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Local Histories

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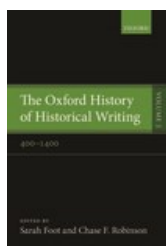
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CHAPTER

22 Local Histories 🔓

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Abstract

This chapter looks at how local historical writing is prominent in medieval historiography, just as local affairs dominated most lives in the Middle Ages. However, the term and category local history is a modern concept, not a medieval one. Furthermore, even as a modern analytic category, local history can be problematic. One might ask whether the category should include powerful counties but not small kingdoms, or national histories with local sections or brief local elements. In England, the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* was primarily concerned with national affairs, but also mentioned events in the particular monasteries where the various versions were written. This could provide curious juxtapositions, emphasizing the separate perception of the local and the national.

Keywords: local historical writing, medieval historiography, Middle Ages, national histories, local elements, Anglo Saxon Chronicle

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Just as local affairs dominated most lives in the Middle Ages so too is local historical writing prominent in medieval historiography. However, the term and category local history is a modern, not a medieval one. Furthermore, even as a modern analytic category, local history can be problematic. What should count as local? Should the category include significant and powerful duchies and counties but not small and weak kingdoms? Should analysis include national histories with local sections or brief local elements? In England, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was primarily concerned with national affairs, but also mentioned events in the particular monasteries where the various verison were written. This could provide curious juxtapositions, emphasizing the separate perception of the local and the national. Thus the Peterborough chronicler wrote of the political disruption of Stephen's reign that

> wherever cultivation was done, the ground produced no corn, because the land was all ruined by such doings, and they said openly that Christ and his saints were asleep. Such things, too much for us to describe, we suffered nineteen years for our sins. In all this evil time Abbot Martin held his abbacy [of Peterborough] for twenty years and a half, and eight days, with great energy, and

> provided for the monks and the guests everything they needed, and held great commemoration feasts in the house, and nevertheless worked at the church and appointed lands and income for it, and endowed it richly and had it roofed, and brought them into the new monastery on St Peter's day with great ceremony—that was AD 1140.[1]

There are also instances of local histories broadening beyond the events of their area, as when Dino Compagni's chronicle of Florence told of papal and imperial affairs, or the *Tarikh-i Bukhara* [History of Bukhara] dealt with al-Muqanna', a millenarian rebel against Abbasid rule.[2] The Anglo-Norman monk Orderic Vitalis ↳ set out to write a history of his monastery of Saint-Évroult, but ended up composing a wide-ranging *Historia ecclesiastica* [Ecclesiastical History], starting with the birth of Christ and extending to his own day.[3] There were also occasional completed or projected works formed of a collection of locally focused histories either by a single author, as in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta pontificum Anglorum* [Deeds of the English Bishops], or by several, as in Bernard Gui's proposed history of the Dominicans.[4]

Furthermore, writing on the local past was not the preserve of works that we would consider histories.[5] Much was contained within saints' 'Lives', just as there could be hagiographical elements within histories.[6] There was a strong element of local history within Guibert de Nogent's autobiography, his *Monodiae*.[7] Cartularies might be considered works of history in terms of their arrangement, or they might include narrative segments.[8] Individual charters, too, might contain elements of local historical writing. The earliest presentation of the abbey of Abingdon's version of its own history appears in charters of the late tenth century.[9] In the Islamic world, biographical dictionaries were the characteristic genre dealing with the local past.

Keeping in mind these problems, I shall proceed to look at the emergence of the different types of local historical writing; at their structures; at authors, and the authors' sources, language, and style; at purpose; and at the preservation and development of the texts. I distinguish three main categories of local history, that of an ecclesiastical institution, of an aristocratic family, and of a town. These categories are not entirely discrete. Church chronicles might overlap with family chronicles, as is shown for example by the title of the chronicle of Alnwick in the north of England: *The Genealogy of the Founders and Advocates of the Abbey of* ↳ *Alnwick*.[10] Or a church history, especially one concerned with an episcopal see, might have strong elements of a town history.[11] Likewise town and family history could be combined, as in the case of a chronicle written in Nuremberg by Ulman Strömer in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, which concentrated to a considerable degree upon the author's family: it was his 'Little Book of my family and of adventures'.[12]

Whilst examining a wide variety of texts, I explore local histories primarily through four works: a monastic charter-chronicle in Latin from twelfth-century England, the *Historia ecclesie Abbendonensis* [History of the Church of Abingdon]; an aristocratic family chronicle from early thirteenth-century northern France, again in Latin, Lambert of Ardres's *Historia comitum Ghisnensium* [History of the Counts of Guines];[13] an urban history from early fourteenth-century Florence, in Italian, by Dino Compagni; and a twelfth-century Persian version of a tenth-century Arabic urban history, *Tarikh-i Bukhara*.

Development Over Time and Space

Isolated monastic histories appear from the early sixth century. From the monasteries of Condat and Agaune in the Jura come the *Vita patrum Iurensium* [Lives of the Fathers of Jura] and the *Vita abbatum Acaunensium* [Lives of the Abbots of Agaune]. In early eighth-century Northumbria Bede wrote on the lives of the abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow. Then from the first half of the ninth century we have the *Gesta* [Deeds] of the abbots of Saint-Wandrille, and thereafter monastic histories grow more common. As for episcopal histories, in Rome the *Liber Pontificalis* [Book of the Popes] emerged in the second quarter of the sixth century. Later in that century Gregory of Tours included a section on the bishops of Tours at the end of his *Historia Francorum* [History of the Franks]. Late in the eighth century Paul the Deacon wrote on the deeds of the bishops of Metz, and thereafter works on bishops multiply.[14]

Songs amounting to oral histories of aristocratic families probably long existed, but the earliest aristocratic family history below the level of kings comes from early eleventh-century Normandy, Dudo of Saint-Quentin's *Libri III de moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum* [Customs and Acts of the First Norman Dukes]. Sometimes, and particularly in the later Middle Ages, such works came to be as much histories of an area as of the ruling family.[15]

As for historical writing concerning towns, this emerges certainly from around 900 in the Islamic world; earlier works, perhaps very brief ones, may be lost.[16] In Christendom, as we have seen, there was an element of town history to some *Gesta episcoporum*.[17] Chronicles specifically focused on the town rather than the bishop appear first in Italy. The earliest deliberately started as a town chronicle concerned Genoa. Its author, Caffaro di Rustico of Caschifellone, began it in the first half of the twelfth century, completed it in 1152, and presented it to the commune of Genoa. The consuls adopted it as the official town chronicle, continued first by Caffaro himself and then by others until the last decade of the thirteenth century.[18]

No one has undertaken a complete analysis of the geographical distribution of the different forms of local history. In the Islamic world local historical writing may have been particularly characteristic of Iran.[19] With regard to Christendom, it has been suggested that *Gesta episcoporum* was a genre specific to Carolingian society, its Ottonian restoration, and the lands of these imperial families.[20] It is possible that monastic compositions combining narrative and charter were peculiarly common in England, at least in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, possibly because of the exclusion of historical elements from the charters themselves.[21] Aristocratic family chronicles appeared from the thirteenth century and after in Germany, Italy, and Hungary.[22] They are notably absent in England; when English aristocratic families needed histories as genealogical proof in court, they used monastic chronicles.[23] As we have seen, historical writing was common in Islamic towns, and it also spread rapidly in Italy. In Germany, many towns had ↳ chronicles in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[24] Urban chronicles were less common elsewhere in Europe. In England, London appears to have been the only town to have produced chronicles, the first of which was the *Cronica maiorum et vicecomitum Londoniarum* [Chronicle of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London], written between 1258 and 1272, most likely by Arnold fitzThedmar, the alderman of Bridgeward.[25]

Structure

The author might choose to begin with a prologue. Of my four sample texts, Lambert of Ardres and the *Tarikh-i Bukhara* have quite extensive prefatory material, Dino Compagni a very short section, the Abingdon *Historia* no prologue, or at least none that survives. A geographical description might also appear at or very close to the start of the work.[26] Such a description might be lengthy, as in the first two chapters of Adam of Bremen's *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum* [Deeds of the Bishops of the Church of Hamburg],[27] or brief, as in the first surviving version of the Abingdon *Historia*: 'The hill of Abingdon is situated on the north side of the river Thames, where it passes by the bridge of the town of Oxford, and from the hill the same name is bestowed on the monastery positioned not far off.'[28]

Thereafter the arrangement is normally chronological. The author had to choose a starting-point. On occasion this might stretch back to a distant past unconnected with the locality,[29] or take the form of a world chronicle.[30] Alternatively, there might be an obvious starting-point, for example the foundation of the monastic house. Elsewhere, more of a decision might be needed. A writer might look back to a memorable event of local or wider significance. Thus Caffaro began his history: 'At the time of the expedition to Caesarea [i.e. the siege of Caesarea in 1099, part of the First Crusade], just before it, in the city of the Genoese a *compagna* of three years duration and of six consuls was begun. Their names were these:. ...' The annals of Cremona also began with the First Crusade, whilst those of Pisa looked back to the sea campaigns of the early eleventh century.[31] ↳ In Italy, at least, in the thirteenth century, some found such beginnings unsatisfactory, and looked back to myths of Trojan or Roman origins. Thus at Genoa, Jacopo Doria, last of the city's official annalists, added such a section to make up for its absence in Caffaro.[32]

The chronological arrangement need not consist of a single strand. Lambert of Ardres told the history of the counts of Guines up to the early years of Arnold II. He then went back to the mid-eleventh century to tell of the lords of Ardres into the time of Arnold IV of Ardres (1148–76), before dealing with the remaining history of the now-combined county of Guines and lordship of Ardres.[33] At St Augustine's, Canterbury, at the end of the fourteenth century, William Thorne reworked the chronicle of Thomas Sprott, one of his aims being to 'cut off sundry superfluities'. Sprott's chronicle had been in two successive chronological series, dealing first with the deeds of the monastery's abbots, then with those of archbishops of Canterbury. Thorne reworked the material into a single chronological series.[34] In other cases, the basic chronological arrangement could be interrupted. In the *Gesta* of the bishops of Cambrai, Book 1 dealt with the deeds of the bishops in chronological fashion, Book 3 with the deeds of Bishop Gerard (1012–51), but Book 2 with monasteries on a house-by-house basis.[35]

Amongst my four texts, the most diffuse is the *Tarikh-i Bukhara*. The first half to two-thirds is concerned largely with important people, buildings, and estates, their characteristics and histories. Events such as the conversion to Islam are not given particular prominence.[36] The remainder of the work is more focused on military and political affairs and here the arrangement is basically chronological.

How did the historians structure their chronologies? Some monastic works might only be concerned with the foundation of the house.[37] Others were only concerned with events of the writer's own lifetime. This was true of autobiographical works, such as those of Suger of St Denis and Henry of Blois, abbot of Glastonbury, on their administration of their churches.[38] Almost all of Dino Compagni's *Chronica* was concerned with events of his own time, and he—like some other writers—allowed himself to feature as a participant in the events.[39] ↳ Other works, too, such as Galbert of Bruges on the murder of Charles the Good, can be considered contemporary local history.[40] Many more local histories, however, dealt with extended periods, covering at least three office holders or lords, and stretching back to the foundation or origin of the church, family, or town concerned, and then normally on to the time of writing. In general it appears that three

'generations', be it of a family or of ecclesiastical office holders, was the shortest period such works covered, perhaps for reasons linked to the limits of unwritten memory.[41]

Family chronicles would begin with the earliest known ancestor—real or fictitious—although some writers felt compelled then to leave a gap, professing ignorance of events before more recent times.[42] Histories of churches might stretch back to the foundation, the first land grants, the earliest buildings, or even further back, to the founder's genealogy. A miracle might mark the foundation, and if the founder were a saint, the early stages of the work could amount to a saint's life.[43]

Thereafter, the history could take various forms. Some were arranged annalistically, with entries under specific years. This was the form used in the tenth century by al-Azdi for his *Taʾrikh al-Mawsil* [History of Mosul] and by Gilbert of Mons in his *Chronicon Hanoniense* [Chronicle of Hainaut].[44] The Cremona annals consist mostly of short entries for specific years, and for other years there are no entries.[45] Local entries could also be added to the text or the margins of a non-local annalistically arranged chronicle, as happened in copies of John of Worcester at Abingdon and Bury St Edmunds.[46]

The alternative to the annalistic was arrangement by office-holder or lord. Historical writing in such form might amount to little more than lists with comments. In the Islamic world al-Haytham ibn Adi, who died in 822, may have produced works that were basically annotated lists of governors, judges, and commanders of various cities or areas.[47] In Christendom, there were lists of bishops ↳ and abbots accompanied by brief entries, for example at Fulda.[48] Lay genealogies might likewise on occasion incorporate brief pieces of additional information on those listed.[49]

More extensive chronicles arranged in similar fashion are often referred to as the *Gesta* or 'Deeds' of the subjects. Even when this term does not appear in the title, it is a characteristic feature of works such as the Abingdon *Historia*. The structural significance of abbacies in the earlier version of that work is also illustrated by the division between its Book 1 and Book 2 occurring not at the Norman Conquest of England in 1066 but at the coming of the first abbot from Normandy in 1071.[50] The *Gesta* form is also used for bishops, for example in Heriger of Lobbes and Anselm of Liège's history of the bishops of Liège or Adam of Bremen's work on the archbishops of Hamburg.[51] Lay histories, such as that of Lambert of Ardres, were structured in similar fashion, dealing with the deeds of each lord, although necessarily sometimes also moving on to other matters.[52] The last stages of the *Tarikh-i Bukhara* are structured around the rule of particular *amirs*.[53] Secular office-holding could also be used to structure time even when the history was not presented as primarily the deeds of those office-holders. Thus Caffaro's history of Genoa used consulships as reference points for chronology.[54]

The biographical approach to local history is also clear in another genre in the Islamic world, that of the biographical dictionary. Such biographical dictionaries were compiled for various purposes, notably to authenticate the standing of those responsible for the transmission of traditions, particularly religious traditions. They could cover various types of group, including the city. Thus it has been estimated that the thirteenth-century history of Aleppo may have consisted of as many as 8,000 folios and included as many as 8,000 biographical ↳ notices.[55] A particularly large and noteworthy example is Ibn Asakir's compilation concerning Damascus.[56]

A further element in the construction of local histories, in particular those concerned with churches, was the inclusion of documents. Amongst my selected texts, the Abingdon *Historia* takes this form, and other examples can be found from England to Poland.[57] Such charter chronicles might be seen as forming a sub-genre of the *Gesta abbatum* and *Gesta episcoporum* tradition, although even within charter chronicles there was considerable variety, for example in the relative amount of document and narrative and also in the degree to which other elements, for example the miraculous, were included.[58]

Authors

Authors of the works normally were resident in the places concerned. Many writers of church histories were anonymous, providing a record of the community of which they were members. The composer and the reviser of the Abingdon *Historia* are both anonymous, although the former can probably be identified as having had a connection to the sacristy.[59] Others, however, we know by name, including some who were or became head of the monasteries concerned.[60] These included the autobiographers, notably Suger and Henry of Blois, already mentioned. A few writers were women, for example Hrosvitha, who composed a verse chronicle concerning Gandersheim.[61] Occasionally we know of writers being brought in from elsewhere to compile a monastic history, as William of Malmesbury did for Glastonbury.[62]

Some dynastic histories were written by laymen, some by clerics or monks.[63] Amongst the works of the former, the chronicle of the counts of Anjou by Fulk le Réchin is notable for being by one of the lords themselves.[64] Lambert, author ↳ of the *Historia comitum Ghisnensium* [History of the Counts of Guines], was chaplain of Ardres, and may have had some sort of kinship to the lords of Ardres. The style of his work suggests that he was extensively educated in one of the major twelfth-century schools.[65] Town chroniclers too might be clerics or laymen. In twelfth-century Milan, for example, there was a shift from clerical to lay authorship.[66] Elsewhere, mendicant clergy, town scribes, and notaries feature amongst historical writers. A further group were leading urban laymen and officials, for example Arnold fitzThedmar in London, Caffaro in Genoa, and Dino Compagni in Florence. He was a prosperous merchant, who served several terms as consul and held other important posts in the city.[67]

It is difficult to tell what initiated the writing of a local history. It may, for example, be that in twelfth-century England the composition of charter-chronicles arose from one church copying another, with an awareness of the text's utility. It has also been suggested that large-scale political disruption may have inspired historical writing as a form of record keeping, although establishing strict chronological links is in fact difficult.[68] More important, indeed, may have been internal strife within churches. Elsewhere, production of a history may have been intended to commemorate or celebrate a special occasion or event, or at least may have been stimulated by such an event. Urban II's visit to Anjou and his call for a crusade seem to have led to Count Fulk writing his *Historia* [History].[69] The Berne chronicle was initiated by the town council following the victory of the Aargaus in 1418.[70]

Sources

Authors wrote from a variety of sources. All my four examples drew on their personal knowledge and experience. They also used what might be called archaeological and architectural sources that they themselves had seen, for example buildings and tombs. Writers also had oral information, from tradition, old men, travellers, and others. Some writers gave the names, or lists of names, of their informants, and made general justifications of oral testimony.[71] Others stressed the authority and standing of their informants. This is particularly emphasized by Lambert of Ardres, who presents the section of his *Historia* concerning the ↳ lords of Ardres as being recounted to an audience by Walter of Le Clud: 'He put his right hand to his beard and combed and carded it with his fingers as old men often do; he opened his mouth in our midst, before me and all who were listening to this very thing, and said: …'.[72] Likewise Adam of Bremen supported his account of Sweden and Norway with the words 'About these kingdoms the very knowledgeable [*scientissimus*] king of the Danes [Swein Estrithson] told me that Norway can hardly be crossed in the course of a month, and Sweden is not easily traversed in two months. "I myself found this out," he said, "when a while ago I fought for twelve years in those regions under King James." '[73]

In addition, writers drew on written sources.[74] Often these were chronicles or other historical texts such as genealogies or lists concerning the same church, town, or family.[75] Thus at St Albans, for his *Gesta abbatum* Matthew Paris in the thirteenth century drew on and at least to some extent rewrote a now lost 'ancient roll', associated with the mid-twelfth-century cellarer named Adam. Matthew's work was continued into the early fourteenth century by another monk, and then taken up by Thomas Walsingham.[76] Modification of earlier sources is also indicated by the translator of the *Tarikh-i Bukhara* into Persian: 'Whenever unimportant items were mentioned in the Arabic manuscript, by the reading of which the temper became more fatigued, an account of such things was not made.'[77]

Other types of text were also used, to varying degrees by different writers. Urban chroniclers might employ town diaries and the German *Stadtbucher* ('town books').[78] Hagiographies might be used, as might literary texts and histories of areas beyond the locality.[79] Elements from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* [History of the Kings of Britain] were incorporated into the *Gesta* of the lords of Amboise,[80] and also into the revised version of the Abingdon *Historia*. Indeed, a comparison of the original and revised versions of the Abingdon *Historia* usefully shows the varying degree to which writers drew on diverse texts. The reviser, but not the original compiler, drew passages from, for example, Geoffrey, Bede, Wulfstan of Winchester's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* [Life of St Æthelwold], and a *Passio* and *Vita* of Edward the martyr.[81]

The reviser of the Abingdon *Historia* also added yet more charters to the original version.[82] Such inclusion of documents, as previously mentioned, was not infrequent in ecclesiastical histories, which might also incorporate letters or the records of councils.[83] Other types of chronicle too could include documents. Lambert included two privileges for the church of Ardres,[84] whilst the *Tarikh-i Bukhara* used a boundary clause from a record.[85] Other histories mention documents in the possession of the writer, but do not include them in the text.[86] Writers might also conduct research into documents, and come up with their own historical conclusions. The Abingdon text known as *De abbatibus* [Concerning the Abbots] includes a certain Ealhhard amongst the ninth-century abbots of the house. No other source mentions this abbot, although an Abbot Ealhhard of an unspecified abbey witnesses a charter preserved at Abingdon. The author of *De abbatibus* may have drawn on the charter and thus invented an abbot of his own house.[87] Such interpretative research leads us to a final source for the local historical writers, their own imaginations.[88]

Language and Style

Early medieval local histories were written in Latin, but from the twelfth century Latin and vernacular local historiography co-existed.[89] So too did Arabic and Persian historiography in the Islamic world. In the first chapter of the *Tarikh-i Bukhara*, it was stated that 'this book was written in Arabic in an elegant style during the months of the year 332/943. Since most people do not show a desire to read an Arabic book, friends of mine requested me to translate the book into Persian.'[90]

The degree of elaboration of style varied between writers. Lambert of Ardres's Latin could be highly sophisticated, both in its form and in its range of allusion.[91] Amongst English charter-chronicles, the complexity of the Latin of *Liber Eliensis* ↳ [Book of Ely] contrasts with the more straightforward style of the first version of the Abingdon *Historia*. Indeed, the reviser the *Historia* clearly considered the style of the original too plain, and sought to elaborate it.[92]

Various narrative and other devices could be used to involve the reader or listener. All my examples used at least snippets of direct speech. Thus the *Tarikh-i Bukhara* writes of a village where the palace had been destroyed, 'Amir Ismāʿīl Sāmānī convoked the people of that village and said, "I shall give 20,000 *dirhams* and wood, and shall take care of the rebuilding of it. Part of the building is standing. You make a grand mosque out of this palace." '[93] Longer speeches were also composed, sometimes with considerable classical allusion, as in Lambert of Ardres.[94] Authors might address one of the participants, as when Dino Compagni

wrote: 'O messr Donato, how fortune turned against you! First they captured your son, whom you ransomed for three thousand lire, and then they decapitated you.'[95] Moral lessons could be drawn, and the order of the narrative manipulated, through other devices, such as the inclusion of dreams.[96]

Purpose

What, then, was the purpose of the local histories? We have only limited indications of the intended audience for them, or of how they were read.[97] One obvious intended audience was the patron. Lambert of Ardres wrote at least in part in order to 'recover the love and grace' of his patron, Arnold of Guines.[98] However, it is less clear how fully and with what attention patrons read or listened to the work. Certainly works could be read out in abridgement, as is explicitly stated at the start of the *Tarikh-i Bukhara*,[99] whilst histories written in Latin may have been adapted into vernacular oral versions for the laity.[100] Meanwhile we also know that al-Khatib al-Baghdadi lectured in Baghdad from his own written work.[101]

p. 470 Titles may give some sense of the author's purpose. In late medieval England, Thomas of Burton entitled his work: 'The chronicle of the monastery of Meaux; ↳ concerning its foundation and growth, the gains, losses and enfeoffments of tenements belonging to it, the pleas, proceedings, charges and other things relating to it; set out in accordance with the order and the times of each of the abbots who successively and in turn ruled over it.'[102] When examining titles, however, it must be remembered that they might vary between manuscripts, and need not have been the author's own. In contrast, the 'Prologue' or 'Preface' would be the author's and hence is significant, despite the tendency to include certain *topoi*. Lambert of Ardres makes various quite common points:

> I remember that all things under heaven are fleeting and transitory in time, unless they are set down in letters. … And I remember that the memorable names and deeds of noteworthy and illustrious men, namely of the counts of Guines and no less the lords of Ardres, are almost completely entirely effaced—for shame!—from common memory, because of the feeble envy (or perhaps negligence) of writers. And so I have undertaken, to the degree that I am able and am made knowledgeable by truthful narrative testimony, to commemorate and write what is glorious, honourable and necessary to the praise and glory of these noble men and their memorable successors, and no less our contemporaries, and above all else of you, most loving prince and lord, Arnold of Guines, for whom I labour.

He then closes by stating that 'I will insert in the proper place and time material concerning the foundation of the churches, both those of Guines and those of the surrounding region'.[103]

Further indications of the purpose of the texts come from their themes and contents. Part of the motivation of author and reader must have been simple local and what might be called antiquarian interest. This manifests itself, for example, in Lambert of Ardres in explanations of place names and in descriptions of buildings.[104] He described building at the castle of Ardres, concluding that

> I have reminded you, fathers and lords, of these things concerning this house which you see and in which you live, not so much for you as for those from elsewhere who stay here with us. It is no wonder that guests and outsiders do not know all the rooms of this house, since many who have been raised from infancy and brought to man's estate in this house cannot know and comprehend the number of doors, gates, little entries, and windows.[105]

Pride and the need to explain here combine to demand a description. In other contexts such details may have been recorded to preserve or provide information for pilgrims.[106]

In addition, like other forms of medieval historical writing, local chronicles show the workings and interventions of God.[107] Indications of divine favour can be one way of legitimizing and glorifying the subject of the history, and such legitimization and glorification are further key purposes of the texts. This is apparent, for example, in their descriptions of the origins of their subject, origins which may be described in supernatural or much more practical terms.[108] In the introduction to the *Taʾrikh Jurjan* [History of Jurjan], the author makes three vital points: the Prophet had settled in Jurjan; the etymology of the name went back to a descendant of Noah called Jurdan; Jurjan was conquered by the great caliph, Umar b. al-Khattab.[109] Italian towns might emphasize that they were older than Rome, for example by providing a link to Troy.[110] Some bishoprics sought apostolic origins, other bishoprics and monasteries royal ones.[111] Immediately after mentioning the geographical location, the first version of the Abingdon *Historia* states that

> we have learnt from a record of bygone events which man of old was the original founder of this monastery: that Cissa king of the West Saxons gave the site for the monastery to be built for the worship of almighty God to a certain Hæha, a man of the religious life and abbot, and also to his sister, named Cilla, and that very many endowments and possessions were conferred by royal gift for this purpose, for the necessities of life of those living therein.

Family histories sought prestigious ancestors, with Lambert emphasizing the importance of a Dane with the significant name 'Sifridus' or Siegfried.[112] Wagnerian resonances are also present in his mention of the forebear of the lords of Boulogne who was 'led to Boulogne in a heavenly manner by a real divine swan (not by some phantasmagorical one)'.[113]

Other aspects besides origins could be a matter of pride displayed in the histories.[114] The fourteenth-century Florentine banker and chronicler Giovanni Villani used statistics to illustrate his city's wealth.[115] More widespread were interests in buildings, both secular and religious. Lambert described the great earthwork with which Arnold of Guines enclosed Ardres, 'as strong as the earthwork at Saint-Omer, such as hands had never undertaken nor eyes seen before in Guines'.[116] ↳ Lambert also mentioned the building of churches, the *Tarikh-i Bukhara* the building of Mosques.[117]

All writers emphasized distinguished men of the past. Family histories stressed exploits in war, monastic ones the piety of abbots. The *Tarikh-i Bukhara* records the glory arising from Khwaja Imam Abu Hafs, the great:

> There was no other person like him in the district. He was one of the honoured teachers of Bukhara. He was an ascetic as well as a man of knowledge. Because of him Bukhara became the 'Dome of Islam'. That was because the people of Bukhara were educated, knowledge was diffused there, and the imams and wise men were honoured.[118]

Local biographical dictionaries included distinguished scholars; the orthodoxy of their learning and the links of that learning to the Prophet could in turn help to legitimize the local regime.[119]

Such distinguished men provided moral *exempla* for those who read or heard histories.[120] The *Tarikh-i Bukhara*'s second chapter concerns judges in the town, and states of Saʿid ibn Khalaf al-Balkhi that 'he fulfilled the function of a judge in such a manner that he was set up as an example of impartiality, justice, and kindness to the people of God the Exalted. He established good laws with impartiality and justice, so that the strong could not tyrannise the weak.'[121] Ill times and evil people could also provide instruction, as is particularly clear in Dino Compagni's *Chronica*, with its condemnation of faction and ill faith.[122]

In church histories a further reason for the recording of men of earlier times was to help ensure their liturgical commemoration. One title given to the twelfth-century history from Ramsey Abbey in England was the *Liber benefactorum*, the 'Book of Patrons'.[123] The fifteenth-century Worksop Priory history took care

to record where patrons were buried.[124] Meanwhile family chronicles preserved a mass of genealogical material partly as a matter of celebration, perhaps as a way of preventing marriages within the prohibited degrees, possibly to help advertise their attractiveness in potential marriage alliances.[125]

Histories, particularly monastic histories, could act as legal records. As we have seen, some chronicles included large numbers of documents concerning the rights of the house. Hariulf of Saint-Riquier, for

example, said that he included ↳ copies of documents in case the originals were destroyed.[126] Even a chronicle that did not include many documents but recounted disputes could be intended as a legal record on an issue such as exemption from episcopal jurisdiction.[127]

In all these ways histories sought to explain, strengthen, and legitimize their subjects. Problematic successions or changes in dynastic relations could be presented in particularly amicable fashion. Take Lambert on the establishment of good relations between the counts of Guines and the lords of Ardres:

> the lord count tempered the dignity of his lordship towards the man subject to him, and the man, not pursuing his old rebellion against the counts of Guines, did not disdain to show his lord, his prince and count, respect and the submissive service he owed everywhere and at all times. … Nor was there any difference in dignity between them in all of Guines, except that one was called count and the other lord. But although outside the territory the count was very frequently called simply a lord, through the integrity of his name and in honour of his dignity, he maintained that he had always been, was said to be, and truly was a count.[128]

As the last sentence of this passage hints, the historians may often have been writing to counter the claims of others.[129] At Abingdon it is even possible that competitive historical writing was taking place, with the *De abbatibus* taking a more abbatial point of view, the *Historia* a more conventual one.[130]

Preservation and Development

Because of their specific interest, local histories tend to be preserved in only a small number of manuscripts.[131] The earliest for Lambert's *Historia* comes from the fifteenth century and is the basis for all other copies. The Abingdon *Historia* may survive in the original fair copy, but only one further manuscript, of a revised version, survives.[132] Others, such as the *Gesta* of the counts of Anjou, were rather more frequently copied.[133]

Many local histories were continued or revised. Their subject matter made this desirable, their format—whether annals or *Gesta*—rendered it easy. Town and church chronicles were generally continued or revised at the same location, but for family chronicles this was not necessarily the case, in part because their geographical focus might be less specific.[134] Revision might occur for various reasons, for example to bring the text up to date, to modify its description of earlier events in the light of recent developments, or to improve the literary quality of the text. In addition, recomposition might be inspired by the acquisition of additional information. Thomas of Loches, reviser of the *Gesta* of the counts of Anjou, had a genealogy of the counts which Fulk le Réchin had not possessed.[135] And oral evidence brought to Abingdon caused reconsideration not only of the origin of the place name but also of the identity of the monastery's founder. The revised version of the *Historia* gives a new account of the foundation:

> At that time there was a devout monk named Abben, who came to Britain from Ireland and in accordance with the faith preached the word of God, as the Holy Spirit used to give him eloquence. After some time passed, moreover, this man came to the court of the most distinguished king of the Britons, where he was received in praiseworthy fashion and magnificently honoured by everyone, and he became so privileged in the king's love that the latter rejoiced that he had

> discovered in Abben another Joseph. Furthermore, in response to his prayers, that Abben obtained from the king of the Britons most of the region of Berkshire, within which, by the consent of the king and the counsel of the kingdom, he happily founded a monastery on which he conferred the name Abingdon, alluding either to his own name or that of the place. For we have learnt from our contemporaries that, according to the language of the Irish, Abingdon is interpreted 'house of Aben'; but according to the language of the English, Abingdon commonly means 'the hill of Aben'.[136]

For once we can discover how a new foundation story, in this case with its distinctive Irish elements, came to a monastery. In 1180 the archbishop of Dublin, Lawrence O'Toole, stayed at Abingdon for three weeks. One of Lawrence's followers, perhaps with him at Abingdon, was Albinus O'Mulloy. Albinus may be identifiable with the author of the *Vita* of Abbán, which refers to that saint coming to Abingdon. So Lawrence's visit may well have been the occasion when the story of Abben reached Abingdon and set in motion the revision of its foundation history.[137] We thus end with a very pertinent reminder that local history in the Middle Ages was not just a matter of writing but also of no doubt very lively conversation.

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Notes

1   *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, version 'E', *s.a.* 1137, trans. in *English Historical Documents*, vol. 2: *1042–1189*, ed. D. C. Douglas and G. W. Greenaway, 2nd edn (London, 1981), 211. I would like to thank Liesbeth van Houts, Robert Hoyland, and Chris Given-Wilson for their comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

2   Dino Compagni, *Chronica*, bk. iii. c. 23, ed. Davide Cappi (Rome, 2000), 119–20; *Dino Compagni's Chronicle of Florence*, trans. Daniel E. Bornstein (Philadelphia, 1986), 85–6; and *The History of Bukhara*, c. 27, trans. Richard N. Frye (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), 65–73. Persian and Arabic texts have only been consulted in translation.

3   *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969–80); and Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis* (Oxford, 1984). For a universal chronicle becoming increasingly local, note the case of Sibt ibn al-Jawzi; R. Stephen Humphreys, *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry*, rev. edn (London, 1991), 240.

4   William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2007). For Bernard Gui see Elisabeth van Houts, *Local and Regional Chronicles* (Typologies des sources du Moyen Age occidental, 74; Turnhout, 1995), 20.

5   In this essay I use the terms 'history' and 'chronicle' in a general way; for medieval distinctions between the two, and the limits of such distinctions, see e.g. van Houts, *Local Chronicles*, 13–14.

6   See e.g. Samantha Kahn Herrick, *Imagining the Sacred Past: Hagiography and Power in Early Normandy* (Cambridge, Mass., 2007); and William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum*.

7   Guibert de Nogent, *Autobiographie*, ed. and trans. Edmond-René Labande (Paris, 1981).

8   See e.g. Robert F. Berkhofer, *Day of Reckoning: Power and Accountability in Medieval France* (Philadelphia, 2004); and Jean-Philippe Genet, 'Cartulaires, registres et histoire: l'exemple Anglais', in Bernard Guenée (ed.), *Le métier d'historien au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1977), 95–138.

9   *Historia ecclesie Abbendonensis*, ed. and trans. John Hudson, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2002, 2007), i. pp. lxxxi–lxxxiii. For overlap of document and narrative see also e.g. Marjorie Chibnall, 'Charter and Chronicle', in Christopher Brooke, David Luscombe, Geoffrey Martin, and Dorothy Owen (eds.), *Church and Government in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1976), 1–17.

10   'Cronica monasterii de Alnewyke', ed. W. Dickson, *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 1st ser. 3 (1844), 33–44; discussed in Chris Given-Wilson, *Chronicles* (London, 2004), 83–4. Note also Given-Wilson, 'Chronicles of the Mortimer Family, *c.* 1250–1450', in Richard Eales and Shaun Tyas (eds.), *Family and Dynasty in Late Medieval England* (Donington, 2003), 81–101.

11   See e.g. the comments of Michel Sot, *Gesta episcoporum, Gesta abbatum* (Typologies des sources du Moyen Age occidental, 37; Turnhout, 1981), 46, 52.

12   See F. R. H. Du Boulay, 'The German Town Chroniclers', in R. H. C. Davis and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays presented to Richard William Southern* (Oxford, 1981), 445–69, at 449–50. Note also Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 2nd edn (Leiden, 1968), 157–8, on Salih ibn Yahya's *History of Beirut and the Family of Buhtur.*

13   *Lamberti Ardensis historia comitum Ghisnensium*, ed. J. Heller (*MGH Scriptores*, 24; Hanover, 1879), 550–642; and Lambert of Ardres, *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, trans. Leah Shopkow (Philadelphia, 2001). On Lambert's sense of the past and of anachronism see Jean Dunbabin, 'Discovering a Past for the French Aristocracy', in Paul Magdalino (ed.), *Perceptions of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe* (London, 1992), 1–14, at 13–14.

14   On these developments see van Houts, *Local Chronicles*, 17–20; and Sot, *Gesta episcoporum*, 13–14, 16, 32–3.

15   On these developments see van Houts, *Local Chronicles*, 20–4; also Dunbabin, 'Discovering a Past', 4, on the shifting interests of the Flanders chronicle, *Flandria Generosa*, in the twelfth century.

16   Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 152–72; Chase F. Robinson, *Islamic Historiography* (Cambridge, 2003), 139–40. Note also *History of Bukhara*, trans. Frye, xi: 'It seems that every large city in the Muslim East had one or more local histories.' For pre-Islamic local history see Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 151–2.

17   Note also the existence of poems in praise of towns, poems that might contain a historical element; van Houts, *Local Chronicles*, 25.

18   See Chris Wickham, 'The Sense of the Past in Italian Communal Narratives', in Magdalino (ed.), *Perceptions of the Past*, 173–89, at 173.

19   See Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, esp. 160–2.

20   Sot, *Gesta episcoporum*, 7, and also 33–41.

21   *Historia ecclesie Abbendonensis*, ed. Hudson, i. pp. xvii–xviii.

22   Van Houts, *Local Chronicles*, 23.

23   Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, 79–85.

24   See Du Boulay, 'German Town Chroniclers'.

25   *De antiquis legibus liber: Cronica maiorum et vicecomitum Londoniarum*, ed. T. Stapleton (Camden Society, 34; 1846). Note also Martin Brett, 'The Annals of Bermondsey, Southwark and Merton', in David Abulafia, Michael Franklin, and Miri Rubin (eds.), *Church and City 1000–1500: Essays in Honour of Christopher Brooke* (Cambridge, 1992), 279–310; and Mary-Rose McLaren, *The London Chronicles of the Fifteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2002).

26   See also Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 166; and Humphreys, *Islamic History*, 238.

27   Adam von Bremen, *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*, ed. B. Schmeidler (*MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, 2; Hanover, 1917), 4–5; and Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, trans. Francis J. Tschan with a new

introduction and bibliography by Timothy Reuter (New York, 2002), 6–7.

28 *Historia ecclesie Abbendonensis*, ed. Hudson, i. 2.

29 See e.g. ibid., i. 232.

30 See van Houts, *Local Chronicles*, 15, 28–9; and Du Boulay, 'German Town Chroniclers', 462.

31 Wickham, 'Italian Communal Narratives', 173, 187.

32 Ibid., 188–9. See also e.g. Du Boulay, 'German Town Chroniclers', 464.

33 Note the comments of Shopkow in Lambert of Ardres, *History*, 4.

34 Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, 86–7.

35 *Gesta pontificum Cameracensium*, ed. L. C. Bethmann (*MGH Scriptores*, 7; Hanover, 1846), 393–488. Note also the descriptive final Book 4 of Adam of Bremen's *History of the Church of Hamburg*, entitled 'A Description of the Islands of the North'.

36 *History of Bukhara*, c. 20, trans. Frye, 48; cf. other Islamic texts, on which see Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 169–70.

37 See e.g. Elizabeth Freeman, *Narratives of a New Order: Cistercian Historical Writing in England, 1150–1250* (Turnhout, 2002), esp. 125–68.

38 *Oeuvres Complètes de Suger*, ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche (Paris, 1865), 151–209; and *English Episcopal Acta VIII: Winchester 1070–1204*, ed. M. J. Franklin (Oxford, 1993), 202–13.

39 See e.g. Compagni, bk. ii. c. 7, ed. Cappi, 51–2, trans. Bornstein, 38. Note also e.g. Lambert, c. 149, ed. Heller, 638, trans. Shopkow, 186.

40 *Galbertus notarius Brugensis de multro, traditione, et occisione gloriosi Karoli comitis Flandriarum*, ed. Jeff Rider (Corpus Christianorum continuatio mediaevalis, 131; Turnhout, 1994); *The Murder of Charles the Good*, trans. James Bruce Ross (New York, 1959). Note also on contemporary history the comments of Wickham, 'Italian Communal Narratives', 183; and Du Boulay, 'German Town Chroniclers', 453. For histories written in Egypt which centre on specific events see Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 155.

41 See e.g. Dunbabin, 'Discovering a Past', 3. See also van Houts, *Local Chronicles*, 28, on church histories.

42 Ibid., 35.

43 Ibid., 28–9.

44 Robinson, *Islamic Historiography*, 140; and *La chronique de Gislebert de Mons*, ed. L. Vanderkindere (Brussels, 1904).

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47 Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 162–3; and Robinson, *Islamic Historiography*, 140.

48 *Catalogus abbatum Fuldensium*, ed. G. Waitz (*MGH Scriptores*, 13; Hanover, 1881), 272–4. See also Sot, *Gesta episcoporum*, 15, 23.

49 See e.g. *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, ed. L. C. Bethmann (*MGH Scriptores*, 9; Hanover, 1851), 302–4. Note also Dunbabin, 'Discovering a Past', 3–4. See generally L. Genicot, *Les Généalogies* (Typologies des sources du Moyen Age occidental, 15; Turnhout, 1975).

50 *Historia ecclesie Abbendonensis*, ed. Hudson, ii. 2. The revised version of the *Historia* placed the division between its Books 2 and 3 at 1066, although with some confusion; *Historia ecclesie Abbendonensis*, i. pp. lxix, 370. Another Abingdon text from the twelfth century, commonly referred to as *De abbatibus*, also uses abbacies to provide its basic structure, at least from the time of Æthelwold; *Chronicon monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stevenson, 2 vols. (London, 1858), ii. 268–95. For histories in the form of *Gesta abbatum* elsewhere see e.g. Sigebert of Gembloux, *Gesta abbatum Gemblacensium*, ed. G. H. Pertz (*MGH Scriptores*, 8; Hanover, 1848), 523–42.

51 For Liège see *Gesta episcoporum Tungrensium, Traiectensium et Leodiensium*, ed. R. Koepke (*MGH Scriptores*, 7; Hanover, 1846), 134–234. William of Malmesbury's *Gesta pontificum* was structured in this way within his treatment of each diocese.

52 See also e.g. *Chronica de gestis consulum Andegavorum*, in *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou et des seigneurs d'Amboise*, ed. L. Halphen and R. Poupardin (Paris, 1913), 25–73; and van Houts, *Local Chronicles*, 36.

53 *History of Bukhara*, cc. 30–7, ed. Frye, 77–100.

54 See Wickham, 'Italian Communal Narratives', 174–6, for Caffaro's history being peculiarly early in its use of consulships. Note also regular references to office-holders in the *Cronica maiorum et vicecomitum Londoniarum*, ed. Stapleton.

55 Robinson, *Islamic Historiography*, 68, and, more generally, 68–72, 140; and Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 150–72.

56 Humphrey, *Islamic History*, 238.

57 For Poland see Piotr Górecki, *A Local Society in Transition: The Henryków Book and Related Documents* (Studies and Texts, 155; Toronto, 2007). See also e.g. *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Bertin*, ed. B. E. C. Guérard (Paris, 1841); and *Historia*

Compostellana, ed. Emma Falque Rey (Corpus Christianorum continuatio mediaevalis 70; Turnhout, 1988). Note Sot, *Gesta episcoporum*, 20–1.

58 See John Hudson, 'The Abbey of Abingdon, its *Chronicle* and the Norman Conquest', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 19 (1997), 181–202, at 185–7.

59 *Historia ecclesie Abbendonensis*, ed. Hudson, i. pp. xv–xvii, xxxviii.

60 e.g. for named authors of late medieval English monastic histories see Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, 84. Adam of Bremen is an example of an author of a *Gesta episcoporum* whose name is known. See further van Houts, *Local Chronicles*, 31.

61 Ibid.

62 John Scott, *The Early History of Glastonbury* (Woodbridge, 1981).

63 See van Houts, *Local Chronicles*, 39–40.

64 See *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou*, ed. Halphen and Poupardin.

65 See the comments of Shopkow in Lambert of Ardres, *History*, 2–3.

66 See the comments of Wickham, 'Italian Communal Narratives', 181. Note also Du Boulay, 'German Town Chroniclers', 446.

67 See van Houts, *Local Chronicles*, 47–8; Compagni, trans. Bornstein, pp. xx–xxi.

68 For the suggestion see Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307* (London, 1974), 269.

69 *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou*, ed. Halphen and Poupardin, 237–8.

70 Du Boulay, 'German Town Chroniclers', 466.

71 See Sot, *Gesta episcoporum*, 26–7; and van Houts, *Local Chronicles*, 41.

72 Lambert, c. 96, ed. Heller, 607, trans. Shopkow, 130.

73 Adam of Bremen, bk. iv. c. 21, ed. Schmeidler, 250, trans. Tschan, 202.

74 See Du Boulay, 'German Town Chroniclers', 468, on Sigmund Meisterlin travelling widely to conduct his researches.

75 For lists and genealogies see e.g. Dunbabin, 'Discovering a Past', 4.

76 Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, 86. Some of the legal language used by Matthew regarding the twelfth century indicates his rewriting of the 'ancient roll'.

77 *History of Bukhara*, c. 1, trans. Frye, 4. See also *History of Bukhara*, pp. xii–xiii for other sources used by Narshakhi. Note further Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 154, on al-Azdi's *Taʾrikh al-Mawsil* involving the collection of material from various books.

78 See van Houts, *Local Chronicles*, 49.

79 See Sot, *Gesta episcoporum*, 18, 28–9.

80 Dunbabin, 'Discovering a Past', 9.

81 *Historia ecclesie Abbendonensis*, ed. Hudson, i. pp. xli–xlii.

82 *Historia ecclesie Abbendonensis*, ed. Hudson, i. pp. xliv–xlviii.

83 See Sot, *Gesta episcoporum*, 49. On the inclusion of forged documents see ibid., 28, 49–50.

84 Lambert, cc. 116, 137, ed. Heller, 617–18, 631, trans. Shopkow, 148–9, 173–4.

85 *History of Bukhara*, c. 23, trans. Frye, 54.

86 See e.g. Compagni, bk. ii. c. 7, ed. Cappi, 51–2, trans. Bornstein, 38. Note also the absence of texts of documents in the *Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, ed. and trans. Eleanor Searle (Oxford, 1980), compared with otherwise somewhat similar English monastic chronicles.

87 *Historia ecclesie Abbendonensis*, ed. Hudson, i. p. xciv; note also ibid., i. p. xci for the problem posed by another charter that has a boundary clause mentioning an 'Abbendun' not at the position of the present monastery.

88 Note also van Houts, *Local Chronicles*, 35–6.

89 See ibid. The local elements of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* could be seen as a partial exception.

90 *History of Bukhara*, c. 1, trans. Frye, 3.

91 See the comments of Shopkow, Lambert of Ardres, *History*, 2–9; for an example see Lambert, Prologue, ed. Heller, 558. Note also the comments of Dunbabin, 'Discovering a Past', 10, on the style of Thomas of Loches's *Gesta consulum Andegavorum*.

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93 *History of Bukhara*, c. 4, trans. Frye, 17.

94 See e.g. Lambert, c. 18, ed. Heller, 571, trans. Shopkow, 66.

95 Compagni, bk. ii. c. 31, ed. Cappi, 81, trans. Bornstein, 58.

96 See e.g. *Historia ecclesie Abbendonensis*, ed. Hudson, i. 358–60, ii. 328–30. On moral reflections and exemplary stories in Islamic local histories see e.g. Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 157, on Ibn Sasra's work based in Damascus.

97 Note Du Boulay, 'German Town Chroniclers', 461, on Jakob Twinger writing for educated laymen.

98 Lambert, Prologue, c. 149, ed. Heller, 557, 638, trans. Shopkow, 43, 186.

99 *History of Bukhara*, c. 1, trans. Frye, 4.

100 See van Houts, *Local Chronicles*, 51.

101 Robinson, *Islamic Historiography*, 109.

102 *Chronica monasterii de Melsa*, ed. E. A. Bond, 3 vols. (London, 1866–8), i. 1.

103 Lambert, Preface, ed. Heller, 559, trans. Shopkow, 47–8. See also e.g. Compagni, Proemio, bk. i. c. 1, ed. Cappi, 3–4, trans. Bornstein, 3, 5.

104 For place and building names see e.g. Lambert, cc. 57, 83, ed. Heller, 589–90, 599, trans. Shopkow, 98, 116. On chroniclers writing simply for their own satisfaction see also e.g. Du Boulay, 'German Town Chroniclers', 459–61.

105 Lambert, c. 127, ed. Heller, 624, trans. Shopkow, 161.

106 Note e.g. Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 164–6.

107 See e.g. Compagni, bk iii. cc. 1, 12, 37, ed. Cappi, 87, 104, 142, trans. Bornstein, 63, 75, 98.

108 For the latter see e.g. *History of Bukhara*, c. 2, trans. Frye, 6.

109 Robinson, *Islamic Historiography*, 141; Jurjan was an area and city in north-east Iran.

110 See van Houts, *Local Chronicles*, 45–6.

111 See e.g. Sot, *Gesta episcoporum*, 16–17, 34–5.

112 Lambert, cc. 7–11, ed. Heller, 566–8, trans. Shopkow, 58–61; note the comments of Shopkow, 26, Dunbabin, 'Discovering a Past', 7.

113 Lambert, c. 16, ed. Heller, 570, trans Shopkow, 65; see the comments of e.g. Shopkow, 217 n. 72, Dunbabin, 'Discovering a Past', 12.

114 Note also Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 150, on local pride.

115 Van Houts, *Local Chronicles*, 46.

116 Lambert, c. 152, ed. Heller, 640, trans. Shopkow, 190–1. See also e.g. Dunbabin, 'Discovering a Past', 8 on the *Gesta* of the lords of Amboise.

117 See e.g. Lambert, c. 30, ed. Heller, 576–7, trans. Shopkow, 76; and *History of Bukhara*, cc. 4, 21, trans. Frye, 14–15, 48–52.

118 *History of Bukhara*, c. 23, trans. Frye, 56. See also Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 166.

119 Robinson, *Islamic Historiography*, 141–2; and Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 166.

120 Note also Dunbabin, 'Discovering a Past', 7, on the pedagogy of Thomas of Loches in his *Gesta* of the counts of Anjou. See e.g. *History of Bukhara*, c. 23, trans. Frye, 55, for a story with a clear moral.

121 *History of Bukhara*, c. 2, trans. Frye, 5.

122 For condemnation of bad men see also e.g. Lambert, c. 18, ed. Heller, 571, trans. Shopkow, 66.

123 *Chronicon abbatiæ Rameseiensis*, ed. W. D. Macray (London, 1886), 3.

124 See Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, 81–2.

125 See Dunbabin, 'Discovering a Past', 3. For large amounts of genealogical material see e.g. Lambert, cc. 48, 133, ed. Heller, 584–5, 627–8, trans. Shopkow, 90, 167.

126 Hariulf, *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Riquier*, ed. F. Lot (Paris, 1894), 2. See also Sot, *Gesta episcoporum*, 27–8.

127 For the case of Battle Abbey and the bishops of Chichester see *Battle Chronicle*, ed. Searle, esp. 146–210; and Nicholas Vincent, 'King Henry II and the Monks of Battle: The Battle Chronicle Unmasked', in Richard Gameson and Henrietta Leyser (eds.), *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting* (Oxford, 2001), 264–86.

128 Lambert, c. 70, ed. Heller, 595, trans. Shopkow, 108. See also e.g. van Houts, *Local Chronicles*, 23–4, on historians and the succession to the duchy of Bavaria.

129 A point especially clear in e.g. Lambert, cc. 4, 15, 101, 139, ed. Heller, 565, 569, 610, 632, trans. Shopkow, 56, 63, 135–6, 176.

130 See *Historia ecclesie Abbendonensis*, ed. Hudson, ii. pp. xxii–xxiii. On internal conflict and historical writing see also e.g. Du Boulay, 'German Town Chroniclers', 456–8.

131 See also van Houts, *Local Chronicles*, 54–5. See ibid., 56, for the manuscript context in which the histories survive.

132 Lambert, trans. Shopkow, 34; *Historia ecclesie Abbendonensis*, ed. Hudson, i. pp. xv, xxxvii. See also Compagni, trans. Bornstein, p. xxvii, *History of Bukhara*, trans. Frye, pp. xi, xiv–xvii.

133 Van Houts, *Local Chronicles*, 55–6.

134 See van Houts, *Local Chronicles*, 53–4; and Sot, *Gesta episcoporum*, 50–2.

135 Dunbabin, 'Discovering a Past', 7.

136 *Historia ecclesie Abbendonensis*, ed. Hudson, i. 234.

137 Ibid., i. p. xliii.