of a sermon chiefly on the need of friendship.

Therefore, thinking and turning this over in my mind, I thought of sharing it with thee, my sweetest brother and lord, to whom God has granted the power of thinking more widely and freely on these things. But know that I have such an opinion of thy manners

Which leads to the author addressing his patron, "whose manners," he says, "I so appreciate

Fols. 3, 3v, 4, 4v, 5.]

¹ Fol. 2v. At the top of this page is written "Tho. Allen, D.D. (a) vide pag. 14."

that I wish to retain thy affection by gratitude.

You suggested to me the 3-syllabled word 'Cestria' that day when I was loitering after service in the porch of St. John's, which I had visited in search of rest, after hard work at the Earl's Court and attending mass at St. Michael's.

ut¹ incuntanter michi spondeam, in precordiis salvatoris de tue notionis familiaritate gaudere. Gustum gratie gravis tuli: bonum poterit exitum, Deo iubente, sinceritas aperire. Novum ingeritur oculis, quod exhibitum est ultro simplicibus animis. Neque enim lapidis instar durescit ingratum, set dulcescit illatum tue benignitatis officium suaviter et ex sinu bone² voluntatis impensum. Non excidit memorie, nec perit recordationi, quod michi ante menses aliquot, ex duricia divitum tribulanti, tripliciter in civitate trisyllaba contulisti. Nam pro responso monasterii missus et curiam comitis aditurus, post missas in basilica archangeli explicitas Michaelis, temporalis negotii certitudinem nactus, etiam venerandi Precursoris ecclesiam credidi visitandam, quo potens meritis exaudicione piissimus, eterni regis clementiam votis omnium impetraret. Ede sacra egressus cum in atrio paululum subsisterem et ex loci facie, quia puer ibi dudum literas didiceram, res humanas versari et reversari sciens, presentia preteritis compararem, tu cum de proximo transires, et literate lucis dulcedinem dissimulationis tenebris tegere non valeres, clericum probans et clarius agens, salutacione oblata, alacriter accessisti, hilariter astitisti, amabiliter deduxisti. De sinu pectoris tui venit quod honestatem refunderet, quod humilitatem saperet, quod gratiam redoleret. Fecunde unum debriabat, quod alteri de facili proflebat, quia plerumque quod nec civis attendit, peregrinus appendit. Quod unus velut parum optulit, alter plurimum reputavit, quia nichil adeo demulcet animum ut caste impensum caritatis obsequium. Fateor, eo die differenter ac varie, temporis tractus effluxit, castellum tedio set ecclesia solatio fuit; in definitione negotii distulit me turgiditas et superbia secularium, set refovit³ honestas et amor domesticorum, et quicquid lesit aula principis, lenivit uberius atrium Precursoris. Ibi sapuit in gutture

Cestria
trisyllaba
est.

Quod uni
notum
alteri
novum
est.

¹ Fol. 5, l. 19.

² Fol. 5v.

³ Fol. 6.

mentis, quantum a se differant salum maris et sinus
 Pulcher- matris; in uno turbamur, in altero consola-
 rumum; in uno docet quod tranquillitas
 clerici mur. Tempestas docet quod tranquillitas
 iudicium donet; quicquid invexit asperum fremitus
 est pelagi, mitigavit et fovit misericordia proximi.
 primum Preterea astantibus et colloquentibus nobis,
 turgere repente ex improvise, morum tuorum specimen
 postea placenter erupit; qui laici loquacis laudes
 timere (at bottom of Fol. 5v). ingestas et glorie predicabiles sancta quadam
 Parva laus superbia, vel, ut mitius dicam, dedignatione
 laus parvos libera contempsisti, et discessu tuo tanquam
 parvos dicat. importunam corniculam fugiens, ne precideretur
 Temporalis importunam corniculam fugiens, ne precideretur
 alis tibi merces altissimi, favorem venti et vana
 stultos decipit. preconia ventilasti . . .

At which time
 you showed to
 all present the
 reality of your
 good manners.

[Here follows a disquisition on the testimony of man and
 of God; with quotations from *Jeremiah* xvii. 14-17; Horace
Ep. i. xviii. 66, and elsewhere. The writer then returns to
 the narrative. Fols. 6 and 6v.]

Aderant¹ et astabant ibidem duo religionis exterioris
 ascripti titulo tonsura et tegumento, utinam interioris
 inscripti moribus et merito, qui altius estimantes actum
 tuum, compuncte provocabantur ad bonum . . .

Among them
 were two monks
 who were stimu-
 lated to good
 works.

"Caritas non repit [Quotations from St. Augustine on the worthlessness
 quia of the praise of men and a dissertation thereon, and
 celestis after on charity: which is of much greater worth than
 est, non glory among men. Charity should be ready at all hours
 tardat and places. Therefore always seize an opportunity of
 quia be- bestowing charity or of sowing the seed of grace. The
 nigna est, cost is slight and the remembrance long. Even among
 non dis- pagans this duty was recognised. Quotations from
 simulat quia Seneca that it should be a law among friends that he
 suavis who has given should at once forget, and he who re-
 est." ceives should never cease to remember.
 "Qualis fons, talis rivus." Fols. 6v, 7, 7v, l. 10.]

Itaque² recedens a te ac retractans trinum eo die
 tue sinceritatis obsequium, videlicet occursum alloquium
 et affectum; etiam interpretari cepi mecum trisil-

On withdrawing
 from you I began
 to interpret the
 3-syllabled name
 of your city, and
 consider how it
 could be made
 plain,

¹ Fol. 6v, l. 15.

² Fol. 7v, l. 10.

for the sake of
lovers of letters
and in gratitude
to you."

All other
criticism is
immaterial.

Apology to the
readers and
petition for their
mercy.

labum tue civitatis vocabulum, vertendo ac versando, si forte quod pluribus tegebatur, planum fieret; et quod latet languidos, lucidis, hoc est literas amantibus, eluceret. Iudicii tui censuram non potero formidare, qui sensa cordis inducor ex fiducia tue fraternitatis exprimere. Si male, si minus quicquam intulerim; unus risum, alter veniam prestare curabit. Et tamen si quid erit consonum ad evidentiam rerum, literatus testimoniam dabit et habitator assensum. Acceptet quisque ut voluerit, ego pauca hec tibi scribo. Ubi comune sufficit et solatur exemplum, quia quantumlibet fuerit viator simplex et sanctus, vicum et mansiones hominum tam fortunatus¹ non poterit pertransire, ut ei parcens vel deferens impudentia canum a latratu valeat abstinere. Nec tamen in eos ipse peccat aut provocat, set canes irrationibilis usus ad rabiem tumultus inflamat. Set nos meliora sperantes quia modica non parent: et terre contigua venti pertranseunt, accingamur ad reliqua simplicitatis instantia . . .

Civitas
nostra
trisilliba
est; igitur
interpre-
temur.

Qui
observat
ventum
non
seminat,
et qui
considerat
nubes
nunquam
metet.
Hoc in
Salomone.

Canes ut
canes
agunt.

[Then follow derivations of *benignus* from *bonus agnus* and *malignus* from *malo ignis eternus* and *maledictione dignus* (12 lines).]

Itaque,² benignus bono animo legit, suaviter accipit, simpliciter intelligit, et siquid fuerit corrigendum, mitis ad veniam, nisi fuerit pertinacia erroris ignoscit. Ego vero de tua tuorumque bonitate presumens, quibus consatus et fatus in Dei misericordia, temporis tractus, hactenus duxi, cum satis gratum censeam, vel calamo vel colloquio, tanquam cum karissimis, conferre vobiscum, capitalem provincie locum utinam possem preconio ad homines, prece ad Deum, clarissime comendare. Que et indigenis notior et diligentibus est³ decora. Qui meliorem querit, compede non tardatur. Tantum faciat tranquillum vale, non discedat tumultuose, casu

Scriptor
ad con-
tribules.

Cum
mare
in terras
persens-
erit
ethera
temptet.⁴

¹ Fol. 8.

² Fol. 8, l. 17.

³ Fol. 8v.

⁴ At the top of fol. 8v.

rediturus. Qui remanserint, celo teguntur. Pluvias et panem a Deo expectant.

Itaque, mi domine frater, ut michi videtur, aut propheta fuit, aut prophetam consuluit, qui civitatem tuam primus instituit, qui situm delegit, qui nomen aptavit. Ut enim de presentibus et modernis dicam, ut anteriora non taceam, ut antiqua contingam, ideo fortasse dicta

Unum Cestria, prima interpretatio. Cestria, quasi cis tria, eo quod in tribus videatur esse constructa. Trino ut constat modo, rebus attestantibus, hodie cernitur clara, quia literatum

Literatus episcopus, liberalis archidiaconus, lucidus clerus. habet episcopum, liberalem archidiaconum, lucidum clerum. Quem iccirco dicam lucidum, quia sibi invicem et ad extraneos, bonum pariter et benignum, benivolum atque benedictum, et benedicentes [*sic*] in Iohanne Baptista, dominum Iesum Christum. Si autem

Si mutatur, set nunc ita cernitur. michi obicit quis, interpretatum me quidem consequenter et recte, set non stabiliter et extente, propter rotam volubilis mundi et maliciam dierum posse fieri, ut sortiatur ipsa civitas episcopum, non ut nunc, set illiteratum, hebetem et bavosum: archidiaconum avarum, odibilem et obscurum: clerum non lucidum quidem set livore mutuo et libidinum fece, inferni clibano deputandum, queramur aliam interpretationem ad reficiendam studiosi mentem, ut si priorem contigerit deperire, consonanter posset secunda succedere.

Igitur ex usu longo et dei dono tripliciter se ostendit Cestria, quia prestat et preminet probitate procerum, pietate civium, religione monachorum. Venerabilis comes Hugo vocavit, vitalis Anselmus archiepiscopus affuit, et ad reparandam senectutem morum religio viruit atque convaluit. Si probitas non fuisset, improbitas obfuisset: si pietas dormisset, impietas delevisset: et praecipue si religio non fuisset, civitas interisset (*above this*: vel regio defluxisset). Set Deus omnipotens et invisibilis in sua maiestate eciam visibiliter et venerabiliter

The founder of the city must have been a prophet.

Interpretation of the word "Cestria." It means three divisions, which to-day are a learned bishop, an open-minded archdeacon, and an enlightened band of clerks (*i.e.* St. John's)

or upright rulers, dutiful citizens, and reverent monks established by Earl Hugh and Abp. Anselm.

God also gave Chester many guardians, the greatest among the dwellers in Paradise, and one even of the weaker sex, S. Werburgh.

Pause to expand on this and explain that if any evil overtake the city it must be attributed to the laziness and uncharitableness of the citizens.

operatur ex sua bonitate, ut cum locus idem collimitetur lividis hostibus, evidenter et excellenter muniatur a cladibus. Qui cum habeat patronos plures et precipuos de potentissimis paradisi, qui aerem salutis et diem pacis impetrent civitati, unam tamen de infirmo sexu, firmissimam sanctitate, laudabiliter et letissime providit ex suo munere, que puellari virtute et preclara virginitate refulgens, civem tuendo, civitatem tenendo contra adversa omnia, suis sufficiat meritis incolas obumbrare. Nam regis filia et sponsa regis regionem secundum nomen suum tuetur ab emulis, quia convirginalis Virginis Matris votis suis dulciter inclinatur viscera Salvatoris. Et ideo facile tuetur urbem quia sponsum habit orbis auctorem. Cui nihil arduum vel difficile, salvam et incolumem gloriosis precibus asservare, et supplicem familiam gregis sui et humilem fidem simplicis populi. Quod si pravitas nostra provocat ulcionem ad prima flagella penitentibus nobis, sanctitas illius avertet sententiam iudicis. Igitur hec secunda interpretacio si sedet animo, concedatur,¹ et si placet adici, etiam tertia connectatur. Ita tamen ut liceat pauca premittere, et ad supplementum precedentium, que animum pungunt, liberius non tacere. Nam si per frigus inertie procures languent, cives lugent, monachorum oraciones latent, si terret et turbat hostis incursio, urbis impressio, plebis eversio, amputabitur nostrum rota temporis et dierum malorum, et non dabit iocum et cachinnum, set profundum gemitum et lamentum, ut Iesu viscera deprecemur ex sinu misericordie sue, quo liceat afflictis aliquantulum respirare. Quod si malum nobis optatur ab alienis, et malum ingeritur indesinenter a nostris, et illi non cessant destruere, qui tenentur ex iure construere, non imputetur istud monachis segniter orantibus, vel sanctis in amenitate celi et regno Dei cum requie dormitantibus; set ascribatur eisdem civibus ab ingenua consuetudine

De sanctissima Werburgha.

Hoc sepe experientis tenemus.

¹ Fol. 9v.

recedentibus, et eorum aridis atque arefactis ab elemosinarum impensione visceribus . . .

[If the fiery flame of Babylon drives on the innocent and holy, it is not wonderful that the weak are scourged by their faults. The world rewards its lovers with double fruit, heaping malice on the one, the robbers, and unhappiness on the other, the victims. The rapine of the rich is hurtful, but the wheel of retribution compensates, since patience will be crowned and power confounded. The writer takes an example from the preparation of corn for bread. Only by thrashing and beating can we separate corn from chaff; loaves appear magnificent on the table while the chaff is cast into the flames. So among people. The flowery life of the rich is turned into weeping, and the humble will be exalted

"Qui legit
luget,
quia qui
rabet
ridet et
utrimque
terminatur."

and will be given grace in the palace of sweetness, who now sit in faith patiently and eat the bread of pain. The writer says this for the consolation of the citizens, and that the nobles may fear the judgment of God and monks be merciful. He quotes *Proverbs* xxviii. 15 by memory, and gives examples:

as victory in war comes not from multitude but from strength, and a well-ordered home consists not in numbers but in understanding, so peace in the city is to be obtained by heavenly mercy and good works and not by arms of nobles. Though few times will there be when there is neither fear nor sorrow, still never since the creation has heaven been shut to the prayers of the faithful. By this digression we come to the third interpretation of Chester. We explain, as far as we can, hoping for kindly criticism from our readers because they are our brothers.

The writer recalls what an old author said of a veteran admonishing a recruit to follow the example of his

"Exemplum de libro gentilium."

predecessors and to love honesty, by relating their deeds, telling him to continue the ancient days and deeds into the present time. So we must copy moderation from old examples. He quotes from the third book of *Kings* iv. 22 about Solomon's wise methods in the preparation and provision of food for his table and the amount provided. Quotes *Psalms*, "The Lord feeds me from my youth," and Solomon, "The Lord feeds me in great joy." The same God is recognised to-day and His power, &c., is not changed. He fed Jerusalem; He, too, feeds our Chester, not through Solomon's industry, but by the indulgence of the Saviour; not through the deserts of our misery, but through the mercy and holiness of our patrons, especially Peter, who offers a pasture of safety for the sheep, the faithful Shepherd driven to the cross.

A sermon on the result of giving way to the sins of the world, especially love of riches. The way to overcome them is shown.

Fols. 10, 10v, 11, to l. 25.]

Peter has established a memorial of himself in the middle of the city to protect it and encourage its inmates in good ways.

Et posuit [i.e. Petrus] apud nos memoriam suam in centro urbis, ut quasi dulcius atque¹ diligentius nobis prospiceret ex medulla cordis. Maternus et compassibilis spiritus eius, suavis affectus illius . . .

Probet oculis suis habitator.

[Being all charity, he protects the citizens from their enemy. "Thou knowest that I love Thee" (*St. John* xxi. 16) is quoted, and it is shown how St. Peter, by troubling himself with the guardianship of the people, proves the sincerity of his devotion to God the Father.]

A third interpretation of the name Chester is to be found in the three sources of its food supply—Ireland, Wales, and England.

Set² ne ultra differam et totum inferam tercia consonancia nominis Cestrie, et ipsa ex trina constat evidentialia, quia indeficiens patris bonitas ex tribus locis tanquam excurrentibus famulis nobis providet alimenta, scilicet ex insula

Tercio interpretacio Cestrie.

Hibernorum, ex vicinia Britonum, ex provincia Anglorum. Intelligat Cestria Dei donum, et non refundat ingritudinis acetum, set referat suaviter ac suppliciter munera graciaram, apertissime intuens qualiter eam Hibernus ador[n]at cum piscibus et portu maris, Britannus apportat carnes et copiam pecoris, Anglus effundit sacculos segetis. Comedat igitur cum leticia suum panem, intime laudans lucis Auctorem, non avertens animum quod ita sit, set pie advertens quam paterne superna sapientia dispensavit. Hec ego (pro certo noveris), non parvipendo, set Deum benedixerim, qui sic nobis providet in orbis extremo.

Hibernus, Britto et Anglus.

Et quia res clamat, lector assentiat, non refundat naturam, contempnens patriam suam. Immo si casus abreptum, vel vis necessitatis evexerit forte trans Indiam, tenetur ubique locorum, ex voto benivolentiae, natale solum extollere, diligere, comendare. Quod si permovet artior ac minor amenitas et aptitudo, non ideo ducatur contemptui neque odio, quia facile continget, ut superv³niens alienigena quispiam versipellis et callidus,

Naturale feras et aves suas diligere lustra et latibula.

For which the inhabitant should thank God and appreciate his native city as truly as the Cestrian traveller in India or even the stranger who becomes naturalised.

¹ Fol. IIv.

² Fol. IIv, l. 7.

³ Fol. 12.

temporis lapsu convena factus et habitator inscriptus, stulti civis vituperium augeat, et ipse subridens, cum non habeat talem, non inde recedat. Et quantum arbitror, plures sunt populi sub axe poli, quibus ignota est Cestria, quibus panis, carnis et piscis longe impar est copia, et tamen pro tempore secuntur in armis castrorum ordines, et solvere satagunt festos dies. Libet igitur inferre conclusionem quoniam sicut dixit Daniel dissolvens sompnia regis, "verum est sompnium et vera interpretatio eius," sic et nos dicimus, verum est vocabulum Cestrie et vera planatio [*sic*] eius.

De nomine diximus; de situ et habitudine anectamus. Primo videndum quod Cestria est, que edificatur ut civitas, cuius positio invitat aspectum. Que in occiduus Britannie posita, legionibus ex longinquo venientibus receptoria quondam ad repausandum fuit, et Romani servans limitem imperii, claves, ut ita dixerim, Hibernorum custodire suffecit. Nam contra aquilonare cornu Hibernie opposita, non tam crebro quam continue ob causas meantium et comoda mer-

Specula
sibi est
Cestria.

cium diversarum velis aptatis, viam aperit cursibus navium atque nautarum. Dumque orientem versus protendit intuitum, non solum Romanam ante se cathedram et imperium, verum et orbem prospicit universum, ut tanquam spectaculum proposita sint obtutibus oculorum, "forcia facta patrum, series longissima rerum"; et quicquid in orbe quibusque personis, locis, temporibus, bene gestum est cognoscatur, quod male actum est caveatur. Que a ventis quattuor

A quattuor
lateribus,
quattuor
climata
impariter
distantia.

portas quattuor habens, a [*sic*] oriente prospectat Indiam, ab occidente Hiberniam,² ab aquilone maiorem Normanniam (*written over*: Norweiam), a meridie eam (*written over*: Walliam) quam divina severitas, ob civiles et naturales discordias, Britannis reliquit angularem angustiam. Qui olim discidiis et odiis amaris Britanniam

Thus we conclude. Certain is the word Chester and true is its explanation, as certain was the king's dream and the interpretation thereof sure. (*Daniel* ii. 45.)

Of the site and plan of Chester.

It is the western limit of the Roman Empire, and its harbours hold the key of Ireland,

while on the east it looks on the whole world and observes all that happens therein, *cf. Aeneid* i. 641. Chester has four gates, which look on the east to India, on the west to Ireland, on the north to Norway, and the south to Wales, which is all of the island that is left to the Britons through their unnatural civil wars.

¹ This is above the text of fol. 12.

² 12v.

in Angliam mutaverunt, et quibus adhuc moribus fulgeant, qui vicinantur eis, cum lacrimis legunt. Habet preterea nostra Cestria ex Dei munere, ditantem atque decorantem amnem secus urbis muros pulcrum atque piscosum, et a meridiano latere receptorium navium ab Aquitania, Hispania, Hibernia, Germania venientium, qui remige Christo per laborem et prudentiam mercatorum bonis pluribus reparant et reficiunt urbis sinum, ut modis omnibus consolati per gratiam Dei nostri, etiam frequenter uberius et profusius bibamus vinum, quam illa regionum loca que gaudent provenitibus vinearum. Preterea reumate cotidiano non cessat eam revisere maris patentissima plenitudo, quam apertis et opertis latissimis harenarum campis, indesinenter grate vel ingrate aliquid mittere vel mutuare consuevit, et suo accessu vel recessu afferre quippiam vel auferre. Unde nuper piscium copiam provincialibus attulit et piscatoribus vitam ademit. Qui avidi preter modum, aquam biberunt ultra modum et dum fretum exhaustire volunt, fluctibus absorti sunt. Adhuc etiam nostros serenat obtutus speciosissimum maris litus, mirabili Creatoris potencia, nunc existens aqua, nunc arida, ubi parente pelago Potentis imperio, quantumlibet consuetis,¹ tamen ampla sensatis datur ammiratio, quod eodem die, eodem loco, et aptissimum iter facit Deus viatoribus ad gradiendum, et altissimum gurgitem aquatilibus ad natandum. Quod aliquis delicatus aut durus, nesciens naturam maris, credere fortasse contempneret, si non orbis astrueret, oculus comprobaret.

Habet etiam plateas duas equilineas et excellentes in modum benedictæ crucis, per transversum sibi obvias et se transeuntes, que deinceps fiant quattuor ex duabus, capita sua consummantes in quattuor portis, mistice ostendens atque magnifice,

Omne regnum in se divisum, desolabitur.

De amne diva.

De maris accessu et recessu.

Hoc vere contigit et habitator movit.

De planicie harenarum.

Hunc rate piscator, pede nunc parat ire viator. Mortuus nil manducat, stultus nil considerat.

De plateis Cestrie.

Chester also has beneath its walls a beautiful river abounding in fish, with a harbour on its south side where ships from Aquitaine, Spain, Ireland, and Germany unlade their cargoes of wine and other merchandise.

The daily tide provides a flourishing fishing trade, and its rising and falling makes a wide expanse alternately of water and of sand.

Chester has two straight streets which cross in the centre and make four, each having its origin in a gate, thus being symbolical of the Cross and the four Evangelists.

magni Regis inhabitantem gratiam se habere, qui legem geminam novi ac veteris testamenti per misterium sancte crucis impletam ostendit, in quattuor evangelistis. Quod non potest culpari, confictum, eo quod intus et interius veritas rerum pascit aspectum. Neque in hoc timemus iudicem iustum, quia debet esse veritate solidum, quod traditur memorie literarum. At si quis alienus captat experimentum, accedens et probans,

Lector
commone-
tur.

uno oculo videat literam et altero locum. Michi multo amplius ex voto fervide ad Deum voluntatis incumbit, intimis ad eternum patrem optare

visceribus, ut si homo compositus urbem dilectam intueri, necne, desiderat, ille qui simplex est Deus, tueri non desinat et civibus karissimis placidissimus protector sit, qui plateas eorum in modum gloriose crucis aptavit. Hoc simul intuendum quam congrue in medio urbis, parili

De foro.

positione cunctorum, forum voluit esse venalium rerum, ubi, mercium copia complacente precipue

Deus rex
noster
ante
secula
operatus
est
salutem
in medio
terre.

victualium, notus veniat vel ignotus, precium porrigens, referens alimentum. Nimirum ad exemplum panis eterni de celo venientis, qui natus secundum prophetas "in medio orbis et umbilico terre," omnibus mundi nationibus pari propinquitate voluit apparere. Illud precipue prudens aliquis gaudenter attendat, quod Deus omnipotens

paterna bonitate prospexit; et ad salutem civium, altius et eminentius ordinavit. Nam si quis stans in fori medio,

Caritati
sic est.
Cavilla-
tioni
aliquid
deest.

vultum vertat ad ortum solis, secundum ecclesiarum positiones, inveniet Iohannem Domini precursorem ab oriente, Petrum apostolum ab occidente, Werburgam virginem ab aquilone, Archangelum Michaellem a meridie. Nichil illa scriptura verius, "super muros tuos Ierusalem constitui custodes." Nichil hac evidentia dulcius, cui tales Deus contulit servatores. Sollempne munus: suave misterium. Confortat animos et pascit intuitum.

The market in the centre of the city is symbolic of Christ's birth—the eternal Food—in the centre of the earth.

From the centre of the market may be seen on the east St. John the Forerunner, on the west St. Peter the Apostle, on the north St. Werburgh the Virgin, on the south St. Michael the Archangel.

[Here follows a sermon, of which the following is a brief abstract:—It is madness not to see the fruitful favour of God,

Sermon mostly
on the help of
the saints.

Call on Chester
to recognise its
treasures.

Thus is shown
God's protection
of the city,

to despise one's own country and admire a stranger's; falsely exaggerating when at a distance things that are small "Iudicet close by, like those who said: We know this man rectus." whence he is: but none knows whence Christ comes.¹ Human stupidity would be punished intolerably if divine justice met our deserts. What is kindness would be severity; what is love would seem hardness. But that fount ever flows which neither began nor ceases in creating. God makes the sun to shine on good and on evil, and the rain to fall on the just and the unjust, and often spares the bad for the sake of the good. God holds up mercy to us even when he is about to cast us on to the edge of the sword and that through the patronage of the saints as if he did not see all the mounds of sin cast up in us. The treasure of man is gold and silver, the treasure of God is the flesh [*sic*] and charity of the elect. Where the treasure of man is, there will his heart be (*St. Matt.* vi. 21): where the treasure of God is, there love will not be wanting. He who despises the treasure of God refuses the heart of God.² Whoever is of God is known in all places and writings. From places which do not appreciate this treasure, God removes it to worthier places. No one likes the place of his treasure to be torn up by wild beasts and destroyed: if it is dug up, it is scattered.³ He continues to call on Chester to make the best of its gifts, lest they be taken away. And if according to our law a human injury is made good by placidity and kindness of a peaceful mind, much more fully and freely does the discipline of our faith show its piety by good works.⁴ With humble minds and raised hands meditate on this treasure, by entrusting which to you it is to be hoped God in His kindness will deliver the city from all enemies, pests, poverty and stripes. The author exhorts the citizens to cherish the favour of the eternal Father: does so vehemently, because he loves his fellow-citizens. God has handed over the chief guardianship to watches who remove all fear from the city. One will be sufficient to meet any enemy. He wishes our preservers to share his omnipotence and goodness. Whose struggle is victory, guardianship security, and very beings a blessing. Quotes St. Paul (*Philippians* iv. 13).⁵ Who reigns with God on the mount easily represses his enemies in the valley. Thousands on thousands wait on Him who cares for us with ineffable kindness. Sharers of His eternal majesty, appointed to guardianship of mortals, easily expel anything that hurts those predestined to life. Scripture witnesses that whatever God wishes in heaven or on earth He does. He places all powers of the air under the feet of His saints, who protect by

¹ Fol. 14.

⁴ Fol. 15.

² Fol. 14v, l. 4.

⁵ Fol. 15v.

³ Fol. 14v, line 15.

their prayers and patronage. Therefore whoever is less in the kingdom of God is greater than all hostile power. It crushes whatever rises against its author and is swollen with pride. And as often as wanderers call for help, it is freely and quickly given to the glory of God. The writer praising God to His citizens quotes *Book of Wisdom*, xii. 18: ¹ "Thou art the giver of virtue, who judgest with tranquillity and disposeth us with great respect." May more ardent devotion and giving of thanks spring up in my citizens, that the kind heart of the Father may be answered by the simple charity of the sons. Those who undertake to guard us in dusty (= mortal) places are glorified in heaven, nor do they scorn to pity the lowest valley (*ardua vallis*) who can always look on the highest hills (*ardua montis*). There they have light and joy: here compassion accompanies them. An account follows of the joys of heaven where all things are in order and arranged, where is love and charity and justice for all. Quotation from *Job* xi. 19, &c. Truly healthgiving is the command of honour, of love, glory, sweetness of grace and healing, that the children of one father are united in happy unity, and those who bear the toils of mankind gain peace and rest. Some rule, others fight, part in honour, part in pain; those who through the experience of happiness can judge of the peace of the eternal state, cannot but show a heart of love to those fighting.]

and the benefit
of the guardian-
ship of the
saints.

Igitur² cum eleganter astruat scriptura nostra, "nichil in terra fit sine causa" [*Job* v. 6], insipienter ambigitur,

Incipit de eminentis cause sinibus emanasse, muralium
quattuor nostrorum custodiam talibus auctorem omnium
portis tutoribus credidisse. Ecce enim civitatem
cestrie nostre.

Seriatim nostram, ut predictum est, sanctis servatoribus
de velut quadruplici sorte comissam, ab oriente
Iohanne, suscepit clementia Domini precursoris, ab
Petro Virgine occidente celestis potencia ianitoris, ad aquilonem

et Angelo. vigil virginis pulcritudo, ad meridiem mira angeli
claritudo. Plures preterea sunt qui nos ambiunt et

Plures adiuvant ad salutem, set honore et reverentia
sancti omnium, quibus unum caput Christus est³ ob
Cestriam quadrati misterium quatuor ad cardinalem
servant, ponere placuit firmitatem.
omnes
boni,
omnes
benivoli,

set
quattuor paululum separatus in latus austri, qui olim

The four
guardians of
the four gates,
besides others,
with Christ at
the head—as
shown by the
cruciform plan—
protect our city.

¹ Fol. 16.

² Fol. 16v, l. 16.

³ Fol. 17.

And it is most fitting for St. John to be placed a little to the south of the entrance to the eastern street.

fugit in terris tumultum populi, vere vacans et videns quam suavis est Deus, diligenter attendit ortum sideris matutini, quod de virginali talamo procedens, spiritu et sanguine nobis oriri complacuit, precursor eiusdem sideris, Iohannes Baptista preciosus, propheticis meritis et pre-dulcibus, venerabilis nimium et preclarus. . . .

inducuntur propter exigentiam et dissectionis [or dissectionis] materiam.

A long sermon on St. John the Baptist.

[Here follows a sermon on St. John Baptist, and the fitness of his position at the east gate, occupying twelve pages, that is, right up to the end of Fol. 23.]

"De porta Iohannis Baptiste."

So wonderful is St. John; he is indeed worthy of guarding and cherishing Chester.

Tantus¹ igitur et tam mirabilis noster Iohannes, dives in Dei lumine et dignior omni laude, potens in aula regis, pius et misericors ad incolas pulveris, precursor eterni principis, preclarus excellentibus meritis, ipse dignatus est Cestriam in sua sorte suscipere et suavis-simis gracie ac tutele sue sinibus confovere. . . .

[And so in the same strain, discoursing of the kindness of St. John in guarding the east gate; and the fitness of it.]

St. John, distrusting his own powers, as *Jonah* (iv. 11), took as comrade and help St. Peter, the gate-keeper of Paradise, and summons him to the defence of the city, as Solomon in *Proverbs* ix. 3.

Ne² enim ad tuitionem nostram velut fidens sanctitati sue, videretur sibi solus sufficere, vel dedignans socium de consortio non curare, ad pacem pupillorum qui revera secundum Ionam "nesciunt quid sit inter dexteram et sinistram," et ad maiorem diligentiam tutamenti, Petrum apostolem assumpsit portarium paradisi, ut pro suscepto ministerio, coram Dei iudiciaria sede, facilius ambo simul infirmas actiones civium excusarent, fortius ulciones averterent, fecundius gratiam impetrarent.

Itaque probantes se ministros Christi et dispensatores misteriorum Dei, unus in specula, alter in cathedra, tanquam se invicem hortantur sociali gaudio, et dicit Iohannes Petro:—Ego sortitus preconalem gradum, et tu susceptus ad pastoralia gregum, ad honorem Dei et leticiam angelorum, certemus alterutrum de salute animarum. Ego secundum scripturam Salomonis "vocabo ad arcem et menia

Iohannes Petrum alloquitur.

¹ Fol. 22v, l. 11.

² Fol. 23, l. 6.

civitatis," tu iuxta spiritum salvatoris, fervid [*sic*] ac fideliter eterni pascas populum regis. . . .

[This continues.]

Michi¹ obtigit ad custodiam porta solis, tibi credita est porta maris, quem marinis fluctibus incumbentem maris conditor misericorditer evocavit, et ministerium tuum mirabiliter permittavit, ut succederet tibi pro captura piscium conversio populorum, et deinceps foret studio et amor pro salo aquarum salus animarum. . . .

The gate of the sun has been entrusted to me (St. John), the gate of the sea with the catching of fish to you (St. Peter).

[The same goes on.]

Itaque² dives in genere noli esse pauper in specie, set institutus ab eterno Domino, ut saluti tocius orbis invigiles, bonitati tue creditam Cestriam velut Dei castra custodias. Tuta maneat, te habens vigilem, contra nocentium impetum et noctis horrorem. . . .

When you (Peter) guard Chester, the camp of God, it is safe against all attacks or horrors of the night.

[The same continues.]

Civium³ sit videre, et prudenter advertat saltem literatus habitator, Domini vocem "tu es Petrus et super hanc petram⁴ edificabo ecclesiam meam," quanta verborum consequentia, quanta rerum evidētia, infra muros Cestrie magis in occidis, et propius occidentem iuxta portam maris condita sit ecclesia Domini salvatoris, revera tanquam firmitas et fundamentum basilice Petri apostolorum principis, ut videlicet nomen dignatio derivaret, rationem rebus ostenderet, oculus solem videret, suavitatem operum Dei sensatus agnosceret, et excitatis de sompno lectoribus approbata veritas eluceret. Itaque "metientes," secundum literam Pauli, "nosmet ipsos nobis," ut temporibus videamur concordare modernis, quamvis diu modernum esse non possit, quod maris instar rota mundi vertit ac volvit, attestatur et astruit stilum nostrum etiam venerandorum canicies sacerdotum, Walterum loquor et Andream, quorum unus in edicula Christi, alter in basilica Petri, ille decanus diu extitisse dinoscitur, iste devotus

Nichil
tam
nocivum
quam
Domino
esse in-
gratum.

The suitability to Chester of Our Lord's words to St. Peter, "upon this rock will I build my church."

Sacerdo-
tale testi-
monium.

To come to more modern times, quoting 2 Cor. x. 12, our view is confirmed by the aged priests, i.e. Walter and Andrew. The former is known to have been long the dean of the little house of Christ, the latter the devoted servant of the Apostle in St. Peter's church.

¹ Fol. 24v, l. 3.

² Fol. 26v, l. 18.

³ Fol. 27, l. 23.

⁴ Fol. 27v.

Both were ministers of God and now reap the reward of their labours in heaven. Thus it is clear to those who know the place how literally the rock bears St. Peter and how Christ, to strengthen the kingdom of his apostle and protect him from the sea and the gate of hell, erected a building to himself as a base and foundation for St. Peter.

famulus apostoli scitur, qui longo temporum tractu sacris altaribus ministrantes, propicio salvatore, felici gradu functi sunt, et arras iam, ut videtur, divine bonitatis adepti laborum suorum thesauros ad celestra [*sic*] transtulerunt. Istis liquet et ceteris qui norunt locum et loci situm, quam iocunde luceat ibidem veritas promissorum, quomodo velut literaliter pariat et portet petra Petrum, quomodo verum principium et magister humilitatis apostoli sui firmaverit principatum, statuerit edificium muniens a mari et protector contra portas inferi, quam benigne fecerit semetipsum basim benedictionis oculis intelligentium, et soli¹dum apostolice fidei fundamentum. . . .

Ecclesia Christi quasi basis ecclesie Petri.

[Then follows a comparison between the position of St. Peter's at Rome and at Chester, to fol. 39.] "de Roma et Cestria, collatio."

Comparison of St. Peter's at Rome and at Chester, showing the effects of his patronage in both.

The reader knows how the neighbouring Welsh, forced by hunger, approach the city and then withdraw.

Ibi² magnificus toti mundo, hic nobis murus a confinio maligno. Ibi respondet consultis Orientalium et Grecorum, hic retundit assultus gravium emulorum. Ibi tanquam librum tenet³ et legit literas, hic lete subveniens eludit lanceas. Novit habitator quam virulenter sepe vicinus accedens, nuditatis stimulo et famis imperio, frequentet locum, coactus comparet alimentum, et tamen recedens oculo obliquo et animo iniquo, invidet menibus civium. . . .

De benivolentia Walensium.

[Continuation of the comparison between St. Peter's at Rome and at Chester. Fols. 28, 29 to 29^v l. 9.]

Peter built his house in the West, that he might behold his flock in front of him and have a sister island behind him.

Sedet igitur nobiscum benignissimus, tanquam servans limitem mundi ad laudem Dei, ut et Britannia benedictum in nomine Domini crederet, et ne simplex Hibernia fidei saganis relicta recideret. Sic Petro placuit aulam suam erigere in finibus occidentis, ut e cancellis suis oves suas a fronte prospiceret, et a tergo germanam insulam contineret. . . .

[The comparison is continued: at Rome Peter settles the disputes of litigants, at Chester disposes of fugitives and

¹ Fol. 28.

² Fol. 28, l. 21.

³ Fol. 28^v.

refugees. Lastly, Rome rejoices in strength, Chester in rest. The writer then addresses a prayer to St. Peter, and afterwards discourses on such themes as, at fols. 33-34v., on St. Peter's in Rome; fols. 34v-35v, St. Peter, the martyr; fols. 37v-38, Christ is the gate and Peter the gate-keeper. Both suffered on the Cross, etc.

To fol. 38, l. 17.]

Hec prope portam Petri dicenda duximus, Dei nostri bonitatem humiliter deprecantes, ut civitas Cestria, que tanti ducis antiquitus templum sibi struxit in terris, patrocinantis affectum experiatur in celis. . . .

Huc usque de porta Petri.

Thus we leave the gate of Peter, praying God that Chester, which of old built a temple to Peter, may enjoy his patronage in Heaven.

[Here follows a reference to the two sticks of wood which the widow of Zarephath was collecting when she met Elijah, which seemed to symbolise the two pieces of wood of the Cross.]

Comodet¹ itaque nobis hec duo ligna, ut tradamus unum precursori Domini atque ipsius portario, alterum vero committamus Virgini et Arcangelo, quatinus a ventis quattuor pie nobis et provide consulentes, consolationem gratie et protectionem custodie optineant sedi sue et civitati nostre, ut priores duo unum lignum erigant in porrectum et directum ad lineam veritatis, sequentes duo alterum lignum applicent et uniant ad leticiam caritatis. Sicque fiet ut in exitu portarum et extensione platearum nostrarum, commemoretur nobis crucis vitale signum et venerandum misterium, et quod in orbe² credentibus pacem et presidium,

Intelligat prudens lector consequentiam.

In Cestria est evidens in plateis.

Incipit de porta Virginis.

hoc in urbe manentibus salutem infandat [*sic*] et gaudium. Set iam duabus portis Iohannis et Petri, videlicet orientali et occidentali, utrumque pertactis, ad Virginis portam deinceps veniundum est, ut etiam inde aliquid dicere satagamus, prout dicendum dederit Virginis sponsus. Ubi veemens amor indigenarum trahit affectum, set dignitas materie terret elinguem, volentem aliquid reponere ad competenciam loci, et civium caritatem. Verum quia erudito lectori multum dissimiliter

One of these two pieces of wood (*i.e.* those collected by the widow of Zarephath, 1 *Kings* xvii. 10) we hand over to the forerunner and gatekeeper of Christ, the other to the Virgin and Archangel. And the symbolism of the Cross is maintained in the extension of the streets outside the gates.

But now, having dealt with the gates of St. John and St. Peter, we come to that of the Virgin, the north gate. The difficulty of treating the subject suitably. Differences of style, obvious to the learned reader, are unnoticed by the stupid.

¹ Fol. 38v, l. 14.

² Fol. 39.

sapit stilus et stilus, qui omnem literam componit ad libram, et ibi circumferre satagit exploratoris oculum, ubi bavosus et brutus nec suspicatur aliquid inquirendum, demus tamen opera, ut literatis sensibus, non tam limatum eloquium, quam lucida porrigatur evidentia rerum. Res et enim ipse multociens etiam sine literis, habent linguam suam, que interius absque lectione vel voce, mentem oblectentur humanam. Itaque portam aquilonis Virgini assignavit miris rationibus omnium rerum conditor et iustissimus ordinator Deus . . .

Yet often the subject itself delights the human mind without indications in books or speech.

Vere dicitur hoc, nullus color ceco quia caret oculo.

A discourse on virginity and on St. Werburgh, "our virgin."

[The virginity of St. Werburgh is compared to that of the Madonna. Then follows a discourse on virginity in general, with innumerable quotations from ancient history, mythology, and the Old and New Testament and mediæval history. A long discourse on St. Werburgh (fol. 50) follows. From that the author goes on to the birth of the Son, and deplores sterility, *i.e.* the lack of good works. St. Werburgh followed the example of the Virgin in that she remained unmarried.

Fols. 39-52v, l. 11.]

Our Virgin despised glory among the English (Angles) to enjoy glory among angels.

Hec nostra Virgo regnum et gloriam contempsit Anglorum, ut haberet gloriam angelorum, ut sicut in parte orationis litera et sillaba sumebat augmentum, ita per spiritum adoptionis, eternum in laude et leticia perciperet monimentum. . . .

[And so on to l. 19.]

She brought forth no son, but produced a numerous people which the spacious church and sacred hall can scarce contain.

O felix sterilitas et beata fecunditas, felici germine gaudens et prole multiplici, te sponsum habens filium Dei. Non ei genitura gemitum intulit, non fletum partus indixit. Nullum peperit filium et numerosum producit populum, quem ampla basilica et aula veneranda vix capiat, qui maternum eius subsidium precibus assiduus in ¹ fide nostri Redemptoris implorat. . . .

[This discourse on the Madonna and St. Werburgh continues to fol. 54, l. 2.]

It behoves me as an *alumnus* especially to sing her praises.

Michi attinet impensius, quia virginee sum regionis alumnus, gratulanter intendere gloriosis eius meritis

¹ Fol. 53.

ac virtutibus, immo etiam prope fiduciam indulgentie
miserationum tuarum, sanctorum tuorum vestigiis,
semper esse subditus et substratus. . . .

[And so in the same strain to l. 14.]

Urgetur nauta in periculo maris, calandra concutitur
fluctibus et procellis, ventus vertitur in furorem,
De peri- fluctibus et procellis, ventus vertitur in furorem,
clitanti- vita vergit in mortem. Invitat ad no[s]t[r]a
bus. subsidia innumeris angoribus experta clementia,
erga basilicam venerandam intendit oculum, attollit
affectum, sternens humillimum votum, ad virginis tem-
plum. Illuc spes, inde consolatio. . . .

In all danger we
immediately
turn to her
church for help.

[And so again to fol. 54v, l. 7.]

Item ignis invadit plateas civium, incipit lambere
De foco lucella temporum et annorum, structa sternere,
furente partis non parcere, pulcra planare, peccata
qui nulli punire, edes evertere, animos mestissimos red-
favet. dere, deicere decorem, inducere vastitatem, cognicionem
adventantibus tollere, confusionem manentibus im-
portare. In memoriam venit nomen illud absque moni-
tore, venit in mentem vocabulum venerabile, strepit
populus, petit parvulus, gemit infirmus, Virgo recolitur,
Virgo recensetur, Virgo memoratur, quasi dormiens ex-
citatur, quasi in viam posita revocatur, quasi in
Were- alto consistens invocatur ; non est in populo tam
burga quia simplex necque fatuus, qui tunc nesciat ethimo-
quia tuens logiam nominis eius.
urbem.

When fire in-
vaded the streets
and destroyed
everything, im-
mediately her
name came into
the mind. She
was called on and
her shrine placed
in the streets,
and thus was
recognised the
etymology of her
name, for she
answered the
prayers of her
petitioners.
(This is the
fire in 1180
described by
Henry Brad-
shaw.)

Ipsa comuni necessitate quasi fortissima prece
pulsatur et petitur advenire, flammaram insanias miti-
gare, dampna, pauperiem, opprobrium declinare, nichil
amplius formidatur quam ne differat vel moretur. Ibi
necessario innotescit eius nominis evidentia, cum pro
suis orans sicut de ipsius sponso legitur, exauditur pro
sua reverentia. . . .

[And so to fol. 55, l. 7.]

Set quam in scriptura Iob tam eleganter asseritur
"nichil in terra fit sine causa," utinam perpendat et

The cultured Cestrian (quoting *Job* v. 6) will understand why God gave the guardianship of the north gate to a maid.

For all harm comes from the north (*Jeremiah* i. 14); St. John, St. Peter, and St. Michael came to meet this evil, but a maid took up her stand in the dangerous place.

Chester has also other fit watch-keepers—St. James the Apostle, St. Martin the Confessor, St. Olave,

attendat saltem literatus Cestrie habitator, quo iudicio, qua dispositione, portam aquilonis virginali custodie Deus omnipotens voluit consignare. Cum enim Ipse dixerit per prophetam, "ab aquilone pandetur omne malum super faciem universe terre," videtur non solum consequens, set etiam necessarium, contra fornacem dolorum, non tam virilem manum et dexteram quam et virtutem robustam, validam, numerosam vigilanter opponere. Ubi namque omne malum panditur, et omnis malicie auctor insidiatur, percutit et bachatur unius virginis simplicitas et innocentia, sustinere vel sufficere a quo crederetur? Veniret contra aquilonis maliciam frigidam, invidiam fervidam, saltim precursor ille, qui regem errantem prophetica auctoritate corripuit, veniret Petrus, qui concilia calcans impiorum principibus restitit, veniret ipse Michael ad nota (*sic*) luctamina, qui draconem vicit. Numquid in parte et ex parte periculosa, virginem statuisset dicetur ceca fortuna? Aut de tribus prenominitis¹ si nullus dimittere debuit portam suam, habet plures alios nostra civitas ex munere Salvatoris vigiles idoneos et excellentes, assumeret sibi contra maliciam aquilonis servatorem, Iacobum apostolem, vel certe confesorem Martinum, aut etiam Olavum amabilem atque preciosum. . . .

Quare virgo ab aquilone.

In *Ieremia* est frigida cisterna qui malicia ibidem interpretatur.

[It is asked what would happen to Chester if St. Werburgh wanted to sleep? St. Werburgh is compared to the Virgin; a prayer is offered to St. Werburgh to open the eyes of the citizens. Judith and Holofernes are compared to St. Werburgh and the Devil; but St. Werburgh had the greater victory, because a virgin is greater and better than a widow. Assur came from the mountains and fell to Judith, so the devil came from the north and fell to St. Werburgh—not to the martyrs Laurence or Maurice, nor the apostles, nor the patriarchs nor prophets, but Werburga, the daughter of Wulfhere. A passage on the wiles of the devil and on the marvel that a virgin should be exposed to them for the sake of the citizens.

Fols. 55v-58v, l. 19.]

¹ Fol. 55v.

Perpende, O civitas karissima, intimis visceribus michi specialissima, quanta consequentia et aptitudine ab omni tibi latere benignus Dominus Christus voluit providere. Amicam unicam columbam suam ad tuam voluit custodiam deputare. Dilectam decoram desponsatam suam pro tua securitate voluit¹ vigilare. Ne autem videretur in celestibus suorum civium curam dimittere, et quasi sompni suavitate correpta dormire, monachorum decus, qui diem de nocte faciant, in urbe placuit ordinare. Quorum cordibus atque vocibus assidue Deus laudatur, virgo memoratur, civitas roboratur. . . .

De
monachis
Cestrie.

and lest St. Werburgh should sleep, she established a choir of monks to guard the citizens day and night by their prayers.

[The monks pray at night to the virgin Werburga who guards the sleep of the citizens; and similar remarks.

To fol. 59v, l. 12.]

Quod scimus loquimur, quod vidimus attestamus, bona virginis familia et benedicibilis (*sic*) corus. Ingredientibus letus, benignus animus, hilaris et amabilis vultus. Panis prepositus, devotus cum decore discubitus largitus et liberalis accessus. Suavitas in ministerio, venerabilitas in obsequiis, in presentia paradisus. In affectu eorum puritas, sinceritas, gracia. In moribus ordo, requies, disciplina. Accenderet intuentem exemplum, compunctio, doctrina. Reficeret bonitas omnem humanam mentem, velut loci profluens ex natura. Demon si recumberet, moveretur obsequiis, si obduratio pateretur. Homo talibus si non dulcesceret, peior et perversior bestia censeretur. Ideo laudamus adletas [athletas?] viros, quia pondere armorum et² pertinacia hostium non gravantur. Ideo miramur Cestrenses monacos, quia iugi iocunditatis sue opere non lassantur. Provincialibus hilares, procul venientibus alacres, prompti visceribus et patentes. Frequens et tritum triclinium ignotis notum, quia naturalem habent bonitatis affectum. Raro vacant a confluentium turbis, raro feriantur a cuneis et catervis, rebus exponunt regulam regis. Si

Nichil
iustius
ingrati
pena.

In praise of the monks of St. Werburgh, their hospitality and generosity.

Quod
amicis
verum,
amaris
onerosum.

¹ Fol. 59.

² Fol. 60.

multum tibi fuerit, abundanter tribue. Si exiguum, et hoc hilariter impartire. . . .

[And thus continued to l. 21.]

Pari litera lucet in rebus qualiter assidue vel in Hiberniam recedentes, vel in Angliam revertentes, ibi suave capiant refrigerium, sollempne contubernium, a sole et imbris tectum, utrumque dedicantes et moras¹ pariter et meatum. Ibi stativas ordinant, ibi tempora nectunt, concordiam venti et maris expectant. Dat regia virgo refectionem, fatigatis requiem, fessis ab unda vel itinere reparationem. Recedens inde retenta memoria, reparatus apud se dicet "Populus iste Domini est," et de terre eius egressi sunt corus sanctorum, liberale collegium, "mella fluant illis, ferat et rubus asper amomum." Si fuerit homo, reputabit. Si pecus fuerit, redditor Deus erit. Inter tot venientes, impossibile est, ut ipse non veniat qui dixit, cuius dictum non preterit, "Hospes fui et suscepistis me." Quod sensum alium vel certe veriore non habet, quam "Vos cives eritis in mea civitate." Omnibus par votum est, regem suscipere non solum libenter set etiam optanter hospicio, certis quod uberius suo remunerentur obsequio. Quis regem celi fovere ducat non solum fructuosum set etiam gloriosum? Aut ipse patietur panem artum et aquam brevem, ubi viderit fervidam fidem.

Edes denique memorata velut Dei castra foveat in Cestria, vidimus momentis nostris, quod utinam maneat, sempiternis. Quod si quis sciolus rerum et locorum permiserit evidenter et breviter inferre verum, cognationem exigit porta cum patria, quod cuidam innocuit experientia propria, qui plusculum in pane contractior et constrictus a panis fuit erogatione semotus. Illud etiam intuendum, qualiter ipsum virginis monasterium ambiatur quatuor mansionibus alborum monachorum, qui reginam celi profitentur Dominam, ad consolationem presentis exilii,

Travellers to or from Ireland find a resting-place at St. Werburgh's, and when they leave they will appreciate the hospitality offered them and quote *Ezekiel* xxxvi. 20, *Virgil, Ecl.* iii. 89, and *St. Matt.* xxv. 35.

St. Werburgh is surrounded by four houses of white monks; thus the symbolism of the cross is carried outside the walls. The longer arms extend east and west to Cumbermere and

Si hoc contueris cur non confiteris?

Nullus mutus nisi qui malignus.

Recordetur qui intelligit quod hic legit, quod scriptor honeste tangit.

¹ Fol. 60v. See frontispiece.

² Fol. 61.

et requiem futuram.¹ Nam a fronte (Cumbermare, *written above*), et a tergo (Basinwerc, *written above*), et a lateribus ad evidentissimum modum crucis, competenter et pulcre distinctis spaciis, a quatuor monasteriis, velut preconum laudibus comendatur, ut alnum et album sit, quicquid medium invenitur. Quippe instar vitalis ligni et dominici patibuli, que ab oriente in occidentem protensa sunt, paululum longiora sunt, et que ab aquilone in austrum, iuxta transversum crucis lignum, breviora sunt.

Basingwerk, the shorter, south and north to Pulton and St. Werburgh's or Stanlaw, with Chester in the centre.

Que percipit lector, nonne perspicit habitator? Quociens recordamur animo reparamur. Rebus ostenditur quod stilus loquitur. . . .

[And so to l. 16.]

Eat igitur ipse cum pompa magna evolans super alas aquilarum, crastino revertatur ab India, afferat inde bullientes nugae et impudentissima mendacia. Enarret suis, placent vecordibus frivola de longinquo. Michi permittat proxima tangere, vicina cantare, presertim cum dixerit aquarie mulieri verbum Altissimi, "Si scires donum Dei." Arbitror donum Dei confiteri Domino super donis Dei. Quod nullus facit infelix et ingratus, omnis facit humilis et beatus. Sic enim² donum Dei crescit, et cui datum fuerit ind[e] ditiescit. Ille igitur repellat qui non cernit, ille reputet qui discernit. Quociens ex prefatis monasteriis, negociorum quis funibus tractus post explicitas vel dilatas curie causas, veniens ad virgineos lares levare laborem, cogitur ad discumbendum, compellitur ad comemorandum, et qui accessit verecundus et pavidus, statim efficitur per confidentiam domesticus et internus? . . .

The traveller from India brings back fabulous stories. I sing the praises of the neighbourhood, for I appreciate the gift of God. Quotes *St. John* iv. 10.

Inmates of the above monasteries coming on business in the court seek rest at our Virgin's altar, and become as one of the dwellers in St. Werburgh's.

[This dissertation on St. Werburgh and the Madonna ends with a prayer to Christ to preserve and guard the cus-

¹ At the bottom of fol. 60v is drawn a cross showing in the left arm "aquilo," "locus Benedictus," in the right, "auster," "Pultona," at the head, "oriens," "Cumbermara," at the foot, "occidens," "Basinwerc," and "Cestria" in the centre. See frontispiece.

² Fol. 61v.

todian of the gate so that she may plead in heaven for her fellow-citizens. To fol. 62, l. 15.]

Thus much for the gate of the Virgin. Now we will treat of the gate of the Angel.

Hec de Virginis porta tetigisse sufficiat, nunc iam ad portam Angeli veniamus. Angelorum porta Christus Dominus est, qui et angelorum patria est. Ipse dat ingressum, qui fecit habitaculum . . .

Long discourse on angels and St. Michael, their leader, and the benefits they bestow on the southern gate.

[It is the gate of humility, poverty, peace, piety, light, safety and rest. Men and angels are compared: how can wretched men even mention happy angels? Man is made a slave by his body, which therefore becomes his prison. Escape from it is shown to be possible. The difference between men and angels is as the difference between vanity and truth. St. Michael is associated with the angels as their leader. This sermon occupies twenty-five pages to Fol. 87, l. 23.]

He who thrusts out the impious from Heaven utterly destroys the enemies of Chester.

Iste est igitur Michael prepositus paradisi, quem honorifi[cant] angelorum cives, per quem Deus voluit glorificare Cestrenses. Et quo ante divinitatis aspectum dignior assistit, eo dulcius in suo ministerio Cestriam complectitur et custodit. Et qui de arce celesti auctore Deo conatus impios eliminavit, ipse Cestrie inimicos propellit et extinguit. Qui etiam prudentiores ammonens consequenter ad austrum posuit tentorium suum ut quos ab aquilonis latere gloriosa virgo Werburga victores probat, ad veram requiem et meridianam lucem ipse producat. Isti enim simul unius platee duo inicia sortiti, convenientissime susceperunt asservandas portas geminas quia semper est angelis cognata virginitas. Hec prope portam angeli dixisse sufficiat, ut ad ea, que secuntur, series destinata pertendat.

Michael et Werburga.

St. Michael and the virgin Werburgh undertook the guardianship of the two gates of one street, and thus we complete our remarks on St. Michael's Gate.
Recapitulation of the four gates: St. John guards the east that happiness may arise, St. Peter the west that iniquity may die, St. Werburgh the north that enemies may be

Quod si recapitulari brevissime, quatuor ingressus portarum placet, Iohannis vigilat ab oriente ut felicitas oriatur, Petrus ab occidente ut iniquitas moriatur, Werburga ab aquilone ut hostilitas confundatur, Michael a meridie ut eternitas conferatur. Qui

Recapitulacio.

et alios secum habent excellentissimos et idoneos
 Limphas urbis vigiles et civium protectores, qui sufficiant
 Dei quo et suave ducant habitatores amplecti et fovere,
 plus bib- et ante Dei presentiam precibus comendare.
 eris, dul- et Nam cum pleni sint dulcedine et sanctitate, in
 ciores in- venies; eternitatis fonte bibunt,¹ quam misericorditer et
 hoc habet usus, crede benigne pupillis oporteat providere. Hec de qua-
 veteribus. tuor portis tuis pingenda credidi, civitas Cestria,
 ut quod habet lector in litera, teneat habitator in oculis
 et memoria. Memor tui sit superna pietas et eterna
 clementia, que me olim in primis annis aluisti, et cum
 nequirem discernere inter opposita, literis instituisti.
 Aucta sis Dei beneficiis et celesti misericordia, dulcis et
 alumpna provincia, merearis auxilium et protectionem
 apud universitatis Auctorem. Aperiat tibi sua viscera,
 qui nostras lavit maculas in columpna sancte crucis
 arborea, et in eius gratuleris nomine, qui plenus est
 nectarea pietate.

Prospiciat paci tue, gloriosa virginum virgo, que
 purissimum pectus aperuit vestiende veritati, ut pos-
 semus in terris filium Dei quamvis indignis et culpa-
 bilibus oculis intueri. Et ipsa enim misterio dulci duas
 sibi voluit basilicas infra muros tuos edificari, evidenter
 ostendens quod et te protegat in presenti, et eterna tibi,
 si grate servias vitam, sufficiat emereri. In una comes
 caput civium cum sua curia pro more observat divina
 sollempnia, in altera basilica miraculum prebetur cum
 muliebris sexus mirabiliter preliatur. Dormis dilec-
 tissima civitas ad spectaculum, negligentia tibi gravat
 palpebras oculorum. Curris frequenter aspicere²
 canum rictus, ferocias molosorum, quam horrende
 tauros lacerant et artus ursorum. Ante annos pauc-
 sissimos erumpens extra muros prosiluisti, omnis
 De col- ludio illo, ante Iohannem filium regis et Philippum de Ware-
 cestria. etas, sexus, condicio cucurrit, vix anicula sub tecto
 remansit, spectari duos armis septos et equis
 impositos, quadam loci planicie ut fidenter
 dicam futurorum presagio contendere, cum pro
 suo modo sine militari exercitio, tamen virtute

confounded, and St. Michael the south that eternity may be granted.

The city has also many other excellent guardians who will look after its interests in Heaven.

May heavenly goodness remember you, O Chester, who nourished me in my earliest years and taught me my letters.

May the Author of the universe open his heart to you and the Virgin of virgins provide for your peace.

And she herself has desired two churches to be built to her within your walls. In one, the Earl, the head of the citizens, attends Divine worship with his court.

In the other behold the miracle of the female sex wondrously striving. And this you see not, but you run to gaze at bull or bear-baiting. A few years ago the whole city rushed out of the walls to see a combat between two armed horsemen in the presence of the

¹ Fol. 88.

² Fol. 88v.

King's son and one of the peers of the realm; in which, according to your wish, the Englishman prevailed.

Compare this to the spectacle of purity, beauty, and peace you have within your walls and wondrous evidence of virtue. Women can do what men cannot.

A sermon on women and their virtues followed by one on the Blessed Virgin.

Behold how the Virginal beacon illuminates you, Chester, from the west, where St. Mary has established a house of nuns.

vesana coram filio regis et quodam altero de proceribus regni sine ludo luderent, et pro laude labili multis intuentibus, actis calcaribus et calentibus animis decertarent. Ibi tamen iuxta votum tuum Anglus prevaluit, et emulum insecutus artavit, ut maiorum tumor creperet, et minorum tenor cresceret, pluribus illud spectantibus prudentibus aliud expectantibus. Set sive hec *Nota hoc.* magna signaverint, sive modica, sive nulla, vacante nugacitatis aspectu, confer te ad spectacula puritatis, pulcritudinis, pacis; pensa quam pium, quam preciosum lucere in terris vitam angelorum. Habes non extra set intra murum, merum et mirandum virtutis *De sancti-* argumentum. Mulieres possunt, quod viri non *moniali-* possunt. . . . *bis an-* *cillis Dei.*

[Here follows a dissertation on the virtues of women, which lasts to fol. 89, where begins a sermon on St. Mary Our Blessed Lady. The incarnation is treated and virginity is greatly extolled. The worship of Our Lady is maintained by the monks and nuns. The dissertation continues to fol. 101v, l. 19. At the bottom of fols. 89v-92 below the text are the following notes: "Guntranni regis die," "apud Noviomagum passio secundum Marcum," "Armogasti die apud Ventonam," "Passio Domini secundum Lucam," "Breve venit tibi a domino abbate ad Anlienna [*or* Aulienna *or* Ankenna]," "in Cena Domini apud Est-stanesfeld [*or* Elfstanesfeld] ante servitium," "has duas paginas ante altare Benigni Petri." They seem to have no connection with the text. See Appendix.]

In finibus occidentis posita, vide quantum te illustraverit virginalis aurora. . . .

[The sermon ends at fol. 103v, being followed by one on the nuns of St. Mary's at Chester. St. Mary has produced in Chester a phalanx of virgins and made it the strongest camp of God, where the battle is fought, peace is obtained, the enemy falls, and God is honoured. And so on to fol. 105v, l. 1.]

Ista sunt assidue tuis obtutibus subdita, Mater et Domina, karissima michi civitas Cestria. Hec tibi ad videndum presto sunt, hec tue rationis rubiginem omni lima letius tollere debuerunt. Habenti portum maris, forum venalium delonge venientium, habenti in

ecclesiis venerabilem clerum, cetum quoque religiosorum, multum tibi deesse, iure censeret, si monasterio virginum caruisses. . . .

[Chester is bidden to behold this humble choir and innocent family dwelling within its walls. With this and similar remarks, including a long metaphor on how the less may help the greater and so the reader may help learning to shine forth, the sermon continues to Fol. 111v, l. 10.]

You have a seaport, a market, a concourse of travellers from afar, a venerable clergy, a band of monks, yet you would judge you were in great want if you lacked a house of nuns.

Itaque lector meus attendat, qualiter ipsa domina nostra virginum Virgo, quam sicut res docent, duas habere memorie sue basilicas diximus infra muros urbis, terciam sibi constitui placuit extra muros, vicinam ecclesie Iohannis Domini precursoris. . . .

De basilicis Domine nostre, benedictibilis Marie.

The Madonna has two churches to her memory within the city walls, yet determined that a third should be built for her outside the walls next to St. John the Baptist.

[The visit of the Virgin to Elizabeth and its special meaning for Chester is the text of a sermon, and so

to Fol. 112, l. 4.]

Iustissime igitur atque pulcherrime apud nostram Cestriam, pro sua matre matri Domini quasi refundens vicem sue in Christo familie, inspiravit Iohannis Baptista consuetudinem, ut festis temporibus atque dominicis diebus, coris basilicas. incedentibus et vocibus dulcissimis resonantibus, gloriose Virginis ac Domini genitricis ecclesiam devotissime satagant visitare, et consuetis officiis pro more venerabilis cleri, ad eterni regis gloriam officiosissime salutare. . . .

De processione que sit festis diebus a clericis Cestrie inter duas basilicas.

A sermon on the visit to Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptist.

The custom in Chester of St. John the Baptist, with all its choir visiting St. Mary on Sundays and Holy Days, is most suitable, for thus St. John appears to return St. Mary's call on his mother Elizabeth.

[Return to the comparison of the Visitation to l. 22.]

Hec cum ita sint, ut dicamus pauca que restant, intendat Cestrie habitator,¹ exeunti portam orientalem qualiter ei trinus viarum trames aperitur, et pulcra super locorum vocabulis, que se offerunt, consideracio invenitur. Nec solum pulcra, set etiam iocunda. Nam progressus paululum a civitate si directus incedit, statim a fronte venientem locus excipit, quem nominant Villam Christi, si vero flectit ad dexteram, alter locus

De trivio Cestrie, quod aperit exeuntibus et plures latuit de proximo vicinis.

To return to our subject, the native of Chester remembers how three roads branch off outside the East gate, and how significant are the names of the places to which they lead.

¹ Fol. 112v.

The road straight in front leads to Christ's Town (Christleton), that on the right to the Old Ford (Alford), but that on the left to the Valley of Demons (? Hoole or Hell), so-called from the hiding-place of those lying in wait.

This signifies Christ is the true East. The wanderers to the right and left come to harm; on the right through proud justice, on the left through sluggish neglect of manners. On the right you are bitten by dragons; on the left despoiled by robbers.

The only way left is the straight way, and your footsteps thither are directed by St. John (*St. Matt.* iii. 3). Simplicity and innocence are better than subtlety or wisdom.

For he who wanders from the royal highway, through arrogance or over-confidence, does not retrace [?] the windings of the road in joy. Therefore it is better to walk straight and live straight.

Also note how simple is the Saxon word Chester, *i.e.* city. History tells us Gloucester is so called because the Emperor Claudius built it. Leicester because founded by King Leir; Rochester because Rof

quem vocant incole Veterem Vadum, si autem vertitur ad sinistram, venit ad locum quem de latibulis insidiantium recte dicunt Vallem Demonum.

Ut autem nos ex manifestare utamur morali ratione consequenter omnia occurrunt, quia Christum invenit verum orientem, qui recte tendit; qui declinat in dexteram contra scripturam prohibentem deviasse ad ultimum se probabit; qui flectit in levam, lesionem vitare non poterit. Errores autem contrarios hinc inde sic accipiamus, ut errantium dextera videatur esse superba iusticia, leva autem segnis morum custodia, et in qualibet harum devius, a dextris mordeatur a draconibus, a sinistris spoliatur a latronibus, ut experimento tactus in reliquum rectus discat incedere, et pro sua salute devia declinare. Legitur enim, inter vicia contraria, medius limes virtus est. Et noster Iohannes "dirigite viam domini,¹ rectas facite," inquit "semitas Dei nostri," quia, qui ambulat simpliciter, ambulat confidenter. Et sepe felicius ac melius vae facit humanis rebus simplex et innocens vita quam versutus sensus et alta sapientia. Nam qui, per confidentiam meriti vel contumaciam sullimis ingenii, regiam inter errores medios Nota. viam relinquit, superbos anfractus in gaudium non transmittit, qui ad dextram vel levam temere declinavit. Unde colligitur nichil utilius, nichil melius, quam in progressu viarum velut in porta urbium recte incedere ac recte vivere, quia per linearem ductum itineris ad lucem tenditur orientis.

Illud etiam omnimodis attendatur, quod velut simplex et originale quoddam rei vocabulum lingua Saxonica, Cestria, civitas dicitur, sicut evidenter Nomen. et lucide claret intuentibus ex compositione. Sic enim teste historia Claudiocestriam appellamus, quam Romanus imperator Claudius exstruxit, Leirces-triam quam Brittonum rex Leirus constituit, Rofeces-triam, quam teste BEDA, Rof quidam vir primarius antiquitus possedit ac tenuit. Itaque prudenter advertat saltim inter nos manens literatus habitator, non sine

¹ Fol. 113.

causa leviter ac lusorie contigisse, cum cetera urbes ex loci situ vel memoria¹ constructorum, seu accidenti aliquo, vocabulum sint sortite, nostra Cestria nomen resonet maternum, magnificum, singulare. . . .

[The author dilates on the good fortune of Chester in possessing such guardians, &c., and considers the benefits the city receives as a result to Fol. 113v, l. 11.]

possessed it of old, according to Bede. Other places have taken their name from the site, in memory of the founder, or from some accident; our Chester re-echoes the name.

Si quis autem petit, vel in pleno, vel in proximo, secundum habitationem morum provinciales tangere, instar reliquorum viventium pro locis terrarum, ceteris Anglis in parte dissimiles, in parte meliores, in parte inveniuntur equales. Videntur autem in primis quod est optimum, secundum generale

De moribus provincialium.

If provincial virtues are in question, Chester will be found, unlike the rest of England: partly better, partly equal.

specimen morum, convivio communes, cibo alacres, hospitio liberales, ira faciles, lingua labiles, subiectionis ac servitutis impatientes, afflictis clementes, pauperibus compassibiles, cognatum sanguinem fovantes, labore parcentes, felle dupplicitatis immunes, edacitate nil graves, molimina nescientes, per usurpatam sepe licentiam aliena mutuantes, silvis ac pascuis habundantes, carne ac pecore divites,² Britonibus ex uno

Long list of the virtues of Cestrians; their only fault is that they are easily angered. They have abundant woods and pastures, flesh and beasts.

latere confines, et per longam transfusionem morum, maxima parte consimiles. Illud etiam intuendum, qualiter Cestrie provincia, Lime nemoris limite lateraliter clausa, quadam a ceteris Anglis privilegii distinctione sit libera, et per indulgentias regum atque excellentias comitum magis in cetu populi gladium principis quam coronam regni consuevit attendere, et in suis finibus etiam maximas negociorum discussiones licenter ac liberius explicare. Hec igitur Hibernis receptoria, Britannis vicina, Anglorum sumministratur annona[m], situ eleganti, portarum positione antiqua, duris experimentis exercitata, amne [anime?] pariter et oculis decora, secundum nomen suum civitatis vocabulo digna, sanctorum vigili cincta custodia, et per misericordiam Salvatoris divinitatis semper auxilio communita.

Comiti paret regem non pavet.

They are bounded on one side by the territories of the Britons, whom they much resemble; on the other by the Forest of Lyme, which separates them from the rest of England, and allows their Earl to enjoy regal rights.

¹ Fol. 113v.

² Fol. 114.

A summing up of the advantages enjoyed by Chester completes the author's account of the city and district around it, which is offered as a little gift in gratitude for nourishment, and in the hope that some one else may be found to do it better.

The author offers no excuse for discoursing on local history; he knows his patron will appreciate his efforts.

Ista pro nostro modulo de Cestria finibus sive locis dicenda duximus, reponentes ei vel parva munuscula, que prima nobis ubera protulit et temporum contulit alimenta, sinceriter optantes aliquem benivolum super alumpno loco maiora simul et meliora dicere, et in laudem nominis Dei Cestriam venerabiliter eminere. . . .

[The writer may be laughed at for his pains and scoffed at for thus singing to his citizens, and perhaps even *Aeneid*, xi. 378 may be quoted against him. He answers by quoting *Tobias* iv. 15. The stupid man appreciates sense as little as the pig gold. The scoffer will be punished by God. Therefore the writer means to persevere and continue in spite of all difficulties, ingratitude, or stupidity. Thus he turns to his patron, who always has the charity to listen to him, and whom he addresses on fol. 115, l. 7 as]

dilectissime frater et domine. . . .

[on whose goodness, kindness, and sympathetic understanding he dilates to Fol. 115v, l. 2.]

Ago autem gracias omnipotenti deo indultum michi tempus et diem, quo primum accepissee tuam merui nozionem. Spero enim ex dulcedine pectoris tui, facilius ferre fastidium fumi, qui ex mundanis veniens ingratis solet intelligentium faucibus et oculis importari. Et utinam subeat memoriam tuam, qualiter per occasionem temporis visenti michi basilicam venerandi Baptiste et Domini precursoris, apte ac consequenter gustum prime sinceritatis optuleris. Nempe simul in atrio illo tunc convenisse visi sunt, et dies dominicus, et divinus locus, et dignationis affectus. Hec ^{Tria con-} veri cordis et corporis vultum michi prius aper-^{venerunt.} uerunt. Dies materiam, locus leticiam, occasio gratiam contulerunt. Ignotus stabam, set ignotus diu stare non poteram. Expressit innata benignitas claram in sui occursus hilaritate naturam. Accessisti, et humane salutatum ac deductum, retenta per gratiam Spiritus Sancti benedictionis memoria, dimisisti. Officium transiit, affectum continuit. Semel actum, semper est novum. Hinc litera pandit, quod literatus impendit. Pro loco et tempore liberalitas claruit

And may the memory remain of that visit to St. John the Baptist when first I encountered your kindness as I waited in the porch. And note these three things—the place, the day (Sunday), the kindness.

actionis¹ tue. Quid enim aliud faceret clericus habitator monaco extraneo, quem ad maioris imperium pro causis et utilitatibus monasterii non levitas et evagatio set necessitas excussit et ratio. Si enim monachi monasterium non exirent, milui monasterium arpagarent. Quorum neutrum indigne fieret, si solita episcoporum clementia coruscaret: quibus fuit olim studium nimis benigne prospicere quieti monachorum. Et solebant alta compassione, ne illorum ocium sanctum tumultus premeret, providere. Pater enim diligit filium, et omnia declinat ab eo que inferunt nocumentum.

Et nichil adeo demulcet animum, ut salus gaudium et requies filiorum. Set nunc mundus monachis molestus est, quia Gregorius rebus humanis exemptus est. Qui, si nostro adhuc pulveri superesset, nominis pensum Deo solvens, pro humilibus vigilet. Cui dulce fuit temporibus suis, ex visceribus pietatis religiosis assistere locis contra procellas temporum et turbines maris. Et si vellet lector inspicere, posset uberius pagina perdocere. . . .

[The author complains of the unkindness of bishops in not assisting monks, and explains that it is impossible for him to keep silence; he felt that it was his duty as a monk to speak out, quoting Seneca and others to Fol. 117, l. 9.]

Incipit de laude clericorum. Set iam satagamus pia intencione, stringendos vinculis caritatis et gracie clericos simul et monacos comparare. . . .

[Thus he begins a long treatise in praise of the clerk. There is no one like him. He is compared to the Levite; he will have a special reward. In this is included a comparison between clerk and monk, which is continued to Fol. 119v, l. 16.]

Nunc autem frequenter ob gladium scismatis divisa patitur et discissa gemitum cordis, contemptum et contumaciam sustinens a filiis suis, qui transeuntes ad alienos, scalam reputant scolam sceleris et rationes

How else should a clerk of the place receive a stranger monk who was sent forth on business of the monastery?

For if monks did not go out of the monastery, they would be robbed, which would not occur if the habitual forbearance of bishops prevailed.

For they used to make it their business to obtain repose for monks.

But now the world is troublesome to monks since Gregory has been taken out of it. He always helped religious houses in troublous times.

And thus we arrive at a comparison between clerk and monk.

¹ Fol. 116.

Now the order of clerks is rent with schism, and her sons are brought into contempt. For they go over to the stranger, and, imitating the strife of nations, they build a school in Jerusalem; they leave the episcopal palace for the prince's court, and seek promotion in the king's palace.

But God will avenge Himself. For can they be called priests who obtain promotion by external authority rather than by election within the family of Christ?

But though we here diverge, we hope to soften a brother's anger by turning away his wrath, and await the light of time when the clerk will be placed according to his merits.

The clerk is father to the monk. The clerk should be endowed with reason; the monk active in prayer. The former with the people, the latter for them.

laicorum, quasi ritus gentium imitantes, edificant gymnasiam in Ierosolimis, casam episcopalem relinquentes ob curiam principis, et felicitatem sue promotionis aucupantes ex palatio¹ regis. Quod si aliter asseritur et michi resistitur, tanquam ociose affecto et limphatice loquenti ac supervacua canenti, solummodo contempnens et a pugno parcens, ignoscat michi aliquis arrogans et superbus, tempus credimus affuturum, quando per ulcionem et apercionem loquetur Deus. Nam qui evidenter et impudenter per auctoritatem extraneam potius quam electionem germanam in Jesu Christi familia, raptu satagunt esse promoti, videant, an Deo iudice debeant estimari clerici, id est, in eterna claritate perpetui. Nos vero, quia interim preter propositum taliter incidit, et tanquam devius stilus modicum sompnando divertit, industriam dederunt intuentes qui tenuando prudenter et eludendo quod dixerat, numquid non verbum est, "a fratris felleo bile declinans eius iracundiam mitigavit," necessaria tolerancia, temporis lucem in tenebris prestolemur quando ante summum pontificem, ex diversitate operum, clericos locabit libra meritorum. . . .

[The comparison continues with such remarks as: It is often written in the law of God that man should take a comrade, so it was not seemly for clerk to live alone, and therefore he took a monk as brother and son

to Fol. 121v, l. 8.]

Scimus enim quia monachus minor est, clericus autem maior est. Deo autem constat quis melior est, ante cuius conspectum, non vocabulum set merita requiruntur. Attamen, videmus ex gestis rerum clericos esse patres monachorum. Non enim, monachi clericos pepererunt, set clerici monachos produxerunt, ut clarescat clericus ex doctrina, monachus in disciplina. . . .

Dilectione
redundet
clericus
quia
defertur
ei.

[And so to l. 21.]

¹ Fol. 120.

Clericus debet esse ratione sensatus, monachus sedulus oracione. Ille cum populo, iste pro populo. . . .

[At fol. 122 the author compares the clerk and monk to the two columns of the house—not that which Samson pulled down, but that which Solomon built,—to the two spies sent to Jericho, to the two disciples sent out by our Lord, and others to Fol. 122v, l. 7.]

Clericus ergo clarus atque castissimus, monachus debet esse mitis atque mundissimus. Ille refulgens serenitate, iste simplicitate. Unus in sapientia, alter in sanctimonia. Ille natus ad eminentiam, iste ad innocentiam. . . .

The clerk ought to be illustrious and guiltless, the monk gentle and refined, the former excelling in austerity and wisdom, the latter in simplicity and holiness, &c.

[And so on. At fol. 123 he compares the clerks to the prophets of the Old Testament, the monks to the Nazarenes. And again at fol. 124: Among the Romans were fighters and non-fighters ("preliatores et proletarii"), so clerks and monks, &c. At the bottom of fol. 124v is written, "Die Sanctorum Donatiani et Rogatiani has tres paginas, tunc monasterio Sancti Petri subdiurnabam." (See Appendix): at fol. 125, but upside down and in a sixteenth-century hand, "Henry Tully is the" (which probably continued) "owner of this book." Tully is not a Chester name.]

Hec¹ videntes et altius perpendentes viri quidam prudentissimi ac devotissimi, episcopi regionum ac locorum, parum reputabunt, ac velut aridum atque sterile plebem Dei in civitatibus regere et laicam multitudinem pascere, nisi etiam viris religiosis secretas ediculas struerent, atque eos in laudem nominis Dei studiosissime provocantes ad spiritualia opera, temporalibus subsidiis pulcherrime sustentarent. . . .

Bishops could do little in shepherding their flocks did they not scatter over the land houses of religious men whom they encourage, in God's name, to perform spiritual works, sustaining them with temporal help.

[And with similar remarks to l. 23.]

Habet autem episcopus in genere, clericum² et monachum, tanquam duos filios, secundum speciem vero personaliter senos. Clericus, maior episcopi filius est et natu prior, monachus autem minor. . . .

The clerk and the monk are the bishop's two sons, the priest the elder, the monk the younger.

[He dilates on this to l. 22.]

¹ Fol. 129v, l. 6.

² Fol. 130.

Bene autem et pulcherrime beatissimus Papa Silvester instituit, ut¹ clericus non reputaretur, qui non posset legere convenienter aut psallere, et bene sancti patres instituerunt, ut monachus non haberetur, qui non posset iniurias patienter ferre, vel contumelias cum tolerantia sustinere. . . .

The most blessed Pope Silvester well ordained that he should not be considered a clerk who could not read or sing well, and the holy fathers that the monks must suffer injuries in patience and insults with fortitude. Lastly, concerning the monastic house: it has three leaders, of whom the first is called "Abbot."

[The comparison ends at fol. 138v, l. 23.]

Illud igitur in fine dicendum, quod sicut² dictum est, trino duce distinguitur, quorum primus abas consueque iam appellatur, utinam quam preclarus officio tam precipuus sanctitate. Abbatis vocabulum altum et celebre, serenum et suave, venerabile ac vitale, sullime atque sollempne, plenum dulcedine et dignitate. . . .

[With more eulogies on the name to l. 12.]

Denique habet duas in nomine sillibas, quia rebus evidentissime docentibus dulcedo ad primam, dignitas pertinet ad secundam. Abbas nempe cum dicitur, non est Latinum, neque Grecum, set est totum Hebraicum. Quod peritis notissimum, ignorantibus facillime probatur. Ut enim vel in nomine Abraam omnibus liquet in parte, ab, lingua Hebraica patrem sonat, as, vero, dominus interpretatur. . . .

The word "abbot" is derived from the Hebrew; *ab* means father, *as* master, with other and allegorical interpretations.

[From this to fol. 147 the writer is occupied with allegorical and symbolical interpretations of the name "abbas" and the duties of abbots; then he turns his attention to the prior, whose duty, we are told, is to put an end to all disputes between abbot and monks, to assist the abbot, and to go about the business of the monastery outside its walls. Among various digressions there is one on the pomp and pride of this world, in which the following appears

at Fol. 154v, l. 18.]

Dividere poterant inter se, mirabiliter et terribiliter, duos versus scolasticorum, ubi prope eventus temporum et varias revolutiones accidentium, *Nota.* satis consequenter loqui videbatur radiolus rotarum;

A treatise on the abbot's duties, with another on the office of prior, profusely illustrated; one example drawn from a rhyme of the scholastics.

¹ Fol. 130v.

² Fol. 139.

"Glorior elatus, descendo minorificatus,
Infimus axe teror, rursus ad alta feror." ¹

. . .

[This discourse is illustrated with many examples, and the treatise on the prior's duties continues for seven more pages. He has to teach, exhort the lazy, and put down gossip; and when he goes out of the monastery he must take care to serve the house of God well. At fol. 160v the subprior and his duties form the subject of discussion, and then the relationship of the three officers—the abbot, prior, and subprior—to one another are observed, and their respective duties, &c., compared. They are compared to the Trinity: the prior and subprior resemble Aaron and Ur who held up the arms of Moses, *i.e.* the abbot, while other analogies and illustrations abound, for instance at Fol. 164v, l. 6.]

Another dissertation on the office of subprior, and a comparison of the three offices—abbot, prior, and subprior.

Abas item debet navem fabricare, prior utensilia navis et armamenta et ancoras providere, supprior autem rudentibus aptatis et omnibus dispositis, levato arthemone, scilicet invocato Christi nomine, vela ventis committere, ac terram viventium petere. . . .

The abbot ought to build the ship, the prior provide the fittings, tackle, and anchors, the subprior, by furnishing with rigging and arranging all things, set sail, and thus seek, the land of the living.

[And again at l. 20.]

Item abbas debet excellere in lumine sanctitatis, prior in literis erudicionis, supprior autem in lampade fervoris . . .

[And again at fol. 165, l. 7.]

¹ This seems to be a quotation from the *Hortus Deliciarum* of Herrad von Landsberg, Abbess of Hohenburg in Bavaria, who died in 1197, where, in an illustrated description of Fortune, a crowned king clasping a bag of gold is shown sitting on the top of a wheel which bears the following inscription round its tyre—

"Glorior elatus, descendo minorificatus,
Infimus axe premor, rursus ad alta vehor."

Other inscriptions occur at the sides, &c. (See C. M. Engelhardt, *Herrad von Landsberg*. Stuttgart, 1818. p. 160: Straub and Keller, *Herrade de Landsberg*. Strasburg, 1901. Plates LV., LVA. pp. 42-3.) In the *Carmina Burana* (ed. Schmeller, Breslau, 1883), a thirteenth-century collection of songs, another version of it occurs at p. 47 (No. LXXVII.) in the third verse of a song on Fortune—

"Fortune rota volvitur,
descendo minoratus,
alter in altum tollitur
nimis exaltatus;
rex sedet in vertice,
caveat ruinam,
nam sub axe legimus
'Hecubam' reginam."

The abbot should excel in holiness, the prior in erudition, the subprior in fervour. The abbot should write the book, the prior recite it, the subprior yoke together Christ's lambs.

The only non-active members of the house are the officials, the "scriptores," and the old men. These the subprior leaves alone.

How wonderful it is that a man sitting in one place and writing can traverse so many provinces: he speaks, inspired by the Holy Trinity. People hearing him turn back from evil ways, turning to good works, while the writer himself receives some good in exchange.

The rewards of those that serve.

Item abbas debet librum scribere, prior acceptum legendo recitare, supprior adiunctis agniculis Christi operando complere . . .

[Then there follows a long discourse on the teaching of the monks by the subprior, *i.e.* the *doctrina supprioris*, and on his temptations and his duties and work, with innumerable illustrations. There should be in the chapter-house truth and justice, in the oratory song and melody, in the cloister rest and discipline. There are two times, one of watching and one of work. The duty of the subprior is to see that all his army comes out into line. Only three exceptions to this are allowed—officials who prepare rest for the weary and remedies for the wounded; antiquarians (*i.e.* the "scriptores"), and the old men. Necessity, utility, old age and honesty excuses each respectively. The first of these prepare food for the children, the second give light in darkness, the third obtain peace by prayers, with quotations from *Aen.* viii. 561-2, *Job* xxiv. 5, etc.,
to Fol. 186v, l. 17.]

Tot enim vulnera Satanas accipit quot antiquarius Domini verba describit. Mirum dictu, uno loco sedens homo per provincias vadit, in locis sanctis legitur labor ipsius, dum tenens ac trahens arundinem tribus digitis loquitur, quod virtus Sancte Trinitatis effatur. Audiunt populi, unde se a prava voluntate compescant, qualiter ad pia opera litera prelucente convertant, nequeo dicere vicissitudinem de tot bonis eum posse recipere, qui manu et calamo ad timorem Dei tam venerabiliter viventes¹ curavit accendere. Officiales autem, in ministeriis quam necessarii sunt pro cunctorum pace sollicitos, officia multimode servitutis ostendunt. Qui suos angores humiliter impendentes obsequiis fratrum per fecunditatem gratie feliciter sibi comparant regna celorum. Et operis sudore librato quisquis ceterorum Spiritum Dei sapit eorum labori quo requies omnium compensatur, plenas de intimis visceribus gratiarum actiones rependens dulcedine illos fraterne caritatis infundit. Sic dulcoratur quod amarescit ubi amica pax ex pietate pinguescit. Et Dei gracia dilatatur uberius ut, servata lege concordie, bene se habeant habitator et locus.

¹ Fol. 187.

Minister igitur in mansuetudine, librarius precedat in lumine, senior sedeat in omni reverentia et honore. Sicque pacatum erit contubernium et gaudebit unitate compago membrorum. At quia recapitulatio solet animum reparare, meminisse debet abbas officium et vocabulum suum cui debeat honores sui referre principium. . . .

Thus harmony in the convent is obtained.

Recapitulation.

[And so continues the recapitulation on the three officers of the convent and their duties. The abbot is the leader, the prior the educator and shepherd, and the subprior sees to the execution of the rules, the health, weakness and discipline of the flock. At fol. 188v their relation to the bishop is discussed. A comparison of monk and clerk is put into the mouth of the bishop, the prince of the clergy, which is in reality an appreciation of monks. The monk is said to act, while the clerk carries the books and pages for reading, and preaches and teaches. The monk pleases God by the devotion of his prayers, the clerk the people by song and verse. The monk takes what is set before him, the clerk searches out with much toil savoury food, and arrays himself in dyed raiment, quoting *Aeneid* ix. 614, &c., and so with innumerable comparisons to Fol. 190, l. 22.]

Hec prope episcopi filios in genere binos, in specie senos, dicenda duximus; restat deinceps ut presentis tractatus finem ad inicia reflectamus. Nam **De tempore malorum.** quia in primis diximus tempus et locum et res labentes¹ docere hominem prudens, intelligit magnam in singulis diversitatem. Habent mali suis votis duo tempora, unum ludorum alterum lacrimarum. In uno plaudant, in altero plorant. . . .

[And so the writer shows the necessity of leading a good life, and its results on a future life, thus leading up to a dissertation on Purgatory (fol. 191v), Hell (fol. 192v), and Heaven (fol. 193v), where Power, Wisdom, and Goodness reign, quoting freely from the Prophets, &c. Finally, on fol. 195v, we have a sermon on "that time which Mother Church is wont to call the Day of Judgment," when saints and martyrs will be rewarded, and the wicked, including wicked towns, such as Babylon, Sodom, and Gomorrah, will

Peroration on the necessity of leading a good life, with a sermon on the future world and life, and the Last Judgment.

¹ Fol. 190v.

receive their just punishment—Chester being thus warned. This includes a discussion on the Prince of Wickedness and the retribution that is to follow on his deeds, the book, as we have it now, ending (at fol. 198v) in the middle of a quotation from *Job* xviii. 17-18, to illustrate this point.]

“Memoria illius pereat de terra et non celebretur nomen eius in plateis. Expellent eum de¹ [luce in tenebras, et de orbe transferet eum].”

¹ These are the last words of the MS., but one or more pages are missing. See introduction, pp. 5, 8.

APPENDIX

SOME notes, written at the bottom of seven pages, below the text, in a small hand differing from the author's, but one more or less contemporaneous with it, are of so curious a character that they require a special and separate notice. They are as follows:—

- Fol. 89v. *Guntranni regis die* (King Gunthrum's Day).
- Fol. 90. *Apud Novio[magum] Passio secundum Marcum* (At Noviomagus, the Passion according to Mark).
- Fol. 90v. *Armogasti die apud Ventonam* (Armogastes' Day at Winchester).
- Fol. 91. *Passio Domini secundum Lucam. Breve venit tibi a domino abbate ad Anlienna* [or *Aulienna*, or *Ankenna*, &c.].
(The Passion of Our Lord according to Luke. A letter came for thee from the Lord Abbot at Anlienna, &c.)
- Fol. 91v. *In Cena Domini apud Eststanesfeld* [or *Elfstanesfeld*] *ante servitium*. (On the day of the Lord's Supper at Eststanesfeld before service.)
- Fol. 92. *Has duas paginas ante altare benigni Petri*. (These two pages before the altar of Peter the Kind.)
- Fol. 124v. *Die Sanctorum Donatiani et Rogatiani has tres paginas; tunc monasterio sancti Petri subdiurnabam*.
(These three pages on St. Donatian and Rogation's Day; I was then staying at the monastery of St. Peter.)

The first six entries seem to have been made in pairs and refer to three successive days in Holy Week of a certain year, probably being actually written on those days. For King Gunthrum's Day is on March 28th, and the Passion according to St. Mark the Gospel for Tuesday in Holy Week; St. Armogastes' Day is on March 29th, and the Passion according to St. Luke is the Gospel for Wednesday in Holy Week, while the Lord's Supper is a well-known name for Holy Thursday. St. Gunthrum and St. Armogastes are not in the English Calendar, and are both curious saints to occur in an English Book. Gunthrum was a Burgundian king of the sixth century, and

Armogastes an African saint of the fifth century. St. Donatian and Rogatian's Day is on May 24th. This is clear enough. A greater difficulty presents itself in the place-names. *Novio* probably stands for *Noviomagus*, which may be a Latin name for Chichester. *Ventona* is certainly Winchester. The third name may be read in several ways—*Aulienna*, *Anlienna*, *Ankenna*, *Aukenna*, *Aukenin*, *Anketina*, *Aukentin*—but no one of them is easily identified. *Aukentin* might possibly be Alkington, near Berkeley, in Gloucestershire, or even Alkerton, near Stroud, in the same county, but neither are very probable, since the place must be somewhere within a day's journey of Winchester, and on the way to the next place, *Eststanesfeld*. This might be Stonesfield in Oxfordshire, which could be reached in one day from Winchester. Other Stanfields in the eastern counties, and Estantfeld, in Yorkshire, are impossible from their situation, as also is Alstanesfield, in Staffordshire, on the Derbyshire border. There are many Benedictine houses dedicated to St. Peter in England, e.g. at Westminster, Gloucester, Worcester, Shrewsbury, Peterborough, &c., and there is nothing to indicate which of them is here referred to.

It seems then that the writer of these notes, who was no trained scribe,¹ visited *Noviomagus*, perhaps Chichester, on Tuesday in Holy Week, which fell in that year on St. Gunthrum's Day (March 28th), and Winchester on the following day, St. Armogastes' Day (March 29th), and Wednesday in Holy Week. Thence apparently he journeyed to *Anlienna*, wherever that may be and there received a letter from the Lord Abbot, unless that place is to be connected with the abbot. On Holy Thursday he was at Estantesfeld, possibly Stonesfield, in Oxfordshire. Either here or elsewhere he read the two pages indicated of *De Laude Cestrie*, probably in a sermon, before the altar of St. Peter, who is described as *benignus*. This either betokens a local worship of St. Peter—such as St. Peter the Good or Kind—though very unusual in England, or it may be just a quotation from the sermon on that saint, the patron of the West Gate, wherein the *benignitas* of St. Peter is frequently mentioned, and a marginal note refers to *Petro benigno* (fol. 33).² On May 24th the writer

¹ He uses the incorrect contraction *dono*, instead of *dno*, for *domino*.

² According to Mr. Brownbill there was an altar to St. Peter in St. Werburgh's Abbey, Chester, but this was apparently the Apostle, and not "benignus." See *Lichfield Epis. Reg.*, Wm. Salt Arch. Soc., VIII. (n.s.), p. 136, hence *Cheshire Sheaf*, 1906, Ser. iii. vol. vi. p. 97, and p. 87 below.

read three more pages when he was staying at a monastery of St. Peter. Probably he was sent out by the Abbey to preach a series of sermons in different places during Holy Week, and perhaps afterwards up to Trinity Sunday, for with Holy Thursday on March 30th, May 24th (St. Donatian and Rogation's Day) would be Wednesday in Whit-Week. In the course of so doing he read the pages he afterwards marked from *De Laude Cestrie*, which he carried about for that purpose. Now if the dates given above are examined, it will be found that Tuesday in Holy Week fell on March 28th (Easter Day on April 2nd) in the years 1195 and 1206. If we assume that the *Modo hic sumus* opposite the year 1200 in the Table to find Easter indicates the date of the MS., as mentioned in the Introduction, then the above notes could only have been written in 1206. But Mr. Bannister has pointed out to me that this table was not copied from the Dionysian Calendar, which was divided into cycles of twenty-eight years, and from which these tables were usually taken, for in that case it should have begun at the year 1197, the first year of a cycle, whereas the first year of our Table is 1195. Usually the scribe copied the whole cycle, containing the year in which he was writing, and this he marked by some very small sign, such as pin-pricks or dots.¹ Nothing of the sort occurs in our MS. except *Modo hic sumus*, which Mr. Bannister tells me he has never met hitherto. He therefore suggests that the MS. was written after Easter of the year mentioned in a note preceding the Table, 1194, and completed before Easter of the first year in the actual table, 1195; that it was used by another monk of the abbey, not a trained scribe, in preaching sermons on Holy Week and also on St. Donatian and Rogation's Day in the year 1195, a note being made to that effect; and that the small marginal notes, including *Modo hic sumus*, were added in 1200, either by the author himself, or by some one else also well acquainted with Chester. Mr. Madan agrees that the date of the book is probably about 1195. In any case the precise date is not of paramount importance, and a difference of six years will not alter the value of the work, as far as we are concerned—that is, in regard to the light it throws on the history of Chester. The notes are interesting, however, in showing that the work was in use at the dates mentioned, if it was consigned to oblivion

¹ See *Signs in Kalendarial Tables*, printed in *Mélanges offerts à M. Emile Chatelan*. Paris, 1910.

for a long period later on. It may also be noted that 1194 is the date of the termination of the quarrel over the election of the abbot. It was agreed, after a long lawsuit, that Robert of Hastings, whose election had been confirmed by Baldwin, when he stayed in the abbey in 1187, should be expelled, on receipt of a yearly pension of 20 marks, to make place for Geoffrey, Earl Ranulph de Blundevill's candidate (see p. 96 below).

SOME OBITS OF
ABBOTS AND FOUNDERS

SOME OBITS
OF
ABBOTS AND FOUNDERS
OF
ST. WERBURGH'S ABBEY
CHESTER

From a Bodleian MS.

EXTRACTED AND ANNOTATED
BY
M. V. TAYLOR, M.A. (DUBL.)

PRINTED FOR
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F

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SOME OBITS OF ABBOTS AND FOUNDERS OF ST. WERBURGH'S ABBEY, CHESTER

EXTRACTED FROM A BODLEIAN MS.¹

INTRODUCTION

THE MS., from which these obits are taken, formerly belonged to the Abbey of St. Werburgh, and the greater part, if not all, of it was in use there for a long period, to judge by the date to which the added obits extend. Mr. Bannister, on account of a row of pin-pricks over the *data* for 1193, dates its kalendar as written between Easter 1192 and 1193. The four flyleaves (pp. 1, 2, 177, 178) are parts of a later sequentiary of c. 1300, while pp. 175, 176 contain a hymn in English to the Blessed Virgin, a *Compassio Mariæ*, of the thirteenth century.² The MS. itself contains a kalendar and tables (pp. 3-15), a Psalter (pp. 17-82), with Litany (pp. 83-94) and prayers (pp. 94-124), hymns (pp. 125-138), together with parts of a missal (pp. 138-158) and of a Benedictine Breviary (pp. 156-174) with office of St. Werburgh. To the kalendar were added in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, on the days of their deaths, the names of the abbots of St. Werburgh, and also the earls of Chester, a bishop, a sheriff of Chester, and a lady of Beeston, all of whom were

¹ Tanner MS. 169* (No. 9995).—I am indebted to Mr. Bannister for acquaintance with this MS., and also for the list of its contents. He, indeed, suggested to me that it would be useful to extract and print the obits which its kalendar contained, and helped me to read the more illegible ones. The Record Society consented to publish them in the same volume as *De Laude Cestrie*, where they seemed most suitable, for the two MSS. were written in the same house almost at the same time, though the obits themselves are, of course, much later.

² For this see Professor Napier in *Archiv für Neuere Sprachen*, Bd. lxxxviii. (1892), pp. 181-189.

doubtless benefactors of the abbey, besides a certain number of saints and other matters. As these obits are of local interest, it seemed fitting to include them here, and they are given below as they occur in the kalendar. The MS. proper concerns the liturgical scholar and not the local historian or record student.

The list of obits includes all the earls of Chester, and all the abbots up to the 23rd, Simon Ripley, with one omission—that of the 8th, Hugh Grylle or Grill, 1208–26 (see below, pp. 95, 96, 100). Simon Ripley died on 31st August 1493, and he and Thomas Highfield (1524–27, during the suspension of John Birchenshaw, Simon's successor), were the last abbots to remain in office until death. John Birchenshaw resigned finally on 4th February 1538, the next and last abbot, Thomas Clarke, receiving the royal assent and restitution of temporalities on 11th and 13th March 1538 (*Cal. of Privy Seals, Chester, Deputy Keeper's Reports*, xxvi. App. p. 28) only to surrender them to the Dissolution Commissioners two years later on 20th January 1540 (*Cal. of Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, 1540, p. 29, no. 87). He was made first Dean of the newly-established cathedral in August 1541, but died two months after his appointment.¹ Thus the obits may have been added any time between 1493 and 1540 or between 1527 and 1540, if we accept the identification of the "Thomas Abbas" of 20th October of the kalendar with Thomas Highfield who held office for three years during the suspension of John Birchenshaw, and died in 1527 (see below, pp. 92–4). Differences in caligraphy, however, reveal the fact that the obits were not all written in at once. "Willelmus Episcopus" and all the earls appear to be in the same hand, and also the abbots up to and including William of Merston, the eighteenth, who died 19th January 1387, except Richard of Sainsbury. But he resigned and died abroad, probably later than that date. The rest, from

¹ For his life, see *Cheshire Sheaf* (1898), ser. iii. vol. ii. p. 8, and also below.

Henry of Sutton to Simon Ripley,¹ including "Thomas Abbas" of 20th October, and the two probable benefactors, Roger Burgess and Margaret of Beeston, have been inscribed by different hands. Also the writing of these, especially of the last two, and of Thomas Erdeley, twentieth abbot, is fresher than the other names, some of which have been almost rubbed out, while Simon Ripley's name is freshest and blackest of all. Thus it seems probable that most of the obits were inserted in the kalendar all at once by one man about 1390, the remainder being added by different people as the deaths occurred; moreover, the book must have been in constant use up to the sixteenth century at least, and probably up to the dissolution. Their insertion at the end of the fourteenth century may possibly be connected with the founding by the monks in 1379 of chantries in the abbey "to the praise of the Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary, and St. Werburga, and for the salvation of their souls, the souls of their founders, predecessors, and successors, and of all the faithful, and especially of William de Bynnynton, late abbot, deceased, and of Thomas de Neuport, present abbot." Elaborate directions were made for money to be received on the death of the abbot, and masses to be said at the altars and chapels of the Virgin, St. Peter, and St. Stephen. Special masses were ordered for the anniversary of Abbot Thomas's death, when also the almoner was to receive 20s., 10s. of which was to be given to the poor, and the rest was to pay for a pint of wine for each monk performing the mass on that day, "that they may pray with more devotion." The deaths of monks who were chaplains and professed were also to be celebrated, and lastly, the "augmentation of their necessary vestments, so that they may more devoutly serve God," was required. These ordinations were made by the chapter of the abbey on 4th

¹ I submitted the MS. to Mr. Madan, who is also of the opinion that "Henricus Sutton" is in a different hand from "Willelmus Merston," and those obits that precede him.

June 1379 (*Lich. Epis. Reg.*, printed in Wm. Salt Arch. Soc. Trans., viii. (n.s.), pp. 136-38, hence *Cheshire Sheaf* (1906), ser. iii. vol. vi. pp. 97-8).

An examination of the obits shows that they confirm the dates of death, already known, of six abbots, give different dates for eight (the difference in most cases being a matter of a few days only), and supply dates hitherto unknown for six abbots, not including the two who resigned, Robert of Hastings and Richard of Sainsbury. A list of the abbots in the order of succession, with their obits, exists in the Randle Holmes collection among the Harleian MSS. (No. 1989, fols. 452-3 (85, 86)), and is headed, "In an ancient MS. one writinge of the founders and foundation of the monasterie of St. Werburge in Chester hath it thus."¹ The dates therein mostly agree with those given in the kalendar. It also contains the earls, who are described as founders, and is perhaps the transcript of a document once in the possession of the Oldfields, owners of Spalding Priory in Lincolnshire, extracts from which were printed by Dugdale in the *Monasticon* (1st ed., i. 308, Ellis ed., iii. 217-8),² or else is a copy of it. In any case, it seems possible that the information contained in both these documents is derived from our kalendar, or some other from which ours was copied. The dates of the earls in the Spalding Priory document agree with those in the Holmes MS., except for Ranulph III. de Blundevill (where 7 kal. January occurs instead of 7 kal. November), and a slip of vi. for xvi. for Ranulph I. "le Meschin," as well as with those in the kalendar. They are thus already in print, but it is at least interesting and satisfactory that they should be confirmed. Other notes on the abbots made by the Holmes among the Harleian MSS., notably No. 2071

¹ This is referred to below as the "Holmes MS."

² The connection of the earls of Chester with Spalding seems to be through the famous Lucy, for whom see *Vict. Co. Hist. Linc.*, ii. 119 *seq.* Also Mr. Round in *Feudal Eng.* (1895), pp. 184-7, and *Dict. Nat. Biog. s.n.* "Randulf le Meschin," with references there quoted. Also Mr. Kirk in *Genealogist*, 1891, Ormerod and Helsby in *Hist. of Cheshire* (1882), i. 50, &c.

(extracts from the *Liber Ruber*, now the possession of the Dean and Chapter), have been collated, and some of the calendars of the Public Records searched, and the result is given below. My bibliography also includes the valuable work of Chancellor Christie in the *Annales Cestrienses* (vol. xiv. of the Record Soc.); Ormerod and Helsby in the *History of Cheshire*, and of Browne Willis, who in his *History of the Mitred Abbies* (1718) quotes Kennet's MS. of Wharton's notes from the original *Annales Cestrienses* in the Cotton Collection which were destroyed in the fire of 1731; Dugdale's *Monasticon* and *Baronage: Chester in the Plantagenet and Tudor Reigns*, by Canon Morris:¹ the Rolls series of the *Chronicles*, the *Dictionary of National Biography*, &c. Those more learned than I in the subject, especially in local records, will be able to make the many corrections and additions of which my notes and list stand in great need. My brief examination of the Public Record calendars and other documents only served to show me that with all the additional material now available in print and accessible in indices, the history of St. Werburgh's of Chester requires to be rewritten. I also feel convinced that the "Red Book" of the Abbey, mentioned above, would throw much light on the history of the rulers as well as of the property of St. Werburgh's. In the meanwhile, the list of abbots as now corrected may prove useful to the student of local history, for whom the table appended at the end is intended.

M. V. TAYLOR.

¹ These are referred to in the notes below as follows:—

Annales Cestrienses (Lancs. and Chesh. Rec. Soc., vol. xiv.), as *Annales*. Ormerod, *Hist. of Cheshire*, and Helsby's notes, both in the ed. of 1882, as Ormerod.

Browne Willis, *History of the Mitred Parliamentary Abbies* (1718), as Browne Willis.

Dugdale, *Monasticon*, in the Ellis ed. of 1819.

Dugdale, *Baronage*, in the 1st ed. of 1675.

Canon Morris' work as Canon Morris' *Chester*.

In addition to the above I am also indebted to Miss Margaret Greg of Lee Hall, Prestbury, for some very useful notes on the earls of Chester.

OBITS

Tanner
MS., 166*,
p. 3

January 17th. *Obiit Ranulphus Comes IIIs. Cestrie.*

Ranulph I., 3rd Earl of Chester, known as "le Meschin" or "Meschines," succeeded his cousin Richard in the earldom, 1120. He was a nephew of Hugh Lupus, the 1st earl, and son of Ranulph de Briquessart, Vicomte du Bessin, Normandy. There is some doubt as to the year of his death. The Mostyn MS. of the *Annales*, p. 18, gives the year as 1128, but the Gastrell MS. has 1129 (*Ibid.*, p. 125). Dugdale, *Baronage* (1675), p. 37, gives both 1129 and 29 Henry I. (which might be either 1128 or 1129), quoting a "MS. penes Henry Ferrers," and a "MS. Chronicle" in the Bodleian Library (K. 84, fol. 156, a mistake for fol. 20, now MS. Laud Misc. 529, fol. 28), which is a transcript of the *Polychronicon* of Higden. In this transcript the year 1129 is placed in the margin by the event; Leycester, *Prologomena* (Ormerod (1882), i. 19), also quotes the *Polychronicon* but for 1128. The fact is *Higden* (Rolls Ser. vii. 470) gives no actual year, but places the death immediately before that of the Count of Flanders (Wm. Clinton), who was killed at the siege of Alost on 27th July 1128. Mr. Round, in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, remarks that "he was certainly dead before the Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I. (Mich. 1130)." It is possible the two dates may be due to some confusion in reckoning the beginning of the year (from April or January).¹ The same day is given in the Holmes MS. (Harl. MSS., No. 1989, fol. 452 (85)). In the Spalding Priory Document (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, III. 218 (1819)) it is vi. kal. Feb. (27th Jan.), probably a slip for xvi. kal. Feb. (17th Jan.).

p. 3

January 19th. *Obiit Willelmus Merston, abbas XVIIIs.*

William Merston or Mershton, 18th abbot, according to Ormerod, i. 253, died 13th January 1386; but Helsby in a note shows that he did not receive letters of induction until 31st July 1386, although licence to elect a new abbot was granted on 1st June (*Cal. of Pat. Roll*, 1385-89, p. 152), and Canon Morris, in *Chester*, p. 128, proves that he was alive in September 1386. Possibly Ormerod reckoned the year from January instead of from April. On the other hand, an entry in the *Cal. of Recognition Rolls of Chester* for 1387 (*Deputy Keeper's Reports*, xxxvi., App. II., p. 175), quoted by Canon Morris, suggests that "William de Merssheton, who had been taken wandering in apostasy and confined in the Castle of Chester," had become a Lollard, been forced to resign and transferred to Evesham, of

¹ Throughout these notes the dates from 1st January to 24th March have been given in New Style.

which house he was then a member, unless the Abbot of Evesham was acting as papal visitor of the General Chapter of the Order. However that may be, William de Merston was dead by 26th Jan. 1387 (*Cal. of Pat. Roll*, 1385-89, p. 269), and was buried in the Abbey without the choir in the south aisle (Harleian MSS., 2071, fol. 16, and Ormerod, i. 253). It seems thus almost certain that he was elected in June 1386, and died at Chester early in January 1387, and the date above, 19th January, would suit very well. His successor, Henry de Sutton, according to Canon Morris, was elected in 1386, but this must be a mistake, for the royal assent to his election was only granted on 28th February 1387 (*Cal. of Pat. Roll*, 1385-89, p. 281). We have thus a new fact in the date of this obit, which is confirmed by that in the Holmes MS. (fol. 453 (86)).

January 31st. *Obiit Robertus ab[bas IVs.]*.

Tanner
MS., 169*,
p. 3

This is no doubt Robert Fitz-Nigel, 4th abbot, who was elected Nov.-Dec. 1157, and died 31st Jan. 1174, according to the *Annales*, pp. 22, 26, 125, and the Holmes MS. (fol. 452v. (85)).

February 21st. *Obiit Rogerus Burges*.

p. 4

This is probably Roger Burgess, Sheriff of Chester, 1482-83, Morris, *Chester*, p. 581. The reason for his inclusion here is not clear. Possibly he was a benefactor.

February 22nd. *Obiit Symon XIII. abbas Cestrie*.

p. 4

Symon de Albo Monasterio (probably Whitchurch), 13th abbot, was elected 17th or 28th April 1265 (*Annales*, p. 92 and note, and see "Thomas of Capenhurst" below). The year of his death varies in the different authorities; according to the Gastrell MS. of the *Annales* it was 1294; according to Ormerod, i. 252, perhaps quoting "an old parchment in the monastic library" noted by Holmes (Harleian MSS. 1967, fol. 177 (170)), 1289, and according to the Mostyn MS. of the *Annales*, 1290. The 'old parchment' may be the 'Liber Ruber,' for an extract from it in the Dodsworth Collection (Bodl. Lib., no. xxxi., fol. 12), gives the date of his election as 17th April 1265, and death 1289. Chancellor Christie discusses the matter at length (*Annales*, p. 116 note, and also pp. 92 and 134), and concludes that 1290 "is certainly the true date." But news was brought of his death to the king on 1st March 1291, when licence to elect a new abbot was granted (*Cal. of Pat. Roll*, 1281-92, p. 423, misquoted as 1294 by Browne Willis, i. 252), and I should therefore be inclined to suggest that the correct date was 22nd Feb. 1291. All the authorities agree as to the day of the month except Ormerod, who, as Kennet, misread "viii. Kal. Marcii" for viii. Kal. Maii (April 24th).

Tanner
MS., 169*,
p. 5

March 29th. *Obiit Thomas abbas Cestrie.*

There is some difficulty in identifying the five abbots called "Thomas" mentioned in this kalendar, partly because only four are known otherwise, unless we include the last, Thomas Clarke, who was made Dean of the newly-established cathedral, on 4th August 1541, and died between 14th September and 2nd October of the same year (Hardy, *Le Neve's Fasti Eccles. Angl.*, iii. 263, also *Cheshire Sheaf* (1898), ser. iii. vol. ii. p. 8, *Cal. of Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, 1540-41, p. 535, no. 1135.4; p. 549, no. 1180; p. 602, no. 1308.8), and is therefore most unlikely. An alternative is to be found in Thomas Hyphile or Highfield, who was elected soon after 14th March 1524, and died shortly before 28th October 1527 (*Ibid.*, 1524-30, i. 64, no. 160; ii. 1590, no. 3528), the ruling abbot, John Birchenshaw, resigning as the result of quarrels with the Mayor on questions of jurisdiction, 1507-11 and afterwards, and with the Bishop concerning the use of the mitre and crozier, &c., in 1516 (Morris, *Chester*, pp. 133-136). Thomas Highfield was succeeded by Thomas Marshall, who, however, resigned before November 1529, when "John Abbot" was summoned to convocation at Canterbury (*Cal. of Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, 1524-30, ii. 1647, no. 3669; iii. 2700, no. 6047, Aldersay's "History of the Mayors" in Harl. MSS. 2057, fol. 27 (22)).¹ Other evidence of John Birchenshaw's suspension is to be found in the following entries in the Holmes MSS. (Harleian, 2071, fol. 15v): "21 Henry 7, Thomas Abbot; 22 Henry 7, John Abbot"; and "20 Henry 8, Thomas Abbot; 21 Henry 8, Thomas Marshall displaced and put downe." Canon Morris (*Chester*, p. 133) records also in "1522. This year the Abbott of Chester put down; 1529, Abbot Berchenshall deprived from being abbot, and shortly again restored"; and King (*Vale Royal*, 1656, p. 194) "1529. Abbot Birchenshaw was again restored to his place." These with Ormerod's notices (i. 254) suggest that John Birchenshaw was suspended before 1524. However that may be, there is no doubt that he was reinstated by 1530, and finally resigned on account of old age in 1538 (see above). Thomas Highfield is placed after John Birchenshaw as 25th abbot in the obits in the Holmes MS. I should thus be inclined to identify him as the fifth and otherwise unknown Thomas of our kalendar. The other abbots named "Thomas" are—

(1) Thomas of Capenhurst, 12th abbot, elected between 1st

¹ Thomas Marshall was elected Abbot of St. John the Baptist, Colchester, 20th May 1533, and is famous as one of the few abbots who refused to surrender his house. He was attainted of treason in 1539, and executed at Colchester on 1st December of that year (*Vict. Co. Hist. Essex*, ii. 97-100, 102, Browne Willis, pp. 67, 252).

and 15th October 1249 (*Cal. of Pat. Roll*, 1247-58, pp. 48, 51), died in 1265, on iiiij. Kal. Maii, according to *Annales* (pp. 92, 131, and hence Ormerod i. 251), which Chancellor Christie reads 17th April, but according to the Dodsworth extract from the 'Liber Ruber' (see above) it is April 1st, while the Holmes MS. (fol. 453 (86)) gives the date as "4 Kal. April" (March 29th), which date agrees with that of "Thomas abbot" in our kalendar, and moreover it would not necessitate the somewhat unusual direct method of reckoning the calends for the date of the death of Thomas and the election of his successor, Simon de Albo Monasterio (*q.v.*).

(2) Thomas of Byrch-Hylles or Burchells, 14th abbot, was elected early in 1291 (30th January according to Ormerod, i. 252), and hence *Annales*, p. 116 note, but licence to elect was only granted 1st March, and the election confirmed 21st March 1291 (*Cal. of Pat. Roll*, 1281-92, p. 423, hence Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ii. 374, note). He died at the end of 1323 or the beginning of 1324 (Ormerod, i. 252-53, and Helsby's note), so that 23rd December is a suitable date, and it is also given in the Holmes MS. (fol. 453 (86)).

(3) Thomas of Newport, 17th abbot, 1363-86, Ormerod, i. 253, states that he died 1st June 1385; but Helsby in a note shows that he was alive in November 1385. Perhaps Ormerod refers to the royal licence to elect a new abbot "in place of Sir Thomas de Neuport deceased," granted 1st June 1386 (*Cal. of Pat. Roll*, 1385-89, p. 152). He therefore died some time in the latter part of May 1386, and May 26th is confirmed by the Holmes MS. (fol. 453 (86)). Browne Willis (Willis MSS. in Bodleian Lib., no. 111* p. 252) also quotes the Lichfield Registers for May 1386.

(4) Thomas Erdeley or Yerdlesley, 20th abbot, elected some time between 20th May and 18th September 1413 (*Cal. of Pat. Roll*, 1413-16, pp. 9, 97; hence Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ii. 374), and died early in December 1434; the 4th according to the Holmes MS. (fol. 453 (86) v) and our kalendar, on the 2nd according to an extract from a rental in the Rawlinson MSS. (Bodl. Lib.), D, 1481 (14206), fol. 99v. Licence to elect his successor was granted 19th December 1434 (*Cal. of Pat. Roll*, 1429-36, p. 446, and Ormerod, i. 253).

It will be seen that four of these dates coincide with four of those in our kalendar, which are as follows: Thomas, 14th abbot, 23rd December; Thomas Erdeley, 4th December; and the three designated merely as "abbot," March 29th, May 26th, and October 20th. Putting aside the first two names which are quite clear, of the remaining three, two may be identified on the evidence given above. The "Thomas Abbot" of March 29th is Thomas of Capenhurst, 12th abbot; that of May 26th, Thomas of Newport, 17th abbot. The fifth and remaining Thomas on

October 20th is perhaps Thomas Highfield, 25th abbot. The date would fit well with that of the licence to elect his successor, October 28th, 1527 (see above). The name is written in quite a different hand from most of the others, and almost certainly has been added after 1390, perhaps by an enemy of John Birchenshaw. On the other hand, if it was inserted as late as 1527 we should expect it to be as fresh as Simon Ripley's name, which it is not. Thus it may be a later correction of one of the other abbots named "Thomas," but this does not seem very probable.

Tanner
MS., 169*,
p. 6

April 15th. *Obiit Ricardus, primus abbas Cestrie.*

Richard of Bec, in Normandy, was made 1st abbot in 1092-93, when the abbey was formed by Anselm, after thrice refusing the invitation of Earl Hugh of Chester, who was ill, and wished to perform a religious act before he died (*Eadmeri Historia*, Rolls Ser., pp. 27-9, 359; hence Will. Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, Rolls Ser., pp. 78, 308, *Annales*, p. 17, and foundation charter printed in Ormerod, i. 12). Richard died 26th April 1117 according to Ormerod, i. 250; 16th April 1117 according to Holmes MS. (fol. 452 (85) v), Harl. MS. 2071, fol. 15, and Dodsworth extract from the 'Liber Ruber' (see above); and 1116 according to Gastrell MS., *Annales*, pp. 18, 124. The more probable date is thus perhaps 15th or 16th April 1116.

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April 23rd. *Obiit Johannes Salghall abbas.*

John of Salghall or Saughall, 21st abbot, was elected on Monday before the Feast of Epiphany (4th January), and received confirmation 23rd January, 1435 (*Cal. of Pat. Roll*, 1429-36, p. 447; hence Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ii. 375; Rawlinson MSS. in Bodl. Lib., D. 1481, fol. 99v). He died in 1455, licence to elect his successor being granted 2nd May 1455 (*Cal. of Pat. Roll*, 1452-61, p. 246). Thus Ormerod's date, 1452 (which he may have obtained from King, *Vale Royal*, ii. 185, or from Harl. MS. 2071, fol. 15) is incorrect, as Helsby also points out in a note to i. 253. 23rd April is confirmed by the Holmes MS. (fol. 453 (86) v), and is a new date.

p. 7

May 7th. *Obiit Gaufridus, abbas VIIIs. Cestrie.*

Geoffrey, 7th abbot, was elected through the influence of Earl Ranulph de Blundevill after the deposition of Robert of Hastings, the result of a long lawsuit. His election was confirmed in 1194 (*Annales*, pp. 44, 126-7; hence Ormerod, i. 250). He died 7th May 1208, according to the Holmes MS., fol. 452 (85) v., and

Ormerod, i. 250. His successor, Hugh Grylle or Grill, was elected in 1208 (*Annales*, pp. 48, 127; hence Ormerod, i. 250).

May 10th. *Obiit Henricus Sutton abbas.*

Tanner
MS., 169*,
p. 7

Henry Sutton, 19th abbot, succeeded William de Merston, and was elected between 26th Jan. and 28th Feb. 1387 (*Cal. of Pat. Roll*, 1385-89, pp. 269, 281, which Dugdale, ii. 374, misquotes as 1386, and "Wm. de Merston" above). He died before 20th May 1413 (*ibid.*, 1413-16, p. 9; hence Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ii. 374); Ormerod, i. 253, giving the date as 8th May, probably a mistake in reckoning the Ides of May. The Holmes MS. (fol. 453 (86)v) has 10th May.

May 26th. *Obiit Thomas abbas Cestrie.*

p. 7

This seems to be Thomas of Newport, 17th abbot, elected in the early part of 1363 after the resignation of his predecessor, Richard of Sainsbury. A letter from Urban V. to the Bishop of Lichfield appointing Thomas de Newport is dated 6th March 1363, and not 23rd May, as Helsby (in Ormerod, i. 253), which is the date of another letter from the Pope relating to the revocation of the exemption granted previously to William of Bebington in answer to one from "Thomas Abbot"; on 6th June 1363 "Thomas Abbot" asks for confirmation of his privileges (*Lichfield Episcopal Registers*, Wm. Salt Arch. Soc. Trans, n.s. x. (ii.) 162-3; *Cal. of Papal Register, Letters*, iv. 88; *Petitions*, i. 424). He died in 1386, probably on 26th May. (See above.)

June 7th. *Obiit Johannes Comes VIIIs. Cestrie.*

p. 8

John le Scot, Earl of Chester and Huntingdon, and the last of the palatinate earls, died at "Darenhale, 7th June 1237," according to the *Annales*, pp. 60 and 128 (hence Helsby in Ormerod, i. 50). Darnhall, near Over, Cheshire, was a manor of the earls of Chester (Ormerod, ii. 180). Dugdale *Baronage* (p. 45) gives the same day but the year 1244, quoting as his authority *Knighton*, but in the Rolls Ser. edition (i. 212) of the latter no year is recorded, only the month and place. Most of *Knighton's* information is taken straight from *Higden*, who gives the year as 1237 (Rolls Ser., viii. 210). *Matthew of Paris* (Rolls Ser., iii. 394) merely says his death occurred in 1237, about Whitsunday, which in that year fell on 7th June. A royal letter to the constables of Chester and Beeston, stating that the king "has heard for certain that John, Earl of Huntingdon and Chester, is dead," is dated 6th June 1237 (*Cal. of Pat. Roll*, 1232-47, p. 184). The Holmes MS. (fol. 452 (85)) has 7th June.

Tanner
MS., 169*,
p. 8

June 29th. *Obiit Robertus* [or *Rogerus*] *abbas VI. Cestrie.*

Robert of Hastings, a monk of Canterbury, was appointed 6th abbot by the king, and Abp. Baldwin in 1186, between May and July 13th, when he received the benediction, the Abbey having been vacant for a year or so previously (*Gervase of Canterbury*, Rolls Ser., i. 335-6, hence Lee, *Chronicon Cestr.* in King, *Vale Royal* (1656), p. 45, and from him Browne Willis, p. 251, though he quotes a Cotton MS. The same date is given in the Dodsworth extract of the 'Liber Ruber,' in the Harl. MS. 2071, fol. 15, and the Gastrell MS. of the *Annales*, p. 126, and hence Ormerod, i. 250, the Mostyn MS. of the *Annales*, p. 34, alone having 1185, which is obviously a mistake, as the events immediately preceding it belong also to the year 1186 but are dated 1185). His election was contested by Earl Ranulph de Blundevill, who after much litigation succeeded in expelling Robert and establishing his own candidate, Geoffrey, in 1194. Thus the date of Robert's death is wrapt in difficulties. Our kalendar offers two, 29th June and 25th Sept., while the Holmes MS. (fol. 452 (85)v) has 26th Aug. 1186, the year of his election. It is just possible that one of these Roberts is a mistake for Robert the Prior, who died in 1120, and who is thought by Ormerod (i. 250) to have governed the abbey during the vacancy between the death of Richard, the 1st abbot in 1116 or 1117, and the election of William, the 2nd abbot in 1121 (*Annales*, pp. 18, 125). Another suggestion is that it was meant for Hugh Grylle or Grill, 8th abbot, who was elected in 1208, and died in 1226, 22nd July according to Wharton (MS. in Lambeth Pal. Library, no. 589, fol. 85, hence Browne Willis, i. 251), 21st June, according to the Holmes MS. (fol. 452 (85)v), but 21st April according to Ormerod (i. 250), one of the two former being the more probable, since his successor, William Marmion, was elected on 26th July 1226 (*Annales*, pp. 48, 54 and note, 127). His name is otherwise omitted from our kalendar.

p. 8

June 30th. *Obiit Hugo Comes Vs. Cestrie.*

Hugh Cyveliok or Cyveliog, son of Earl Ranulph II. and 5th Earl of Chester, died at Leek in Staffordshire, 30th June 1181 (*Annales*, pp. 28, 125). Most of the other authorities give only the year, as, for instance, Dugdale, *Baronage*, p. 41, quoting Robert del Monte (*i.e.* Cotton MSS. Domit. A, 8), who, however, does not mention Hugh's death, Leycester, *Prologomena* (Ormerod, i. 29), who quotes *Hoveden* (Rolls Ser., ii. 265), &c.; hence Ormerod (1819 ed.), i. 47, and Prof. Tout, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, who cites also *Benedictus* (Rolls Ser., i. 277) for the year, and the list of obits in the Spalding Priory document (mentioned above) for the day. *Benedictus* puts it between the events of

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27 April and July 1181, which Eyton (*Court of Henry II.*, 1878, pp. 223, 240) reads as c. April 1181, and misquotes the Spalding Priory document for the year 1180, hence Mr. Round (Introduction to *Pipe Roll*, 28 *Henry II.* (vol. 31, 1910), p. xxiv), who adds that the evidence of the roll is in favour of April 1181; but, as Miss Greg has pointed out to me, it is even more in favour of 30th June 1181. The Holmes MS. (fol. 452 (85)) also has 30th June. Helsby for some unknown reason alters Ormerod's correct date to Sept. 1180 (Ormerod, i. 49), which seems to be quite new and without authority. Thus our kalendar only confirms a well-known fact.

July 16th. *Obiit Walterus abbas Xs. Cestrie.*

Tanner
MS., 169*,
p. 9

Walter de Pincebeck or Pinchbeck, 10th abbot, was elected between 26th Sept. and 6th Oct. 1228 (*Annales*, pp. 54, 127, and "William, 9th abbot," below), and died in 1240 (*ibid.*, pp. 60, 128), the day being hitherto unrecorded; 16th June 1240 is given in the Holmes MS. (fol. 453 (86)).

July 22nd. *Obiit Ricardus abbas XVIIs. Cestrie.*

p. 9

Richard of Seynsbury or Sainsbury, 16th abbot, was elected at the end of 1349 (*Cal. of Papal Reg., Letters*, iii. 468; *Petitions*, i. 354-5; Morris, *Chester*, pp. 124-5; Ormerod, i. 253, and see "Wm. de Bebington," 15th abbot). His rule was of so turbulent a character that he was forced to resign his abbey into the hands of the Pope, whose direct protection had been obtained by his predecessor, though he himself had endeavoured to obtain a revocation of the exemption, which was only granted 23rd March 1363 (*Cal. of Papal Registers, Letters*, iii. 38, iv. 88; *Petitions*, i. 423, hence *Cheshire Sheaf* (1903), ser. iii. vol. v. p. 112). The resignation was made probably in the latter half of 1362, for in the Lichfield Register of 30th Aug. 1362 the abbey is said to be vacant, and the next abbot, Thomas of Newport, was appointed 6th March 1363 (*Cal. of Pat. Rolls, John-Edw. IV.* (Rec. Comm., 1802), p. 175; *Episcopal Registers*, William Salt Arch. Soc. Trans., x. (n.s.), ii. 161-5, Willis MSS. in Bodl. Lib., no. 46, fol. 36v, and see above, pp. 93, 95). The date of his death is unknown; in 1368 a Papal letter to the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry commands him to compel Richard de Seynesbury to return to his monastery, and to the obedience of Abbot Thomas, which hitherto he had refused, claiming from the Pope personal exemption (*Cal. of Papal Letters*, iv. 70). He evidently returned to Rome, for on 30th Sept., 1374, a safe conduct was granted him for six months to go to England and return thence to the Roman Court (*ibid.*, iv. 196). He was alive in 1379, to judge by the omission of his name from those recently dead, for whose

masses were to be said (*Lich. Epis. Reg.*, Wm. Salt Arch. Soc. Trans., viii. (n.s.) 136), and also in 1396-97, according to the Harl. MS. 2071, fol. 15v, and died in Lombardy, according to Harl. 2071, fol. 16; hence Ormerod, i. 253. The Holmes MS. (fol. 453 (86)) gives the day as 29th June, perhaps in confusion with Robert of Hastings, who also resigned his office. July 22nd is also a date for the death of Hugh Grill, 8th abbot, whose name is omitted from the kalendar. See above, p. 96.

Tanner
MS., 169*,
p. 9

July 27th. *Obiit Hugo Comes Is. Cestrie.*

Hugh Lupus, Viscount of Avranches and 1st Earl of Chester, died 27th July 1101 (*Orderic*, ed. Soc. Hist. de France, iv. (1852), 111; hence Leycester, *Prologomena* (Ormerod, i. 15), Ormerod, (i. 49), and Dugdale, *Baronage*, p. 34, and Mr. Hunt in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*). The *Annales*, pp. 16, 124, gives the year only, and the Holmes MS. (fol. 452 (85)) has 27th July. He was the real founder of St. Werburgh's, and was buried in the abbey.

p. 10

August 19th. *Obiit Willelmus Episcopus Cestrie.*

Probably William of Cornhill, Bishop of Lichfield, Coventry, and Chester, consecrated 25th Jan. 1215, and died 19th Aug. 1223 (Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* (1691), p. 437, and Stubbs' *Reg. Sacrum Anglic.* (1897), p. 54). His tombstone, which is transcribed in Hardy, *Le Neve's Fasti* (1854), i. 546, bears the date 20th Aug. 1223, but perhaps this is just a misreading. The year 1223 is recorded in the *Annales*, pp. 52, 127. An entry in the *Lichfield Epis. Reg.* (Wm. Salt Arch. Soc. Trans. (n.s.), viii. p. 137) concerning the foundation of a chantry in St. Werburgh's makes certain provisions that the monks may "pray for the soul of Abbot Thomas for all time, as is done for the founder, Bishop William." Wm. of Cornhill is the only Bishop of Chester of that name before 1379, and thus it may be concluded that he was a benefactor, or perhaps obtained some right for St. Werburgh's, for instance, in the settlement of the quarrel on episcopal election rights between the chapters of Coventry and Lichfield.

p. 10

August 31st. *Obiit Symon Ryppley abbas XXIII. Cestrie.*

Simon Rippley, 23rd abbot, succeeded Richard Oldham, who was presented to the See of Sodor and Man in 1481 (Hardy, *Le Neve's Fasti* (1854), iii. 326, but according to Stubbs, *Reg. Sac. Anglic.* (1897), p. 213, about 1475; he was still abbot in 1479-81 (Ormerod, i. 253; Morris, *Chester*, p. 132). Canon Morris, *ibid.*, states that Simon was made abbot 1485, the year of Richard Oldham's death (see below), suggesting that the latter

held the offices of abbot and bishop at the same time, or that there was a vacancy. In a *Signed Bill* of 16th Feb. 1486 (*Materials illustrative of reign of Hen. VII.*, Rolls Ser., i. 294), there is a reference to "Simond Ryppley chosen to be abbot of the monastery of St. Werburge of Chestir," which looks as if he had only lately been elected to his office. The date of his death is equally uncertain. Ormerod (i. 253, probably from Browne Willis, p. 252, who thus misquoted the 1491 of King *Vale Royal*, ii. 189), gives it as 30th Aug. 1492, as also the Holmes MS. (fol. 453 (86) v), (hence Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ii. 375), while the Harl. MS. 2071, fol. 15v has 1490. The various dates are probably due to mistakes in reckoning the regnal year, which began 22nd August. Licence to elect a new abbot, "vice Simon Ripley deceased," was granted 7th Sept. 1493, *Chester Warrants in Deputy-Keeper's Reports*, xxvi. App. p. 28, and according to Ormerod, i. 254, his successor, John Bichenshaw, 24th abbot, was elected 4th October 1493. Thus Simon Ripley's death probably occurred on 31st August 1493. It is generally asserted that he died and was buried at Warwick, but Browne Willis thinks he was buried in St. Werburgh's (MSS. in Bodleian Lib., no. 72, p. 145v), and his initials occur on a tomb in the chapter-house.

September 1st. *Obiit Robertus abbas Vs. Cestrie.*

Tanner
MS., 169*,
p. 11

Robert II., 5th abbot, was elected 3rd Feb. 1175, according to the Mostyn MS. of the *Annales* (p. 26) and Browne Willis (p. 251, quoting Wharton's notes from the Cotton MS. of the *Annales*), 1174, according to the Gastrell MS. (*Ibid.*, p. 125; hence Ormerod, i. 250), the latter being probably more correct, since Robert, 4th abbot, died 31st Jan. 1174. Robert, the 5th abbot, died in 1184, either 27th Aug. (Holmes MS., fol. 452 (85) v), 31st Aug. (*Annales*, pp. 30, 126), or 1st Sept., as above. At his death the King seized the abbey and gave the custody of it to Thomas de Husseburne for a year or so (Madox, *Exchequer* (1711), p. 212, quoted by Foss, *Judges* (1848), ii. 85; hence Morris, *Chester*, p. 118).

September 20th or 21st. *Obiit Ricardus Oldun
abbas Cestrie episcopus Sodorensis.*

p. 11

Richard Oldham, 22nd abbot, was elected between 2nd May and 2nd June 1455 (*Cal. of Pat. Roll*, 1452-61, p. 246; *Rymer's Foedera*, xi. 366; hence Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ii. 375, with a mistake or misprint of 1453). He was presented to the See of Sodor and Man probably in 1481 (see Simon Ripley above), and died 20th Sept. 1485, according to the Holmes MS. (fol. 453 (86) v), 19th Sept. 1486, according to Hardy, *Le Neve's*

and *Fasti* (1854), iii. 326, and 13th October 1485, according to Aldersay's "History of the Mayors," in Harl. MS. 2057, fol. 26 (21A), hence Ormerod and Stubbs, *Regis. Sacra. Anglic.* (1897), p. 213.

Tanner
MS., 169*,
p. 11

September 23rd. *Obiit Rogerus Frend, abbas
XIs. Cestrie.*

Roger Frend, 11th abbot, was elected between July and Sept. 1240 (*Annales*, pp. 60, 128, and see "Walter," 10th abbot, above), and died in 1249. Licence to elect a new abbot in his place was granted 1st Oct. 1249 (*Cal. of Pat. Roll*, 1247-58, p. 48; *Annales*, pp. 66, 128). The date, 23rd Sept., would thus fit very well, and it is confirmed by the Holmes MS. (fol. 453 (86)).

p. 11 September 25th. *Obiit Robertus abbas VIIs. Cestrie.*
See above, "Robert de Hastings."

p. 11 September 26th. *Obiit Willelmus abbas IXs. Cestrie.*

William de Marmium, or Marmion, 9th abbot, was elected on 26th July 1226 (*Annales*, pp. 54 note, 127). Ormerod's date (i. 250) of 21st April 1226 for the death of his predecessor, Hugh Grill, thus does not seem very probable; 21st June as given in the Holmes MS. (fol. 452 (85)v), or 22nd July as Browne Willis, i. 251, quoting Wharton's notes from the Cotton MS. of the *Annales*, are more suitable. William died in 1228 (*Annales*, *ibid.*), but on 27th Aug. according to the Holmes MS. (fol. 452 (85)v). His successor was elected by the 6th Oct. following (*Annales*, pp. 54, 127).

p. 12 October 5th. *Obiit Willelmus abbas IIIs. Cestrie.*

William, the 2nd abbot, was elected in 1121, his predecessor having died in 1116 or 1117 (*Annales*, pp. 18, 124, 125, and above, p. 94). He died 5th Oct. 1140 (Holmes MS., fol. 452 (85)v, *Annales*, pp. 20, 125); hence Ormerod, i. 250, with "11th" instead of "iii., non. Oct."

p. 12 October 20th. *Obiit Thomas abbas.*

This is possibly Thomas Highfield, or Hyphile, who was elected soon after 14th March 1524, and died shortly before 28th October 1527 (see above, "Thomas," pp. 92-4), or else it is a repetition of one of the other abbots named Thomas.

October 26th. *Obiit Ranulphus Comes VI. Cestrie.*

Tanner
MS., 169*,
p. 12

Ranulph III. de Blundevill, 6th Earl of Chester, and the most famous, died 26th Oct. 1232, at Wallingford, and was buried 3rd Nov. at Chester (*Annales*, pp. 58, 127; *Annales Monastici Tewkesbury* (Rolls Ser.), i. 87). Dugdale, *Baronage*, p. 44, misprints "50" Cal. Nov. 16 Henry III. (1232) for "v." quoting *Matthew of Westminster*, who gives the date as "v. Kal. Nov." (28th Oct.) 1232 (*Flores*, Rolls Ser., II. 206), the latter's information being derived from *Matthew of Paris* (Rolls Ser., III. 229). Leycester, *Prologomena* (Ormerod, i. 40), gives both dates, quoting *Annales of Tewkesbury* and *Matthew of Paris*, and so also Mr. Round in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* A charter granting land to St. Werburgh's for masses to be said for the soul of Ranulph, Earl of Chester and Lincoln, is dated 25th October 1232 (*Cal. of Charter Rolls*, 1226-1257, p. 169). The Holmes MS. is obviously mistaken in 26th Dec. (fol. 452).

November 16th. *Obiit Radulphus abbas III. Cestrie.*

p. 13

Ralph, 3rd abbot, was elected 22nd Jan. 1141 (*Annales*, pp. 20, 125; hence Ormerod, i. 250), and died in 1157 (*ibid.*) on 16th Nov., according to Holmes MS. (fol. 452 (85v)), and Ormerod, i. 250. His successor Robert Fitz-Nigel received the benediction on 6th Dec. 1157 (*Annales*, *ibid.*).

November 20th. *Obiit Willelmus abbas XV. Cestrie*
(above which is written) *bybynton.*

p. 13

William de Bebington, or Bybinton, or Byvington, 15th abbot, was elected shortly before 5th Feb. 1324, according to an entry in the Lichfield Registers, quoted by Browne Willis (MSS. in Bodl. Lib., no. 46, fol. 36v-39), and by Helsby (Ormerod, i. 252n), and died 20th Nov. 1349 (*ibid.*, i. 253). He was certainly dead by 1352 (see Ric. of Sainsbury). The same day is given in the Holmes MS. (fol. 453 (86)).

November 25th. *Obiit Ricardus Comes [II. Cestrie].*

p. 13

Richard, son of Hugh, and 2nd Earl of Chester, was drowned in the *White Ship* on St. Katherine's Day (25th Nov.) 1120 (*Annales*, pp. 18, 125; *Orderic*, Soc. Hist. de France, iv. (1852) 111, 411, 418). Miss Norgate in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* (s.n. Prince William) and elsewhere accepts the date as 1120, and so also Mr. Round in *Dict. Nat. Biog.* (s.n. Randolph I., 3rd earl), and *Geoffrey de Mandeville* (1892), pp. 423, 428, quoting *Huntingdon* and *Hoveden*. Dugdale, *Baronage*, p. 36, gives the date as 7 Kal.

Dec. 20, Hen. I. (25th Nov. 1119) quoting *Monasticon*, i. 867, which seems to be a wrong reference, and is probably meant for Orderic. The same date occurs in the Ellis ed. ii. 372, referring to Ormerod and the *Baronage*. Leycester, *Prologomena* (Ormerod, i. 17) gives both dates, but misquotes *Orderic* for 1119. Ormerod (1st ed. i. 47), and Helsby (in later ed. i. 49) also have 1119. The date, 1119, seems to come from the above misreading of *Orderic*.

Tanner
MS., 169*,
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December 4th. *Obiit Thomas Erdeley.*

Thomas Erdeley, 20th abbot, was elected in 1413, and died Dec. 1434. (See above, p. 93.)

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December 5th. *Obiit Margarita de Beston.*

This lady probably belonged to the family of Beeston, whose pedigree is set forth by Ormerod, ii. 270-2, 277. Probably she was a benefactor, and she must have died after the end of the fourteenth century, for her name is written in a different hand from those inserted before that date.

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December 17th. *Obiit Ranulphus Comes IIIIs. Cestrie.*

Ranulph II. de Gernons, 4th Earl of Chester, died in 1153 (*Annales*, pp. 22, 125). Dugdale, *Monasticon* (1st ed. ii. 280, Ellis ed. vi. 430), quotes "Henry Ferrers' Collection," for xvii. Kal. Jan. (16th Dec., 1153). *Gervase of Canterbury* (Rolls Ser., i. 155) has the year 1153, and between August and November, and so also *R. de Monte or de Torigny* (*Chron. of Stephen-Hen. I.*, Rolls Ser., iv. 177), but places the death after the events of 6th November. From him *Matthew Paris* (Rolls Ser., ii. 210), who has no date, but gives the poisoning story mentioned by all the above chroniclers; hence *Matthew Westminster* (Rolls Ser., ii. 73). Dugdale in his *Baronage* (p. 40) quotes all the above for 16th Dec. 1153, and hence Mr. Round (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* and *Geoffrey de Mandeville* (1895), p. 276). Leycester, *Prologomena* (Ormerod, i. 25) quotes *Gervase* for 1153, and *Matthew Paris* for the disinheritance of William Peverell in 1155 as the poisoner of Ranulph (also mentioned by *Symeon of Durham*, Rolls Ser., ii. 331), with others for 1152 and 1154. Ormerod (1st ed. i. 47) has 1153, which is corrected by Helsby (in his ed. i. 49) to 1153-55. The confusion doubtless arose from difficulties in reckoning the regnal year. There seems no doubt the correct year is 1153, and the date most probably Dec. 16th or 17th, the latter being confirmed by the Holmes MS. (fol. 452 (85)).

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December 23rd. *Obiit Thomas abbas XIIIIs. Cestrie.*

Thomas of Byrch-Hylles or Burchells was elected March 1291, and died at the end of 1323. (See above, p. 93.)

LIST OF ABBOTS OF ST. WERBURGH.

Abbots of St. Werburgh, Chester.	Date of Election.	Date of Death or Resignation.
1. Richard of Bec.	1092-93.	April 15-16, ¹ 1116 or 1117.
2. William.	1121.	October 5, 1140.
3. Ralph.	January 22, 1141 ²	November 16, 1157.
4. Robert Fitz-Nigel.	November-December 1157.	January 31, 1174.
5. Robert II.	February 3, 1174 or 75.	August 27-September 1, ¹ 1184.
6. Robert of Hastings.	May-July 1186.	Resigned by 1194.
7. Geoffrey.	1194.	May 7, 1208.
8. Hugh Grill.	1208.	July 22, 1226.
9. William of Marmion.	July 26, 1226.	September 26, ¹ 1228.
10. Walter of Pinchbeck.	September 26-October 6, 1228.	July 16, ¹ 1240.
11. Roger Frend.	July-September 1240.	September 23, ¹ 1249.
12. Thomas of Capenhurst.	October 1-15, 1249.	March 29 ¹ -April 1, 1265.
13. Simonde Albo Monasterio.	April 17-28, 1265.	February 22, 1291.
14. Thomas of Byrch-Hylles.	March 1-21, 1291.	December 23, ¹ 1323.
15. William of Bebington.	Shortly before February 5, 1324.	November 20, 1349.
16. Richard of Sainsbury.	End of 1349.	Resigned August 1362-March 6, 1363; <i>d.</i> 22nd July. ¹
17. Thomas of Newport.	<i>c.</i> March 6, 1363.	May 26, ¹ 1386.
18. William Merston.	June 1-July 31, 1386.	January 19, ¹ 1387.
19. Henry of Sutton.	January 26-February 28, 1387.	May 10, ¹ 1413.
20. Thomas Erdeley.	May 20-September 18, 1413.	December 2-4, ¹ 1434.
21. John of Saughall.	January 4, 1435.	April 23, ¹ 1455.
22. Richard Oldham.	May 2-June 2, 1455.	Bp. of Sodor and Man, 1481; <i>d.</i> September 20-30, 1485.
23. Simon Ripley.	1481 or 1485.	August 30-31, ¹ 1493.
24. John Birchenshaw.	September 7-October 4, 1493.	Finally resigned February 4, 1538.
25. Thomas Highfield.	March 14-April 14, 1524.	Shortly before October 28, 1527.
26. Thomas Marshall.	October 28-December 16, 1527.	Resigned by November 1529.
27. Thomas Clarke.	February 4-March 11, 1538.	Surrendered, January 20, 1540; 1st dean, August 4; <i>d.</i> September-October 1541.

¹ According to the obits in the kalendar and the notes in the Holmes MS. only.

² The dates from 1st January to 24th March are given in New Style in this table as in the notes above.

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