University of Glasgow

Matheson, Lister Malcolm (1977) *The prose Brut : a parallel edition of Glasgow Hunterian MSS. T.3.12 and V.5.13, with introduction and notes.* PhD thesis.

http://theses.gla.ac.uk/3131/

Copyright and moral rights for this thesis are retained by the author

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the Author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the Author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

Glasgow Theses Service
http://theses.gla.ac.uk/
theses@gla.ac.uk

THE PROSE BRUT: A PARALLEL EDITION OF GLASGOW HUNTERIAN MSS. T.3.12 AND V.5.13, WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

by

LISTER MALCOLM MATHESON

VOLUME I

SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D.
TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE

MARCH, 1977

Here may a man here how engelond was
first called Albion And afterwarde
whan it hadde first ye name
of the noble londe of Surrye ȳ
was a noble kyng & al so
myghty and of grete renoun
that men called Dyoclesyan ȳ
wel and noblich hym gouerned and
reuled wyth hys noble chyualrye
so yat he conquered alle ye londes ȳ
were a bonte hym so yat almost alle
the kynges of ye Weld were to hym
entendaunt And yus it by fylle
that thes Dyoclesyan wedded a gen
tyll damesell yat men called Iabana
that was hys emes dogter and
she loued hym as reson wolde And
so longe yei leuedyn in fere yat he
hadde getyn on here xxxvij dogters
of whiche dogters ye eldest men
called Albanye And ȳese damesels
whan yei comen to age were
were so fayre yat it was won
dre and yer fore Dyoclesyan yat was
her fader made a compaynge by
hys letters and comaunded alle ye
kynges yat heldyn of hym yat yei
shulde come to hym at a certeyne
day as in ye letters was conteyned
to be at hys solempne feste And at ye
same day alle ye kynges comen & broght
ten wiy yem admyralles and princes
and dukes & noble chyualrye and
muche mirthe and goy was at yat
solempnite yat wonder it was
to wete And yus it fylle yat yis
Dyoclesyan yozt to wedde hys xxxvij
dogters con to ye kynges yat were
comyn to yat solempnite And so
yei spekyn and dedyn yat Albanye
ye eldest dogter and alle her sustres

were worthiliche maried vn to the xxxvij
ij kynges yat were lordes of grete
power lastyng yat solempnite And
whan yis feste was done euery kyng
nome hys wyf and lad her home to his
contre and yer made her queen And
so it fylle that dame Albany becom
so wicked and so sterne & ov pride
and hadde disdeyn and scorn of her
lorde and wolde not done hys wylle
but done alle thyng yat her liked
And also so alle her other sustryne
bare hem so wickedlich a zeyn her
lordes yat wonder it was to se
te and hadde scorne and despite of
her lordes for hem yozt ȳ yei
were nozt of so grete kynde comen
as yei were & as Dyoclesyan her fader
And ye kynges yat were her lordes
wolden hans chastised hem in stur
mane first yorgh fair by beste and
zifte and it was nedis ye bette
but ye nolde for no maner chastysyng
And so yei hadde alle her wille and
and dede alle yyng as hem liked
And so forth a tyme ye xxxviij be
tyn her wyfes and many tymes &
ofte & wende hans hem a medys
but it wolde nozt bene for no maner
chastysyng but alle bycommen wo.
and woo and so yei hadde her wille
custum and wille And ther fore
ye kynges yat hadde spoused ye eldes
dogter Albanye wrote ye condycy
ons & ye maners of his wyfe Albanye
and sente hem vn to Dyoclesyan her
fader And whan alle ye othir kynges
herde yat yei nadde & wrote ye con
dycyons and tauches of her wyfes
sent vn to Dyoclesyan cursed with
her cokewll And whan Dyoclesyan

CONTAINS

PULLOUTS

Preface

The English Prose Brut is preserved in over 140 MSS. and appeared in 13 printed editions between 1480 and 1528. It was probably the most popular secular work of the Middle Ages in England and is the earliest of the medieval prose chronicles in English. Its influence on later histories was widespread; Jean Waurin took it as his major source for his Recueil des Croniques d'Engleterre, and it was used by all the great chronicle writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries such as Hall, Stow, and Holinshed. For many years the Brut has required a fresh examination, and it is my hope that the present edition and study will go some way towards fulfilling that need.

I must record my deep gratitude to Professor Michael L. Samuels, who initially suggested the Brut as a potentially fruitful field of research and whose advice and criticism have been invaluable throughout the preparation of this edition. I further thank Professor Samuels for the dialect maps of 'it' and 'through' in Essex and for permission to reproduce these and the unpublished maps of 'neither' and 'but'. I am obliged to Dr. A.I. Doyle for expert advice on the present locations of a number of MSS. that were formerly in private ownership, and I express my thanks to the authorities and staff of those libraries and institutions in which I consulted MSS. of the Brut. I also wish to thank Miss Patricia Pecoy of the University of Michigan for her patient and accurate typing of a long and difficult text. Finally, I must mention my debt to Dr. Elpis Mitropoulou, whose example and encouragement were of great help at those times when my self-imposed task appeared without end.

L.M.M.

CONTENTS

VOLUME I

Page

PREFACE ii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS AND FIGURES v
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS vii
SUMMARY x

INTRODUCTION:

I. Previous Study of the Brut 1
The Purpose of the Present Edition and
Outstanding Problems 15
Appendix: Ownership of MSS. by Religious
Foundations 17

II. Classification of the MSS. of the English Brut.. 18
List of MSS. of the English Brut 20
List of Early Printed Editions 26
(i) The Anglo-Norman Source 27
(ii) Stages of Development of the
English Brut 28
(iii) The MSS. of the English Brut:
(a) The Common Version 30
Appendix 1: Test Factors used in
the Examination of MSS. 97
Appendix 2: Lettered Criteria for
the Common Version 99
(b) The Extended Version and the
Abbreviated Version 100
Correspondences and Divergences
between the EV and AV Groups 152

Page

Appendix: Test Factors used in the Examination of Extended/Abbreviated Version MSS. 185
(c) Peculiar Texts and Versions 187

III. The Manuscripts used in this Edition 219
Dialects of Hunterian MSS. T.3.12 and V.5.13 ... 227
Some Features of Spelling in Hunterian MS. V.5.13 242
The Punctuation Systems of Hunterian MS. T.3.12. 245
The Wauton Family 323
Textual Introduction and Editorial Procedure ... 330

BIBLIOGRAPHY 339

VOLUME II

HUNTERIAN MSS. T.3.12 and V.5.13, TEXTS AND NOTES

VOLUME III

TEXTS AND NOTES (continued)
COMMENTARIES AND NOTES 473
Appendix: The Source of Queen Isabella's Letter ... 585

List of Illustrations and Figures

Hunterian MS. T.3.12,
fol. 1^a (Hand A) — frontispiece

Plates (at end of Vol. I)
I. Hunterian MS. T.3.12,
fol. 32^b (Hand B)
II. Hunterian MS. T.3.12,
fol. 69^a (Hand B)
III. Hunterian MS. T.3.12,
fol. 94^b (Hand C)
IV. Hunterian MS. V.5.13,
fol. 11^b
V. Hunterian MS. V.5.13,
fol. 147^a

Figures
1 The Development of the Common Version — between pp. 99-100
2 The Development of the Common Version in terms of Criteria — between pp. 99-100
3 Omissions in the Halidon Hill chapter in the Abbreviated Version Group B — opposite p. 144
4 Similar Readings in the EV/1419:B and the AV:B — pp. 166-9
5 Dissimilar Readings in the EV/1419:B and the AV:B — pp. 171-6
6 Details from the exordia of the AV:D, EV/1419:A and EV/1419:B — pp. 180-1

7	Some Dialectal Features in Hands A, B, and C of Hunterian MS. T.3.12	pp. 230-1
8	Hit and it in Essex	opposite p. 232
9	Dialectal forms of 'neither'	opposite p. 233
10	Dialectal forms of 'but'	opposite p. 233
11	Changes in form and frequency of forms in Hand B of Hunterian MS. T.3.12	pp. 236-7
12	'through' in Hand B of Hunterian MS. T.3.12	opposite p. 238
13	Dialectal forms of 'through' in Essex	opposite p. 239
14	Overall Frequency of (.˜) in all Grammatical Positions in Hand A	opposite p. 263
15	Frequency of (.˜), (.), and no punctuation in Position 2.a(i) in Hand A	opposite p. 263
16	(a) Frequency of (.) in Hand C (b) Frequency of (//), (/), and (.˜) in Hand C	opposite p. 318
17	The Wauton Family in Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire	opposite p. 329

List of Abbreviations

AV	Abbreviated Version
Brie	F.W.D. Brie, The Brut or the Chronicles of England, EETS O.S. 131, 136, 1906, 1908.
Brie, G.u.Q.	_____, Geschichte und Quellen der mittelenglischen Prosachronik 'The Brut of England' oder 'The Chronicles of England', Marburg, 1905
Cottle	B. Cottle, The Triumph of English 1350-1400, London, 1969
CV	Common Version
D.N.B.	Dictionary of National Biography
DOST	Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue
ES	English Studies
EETS O.S., E.S.	Early English Text Society, Original Series, Extra Series
EV	Extended Version
f.c.	full continuation
Kingsford	C.L. Kingsford, English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century, Oxford, 1913
Lass	R. Lass, ed., Approaches to English Historical Linguistics, New York, 1969
MED	Middle English Dictionary
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
PV	Peculiar Version
RES	Review of English Studies
s.c.	shortened continuation

TPS	Transactions of the Philological Society
V.H.C.E.	Victoria History of the Counties of England
Whiting	B.J. and H.W. Whiting, Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases, Harvard University Press, 1968
Zettl	E. Zettl, An Anonymous Short English Metrical Chronicle, EETS O.S. 196, 1935

Additional abbreviations used in the textual notes and Commentaries

app.	apparently	om.	omitted
approx.	approximate(ly)	orig.	original(ly)
betw.	between	poss.	possibly
col.	column	pret.	preterite
corr.	corrector	prob.	probably
erron.	erroneous(ly)	var.	variant

NOTE: Internal cross-references in the Introduction are given by page number alone; cross-references to the texts cite volume number also.

SUMMARY OF THE PROSE BRUT:
A PARALLEL EDITION OF
GLASGOW HUNTERIAN MSS. T.3.12 AND V.5.13,
WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

Summary

The basis of the present edition of the English Prose Brut is two manuscripts from the Hunterian collection of the University of Glasgow, MSS. T.3.12 and V.5.13. These stand at some remove from one another textually, and are presented as parallel texts with a full textual apparatus. Two short sections of text are presented which are not printed by F.W.D. Brie in his edition, The Brut or the Chronicles of Englond, EETS O.S. 131, 136, 1906, 1908. The first, the Cadwallader episode, is based on Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae; the second purports to be a letter sent by Queen Isabella, the wife of Edward II, to the mayor and citizenry of London. A set of notes for each manuscript forms a commentary; that for Hunterian MS. T.3.12 encompasses general as well as linguistic points of interest, while that for Hunterian MS. V.5.13 deals mainly with the scribal errors and corruptions with which the text abounds.

The Introduction falls into three major parts. A short first section surveys previous study of the Brut and outlines the purpose of the present study and some outstanding problems and areas in which further work would be profitable.

The second section presents a classification of manuscripts of the Brut, based on an examination of some one hundred and ten manuscripts held in the United Kingdom and France. They were found to fall into three main versions, the Common Version, the Extended Version, and the Abbreviated Version; a further category is composed of 'peculiar' texts and versions, often consisting of no more than one text which is a reworking of a text of another version.

Each of the main versions can be subdivided into a number of groups, and for the Common Version a figure was

constructed showing the interrelationships between the groups, based on a number of criteria of content and textual alteration. The groups of the Abbreviated Version, previously thought to be simple abbreviations of corresponding groups in the Extended Version, are shown to be the result of complex scribal crossing of groups. A list of manuscripts containing texts of the Brut and their present location, including some hitherto unrecognized texts, is also given.

The third section of the Introduction deals with topics specifically related to the Hunterian manuscripts used in the edition. The dialects of the three main hands of Hunterian MS. T.3.12 (North-West Essex, Central South Essex, and South-East Suffolk) and of the single hand of Hunterian MS. V.5.13 (Central Surrey) were localized according to the system of dialect analysis proposed by Professors A. McIntosh and M.L. Samuels. Extralinguistic confirmation of the localizations of Hunterian MS. T.3.12 is suggested by the use in this manuscript of the coat of arms of the Wauton family, which had strong Essex connections.

The punctuation systems employed by Hands A and C of Hunterian MS. T.3.12 are studied in depth, and are shown to be complex and consistent systems used in a wide variety of grammatical positions. Both systems are composite, and combine elocutionary and expository (structural) purposes.

INTRODUCTION

AND

BIBLIOGRAPHY

INTRODUCTION

I. Previous Study of the Brut

Modern study of the Brut began in 1856 with the appearance of Frederic Madden's article entitled 'Prose Chronicles of England called the Brute'.[1] His conclusions were based on a limited number of texts (I estimate he saw c.36, 5 of which were Anglo-Norman), and are largely erroneous. He assumed, correctly, that 'the original text was compiled in French [i.e. Anglo-Norman]', although he left open the possibility of a Latin original[2], and he was further correct in recognizing two principal redactions of the Anglo-Norman Brut, the second of which formed the basis of the English translation. His reconstruction of the development is highly simplified; he deduced that the original translation ended with the Battle of Halidon Hill[3], to which a continuation was added, taking the narrative to 1337. A subsequent continuation took the text to the siege of Rouen. Madden noticed the inclusion of a long poem on the siege in some MSS., and printed it in Archaeologia XXII from the texts of MSS.Harl.2256 and Harl.753.[4]

---

[1] F. Madden, 'Prose Chronicles of England called the Brute', Notes and Queries 2nd Ser., I (1856), pp. 1-4. This article is an amplification of remarks made by Madden in his edition of Havelok the Dane for the Roxburghe Club (1828). For earlier notes and references to the Brut by the antiquarian Thomas Hearne, see Brie, G.u. Q. pp. 6-7.
[2] He knew of no Latin texts. [3] On the basis of the words Deo gracias often found at this point, and on the evidence of a MS. ending in '1332' sold in 1829 (unseen by Madden?).
[4] He printed only the second part of the poem, to complement a fragment in Balliol Coll. Oxf. MS. 354, printed by J.J. Conybeare in Archaeologia XXI. The complete poem has been printed in its original form by J. Gairdner in Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the 15th Century, Camden Society, (1876); and by H. Huscher (see below). A fragment was printed by Hearne in his edition of Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, Vol. I, pp.lxxxiii ff.

Madden also remarked the exordium that some MSS. possess, but he did not realise that this was a secondary development, and he simply included such MSS. with those which I call the Common Version.[1] Similarly, he did not ascertain the true relationship between certain shortened texts (e.g. MSS. Harl.1337 and Harl.6251, texts of my Abbreviated Version[2]). Instead, he suggested that these MSS. represent 'a first translation, which was afterwards revised and augmented'.

Another error is made in regard to Caxton's edition of the Brut under the title The Chronicles of England, for Madden took the view that the printer was also the author of the text from the reign of Henry VI to the beginning of the reign of Edward IV (1460). MSS. containing this portion of text are, in Madden's view, 'evidently only transcripts from the printed edition, with some alterations made by the transcribers'. In fact, Caxton took this portion of text from a MS. original[3].

Madden also believed that he had discovered the identity of the English translator of the Brut, in the lines appended to the text of BM MS. Harl.2279 naming Sir John Maundevyle. He did not realise, however, that these lines apply to a second translation from the Anglo-Norman[4], an unfortunate error on Madden's part, since he had examined a MS. of this later translation, BM Harl.4690. The misunderstanding is compounded by the fact that Madden explicitly rejected the idea that there were two translations in the introduction to his edition of Havelok the Dane.

Madden's pioneering foray into the wilderness of Brut MSS. led him to conclusions which have been disproved; the importance of his work lies in its very existence, that it brought attention to the Brut, an edition of

---

[1]See p. 18. [2]See pp. 18, 100. [3]See pp. 82-8. [4]See pp. 212-8.

which 'would be a volume well worthy the attention of one of our wealthy bibliographical clubs'. Almost half a century later, Friedrich Brie produced such an edition for the Early English Text Society.

Before dealing with Brie's work on the Brut, mention must be made of an article by Paul Meyer, entitled 'De quelques Chroniques Anglo-Normandes qui ont porté le nom de Brut'.[1] Again working from a strictly limited number of MSS., Meyer attempted to classify the Anglo-Norman texts, and although he made no detailed analysis of the relationships between his resulting groups, Meyer's descriptive classification, as far as it goes, seems fairly accurate. A commendable feature of this paper is the number of illustrative passages from various MSS.

The work of Friedrich Brie, however, superseded that of Madden and Meyer. Before Brie's edition appeared for the EETS[2], an abstract of his intended introduction appeared under the title Geschichte und Quellen der mittelenglischen Prosachronik The Brute of England oder The Chronicles of England.[3] Since Brie's final volume for the EETS containing introduction and notes never appeared, this abstract has remained the single previous attempt at a definitive study of the Brut.

Brie lists 167 MSS. of the Brut[4], in Anglo-Norman, English and Latin, 147 of which he examined personally.

---

[1]P. Meyer, 'De quelques Chroniques Anglo-Normandes qui ont porté le nom de Brut', Bulletin de la société des anciens textes français, (1878), pp. 104-45. [2]F.W.D. Brie, The Brut or The Chronicles of England, EETS 131, 136, (1906, 1908). [3]F.W.D. Brie, Geschichte und Quellen, Marburg, 1905. [4]Brie's list is now out of date, and is superseded for the English MSS. by my list. Many MSS. in private hands in 1905 have since been sold. Many such sales are remarked in J.E. Wells, A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1400, New Haven, 1916, with periodic supplements. A list of Anglo-Norman MSS. is given in J. Vising, Anglo-Norman Language and Literature, London and Oxford, 1923; this list differs in some

On this basis, he attempted to classify the MSS. and to identify the sources of the continuations. Although founded on Meyer's work, Brie's modified classification of the Anglo-Norman MSS. is based on considerably more texts than the earlier scholar knew of, and it has never been seriously criticized or altered *in toto*. Individual areas have, however, been criticized. In the introduction to her edition of the poem that prefaces a number of the Anglo-Norman texts, G.E. Brereton finds her views on the relationships of the MSS. with which she is concerned to be 'diametrically opposed to those of Brie'.[1] Similarly, Brie's ascription of the authorship of part of the Long Version of the Anglo-Norman *Brut* to William Pakington has been refuted, in my opinion successfully, by John Taylor.[2] Little study has been made of the Anglo-Norman work, and it seems likely that in the light of future research, Brie's conclusions will require to be questioned, and a number of them will doubtless be modified.

In regard to Brie's treatment of the English *Brut* several adverse criticisms can be made.[3] Some mistakes are made in the description of MSS. by Brie's correspondents, e.g. of the Hunterian MSS. in Glasgow, and where

---

respects from that given by Brie. G.E. Brereton lists MSS. containing the metrical prologue in *Des Grauntz Geanz*, Medium Aevum Monographs II, Oxford, 1937. Three hitherto unlisted MSS. are described by M.D. Legge and G.E. Brereton in *Medium Aevum* vii (1938). C.L. Kingsford (see below) gives on p. 310 of his book an English MS. unlisted by Brie; on p. 310 he lists 9 MSS. of the Latin *Brut* unmentioned by Brie. I have identified several hitherto unknown or unrecognized MSS. of the English, Anglo-Norman and Latin *Brut*, and it is possible that a number of MSS., catalogued wrongly, exist in libraries that are dependent on old catalogues. I have noted that BM MSS. Addit. 39758 and Egerton 2885 are Latin *Bruts*. Brie's reference to Lambeth MS. 751 as an English Brut is incorrect. [1]Brereton, op. cit., p. xviii. [2]J. Taylor, 'The French "Brut" and the Reign of Edward II', *English Historical Review* 72 (1957), pp. 423-37. [3]Many of which can be applied to his treatment of the Anglo-Norman texts also.

Brie had to rely on printed descriptions, e.g. of Peterhouse Coll. Camb. MS. 190 (Warkworth's Chronicle).[1]

Errors are occasionally made in transcription, e.g. 1) For: Ilustres choses.. (p. 31), read: Plusures choses.. 2) For: þe henderent..þe forþ end..getts..whan..wryte in þere in voyde lyne.. (p. 92), read: þe henderend..þe forþer end..gettes..when..wryte in þeis iij voyde lyns.. 3) For: in rule 7 governaunce. (p. 83, final words of BM Harl.24), read: in Ruele and good gouernaunce.¶ Deo gracias

I have silently corrected such errors and misreadings whenever the relevant passage occurs in the body of my study.

A more serious criticism can be made of Brie's methods of classifying MSS. simply by the type of continuations found to constitute the text. By itself this method is too fixed; Brie seldom takes into account textual differences between MSS. that possess what are basically similar continuations. Occasionally he mentions 'Stiländerungen und Kurzungen', but only on one occasion[2] does he make different 'Wortlaut und Stil' a primary factor in distinguishing a separate group among Common Version MSS. It is typical of Brie's reaction to textual and stylistic differences that he goes on to say of the MSS. of this group[3]: 'Dass sie für die Textkritik völlig unbrauchbar sind, braucht wohl kaum erwähnt zu werden'.

It must be continually borne in mind when reading Brie's descriptions that the phrases 'die gewöhnliche Fortsetzung', 'Prolog und Text stimmen genau zum Vorigen' and 'der Text stimmt von Anfang bis zu Ende in jeder Beziehung mit dem vorigen überein', do not refer to exact verbal likeness but to a similarity of content. The lack

---

[1] Brie did not see this MS. because during his stay in Cambridge the key to the manuscript cupboard was lost.
[2] p. 65. [3] of which Hunt. MS. T.3.12 is a member.

of detailed textual analyses or comparisons deprives Brie of a certain delicacy in differentiating between groups of MSS., and leads to over-simplification in determining the relationships. 'Good' MSS. are for Brie those that possess the same contents and that do not diverge stylistically from the norm, unless they present historically interesting details in their narrative. Thus the inclusion of the Cadwallader episode is simply the mark of a 'bad' text[1]; whereas the presence or absence of this episode can be made a telling factor in classification, Brie discounts it. Although he recognizes the existence of an Extended Version and of associated abbreviated texts, Brie dismisses such MSS. as worthless: 'Was die Handschriften der erweiterten Fassung betrifft, so haben sie für die Textkritik nicht die den geringsten Wert. Die ältesten und besten MSS. zeigen nur einen leidlichen Text, die späteren einen schrecklich zugerichteten...[2] Der Inhalt der verkürzten Handschriften ist auf das Aeusserste entstellt. Auslassungen, Namensverdrehungen, Verstümmelungen und Irrtümer berauben sie eines jeden Interesses, so dass wir uns mit einer blossen Aufzählung der Handschriften begnügen können.'[3] Some of the sting, however, is taken out of Brie's condemnation when he admits that he cannot decide whether some MSS. belong to the Extended Version or 'zur gewöhnliche Klasse' because they are incomplete at the beginning. Furthermore, he classifies several MSS. wrongly as Common Version texts that are in fact members of this 'worthless' group.

It is often those aspects that Brie sees as failings that give the abbreviated texts their unique interest.

---

[1] p. 56: 'Im Allgemeinen repräsentieren die Handschriften, welche die Cadwalader Episode enthalten, einen weniger guten Text als die anderen.' Brie is not consistent in his declared intention to note the presence or absence of this episode in a MS. [2] p. 83. [3] p. 84.

Dialectal or linguistic interest, as in Hunt. MS. V.5.13, is not considered, and Brie's linguistic comments are limited to two short passages: 'Weder ist eine Handschrift älter als ca. 1400, noch zeigt eine von ihnen ausgeprägte Spuren von Dialekt. Vor allem entstammt keine dem nördlichen England. So habe ich ungern, aber notgedrungen im Allgemein auf sprachliche Erörterungen verzichten müssen.'[1] 'Die ältesten Handschriften zeigen sämtlich den Sprachstand des Ostmittelländischen um 1400, weshalb wir für das Original gleichfalls ostmittelländischen Ursprung voraussetzen dürfen.'[2]

Despite its shortcomings, Brie's abstract is a laudable achievement, bringing some order to a vast number of MSS., and this work has been a valuable aid to the present study, although I question and disprove a number of its conclusions and attempt to place due emphasis on areas that Brie dismissed. A second achievement, a work of considerable labour as my own experience has testified, is Brie's edition of the Brut, which confirmed him as the major authority on the chronicle, on whom all subsequent study has been based.

Brie's choice of MSS. for his edition is largely based on his classification according to continuation outlined in his earlier work. Only one complete text is presented, from Bodl. MS. Rawl. B 171[3], and since this MS. represents the earliest stage in the development of the English text, it does not include either the Cadwallader episode or Queen Isabella's letter to the citizens of London; accordingly, neither of these portions of text is printed by Brie. In all, 26 MSS. are used by Brie; 16 MSS. provide sections of continuous text, and 11 MSS. are

---

[1] p. 51. [2] p. 54. [3] The second part of this MS., written in a later hand, is not printed.

used for purposes of collation.[1] The following points of detail should be noted regarding the texts used by Brie: 1) BM Addit. MS. 24859 (lettered 'T' by Brie), used to collate the text 1333-1377, 1377-1419, is not a text of the Common Version as Brie thought, but belongs to an Extended Version group, the EV/1419:B (see p. 119 below). 2) Appendix C (Brie, pp. 392-393), from Bodl. MS. Rawl. B 173, is not found uniquely in this MS., as Brie believed; for example, it is found in Hunt. MS. T.3.12, which is printed here.[2]
3) The latter part of BM MS. Harl.3730, used to collate BM Addit.MS.10099, is derived from Caxton's edition of the Polychronicon (1482)[3], which was based in this part on Caxton's edition of the Brut (1480). It should be further noted that the lacunae noted by Brie in this latter work[4], which he collated with BM MS. Addit. 10099, represent leaves missing only in the particular volume that he used. The gaps are not found in other copies of the same edition, such as that held in the Hunterian Collection of the University of Glasgow.

In 1913, the eminent historical scholar, C.L. Kingsford, treated certain aspects and texts of the Brut in chapter 5 of his English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century.[5] Kingsford's primary interest was historical, and he acknowledges his debt to Brie's abstract (following which he wrongly ascribes the authorship of the Longer Anglo-Norman Version to William Pakington). He is concerned with the continuations of the text that take 1377 as their starting-point, pointing out the close relationships between these and the London

---

[1]Lambeth MS. 6 appears in both functions, as continuous text and as collation. [2]Vol. III pp. 396-402. [3]See further, pp. 93-4. [4]Brie, pp. 524 and 531. [5]C.L. Kingsford, English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century, Oxford, 1913.

Chronicles. From such comparisons, and on the evidence of internal historical details, Kingsford attempts to date approximately the composition of the continuations, and there seems little reason to doubt his conclusions in this respect. His comments on the relationships of the texts, however, are more open to argument, since they are principally based only on that selection of texts printed by Brie. The assertion (p. 119) that 'the version of 1430 is not, even for the early part of the reign of Henry V. derived from the other version' [i.e. that ending in 1419 with the words in rule and governance] is contradicted by the evidence of texts like Hunt. T.3.12, which includes textual characteristics of both versions.[1] Speaking of the peculiar versions of the Brut contained in MSS. Harl.53 and Lambeth 84, and in Davies's Chronicle[2], and of their relationships both to the Latin Brut and to the main Brut tradition, Kingsford remarks that 'the overlapping and interlacing of these Chronicles [i.e. in their contents] makes the history of their development a difficult problem' (p. 128).[3] Further investigation of the Latin Brut is required[4], but the present classification makes unlikely Kingsford's suggestion, based on his comparison of content between texts, that there were 'earlier recensions of the English Brut than that great one which ended in 1419 at the fall of Rouen...one perhaps ending in November 1415 or in October 1416, and others more certainly in July 1417 and November 1417' (p. 133).

---

[1]See further, pp. 64-6. [2]J.S. Davies, English Chronicle, 1377-1461, Camden Society, 1st. Ser., 1856. [3]'Development', 'relationship' and 'derived from' are terms loosely used by Kingsford; on occasion they seem to be used of the historical content of the text, whereas elsewhere they appear to refer to textual matters (e.g. on pp. 299-302). [4]Kingsford edits extracts from the Latin Brut and from the 1430 English Version in an appendix.

Kingsford re-established the importance of the Brut - 'the most popular and widely diffused history of the time' - for the study of the sources of English history in the fifteenth century. A less successful attempt to assess the literary value of the Brut was made by Fritz-Joachim Starke in his study Populäre Englische Chroniken des 15. Jahrhunderts.[1] For all points concerning the development of the texts Starke is dependent on Brie's Geschichte und Quellen and on Kingsford's work, and for his texts he uses Brie's edition. Most of the conclusions reached are undoubtedly true, but they only serve to show that the Brut is representative of the values of its age. It is not surprising that 'die christlich-kirchlichen Züge' and knightly values are highly esteemed in kings, or that there is a strong moralizing tendency in the work, or that 'Wunder, Prophezeiungen, Visionen und Träume spielen eine grosse Rolle' (p. 103). Possibly it is because the Brut is fairly simple in purpose that Starke's study appears unsatisfactory; few of his comments are not immediately obvious in reading the work. On the form of the Brut, Starke makes some interesting remarks, e.g. he makes a valid distinction between what Kingsford called 'the more set and artistic continuations'[2], and the continuations represented by D, E and F in Brie's edition, on the grounds that the latter are based on the mayoral years while the former transform the same material, i.e. civic chronicles, into continuous narrative in which the chapter is the basic formal unit (although traces of annalistic form are preserved).[3] A second important distinction is that the former continuations are not 'open-ended' like civic chronicles, for they end at important

---

[1] F.-J. Starke, Populäre Englische Chroniken des 15. Jahrhunderts, Neue Deutsche Forschungen 3, Berlin, 1935. Chapter 4 and Appendices 1 and 2 deal with the Brut.
[2] Kingsford, op. cit., p. 115. [3] Starke, op. cit., pp. 107-8.

historical junctures. Further points made by Starke and worthy of note concern the presentation of war and the dramatic quality of a number of scenes. That poetic originals underlie certain campaigns and battles was recognized by Brie and Kingsford; the Brut's description of the battle of Agincourt is associated with the ballad Battaile of Agincourt[1], John Page's poem The Siege of Rouen is paraphrased in prose in many Brut MSS. and survives in verse in others[2], a poem on the battle of Halidon Hill appears as the conclusion of the second translation of the Brut[3], Lambeth MS. 6 ends with a ballad on the siege of Calais.[4] Starke ascribes the use of poetic originals to the desire of the public to have exciting and imaginative battle-scenes, and he compares poetic and prose versions of the battle of Halidon Hill (pp. 120-121), the battle of Agincourt (pp. 122-123), and the siege of Rouen (pp. 136-138). As a result of these comparisons Starke finds slightly more parallels between poetry and prose than Brie did.[5]

He further remarks on the use of direct speech in the Brut, which gives an immediacy of experience and a decidedly dramatic quality to a number of scenes, e.g. the well-constructed interview between King John and the papal legate Pandolf, and the trials of Thomas of Lancaster and of Edmund of Woodstock (pp. 126-129). Moreover, such use of dialogue is not restricted to any single part of the Brut; it is found even in relatively unimportant scenes in peculiar versions such as contained in MSS.Harl.53, Lambeth 6, Lambeth 84 and Davies's Chronicle (pp. 161-164). Dramatisation can therefore be seen as an accepted literary method in prose well before

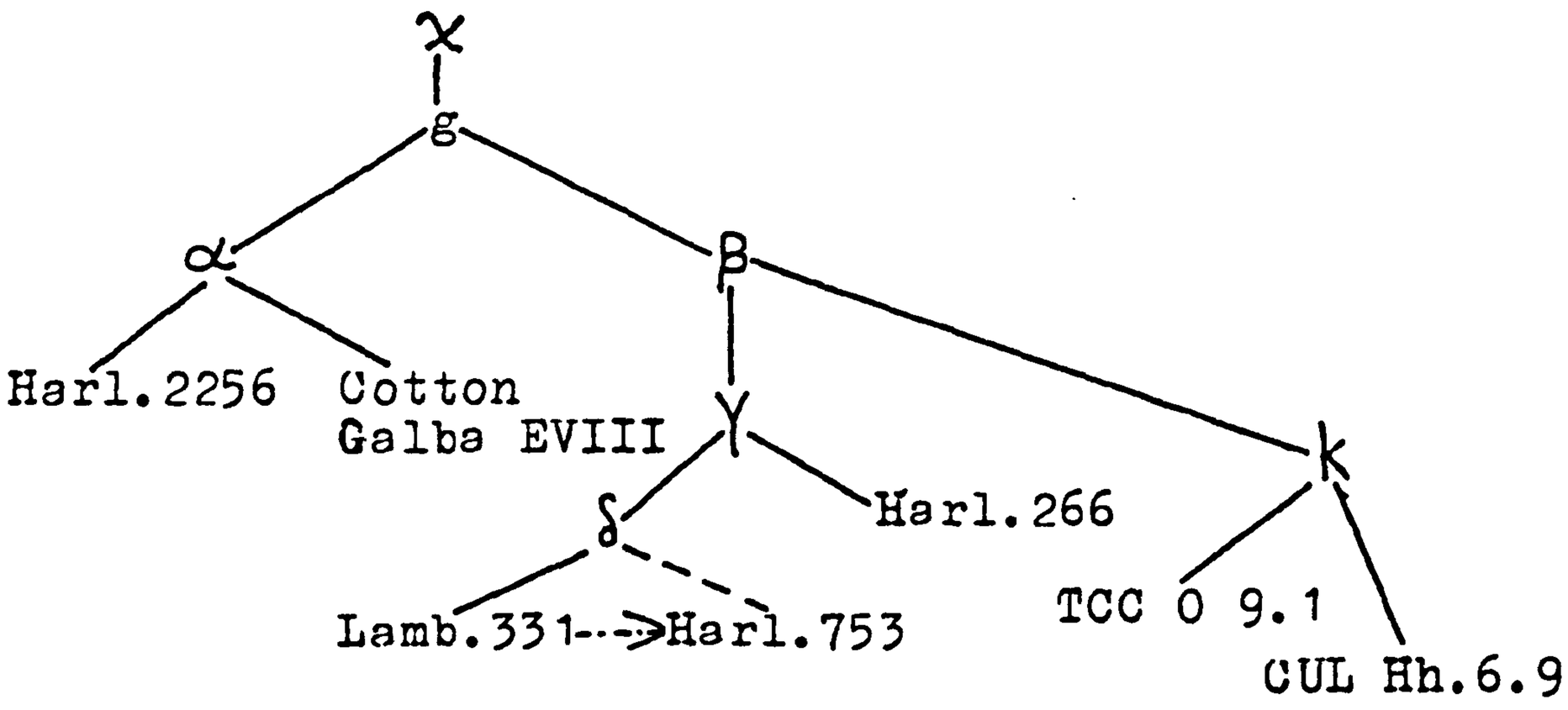
---

[1]Kingsford, op. cit., pp. 238-40. [2]See pp. 62-81. [3]See p. 213 and Brie, pp. 287-9. [4]Printed in Brie, pp. 582-4. [5]Cf. p. 72.

Thomas More's use of it in the History of King Richard III[1], wherein it was admired by R.W. Chambers.

On linguistic points relating to style, Starke says little in detail although he mentions a number of valid points concerning 'die Schwächen einer frühen Prosa', e.g., repetition of principal verbs, superfluous relative clauses, a lack of balance in sentence structure, the continual use of the linker and, and the prevalent use of coordination, instead of subordination, associated with and.

A full edition of the poem The Siege of Rouen was made by H. Huscher and appeared in 1927.[2] In this the Brut MSS. containing the poem are described physically and their relationship one to another, and to the full poem is discussed at length. Although he did not examine or discuss the prose Brut text, Huscher's genealogy of the MSS., based on textual comparisons of the poem, agrees in general terms with that reached independently by the present investigation, as the following simplified diagram of Huscher's stemma shows[3];



---

[1] R. W. Chambers, 'On the Continuity of English Prose', in E.V. Hitchcock and R.W. Chambers, eds., Nicholas Harpsfield The Life and Death of Sr. Thomas More, EETS O.S. 186, 1932. [Written c.1513?] [2] H. Huscher, John Page's Siege of Rouen, Kölner Anglistische Arbeiten 1, Leipzig, 1927.
[3] Cf. pp. 62-81 and Figs. 1 and 2.

In 1947 Virginia Univ. MS. 1 (which once belonged to E. von Scherling, see below) was the subject of an unpublished Ph.D. thesis by George H. Reese.[1] Basically it consists of a diplomatic transcript of the MS., a recapitulation of Brie's classification of the MSS. and of the sources of the text, a general comparison of the MS. with Brie's texts in terms of contents and chapter divisions, and a comparison of the Cadwallader episode with Geoffrey of Monmouth's account.

Other works dealing with various aspects of the Brut can be listed, with comment, as follows:

1) Editions of peculiar versions.

a) J.S. Davies, An English Chronicle 1377-1461, Camden Society, 1856. The earlier part of the MS., which is now Bodl. MS. Lyell 34, has not been printed.

b) J. Gairdner, Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles, Camden Society, 1880. The extremely abbreviated text of Lambeth MS. 306.

2) Extracts from MSS.

a) K. Böddeker, 'Die Geschichte des Königs Arthur', Archiv 52 (1874), pp. 10-29. An extract from BM MS. Harl.24, compared with short extracts from BM MS. Harl.53, Wace, and Robert of Gloucester. An adequate description of the MS. punctuation and orthography is also given.

b) E. v. Scherling, 'History of King Lear in an Early 15th Century Manuscript', Rotulus 4 (1937), pp. 1-5. The Lear story from a manuscript that belonged to Scherling, and that is now Univ. of Virginia MS. 1, is printed without comment.

c) E.O. Powell, 'From The Brute of the Chronicle of England', Folklore 48 (1937), pp. 91-3. An extract from Jesus Coll. Oxf. MS. 5, containing part of the Vortiger story.

---

[1] I have not seen the thesis, but the University of Virginia provided me with a photocopy of Reese's abstract.

d) V.H. Galbraith, 'Extracts from the Historia Aurea and a French "Brut"', English Historical Review 43 (1928), pp. 203-17. An extract from the unique continuation to the Anglo-Norman text found in Corpus Christi Coll. Camb. MS. 78.

3) Peripheral works touching on the Brut.

a) R.H. Fletcher, The Arthurian Material in the Chronicles especially those of Great Britain and France, Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, Vol. X, Boston, 1906; chapter 8.2, 'The Large Brut and its English Translation' mentions the main differences from other recorded Arthurian legends shown by the French [i.e. Anglo-Norman] Brut. Fletcher is largely dependent on Madden and Meyer, and calls the English translation 'a fine example of sturdy English'.

b) J. Taylor, The 'Universal Chronicle' of Ranulf Higden, Oxford, 1966. Chapter 2.1, 'The Brut and the Polychronicon' describes in outline the development of the Brut, based on Brie, Geschichte und Quellen (which is wrongly described as 'his introduction, which was published separately'). Unfortunately, Taylor here and in his earlier article 'The French "Brut" and the Reign of Edward II'[1] appears to confuse the Anglo-Norman and the English texts[2], although the argument of his article was little affected by his confusion.

c) B. Cottle, The Triumph of English 1350-1400, London, 1969. The aim of Cottle's book 'is to let the England of 1350-1400 speak for itself' and extracts of historical and social interest are given from 'nearly sixty pages' of the second part of Brie's edition. Interesting cross-references to reports of events given by literary authors are given, and with due recognition I have used Cottle's

---

[1] See p. 4 and note 2. [2] E.g. on p. 15, text, and footnote 6.

book in my notes on the text for the appropriate sections.

In retrospect, the paucity of works devoted to the Brut is obvious. The most popular secular work of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has been sadly neglected by scholarship, with the honourable exception of the few writers discussed above, whose conclusions however have remained unchallenged for many years. With this in mind, let us turn to the purpose of the present edition.

The Purpose of the Present Edition and Outstanding Problems

The aim of this study is to remedy partially the neglect into which study of the Brut has fallen by presenting a full edition of two MSS. of the Brut representing groups of MSS. in the English translation which differ stylistically from the groups that Brie chose to constitute the texts of his edition. Both groups from which I have taken my texts were dismissed by Brie as textually worthless; however, there is nothing inherently 'bad' about the texts, and it is hoped that the unnecessary impoverishment caused by rejecting such MSS. will be obvious. The scope of the study is widened by an attempt to modernise, correct and extend the classification of the English MSS., and a checklist of MSS. is given that supersedes that given by Brie.

The large corpus of Brut MSS. offers a potentially rich field for future researchers, both on general and on specialised topics, e.g., a study of the punctuation-systems of Hunt. MS. T.3.12 is presented here. Some areas in which further study would be profitable are:

a) An edition of the Anglo-Norman Brut is sorely overdue[1], possibly on the lines of the present edition of the English text, presenting the parallel texts of the Short and Long Versions.
b) A more precise classification of the Anglo-Norman MSS. could be made, taking as its starting-point the work of Meyer and Brie.
c) Further study could be made of the MSS. of the Latin Brut and of their relationships to the English texts, especially in some of the peculiar versions.
d) Further study could be made of the peculiar versions of the English Brut that use additional sources.
e) An interesting project, which the present editor hopes to investigate, has been suggested by Professor A.L. Brown of the University of Glasgow, to attempt to establish the social standing of the original Brut audience and readership from MS. notes, mediaeval wills[2], early catalogues[3], etc. Although we speak of the Brut as the most popular chronicle of its day, we know little about the social identity of its readership.[4]

---

[1]Professor M. Dominica Legge informs me that the late G.E. Brereton had been preparing an edition for some time, and that this prevented anyone else starting work on the task, but unfortunately she died before she had made any progress. [2]For example, R.M. Wilson notes possible or probable Bruts in the wills of John Hamundson of York (1472), Thomas Chaworth (1458) and John Fell of York (1506); see R.M. Wilson, The Lost Literature of Medieval England, 2nd ed., London, 1970, pp. 144, 150-1, and references therein. [3]For example, a French Brut is found listed in the inventory of the books of Simon Burley, knight of the royal household, made after 1388; see M.V. Clarke, Fourteenth Century Studies, Oxford, 1937, pp. 120-1. Sir John Fastolf had a French Cronicles d'Angleterre; see H.S. Bennett, The Pastons and their England, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1932 (repr. 1970), p. 211. [4]See further the Appendix to this section.

Appendix: Ownership of MSS. by Religious Foundations

A number of MSS., of both the Anglo-Norman and English texts, have been assigned to various religious houses by N.R. Ker in his book Medieval Libraries of Great Britain, 2nd ed., London, 1964:

Chicago Univ. Lib. DA.130.B.9 (254), an English text, belonged to Battle Abbey: Ker p. 8. It belonged in fact to the prior, John Nuton, about 1460.

BM Harl.636, a French text, belonged to the cathedral priory of Holy Trinity or Christ Church at Canterbury: Ker p. 36.

TCD 490, an English text, belonged to the priory of the B.V.M. and St. Margaret at Dartford, Kent: Ker p. 57.

BM Cotton Vit. A x, a French text, belonged to Fountains Abbey: Ker p. 88.

BM Royal 17 D XXI, an English text, belonged to the priory of St. Bartholomew, London: Ker p. 123. Cf. p. 50 below.

TCD 500, a French text, belonged to the priory of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John, London: Ker p. 126.

To these can be added Princeton Univ. Lib. Garrett 150, an English text, which belonged to 'T. Bourgchier' (Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, d.1486). Many other texts contain early names which cannot be immediately identified, but which testify to the wide appeal of the Brut across the social spectrum. For an analysis of the most promising sections of the potential reading public for medieval booksellers, amongst most of which we can find instances of ownership of the Brut, see E.Ph. Goldschmidt, Medieval Texts and their First Appearance in Print, London, 1943, pp. 14-5.

II. Classification of the MSS. of the English Brut

My classification and discussion of the relationships of the English Brut MSS. are based on personal examination of the MSS. contained in the list that follows which are held in libraries and institutions in the United Kingdom, apart from those in Lincoln Cathedral Library and the Royal College of Arms, London. The check-list of MSS. is not exhaustive, as references to subsequently untraced MSS. in saleroom catalogues and records show; at present, however, it represents the most up-to-date and complete list of MSS. and their locations in existence. I have also added a list of the early printed editions of the Brut.

The relationships between texts are obscured by the undoubtedly large number of MSS. that have not survived, and by scribal 'crossing', i.e. where a scribe has used texts of different types to produce a composite text. Certain signs of this practice can be detected in the extant MSS.[1] Rarely can an immediate, direct link be established between two or more MSS.; accordingly the following argument is concerned primarily with connections and relationships between types of text rather than between individual MSS. Figure 1 shows in diagrammatic form the development of the Common Version (see below) of the English Brut, and the 'shorthand' designations used therein are explained in the sub-section headings and in the body of the discussion.

Broadly speaking, there are three major versions of the Brut text in English, which I have called the Common Version (the CV), the Extended Version (the EV), and the Abbreviated Version (the AV). This nomenclature refers primarily to the contents of the texts rather than to

---

[1] See, for example, pp. 55, 61-2, 72-3, 75, 89-95.

the verbal form that they take. For example, the EV adds an exordium and has some extra details in the prologue, but a number of its verbal readings are in fact shorter than the corresponding details in the CV. Similarly, the AV can possess on occasion readings that are more expanded than the corresponding readings in the CV, although it omits long sections of text found in the latter group.[1]

Appendix 1 to the CV section gives the physical and textual test factors used in the examination of MSS.

---

[1]Cf. the corresponding readings of the CV, EV, and AV, pp. 166-9.

List of MSS. of the English Prose Brut.

England

British Museum, London

Harl. 24	Harl. 1568	Harl. 3945
Harl. 53	Harl. 2182	Harl. 4690
Harl. 63	Harl. 2248	Harl. 4827
Harl. 266	Harl. 2256	Harl. 4930
Harl. 753	Harl. 2279	Harl. 6251
Harl. 1337	Harl. 3730	Harl. 7333
Royal 17.D.XXI	Royal 18.B.III	
Royal 18.A.IX	Royal 18.B.IV	
Stowe 68	Stow 70	
Stow 69	Stow 71	
Cotton Claudius A.VIII	Cotton Galba E.VIII	
Egerton 650		
Sloane 2027		
Addit. 10099	Addit. 24859	Addit. 33242
Addit. 12030	Addit. 26746	

Lambeth Palace Library, London[1]

Lambeth 6	Lambeth 264	Lambeth 491
Lambeth 84	Lambeth 306	Lambeth 738
Lambeth 259	Lambeth 331	

[1] Lambeth 751, listed by Brie, G.u.Q., p. 3, is not a Brut. (Possibly he confused it in his notes with Laud 571).

College of Arms, London

Coll. of Arms 8 Coll. of Arms L.8 Coll. of Arms Vincent 421

Society of Antiquaries, London

Soc. of Antiquaries 93 Soc. of Antiquaries 223

Inner Temple Library, London

Inner Temple Petyt 511, Vol. II

Sion College Library, London

Sion Coll. L.40.2/E.42 (42)

Bodleian Library, Oxford[1]

Bodl. 231 Bodl. 840 Bodl. 754

Rawl. B. 166 Rawl. B. 187 Rawl. B. 205
Rawl. B. 171 Rawl. B. 190 Rawl. B. 216
Rawl. B. 173 Rawl. B. 196 Rawl. C. 155

Rawl. poet. 32

Laud Misc. 550 Laud Misc. 571 Laud Misc. 733

Douce 290 Douce 323

Ashm. 791 Ashm. 793

Digby 185 Hatton 50 Tanner 188

Lyell 34 e Mus. 39

Trin. Coll. Oxf. 5 Univ. Coll. Oxf. 154 Jesus Coll. Oxf. 5

---

[1]The college MSS. are held in the Bodleian Library.

University Library, Cambridge[1]

CUL Ee.4.31	CUL Hh.6.9	CUL Ll.2.14
CUL Ee.4.32	CUL Kk.1.3	CUL Addit. 2775
CUL Ff.2.26	CUL Kk.1.12	

Peterhouse Coll. Camb. 190

Trinity College Library, Cambridge

Trin. Coll. Camb.0.9.1	Trin. Coll. Camb.0.10.34	Trin. Coll. Camb.R.5.43

Corpus Christi College Library, Cambridge

C.C.C. Camb. 174	C.C.C. Camb. 182

John Rylands Library, Manchester

Rylands Eng. 102	Rylands Eng. 105
Rylands Eng. 103	Rylands Eng. 206
Rylands Eng. 104	Rylands Eng. 207

Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library, Lincoln

Lincoln Cath. 70 (C.5.12)	Lincoln Cath. 98 (A.4.6)

Scotland

University Library, Glasgow

Hunterian T.2.19	Hunterian U.3.1
Hunterian T.3.12	Hunterian U.3.3
Hunterian T.3.21	Hunterian V.5.13

University Library, Edinburgh

Edin. Univ. Lib. 184	Edin. Univ. Lib. 185

---

[1]The Peterhouse Coll. MS. is on permanent loan to the University Library, Cambridge.

National Library of Scotlond, Edinburgh

NLS 6128

Wales

National Library of Wales, Abervstwyth

NLW Peniarth 343A

NLW Peniarth 396D

NLW Addit. 442D

NLW Peniarth 398D

NLW Peniarth 397C

Ireland

Trinity College Library, Dublin

Trin. Coll. Dublin 490

Trin. Coll. Dublin 506[1]

Trin. Coll. Dublin 5895

Trin. Coll. Dublin 505

Trin. Coll. Dublin 489

France

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

Bibl. Nat. Fonds anglais 30

Belgium

Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels

Bibl. Royale IV. 461

---

[1]See A.J. Perry, Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum, EETS, O.S. 167, 1925, p. lxxviii, for a description of the contents.

Germany

Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg[1]
Hamburg Cod. 98 in scrin.

Australia

University Library, Sydney
Univ. Lib. Sydney 111

Geelong Church of England Grammar School
Geelong 185

United States of America

Chicago University Library, Chicago, Illinois

Chicago Univ. 253
(DA.130.B.89)

Chicago Univ. 254
(DA.130.B.9)

Columbia University Library, Columbia, South Carolina

Columbia Univ.
Plimpton 261

Columbia Univ.
Plimpton 262

Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.
Folger Lib. 725.2

P.G. and J.D. Gordan, New York
MS. 63

---

[1]Kindly confirmed by the library authorities. See T. Brandis, Die Codices in scrinio der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, 1-110, Hamburg, 1972, pp. 167-8.

Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Harvard Eng. 530 (AR 5)[1]
Harvard Eng. 587
Harvard Eng. 750
Harvard Richardson 35

t/ Huntingdon Library, San Marino, California

HM 113
HM 131
HM 133
HM 136

University of Illinois

Illinois 82

Lehigh University

Three fragments from one MS.[2]

Michigan University

Michigan Univ. 225[3]

Princeton University Library

Garrett 150
Garrett 142

Virginia University Library, Charlottesville, Virginia

Virginia Univ. Lib. 1

---

[1]Written by John Shirley; see H.N. MacCracken, The Minor Poems of John Lydgate, Part I, EETS, E.S. 107, 1911, repr. 1961, p. xii. [2]See J.C. Hirsh, Western MSS...a guide to the exhibition, Bethlehem, Pasadena, 1970, pp. 11-4. [3]An AV:B text; see my forthcoming article on this MS.

Early Printed Editions of the Brut

The Brut appeared in 13 printed editions between 1480 and 1528, and as a product of the early printers it is usually known and catalogued as the Chronicles of England. Caxton added to his edition of 1480 a 'Description of Britain', culled from a chapter of Trevisa's translation of the Polychronicon, and a number of subsequent editions included this. The Saint Albans edition added much material on religious history and of a legendary nature, and again subsequent editions included this.

Date	Printer	Place of Publication
1480	William Caxton	London
1482	William Caxton	London
1485	Schoolmaster-Printer	St. Albans
[1486]	William de Machlinia	London
1493	Gerard Leeu	Antwerp
1497/8	Wynkyn de Worde	London
1502	Wynkyn de Worde	London
1504	Julyan Notary	London
1510	Richard Pynson	London
1515	Wynkyn de Worde	London
1515	Julyan Notary	London
1520	Wynkyn de Worde	London
1528	Wynkyn de Worde	London

Examples of all the above editions are in the British Museum, London, except for de Worde 1520, the unique fragmentary example of which is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, bound in with Pynson 1510.

(i) The Anglo-Norman source

The prose Brut was originally an Anglo-Norman composition, the MSS. of which remain largely unpublished[1], and their classification lies outside the scope of the present study, remaining in general a matter for future research.[2] Of the two main versions of the Anglo-Norman work, called by Brie the Short and the Long Versions, only the Long Version is of present significance. Two English translations were made from this version; the first, and earlier, translation, with which we are concerned, exists in various forms in over 140 extant MSS., whereas the second translation, probably made in 1435 and ascribed to John Maundevyle, exists in only two known MSS.[3] MSS. of the Anglo-Norman Long Version are BM MS.Royal 19.C.IX; BM MS. Royal 20.A.III; BM MS. Royal App. 85; BM MS.Cleopatra D.III; BM Addit. MS.18462a; Lincoln's Inn MS. 88; Bodl. MS. Ashmolean 1804; CUL MS. Jj.6.8; TCD MS. 501; Bibl. Geneviève MS. 935; Bibl. nationale française MS. 12155; Bibl. Mazarine MS. 1860. Brie sub-divides these MSS. into several groups, and deduces that the MS. that formed the basis of the first English translation must have stood in close relationship to MSS. Bibl. nat. 12155, BM Royal 19.C.IX, Bibl. Geneviève 935.[4] For purposes of comparison I have used a microfilm of BM MS. Cleopatra D.III, which is one of

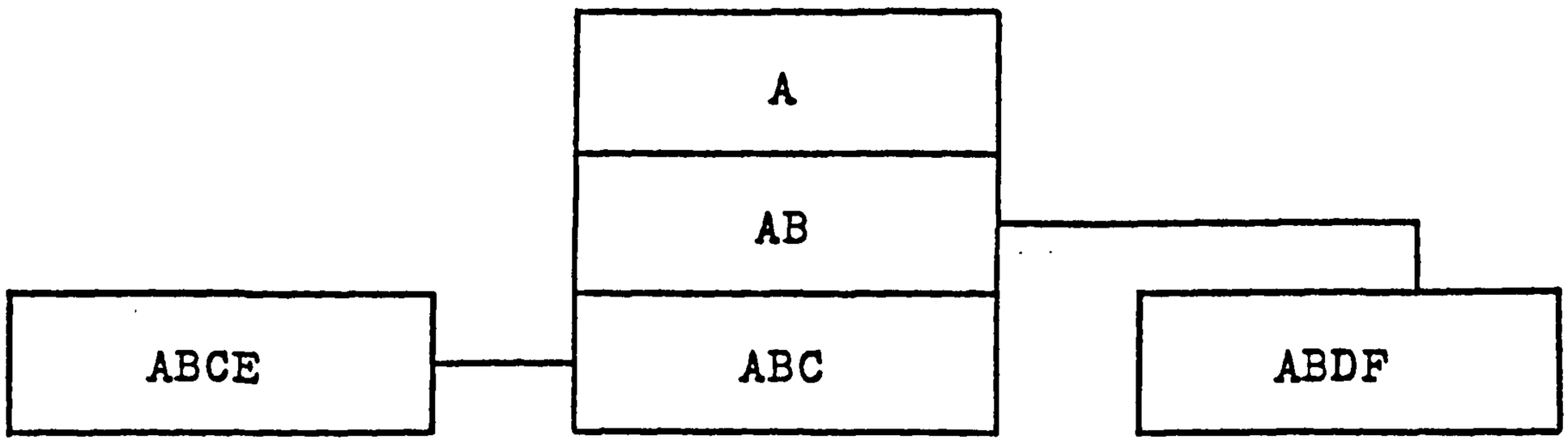
---

[1]Extracts are printed by P. Meyer, 'De Quelques Chroniques Anglo-Normandes qui ont porté le nom de Brut', Bulletin de la société des anciens texts français, 1878, p. 104 ff. Meyer's list of MSS. has been superseded by those given in Brie, G.u.Q.; J. Vising, Anglo-Norman Language and Literature, Oxford, 1923; G.E. Brereton, Des Grauntz Geanz, Medium Aevum Monographs II, Oxford, 1937. Three further MSS. are described by M.D. Legge and G.E. Brereton, Medium Aevum, VII (1938). [2]A beginning has been made by the scholars cited in note 1; but see p. 16 and note 1. [3]For John Maundevyle's translation, see pp. 212-8. [4]Brie, G.u.Q., p. 75.

the best MSS. of the Long Version. The basis of the second English translation, according to Brie, was either Bibl. Mazarine MS. 1860 or a MS. very close to it. However, the Anglo-Norman MSS. that formed the bases of the two English translations 'stehen einander so fern als es innerhalb der Langen Version möglich ist'.[1] Like the English texts, the Anglo-Norman chronicle is an accretion of material, and the authors of the compilation are anonymous.

(ii) Stages of development of the English Brut

The complexities of the interrelationships of the MSS. make it necessary to explain the methodology used in the construction of Figs. 1 and 2. It is largely that of a logical progression, based on a combination of features and contents of each MS. The starting-point was the texts of the Anglo-Norman Long Version of the Brut, and the primary translations thereof into English. Crucial criteria have been lettered A, B, C, etc., the primary translation, ending in 1333, being denoted by A. The presence or absence of one criterion or another results in a tree of the following type:



[1] Brie, G.u.Q., p. 75.

The possibility does exist that an apparent addition need not necessarily be a later accretion. In theory at least, an early type of text might have contained an extra feature which, in the normal course of scribal transmission, was omitted from a stage of the process, and was then naturally absent from all MSS. descending from that stage. An argument of this kind is, in fact, used to describe the development of certain groups where the evidence of omission of a criterion is particularly obvious.

The strictures made by Professor E.J. Dobson on this method in his treatment of the interrelationships of the Ancrene Wisse MSS. should be borne in mind. Dobson writes that, 'when the case is one of additions to a basic text ... it must be apparent that the author of the additions may well have taken steps to circulate them to the known owners of copies; and scribes or owners who became aware that additions were in existence would be likely to seek to acquire copies. In the result the same additions might be inserted into manuscripts that were otherwise not at all closely related; and the affiliations of the manuscripts in the added portions may be quite different from those in the basic text.'[1] I have tried to exercise sufficient caution by using textual collation of selected portions of text as a double-check, especially in the case of doubtful or complex relationships in which scribal cross-collation has apparently taken place.

In general however, in the case of the absence of a recognized later accretion to the basic text, where there is no contrary or conflicting evidence, it is methodologically proper to assume that the additional matter was not

---

[1] E.J. Dobson, 'The Affiliations of the Manuscripts of "Ancrene Wisse"', in N. Davis and C.L. Wrenn (eds.), English and Medieval Studies Presented to J.R.R. Tolkien, London, 1962, p. 129.

present in the exemplar of a specified group of MSS.

Appendix 2 describes briefly the crucial lettered criteria for the Common Version, and each letter is parenthesized in square brackets at an appropriate point in the main body of the discussion. Fig. 2 presents the relationships and interrelationships between the groups of MSS. shown in Fig. 1 in diagrammatic form in terms of these letters, and the combination of criteria and features found in each MS. is appended within square brackets to each MS. description in the text.

Where the evidence is insufficient or inconclusive, the letters are parenthesized in round brackets; thus H represents the extra lines found in a text containing the full normal continuation to 1419, and (H) means that the MS. is now incomplete, but that it probably or possibly contained these lines in its original form.

(iii) The MSS. of the English Brut

(a) The Common Version

Common Version to 1333 (CV/1333)

The earliest stage in the development of the English Brut, containing the basic text to 1333 [A], is represented by MSS. Bodl. Rawlinson B171(1)[1]; Bodl. Douce 323; TCD 490(1); Rylands Eng. 103(1); Society of Antiquaries 93; BM Harl. 3945; Rylands Eng. 206; NLW Peniarth 398.

Bodl. MS. Rawlinson B171(1)

The MS. is now incomplete at the beginning and the

---

[1] Where a MS. can be sub-divided into distinct sections of text, e.g. from the evidence of the hands, the appropriate section under discussion is indicated by (1), (2), etc. It follows that different sections of one MS. can appear in different groups in Fig. 1.

text opens:
disport. And þo come Lotryn and Camber ... [Brie, p. 13 l.4] The first hand takes the narrative to the end of the Battle of Halidon Hill, and ends with the words:
wiþout eny chalange of eny man. Deo gracias.
The text of this MS. forms the basic text printed by Brie in his edition, and he was of the opinion that it was the physically oldest extant MS. of the English Brut, although I see no obvious reason to accept this view on the evidence of the hand. The dialect of the text is that of South-west Herefordshire.[1] [A]

Bodl. MS. Douce 323[2]

The text has no heading, and begins:
IN the noble lande of Surrye ...
Brie used this MS. for purposes of collation in his edition, where it is designated by the letter O. The last words of the text are:
with oute eny Chalange of eny man Amen deo gracias [A]

TCD MS. 490(1) (not personally examined)

Like some Anglo-Norman MSS., this MS. prefixes a table of contents[3], and has a heading:
Her may a man hure How Engelande was ferst callede Albyon and through whome it hade the name.[4]
This MS. was also used by Brie for purposes of collation, and is designated by the letter D. The text ends with the same words as Bodl. MS. Rawlinson B171(1). [A]

---

[1] I am indebted for this, and other dialectal information, to Professor M.L. Samuels. [2] See G. Kane, Piers Plowman: The A Version, London, p. 3, for a physical description of the MS. [3] E.g. MSS. Bibl. nat. 12155(1), BM Royal 19.C.IX, BM Addit. 18462a. [4] Cf. BM MS. Royal 20.A.III: 'Ci poet hom oir Coment Engletere fust primes nome albion 7 par qi la tere receust cel noun.'

Rylands Eng. MS. 103(1)

Like the preceding MS., this MS. prefaces the text by a table of contents taken by chapter to chapter 223, and is headed by the words:

Here may a man hure Engeland was first called Albyon̄ and þoruȝ wham it hadde þe name.

IN the nobele lande of Syrrye ...

The MS. is physically imperfect and several folios are missing. The first hand ends on fol. 126^{b} with the words: without eny chalaunge of eny man [A]

Society of Antiquaries MS. 93

The text begins:

Here may aman here how Engelonde was ferst callede Albyon and þoruȝ wham hit had ferste þat name.

IN þe noble lande of Surrie ...

The text ends:

wiþoute chalange of eny maner man. Deo gracias

This MS., although retaining the normal contents of the text, must be considered as secondary, for in phraseology it shows a number of differences from the original wording of the text. [A]

Bodl. MS. Rawlinson C.155

This MS. contains extracts from a text of the CV/1333 on fols. 89^{a}-93^{b}. A heading reads:

Extracts from an old English Chronicle MS. coming down to 6 Ed.III 1332.

The text begins:

And this bataile, between K. Harold & Wm the bastard ... [Brie, p. 136, c. 1.26], and ends:

in the yer of Incarnacioun of oure Jesus crist mccc& xxxti. [Brie, p. 272, ll.5-6]

At the end occur the name of the transcriber and the date of his transcription: 'A.D. 1606 ab Henrico Spelmanno

conscriptus.' [A]

The following MSS. belong conceivably to this earliest stage of the English Brut, as their contents attest, although the MSS. are now incomplete.

BM MS. Harl. 3945

The text begins without heading:

IN the noble lande of Surre ...

A number of folios are missing after the beginning of the prologue, but the text is of normal CV type and both the Cadwallader episode and Queen Isabella's letter are absent. The fragmentary last folio ends during the chapter recounting the deposition of Edward II. [(A)]

NLW Peniarth MS. 398(olim Hengwrt 320)

The text begins:

lete call hyt Loundres ... [Brie, p. 31, ll.23-24]

A number of folios are missing in the Arthurian section, and the relevant folios are missing for the Cadwallader episode, although if we are correct in taking the text as a CV/1333, then this would not have been present. Queen Isabella's letter to the citizens of London is not present, and the text ends:

Tho was the quene so wroth towarde sir Edmunde Erle of kente ⁊ cessed never to praye vn to hur sone that he scholde [Brie, p. 265 l.33—p.266 l.1] [(A)]

Rylands Eng. MS. 206

The text begins with the heading:

(h) ere may a man heren howe that Englonde was first called Albion and thurgh whom it had the name

(I) N the noble londe of Surrey ...

Both the Cadwallader episode and Queen Isabella's letter are absent and the text breaks off during the prophecy of Merlin concerning Edward III:

and seid that the goote shuld lese moch of his londe til that shame shuld hym ouercome And then shuld he cloo//then hym in A [Brie, p. 244, ll.16-18]. [(A)]

Like the Anglo-Norman text, the CV/1333 does not contain the Cadwallader episode (for which, see Vol. II, pp. 249-53 and MS. B fol. 53 note d) or Queen Isabella's letter. The heading found in some MSS., and the practice of prefixing a table of contents, are paralleled in certain of the Anglo-Norman MSS.

None of the MSS. is the original translation, for like the majority of extant MSS. of the Brut, they represent copies written some time after the presumed date of composition of any portion of text. None of the three MSS. that form the basis of Brie's edition preserves an exact copy of the original translation, as a comparison of readings with the Anglo-Norman text shows, although Dr. Brie was of the opinion that the wording was preserved most faithfully in Bodl. MS. Rawl. B171(1). However, no one MS. has a monopoly of readings which correspond exactly to those found in the Anglo-Norman, as the textual variants printed by Brie attest. The following extract serves the double purpose of showing the closeness of the translation to the original, as well as the variant readings that show that none of the English MSS. is the original translation. The MS. designations are Brie's:

How Engist and xj M‡ men come into þis lande, to whom Vortiger 3af a place þat is callede Thongecastell. Capitulo lvj to.	Coment Engist 7 xj Mill‡ hommes viendrent en ceste terre a Vortiger av queux vortiger dona un place nosme Thowgcastell [sic] Capitulo lvj^{to}.
And sone after þis sorw, tidynges (sorwe tydyng:D;	En toute ceste anguise nouel luy vient qe graunt navie de

tydynge:O) come to Vortiger, þat a grete nauye(meny:D; meyne:O) of straungers were arryuede in(in the contre of:D;in þe Cuntre of:O) Kent; but þai wist nou3t whens(what:D) þai were, ne wherfore þai were comen. The Kyng sent anone messagers(a messanger:D; a messanger:O) þider, þat somme of ham shulde come and speke wiþ him, forto wete what folc þai werne, and what þai axede, and into what contre þai wolde gone. ¶ þere were ij breþerne, Prynces and maistres of þat straunge company: þat on me callede Engist, and þat oþere Hornˉ. Engist went þo to þe kyng, 7 tolde to him enchesoñ wher-fore þai were þere arryuede in his (þis:O) lande, and saide: "sire! we beth of a contre þat is callede Saxoyne, þat is, þe Lande of Germayn, wherin is so (so om.:O) miche sorw, þat(þay yf:O) þe peple is (be:O) so myche þat þe lande may nou3t ham(hem not:O) sustene ne suffice.

estrangers furent ariuez en la pais de kent Mais ne sauoit qils furent ne pur quoi ils furent venuz le Roi maunda illorqs vn Messanger qe ascun de eux venist a luy parler pur sauoir qe la gent ceo furent 7 quoi ils demandassent 7 en quele parte ils vousissent [sic] aler. ils y auoient deux freres Maistre 7 Prince de eux gentz estrangers lun ont noun Engest 7 lauter Horne Engist ala al Roy 7 luy dist lenchesoun pur quele ils furent ariues en sa terre Sire fait il nous sumez de vne pais qest appellee Saxsoine qest en le terre de Germaine ou il y ad vne ciel custume qe si le poeple soit si graunt que la terre ne poet suffrir a eux sustenir les Princes qe ount la seruie(?) 7 le pais a gouernir ferroit venir deuaunt eux hommes 7 femmes les plus hardiz a combatre qe meux purrount trauailler en diuerses terres si lour dorrount [sic] chiuaux armes 7 quirasse mister(?) lour serra et puis dirrount a eux qils

¶ The maystres 7 Prynces þat haueþ þe lande to gouerne and rewele, shul done come bifore ham men and wymmen, þe(that bene:D) boldest þat bene amonges ham and best mowen(boldest amonges ham forto fiȝt þat best mow:D; boldest þat ben among hem for-to fight þat best mow:O) trauaile into diuerseȝ (diuerse:D; diuers:O) londes; and so þai shal ham ȝeue Horse and harneyse, armure, and al þing þat ham nedeþ; and after þai(þai shul:D; þey schul:O) say to ham þat þai go into anoþer contre, wher þat(þat om.:D) þai mowen leue, as here auncestres deden biforne ham. [Brie, p. 50 ll. 7-29]

se augent purchacer terre en autre pais ou ils purrount viure si come lour Auncestres firent deuaunt [BM MS. Cleopatra D.III, fol. 92^{b}]

An examination of a specific point in chapter 223 (the Battle of Halidon Hill) provides physical evidence of the genesis of a reading which I have used as a supplementary factor in determining the group to which a MS. belongs. During the description of the Scottish army, MSS. Rawl. B171(1), Douce 323, Rylands Eng. 103, and Soc. of Antiquaries 93 agree with the Anglo-Norman text in prefacing four divisions ('wards') of the Scottish army by a heading, e.g.:

In þe þridde ward of þe bataile of Scotland were þise Lordes.

After the names of the lords in the fourth ward and the

numbers of the soldiery, the above MSS. continue the text of the chapter, whereas TCD MS. 490(1) introduces a sub-heading, i.e.,

... William Landy, Thomas de Boys, Rogere de Mortymer, with xxx bachilers, ix C men of Armes, and xviij Mł communes.

[In þe v te warde of þe bataile of Scotlond were these lordis (TCD 490(1))]

¶ The Erl of Dunbarre, keper of þe castel of Berwik, halpe þe Scottis wiþ 1. men of Armes. [Rawl. B171(1), after Brie, p. 284 ll.26-30]

Rylands Eng. MS. 103 perhaps represents an intermediate stage; it has no heading, but leaves a space.[1] The ¶ of Bodl. MS. Rawl. 171(1) is omitted in Soc. of Antiquaries MS. 93, but Þe erl of is written in red ink. The reason for the introduction of this heading (hereafter referred to as the '5w' heading) can be deduced if we look at the visual presentation of the passage in the Anglo-Norman text of BM MS. Cleopatra DIII. The lay-out takes the form of three contiguous rectangles; the left one contains the appropriate ward heading, the central one contains the names of the lords arranged as a list, and the right-hand one contains the phrase enumerating the lesser soldiery:

En le quarte garde	Robert de Lawether	ouesisz xxx
del batailes descoce	William de Vipount	bachilers ix C
furent ceux sirs	William de Lonstoun	hommes darmes
	[etc.]	xviij Miłł
	William Landy	7 iiij C des
	Thomas de Boys	comunes
	Roger de Mortimer	

---

[1] A modern hand has supplied the heading from 'MS.B.'

Luy Counte de Dunbarre gardein del Chastel de Berwik aida les Escotz one .l. hommes darmes ... [BM MS. Cleopatra DIII, fol. 182[a]]

I believe a similar lay-out was employed in the original MS. of the English translation. We find it again in Inner Temple MS. Petyt 511 Vol. II, which contains a peculiar text which I later argue to be a compilation, in which the first section, to 1333, is based on a CV/1333.[1] If we accept that the original MS. possessed this lay-out, then it is clear that the wards would be distinctly differentiated from the body of the text. In MSS. Rawl. B171(1), Douce 323, and Soc. of Antiquaries 93 the lay-out has merged the wards into the body of the text, and in an attempt to mark off the resumption of the narrative, firstly a space has been left (as in Rylands Eng. MS. 103) in order to insert a heading, and a heading has been inserted (as in TCD MS. 490(1)). The heading is in fact erroneous, for there were originally only four wards, and the new lay-out of MS. Rawl. B171(1) et al., integrating the previous wards into the body of the narrative, probably confused subsequently the correct reading of the text. In later MSS. we meet the types shown in the CV/1333, i.e., the heading is not present; a space is left; a substitute heading is introduced, either because an exemplar possessed a space, or because it was noticed that the '5w' heading is wrong; the '5w' heading is present.

The name of the translator is not known. (A note in BM MS. Harl. 2279 mentioning John Maundevyle refers to the second translation.) The date of the translation must be after 1333, and before the date of writing of the earliest CV/1333 MSS., which is c.1400. From the

---

[1] See pp. 209-11.

evidence above, it is clear that there were MSS. in existence before the extant MSS., and accordingly one can accept Brie's suggestion that the translation was probably made at some time between 1350 and 1380. The dialects of the early MSS., and traces in later MSS., suggest a Herefordshire origin.[1]

Common Version to 1377

To the text ending in 1333 a continuation was added, bringing to a close the reign of Edward III and ending with his death in 1377. It appears in two versions, the longer of which forms the basis of the majority of succeeding texts, and which can be further sub-divided into two stages.

Common Version to 1377 with full continuation, Stage 1 (CV/1377 f.c. Stage 1)

The full continuation [B] is found in its entirety in CCC Camb. MS. 174 and Rylands Eng. MS. 102.

CCC Camb. MS. 174

The MS. begins with the heading:

Here may aman hure Engelande was fferst callede Albyon
¶ and þoruȝ wham hit had þe name.
IN the noble lande of Syrrie ...

The text contains neither the Cadwallader episode nor Queen Isabella's letter. The '5w' heading is also not present. In the chapter on Halidon Hill, the ending of the 1333 section and the beginning of the continuation to 1377 read:

---

[1]The standardised language of many later Brut texts may suggest that London and the surrounding area became a main centre for the production of Brut MSS., especially when London City Chronicles became the major source for continuations to the basic original text. See pp. 76-81.

wiþoute eny chalaunge of eny man.¶ Ande so after þis gracious victorye þe King turnyd him aʒen vnto þe same seege of Berwyk ...
From this point to the end of the MS., the text is printed by Brie, who designates it by the letter C. The text ends: he deide att Shene and is beried worshipfully at westmynster on whos soule god haue mercy..Amen. [AB]

Rylands Eng. MS. 102

Some folios are wanting at the beginning of the MS. and the text begins:
and our soueraiegne his doughter Gennogen to his wiff [Brie, p. 7 ll.24-25]
As in the preceding MS. the Cadwallader episode and Queen Isabella's letter are not present, and there is no '5w' heading. The end of the 1333 section and the start of the 1377 continuation read:
with oute calenge of any man Deo gracias dicamus omnes Amen ¶ And so after this gracious victorie ...
The text ends:
þe xj kalendes of Iune he deyde at shene and is buryed wirschip fully at westminster / vppon whos soule god haue mercy Amen. [AB]

The following MSS. conceivably belong to this stage although they are incomplete in their conclusions.

Rylands Eng. MS. 103(2)

The first part of this MS. has been treated under the CV/1333. A second hand continues the text on fol. 126^{b}, with the words:
And so after thys gracius victorye ...
It breaks off during chapter 227 with the words:
Therfor þe xxvj day of August kyng Edeward in a feld fast by Crescy [Brie, p. 298 ll.23-24] [(B)]

BM MS. Harl. 2279

The text begins:

Here may aman here how Engelond was first called Albyon and thurgh whom hit had the name.'.

(I) N the noble lande of Syrrye ...

The Cadwallader episode and Queen Isabella's letter are not found. A space is left for the '5w' heading, but it is not inserted. The text ends just over two-thirds down fol. 146[a], which suggests that the MS. is complete as the scribe left it, with the words:

wherfore if I shal knoweliche þe verrey treuth [Brie, p. 293 11.33-34]

A sixteenth-century hand (which also supplies the verse ascribing the second translation of the Brut to John Maundevyle: see pp. 214-5) has added several lines to complete the sentence, ending: 'the comen people weare stronge ley igreued / 7c'' [A(B)]

BM MS. Stow 68

The text begins:

Here may aman here hou Engelond was ferst called Albioun and thurgh wham hit hadde the name.

IN the noble lond of Sirrie ...

The details of the MS. resemble those of the preceding MS.; both the Cadwallader episode and Queen Isabella's letter are lacking, and an unfilled space is left for the '5w' heading. The text ends during the chapter on the Battle of Wynchilsea:

hit was told and certified to [Brie, p. 305 11.12-13] [A(B)]

The method by which many of the Brut MSS. developed is shown in this first group that possesses a continuation. The continuation was probably added to a MS. of the CV/1333, as in Rylands Eng. MS. 103, and the complete

text was then copied, the result being that MSS. in a single hand were produced. No changes have been made to the CV/1333 text, apart from the inevitable minutiae of scribal practice.

Common Version to 1377 with shortened continuation (CV/1377 s.c.)

The shortened continuation [C], based on the longer continuation described above, is found in Bodl. MS. Rawl. B171(2) and Lambeth MS. 491.

Bodl. MS. Rawl. B171(2)

The first section of this MS. has been dealt with under the CV/1333. A second hand takes up the narrative on fol. 171^{b}:

a nd eftrę þis gracius victorie þe kyng turnyd ageyn to þe siege of Berwyk//

On fol. 201^{a} the text closes:

and was rially and worthely buryed at Westmynstre.on whos soule gode haue mercy Amen.

This second hand appears to belong to the time shortly after 1450.[1] [C]

Lambeth MS. 491[2]

The MS. is incomplete at the beginning (many folios are missing throughout the MS.), and starts with the words: the qwene a none toke gold and sylvir [Brie, p. 19 ll.29-30]

It is highly unlikely that the Cadwallader episode was originally present, for although the relevant folio is missing, the amount of text which is omitted would fit

---

[1]So Falconer Madan, olim Bodleian Library, quoted by Brie, G.u.Q., p. 56. [2]See K.D. Bülbring, 'Über die Handschrift Nr. 491 der Lambeth-Bibliothek', Archiv LXXXVI (1891), pp. 383-92; R. Hanna III, The Awntyrs off Arthure at the Terne Wathelyn, Manchester, 1974, pp. 4-6.

into one folio if the Cadwallader episode were not included. Neither the Queen Isabella letter nor the '5w' heading is contained, and the continuation beyond 1333 is introduced thus:

wiþ out eny chalangyng of any man. Aftir which wyctorie þe kyng turnyd a ȝen in to Englond and ordeynid sir Edward Bayllol with othir worthy lordis for to kepe Scotland

How kyng Edward went aȝen in to Scotland - of þe bataill of Scluys ...

The seveneþe ȝeer of kyng Edward in the wyntir tyme ...

After the death of Edward III, with which MS. Rawl. B171(2) ends, Lambeth MS. 491 has as its conclusion a chapter describing the character of the dead king. This MS. belongs therefore to the earliest stage of the Brut to contain the 'Description of Edward III' [D]. It is linked to the end of the 1377 section thus:

deyd at his manere of Shene .xj kalend of Iuyn and is buried atte westminster. Þe descripcion of kyng Edward. Capitulo .CCxxix°

The end of the text and a colophon read:

and þe more harme is continuyd longe tyme aftir. Explicit quidam tractatus Anglicus de gestis Anglorum Brute vulgariter nuncupatus. [ACD]

Common Version to 1377 with full continuation, Stage 2 (CV/1377 f.c. Stage 2).

The CV/1377 s.c. lies outside the major tradition of Brut MSS, which passed from the CV/1377 f.c. Stage 1 through a stage exemplified by a single extant MS. that I have found and which was unknown to Brie.

National Library of Scotland MS. 6128

The first page of the text has been supplied at a later date, and begins:

Here begynneth þe Cronycks of this Lande Engelonde þat first was callede Albyon þorug whom hit hadde the Name - In þe noble Lande of Syrrie ...

This beginning has probably been taken from another text at some time after the opening folio of the original text had been lost. The text proper begins:

but heo and hire sustres yfere / þo sayde þis Albyne My fair sustres ful wel we knoweþ ... [Brie, p. 3 ll.14-15]

The text is that of a Common Version, and includes both the Cadwallader episode and Queen Isabella's letter.[1] In the Halidon Hill chapter there is a sub-heading:

How þe Scottis comen in iij batailles aȝens þe too kynges of Engelonde and of Scotlande In þe vaunt warde of Scotlande [and] were þese lordes. Capitulo CC^mo // xxiiij^to..

The '5w' heading is not present, but a space has been left, presumably for its insertion. The text continues normally and ends with the death of Edward III:

þe whiche kyng Edwarde whan he had regned lj ȝeer and more þe xj kalend of Iuyñ he deide atte Shene and is beried worchipfully at westmynestre on whos soule god haue mercy AmeN .. [ABEF]

The MS. is complete as we have it, for a double red line which appears to be contemporary encloses the last page of the text.

Common Version to 1419, ending: and manfully countered with our English men. (CV/1419(men))

The main line of Brut development is through this last described group, which is the first to use the Cadwallader episode and Queen Isabella's letter. To some text of this type a further continuation was added,

---

[1] For the source see Vol. III pp. 585-8.

taking the narrative to the Siege of Rouen, during which it ends with the words and manfully countered with our English men. Among texts ending at this point, two groups can be distinguished, one of which is an off-shoot from the main tradition. I have designated these groups A and B.

CV/1419(men):A

This group, which carries the primary line of development, is represented by Sion Coll. MS. L40.2/E 42; Peterhouse Coll. Camb. MS. 190(1); Lambeth MS. 264(1); and Lambeth MS. 738.

Peterhouse Coll. Camb. MS. 190(1)

The text has the normal heading:

Here may a man here how Engelonde was first callid Albyon
And thorough whame hit hade þe name.

Following the preceding stage, it contains both the Cadwallader episode and Queen Isabella's letter. In the Halidon Hill chapter the '5w' heading is present: 'In þe v. warde of þe batayle of Scotlande wer þese lordes'

The first hand ends on fol. 198^{b}:

and manfully countred with our Englyssh men [ABEFG]

Sion Coll. MS. L40.2/E 42

The text begins with the heading:

Here may a man hure hou Englonde was ferst called Albion
and thurgh wham hit hadde that name
IN the noble lande of Surrye ...

Although a number of folios are missing throughout the MS.[1] the Cadwallader episode and Queen Isabella's letter are present, and in the chapter on the battle of

---

[1]See N.R. Ker, Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries I: London, Oxford, 1969, pp. 289-90.

Halidon Hill the '5w' heading is found. The last complete folio, fol. 183, ends:
And when þe ffrenssh men sigh þat oure men kylled doun her prisoners ... [Brie, p. 379 11.13-14]
However, sufficient remains of the fragmentary fol. 184 to read the last letters of the original text:
... oure en[glischmen]
This shows that the text is a CV/1419(men):A. [ABEFG]

Lambeth MS. 264(1)

The beginning is imperfect, and the opening words are:
vj yer And After hym regnyd Bledhaghe ... [Brie, p. 31 l.5]
The Cadwallader episode, Queen Isabella's letter, and the '5w' heading are all present. The first hand ends:
and manly Countrid with our Englisshmen. [ABEFG]

Lambeth MS. 738

The beginning of the MS. lacks a couple of folios, and the text begins:
Geaunte þat was mayster off ham all þat men called Gogmagog ... [Brie, p. 11 l.7]
It contains the Cadwallader episode, Queen Isabella's letter, but unlike the other MSS. in this group, it does not have the '5w' heading. Furthermore, the MS. stands apart from the others in that it contains the chapter describing the character of Edward III already noted in Lambeth MS. 491. Although of different groups, these two MSS. must therefore be connected. The simplest explanation of this crossing is that an attentive scribe noticed the extra material in a MS. of the type of Lambeth MS. 491 and simply incorporated it into the copy that he was executing, either Lambeth MS. 738 or a lost precursor.

The Brut section of the MS. ends:

7 manfully countred with our Englesh men [ABDEFG]

After a break of three blank folios, the hand which has completed the Brut text re-commences. (Two hands write the Brut, but the change-over between them occurs at a point of no significance.) On fol. 232[a] the second hand writes:

H yt is to wytte 7 to be had in mynde the Monday in the fest of Seint Mychell in þe ȝere of the Regne of kyng Rychard the Second xxiij o 7 the yer of our lord Mł CCC iiij[xx] ix ...

This continuation, which ends on fol. 243[b], is a hitherto unnoticed extract from the London City Chronicle preserved in BM MS. Cotton Julius BII.[1] Presumably the scribe felt a need to continue the account of English history beyond the conclusion of his Brut exemplar, and fulfilled this by the not uncommon expedient of resorting to city chronicles of London.[2]

CV/1419(men):B

A small off-shoot group that uses the 1419(men) continuation is represented by BM MSS. Stow 69 and Addit. 33242.

BM MS. Stow 69

The text begins with the normal heading. The Cadwallader episode is not present, but on fols. 125[a]-126[a] we find Queen Isabella's letter. The insertion of chapter rubrics is discontinued after chapter 20; a space exists for the '5w' heading but one cannot tell whether it was in the scribe's exemplar. The Brut text ends:

---

[1]Printed in C.L. Kingsford, Chronicles of London, Oxford, 1905. [2]Cf. pp. 76-81. Another method of fulfilling this desire was to add text from other MSS. of the Brut that ended at a later date, i.e. the production of a composite text.

And manfully countred with ouer Englisch men [ABFG]

After a blank folio the same hand writes a series of historical notes, of the typical city chronicle form, 'Thys same yere ... ' On fols. 196[a] and 196[b] (now fragmentary) the same scribe has written Lydgate's popular verses on the kings of England.[1]

BM MS. Addit. 33242

Although this MS. is imperfect at both beginning and end, a comparison of readings and of content show it to agree with the preceding text. It begins: Gracyan was aryved and all hys oste ... [Brie, p. 45 ll.14-15]

The Cadwallader episode is not present, but Queen Isabella's letter is. The '5w' heading is present in a slightly truncated form, 'In The v t Bateille of scotlond wer thes lordes', although, since the chapter numeration has become confused, it appears in chapter 243. The text ends on fol. 164[b], a few lines after the start of the chapter on the uprising at Ratcote Bridge. [ABF(G)]

Neither MS. presents a good text compared with the early CVs, and one must assume that the original of this group was a text of either the CV/1333 or of the CV/1377 f.c. Stage 1, to which the 1419(men) continuation has been added, probably from the CV/1419(men):A. This means that we must suppose a not particularly satisfactory explanation of the presence of Queen Isabella's letter, that it was noticed by the compiler of the group to be present in the CV/1419(men):A text with which he was working. One cannot suppose that the compiler would have consciously omitted the popular Cadwallader episode had it been present in his exemplar, especially as this tale

---

[1] See H.N. MacCracken, The Minor Poems of John Lydgate, Part II, EETS O.S. 192, 1934 (repr. 1961), pp. 710-6.

was considered historical and not simply fictional.[1]

Common Version to 1419, ending: in rule and governance (CV/1419(r7g))

A number of MSS. take the narrative a few lines further than the CV/1419(men), to the end of the Siege of Rouen, concluding with the words in rule and governance [H]. Classification is made more complicated by scribal crossing, for the same continuation can appear appended to MSS. which are of different types up to a given point, e.g. to 1377. The conclusion is, that in several cases the continuation to 1419 was added to an already existing MS., which was then copied as a whole, producing composite texts ending in 1419 which must be assigned to separate, though connected, groups.[2]

CV/1419(r7g):A

The main tradition of the Common Version is carried on in those MSS. that possess both the Cadwallader episode and Queen Isabella's letter. By this stage of development the '5w' heading is general. Group A comprises CUL MS. Kk.1.12; Trin. Coll. Camb. MS. O.10.34; BM MS. Harl. 2248; BM MS. Royal 17 D XXI, Bodl. MS. Rawl. B216.

CUL MS. Kk.1.12

The MS. has a table of contents listed by chapter and the normal CV heading. Its text from 1377 to 1419 is printed by Brie, and ends: 'yn rewle and gouernawnce' The dialect, according to Professor M.L. Samuels, is that of Central Herefordshire.[3] This may indicate that there

---

[1]A MS. which does consciously omit this episode is Bodl. MS. Rawl. B205, for which see p. 56. [2]See Fig. 1.
[3]Personal communication.

was a continuing interest in this area in the production of Brut MSS. [ABEFGH]

Trin. Coll. Camb. MS. 0.10.34

The MS. has the normal heading, and ends: 'in rewle and in gouernaunce'. [ABEFGH]

BM MS. Harl. 2248

The MS. has a table of contents and a normal heading. The text ends: 'in good Rule 7 good gouernance Deo gracias' [ABEFGH]

BM MS. Royal 17 D XXI

The MS. has a normal heading:

HEre may Aman here how Engelonde was first callede Albion
And thorowgh wham yt hadde þe name ═

N.R. Ker ascribes the early ownership of the MS. to the Augustinian Priory of St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, London, from the evidence of obits, scribbles, etc., and in this connection it is interesting to note an addition made in the same hand as the text which suggests that the MS. was in fact written in this priory. The following note is in a lower margin and is marked for insertion in the Brut text at Brie, p. 369, between 11.10 and 11:

And In þe same .x. ȝeer of kyng henries regne þe iiij.t on Candilmasse day .ser. Raynold Colyer Priour of þe Priorye of seynt Bartylmewes In westsmythfeld of londō was schorn̄ Chanon.beeng of aage .xviij. ȝer full on shrofe sonday next foloeng. And þe .xxx. day of Ianvere þan monday.þe .xiiij.t ȝer of kyng henry þe .vj.te [sic] þe said ser Raynold was chosen̄ priour of þe saide pryorye.and vpon̄ shrofe sonday next foloenge þe .xix.t day of ffeuerȝere.þe said ser Raynold was scalled.and so Conteneweth Pryour vnto þe

The text ends: 'in rewle and gouernaunce' [ABEFGH]

Bodl. MS. Rawl. B216

The beginning is incomplete, and the text begins: scomfited thise Geauntes Aboueseid [Brie, p. 4 ll.33-34]

The text must be assigned to the CV/1419(r7g):A; it has the Cadwallader episode and Queen Isabella's letter, and ends: 'in rewle and in governaunce.' At the same time, it shows none of the characteristic signs of the Extended Version.[1] In the chapter on the Battle of Halidon Hill, the '5w' heading has been substituted by the rubricated heading: '¶ The batayle ¶ Capitulo xxiiij to', which suggests either that the '5w' heading was not present in the scribe's exemplar (which is unlikely at this stage of development), or that the scribe was attentive enough to notice the inconsistency of naming five wards.[2] [ABEFGH]

Hunterian MS. U.3.1(1)

The first folio of the MS. is fragmentary and begins: done moche harme and sorow in many diuerse places ... [Brie, p. 6 ll.2-3]

The text shows no EV signs in the prologue and early chapters, and both the Cadwallader episode and Queen Isabella's letter are present. The first hand ends with the words: 'in rewle and in gouernaunce.' [ABEFGH]

Doubtful MSS.

MSS. that are incomplete at either beginning or end, yet contain the Cadwallader episode and Queen Isabella's letter, prove difficult to classify with absolute certainty. Those that are incomplete at the end could belong either to the CV/1419(men):A or to the CV/1419(r7g):A. A few MSS., containing similar contents, have lost sufficient

---

[1] For these signs, see pp. 100 ff. [2] The variety of apparently individual headings used in this position suggests that not all scribes copied mechanically with no thought as to sense.

folios at the beginning to remove any EV signs, and end with the words in rule and governance. These could belong either to the EV or to the CV/1419(r7g):A.[1] Such MSS. are BM MS. Royal 18 B III; BM Addit. MS. 26746; Bodl. MS. 231; Rylands Eng. MS. 104; Hunterian MS. T.2.19; Sion Coll. MS. L40.2/E 42; Hunterian MS. U.3.1(1); Bodl. MS. Douce 290.

BM MS. Royal 18 B III

The text begins during the Albanak story:

the lande wele and wysely for he was A good mañ and wounder welbeloued of all his lande [Brie, p. 12 11.22-23]

It shows no EV signs, e.g. in the chapter on the 33 kings of Britain and in the description of Engist's heptarchy, and breaks off during the Siege of Rouen:

And with him laye the Erle of Southfolke and the lorde of Burgevenye wyth all here Retenue ... [Brie, p. 389 11.20-21]

Since both the Cadwallader episode and Queen Isabella's letter are present, the text could therefore belong either to the CV/1419(men):A or to the CV/1419 (r7g):A. [ABEF (G/H)]

BM Addit. MS. 26746

The text begins:

them He saide thatt if thei wolde nought be chastisede thei schulde lese his loue for euermore. [Brie, p. 3 11.7-9].

The single hand of the MS. appears to be early fifteenth-century (soon after 1419?), and the text shows no EV signs.

---

[1] A detailed textual comparison might be of use in classifying difficult MSS. The exigencies of time preclude this approach for all but a team of researchers, and its potential value is doubtful. Cf. G. Kane, Piers Plowman: the A Version, London, 1960, pp. 53ff.

It ends:
forto entere on the Northside [Brie, p. 389 ll.31-32]

It could belong either to the CV/1419(men):A or to the CV/1419(r7g):A. [ABEF(G/H)]

Bodl. MS. 231

The text begins with the normal heading:
Here may a man here howe Engelond was first callid Albyon and thorough whame hit hade þe name.

It ends during the Siege of Rouen with the words:
to rescue the Citee of Rone with a [Brie, p. 389 l.30]

It could belong either to the CV/1419(men):A or to the CV/1419(r7g):A. [ABEF(G/H)]

Rylands Eng. MS. 104

Fol. 1^a is illegible and fol. 1^b begins during the Cadwallader episode:
Thanne kyng Aleyn did sende for the Clergie of his londe ...

The text ends:
our king and his lordis atte þe dise 7 An ...
[Brie, p. 378 ll.13-14]

This MS. could belong either to the CV/1419(men):A or the CV/1419(r7g):A, or the EV. [(A)BEF(G/H)]

Hunterian MS. T.2.19

The heading differs from the normal one:
Here begynneth þe cronnycles of þis lande Engelonde that first was callede Albyon þoruȝ whom hit hadde þe name-
This is reminiscent of the heading of BM MS. Royal 19 C IX, a text of the Anglo-Norman Long Version:
Cy commencent les croniqez dangleterre et premierement comment elle eut nom albe et dont lui vint ce nom.
It is also reminiscent of the heading of certain EV MSS., and it is possible that these were originally influenced

by the Anglo-Norman heading.[1] The text ends during the Siege of Rouen with the words 'And graunt Iackes a worþy' [Brie, p. 390 l.17], and could belong either to the CV/1419(men):A or to the CV/1419(r7g):A. [ABEF(G/H)]

Bodl. MS. Douce 290

This MS. contains an extensive fragment of a Brut MS. on fols. 157^{a}-280^{b}. It begins:

Howe William Bastarde Duke of Normandye come into Englonde and quelled kynge Harolde. Capitulo. ^{xx}vj.iijd

The Queen Isabella letter is present, and Brie is wrong in saying that it 'bricht ab unter Eduard dem Dritten im Jahr 1332'.[2] In fact the text ends with the words 'londes 7 lordshypes þat þay helde in þe reame of' [Brie, p. 291 ll.17-18], i.e. several lines beyond the 1333 conclusion. Brie's suggestion that 'Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, dass nur einige wenige Blätter dieses guten Textes zu Ende verloren gegangen sind, und er somit im Jahre 1333 schloss' is therefore erroneous. The text can only have come from a MS. ending in 1419, either of the CV or of the EV. [(AB(E))F(G/H)]

CV/1419(r7g):B

A second group of MSS. that uses the continuation to 1419, ending in rule and governance, but which reflects in its text to 1333 or 1377 an earlier stage than that found in MSS. of the preceding group, is represented by Bodl. MS. 840; Bodl. MS. Rawl. B205; BM MS. Harl. 1568; CUL MS. Ee 4.32; Trin. Coll. Camb. MS. R.5.43.

Bodl. MS. 840

The MS. begins:

---

[1]Such headings are, however, fairly conventional and could all have been independent. [2]Brie, G.u.Q., p. 58.

Here may a man hure Engelande was fyrst callid Albyon and thorw wham hit hadde the name.
In the noble land of Syrrie ...

The Cadwallader episode and Queen Isabella's letter are not present; likewise the '5w' heading is not found. On fol. 117[a] the text to 1333 ends and the MS. continues without any break:

wythoute any chalange of any man.¶ Deo gracias. And so aftyr þis gracius victorye ...

The ink used for this continuation, however, is blacker, and this fact suggests that a change in exemplar may have taken place at this point, and that the first part of the text was copied from a text of the CV/1333, to which the 1419 continuation has been added. The text ends: 'in revle and gouernaunce.' According to Professor M.L. Samuels the dialect is Essex. [ABGH]

Bodl. MS. Rawl. B205

The text begins:
Here men may hiren how Engelond first was called Albion̄ and thurgh whome it hadde the name.
In the noble land of Sirrie ...

Brie is wrong in saying that the text includes the Cadwallader episode.[1] The scribe has begun to write the heading of the first chapter of this episode, but has then changed his mind about including it, and has stroked it out:
How king Cadwaladre that was Cadwaleynes sone regned after his fader and was the laste kynge of the britouns [How... britouns: stroked out] ¶ How kyng offa was soueraigne aboue all (the kynges of engelond 7 how euery kyng werred vpon oþer Capitulum Centesimum ij[m]: in margin)

Many folios are missing in the middle of the MS.,

---

[1] Brie, G.u.Q., p. 64.

including those relevant for the Queen Isabella letter. The '5w' heading is not present, and the text to 1333 ends: 'deo gracias dicamus omnes' (cf. Rylands Eng. MS. 102, of the CV/1377 f.c. Stage 1). The text continues in the same hand, and ends:
and Sir John ¶ Cheyny knyght weren brouȝt [Brie, p. 354 ll.25-26]

The text does not show the changes described in MSS. CUL Ee 4.32 and Trin. Coll. Camb. R.5.43, (for which see below). I believe that this MS. is the result of a combination of a CV/1377 f.c. Stage 1 text with a text ending in 1419 in which the Cadwallader episode was present. The scribe noticed that this episode was present in his 1419 text, and decided initially to include it in the copy which he was making from the 1377 text. Then, possibly because he thought that the 1377 text was more reliable than the later text, he decided not to include it, and stroked out that part of the heading which he had already written. [AB(E)(F)(G/H)] (Although not copied, E was present in one of the scribe's exemplars.)

BM MS. Harl. 1568

The text has a normal heading, and both the Cadwallader episode and Queen Isabella's letter are absent. Instead of the '5w' heading, there is a heading 'How the felde of Barwyke was discomfetede ȝ þe toun delyuerd', which suggests that the scribe's exemplar had no heading at this point. The text ends: 'in rewle ȝ gud gouernaunce' [ABGH]

CUL MS. Ee 4.32

The MS. has a normal heading. The Cadwallader episode, Queen Isabella's letter, and the '5w' heading are not found. There are some differences in the later portion of the text from the normal 1419 continuation,

consisting mainly of slight abbreviation, e.g.,

And in this same yer dyed Syr Iohn of Gaunte the kynges vncle And duke of lancastyr And he lyth Att Seynt powlys in london Besydes dame blaunch hys wyfe. How þe erle of Derby And the duke of Norffolk wer exiled And how the erle of Derby putt down kyng Richard (rubric) And in that same yer ther felle a discencion Betwyn the duke of hertford And the duke of Norfolk [CUL Ee 4.32]	¶ And yn þe same yere deyed Ser Iohn of Gaunt, þe Kingeȝ vncle, 7 Duke of Lancastre, yn the bischoppeȝ In yn Holborn, and was brout fro þenneȝ to Saint Pouleȝ and þere þe King made 7 hilde his terement welle 7 worthily with all his lordeȝ, and þere he was beryed besyde Dame Blaunch his wiff, þat was douȝtur 7 heyre to þe gode Henry, þat was Duke of Lancastre. ¶ And yn the same yere þer fil a discenyon and a debate betuene þe Duk of Herford 7 þe Duke of Norfolke [CUL MS. Kk 1.12, after Brie, p. 355 11.15-22]

CUL MS. Ee 4.32 has added a rubricated heading, but has cut the text to the bare facts, at least in this instance. This is commensurate with what one might expect in a text compiled from two texts; the first text is copied well, but the continuation taken from the second text has been shortened in places. The text ends:

And on the xij^{e} evyn come the duke of Almayn vn to þe [Brie, p. 360 11.28-29] [AB(G/H)]

Trin. Coll. Camb. MS. R.5.43

The text begins:

bygan leyr ayen wepe 7 made mych sorow ... [Brie, p. 19

11.1-2]

The Cadwallader episode and Queen Isabella's letter are not present. The folios relevant to the '5w' heading are missing. Like the previous MS., this MS. shows peculiar changes in the 1419 continuation, e.g. Brie, p. 353 l.16 - p. 356 l.26, which includes the passage quoted from CUL MS. Ee 4.32 above, is omitted. Even in the text to 1333, Trin. Coll. Camb. MS. R.5.43 shows a number of changes from the normal text, e.g. in the trial of Edmund of Woodstock:

Tho answerid the goodman / and seide forsoth ser vndirstondeth wele that I was neuer tratour to my king Ne to the Reme / And that I do me on god and on all the world And ferthermore by my kynges leve I shall it prove and defende as aman ought to do / Tho seide the Mortymere ser Edmonde hit is so ferforth I knowe that it may nat wele be ageyn seide And in presence of all that her bene it shall well be Iprovid Nowe had this false Mortymere the same lettre that ser Edmond had take to ser Iohn Deuerell in the castell of Corffes [sic] for to take vn to kyng Edward his brothir that ser Edmond

¶ þo ansuerede þe gode man and saide:"For-soþ, Sir, vnderstandeþ wel þat y was neuer assenting forto enpeir þe state of our Lorde þe Kyng, ne of his croune, and þat y put me to ben demede oppon my pires." ¶ And wiþ þat word, Sir Roger þe Mortymer shewede him þe Erles lettre 7 his seal, and saide þo:"Sir Edmuñde, knowe ȝe nouȝt þe prynt of þis lettre þat he hade take vnto Sir Iohn Dauerylll?" and he saw þe print of his seal, but he saw nouȝt what was contenede þerin; and þe Erl him-self wende þat hit hade bene on of his lettres þat hade bene of no [charge]. [Bodl. MS. Rawl.

wist not ne supposid no thing that ser Iohn Daverell had be so false to deliuere his lettre in suche a wise to the Mortymere and þoght no manere thing of þat lettre [Trin. Coll. Camb. R.5.43]

Bl71, after Brie, p. 266 ll.21-30]

The text of Trin. Coll. Camb. MS. R.5.43 appears to have interpreted the normal 1333 text in this passage; this scene is a major dramatic incident in the Brut, and this may have encouraged secondary attempts at embellishment and explication. The text ends:

Salyn Cheyne Mongomery 7 [Brie, p. 384, note 17] [AB(G/H)]

Clearly the MSS. of this group are the result of crossing of texts; however, they need not be directly related one to another. We saw that Bodl. MS. 840 is possibly a combination of the CV/1333 with a 1419 continuation, and that Bodl. MS. Rawl. B205 appears to be a primary composite text, and it is possible that the MSS. of this group represent independent combinations of texts from different groups.[1]

CV/1419:C

The third group of MSS. ending in 1419 to be considered here is that which includes Hunterian MS. T.3.12, which forms a principal text in the present edition. Verbal differences from the main tradition of CV texts (such as those printed by Brie) are a major distinguishing feature of this group [I]. They are most marked in the early chapters of

---

[1] A detailed textual study would be necessary to investigate this possibility.

the text of Hunterian T.3.12 which is printed in Vol. II. The changes consist mainly of the substitution of one word by a synonymous word or term, and in alterations (generally simplifications) of the grammatical structure of some sentences. The full group is composed of Hunterian MS. T.3.12(1); Lambeth MS. 259; BM MS. Harl. 4930; Bodl. MS. Rawl. B196; and Bodl. MS. Laud Misc. 733.

Hunterian MS. T.3.12

The text begins:

Here may a man here how engelond was first Called Albyon
And afterwarde Whan it hadde first þe name.
In the noble londe of Sirrye ...

The Cadwallader episode is not present, but Queen Isabella's letter is found. In the chapter on the Battle of Halidon Hill, the '5w' heading is omitted, but a break is indicated by the use of a large coloured initial:

xviij þousande and iiij hundred of Comuneres
T [blue initial, red ornament] he Orle of dunbarr keper of the Castelle of Berewike ...

Hand C ends: '7 manfully counterd with owre englisshe men.' Hand D, an inferior and later hand, continues, and takes the narrative past the 1419(r7g) ending: 'in rulle 7 in gouernaunce.'[1] [ABFGI]

Lambeth MS. 259

The text has the heading:

¶ Here may a man here how Engelond was first Called Albyon and aftirward whanne hit hadde fyrst name ¶ Incipit prologus.

The Cadwallader episode is lacking, but Queen Isabella's letter is present. There is no '5w' heading, and the text ends:

---

[1]For this portion by Hand D, see p. 83.

And so whan all þinge was redy þe kynge hastyd hym to þe Sege ward 7c [Brie, p. 306 ll.28-29] [ABF(G/H)I]

BM MS. Harl. 4930

The text has a heading similar to that of the preceding MS., which also agrees in content with Harl. 4930. The text ends:

Court of Rome on boþe sydes [Brie, p. 304 l.32] [ABF(G/H)I]

Bodl. MS. Rawl. B196

The heading of the text is:

Here may a man here how Engelonde was first called Albyoñ and affterward whanne hit had first Name.//

The Cadwallader episode is not present, but Queen Isabella's letter is found. The text ends: 'yn rewle 7 in gouernaunce.' [ABFGHI]

Bodl. MS. Laud Misc. 733

The text begins, without heading, 'In the noble lande of Surrie', and has a peculiar combination of features (see below). The Cadwallader episode is present, but Queen Isabella's letter is not found. The '5w' heading is present, and the text ends: 'in rule and gouernaunce' [ABEGHI]

The development of this group from the main tradition presents some problems, as scribal crossing of groups has definitely taken place, most evidently in Bodl. MS. Laud Misc. 733, which will therefore be considered separately. The contents of the other MSS. agree with those of the CV/1419(men):B, although it must be assumed that at least one of the MSS. of the latter group did not possess the '5w' heading. (BM MS. Stow 69 does not include it, but since other chapter headings are also omitted, this evidence is not conclusive.) In addition, that Hand C

of Hunterian MS. T.3.12 ends: '7 manfully counterd with oure englisshe men', suggests that Hand D's contribution is a later addition made from another text of the Brut, to an already completed text. A similar addition would account for the ending of Bodl. MS. Rawl. B196: 'yn rewle 7 in gouernaunce.' Such an addition could have been made in the MS. itself, by the scribe, or it may have already been present in the exemplar. BM MS. Harl. 4930 and Lambeth MS. 259 are incomplete at the end and could thus have ended originally at either point, although it is possible that for some reason Lambeth MS. 259 was not taken beyond its present ending, which is at the end of the chapter on the Battle of Wynchilsea.

Bodl. MS. Laud Misc. 733 must be the result of the crossing of groups, for the combination of features it exhibits is unique. It is a handsomely illuminated MS., and this may be indicative of a desire to produce a 'presentation' copy with a carefully selected text.

Common Version to 1430, including John Page's poem (CV/1430 JP)

There are two primary groups of MSS. to be distinguished among those that carry the narrative beyond 1419. The first of these two groups is comprised of those MSS. that contain a long poem on the Siege of Rouen [J], ascribed to John Page.[1] In turn, this group can be subdivided into three secondary groups, partly according to the provenance of the text up to the continuation containing the poem, and partly according to the continuation itself.

---

[1]The author's name is not found in any of the Brut MSS., but is found in BM MS. Egerton 1995, which has the complete text of the poem, and which was edited by J. Gairdner, in Historical Collections of a Citizen of London, Camden Society, 1876. Quotations from the poem are taken from this edition. For the lines containing the author's name, see p. 71.

CV/1430 JP:A

This group is composed of BM MS. Cotton Galba E.VIII; BM MS. Harl. 2256; and CUL MS. Ee 4.31.

BM MS. Cotton Galba E.VIII

The text has a heading:

Here may a mon here and knowe how Engelonde was first callud Albion and whom thorough hyt hadde hys furst name as ye shull fynde in thys boke wyth many othyr thynges.

There are some differences in the text from the normal CV wording, mainly in the addition of superfluous words and phrases, e.g.:

and whanne he be ganne to Regne he bycome so meruelous and so lythyr of condicionys that yt wondyr to wete ¶And thanne anon he went ouyr the see yn to normandye [Cotton Galba E.VIII]	¶ And when he biganne forto regne, he bicome so mervaillous a man, and went ouer into Normandye [Bodl. Rawl. B171, after Brie, p. 154 ll.16-18]

Both the Cadwallader episode and Queen Isabella's letter are present. Instead of the '5w' heading, there is a heading:

¶ How kynge Edward reskewyd the toune of Berewyke and how the kynge of Scotlond did hys homage to the kynge of Engelond ///

From the Siege of Rouen (1418) to the end of the text is printed by Brie. The text ends: 'and Scomfiture of all her enemyes blessid be god.' [ABEFGJ]

BM MS. Harl. 2256

The text begins with a heading similar to that of the preceding MS., with whose contents it agrees entirely. It ends at the same point, and it is probable that one MS. is

a copy of the other. [ABEFGJ]

CUL MS. Ee 4.31

The later part of the Brut is used as a continuation of the Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester, and begins:

How after kyng henre Regnyd hys sone Edward the worthiest knyght of alle the worlde And of kyng Alisaundyr of Scotlond

and after this kyng henry Regnyd hys sone Edward ... [Brie, p. 179 ll.1-3]

The text agrees with that of BM MS. Cotton Galba E.VIII, and ends: 'tille he come aʒeñ' [Brie, p. 432 l.6] [AB(E)FGJ]

There is no precise onset of the 1430 continuation; rather there is a gradual change-over from the normal 1419 continuation to the new continuation. The relevant chapters are those that begin the reign of Henry V. The stylistic additions made in the earlier part of the text have already been noticed, and in the first chapter on the reign of Henry V these additions become more significant, and some extra material details begin to be incorporated.[1] The second chapter (printed in Kingsford), and the third chapter (printed in Brie, who does not notice any previous differences[2]) give progressively more information, and differ in wording to some extent from the 1419 continuation. It is my opinion that the 1419 continuation known to the compiler of the 1430 continuation belonged to the CV/1419(men):A rather than to the CV/1419 (r7g):A; the evidence of the substitute heading for the '5w' heading supports this view, on the ground that the

---

[1]Cf. Kingsford, pp. 299-300. [2]Brie, G.u.Q., p. 87: 'Er beginnt abzuweichen an dem Punkte, wo Heinrich V. seinen Onkel Thomas Beauford gegen Rouen schickt.' The chapters are in Kingsford, pp. 302-9; Brie, pp. 394-427.

CV/1419(men):A would be more likely to possess a text which omitted this heading. In addition, a number of readings in Hunterian MS. T.3.12 agree with the CV/1430 JP:A, and I have argued that this MS. was based on a continuation ending 'and manfully countered with our English men'. Kingsford seems to have been familiar with only the CV/1419(r7g), and his argument cannot be accepted that there were versions of the Brut ending earlier than 1419. He assumes 'one perhaps ending in November 1415 or in October 1416, and others more certainly in July 1417 and November 1417', to which the continuation to 1430 was added. However, unlike the case of previous developments, where a new continuation is simply appended to an existing text, the compiler of the CV/1430 JP:A has reworked his original, and has grafted on his continuation, blending it into the existing text of his exemplar before finally forsaking his exemplar to strike out on his own. The verbal similarities between the 1419 continuation and the 1430 continuation make it clear that the same sources were used, although the compiler of the 1430 version probably had some additional sources of information.

The following passages, taken from Kingsford (1430 version), Brie (1419(r7g) version), and Hunterian MS. T.3.12 (1419(men) version), illustrate the development of the 1430 continuation as I view it. In the first chapter on the reign of Henry V, the 1430 compiler follows a 1419 text, and the two versions are very alike. Although the 'tennis-ball' story is related more briefly, as Kingsford remarks, the 1430 version has some fuller readings and some extra material details, e.g.:

þis worthi Prynce 7 King toke his leve, 7 went hym to Caleys warde by londe.	And the kynge, the worthi prynce, that god saue and kepe, wold fro thens to

¶ And þe Frensch men herde [Brie, p. 377 ll.11-13]	Caleis so stronge thorough the londe, and the ffrensshemen herd [Cotton Galba E.VIII, after Kingsford, p. 298]

Since the 1430 version was written after the death of Henry V, the phrase <u>that god saue and kepe</u>, must indicate that the 1430 compiler was using a source written while Henry was still living.

7 þ<u>er</u>e þay welcomyd hym, and brouȝt hym to London with moche honour and grete reuerence. And atte Seint Thom<u>a</u>s watryng þ<u>er</u>e mette with hym the King and alle his lordeȝ yn gode aray. And þ<u>er</u>e was a worthi metyng betwene þe Emp<u>er</u>our and þe King; 7 þ<u>er</u>e thay kussid togadreȝ, 7 braced ech othir [Brie, p. 380 l.31-p. 381 l.4]	And there thei welcomyd hym with alle honoure and reuerence: and so the meyre and the aldremen, with the Comminalte, brought hym to seint Thomas Wateryng withoute Southewerke, and there the Kynge met with hym, with alle his lordis in good and riall araye, and ther was a worthi and a solempne metynge betwix the Emperoure and our Kyng, ther kyssid togederis and myche obeysaunce yche shewid to othir and thankynge [Kingsford, pp. 299-300]

There is little new material here, but the effect is more graphic and immediate, and the use of <u>our Kyng</u>, in the 1430 version suggests that Kingsford's opinion is correct, 'that we have here a record drawn up at the time',

i.e. a return to the common original source.[1] This is borne out further by the insertion of two passages which are not found in the 1419 continuation.[2]

In the second chapter the same processes are seen at work; the 1430 compiler has longer readings, and is historically fuller in some respects. He is still using the Brut frame-work for chapter headings and for the general ordering of his material:

How kinge henry the .v^{e}. purposyd and ordeynyd him ouere the See in to ffraunce and Normandie by the counceyle of alle his lordis and Comons of the Reame of englond.	How Kynge Henry the V purposid and ordeynyd hym ouyr the see ayen in to ffraunce and normandye by counseill of hys lordis and cominnes off the Rewme.
And in þe .iiij^{e}. 3ere of kyng henries Regne þe .v. he helde his parlement at westmynster in þe begynnyng of þe Monthe of Octobur 7 lasted vnto þe purificacioun of oure lady þan nexte folowynge 7 þere was graunted vnto þe king to mayntene his werres bothe of spiretualte 7 temparalte a hole taxte 7 a dyme in sustenynge of hys werres 7 þan a none þe kyng prayed al hys lordis to make hem	And in the iiij^{te} yere of kynge henryis Regne the V. the kynge holdynge his parlement at Westem! in the bygynnynge of the monythe of Octobre, the whiche parlement endid aboute the puryfication of oure lady thanne next, by comen assent of alle the clergye and temperalte ther was grauntid to the kynge bothe dymes and tallagis to fulfille the kyngis purpos in holdynge and sustenynge of chalenge

---

[1] A second, similar example is given by Kingsford, p. 300.
[2] They are quoted by Kingsford, p. 300.

redy to strengthe hym in
hys ry3th 7 a none he lete
make a newe retenew 7
charged all men to be redy
at hampton in whitsonweke
þan nexte folowyng w^{t}
outen any delay
[Hunterian T.3.12]

and right that he had to
normandye and Guyane, his
trew titull and right
heritage. Wherfore the
kynge chargid dukis, erlis,
Baronys, knyghtis and
squyeris to make hem redy
in the beste and moste
worthy aray that thei coude
or myght, with all the
strengthe of men of armys
and archeris to helpe and
strengthe hym yn his werris
for the right of Engelond;
and that thei alle be redy
to Moustur at Hampton in
the Witsonweke thanne nexte
comynge in alle her aray
as they ought to werre.
[Kingsford, p. 302]

The chapter-heading, not found in Brie, suggests again that a 1419(men) continuation was used by the 1430 compiler. The continual use of the phrase oure kynge is noticeable in the 1430 version in this chapter, and the addition of details and of distinct additional passages that can be paralleled in other works, e.g. the account of Huntingdon's sea-fight and the murder of John of Burgundy in some London chronicles[1], shows that the 1430 compiler is using the common source more and more.

In the third chapter (printed by Brie), both the 1419 and 1430 versions are based on John Page's poem The Siege of Rouen, and the 1430 version includes the second half

---

[1]See Kingsford, p. 301.

of the poem in verse. However, it is clear that the 1430 compiler had the poem as reference from the beginning of the chapter, as the following passage shows:

How king henre þe ffythe. leyde A Sege vnto þe Cete of Rone. And how he gat þe Cetee w^{t} strenthe 7 manhode.

How kynge henry the v. leide sege to the Cite of Rone, and how he gate the Cite with strengthe and manhode well and worthily.

And in þe .vj^{e}. ȝere of kyng henries Regne þe .v^{e}. he sente his vncle Sere Thomas Beauford duke of Excestre w^{t} a fayre Meyne of men of Armys 7 archers to fore þe Cetee of Rone / And þ<u>ere</u> displayed here Ban<u>er</u>es 7 sente herodes vnto þe towne And bad hem ȝeld þ<u>a</u>t Cetee vnto here king 7 here lege lord 7 þey seyde he toke hem non to kepe ne none he sholde haue þ<u>ere</u> but ȝif hit were ryȝt dere Ibouȝth 7 meved w^{t} here handis for oþ<u>ere</u> answere wolde þey none ȝeve but out go Gonnes / 7 þ<u>ere</u> þe duke toke good a vysement of þe Grounde all a bowte / [Hunterian T.3.12]

And in the vi. yere of Kynge Henryis Regne [Regnyd: MS] the v; the Kynge sent his vncle Sir Thomas Beauford, Duke of Exeter, with othir lordis and knyghtis, men of armys and archeris, to the Cite of Rone, and there displayid her baneris opynly byfore the cite of Rone, and sent herodis to hem that were withynne the Cite, and bade hem yolde vp the cite in alle haste, that was the kyngis righte, or ellis thei shuld deie an harde and sharpe dethe, and withoute eny mercy or grace. And there he be-hilde the g[r]ounde aboute the Cite, how thei myght beste sette her sege to gete that Cite.¶ And ansuere wold thei none yeue, but meuyd

with her hondis ouyr the
wallis, as who seyth
'voydith the grounte and
the place that ye ben on';
and shotte tho many gunnys
to hem. [Brie, p. 394
11.1-16]

The extra details of the 1430 version are paralleled in the poem, proving that the 1430 compiler had resorted to it even before he decided to give the unparaphrased poem in verse:

Howe the V. Harry our lege,
With hys ryalte he sette a sege
By fore Rone, that ryche cytte,
And endyd hyt at hys owne volunte. [11.11-14[1]]

Whenne Pountlarge with sege was wonne,
And ovyr Sayne then enter was be gunne,
The Duke of Exceter that [lord so] hende,
To Rone, yn sothe, oure kynge hym sende.
Herrowdys with hym unto that cytte,
To loke yf that they yoldyn wolde be,
And alle soo for to se that grounde
That was a boute the cytte rounde;
Howe our kyng myght lay þer at a sege,
If they wolde not obey to oure lege.
When þe Duke of Exceter with grete renowne
Was come by fore the ryalle towne,
He splayyd hys baners on a bent,
And herrowdys unto þe cytte were sent,
To meke hem to oure kyngys merthe,

---

[1]There is no lineation in Gairdner; the line numbering is mine.

Chargyd them uppon payne of dethe,
Not withstondyng hym of hys ryght,
But delyvyr the cytte to hys syght.
For he dyd them to wytte with owtyn bade,
He wolde not goo er he hyt hadde,
But or he paste farre in space,
Wynne hys ryght thoroughe Goddys grace.
To that the cytte gaf non answere,
But prayde oure herrowdys furthe to fare.
They made a maner skorne with hyr honde
That they there shulde not longer stonde.
Gonnys they schott with grete envye,
And many were smytte pyttyfully. [11.25-52]

The same poem has been used by both versions, but the 1430 version gives a much fuller paraphrase of the poem, following it very closely until the poem itself is reproduced in verse. It is a more polished version than John Page's rough original in BM MS. Egerton 1995; presumably Page lived long enough to fulfil the promise made at the end of the original poem:

With owtyn fabylle or fage
Thys procesce made John Page,
Alle in raffe and not in ryme,
By cause of space he hadde no tyme.
But whenne thys werre ys at a nende,
And he have lyffe and space he wylle hit a mende.

Finally the 1430 compiler brings the narrative to 1430, using material which was probably not available to the compiler of the 1419 continuations.

Why the 1419(men) compiler did not proceed further with his loose paraphrase of the poem is uncertain, unless he did not have the full text of the poem to work with.

The unsatisfactory conclusion, ending in the middle of the siege, is rectified in the 1419(r7g) continuation by the addition of a few lines of prose to bring the siege to an end. Brie believed that these lines were not connected with the poem: 'Diese letzten Zeilen, welche die Geschichte der Belagerung in einer abgerissenen Weise zu Ende bringen, haben nichts mit dem Gedichte zu tun.'[1] The phraseology of the last lines, however, can be paralleled in the poem, and I believe it was known to their writer, e.g.:

Bothe govnnys and quarellys went so thrylle,	7 moche pople slayne dyuers tymes with Gunes, quarell,
Trypget and spryggalde and grete ingyne,	7 oþer ordynaunces [Brie,
They wrought oure men fulle moche pyne	p. 390 11.29-30]

They etete doggys, they ete cattys;	for þay had ete al her hors, doggis and cattes [Brie,
They ete mysse, horse and rattys.	p. 390 1.34-p. 391 1.1]
[Gairdner, p. 18]	

And the chyldryn sokyng in ther pappe	and also saue yonge childryn lye 7 sowke her
With yn a dede woman lappe.	modir pappis þat weryn
[Gairdner, p. 35]	ded [Brie, p. 391 11.7-8]

BM MS. Harl. 266

This late fifteenth-century MS. must be considered within the CV/1430 JP:A, but it presents a composite text, taken from MSS. of more than one group. It begins with Edward I, 'After þe death of kyng henre' [cf. Brie, p. 179

---

[1] Brie, G.u.Q., p. 72.

1.3], and may originally have begun at this point. The Queen Isabella letter is present, and the chapter describing the character of Edward III is also found. After the concluding words of this chapter, 'þat hit contynued so longe tyme after', there is a break over fols. 91^b, 92^a, and 92^b and then the text continues:

And after kynge Edoward the .iiij^{e}. [sic] that was borne att Wyndesore.regned Richarde of Burdeux [Brie, p. 335 11.5-6]

The text then agrees with the CV/1430 JP:A, except that John Page's poem ends eight lines sooner, a deficit that is supplied by a prose paraphrase. Although it seems best to regard the MS. as composite, there is evidence to suggest that the basis of the text to 1430 was an early copy of the CV/1430 JP:A, for a number of its readings are superior to those preserved in the extant CV/1430 JP:A texts.[1] [ABD(E)FGJ]

CV/1430 JP:B

This group is composed of two MSS., BM MS. Harl. 753 and Lambeth MS. 331. The MSS. stand in close relationship, and the group is again of a composite nature.

BM MS. Harl. 753

The text begins:

Here begynneth the prologe of Brut
Svm tyme in þe noble land of Surre ...

The Cadwallader episode is present, but the Queen Isabella letter is lacking. In the chapter on the Battle of Halidon Hill the '5w' heading is lacking, and the chapter is followed by the shortened continuation to 1377 (see under Lambeth MS. 331, which follows). The chapter describing the character of Edward III is also found.

---

[1] See Kingsford, p. 302.

The narrative continues with a normal 1419 continuation to almost the end of the second chapter on the reign of Henry V, when the text changes to a CV/1430 JP:A continuation. (The change-over is described under the next MS.) The text ends during the capture of Joan of Arc, probably with the same words as the CV/1430 JP:A, although the last lines of the MS. are illegible. [ACDEGJ]

Lambeth MS. 331

The text begins:

Her be gynned þe prologe of Brute.
Sum tyme in the noble land of Sirrye ...

The contents resemble those of the preceding MS.; the Cadwallader episode is present, but the Queen Isabella letter and the '5w' heading are lacking. At the end of the chapter on the Battle of Halidon Hill, the shortened 1377 continuation is introduced thus:

w^{t} out eny chalange of eny man after whych victory þe kyng turned ayen into englond 7 ordeyned ser Edward bayllol w^{t} oþer wordy lordes to kepe Scotlond

How þat þe kyng Edward went ayene into Scotlond 7 of þe batayle of cluys ...

The vij yere of kyng Edward in þe wynter tyme he went into scotlond ... [cf. Lambeth MS. 491]

After a normal 1419 continuation, the change-over to the 1430 continuation occurs in the second chapter on the reign of Henry V, in the middle of the account of Sir John Oldcastle:

7 so þe lord poweys meyne brought hym out of wales to londoñ in a whircole 7 so in þe same whircole brought to westmynster halle byfore þe kynges Iustice ... [cf. 1419 continuation: 'and so þe Lorde Powys meyne brouȝt hym out of Walis into engelond, and so to london in a Whirlecole, and so he was brouȝt to Westmynstre' [Brie, p. 386 ll.19-21]; 1430 JP:A

continuation: 'and so he was take there and arestid by the lord powis and his meyne, and brought out of Walis into engelond, and so to london in a Whirlecole, and so in the same whirlicole brought to Westem'. hall to the parlement, and byforn the kyngis Justicis.' [Kingsford, p. 308]] The text ends:

þe bastard of clarance 7 ser Iohn Kyghle [Brie, p. 437 l.11] [ACDEGJ]

This group is a patch-work of texts from other groups. The heading to the text is reminiscent of the EV[1], but all the other distinctive features of the EV are lacking. To 1377 the text is based on the CV/1377 s.c., of the type of Lambeth MS. 491, which also includes the description of Edward III. Unlike the earlier group, however, the text possesses the Cadwallader episode, and the popular nature of this story probably accounts for its inclusion. The text that the compiler was using for the 1430 continuation would certainly possess it, and the text that served for the 1419 continuation might have included it. The Queen Isabella letter might not have been in his 1419 text, but it must have been in his 1430 text. It is of no great length, however, and could easily have escaped the compiler's notice.

MSS. containing the John Page poem: Group C (JP:C) [K]

Two further MSS. contain part of John Page's poem, but they are not derived from either the CV/1430 JP:A or the CV/1430 JP:B. These MSS. are CUL MS. Hh.6.9(2), and Trin. Coll. Camb. MS. 0.9.1(2).

CUL MS. Hh.6.9(2)

The first part of the text belongs to Group D of the Abbreviated Version[2], and ends: 'in gouernaunce and

---

[1]See pp. 104-5. [2]See pp. 149-50.

reule and cried his peace amonges the Citezeins 7c''
The same hand continues with the John Page continuation:
And more they shulde vndertake
A castell for our kyng doo make [Brie, p. 418 ll.32-33]

Extracts from the text are given by Brie as Appendix D, pp. 440-443, and he uses the text for purposes of collation with Trin. Coll. Camb. MS. 0.9.1 in Continuation F, pp. 456-467 (where CUL Hh.6.9 ends)-490. The text ends in 1434: 'which was grete hevynesse to all people' [K]

Trin. Coll. Camb. MS. 0.9.1(2)

The first part of the text is treated under the Extended Version, Group C[1], and ends on fol. 195[a] with the words 'in rewle and gouernaunce'. About one-third of this page is blank, and the same hand recommences on fol. 195[b]:
And more thei shall vndertake
A Castell for oure kyng to make

The text ends in 1445 with the words:
Johannes Derby
Galfrid ffeldyng vic: Anno xxiiij^to. [K]

The relationship between these two MSS., and between them and the 1419(men) and the 1430 continuations is puzzling. CUL MS. Hh.6.9 and Trin. Coll. Camb. MS. 0.9.1 stand closer in form to the source material, preserving the annalistic structure of the City Chronicles. Yet they continue the narrative much further than the more literary continuations, and we must suppose that had this extra information been available to the compilers of the 1419 and 1430 continuations, then they would have used it. We have already come to the conclusion that the 1419 and the 1430 continuations, although based on a common source, were largely independent adaptations of the source material,

---

[1] See pp. 124-5.

and a similar conclusion must be reached in regard to the JP:C texts. The common sources are clearly to be sought in the London City Chronicles; although the original source does not seem to have survived, there are sufficient agreements and disagreements in the extant civic chronicles to show that there once existed chronicles that provided the raw material for the Brut continuations.[1] A hypothetical reconstruction can be attempted to illustrate the developing relationship.

The 1419(men) continuation was principally taken from a City Chronicle[2], and from John Page's poem.[3] To the primary chronicle source, a continuation to 1430 was added[4], and the compiler of the CV/1430 JP:A reverted to it for his material, which he converted into a form analogous to the customary Brut text. Thus he omitted the names of sheriffs and mayors, and presented his continuation in chapters, with headings taken from existing 1419 continuations as far as possible.[5]

A further addition to the primary source chronicle, in one copy or another, appears to have brought it to 1434, and this stage is represented by CUL MS. Hh.6.9. The continuation is less an adaptation to Brut form than a mere transcription, inserted primarily to bring the narrative

---

[1]For problems connected with the London City Chronicles, see Kingsford, pp. 70-112. [2]There is some evidence that chronicles ended at 1417 and 1419; Kingsford, pp. 76, 292. [3]It is a possibility that John Page's poem, in its revised form, was included in the lost primary City Chronicle source, for three Brut continuations using the original sources, all include the poem in some form, whether prose paraphrase or verse. However, Kingsford points out in Chronicles of London, pp. xxv-vi, the lack of poems in the extant chronicles. The inclusion of the John Page poem in the CV/1430 JP:A may have influenced the compilers of CUL MS. Hh.6.9 and Trin. Coll. Camb. MS. 0.9.1. [4]There is strong evidence that one recension of a major London City Chronicle ended in 1430; see Kingsford, pp. 77, 80, 82-6. [5]See pp. 67, 68.

up to date without any artistic or literary pretensions. There are some attempts to regularise the form, in the context of the Brut, by introducing some chapter headings, but the civic provenance is betrayed by the names of the mayors and sheriffs, and by the typical chronicle opening-phrase 'And in this same yere', which opens a great number of notices of individual events.[1]

The closeness, if not identity, of the chronicle sources of the 1430 continuation and of the continuation in CUL MS. Hh.6.9 is seen in the following extracts:

¶ And also in the same yere, betwene Cristemesse and Candilmasse, the toune of Milon was yolden to the Kynge; and all the cheueteynys, with the soudiourys, were taken; and led to the Cite of Paris in the croke of the mone, they myght sey; for of hem ther scapid thens but a fewe on lyue. [1430 cont.: Brie, p. 427 ll.24-28]	And in this same yere, And in þe yere of grace a M^{l} $IIII^{c}$ XX^{ti}, by-twene Cristemesse and Candilmasse, the Towne of Milloyne was yolden vp to the Kynge; And all þe Chiftains, with þe Souldeours, were take and ledde to þe Cite of Parys, 'in þe Croke of þe mone', þei may say for theme; ffor þer escapede fro thens of þeme but a fewe on lyue, for þei of Paris did theme to dethe. [CUL Hh.6.9: Brie, p. 440 ll.10-15]
¶ And also in this same yere fro the begynnynge of the monythe of Appryell into the feste of All-Haloue,	How that there ffill grete habundaunce off Rayn; And how dyuers sowdiourz went ouer the see.

---

[1] It is also found, though more sparingly, in the more literary continuations.

was so grete haboundance of Reyne, where-thorough not only heigh was distroyid, but also all maner of cornys, for it reynyd almoste euyry othir day, more or lesse, durynge the tyme aforeseid. [1430 cont.: Brie, p. 435 ll.6-10]	And in this same yere, 7 in þe yere of grace M[1] IIII[c] XXVII, from þe begynnyng of þe moneth of Aprile vnto the feste of All Halowen, was so abundaunce of Rayn that, not only hay was distroied, but Also all maner of Cornes; for it Raynede all-moste euery day, more or lesse, duryng this terme a-for-said. [CUL Hh.6.9: Brie, p. 442 ll.8-14]

Since he believed that the common source of CUL MS. Hh.6.9 and of Trin. Coll. Camb. MS. 0.9.1 was a City Chronicle ending in 1445, Brie was unable to explain why the latter MS. should end eleven years later than the former.[1] I offer two possible explanations, both of which depend on the same premise, namely that the source chronicle received a further addition to 1445. I suggest that the text of CUL MS. Hh.6.9 was written soon after the year 1434, before the source had received any further additions, whereas the text of Trin. Coll. Camb. MS. 0.9.1 was written soon after 1445. Since the latter MS. cannot be directly derived from the former, I offer two possibilities. Either the compiler of Trin. Coll. Camb. MS. 0.9.1 used the source chronicle to correct the readings of CUL MS. Hh.6.9 when he was compiling his copy, or he used another MS., that is now lost, for his text to 1434,

---

[1]Brie, G.u.Q., pp. 90-1: 'Eine Erklärung dafür, dass MS. Un. Libr. Camb. Hh VI 9 bereits im Jahre 1434 abbricht, vermag ich nicht zu bieten.'

to which he simply appended the additional chronicle material to 1445. There is a significant reading in the last words of the notice for 1432-1433 which suggests that my dating of the composition of the texts is correct:

Off a genall [sic] counsell hold by3ond the see ffor to destroie.Eretikes 7 lollardes. ¶ Capitulo ij^{c} iiij^{xx} xiij^{o}	
And in þis same yer anone aftir cristemesse þe grete convocation 7 consaill of all þe landes of Cristeiance of all þe spiritualte 7 temporallte and of all seculer lordes and clerkis þat is to say Bisshoppis 7 other./was holden 7 begonne in þe Citie of basile in Ducheland for to make peace 7 vnite betwix all cristen peple 7 for to destroie heretikes 7 heresie þat now reigneth amonge the peple [CUL Hh.6.9]	And in this same yere, anon after Cristmasse, the grete conuocacion and consayle of all the landes in Cristendom, and also of all oþer seculer lordes, and Clerkes,-þat is to say, Bisshoppis and other [other which: MS.] consayle began in the Cite of Basyle in Duchelande, for to make vnite and peas emong all Cristen peple, and for to destroye heretikes and erresye þat then reigned emong the peple. [Trin. Coll. Camb. 0.9.1: Brie, p. 466 ll.3-8]

The parallel readings show the closeness of the two texts. Two points deserve separate comment. Firstly, the heading of CUL MS. Hh.6.9 indicates a primitive attempt at assimilation to the normal Brut format; secondly, the use of now in CUL MS. Hh.6.9 suggests that the text was written around that date, i.e. 1434-5, but the use of then in Trin. Coll. Camb. MS. 0.9.1 is

consonant with a suggested date of composition eleven years later, i.e. 1445-6.

Common Version to 1461, including Caxton's 'The Chronicles of England': (CV/1461)

The last group of texts to be considered in the main tradition of the Common Version is that which takes the narrative from the end of the Siege of Rouen in 1419 to the year 1461 [L]. It was used by Caxton for his printed edition of the Brut in 1480 under the title 'The Chronicles of England', and received a wide circulation in this and subsequent printed editions. It was once assumed that at least the continuation from 1419 to 1461 was Caxton's original work, and that MS. copies of all, or part, of this continuation were merely copied from Caxton's printed text.[1] Brie argued against this view, and concluded that before 1480 there already existed the 1461 continuation, 'dass es schon vor dem Jahre 1480 eine Reihe von Handschriften mit einer Fortsetzung bis zum Jahre 1461 gab.'[2] In other words, Caxton did not write the 1461 continuation. This conclusion I hold to be correct, although I dispute that 'eine Reihe von Handschriften' existed with this portion of text. Moreover, although Brie reaches what I consider the correct conclusion, he uses the wrong arguments to do so, for the points that he makes are not incontrovertible. A supporter of Caxton's authorship could reply thus to Brie: the argument that it is improbable for a number of MSS. to have been copied from a printed edition is weakened by two facts. Firstly, there

---

[1] E.g. Madden: 'In the MS. Add. 10099 and MS. Lambeth 264, the Chronicle is also continued to the reign of Edward IV; but these are evidently only transcripts from the printed edition, with some alterations made by the transcribers.' The Caxton continuation is printed in J.R. Lumby, Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, 1882, Vol. III, pp. 522-87.

[2] Brie, G.u.Q., p. 113.

is usually a change of hand where the continuation to 1461 begins, and it can be found appended to texts which, in their first part, belong to the most varied of groups. It would not be improbable, the Caxtonian would say, to see these continuations as copies of the printed edition, for they are of no great length. The second fact is, that three MSS. can be proved to have used Caxton's edition of the Polychronicon as a source for their continuations to 1461. In addition, none of the MSS. containing the 1461 continuation can be physically assigned with any certainty to a date previous to 1480. However, these replies to Brie's argument do not show that Caxton wrote the 1461 continuation; all they show is that Brie's argument is inconclusive. The method is indicted, but the conclusion is not necessarily invalidated. True proof of an original MS. version ending in 1461 is based primarily on the internal evidence afforded by examination and comparison of the MSS. and of their textual contents with the text ending in 1419 and with Caxton's edition.

The Chronicles of England, Caxton, 1480

The Brut text is preceded by a full table of contents, based on the chapter headings, and is headed: How the lande of Englonde was fyrst namd Albyon And by what encheson it was so namd

The Cadwallader episode and Queen Isabella's letter are present, but the '5w' heading is lacking. The chapter describing the character of Edward III is found, but like Lambeth MS. 738 there is no heading. The text from 1419 to 1461 was used by Brie for collation with the text of the following MS., and ends:

... And that after this present 7 short lyfe we may come to the euerlasting lyfe in the blisse of heuen Amen

¶ Thus endeth this present booke of the cronicles of

englond enprinted by me William Caxton In thabbey of Westmynstre by london ffynysshid and accomplisshid the x. day of Iuyn the yere of thincarnacion of our lord god M.CCCC.lxxx. And in the xx. yere of the regne of kyng Edward the fourth. [ABDEFGHL]

BM Addit. MS. 10099

The text of this MS., which is written in a single hand throughout, is prefaced by a table of contents, taken by chapter. The text is headed:
How þe land of England was first named Albion // and by what encheson it was so named.

In content, it agrees with Caxton's edition; the Cadwallader episode, Queen Isabella's letter, and the description of Edward III (with no heading) are found, but the '5w' heading is not present. The last words of the text are:
And þat after þis present 7 short life we may come to þe euer lastyng life. Amen. Explicit. [ABDEFGHL]

Hunterian MS. T.3.12(2)

Hand D of this MS. takes the narrative from '7 manfully counterd w^t owre englisshe men.' to the end of the Siege of Rouen, and continues, after a space left blank for the chapter heading, with the 1461 continuation. A second space is left for the heading of the second chapter, during which the text breaks off with the words:
for to entre In to such matters 7 þen [Brie, p. 495 l.12] [L]

BM MS. Cotton Claudius A.VIII

On fols. 7^a-18^a of this MS. is found an extract from a Brut text. The beginning of the extract, with its heading, reads:
The cronycle of kyng henry the .V. that was kyng henries

sone.
And after the deth of kyng Henry the iiijth ... [cf. Brie, p. 373 ll.1-3]

The text contains the reign of Henry V, i.e. the last chapters of the 1419(r7g) continuation and the first chapters of the 1461 continuation, and ends with Henry's death:
on whos soule god haue mercy A-M-E-N- [Brie, p. 496 ll.32-33]

That it is an extract from a full text is clearly shown by the heading of the first chapter of the 1461 continuation:
How the kyng of England was made hertier... Ca CCxlv [GHL]

Hunterian MS. U.3.1(2)

The first part of the text is treated under the CV/1419(r7g):A. The second hand of the MS. continues from the 1419(r7g) ending with the chapter-heading:
How the kyng of englond was made heritur [MS. orig. herityer] and regent of fraunce ... [Brie, p. 491 ll.1-2]

The text ends during the second chapter of the 1461 continuation at the foot of fol. 151^{b}:
Vltima conseptam denunciat esse mariam - [Brie, p. 495 l.32] [L]

Bodl. MS. Rawl. poet. 32(3)

The first part of the text is described under the EV/1419:B, and the second part is described under the PV:1436.[1] During the latter part a change of hand occurs, but it is clear that the same exemplar is being used. This hand takes the extract from the peculiar 1436 continuation to the death of Henry V, and the same hand then changes over to the normal 1461 continuation with the chapter

---

[1]See pp. 207-8.

heading:
¶ How kyng henry the vj. regned beyng a childe not one yere of Age and of the bataill of Vernoill in perche

Affter kyng henry the v. regned henry his sone but a childe and not fully a yere old / ... [Brie, p. 497 ll.1-5]

The 1461 continuation ends:
And that after this present 7 short lyfe we may come to the euerlastyng lyfe in the blisse of heuen Amen. [Brie, p. 533 ll.30-31 and note 10] [L]

As is noted under the description of the first part of the Brut text, the whole MS. is a compilation of various pieces[1], and it appears that the Brut text is also a compilation made up from a number of exemplars of various groups. The 1461 continuation is almost identical to Caxton's text and could well be a copy taken from the printed edition.

Lambeth MS. 264(2)

The first part of the text is described under the CV/1419(men):A and ends: 'and manly Countrid with our Englisshmen.' Some leaves have then been torn out, and the continuation begins in a new hand with the third chapter of the 1461 continuation:
How kyng Henry the vjth regned ...
After kyng henre þe v regned henry his sone but a Childe 7 not fully A yere olde [Brie, p. 497 ll.1-5]

The text ends with the prayer for Edward IV, and is followed by a postscript giving the writer's name and the date of copying:
And that after þis present 7 short lyf he may come to þe euerlastyng lyf in þe blisse of heuen Amen.

---

[1] See pp. 121-3.

Thus endeth þis present booke of cronicles of Englond wryten by me Thomas Rydyng þe iiij day of Novembre þe yere of our lord MCCCCCX [L]

This is clearly a copy of Caxton's text, with which the text agrees well. The postscript is composed on the analogy of the colophon to Caxton's 1480 edition (see above).

A similar judgement can be made of Hunterian MS. U.3.1, for with the exception of scribal errors, the text corresponds well to Caxton.[1] The evidence of Hunterian MS. T.3.12, however, suggests that it is not a copy of Caxton in this section. Although in general the text of the continuation is closer to Caxton than to BM Addit. MS. 10099, there are some agreements and semi-agreements with the latter, in addition to a number of readings that are original and agree with neither. There are 3 (semi-) agreements with BM MS. Addit. 10099 against Caxton; 26 agreements with Caxton against BM Addit. MS. 10099; and approximately 61 readings that are peculiar to Hunterian MS. T.3.12 and in agreement with neither Caxton nor BM Addit. MS. 10099.[2]

Some examples of each type are:

A. Hunt. T.3.12 agrees with, or is closer to, BM Addit. 10099:

BM Addit. 10099	Hunt. T.3.12
1) which was made at þe cost (þe: om. Caxton)	wych was made at the coste
2) our holy fader Pope (the pope our holy fadre: Caxton)	owr holy fader The pope
3) þei doubted sore þat he wold haue had (þat: om. Caxton)	they doubted sore as þat he wolde haue hade

---

[1]It is just possible that the text is a good copy of the MS. text that was the basis of Caxton, but this is less likely. [2]These figures exclude, as far as possible, scribal errors.

B. Hunt. T.3.12 agrees with, or is closer to, Caxton:

4) In þe viij yere of his regn (of his regn: om. Caxton)	In the .viij yere
5) þe quene come thider (thider: om. Caxton)	the quene come
6) a parlement at Westmynster at which (which perlement: Caxton)	a parlement at westmynster atte whiche parlement
7) on whose soul (soule And all cristen soules: Caxton) god have mercy (mercy Amen: Caxton)	vpon whose soule 7 All crystyn sowlles god haue mercy Amen
8) his soul may (may euer: Caxton) be remembred	hys sowlle may euer be remembred

C. Hunt. T.3.12 differs from BM Addit. 10099 and Caxton:

9) vpon our Lordes body	on godes body
10) þe kinges of Englond 7 of Fraunce (kynges of fraunce 7 of Englond: Caxton)	the kyng off fraunce 7 the kyng of engeland
11) þe Kyng of Fraunce Doughter (the kynges doughter of fraunce: Caxton)	the doughtter off the kynges off fraunce
12) And fro thens he with his lordes 7 þe Duke of Burgoyn.7 many other lordes of Fraunce laid seige to diuerse townes	7 frome thens he went w^{t} hys lordes 7 the duke of Burgoyne 7 many othere lordes of fraunce And layde syege to dyuerse townnes
13) 7 al was because þei wold not take Archers with þam (take with hem Archers: Caxton) bot thought to haue	7 all was by caus they wold not take none archers w^{t} them but thought to haue ower come the fransshmen

do with þe Frenshmen þer (them: Caxton) self without thame	them selfe (slefe: MS.) w^{t} owt archers
14) of siluer 7 gylt	off sylver and golde
15) which al this thinges performed þis noble Kynge for his fader (fadre for: Caxton) King Henry þe Fowrt seth he (iiij. his fadre: Caxton) performed it nat duryng his life whom as it is seyd god towched 7 was A lepre er he died	wych all this thynges performed thys noble kynge for hys fader kynge henry the fourthe hys father performed it not durynge hys lyfe of whome as it ys sayd þat god dyde touch hym 7 was lepre or þat he deyed
16) to þend to sett hym A werk þer	to the in tent to set hym an warke there

Taken individually these textual variants are not very significant, but their cumulative effect is to give an impression that in this section Hunterian MS. T.3.12 was taken from a MS. and not from Caxton's text, although the number of examples in (B) shows that the text of the MS. was closer to that used by Caxton than to BM Addit. MS. 10099. BM MS. Cotton Claudius A.VIII provides similar evidence; it resembles Caxton, but not exactly, and has agreements with BM Addit. MS. 10099. Even the variant readings between Caxton and BM Addit. MS. 10099 suggest that the latter was not copied from the former, as they are typical of a MS. transmission. Although the evidence for a MS. tradition taking the Brut to 1461 before Caxton is not abundant, there are sufficiently suggestive traces to allow the assumption that the 1461 continuation made its first appearance in MS. Internal evidence is limited to the observation that the concluding prayer for Edward IV would appear, from its optimistic tone, more likely to have been written at the beginning of the reign than in

1480. Little can be evinced from the style; the 1461 continuation is typical 'Brut continuation' material, based on civic chronicles, and showing clear traces of annalist composition, e.g. 'This same yere; Also þis same yeer,' etc.

MSS. containing the Polychronicon 1461 continuation [M] and associated with 'Warkworth's' Chronicle [N] (Poly. 1461 W.C.)

Three MSS. containing a continuation similar to that described in the CV/1461 form a special, closely-connected group that illustrates in a striking way the methods open to a mediaeval scribe who wished to assemble a composite text. The MSS. are Peterhouse Coll. Camb. MS. 190; Hunterian MS. T.3.21; and BM MS. Harl. 3730. But before we turn to them, we must remark the further use to which Caxton put the Brut text. In 1482 he printed Higden's translation of the Polychronicon, and, as he says, he was advised to add a section to Higden's text to bring it up to date:

t Henne folowyng this fore wreton booke of Prolicronycon [sic] J haue emprysed to ordeyne this newe booke by the suffraunce of Almyghty god to contynue the sayd werk bryefly / And to sette in hystoriall thynges / suche as J haue conne gete / from the tyme that he lefte / that was in the yere of oure lord a thousand thre honderde and seuen and fyfty vnto the yere of our sayd lord thousand four honderd and syxty and to the fyrst yere of the regne of kynge Edward the fourth /

This new book Caxton called 'Liber vltimus', and for his material he returned to the Brut. By now Caxton seems to have had access to further MSS. of the Brut, for some extra details are added which can be paralleled in different groups of the Brut. A number of shortenings are also made; for example, the whole story of the Siege of

Rouen is summarised thus:

In the syxthe yere the kyng besyeged the Cyte of Roan / whiche endured half yere and more And atte laste the Cyte beyng in grete famyne putte oute moche peple as women and children whiche deyde for honger.moo than thyrtty thousand / 7 also seyng that noo rescowse cam appoynted with the kyng 7 gaf ouer the toun vnto hym which he receyued And anone after that Roan was goten ...

The last sentence is the beginning of the 1461 continuation that Caxton had used in the edition of 1480. Henceforth some minor details are added, and some minor details are omitted, and the text ends in 1461. The chapters of the Liber vltimus are numbered from 1 (Capitulum Primum), to 33 (Capitulum Trisesimum Tercium), and there are no chapter headings [M]. Let us now return to the MSS. listed above.[1]

Peterhouse Coll. Camb. MS. 190(2)

The first part of this MS. has been treated under the CV/1419(men):A. A second hand takes up the narrative, bringing it to the end of the Siege of Rouen and beyond:

... in reule and gouernawnce

How the kynge of Englond was made herytier and Regent of ffraunce and he wedde quene kateryne-

(a) nd a none after that Rone was getyn̄ ...

For several chapters the continuation is based on a normal 1461 continuation, but then it changes to that found in Caxton's edition of the Polychronicon, even using the chapter numeration of this work. Conclusive proof of

---

[1] As the Poly. 1461 W.C. designation refers to the continuation, and the first parts of these MSS. belong to other recognised Brut groups, the sections of the MSS. are differentiated in Fig. 1 by (1), (2).

the provenance of the major part of the 1461 continuation comes in the lines following the prayer for Edward IV:

> And her I make an ende of this lytell werke as myche as I can fynde after the forme of the werke by fore made by Ranulpd [sic] Monke of Chester And where ther is ony faught I beseche them that schal rede it to correcte it ffor yf I cowed haue founde moo storyes I wold haue sett in itt moo but the substaunce that I can fynde and knowe I haue schortely seett them in this boke to the entent that suche thynges as haue be don sith deyth or ende of the same booke of polycronycoñ be hade in remembeRraunce and not putt in oblyuioñ ne for getynge Prayenge alle them that schall see this simple werke to pardon my symple and rude wrytynge. Ended the secunde day of Iulij the xxij yer of the regne of kynge Edward the fourt.and of the incarnacyoñ of our lorde M[1].CCCC.iiij score and tweyne.—/—
>
> ffinysched and ended after the Copey of Caxtoñ then in westmynster.—/—

Except for the words 'ffinysched ... westmynster', this is the colophon to Caxton's 1482 edition of the Polychronicon.

The same hand continues with 'Warkworth's' Chronicle[1], which is introduced thus:

> (a) s for alle thynges that folowe referre them to my copey in whyche is wretyn a remanente.lyke to this forseyd werke That is to wytt that at the coronacyon of the forseyde Edward he create and made Dukes his two brythir ...

The text ends 'by ther owne foly 7c'.' [LMN]

---

[1] Edited by J.O. Halliwell, A Chronicle of the First Thirteen Years of the Reign of King Edward IV. by John Warkworth, Camden Society, 1839. The ascription of authorship to Warkworth is doubtful; it may simply have belonged to him, or it may have been written at his request.

Hunterian MS. T.3.21(2)

The main Brut text in this MS. is treated under Group A (A) of the Abbreviated Version.[1] The text breaks off at the foot of a page 'the Armed men drew owte þe beggers 7 þe povyr peple', and on the next page a new hand continues 'w^{t} oute þe gates ffor spendyng off þer vitale'. This hand takes the narrative to the end of the Siege of Rouen and beyond:

in rewell and gouernaunce

How the kyng off Englond was made heritier and regent off ffraunce 7 how he wedded quene katerine ¶ Ca.

As in the previous MS., the 1461 continuation begins as a copy of a normal 1461 text, but changes to the text of Caxton's Polychronicon. The same chapter numeration is used, and many of the pages have the superscript '¶ Liber ultimus'. The final pages of the MS. contain a hitherto unnoticed text of 'Warkworth's' Chronicle. Unfortunately the vital page linking the 1461 Polychronicon continuation with 'Warkworth's' Chronicle is missing. The text ends 'by ther oune foly.7c'.//' [LMN]

A further interesting feature of this MS. is that the same hand that wrote the continuations and 'Warkworth's' Chronicle has prefixed a prologue to the Brut text, taken from the Saint Albans edition of the Brut, printed in 1483. It is important to note that the binding of the MS. has not been tampered with; the MS. is a compilation made by a mediaeval scribe. Considerable care and intelligent selection has gone into the compilation of the texts of this MS., e.g. an additional sentence at the end of the Saint Albans prologue:

¶ And as tochyng Emperours and Popes I speke not off theme ffor this boke folowyng only tretys off the Brute and

---

[1] See pp. 128-30.

kyngeꝭ off This realme which succedyd hym And þeꝛ for the tabyll folowyng is a breuiate afteꝛ the same—//[1]

In addition, the hand that has added to the basic Brut text appears to have inserted chapter headings throughout the MS., and has made a number of notes on the text, in Latin and English, in the margins.

BM MS. Harl. 3730(2)

The first part of the text is described under the AV:A(A).[2] It belongs to the same group as the preceding text. The entire MS. is written in one hand throughout.[3] The 1461 continuation was used by Brie for collation purposes in his edition, where the MS. is designated H. A textual comparison, however, reveals that the text is the same as that contained in the continuations of the two preceding MSS., i.e. for the first chapters it is based on a normal 1461 continuation, although some details from the Polychronicon text are used, and then the Polychronicon version of the 1461 continuation is used, and again the chapter numeration of this work is employed. The following are examples of details found in Caxton's Polychronicon and in BM MS. Harl. 3730, but not in Caxton's Chronicles of England or BM MS. Addit. 10099:

BM Addit. 10099, collated with Caxton's Chronicles of England and BM Harl. 3730 (H)	Caxton's Polychronicon (1482)
þe world (worde: H) was nat worthy to haue his presence	the worlde was not worthy to haue hys presence / Jn

---

[1]The Saint Albans edition adds superfluous notices of emperors and popes to the Brut text, and they are included in the table of contents. [2]See pp. 130-1. [3]Brie, G.u.Q., p. 111, detects two hands, but I feel he was misled by a change to lighter ink which occurs on fol. 98[a].

(hys presence. In þis yere was þe Kynge of Scottes murthered in his chambor by night pytously which king had ben prissoner xv yere in Englond And thei þat slew hym were takyn afterward and hade cruel Iustice: H) This same (same: om. H) yere, one Owayn [Brie, p. 506 l.27-p. 507 l.1]	this yere was the kynge of scottys murthred in his chambre by nyght pytously whiche kynge had be prysoner xv yere in englonde / And they that slewe hym were taken afterward 7 had cruel iustyce / this yere one owayn
Also þis yere (yere the lord talbott leyd feire to Deype, But þe Dolphyn rescowed it And wan þe Bastell þat Englishman hade made. Also þis yere: H) was A gret Affray in Flet Strete [Brie, p. 509 l.16]	Also this yere the lord Talbotte had leyde syege to dyepe / but the Dolphyn rescowed it / and wan the bastyle that Englysshmen had made Also this yere was a greete effraye in fletestrete

Corresponding omissions of details also occur in BM MS. Harl. 3730 and Caxton's Polychronicon.

The text breaks off before the end of the 1461 continuation, and thus one cannot tell whether a copy of 'Warkworth's' Chronicle formed part of the original MS., the closing words of which are:

hys sone was comyng with [cf. Brie, p. 590 ll.29-30] [LM(N)]

The precise relationship between these three MSS. is not yet definite.[1] My present view is that Hunterian MS.

---

[1] I hope to present a more detailed study of this small group at a later date.

T.3.21 is the original compilation, possibly made by Warkworth himself. The direction to the scribe in Peterhouse MS. could apply to the Hunterian MS., which could with justice be described as 'a remanente.lyke to this forseyd werke'. A preliminary analysis of the language of the main Brut text in the Hunterian MS. shows it to be Northern, and Warkworth was from the North of England. BM MS. Harl. 3730 appears from its contents and language to be a copy of Hunterian MS. T.3.21; whether it once contained 'Warkworth's' Chronicle is impossible to say.

Unclassified Texts

CUL MS. Kk.1.3

The fragmentary text of 20 folios contained in this MS. cannot be assigned definitely to a precise group of the CV or EV. The first section begins shortly before the coronation of Uther Pendragon:

after þat bataill Vter tooke his weye toward wynchestre ... [Brie, p. 64 l.29]

Those textual details that I have examined do not suggest that the text is identical to the very earliest CV groups, but the fragmentary state of the text makes it difficult to say more than this. Fragments are preserved up to a point in the reign of Edward I, the last piece ending with the words:

And he sente be fore in to scotlonde ser Aymer de valaunce Erl of pembrook ... [Brie, p. 200 ll.14-15]

NLW Peniarth MS. 396 D(1) (olim Hengwrt 429)

The first 8 folios of this MS. have been copied from a CV text, but one cannot identify the specific group since it occupies such little space. The text has the normal CV heading, partially damaged, and then begins with the words:

In the noble londe of Surrey ...

It continues as far as chapter four, when it breaks off with the words 'But ooñ Geaunte' (the last word is a catchword) [Brie, p. 11 l.7]

The text then goes back to the third chapter, and is thereafter a copy of the AV:B.[1]

---

[1] See pp. 141-2.

Appendix 1

Text factors used in the examination of MSS.

For purposes of comparison, Brie's edition was used extensively. The principal test factors for the Common Version were:

1) The presence or absence of a heading at the beginning of the text.

2) A comparison of the prologue and the Lear story with Hunterian MS. T.3.12.

3) The presence or absence of the Cadwallader episode.

4) The presence or absence of Queen Isabella's letter to the citizens of London. See Vol. III pp. 585-8.

5) An examination of the chapter on the Battle of Halidon Hill.

6) The presence or absence of the chapter describing the character of Edward III.

7) If the text continued beyond 1419, the presence or absence of John Page's poem on the Siege of Rouen was noted. If the poem was absent, the type of continuation was noted.

8) The final words of the text.

9) The presence of any unique contributions or other distinguishing textual features.

10) The sample selection of passages of text for comparison.

11) Any changes of hand at significant points in the text were noted.

12) Any suggestive and potentially significant physical attributes of the MS. were noted, e.g. change of ink, blank pages, or missing folios.

The principal test factors (see also pp. 185-6) for the Extended Version and the Abbreviated Version were:

1) The type of exordium and prologue, and details from both.

2) The first lines of the text proper.
3) Details from Diana's prophecy and from Coryn's fight with the giant Gogmagog.
4) The type of linkage and the presence or absence of the Latin tag in the chapter listing the 33 kings of England.
5) The presence of the Cadwallader episode.
6) The presence of Queen Isabella's letter.
7) An examination of the chapter on the Battle of Halidon Hill and of ensuing chapters.
8) If the text continued beyond 1419, the type of continuation was noted.
9) The final words of the text.
10) The presence of any unique contributions or other distinguishing features.
11) A comparison of specific passages, and also of other sample passages of text.
12) Any changes of hand at significant points in the text were noted.
13) Any suggestive and potentially important physical attributes of the MS. were noted, e.g. change of ink, blank pages, or missing folios.

Appendix 2

Lettered criteria for the Common Version

A : contains text to 1333.
B : contains full continuation to 1377.
C : contains shortened continuation to 1377.
D : contains description of Edward III.
E : contains Cadwallader episode.
F : contains Queen Isabella's letter to the citizens of London.
G : ends in 1419: and manfully countered with our English men
H : contains extra lines to 1419: in rule and governance.
I : contains phraseological changes of Hunt. MS. T.3.12 etc.
J : contains 1430 continuation with John Page's poem.
K : contains continuation from 1419 to 1434 or 1445 (JP:C).
L : contains continuation from 1419 to 1461.
M : contains 1461 Polychronicon continuation.
N : contains 'Warkworth's' Chronicle.

On occasion, a lettered criterion can refer to the feature per se.

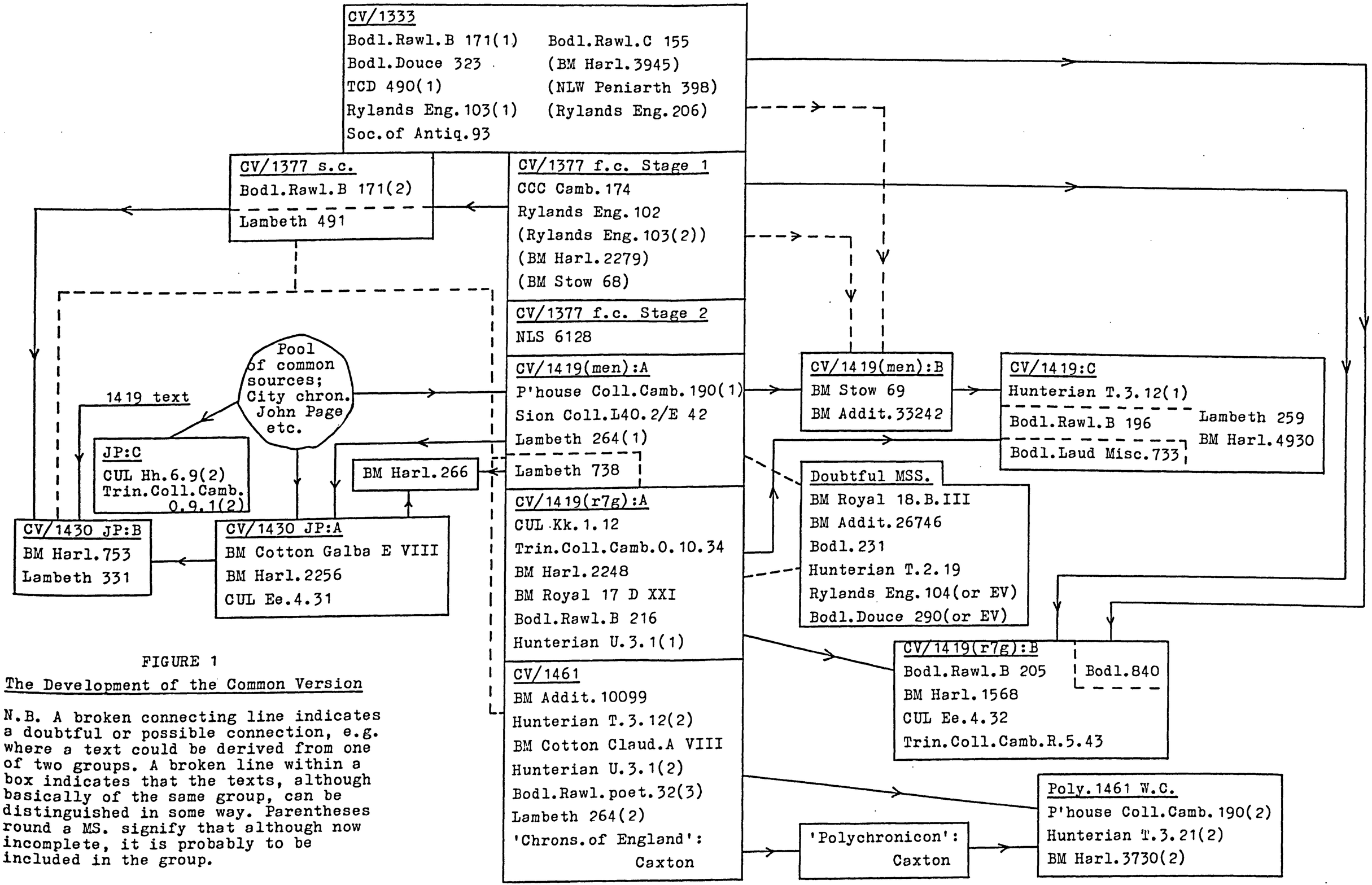


FIGURE 1

The Development of the Common Version

N.B. A broken connecting line indicates a doubtful or possible connection, e.g. where a text could be derived from one of two groups. A broken line within a box indicates that the texts, although basically of the same group, can be distinguished in some way. Parentheses round a MS. signify that although now incomplete, it is probably to be included in the group.

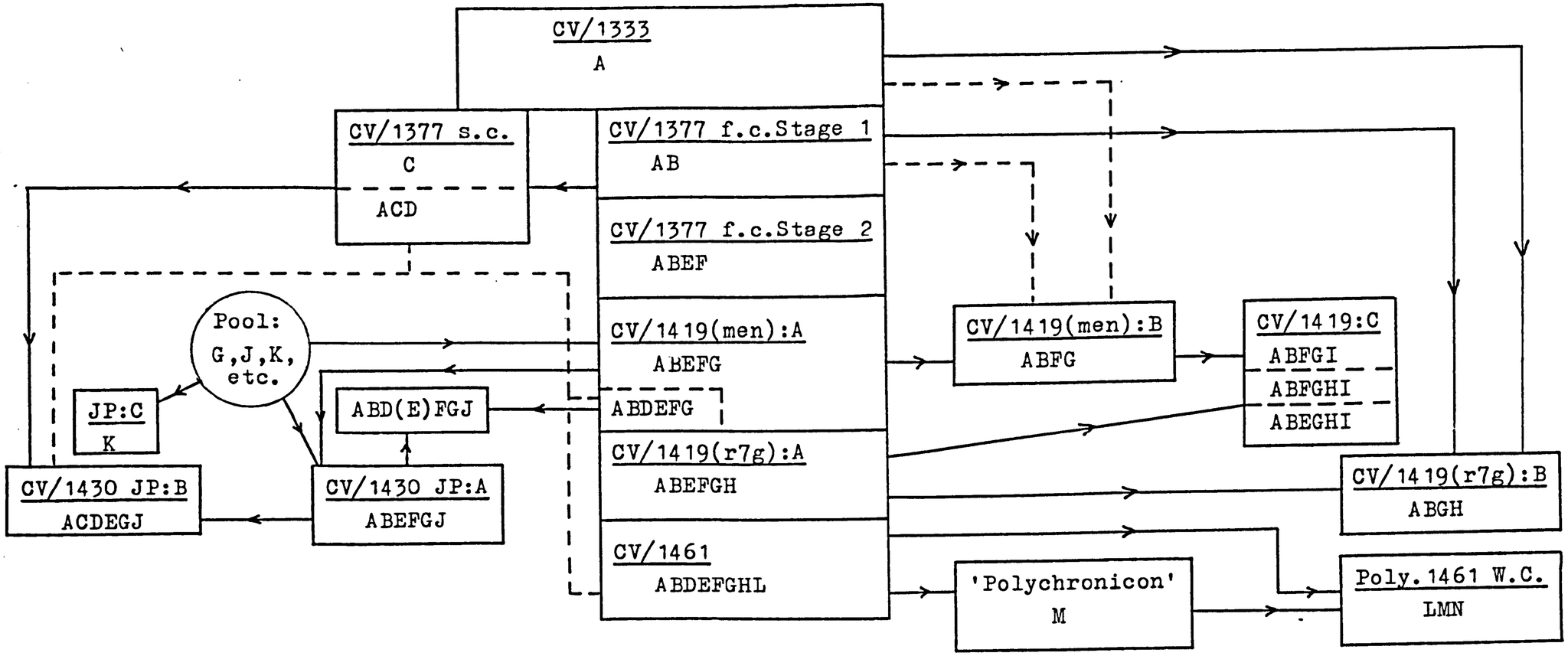


FIGURE 2

The Development of the Common Version in terms of Criteria

N.B. The primary criteria found in complete texts in each group are shown; incomplete texts have been excluded. The group of doubtful MSS. (see Fig. 1) and the unspecified 1419 text that underlies part of the CV/1430 JP:B have also been omitted.

(b) <u>The Extended Version (EV) and the Abbreviated Version (AV)</u>

The primary distinguishing feature of all groups of MSS. of the Extended Version and of the related groups that constitute the Abbreviated Version are an exordium, the words 'Some time ...' at the beginning of the prologue, and a lengthened prologue.[1] Other features, such as textual differences and differences of content, are described below.

Individual groups can be differentiated, but they are far less internally coherent than those of the Common Version, and the precise relationships between the individual groups of the Extended and Abbreviated Versions unfortunately remains unclear. As will be seen, much scribal crossing has occurred (apparently between texts from a variety of groups) and the resulting array of correspondences and divergences has prevented the setting-up of a model like that possible in Fig. 1 for the groups of the Common Version. Accordingly, the following lay-out has been adopted for this section:

1) description of the individual groups, firstly of the EV and secondly of the AV, with a short description and preliminary discussion of the internal correspondences, divergences, and, where these can be ascertained, relationships between particular MSS. of the individual group under examination. Since these MSS. have hitherto remained inadequately and sketchily described, in the main in often unreliable library catalogues, a full description, primarily

---

[1] Brie treats 'Abbreviated Version' MSS. under the Extended Version ('die erweiterte Fassung'), calling them 'eine umfangreiche Klasse von MSS ..., die nichts als verkürzte Wiedergaben jener sind' (Brie, G.u.Q., p. 84). This is an over-simplification, and the type of conscious change found in the abbreviated MSS. makes it preferable to class such MSS. under the general title of the 'Abbreviated Version'.

in terms of content, is given of at least one representative text of each group.

2) description and general discussion of the correspondences and divergences between the individual groups.

The Extended Version to 1377 (EV/1377)

From remarks found in the exordia of MSS. of the Extended Version and in most of the Abbreviated Version MSS., one can assume a MS. or group of MSS. in which an exordium was first used and which ended in 1377:

And þis booke made 7 compiled men of Religioun.7 oþer good clerkes.þat wreten þat bifell in her tymes.and made þer of grete bokes.and remembraunce to men þat comen aftir hem to heere and to see what bifell in þe londe afore tyme./And callid hem cronycles. And in þis londe haue been from Brute to kynge Edward þe thridde.aftir þe conquest .C.xxxij. kynges.whos lyues and Actes ben compiled shortly in þis boke.þe whiche conteyneth CC.xxxviij. chapiters. wiþ oute þe prothogoll or prolog [Harl. 4827; cf. the wording of the texts on pp. 154-6 below.]

The finishing point of the text, i.e. the death of King Edward III, and the number of chapters stated to have comprised the work both point to an original text ending in 1377, and it seems likely that this 1377 group was an embryonic EV rather than an AV for the following reasons:

1) it is unlikely that an exordium would be added to a projected abbreviation of the text, especially in view of the truncated state of the extant AV texts.

(ii) the use of literary sources found in the prologues and elsewhere in the extant EV and AV texts suggests a conscious attempt to produce a 'show' text. It is even possible that the Cadwallader episode and Queen Isabella's letter were first introduced into the Brut canon in this group.

(iii) the relationships between the groups of the EV and

AV, although unclear, suggest a prototype EV.

I have named this group the EV/1377. The description given above points to a text of the CV/1377 full continuation as having been its basis. There are, however, two stages of the CV/1377 f.c.; the first does not contain the Cadwallader episode nor Queen Isabella's letter, whereas the second does, and this presents three possibilities for the constitution and early history of the EV/1377:
(i) the EV/1377 was based on the CV/1377 f.c. Stage 1, and contained neither the Cadwallader episode nor Queen Isabella's letter.
(ii) the EV/1377 was based on the CV/1377 f.c. Stage 1, and first introduced the Cadwallader episode and Queen Isabella's letter. These were then borrowed during the compilation of the CV/1377 f.c. Stage 2 and thus introduced into the development of the Common Version.
(iii) the EV/1377 was based on the CV/1377 f.c. Stage 2, which had first incorporated the Cadwallader episode and Queen Isabella's letter.

Little weight can be put on the evidence that the EV/1377 contained exactly 238 chapters, for in MSS. of the Brut, chapter numbering - where found at all - tends to vary.[1] However, I believe that possibility (i) can be discounted, for all complete texts of the extant EV and AV groups contain the Cadwallader episode and Queen Isabella's letter, which suggests that these were found in the early stages of the EV/AV development.

The Cadwallader episode in the Brut is taken from Book XII of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae, and incorporates a Latin quotation from this work: 'Dedisti nos domine tanquam oues escarum et in gentibus

---

[1] E.g. CCC Camb. MS. 174, a text of the CV/1377 f.c. Stage 1, has 239 chapters, and does not include the Cadwallader episode, which adds a chapter to those texts that possess it.

dispersisti nos'. Geoffrey's Historia reads: 'Dedisti nos deus tanquam oues escarum.& in gentibus dispersisti nos'.[1]

Turning to the chapter listing 33 kings of Britain, we find that certain EV groups and an AV group contain a Latin tag that occurs after the name of Blegabred: 'Quiquidem omnes regi cantatores in modulis et musicis instrumentis superabant'. This quotation is also based on some text of Geoffrey's Historia, and the corresponding phrase in CUL MS. 1706 reads: 'hic omnes cantares quos retro etas habuerat.& in modulis & in omnibus musicis instrumentis'. Stadtbibliothek Bern MS. 568 adds 'superabat' after 'instrumentis'.[2] Since the Latin tag is not found in CV MSS., this shows that a compiler involved in the EV knew Geoffrey's Historia, but whether it was the compiler of the EV/1377 is not definite, for the distribution of the tag is random, and certain groups of the EV and AV do not include it. Either it is an independent addition made at some stage of the EV/AV development after the EV/1377 or it has dropped out of those EV/AV groups that do not possess it in the course of scribal transmission or by deliberate omission.

Possibilities (ii) and (iii) remain open, although in view of the general character of the extant EV texts, which use details from literary sources[3], possibility (ii) allows a plausible and attractive hypothesis concerning the genesis and early development of the EV/1377. We can suppose that the compiler was faced by a text of the CV/1377 f.c. Stage 1, i.e. that contained neither the Cadwallader episode nor the Queen Isabella letter. His

---

[1]A. Griscom, The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth, London, 1929, p. 531. Griscom's division into twelve books has been followed here. [2]Griscom, op. cit., p. 300. [3]See below pp. 108-11 for details from the Anonymous Short English Metrical Chronicle.

intention was to improve upon the text of his exemplar, and to this end he added an exordium, and some details from the Anonymous Short English Chronicle to the prologue. For purposes of collation, the compiler was using a text of the Historia Regum Britanniae (upon which the Brut is ultimately based in its earlier text), and from this he possibly inserted the Latin tag into the catalogue of British kings, and a translation of the Cadwallader episode (possibly on account of its connection with the Havelock tale). From some other source (probably a Short Anglo-Norman Brut; see Vol. III pp. 385-8), he incorporated Queen Isabella's letter to the citizenry of London. In a subsequent recension of the CV/1377, the Cadwallader episode and the letter were introduced into the main development of the Common Version.

No MS. of the EV/1377 appears to have survived. Extant EV and AV MSS. carry the text to 1419, or, where incomplete, are assumed to have once carried the text at least beyond 1377, and it is to the extant MSS. that we now turn.

Extended Version to 1419: Group A (EV/1419:A)

This group is made up of five MSS., and is primarily distinguished by its exordium and certain textual additions in the prologue.

Rylands Eng. MS. 105

We can discount the evidence of a MS. note on fol. 46^{b}: 'This chronicle was mayde the xth. yere of the reynge of kynge Henry the viiith by the right renouned and myghty' [breaks off]. The MS. hand is fifteenth-century.

The exordium[1] begins:

HEre begynneth a boke in Englysshe tunge called Brute.

---

[1]For details from this and from other EV/AV exordia, see pp. 153-6.

whiche entreteth of the first begynnyng of the lond ...

After the exordium, the heading of the prologue and the opening words of the text are:

The prolog of this booke declareth how this lond was first called Albyon after the eldest doughter ...

SOme tyme in the noble lond of Surry ...

There is a gap in the prologue - unfortunately as we shall see - due to a missing page; fol. 3^{b} ends: 'And horribly repreved theym of theire evell tacches and governaunces ...'; fol. 4^{a} begins: 'shuld comen to much honour and worship̄ ...'

In the chapter listing the kings of Britain, the linkage between the kings is of the normal 'after him' type, and the Latin tag discussed above does not appear.

Constantine reigns after Arthur, as in the CV, and in common with all EV MSS. the Cadwallader episode and Queen Isabella's letter are found.

The text of the chapter on the Battle of Halidon Hill is peculiar insofar as a redistribution of the numbering of the wards of the Scottish army has occurred, presenting only four, and not five wards:

In the fourth warde of the Scottes were theis lordes. therl of Dunbarre the keper of the Castell of Berewik ...

The text ends at the beginning of the reign of Henry V with the rubric:

Of kinge Henri the v^{th} borne at Monmouth in Wales son to king he[nri] the $iiij^{th}$.

BM MS. Harl. 24

This text adds a heading to the exordium:

HEre begynnyth the kalendare of Brute in Englyssh tunge.

HEr be gynnyth a Booke in Englyssh tung that is called Brute of Englande which Declarith and tretith of the furste beginnyng of the lande of Englande ...

The prologe of this Booke declareth howe this lande was

furste callede Albyon after þe eldest doughter ...
Sume tyme in the noble lande of ssurrey ...

Certain textual additions and changes found in the prologue are treated below. The linkage in the British kings chapter is of the 'after him' type, but the Latin tag is included. The Halidon Hill chapter is 'normal' and has a '5w' heading: 'In the .v. warde of the Bataile of Scotlande were thes lordes'. The text ends in 1419 with the words: 'in Ruele and good gouernaunce. ¶ Deo gracias'

BM Addit. MS. 12030

This text is similar to the preceding. It is headed: HEre be gynnyth the Kalendare of Brute in Englyssh as here after ye shall here
HEre begynnyth a Book in Englyssh tunge that ys called Brute of England which declareth and tretethe of the furst bygynnyng of the lande of Englande ...

In its details the text resembles the preceding, and although it breaks off in 1346 with the words 'the Brede of xx myles he wastede alle ...', this MS. can be linked with BM MS. Harl. 24.

Bodl. MS. Rawl. B187

Although the first folio of the text is fragmentary, sufficient phrases remain to show that it is an EV/1419:A, e.g.:
wyldyrnesse 7 no thyng ... And thys booke ys calledde Brute aftyr ... the lond whos name was Brute the ... opynly ys declared yn dyuers chapyty [this phrase is not contained in Rylands Eng. 105, but is found in BM Harl. 24 and Hunt. T.3.21] ... good clerkys and namely men of ...

Further proof is afforded by internal details, e.g.: also the Geawntys lyven̄ be dyuers frwtys growyng ther and be fowlys vyld and tame and othyr grett bestys and yn

specyalle be flesche of schepe grett as hors the whyche weryn wolle as the her of a goote ther of they makyn hem slawyns and that lond to yow ys ordeynyd be destanye and to yowr pepyll [cf. the texts of Rylands Eng. 105 and Harl. 24 below]

Unfortunately the folios that once contained the names of the extra giants are lost. The form of Coryn's paramour's name is interesting in comparison with the form given in other groups, and has a direct parallel in the form given in the related group, the AV:A(B):
yef Erneborowe þi paramour myȝth wete that on man only ferde thus with þe sche wold neuer love þe.

The linkage between the British kings is of the normal type, and the Latin tag is found. Constantine reigns after Arthur, and the text breaks off during the Halidon Hill chapter, though this cannot be taken as an indication that it did not originally end in 1419 in view of the fact that other EV texts are closer to the CV in many verbal respects. The closing words are: 'the Scottes vnderstoode þañ þat the' [Brie, p. 280 l.5]

Bodl. MS. Tanner 188

The MS. in incomplete at both beginning and end, but can be included in the EV/1419:A from the evidence of the Lud and Engist passages. It starts:
with here strength yche one of hem toke a certayne Contrey and euery man in his lande lete calle hym kynge. [cf. Brie, p. 22 ll.30-32]

The linkage in the British kings chapter is of the normal type, and includes the Latin tag. The '5w' heading is present, and the text breaks off during the chapter recounting the rising of the five lords at Ratcot Bridge with the catchword:
to here Iustes.xxiiij ... [Brie, p. 343 ll.14-15]

In discussing the internal relationships of this

group we will leave aside Bodl. Tanner 188, and group together BM MSS. Harl. 24 and Addit. 12030 against Rylands Engl. MS. 105. (Bodl. MS. Rawl. B187 appears to stand apart again.) A number of details differentiate them and serve to suggest that the Rylands text represents in the main an earlier stage of the EV text than the BM MSS. The title given in the latter MSS. must be a secondary development; it occurs in no other EV group. The significance of the Latin tag is doubtful since we do not know if it was given in the EV/1377.

In the prologue and opening chapters, additional details are found in the EV, taken from the Anonymous Short English Chronicle.[1] In this work, a description of Gogmagog and of the giants' mode of existence is found after Brutus's arrival in England and just prior to the giants' attack:

> He was of swyþe gret strengþe
> Fourty fot he was in lenþe
> 7 xij. fro his elbow to his hond
> 7 xx. in brede men hym fond
> In gret hulles þei woned here
> 7 lyued by erbis [and] wilde dere
> Melc 7 water þei dronke noȝt ellis
> As þe Brut hit seis 7 tellis[2]
> Schep þei hadde as hors gret
> Þerof [þei] maden hom sclaueyns
> So palmers weryn 7 painim(s) [Zettl, p. 2 ll.25-36]

Details from this passage are added at two points in the EV text, firstly at the end of the prologue relating

---

[1]Ed. E. Zettl, EETS O.S. 196, London, 1935. [2]Probably an Anglo-Norman chronicle, possibly Le Brut DEngletere abrege or some source common to both the Short English Chronicle and the Anglo-Norman work, which is printed in Zettl, op. cit., pp. 92-107. But cf. M. Dominica Legge, 'The Brut Abridged, a Query', Medium Aevum XVI (1947), pp. 32-3.

the Albyne story, which is given thus in the CV:
& they conceiued, and after þei broughten forth Geauntes, of þe which on me called Gogmagog, and anoþer Laugherigan, & so þei were nompned by diuers names; & in þis manere they comen forth, and weren boren horrible Geauntes in Albioñ; & þey dwellyd in Cauys & in hulles at here will, & had þ^e^ lond of Albyoñ as hem liked, vn-to þ^e^ tyme þat Brut Arryved & come to Tottenesse, þat was in þ^e^ Ile of Albyoñ. and þere þis Brut conqueryd & scomfyted these geauntes abouesеyd. [Brie, p. 4 ll.26-34]

The corresponding passage in BM MS. Harl. 24 reads:
and they conceyued and brought forthe Gyauntes of the which men callede one Gogmagog kyng of þem alle and he was .xl. foote in lenght and .xij. in brede ¶ anothir hight kyng wydy and dwellede vppon an hygh hille with in shropshire that ys callede the wreken ¶ one othir O newen le-fort One othir Bonde at the Brugge ende Brothir to O newyn le fforte ¶ One othir laugherygo Bondes sonne whome Q newens Eme slough after in a Bataile assignede by twyxt theme vn wryting to theme bothe and grete multitude moo of Giauntes that weren callede many dyuers names and in this same maner there came forthe and wereñ borne horible Gyauntes in albyon and ther dwellede in Caues and in hilles at there luste and had the lande of albion as theme lykede vn to the tyme that Brute came and arryued at Totennesse that was in the Ile of albyoun and ther this Brute conquerede and scomefited the Giauntes a.boueseyde and slough the moste partye of them as othir Bookes opynly de clarythe. [BM Harl. 24]

Unfortunately, as we noted above, the revelant folio in Rylands Eng. MS. 105 is missing, but from a comparison with the corresponding passage in other EV and AV groups[1], the extra giants and folklorish details of the BM MSS.

---

[1]See below, p. 158 , especially the EV:C.

can be seen as secondary additions, possibly not having occurred in the Rylands MS., at least in such extended form.

The remainder of the lines from the Short Chronicle quoted above are incorporated into Diana's prophecy to Brutus. BM MS. Harl. 24 reads:

Also the Giauntes lyuen by dyueres frutes growyng there and by foules wylde and tame and other grete Bestes and enspeciall flesshe of shepe grete as hors the wiche weren wollen as heyere of Goote where of they made theme slauyns and that lande to you ys ordeynede by destanye and to youre peple.

The corresponding section in Rylands Eng. MS. 105 is:

And thies Giauntȝ live by diuers frutes And rotes of the Erth And foules wilde and tame And other grete bestes And in speciall bi grete shepe as grete as hors which weren wolle as herre wherof thei make hem slavyns And that lond to you is ordeyned by destany And to your peuple.

The erbis of the Short Chronicle appear to have become rootes of the Erth in the Rylands MS., which omits the Short Chronicle qualifying phrase of get which appears in BM Harl. 24, i.e. each MS. preserves details from the source, although each is close to the other.

A further detail that can help us to distinguish the EV/1419:A is the name of Coryn's paramour in chapter 4, which is not given in the CV:

Thanne seyde Brute to Coryn if Eneburgh thy paramoure myght witte that one man ferde thus foule with the she wolde neuir loue the [BM Harl. 24]

This detail is also taken from the Short Chronicle, where the relevant lines read:

& if þe worde of þe spronge
Þat o man þe stod so longe

Geant or champion
Al þi honour were ileide adon
& nameliche to þi lemman
Þat is so fair a womman
Whenne Coryneus hurde þat
Þat Brut of his lemman spak
Of Erneborw [vrr. ernebourwe, Erneburh, erneburgh]
þat maide hende
To Gogmagog he gan wende [Zettl, p. 4 ll.71-80; variants from M.C. Carroll and R. Tuve, 'Two Manuscripts of the Middle English "Anonymous Riming Chronicle"', PMLA 46 (1931), p. 122; J. Ritson, Ancient Engleish Metrical Romancees, London, 1802, Vol. II p. 273; CUL MS. Dd.14.2, fol. 261^{b}; see also Zettl, pp. l-li.]

In the listing of the kingdoms of Engest's heptarchy, the Rylands MS. preserves a reading that is closer to that of the CV and the other EV/AV texts than that of BM MSS. Harl. 24 and Addit. 12030:

¶ The vij hade Oxenford, Gloucestr', Wynchestre, Warwik and Darby-shire. [CV, Bodl. Rawl. B171; Brie, p. 55 ll.13-14]

the vijth. had Oxfordshire Gloucestreshire Winchestre Wari[k] And Derby shire [Rylands Eng. 105]

and the .vij. had Oxenforde shire gloucester shire worcester warwyke and derbyshire [BM Harl. 24]

Thus a number of details suggest that BM MSS. Harl. 24 and Addit. 12030 can be considered as slightly apart from Rylands Eng. MS. 105, which appears to have preserved a closer relationship to the ultimate source in the CV and to have points of agreement with other EV and AV groups that the other two MSS. do not have.[1]

---

[1]See pp. 153, 154-5, 157-8.

The Extended Version to 1419: Group B (EV/1419:B)

The second group of EV MSS. has an altered exordium and presents a number of lexical changes from the CV and EV/1419:A.[1] The group comprises ten MSS. (including one anomalous text, that of Bodl. MS. Rawl. poet. 32(1)).

BM. MS. Harl. 4827

The heading and the first words of the exordium are:
Here bigynneth a booke whiche is callid Brute the Cronicles of Englond ¶ Capitulo primo.
This boke treteth and telleþ of þe kynges.7 principal lordes ...

The heading of the prologue and the first words of the text are:
The prolog of þis book declareth hou this lande was callid Albioun aftre þe eldest doughtre of þe Riall kyng Dioclisian of Surry ...
SOmtyme in þe noble land of Surry ...

The details from the Short English Metrical Chronicle appear thus:
and so þei conceyued.and brouȝt forth grete.Gyauntes of þe whiche oon was callid.Gogmagog.and he was .xl. feet.of length.and .xij. of breed. And þese Geauntes duelleden in diuers places in þis lande Albion.in kaues and in Mounteyns in to the tyme þat Brute came in to þis lande.arrived at Toteneys in Devenshire.and þan þis.Brute scomfited and conquerid alle þese.Geauntes.and slough hem alle-

The giants' mode of existence is given as follows:
In þe whiche Geauntes lyuen þere bi herbes and bi Rootes.7

---

[1] Brie calls this group 'Gruppe B' and recognizes that it has a new heading, but says that its exordium 'eine Verkürzung von dem der Gruppe A darstellt' (Brie, G.u.Q., p. 83). His cursory examination led him to believe that 'Prolog und Text stimmen genau zum Vorigen' [i.e. 'Gruppe A', my EV/1419:A]. As we shall see, this is inaccurate.

þere been sheep as grete as hors.and þat lande is ordeyned for 3ou.and for 3oure peple.and þere shull 3ee duelle.

The name of Coryn's paramour is given as in the EV/1419:A:

Þan said Brute vn to Coryn.if Eneburgh þi paramour mi3t witte þat oo man ferde so foule wiþ þee.she wolde neuere loue þee.

In the chapter listing the kings of Britain, the Latin tag after Blegabred's name is present, but the type of linkage between the kings differs from the usual 'after him' type in that the kings are enumerated:

Þe .xiij^{e} kyng was .Andrage. 7 he regned xiiij^{e} 3ere Þe xiiij^{e} kyng was callid Eldegan 7 he regned xv 3ere Þe .xv. kyng was callid .Bledagon. Qui quidem omnes regni cantores in modulis 7 musicis instrumentis supera - and he regned .iij^{e} 3ere. The xvj. kyng was callid Caph.and he regned but oon 3ere ...

Further changes are found in the passage describing Engest's heptarchy, as can be seen in a comparison with the text of the EV/1419:A, which is closer by far to the CV text:

EV/1419:B	EV/1419:A
and toke þe name of þis londe 7.callid aftir his owne. Engestes londe and þat no mañ so hardy to calle þis lande Bretayne ¶ And þan Engest departid all þis londe bitween hym 7 his men. and made .vij. kynges in þis londe in strengthyng of þe londe.so	And made chaunge the name of the land that noman of his were so hardi After that tyme to calle this lond Britaine but to calle it Engislond / And nowe by correpcioun[1] of tunge it is called Englond And he departed all the lond emonyst his men And mad

[1] BM Harl. 24 and Addit. 12030 agree in reading Torrepcoñ.

þat þe Bretons shuld come no more þerin. The first kyng was of kent.7 þere Engest hym self regned 7 he was lorde 7 maistre of all þe oþer kynges / þe second was kyng of Southsex. þe þrid was kyng of Westsex. þe.fourþe was kyng of Essex. þe .v^te. was kyng of Estangle.þat is now callid. Northfolk 7 Southfolk/. and þe .vj^te. was þe kyng of Leicestre shire.Northampton. Hertford and Huntyngdoun./ þe .vij^te. was kyng of Oxenford.Gloucestre. wynchestre warwik.and Derby shire. [BM Harl. 4827]

therin .vij. kynges.forto strenythe the lond that the Britains hereafter shuld neuer come into it Ayen. The first kyngdome was kent their Engist hymsilf reigned And was lord And Maister ouer all other./ Ane other kyng had Sussex where nowe is Chichester. The thrid had Westsex the fourth had Essex the v^th. hadde Estangle that nowe is called Norfolk 7 Suffolk Marcheneriche that nowe is called the Erledom of Nicoll The vj^th. hadde Leicestreshire Northampshire[1] Hertfordshire and Huntingdon shire.the vij^th. had Oxfordshire Gloucestreshire Wincestre Warrik and Derby shire [Rylands Eng. 105; cf. Brie, p. 55 ll.2-14]

In respect of the phrase And nowe by correpcioun of tunge it is called Englond, the EV/1419:B is closer to the CV, where such a phrase does not occur. However, the EV/1419:B consistently changes the formula 'the third, fourth, fifth, etc. had xxxx' to 'the second, third, fourth, fifth, etc. was king of xxxx', which is a distinct alteration from the CV formula used in the EV/1419:A.

---

[1]The BM MSS. read correctly 'Northamptonshire'.

In the chapter on the Battle of Halidon Hill, BM MS. Harl. 4827 has the '5w' heading, and the text ends in 1419 with the words 'in reule 7 in gouernaunce'.

BM MS. Harl. 2182

The beginning of the text is similar to that of the preceding MS.:

Here begynneþ a boke which is callid Brute þe cronycles of Englonde. Ca^{o} 1.
This booke treteþ techeþ and telliþ of kingis and of principalle lordis ...
The prolog of þis boke declareþ how þis londe was callid Albyon after þe eldist doughter ...
Sometyme in þe noble londe of Surreye ...

With due consideration of the normal minor scribal changes and other vagaries, the internal details of the text resemble closely those of the preceding text, and there is nothing of especial note that differs from BM MS. Harl. 4827, which we will use as a representative text of the EV/1419:B. The text ends: 'in reule and in gode gouernaunce'. A number of EV texts have the word good inserted into this conventional formula.

EUL MS. 185

The text begins:

Here begynneth a boke [... .. .]alled Brute the cronyculis of England cap^{o} primo
This book [tretith 7 (?)] telliþ of þe kingis and princepall lordis ...
SVmtyme in þe noble lond of Surry ...

Again, the internal details do not differ to any appreciable extent from those exhibited by the preceding texts, and the text ends:

in good Rule and gouernaunce

Deo gracias

Glasgow Hunterian MS. U.3.3

The original text of the MS. begins during the prologue, although the text up to this point has been supplied at a later date in a later hand from Hunterian MS. T.3.12:
his l<u>ettr</u>is patent vnto these xxxiij^{ti} kingis ...

The internal details are as above, and the text ends:
in good rule ȝ gouernaunce.// ¶ Deo gracias./

CUL Addit. MS. D2775

This MS. may be closely associated with the preceding MS., for both begin at the same point:
his l<u>etter</u>s patent vnto these <u>xxxiij</u>^{ti} kingis ...

The first folio of the MS. is now a fragment, but was once complete, and possibly Hunt. MS. U.3.3 was copied from it at some time after this folio was damaged. The internal details are again as above, and the text ends with the same words as Hunt. MS. U.3.3:
in good rule ȝ gou<u>er</u>naunce.
Deo gracias

CUL MS. Ff 2.26(olim More 611)

This MS. presented some initial difficulty in classification. Speaking of the <u>Brut</u> in general, Madden (1856), stated: 'The Chronicle was subsequently continued to the end of the reign of Edward III., in 1377; as attested by several manuscripts (MSS. Corp. Coll., Cambr., 174; Pub. Libr. Cambr., <u>More</u>, 611.; Lambeth, 491.); ...' (pp. 2-3)

Since the MS. was incomplete at both beginning and end when Brie examined it, he relied on Madden's description to assume that the MS. was a text of the Common Version, ending in 1377.[1] An examination of the fragmentary

---

[1]Brie, G.u.Q., p. 56.

opening folios shows, however, that the text corresponds to that of Group B of the Extended Version, as the following extract from the heading of the prologue, commencing with the first complete line of the text, attests:

t he prolog of þis book declarith how þis lond was callid albioun aftir þe eldist doughtir of þe rial king .Dioclisian of Surry þe which douȝter was callid Albyne and she wiþ hir xxxij. sisters were exilid out of her owne lond for grete trespaces þat þey hadde doon and arryued in this lond casuely wheryn was no lyuyng creature but wilde berstis [sic] and how vnclene spiritis lay by hem and þey broughten forth horrible Gyauntis and Brute killide hem[1]

The internal details, insofar as they remain, agree with those of other EV/1419:B texts, and the text finally breaks off a few lines after the beginning of the chapter on the beheading of Edmund of Woodstock:

many grete myracles to many men 7 women that [Brie, p. 263 ll.7-8]

If we accepted Madden's terminal date of 1377, then we would have an Extended Version ending in 1377, for which we have already posited a hypothetical EV/1377. However, as we have seen[2], Madden's evidence cannot be regarded as reliable, and for several reasons we can reject it in this instance. It is likely that Madden did not examine the MS. personally, for elsewhere in the same article he says: 'None of the copies I have examined are

---

[1]BM Harl. 4827 reads: 'The prolog of þis book declareth.hou this lande was callid Albioun.aftre þe eldest doughtre of þe Riall kyng Dioclisian of Surry the which doughtre was callid.Albyne.and she wiþ hir .xxxij. sustres weren exiled oute of her owne londe for grete trespaces þat þei had doon and arrived in this londe casuelly where in was no lyuyng creature but wilde beestes And hou vnclene spirites lay bi hem.and þei brouȝt forth horrible Geauntȝ And Brute killid hem.' [2]See pp. 1-2.

older, however, than the fifteenth century; and it would be desirable to know if those referred to at Cambridge are coeval with the period at which they conclude'.

More important is the evidence of the catalogue of Cambridge University MSS., published in 1856, which says that Ff.2.26 possesses 104 leaves and breaks off at ''cap. ccxvi' ... It is printed with numerous variations in Caxton's Cronycles of England (1480), the MS. reaching to 'cap. ccxxi.' of the published work'. This description corresponds to the present state of the MS., and shows that the text was no more complete in 1856 than it is now.

As we shall see later[1], the EV/1419:B shows many secondary features belonging to this group alone, and it is highly improbable that the EV/1377 reflected in its details the texts of this group. Accordingly, CUL Ff.2.26 can be assigned not to the EV/1377 but to the EV/1419:B, as an incomplete representative thereof.[2]

Trin. Coll. Oxf. MS. 5

The text begins:

Here begynneth a boke the whiche is callyd Brute. the Cronycler [sic] of Inglond Cap° primo
This book tretyth & tellyth ...

The internal details are those already familiar in EV/1419:B texts, and the text finally breaks off during the Siege of Rouen:

& the Dolfyn & the Duke of Burgoyne ... [Brie, p. 389 l.29]

---

[1] See pp. 170-7. [2] The dialect of the text is that of the Central Midland literary standard; see M.L. Samuels, 'Some Applications of Middle English Dialectology', English Studies XLIV (1968), repr. in Lass, p. 407 and note 5.

BM Addit. MS. 24859

This text was thought by Brie to belong to the CV/1419[1], and indeed he used it for purposes of collation for his texts for 1333-1337 and 1377-1419, describing it in his edition as: 'T = MS. Br. Mus. Add. 24,859, a late but accurate transcript from a MS. of the second half of the 15th century which closes with the capture of Rouen in 1419'.[2]

However, as we shall see, the text belongs to the EV/1419:B, although Brie's error indicates how little difference exists between CV and EV texts in their later sections, although minor scribal variations occur.

The text begins during the story of Engist:

and so withinne a litil while he bicame of so greet power that men wiste not whiche were the kyngis men ne whiche were Engistis men / [Brie, p. 52 l.31-p. 53 l.1]

A comparison of the section of text describing the naming of the kingdoms of Engist's heptarchy with the corresponding text in BM MS. Harl. 4827 given above shows conclusively that the MS. must be assigned to the EV/1419:B:

The first kyng was of kent and there Engist him silf regnyd. and he was lord and maistir of the oþere kyngis./ þe secund was kyng of Southsexe / þe .iij^e. was kyng of westsexe./ þe .iiij^e. was kyng of Essexe / þe .v^e. was kyng of Estangle that is callid Northfolk and Southfolk./ and the .vj^e. was kyng of leicestre schire.Northampton hertford and Huntyngdoun / þe .vij^e. was kyng of Oxenford. Gloucestre.wynchestre.warwik and Derbi schire

The Cadwallader episode, Queen Isabella's letter, and the '5w' heading (unrubricated), are all present, and the text ends in 1419 with the words: 'in reule and gouernaunce'

---

[1]Brie, G.u.Q., p. 63. [2]Brie, Preface to Part II, p. vi.

Two further MSS. remain to be described, that differ to some extent from the preceding MSS. at a point in the text that will be significant in our later consideration of the relationship of the EV to the AV groups. These MSS. are NLW Addit. MS. 442D and Bodl. MS. Rawl. poet. 32.

NLW Addit. MS. 442D

The text begins:

Here begynneth a booke.whiche is called.Brute.the Cronycles of Englonde. Capitulo primo/
This booke treteth and telleth of þe kynges and principal lordes þat euer were in þis londe ...
The prolog of þis booke declareth.hou þis was callyd Albyon aftre þe eldest doughtre ...
Somtyme in þe noble londe of Surry ...

The internal features are those of the preceding texts until we come to the end of the chapter on the Battle of Halidon Hill, i.e. the point where the CV text to 1333 continues with the 1377 continuation. The concluding section of the Halidon Hill chapter and the first section of the chapter 'How king Edward made a duchy of the Earldom of Cornwall ...' are omitted, and the text reads:

And þis victorie bifelle to þe englissh men in sent Margaretes euen. In þe yere of oure lorde Ihesus crist .M[1]. CCC.xxxij ¶ And while þis doyng last.þe englissh knaues nomen þe pilfre of þe scottes þat were queld euery man þat he myȝt..of þe kynges frendes of Englond.wiþ tovnes 7 castelles.7 meny oþere of her lordships and meny harmes.shames.and despites.dede vnto þe queen.wherfore.þe kyng whanne he herde of þese tidynges he was strongliche moued.and þerwiþ.an angred.and sent dyuers lettres ouere see.to þe queen.and to oþere.þat were his frendes gladyng hem.and certefiyng þat he wolde be þere him self.in alle þe haste þat he./might¶

Thereafter the text becomes normal again, and ends in 1419: 'in reule.and in gouernaunce -'

Bodl. MS. Rawl. poet. 32(1)

At the risk of partially duplicating some of the features mentioned under other texts of the EV/1419:B, this text deserves a close examination. The MS. is a compilation of pieces in verse and prose, which must have been compiled at an early date as on fol. 2^a a list of contents is given in a fifteenth-century hand, including 'The olde Cornecles [sic] and the newe' against which a later hand has written 'Brute'. On fols. 55^b-56^b there is a list of the kings of England from Brute to Henry VI and the length of their reigns. The Brut text occupies fols. 57^a-168^a of the MS. and begins:

HEre begynneth a boke which is called Brute the Cronacle of England Cap^o 7c'-
This boke treteth techeth and telleth of kyngis and of pryncipall lordis ...
The prologg of this boke Declareth how this lande was called Albioun after the eldest doughter ...
Sum tyme in the noble Lande of Surrey ...

The extra details in the prologue and opening chapters are much as in the other EV/1419:B texts (although minor verbal differences lead me to consider the text as standing at one further remove), but in the chapter listing the kings of Britain, although the kings are enumerated, the Latin tag does not appear.

The naming of Engist's heptarchy is slightly shorter than in either the CV or the EV, but the introductory wording is closer to the CV or EV/1419:A than to the other EV/1419:B texts, whereas the remainder corresponds in general to that of the EV/1419:B[1].

---

[1]Cf. the texts given on pp. 113-4.

And then thai chaunged the name of this land. And callid hit after the name off Engest and that no man yn no wyse wer so hardy to call hitt Bretaigne And then Engeist departyd the lond be twene hym and his men and made vij kynges for the mor strengþe of hym self so that the bretons shuld cum no mor among ham The first kyng was of kent ther that Engeist hym self raigned a bove all the oþer kynges The ij^{d} was of Sowþesex the .iij^{d} of Westsex the iijj^{þe} of Estsex The vth of Esthangele which ys now Northfolke and sowthfolke. The vj. was of laicesttre[?] Northampton.hertefford and huntyngdon The vij^{þe} kyng was off Oxfford Glowcesttre Wynchester Warwyke and Derby sher

Constantyne reigns after Arthur's death.

On fol. 115^{b} there occurs a heading: 'Here endeth the Cronacles from Brute vn till William Conquerour'

Since this is not found in other texts, we can suppose that it is a secondary development, probably restricted to this particular MS.

The chapter relating the death of Edmund of Woodstock, the following chapter relating the death of Mortimer, and the following chapter describing the Battle of Halidon Hill are highly abbreviated, and are condensed into one chapter entitled:

Off Roger Mortimer And how therle of kent ser Edmund of Godstok [sic] was slayn̄

The following extract from the end of this chapter shows to what extent the text has been shortened:

Then went thei to þe Constable of þe Castell And he lad them in a prevy wey vnder þerth 7 so thei come in 7 token Mortimer and led him to þe king and by þe kinges commandement he was lade to Londoñ and þer he was examyned of mony fals tressons þat he had doñ 7 of þe sleyng of king Edward of Carnarvañ and þerof was atteynt/ And for his tresoun he was drawe and honged. And oñ seint Andrew day after this king Edward went into Scotland and besegéd

þe toune of Berwik and had a gret batell with the Scottes oñ Halydoune Hull be sides þe Touñ of Berwik at wich batell were Slayné of þe Scottes .xxxv M^{l} vij^{C} xij And this was on Seint Mergeretes eve / in the yer of our lord M^{l} CCCxxxiij And in the morwe after the batell was doñ the Scottes deliuered the toune of Berwik to king Edward And in the xj yere of his reignñ was seeñ 7 apered in the fyrmament a lemyng stere þat was called stella comata And þat stere was seyñ in diuers parties of þe ffirmament wherfore anoñ after ffolwed in England god Chep 7 wonder gret pleynte of Chaffre vitaill 7 Merchaundisse And þer ayenest honger Chastesy 7 nede of money in so much þat a quarter of wete at londoñ sold at ijs a fat oxe for vj 7 viijd//// [cf. Brie, p. 270 l.2-p. 286 l.9, p. 291 l.1-p. 292 l.25]

The next chapter, 'How king Edward made a Duchie of the Erledome of Cornewall and of þe first Chalenge of þe reme of ffraunce', is also shortened to some extent.

The last chapter of the 1419 text, relating the story of Henry V's invasion of France and the siege of Rouen, is somewhat abbreviated, and includes in the text the words 'in rewle and gouernance', although the same hand continues without a break with a continuation, which is certainly taken from another exemplar, and which itself gives way to a further continuation taken from yet another exemplar.[1]

With the exception of the two last described MSS., NLW Addit. 442D and Bodl. Rawl. poet. 32(1), the texts of this group are consistent. I feel that no great significance can be attached to the omission in the former exceptional MS., which I believe to be simply scribal oversight and not a conscious change, for the text does not make good sense as it stands.

---

[1]See pp. 84-5, 207-8.

The Extended Version; Group C (EV/1419;C)

This group consists of four MSS., three of which contain a new version of the exordium (the fourth MS. omits it).[1]

C.C.Coll. Camb. MS. 182

The text begins:

Here begynneth a booke in Englissh tonge called Brute of Englonde or the cronicles of Englonde compilinge and treatynge of the saide lande ...
The prloge of this booke declareth and tellith ...
Sum tyme in the noble londe of Surre ...

The extra giant details are found as described after the descriptions of the following texts; the name of Coryn's paramour is not given, and she is called his leman (see below). In the chapter on the kings of Britain, the linkage is of the 'after him' type, and the Latin tag is not found.

Constantine reigns after Arthur, and in the chapter on Halidon Hill the '5w' heading occurs. The text ends: 'in Rule and Goueranase [sic] Explicit usquam ad annum .7^m. Henrici quinti' [This colophon is in a sixteenth-century hand.]

Trin. Coll. Camb. MS. 0.9.1(1)

The exordium begins:

Here begynneth a booke in englissh tonge called Brute of Englond or the cronicles of Englond compilyng and tretyng of the seid lande ...

The internal details are similar to those of the preceding text, and the name of Coryn's paramour is omitted: And then seid Brute vnto Coryñ / yf thy lemmañ wyste þat ooñ mañ fared so fowle with the / she wold never love the

---

[1] See pp. 153, 155, 160 for details from the C exordium.

after

The 1419 continuation ends on fol. 195[a]: 'in rewle and gouernaunce'. About one-third of a page is left blank, before the same hand continues on fol. 195[b] with the JP:C continuation.[1]

Bodl. MS. Laud Misc. 571

The text of this MS was wrongly ascribed by Brie to what would be the AV:A in my terminology: 'Aus Handschriften der Gruppe A sind hervorgegangen MS. Harl. 3730, Digby 195, Land [sic] 571, [etc.]'.[2] A comparison of textual details shows that it belongs to the EV/1419:C. There is a table of the kings of England and of the chapters of the work up to Henry V, and the text begins:
Here begynneth a boke yn Englyssh tonge called Brute of Engelond or the Cronycler of Engelond compyled and tretyng of the sayd londe. [in red ink]

The exordium, which omits some phrases from the text found in the other MSS. of the group, is divided into sub-sections, with parts of the text being laid out as red headings, e.g.:
Thys boke ys called Brute after Brute the whyche ffyrst conquered thy[s] lande ...

The text proper begins:
SOme tyme in the Nobbe [sic] lande of Surrey ...

The textual details describing the extra giants and their mode of existence show that the text belongs to the EV/1419:C, and the other internal details correspond with those found in the other texts of this group. The text is incomplete, and ends soon after the commencement of the reign of Henry V:
And yn þe firste yere of his reigne for grete [Brie, p. 373 ll.5-6]

---

[1]See pp. 76-81. [2]Brie, G.u.Q., p. 84.

This is followed by an early note indicating the ownership and early location of the MS., which begins: 'This boke is gevyñ to Esabell Alen of the bequest of her hunkull sir William Trouthe Vicary in the close of Salisbury ...'

Soc. of Antiquaries MS. 223

The text begins without the exordium or heading: Som tyme In the noble lande of Surry ...

It is of a type similar to the preceding texts in its details, and ends about two-thirds down fol. 45^b: And whenne she came vnto age // she ...

The hand appears to belong to the late fifteenth century or to the beginning of the sixteenth century, and becomes progressively more of a hurried scribble[1], and the text is most probably complete as the scribe left it. The MS. is written on paper, and I doubt if it was the work of a professional scribe, intended to be a saleable copy; more probably it was the work of an amateur copyist who grew tired of his self-imposed task.

The texts of the four MSS. form a homogeneous group, though one must regard MSS. C.C.C.Camb. 182 and T.C.Camb. 0.9.1 as more important for purposes of classification than the Soc. of Antiquaries MS. The late date of this latter MS. is probably sufficient to explain the omission of the exordium and heading.

The additional details that we have noted in other groups of the EV occur in the following form. Speaking of the giants this group calls them:
grete giauntes / of the which men called oon̄ of hem Gogmagog chief of hem all / xl foote of lenght / and xij

---

[1]Three examples of the development of the hand are given by M.B. Parkes, English Cursive Book Hands 1250-1500, Oxford, 1969, Pl. 21 and p. 21.

foote of brede / And a nother Wydy and duelled vpoñ an high hille in Shropshire called the Wrekeñ / And a nother Onoveñ / And a nother Bounde / And many other ther were / and called dyuers names / and dwelled / in depe caves / And somme vpoñ high hilles / And mounteyns / Gogmagog / the which Giauntes gate vpoñ theire modres more giauntes / to multiplie ther peple /[Gogmagog / the which ... peple: om. C.C.C.Camb. 182] At their owne lust and wille / vnto the tyme þat Brute come / and slough many of hem / And conquered the lande 7c' [T.C.Camb. 0.9.1]

Speaking of the giants' mode of existence, the text reads:

And there ye shall fynde an Ile called Albioun / And that Ile is compassed all about with the See / And no man may come there / bot all by shippes / And in that lande were wont to be many Giauntes / bot now there been bot fewe / And so that is bot wildernesse / nor noon erth tilled / nor no seede is sowe of no maner graynes / Also the Giauntes lyveñ by dyuers frewtys growyng / And by fowles wilde / and tame / and other grete bestes / And in specially / by flessh of grete shepe / as grete as horses / which bereñ wolle / as it were here of gootes / Wherof they makeñ sklavens / And that lande is to you ordeyned by desteny / and to your peple

The Abbreviated Version: Group A (AV:A)

I have divided this group into two sub-groups, the AV:A(A) and the AV:A(B), rather than propose two separate groups, for they share the exordium noted in the EV/1419:A above. The lettering of groups of the AV does not automatically presuppose, however, any linear connection between the AV and EV groups in their relationships.

AV:A(A)

The first AV group that we deal with is made up of

MSS. Hunt. T.3.21, BM Harl. 3730, Bodl. Digby 185, and BM Royal 18 B IV.

Hunterian MS. T.3.21(1)

The first words of the exordium, heading to the prologue, and of the text are:

HEre begynnyth A boke in Engleshe tonge callyd Brute of Englond qwyche declarethe and tretethe of the ferst begynnyng of England ...

The prologe of þis boke tellethe how þis land was first callid albion efter þe eldest doochter of þe Roiall King Dioclicion of Surrey ...

SVm tyme in the noble land of Surre ...[1]

The extra details found in the prologue and opening chapters are as follows:

7 thei concewed 7 broght furth gyante/ of þe qwiche men called oon Gogmagog chefe of þaim all / 7 he was fyfty fote in lenght 7 xij in brede And þe othre wer called diuers names 7 duellyd in hye hilles 7 mountanes 7 in this maner thei come forthe and wer born horible giantes in albion 7 dwelled sum of them in coves [sic] and in hilles and thare lifte [liste?] and had þe land of Albion vnto the tyme that Brute come and arrwed at Tottnese in þe Ile of Albion / 7 ther this brute conquered and scomfeid this giantes above sayd and slogh þe moste parte of theim as bokis oppynly declares

.....

¶ Also þe giantes liffe be diuers frutes grewyng there and be fowles wyld 7 tame and other grete bestes / and in a speciale by flesche of sheip grete as hors w^{c} weren woll as here of grete [sic] / qware off þai mak þaim slowens and þat land Is ordaned to you 7 be destyne and to yhor peple

---

[1] See pp. 153-4, 156 for details from this exordium.

The name of Coryn's paramour is omitted, and it is significant that she is called his leman:

And than said Brute vnto Coryn And yff thy leman wist þat oon̄ man farde so fowle w^{t} þe scho wald neuer love the efter this

In the chapter listing the thirty-three kings of Britain in the CV and EV, the text is drastically abbreviated, and the chapter reads:

How xxxiij kinges Regnede in peass
And efter the deith of Esidure xxxiij kinges Regnede in this land euerichon̄ efter othere / And þe last of þaim at Regned was callid Ely / and he had iij sones [MS.: sone] lude / Cassibalane and Enemyen̄/

After the death of Arthur, four chapters are omitted, recounting the reigns of Constantine and his war with Mordred's sons, Adelbright and Edelf, the story of Conan and Argentil, and the reign of Curan. The text of the end of the chapter on Arthur's death and the beginning of Conan's reign reads therefore:

Bot this is þe profasy of Merlyn he said that his dethe schuld be dowtous / and he said sothe/ for men̄ þer of 3ytt haue dowte / and sall for euermore / Men̄ slayn̄ and wote nott whether he lyfe or is dede/ Arthure was born̄ into Avyoun̄ þe xxij^{ti} yere of his Regne after þe incarnacioun of oure lord Ihesus criste/ V. C 7 xl yere
A a fter this Regned Conan̄ þat was a wonder prowd knyght Ande Regned so that he couth haue no maner of love / bot euer he was Medlyng with his awn̄ peple and tooke his vnkill with werr And killid his ij childern

The text is in many places abbreviated, e.g. the chapters on and around the reign of King John (see below, pp. 163-4). In the chapter on the Battle of Halidon Hill, the parts of the Scottish army are enumerated in the text without any rubricated headings, and only three wards of the army are given:

¶ And in þe thyrd ward was theis lordes Iames steward of Coldeñ Aleyñ steward william habrahaṁ william Morne / and Many oþer / with vij^{C} meñ of Armes / and xvij M^{l} of commons / so that þer was iij batailles wele arrayed in Armes to mete oure kyng contenyng in þe nowmbre lxiij M^{l} 7 lv / grete lordes lede þer meñ so arrayed in thre batailles

The first hand of the Brut text in this MS. breaks off near the end of the siege of Rouen with the catchword 'þe povyr /peple' Hand B's additions to the text have been discussed above under the CV/1461.[1]

BM MS. Harl. 3730(1)

The text begins:

HEre begynnythe a boke in englysch tonge called Brute of Englond which declareth And treyateth of þe fyrst begynnyng ...

The prolog of þis boke telleth ...

Sum̄ tyme in the noble land of Surrye ...

The internal details are identical to those of the preceding text, with which it agrees well in its physical, textual, and linguistic aspects. The relationship of the post-1419 texts (including the 'Liber Vltimus' continuation) has been discussed under the CV/1461.[2]

Bodl. MS. Digby 185

The text begins:

HEr begynnyth a booke in Englisch tong called Brute of Englond which declareth and treteth of the first begynnyng ...

The prolog of this boke tellith ...

---

[1] As noted above (p. 94), I hope to present a more detailed study of this and the following MS. at a later date. [2] See pp. 93-5.

SVm tyme in the noble lond of Surrey ...

In all its internal details, it agrees with the preceding texts and ends in 1419 with the words: 'in Revoll and governaunce Explicit'

This MS. also has Northern connections, for incorporated in the decoration of 'HEr' (the first word of the exordium) are the arms of the Swillington family, said in a modern MS. note to be 'of York sh.'[1]

BM MS. Royal 18 B IV

The MS. is incomplete at the beginning, and starts during the Albine-prologue:

of him had skorne and dispite And wolle not doo his wille ...

Brie assigned this MS. wrongly to the group derived from 'Gruppe B' of the EV[2]; however, the extra giants passage corresponds well to that found in Hunt. MS. T.3.21, e.g.:

of the whiche men called one Gogmagog chief king of hem all And he was xl foote in lenghe And xij in breede And all that othre was called ¶ diuers names And duelled in high hilles 7 mountains And in this manere thei come furthe And were borne horrible Giaunts in albion and duelled some of hem in Caves and in hilles at there luste and had the lande of Albion vnto the tyme that Brute come and arryved at Totnes in the Ile of Albion. And there this Brute conquered and scomfit thes Giants abouesaide and slogh the moste parte of hem As bookes openly declareth

.....

---

[1]See F.J. Mather, 'King Ponthus and the Fair Sidone', PMLA 12 (1897), pp. xxiv-xxvi: 'the MS. was written for a Yorkshire family residing near Leeds'. [2]Brie, G.u.Q., p. 84.

Also the Giauntes lyven be diuers frutes grewing there And by wilde foule 7 tame And othre grete bestes And in especiall by flesshe of shepe grete as hors whiche weren wolle as heire of gotes wherof thei maken hem slavyns And that lande to you is ordeyned by desteyne And to your peple

Coryn's paramour is named as follows:

Than saide Brute to Coryn̄ yf Erneburgh thin paramoure might wit that one man onely ferde thus foull with the she wolde neuir love the

In the chapter on the kings of Britain, the text is greatly abbreviated, but not quite as much as in the preceding MSS.:

Aftre the dethe of Esydoure reigned xxxiij kynges in Britaine ichon aftre othre in peace And the laste of hem was called Ely ¶And he reigned bot vij monethes And had iij sonȝ lud Cassibilan And Enemioun

A comparison of the naming of Engist's heptarchy in this MS. and in Hunt. MS. T.3.21 shows that the latter preserves details that are closer to the ultimate CV source:

¶And Engeste seised all the lande into his hande	And Engest went throwgh þe land / and seised all þe landes with all þe frauncheseis in to his hand
the v. kyng had Estangle nowe called Norffolk And Suffolk	The v king had estangle þat now is callid northefolk 7 suffolk Marchnriche þat now is to say þe Erldome of nicholl
warwyk ¶ And Davenshir	warwik 7 darby schir
[BM Royal 18 B IV]	[Hunt. T.3.21]

As in the preceding texts, Conan follows Arthur. Unlike them, however, the chapter on Halidon Hill is given in full (although the MS. has been wrongly bound about this part of the text), including the full array of the Scottish army and the '5w' heading. The text breaks off during the Siege of Rouen: 'thañ com the Erle of warwik ...'[Brie, p. 389 l.6]

This text stands apart from the other members of the group, primarily in giving the full array of the Scottish army. It cannot, however, represent an intermediate stage preceding the other members of the group because it is more abbreviated in some respects, as in the naming of Engist's heptarchy.

AV:A(B)

A MS. that appears to have been derived fairly closely from the EV/1419:A is BM MS. Royal 18 A IX. The Brut text begins on fol. 8[1] with the heading used in the EV/1419:A texts of BM MSS. Harl. 24 and Addit. 12030:

Here begynneth the kalendre of Brute in Englesshe.
Here begynneth a booke in Englesshe Tung called Brute of Englonde the whiche declareth of the furste begynnyng of the lande ...
The prolog of this Boke declareth ...
SVme tyme in the noble lande of Surre ...

The extra giants noted under the EV/1419:A occur again, with minor textual variants that suggest that the text must be at a further remove from the EV/1419:A:

a gete vpon grete Gyauntes. Wherof one was called .Gogmagog the king of theym All the whiche was xl fote of lenght. xij of breedd. and One was called .wydy. the whiche

---

[1]This is another 'compilation' MS., for the Brut is prefaced on fols. 2^a-7^b by an extract from another work that begins and ends: 'Primus liber Cronicorum IVlius Cesar A wysemanne desyryng forto haue ... in the whiche Regioune was firste the people of Gotelande whos'

duelled vpon an highe hille in Shropshire called the Wreken One othre was called Oneweine le fort. one othre Bounde and othre ther weren called diuers names. And thus was the Gyauntes brought forthe in thys lande. and duelled in Caves and hylles And Montanes ¶ And Inhabitte the lande vnto Brute come and conquered theym and sloughe of theym and drove many of theym owte of þe lande

.....

And thowe shall fynde one Ile called Albioun.compassed with the See.¶ And no manne may come therto Bot in .Shippes wher was wonnte to be many .Gyauntes. and 3t ys all wyldernes and none corne sawe ne none greynes ¶ And the Giauntes that been ther lyve with Rotes and grete Bestes and ffowles.and myghti Shepe wherof they maken theym slavyns and Clothes

The name of Coryn's paramour is given:

Thanne saide Brute in scorne vnto Coryne yf .Erneborowe thine paramour knewe that one man fared thus by þe.she wolde neuer loue the after this.

In the chapter on the British kings, a full list of the kings is given with the normal 'after him' linkage, but the Latin tag is not found.

The naming of the kingdoms of Engist's heptarchy, although extensively abbreviated, appears capable of derivation from the corresponding passage in the EV/1419:A, although the mistake of confusing 'Worchester' with 'Winchester' found in BM MSS. Harl. 24 and Addit. 12030 is not made, i.e. the text reads: 'wynchestre warwyk And Darby shire'

Unlike other AV texts, the normal succession of Constantine after Arthur is found.

In the Halidon Hill chapter there is a partial agreement with Rylands Eng. MS. 105 rather than BM Harl. MS. 24, insofar as the Scottish army is divided into four divisions:

and in the laste parte of the Bataill of Scotlande wer thes lordes the Erle of Dunbar keper of the Castel of Berwyk ...

The text breaks off during the Siege of Rouen: 'ther was noumbre in the Citte by Haraldes ...' [Brie, p. 390 11.22-23]

The Abbreviated Version: Group B(AV:B)

This group includes Hunterian MS. V.5.13, which forms one of the primary texts of the present edition, and is one of the largest single groups of Brut texts.

Hunt. MS. V.5.13

The text begins with an exordium similar to that of the EV/1419:B:

Her begynnyth A Boke Wyche that ys callyd Brute of the Croneclis of Engelonde

[T] þe wych booke tretyth 7 lellyth [sic] of þe kyngys and princypall lordys ...

[T] the prolog of þis boke declaryth how þis lond was callyd /Albione aftyr þe heldest dou3ter ...

Some tyme in þe nobyll lond of Surre ...

The details concerning Gogmagog and his fellows are given as follows:

and þey conseyvyd and browthe forthe gret geauntys of þe wyche oon was callid /Gogmagog 7 he was xl foot of length and xij fott of bred and thes Ieantys dwellyd in dyuers places in þis lond and in othyr londys Also in Cauis and in mountayns in to þe tyme þat brute come and areyuyd at Tottenes þat was in þe Ile of Albyone And ther thys /brut/scomfetyt and conquered this Ieauntys eche chone and slow hyme all //

.....

þe wyche geauntys leuyne wyt Erbys and rotys and wyt flesche of shepe as gret as ony horsse and þat londe ys

hordynyd for ȝour pepyll and for ȝou

The name of Coryn's paramour is given:

Thane sayd brut to Coryne ȝif ymborne þi paramor vyst þat O man ferd so fowll wyt the Sche wold neuyr louf dee

In the chapter listing the kings of Britain the normal type of linkage is found, and the Latin tag is not found in this MS. (it is found in other texts of this group!):

Aftyr hym Reignyd /Esdad xx ȝer aftyr hyme Reygnyd /Andrage xviij ȝer aftyr Reignyd /wryan v. ȝer aftyr hyme Reignid Elyne ij ȝer aftyr hyme Reignyd /Caph I ȝer ...

The naming of Engist's heptarchy is discussed at some length below, and Conan follows Arthur.

Although this, among other abbreviatory changes, will be discussed in the general discussion of the wider connections between groups, we can note here that the chapters around the reign of King John are abbreviated quite heavily.

The text breaks off during the chapter preceding the chapter on the Battle of Halidon Hill with the words 'from Stanhopp in Scotlond wyt oute the ...' No folios are missing, and after a blank page (excepting scribbles), the text recommences with the heading:

Howe kyng Edward had a grete bataill of the spaynardis in the se fast by Wynchelse 7 mony oþyr þingis Capitulo CC xxix^{ti}

It should be noted that chapter numbers are hitherto omitted, and this could (though not necessarily) be an indication of a change of exemplar, perhaps to one from a different group.

There is a second lacuna between fol. 165^{b}, which ends: 'here hedysse weryn sett vpp oñ hye and here Quarters ...' [Brie, p. 361 ll.13-14], and fol. 168^{a}, which begins with the chapter-heading: 'And aftir þis kynge harry þe .iiij. regned harry kyng of Englonde þe

.v. a worthy conqueroure' [Brie, p. 373 ll.1-2] At the top of fol. 168[a] there is an erased guide chapter-heading that ends with part of a chapter number 'xliij'.

The text breaks off finally with the words '7 Bawayis 7 þe othyr ...', though the rest of the line and a partially decipherable catchword have been erased, showing that the text or its exemplar once continued beyond this point.

BM MS. Harl. 1337

The exordium begins:

Here begynnyth a book callyd the Cronyculis of Englond

In the chapter naming the kings of Britain, the Latin tag is included, although the linkage is the same as that found in the preceding MS., with which this text agrees well in textual details. The text is highly abbreviated in the Halidon Hill chapter, and the next chapter (which normally occurs after six intervening chapters in the Common Version) begins with the heading:

Howe kynge Edward revokid the stapill of wollis oute fflaundris in to Englonde ...

And in the xxix yeer ...

The text ends in 1419 with the siege of Rouen, and is followed by a short colophon based on the text presented in the exordium of Hunt. MS. V.5.13 and other EV and AV texts. Accordingly, this portion of text does not appear in the exordium of BM Harl. 1337:

in rewle and ¶ governaunce

Here endith a book callyd the Croniclis of Englonde made 7 compilid by notabil Clerkis of Aventuris of kyngis þat were in þis londe And howe þey Died

Bodl. MS. Hatton 50

This well-written MS. begins;

Here begynnyth a book callyd Brute of þe Croniculys of Englonde

This book tretith 7 tellith ...

Som tyme ...

The giant details are as in Hunt. MS. V.5.13, and the name of Coryn's paramour is given: 'Embron thy paramoure'

The chapter on the kings of Britain has the normal 'after him' linkage, and the Latin tag is present.

Conan reigns after Arthur, and the treatment of the text around the chapter on the Battle of Halidon Hill is typical of its treatment in the AV:B, i.e. material, including the whole of the Scottish campaign, is simply omitted:

And in that same tyme kyng Edward of Englond held his parlement atte Castell oppon tyne for grete wrongis þat wer doon in that contre // And ser Edward Bailloll kyng of Scotlond com þidir to hym 7 did to hym homage 7 fealte for the Reme of Scotlond // And in this maner kyng Edward of Englonde gadrid ageyn the homagees 7 þe fealtees of Scotlond wherof he was put out þurh þe fals counsell of Quene Isabell his modir 7 þe fals Roger Mortemer Erle of þe marche

How kyng Edward chaungit his mony þe peny 7 þe halfpeny the grote þe valow of iiijd þe half grote for ijd but it was les with in the old sterlyng by vs' in þe pound

And in the xxviij yeer of kyng Edwardis regn̄ he held his parlement at westmynster 7 þer ser Harry of lancastre was made Duke of lancastre // And þen was ther covenaunte made 7 grauntid betwen the kynge of ffraunce 7 þe kyng of Englonde That he shuld have all his londis 7 lordshippis þat longit to the Duche of Guyen þe wich diuers kyngis of ffraunce had wrongfully withholden to have 7 to hold to kyng Edward 7 to his heirs 7 to his successours for euer more oppon that covenaunte ... [cf. Brie, p. 280 ll.17-26, p. 304 ll.7-29; the intervening matter is omitted]

The text ends in 1419 with the Siege of Rouen and, like BM Harl. 1337, is followed by a short colophon, slightly altered from that found in the BM MS.:
in rewle and governaunce -
Here endith a book callyd Brute of the Croniculis of Englonde made 7 compiled by notabill clerkis of all the actis 7 dedis of kyngis þat evir wer in this londe to take exsaumpill what fil to fore our Dayes

BM MS. Harl. 6251

The exordium begins:
Here begynnyth a book call.d [Brute] ...

The giant details are as described above. The Latin tag and the normal type of linkage are found in the chapter dealing with the kings of Britain. As in the preceding MS., the chapter on Halidon Hill and the six succeeding chapters are reduced to one chapter, and the next chapter begins at the same point as BM MS. Harl. 1337, but with a different heading:
Of þe covenaunte betwene kyng Edward of Englond 7 þe kyng of ffraunce

In þe xxix year ...

The text ends during the Siege of Rouen with the words 'to his successours for All manere of customs ...' Since the number of chapters contained in the work is not mentioned in the exordium, presumably there was a short colophon like that of the two preceding texts.

BM MS. Stow 71

The exordium begins with the words:
Here bigynneth the Boke of the Cronycule3 of the kinges of Englond ...

The additional details in the prologue and opening chapters are as described above, and in the chapter of

British kings the normal type of linkage and the Latin tag are found. The chapter on Halidon Hill and the following chapters are compressed into one chapter, the end of which and the beginning of the next read:

... whare of he was putte oute by the ffals Coũnsell of Quene Isabell and the fals Mortymer

How king Edward chaunged his mony And of the Covenaunt made by twen the king of Englond 7 king of ffraunce a nd the next yere folowing the king throwe his Coũnsell made his newe Mony.the peny.the grote Value of iiijd.And the halff grote value .ijd. ...

The text breaks off during the Siege of Rouen: 'North Side of the host whiche was byfore the forest of leone3.' [Cf. Brie, p. 390 ll.2-3]

Jesus Coll. Oxf. MS. 5

The text begins:

Here begynneth the boke called Brute of the Cronicle of englond The whiche boke tretith and tellith ...

The internal details are similar in character to those of the other members of the group; Coryn's paramour is named 'Embron thy paramour'; the Latin tag is present; Conan reigns after Arthur. In the portions of the text examined, the content appears more abbreviated than in Hunt. MS. V.5.13, e.g. the Cadwallader episode is included, but he is mistakenly called Cadwalyn, son of Oswyn, and the real Cadwalyn is omitted. A comparison of the Merlin/Vortiger story[1] with the text of the Hunterian MS. also suggests that the wording is later than that of the Glasgow MS., not necessarily in absolute chronological time, but in terms of the hierarchy of texts

[1]Transcribed by E.O. Powell (see p. 13 and Bibliography).

within the group.

On the other hand, the change-over at the end of the truncated Halidon Hill chapter occurs at the same point as in Bodl. MS. Hatton 50:

thorugh the ffalse counseill of Quene Isabell his moder
And the Mortymere.'.

How kynge Edwarde lete chaunge his money And of the Couenaunte made bitwene Englonde and ffraunce.

a nd in the xxvj yere of kyng Edwarde thurgh hys wise counseill he lete chaunge his money the peny the grote the valu of iiijd And the peny of ij pens but it was of lesse wight with in olde sterlyng by v.s' in the pounde And the next yere foluyng syr harry of lancastyr was made duke of lancastir And in the next yere foluyng was so grete a droughte that all felde workes were left vndoon And after that fill gret derth of Corn And þe xxix yere of his regne there was couenaunt grauntid And sworn ...

The text ends with the words 'in reule And gouernaunce.'.'

The number of chapters included in the Brut is mentioned neither in the exordium nor at the end of the text; presumably the scribe omitted the colophon found in most other AV:B texts.

NLW MS. Peniarth 396D(2) (olim Hengwrt 429)

The scribe makes a false start from a copy of the CV[1], and after copying the first three and part of the fourth chapters of this CV text, the scribe goes back to the middle of chapter 3, using as his new exemplar an AV:B text. It begins:

And Brute and his men hem manly defendid ...

---

[1]See pp. 95-6.

Coryn's paramour is named 'Emboron þi paramour', and in the chapter on the British kings, the linkage is of the 'after him' type and the Latin tag is present. The relevant folio is missing that would tell us who reigned after Arthur in this text[1]; unfortunately the relevant folios containing the Halidon Hill material are also lost.[2]

The text breaks off finally before the Siege of Rouen:

to skeme þe se Costes þer rose soche ... [cf. Brie, p. 385 11.11-12]

BM MS. Harl. 7333

Although this MS. is more famed for containing a text of the Canterbury Tales[3], a fragment of a Brut text takes up the first twenty-four folios of the MS. It begins during Earl Godwin's preliminary plotting to kill Alured:

him̄ prevelyche vnto Southamptoun ... [Brie, p. 126 11.26-27]

Many folios are missing after this first folio, and fol. 2^a begins: 'A Nd aftir mas he was led ...' [cf. Brie, p. 133 11.28-29]

The chapter on the Battle of Halidon Hill is greatly abbreviated and there is a typical AV:B omission of material. The break occurs at the following point in the text:

---

[1]Fol. 67^b ends with the catchword: 'And brouȝt with hym' [Brie, p. 89 1.11], and fol. 69^a begins: 'þe Saxons werrid vpon hym oftyn̄ tymes' [Brie, p. 93 11.1-2]

[2]Fol. 174^b ends with the catchword: '/And whiles þis good Erle' [Brie, p. 259 1.30], and fol. 175^a begins: 'was ded And þat Iohn his son̄ was crowned kynge ...' [Brie, p. 305 1.14], i.e. after the point that the other AV:B texts (with the exception of Bodl. Rawl. B190) recommence after their omission.

[3]See J.M. Manly and E. Rickert, Text of the Canterbury Tales, Chicago, 1940, Vol. I pp. 207-18. Douce printed the Lear story from this MS. in Illustrations of Shakespeare, Vol. II pp. 172 ff. On John Shirley's connection with the MS., see A. Brusendorff, The Chaucer Tradition, London and Copenhagen, 1925, pp. 219-21.

¶ The wiche quene Isabell 7 Rogere Mortemer toke away thorow hir fals Counseill.. [Set out as a chapter-heading; cf. Brie, p. 280 ll.24-26]

And in the xxx^{ti} yer of his Reigne Aboute Witsontide... [Brie, p. 305 l.11]

The Brut text breaks off on fol. 24^{b} with the catch-word '7 dred þat wengeans shold com̄ sone ...'

Bodl. MS. Rawl. B190

The text is incomplete at the beginning, which has been supplied in a modern hand from a MS. in Cambridge University Library. The original text begins at a point in the middle of the Albine-prologue:

shamyd and abassyd and sayde ... [cf. Brie, p. 3 l.10]

Coryn's paramour is named 'Embron thi paramowr', and in the chapter listing the kings of Britain the normal type of 'after him' linkage and the Latin tag are found. Conan reigns after Arthur.

The text stands apart from the other AV:B texts in that it does not abbreviate the chapters around the Battle of Halidon Hill, and the chapter on the battle is given in full, including a '5w' heading.

The text ends: 'in rewle And gouernauns.'

Leaving the last described MS., Bodl. Rawl. B190, we can see that the remaining MSS. of the AV:B form a homogeneous group. Although they appear closely connected, one cannot show that a MS. A is directly derived or derivable from a MS. B, and one must assume that a number of intervening MSS. have been lost. Certain conclusions can however be drawn about the likely development of the text.

Since the other EV and AV groups state in the exordium the number of chapters contained, we can infer that Hunt. MS. V.5.13, which does likewise, represents a more original

FIGURE 3

Omissions in the Halidon Hill chapter in the Abbreviated Version Group B

Hunt.V.5.13	Hatton 50	Harl. 1337	Harl. 6251	Stow 71	Jes.Coll.5	Harl. 7333
Brie 271/30	Brie 280/26	Brie 280/31	Brie 280/31	Brie 280/26	Brie 280/26	Brie 280/26
omitted	omitted	omitted	omitted	omitted	omitted	omitted
Brie 303/25	Brie 304/13	Brie 304/22	Brie 304/22	Brie 304/7	Brie 304/7	Brie 305/11

state of the text at this point than the remaining (complete) MSS. do, for they extract this small piece of information and use it as a colophon.

The omissions around the Battle of Halidon Hill are also suggestive of the chronological development of the group, and are presented in graphic form in Fig. 3.[1] Bodl. MS. Rawl. B190, of course, omits no material at this point, and could therefore represent the earliest stage of the internal development of the AV:B group. In textual details, however, this MS. is further removed from the CV or the EV/1419:B than, for example, Hunt. MS. V.5.13. Accordingly, it cannot be the precursor of the group, from which the other texts have derived. It is possible that Rawl. B190 is a copy of an exemplar which was closer to the original CV and EV wording, but it is equally possible, if the medial omission is an original feature of the AV:B, that the scribe of Rawl. B190, finding a gap in his AV:B exemplar, changed to a CV exemplar for the remainder of his text. The interpretation of Fig. 3 suggests that MSS. Stow 71 and Jes. Coll. Oxf. 5 represent an earlier stage in the group than the other MSS. since they omit the least amount of material and the omissions found in the other MSS. (with the exception of Hunt. MS. V.5.13) can be contained within the scope of their omissions. However, as we have already suggested[2], Hunt. V.5.13 is probably based on exemplars from two groups, and since it contains the phrase noting the number of chapters contained in the work, it can therefore be considered as indicative of (though not identical with) the earliest development of the group. None of the other extant MSS. tells how many chapters were in the original text, but Harl. 1337 and Hatton 50 append a short colophon

---

[1] NLW Peniarth 396D lacks the relevant folios and is therefore omitted. [2] See p. 136.

based on phrases taken from the exordium. I suggest that this represents a stage following on that represented by Hunt. V.5.13. The lack of colophon in Jes. Coll. Oxf. 5 may be an individual peculiarity, since in respect of the medial omission the text appears earlier than that of Hatton 50. From this point of view, Harl. 1337 must represent an earlier stage of the text insofar as it continues the text farther than the other MSS. at the onset of the omission, but at the same time it does not restart the text until a later point than the other MSS. Ideally we would like to suppose a text that broke off at the same point as Harl. 1337 and Harl. 6251 (Brie, p. 280 l.31) and that recommenced at the same point as Stow 71 and Jes. Coll. Oxf. 5 (Brie, p. 304 l.7), and that contained the full exordium of Hunt. V.5.13, i.e. that would not have appended the colophon. The extant MSS. divide into recognizable sub-groups:

a) Hunt. V.5.13

b) BM Harl. 1337 and Harl. 6251 (break off at same point as d) and e); restart at same point)

c) Stow 71 and Jes. Coll. Oxf. 5 (break off at same point as d) and e); restart at same point)

d) Hatton 50 (breaks off at same point as c) and e))

e) Harl. 7333 (breaks off at same point as c) and d))

A further highly suggestive similarity must be noted, between the hands in which a number of the MSS. of this group are written. MSS. Hunt. V.5.13, BM Harl. 1337, BM Harl. 6251, and NLW Peniarth 396D, are all written in an extremely similar cursive hand, with similar chapter rubrication and decoration and colouring of chapter initials. Jesus Coll. 5 is written in a hand similar to those of the corrector and rubricator in Hunterian V.5.13, and Bodl. Hatton 50 and Bodl. Rawl. B190 are written in similar hands which have some similarity in style to the hands of the other MSS. of the group. An attractive possibility

is that these MSS. are the product of one scriptorium or 'school' of writing (in the London area?)[1], and are in fact representatives of a primitive type of 'mass-production' of quickly executed texts to meet public demand for what was an extremely popular work. That a number of Brut MSS. were produced in'such a manner would partially account for composite texts or texts that appear to have anomalous features within a particular group.

Abbreviated Version; Group C (AV;C)

The sole representative of this group from among the texts that I have examined is Ashm. MS. 793. The text begins similarly to the EV/C;

HEre begynneth a booke in Englishe tong callid Brute of Englond or the Cronycles of Englond compilyng and tretyng of the said Land ...

SOme tyme in the noble Lande of Surre ...

The extra giants are given;

... grete Gyauntes.Of the which men callid one of theym Gogmagog chief of hem all .xl. foote of length and xij. fote of brede And An other widy.and he dwellid vpon̄ an hiegh hill in Shropshire called þ[e] wrekeñ.and an othir Onewen̄ an other Bounde 7 many other ther were called diuerse names And dwellid in depe Caves And some vpon̄ hiegh hilles and montaynes atte ther owen̄ luste and wille vn to the tyme that Brute come and slough many of hem.And conquered the lande

An abbreviated form of the text describing the giants' mode of existence is found;

¶ And in that lande beeñ many Gyauntes/ and it is all wildrenes And the Gyauntes lyven with fruytes and herbes

---

[1]See C. Jones, Introduction to Middle English, 1972, p. 22, and references in H.S. Bennett, Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century, Oxford, 1947, pp. 253-4.

and flessh of shepe grete as Gootes wherof they maken hem slavyns ¶ And that lande is ordeyned to you by desteyne and to your people

The name of Coryn's paramour is given (unlike in the EV/C):

Than said Brute. if Erneborowe thi lemman wiste that one man had putte the to such a Rebuke / she wolde neuer love the /

The linkage between the kings in the chapter listing the kings of Britain is dropped after one instance of the 'after him' type, and is followed by a simple list of king and the length of his reign:

ffirst Gordobian and he reigned xij. yere . and aftir him reigned Morgan .ij. yere Enchenaus .vj. yere .Idwailer viij. yere .Rogugo xj. yere. Voghan xiij yere. [etc.]

The Latin tag does not appear.

Conan reigns after Arthur, as in the majority of AV texts, but an intriguing situation is found in the later text. The chapters around the Battle of Halidon Hill are given in full, and the '5w' heading is absent. The text ends at a surprising point, unparalleled among other EV and AV texts:

and manfully countred with our Englisshe men./
Heere endeth the Booke of Cronycules.:.

This point of conclusion raises many questions. It could be seen as an indication that an AV was originally made from the EV/1377, to which a 1419:men continuation had been added. Or it is possible that the AV:C was influenced by the AV:B, and that the scribe, finding the medial omission in the AV:B, changed to another text for the conclusion of the narrative, i.e. a text with the full Halidon Hill chapter and ending in 1419:men. Thirdly, it is possible that the scribe's exemplar was incomplete, but contained no gap in the Halidon Hill chapter, and that the scribe simply took the last few pages from a CV text that

ended with the 1419:men continuation.

The Abbreviated Version: Group D (AV:D)

This group, which does not have a corresponding EV of any kind, as far as the exordium goes, consists of MSS. BM Stow 70, CUL Hh 6.9(1), and Univ Coll. Oxf. 154.

BM MS. Stow 70

This group presents a new exordium[1], and the text begins:

(T) he first inhabityng of þis lande hou women first in habit it and aftir þat Brute inhabit it 7 conquered þe gyauntes ...
(T) he prologe of þis boke declareth hou this lande was callid Albyon ...
(S) Ome tyme in þe lande of Surrę ...

The details concerning the giants are as in the following text, and the name of Coryn's paramour is given: and þo saide Brute in skorne of him if Erneburgh thy lemman wist þat oon man dide so vnto thee Coryne. she wolde neuere loue þee.

In the chapter on the kings of Britain, the linkage is of the normal type and the Latin tag is absent.

Unlike most other AV texts (but cf. AV:A(B)), Constantyne reigns after Arthur. In the Halidon Hill chapter, much of the text is abbreviated, and the battle itself is highly abbreviated, and the nobles comprising the wards of the Scottish army are not named, the relevant sections being totally omitted (see the following text). The remainder of the chapter, although shortened, has no major omissions of material, and the next chapter begins:
Hou kinge Edwarde made a Duchie of þe Erledom̄e of Cornewaill and of the furste chalange of ffraunce. [cf. Brie, p. 292 ll.26-28]

---

[1]See pp. 154, 156 for details from this exordium.

The text ends in 1419: 'in gouernaunce and reule.and cried his peace amonges the Citeȝeins 7c''

CUL MS. Hh 6.9(1)

The text begins with the new exordium: 'The first inhabytynge ...'

In its internal details, the text agrees with the preceding. The giant details are as follows:

Of þe which oon was callid Gogmagog þe which was maister of theme all And he was fourty foote of lengh 7 xij of brede And an other was callid Widy 7 thes Geauntes duelleden in diuers contreis 7 Montayns 7 hilles 7 lyued of rutes and with herbes 7 wilde bestys 7 wild foules And thei regned in þis lande vn to þe tyme þat Brute come and conquered them 7 inhabit it and made townes 7 cites

.....

þou shalt fynd an Ile callid Albion compassid with þe see So þat no maner thyng may com vn to it bot foules þe which is wildernes 7 inhabited with grete Geauntes the which lyven dyuersly with herbis 7 rutes 7 flesh of grete shepe 7 þis lande is ordenyd for the 7 þi mene

We can also use this text to illustrate the omission of material concerning the Battle of Halidon Hill:

And than vpon Seint Margaretes even þe yere of our lorde M^{l} iij^{C} xxxij the Scottes come fersely in thre batailles welle arraied in here wynges at evensongtyme and at þat tyme was floode at Berewike þat no man myght wende ouer neither on hors ne vpon foote And þe water was betwixe the two kynges 7 Englande so þat they must nedes fight or be drownede And than kyng Edwarde of Englande 7 kyng Edwarde of Scotlande maid þere batailles redy 7 þer wynges of þe prisest 7 þe best archers that þei myght fynd in all þe hooste And þe Scottes were nombrede vij^{xx} thousandes and whanne the Englishmen mett þe Scottes.our Archers shot sharply 7 sore vn to þe Scottes and ouer threwe thousandes of theme 7 shote so faste that the

Scottes myght nott helpe theme self so þat many of theme were killid 7 slayn there And oure Englishmen pages toke þe Scottes mennes hors whan their maisteres weren dede And þan kyng Edwarde of Englande 7 kyng Edwarde of Scotlande þankede all myghty god of þat glorious victorie ffor þe Scottes hadden no more strength agains þe Englishmen than fyue shepe agains a woulfe And þis bataill was doon vpon hollydoune hille wher were slayn xxxvM[1] v[C] 7 xx Scottes And of Englishmen but vij [cf. Brie, p. 283 l.14-p. 286 l.4; p. 286 ll.4-9 are omitted]

The text to 1419[1] ends: 'in gouernaunce and reule and cried his peace amonges the Citezeins 7c''

Univ. Coll. Oxf. MS. 154

The text begins: 'The furste inhabityng ...'

The internal details correspond to those described above for this groups, and the text ends: 'in gouernaunce and rule and cried hys peace amonges þe Citezeins 7c' Explicit'

The three texts correspond well in content, but cannot be directly derived one from another, as, on a simple level, the respective headings of the chapter following that on the Battle of Halidon Hill show:

Hou kinge Edwarde made a Duchie of þe Erledom̄e of Cornewaill. [BM Stow 70]

How that kyng Edward made meny lordis And how he was mevid off the title off ffraunce [CUL Hh 6.9]

Howe king Edwarde made one Erle duchie of þe Erledome of Cornewayll and of þe furste chalange of ffraunce [Univ. Coll. Oxf. 154]

Each preserves something of the wording of the original CV heading:

---

[1]For the continuation, taken from the poem on the Siege of Rouen, see pp. 75-6.

Hov King Edwarde made a Duchye of þe Erldom of Cor[n]waile; & also of vj. oþere erles þat were newe made; & of þe ferste Chalangyng of þe reaume of Fraunce. [Corp. Christi Coll. Camb. 174; Brie, p. 292 ll.26-28]

The three texts are very close, however, and could easily have derived from a common original.

Correspondences and Divergences between the EV and AV groups

Brie assumed a simple relationship between the groups of the EV; that the EV/1419:A as typified by BM MS. Harl. 24 was the earliest stage after the EV/1377, the erstwhile existence of which Brie recognized; that the EV/1419:B was derived directly from the EV/1419:A; and that the EV/C was very close to the EV/1419:A. He further assumed a simple one-to-one relationship between the EV and AV texts; that the AV:A derived from the EV/1419:A; the AV:B from the EV/1419:B; the AV:C from the EV:C; and the AV:D from a supposed lost group, the EV:D. However, a comparison of texts from different groups shows that the relationships are far more complex on account of the discrepancies between the 'corresponding' EV and AV groups and the similarities between supposedly unrelated groups. As a standard of comparison we can take the CV/1333 and other CV texts containing later continuations. The relationships between the groups are difficult, and the evidence is often capable of more than one interpretation, but the following discussion represents the development that seems to me most plausible at the present. It presents a working hypothesis, although as further texts such as those held in the U.S.A. are examined in greater detail, modifications will doubtless be required.

The Exordia of the EV and AV

The exordium of the hypothetical EV/1377 was partly based on the expansion of two short passages in the body of the CV text that describe chronicles written in English during the reign of king Ossa and a chronicle made by (or at the instigation of) king Alfred. The details from the CV and the corresponding passages in the EV and AV are as follows:

1) & on boke he made of Englisshe, of Auentures of kynges and of batailes þat hade bene done in þe lande. [Brie, p. 102 ll.14-15]

EV/1419:A

And it telleth of alle the kynges and principall lordes that euer were in this lond. And what aventures thinges as batailles conquestes and other thinges fell in this lond and by whome and by what manere [Rylands Eng. 105]

¶ And also hit tellith of the kyngus and principall thingus and also of lordis that euir were and Reyghnede in the seyde lande frome the furste vn to þe laste and what a venturs and wonderfull thingus as Batailles warres conquestus and othir meruelous myracles and thingus notables þat be felle in the same lande and by whome and by what maner [BM Harl. 24]

EV/1419:B

This boke treteth and telleþ of þe kynges.7 principal lordes þat euer were in þis londe.7 of auentures.7 wondreful þinges.and batailles.7 oþer notable actes. werres.conquestes þat bifelle in þis same londe. [BM Harl. 4827]

EV/1419:C

... and then̄ of alle the kynges / and grete lordes / and principall actes þat haue been̄ doon̄ in the same lande / as of batellys werres / and other aventures and conquestes of the seid lande / [TCC 0.9.1]

AV:A(A)

And also it tellethe of all the kinges 7 principall lordes þat euer werr and in þe same lond fro the first vnto þe laste / 7 qwat aventurs and wonderfull thinges werres

batails 7 conquestes 7 other thinges notable that fell in þe londe / [Hunt. T.3.21]

AV:B

þe wych booke tretyth 7 lellyth [sic] of þe kyngys and princypall lordys þat euyr was in þis londe and of aventur and wonderdyrfull thyngis and batayll and oþir notabyll actys warres conquestys þat be fyll in þis Same lande // [Hunt. V.5.13]

AV:C

And than of all the kynges and grete Lordes and principall actes that hath be done in the said Lande as of batailles werres 7 other aventures 7 conquestes of the said land [Ashm. 793]

AV:D

And þis chapitour maketh mencioun of alle the Kynges þat haue regned in this lande and of the principall actes 7 dedes þat were doon wiþ in þe lande and hou longe þei regned. [Stow 70]

2) But Abbotes, prioures, & men of religiouñ, writen þe lifes and dedes of kynges, & how longe euеryche hade regnede, & in what contre; & in what maner euеryche kyng deide, and of bisshoppis also, and þerof made grete bokes, & lete calle ham þe Cronicles. [Brie, p. 102 l.32-p. 103 l.3]

EV/1419:A

And after this hit declareth of diuers thinges compiled and drawen by dyvers holy men.and namely by meñ of Religioun as in Abbeis and Priories of Englond the whiche

wrote and Cronicled as it fell and happed in the londe and made grete bokes and remembraunces of suche as bifell in theire tyme And lete calle hem the Cronicles. [Rylands Eng. 105]

... the wiche gestis and Romayns as it folowith here after mani dyuers goode men and grete clerkes and namely men of relygion as in Abbais Priourees of Englande haue Compilede and wretone that befelle in here tyme and made ther of grete Bookes and Remembrances to alle men that come after hem to hire and to see what by felle a for and was doone in this lande and lette calle hem Cronicles and seye the sothe in this lande. [BM Harl. 24]

EV/1419:B

And þis boke made 7 compiled men of Religioun.7 oþer good clerkes.þat wreten þat bifell in her tymes.and made þer of grete bokes.and remembraunce to men þat comen aftir hem to heere and to see what bifell in þe londe afore tyme./ And callid hem cronycles. [BM Harl. 4827]

EV/1419:C

The whiche boke m[any] goode men as abbottys priorus 7 many other men compiled 7 wreten all [...] auentures þat be fell yn ther tyme 7 made ther of grete bookes 7 reme[..]aunce 7 lete call them Cronicles [Bodl. Laud Misc. 571 (the right-hand edge of the leaf is damaged)]

AV:A(A)

... þis boke / þe qwiche many diuerse good meñ and grete clerkes 7 namely meñ of Religeoun as in abbais and priores of Englande hathe compilid 7 writeñ qwat befell in þaire tyme and made þerof grete bokes 7 remembrance till all meñ that come after themm to here and to see qwat befell afore 7 was done in this lond / 7 lete call þaim cronycles

[Hunt. T.3.21]

AV:B
And þis boke made and compilid men of religione and oþir good clerkys þat wryttyne what be ffyll in thre [sic] tyme and mad þer of grett bokys and remembrance to men þat comen aftyr hyme to her and See watt be fyll in þe lond afor tyme // And callyd heme cronycle [Hunt. V.5.13]

AV:C
The which booke many goodemen as abbotes Priours and many other men compiled 7 writen all maner of aventures that bifell in there tyme and made therof grete Bokes 7 remembraunces And lete calle hem Cronicles [Ashm. 793]

AV:D
And þis boke compyled grete clerkes as Abbottes prioures. and meñ of Religioun þe which writen and engroced þe lyues and þe actes of euery kynge as þey regned.and made [CUL Hh 6.9: þerof] grete bookes and called þem þe cronicles. [Stow 70]

Comparison of these passages has a largely negative conclusion, which is borne out by the further textual comparisons above and below, i.e. that there is a highly complex textual history underlying the extant MSS. and groups. The erstwhile existence of a number of lost groups or complicated crossing between groups must be posited to account for the readings of the extant groups. Thus in the first detail the EV/1419:A and the EV/1419:B keep the words 'adventures, things [surely a corruption of 'kings' in the CV], battles' in the same order as the CV, but the EV/1419:C has the phrase bat haue beeñ dooñ in the same lande which is found in the CV. There is a cross-group correspondence between the EV/1419:B and

the AV:B on one hand and the AV:A(A) in the use of the words 'wonderful' and 'notable'. The AV:D retains the phrase þat were doon wiþ in þe lande, as does also the AV:C, and the former group also adds a phrase taken from the second detail in the CV, hou longe þei regned.

Indeed, in the second detail the AV:D preserves best the wording of the original CV source, which must indicate the one-time existence of earlier groups since the AV:D cannot underlie the EV texts. Yet the EV/1419:A text of Rylands Eng. MS. 105 retains the last phrase, And lete calle hem the Cronicles.

The EV groups

Brie does not explicitly state that the EV:C is based on the EV/1419:A, but he implies this when he says of the former that: 'Diese Gruppe steht A sehr nahe. Der Hauptunterschied besteht in einer grossen Reihe abweichender Lesarten, die sich durch den ganzen Text verstreut finden. Ausserdem sind die lateinischen Worte in Kap. 34 fortgefallen.'[1] It is, however, clear that the A and C groups must have developed separately out of the EV/1377, and that they cannot be directly connected. This is shown by the following:

1) Of the three extant EV groups, only the A group contains the original CV giants, although I believe that lost MSS. of A (and possibly Rylands Eng. MS. 105) contained a list of giants more like that surviving in the C group and that the extra details of BM MSS. Harl. 24 and Addit. 12030 are peculiar additions:

---

[1] Brie, G.u.Q., p. 84.

CV

Gogmagog..Laugherigan..(& so þei were nompned by diuers names) [Brie, p. 4]

A

Gogmagog (kyng of þem alle).. wydy..O newen le-fort..Bonde at the Brugge ende.. laugherygo..(grete multitude moo of Giauntes that weren callede many dyuers names) [Harl. 24]

B

Gogmagog [Harl. 4827]

C

Gogmagog (chief of hem all).. Wydy..Oneveñ..Bounde..(And many other ther were / and called dyuers names) [TCC 0.9.1]

Similarly, the addition of details from the Short English Metrical Chronicle (see pp. 108-11) shows clearly that the A texts have preserved more closely the wording of the original text.

2) On the other hand, the C group preserves more closely the wording of the CV in a number of instances, e.g. in the account of the eponymous naming of London by Lud.

The CV text reads:

¶ This Lud louede more to duelle at Troye þan at eny oþere place of þe lande; Wherfore þe name of Troye was lafte, and þo was callede þe citee of Ludstan; but now þat name is chaungede þrouȝ variance of lettres, and now is callede Londoñ. ¶ and þis kyng made in the citee a faire gate, and callede it Ludgate, after his name; and þe folc of þe citee lete hight Loundres. [Brie, p. 31 ll.18-24]

The C group, although it evinces some changes, mainly of a minor nature, is close to this, and is certainly much closer to it than the corresponding section in the A group. The reading of the C group is given first:

This Lud loued more to dwell at Troye / theñ in any other place of the lande / Wherfore the name of newe Troye was

loste / And then̄ was the Cite called luscañ [sic] / And that name is chaunged thurgh variance of letter / and now is callid Londoñ / And this kyng made in the Cite a feyre gate / and called it Ludgate / after his name / And folk of the Cite let calle hit Loundrys / [TCC 0.9.1]

this kyng .Lud. loved more to dwell at newe troye þen in Any oþer place of þe land wherfor he commaundid that þat Cite shuld not no lenger be called Newe Troy but Ludentouñ or Ludestoun As sum bokes seyen after his name .Lud. for in þat Cite he mad most cost of byldyng And ther he mad A gate Al oute of þe ground And lat hit to be called Ludgate after his name And he lat walle þe toune and dike hit also but afterwardis þe name of þis Cite was chaunged with Saxons tonge and by variaunce of lettres And was called London And Normandis and frenchemen and oþer Alyauntes callit loundris And these clerkes callit in latyñ Ciuitas londinarum [Rawl. B187; in Bodl. MS. Tanner 188 the last words are omitted, i.e. these clerkes ... londinarum]

We note also that the Latin tag is not found in the C group, as it is not found in Rylands Eng. MS. 105, which I have argued above (pp.108-11) to represent an earlier form of the A group than BM MSS. Harl. 24 and Addit. 12030, and this correspondence may suggest that the tag was not found in the EV/1377.

Similarly, the name of Coryn's paramour is omitted in both Rylands Eng. MS. 105 and in the C group.

The EV/1419:B, however, does appear to have been based on some early form of A text, although it cannot be directly derived from any of the extant MSS. The exordium of the B group is closer to that of the A group[1], although in the first quoted example of the following additional

---

[1]See the details on pp. 153-5.

selected details there is a probably (?) fortuitous echo of the C group:

a) A: Here begynneth a boke in Englysshe tunge called Brute [Ryl. Eng. 105]
B: Here bigynneth a book whiche is callid Brute the Cronicles of Englond [Harl. 4827]
C: Here begynneth a booke in englissh tonge called Brute of Englond or the cronicles of Englond [TCC 0.9.1]

b) A: howe it was first wildernesse [Ryl. Eng. 105]
B: ---------- [omitted]
C: how it was first a wildernesse and forletteñ [TCC 0.9.1]

c) A: And this boke is called Brute after hym that made the boke and inhabite this lond whos name was Brute the which lete calle the lond Bretayne after his owne name. [Ryl. Eng. 105]
B: And this lande is callid Bretaigne aftir him þat first enhabited it. whos name was callid .Brute. [Harl. 4827]
C: This booke is called Brute after Brute þat first conquered this lande / and let calle this lande Bretayñ after his name [TCC 0.9.1]

We see again in the Lud passage that the B group is close to the A texts:
this king Lud lovede more forto dwelle at newe Troye þane at any oþer place of þe londe wherfore he commaundid þat the Cite of newe Troye be callid noo more þat name but calle it Ludstoñ . ⁊ somme bookes sey aftir his name lud. for in þat Cite he made most byeldynge ⁊ þere he made a gate out of þe grouñde ⁊ callid it Luddis gate aftir his owne name ⁊ he dede doo make Cite wallid ⁊ dyke it al aboute. ¶ But aftirwarde the name of this Cite was

chaungid by sownyng of tungis ⁊ by varyaunce of lettris and callid it Londoñ. ⁊ ȝit oþir nacioũns callith it ȝit into this day londoñ. ⁊ Clerkes callith it Ciuitas .Londoñ ./ [Hunt. U.3.3]

Further points supporting the view that these groups are to be connected are:

1) Except for Rawl. poet. 32, the B group texts give the name of Coryn's paramour, as do the majority of A texts.

2) Similarly, the B texts contain the Latin tag, as the majority of A texts do.

3) Like BM MS. Harl. 24, the majority (though not all) of the B texts insert good into the phrase ending the text to 1419, and sometimes add Deo gracias, e.g.:

in Ruele and good gouernaunce .¶ Deo gracias [Harl. 24]
in good rule 7 gouernaunce.¶ Deo gracias. [Hunt. U.3.3]
in reule and in gode gouernaunce [Harl. 2182]

The B group shows a number of details that prove that it is a derivative, and not the direct line from the EV/1377 through which the other EV groups are connected to the original EV group. The enumeration of the British kings and of the kingdoms of Hengist's heptarchy are both farther from the original CV text than the corresponding A and C texts. In addition, there are numerous verbal differences and alterations, some of which we shall see under the discussion of the relationship of the EV/1419:B and the AV:B.

The AV groups

The single text of the AV:A(B), that of BM MS. Royal 18 A IX, can be derived from a text of the EV/1419:A, although once more we must assume one or more lost texts that united features now found only in separate texts of the A group. Thus we note the following correspondences between BM Royal 18 A IX and features presented in the A group texts:

1) The heading of the text is paralleled in BM MSS. Harl. 24 and Addit. 12030, the only EV texts to have this heading.
2) The exordium is that of the A group.
3) The extra giants resemble those in the EV:C and to some extent those in BM Harl. 24 and Addit. 12030, and possibly approximate more closely to those I believe were once contained in Rylands Eng. 105, although 'Laugherigan', one of the original CV giants, is not found.
4) The name of Coryn's paramour is paralleled exactly in Rawl. B 187 (although it is also paralleled in the EV/1419:B).
5) The lack of the Latin tag is paralleled in Rylands Eng. 105.
6) The chapter on the kings of Britain is not abbreviated as it is in the AV:A(A), and therefore accords with the normal text found in the EV/1419:A.

We have treated this group first among the AVs because it does not partake of the striking agreements between the rest of the AV groups that lead us to the inevitable conclusion that there is a far more complex relationship between them than a simple one-to-one relationship with the EV groups.

The formal textual feature that is most immediately striking is the omission of several chapters after the death of King Arthur, so that Conan succeeds to the throne instead of Constantine. This feature occurs in the AV:A(A), the AV:B, and the AV:C, but is not paralleled in the EV. It is not found in the AV:D.

Equally significant is the close verbal agreement between the AV:A(A) and the AV:B in those chapters that occur after the opening sections of the text and which can be seen well in the narrative recounting the reign of King John. The texts of both AV groups agree against the texts of the EV and CV, and must therefore be related.

The following extract from Hunt. MS. T.3.21, a text of the AV:A(A), should be compared with the corresponding text in the AV:B given in Vol. II, pp. 373-5, and with the CV as presented by Brie (pp. 155-6):

¶ How king Iohn was Rebell agans þe pope

A a nd att þe last þe pope sentt by hys autorite 7 enIoyned two bischops of England þat yff king Iohñ wold nott cesse of his persecucioun þat he did to holy chirch ne vnderfong maister Steveñ langtoun ne the prioure 7 his monkes / þat thei suld do þe generale enterdyting / yff it wer nede / and enionede iiij bischopes to fulfill itt / þe first was þe bischop of londoñ / þe ij^{e} þe bischop of Ely / þe iij^{e} bischop Wauter and þe iiij^{e} bischop Giles ¶ And þes foure come to þe king / knelyng vpoñ there kneys full sore wepyng / besechyng þe king to doon þe popes commandementes and schewed him þe bulles of þe enterdyting / bott for no prayer þe king wald nott consent þerto ¶ And thañ thes iiij bischopes seyng this // on þe morow after þe annunciacioun of oure lady pronounsed þe enterdyting through oute England / so þat all chirch dores wer schut 7 closid through england ¶ And king Iohñ seyng this / toke in to his handes all þe possessiouns of holy chirche throute þe Realm̄ and ordenyd meñ for to kepe hem̄ ¶ And thañ þe bischopes accursed all hem þat medeled with holy chirch goodes ayenst þe will of hem ¶ And when þe king wold nott cess of his malace þe iiij bischopes went hem oure þe see to þe Archebischop of Canterbury / and take hym all þe doing ¶ And þe Archebischop herynng hereof bad tham̄ goo agayñ to Canterbury and he wold come theder to þam̄ or send suche as suld do asmuche as him self there ¶ And thei come agayñ to canterbury And than come tithinges to þe king that þe [?] iiij bischopes wer comen agayñ / and for as mich as he micht nott come him self he sentt theder

lordes both temperell and spirituell / And so the king was entrered [sic] to vnderfong the Archebischop and þe prioure also and his monkes and that he suld neuer after that tyme tak no thing of holy chirch ayenst the will of hem þat awed þe goodes ¶ And also that þe king suld mak full amendes to hem of whom he had take any goodes And þat holy chirch suld have all ffraunches in likewis as itt was in king edwardes tyme þe confessour [Hunt. T.3.21]

However, despite this correspondence, we cannot simply assume that the AV:A(A) and the AV:B are the same text to which the exordia of different EV groups have been added. The earlier portions of the AV:B are inextricably linked to the EV/1419:B, not only on account of the exordium but also on the verbal level. The composition of the opening chapters of the AV:B is demonstrated by the following dissection of the text in which the EV group is represented by BM MS. Harl. 4182 and the AV group by Hunt. MS. V.5.13. References are given to the corresponding text in the CV printed by Brie. The evidence for connecting the EV/1419:B and the AV:B consists of:

(i) similar omissions in both groups vis-a-vis the CV/1333, e.g.:

1) so þat he conquered alle þe landes abowte hym [p. 1 11.8-9]

2) 7 þere þey lyved in ioy and merthe y-now, that it was wonder to wete [p. 1 11.21-22]

3) þat it was wonder to wete [p. 2 11.10-11]

4) 7 byhestes, 7 also for ȝiftes, and warnyd hem in fayr maner vpon all loue and frenschipe þat þei scholde Amende hir lithir condicions [p. 2 11.13-16]

5) wherfore þo xxxiij kynges, vpon A tyme, and often-tymes, beten here wyfes, for þey wende that þei wolde haue Amended here tacches and here wykkyd thewes; but of such condicions

þei were þat, for fayr speche 7 warnyng, þei deden the wors, 7 for betynges eft-sone mych wors. [p. 2 ll.17-22]
6) 7 þo made voide al þat were þerin, so þat no lyf was among hem but sche 7 here sustres y-fere [p. 3 ll.13-14]
7) seth þat I am come of a more hyere kynges blod þan my housband is [p. 3 ll.18-19]
8) ful wel y wot, fayr sustres, þat oure housbandes haue playned vnto owre fadir vpon vs, wherfore he hath þus vs foul reproued 7 dispised [p. 3 ll.20-23]
9) þat was here fadir [p. 3 l.36-p. 4 l.1]
10) 7 be-toke alle her frendes to Appolyn, þat was her god [p. 4 ll.3-4]
11) with al his mayn [p. 5 l.8]
12) and hym withhelde [p. 5 l.14]
13) 7 a worthy of body and of his dedes [p. 5 ll.15-16]
14) in his werre; 7 schortly for-to telle, so weel 7 worthyly he ded, þat he [p. 5 ll.17-18; both groups replace this by one word and]
15) all here lyvys tyme [p. 5 l.22]
16) as God wolde [p. 5 l.23]
17) vnwetyng his fadir, 7 aȝens his wyl [p. 5 l.28]
18) whan god wolde [p. 6 ll.4-5]
19) þat was Sylveynes sone [p. 6 l.7]
20) 7 [so] schul men of þat Cuntre be called for euermore [p. ll l.20]

(ii) similar readings in the EV/1419:B and the AV:B that disagree with the CV/1333 reading. See Fig. 4 on following pages.

FIGURE 4

Similar readings in the EV/1419:B and the AV:B

CV/1333	EV/1419:B	AV:B
a noble kyng and myghty, 7 a man of grete renoun, þat me called Dyoclician [p. 1 11.5-7]	a man of grete renoun callid Dioclisian	a mane of gret renoun callyd diocliciane
almoste all þe kynges of þe world to hym were entendaunt [p. 1 11.9-10]	almooste all þe kynges not cristen to him weren contributours and obedient	all most all þe kyngys Crystyne wher to hyme contributours and to hym obbedyente
at A certayn day, as in his lettres was conteyned, to make A ryal feste [p. 1 11.17-18]	at a certeyn day at which day he wolde make a riall ffeste	att A sertyn day at wyche day he wyll make aryall fest
And hit byfelle þus aftyrward þat [p. 2 11.5-6]	And aftirward	And aftyrward

CV/1333	EV/1419:B	AV:B
Wherfore þe kyng þat hadde wedded Albyne, wrote þe tacches 7 þe condicions of his wyf Albyne, 7 þe lettre sent to Dioclician, her fader. ¶ And whenne þe other kynges herde that Albynes lord had sent lettre to Dioclician, anon þey sente lettres enseled with here seeles [of] þe condicions and þe tacches of here wyfes. [p. 2 ll.22-27]	wherfore þese .xxxiij. kynges bi her comen assent wrote þe euel tacches of her wyues vnto her fadre Dioclisian. Bisekyng hym to sett a remedye in þis matere	wher for þes xxxij. kyngis by her comen A Sente vrote the evyll techys of her viuis vn to her fader Dyoclisian be seken so [sic] Sett remedy in thes maters
he was sore a-schamed, 7 bycome wonder Angry 7wroth toward his doughters [p. 2 ll.29-30]	he was wondre wroth toward his dou3tres	he was wondyr wrote toward hys dou3tors

CV/1333	EV/1419:B	AV:B
þer was a noble knyght 7 a myghty, 7 a man of gret power, þat me callyd Eneas [p. 5 11.5-6]	þer was a mi3ti.7 a manly kny3t y callid Eneas	was a my3ty and amanly kny3the called Eneas
lost 7 dystroyed [p. 5 1.7]	destroied	dystroid
he had herd of hym, and wyst wel þat he was a noble knyght [p. 5 11.14-15]	he herde muche worship of him.and þat he was a noble kny3t	he herd muche worscip of hyme and þat he was a nobyll kny3th
in beryng of hym [p. 5 1.35-p. 6 1.1]	in childyng of hym	in chyldyng of hym
his Arwe mys-happed 7 glacede; And so there Brut quelled his fader. [p. 6 11.9-10]	his arowe glaunsid a side and killid his fadre þer forþ ri3t	his harrow clenchyd and kyllyd his fadyr þer forth rythe

CV/1333	EV/1419:B	AV:B
an hauene of Totnesse [p. 10 11.29-30] þe sawte of Gogmagog [p. 11 1.17]	an hauen þat is now callid Totenesse þe mounte of Gogmagog or elles it is callid Gogmagoges lepe	ane hawyne þat ys now callyd totennas the monte of Gogmagog or ells gogmagoges lepe
and clymede vnto þe mount; but when þai saw [p. 61 11.31-32]	awhanne þey came vp to þe toppe of þe mounte þei seigh	And when þay com vppon þe topp of þe monte þay Sey
and come aȝeyn into þis lande [p. 62 1.3] for euermore [p. 62 1.8]	and so þei brouȝt hem in to þis londe and so it is callid ȝitte in to þis day	and so þey brouth heme in to this lond and so yt ys in to þis day

The conclusion to be drawn from the examples is that the EV/1419:B and the AV:B are closely connected, for they agree in making the same omissions from the CV/1333 text, and they further agree in possessing similar readings which disagree with the CV/1333 text. However, a further set of readings, taken from the same extracts as the above examples, show that the two groups cannot be directly related, i.e. the AV:B cannot be derived simply from the EV/1419:B because the readings of the AV:B correspond to, or are closer to, the readings of the CV/1333, which we can take as the ultimate norm:

(iii) dissimilar readings in the EV/1419:B and the AV:B, where the AV:B reading corresponds to, or is closer to, the CV/1333 reading in some respects. See Fig. 5 on the following pages. In a number of the examples the AV:B presents a blend of CV and EV/1419:B readings.

FIGURE 5

Dissimilar readings in the EV/1419:B and the AV:B

CV/1333	EV/1419:B	AV:B
At which day, þedir þey comyn, 7 brought with hem Amyralles, Prynces 7 Dukes, 7 noble Chiualrye [p. 1 11.19-20]	and þei came at his comaundement.And also Dukes 7 Erles.and oþer peple wiþ oute nombre	At wyche day þey comen bothe kyngis.Dukys.and Erllys and much oþyr pepyll out of nombyr
among all þo knyghtys [kynges: D] þat tho were at that solempnite [p. 1 1.24]	vn to all þese kynges assembled at þis grete solempnite	amongis all þes kyngis assembeledd at þis Solemnite
And all her other sustres, eche on bere hem so euel a-yens here lordes [p. 2 11.9-10]	7 alle her oþer sustres deden in þe same manere	and all þe oþir Sustyrs bare heme in þe Same maner
And for-as-mych as hem thought þat here housebondes were not of so hye parage comen as here fadyr [p. 2 11.11-12]	and for also muche as her lordes weren of lower degree þan þei were þei were þe more stoute	and for theyr lordys wer of lowere parage þane þey wer þey wer þe stouter

CV/1333	EV/1419:B	AV:B
7 whan sche had so seyd all here sustres seyd þe same [p. 3 ll.19-20]	and þanne all þe sustres promysed þe same	And all her sustyrs sayd þe same
so þat þei neuere schulde come aȝen; 7 so he dede [p. 3 ll.35-36]	and so he exilid hem oute of his lande	And so he dede
þei fedde hem with erbes 7 frutes in seson of þe ȝeer [p. 4 l.17]	þei fedden hem all wiþ herbes 7 fruytes þat þei founden many daies	þey feddyne hym op on herbys 7 frutys in þe Sesone of þe ȝer
and bycomen wondir fatte [p. 4 l.19]	and so þei wexid wondre fatte 7 rank	and wondyr fat wexen [added above]
Whanne þe Deuyll that perceyued [p. 4 l.24]	And whanne þe feend conceyued þe corragiouste of þese wymmen	And when þ. develis þis consayuyd

CV/1333	EV/1419:B	AV:B
kyng Latyme 3af al þat land þat was Turocelyns, 7 3af it to Eneas in mariage with Lamane, his doughter, the moost fayr creature þat eny manne wiste [p. 5 11.19-21]	kyng Latym gaf all þat londe to Eneas.and maried his dou3ter.Lema.vnto him. whiche was a faire creature	kyng latyme gaff al þe lond to Eneas in maryage with leman hys dou3tyr a fayr creaturr
in ioy 7 myrthe [p. 5 1.22]	in Ioie 7 blisse	in Ioy and myrth
And whan Asquanius his fader yt wyste [wist þerof: D], anon he lete enquere [p. 5 11.31-32]	And his fadir Asquanius herde here of.and leete enquere	And when hys fadyr Asquanius wyst þer of he lett enquer
he went vpon A day with his fadir to pley 7 solace [p. 6 11.7-8]	he went vpon a day wiþ his fadre to wodde for to hunte and disporte him	he wente oppon a day with hys fadyr to wood for to play and solas

CV/1333	EV/1419:B	AV:B
7 therfore he nome all his men, 7 went vnto þe See, 7 hadde wynd 7 wedir at wille [p. 10 11.27-29]	wherfore anoon he ordeyned all his men to þe shippes and sailed forþe in þe see.and þei had wynde and wedre at her wille	and þerfor he toke all his men and went in to þe see and had wynd and weddyr at wyll
7 þer þey founde neiþer man ne woman [p. 10 11.30-31]	and þei founden neiþer man.woman nor childe	and þer þey fonden neþyr man ne vommane
þo was Brut wonder glad [p. 10 l.34]	Þanne was brute wondre gladde 7 Ioyful of hert	Thane was he [inserted above] wondyr glad
When þe Britons hade herde of þis þing, þai went and sworen ifere amonges ham, þat þai wolde gone to seche þe stones [p. 61 11.23-25]	And whanne þe bretons herden telle of þese merveilous stones þei saiden amonges hem þat þei wolde goo in to yrlonde.7 sechen þese stones	When the brutons herd of this tydynges þei went And Swore amonges hem þat þey wold See and serch the stonys

CV/1333	EV/1419:B	AV:B
and toke wiþ ham Vter, þe kynges broþer, to bene here cheueteyne, 7 xv M^1 men; and Merlyn conseilede ham forto gone into Irlande and so þai deden. [p. 61 11.25-27]	and toke wiþ hem Vter þe kynges broþer 7 Merlyn to ben her chieften and her counseilour.and toke also wiþ hem .xv. M^1. of men and wenten þidre.	7 toke with hym Vter þe kyngys brother to be her cheveten and xv M^1 men with hem And Merlyn conceilyd hym to gone to Irlond and so þay did
þai saw þe stones, and þe maner how þai stoden, þai hadden grete mervail [p. 61 11. 32-33]	þei seigh þe stones stonde merveillously	þay Sey þe stonys and þe maner how þat stonden and merweyll grettly ther of
and saide bituene ham þat noman shulde ham remeve, for no strenghe ne engyne, so huge þai weren, and so long [p. 61 11.33-p. 62 1.2]	and saide amonges hem þat no man shulde remeve hem þei were 7 huge and so longe	and sayd by twene heme þat noman shull Remeve hym of þe place neythyr be strynth eiethir be Engyne so hug and so long

CV/1333	EV/1419:B	AV:B
and when þe kyng saw þat it was made, he þankede Merlyn [p. 62 ll.5-6]	and whanne þe kyng saugh þat it was doo aftir his entent he þanked Merlyne	and whene þe kyng saw þat yt was mad he thankyd Merlyne hugely

We note that although in the above examples the AV:B has details that are closer to the CV, there are also many cases where the AV:B reading appears to partake of both the CV and EV/1419:B reading. The fact that it agrees with the CV means that the AV:B cannot simply have passed through the EV/1419:B stage. It could quite easily, however, be a compilation made from both the CV and the EV/1419:B texts. We have already seen the agreement between the AV:B and the AV:A(A) in the King John chapters, but in many of the examples in (iii) the AV:A(A) has readings which are dissimilar from those of the AV:B and are also further from the CV readings. Accordingly, we cannot assume that the AV:B is a compilation formed from the EV/1419:B and the AV:A(A). The same can be said of the AV:C, in which we again find verbal differences from the above AV:B readings.

The AV:A(A) cannot be derived purely from the text of BM MSS. Harl. 24 and Addit. 12030, primarily because it does not show any traces of any of the peculiar features associated with these MSS. Whether it was taken from one of the other EV/1419:A texts is more difficult to decide, since these texts are incomplete, and in any case we have already suggested that some texts of this EV group have been lost that once exhibited a slightly different form of certain features than that contained in the extant MSS. Verbally the AV:A(A) would seem within the limits of tolerance for the EV/1419:A, but obviously there has been contact with some other AV group as the common omission of chapters after Arthur and the verbal agreement with the AV:B described above would attest. The question is, in which direction were the AV texts influenced, and which group first made these omissions and verbal changes? The further questions occur, whether there was an AV made from the EV/1377 and whether the common features of the AV groups should be attributed to this?

The unusual point at which the AV:C ends (see pp. 147-8) might suggest that this text was derived from an original AV ending in 1377 to which a 1419(men) continuation was added. If this is so, however, then the AV ending in 1377 must have differed considerably from the AV:C, for in its present state it could not have been the basis of the AV:A(A) or AV:B, both of which have readings that are closer to the CV sources. Once more, the AV group cannot be simply an abbreviation of the EV group, as there are a number of correspondences with other AV and EV texts in features that are not contained in the EV/1419:C, e.g.:

1) Lud's naming of London has affinities with the EV/1419:A (see p. 159) and the AV:B (see Vol. II, pp. 69-70).
¶ This Lud loued to abide atte Troie more than at any othre place of the land / Wherfore he commaunded It shulde no lengir be called Newe Troie . but Lodentoun or Ludestoun as some bokes sayn̄ aftre his name Lud // for in that Cite he made moste costes. And ther he made a Gate oute of the grounde and called it Ludgate ¶ And he made walle the town̄ and dich it // And aftre this the name of the Cite was chaunged by Saxons tong and variaunce of lettres and was called London̄ . and yit is . but Normandes callen̄ it Loundres and frenshmen / And Clerkes Ciuitas London̄

2) Coryn's paramour's name is given.

3) Conan reigns after King Arthur.

On the other hand, the King John chapters are not the same as in the AV:A(A) and the AV:B, which suggests that if these groups are to be closely connected, then the AV:C would have to precede the others, for in these chapters it corresponds closely to the CV text. In its present form the AV:C text cannot underlie the other AV groups, as a number of its readings are at a further remove from the ultimate CV source than those preserved in other AV groups, but this may point to an earlier

stage of the AV text than preserved in the extant MSS.

The AV:D group of abbreviated texts does not show the striking correspondences noted between the other AV groups, although there are points of similarity. Brie assumed that these texts were derived from a now lost group D of EV texts, i.e. an EV group with the D exordium, but there is no evidence to support this, and the apparent symmetry between the EV and AV groups has been shown above to be false. Certainly the group appears to have been based on some form of EV, for unlike in the other AV groups (apart from the AV:A(B)), Constantine follows Arthur and the King John chapters, although abbreviated and altered verbally, are not the same text as that of the AV:A(A) or the AV:B.

It seems most probable that the group is based on some precursory form of the EV, for it shows a number of features now found separately in other EV texts and in AV groups presumably related either to this lost group or to the extant AV:D. Thus we can note the following similarities and points of contact:

A) in its exact wording the present form of the D exordium may be an original feature of the AV:D, but it is clearly based on an early EV exordium and retains reminiscences and verbal variations of phrases in extant EV groups, e.g. the details on pp. 153-7 above and the following additional details. See Fig. 6 on the following pages.

FIGURE 6

Details from the exordia of the AV:D, EV/1419:A and EV/1419:B

AV:D	EV/1419:A	EV/1419:B
And þis Brute biganne first þe citee of londoñ and callid hit Troye in remembraunce of grete Troye.fro þe whiche he and his lynage come.	And this brute bigañ first the Cite of londoñ.the whiche he leete be called Newe Troye in remembraunce of grete Troy from whens he and alle his lynage were comen	7 þis same Brute biganne first þe citee of londoñ. þe whiche he lete calle þat tyme.Newe Troye in þe remembraunce of þe olde Troye.ffrom whens he 7 his lynage weren cōme.
and arryued vp into þis lande and inhabited it. and lyued straungely. where Inne weren no creatures but wilde beestes and briddes and fowles a lande desolate And aftirward it was inhabited with Giauntes til þe tyme þat brute come [Stow 70]	And they arryved in this lond casuelly.where none lyvyng creature was at that tyme.but wilde bestes and alle wildernesse And houghe thay lyved by herbes and rotes and other manere frutes And houghe the spirites ley by hem in mannes liknesse and gate vppon hem horrible	and arrived in this londe casuelly where in was no lyuyng creature but wilde beestes And hou vnclene spirites lay bi hem . and þei brouȝt forth horrible Geauntes And Brute killid hem. [Harl. 4827]

AV:D	EV/1419:A	EV/1419:B
	Giauntes the whiche reigned here in this lond to Brute cam and drove hem owte and sloughe of hem many oon̄ [Rylands Eng. 105]	

B) The phraseology used to describe and name Coryn's paramour - Erneb(o)urgh thine/thy lemman - resembles that employed in the AV:C, p. 182A and parallels the Short Chronicle.
C) As in certain MSS. of the EV/1419:A and in the EV/1419:C, the Latin tag is not found.
D) There are suggestions of the EV/1419:A text in the passage describing the naming of London by king Lud:

Aftir the dethe of Ely reigned hys Sonne ludde the whiche gouerned the lande wele and worthely and was welbeloued and he made in Newe Troie an Gate called ludgate and for he loued that Cite of london so moche and abode ther he made it be called luddentoune or luddestoune aftir hys name .ludde and he made moche werke aboute london and diched It and dide called it london by Saxouns tung . and Normandes calle it .loundres. [Univ. Coll. Oxf. 154; cf. the A text given on p. 159 above, especially Bodl. Tanner 188].

E) There is a slight hint of the EV/1419:B in the passage naming the kingdoms of Engist's heptarchy, where the AV:D reads:

and this Engest made many kinges in the lande as was afore tyme the furste was kent there he reigned him self. The secounde was Chichestre The threde Westsexe. the fourte .Estsexe. The .v. Norffolk and Suffolk and lyncolne. The .vj. leycestir Northampshire.Hertford and Huntingdoun shire. The vij .Oxenforde.Gloucestir Wynchestir Warrewyk and Derbyshire

The ellipsis of the subject after the furste is reminiscent of the EV/1419:A, for logically the subject must be 'kingdom' and not 'king', but the subsequent use of was and not had is closer to the type of construction used in the EV/1419:B (see the EV/1419:A and EV/1419:B texts compared on pp.113-4 above).
F) There are similarities in the Halidon Hill chapter to texts of various groups. Like Rawl. poet. 32 and all but

one of the AV:B texts, material is omitted around the battle. However, like the AV:A(A), only three wards of the Scottish army are listed, although the phraseology is different, and the AV:D simply says that 'the Scottes come fersely in thre batailles welle arraied in here wynges', whereas the AV:A(A) lists the wards and the lords contained in each.

The verbal affiliations of the AV texts to the corresponding EV texts, i.e. those that contain the same exordium, show that the inception of the AV texts must have been a complex compilation system in many instances, crossing texts of different groups and using such texts for purposes of collation. The best example of this is the complexity of the relationships between the earlier parts of the AV:B and AV:A(A) texts and their EV counterparts.

In view of the 'poor' nature of the final texts in terms of accuracy to the basic CV text, it is perhaps surprising that such great effort has gone into the blending of different groups, for not only complete sections of text have been extracted and bound together, but there also seems to have been a painstaking attempt to blend texts on the verbal level. Yet we see in such as Ashm. 793 or Digby 185 that well-executed MSS. were being prepared of AV texts.

The evidence presented above suggests strongly that a number of texts have been lost, and whether the exact interrelationships of the EV and AV groups can ever be established is difficult to predict. My own experiences suggest to me that close examination of those texts that I have been unable to examine personally would fill in some details, but would also confirm the complexity of the interrelationships. It is quite possible that the skill shown in crossing and cross-collation of texts, together with the loss of MSS. have obscured the precise

lines of relationship to such an extent that complete disentanglement is impossible. There is evidence of centres of production for texts, and within these there was undoubtedly a circulation of both texts and ideas in an apparently professional and business-like atmosphere which could produce, if required, high-quality MSS., probably in response to specific orders.

Appendix

Test factors used in the examination and classification of Extended and Abbreviated Version MSS.

Many of the factors used in the examination of CV MSS. were used in the examination of the EV/AV texts, but the following sections of text and criteria occurring in them were also used in the classification of the latter versions.

Textual criteria in the EV/AV

1) A type exordium and heading to the prologue
2) B type exordium and heading to the prologue
3) C type exordium and heading to the prologue
4) D type exordium and heading to the prologue
5) BM Harl. 24 heading to the whole work
6) extra giants passage as in BM Harl. 24
7) size of giants passage as in BM Harl. 4827
8) extra giants passage as in the EV/C
9) giants' mode of existence details as in BM Harl. 24 and Rylands Eng. 105
10) giants' mode of existence details as in BM Harl. 4827
11) giants' mode of existence details as in the EV/C
12) giants' mode of existence details abbreviated as in Bodl. Ashm. 793
13) Eneburgh thy paramour (instead of lemman)
14) Coryn's 'lemman' with no name
15) Coryn's 'lemman' with name given
16) 'after him' linkage in the chapter on the 33 kings of Britain
17) kings enumerated in the chapter on the 33 kings of Britain
18) the 33 kings abbreviated as in Hunt. T.3.21
19) the 33 kings listed as in Bodl. Ashm. 793

20) the presence of the Latin tag in the 33 kings chapter
21) 'worcester' instead of 'wynchestre' in Engist's heptarchy
22) 'Devonshire' instead of 'Derbyshire' in BM Royal 18 B IV
23) Engist's heptarchy as in BM Harl. 4827
24) Conan reigns after Arthur
25) four wards of the Scottish army at Halidon Hill as in Rylands Eng. 105
26) three wards of the Scottish army at Halidon Hill
27) material omitted around the Battle of Halidon Hill
28) omission such as in 27, including loss of the battle description
29) ending: '... in rule and good governance (Deo gracias)', or some variation thereof that includes 'good'

(c) Peculiar Texts and Versions

A number of MSS. contain individualistic or peculiar versions of all or part of a Brut text, in some cases as part of a compilation made from a number of works. It is likely that there was only one copy of the majority of such versions, that is, the text we now possess, although we cannot tell whether other such individual or peculiar versions once existed but are now lost. A few of these texts fall into small groups, and where this occurs they are distinguished as PV:x, i.e. Peculiar Version, with x as some convenient common distinguishing feature or letter.

CUL MS. Ll 2.14

The first part of this MS. is a historical work based on the same ultimate source as the Brut, i.e. Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae, but it is not a Brut text. The opening folios are now lost and the text begins during the reign of Constantine, the successor of Gracian, with the words:

can non other but fle a schepe before wolves ...

The Cadwallader episode is present, as in Geoffrey, and the text of the first part reaches as far as the death of Henry III. The continuation, taken from a Brut text, begins on fol. 143^{a}, and is written in the same hand as the preceding text but in a lighter ink, suggesting that it was added at a later time by the scribe when a copy became available for him to use. It begins:

And in the meane tyme dyede kynge henry at westmynster ... [Brie, p. 177 ll.6-7]

The Queen Isabella letter is included, but the text is so abbreviated in the reign of Edward III (as it is in Edward I's reign also) that the Halidon Hill chapter cannot be considered. It ends during the reign of Richard II with the return of Henry of Bolingbroke to

England:
And there he entred the londe ... [Brie, p. 357 l.26]

Rylands Eng. MS. 207

This text exhibits a number of lexical alterations, at least in its first part, and begins:
heir vnto the Roialme bot he was not of strengthe. Bot nevirthelesse this Donebande ... [cf. Brie, p. 23 ll.16-18]

In the chapter listing the thirty-three kings, the syntactic structure is simplified thus:
The furst was called .Gorbodian and he reigned xij yere. Aftir him .Morgañ. ij yere. Aftir him Eighnaus vj yere. Aftir him .Idwalier .viij. yere ... [cf. Brie, p. 30 ll.23-26]

Constantine reigns after Arthur, and both the Cadwallader episode and Queen Isabella's letter are present. In the Halidon Hill chapter only four sections of the Scottish army are found:
¶ And of þe iiij Bataille was thes Captains the Erle of Dunbar the Constable of the Castell of Berwyk and Sir Alexaundir of Setoñ keper of the Toune helped the Scottes ... [cf. the EV/1419:A reading on p. 105]

The first hand of the MS. ends the vellum section of the MS. on fol. 103^{b} with the words:
lyke vnto Tourmentours more thanne vnto Crystenmen And heaven ... [cf. Brie, p. 297 ll.4-5]

After a gap of one paper leaf, a second hand continues the text on paper with the words:
Englond ¶ The xx yer off kyng Edward he wente ouer in to Bretayñ 7 in to Gascoyñ ... [Brie, p. 297 ll.11-13]

The text breaks off during the description of the Battle of Agincourt:
þer wer not dede not passed .xxxvj. bodies thonket be Ihesus ¶ Anone þe kynge ... [Brie, p. 379 ll.26-29]

This text may be an individual reworking of a

CV/1419 text, but there are some similarities to EV texts, as in the substitute '5w' heading noted above and in the naming of Engist's heptarchy:

The furste was kent wher him self was king and Maistir. The secounde was Sussexe and Chichestir. The thrid Westsex. The iiij. Essex ...

However, the Latin tag is not found and the chapter recounting Lud's naming of London is normal, and the text (which may be compiled from two exemplars, changing over with the change of scribe) is probably based on a CV.

Bodl. MS. e Mus. 39

This text has been classed as a PV rather than as a CV because although it shows no additions to the text it appears to be a singleton. It begins:

Here may men here and knowe How .England ferst beegan and was klepid Albioun ⁊ by whom it resseyuede that name IN thee noble land of Svrrye theer was aworthy kyng Myghtty and ryght riche.And of greet renown that heyghtte .Diaclisian ...

The chapter on the kings of England is altered, and begins:

Thee ferste kyng of thee .xxxiij. his name was hoten Gorbodian. and hee Regnede .xij. yeer. And after hym Regnede Morgan .ij. yeer. ¶ And thanne Eighnaus .vj yeer ¶ Idwalan .viij. yeer. ¶ Rohugo .xj. yeer. ...

The Cadwallader episode is absent, but the Queen Isabella letter is found. In the Halidon Hill chapter only four wards are listed:

And in thee fourthe Batatayle [sic] of Scotlonde in that warde theer offe weren thus manye of lordys ore more [in red]

Thee Eerl of Dvnbarre ...

The text ends in 1419 with the words 'in Rule and in governavnce'

The text is lexically altered and although the combination of features it exhibits can be paralleled in certain CV texts such as in the CV/1419(men):B or the CV/1419:C, it cannot be based on or derived from these texts. For example, Lear is correctly named as leyre. For the omission of the Cadwallader episode one can compare Bodl. MS. Rawl. B 205 (see p. 55) and Bodl. MS. Rawl. B 173 (see p. 204). The text is probably an individual reworking of a CV/1419 text.

Lambeth MS. 306

This MS. consists of a number of items[1], one of which, on fols. 1^{a}-17^{b}, is a highly abbreviated version of a Brut text. It has been edited by J. Gairdner for the Camden Society in Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles, 1880, and begins:

Cronycullys of Englonde
IN the noble londe off Surrye was some tyme a grete kynge and a myghty that was named dioclesyan and he was the moste worthiest kynge than levinge on Erthe as the story seythe. Fro the begynnynge of the worlde vnto the distruccion of (the grete Cyte of: added in a later hand) Troye was IIII M xx/IIII and III yere That is for to sey a for the Carnacion of Crist MC xv yere ...

With this beginning one can compare the beginning of the PV: 1436 (see pp. 206-7) and the beginning of the Latin Bruts (see Brie, G.u.Q., pp. 127-30).

The Cadwallader episode is present, but the absence of Queen Isabella's letter may not be very significant

---

[1]See H.J. Todd, A Catalogue of the Archiepiscopal Manuscripts in the Library at Lambeth Palace, London, 1812 (repr. 1965); M.R. James and C. Jenkins, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace, Cambridge, 1930-2, pp. 421-6; M. Mill, Lybeaus Desconus, EETS 261, 1969 , pp. 2-3.

in view of the synoptic text (but cf. a similar combination of features in BM MS. Harl. 63, another peculiar text described on pp. 199-200). The text ends in the first year of the reign of Henry IV: 'and after they were taken and put to dethe.'

These 'Cronycullys of Englonde' are followed by Lydgate's verses on the Kings of England and by a continuation entitled 'The names of the kepers and Baylyffes of the Cite of london in the tyme of kynge Richarde the fyrst', taken from a civic chronicle. (Both items are printed in Gairdner's edition.)

Peculiar Version to 1422 (PV:1422) and Davies's Chronicle

The texts of MSS. Bodl. Laud 550 and BM Sloane 2027 can be considered together and in relation to Bodl. MS. Lyell 34 (Davies's Chronicle). The first two texts can be called the PV:1422.

Bodl. MS. Laud 550

The text begins:

How this land was first callid albion and of whom it had that name ye shal here as foloweth aftirward
In the yeer fro þe begynnyng of þe worlde $M^{l}M^{l}M^{l}$ lxxxx ix^{C} þer was in þe noble lond of Grece ...

Dioclician is called king of Greece, rather than of Syria, and since other names are Latinized more into conformity with Geoffrey of Monmouth, this shows that another source besides the Brut is being used. The Cadwallader episode is present, and is followed by a chapter entitled: 'Of þe departyng of the .vij kyngdomes'

This is an expansion on the descendants of the kings in Engist's heptarchy, and is in turn followed by the story of Alfred, thus omitting five of the CV chapters.

Differences in the factual details of the narrative

and additional matter[1] make it clear that the compiler of the version to which this text belongs was using outside sources of chronicle information. An interesting phrase concerning the beginnings of the New Forest during the reign of William the Conqueror is noted by Brie, which suggests that the compiler was conscious of his duty to correct what he saw as erroneous details in the CV which forms the basis of this version:

Þe comyn english cronicle saith that William Rows made this forest but it is vntrewe [cf. Brie, p. 138 l.26: '& þis Kyng [sc. William Rous] made þe new Forest']

The narrative is greatly abbreviated in the reigns of Henry III, Edward I, and Edward II, although Queen Isabella's letter is found under the last. The Halidon Hill chapter, which occurs in this abbreviated section, is likewise shortened (as in the following text). As an accessory source during the reigns of Richard II and Henry IV, the Continuatio Eulogii Historiarum[2] has been used, and in this connection it is interesting to note that commencing with Richard II, each succeeding king is accorded a fresh leaf in the MS. for the beginning of his reign. The compiler returns, however, to the Brut for the reign of Henry V to the end of the siege of Rouen, which includes the words 'in Rewle and gouernaunce.'

A short continuation follows, taking the narrative to 1422, and ending with the death of Henry V, 'On whos soule Ihu [...] haue mercy Amen'

BM MS. Sloane 2027

The Brut text begins on fol. 96^{b}, similarly to the preceding text, although the heading is omitted:

---

[1] See Brie, G.u.Q., pp. 93-4. [2] F.R. Haydon, Eulogium Historiarum, 3 vols., Rolls Series, 1863. The Continuation is printed in Vol. 3, pp. 333-421. See also Kingsford, pp. 127-8.

In the yer ffro the be gynnyng Off the world .M[1].M[1].M[1]. ix.C. lxxxx[e] ther was yn the Noble land of grece .A. wurthy kyng and .a. myghty .7. A. man Of grete Renoune ...

The prologue breaks off, however, on fol. 97[b]:

And Callid this land bretayn as ytt shalbe seide her afftirwarde ...

It is followed by Robert of Gloucester's rhymed Chronicle, which ends on fol. 169[b] with the ascent to the throne of Henry III. On fol. 170[a] the Brut text resumes at a point during the reign of King John:

whan kyng Iohn had don hys Curage the Enterdytyng was Relesyd thurgwh all Englond the vij[te] day of Iull ...

The text agrees with that of the preceding MS., and the abbreviation of the Halidon Hill chapter can be seen in the following short extract from this chapter:

And ther he was Examined of Many ffals tresons that he hade done.And Of the sleyng of kyng Edward of Carnaruan .7 ther Of was.a.teynte.7.for ys treson he was drawe.7 hangide.On seint Andrews day Son afftir this kyng Edward wente yn to scotland.and be segide the town Off bervyke. and hade.a.grete bataile with the scottis.At halidoune hyll be side the townne Of berwyke. And at wich bataile wer slayn Off the scottes .xxxv.M[1] and this was on seynt Mergertes Evyn . in the yer of Our lord god M[1]. CCC xxxij[e] And on þe Morowe afftir the bataile was do / the scottes delyuerde the town of berwyk to kyng Edward And in the xj[te] yer Of kyng Edward was sene 7 Aperyd yn the ffirmamente A lemyng sterre that was Callid stella Cometa. [cf. Brie, p. 271 l.26-p. 292 l.18]

The text breaks off on fol. 188[b] in the year 1400 with the words:

the Erle of Dunbarre become ys man.7.the kyng yaff ym the ...

Bodl. MS. Lyell 34 (Davies's Chronicle)

The texts described above stand in close, though not identical, relationship with the text of this MS.[1], which begins:

How this Land was first callid Albion and of whom it hadde þat name and how þe geauntez were y gote ye shul here as foloweth aft[.]rward Capitulum primum.

In þe yeer fro þe begynnyng of þe worlde M[l].M[l].M[l]. ix[c]. lxxxx þer was in þe noble lond of Grece a worthi kyng and a myzti and aman of gret Renoun þat was callid dioclician ...

In comparison with the preceding texts, the text of Bodl. Lyell 34 is consistently expanded, e.g. chapter 2 is headed:

How þe .iij. sones of Noe departid al þe worlde betuene thaym and how Brut was gote ...

Similar additions include an account of the visit of Joseph of Arimathea to Britain under the reign of Cymbeline and an account of the destruction of Jerusalem during the reign of Westmer (whom the MS. calls Marms!). These additions are not found in the PV:1422.

On the other hand, a number of additions are common to both the PV:1422 and to Bodl. MS. Lyell 34. Like the former, the latter expands on the kingdoms of Britain after the Cadwallader episode and omits the next five chapters of the CV text. Typical of these additions are those found in the reigns of Athelston, Edmund, Eldred and Edwin, to each of whom is devoted a separate chapter, which are also found in the PV:1422, and which are not found in the CV. Indeed, the CV takes only one chapter

---

[1]For an analytical description of the contents see A. de la Mare, Catalogue of the Mediaeval Manuscripts Bequeathed to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, by James P.R. Lyell, Oxford, 1971, pp. 85-7. See also Kingsford, pp. 29, 122-4, 127-9.

to recount the reigns of these four kings (Brie, pp. 112-3).

During the narrative on William the Conqueror we find a similar process still at work, with the insertion of extra information, although the ordering of the additional pieces differs between the PV:1422 and Bodl. Lyell 34. However, the wording of these additions agrees well, although the phrase found in the PV:1422 mentioning the true foundation of the New Forest is not present in Bodl. Lyell 34. Found in both is the following account of the begetting of the Conqueror, although it occurs at different points in the chapter:

¶ On a tyme as duke Robert of Normandy þat was þis william conquerours fadir rood þorouȝ þe toun of Phaleis he saw a damysell daunsyng in þe strete among othir þat was a skynners doughtir a wonder fair wommañ and anon þe duke sente for hir and held hir for his paramour and gat on hir william conquerour ¶ And whanne she was with childe she dremed þat her bowellis were drawe and sprad ouer al Normandie and englond be þe whiche dreme men demed þat þe child sholde be a greet lord [Bodl. Lyell 34, fol. 84^{a}]

Unlike the PV:1422, the text of Bodl. Lyell 34 is not heavily abbreviated for the reigns of Henry III, Edward I and Edward II, and although the text of the Battle of Halidon Hill is considerably shortened, it is not so truncated as that given above from the PV:1422:

¶ Thanne wente kyng Edward in to Scotland forto helpe þe said edward and besegid þe toun of Berewic and þe scottes cam doun and faught with þe kyng at a place callid halidoun hill beside Berewic. and at þat bataille were slayn of þe scottis .vij erlis .M^{l}ccc. horsmeñ and of oþer peple .xxxv. M^{l}. vij^{C}. xij. ¶ and of englishmen. þat marvail is to wite.were ded a knyȝt a squyer and xij. foot men.and nomo and this was on saint Margaretis eve in þe yeer of our lord M^{l}CCCxxxij. and þus was þe toun of Berewic yolden.to þe kyng and þe Castel also. ¶ and

aftirward þe said ser Edward Bayloll as right here of Scotland dede his homage too kyng edward of englond at New Castel Vpon tyne ¶ And aftir þis þe scottis rebellid ayens kyng edward wherfore in þe hard frosty wynter he wente in to Galoway and wastid all þe cuntre vnto þe scottissh se and abood in þe Castell of Rokesburgh all the wyntertyme ¶ þe xj yeer of kyng Edward in þe moneth of Iuyn was seen and apperid in þe firmament a lemyng sterre þe whiche clerkis callid Stella comata and þat sterre was seen in dyuers parties of þe firmament [cf. Brie, p. 281 l.21-p. 286 l.9, p. 291 l.1-p. 292 l.19]

In a number of verbal details this passage is clearly closer to the CV original than the corresponding passage in the PV:1422.

The text continues past the death of Henry V in 1422, although it agrees well up to this point with the PV:1422, and ends in the year 1461 with the election of Edward IV to the crown:

and the Wennesday next after vppon the morow Edwarde the noble Erle of March was chosen kyng in the cyte of london and began for to reygne. 7c'.

An interesting physical correspondence that occurs between Laud 550 and Lyell 34 is that the latter, like its textual cousin in Laud 550, allows a new leaf for the beginning of each successive king's reign after Richard II.

The relationship between the PV:1422 and Davies's Chronicle and the CV seems fairly clear. A CV/1419(r7g) text must have formed the starting-point, and on this was based a version which must have shown the common additions and omissions of the PV:1422 and Bodl. Lyell 34 and probably some of the additions which are now found only in one branch or the other. The Halidon Hill chapter and the ensuing text must have been shortened to some extent, and the text must have concluded in 1422 with the death

of Henry V. From this there must have stemmed two branches, one represented by the PV:1422, which shortened to some extent, and the other represented by Bodl. Lyell 34, which tended to expand and which added a further continuation to 1461.[1]

PV:1422(B)

Two further texts that end in 1422 are contained in MSS. NLW Peniarth 397C and Bodl. 754, although they cannot be directly connected with the PV:1422. The ending date of 1422 is the date of Henry V's death and is thus a natural concluding point.

NLW MS. Peniarth 397C (olim Hengwrt 115)

The text begins during the story of Passent, the son of Vortiger:

North countre And wolde ben avenge of his fadres deth Vortiger //

The Cadwallader episode and Queen Isabella's letter are present, and an attempt has been made to extend the material given for the reigns of the kings between William the Conqueror and Henry III, mainly by the insertion of legendary and sentential material; Brie's suggestion that the compiler probably wished to make the narrative recounting the reigns of these kings as long as that covering the reigns of the three Edwards is very plausible.

A typical addition is that of the story of Rosamond, the mistress of Henry III, and the popularity of this and similar stories can be seen from the fact that it was an addition in several Brut texts, e.g. in Bodl. Lyell 34, where a truncated form of the story appears, and in Lambeth 84, where the story has been inserted at the wrong place in the text and the king is named as Edward III,

---

[1]Printed by J.S. Davies (see p. 13 and Bibliography).

although the scribe has noticed his mistake and has stroked out the story. The three texts differ to some extent in detail and in their general moral viewpoint regarding this story, and the NLW Peniarth 397C version is as follows:

Tho he grewe opoñ and boldely mysvsid a damysell Called Rosamounde for whom he made abovr at Wodstoke in the parke of amervellous werkyng lyke to dydalis bovr that the quene shulde not welle fynde hir but she dyed with Inne a while and was buried in the nonery of Godstow And hathe wretoñ vppoñ hir toumbe these verses ---

Hic Iacet in tumba rosamundy non rosa munda
Ron redolet set olet quod redolere solet ---

That is asmoche to say in englisshe here lythe in the tumbe nat the Clene Rose but Rosamunde she stynkith and not smellith soote / That somtyme smellid with ovte goostly boote

From the reign of King John to King Richard II the normal CV/1419 Brut text is followed; Henry IV's reign, however, is heavily abbreviated, and for the short account of Henry V's reign the compiler has turned to some other source. The text ends with his death in 1422:

the forsaide noble kyng henrye the v. endid his lyf at Boys seint Vincent biside paryse Also in the vij day of novembre he was nobly enterid at Westmynster on whos soule Ihesu haue mercy

Bodl. MS. 754

The opening folio of text has been supplied at a later date, and the beginning of the original text is: And to her ffadir said thay wold make all amendis ... [Brie, p. 3 ll.10-11]

In its internal details the text agrees with that of the preceding MS., but does not appear to have as many minor errors of scribal transmission. The last

folio, which is damaged, ends with the words:
[..]rry the fyfte dyed [inserted above in another hand]
at Boys seint Vincent/ by side pares als[....] Novembre
he was entyred at westminster on whose soule [...] Amen/
Explicit/

The basis of these texts is a CV of normal type ending in 1419, though we cannot say whether it ended 'and manfully countered with our English men' or whether it ended 'in rule and governance'.

Peculiar Version ending in 1427 (PV:1427)

A small group is made up of MSS. Harl. 63, Edinburgh Univ. Lib. 184, and Bibl. Nat. Fonds anglais 30, which I have called the PV:1427.

BM MS. Harl. 63

The heading of the text is:
How this Lond was ffirst called Albyon.
In the noble land of Surrey ...

Thereafter there follows an extremely abbreviated synopsis of a Common Version text, to which some additional details have been added, such as a version of the Guy of Warwick story. The Cadwallader episode is present, and although Queen Isabella's letter is absent, little can be made of this omission on account of the extreme shortening of the text.

Extra details are added to the account of the Siege of Rouen, and the end of this section of narrative and the start of the following continuation read:
And there men mowth see childerin soke ther moderes when thei were deid.and men layñ in the dikes gnawyng grasse. And eten childryñ. And so ther dide in the dikes.many thowsandes. And thei of the Cyte were full fayñ to yelde vp the Cite ⁊ to have ther lyves And become the kyng is ligge meñ.and of hym to holde for euer. And after in the

.vij. yere of his Regne ther was a trety takeñ by twene the said owre kyng.and the kyng of ffraunce and it was so acorded that owre kyng sholde wedde .Dame Kateryne ...

A short continuation takes the narrative to 1427, in which year it ends with the death of the Earl of Salisbury at the siege of Orleans:

that was oon of the wordieste knyghtes of the world and was buried at Burssham.

EUL MS. 184 (Laing 217):

The text of this MS. resembles that found in the preceding MS. and begins similarly:

How this lande was fyrst Called Albyoun
IN the noble lande of Surrey ...

A number of folios are missing at various points throughout the MS., and typical of the great shortening of the text is the chapter listing the British kings, where the name of the king and the length of each reign are given quite simply:

the first hight Gorbodiañ 7 regned xij yere Morgañ .ij yere Eighnaus .vj. yere Idwalloñ .viij yere Rowghgo .xj. yere ...

Constantine reigns after Arthur, as in the CV, and the Cadwallader episode is present. The folios are missing that would have contained Queen Isabella's letter and the Halidon Hill chapter, and the text ends in 1427 at the same point as BM Harl. 63:

And in the vj^{te} of his regne was the goode erle of Salysbury slayne atte the sege of Orliaunce with a gonne that was ooñ of the worthiest knyghtes of the world And was beryed at Burssham /

Bibl. Nationale MS. Fonds anglais 30

The present first page of the MS., which is written on paper, is damaged and begins at a point during Brut's

visit to the temple of Diana:
so he desyred of hur And ... [cf. Brie, p. 8, c. 1.14]

Verbally and in content the text agrees with the previous MSS. A small change typical of this group is the transfer of the story of Curan in the CV to Havelok, his father, to correspond with the popular Havelok legend. After the chapter dealing with 'Aldebryght and Edelff' occurs the following chapter:
Of kyng Haveloke
And also it hapenet that /havelok/ Ryght heir to þe kyng of Denmarke And went in to Denmarke And ther was made kyng 7 aftur he came Ageyn with moch people And slo Edolff 7 was made kyng of yngland And reigned iij ȝer 7 þeñ he diet 7 lyth At the stone henge ⁊⁊ [cf. Brie, p. 92 11.23-29]

In common with the other texts of this group, Queen Isabella's letter is not found, and the general abbreviation of the text is illustrated by the section in which it would have appeared:
7 anoñ the Quene Issabell waget hur sawdiours 7 she 7 ser Edward hur sonne ser Iohñ henawd 7 ser Edmund of woodstok that was broþer to kyng Edward the Erle of kent come with gret power in to England And Arryvet At Herwhych in Suffolk 7 quen the kyng þerof herd he fled toward wales [cf. Brie, p. 236 1.23-p. 237 1.23]

The wards of the Scottish army are omitted, and the text again shows characteristic abbreviation in its description of the battle of Halidon Hill:
And they both came 7 lade Sege to berwyke And as they lay At the Sege þer come downe opoñ homm̄ All the Chyvalry of Scotland that is to say lxv Erles 7 Barons C lx knyghtes ij M^{l} men of Armes lx M^{l} Comyners And at halydouñ hyll be syde Berwyke the hostes met / 7 kyng Edward And Bayloyl hade the feld for the Scottes hade no mor fusyoun þat day Ageyne the Englyssh meñ theñ hath xx shepe A geyne v wolfes for ther wer [inserted above] slayne bot vij

Englysch meñ And ther wer [inserted above] slayne of the Scottes xxxv M[1] vij C And theñ they of Berwyk did ȝeld vp the Towne to kyng Edward [cf. Brie, p. 281 l.25-p. 286 l.9, p. 291 ll.1-4]

The MS. is incomplete at the end, and ends during the description of the English preparation preliminary to the Battle of Agincourt in the chapter entitled 'Of kyng Henre the fyfte':

And he hade [stroked out] made euery Archer to hafe A Sharp Stake A for hym̄ for þer was ... [Brie, p. 378 ll.7-9]

The MS. has early connections with Derbyshire, and the earliest known owner was Henry Lowe the Younger of Whittington.

Peculiar Version ending in 1431 (PV:1431) and Bodl. MS. Rawl. B 173

BM MS. Egerton 650

The text begins during the reign of Arthur's successor Constantine, and begins with the words:

þat Mordered had begoten ... [Brie, p. 91 l.10]

The Cadwallader episode is present, but unfortunately a number of folios have been lost from the middle of the text that would have contained the Queen Isabella letter. Instead of the '5w' heading in the Halidon Hill chapter, there is a heading: 'How erle of Dunbare help þe Scottes'

The text to the end of the Siege of Rouen ends with the following words and colophon:

and manfully countered with our Englysh man.
Here is no more of the sege of Rone and þat is be cause we wanted þe trewe copy þer of bot who so euer owys þis boke may write it oute in þe henderend of þis boke or in þe forþer end of it whene he gettes þe trew copy when it

is wryttyn wryte in þeis iij voyde lyns wher it may be foundyn.

It is possible that the scribe knew of the version ending in 1419 with the words in rule and governance, but it would appear that he failed to obtain personally 'þe trew copy', for on the following page the same hand continues with a short continuation that begins:

In þat same yere þe kyng lay at þe sege of Roon ...

This continuation is printed by Brie as E, pp. 444-451, and this text, which reaches from 1419 to 1431, is in the common 'note' form found in the London City Chronicles, with the names of mayors and sheriffs given. It is either an original compilation or was based on such a lost chronicle. It ends on fol. 114^{b}: 'And left þer þe duke of Glaucestre leuetenaunte. Nicholas Watton maior. (M. cccc. xxxi.)'

The first part of the text is based on a CV/1419 'men' text which the scribe or compiler has improved and corrected in a number of historical factual details[1], and is not in the main stream of CV development.

Bodl. MS. Rawl. B 166

The text of this MS., although now incomplete, corresponds with that of the preceding MS. Brie suggests wrongly that this MS. (a 'minderwertigen Text') belongs to the Common Version ending in 1377.[2] It begins:

hom scomfited and kylled. And kynge leyre hade th.n his lon(d) a3ayne in pees ... [Brie, p. 20 ll.17-18]

Both the Cadwallader episode and Queen Isabella's letter are present, and the '5w' heading is substituted by the heading: 'How the Erle of Dunbarr holp̄ the skottes'

The text ends:

---

[1]Such as in the Owen Glendower passages; see Brie, G.u.Q., pp. 91-2. [2]Brie, G.u.Q., p. 59.

bytturly and manly fo3ten a3ayne the duke of Burgoyne ... (the last word is a catchword) [Brie, p. 295 ll.11-12]

Bodl. MS. Rawl. B 173

The heading of the text is partially illegible, but the end thereof and the beginning of the text proper are:

... throw whom hit had his name
In the noble lond of Surre ...

The Cadwallader episode is absent, but Queen Isabella's letter is found. In the Halidon Hill chapter the headings of the wards are left blank, as are all the headings after a point in the Uter Pendragon story.

The text breaks off in 1411 after the Battle of St. Cloud, but presumably there was once more of the text than now remains since there is a catchword:

withouten tho that were slayne in the felde And so they redyn forth (þrough oute ffraunce: catchword)

On the next folio begins a continuation commencing in 1421, written in the same hand. This text is closely related to that of BM Egerton 650, and starts:

And in that yere oure king and dame katerin his quene ... [cf. Brie, p. 445 l.3]

The text from 1422 to 1431 is printed in Brie as Appendix E, pp. 452-455, and ends:

and in that yere come to londō the Ambassiatours of spayne to trete of pees ----

The first section of the text, which omits many chapters, is most probably based on a text of the CV/1419 (men):B, from which source we have argued that the CV/1419:C was derived. This view is strengthened by the fact that there is a textual correspondence between the CV/1419:C and Bodl. Rawl. B 173 in the section of text printed by Brie as Appendix C, pp. 392-393, which gives a slightly fuller account of the time from 1399 to 1401

and which Brie thought to be unique to the latter.[1]

The continuations found in BM MS. Egerton 650 and Rawl. B 173 are very close as the beginning of the entry for 1429/30 shows:

BM Egerton 650

The fi[f] day of Nouember, þe Kyng, wyth hys lordys, ryally rode frome Kyngstone ouer London Bryge, And so forth Fenchyrche strete, evyn vn-to the Toure, to hys mete. And þe Maire and þe Aldermen, all in Scarlete hodys, rode to mete the Kyng, And so rode forth with hym to þe Toure The Seterday next aftre; wher-of were þe Erle of Denshyre, þe Lord Spencer sone, the Erle of Warwyk, þe Lord Beamounde. And aftre none, þe Kyng, in a riall araye, with all hys lordys Ryally a-rayed in cloth of gold for þe most part, with the said xxiiij newe knyghtes all in blew, the prestes rode a-fore þe Kyng ij and ij, from þe Toure to Westmynstre. [Brie, p. 450 l.34-p. 451 l.7]

Bodl. Rawl. B 173

¶ The Friday, the iij^{de} day of Nouember, the King with his lordes, Rialli rode fro Kingestoñ ouer Londoñ Brige, And so forth Fanchirch strete, eveñ to the Toure, to his mete. And the Maire and the Aldermeñ, all in scarlet hodes, Rode to mete the King, and rode forth with him to the Toure. the Saturday next after, the King made xxxiij knightes of the Bath, in the Toure of Londoñ; wherof were the Erle of Deuenysshshire, the Lorde Spencers sonne, the Erle of Warrewike, the Lorde Beaumond. and after none, the King, in riall aray, with all his lordes rialli arayed in clothes of golde for the most partie, with the saide xxxiij knightes all in blewe like prestes, rode a-fore the King ij

---

[1] Brie, Part II, p. vii. See p. 8.

and ij fro the Toure to Westminster. [Brie, p. 454 ll.26-36]

The Egerton MS. then adds details not found in the Rawlinson text, and both are possibly copied from the same London Chronicle exemplar. The dialect of Rawl. B 173 is West Herefordshire, from close to the Welsh border[1], in which area there seems to have been a continuing interest in Brut texts, for the earliest MSS. point to a Hereford-shire origin for the original translation.

Peculiar Version ending in 1436 (PV:1436)

Two MSS. that form another small group with a Brut text forming the basic framework into which many passages from a number of sources are inserted, are MSS. BM Harl. 53 and Lambeth 6. A third MS., Bodl. Rawl. poet. 32, also contains a short extract from the peculiar continuation carrying the narrative beyond 1419.

BM MS. Harl. 53

The Brut text begins with a Latin heading:

Liber de Cronicis anglorum primo de Albina.

After sixteen lines of Latin verse the English text begins:

Here begynne the Chronicles of kynges of Englo[.....]
tyme that it was first inhabit and of theire [.....]
be dyuers Auctores is declaret 7 [.....]
After the begynnyng of this worlde M[1] [.....] yere.
In the noble lande of Surry ...

The text, which contains both the Cadwallader episode and Queen Isabella's letter, is greatly expanded (see Brie,

---

[1]Personal communication from Professor M.L. Samuels.

pp. 534-580 for extracts and see further below) and continues past the end of the Siege of Rouen (which ends: 'in ruyle and gouernaunce'), with a continuation that breaks off during the siege of Calais in 1436:

And whe̅n þis bullewerk was þus wonne vppo̅n he̅m of Gaunt. they of Brugges were glad and logh he̅m of Gaunt ... [Brie, p. 580 ll.30-31]

From the evidence of a coat of arms and motto on fol. 13^{b}, the MS. belonged to the Stokes family.

Lambeth MS. 6

This magnificently illustrated MS. (which is without doubt the most beautiful of all the Brut MSS. discussed here) is closely connected with BM MS. Harl. 53. It begins similarly:

Here begynne the cronicles of kynges of Englond sith the tyme that it was first inhabit And of their actes as be dyuers auctores is declared and testyfyed.

After the begynnyng of this worlde iij^{M}l. CCC 7 lx yere. In the noble lande of Surry was a myghty kyng and astrong ma̅n of body and of gret fame ...

The Cadwallader episode and Queen Isabella's letter are included in the much expanded text which agrees well with that of the preceding MS., although this MS. takes the text past the point at which the BM MS. ends, and this continuation includes a long poem on the siege of Calais. This is followed by a concluding chapter of prose, and the text ends:

wheras lay redy in þe hauen iij^{c}. sailes to abyde his comyng.

Bodl. MS. Rawl. poet. 32(2)

This text is a compilation taken from at least three certain Brut exemplars. The first part of the Brut text

is described under the EV/1419:B[1], and the third part is described under the CV/1461.[2] Between these two parts, as a linking section, occurs an extract from the peculiar 1436 continuation. It starts immediately after the 1419 (r7g) ending with the words:

then Caudebek 7 oþer garisons þer negh wer yeldeñ vnder þe same apoyntment. Then þe dolffeñ Inbasitours as it was a fore acorded ... [Brie, p. 559 11.18-26]

The first hand of the Brut ends at the foot of fol. 150[b], but a second hand continues this continuation at the top of the following leaf, i.e. Hand B used the same exemplar for this section as Hand A. As with the first part of the Brut text, the text is somewhat altered verbally from that found in the other copies of the continuation, and it is followed to the end of the chapter, where it ends with the death of Henry V:

... he died in the Castell of Boys Vincent the last dey of August wheñ he had reyngned ix yere.v.monythes.and iij wekes and iij. deys and is buried at Westminster. [cf. Brie, p. 563 11.28-31]

Various extracts are given by Brie from BM Harl. 53 (Brie, pp. 534-580, 605-607), and he also printed the unique conclusion from the Lambeth MS. (pp. 581-584). A Brut text of the CV/1419(r7g) type forms the basis of these MSS., to which additions have been made in Latin and English, primarily from Langtoft and from Geoffrey of Monmouth, though a number of other subsidiary sources have also been used.[3]

It is possible that the Lambeth MS. is directly based on the precursor of the BM text, which is a late copy,

---

[1]See pp. 121-3. [2]See pp. 84-5. [3]See Brie, G.u.Q., pp. 104-9 for an analysis of the contents. There are also a number of correspondences with Davies's Chronicle; see Kingsford, pp. 123-5.

probably written in 1452-3.[1] A number of Latin verses found in the latter are omitted from the Lambeth text; similarly some mocking lines of verse in the Halidon Hill chapter have been left out, though a space has been left for them for a later insertion, probably in red, that was not executed. In addition, the extended conclusion of the Lambeth text suggests that it was written after the basic text of BM Harl. 53, since the latter does not include it.

Inner Temple Petyt MS. 511 Vol. II

The text presented in this MS. is a fusion of texts from at least two separate groups, which appears at the same time to have been influenced by texts from other groups. The Brut text begins on fol. 66^{a2}:

Here men mowe knowe how Engelonde firste was callid Albion and thorowe whom it hadde the name of Albion:

In the noble londe lof [sic] Surrye ...

There are no EV/AV details in the prologue, but the chapter normally listing the kings of Britain must have been influenced by a text of the AV:A(A):

How xxxiij. kingis regned in pees eche aftir other aftir the deth of Hesidour. Capitulo xxxiij°

Aftir the deth of Hesidour regned xxxiij kinges eche aftir othir whos names ben expressid opinly in oþer places but the last of them alle was callyd Ely þe whiche regned but vij. monthis. And this Ely had iij. sones Lud. Cassibulanne.7 Gemyoun. [cf. p. 129]

There is a curious break in the text after the death of Arthur which is probably of no greater significance than a missing leaf or two, but which happens to resemble

---

[1]See Kingsford, p. 125. [2]See further J. Conway Davies, Cat. of MSS. in the Library of the Inner Temple, Oxford, 1972, Vol. I, pp. 222-4.

the majority of AV texts at this point, for instead of Constantine following Arthur, there seems to have been the loss of a few chapters and as it stands, Conan follows. Fol. 93^{b} ends:

but certis this is the prophicie of Merleyñ he sayd that his deth schulld be douteus and he said soth for meñ wete not wheder he lyueth or dede.Arthur [Brie, p. 90 11.22-26]

Fol. 94^{a} begins:

moche honour And solempnite.

Hou kyng Arthur [deleted] Conan regnid in grete pride and slowe his Vncles ij sonnes.

After this Curan Regnyd Conañ ... [Brie, p. 92 11.29-31]

Neither the Cadwallader episode (as a sixteenth-century hand notes) nor Queen Isabella's letter are present, and in the Halidon Hill chapter there is no '5w' heading.[1] The end of this chapter and the beginning of the text are highly informative regarding the ultimate sources of the text:

with out eny calangynge of any man. Deo Gracias.

How kinge Edwarde chalangid firste þe kingdome of ffraunce. and how he made vij. Duchies.of vij. Erldomes.

IN the yere of our lord M^{l}.C.C.C.xxxvij. and þe xij yere of kinge Edwardes regne ... [cf. Brie, p. 286 11.8-9 and p. 292 11.26-31]

It appears that the first part of the text has been based on a CV/1333 text, which has been shortened to some extent. After 1333, the text has been taken from a 1419 continuation, although abbreviation continues, especially from the beginning of Richard II's reign on fol. 159^{b} to

---

[1]See further pp. 30-1.

the year 1419. During the siege of Rouen narrative the text names the lords alleged to have accompanied Henry V on that expedition, and the end of the siege is given as follows:

And þe sege dured from the bigynnynge of Auguste til Ianaur next folowynge.and tho it was yolde to the kynge. And aftir he gate Gisours ...

This leads to a short continuation to 1437, in which year the text ends with the murder of James I of Scotlond: And so Englishmen ben moch bounde to yelde presynge laude and wurship to almyghty god.the whiche of his infynyte godenesse full ofte tymes tho enemyes and peple that ar euell disposid he puttith hem vndir fote.

NLW Peniarth MS. 343A

This MS. contains a late, sixteenth-century, abstract of a Brut text, based on a CV. It is my opinion that the text as we now possess it is the original compilation, and that it is not a copy of an earlier text. It begins: afore þat I will speake of brute yt shalbe shewed how ye lond of Inglond was first named albion 7 by what encheson yt so was named.

Off the noble of surrye ...

In the chapter on the British kings, simply the names of the appropriate king and the length of his reign are given, e.g. 'Eldagan .15. Claten .12.'

Constantine reigns after Arthur, and the text finally ends up by simply noting the names of the kings, the length of their individual reigns, and the place of their burial, as on page 45:

william rouse his sonne xiij yere 7 is at westminster

After this reign follows an inserted passage entitled 'De Natiuitate Domini nostri Ihesu Cristi' before the truncated Brut text recommences, to end with Edward I:

Edward ye firste xxxii yeare 7 lyethe at westminster

On the first page of the MS. is a contemporary(?) signature, 'William White.'

John Maundevyle's translation

Of a second translation into English of the Anglo-Norman Brut two MSS. have survived. These are BM Harl. 4690 and Royal College of Arms Arundel L.8.

BM MS. Harl. 4690

The text begins:

In nomine trino hoc opus incipio
Here a manne mey here how Englonde was cleped Albion and
by wham itte received thate name and sine Britaine also
7 bi wham
ynne the nowble lond of Syrye ...

In content the text resembles the CV/1333, as might be expected, for both translations are based on texts of the Anglo-Norman Long Version. Stylistically and verbally, however, the versions differ considerably, and it appears that the translation exemplified by BM Harl. 4690 must have been based on an Anglo-Norman text similar to that of Bibl. Mazarine MS. 1860, i.e., within the terms of the Anglo-Norman Long Version, a text as far removed as possible from that used for the first translation. Naturally, neither the Cadwallader episode nor Queen Isabella's letter are present.

In the Halidon Hill chapter, a different layout of the wards is used, listing the names of the knights; accordingly, the '5w' heading is not found. The layout is similar to that found in many of the Anglo-Norman MSS., and one can also compare the English MS. Inner Temple Petyt 511 Vol. II which may have been influenced by an Anglo-Norman MS.[1]

---

[1] See further pp. 30-1.

Instead of the prose description of the battle found in the Anglo-Norman texts (and followed in the first English translation), a poem in rhyming couplets is found[1], ending with the words:

But Godde þatte is heven king
sende vs pees and Gode Ending

There is then a chronological gap in the narrative from 1333 to 1337 before the text continues with a 1419(men) continuation taken from a CV text of the other translation (see below):

Hough king Edwarde made a dewke off Corinwaile And also of vj oþer Erles thatte werren newe made. And off þe ffirste chalenge off the Realme off ffraunce.

In þe yeere of our lorde ihesus Criste a M[1] iii.C 7 xxxvij And off king Edwarde þe xij ... [Brie, p. 292 ll.26-31]

Thenceforward the text is that of a normal CV, and ends in the year 1419 with the words:
and mannefully counterd wiþ our Englischemeñ

Coll. of Arms MS. Arundel L.8

I have not examined this MS. personally, and the following description is based on Brie, G.u.Q., pp. 74-5.

The MS. contains Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, interpolated and expanded by many extracts in prose taken from Geoffrey of Monmouth, William of Malmesbury, and others, together with a continuation taken from the John Mandevyle translation of the Brut from the ascension of Edward I to 1333.

The text begins:
The tabile offe cronycul offe Engelonde fro quene Albion

---

1. 'The Romance of the Battle of Halidon Hill', printed by Brie, pp. 287-9, and by J. Hall, The Poems of Laurence Minot, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1897, as Appendix I, pp. 99-101.

the furste erthely creature that entriede in to this londe yn to King Richard the Secunde.
The Ferste ether erthely creature ...
... Thys boke with hys Antecedens and consequens was ful Ended in the vj day off August the ghere of oure lorde a M CCCC xlviij And the yere of oure soverayn lorde kyng Harry the vj after the conquest the xxvj.

The Brut text begins on fol. 5:

Here a man may hure how yngelonde was y cleped Albyon and by wham hit receyved the name.
In the noble londe of Syrye ...

After the prologue the text follows the text of Robert of Gloucester until the death of Henry III, where the text reverts to the Brut with the exposition of Merlin's prophecy concerning Henry: 'The prophecy of Merlyn thus is exponyd ...'

The text finally breaks off during the poem on the Battle of Halidon Hill:

And thus the Scottes discomfyted were
in lytil tyme with gret fere [Brie, p. 287 ll.29-30]

Brie records that there is a copy of this MS. in the Pepysian Library, Magdalen College, Oxford, which was made for Sir William Hayward and passed to Pepys after his death.

The evidence for ascribing this translation to 'John Maundevyle' is found in BM MS. Harl. 2279, which probably belongs to the CV/1377 f.c. Stage 1, and which breaks off in 1340.[1]

A sixteenth-century hand has added the following lines:

This English booke that is present
was made to a good entent
ffor hem that Englishe understonde

---

[1] See p. 41.

of the Chronicles of Engelonde
This was translated by good avyse
owt of ffrench into Englyse
By Sire Iohn the Maundeuyle
that hath ben person but a whyle
In Brunham Thorp that little toun
God graunt him hise benysoun
The yeer of Henry I understonde
the sexte kyng of Engelonde
After the conquest soth to seyne
1435 the xiij. yeere of hise reygne
He that sitt in Trynitee
one god and persons three
Save the kyng from all mischaunce
Bothen in Engelond and in ffraunce.

Beside these lines are found the following:

hic desunt 13 cap. que sunt in alio libro [in a later seventeenth- or eighteenth-century hand]

Thes verses written in the end of this mans translacioun which doth somwhat vary from this translacioun owt of y^e^ first originall frenche. [in the same hand as the verses]

Brie has demonstrated that there are sufficient contemporary references to John Maundevyle to authenticate the existence of this person and that from 1427/28 to 1441 the rector of Burnham Thorpe in Norfolk was in fact John Maundevyle.[1] It can be ascertained from the records that John Maundevyle must have been born c. 1380, and that he lived most of his life in obscure parishes in Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and apparently Worcestershire for a time. The series of parishes with which Brie associates him is Quidenham (Norfolk), Flegg (Norfolk), Brettenham's or Bridgeham's Manor (Norfolk), Hamburg (Worcester), Great Cressingham (Norfolk), Burnham Thorpe (Norfolk; 1427-1441),

---

[1] See Brie, G.u.q., pp. 78-80 and references therein.

Ivenho (Lincoln), and Netherhall Manor (Norfolk).

That he is called 'Sir' John Maundevyle is due to his clerical status.

The lines in Harl. 2279 must have been copied from a MS. of 'John Maundevyle's' translation; however, the remark (apparently not noticed by Brie) that 13 chapters are missing that are in the other book suggests that the John Maundevyle MS. must have received a continuation to 1377, which would fit this number. Although Brie does not mention this remark at all, he raises the question whether the evidence of BM Harl. 4690 implies that the continuation to 1419 found therein was supplied by John Maundevyle and was thereafter transferred to the first translation. The marginal remark noted above now raises the question whether the 1377 continuation that must have existed in the John Maundevyle MS. from which the lines were taken was first supplied by Maundevyle. However, Brie's arguments for not ascribing the 1419 continuation to him can also be applied to the 1377 continuation.

1) Arundell MS. L.8 probably contained no more than the end of the poem on the battle of Halidon Hill in its original full state.

2) There is a gap in Harl. 4690 between 1333 and 1337, suggesting some hesitation on the scribe's part for some reason. This probably reflects a change of exemplar at this point.

3) A number of MSS. of the CV/1377 were written <u>before</u> 1435, which is when John Maundevyle apparently made his translation.

Neither of the surviving MSS. is the original text of the translation, which contained the verses later copied into BM Harl. 4690. Since the continuation to 1419 in Harl. 4690 is in the same hand as the first part of the text, it is highly improbable that it is the original, although the hand appears to belong to the latter part of

the first half of the fifteenth century. It is possible that the MS. was copied from the original, which does not seem to have had much circulation or any great popularity.

The text of the College of Arms MS. is poor, and cannot be the original. In any case, we have the evidence of the note in BM Harl. 2279 that a MS. once existed that apparently ended in 1377. It is possible that this text of which the MS. note speaks was the original, to which a CV/1377 continuation had been added, but in the absence of the MS., absolute proof is impossible.

Lambeth MS. 84

The expanded version of the Brut is the compiler's holograph copy, as an examination of the physical condition of the MS. shows. The text fills not only the normal page, but is found written between the normal lines, in the margins, and in small notes written in the same hand that are inserted between the pages. Almost certainly there was only this copy of this individual version.

The text begins without any heading:

In the noble land of Surre ther was a noble kyng / and myhty and a worthy lord of name and a man of gret renoun ...

After the prologue, which is greatly altered verbally from the usual CV text, 'the petygrew of Breute' is given, tracing his descent from Noah. The text is marked by interpolations of material, of both legendary and historical interest, based mainly on the Polychronicon, William of Malmesbury, and on a chronicle that Fabyan also followed[1], and Brie prints a number of the most important in his edition of the Brut.[2] An example of a passage found

---

[1]See Brie, G.u.Q., pp. 117-120 for an analysis of the contents. [2]Brie, pp. 585-604. See also Kingsford, pp. 125-6, who shows that the MS. was written in 1478-9.

in the CV which has been expanded in this MS. is the naming of the British kings, where the type of linkage is: ¶ Anno mundi .iiij^{M}. vj^{C}. lx. Reynyd ... ¶ Anno mundi ... Reynyd ... ... yerys.

Up to 1461 the text is based on a CV/1461, and includes both the Cadwallader episode and Queen Isabella's letter. To this, the compiler has added a continuation, probably of his own making, to take the narrative to 1479, and the text ends with the plague of 1479 with the words: 'on whois soulys god haue mercy Amen./'

III. The Manuscripts used in this Edition

The texts presented here are taken from two MSS. held in the Hunterian Collection of the University of Glasgow:

MS. A: Hunterian MS. T.3.12 (74)

This leather-bound volume consists of 116 vellum leaves, 220 mm. by 300 mm. The text begins on fol. $1^{a}a$, and is written in double columns of 38 to 51 lines by four hands. Margins in brown crayon are visible. Fols. 115 and 116 are lined but are devoid of text; if the remainder of the MS. was originally lined, then the guide-lines have been successfully erased.

Hand A extends from fol. $1^{a}a$ to a point six lines from the bottom of fol. $11^{b}b$. The first page (see Frontispiece) is floreated in blue, red, green, brown, and gilt, and contains in the lower margin a shield (argent), a chevron (sable), and an annulet (sable) in chief, dexter canton. This decoration is contemporary with the writing. Blue initials with red ornament and gestures begin the chapters, which have rubricated headings. Red and blue paragraph-marks are used. Hand A, which is clear and good, can be described as a fifteenth-century 'bastard' book-hand.

Hand B extends from a point six lines from the foot of fol. $11^{b}b$ to a point approximately 12 lines from the foot of fol. $92^{b}b$. Blue initials with red ornament and gestures in the style of those used by Hand A begin the chapters, which have rubricated headings. Paragraph-marks are used infrequently, and their use is probably attributable in part to the example of the preceding hand; at any rate they are found in the body of the text only at the beginning of Hand B's section. Hand B is again fifteenth-century 'bastard'; it grows progressively smaller and more cramped as more words to the line and lines to the page are written. Small changes take place in it as the

section advances, e.g. an otiose flourish is introduced in association with r, unconnected in writing and resembling a modern apostrophe.[1]

Hand C extends from the foot of fol. $92^{b}b$, where a rubricated chapter heading in this hand is followed by six or seven blank lines, to the last line of fol. $113^{b}a$. Blue initials with red ornamentation and gestures, and rubricated chapter headings are continued. Again the hand can be classed under the generic name of fifteenth-century 'bastard', although it is more individual and angular in appearance than the preceding hands.

Hand D extends from the foot of fol. $113^{b}a$, where it completes the last line, to the foot of fol. $114^{b}b$, where the text breaks off. The hand, which is poor, belongs probably to the very late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

One is led to suppose that the original extent of the text encompassed only those sections written by the first three hands, and that Hand D's section is a later addition, taken most probably from a different exemplar which contained a text belonging to a later stage of development than that copied by Hands A, B, and C (see pp. 61-2).

There are few marginalia (occasional corrections made by Hand C in the margins of his section are excluded here). Despite the use of ultra-violet light, complete success proved impossible in the decipherment of a number of instances; in this respect it is fortunate that the marginalia appear to be of generally insignificant nature.[2] fol. 15^{a}, top right margin; there is a smudged scribble;

---

[1] After a careful examination I have discounted the possibility of a second hand at work in this section. Possibly Hand B set out to emulate Hand A's style (cf. paragraph marks), but growing weary of his task lapsed into a style more natural to him. [2] In the description of the marginalia line-endings are indicated by an oblique line.

'and son sente'
fol. 39[a], top margin; in a sixteenth-century hand: 'in the nam of god ammen in the name'
fol. 39[a], right margin; traces of letters can be seen: '... / s th he'
fol. 83[b], top margin; in the same hand as the words on fol. 39[a]: 'in him'
fol. 84[a], top margin; in the same hand as the words on fols. 39[a], 83[b]: 'a B j ss SS...3333 / 33 [3, 3 ?] / i.s bonsers hys'
fol. 115[b], top line; in a sixteenth-century hand (possibly the same hand as on fol. 15[a]): 'In beginniyng god he m.' [partially formed a ?]. Below this: 'Ioñn / Ioñn Io I' Also on fol. 115[b], lower down in a different sixteenth-century hand, in red ink: 'Henrye The eyght by the grace of god'
fol. 116[a], between the first and second lines, in red: 'A MAN'
fol. 116[b]; there are three crude pen and ink profiles of heads, one in red ink. Below these in a late sixteenth-century hand: 'boyer ys my nam so saye they near by I moe / boyer ys my nam so saye they near' This is the same hand as on fols. 39[a], 83[b], 84[a].

The marginalia cast no light on the early history of the MS. However, it is reasonable to assume that the original ownership of the MS. is indicated by the arms on the shield incorporated in the ornamentation of fol. 1[a] (see Frontispiece), and that the MS. may have been commissioned by the bearer of these arms. The ornamentation is original, forming an integral part of the lay-out of the first page. The arms belonged to Wauton of Basmead, a manor held of the barony of Eaton in Bedfordshire, and the family was closely connected with the manor of Great Staughton, Huntingdonshire, some six miles distant. I conjecture that when the family acquired the latter manor

(one third in 1376, and wholly in 1406), it removed its seat to the fortified manor-house at Great Staughton, which still stands. The most likely owner of the MS. was Thomas Wauton, son of Thomas Wauton (?1370-1436/7).[1]

MS. B: Hunterian MS. V.5.13 (443)

The leather-bound volume consists of 176 vellum leaves[2], 200 mm. by 260 mm. The text begins on fol. 2^a; fol. 1 is lined but devoid of text. It is written in one hand in single columns of 26 to 31 lines on vellum which is frequently holed or otherwise defective. (Some patches cover tears or holes.) Margins and ruled guide-lines in brown crayon are visible. Ornamentation is crude, limited to blue initials at the beginning of chapters (a number of initials have been effaced or smudged); underlining in red ink of proper names and of the opening words of a paragraph (both uses of red underlining are largely discounted after the opening chapters); rubricated chapter headings, often underlined in red; several paragraph-marks in blue in the chapter-headings; occasional red underlining of unrubricated chapter headings. Where spaces were left in the text for the subsequent insertion of rubricated chapter headings, guide headings were written in the margin in black ink by the scribe. Most of these have been carefully erased, presumably when the rubricated headings were written. In the majority of instances the guide-headings can be seen or read only under ultra-violet light, but occasionally one has survived unerased, e.g. the example on fol. 88^a which, in common with the remainder of the MS., has suffered from cropping: 'of þe seg of kenywo / þat dysherte'

---

[1]See pp. 323-9 for the Wauton family. [2]Not as stated in the Catalogue of Manuscripts, 'ff. 173, originally ff. 176+'.

Chapter rubrics are written in a different style than the body of the text, which is in a bold fifteenth-century 'free' hand, in a more formal 'bastard' hand. They may however be the work of the same scribe; they are boldly written in a broad-nibbed pen, as in the body of the text, and a scribe, however unprofessional, could well have been master of more than one style of writing.[1] A point that tells against this supposition is that on several instances this 'bastard' hand is used to insert words over erasures in the body of the text, and could therefore be the work of a separate rubricator.

A corrector has also been at work, to whom apparently the dialect of the scribe was unfamiliar, for besides genuine corrections of errors, he occasionally misunderstands the sense of the text and alters it unnecessarily.[2] The corrector frequently makes alterations in the letter-forms, or adds letters to a word to make its form more dialectally acceptable, e.g. wyth (MS. orig. wyt), slowȝ (3.pl. pret.; MS. orig. slow), þourh (MS. orig. þour); þurh (MS. orig. þur); she (MS. orig. che), fyyr ('fire'; MS. orig. fayr); syte ('sight'; MS. orig. syth); myte ('might'; MS. orig. myth); nyte ('night'; MS. orig. nyth); etc. Erasures are frequent, with corrections written over them, and a number of erasures have simply a hatched stroke upon them, ///. These appear to belong to the scribe, for usually no material is omitted. Where a new word or part of a word is written over an erasure, in the corrector's hand, the erasure must have been made by the corrector.

---

[1] See M.B. Parkes, English Cursive Book Hands 1250-1500, Oxford, 1969, p. xxiv: 'Many fifteenth-century scribes were able to write well in more than one script .., and manuscripts in which the scribe has used one script for the text and another for headings or commentaries are common.' [2] E.g. fol. 5[a]; 'and Swor be god þat day / þey (inserted above by corr.) schull dy'

There is a lacuna in the text between fol. 133^{a}, about a third of which is left blank, and fol. 134^{a}. The intervening page, fol. 133^{b}, has scribbles (for which, see below), but is devoid of text. A second lacuna occurs between fol. 165^{b} and fol. 168^{a}. The intervening pages are lined and possess some scribbles (for which, see below).

The text breaks off in the last line of fol. 174^{b}. About half the line and a catchword have been erased. Fols. 175^{a}, 175^{b}, 176^{a}, 176^{b} are lined but devoid of text, although a number of scribbles and short notes occur (see below).

Marginalia are of no great length, and are of little importance in their content. Even with the aid of ultra-violet light a number of them are impossible to decipher completely or with complete accuracy.

fol. 1^{b}: 'dyd / Ave maria gracia plena'

fol. 24^{b}: illegible traces of scribbles in an early modern hand; probably notes on the text.

fol. 73^{b}: 'Thomas / hathe [.]yd at þ^{t}'

fol. 84^{a} top: 'Iñu Iñu jfemisch[?]'

fol. 85^{b} top: 'Gynn̄'

fol. 104^{a} foot: in a sixteenth-century hand, the beginning of the text: 'som tim In the nobellan off sor. ther was a man / of grete renond kalled deiokecian'

fol. 104^{b} top: in a late fifteenth-, early sixteenth-century hand: 'Reght worschepfull'

fol. 112^{a} foot: in a sixteenth-century hand: 'thys'

fol. 112^{b} top: in plummet: 'The'

----- foot: in the same hand, in plummet: 'kyng whent'

fol. 113^{a} top: in the same hand as on fol. 112^{b}, in plummet: 'To halle men In thys pelytge[?] þ^{e} devyl'

----- foot: in the same hand: 'In Iñu set yor[?] Iacētitas / Begynyng 7 grond of all goddness qd, s. alb.'

fol. 117^{b} top: 'Cyrd[= sir?] huh hys bylyd[i.e. billet]

luyd [i.e. allowed] vn to Ihamys Smyth'
fol. 118[a] top: 'Smyth of[Smythe f ?] Iamys Smyth of kyrchaṁ hatthe ffott[?]' The writing originally continued down the right-hand side of the page but is now cropped.
----- foot: in the same hand: 'thomas Smythe of kyrchaṁ hatthe fothe / thogh ? hetth[?] ryghtt well-be-louyd brothere / Ih I hartly commend me'
fol. 118[b] top: in the same hand as on the preceding folios: 'Iamys Smythe of kyrchame off[?] hathe ffo Isabellis'
----- foot: two smudged scribbles.
fol. 133[b]: this page is devoid of text: 'A M D B B[?] C T / Thomas Smys Ihoñ Cloland / thomas ffosthere ys a genteyll man'
There is a poor copy of the above: 'A NN P[?] B B C T / Thomas Smys Ihoṁ Claland[Clo-?]'
fol. 166[b]: in the same hand as the preceding notes: 'Iħu / Iamys Smyth Deus permen tuery 7 ffyrmytary obligary / perme Iacobum Smyth & wyllhellme Smyth wyllhellme 7 / Duytta oxfforth In cyuytate 7 seryrytate[?] lañclaster / Horas anster y[e] ffather ye ff[.]h ye sesse worlod[? wer led] to good'
The first line of the above is repeated below in the same hand; the second line and part of the third are repeated in a smudged hand. The sense of the whole is unclear.
Below, in the same hand as the longer passage: 'Anthony holyday'
fol. 167[a]: in the same hand: 'Thomas ffosther 7 Edmund ffosther 7 Ihoñ wylld Cypytary[?]/ T T / Thomas / Thomas ffosther 7 Edmund f / Thomas ffosther' [other illegible smudged scribbles].
fol. 167[b]: faint traces of letters in the top line of the ruled but otherwise blank leaf.
fol. 173[b] foot: 'thys ys that ys A'
fol. 175[a]: scribble: 'much[?] / Thys ys ....'
fol. 175[b]: 'To hys welbelou.. / Aue rosa sinaspinas tu

qūe p /'; a number of scribbles, practice letters, etc.; '/ Aue rosa sinys tu qūe pater indiuinis magestate sudblymꝑ[1]/ Iohn Sare I haue me comended /vnto my hopyng in god that you ar in good helthe moreouer I / th' fol. 176[a]; in the same hand as the Latin hymn above: 'O gloryus yesu O mecus yesu 7 moste suetyst yesu / y pry the that y may haue the confyssioñ contrysyon / .ryd that y may se and reseye the holy body god and mañ / fayuore of all mankynd cry y sal[?] wyt wat[?] syñ and that/thow wyt my ſ lord god for gay me all my syns for thy /'; in other sixteenth-century hands: 'Ryght Trusty'/ a number of practice letters /'This byll mad the iiij[th] Daie /'; a number of practice letters, including the name 'ffrancis' fol. 176[b]; in various sixteenth-century hands: 'Ry Ry3th trysty 7 welbelovyd Brother I recummende/ me
Be hyt knowen to all men / that wyll be myn own / swet honur[?]
Vt Jesu gracian̄[?] accione parceverē / lingua Intellettum ne perveniat [The sense is unclear.]
preserue you 7 saue you in / helthe long to contynue / to your hart ys ease 7 / my dayle confort
Most Dere mother .. .. this my brefe wrytyng / shall be to confyrme you that I Roger g[ain?]t /'; a number of practice letters.

---

[1]See F.J. Mone, Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters, 1853-5, Vol. II, p. 111, No. 401.

Dialects of Hunterian MSS. T.3.12 and V.5.13

Hunterian MS. T.3.12

Hands A, B, and C were analyzed separately (Hand D was discounted for dialectal investigation on account of its short duration and because its section of text was probably not part of the original plan of the MS.). It was found that a distinction could be made within Hand B in respect to certain features, between the earlier and later parts of its section, and accordingly these are listed separately.

Using the traditional criteria for dialectal analysis, expounded by J.B. Oakden (see Bibliography) and Moore, Meech, and Whitehall (see Bibliography) and adopted by MED (see MED, Plan and Bibliography, 1954, p. ix and pp. 8-11), Hunterian MS. T.3.12 cannot be localized with any precision, but a general orientation can be obtained.[1]

(i) The North is excluded by the ā / ō isogloss. OE ā is not retained, e.g. ston, more, holy, both. See Moore, Meech, and Whitehall, p. 8 and Map I.

(ii) The South is excluded by the -en / -eth (present indicative plural) line, e.g. schullen, trowen. See Moore, Meech, and Whitehall, p. 14; Oakden, p. 35; J. and E.M. Wright, Elementary Middle English Grammar, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1928, p. 175. But -eth forms are also found.

(iii) OE initial <f> does not appear as <v> in words such as for, from, fadir (but see Hand B below). See Moore, Meech, and Whitehall, p. 15; J. and E.M. Wright, op. cit., p. 107; R. Jordan, Handbuch der mittelenglischen Grammatik, Heidelberg, 1925, p. 188. This could, however, be simply scribal practice.

---

[1] The following features apply equally to Hands A, B, and C, except where noted.

(iv) The West Midland area is excluded by the man / mon line, where OE a followed by m or n (but not -ng, -nd, -mb) is represented by o in the West Midlands, e.g. man, answere. See Jordan, op. cit., p. 48; Moore, Meech, and Whitehall, p. 10; Oakden, p. 14. The hul / hil isogloss also excludes the West Midlands and the Southwest.

We are left with a relatively large area in which Hunt. T.3.12 can fit, i.e. the East Midland region. Still using the traditional criteria, this area can be further narrowed down.

(v) The extreme Northeast Midland is excluded by the absence of -es endings in the present indicative plural. See Moore, Meech, and Whitehall, p. 9.

(vi) The Central East-Midland is excluded by the use of hem(e) as the predominant form of 'them'. See Moore, Meech, and Whitehall, p. 11 and Map I. This area is also excluded by the use of -eth as the ending of the present indicative 3rd singular. See Moore, Meech, and Whitehall, p. 13.

(vii) The marginal areas of the remaining Southeast Midland district are excluded by the exclusive use of -yng(e), -ing endings of the present participle. See Moore, Meech, and Whitehall, p. 17 and Map I.

Hunt. T.3.12 can therefore be assigned to the Southeast Midland area, excluding the -nd present participle areas of the northern half of Norfolk, East Suffolk, and the extreme east of Essex.

The area to which each hand can be assigned can, however, be narrowed down by using the evidence collected by Professors A. McIntosh and M.L. Samuels in their study of the Middle English dialects.[1] To this end the section

---

[1]For expositions of the theory and practice of the McIntosh-Samuels technique of dialect localization see the works by these scholars cited in the Bibliography. To these can

of text written by each hand was taken separately, and a full inventory of potential graphemic factors for localization was made for each, with an indication of the relative frequency of variant forms. In the following tables and discussion the relative frequency of each form is shown by means of parentheses, and the following conventions are employed:

/ : an oblique stroke separates forms that are used extensively or in about equal proportions; these are the predominant forms.

( ) : single parentheses enclose variant forms with a high frequency, 1 instance per 1-5 folios.

(( )) : double parentheses enclose variant forms with medium to low frequency, 1 instance per 5-15 folios.

((( ))) : triple parentheses enclose variant forms with a low frequency, 1 instance per 15 or more folios; also, single instances, unless few or no other forms are found in the same section.

As far as possible, main forms and variants are listed in the order of their frequency.

Fig. 7 shows a number of potentially significant features with their graphemic realizations in the different hands for which schematized maps have been published, except for (6), which is reproduced below.

---

be added C. Jones, An Introduction to Middle English, 1972, esp. pp. 183-216, containing a map of 'church' forms, and B. Strang, A History of English, London, 1970, esp. pp. 224-39 and a map of the distribution of forms for 'she' in the N.W. Midlands on p. 420.

FIGURE 7

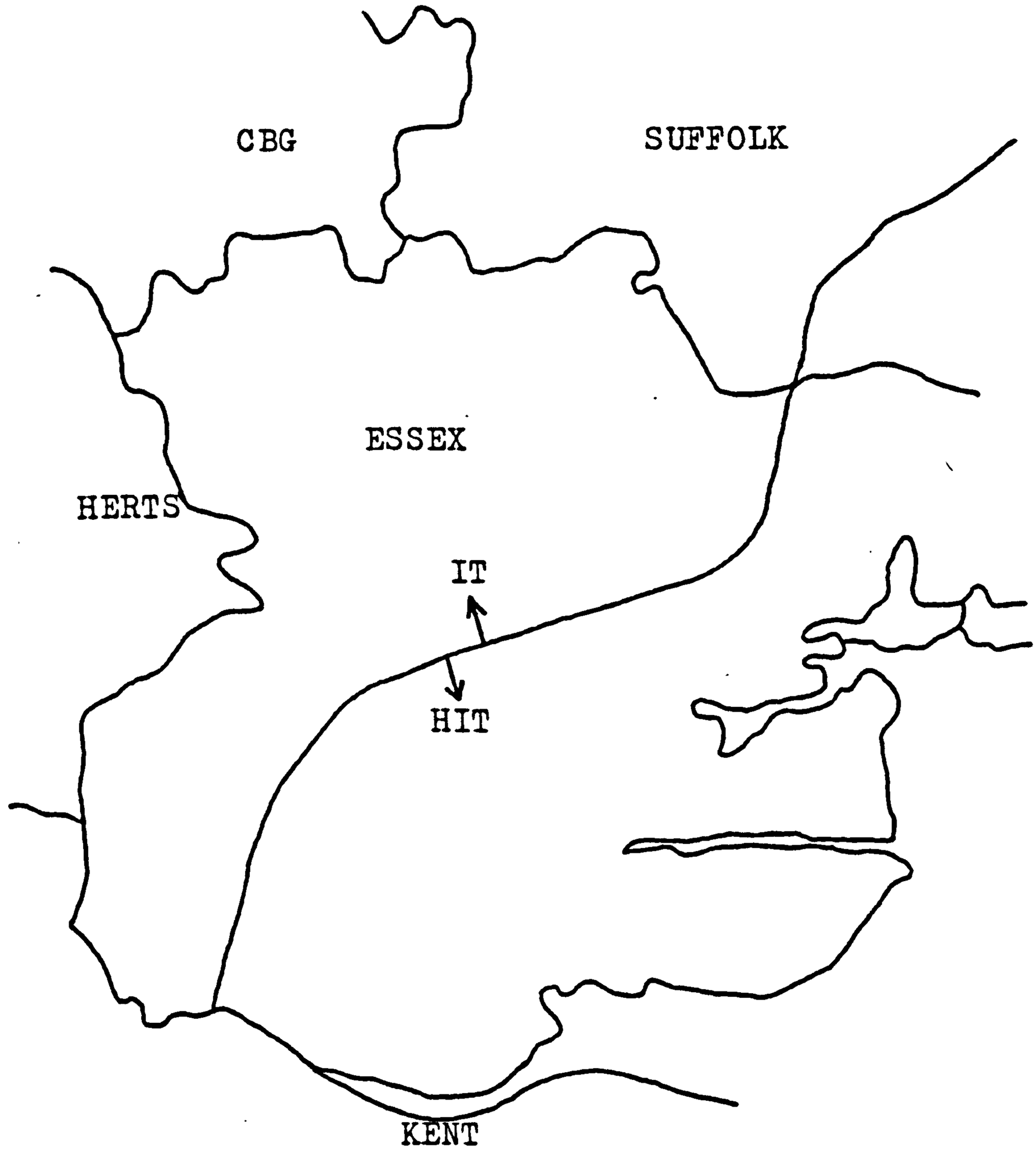
Some Dialectal Features in Hands A, B, and C of Hunterian MS. T.3.12

Feature	Hand A; 11 fols. (fols. 1^{a}a-11^{b}b)	Hand B^{1}; 43 fols. (fols. 11^{b}b-54^{b}a)	Hand B^{2}; 38 fols. (fols. 54^{b}a-92^{b}b)	Hand C; 20 fols. (fols. 92^{b}b-113^{a}b)
(1) 'it'	it/hit; (((hytte)))	hit; (((it)))	hit; (((it)))	hit; (hyt)
(2) 'such'	suche	swech/sweche; (((suech; sueche)))	swech/sweche; ((suech; swich)); (((such; suche; suych)))	seche; ((suche)); (((soche)))
(3) 'much'	muche/muchel; (moche; mochel; myche); ((muchell)); (((michell; much)))	moche/moch; (mochil); ((mochel; mekel; much; meche; mechel; muche)); (((mochele; muchel; mykel; mich; miche)))	moche/moch; (mochil); (((mochyle; much; muche; michel; mychel)))	mekell/moche/ meche/mekel/ mekyll; ((mekil)); (((mockell; mekyl; myche; mekill; mochell)))

Feature	Hand A	Hand B[1]	Hand B[2]	Hand C
(4) 'any'	any;((eny))	any;((eny; heny)); (((anye; hany; enye; onye; ony)))	any;((eny; hany));(((anye; hanye)))	any
(5) 'self'	selfe/sylf(e)	selfe; (((selfee)))	selfe	silfe/selfe; ((selue))
(6) 'neither'	neiþer	nothir; (((nethir)))	nothir	neyþere
(7) 'church'	chirch/cherche/ churche	cherch/chirch	cherch; (((cherche; chirch;chirche)))	chirche; (cherche)

FIGURE 8

'HIt' and 'it' in Essex



Hand A - North-West Essex

The features in Hand A that suggest North-West Essex as a probable provenance are:

(i) the combined use of it / hit 'it'. See Fig. 8 and M.L. Samuels, Linguistic Evolution, Cambridge, 1972, p. 101 Map 4.

(ii) selfe / sylf(e) 'self'; a belt of silf runs across South Suffolk, and it is probable that Hand A's combined use of selfe / sylf(e) originates near the southern boundary of this. See M.L. Samuels, 'Some Applications of Middle English Dialectology', in Lass, p. 412 Fig. 7.

(iii) neiber 'neither' is used, not nouther or nober. See Fig. 9.

(iv) but 'but', with no instances of bot. See Fig. 10.

(v) any 'any' is the predominant form, with the minor variant eny. See M.L. Samuels, 'Some Applications ...', in Lass, p. 412 Fig. 6.

(vi) suche 'such', the normal Essex form. See M.L. Samuels, 'Some Applications ...', in Lass, p. 408 Fig. 4.

(vii) bien 'be', wiende 'thought', entiere 'inter', etc.; the -ie- spellings are an Essex feature.

(viii) moche, mochel, myche 'much', found as the strongest minor variants besides the major forms muche, muchel. See M.L. Samuels, 'Some Applications ...', in Lass, p. 409 Fig. 5.

The area into which the preceding combination of features fits best is North-West Essex. It is noteworthy that the Wauton coat of arms on the first folio is drawn by Hand A; as is shown elsewhere[1], the Wauton family had a strong connection with North-West Essex.

---

[1] See pp. 323-9.

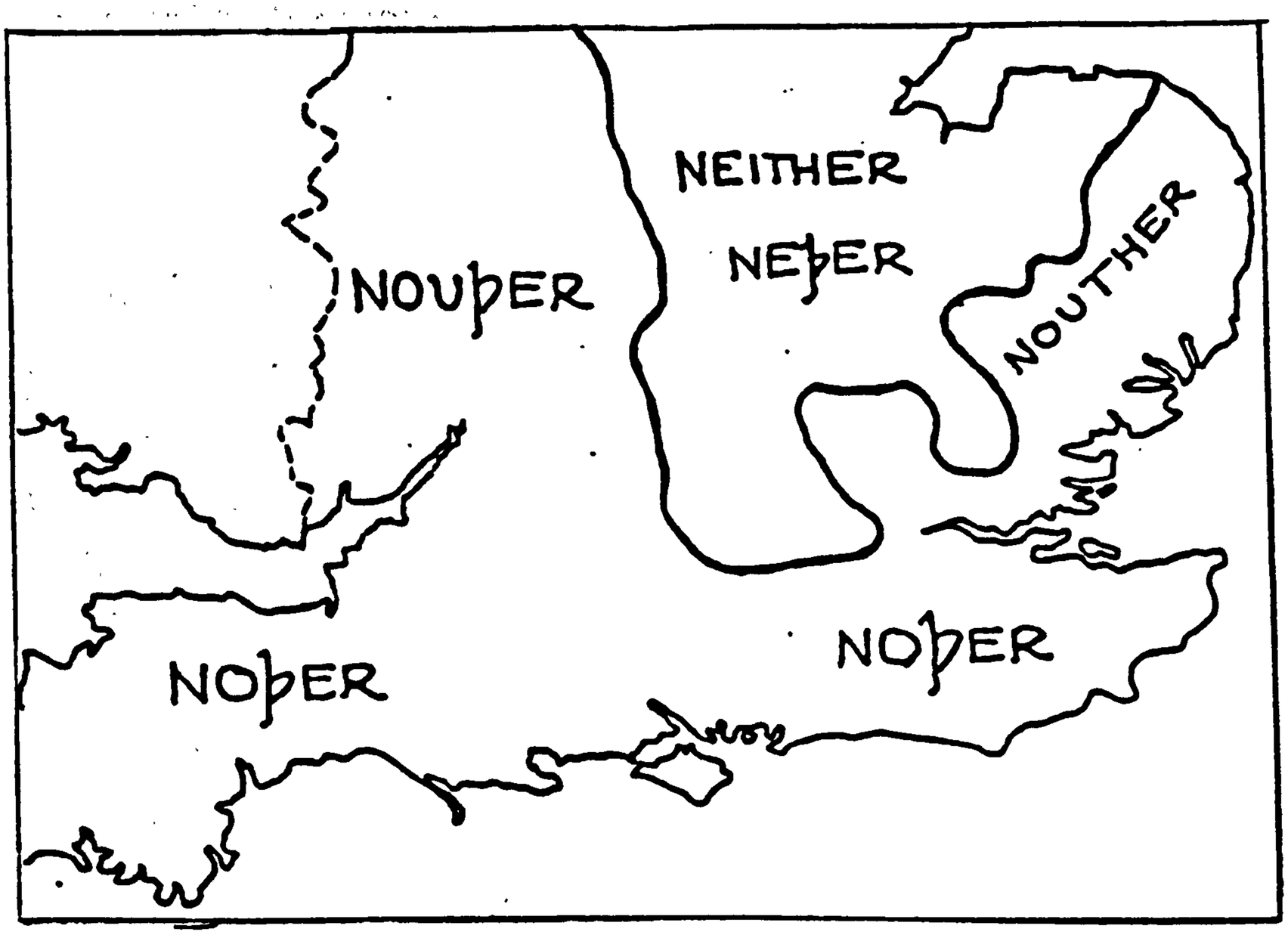


FIGURE 9

Dialectal forms of 'neither'

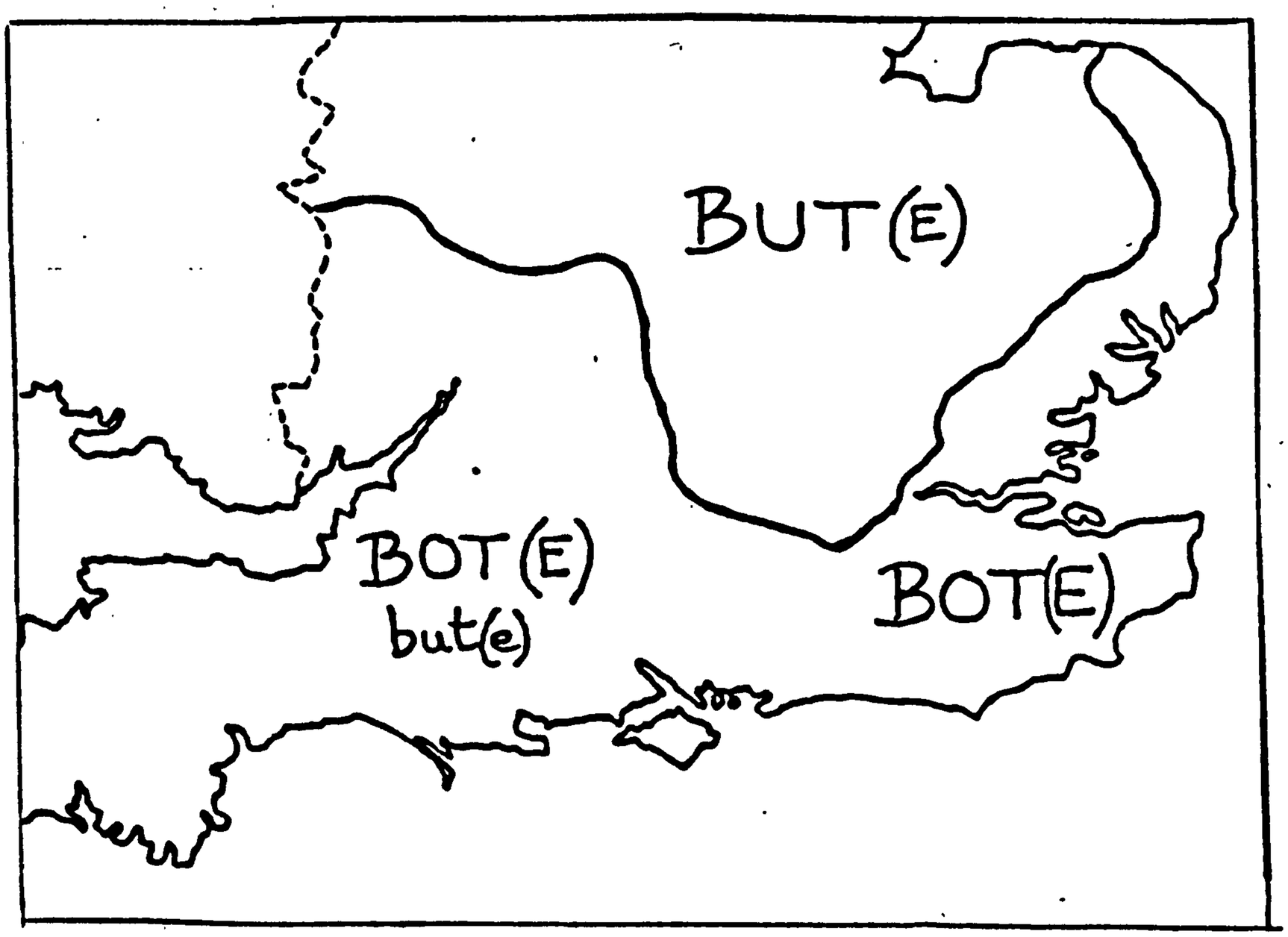


FIGURE 10

Dialectal forms of 'but'

Hand B - Central South Essex

For the purpose of making an inventory of the orthographic forms and variants used by Hand B, I divided the long text into three sections, partly for practical reasons and more importantly because certain changes were noticed in the orthography of the earlier and later sections, some forms becoming less common and others increasing in frequency. When the three inventories were complete, a comparison between them led me to treat the first two sections as one unit and the third section, which has dialectal forms presumably copied directly from the exemplar, as a second unit. Other forms that occur more often or for the first time in the later portions of the text possibly represent forms that the scribe did not originally wish to use although they occurred in his dialect.[1] However, to determine the basic provenance of Hand B, both the earlier and later parts can be treated together; the evidence and implications of the twofold division of the text are discussed after the primary localization of the hand.

The following features strongly suggest Central South Essex:

(i) hit 'it', with it as a very minor variant, indicating that Hand B is to be located within the hit area marked for Essex in Fig. 8.

(ii) nothir 'neither', with nethir as a minor variant. See Fig. 9.

(iii) any 'any' as the major form, with eny as the most frequent minor form. See M.L. Samuels, 'Some Applications ...', in Lass, p. 412 Fig. 6.

(iv) moche / moch 'much' as the major forms among a number of minor forms. See M.L. Samuels, 'Some Applications ...',

---

[1] See N. Davis, 'A Paston Hand', RES N.S. III (1952), pp. 209-21, and further below.

in Lass, p. 409 Fig. 5.
(v) cherch / chirch 'church', with no instances of church. See C. Jones, An Introduction to Middle English, 1972, map facing p. 196.
(vi) (y)ȝouen / ȝeuen, ((ȝoue, ȝeuene)), (((ȝeven, ȝeeuen, ȝeue, geue))) 'given'; a belt of forms with -o- runs down through western Essex. See M.L. Samuels, 'Some Applications ...', in Lass, p. 414 Fig. 9.
(vii) further points supporting a localization in the more southerly part of Essex are houndred 'hundred', sclayn 'slain', and the doubling of consonants in wette / witte 'know' and cleppe 'call'.

A sprinkling of isolated forms suggests some slight East Anglian orthographic influence from further north:
(i) iche 'each'. I have noted one example in the later section of the text.
(ii) swech(e) 'such'. This is almost exclusively the only form used. See M.L. Samuels, 'Some Applications ...', in Lass, p. 408 Fig. 4.
(iii) mekel, michel, mychel as minor variants of 'much'. See M.L. Samuels, 'Some Applications ...', in Lass, p. 409 Fig. 5.

That the text was based on a South-Eastern, possibly Kentish or East Sussex, exemplar is clear from 'untranslated' forms remaining in Hand B:
(i) dought 'thought', thede 'did', þe bate 'debate' (Hand B possibly misunderstood the sense and took þe in his exemplar to be the definite article), the de þride 'the third' (Hand B again appears to have become confused in his copying). See M.L. Samuels, 'Kent and the Low Countries', in A.J. Aitken et al, Edinburgh Studies in English and Scots, London, 1971, p. 11.
(ii) hondrede 'hundred'. A Kentish form.
(iii) þeke 'the same'. Possibly Kentish.
(iv) a ȝans 'against'. Possibly Kentish.

(v) sethnys 'since'. Possibly Kentish.
(vi) v = f, e.g. vif(e), vvf(fe) 'five'; vifty 'fifty'; viftyth 'fiftieth'; viftenþe 'fifteenth'. This could be Kentish, but it is strange that the examples should all be multiples of 'five', for which the roman numeral is v.
(vii) To fol. 61^{a}a owne 'own' is used, with a single instance of ougne before fol. 54^{b}a, but from late on fol. 61^{a}a the ougne form takes over, and owne becomes a minor form for the rest of the text to fol. 92^{b}b.[1] ougne is a Kentish form; presumably Hand B ceased translating the form into his Essex form and simply copied what was before him in his exemplar.

In general, we notice that a greater variety of forms appears in the later section, including some of the untranslated Kentish forms noted above (e.g. ii, iii, iv, v). Some of the most striking changes, of form or of frequency, are tabulated in Fig. 11 on the following pages.[2]

---

[1] owgne, owgene, oune also appear as very minor forms.
[2] Others can be seen in Fig. 7.

FIGURE 11

Changes in form and frequency of forms
in Hand B of Hunterian MS. T.3.12

Feature	Hand B^1 (fols. 11^bb-54^ba)	Hand B^2 (fols. 54^ba-92^bb)
'she'	sche; (((scho;schee)))	sche; ((scheo;scho; sho)); (((he;heo)))
'is'	es; (((his)))	es; (ys); (((is)))[1]
'from'	fro; ((from;froo)); (((frome;ffrome; froome;ffro;ffroo)))	fro; (fram); ((ffro)); (((froo;ffrom;ffrome; frame;ffram;from)))
'against'	aʒens; ((aʒeins)); (((aʒenst;aʒeyns; aʒenste;a ʒenis; a ʒein;a ʒene)))	aʒens / a ʒeiens; (a ʒeins); ((a ʒeyens; a ʒene)); (((aʒen; a ʒenes;a ʒans; agayn)))[2]
'again'	aʒen / aʒene / aʒein; ((aʒeine)); (((aʒeene; Aʒeyn̄)))[3]	aʒene; ((aʒeen;aʒeien; aʒen)); (((aʒeine; aʒeyen;aʒeyn;a ʒien; aʒeiene;aʒeeien)))
'not'	(i) to fol. 35^aa; nouht / not; ((nouhte; nowght)); (((nought; nouh;nowht;nough; nowth;nat)))	nought / nouht / not; ((nough)); (((nowght; nouth;nouʒt)))

[1] ys occurs strongly towards the end of the later section, beside normal es. [2] There is a passage between fols. 69^aa and 85^ab in which no aʒeiens forms appear. [3] aʒein has about equal frequency with aʒen and aʒene up to fol. 35^aa; thereafter its use drops off considerably.

Feature	Hand B^1	Hand B^2
'not' (cont.)	(ii) to fol. 54^ba; nought / nouht / not; (((nowght;nouth;nouthe; nougt)))	
'when'	whan / whane; ((wheñe)); (((wañe; when)))	whenne / whene; (whañe; whan); (((whanne; weñe)))[1]
'them'	heme; (((hem;bem; ham;heym;hym;hyme)))	heme / ham; ((hame)); (((hem;him)))

[1] whan shows a resurgence in the final pages.

FIGURE 12

'through' in Hand B of Hunterian MS. T.3.12

'through'	fols. 11^{b}b-35^{a}a	fols. 35^{a}a-54^{b}a	fols. 54^{b}a-58^{b}a	fols. 58^{b}a-92^{b}b
major forms	thourgh / þoruh	þourgh / þoru	þoruȝ / þourȝ	þourgh / (c.fol. 75 to end) þoruȝ[1]
minor forms	(þourgh; þorgh; thorgh); (((thoruh; þoru; þourh; þorh; þorugh; þorguh; þorw; þourght)))	((thorugh; thourgh)) (((thoruh; þoruh; thorw; þorugh)))	(thoruȝ; þoru; þoruȝe; thourȝ)[1]	(þurgh); ((þourȝ)); (((þorugh; thourgh; þoruh; thurgh; þorgh; þurȝ; thorugh; þouȝh; þorur)))

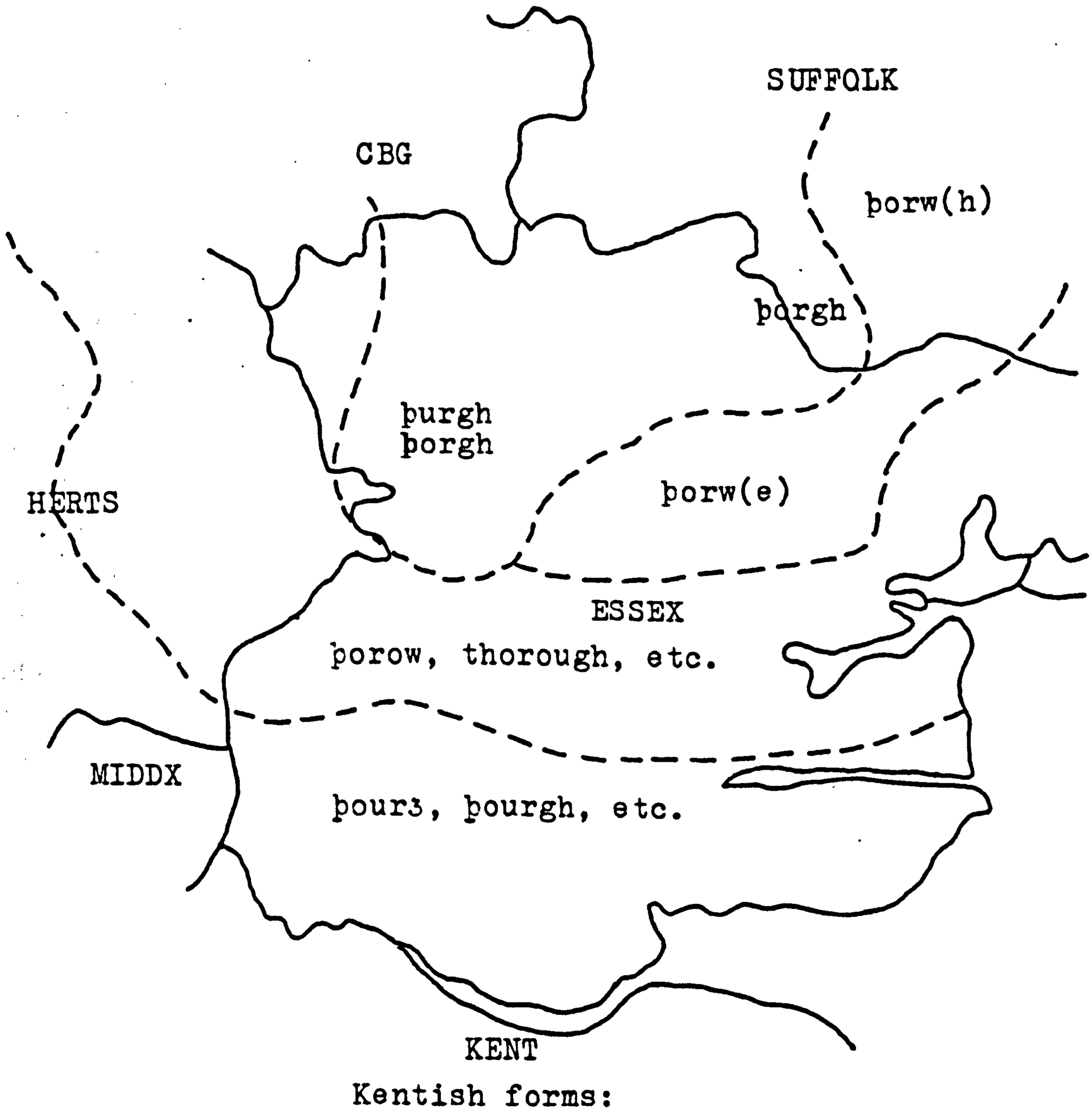
[1] þoruȝ is the predominant form at the beginning of Hand B^{2}, fols. 54^{b}a - 58^{b}a, is then given up from fol. 58^{b}a to c. fol. 75, and then returns strongly thereafter.

We can also note that spellings with -v become increasingly frequent towards the end of Hand B^2, e.g. sav 'saw', nov 'now', hov 'how'.

The variations and patterns of the scribe's forms for 'through' (see Fig. 12) show in greater detail the trend to reproduce more forms from the Kentish exemplar as the copying process progressed. The variety of forms of 'through' in Essex (see Fig. 13) accounts for the forms used by Hand B, and also suggest that Hand B can be localized near the isogloss between borow, thorough, etc. and bour3, thurgh in the South and East and borw(e), burw(e) in the North and West. The evidence suggests:
(i) fols. 11^bb - 35^aa - 54^ba: Hand B is using forms known to himself, but may be slightly preferring the one that is nearer the Kentish bor3, that is, bourgh.
(ii) fols. 54^ba - 58^ba: he prefers one of his own forms that is not found in Kent and therefore was not in the exemplar.
(iii) fols. 58^ba - 92^bb: he returns to a form nearer the Kentish, while admitting more of his own forms in fols. 75 - 92.

FIGURE 13

Dialectal forms of 'through' in Essex



Hand C - South-East Suffolk (Ipswich area)

The features that suggest South Suffolk in general are:

(i) silfe 'self' which is found beside selfe (and one instance of selue). A belt of the silf form runs across South Suffolk. See M.L. Samuels, 'Some Applications ...', in Lass, p. 412 Fig. 6.

(ii) mekel(l) 'much' are the predominant forms, with meche, moche, and mekyll as strong minor variants. Other minor variants are mekyl, mekil, mochell, mockell, and mvche (one instance).

(iii) strenbe 'strength', which is found beside the forms strengthe, strengbe, and strengh.

(iv) no 'nor' (one instance) beside the normally used form ne.

(v) sawe 'saw', beside the minor variants say(e), sey(e). See M.L. Samuels, 'Some Applications ...', in Lass, p. 415 Fig. 10.

The following features limit the area possible for Hand C's provenance to the Ipswich area:

(i) hit 'it', with hyt as a variant are found, but there are no instances of it. See M.L. Samuels, Linguistic Evolution, Cambridge, 1972, p. 101 Map 4.

(ii) byfore 'before' is the marginally dominant form among a number of variants, rather than be-; befor(n)e is the normal East Anglian form, and only South-East Suffolk admits by-, although it will admit both.

(iii) seche 'such' with the minor variant suche and one instance of soche. The forms swich(e), swech(e) do not occur.

The Kentish or East Sussex stratum that reflects the exemplar of the text leaves different and less obvious traces than in the other hands, amounting to only a few relict forms such as: the past participle ewreten 'written'; the present participle hyringe 'hearing'; de 'the' (one

instance); seluere 'silver'; nat 'not', which occurs thrice besides the normally used not, nou3t, and no3t. The form by3ende 'beyond' may also be a relict form from the exemplar.

One anomalous form occurs, stringthinge 'strengthening', which is found in Essex but not in either Suffolk (the scribe's area of provenance) or Kent (the exemplar's area of provenance).

Hunt. V.5.13 - Central Surrey

The main evidence for locating the text in the South East is the interchange of þ and d, e.g. de 'the'; dys 'this'; dey, day 'they'; dy 'thy'; dyne 'thine'; dee 'thee'; der 'there'; dethyr, dedyr 'thither'; do 'then' (for tho); etc. Reverse spellings also occur, e.g. unber 'under'; þepartyth 'departed'; þispyte 'dispite'; lorthis 'lords'; þay 'day'; þethe 'death'; -yth preterite and past participle endings; etc. This occurred in Kent, East Sussex, and East Surrey.[1]

Further points supporting the same general area are:
(i) a 'he'.
(ii) hym 'them'.
(iii) hem 'him'.

Points supporting Surrey as against Sussex or Kent are:
(i) thes(se), þes(se) 'these', but an absence of þys(e), which occurs, at least as a minority variant, in Kent and East Sussex texts.
(ii) sche, she, che, (s(c)ho) 'she'; there is an absence of he (Sussex) or hy (Kent).
(iii) ben(e) 'are'; an absence of forms in -þ, such as

---

[1]See M.L. Samuels, 'Kent and the Low Countries' in Edinburgh Studies in English and Scots, ed. A.J. Aitken et al, 1971, pp. 11-3. Our MS. is listed on p. 13.

byþ, beth, etc.
(iv) from 'from', not fram, uram, or fro.
(v) no trace of v- = f-; some occurrences are usually to be expected in Sussex and Kent.
(vi) owne 'own', not oȝe(n), oghne, or owene.
(vii) or 'before' (conjunction), not er or ar.
(viii) hy, hihe 'high'; the predominant forms in Kent and East Sussex are heȝe, heiȝe, hey.
(ix) fyrst 'first'; ferst is usual in Kent, ferst / furst in Sussex.
(x) chyrch 'church'; cherch(e) is usual in Kent, cherch(e) / church(e) in Sussex. See C. Jones, An Introduction to Middle English, 1972, map facing p. 196.
(xi) hard 'heard'; this form is not found in Sussex and Kent.
(xii) any 'any'; this form is found in much of Surrey, whereas the usual form in Kent and much of Sussex is eny. See M.L. Samuels, 'Some Applications ...', in Lass, p. 412 Fig. 6.
(xiii) much(e) 'much'; the usual form in Kent and Sussex is moche. See M.L. Samuels, 'Some Applications ...', in Lass, p. 409 Fig. 5.
(xiv) such(e) 'such'; the usual form in Kent and Sussex is swich. See M.L. Samuels, 'Some Applications ...', in Lass, p. 408 Fig. 4.
(xv) neythyr 'neither'; Central Surrey is close to the isogloss for this feature. Cf. Fig. 9.
(xvi) yt 'it' is the major form, but hit, hyt also occur. Cf. M.L. Samuels, Linguistic Evolution, Cambridge, 1972, p. 101 Map 4.

Furthermore, there are orthographic similarities to MSS. written in religious houses south of London. The main feature is the doubling of final consonants, as in nott, wytt, schall, lytyll, evyll. Examples of such MSS. with early local connections are Trinity Coll., Cambridge,

MS. B.15.18 (Sheen, Surrey), in which the form hard 'heard' is also paralleled, and Bodley MS. 207 (Newark Priory, Surrey).

Accordingly, we can conclude that the dialect of Hunt. MS. V.5.13 is Central Surrey.

Some Features of Spelling in Hunterian MS. V.5.13

The scribe of Hunt. MS. V.5.13 uses a number of peculiar spellings which occur too often to be regarded as isolated errors, and which must therefore be considered
s/ as idiosyncracies. The whole text gives an impression of having been written quickly, and the sense is often defective or corrupt. False starts and superfluous letters are common and words are frequently omitted or have been misread by the scribe from his exemplar and the resulting nonsense has passed unnoticed.[1] Although some peculiarities represent genuine dialectal spellings, one cannot escape the impression that the scribe was not a good speller.

Such instances as show a reasonable consistency throughout the text have only exceptionally been noted in the commentary, and the following list of some of the more widespread and obvious peculiarities should be of help in reading the text.

1) g for k[2], e.g. mongys 'monks' (fol. 109[b]); hongelys

---

[1]For instance, two sentences or clauses in the correct text (as judged from the CV) are often conflated into one with a common word in the middle, e.g., 'And þane kyng Edward herynge her of A Semblyd A grett hoost And werryd aȝens lewlyne saw þat his defens myȝt nott Awayll hyme' (fol. 89[b]) [2]Both this point and the following, c for g are common dialect features, paralleled in other S.E. and in W.Midl. texts. Cf. N. Davis in his edition of Tolkien and Gordon's Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, Oxford, 1967, pp. 91-2, on peruyng 'periwinkle' and p. 116 on ȝonke þynk 'young thing'.

'uncle's' (fol. 109[a]); thyng 'think' (fol. 115[b]); langastyr 'Lancaster' (fol. 128[a]); dryng 'drink' (fol. 158[a]); galys 'Calais' (fol. 144[b]); an instance using both letters, kyngkys 'king's' (fol. 151[a]); etc.
2) the reverse of 1), c for g, e.g. duclas 'Douglas' (fol. 110[b]); stronke 'strong' (fol. 112[b]); couernors 'governors' (fol. 126[b]); couernour 'governor' (fol. 149[a]); senculer 'singular' (fol. 146[b]); Caleys 'galleys' (fol. 150[b]); etc.
3) -te for -ce, -se, e.g. absente 'absence' (fol. 95[a]), etc.
4) The most widespread and striking singularity is the scribe's treatment of final d:
a) -d is often omitted from words or parts of speech where we would expect to find it, e.g. Englon 'England'; mine 'mind' (fol. 112[a], and see comment on b) below); in past participles and preterites, e.g. hordyny 'ordained' (fol. 110[b]); etc.[1]
b) -d is often used in words where we would not expect to find it, e.g. and 'a, an, one' (fols. 64[b], 92[b], 161[a]); hond 'own' (fols. 106[b], 153[a]); sold 'soul' (fols. 159[a], 160[a], 160[b], 174[b]); barryd 'Berry' (fol. 159[a]); delyuerd 'to deliver' (fol. 174[a], and similarly in a number of other infinitives); two plural forms using -yd as the plural marker, tresspassyd 'trespasses' (fols. 89[a], 95[a]); gonstonyd 'gun-stones' (fol. 169[a]); onyd lay 'any delay' (fol. 173[a] and see note); cround 'crown' (fol. 158[a]); etc.

The letter forms for e and d in many cursive scripts are certainly very similar, but it is beyond doubt that the scribe is using -d in many instances such as those

---

[1]Cf. the loss of final -d in modern Stockholm Swedish in an unpublished study made by T. Janson 'Reversed lexical diffusion and lexical split: loss of -d in Stockholm', reported in M.Y. Chen and W.S-Y. Wang, 'Sound Change: Actuation and Implementation', Language LI (1975), pp. 262-3.

mentioned above, and these letters have been transcribed as d. A significant occurrence on fol. 100^b is the scribe's use of the Tironian sign for et 'and' to signify 'one' (? or to represent an abbreviation of anno domini; cf. MED, s.v. a); 'in þe 3er of our lord 7 M^l CC vij' (fol. 100^b)

5) The omission of final letters other than -d. The letters n and t are often omitted, e.g. Englysme 'Englishmen'; wen, when 'went; thought'. Medial n is also occasionally omitted, e.g. comadyd 'commanded' (fol. 174^b); hukkyl 'uncle'; haggyne 'hanging' (fol. 148^b); etc. In the case of -n-, this may sometimes indicate that the scribe has omitted a macron representing the mark of abbreviation.

6) b for p, primarily in but 'put'. The reverse of this, p for b, is also used, e.g. plessynge 'blessing' (fol. 128^b and see note); babtyst 'Baptist' (fol. 157^b). The scribe appears to have recognized such spellings as non-standard, for often he has made a false start for a word, using one of these spellings. Where such instances are left undeleted or unerased, they are noted in the commentary. With this spelling point we can compare his use of the South-Eastern spellings d- for th- and th- for d-.

7) t- for d- (or th-), primarily in several instances of tethe 'death'.

8) We can also note the scribe's legitimate, but sometimes confusing, use of the third-person pronouns hym 'them' and hem 'him'.

The Punctuation Systems of Hunterian MS. T.3.12

Since each scribe who worked on the MS. takes a different approach to the punctuation of his section of text - Hands A and C employ consistent systems, whereas Hand B punctuates very lightly and with no variety of punctuation-markers - we can deduce that the present punctuation represents scribal intentions, and does not reflect the punctuation of the exemplar. This is reinforced by the evidence that Hands A and C both began with a complex system in mind, but soon grew tired of their tasks, as the frequency of punctuation-markers shows. On balance, it is likely that the exemplar was lightly punctuated, thus allowing the scribes of Hunterian MS. T.3.12 opportunity to impose their own systems and intentions on relatively untouched text. With the exception of the paragraph-markers in Hand A's section (and the few examples in Hand B's section), which were however indicated by oblique lines in the text for later insertion, the punctuation appears to have been included naturally at the time of writing and not to have been inserted or superimposed upon the text by each scribe after he had completed his section.

Hand A

Hand A of MS. T.3.12 has written fols. $1^{a}a$ - $11^{b}b$ 1.36, containing the prologue, chapters 1-37, and the chapter heading of chapter 38. In this section the following marks of punctuation are used, although not invariably in all potential positions:

1) The paragraph mark or 'sense-unit' sign ¶, which is represented here by ¶. In most cases, the scribe has indicated the correct position for the insertion of the mark by double or triple oblique lines. Over these the rubricator has then drawn ¶ in either red or blue. On seven occasions he has omitted to insert ¶, leaving the

oblique lines uncovered.[1] On one occasion, the oblique lines occur at the end of a line, and the rubricator has placed ¶ at the beginning of the following line, outwith the vertical line of writing.[2]

2) The punctus elevatus, sometimes called the 'inverted semi-colon', (.˘).

3) The capitalisation of the initial letter of a word.

4) The single point (.), placed either on the line of the writing or half the height of a minuscule a above it. The point is sometimes used in conjunction with an attached or unattached flourish. This use is restricted to the rubricated headings, and does not indicate any difference of function from the simple point. On a limited number of occasions a short oblique stroke resembling a scratch comma is used, in positions which are elsewhere occupied by the single point (see 4 below, and pp. 265-7).

1) <u>The paragraph mark or 'sense-unit' sign</u>

The sign ¶ is used 152 times, and is found both in rubrics and in the continuous text. The positions in which the sign occurs are as follows:

a) To mark chapter and number, which are always written in red. In this position, ¶ is always drawn in blue. There are 12 instances: ¶ Cap^{o} ¶ Scdō^{3}; ¶ Cap^{o} t'cio.^{4}; ¶ Ca^{o} ix^{o4}; ¶Ca.^{o} xij.^{o}; ¶ Ca.^{o} xviij^{o5}; ¶ Ca.^{o} xix^{o5}; ¶ Ca.^{o} xx^{o5}; ¶ Ca^{o} xxviij^{o}; ¶ Cap^{o} xxix^{o4}; ¶ Ca^{o} xxx^{mo}.; ¶ Ca.^{o} xxx.^{o4}

b) At the beginning of a rubricated chapter-heading, where ¶ is drawn in blue. There are 6 instances: chapters

---

[1] On fols. 1^{a}b; 5^{a}b; 6^{b}b; 9^{b}a; 10^{a}a; 10^{a}b. On fol. 9^{a}a, the following word is written too closely for ¶ to be inserted. [2] On fol. 2^{a}b. [3] '¶Scdō' is written immediately below '¶Cap^{o}' [4] Written in the margin. [5] The chapter and number appear in the rubric but without ¶.

1, 5[1], 17, 18, 19, 21.

c) In the continuous text as a sign between sense-units or groups of sense-units which are discrete in the logical structure of the text, but which are linked in narrative meaning. In this use, ¶ appears to begin a new sense-unit rather than to mark the end of a completed sense-unit.[2]

(i) There is a high correlation between ¶ and sense-units which indicate a temporal and/or resultative progression, e.g. where a new sense-unit begins:

temporal: 'And whan ...'; 'And it by fille ...'; 'Tho ...'; 'And anone ...'; 'And afterwardes ...'

resultative: 'And so ...'; 'And þus ...'; 'And ther fore ...'

temporal and resultative: 'And so it fille ...'; 'And þus it by fylle ...'

(ii) ¶ introduces direct speech on two occasions. Both are important speeches. The first (fol. 2^{a}a) is the naming of Albion by Albanye. The second (fol. 6^{b}a) is Cordeill's answer to King Leyle (i.e. Leir) when she expresses the extent of her love for him.

(iii) ¶ introduces a sense-unit giving a list of names. There are two simple instances in this position; on fol. 4^{b}b:

¶ þe first hight lotryne.þe second Albanacke.and þe þrid kamber

on fol. 6^{a}a:

¶ And þes were þe doghters names as ȝe schullen here afterward Elgyn.ymogen.Oghdas ...

A more complex and significant instance is found on fol. 10^{b}b, where the reigns of 35 successive kings are given in 34 successive sense-units, separated by ¶, used 34 times. After establishing an expected syntactic

---

[1] In the correct numbering of the chapters. [2] See 2.

structure, '¶ And after hym regned A- n 3ere', the prepositional group and the verbal group are elided, producing '¶ And B- n 3ere'. This serves as an adequate sense-unit until some variation is thought necessary, and a verbal group, either regned or whas kynge, is reintroduced.

¶ has two distinct functions to perform. When used in position a), the sign does not act as a means of registering punctuation. It is used as a marker, drawing the reader's attention to the chapter number. This use is clearly seen in those cases where chapter and number are found both in the margin and in the rubricated heading, possibly as an aid towards finding one's place in the text.

In position c), ¶ marks off discrete sense-units or groups of sense-units in the logical structure of the narrative. The use of capitalisation (see below, 3) allows the recognition of sentences, which combine to form sense-units. To express continuity, these are linked by ¶ and the sign's primary function can be said to be that of association.[1] The closeness of the association is seen in position c)(iii). In position c)(ii), there is possibly a secondary function, as a marker of importance.

The function of ¶ in position b) is more obscure. Excepting chapter 1 (the end of the prologue), and chapter 5 (the foundation of London and the naming of Britain), there is no apparent reason why these chapter headings should be considered worthy of increased attention. On the other hand, there is no apparent reason for ¶ to be used in the associative function of position c). The simplest explanation is that it has been used randomly as a means of decoration.

---

[1] P.J. Lucas calls this function 'notional'; see P.J. Lucas, 'Punctuation-Markers in John Capgrave's Chronicle', Archivum Linguisticum N.S. 2 (1971), pp. 1-24.

2) <u>The Punctus Elevatus</u>

There are 59 instances of the punctus elevatus, occurring in the following positions:

a) After an adverbial clause, which may be qualified by another clause or in coordination with another clause: 37 instances. These instances can be sub-divided as follows:

(i) After a temporal adverbial clause in sentence-initial position, and before a free clause: 31 instances, three of which have a qualifying clause, and three of which have a coordinated clause, e.g.:

And a none as his men wist it.˘ þei weren gladde i nowe in herte.and made Ebrak his sone kynge of þe lande wiþ muchel hono<u>ur</u>. (fol. 5^{b}b)

And whan þis feste whas done.˘ euery kyng name hys wife and lad her home to hys contre and þer made her quene (fol. 1^{a}b)

And whan Belyn had be kynge xj ȝere.and foure monþes.˘ he deide and lith at newe troye. (fol. 9^{b}b)

Adverbial clause + qualifying clause:

And whan kynge latyme herde telle þat Enneas þat noble knyȝt was come in to his lande.˘ he vnderfongedde hy<u>m</u> wyþ muchel hono<u>ur</u> and wiþhelde hym for enchesou<u>n</u> þat he whas a noble knyȝt and bold 7 hadde herde muche of hys goode name and of hys hardynesse (fol. 2^{a}b)

Adverbial clause + coordinated clause:

And whanne Bruyte herd þis tydyng 7 wiste of whenes þei weren.˘ he name he<u>m</u> in to hys shippes.7 made wiþ hem moche joye.and ledde hem forthe.wyþ hym. (fol. 3^{b}a)

(ii) After a temporal adverbial clause in sentence-medial position, and before a free clause: 3 instances, one of which has a coordinated clause, e.g.:

a none afte<u>r</u> hit felle þ<u>a</u>t .Coryn. deyde.and a none as he whas dede.˘ lotryn forsoke Gwentolen his wife.and made Estrilde quene. (fol. 5^{a}a)

The second (.˘) in:
Ande wan nyght whas come.˘ þe ladies went to beddis wiþ her housbondes and as þei leyoñ in slepe.˘ þei kitten her housbondes throtes.and so they killed hem alle (fol. $1^{b}b$)

(iii) After a temporal adverbial clause within a bound clause: 1 instance:
[he] schuld busch hym in a wode tyl vpon þe morñ.so þat on þe morowe.whan Bruyte schuld fyght wiþ hys enemyes.˘ Coryne schuld þan come out of þe buschment ... (fol. $4^{a}a$)

(iv) After a conditional adverbial clause in sentence-initial position, and before a free clause: 1 instance:
And if men dede.˘ þei schuld be 'put vn to þe deth. (fol. $8^{b}a$)

(v) There is one instance which does not correspond exactly to any of positions (i) to (iv), but which has been included under the general heading of position a). It occurs on fol. $5^{b}b$:
ffor vp on a day.as he wente in a wode on huntyng/he hadde loste al his men.and whas hym selfe alone.7 wente vp 7 downe and gradde 7 criede after his men.˘ þer come rennyng wolfes 7 drogh hym al to peces.whan he hadde regned .xxiiij 3ere.

This example appears to be an instance of asyndetic parataxis in Hand A and makes good sense if one places the clause '/he hadde ... men.' in parenthesis, and then considers (.˘) as occurring after a temporal adverbial clause.[1] With this use of (.˘) might be compared its occurrence in:
ffor as he went by a coost of þe see.˘ he mette an huge and an horrible beest as hym þo3t þat whas wonder blacke

---

[1]See P.J. Lucas, op. cit., pp. 12-13, and cf. below, pp. 270, 298.

and hidous. (fol. $10^{a}b$)

b) After a temporal adverbial clause which separates a nominal group acting as subject from the verbal group: 1 instance:

And þese damesels whan þei comen to age.˘ weren so fayre ... (fol. $1^{a}a$)

c) After a noun object clause and before a following free clause: 3 instances:

And wel y wote þat our housbondes han made playnt vpon vs to our fader.˘ and þerfore he hath vs foul repreued (fol. $1^{b}b$)

but her moder Cornweñ þat þo loued herde telle.þat oon broþere wold dystroy þat other.˘ and anone sche wente by twene her sones ... (fol. $9^{a}a$)

[he] saiden þat þei were of spayn.˘ and saiden þei wer exiled out of þe lande ... (fol. $9^{b}b$)

d) Before þat in a relative clause: 1 instance:

[he] nempned it Bretaigne after his owne name.þat now is called Engelond after þe name of Engist.˘ þat whas of Saxsoyne. (fol. $2^{a}b$)

e) After a relative clause acting as qualifier to a nominal group acting as subject, and before the verbal group: 1 instance:

And she þat louedyne hym beest.˘ schulde best be maried (fol. $6^{a}b$)[1]

f) After a complex nominal group acting as subject and before the verbal group: 1 instance:

And All her other sustres.˘ graunted hyt with good will (fol. $2^{a}a$)

g) After a prepositional group and before the subject group and verbal group: 4 instances:

A maugre alle hys enemyes.˘ he fley ... (fol. $4^{a}a$)

... and with ynne a lytell stownde.˘ Bruyte and hys peple

---

[1]Position e) might be regarded as a variant of position f).

hadde kylled ... (fol. $4^{a}a$)
... 7 in þat bataile.˘ lotryne whas killed ... (fol. $5^{b}a$)
... and so þorgh procurynge of her.˘ leyl her fader hadde
... (fol. $6^{b}b$)

h) Before þat in the correlative so ... þat construction: 5 instances:

And Bruyte 7 his companye so man-liche hem defended.˘ þat þei killed alle kynge pandras men. (fol. $3^{a}a$)
... and he by come so good and so meke.˘ þat men called hym kynge of mercy 7 of pite (fol. $10^{b}a$)

i) Before so in the correlative as ... so construction: 2 instances:

ffor as muche as ȝe haue.˘ so moche ȝe bien worthe.and so muche y loue ȝou. (fol. $6^{b}a$)
As myche as y hadde.˘ so moche y whas worthe. (fol. $7^{a}b$)

j) Before þan in a comparison: 1 instance:

And beter we mowe do þis dede vnder our fadres power.˘ þan in a nother lande. (fol. $1^{b}b$)

k) Between an indirect object and the direct object: 1 instance:

I counseile þat he ȝefe vn to brute our duke.˘ Gennogen his doghter to wife ... (fol. $3^{a}a$)

l) Between two free clauses in grammatical opposition: 1 instance:

... and alle seiden vn to Brute.ȝe beth a lorde of oure nacyon and of lynage.and a stronge man.and a myȝty.˘ be ȝe oure lorde 7 manteyne vs ... (fol. $2^{b}b$)

m) Between two sentences: 1 instance:

Bruyte sawe þat þe lande whas fayr and profytable for hym and for his peple as dyane þe Goddes hadde by hyght hym.˘ Tho whas Bruyte wonder glade and Assembled vppon a day alle hys peple to make a solempne sacrifice and a feste in reuerence of dyane þe Goddes.þat counseiled hym to dwelle 7 wende in to suche a londe. (fol. $4^{a}b$)

As A.C. Cawley remarks[1], there is a close connection between the use of the punctus elevatus and periodic sentence structure.[2] The mark is used to indicate the beginning of a free clause in positions a) (i), a) (ii), a) (iv), a) (v), c), and g). The resumption of a free clause after an intrusive element is marked by the punctus elevatus in position b) and possibly position e). In position a) (iii), the mark links an adverbial clause to a bound clause, and in position d) it links a relative clause to its antecedent. Likewise in the correlative positions h) and i), major elements of sentence structure are joined, and in positions f) and j) major elements of clause structure are joined. The primary function of the punctus elevatus used by Hand A is that of association, principally at the level of sentence structure.

3) Capitalisation

In the case of certain letters it is often difficult to decide whether a capital letter has been written or intended, for the scribe does not have a distinctive form for majuscule w, h, v, a, d. Instead, he uses an enlarged minuscule, which must be scrutinized in relation to the size of the neighbouring letters. Wherever there appears to have been an attempt to distinguish an initial letter (e.g. by a heavier stroke) in a position where the text has unequivocal capitals consistently elsewhere, it has been assumed that the scribe intended a capital letter, although complete consistency is impossible in this matter.

---

[1] A.C. Cawley, 'Punctuation in the Early Versions of Trevisa', London Mediaeval Studies I (1937), pp. 116-33.
[2] At least in relatively unsophisticated works. For the rhetorical use of punctuation, see M.M. Morgan, 'A Treatise in Cadence', MLR XLVII (1952), pp. 156-64; E. Salter, 'Punctuation in an Early Manuscript of Love's Mirror', RES N.S. VII (1956), pp. 11-8.

Capital letters are used in the following positions:

a) As the initial letter of a proper name. The use of capitalisation in this position is not consistent.

b) As the initial letter of certain words, but not for the purposes of punctuation. In many cases the word marked in this way is a noun, but verbs and adjectives also occur with an initial capital letter.

c) After ¶, the initial letter of the following word is consistently capitalised, except in the case of þ. The scribe never uses the majuscule Þ, but when th- is used after ¶, the initial t is always a capital. On one occasion the scribe has omitted to use a capital in this position: '¶ kyng Cutlagh' (fol. $9^{a}a$)

d) As the initial letter of a word beginning a rubricated chapter-heading. In this position there is often difficulty in differentiating minuscule h from majuscule H.

e) As the initial letter of the first word of a sentence. For present purposes, the question 'What constitutes a sentence?' has been deduced from the text.[1] A sentence is that unit of text which occurs between two capital leters which are not in the above positions a) or b). In practice, the resulting 'sentences' correspond well to the traditional idea of a 'grammatical' sentence. The primary function of capitalisation is sentence-marking.

4) The Single Point

The single point is the most commonly used mark of punctuation. Besides this use, it has other functions which are not intended as marks of punctuation. These

---

[1] For a discussion of the various theoretical definitions of a sentence, see P.J. Lucas, op. cit., p. 12. Lucas himself uses Capgrave's punctuation towards deciding what constitutes a sentence.

uses are as follows:
(i) A single point before, and apparently sometimes after[1], a proper name.
(ii) A single point is often used before and/or after a roman numeral. This use seems to have been extended to cover the complete phrase '.n ȝere.' Cardinal numerals written out in full, and ordinal numerals, are often treated in similar manner.

The single point is used as a mark of punctuation (though not invariably in all potential positions) in the following positions[2]:

1) <u>As an indication of sense-unit structure</u>:

a) At the end of a sentence:

And so þei wentoñ out of her faderes Chambre. And Albany ... (fol. $1^{b}a$)

And alle þat oþer pilage.he yafe to his.men.of þe ooste. And þei ... (fol. $5^{a}b$)

[With ellipsis of subject]: And Bruyte by gan þer a fayr Cite.that is called newe Troye in reme[m]brance of þe Cite of grete Troye from wiche place al her lynage whas comen. And lete caste downe wodes and ery landes and dougen hem and afterwardes saawe hem 7 mowdyn medewes ... (fol. $4^{b}a$)

b) At the end of a sense-unit before ¶:

And so he hadde wiþ hym no mo. ¶ þo made kynge leyle sorowe ... (fol. $7^{a}a$)

---

[1] In many cases it is impossible to decide whether the second point is associated with the proper name or is used in position 3.c below. [2] On account of the number of occasions on which the single point is used, these categories have been kept general. Similarly, since it is not always certain whether a mark is in fact a point intended by the scribe as a punctuation-mark, no attempt has been made to enumerate the instances.

2) <u>As an indication of sentence structure</u>:

a) To separate coordinate free clauses linked by a coordinator:

This Coryn þo by come Bruytes man.and to hym he dede fewte and homage. (fol. $3^{b}a$)

And þe kynge of fraunce come wiþ his folke.7 3af hem batayle.but he was scomfited 7 ouercome.7 dede Truage vn to Belyñ ... (fol. $9^{b}a$)

b) To separate off a noun object clause:

(i) The point is in clause-initial position:

And þer for my counseil is.þat we þis nyght kytten alle our housbondes throthes ... (fol. $1^{b}b$)

(ii) The point is in clause-final position:

... [he] swore þat he wold kylle hem euerychone.and ordeyned hym a strong power ... (fol. $3^{a}a$)

c) To separate a noun object clause from a succeeding noun object clause:

... and now herkeneth how þat brute whas by gete.and how he quellyd first his moder.and after-ward his fader.and howe he conquerid Albyoun .7 nempned it Bretaigne after his owne name ... (fol. $2^{a}b$)

d) To separate off a relative clause:

(i) The point is in clause-initial position:

In the noble londe of Sirrye þer whas a noble kyng 7 al so myghty and of grete renouñ that men Called Dyoclecyañ. þat wel and noblich hym gouerned and rewled ... (fol. $1^{a}a$)

Bruyte hadde gret pyte of her sorowe.þat þei hadde and suffred and priueliche wente fro þe kynges Courte ... (fol. $3^{a}a$)

(ii) The point is in clause-final position:

And þo spake a wise knyȝth.þat men callede Menpris.and seid vn to Bruyte ... (fol. $3^{a}a$)

e) To separate off non-finite verb phrases: the second (.) in:

þe Ientelmen of þe Erles of londoñ.wente vpon a tyme.

for to playe ... (fol. $11^{b}a$)

f) To separate off an adverbial clause:

(i) The point is in clause-initial position:

... as hem liked in alle manere þinges.to þat brute come and a ryved ... (fol. $2^{a}a$)

(ii) The point is in clause-final position:

And whan þis whas done.Quentolen lete her coronne.quene of þe lande ... (fol. $5^{b}a$)

3) As an indication of clause structure:

a) To separate two or more nominal groups acting at the same grammatical position in the clause. This also applies to a list of proper names:

... he lete enquere of þe wisiste maistres.and clerkes þat coude many sciences ... (fol. $2^{b}a$)

b) To separate an appositional group or groups:

And whan leyle whas dede.Cordeyl.his doghter held þe lande .v. 3ere ... (fol. $7^{b}b$)

c) To separate a nominal group acting as subject from the verbal group:

... 7 þis Cloten.schuld haue had alle by resoun ... (fol. $8^{a}b$)

And Bruyte and his men.seen þis ... (fol. $4^{a}b$)

And þe kynge a none 7 þe quene.comeñ ... (fol. $7^{b}a$)

d) To separate a verbal group from a nominal group acting as object:

... þe kynge of Denmarke wold nou3t pay.his truage.þat is a M^{l} libri by 3ere ... (fol. $9^{b}b$)

e) To separate linked elements of one complex verbal group: the second (.) in:

þei wold no lenger a.bide.ne dwelle in his bondage ... (fol. $3^{a}a$)

f) To separate two adverbial and/or prepositional groups:

(i) The groups are linked by and:

... but alle bycommen wers.and wors ... (fol. $1^{a}b$)
... he spake to hem 7 repreued hem of her wickydnes.and of her foly ... (fol. $1^{b}a$)

(ii) The groups are unlinked:

... [he] hadde hit at his wille.al his lyves tyme ... (fol. $2^{b}a$)

g) To separate off a prepositional group from the rest of the clause:

(i) The group occurs in clause-initial position:

... and þorogh þe grace of god.we schulle ouercome hym ... (fol. $2^{b}b$)

(ii) The group occurs in clause-final position:

... 7 in whate place.I schal haue a conable dwellynge.for me 7 for my peple 7 in that place y schalle make in honure of the a noble temple ... (fol. $3^{a}b$ - fol. $3^{b}a$; see also 3.g.i above)

h) (i) Between a genitive prepositional group and the preceding noun that it qualifies:

... [he] made þe meruayle.of þe hote Baþe ... (fol. $6^{a}b$)

(ii) Between two such genitive prepositional groups:

... we haue killed so muche of her peple.of Barons.7 of othir folke ... (fol. $3^{a}b$)

4) a) Before direct speech:

... [he] went to hym vn to þe newe troye and saide.Lotryn nowe trewlich ȝe a quyte ful euell þe trauail ... (fol. $5^{a}b$)

... alle seiden vn to Brute.ȝe beth a lorde of oure nacyon ... (fol. $2^{b}b$)

b) After direct speech:

... and þerfor now y wil be a venged vpon þe.and anone drewe out his fawchon.an hye ... (fol. $5^{a}b$)

From the grammatical analysis of the positions occupied by the single point, it can be seen that it is used

to delineate the elements of structure of the sense-unit, the sentence and the clause. Accordingly, the function of the single point is that of separation.[1]

From the above analysis of the positions and functions of the marks of punctuation, it is clear that a reasonably consistent system of punctuation is consciously used by Hand A. On the level of the sense-unit the associative mark ¶ is employed; on the level of the sentence the associative punctus elevatus and capitalisation are employed. The single point is used on all levels, sense-unit, sentence, and clause, primarily as a mark of separation into constituent elements.

The purpose behind the use of such a structural system can be one of three. Either it provides a guide for the correct reading aloud of the text (elocutionary punctuation), or it is an attempt to make plain the sense of the text by conveying the grammatical construction to the eye (expository punctuation[2]). These purposes are not mutually exclusive, and so a composite system, elocutional and expository, can be used, as is common in modern printed texts.

P.J. Lucas proposes two criteria for deciding whether or not a text is punctuated elocutionally. First he asks: 'To what extent does the punctuation divide the text into convenient units for speech-delivery?'[3] By comparing the average length of a unit of text marked off by punctuation in Capgrave's Chronicle (approx. 21.5 words) with the average length of a unit of intonation in conversational speech, found in an investigation headed by Professor Randolph Quirk to be 5.3 institutional words[4],

---

[1]This function is called 'grammatical' by P.J. Lucas, op. cit., p. 17. [2]See P.J. Lucas, op. cit., pp. 3-4. [3]P.J. Lucas, op. cit., p. 20. [4]R. Quirk et al., 'Studies in the Correspondence of Prosodic to Grammatical Features in English', in Procs. of the 9th Internat. Congress of

Lucas concludes that: 'Punctuation in Capgrave's Chronicle, though it would have given a considerable amount of guidance when the text was read aloud, was not designed primarily as such a guide.'[1] Lucas's test on its own, however, is not conclusive. Elocutionary punctuation need not invariably mark all intended units of intonation. It could mark only the salient points at which a reader would pause while reading aloud to an audience. For other pauses and the use of particular tones, the reader could conceivably use his discretion in the same way as a modern reader does when reading aloud from a printed text, especially now that the general trend among publishing houses is to use as little punctuation as possible. In sacred texts and works using conscious rhetorical patterns and devices[2], the use of principally elocutionary punctuation is obviously desirable, for the reason that Alcuin gives: 'Per cola distinguant proprios et commata sensus, / Et punctos ponant ordine quosque suo, / Ne vel falsa legat taceat vel forte repente / Ante pios fratres lector in ecclesia.'[3] It must be borne in mind that even relatively unsophisticated secular texts would reach their lay audience through public performance, and even solitary reading was probably done aloud.

Linguists, ed. H.C. Lunt, The Hague, 1964, pp. 679-91, and repr. in R. Quirk, Essays on the English Language, London, 1968, chapter 12. [1]In a footnote Lucas (p. 21) refers to an unpublished M.A. thesis (London, 1968) by D. Davy, mentioned in D. Crystal, Prosodic Systems and Intonation in English, Cambridge, 1969, pp. 256-7, which 'shows an important distinction between length of units in conversation and in written English read aloud'.
[2]Such as the texts examined in P. Clemoes, Liturgical Influence on Punctuation in Late OE. and Early ME. Manuscripts, Cambridge, 1952; M.M. Morgan, op. cit.; E. Salter, op. cit. [3]Carmen, LXVII, 7-10 in Frobenius [Forster], Alcuini Opera, Ratisbon, 1777, Vol. II, p. 211, quoted by L.C. Hector, The Handwriting of English Documents, 2nd ed., London, 1966, p. 46.

P.J. Lucas's second criterion for deciding whether punctuation is elocutionary can be applied to Hand A's system. The following uses of punctuation can be regarded as suggesting an elocutionary purpose:

a) When punctuation is used to mark the elements of a clause or a group. This use is not found at group-level, but is found at clause-level, where the single point separates elements of clause-structure (see 4.3 above), and where the punctus elevatus occurs between a complex nominal group acting as subject and the verbal group (2.f above).

b) When punctuation is used to mark the resumption of a direct line of construction on those occasions when the intrusive element, whether clause(s) or phrase, is not marked initially by punctuation. In the grammatical analysis above, punctuation fulfils this criterion in 2.b, 2.c (in the first and third instances), 2.e, 4.2.b (ii), 4.2.d (iii).

The use of punctuation-markers in these positions indicates that there is an elocutionary factor in the intention underlying the punctuation system of Hand A. However, it has been mentioned above that a composite system with elocutionary and expository factors is possible.[1] It is difficult to determine the exact proportion of each factor in the whole, for very often the tangible realisation of each factor, i.e. the punctuation-marks in the text, are the same.[2] The grammatical analysis of the positions occupied and functions played by punctuation-markers in the text tends to suggest that there is a

---

[1]This composite system is probably used in most medieval texts. [2]It seems possible that primarily elocutionary marks of punctuation were progressively chosen on more grammatical principles during the medieval period. See C.G. Harlow, 'Punctuation in some Manuscripts of Aelfric', RES N.S. X (1959), pp. 1-19, esp. p. 19.

large expository factor, for there is a definite and consistent correlation between the punctuation-markers and significant grammatical junctures.

That punctuation is not invariably used indicates that Hand A assumed that the meaning of the text was sufficiently self-evident and did not require further clarification (or complication) by the insertion of punctuation-markers. Where a potential ambiguity of meaning is possible, the scribe will often introduce the single point in its function of separator to divide the text into its correct elements. More significantly, within the system established by Hand A, the marks of punctuation are consistently used in their functions as delineators of structure and of structural elements.

It is difficult to decide to what extent the intention behind the use of punctuation was elocutionary, and an examination of the use of different marks of punctuation in grammatically similar positions, and of the instances where punctuation is lacking in grammatical positions where punctuation otherwise occurs is helpful in this respect.

<u>The use of (.˘) and (.) in grammatically similar positions</u>

In the grammatical analysis above, (.˘) and (.) occur in corresponding grammatical positions as follows:

	<u>Punctus Elevatus</u>	<u>Single Point</u>
1) After a temporal adverbial clause	2.a	4.2.f (ii)
2) After a noun object clause and before a following free clause	2.c	4.2.b (ii)

FIGURE 14 Overall Frequency of (.˘) in all Grammatical Positions in Hand A

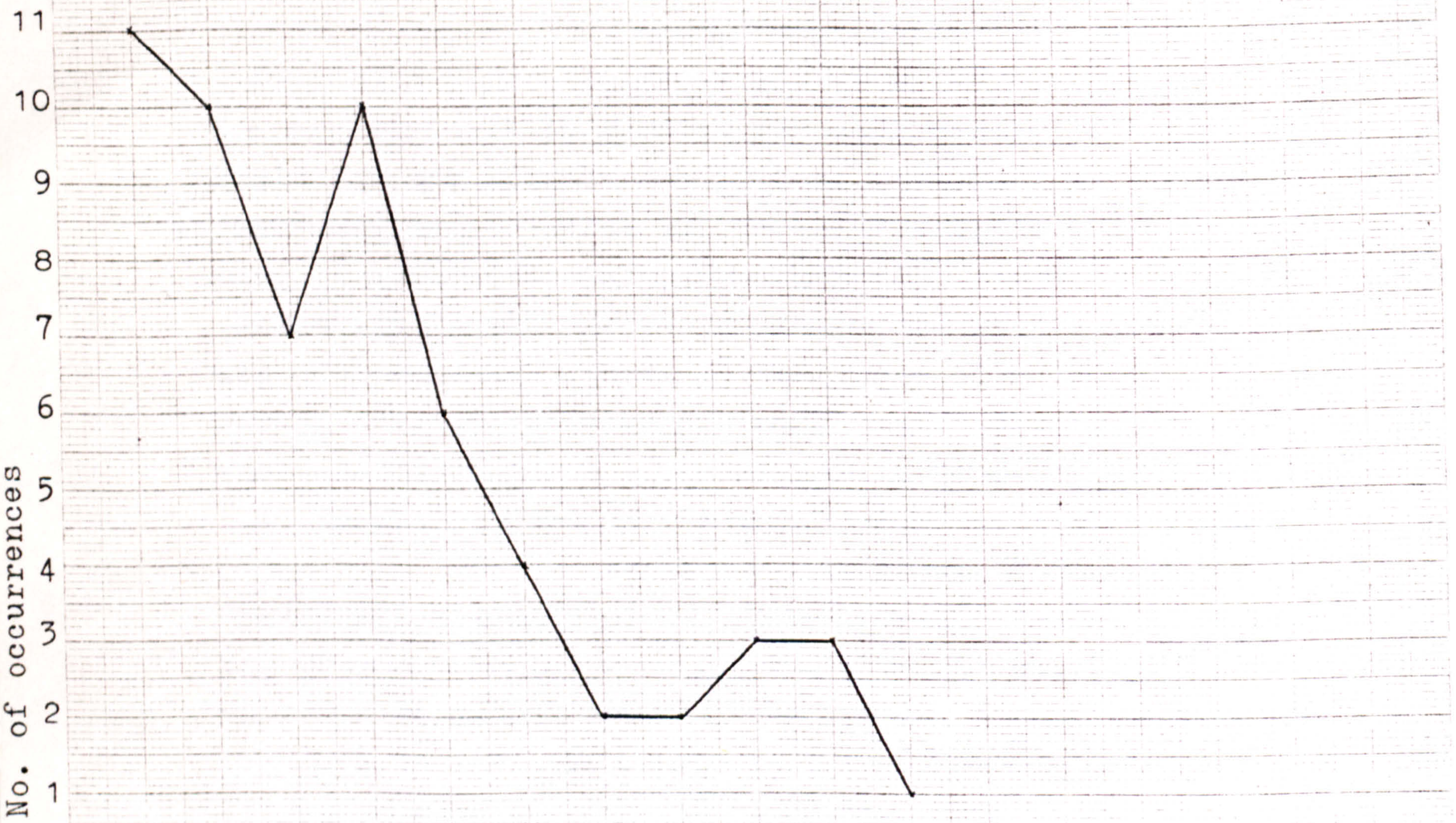
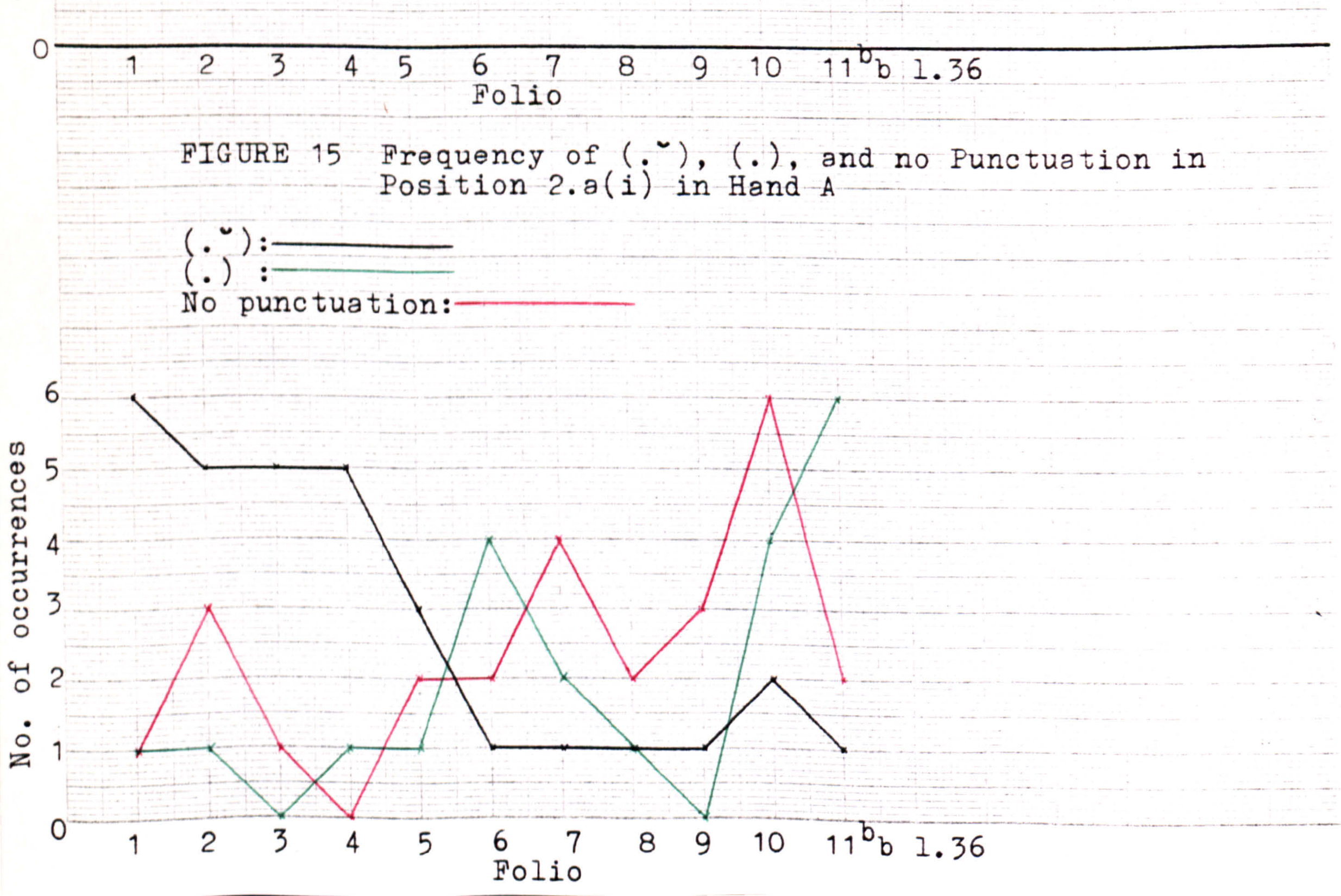


FIGURE 15 Frequency of (.˘), (.), and no Punctuation in Position 2.a(i) in Hand A

(.˘):———————
(.) :———————
No punctuation:———————



	Punctus Elevatus	Single Point
3) Before þat in a relative clause	2.d	4.2.d (i)
4) After a complex nominal group acting as subject, and before a verbal group	2.f	4.3.c
5) After a prepositional group and before the subject group and verbal group	2.g	4.3.g (i)
6) Before þat in the correlative so ... þat construction	2.h	4.2.f (i)
7) Before þan in a comparison	2.j	4.3.f (ii)

Over Hand A's section of the MS., the punctus elevatus decreases in frequency as shown in Fig. 14. There is not, however, a simple replacement of (.˘) by (.) in potential positions, for (.) is used in positions grammatically similar to those occupied by (.˘) from the first. A further factor must also be taken into account, the lack of any mark of punctuation at all in a position where (.˘) or (.) could be expected.

Fig. 15 shows the use of (.˘), (.) and no punctuation in a specific grammatical position (2.a (i) above). The position is that in which the majority of instances of (.˘) occurs, after a temporal adverbial clause in sentence-initial position, and before a free clause.

There is no significant or consistent difference in the immediate grammatical context of the passages whose type of punctuation, or lack of punctuation, are represented in Fig. 15. There is also no consistent difference in the length of the bound adverbial clause or of the following free clause, e.g.:

(.˘): And whan þe ladies herd þes wordes.˘ þei bicome wonder soor asshamed and seide þat þei wolde make a mendes.

(fol. $1^{b}a$)
(.): And wan Brute his sone whas xx^{ti}. ȝere olde.he went on a day wiþ his fader to solace hym 7 to play. (fol. $2^{b}a$)
No punctuation: And whan þis childe was boren his fader lete calle hym Brute and þe maistres seide þat þe child schuld doon mochel harme and wickidnes in many dyuerse places.and aftire he schuld come to mochel honur. (fol. $2^{b}a$)
(.˘): And wan the kynge herde this word.˘he hadde of hem grete pite and ȝafe hem an yland alle wyldernes þat no man yn dwellid but wild beestes. (fol. $10^{a}a$)
(.): And whan the feste whas done.euеryman wente to hys owne cuntrę (fol. $11^{a}b$ - fol. $11^{b}a$)
No punctuation: And whan Esidur was dede þer regned xxxiij kynges in pees eche after other. (fol. $10^{b}b$)

From the beginning of Hand A's section of text (.˘), (.) and no punctuation were all possible in certain grammatical positions. It is noticeable that all passages with (.˘) (except probably 2.m) can be read with a pause with rising intonation. The point, however, in its function as separator, does not indicate the tone to be used except in sentence-final position where a fall would be expected. As Hand A progressed with his section of text, he became less concerned to indicate precisely by means of (.˘) the tone to be used. Instead, he simply marked the fact that separate elements were involved in a given sentence. The pause is indicated by (.) but not the specific tone. Either Hand A expected a reader to have become familiar with his reading material by the fourth or fifth folio, or, as is more likely, Hand A was becoming less concerned with judging whether a certain tone was desirable or not in any given position as his task of writing progressed.

Where no punctuation is used, either the scribe has been careless, omitting to insert any mark, or the choice of division into tone-groups and the choice of tone are

left to the reader. Where a long connected narrative is present, punctuation of some form is usually found at fairly regular intervals; on the other hand, where the unadorned facts of a reign are given, punctuation is often omitted, e.g.:

How Seysyll whas made kynge þat whas Guentolennes sone after hys faderes dethe and wel gouerned þe lande.
Capitulo xxvj°
And whan kynge Guentolen whas dede Seisil his sone was made kynge and gouerned þe lande wel and wyselych as hys fader hadde done by fore hym and he whas kynge xv 3ere 7 after he deyde and lythe at newe Troye. [end of chapter][1]

In those passages where a reader would wish to read well, where the narrative is interesting and extended, punctuation is more likely to be found than in passages which contain uninteresting and brief facts.

Hand A would appear to have had an elocutionary purpose in his system of punctuation, but how far this purpose complements his expository purpose or simply corresponds with the grammatical use of punctuation cannot be decided with exactitude. Probably the answer lies in the gradual change from a predominantly interpretative to a structurally based system.[2] Even punctuation with an elocutionary purpose tends to appear in specific grammatical positions, and to this composite system Hand A's punctuation can be assigned.

The short oblique stroke in Hand A

The short oblique stroke or 'scratch comma' is found in the following instances:

1) And whan humbar sawe hym come, he whas sore adradde for as muche.as hym selfe 7 his men weren vnwar and vnarmed and hym sylfe þere for drede lepte in to þe watere and

---

[1] Likewise chapter 27. [2] See C.G. Harlow, op. cit., esp. pp. 18-19.

shamelich drenchit hym selfe and so deide he þere / and al his men þer were slayne so þat none of hem.ascaped.and þer for is þat water called humbar and schal for euermore for encheson þat humbar was þer in dreynte (fol. 5^{a}a - fol. 5^{a}b)

2) Lotryñ nowe trewlich ȝe a quyte ful euell þe trauail and desese.þat i haue hade.and suffred wiþ bruyte ȝour fader and þerfor now y wil be a venged vpon þe.and anone drewe out his fawchon.an hye and wold han killed lotryne.þere / but Etrild þe damysell went bi twene hem.7 made hem a corded in þis manere þat lotryne schuld spouse.Quentolen þat whas Corynus doghter and so he dede. (fol. 5^{a}b)

3) But Maulyñ.wold not suffre it so at þe last þei toke a loueday of a corde.and at the same day.Mempris lete kille his ȝongest broþere.þorgh treson of hym sylf / þo helde he al þe lande and lete Corowne hym kynge and regned (fol. 5^{b}a - fol. 5^{b}b)

4/5) And afterwardes.he bicome so wicked and so sterne so þat he distroyed in a litill tyme.alle þe men of his lande.and by come so cursed þat he forsoke his owne wife.and haunted þe synne of sodomye.7 þerfor our lorde god.whas wroþ and toke vpon hym vengeaunce / ffor vp on a day.as he wente in a wode on huntyng / he hadde loste al his men and whas hym selfe alone.7 wente vp 7 downe and gradde 7 criede after his men.˘ þer come rennyng wolfes 7 drogh hym al to peces.whan he hadde regned .xxiiij ȝere. (fol. 5^{b}b)

6) And þes were þe doghters names as ȝe schullen here afterward Elgyn.ymogen.Oghdas.Guontold.Tangustell.Gorghon / Michel.Medhan.Mailour.Ondur Cambrendan.Ragan.Routley. Neost Chegham.Scadud.Gladus.heberhyn Abalaghe And Blandan. (fol. 6^{a}a)

7) þo by ganne kynge leyl to make sorowe and saide alas now i haue to longe lyued sith þis sorowe ys me by falle.

for now y am poor but somtyme.y whas woned for to haue y nowe / and nowe haue y neiþer kyn ne frende þat wil do me any manere good. (fol. 7^{a}a)

8) And whan Cutlagh herd þis tydyng he wayted to mete with Brenne.wiþ as many schippes as he myght haue so þat þoo fletes two mettyn to gederes and sore foughten to geders longe tyme / But Bren and his peple.7 hys shippes weren discomfited (fol. 9^{a}a)

9) And þis kynge Grandobodyane had iiij sones.Artogaile/ hesidur/lygamis 7 petitur. (fol. 10^{a}b)

10) In this instance, the stroke is very faintly made: And so it by fylle afterwardes.whan god wolde þis Enneas deide / and whan he whas dede.ᵕAsquanius his sone þat come wiþ hym fro Troye vndirfange þe lande.and hadde hit at his wille.al his lyves tyme. (fol. 2^{a}b - fol. 2^{b}a)

In the following two instances, the oblique stroke has a dot beneath its foot:

11) And whan þei were come he spake to hem 7 repreued hem of her wickydnes.and of her foly / and seid to hem but if þei wold amende hem þei schuld lese his loue foreuere more (fol. 1^{b}a)

12) My fayr sustren.3e wote welle þat þe kynge our fader hathe repreued vs for we schulde bene obedient 7 meke vn to oure housbondes 7 þat wil y neuere doon̄ þe while þat I leue / sith þat i am comen of an heyer 7 a werthiere blode þan myne housbonde. (fol. 1^{b}a - fol. 1^{b}b)

In the above instances, it would not have been inconsistent with his practice elsewhere if Hand A had used a single point instead of the oblique stroke. The scratch comma was later a common punctuation mark used by the early printers, and its use here may be attributed to a desire to use a 'modern' mark of punctuation.

Hand B

Although Hand B has written the longest section of text, from the foot of fol. $11^{b}b$ to almost the foot of fol. $92^{b}b$, he uses very little punctuation except the capitalisation of the initial letter of a word as an indication of the beginning of a sentence. Other words that do not begin a sentence also occasionally receive a capital initial (much in the same way as do words in Hand A[1] and Hand C[2]).

A few paragraph-marks occur at the beginning of the section, but are probably attributable to the influence of Hand A.[3] They occur as markers of sense-unit structure.

Apparent instances of the single point, although not very frequent, are bedevilled by the difficulties outlined below[4], but such instances as appear to be definitely intended as punctuation marks are recorded in the text. They are sufficiently infrequent to obviate the need for a separate detailed classification; they occur in positions paralleled in the more complex systems of Hands A and C. The single point is also used with non-punctuative intention in conjunction with numerals.

Hand B's practice in omitting punctuation has, however, a negative value in showing yet another system open to the medieval scribe and apparently acceptable to the medieval reader.

Hand C

The section written by Hand C of Hunt. MS. T.3.12 extends from the foot of fol. $92^{b}b$ to the foot of fol. $113^{a}b$, containing the chapter heading of chapter 230 to the 1419(men) ending of the Siege of Rouen. This section

---

[1]See pp. 253-4. [2]See pp. 269-70. [3]See p. 219.
[4]See pp. 332-3.

is generally heavily punctuated, using the following punctuation marks:

1) The capitalisation of the initial letter of a word.

2) Double oblique strokes (//) which reach from approximately the height of a minuscule a to a point below the line of the writing. On several occasions a space is left after the double oblique strokes, presumably for the later insertion of coloured paragraph-marks (cf. the similar use by Hand A of oblique strokes).

3) A single oblique line (/), reaching from approximately the height of a minuscule a to a point below the line of the writing.

4) The single point (.), placed either on the line of the writing or half the height of a minuscule a above it.

5) The punctus elevatus (.˙).

6) One instance of a colon (:).

1) Capitalisation

Capital letters are normally unambiguously distinct forms, although A is occasionally difficult to distinguish from the minuscule a except from a comparison of size. Capital letters are used in the following positions:

a) As the initial letter of a proper name or title. The use of capitalisation in this position is not consistent.

b) As the initial letter of certain words, presumably thought 'significant' by the scribe, such as 'castle', 'realm', 'reign', etc. This use is not restricted to nouns, however, and other parts of speech are sometimes found with an initial capital. Occasionally the capitalised word occurs after a punctuation-mark, at the beginning of a new clause or a sentence (see d) below), and although certain trends in the scribal practice can be detected, this use does not seem to be absolutely consistent.

c) As the initial letter of a word beginning a

rubricated chapter heading.

d) As the initial letter of a word beginning a 'sentence'. The working definition of a sentence used for Hand A cannot, however, be applied to Hand C. Primarily this is due to Hand C's widespread use of the Tironian sign for et(7, ⁊), for one cannot tell whether the scribe intends a new sentence or not from his use of capitalisation. The prose of Hand C's section is more complex and the grammatical constructions more varied than those found in Hand A's section, but there is still a prolix use of coordination to link sentences and clauses. Accordingly, there is no completely objective criterion of what constitutes a sentence in Hand C where a series of coordinated clauses, whether free or subordinate followed by free, is found. The means of punctuation described and discussed below can separate or link a number of constructions, and no one mark can be taken as functioning exclusively as a marker of sentence termination. It is possible that the sentence as a concept did not mean as much to the medieval punctuator as it does to us today. However, the following criteria have been applied for descriptive purposes to Hand C's section, using the text to determine the definition of a 'sentence':

1) If free clauses occur with no intervening coordinator, especially if a mark of punctuation separates them, then they are regarded as separate sentences. This also applies if the free clauses have any associated subordinate clauses. Asyndetic parataxis occurs, but it can be limited in the grammatical analysis to free clauses that occur without coordination or subordination within another clause, i.e. in what would be a parenthetical position in modern punctuation practice, marked off by brackets or dashes. As will be seen below, Hand C recognized this construction and punctuated accordingly.

2) If the coordinator has an initial capital, then it has

been taken to begin a new sentence.
3) If a punctuation mark is followed by a Tironian et sign, then, as we have said, there is no objective way of deciding whether a new sentence was intended or not. If, however, there is a considerable break in the meaning or continuity of the narrative, corresponding to a new sense-unit, then a new sentence has been assumed. Typical examples would be: '7 in the same year ...'; '7 afterward ...'; '7 when ...' A certain amount of subjective judgement has to be applied in deciding what constitutes a new sense-unit, and since strictly there is no grammatical difference from simple coordination, such examples have been enumerated separately in the grammatical analysis below.

2) Double Oblique Strokes

Double oblique strokes have been used 253 times, and occur in the following positions:

1) As an indication of sense-unit structure: 107 instances
At the end of a sentence:

a) between free clauses (with any associated subordinate clauses) with no intervening coordinator:

(i) with a following capital initial: 7 instances:

... to hem þat weren of lower degre 7 lytell reputacioun // In þis same 3ere dyede henry þe duke of lancastre ... (fol. 94^{b}b)

... wyse men 7 dyscrete 7 well proued of gode gouernaunce shulden be put in here stedes // So a monge alle oþere þere was amonge þe comens a wyse kny3t ... (fol. 98^{b}b)

(ii) with a following lower-case initial: 17 instances, usually with lower-case þ, for which Hand C uses no equivalent capital:

... þe towne was 3elde vnto him with oute any maner defence or deficultif beyng // þan þe king of Scotlond ...

(fol. $93^{a}a$)
... þat weren suche enemyes vnto kynges // whan þis noble ⁊ worthi Prince hadde resseyued þese lettres ... (fol. $95^{b}b$)

b) before a coordinator with a capital initial, often introducing a new sense-unit: 38 instances:
... of whome .ij. Millyouns sholde be payde a none in hand // And ȝe shal vnderstonde þat a Millioun is M^{l}. þowsandes // And after somme mennes Raunsoun̄ was sette at iij. M^{l}. ffloreynes. ⁊ alle is one in effecte // And þis same ȝere ... (fol. $93^{a}b$)
... þat one was þe duke of Burgoyne ⁊ þat oþere þe duke of Barre // But þese forsayd lordis nold nouȝt come to Caleys ... (fol. $102^{b}b$)

There is one instance where (//) is reinforced by a point[1]:
... with þe helpe of Ihesus.// And þan the dolfyn ... (fol. $109^{a}a$)

[With ellipsis of subject: 1 instance]:
... ⁊ many þat were take presoneres weren sette to here Raunsoñ // And vppon here trewþe ⁊ knihthode were charged ⁊ hadden leue to go home ... (fol. $93^{a}b$)

c) at the end of a sentence and sense-unit at the end of a chapter: 1 instance:
... þan he was by fore //
How þe Duke ... (fol. $97^{b}b$)

d) before the Tironian sign for et and a probable new sense-unit: 37 instances (cf. position 2):
... boþe Ostes vanshed a way // ⁊ in þis same ȝere ... (fol. $94^{b}b$)
... a busshe of whete was sold for xld // ⁊ a boute þe

---

[1]Cf. the combination of the point and the single oblique stroke (virgula) 'used to conclude paragraphs as well as whole documents', noted in L.C. Hector, op. cit., p. 47.

laste ende of May ... (fol. 96^{b}a)
7 in þe same ȝere was þe kinges koyne chaunged þorowe oute englond by þe king 7 his counceyle þat is to saye þe nobull half nobull 7 fferthinge of gold // 7 in þe .xiiij^{e}. ȝere of kinge henries Regne ... (fol. 108^{b}a)

2) <u>As an indication of either sense-unit or sentence structure: 67 instances</u>

Between free clauses (with any associated subordinate clauses) before a coordinator with a lower-case initial (usually <u>and</u>) or the Tironian sign for <u>et</u> (where not covered by position 1.d). Many of these instances could be classified under position 1.d. The lower-case initial of the coordinator is not a sure guide allowing one to assume that the following clause is not a separate sentence, for often the wording can be paralleled in instances where a capital initial is used, even at the level of an apparent new sense-unit. Where the Tironian sign for <u>et</u> is used, the distinctions from position 1.d are marginal and subjective, as the examples chosen show.
65 instances:
... 7 an hundrid of hir men of armes weren þ<u>er</u>e slayne // 7 þe erle of damice 7 þe steward of ffraunce were þere take ... (fol. 93^{a}a)
... vnnethes fro mydday vnto ny3t þey mi3t no3t come vnto westmynster // and þe kinges Raunson of ffraunce was taxed 7 sette to iij. Millioun<u>s</u> of Scutes ... (fol. 93^{a}b)
... graciously þey þ<u>er</u>e a cordid // 7 þ<u>er</u> was done 7 songen A Solempne Masse ... (fol. 94^{a}b)
... þ<u>er</u>e was grete Scarsite of corne.˘ frute 7 haye // and in þis same ȝere ... (fol. 94^{b}a)
[he] be hyȝte to brynge him a grete Navee of Spayne in confusyoun 7 destroynge of þe Reame of englond // but ryȝth ful god to whom no pr<u>e</u>uete is vnknowe.˘ suffred hym ferste to be shent ... (fol. 99^{a}b)

[With the subject elided in the second free clause: in this case we are probably, though not certainly, dealing with sentence structure: 6 instances]:
... he be hyȝt hym with þe grace of god. to restore him aȝen vnto his kingdom // ⁊ a non lete ordeyne ⁊ gadre ... (fol. 96^{a}a)
... he wente in alle haste to warde Normandie // ⁊ destroied þe yle of kaux ... (fol. 96^{b}a)

We can include here two instances of (//) occurring before direct speech:
... ⁊ seyde // we .N. And .N. swereñ ... (fol. 94^{a}a)
[they] Sworen þere þe same othe þat was wreten vpon goddis body ⁊ vpoñ þe Masse boke in þis wise // we .N. and .N. ... (fol. 94^{b}a)

3) As an indication of sentence structure: 66 instances

Occurring before a subordinate clause:

a) before a relative clause. This is a common use and it is noteworthy that the scribe uses a capital initial consistently in some of the positions where the following word is a preposition; it would be possible to see these examples as separate sentences, but in view of the analogous positions where a lower-case initial is used for the following word, they have been included here. (//) occurs before relative clauses beginning with the following words:

(i) the which: 17 instances:
... a Sangweyne Crosse ffrom morowe vnto prime was seyne ⁊ appered at Boleyne in þe Ayer // þe which many a man hit sawe ... (fol. 94^{b}a)
... he ordeyned hym a parlement at westmynstre // þe whiche was called þe grete parlement ... (fol. 103^{b}a)

(ii) in (the) which: 5 instances, in four of which in has a capital initial:
... þere was a boystis ⁊ stronge vessel of here Nauee þat

was ouere Sailed of þe englisshe men.˘ 7 þat was pershed 7 dreinte // In þe whiche þe Steward 7 oþere worþy 7 grete men of denmark weren take presoners ... (fol. 95^{b}a) ... 7 Sere herry wakefeld to þe Bisshopriche of worcestre // In whiche tyme hit was ordeyned ... (fol. 98^{a}a) ... [he] helde his parlement at westmynster.˘ þe grettest þat was seen many 3ere afore // in þe whiche parlement he axede ... (fol. 98^{b}a)

(iii) of (the) which: 4 instances, in one of which of has a capital initial:

... .vij. M^{l}. cosyn men of armes 7 oþere mekil peple in to an houge passinge nombre // of þe whiche þere were slayne ... (fol. 93^{a}b)

... le ffyt3 water.˘ þe lord Graunsom̄ 7 oþere worthy knytes // Of whiche kny3tes ... (fol. 96^{b}b)

(iv) with whom: 1 instance:

... kynge Edward was trauailed in þe coostes of þe Reyne.˘ abowte Seint hillary tyde and he departyd his oste 7 wente too.˘ Burgoyne warde // with whom þanne mette pesabely þe duke of Burgoyne ... (fol. 93^{b}a)

(v) by whom: 1 instance, in which by has a capital initial:

... ffor to wedde Caloys dou3ter 7 haue here to wyfe // By whom he sholde haue half þe lordshyp ... (fol. 96^{a}b)

(vi) after whom: 1 instance, in which after has a capital initial:

... 7 in boþe places þat he was beried Inne.˘ þere bene manye meracles don̄.˘ 7 wrou3t þoru3 þe grace of god to many a mannes helpe.˘ 7 eke vnto þe worshepe of god 7 of oure lady // After whom folowyde nexte 7 was made Pope Gregorie ... (fol. 97^{a}a)

(vii) whose: 4 instances:

7 in þis same 3ere was a grete 7 an houge pestilence of peple 7 namely of Men // whos wyfes as oute of gouernaunce token housbondis ... (fol. 94^{b}b)

(viii) in whose: 2 instances, in both of which in has a capital initial:

In þis same ȝere deyde Iohn the erchebysshop̄ of ȝorke Iohn Bisshop̄ of ely william Bisshop̄ of worcestre // In whoes stedes folowynge 7 weren made Bisshopis ... (fol. 98^{a}a)

(ix) through whose: 1 instance:

... counseil 7 helpe of Sere edwarde þe Prince // þoroȝ whos counsaile ... (fol. 95^{b}a)

b) before an adverbial clause: 2 instances:

... þe whiche þinge 7 articules // whan kinge edward had seyne hem.˘ he grauntyd hem ... (fol. 94^{a}a)

... 7 his hede was sette vpoñ londoñ Bregge // ffor þis same Iohn was ful vntrewe to þe kynge 7 to þe Reame ... (fol. 99^{a}b)

c) before an explanatory clause beginning þat is to say/wete: 3 instances:

... 7 in þe mene tyme were ordeyned.Iustes at londoñ iij daies of þe Rogaciouns // þat is to seye þe Maiere of londoñ with his xxiiij Aldermen aȝens alle þo þat wolde come ... (fol. 93^{b}a)

... vilagis by þe see costes.˘ [they] hadden entryde as enemyes // þat is to wete þe towne of winchelsee ... (fol. 93^{b}a)

7 in þe .vj. kallend of Iuyll lastynge þe same parlement deyede þe gode Prince edward kynge edwardus fyrste Sone // þat ys for to saye in Trinite Sonday ... (fol. 98^{b}b)

d) before a resultative clause beginning wherefore: 8 instances:

... þe which tempeste ful moche ȝitte fered noȝt þe kynge ne moche of his peple.˘ þat þey ne wente forþ in here viage þat þey had be gonne // wherfore abowte þe feste of holy Rode day in May.˘ fastby Carnocum þe forsaide lordis of ffraunce metynge þere with þe kynge of englonde maden þere a peseble acorde ... (fol. 94^{a}a)

... but þe wynde was contrarye evene to him.˘ 7 suffred him not long tyme.˘ to go ferre from þe lande // wherfore he abode a serteyne tyme vpon þe See coostes ... (fol. 97^{b}b)

e) before a coordinated noun object clause: 3 instances:

... tretyng and spekinge of þe calenginge of þe kinges ri3t of englond þat he had vnto þe Reame of ffraunce // And þat he wolde a venged be with strong hande ... (fol. 93^{a}a)

... þat is for to saye þat he shulde haue of euery persone of þe lay ffee.˘ boþe of man 7 woman.˘ þat passyd .xiiij. 3ere of age.˘ iiijd oute take pore beggers þat weren knowen opinly for nedy pore beggers // 7 þat he sholdde haue of euery man of holy chirche ... (fol. 99^{a}a)

f) before a clause beginning in so much that: 1 instance:

... þere felle grete hinderynge 7 destroyinge of Corne // in so meche þat þe nexte 3ere aftir a busshe of whete was sold for xld ... (fol. 96^{b}a)

g) before þat in such ... þat construction: 1 instance:

... he wolde abyde Batayle in þe felde vndir seche condicioun // þat 3yf þe kynge of englonde were ouere come þer as god forbede hyt þat he shulde neuere þanne.˘ chalenge þe kingdom of ffraunce ... (fol. 93^{b}b)

h) before a non-finite participial verbal clause: 4 instances:

... þey offrede 7 proferede vnto þe kynge of englonde // Requiringe his grace in all þing ... (fol. 94^{a}a)

... in þat tyme Regned 7 werred þylke orpyde kny3t Sere Iohn hawkwode.˘ þat was an englisshe man Borne // havinge with him at his gouernaunce.˘ þilke tyme þe whyte companye ... (fol. 96^{b}b)

i) between non-finite clauses containing an infinitive dependent on a preceding modal verb: 3 instances, which

occur in the same section of text:
... he sholde euere aftir mayntene þe Ri3th beleue ⁊ feith of holy cherche // ⁊ also with all here Mynestres ry3tes ⁊ libertes to defende from all here enemyes ⁊ alle eueles ⁊ alle þat weren þere a 3enste bitterly to.˘ ponesshe ⁊ destroble // ⁊ þe Ri3t libertes ⁊ preuelages of holi chirche to encrese mayntene ⁊ a mende //⁊ all þinges þat were wrongfully be nome with drawe ⁊ bore away by hym oþere by any oþere.˘ by cause of him hastely to restore a 3en ... (fol. 95^{b}b)

j) after an adverbial clause (with any associated subordinate clauses) occurring in initial position before a free clause: 4 instances:
and whan agnus dei was do.˘ þe kyng beynge þere with his Sones.˘ ⁊ also with þe kinges Sones of ffraunce ⁊ oþere noble ⁊ grete lordis with candelles li3t in here handis.˘ ⁊ crosse I brou3t fforthe // Alle þo þat were called þer to ⁊ were nou3t Swore.˘ Sworen þere ... (fol. 94^{b}a)
⁊ for þe kynge ⁊ oþere of his counceile accepted 7 token raþere þat here euell openyons ⁊ causis a 3en of holi chirche.˘ þan he dede for to defende ⁊ maintenye þe ry3th of holy chirche // hit was seen in many tymes aftur ... (fol. 97^{b}b)

4) <u>As an indication of clause structure: 12 instances</u>

a) between coordinate prepositional groups: 1 instance:
... þere were felde in þe felde vpon owre enemyes syde.˘ of worthy lordis ⁊ kny3tes.˘ ⁊ oþere mene peple.˘ in to þe Noumbre of vij. M^{1}. ⁊ moo // ⁊ of englisshe me but a fewe þanked be god ... (fol. 96^{a}b)

b) before a prepositional group: 4 instances:
[he] was made duke of lancastre // by resoun ⁊ cause of his wyfe ... (fol. 94^{b}b)
⁊ in þis same 3ere in Marche was stella Comata seyne //

by twene þe North coostes 7 þe west ... (fol. 96[a]b)

c) between two coordinated nominal groups: 1 instance:
7 whan þe place // 7 þe tyme was a synyd ... (fol. 94[a]b)

d) between an adverb and the subject of a clause: 1 instance, which has possibly been misread by the scribe, who may have associated the adverb with the preceding clause:
... and alle þe prelatis lordis Baronis peeres and myȝti men of þat contre.˘ consented welle to him þanne // Sere edward þe prince ,with a greet oste gadrid vn to him þe vj. day of Iuly.˘ went fro Bordeux ... (fol. 93[a]a)

e) before a second 'hanging' subject which is dependent on the verb of the first subject: 1 instance:
7 þe king of ffraunce þere was take // and Sere philip his ȝonger sone.˘ 7 many dukes 7 noble men 7 worþi knyȝtes and noble men of armes ... (fol. 93[a]b)

f) after a prepositional group with qualifying clause(s) before the subject of a free clause: 2 instances:
7 in þe presence of þe forsayde men þat þere were ordeyned to admitte 7 resseyue þe Othes 7 of alle oþere þat þere myȝte be // þe same karoll leyde his ryȝth hande vpon̄ þe patene ... (fol. 94[a]a)
but ȝette þoruȝ þe grace of god all myȝti.˘ euere passinge any mannes strengthe // þilke huge Oste was myȝtili disperpeled ... (fol. 96[a]b)

g) after a non-finite clause separating a relative pronoun acting as subject from the verb: 1 instance:
... þe whiche forȝetinge here owne worshipe 7 berthe // and coupeled 7 marred hem.˘ to hem þat weren of lower degre ... (fol. 94[b]b) [and ... 7 'both ... both'; see MED s.v. and conj. 1c.(a)]

h) after a (passive) verb and following prepositional phrases before an adverb and the nominal group acting as subject: 1 instance:
7 anon aftir þere folowyd 7 was seen in þe morne afore þe

sonne rysynge.˘ ⁊ aftir in þe laste day of October // but one sterre ... (fol. $96^{a}a$)

5) As an indication of group structure; 1 instance

There is one instance of (//) occurring as a marker at group level; between a preposition and a nominal group in a prepositional group;

... of þe lay ffe was iij 3eres grau[n]ted vnto // þe kynge (fol. $96^{b}b$)

From the grammatical analysis of the positions occupied by the double oblique stroke it is clear that it is used to delineate fairly large structural elements in the text. It is used to join or link elements of sense-unit structure on 107 occasions, elements of either sense-unit or sentence structure on 67 occasions (a number of which could be taken with the first position), elements of sentence-structure on 66 occasions, and elements of clause-structure on only 12 occasions. The primary function of (//) can therefore be said to be that of separation.

3) A Single Oblique Stroke

There are 251 instances of the single oblique stroke, almost as many as of the double oblique strokes, and this punctuation-marker is used in the following positions;

1) As an indication of sense-unit structure; 78 instances

At the end of a sentence;

a) between free clauses (with any associated subordinate clauses) with no intervening coordinator;

(i) with a following capital initial; 4 instances, only one of which however belongs with certainty to this position, since the following words in the other instances could occur with a capital initial in positions other than at the beginning of a sentence;

... 7 ther they a quytte hem as gode werroures vnto the kinge / Now woll y tell 3ow whiche weren the cheffe capteynes and gouernores of þees Cetee of Rone / Moun ser Guy Boteler was chef capteyne ... Henre Chamfewe he was capteyne of the porte de pount / Iohn Matryuas he was capteyne of the porte de la Chastell / Moun ser de peneux he was capteine of þe porte de Seint Illary ... (fol. $113^{a}b$)

(ii) with a following lower case initial: 5 instances, 4 of which occur before þ:

... 7 after he stole away / þan the kinge a none by gode a vyse lete a raye hys Batayle ... (fol. $110^{a}a$)

... 7 vndir þis composisioun was [yielded] þe towne 7 þe Castell of Bayews with oþere towne forteyses 7 velages in to þe nombir of .xiiij. townes / vpon þe hyll be fore þe towne 7 þe castell of Canee oure kyng py3te all hys tentys ... (fol. $111^{b}a$)

b) before a coordinator with a capital initial, often introducing a new sense-unit: 38 instances:

... 7 þis wynde lastyd with oute any Sesynge .vij. dayes continualiche / And a noon aftir þere folowid ... (fol. $95^{a}a$)

[he] kepte him ffaste in holde tyll he was Raunsoned / And in þe .iij. 3ere of kynge henry ... (fol. $106^{a}a$)

[With ellipsis of subject: 7 instances]:

... he toke ofte tymes grete Sommes of money of þe kynge 7 of his counsel. ffor men of armes wages. þat he shulde haue payede vnto hem / And toke hit vn to his owne vsee ... (fol. $99^{a}b$)

... 7 þou3te to a wenge hym vpon hem as sone as god wolde sende hym grace 7 my3te / And a none lete make tenyes balles ... (fol. $109^{a}a$)

7 he returned a3en / And logged him be sides þe erle of huntingdoun ... (fol. $113^{a}a$)

c) before the Tironian sign for et and a probable new sense-unit: 24 instances (cf. position 2):
... but ȝet wolde not þe kinge consente ne graunte to here electioun of þe Cardinall.ʼne þe Pope also ne his Cardinals / 7 a boute þe begynyng of August ... (fol. 98^{a}a)
... on whos soule god for his pete haue mercy Amen / 7 in þis same ȝere ... (fol. 107^{a}b)
... 7 fro þennes vnto þe Cete of Rone / 7 in þe .v^{e}. ȝere of king henries Regne ... (fol. 112^{a}a)

2) As an indication of either sense-unit or sentence structure: 101 instances

Between free clauses (with any associated subordinate clauses) before a coordinator with a lower-case initial (usually and) or the Tironian sign for et (where not covered by position 1.c). The comments made above with reference to the double oblique strokes in a similar position apply here also; a number of the instances with the Tironian sign for et could be classified under position 1.c. Similarly, on a number of occasions the coordinator and with a lower-case initial almost certainly introduces a new sense-unit, as the examples chosen illustrate. 84 instances:
7 in þe same ȝere at Bristowe was take þe lord dispencer þat kyng Richard had made erle of Gloucestre / 7 þe commens of þe towne of Bristowe toke him ... (fol. 105^{b}b)
[they] weren drawe þorowe oute londoñ to Tyborn 7 þere hanged 7 here hedens smeten of 7 sette on londoñ Brygge / and in þis same ȝere ... (fol. 106^{a}a)
... often tyme þey token þe kynges Caryage 7 euery day distroyed his peple / but Ewayne 7 his men for þe moste party a scapyd ... (fol. 106^{a}b)
And aftir þe deth of king henri þe .iiij^{e}. Regned henrie his sone þat was borñ at Monmouthe in walis þat was a

worthy kyng 7 a gracious 7 a grete conqueroure / and in
þe firste 3ere of his Regne ... (fol. 108^{b}a)
... 7 so þe king come ryding with his preseneres to london
þorowe þe cete vnto poules / 7 þere mette with him xiiij
Byshopis ... (fol. 110^{b}a)
[With the subject elided in the second free clause: in
this case we are probably, though not certainly, dealing
with sentence-structure: 17 instances]:
And on þe .iiij. day come Sere Iohn Cheyneys Sone / 7
manly quyt hym a 3ens his aduersarie ... (fol. 107^{b}b)
[he] come on message fro þe lordis of ffraunce to þe
king / 7 sayde to þe king ... (fol. 110^{a}a)

3) As an indication of sentence structure: 36 instances

a) after a temporal adverbial clause before a free clause: 9 instances:
... 7 whanne þey were þere atte hauene Mouthe.˘ or þey
my3te entre / sodenly come.˘ vppon̄ hem a stronge Naue of
Spayne ... (fol. 97^{b}a)
... and þan Sere Thomas Percy erle of worcestre þat was
þe kinges steward.˘ weste 7 knewe þis / a none he come in
to þe halle ... (fol. 105^{a}a)
... 7 whan all þis was done 7 þe Shippis come vp / þan
come þe erle of warwyk a 3en vnto þe king ... (fol. 112^{b}b)

b) before an 'intrusive' temporal adverbial clause: 1 instance:
... wherfore þey þat were with Inne the towne / whan þey
shulde haue pleyed . songon weyalawey ... (fol. 109^{b}a)

c) before an 'intrusive' adverbial clause of manner: 1 instance:
... Sere edward prince of walys / as a man enspired of god
was in Gyane in þe cite of Bordeux ... (fol. 93^{a}a)

d) before þat in a so ... þat construction: 1 instance:
... 7 þere þey drade to haue ben ded þe water closyd hem so
in / þat þey my3te neuere gete oute ... (fol. 112^{a}a)

e) before an adverbial clause of reason: 4 instances:
... but oure lord god wolde not suffere hit / for in hast oure king had warnyng þere of ... (fol. 108^{b}b)
... 7 þere abode tyll hys retenewe were redy 7 come to him / ffor þer was all hys Naueye of Shippis ... (fol. 111^{a}a)

The following example has been included under this position, although the syntax has become somewhat confused:
7 þis same pers was chosen speker for þe comens in þe parlement / And for þis same pers tolde 7 publyssed þe trowþe ... (fol. 98^{b}b)

f) before a relative clause, beginning with the words:

(i) the which: 3 instances:
... edwarde Prince edwarde sone / þe whiche whan he was but vij. 3ere olde deyde // (fol. 95^{a}b)
... he toke 7 made his Sonne þe duke of lancastre gouernour of his Reame / þe whiche stode so stylle gouerned vn to þe tyme þat he deyede.˘ (fol. 99^{a}a)

(ii) in the which: 1 instance:
7 þe erle of damice 7 þe steward of ffraunce were þere take with an hundrid men of armes / in þe whiche 3ere ... (fol. 93^{a}a)

(iii) þat 'which': 1 instance:
... 7 on þe ffryday aftir / þat was on þe Morne.˘ þey comen vnto london þe Toure ... (fol. 99^{b}b)

g) after an 'intrusive' relative clause: 1 instance:
... for þere weren .iij. englisshe lordis whiche þe king truste meche to / for false couetice had purposyd 7 ymaged þe kinges deþ ... (fol. 109^{a}b)

h) before an explanatory clause beginning þat is to say: 1 instance:
... poyntes of tresouñ þat þey were defamed of / þat is forto saye.˘ þat þey weren rebelle ... (fol. 97^{a}b)

i) before a noun object clause: 1 instance:
And þen come tythyngys to þe king / þat þe king of

ffraunce and þe dolfyne 7 þe Duke of Burgoyne wolden come to rescu þe towne of Rone ... (fol. 113^{a}a)

j) between coordinated noun object clauses: 2 instances:

... to se what pepul weren dede / 7 ȝif any were herte þat myȝte be made hole or holpe ... (fol. 110^{a}b)

... 7 þey answerd 7 sayde he toke hem none / ne none þey wold delyuere vnto him ... (fol. 111^{a}b)

k) before a non-finite clause: 3 instances:

... þe kynge come þe same nyȝte to londoñ preuely in alle the haste þat he myȝte / to gete him helpe socoure and counceyle ... (fol. 105^{b}b)

... he ordeyned hym a stronge power of men of armes 7 of archers 7 mekyl oþere stuffe þat longed to werre / ffor to abate 7 destroie þe malise of þese false welshe men ... (fol. 106^{a}b)

l) after a non-finite clause (with any associated clauses): 2 instances:

And þan oure kyng by holdyng 7 seynge þe grete multitude 7 nombre of his enemyes to with stonde his way 7 forto ȝeue him Batayle / þan þe kinge with a meke herte 7 a gode sperite lefte vp his handis ... (fol. 109^{b}b)

m) between non-finite clauses: 4 instances:

And in þe xxxj ȝere of his regne þe xvj day of Ianuar þe king being in þe Castell of Berwyke with a fewe men / but hauyng þere ffast by a grete oste ... (fol. 93^{a}a)

And a none þe king comaunded to berie hem / 7 duke of ȝorke to be caried forþe with him ... (fol. 110^{a}b)

n) between coordinated subordinate adverbial clauses: 1 instance:

... he be souȝte þe kinge to ȝeue hym .xiiij. dayes of respite . ȝif any Rescue wold come / 7 ȝyf none come he to delyuere hym þe keys ... (fol. 111^{b}a)

4) <u>As an indication of clause structure: 34 instances</u>

As an indication of clause structure the single oblique stroke occurs in the following positions:

a) after a prepositional group: 2 instances:

... ȝ in þe xij ȝere of kyng edwarde / was borne at Burdeux Ricarde þe secunde ... (fol. 95^{a}b)

... 7 in þat same ȝere / Serle ȝeman of þe king Richard Robes come in to englond ... (fol. 106^{b}b)

b) between prepositional groups:

(i) coordinated: 7 instances:

... in good Aray as longed to seche a worthy kyng ȝ prince of his nobley / ȝ of his owne p<u>er</u>sone ... (fol. 102^{b}b)

... 7 þ<u>er</u>e mette w<u>i</u>t<u>h</u> hem þe lord hamby at here londyng w<u>i</u>t<u>h</u> a .vij. M^{l}. men of armes of ffrenche men / and þre Sergeaunt<u>e</u>s of armes w<u>i</u>t<u>h</u> him 7 alle were putte to flyȝth ... (fol. 108^{a}b)

... 7 in þe .iij. ȝere of king henries Regne þe .v^{e}. come þe emp<u>er</u>o<u>ur</u>e of Almayne king of Beeme 7 of hungry in to englond / 7 so to þe cete of londoñ ... (fol. 110^{b}a)

7 þ<u>er</u>e he rested hym a grete while / And at the kynges coste ... (fol. 110^{b}b)

(ii) uncoordinated: 3 instances:

... where was a masse songe ful Solemplye of þe tr<u>i</u>nite / of þe erchebysshop of Caunt<u>er</u>burye ... (fol. 94^{b}a)

7 in þe same ȝere / At Prytelwell in a Mille in Essex ... (fol. 105^{b}b)

c) to separate nominal groups acting at the same grammatical position in the clause:

(i) coordinated: 8 instances:

... ȝ eu<u>ery</u> man in a gode araye / ȝ eu<u>ery</u> crafte w<u>i</u>t<u>h</u> hys Minstralsye in þe beste man<u>er</u>e mette w<u>i</u>t<u>h</u> here ... (fol. 100^{a}b)

... 7 þe king welcomed him / And all hys pepull 7 made hym ryȝth gode chere ... (fol. 113^{a}a)

The following example has been included under this position although it is possible that the scribe misread the exemplar and intended a new sentence to begin after (/):

... þat is to saye Sere Alysaundre Nevyle þe erchebisshop of 3orke ⁊ Sere Robert ver Markeys of develyn ⁊ erle of Oxinford / And Sere Michell de la pole erle of Southfolke ⁊ Chaunceler of englond ⁊ þese þre lordis wenten ouere þe see ... (fol. 101^{a}a)

(ii) uncoordinated: 1 instance, which has a relative clause acting as qualifier to a nominal group before a parenthetical nominal group separated by (/):

... euery man womman ⁊ childe þat weren at þe age of xiiij. 3ere ⁊ a bouen þorowe oute þe Reame / pore folke ⁊ obere sholde paye to þe talage iiijd ... (fol. 99^{b}a)

d) to separate an appositional group or groups:

(i) coordinated: 1 instance:

[he] slowe þe Erles sone of Staffor / ⁊ his heyre with a dagger ... (fol. 100^{b}a)

(ii) uncoordinated: 3 instances:

... in þe same 3ere Sere Robert knolles / kny3th þe worthy werryour deyde at his manere in Northfolke ... (fol. 107^{a}b)

... þe king made his sone / Thomas the duke of Clarence ... (fol. 108^{a}b)

And graunt Iakys / a nother werryour he was capteyne ... (fol. 113^{a}b)

e) to separate a nominal group acting as subject from the verbal group: 2 instances, both of which have a prepositional group acting as qualifier (cf. position 4.a above):

... þe Monkes of þe same cherche / Askyd ⁊ desyred ... (fol. 98^{a}a)

... henry Spenser Bisshop̄ of Norwyche / wente with a croyserie ouere þe se ... (fol. 100^{a}a)

f) before a second, coordinated, past participle: 3 instances:

... þe kny3tes hedes weren sette on poles 7 brou3t to londoñ / And sette on london Brygge ... (fol. 105^{b}b)
... þe lord Cobham was a rested for lollardye / And brou3t vnto þe towre of londoñ ... (fol. 112^{a}a)

The verb in the last example could be interpreted as a preterite and not as a past participle:
... 7 whan þe emperoure had wel rested him / 7 seie þe londe dyuerse partyes. 7 knewe þe comoditees ... (fol. 110^{b}b)

g) before a 'hanging' subject which is dependent on an earlier verb (cf. position 4.f of the double oblique stroke). Grammatically, the contexts resemble clauses with the verbal group elided: 4 instances:
... 7 þe duke of Clarence logged him at þe weste ende of þe towne in a waste abbay by fore þe Porte de kaus / And þe Duke of Exetre in þe Northside byfore de Porte denyse ... (fol. 112^{b}a)
... they come at / iij. or iiij^{or}/ And at euery gate .A.ij. or .iij. M^{l} of gode mennes bodyes well I Armed 7 manfully counterd with owre englisshe men. (fol. 113^{a}b)
[In this case a visual balance may have been also aimed at in the use of the second oblique stroke.]

5) As an indication of group structure: 2 instances

a) between a numeral and a noun (forming a nominal group): 1 instance:
... outake þe foure / ordres of ffreres ... (fol. 99^{a}a)

b) between a preposition and a numeral used absolutely (forming a prepositional group): 1 instance:
... they come neuere out at oo Gate Alone but they come at / iij. or iiij^{or} ... (fol. 113^{a}b)

From the grammatical analysis, we can see that the single oblique stroke occupies many of the positions also occupied elsewhere by double oblique strokes, especially as a means of delineating sense-unit structure or

coordinated sentence structure. The combined total for the instances of the single oblique stroke in such positions is 179, compared with a combined total for double oblique strokes in similar positions of 174. The number of occasions on which elements of sentence structure are indicated is lower than for the double oblique strokes (36 compared to 67 instances), and the number of occasions on which elements of clause structure are indicated have accordingly risen (34 compared to 12 instances), but the primary function of the single oblique stroke remains the same as for the double oblique strokes, i.e. separation.

4) The Single Point

The single point is used as an indication of punctuation on 65 occasions. Besides this use, it has other functions which are not intended as marks of punctuation and which are widespread in medieval manuscripts. These uses are:

(i) the single point is used extensively before and/or after roman numerals, in dates and elsewhere.

(ii) it is used to enclose the initial N on four occasions, twice on fol. $94^{a}a$, and twice on fol. $94^{b}a$.[1]

(iii) it is used on fol. $100^{b}b$ to enclose the word duke. This instance I have adjudged to be non-punctuational, and that the points have been used as markers of an important word.[1] On the four occasions on which the point occurs after or in conjunction with a proper name, it occurs in a potentially significant position from the grammatical viewpoint and has been considered as such. The single point is used as a mark of punctuation in the following positions:

---

[1]Cf. L.C. Hector, op. cit., p. 48.

1) <u>As an indication of sense-unit structure: 17 instances</u>

At the end of a sentence (i.e. as a modern full-stop):

a) between free clauses (with any associated subordinate clauses) with no intervening coordinator:

(i) with a following capital initial: 4 instances

... from þens he was fette into ffraunce and buryed at Seint denys. In þe xl 3ere of kyng edward ... (fol. $95^{a}b$)

(ii) with a following lower-case initial: 2 instances, both in the context of a list, with a lower-case þ, and close to roman numerals:

... 7 þe þridde was Sere Richard erle of warwyk . þe iiij^{e}. was Sere herry of Bolyngbrok ... (fol. $101^{a}a$)

... Sire Richard þe erle of Cambrigge broþer to þe duke of 3orke . þe .ij. was þe lord Scrope treserer of englond ... (fol. $109^{a}b$)

b) before a coordinator with a capital initial: 6 instances:

And vppon here trewþe 7 kni3thode were charged 7 hadden leue to go home. But þe prince toke with him þe kinge of ffraunce ... (fol. $93^{a}b$)

... but many a worthy man deyed in þat viage vpon þe fflyx. And in þe .xv. 3ere of kyng Rychardis Regne ... (fol. $101^{b}a$)

The example noted above under the double oblique strokes (position 1.b) is included here, as is an example that occurs within a chapter-heading:

How king henre þe ffythe . leyde A Sege vnto þe Cete of Rone. And how he gat þe Cetee with strenthe 7 manhode (fol. $112^{a}b$)

c) at the end of a sentence at the end of a chapter-heading: 3 instances:

How þe Duke off lancastre with a grete Oste wente into flaundres 7 passede by Paryse þorow all ffraunce Tyll þat he come to Bordeux. (fol. $97^{b}b$)

d) at the end of a sentence and sense-unit at the end

of a chapter: 2 instances, one of which marks the end of Hand C's section of text:
... 7 so we had grete chepe of wyne þorowe oute þe Reame at that tyme þanked be all my3ty Ihesus. (fol. 100^{b}b)
... 7 manfully counterd with owre englisshe men. (fol. 113^{a}b)

2) As an indication of either sense-unit or sentence structure: 13 instances

Between free clauses (with any associated subordinate clauses) before a coordinator with a lower-case initial (usually and) or the Tironian sign for et. Again, a number of these instances probably occur between sense-units. 11 instances:
... and þere he abode forto take his counceyle what my3te beste be doñ . but to him come none ... (fol. 105^{a}a)
... 7 þese oþere .iij. kny3tes weren take 7 here hedes smetten offe . 7 þus þey deyeden for here false covetise ... (fol. 105^{a}a)
... 7 þere þe kyng made a ryall 7 a Solempne ffeste for here 7 for all manere of men þat þedir wolde come . 7 in þis same 3ere ... (fol. 106^{b}a)
... he sholde 3elde vp vnto him hys ry3t heritage þat is to saye Normandie Gascoyne 7 Gyane þe whiche his predecessoures hadden holde afore hym . or ellis he wolde hit wyne with dynte of Swerd ... (fol. 109^{a}a)
[With the subject elided in the second free clause: probably sentence structure: 2 instances]:
... 7 þe kinge hit grauntyd at his requeste . 7 dwelled þere vn to .xvij day of Marche ... (fol. 93^{b}a)
... 7 oure lordis þe whiche were enbassatoures token here leue . 7 comen in to englond a 3en ... (fol. 109^{a}a)

3) <u>As an indication of sentence structure: 7 instances</u>

a) before an adverbial clause of reason: 2 instances, one of which begins with (ȝ):

And whan kyng henry wyste ȝ knowe þat he verely þat he was dede he lete Sere his body in þe beste manere . ȝ that men myȝte see ȝ knowe his persone ffrom alle oþere men 7 so he was brouȝte to londoñ ... (fol. 105^{b}a)

... 7 þan fel þere a gret desese 7 a foule myscheff . for þere weren .iij. englisshe lordis whiche þe king truste meche to / for false couetice had purposyd 7 ymaged þe kinges deþ ... (fol. 109^{a}b)

b) before a parenthetical clause beginning <u>þat is to say</u>: 1 instance:

And þanne þe king heringe of many enemyes vppon þe See . þat is to say .ix. grete Carikes ... (fol. 111^{a}b)

c) after a parenthetical clause beginning <u>þat is to wete</u>: 1 instance:

[they] hadden entryde as enemyes // þat is to wete þe towne of winchelsee . ȝ slowne alle þat euere with stode hem ... (fol. 93^{b}a)

d) before an adverbial clause of condition: 1 instance:

... he be souȝte þe kinge to ȝeue hym .xiiij. dayes of respite . ȝif any Rescue wold come ... (fol. 111^{b}a)

e) after an adverbial clause of condition: 1 instance:

[they] seid ȝif hit lyked hym to geue him any good . hit were well y do ... (fol. 100^{b}a)

f) after an 'intrusive' temporal adverbial clause: 1 instance:

... wherfore þey þat were with Inne the towne / whan þey shulde haue pleyed . songon weyalawey ... (fol. 109^{b}a)

4) <u>As an indication of clause structure: 24 instances</u>

a) after a prepositional group: 3 instances:

... and on þe ffryday nexte. þe same manere othe in presense of þe forsayde knyȝtes and of alle oþere worthy

men . Prince edwarde made at louers ... (fol. $94^{a}b$)
But aftir þis victorie . Many a noble ⁊ hardy man of englonde [died] (fol. $96^{a}b$)
Sone aftir in þe .xlviij. ȝere of kyng edward . þe duke of lancastre with agrete oste wente in to ffflaundres ... (fol. $97^{b}b$)

b) between prepositional groups:

(i) coordinated: 2 instances:

... vpoñ goddis body . And alle so vpon þe Masse boke ... (fol. $94^{a}b$)
... vpon holy goddis body . ⁊ vpoñ alle þe Gospelles ... (fol. $94^{b}a$)

(ii) uncoordinated: 2 instances:

... for serteyne ȝeres . vnto here askyng ... (fol. $100^{b}a$)
... by þe Iuggement of þese .v. lordis . in þe same forsayde parlement ... (fol. $101^{a}a$)

c) before an adverbial phrase: 2 instances:

... euery strete ⁊ lane in londoñ ⁊ in þe subbarbys weren ful of hem logged . ⁊ a .x. or .xij. miles aboute londoñ euery way ... (fol. $103^{b}b$)
... ⁊ þere was many a lord ⁊ many a lady ⁊ grete festes ⁊ ryall Iustis . all þo .xij. dayes ... (fol. $104^{b}a$)

d) to separate nominal groups acting at the same grammatical position in the clause: 4 instances, all of which are coordinated:

... lyonell Iohn and Edmonde . ⁊ xix oþere grete lordes ... (fol. $93^{b}a$)
[they] taken of hem .vj^{c}. men of armes . ⁊ .iiij^{c}. hors ... (fol. $108^{a}b$)

e) to separate an appositional group or groups: 2 instances, both of which are uncoordinated:

... his iiij Sones . Edward lyonell Iohn and Edmonde ... (fol. $93^{b}a$)
... ⁊ Sere Robert le veer þat was erle of oxinfforde . hym he made Markeys of deuelyn ... (fol. $100^{b}b$)

f) between a preposition and a nominal group: 1 instance:

[he] granted too . all þe peple þat deide ... (fol. 98^{a}b)

g) between a verb and an inverted subject: 1 instance:

... 7 in þe mene tyme were ordeyned . Iustes at londō ... (fol. 93^{b}a)

h) between a subject and a verb: 2 instances:

... 7 at þe ferste comynge to here Iustes .xxiiij^{e}. ladyes . ladden þese .xxiiij. lordis of Gartour with chaynes of golde ... (fol. 101^{a}b)

... what crafty nam [sic] . wolde come þeder ... (fol. 109^{b}a)

i) between an adverb and a verb: 1 instance:

... 7 þan . come þere tythinges to oure king ... (fol. 110^{a}b)

j) before parenthetical words, possibly in apposition with an earlier pronoun: 1 instance:

... 7 þanne kyng Richard delyuered .ij plegges for hem two to go saffe 7 come saffe . his two worthy vncles þe duke of lancastre 7 þe duke of Gloucestre 7 þey ij. wenten ... (fol. 102^{b}b)

k) between a long object in clause-initial position and the subject: 1 instance:

... 7 alle þe oþere peple þat þere were slayne on boþe partyes . þe kyng lete berie ... (fol. 106^{b}a)

l) before a parenthetical clause qualifying (or expanding the sense of) a nominal group: 1 instance:

... þere was don a grete batayle in Smethefe[l]d by twene .ij. Squyers . þat one me called Gloucetre þat was þe appellant 7 arthure þat was defendaunt and well 7 manfully fouȝten to gedres long tyme ... (fol. 108^{a}a)

m) before a second, 'hanging' subject which is grammatically dependent on an earlier verb. The context could be described as resembling a clause with the verb elided: 1 instance:

And þanne kyng Richard wente hym ouere þe See in to Irlond before witsonday next þo xxij. 3ere of his regne . 7 many a grete lord with him ... (fol. 104^{b}a)

5) As an indication of group structure: 4 instances

a) between a noun and a qualifier (forming a nominal group): 1 instance:

... king henre . þe .iiij. ... (fol. 106^{a}b)

b) between a noun and a qualifying prepositional group (together forming a complex nominal group): 2 instances:

... men . of Armes ... (fol. 104^{b}a)

... Sere Richard of Scroupe erchebisshop . of 3orke ... (fol. 107^{a}a)

c) between elements of a verbal group: 1 instance:

... a wondir ryal and a costelew ffeste of Seynt George. passinge any oþer þat euere was . I holde þere euere a fore ... (fol. 93^{b}a)

The grammatical analysis shows that the point is used most commonly as an indication of sense-unit and sentence structure (a combined total of 30 instances), as are the double oblique and single oblique strokes. Comparatively, however, the number of occasions on which the point indicates clause structure has risen (24 instances), and the primary function of the single point is that of separation, marking the ends of sentences, and separating the structural elements in sense-units, sentences, and clauses.

5) The Punctus Elevatus

The punctus elevatus (.˘) is the most commonly used punctuation-marker in Hand C's system, and occurs on 635 occasions, in the following positions:

1) <u>As an indication of sense-unit structure: 32 instances</u>:

At the end of a sentence:

a) between free clauses (with any associated subordinate clauses) with no intervening coordinator (see also position 2.c below): 6 instances, all of which begin the next sentence with a lower-case initial:

... ⁊ hit lastede but viij dayes.˘ to þat parlement were Sompnede by writte of men of holi chirche .iiij. Bysshopis ... (fol. $97^{a}b$)

... and þus þis worthy Mariage was Solempely doon and endid with all Ryalte.˘ þan þese .ij. dukes of ffraunce with alle here peple token here leue ... (fol. $103^{a}a$)

b) before a coordinator with a capital initial: 13 instances, a number of which introduce a new sense-unit:

... he hyed him aȝen in [to] englonde.˘ And aboute þe beginnynge of Ianuarij he come ... (fol. $97^{a}a$)

... ⁊ so home in to ffraunce a ȝen.˘ And a none aftir þe king made him redy ... (fol. $103^{a}a$)

... 7 so he made his ende in þis world.˘ But ȝette mekel peple ... (fol. $105^{b}a$)

[With ellipsis of the subject in the second free clause: 1 instance]:

... he toke þe forsaide Cetee ⁊ distroyed hit all most vn to þe grounde.˘ And slowe alle þat euere he fonde in þat Cetee ... (fol. $97^{a}a$)

c) before the Tironian sign for <u>et</u> and a probable new sense-unit: 9 instances (cf. position 2.a):

[he] was crownyd at Westmynstre in þe .xj. ȝere of hys age.˘ ⁊ in þe secounde ȝere of hys Regne ... (fol. $99^{b}a$)

... on whos soule god for his pite haue mercy Amen.˘ ⁊ whan the kyng had a restyd þis worthy duke ... (fol. $103^{a}b$ - fol. $103^{b}a$)

d) at the end of a sentence and sense-unit at the end of a chapter: 2 instances:

... ⁊ þe heyre of henry some tyme þe duke of lancastre.˘

(fol. $94^{b}b$)
... on whos soule alle myȝty god haue mercy. Amen.˘ (fol. $99^{a}b$)

e) at the end of a sentence at the end of a chapter-heading: 1 instance:
Of þe grete wynde 7 howe the gode Prince Edward hadde of his fadir the lord shippe of Guyan 7 wente þeder.˘ (fol. $94^{b}b$)

2) As an indication of either sense-unit or sentence structure: 153 instances

a) between free clauses (with any associated subordinate clauses) before the Tironian sign for et: 81 instances:
And after somme mennes Raunsoun̄ was sette at iij. M^{l}. ffloreynes.˘ 7 alle is one in effecte ... (fol. $93^{a}b$)
[he] was smete 7 take with a palsie.˘ 7 þere he loste his speche.˘ 7 on Marie Magdaleyne day he deyde (fol. $99^{a}a$)
... 7 a none þey token of þese lollardys 7 false heretikes 7 broȝte hem vnto þe kynges presence.˘ 7 þere þey toke all here false purpos ... (fol. $108^{b}b$)
... 7 so þe lord Powes Meyne brouȝt hym oute of walys to londoñ in a werlegoge.˘ 7 þere he was examined of serteyne poyntes þat weren put vpon hym.˘ 7 he seyde not nay ... (fol. $112^{a}b$)
[With ellipsis of the subject in the second free clause: 41 instances]:
... Prince edward toke þe lordshipe of Guyane.˘ 7 dede to his fadir ffeaute 7 homage þere fore.˘ 7 wente ouere þe See in to Gascoyne (fol. $95^{a}a$)
... 7 a noon as he was on londe þe wynde be gan to turne.˘ 7 was in a noþere coost þan he was by fore // (fol. $97^{b}b$)
... þan þe king wente ffrom þennes to launsoun.˘ 7 wan þe towne 7 þe Brygge ... (fol. $112^{a}a$)

b) between free clauses (with any associated subordinate clauses before a coordinator with a lower-case

initial: 18 instances:

... þere ffell a Sangweyne Rayne all moste like to blode at Burgoyne.˘ and a Sangweyne Crosse ffrom morowe vnto prime was seyne ... (fol. $94^{b}a$)

The second (.˘) in:

... loth he was ⁊ a shamyd to saye naye.˘ ⁊ to contrarye hem.˘ but natheles he was agaste laste hit sholde be any pregedyce a3ens þe pope ... (fol. $95^{b}a$)

... þey shold be lad þorowe hamptoun 7 at þe Northgate þere to be heded.˘ and þus þey ended ... (fol. $109^{a}b$)

... he toke his leue of the king.˘ but ar he 3ede he was made knyth of þe Garter ... (fol. $110^{b}b$)

[With ellipsis of the subject in the second free clause: 8 instances]:

[he] toke þe towne of Remorantyn in Saloygne.˘ and by Seged þe castelle .vj. dayes ... (fol. $93^{a}a$)

c) There are 5 instances where it could be argued that asyndetic parataxis occurs, although it could equally be argued that the scribe has become confused in the convoluted syntax and has lost the thread of the grammatical consistency. These instances could therefore be described as either elements of sense-unit structure (if taken as separate sentences) or as elements of sentence structure (if taken as asyndetically paratactically joined clauses). Since these examples normally extend over a fairly long part of the text only the immediate context and a reference to the appropriate folio are given here:

... þe xvj day of may.˘ þey offrede ⁊ proferede vnto þe kynge of englonde ... (fol. $94^{a}a$)

... ⁊ also grete asautes made vnto hem with his manye.˘ he toke þe forsaide Cetee ... (fol. $97^{a}a$)

... Saue he toke ⁊ raunsomed many places ⁊ townes ⁊ many men.˘ lete hem gone aftyr frely ... (fol. $97^{b}b$)

And þey hadde here answere of þe pope.˘ he engeyned hem þat þey sholde sertefye hym A3en ... (fol. $97^{b}b$)

... where he hadde alle his luste desire 7 purpose.˘ ne had þe forsayde trewes be so sone take ... (fol. $98^{a}b$)

3) As an indication of sentence structure: 233 instances

a) Occurring before a subordinate clause:

(i) before a temporal adverbial clause: 7 instances (cf. positions 3.i.i, 3.j.ii below):

... he wente ouere þe See to Caleis makynge protestacioun þat he wolde neuere come aȝen in to englond.˘ tyl þat he hadde fully ended þe werre by twene ffraunce 7 hym // (fol. $93^{b}a$)

... 7 so þey spended mekil good.˘ or þey myȝte haue þe kinges grace a ȝen ... (fol. $98^{a}a$)

(ii) before a resultative adverbial clause: 3 instances:

... þe which tempeste ful moche ȝitte fered noȝt þe kynge ne moche of his peple.˘ þat þey ne wente forþ in here viage ... (fol. $94^{a}a$)

The first (.˘) in:

7 in þis same tyme vpon þe Sande of þe Scottysshe See.˘ þat many a man hit say.˘ iij. dayes to gedre ... (fol. $96^{a}a$)

(iii) before þat in so ... þat construction: 7 instances:

And in þat same ȝere þere fel so mekel Rayne in hay tyme.˘ þat hit wasted 7 destroyed boþe corne 7 haye ... (fol. $95^{a}b$)

... but hit had be so longe euell gouerned by evell officers.˘ þat þe Reame myȝte neyþere be plenteuos of chaffare ... (fol. $98^{b}a$)

(iv) before þat in such ... þat construction: 6 instances:

... Seche liȝtnynge þundres snowe 7 hayle.˘ þat hit wasted 7 destroyed men 7 bestes ... (fol. $96^{a}a$)

(v) before an adverbial clause of place: 3 instances:

... þe duke of lancastre 7 þe erle of herford with a grete

company of kny3tes wenten in to ffraunce.˘ where þey gat hem lytell worshep ... (fol. 96^{b}a)

(vi) before an adverbial clause of condition: 4 instances:

... þey my3te no lenger suffre none seche birthens ne charges ⁊ þat þey knewen ⁊ wisten well þat þe kinge had I now for sauyng of him ⁊ of his Reame.˘ 3if þe Reame were welle ⁊ trewly gouerned ... (fol. 98^{b}a)

(vii) before an adverbial clause of manner: 2 instances:

... whoes flames ⁊ hete brent ⁊ consumed mennes cloþes ⁊ mennes here walkynge vpon þe erþe.˘ as hit was seen ⁊ knowen of many a man ... (fol. 96^{a}a)

(viii) before an adverbial clause of reason: 6 instances:

⁊ of þis myschef was no grete woundre.˘ ffor þis erle was a ful euell leuere ... (fol. 97^{b}a)

(ix) before a clause beginning for as much as: 2 instances:

... trusting also vpon helpe ⁊ fauore of þe pope.˘ ffor as myche as hit is come to his eres ... (fol. 95^{a}b)

(x) before a clause beginning in so much that: 1 instance:

[he] tare him with his bele ⁊ clawis.˘ in so moche þat he my3te nat reste ne take no breþe ... (fol. 96^{a}a)

(xi) before a clause beginning in so ferforþe: 2 instances (these have been taken together, although strictly only one (˘) can begin the clause):

[they] dede hem alle þe harme þat þey coude or my3te.˘ In so ferforthe.˘ þat for soþ þey had caste hem ... (fol. 99^{a}a)

(xii) before an adverbial clause of exception: 2 instances:

[he] delyuered him frely from alle manere presouns.˘ Sauynge ferste þey were a corded of .iij. Millioun̄s of ffloreynes

for his Raunsom̄. (fol. $94^{a}b$)
... ȝ he dede hem but lytelle harme.˘ Saue he toke ȝ raunsomed many places ȝ townes ȝ many men ... (fol. $97^{b}b$)

(xiii) before a clause beginning wherfore: 3 instances:

[they] sayde to him of his mys gouernaunce 7 extorcioun þat he had done made 7 ordeyned to oppresse alle þe comen pepull And alle so to his Reame Aftir.˘ wherfore alle þe pepull of his Reame wolde haue him deposed ... (fol. $105^{a}b$)

b) occurring before a relative clause beginning with the following words:

(i) þat 'who, which': 20 instances:

... to trete of þoo þinges and of moo oþere.˘ þat longed ȝ fillen to þe gouernaunce of his Reame ... (fol. $94^{a}b$)
After whom folowyde nexte ȝ was made Pope Gregorie Cardynall dekene.˘ þat be ffore was cleped Pers Roger (fol. $97^{a}a$)
... he sholdde haue of euery man of holy chirche.˘ þat was beneficed or promoted .xijd ... (fol. $99^{a}a$)
... wherfore mekel of þe Reame weren in grete errour ȝ grecchinge a ȝens the kinge þorowe informacioun of hys lyes 7 fals lesinges.˘ þat þis Serle had made ... (fol. $106^{b}b$)

(ii) (the) which: 10 instances:

... ȝ þey were clepyd a peple with oute an hede.˘ þe whiche deden mekel harme in þe parties of ffraunce ... (fol. $94^{b}b$)
... Bysshopryches.˘ wheche þat þey desyred ȝ couetyd ... (fol. $98^{a}a$)
... a debate þat was bytwene þe lord. latimere 7 Sere Raffe fferres kny3th þat weren a ȝens hawle ȝ Shakell Squyers for a presonere þat was taken in þe Batayle of Spayne by þese two Squyers.˘ ȝ whiche lord latymere 7 Sere Rafe fferrers wolde haue had.˘ þe whiche presonere was þe erle of dene ... (fol. $99^{b}a$)

(iii) of (the) which: 2 instances:

The second (.˘) in:

... þe Abbay of Seint victor.˘ faste by Marcyle.˘ of þe whyche abbay he was some tyme abbot ... (fol. 97^{a}a)

[they] wedded to here wyfes Petres dou3te[r]s some [tyme] kynge of Spayne.˘ of whiche ij. dou3ters þe duke had þe eldre ⁊ erle þe 3onger ... (fol. 97^{b}a)

(iv) in the which: 2 instances:

... Pers de la Mare was Iugged to perpetuall presoun̄ in þe Castell of Notyngham.˘ in þe wheche he was .ij. 3ere // (fol. 98^{b}b)

(v) through the which: 1 instance:

The second (.˘) in:

... suche a storme ⁊ tempeste.˘ þat none of owre nacioun herde ne sawe neuere none seche.˘ þoru3 þe whiche þowsandes of oure men ... (fol. 94^{a}a)

(vi) to whom: 2 instances:

... Rycard prince edwardis Sone was made prince of walis.˘ to whom also þe king 3af þe ducherye of Cornewale ... (fol. 99^{a}a)

(vii) of whom: 2 instances:

... iij. Millioun̄s of Scutes.˘ of whome .ij. Millyouns sholde be payde a none in hand // (fol. 93^{a}b)

(viii) after whom: 1 instance:

The second (.˘) in:

... Ricarde þe secunde Sone of Prince edward of englonde / þe whiche Ricard.˘ kyng Rycard of Amorycan̄ heued atte ffonston.˘ Aftir whom he was cleped Ricard ... (fol. 95^{a}b)

(ix) among whom: 1 instance:

... þe worthiest men of his Reame.˘ A monges whom weren summe lordis ... (fol. 96^{b}b)

(x) whose: 2 instances:

... an eloquent Man.˘ whos name was Pers de la Mare ... (fol. 98^{b}b)

[he] is worthely beryed At Crycherche in Caunterbury.˘ whos

soule al myȝty Ihesus take vnto his mercy Amen // (fol. 98^{b}b)

(xi) on whose: in instance:

[he] was I beryed worshepfully at westmynstre.˘ on whos soule alle myȝty god haue mercy. (fol. 99^{a}b)

c) before the words þat is (for) to say, usually as the opening words of an explanatory clause, but on one occasion with a following noun object clause (which is not marked off): there is also one occasion where (.˘) occurs before þat is to say and again before a following noun object clause (see position d below): 9 instances:

... 7 he hadde his axynge þat ys forto sayne .vj. dukes .viij erles .xij. lordis.˘ þat is to sayne Barouns 7 worthi knyȝtes ... (fol. 94^{a}b)

... an huge froste 7 þat lasted longe tyme.˘ þat is for to saye from Seint Andrewes tyde vnto þe xiiij kalende of aprill þat þe telthe 7 sowynge of þe erthe 7 obere seche felde werkes 7 hande werkes weren meche I lefte ... (fol. 95^{a}a)

... 7 hit was graunted him.˘ þat is for to saye þat he shulde haue of euery persone ... (fol. 99^{a}a)

... a grete othe.˘ þat is for to saye.˘ þat he sholde euere aftir mayntene þe Riȝth beleue ... (fol. 95^{b}b)

d) after the words þat is (for) to say, on two occasions before a following noun object clause (these examples could have been included under position e below): 5 instances:

þan þe king of Scotlond þat is for to say.˘ Sere Iohn Baylloill concidring how þat god dede many merueyle þinges ... (fol. 93^{a}a) [See the example on fol. 95^{b}b under position 3.c above]

... poyntes of tresoun̄ þat þey were defamed of / þat is forto saye.˘ þat þey weren rebelle ... (fol. 97^{a}b)

[they] slowe mekyl dyuerse peple of englond þat is to saye.˘ at winchelseye Rye 7 hastynge ... (fol. 99^{b}a)

e) before a noun object clause: 13 instances:
... he tolde þe kynge 7 his lordis.˘ what he had herde 7 what þey sayde ... (fol. 93^{b}b)
The first (.˘) in:
... hit was ordeyned in þe parlement.˘ þat men of lawe boþe temperall 7 of holi chirche lawe.˘ ffro þat tyme forþe sholde plete in here modir tonge ... (fol. 95^{a}a)
Two of the instances occur before a second noun object clause that is coordinated to the first:
... charginge 7 comaunding him þat he sholde sese 7 stinte of þat stryfe þat his men had be gonne.˘ 7 þat he dede amende 7 do redresse þe euell doers 7 brekers of his pees ... (fol. 99^{a}a)
Two of the instances occur before a noun object clause that is coordinated to the object of the governing verb:
... in þe whiche parlement was treted 7 spoken of the Othe 7 Trewes þat was broken by twene hym 7 þe kynge of ffraunce.˘ 7 how he miȝte best vpon his wronge ben avenged ... (fol. 96^{b}a)

f) after a temporal adverbial clause (sometimes with a closely associated clause, e.g. a qualifying clause or a noun object clause) in sentence-initial position or before a free clause: 13 instances:
And whan alle þinge was doon and ordeyned in þat contreyes at his luste.˘ he turnyd a ȝen in to englonde ... (fol. 93^{a}a)
... 7 aftir þat þey hadde ben here longe tyme.˘ ij. of hem wente aȝen home ... (fol. 95^{a}a)
... 7 whan þe kyng had þus done 7 sette all þinge in kynde.˘ on Seint Markes day þat was þat tyme hoctewesday he toke his hors at westmynster ... (fol. 111^{a}a)

g) before þan in rather ... than construction: 1 instance:
[they] accepted 7 token raþere þat here euell openyons 7 causis a ȝen of holi chirche.˘ þan he dede for to defende

ꝯ maintenye þe ry3th of holy chirche ... (fol. 97^{b}b)

h) before an 'intrusive' temporal adverbial clause within the structure of another clause: 1 instance (cf. position 3.a.i above):

... ffor alle men boþe cristen ꝯ hethen.˘ whyle þey leueden ꝯ weren in good poynte drad hem wondur sore ... (fol. 98^{b}b)

i) after an 'intrusive' clause (with any associated clauses closely dependent on it and with any concomitant punctuation-markers) intervening within the structure of another clause. To describe these examples, it is sometimes necessary to consider the salient features of the grammatical context, for often the position of the punctuation-marker could be described in more restricted local context in other grammatical positions, e.g. after a qualifying clause, or after a prepositional group. In this position the (.˘) occurs after many of the clause types that we have seen to be able to have a (.˘) before them in position 3.a above. In a number of instances, some part of the clause in which the intrusive clause occurs is repeated after the intrusive clause, e.g. repetition of the subject:

(i) after an intrusive temporal adverbial clause: 14 instances:

... þe whiche þinge ꝯ articules // whan kinge edward had seyne hem.˘ he grauntyd hem ... (fol. 94^{a}a)

[repetition of þat]: ... ꝯ þat whanne he hadde take a cristen woman to wyfe.˘ þat he sholde neuere come in non oþere wommans bedde ... (fol. 95^{b}b)

[repetition of subject; the second (.˘) in]:

... ꝯ þes same Ricard whan his ffadur was dede.˘ ꝯ kinge edwarde all so.˘ he was crownede kynge of englonde ... (fol. 95^{a}b)

þe same 3ere Anone aftir Candelmasse or þat þe parlement were done.˘ þe kinge axede a subsidie of þe clergie ... (fol. 99^{a}a)

(ii) after an intrusive adverbial clause of manner: 3 instances:

... in þe whiche parlement he axede of þe cominalte of þe Reame as he had done often tyme byfore.˘ a grete subsidie ... (fol. $98^{b}a$)

... ⁊ for þis horlynge as hit was sayde.˘ þe kinge wolde nouȝt be gouerned at þat tyme by his lordis ... (fol. $99^{a}a$)

(iii) after an intrusive relative clause, normally beginning with þat 'who, which', although there is one instance of (.˘) occurring after a clause beginning to whom: 14 instances:

... Alle þo þat were called þere to ⁊ were nouȝt Swore.˘ Sworen þere þe same othe ... (fol. $94^{b}a$)

... ⁊ þe Mayre ⁊ þe aldermen ⁊ þe comens with all þe solempnite þat myȝte be doñ.˘ reden aȝens þe kyng ... (fol. $100^{b}a$)

[repetition of subject and verb]: ... ⁊ he made þe erles Sone of aroundell þat come euere [sic] þe see with him fro Caleys in to englonde.˘ he made him erle of Aroundell ... (fol. $105^{b}a$)

... but ryȝth ful god to whom no preuete is vnknowe.˘ suffred hym ferste to be shent ⁊ spilte ... (fol. $99^{a}b$)

(iv) after an intrusive adverbial clause of result: 1 instance:

The second (.˘) in:

⁊ in þis same tyme vpon þe Sande of þe Scottysshe See.˘ þat many a man hit say.˘ iij. dayes to gedre þere were seyne .ij. Egles ... (fol. $96^{a}a$)

(v) after an intrusive adverbial clause of place: 1 instance:

The second (.˘) in:

þis same tyme þe Ile of Constantyne.˘ where þat þe castell of Seint Savyoure is Inne.˘ þat longe tyme was fouȝte ate.˘ ⁊ be Seged of þe ffraunce men.˘ was þan ȝelden vp vn

to þe ffrenshe men ... (fol. 98^{a}b)

(vi) after an intrusive clause beginning <u>þat is to say</u>: 1 instance:

And in þe xxxvij^{e} ȝere of his Regne kinge edwarde þe xv day of Ianuar þat is to saye vpon Seint Mawry day a bowte euensonge tyme.˘ þ<u>er</u>e a Roes ⁊ come seche a wynde ... (fol. 94^{b}b)

(vii) after an intrusive noun object clause: 1 instance:

The second (.˘) in:

... ⁊ he dredinge þ<u>a</u>t atte laste.˘ ⁊ þ<u>a</u>t he shulde be shente ⁊ accused for þe same cause.˘ A none he fledde p<u>re</u>uely vnto þe kynge of ffr<u>a</u>unce ... (fol. 99^{a}b)

j) between subordinate clauses:

(i) coordinated: 2 instances:

[they] a beden þ<u>er</u>e as for plegges vnto þe tyme þ<u>a</u>t þe Mariage ⁊ feste was done.˘ ⁊ þ<u>a</u>t þese ij. dukes of ffr<u>a</u>unce weren come A ȝen vnto Grauenyng wat<u>er</u> ... (fol.102^{b}b)

[With ellipsis of <u>because</u> before <u>þat</u>]: ... he sente vnto him a tonne full of tenyes balles be cause he wolde haue a do to playe w<u>i</u>t<u>h</u> all for him 7 for his lordis.˘ ⁊ þ<u>a</u>t be come hi<u>m</u> bettu<u>r</u> þan to mayntene any werre ... (fol. 109^{a}a)

(ii) uncoordinated: 2 instances, both occurring between two temporal adverbial clauses (cf. positions 3.a.i, 3.i.i above):

The first (.˘) in the two examples:

... ⁊ whan þe frenshe men herd of his comyn<u>g</u>e.˘ or þ<u>a</u>t he come fully to londe.˘ þey lefte here Tentes ... (fol. 96^{b}a)

... ⁊ whan<u>n</u>e þey were þ<u>er</u>e atte hauene Mouthe.˘ or þey myȝte entre / sodenly come .˘ vppoñ hem a stronge Naue ... (fol. 97^{b}a)

k) after an intrusive non-finite clause: 3 instances (cf. the following position):

The second (.˘) in:

þan þe king of Scotlond þat is for to say.˘ Sere Iohn Baylloill concidring how þat god dede many merueyle þinges 7 gracious for kynge edward at his owne wille fro day to day.˘ he toke and 3af vp þe Reame of Scotlond ... (fol. $93^{a}a$)

1) after a non-finite clause: 4 instances:

[he] went fro Bordeux goinge 7 traueylynge by many dyuerse contreys.˘ 7 toke many presoneres ... (fol. $93^{a}a$)

7 for to strengþe alle þese forsayde þinges.˘ þe kyng of englond axed þe grettest men of ffraunce ... (fol. $94^{a}b$)

m) before a non-finite clause:

(i) before a non-finite present participial clause: 21 instances:

And þis same 3ere was made a Solempne Iustes in Smythfelde.˘ being þere present þe kyng of englond þe kinge of ffraunce ... (fol. $93^{a}b$)

... oure men were devyded in dyuerse companyes 7 places.˘ nou3t holdynge no strenþinge hem to gedres ... (fol. $97^{a}a$)

... 7 þe lordis 7 Mayer 7 þe aldermen with þe comnalte.˘ havynge Indignacioun of his couetyse 7 falsnes 7 his foule presompcioun A none william walworthe þat tyme beynge Mayre drowe his knyfe ... (fol. $99^{b}b$)

(ii) before a non-finite infinitival clause: 22 instances:

... þe whyche lordis of þe danes comen afterward and sowten alle aboute.˘ for to haue had a 3en here godis þat þey hadde loste ... (fol. $95^{b}a$)

þis same 3ere þe kyng with a grete Oste entred þe See.˘ to remeue þe Sege of þe Rochell ... (fol. $97^{b}b$)

(iii) before a non-finite past participial clause: 4 instances:

And þe x day of May þere was songen a solempne Masse at paris.˘ 7 aftir þe iij^{e}. Agnus dei I seyde with dona nobis pacem ... (fol. $94^{a}a$)

The first (.˘) in:
... comforte ⁊ helpe of þe wronges.˘ noȝt only to þe kinge of spayne Ido.˘ but also for seche þinges þat myȝte falle vnto oþere kinges also ... (fol. 95^{b}b)

(iv) before a coordinated non-finite infinitival clause: 6 instances:
... loth he was ⁊ a shamyd to saye naye.˘ ⁊ to contrarye hem ... (fol. 95^{b}a)

4) As an indication of clause structure: 204 instances

a) before a prepositional group:

(i) before a coordinator: 1 instance, which occurs in Hand C's first chapter-heading:
And how Prince Edwarde toke þe king of ffraunce.˘ And of þe Batayle of Peyters ... (fol. 92^{b}b)

(ii) uncoordinated: 22 instances:
... þe ffrenshemen besily ⁊ with grete Instaunce askyd trewes.˘ for her See costes ... (fol. 93^{b}b)
... þe wheche ouere comēn oure englisshe men.˘ in meche blemeshinge hurtinge and Sleynge of many persones ... (fol. 97^{b}a)
... his prophesie seide þat he shold make his ende 7 die.˘ in Ierusalem ... (fol. 108^{b}a)

b) before an adverb and a prepositional group: 3 instances:
... þey had bene bothe.˘ longe in here prouinces ⁊ places ⁊ countres faste by ... (fol. 97^{b}a)

c) before an adverbial phrase: 1 instance:
... þis erle was a ful euell leuere.˘ as an open lecchoure ... (fol. 97^{b}a)

d) after an intrusive prepositional group (with any closely associated clause(s), e.g. a qualifier to a noun) occurring between the subject and verb. Some of these instances resemble position 3.i.iii above, but from the general grammatical context have been included here. On

occasion, the subject is repeated before the verb, indicating that this position was regarded as an 'intrusive' syntactic structure: 12 instances:

... and a noon kynge edward in presence of alle prelatys and oþere worthy men ⁊ lordis þat þere were.˘ lete crowne him silfe kynge ... (fol. 93^{a}a)

The ix day of Iune kinge edwarde in þe xlvij ȝere of his regne.˘ held his parlement at winchestre ... (fol. 97^{a}b)

... þe erle of Marche at þe same parlement holden at westmynster in pleyn parlement a monge all þe lordis ⁊ comoñes.˘ was proclamyd erle of the Marche ... (fol. 100^{b}b)

The following example has been included here although the scribe has omitted the grammatical subject by error:

And in þe xlv ȝere of kynge edwarde with vñ wyse counceile ⁊ vndescrete.˘ borowede a grete some of gold ... (fol. 96^{b}b)

e) after the subject before a prepositional group (with any associated clauses) followed by the verb: 4 instances:

... þe kynge of ffraunce.˘ in scornynge sayde ... (fol. 93^{b}a)

... þe Cardynall of englond.˘ þe iiij day byfore Marie Magdalene day aftir mete sodenly was smete ⁊ take with a palsie ... (fol. 99^{a}a)

f) after a prepositional group in clause-initial position: 15 instances, 3 of which occur in a subordinate relative clause after the introductory words of þe whiche:

⁊ a boute þe laste ende of May.˘ kynge edwarde helde his parlemente at westmynster ... (fol. 96^{b}a)

... ⁊ þere At a castell of his.˘ he lay that tyme ... (fol. 100^{b}b)

... .ij Castellis // of þe whiche.˘ wente oute .ij. Ostes of armyd men ... (fol. 94^{b}b)

g) between a prepositional group and the object:

3 instances:
and on þe ffryday nexte.˘ þe same manere othe in presense of þe forsayde kny3tes and of alle oþere worthy men . Prince edwarde made at louers ... (fol. 94^{a}a - fol. 94^{a}b)

h) after a prepositional group before the second of two objects or between predicative adjectives: 5 instances:
... þe same karoll leyde his ry3th hande vpoñ þe patene with goddis body.˘ 7 his lifte hande vpoñ þe Missale ... (fol. 94^{a}a)
[predicative adjectives]: ... ffor þis same Iohn was ful vntrewe to þe kynge 7 to þe Reame.˘ 7 ful couetous 7 vnstable ... (fol. 99^{a}b)

i) between an adverb and the object or a predicative adjective: 2 instances:
[they] þat þanne were presente and no3t hadde swore by foreñ.˘ þe forseyde othe ... (fol. 94^{a}b)
[predicative adjective]: ... þis ylke Northern wynde þat is euere .˘ redy 7 destinat to all evelles ... (fol. 96^{a}a)

j) between prepositional groups:

(i) coordinated: 19 instances:
The first (.˘) in:
... at Wyndesore as wel ffor loue of kny3thode as for his owne worshepe.˘ 7 atte Reuerens of þe.˘ kinge of ffraunce ... (fol. 93^{a}b)
... þoru3 þe grace of god to many a mannes helpe.˘ 7 eke vnto þe worshepe of god 7 oure lady ... (fol. 97^{a}a)
... þe kinge axede a subsidie of þe clergie.˘ 7 of þe layfee ... (fol. 99^{a}a)

(ii) uncoordinated: 29 instances:
And in þis same 3ere.˘ in þe assencioun euen aboute Midday ... (fol. 94^{b}a)
... he was bounde 7 Swore by his Othe afore Notaryes.˘ in presense 7 witnesse of .ij. kinges with oþere princes ... (fol. 96^{a}a)
... þere was treted 7 spoken of dame Alys Perrers vn to

þe king.˘ for þe grete wronges ⁊ euell gouernance þat was done by here ... (fol. $98^{b}a$)

k) between a prepositional group and an adverbial phrase: 7 instances, all of which are uncoordinated:

... þere were gadryd ⁊ come to gedre in westmynster cherche.˘ þe fferste Sonday of lente ... (fol. $94^{b}a$)

... Sere Thomas Percy [was] take and kepte in holde.˘ .ij. dayes ... (fol. $106^{b}a$)

l) between an adverbial phrase and a prepositional group: 1 instance:

The second (.˘) in:

... he was crownede kynge of englonde þe.˘ xj^{e} 3ere of his Age.˘ þoru3 ry3t line ⁊ heritage ... (fol. $95^{a}b$)

m) between an adverb and a prepositional group: 6 instances:

... þe deuell apered bodyly.˘ in Mannes licknesse ... (fol. $94^{b}a$)

[they] a resen malyciously.˘ a 3ens þe Abbot ⁊ þe couente of Euesham ... (fol. $98^{b}b$)

n) between a prepositional group and an adverb: 1 instance:

... ⁊ in þe Mynystre of Teukesbery.˘ worshepfully is beried ... (fol. $98^{a}b$)

o) to separate nominal groups acting at the same grammatical position in the clause:

(i) linked by 'and': 17 instances:

boþ kinges and here Sones.˘ ⁊ þe moste nobill men of boþ Reames with Inne þe same 3ere maden þe same Othe ... (fol. $94^{a}b$)

... þere metten at Brugges þe duke of lancastre.˘ ⁊ þe duke of Anyoye with many oþer lordys ... (fol. $98^{b}a$)

There is one example where the (.˘) has been placed after the coordinator:

... þe grete pestlence of men ⁊ women childryn ⁊.˘ eke greet Beestis ... (fol. $96^{b}a$)

(ii) unlinked by 'and': 7 instances:

The first (.˘) in:

... þe kynge of ffraunce.˘ þe kyng of Sypres.˘ 7 þe kynge of Scotlonde ... (fol. $95^{a}a$)

... le ffyt3 water.˘ þe lord Graunsom̄ 7 oþere worthy knytes ... (fol. $96^{b}b$)

p) to separate an appositional group or groups:

(i) linked by 'and': 1 instance:

The second (.˘) in:

... Sere Bertram Clayken.˘ þat was cheff maker 7 causer of alle þat werre.˘ 7 alle so þe Cheefenteyn of þe vauntwarde of þat Bataile ... (fol. $96^{a}b$)

(ii) unlinked by 'and': 6 instances:

... dame Blaunche duke henries dou3ter of lancastre.˘ cosyn to þe same Iohn ... (fol. $93^{b}a$)

... 7 þus ended þe worthi king.˘ king henri þe .iiij^{e}. ... (fol. $108^{b}a$)

q) between coordinate finite verbs: 4 instances:

[they] slowne alle þat euere with stode hem.˘ 7 with sayde here comynge ... (fol. $93^{b}a$ - fol. $93^{b}b$)

... 7 whan þe emperoure had wel rested him / 7 seie þe londe dyuerse partyes.˘ 7 knewe þe comoditees ... (fol. $110^{b}b$)

r) before a second infinitive dependent on a modal verb: 3 instances, all of which are coordinated:

... he wolde benyngly admytte hem.˘ 7 holde hem fferme 7 stable ... (fol. $94^{a}a$)

[he] sholde not write a 3ens hem þat were chosen.˘ but rather helpe hem by his lettres ... (fol. $98^{a}a$)

... þe kinge shold not lete.˘ ne graunte no benefices ... (fol. $98^{a}a$)

s) before a past participle following one or more past participles all dependent on a preceding verbal element: 11 instances, all of which are coordinated:

... his bones were taken oute of þe erþe.˘ 7 beried newe

in þe Abbay of Seint victor ... (fol. $97^{a}a$)
[they] hoped to be a vaunsed.˘ 7 promoted to Bysshopryches ... (fol. $98^{a}a$)

t) between the subject and verb: 6 instances:
... þat he.˘shold spare his men 7 his pepull .. (fol. $93^{b}a$)
... a large house of tymbre þe whiche.˘was callyd an hale ... (fol. $103^{b}a$)

Two examples have been included here where the (.˘) occurs after a long subject before the verb:
... and alle þe prelatis lordis Baronis peeres and myȝti men of þat contre.˘consented welle ... (fol. $93^{a}a$)
... Sere Bertram Claykyñ knyȝt an horped Man 7 a gode werryoure.˘wente 7 purposed him ... (fol. $95^{a}b$)

u) before a second subject in apposition with an earlier subject: 1 instance:
The first (.˘) in:
... with whom þey entercountryd 7 metten in þe See.˘ Marineres 7 alle oþere orpide fyȝtynge men of þe same contre.˘ ... (fol. $95^{b}a$)

v) between object and subject: 1 instance:
... þe whiche Ricard.˘kyng Rycard of Amorycañ heued atte ffonston ... (fol. $95^{a}b$)

w) between direct and indirect objects: 1 instance:
[they] coupeled 7 marred hem.˘to hem þat weren of lower degre ... (fol. $94^{b}b$)

x) (i) between a verb and an adverb: 2 instances:
... þe whiche was departyd 7 deuorsyd.˘som tyme from þe erle of Salisburye ... (fol. $94^{b}b$)
... 7 þe kinge had nede þey wolde.˘gladly euery man aftur his powere 7 his astate him helpe 7 ȝeue ... (fol. $98^{b}a$)

(ii) between an adverb and a verb: 1 instance:
... þey lefte here Tentes 7 alle here stoffe 7 preuely.˘ ffledden away ... (fol. $96^{b}a$)

(iii) between an adverb and the second element of

a verbal group: 1 instance:
... he shulde neuere þanne.˘ chalenge þe kingdom of ffraunce ... (fol. $93^{b}b$)

y) before a 'hanging' subject which is grammatically dependent on an earlier verb. The contexts could be described as resembling clauses with the verb elided: 10 instances:
... þat one Oste was heled ⁊ clothed alle in white.˘ ⁊ þat oþere in Black ... (fol. $94^{b}b$)
[with a singular verb understood]: ⁊ þis same ȝere þere were so grete ⁊ so passinge hetes.˘ ⁊ þere with alle a grete pestilens in englonde ... (fol. $98^{a}b$)
... ⁊ þere weren here hedes smeten of.˘ ⁊ many oþere mo ... (fol. $101^{a}a$)

z) after a passive verb and a prepositional phrase before the subject: 1 instance:
... In þe whiche parlement was axed of the Clergye.˘ a iij. ȝeres dyme ... (fol. $96^{b}b$)

5) As an indication of group structure: 13 instances

a) between a definite article and a noun: 2 instances:
... atte Reuerens of þe.˘ kinge of ffraunce ... (fol. $93^{a}b$)
... by þe.˘ kinge of englond ... (fol. $95^{b}a$)

b) between a definite article and an ordinal adjective: 1 instance:
... þe.˘ xj^{e} ȝere of his Age ... (fol. $95^{a}b$)

c) between a preposition and a noun: 2 instances:
[he] wente too.˘ Burgoyne warde ... (fol. $93^{b}a$)
[he] wente in to.˘ fflaundres ... (fol. $97^{b}b$)

d) between two elements of a verbal group: 2 instances:
... hit wolde.˘ ben none oþere in tyme of better acorde ... (fol. $93^{b}b$)
... alle þat weren þere a ȝenste bitterly to.˘ ponesshe ⁊ destroble ... (fol. $95^{b}b$)

e) between a noun and a past participle qualifying

it: 2 instances:
... in all þing.˘y wreten ... (fol. $94^{a}a$)
... þe a corde on boþe sydes.˘I wreten ... (fol. $94^{a}b$)

f) between a noun and its qualifier: 1 instance:
... Sere Iohn of Gaunt þe sone of king edward.˘þe .iij. was made duke of lancastre ... (fol. $94^{b}b$)

g) between an adjective and a noun: 2 instances:
... in to here owne.˘kyngdomus ... (fol. $95^{a}a$)
... 7 some.˘Maistres of diuinite ... (fol. $106^{a}a$)

h) between the constituent elements of a preposition: 1 instance:
... levynge be.˘hinde hem ... (fol. $95^{b}a$)

The punctus elevatus has two main functions. As a means of delineating sense-unit structure or coordinated sentence structure it occupies positions occupied elsewhere by double oblique strokes, the single oblique stroke, and the single point, and its function can be said to be the same as that of the other punctuation-markers in these positions, that is, the separation of major structural elements. The combined total of instances of the punctus elevatus functioning in these positions (185) is close to the number of instances of double oblique strokes (174) and of the single oblique stroke (179). On the level of sentence structure and clause structure, however, the punctus elevatus is the main punctuation-marker, with 233 instances at sentence structure level and 204 instances at clause structure level. On these levels, the punctus elevatus has the primary function of association, linking or joining major structural elements within the sentence or the clause.

6) The colon

There is one instance of a mark resembling a colon:[1]

---

[1]The colon is a more modern mark than the others used by Hand C; cf. Hand D, p. 322 and see note.

... ⁊ in þese same dayes þere felle ⁊ come al so : Seche liȝtnynge þundres snowe ⁊ hayle. þat hit wasted ⁊ destroyed men ⁊ bestes houses ⁊ eke Trees (fol. $96^{a}a$)

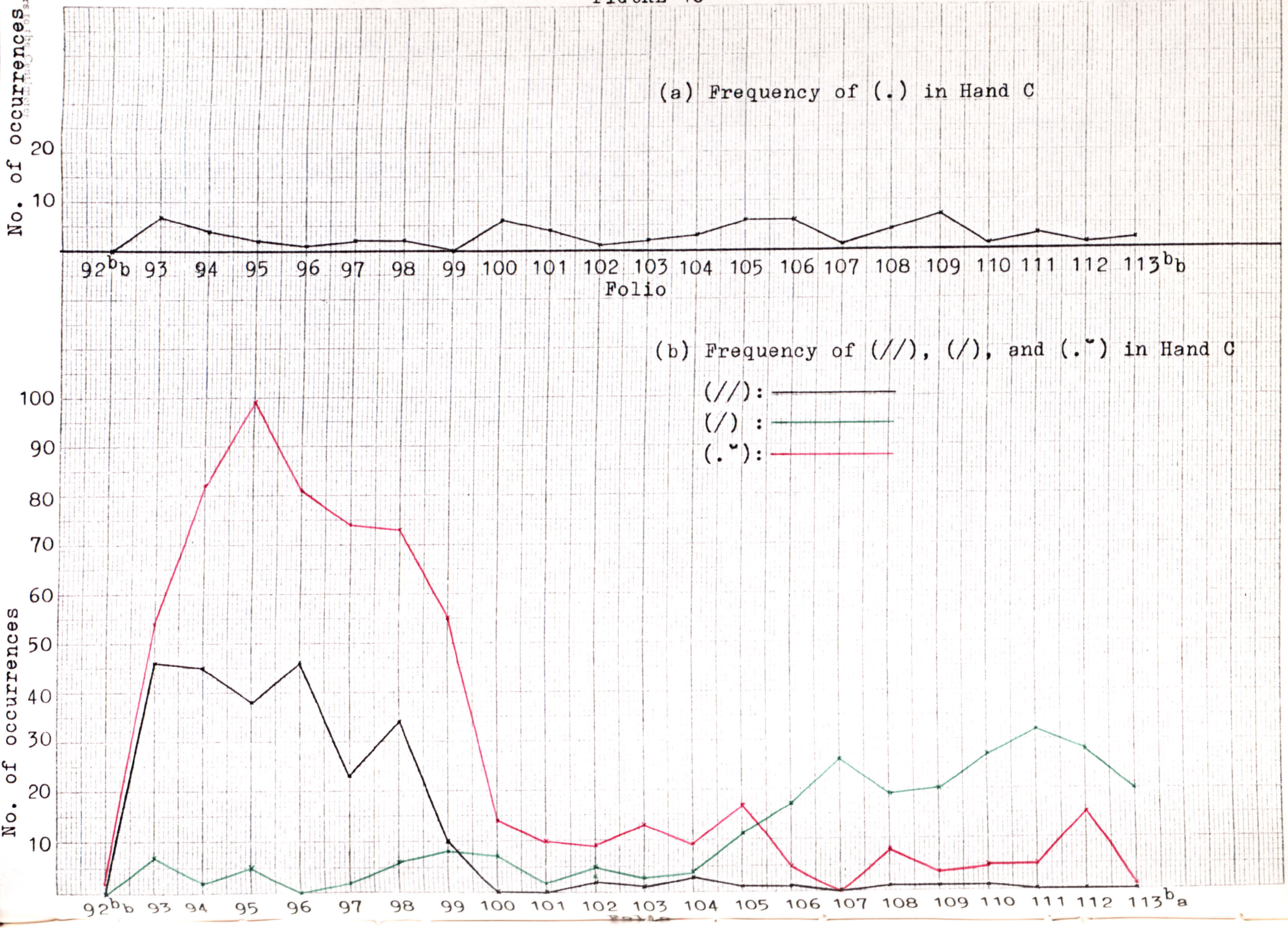
It is acting at the level of clause structure, separating an adverb from a following inverted subject. The position that it occupies could be read with a pause.

The frequency of punctuation

We have already noticed with regard to Hand A's punctus elevatus that it declines in frequency as Hand A's section of text progresses. With Hand C a similar decline occurs in the number of occurrences of double oblique strokes and of the punctus elevatus, but there is a progressive increase in the number of occurrences of the single oblique stroke, whereas the single point remains fairly constant throughout Hand C's section. However, there is no replacement of positions elsewhere occupied by other punctuation-markers by the single oblique stroke. The relative number of occurrences of the punctuation-markers per folio is shown in the following table and in graphic form in Fig. 16:

folio	(//)	(/)	(.˙)	(.)
$92^{b}b$	0	0	2	0
93	46	7	54	7
94	45	2	82	4
95	38	5	99	2
96	46	0	81	1
97	23	2	74	2
98	34	6	73	2
99	10	8	55	0
100	0	7	14	6
101	0	2	10	4
102	2	5	9	1

FIGURE 16


(a) Frequency of (.) in Hand C
No. of occurrences
20
10
92bb 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113bb
Folio
(b) Frequency of (//), (/), and (.˘) in Hand C
(//):
(/) :
(.˘):
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
No. of occurrences
92bb 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113ba

folio	(//)	(/)	(˙)	(.)
103	1	3	13	2
104	3	4	9	3
105	1	11	17	6
106	1	17	5	6
107	0	26	0	1
108	1	19	8	4
109	1	20	4	7
110	1	27	5	1
111	0	32	5	3
112	0	28	15	1
113^{b}a	0	20	1	2

It would appear that the scribe set off on his task with good intentions, but found as his work progressed that his interest in closely punctuating the text was waning. It is noticeable that although the punctus elevatus occupies a number of complex grammatical positions at the outset of the section, as the section progresses and its frequency decreases, it is used mainly as an indication of sense-unit structure, to mark off sentences. The increase in the frequency of the single oblique stroke is probably at the expense of the double oblique strokes, although the striking lapse in the frequency of punctuation between fol. 100 and fol. 105 possibly indicates the lowest point in the scribe's 'morale', after which he decided to re-introduce a much simpler and reduced number of punctuation-markers as he saw the end of his section in sight. A further factor accounting for the decrease of the punctus elevatus was probably its partially elocutionary purpose, and Hand C grew less concerned to indicate the tone to be used by his potential reader in reading the text aloud.

The purpose of Hand C's punctuation system

From the analysis of the positions occupied by punctuation we can see that Hand C employs a consistent system in a fairly consistent range of grammatical positions, delineating the structure of the text in two ways, by separation and by association. The double oblique strokes, the single oblique stroke, the point, and, to some extent, the punctus elevatus, act as separators; the punctus elevatus also acts as the primary indicator of association, although all signs overlap to some degree in the positions occupied and the functions performed. The structural element in Hand C's purpose is strong, as the analysis suggests. The use of such a strongly structural system has a clear expository value, for the prose of Hand C's section of text is often complex and the division into syntactic units clarifies both the structure and the meaning.

As we have discussed above, structural punctuation often occurs at points that can serve equally well as significant elocutionary junctures, and we can apply P.J. Lucas's tests to determine elocutionary purpose to Hand C. These are:

a) When punctuation is used to mark the elements of a clause or a group. On the level of clause structure, this criterion is fulfilled by double oblique strokes (see 2.4 above), the single oblique stroke (see 3.4 above), the single point (see 4.4 above), the punctus elevatus (see 5.4 above); on the level of group structure, this criterion is fulfilled by double oblique strokes (one instance: see 2.5 above), the single oblique stroke (see 3.5 above), the single point (see 5.5 above), and the punctus elevatus (see 5.5 above).

b) When punctuation is used to mark the resumption of a direct line of construction on those occasions when the intrusive element, whether clause(s) or phrase, is not

marked initially by punctuation. We see this use with the double oblique strokes (see 2.4.h, 2.4.i above), the single oblique stroke (see 3.3.1 above), and most commonly with the punctus elevatus (see 5.3.d, a number of the instances under the sub-sections of 5.3.i, 5.3.k, 5.4.d). A very common use of punctuation is the combination of punctuation-markers before and after intrusive elements of structure within larger structures, and this delineates clearly the structure of the text. In many cases this corresponds to elocutionary boundaries also, but it seems to be a primarily structurally conditioned practice.

The use of punctuation-markers in these positions is an indication of some elocutionary purpose in the system, but as we remarked with reference to Hand A's system, it is difficult to estimate the importance of elocutionary relative to expository in a composite punctuation-system such as Hand C's, since the positions occupied correspond in many cases.

From the grammatical analysis we can see that there is not a strict hierarchical pattern in structural terms among the punctuation-markers, for they often occupy similar grammatical positions. Furthermore, when the punctus elevatus and double oblique strokes decline in frequency and the single oblique stroke increases, the latter occupies positions that could have been occupied by the other markers (although these could have been occupied from the outset by the single oblique stroke as well). This suggests a certain interchangeability of the markers as purely <u>structural</u> indicators, especially at the level of the sense-unit when they mark off sentences.

From the elocutionary point of view, however, a certain hierarchy can be detected, although it is not strictly adhered to. The double oblique strokes can be regarded as the indicator of a heavy pause, especially between sense-units. It is possible that we should incline to regard

a number of the doubtful instances of the occurrence of double oblique strokes between elements of coordinated sentence-structure using the Tironian sign for et as marking the end of sentences and thus a heavier pause than between coordinated free clauses. We could then regard the single oblique stroke as the indicator of a lighter pause, and possibly a number of the instances which are grouped under the general heading of indicators of either sense-unit or sentence structure could be regarded as occurring between coordinated free clauses. There is no certain and objective way of determining this, however, and it is clear that if this is the case then there is considerable overlap between the single oblique stroke and double oblique strokes as elocutionary markers of a pause. The single point can be regarded also as an indicator of a pause. The punctus elevatus can often be read as a pause with rising intonation, especially when it is used as an indicator of sentence and clause structure, but in those instances when it functions as a separator between sentences, that is, at the end of a sentence, it can hardly be read as anything but a pause with falling intonation.

Keeping these points in mind, test readings aloud of selected sections of the early, more heavily punctuated, section of Hand C's section, show empirically that in general it is valid to take (a) double oblique strokes as an indication of a heavy pause with falling intonation, (b) single oblique strokes and points as shorter, lighter pauses, and (c) the punctus elevatus as a sign of a pause with rising intonation (except in sentence-final position). The punctuation of the early section of Hand C's text has therefore a developed elocutionary purpose, but obviously Hand C found the use of such a system to be a matter of too much thought and judgement and thus he gave up by fol. 100, contenting himself with simply marking separate

elements of structure with no implication of the tone to be used.

Hand D

Hand D has written the last line on fol. 113^{b}a to the foot of fol. 114^{b}b. The following punctuation-marks are used, though extremely lightly (except for random capitalisation):

1) The capitalisation of the initial letter of a word, e.g. at the beginning of a sentence, although other words are also given a capital initial.

2) The colon (:) is used on 6 occasions to mark the end of a sentence.[1]

3) The single point (.) is used on 3 occasions to mark the end of a sentence. It is also used on one occasion in conjunction with a numeral.

---

[1]The colon was a relatively late punctuation-mark. Speaking of Latin texts copied by Italian scribes of the fifteenth century, Professor T. Julian Brown says in his article Punctuation in the Encyclopaedia Brittanica Macropaedia (1974), that 'to about 1450 the point and the punctus elevatus seem to have been preferred for minor pauses; after that date they are often replaced by the virgule and what is now called the colon (:)' (vol. 15, p. 276). The colon was also known to and used by Caxton; see W. Blades, The Biography and Typography of W. Caxton, 2nd ed., 1882, p. 125.

The Wauton Family

The history of the Wauton (indifferently Wanton, Walton) family, to a member of which belonged Hunterian MS. T.3.12, is of general interest, for the family is representative of the fortunes of the large number of Anglo-Norman families that were members of the knightly landowning class in medieval England.

Thirteenth-century references connect the Wauton family with lands held in north-east Surrey. The earliest reference occurs in 1248, when Amysius de Wauton conveyed a carucate of land in Mitcham to Robert, Prior of Merton.[1] In 1268 John de Wauton, probably the son of Amysius, and his heirs received a grant of free warren in his demesne lands in Buckland and elsewhere, and in 1289 a manor of Beddington, about two miles from Mitcham, appears in the possession of the same John. In that year he granted it to his son John by Alice, daughter of Odo de Dammartin. Sir John held other lands in north-east Surrey, e.g. half a knight's fee in Betchworth near Buckland, although it was forfeited to the king before 1291.

Central to these holdings is the town of Walton on the Hill, which perhaps received its name from its association with the Wauton family. Other early members of the family who were connected with the Court are Simon de Wauton, Chaplain to Henry III and a Justice of the Common Pleas, who was made Bishop of Norwich in 1257, and Roger de Wauton, who was Marshal of the Household to the same king about 1270.[2]

The association of the family with Essex appears to lie in the person of William de Wauton, who with his wife

---

[1] See V.H.C.E., Surrey, and references therein for Amysius, John and Alice de Wauton. [2] See P. Morant, Essex, 1768, Vol. II, p. 349 and references therein.

Emma brought an action in 1287 against Robert de Veel for the recovery of one messuage and eighty-six acres of land in Horsham and Stammerham in north Sussex[1], about sixteen miles south of Walton on the Hill. I would identify this William with the Sir William de Wauton who was a Knight-Banneret under Edward I, and who was plaintiff in a fine passed between him and William Chamberlain in 1302, for two messuages, 440 acres of arable, 17 acres of meadow, 8 of pasture, 30 of wood, and 24s. rent in Steeple Bumpstead, north Essex, etc. to hold to the said W. Wanton.[2] This early reference to the Wauton family in Essex is followed by a grant of 1310 from Sir William de Wauton to Robert, son of Ralph of Leaden Roding, in respect of a messuage in Thaxted, beside the road to Tilty.[3] According to the Edward II Roll of Arms, Sir William's arms were argent with a chevron sable.[4] Sir John de Wauton, probably the son of Sir William, was Sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire in 1331, and held land in Steeple Bumpstead and Wymbish, where the manor was called Wantons (earlier Tiptotes or Tiptofts, after its previous owners). The Wauton family enjoyed large possessions in Essex, and have left their name to estates in Willingale Doe[5], Ashdon, and Steeple Bumpstead. Sir John died in 1347, and his brass, with his wife Ellen, in Wimbish church is the earliest

---

[1]See E. Cartwright, History of Western Sussex, London, 1830, Vol. II, p. 2 and references therein. [2]Morant, op. cit., p. 349. [3]I am indebted to K.C. Newton, County Archivist of Essex, for this reference, Essex Record Office D/DHu T13/1. See also K.C. Newton, Thaxted in the Fourteenth Century, Chelmsford, 1960, pp. 7, 16 note, 44. [4]J. Foster, Some Feudal Coats of Arms, Oxford and London, 1902, p. 201. Also Morant, op. cit., p. 558. [5]Probably to be associated with a Maud de Wauton (alive in 1327). There is a reference in 1472 to Wyl(l)yngale Doo alias Wautones Hall (alias Wauton Hall). See P.H. Reaney, The Place-names of Essex, EPNS, Vol. XII (1935), p. 501.

known example of a knight not wearing a shield.[1] He was succeeded by his son John, the time of whose death is unrecorded, but whose widow Margaret died in 1391 or 1392.[2] A Sir William Wauton, knighted at the siege of Calais in 1348, who bore as his arms argent, a chevron sable, in the cantel a martlet gules, was probably a relative of the Essex branch.[3] Margaret, widow of Sir John, had as coheirs the children of her two daughters, namely John Harleston, son of her daughter Margaret, and Robert Pekenham, son of her daughter Elizabeth. Sir John de Wauton appears to have possessed estates in south-west Essex, for Robert Pekenham received estates in Roydon, Parndon, and Nazeing. Thus the Essex estates passed out of the direct Wauton line.

The Wauton family in Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire is probably an off-shoot of the Essex branch. The earliest

---

[1]See H. Haines, A Manual of Monumental Brasses, 1861 (repr. 1970), Vol. II, p. 64 and references therein; M. Clayton, Catalogue of Rubbings of Brasses and Incised Slabs, H.M.S.O., London, 1968, pp. 16, 35, 78. [2]See Morant, op. cit., p. 349. On p. 558 Morant says that Margaret's daughter of the same name who married [...] Harleston died in 1391, and was succeeded by her son Ivo, but this appears to be erroneous. Francis Blomefield, in An Essay towards a topographical History of Norfolk, London, 1807, Vol. VI, p. 67, notes a marble gravestone in the church at North Pickenham, Norfolk, on which there is an inscription on brass that reads: Grate (Blomefield's error for Orate?) pro anima Margarete de Wanton. This is probably to be connected with Margaret de Wauton's son-in-law John Pekenham. The district includes place-names such as Watton and Walton. I believe this brass is now lost. Haines, op. cit., p. 154, refers to an engraving of the matrix of a cross at North Pickenham, '(Margt. de Wautone, c. 1320)', in a paper on 'Lost Brasses' by C.R. Manning in the Publ. of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeol. Soc., VI, p. 21. If the date is correct, then it cannot be the Margaret whom we are discussing who is buried there. [3]Foster, op. cit., p. 201. A Thomas and a Sir John also bore these arms.

reference is to a Robert de Wauton[1], who, already holding one carucate of land of the barony of Eaton, came into possession of Basmead or Basmey Manor, Eaton Socon, through his wife Emma, daughter of Osbert de Bath who died in 1296. A quitclaim of 1297 gave Robert and Emma and heirs of Emma by Robert and finally the right heirs of Robert, one messuage, 373 acres of land, meadow and wood, and seven marks rent in Staploe. Robert de Wauton, described as 'of Basmey', and his descendants held the manor for the next 150 years. The arms of Wauton of Basmead are given by V.H.C.E. as 'argent a cheveron sable with a ring sable for difference'. Robert was one of the constables of the peace for Bedfordshire, and in 1308 he complained that Alice Le Latimer, Joan Comyn and many others had besieged him in his dwelling at Eaton Beauchamp [sic], neither allowing him to leave it nor to discharge his duties as conservator of the peace. 'They had felled his trees and destroyed his fences, and thrown them, together with hay found in his meadow, into the River Ouse, and had assaulted those of his servants sent to guard the hay and cut the corn.'[2] A William de Beauchamp had been connected with land in Eaton Manor in 1240. Robert was still alive in 1328, when he acknowledged a debt of 80 marks, and appears to have been followed by Thomas de Wauton, who is mentioned in an aid of 1346 in connexion with a manor of Sudbury.

This Thomas, who may have been Robert's son, is probably to be identified with the Thomas de Wauton who married Eleanor de Stokes of Boughton in Southoe, Huntingdonshire, which lies four miles distant from Eaton Socon. Eleanor de Stokes died in 1349, leaving a son Thomas aged 30.

---

[1]See V.H.C.E.; Bedfordshire, Vol. III, pp. 192-193; V.H.C.E.; Huntingdonshire, Vol. III; pp. 357-358, for the family in these counties. [2]V.H.C.E.; Bedfordshire, Vol. III, p. 193.

This Thomas, born in 1319, appears to have been the husband of Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Aspall, who remarried after Thomas's death to John Tiptoft (1313-1367).[1] Thomas de Wauton and Elizabeth had a son Thomas who came of age in 1376, and who was therefore presumably born in 1355. At some time between 1355 and 1370, a John Empol granted a third of the manor of Great Staughton, Huntingdonshire, to Thomas de Wauton or Walton, a minor, son of Thomas de Wauton, but the grant was disputed, and action was postponed until Thomas should be of full age. The conveyance to Thomas Wauton was repeated in 1376 when he came of age, and in 1406 the whole manor of Great Staughton was conveyed to Thomas Wauton and Elizabeth his wife. This Elizabeth cannot be Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Aspall, and one must conclude that Thomas (born 1355) also had a wife named Elizabeth.

Thomas was succeeded by John de Wauton, and, judging from the dates available, John was Thomas's brother. During the action over the disputed ownership of the manor of Great Staughton, the Wautons had claimed to be heirs general of earlier owners, the Creting family, and had quartered their arms accordingly, using as the Wauton quarter agent, a chevron sable, an annulet of the last for difference.[2] John de Wauton was justice of the peace and commissioner of array for the county of Huntingdonshire in 1382, and was returned as member of parliament for Huntingdonshire in 1393. In the visitations of Bedfordshire and Norfolk he is described as of Great Staughton.

---

[1] See D.N.B. sub Sir Thomas Walton or Wauton, and sub John Tiptoft, baron Tiptoft; see also Fig. 17. [2] The Visitation of Bedfordshire, Harleian Society, 1884, p. 198; The Visitation of Norfolk, Harleian Society, 1891, p. 304; The Visitation of Huntingdonshire, Camden Society, 1849, p. 52. V.H.C.E.; Huntingdonshire, gives the arms without the annulet, e.g. the Essex arms, but this seems to be an error as the other evidence attests.

John de Wauton was living in 1401, and must have been living after 1406, in which year his brother Thomas acquired the whole of the manor of Great Staughton.

John de Wauton's son, Thomas Wauton (1370?-1436), was first returned as member of parliament for Huntingdonshire in 1396, and in a parliamentary career spanning 30 years was intermittently member for Huntingdonshire (seven sessions), or Bedfordshire (probably seven sessions), sheriff of Bedfordshire (four sessions), chamberlain of North Wales, and Speaker of the House of Commons (session 1424-25).[1] His arms are described by Manning as argent, a chevron, and an annulet in the dexter chief point, sable. He probably died in 1436, being survived by his wife Alana or Ellen[2], daughter of [...] Barrey of Wales. She died in 1456 or 1458, and there is a brass in Eaton Church in her memory.

Thomas and Ellen had four sons and three daughters, and Thomas's heir was Thomas Wauton of Staughton, who married Elizabeth, daughter of George Beconsaw. This Thomas Wauton has the greatest claim to identification with the original owner of Hunterian MS. T.3.12, which bears the family arms. In 1439 Thomas Wauton was one of a company of over 800 men, 'for the most part girt with swords', who gathered at Bedford on the occasion of the assizes, where they were claimed to have uttered contumelious words in the presence of the justices. However, they received pardon on payment of a fine, because the certificate against them was made 'of mere malice'.[3]

---

[1]For details see D.N.B. and, with caution, J.A. Manning, The Lives of the Speakers of the House of Commons, London, 1850, pp. 71-4. [2]Alana: D.N.B.; Ellen: V.H.C.E. [3]The full story is given in V.H.C.E.; Bedfordshire, Vol. II, p. 36. For the interesting later history of the Wauton possessions, see references to V.H.C.E. given above. Two further members of the Bedfordshire branch are Joan de Wauton, who was elected abbess of Elstow on 14 May, 1315, and who died in 1318; and possibly William of Woughton, who was elected prior of Newnham in 1395, and who died apparently in 1437.

ROBERT WAUTON 'of Basmey' (alive 1297, 1308, 1328) = EMMA, da. of Osbert de Bath (?-1296)

? ?

THOMAS DE WAUTON (alive 1346) = ELEANOR DE STOKES of Boughton, Southoe (?-1349)

THOMAS DE WAUTON = ELIZABETH, da. of Sir Robert Aspall = 2.John Tiptoft (1313-1367)

1.THOMAS DE WAUTON = ELIZABETH

2.JOHN DE WAUTON of Great Staughton (alive 1382, 1393, 1401, 1406) = ?

THOMAS WAUTON of Staughton (1370?-1436/7) = ALANA/ELLEN, da. of ... Barrey of Wales (?-1456/8)

1.THOMAS WAUTON of Staughton = ELIZABETH, da. of George Beconsaw

ALLICE ux. Thomas Treheron Somerset Herald

2.NICHOLAS WAUTON of Kempston, Beds.[1] = ELIZABETH, da. of ...

1.GEORGE WAUTON of Staughton = ..., da. of John Tresham of Rushdon in co. Northampton

2.THOMAS WAUTON

JOHN WAUTON Others

3.WILLIAM ob. s.p.

4.OSBERT/GILBERT WAUTON of Great Yarmouth, Norfolk = JOANE, da. of William Elwyn of Yarmouth

ISAAC WAUTON WILLIAM WAUTON SUSAN

THOMAS MARLEBOROUGH = AGNES = 2.Gabriel Throgmorton

HENRY WALTER

Two sons

JOHN DYVE of ... in co. Beds. No issue = AUDREY WAUTON = 2.Gabriel Quadring, 2nd son of Wm. Quadring of Irby, co. Lincoln

ARTHUR

FIGURE 17

The Wauton Family in Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire

[1]Named as 'Keinsam' (Visit. of Beds.) and 'Kemsonn' (Visit. of Norfolk); the place is probably Kempston, approximately eleven miles from Eaton Socon, and near Wootton.

Fig. 17 presents a conjectural genealogical tree of the Wauton family in Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire.

Textual Introduction and Editorial Procedure

The texts of the Hunterian MSS. T.3.12 and V.5.13 are printed in parallel; the (usually) fuller text of Hunt. MS. T.3.12 (which is designated MS. A in the notes) is given on the left page, and the (usually) shorter text of Hunt. MS. V.5.13 (designated MS. B in the notes) is printed on the opposing right-hand page. I have thought it advisable in the interests of clarity to continue this arrangement even where one text has material not found in the other; on such occasions the opposing page(s) have been left blank.

The text was prepared in the traditional manner of editing a MS. text. Firstly I made complete diplomatic transcriptions of the MSS., and incorporated therein representations or notes of the purely physical appearance of the MSS. and their orthographies. Marks of abbreviation were represented as they stood in the text, and no attempt was made to rationalize them at this preliminary stage. Line endings and concomitant word-division were observed, malformed letters were noted, underlinings in the text were copied, marginalia were copied at the points where they occurred, and any marks of decoration were noted. From these transcriptions, typescript copies were made in which the editorial conventions described below were employed, and these were in turn compared with the hand-written transcripts and with photostats of both MSS. The texts presented here are based on these corrected typescript copies and the information afforded by the diplomatic transcriptions and the photostats formed the basis of the textual notes. At all stages the MSS. themselves were the ultimate authority for points of difficulty.

In the final presentation of the text the editorial hand has been kept discreet and the hands of the MSS. have been allowed to represent themselves as far as possible.

Thus the spelling of the texts has been preserved, and no distinction has been made between ȝ = ȝ and ȝ = z. Similarly, the single form used for I/J has been reproduced as I in order to remain consistent with scribal practice, and the interchange of u/v and i/j has been retained.

The capitalization and punctuation of medieval texts often provide difficulties for an editor, unless rationalized modern systems are substituted.[1] In the present edition scribal capitalization has been followed as far as possible, but on account of the difficulty in distinguishing between certain lower-case and capital letters where the scribe has no recognizably different capital form, complete accuracy cannot be claimed. Subjective judgement on the part of the editor has to be employed on a number of occasions, and although an editor of a text of any length may establish an intuitive rapport with his scribes, another eye can have a varying view of these decisions. The following guide-lines have, however, been used:

1) Obvious capitals, i.e. where a special letter-form is used, are printed as such.

2) Where an attempt on the scribe's part to distinguish a normally minuscule letter-form can be detected, it is assumed that he intended it to approximate to a capital, and it has been printed as such. This is more easily judged in those cases where a letter for which the scribe does not distinguish a separate capital letter-form

---

[1] See E.J. Dobson, The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle, EETS, 1972, pp. lxv-lxx, on the problem of scribal capitalization. In his recommendations for the editing of OE texts Helmut Gneuss includes modernization of capitalization and punctuation (see R. Frank and A. Cameron, eds., A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English, Toronto, 1973, pp. 13-22, esp. pp. 17, 18-9), but some of the dangers are pointed out by R.I. Page in his review of this work in Notes and Queries XXII (1975), pp. 146-55, esp. pp. 148-9.

(except perhaps on rare occasions) occurs in a position or a context (e.g. in a list of names that are otherwise capitalized) where the scribe would be expected to write a capital. However, in lists of names initial letters do occur that are clearly not intended to be capitals, and they are therefore printed as minuscules.

The main letters for which such difficulties arise (in all hands) are A, D, H, K, P, S, U/V. Some of these have distinct capital forms available to and used by the scribe, but often the distinct capital form is not used and they have to be distinguished by size relative to the immediate context.

In one case I have departed from this policy of representing scribal capitalization, where an apparent capital form (usually A) occurs medially or finally in a word. In such an instance a lower-case letter has been used in printing as there does not seem to be any useful distinction made by the use of a capital in this position.[1]

Similarly, scribal punctuation has been retained. The systems used by Hands A and C of Hunterian MS. T.3.12 are consistent within their own terms and have proved well worthy of reproduction and study.[2] Again it is difficult to achieve complete editorial accuracy and consistency. It is easy to distinguish marks such as a punctus elevatus, a paragraph-mark or an oblique, but the single point (.) often causes difficulty, as it can be easily confused with flaws in the vellum or specks of dirt that have become ingrained in the MS. Moreover, it is not always certain that a dot, especially if indistinct, represents a faded

---

[1] A doubtful suggestion is made by C. Jones in his Introduction to Middle English, 1972, p. 200. Speaking of the forms nAme and lAnde occurring in rhyme positions he says: 'If the capital <A> symbol has any significance at all, it may be there to show a point where the scribe could have utilized a translation symbol <o> but chose not to.' [2] See pp. 245-322.

punctuation mark or whether it is 'no more than evidence of the place at which a scribe rested his pen between writing one passage and memorising the next'.[1] Editorial authority and judgement have once more to be exercised, as they have to be in the case of word-division. The present edition has attempted to preserve the MS. word-division, but MS. spacing tends to be erratic and variable. Where the point of division in a word occurs at the end of a line, any indication of hyphenation by the scribe (e.g. by the use of single or double oblique strokes in Hands A and C of Hunt. T.3.12) has been observed silently in the text.[2] Superfluous and spurious hyphens that could be confused with punctuation are however recorded. Unhyphenated divisions are treated according to the following rules. If there is no indication of linkage in a compound which is elsewhere one word and which is not composed of separable constituent elements at the point of separation in the MS., then it has been printed as one word. If, however, there is no indication of linkage and the word is elsewhere found only as separate elements, or if the scribe varies in his practice, then the elements (i.e. constituent words) are printed separately. This difficulty of distinguishing 'between-word' spaces from 'between-letter' spaces arises primarily in the hand of Hunt. V.5.13.

Paragraph-marks have been retained in Hunt. T.3.12 and are represented by ¶. In Hunt. V.5.13 an I-shaped mark appears to fulfil a similar function and has been

---

[1] L.C. Hector, The Handwriting of English Documents, 2nd ed., London, 1966, p. 46. [2] In general, further study is required of scribal criteria for word-division and hyphenation. See E.J. Dobson, op. cit., p. lxxi and H. Gneuss, op. cit., p. 18 for the problems MS. spacing and hypenation pose for an editor. Regarding hyphenation, R.W. Burchfield, who has been working on a new edition of the Ormulum for some time, informs me that Orm uses a 'tolerably consistent' system of hyphenation.

represented on the few occasions on which it occurs by an oblique stroke not separated from the initial letter of the following word.

Abbreviations have been regularly expanded and are indicated by underlining the expansions. Since I have retained the original underlining found in Hunt. MS. V.5.13, mainly below proper names, a double underline indicates an expansion in such positions. It is not always clear what the correct expansion of an abbreviation mark or a contraction should be, and on occasion a scribe may show inconsistency or error in his use of these signs. In general, the normal practice of each scribe in unabbreviated forms has been used as a guide-line as to the appropriate expansion. Where a scribe uses a number of different unabbreviated forms for a word which is elsewhere abbreviated or contracted, the dominant form has normally been chosen for the expansion of the word. Often, I feel, a scribe did not consciously think of the unabbreviated form of a word which he found abbreviated in his exemplar, but simply and mechanically transcribed the abbreviated form that he had before him. This can mean that he uses an abbreviation mark that is inconsistent with his preferred or dialectal spelling of the unabbreviated form. The normal vagaries of scribal practice regarding abbreviation outlined by Professor Davis are found[1], and some points and their treatment here require special mention.

1) ℘ as a grammatical sign indicating plural or genitive is expanded according to scribal usage elsewhere, i.e. as -es in Hunt. MS. T.3.12 but as -ys in Hunt. MS. V.5.13.

2) In word-final position, 9 is expanded as -us; initially, 9 is expanded as con-.

3) Superscript letters are not underlined, although the

---

[1] See N. Davis, Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century, Oxford, 1971, pp. lxxxi-lxxxiv.

intervening omitted letter(s) of the expanded word are underlined: thus þ^{t} is printed 'þa̲t', þ^{e} is printed 'þe', w^{t} is printed 'wi̲th/wy̲th'.

4) Only where -re is definitely required is r̲^{e} expanded as '-re'; elsewhere the curl has been regarded as a simple flourish.

5) The Tironian sign for 'et' (7, ⁊) has been retained. Similarly, the sign for 'etcetera' (⁊c') has also been reproduced.

6) iñu has been expanded as 'ihesus'; Ir as 'letter'; Ire as 'lettre'; westm' is expanded according to the usage of the scribe in unabbreviated spellings of 'Westminster'. The nomen sacrum siglum 'x̄p̄ī' has been rendered as 'cristen, cristi', etc., as the context requires and is recorded in the textual notes.

7) Occasionally an abbreviation mark indicates the omission of only one letter, whereas elsewhere it indicates the omission of two letters. The single omitted letter is underlined in the text.

8) Otiose marks on a number of letters have been regarded as simply flourishes and are omitted. Davis[1] mentions the majority of these: 'curls on -c, -g, and -t, tags on -d, -f, and -k, strokes through -h and -ll, flourishes on -r, and others'. The bar on -ll is usually otiose, but occasionally serves as a true mark of abbreviation for the plural or genitive, and in such cases it is expanded as such.

9) A horizontal bar, a curved-back tail, or a circumflex (sometimes dotted) often indicate clearly the omission of -m or -n, but these signs are equally often ambiguous, especially in word-final position above what could be either -u or -n. I have normally expanded if the form

---

[1] N. Davis, op. cit., p. lxxxii.

'-un' is possible. In word-final position 'oū' often indicates '-ioun'. The signs also appear frequently as an apparently otiose flourish above other letters. In these positions they have been retained and represented by '¯' as the question of expansion or non-expansion of these marks is an eternal point of contention among editors and scholars and an indication of their occurrence and frequency is helpful. This is the only mark that has been adjudged otiose that I have retained in the printed text. Thus, although the scribe of Hunterian MS. V.5.13 often places an au abbreviation-mark over fraunce, Thomas, frennce 'French', this is ignored in the printed text.

10) The abbreviations d 'pence', lī 'pounds' have been left unexpanded. Cap°, Ca°, etc. as contracted forms of Capitulo have been expanded, but the numerals such as C° '100', CC° '200', are retained.

11) The MS. pointing has been kept for numerals and dates.

There are two series of notes, a textual series and a general explanatory and commentarial series. The textual notes record any peculiarities in the MSS., such as corrections, additions, deletions, alterations of letters, etc., and are found in conjunction with the texts at the foot of each page. The individual points are numbered by superscript numbers starting from unity for each folio of the MS., and the folio number is given in the notes at the onset of each new group. The same note can refer to different words on a particular folio, e.g. [1]Erased. The references are to the word(s) immediately preceding the superscript number in the text, except where specifically stated in the note, e.g. in the case of a catchword.

To reduce the number of textual notes and to attempt to convey something of the 'flavour' of the MSS., certain points are recorded in the text. Cancellations are indicated by hyphens through the cancelled letter or word, e.g. þat. Similarly, where the MS. reading is damaged or

illegible, the fact is noted in the text in the following way. If one or two letters only are concerned, this is indicated by [.], [..]. If three or more letters or an indeterminable number, even extending as far as whole words, are concerned, this is indicated by [...]. Erasures are also indicated in this way, with an appropriate note in the textual notes below. If the erased letters can be made out then they are given within the square brackets.

Where erasures have been made by the scribe, or occasionally corrector, of Hunt. MS. V.5.13, they are often indicated in the MS. by a hatched line (///) of variable length. This has been reproduced in the printed text. Where a word has been written over an erasure, the fact is recorded in the notes, but the word is printed in the text. Marginal or interlinear insertions are printed in the text, and are indicated in the textual notes. The hand in which such insertions are made is also noted, if ascertainable.

Alterations of individual letters are recorded in the textual notes, using the following conventions. The position of the letter is shown by means of hyphens; thus, a- represents an initial a, -a- represents a medial a, and -a would represent a final a. If the identity of the hand that makes the alteration can be decided, then it is indicated, e.g. '-a- from e by corr.' means that the corrector has changed an original e into a medial a; 'a- over o' means that an original o has been altered into an initial a, either by the scribe or by the corrector, although this cannot be decided. A question mark is used if the editor is not absolutely certain of the identity of the hand that has tampered with the text.

The second series of notes is found at the conclusion of the texts and is signalled by the use of superscript letters, again starting afresh for each folio of the MSS.

The entire set of notes for Hunt. MS. T.3.12 is given before that for Hunt. MS. V.5.13. The nature of these notes varies somewhat between the two MSS. Those for Hunt. MS. T.3.12 contain expanded discussion of textual points and general explanatory notes, mainly of a lexical nature, since this MS. provides the better reading text. The enormous task of providing a full historical commentary on the Brut must be left to others better qualified in this field than myself, and I have ventured into this area only on selected points of interest. The general notes on Hunt. MS. V.5.13 provide a kind of running commentary on the errors and their genesis (or probable or possible genesis) perpetrated by the scribe and occasionally the corrector. However, the notes are not intended to comment on every error but only on such as are of interest in following the workings of the scribe as copyist, or such as could be considered misprints or editorial misreadings. To this end, comparisons with or references to MS. A (Hunt. MS. T.3.12) and the CV texts printed by Brie are often made. Many of the notes for Hunt. MS. T.3.12 apply equally well to the second MS., such as glosses and the general comments on points of interest.

If there is a textual note and a note in the commentary for the same word, then the superscript number precedes the superscript letter in the printed text.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following is a list of works cited in the Introduction or providing background material and information underlying arguments used therein. Certain works cited frequently in the Commentaries or of general interest in the field of Brut studies are also listed. Bibliographical details for infrequently cited works of limited interest in the present study are given in the text. Catalogues of manuscripts in the major collections are, in general, not listed.

Babington, C., and Lumby, J.R., Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, 9 vols., Rolls Series, 1865-86.

Bennett, H.S., The Pastons and their England, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1932 (repr. 1970).

_____, Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century, Oxford, 1947.

Blake, N.F., Selections from William Caxton, Oxford, 1973.

Blades, W., The Biography and Typography of William Caxton, 2nd ed., London and Strasbourg, 1882.

Blaydes, F.A., The Visitation of Bedfordshire, Harleian Society, London, 1884.

Blomefield, F., An Essay towards a topographical History of Norfolk, 11 vols., London, 1805-10.

Böddeker, K., 'Die Geschichte des Königs Arthur', Archiv 52 (1874), pp. 10-29.

Brandis, T., Die Codices in scrinio der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, 1-110, Hamburg, 1972.

Brereton, G.E., Des Grantz Geanz (Medium Aevum Monographs II), Oxford, 1937.

Brie, F.W.D., 'Recovery of an Anglo-Norman Chronicle', Notes and Queries 10th Ser. II (1904), p. 41.

_____, Geschichte und Quellen der mittelenglischen Prosachronik 'The Brut of England' oder 'The Chronicles of England', Marburg, 1905.

_____, The Brut or the Chronicles of England, EETS O.S. 131, 136, 1906, 1908.

Brown, C., and Robbins, R.H., The Index of Middle English Verse, New York, 1943.

Brown, T.J., 'Punctuation', in Encyclopaedia Brittanica Macropaedia, 1974, Vol. 15, pp. 274-7.

Brusendorff, A., The Chaucer Tradition, London and Copenhagen, 1925.

Bülbring, K.D., 'Über die Handschrift Nr. 491 der Lambeth-Bibliothek', Archiv LXXXVI (1891), pp. 383-92.

Carroll, M.C., and Tuve, R., 'Two Manuscripts of the Middle English "Anonymous Riming Chronicle"', PMLA 46 (1931), pp. 115-54.

Cartwright, E., History of Western Sussex, London, 1830. (Vol. II of J. Dallaway, History of the Western Division of Sussex, 2 vols. in 3, London, 1815-32).

Cawley, A.C., 'Punctuation in the Early Versions of Trevisa', London Mediaeval Studies I (1937), pp. 116-33.

Chambers, R.W., 'On the Continuity of English Prose' in E.V. Hitchcock and R.W. Chambers (eds.), Nicholas Harpfield The Life and Death of Sr. Thomas More, EETS O.S. 186, 1932.

Clarke, M.V., Fourteenth Century Studies, Oxford, 1937.

Clayton, M., Catalogue of Rubbings of Brasses and Incised Slabs, H.M.S.O., London, 1968.

Clemoes, P., Liturgical Influence on Punctuation in Late OE. and Early ME. Manuscripts, Cambridge, 1952.

Conybeare, J.J., 'Poem, entitled the "Siege of Rouen", etc.', Archaeologia XXI (1827), pp. 48-78.

Cottle, B., The Triumph of English 1350-1400, London, 1969.

Crystal, D., Prosodic Systems and Intonation in English, Cambridge, 1969.

Davies, J.C., Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple, 3 vols., Oxford, 1972.

Davies, J.S., An English Chronicle 1377-1461, Camden Society, London, 1856.

Davis, N., 'A Paston Hand', Review of English Studies N.S. III (1952), pp. 209-21.

_____, 'Scribal variation in late fifteenth-century English' in Mélanges de Linguistique et de Philologie: Fernand Mossé in Memoriam, Paris, 1959, pp. 95-103.

_____, Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century, Oxford, 1971.

Dictionary of National Biography, ed. L. Stephen and S. Lee, 66 vols., London, 1885-1901. (Repr. in 22 vols.)

Dobson, E.J., 'The Affiliations of the Manuscripts of "Ancrene Wisse"', in N. Davis and C.L. Wrenn (eds.), English and Medieval Studies Presented to J.R.R. Tolkien, London, 1962.

_____, The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle, EETS O.S. 267, 1972.

Dunn, C.W., 'Havelok and Anlaf Cuaran', in Medieval and Linguistic Studies in honour of Francis Peabody Magoun Jr., ed. J.B. Bessinger Jr. and R.P. Creed, London, 1965, pp. 244-9.

Ekwall, E., The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names, 3rd ed., Oxford, 1947.

Ellis, H., The Visitation of Huntingdonshire, Camden Society, London, 1849.

Everyman's Dictionary of Dates, rev. A. Butler, London, 1971.

Fairholt, F.W., Costume in England, 3rd ed., 2 vols., London, 1885.

Flenley, R., Six Town Chronicles of England, Oxford, 1911.

Fletcher, R.H., The Arthurian Material in the Chronicles especially those of Great Britain and France (Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, Vol. X), Boston, 1906.

Foster, J., Some Feudal Coats of Arms, Oxford and London, 1902.

Francis, W.N., 'Graphemic analysis of late Middle English manuscripts', Speculum 37 (1962), pp. 32-47.

Frank, R., and Cameron, A., eds., A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English, Toronto, 1973.

Furber, E.C., Essex Sessions of the Peace 1351, 1377-1379, Essex Archaeological Society Publications 1-3.

Gairdner, J., Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century, Camden Society, London, 1876.

_____, Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles, Camden Society, London, 1880.

Galbraith, V.H., 'Extracts from the Historia Aurea and a French "Brut"', English Historical Review 43 (1928), pp. 203-17.

Goldschmidt, E. Ph., Medieval Texts and their First Appearance in Print, London, 1943.

Goldsmid, E., The Chronicles of London from 44 Hen. III. to 17 Edw. III., 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1885.

Griscom, A., The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth, London, 1929.

Haines, H., A Manual of Monumental Brasses, 2 vols., Oxford and London, 1861. (Repr. as 1 vol. 1970)

Hall, J., The Poems of Lawrence Minot, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1897.

Halliwell, J.O., A Chronicle of the First Thirteen Years of the Reign of King Edward IV, by John Warkworth, Camden Society, London, 1839.

Hanna III, R., The Awntyrs off Arthure at the Terne Wathelyn, Manchester, 1974.

Harlow, C.G., 'Punctuation in some Manuscripts of Aelfric', Review of English Studies N.S. X (1959), pp. 1-19.

Haydon, F.S., Eulogium Historiarum sive temporis, 3 vols., Rolls Series, 1858-63.

Hearne, T., Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, 2 vols., London, 1724 (repr. 1810 as Vols. I, II of Works).

Hector, L.C., The Handwriting of English Documents, 2nd ed., London, 1966.

Hirsh, J.C., Western MSS. ... a guide to the exhibition, Bethlehem, Pasadena, 1970.

Hudson, A., 'Tradition and Innovation in some Middle English Manuscripts', Review of English Studies N.S. XVII (1966), pp. 359-72.

Huscher, H., John Page's Siege of Rouen (Kölner Anglistische Arbeiten 1), Leipzig, 1927.

Janson, T., 'Reversed lexical diffusion and lexical split: loss of -d in Stockholm', unpublished study reported in M.Y. Chen and W. S-Y. Wang, 'Sound Change: Actuation and Implementation', Language LI (1975), pp. 262-3.

Jones, C., An Introduction to Middle English, 1972.

Jordan, R., Handbuch der mittelenglischen Grammatik, Heidelberg, 1925.

Kane, G., Piers Plowman: The A Version, London, 1960.

Ker, N.R., Medieval Libraries of Great Britain, 2nd ed., London, 1964.

_____, Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries I: London, Oxford, 1969.

Kingsford, C.L., Chronicles of London, Oxford, 1905.

_____, A Survey of London by John Stow, 2 vols., Oxford, 1908.

_____, English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century, Oxford, 1913.

Kristensson, G., 'Another Approach to Middle English Dialectology', English Studies XLIV (1965), pp. 138-56.

Lass, R., ed., Approaches to English Historical Linguistics, New York, 1969.

Legge, M.D., 'The Brut Abridged, a Query', Medium Aevum XVI (1947), pp. 32-3.

_____, Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background, Oxford, 1963.

_____, and Brereton, G.E., 'Three hitherto unlisted MSS. of the French Prose "Brute Chronicle"', Medium Aevum VII (1938), pp. 113-7.

Loew, E.A., The Beneventan Script, Oxford, 1914.

Lucas, P.J., 'Sense-Units and the Use of Punctuation-Markers in John Capgrave's Chronicle', Archivum Linguisticum N.S. 2 (1971), pp. 1-24.

Luick, K., Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1914-40.

MacCracken, H.N., The Minor Poems of John Lydgate, Part II, EETS O.S. 192, 1934 (repr. 1961).

McIntosh, A., 'The Analysis of Written Middle English', Transactions of the Philological Society, 1956, pp. 26-55, and in Lass, pp. 35-57.

_____, 'A New Approach to Middle English Dialectology', English Studies XLIV (1963), pp. 1-11, and in Lass, pp. 392-403.

_____, 'Word Geography in the Lexicography of Medieval English' in Lexicography in English (Annals of N.Y. Academy of Sciences, Vol. 211), 1973, pp. 55-66.

Madden, F., Havelok the Dane, Roxburghe Club, London, 1828.

_____, 'Old English poem on the Siege of Rouen', Archaeologia XXII (1829), pp. 361-84.

_____, 'Prose Chronicles of England Called the Brute', Notes and Queries 2nd Ser., 1 (1856), pp. 1-4.

Manly, J.M., and Rickert, E., The Text of the Canterbury Tales, 8 vols., Chicago, 1940.

Manning, J.A., The Lives of the Speakers of the House of Commons, London, 1850.

Mare, A. de la, Catalogue of the Collection of Mediaeval Manuscripts Bequeathed to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, by James P.R. Lyell, Oxford, 1971.

Mather, F.J., 'King Ponthus and the Fair Sidone', PMLA 12 (1897).

Matter, H., Englische Gründungssagen von Geoffrey of Monmouth bis zur Renaissance, Heidelberg, 1922.

Meyer, P., 'De quelques Chroniques Anglo-Normandes qui ont porté le nom de Brut', Bulletin de la société des anciens textes français, (1878), pp. 104-45.

Middle English Dictionary, ed. H. Kurath and S.M. Kuhn, Ann Arbor, 1952--.

Mone, F.J., Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters, 3 vols., Freiburg im Breslau, 1853-5.

Moore, S., Meech, S.B., and Whitehall, H., 'Middle English Dialect Characteristics and Dialect Boundaries' in Essays and Studies in English and Comparative Literature (University of Michigan Publications in Language and Literature XIII), 1935.

Morant, P., History and Antiquities of Essex, 2 vols., Chelmsford, 1768.

Morgan, M.M., 'A Treatise in Cadence', Modern Language Review XLVII (1952), pp. 156-64.

Newton, K.C., Thaxted in the Fourteenth Century, Chelmsford, 1960.

Nicolas, H., The Chronology of History, 2nd ed., London, 1838.

Oakden, J.P., Alliterative Poetry in Middle English, Vol. I 'The Dialectal and Metrical Survey', Manchester, 1930.

Oxford English Dictionary, ed. A.H. Murray, H. Bradley, W.A. Craigie, and C.T. Onions, Oxford, 1888-1933.

Page, R.I., '"The Proper Toil of Artless Industry": Toronto's Plan for an Old English Dictionary', Notes and Queries N.S. XXII (1975), pp. 146-55.

Parkes, M.B., English Cursive Book Hands 1250-1500, Oxford, 1969.

Perry, A.J., Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum, EETS O.S. 167, 1925.

Powell, E.O., 'From The Brute of the Chronicle of England', Folklore 48 (1937), pp. 91-3.

Quirk, R., et al., 'Studies in the Correspondence of Prosodic to Grammatical Features in English', in Procs. of the 9th Internat. Congress of Linguists, ed. H.C. Lunt, The Hague, 1964, pp. 679-91, and repr. in R. Quirk, Essays on the English Language, London, 1968, chapter 12.

Raynaud, G., Catalogue des Manuscrits Anglais de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1884. [The Bibliothèque Nationale copy is corrected in ink.]

Reaney, P.H., The Place-names of Essex, EPNS, Vol. XII, Cambridge, 1935.

Reese, G.H., 'The Alderman Brut: A Diplomatic Transcript, Edited with a Study of the Text', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Virginia, 1947.

Ritson, J., Ancient Engleish Metrical Romanceës, 3 vols., London, 1802.

_____, Poems by Laurence Minot, London, 1825. (First printed in 1795.)

Robbins, R.H., and Cutler, J.L., Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse, Lexington, 1965.

Rye, W., The Visitations of Norfolk, Harleian Society, London, 1891.

Salter, E., 'Punctuation in an Early Manuscript of Love's Mirror', Review of English Studies N.S. VII (1956), pp. 11-8.

Samuels, M.L., 'Some Applications of Middle English Dialectology', English Studies XLIV (1963), pp. 81-94, and in Lass, pp. 404-18.

_____, 'The Role of Functional Selection in the History of English', Transactions of the Philological Society, 1965, pp. 15-40, and in Lass, pp. 325-44.

_____, 'Kent and the Low Countries: some linguistic evidence', in A.J. Aitken, A. McIntosh, and H. Pálsson, eds., Edinburgh Studies in English and Scots, 1971, pp. 3-19.

_____, Linguistic Evolution, Cambridge, 1972.

Scherling, E.v., 'History of King Lear in an Early 15th Century Manuscript', Rotulus 4 (1937), pp. 1-5.

Sinclair, K.V., Descriptive Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Western MSS. in Australia, Sydney, 1969.

Starke, F.-J., Populäre Englische Chroniken des 15. Jahrhunderts (Neue Deutsche Forschungen 3), Berlin, 1935.

Strang, B., A History of English, London, 1970.

Tannenbaum, S.A., The Handwriting of the Renaissance, London and New York, 1931.

Tatlock, J.S.P., The Legendary History of Britain, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1950.

Taylor, J., 'The French "Brut" and the Reign of Edward II', English Historical Review 72 (1957), pp. 423-37.

_____, The 'Universal Chronicle' of Ranulf Higden, Oxford, 1966.

Thompson, E.M., Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebroke, Oxford, 1889.

Todd, H.J., A Catalogue of the Archiepiscopal Manuscripts in the Library at Lambeth Palace, London, 1812 (repr. 1965).

Tytler, P.F., History of Scotland, 9 vols., 1828-43.

Victoria History of the Counties of England, Bedfordshire, ed. H.A. Doubleday and W. Page, 3 vols. and index, 1904-14.

Victoria History of the Counties of England, Huntingdonshire, ed. W. Page, 3 vols. and index, 1926-38.

Victoria History of the Counties of England, Surrey, ed. H.E. Malden, 4 vols. and index, 1902-14.

Vising, J., Anglo-Norman Language and Literature, London and Oxford, 1923.

Wells, J.E., A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1400, New Haven, 1916, with periodic supplements.

White, L., Medieval Technology and Social Change, Oxford, 1962.

Whiting, B.J. and H.W., Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases From English Writings Mainly Before 1500, Harvard University Press, 1968.

Wilson, R.M., The Lost Literature of Medieval England, 2nd ed., London, 1970.

Wright, C.E., English Vernacular Hands from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Centuries, Oxford, 1960.

Wright, J. and E.M., Elementary Middle English Grammar, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1928.

Wright, T., The Political Songs of England from the reign of John to that of Edward III, Camden Society, London, 1839.

Young, J., and Aitken, P.H., A Catalogue of the MSS. in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow, Glasgow, 1908.

Zettl, E., An Anonymous Short English Metrical Chronicle, EETS O.S. 196, 1935.

PLATES

Aoryn and the body of Kynmyssel that was
kyng of Scotland and lett lede hym to
hese oune countr and lett they entere
hevne and kyng Arthur anon pursuede
after the fals Tretour ayorded and
ayorded fley forthede nu to Cornuwaille
and wynne the quene that was kyng
Arthurs wyff sorowed that tyme atte
yorke and whan she herde telle that
ayorded was distonufited and was fled
and myght not endure azens his lorde
kyng Arthur she was sore adrad and
she wyste what to don for she wiste
well that hey lorde wolde have of here
no mercy for encheson of the schame
dispite that she had don her lorde
kyng Arthur and purtenchop on a tyme
she toke with hire my men and no mo
and went to Carlioun and nome thee
hafte of Romes and they dressed al her
lyfes tyme and whan kyng Arthur hey
de telle that ayorded was fled nu to Cor
uwaille anon he lett sende after men
nu to Scotland and after hevne of North
humbirland and after alle the people un
to hurnith and ordeyned hym an hoste
power and anon went nu to Corn
aille to pursue after the tretour ayorde
de and ayorded hade ordeyned and sen
ded to hym an hoste nombre of people
of Cornuwaille and of the countres
he wiste well that kyng Arthur wolde
come to be avenged upon hym and
shyde that he hade lenger to be ded pan
lengar for to sene and so he abode and
come and tak assyns batalle to kyng
Arthur and to his men and so wel kep
tes faught and so hasde so that longe
tyme no man wiste which of hem shulde
have the victorie and at the last the
false tretour ayorded was quelede and
alle his men and at that batalle alle
the goode knyghtes of the rounde table
were slayn nu that batalle and kyng
Arthur hym selfe was wounded almoste
to the dethe and afterward lete myche
selfe nu a litel wyle to amende hem
selfe and quit many of the kynges
wones tholden that Arthur kyneth nu a
noder londe and holde he shal come yet
and conquere alle Jherusalem for merlyn
tolde hem his prophecye that his dethe shulde
be doutfous to many a man for many
men nu to this tyme hath holde yet
of his dethe and euer more shulle as men
telle for many man wot not whether
he be ded or a lyve and that tyme kyng
Arthur had regned xxiiij yer and thane
he was lad to Avioun and this was aft
the Incarnacion of oure lorde thre cuiste
C C and xl yere sothe kyng Arthur toke
the realme of Jherusalem to Constantyn
that was the sone of Cadore his seuenthe

Thane kyng Arthur Capi iiij^to

fadir that he myght restenge
he lett come before hym Constan
tyn that was the sone of Cadore that
was Duke of Cornewaile his secounde
and bi toke hym alle the remnaunt and
sayde to hym that he shal be kyng of
the land nu to the tyme that he come a
gen nu to the londe for encheson that he
hade non eyre of his body be gotten but
al thing that god wile hime don nedes
muste be done whos name be blessed
with oute ende Amen. Now ayorded
Romes were up on constantyne
for encheson that he hade the remnaunt

And this Constantyn kyng
was a nobile knyght and a bold
man and a strong man of body and
hit fil afterward that the two Romes
of this tretour ayorded hade manyst

:goð y the be take and prieð kissede the grounde
and cleude neuer to haue come a zeue and cry-
ynge ful sore cursede the tyme that euer he
be gate Sire hugh hie come and saide for hy
he hade lost Engelonde and ni pfence of hem
that there ham aboute he zaf him his curse
and weute ouer the see to his landis But be
hugh the sone wolde nought goñ offt of Enge-
londe but helde hym ni the see and he and his
companye zolkede ꝑ dromondis be sides sand
wich and nome and bare a wey al the goode ꝑt
was on ham the value of xl pousand pounde
Wolle the kyng dyuers Erle Thomas of lancastr
and alle that helde wib him And sone the
yorkenier come and zelde him on to the kyng
And of the lordes sire Rip Confessore ri qd
Hit was nought longe after that the
kyng he made sr hugh the Spenser the
fadir of sr hugh & sr hugh come azeue ni to
Engelonde a zeus the lordes wille of the reme
and sone aft the kyng with astyng pouere
come and be segede the castel of leedes and ni
that castel was the lady of Gudlesmeg for
cuchesoun that ore wolde nought yuire pe
castele to the Quen Isabele kyng Edwardes
wyf wit the principal cause was for cuchesoñ
that sr Bartilmeus Baldesmeg was azeus
the kyng and helde with the lordes of Enge-
londe And ne thelees the kyng be helpe and
be socour of men of londen and also pourly
help of Southfolke men the kyng gat thee
castel manig ham alle that wer thei prie
and nome with him al that he myght fynde
And whene the Barouns of Engelonde her
de of his tydyng sr Edw yorkenieg and sr
Iegey yorkeniez and othir many lordes come
and tok the toun of Bristowe wib strengh
Wherfore the kyng was wonder wroth and
lete outlawe Thomas Erle of lancastr and
himselfe of Wchom erle of herforde and alle
pe that wer assentaunt to the same quereld
and the kyng assemblede mi3ouse hoste and
come a zeus the lordes of Engelonde wherfor
the yorkyniers pitte him to the kynges hert

and his gre and anon they wer sent to the
Toure of londoñ and there leyne ni prisson
And whene the kyngis herde of this pris
ner comen to pounsiet were that Erle Tho
mas sorourned and tolde him how the yor
temers hoiss hade zolde ham to the kyng &
pitte ham ni his gre Of his Deede of Bikle
Wheme Thomas Capñ seuñ his neuoue
Erle of lancastr herde this they wer
wondir wroth and alle that wer of his
companye and sterily they wer distomfitte
and ordeynede her power to sidy ni and besegede
the castel of Bykle But po that they with
yne so manlih defended ham that the kñ
goune myght nought geete the castel And
whene the kyng herde that his castel was
be segede he swore be god and be his names
that the sege sholde be remeuede and assem
bled an houge power of peple and went per
warde for to reskue the castell and his power
encreesed hem dam day to day Whene thee
Erle of lancastr and the Erle of herforde &
the Barouns & her compaye hesde of pis
pung they assembled alt her power and went
dam to Burton upon Trent and kepte pe
bruge that the kyng sholde nought passe ouer
But hit fil so on the tenth day on marche
in the zeir of gre a in c and xxxj the kyng
and the Spensers sr Aymer Valoine Erle of
pembrok and John Erle of Ajendel and hy
power went ouer the Water and distomfited
Erle Thomas and his compayne and they
flede to the castel of Tumbiy and so thens
they went to pounsiet and in this bruge der
de sr Roger Dammory ni the Abbay of Tumbiy
And ni the same tyme Erle Thoñ hyder int
atracte with him that me called Robt of hol
ond a knyzt that the Erle hade brought up
of nought and hade norissched him in his bord
aue and hade y zoven him ni ay mayr of lond
he zere and so mych the Erle louede him that
he myzht do ni the Erles court alle ping pat
him likede both among herith and lothe and
queyntith the thef bare him a zeus his lorde

and houses ther sodayne Dempste and ouerthrytinge
therein pressed and pe apered bodyly in diuerse
sicknesse to meckell people as pey therinne in dyuerse
places in pe contrey & spake vnto hem.

Kynge edward in pe xxxij yere
of his Regne at none after trusted
masse in pe feste of conuersion of
Paule he helde his parlement at Westmynstr in
pe wich pese thyng put forthe & shewed aff pe article
ing pe tretes pat was stablissed & ordeyned by
twene pe .ij. kynges pe which accorde plesed
meckell pe people & pe forpe by pe kynges comma-
undement pe shere thrugh & rome to rede
in Westmynstr therthe: pe fyfte Sonday of
lente: pat is to sey pe .ij. kalen of Aprell pe
forseyde enbassheres & frenshe men: the
re chese a masse sonne ful Solempply of pe
holy goste of pe archebysshop of Cauntbury
named Ormond Steppe and than anone
Dan Thomas Dr: pe kynges Confessour
ner: & also pat pe kinges Sones of ffrance
& ope noble & grete lordis shuld mete pe
in here landis: & trusse Cheyne forthe
Alle po pat were called yn to pe shere house
Schoze: Schozen pe pe time othe pat shuld
sheten vpon Maydis body & vpon pe chyfe
boke in pis chyse the .Q. and .Q. Assi-
zen here vpon holy maydis body & vpon
alle pe Goshelles seuerally: to holde & kepe
to stand wt pe pees & pe accorde made by
twene pe two kynges: & nede for to go
pe contrarie & whan pey had pis Schozne:
pey toke here streches & pe othes sheren to
pe lordes vnto pe Notaries And in pis
same zere: in pe assencion euen at none
ther day was seen pe Eclypse of pe sonne
& pe Moloffed seche a meche derknesse: pat
for pe space of .ij. houre: pe whan grete Clar-
nesse of eyre: fruite & hare and in pat sea-
sone zere pe by kalende of Iuny pe ffell a
Cauntelcyne Fayr neuk moste like to blo-
de at Burgoyne: and a Cauntelcyne Crosse
ffrom nozthe vnto pine chan seyne & ap-
pered at Wolcyne in pe Ayer pe which
many a man hit sache: & after hit meued
& fesse in pe Seemynge: & in pe same
tyme bore in ffrance & in engelond &

ye Eclypse

of so many londis as pey pat dwelled in pluyne con
treys and deserte hire Cheuesse: pat Godfray de
Apery .ij. Castellis of pe whiche: the ente
ente .ij. Ostes of armyd men: & pat one Oste chis
heled & clothed alle in white: & pat oper in Blacke
& pe batelise by twene heme chis by name
pat white ost come pe blake & a none after pe
blake token herte vnto hem: & one come the
white & after pat pe vtenteward yen in to here
Castell: & a non alle pat myght & hope Ostes
vanysshed a chip & in pis time zere chas a mete
& an hongre pestilence of peple & namely of
men whos skyn sed as ouer of mouldwarpe token
hem wonder: als wel strangers as oper lond
& semple peple pe whiche sozetyme here aftyne
worshipe & herthe and compelled & maried
Rent: to chere of lesser degre & hyest repu
tacion. In pis same zere Syr Henry pe
Duke of Lancastre: And also pat same zere
Dere Edward pryncs of Walys wedded pe
Countesse of Kent dat was Dere Thomas
Holonde pe whiche chan departed
& Deuorsed: som tyme from pe erle of Kaly
bury: for cause of pe same knyght. & also
pe same ye sed nun & al wes a mete compa
nye of diuse manoid ryche to rede: of
dyuerse seruyse & nacions there entrisse
men: & pey there clepyd a peple pat oute an hede:
pe whiche seson meked harme in pe partes of
Ffrance & nomi somme after pe al wes a nese com-
pame of diuse manoid pat was called pe white
company pe whiche in pe partyes & pe con
treys of lombardie dede meked sozowe. pis
same zere Dere John of Gaunt pesone of Kyng
Edward: pe .iij. was made Duke of Lancastre.
by reson & cause of his wyfe: pat was
Doster & pe heyre of Henry some tyme pe
Duke of Lancastre:

Of pe grete wynde & flode
pat Edward made of his sad in the lond
Rype of Duryall & wente pedey:
ng in pat xxxviij zere of his Regne
& nine eschaunde pat pe day of Iuny
pat is to sey vpon Seint Iuliary
day A bolde & euensonge tyme: pe al Cree &
come seche a ship & Grete of pe Dolfyn pat
seche al ser shesse: & pe hyeste & biest al Dolfyne
pe houses: & stronge & fyl pines Dokes
chercches & stepelis & ope stronge pinnes:
& alle ope stronge chirches pat stonden stille the
ren so y take pat: pat pey bel zet & shilden

Ede of cantyrbiry and of Winchestre and he had Ryght
there by reu and lerd and lyth at Winchestre Of kyng

Than after they kidcrad regnyld stabid hyr
sone after Regromancers and preist hyr craft
of Nygromancy he mad the hutt Wattlid reony
after tald he regnyld nyght and lyth at nakit vells
of kyng keyne yat was blaind sone yat mide ye

Twelfth ch seyerstre

After yis kyng Blaind regnyld keyd Thostin
and thir seyen mad to pe twelfe of seyn
eystes and sone aft pe twelfe after they vellis
mans seyen and he gouernyd hyr kind dreft and courtesly pe
kyngis law had ny Dauid to the first kyth gyrmott the
second Ruffane and pe thyrd Gordert pe roughyst Donit
clau fayrest and of pe best condycion the kyng seyen
her fadyr Effelt fastmadre and child p his Dauchtir Wen
nadryd or pat he deyd but first he tald with to assay Whych
of yem lothyd Whych best and most Should best gouernyd
And he answerd of pe first Dauchtyr how much she louyd
hym And she answerd and sayd better pen hir self
Well sekir say he fadyr yt wordis dyd lyst Than he and
pe second Donit how much she louyd hym and she said
passyng all creatur of pe world Wha say ony thyng
no more And yan he hayst of hir Yongyst Donit how well
much she louyd hym Sekyr fadyr sayd she my
Sistyr hath told you Wherfor I sey for sothe I
Schall tell you pe treuth for abunche I lous and dyr

[illegible] for all ye comyng may haue no
[illegible] of the lege of Pochest-tymes pesyble of pees
Beke ministre of Shrewsbury

In the xxv yere of kyng Edwd the iiij
ye Abbot of Shrewsbury held his plemitar clem
chapt thre plemon ens the Justice for Wales
Shrewsbury of riotes and of his pclatyr of his
iurisdiccon of ryotes and of his pclatyr of his
iurisdiccon of Wales and of his pclatyr of his
ye kyng Thomas Lord & Duke of Lancastre the
Erle of Lancastre and Derby of Lestre and Steward
land and Lord to ye Quene Edward ye fyrst
tyme kyng of Frauns of the Blyche and Edward ye
Duke Blacke ye Erle and ye Erle ye Kyng and thar-
same tyme Erle to Cardmallye the tyme pur-
ye to sue an Writtes and ye Cardinall of Pur-
te test of pees Sir Edward ye Somyr shit pay Clem
shuld vpon Cotent any pees And in the same ye the
Kyng Justices his Letyr to ye Justices Pochest Cler
ky ye Clerk of Peas shuld Cotent in the Statute
against Compan afore the Abbot shit to Sy Edwy ye
Sythe the Blyche passid the See and Comen same
to ye Kyng of Pochest And when they Cley the Ab
ye shall yn mirth of that pay myght Chirty Sch
ly com Sp enquest Astonyshedly of Edwd ye Blyche
and Comen ye Churchmen for the Chirty Sinde Cley
made Clay of hem ne Cley nettyshy to Kyth and pur-
compas the Churchmen Cthyr they Cley take
Sp Edwd and Sp Edwards to ye Sythe and pay
Belyth per hort and Sch that they to Sp Edwd Sp and

GOW
ERSITY
BRARY: