

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

**John Hardyng's *Chronicle*: A Study of the Two Versions
and a Critical Edition of Both for the Period 1327-1464**

being a Thesis submitted for the Degree of Ph.D.

in the University of Hull

by

Sarah Louise Peverley (B.A. Hons)

March 2004

Abstract

This thesis on the verse chronicle of John Hardyng (1378-c.1465), which is extant in two versions, is divided into two parts: a study of Hardyng and his *Chronicle*, and an edition of both versions for the years 1327-1464. Part I contains two chapters: John Hardyng and his *Chronicle*, and John Hardyng and the Construction of History. The first chapter comprises an Introduction, which provides information about knowledge of Hardyng in the post-medieval period and an overview of modern scholarship, and a section on the life of John Hardyng, which places him in the context of the period prior to, and including, the turbulent Wars of the Roses; this is followed by a description of the single manuscript of the first version and the twelve manuscripts and three fragments of the second version, accompanied by an analysis of the relationships of the manuscripts. The second chapter examines the complicated compositional circumstances of the two versions, taking into account historical developments in the period, and exploring recurrent topics and themes in the two versions. Part I concludes with an edition of Illustrative Texts, which include the prologues and the story of the founding of Albion, exemplifying the topics discussed in the preceding chapter. Part II of the thesis is an edition of the two versions for the years 1327-1464, selected for their relevance to the public and political affairs of late medieval England, and because it is in this section that Hardyng draws together his conclusions about the reigns of previous monarchs in relation to the present governance of England; the edition is supported by full critical apparatus and a commentary for each version, containing background contextual and historical information, and comparative allusions to other contemporary historical and literary texts. The thesis concludes with six appendices, a selective glossary and a bibliography.

For my family:

‘my soules ese and all my hertes wele’

Cum in omni fere litterarum studio dulce laboris lenimen et summum doloris solamen dum uiuitur insitum considerem, tum delectabilius et maioris prerogatiua claritatis historiarum splendorem amplectendum crediderim. Nichil namque magis in uita egregium, quam uite calles egregie indagare et frequentare. Vbi autem floridius enitescit uirorum fortium magnificentia, prudentium sapientia, iustorum iudicia, temperatorum modestia, quam in rerum contextu gestarum? [...] Sic etiam in rebus gestis omnium gentium et nationum, que utique Dei iudicia sunt, benignitas, munificentia, probitas, cautela et his similia, et contraria, non solum spirituales ad bonum accendunt et a malo repellunt, sed etiam seculares ad bona sollicitant et in malis minuunt. Historia igitur preterita quasi presentia uisui representat, futura ex preteritis imaginando diiudicat.

It is my considered opinion that the sweetest relief from suffering and the best comfort in affliction that this world affords are to be found almost entirely in the study of literature, and so I believe that the splendour of historical writing is to be cherished with the greatest delight and given the pre-eminent and most glorious position. For nothing is more excellent in this life than to investigate and become familiar with the course of worldly events. Where does the grandeur of valiant men shine more brightly, or the wisdom of the prudent, or the discretion of the righteous, or the moderation of the temperate, than in the context of history? [...] Yes, indeed, in the recorded deeds of all peoples and nations, which are the very judgements of God, clemency, generosity, honesty, caution, and the like, and their opposites, not only provoke men of the spirit to what is good and deter them from evil, but even encourage worldly men to good deeds and reduce their wickedness. History therefore brings the past into view as though it were present, and allows judgement of the future by representing the past.

[Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, preface to the *Historia Anglorum*; Greenway 1996: 2-5]

Contents

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Abstract | i |
| Dedication | ii |
| Epigraph | iii |
| Contents | iv |
| List of Illustrations | v |
| Acknowledgements | vi |
| Abbreviations | ix |
| I John Hardyng and his <i>Chronicle</i>: A Study | |
| John Hardyng and his <i>Chronicle</i> | |
| Introduction | 1 |
| John Hardyng's Life | 9 |
| The Manuscripts of Hardyng's <i>Chronicle</i> | 47 |
| The Relationships of the Manuscripts | 119 |
| Editorial Procedure | 133 |
| John Hardyng and the Construction of History | |
| Introduction | 138 |
| The Composition of the First Version | 140 |
| The Transitional Years | 196 |
| The Composition of the Second Version | 199 |
| Conclusion | 227 |
| Illustrative Texts | |
| The Prologue and Albyne Narrative in the First Version | 230 |
| The Prologue and Albyne Narrative in the Second Version | 245 |
| II The <i>Chronicle</i> in Two Versions, 1327-1464: An Edition | |
| The Text of the First Version, 1327-1437 | 261 |
| Commentary to the First Version | 362 |
| The Text of the Second Version, 1327-1464 | 463 |
| Commentary to the Second Version | 589 |
| Appendices | |
| 1 Comparative Table of Lansdowne 204 and Arch. Selden B. 10 .. | 651 |
| 2 Two Documents Relating to John Hardyng's Scottish Mission .. | 659 |
| 3 Two Fifteenth-Century Annotations in Garrett 142 | 662 |
| 4 The Fragment of Hardyng's <i>Chronicle</i> in Harley 3730 | 664 |
| 5 Sixteenth-Century Notes Concerning London in Takamiya 6 | 666 |
| 6 The Itinerary of Scotland in Grafton's 1543 Editions | 669 |
| Selective Glossary | 675 |
| Bibliography | 701 |

List of Illustrations

- Figure 1 Warkworth Castle, Northumberland.
- Figure 2 The Remains of Kyme Castle and the Modern Site of the Priory, Lincolnshire.
- Figure 3 Lansdowne 204, f. 5r.
- Figure 4 Details of Lansdowne 204: a) f. 47r detail: Initial H; b) f. 67v detail: Arthur's Shield; c) f. 13r detail: Initial F; d) f. 16r detail: Initial T.
- Figure 5 The Pedigree of France: Lansdowne 204, f. 196r.
- Figure 6 Hardyng's Map of Scotland: Lansdowne 204, ff. 226v-27r.
- Figure 7 The Narrator's Dream: Spencer 19, f. 7r.
- Figure 8 The Soul's Vision of the Green Tree: Spencer 19, f. 81r.
- Figure 9 The Soul's Vision of the Asses' Tombs: Spencer 19, f. 86r.
- Figure 10 The Soul meets Lady Doctrine: Spencer 19, f. 87v.
- Figure 11 a) Pilgrim meets Grace-Dieu: Laud 740, f. 3v detail.
b) Moses, as a Bishop, and Three Clerics: Laud 740, f. 10v detail.
- Figure 12 a) Pilgrim meets Gluttony: Laud 740, f. 97r detail.
b) Pilgrim sees a Purged Soul enter Heaven: Egerton 615, f. 31r detail.
- Figure 13 a) Details from Lansdowne 204, f. 196r, Pedigree of France.
b) Details from Spencer 19, ff. 7r, 87v.
c) Details from Spencer 19, ff. 7r, 86r and Lansdowne 204, f. 226v.
- Figure 14 Wellcome Medical Library MS 8004: Blood-Letting Man
- Figure 15 Wellcome Medical Library MS 8004: Zodiac Man and Champ Initial
- Figure 16 Wellcome Medical Library MS 8004: Zodiac Chart and Champ Initial
- Figure 17 Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 5r.
- Figure 18 The Pedigree of France: Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 148v.
- Figure 19 Hardyng's Map of the Scottish Lowlands: Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 184r.
- Figure 20 Sixteenth-Century Woodcut by Lucas Cranach: Ashmole 34, f. 1v.
- Figure 21 The Arms of Lucius and Other Decorations: Garrett 142, f. 44r.
- Figure 22 Hardyng's Map of the Scottish Lowlands: Harley 661, f. 187r.
- Figure 23 Hardyng's Map of the Scottish Highlands and The Palace of Pluto, King of Hell: Harley 661, f. 188r
- Figure 24 Takamiya 6, ff. 48v-49r.
- Figure 25 Hardyng's Seal: an H between two stars.
- Figure 26 a) PRO E 39/2/9: Letter of Safe-Conduct for Hardyng from James I of Scotland.
b) PRO E 39/96/3: Indenture between John Talbot and John Hardyng attesting to the delivery of Hardyng's documents relating to Scotland.

Acknowledgements

It is with great pleasure that I acknowledge the many people who have helped, inspired, guided and encouraged me over the last few years. My research would not have been possible without the financial support that I have received from several institutions and research funds. I would therefore like to thank: the University of Hull, Faculty of Arts Scholarship for providing me with funding for the first two years of my research; the Centre for Medieval Studies for contributing towards the cost of my microfilms and the International Medieval Congress at the University of Leeds; the Department of English has supported numerous research trips to the British Library, the Bodleian Library, and the Hunterian Library, and has contributed towards several conference fees, including the Fifteenth Century Conference at Keele University (2003); finally, I would like to thank the Carl Baron Memorial Fund for covering the cost of my research trips abroad, namely to Utrecht in 2002, where I presented a paper at the Third Medieval Chronicle Conference, and to America in the same year. The trip to America enabled me to visit the manuscript collections deposited at the Houghton Library, Harvard University, the Firestone Library, Princeton University, the New York Public Library and Western Michigan University; I also benefited from being able to present a paper at the 37th International Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo and experience the wonders of the Cloisters Museum. I would similarly like to express my gratitude to Erik Kooper, who has been incredibly kind and encouraging, not least for inviting me to speak at The Third Medieval Chronicle Conference in Utrecht, and for awarding me a travel bursary to assist with my expenses.

I am grateful to the staff at the following libraries and archives for their friendly and invaluable assistance: the Brotherton Library at Leeds University; the Duke Humphrey Reading Room in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the British Library; the New York Public Library; the Houghton Library, Harvard University; the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York; the Hunterian Library, Glasgow University; the Public Record Office; the Firestone Library, Princeton University; and the University of Western Michigan, Kalamazoo. At the aforementioned libraries I would like to single out the following individuals for special mention: Alvan Bregman, Sean Cunningham, Sylvie Merian, AnnaLee Pauls, Oliver Pickering, Don Skemer, and Aggie (for providing me with accommodation in Princeton). The staff of the Brynmor Jones Library, Hull, have been particularly accommodating, and I would particularly like to thank Julie Blackburn, Christina Chantry, Kate Henderson, Kath McCann, Sue O'Connell, and Tilly Rogers; Ray Johnson, Mike Park and John Spencer in photographic services have also been considerably helpful. Dr Malcolm Mercer (Public Record Office) has been very generous with his time and has assisted with many of the documents I consulted on my visits there; for his continued support and help with my queries, and for reading a draft of my discussion of Hardyng's life, I am extremely grateful.

Colleagues in the Department of English have been very supportive and I would especially like to thank Valerie Sanders and Rowlie Wymer for giving me the opportunity to teach on several of the undergraduate modules; Ruth Hawden has been exceptionally patient and considerate in her capacity as postgraduate facilitator, and the following members of staff have all helped me in some invaluable way: Helen

Baron, James Booth, Gill Cowper, Jane Kingsley-Smith, Jason Lawrence and Jane Thomas.

It is with great pleasure that I thank Alfred Hiatt, William Marx, Compton Reeves and John Scattergood for allowing me privileged access to their research in advance of publication, and for the many helpful discussions we have had concerning Hardyng and/or fifteenth-century literature; Professor Toshiyuki Takamiya has been incredibly generous, taking the time to check my description of Takamiya 6 and the related appendix, and allowing me access to his personal notes on the manuscript; for this, and his kind encouragement and interest in my research I am deeply grateful. James Simpson has shown enthusiasm for my project from the start, and it is with sincere gratitude that I thank him for giving me the opportunity to co-edit an edition of Lansdowne 204 after the completion of this work. The following scholars have either given up their time to answer my queries, discuss my research, or have provided the sort of encouragement that a young scholar needs: Caroline Barron; Alan Deighton; Gwilym Dodd; Tony Edwards; Dan Embree; Peter Fleming; William Flynn; Chris Given-Wilson; David Grummitt; Christine Harker; Gerald Harriss; Michael Hicks; Michael K. Jones; Don Kennedy; Andy King; Hannes Kleineke; Brian Levy; Philippa Maddern; Lister Matheson; Philip Morgan; Mark Ormrod; Caroline Palmer; David Pascoe; Felicity Riddy; Raluca Radulescu; Lisa Ruch; Brigitte Schuldermann; Pauline Smith; Jon Watts; and Pam Williams. I especially appreciate the advice that Kathleen Scott, Ian Doyle and Linne Mooney have given me with regards to the manuscripts of Hardyng's *Chronicle*. I would also like to thank Wendy Scase for introducing me to Hardyng and for supervising the first year of my research; Philip Morgan, for inviting me to speak at the University of Keele; Margaret Newton and her husband for giving me the keys to Kyme Tower (!) and for showing me around the church; Phyllis and Earl Roberts for their exceptional hospitality during my sojourn in New York; Lesley Coote for the numerous discussions we have had concerning the medieval period, and for her constructive criticism of earlier sections of this thesis; and Suzanne Paul for her careful proof reading and advice on the Latin sections of the *Chronicle*. Thanks should likewise be given to Jenni Nuttall for her delightful and engaging company at conferences and seminars, for our ensuing friendship, for providing me with a bed at Merton College during my research visit to Oxford, and for the many discussions we have had concerning the two men in our lives: Hoccleve and Hardyng.

It is difficult to find the words to describe the magnitude of my debt to my supervisor, Veronica O'Mara; she has not only been my mentor, helping to shape and develop all areas of this thesis, but, most importantly, she has become a dear friend. Her patience, encouragement and enthusiasm have been invaluable and have made the completion of this project possible.

Finally I would like to thank the people who are most important to me: my friends and family. My friends, Jon Adams, Leigh Clark, Jamilah Kanval, Susie Lamb, Dennis Low, Gemma Mordue, Simon Moss, and Sam Sterrett have kept me grounded and supported me with extraordinary resilience; they have tolerated my countless flights of fancy and trips to crumbling castles, and provided compassion and humour when I needed them. My family have supported me, both financially and emotionally, throughout my research. Ramsey, my granddad, initially inspired and encouraged me to pursue my studies, and it is with sincere love and gratitude that I acknowledge my debt to him. I cannot begin to define how important my mother has been to me over the last few years. She has helped me through the good and the bad

times, and has remained sympathetic towards my work even when it has kept me locked away in my room for hours upon end. My father and sister, Stephen and Hayley, have likewise shown their support in countless ways, for which I am deeply grateful; my only regret is that my grandma, Valerie, did not live to celebrate the completion of this thesis with us. It is to the memory of my grandma, and to my family that this work is dedicated.

Abbreviations

Chronicle Manuscripts

- A: Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 34
 B: Pierpont Morgan Library MS Bühler 5
 D: Bodleian Library MS Douce 345
 D2: Bodleian Library MS Douce 378 (ff. 1-62)
 E: British Library MS Egerton 1992
 G: Princeton University MS Garrett 142
 H: British Library MS Harley 661
 Hu: University of Glasgow MS Hunter 400 (v. 2. 20)
 Hv: Harvard University MS 1054
 I: University of Illinois MS Illinois 83
 L: British Library MS Lansdowne 204
 S: Bodleian Library MS Arch. Selden B. 10
 T: Tokyo MS Takamiya 6 (formerly Helmingham Hall MS L. J. 10)

Chronicle Fragments

- C: College of Arms MS 2M. 16 (ff. 76r-77v)
 H2: British Library MS Harley 293 (ff. 77r-78v)
 H3: British Library MS Harley 3730 (f. 1r-v)

Printed Versions of the *Chronicle*

- P1: STC 12767 printed edition by Richard Grafton in January 1543.
 P2: STC 12766.7 (formerly STC 12768) second printed edition by Richard Grafton in January 1543.

Other Abbreviations

- CCR* Calender of Close Rolls
CDS Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland
CIM Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous
CIPM Calendar of Inquisitions Post-Mortem
CPR Calender of Patent Rolls
CPReg Calendar of Papal Registers
DNB Dictionary of National Bibliography 1920-21
 EETS Early English Text Society
 m. membrane (usually given with reference to the Patent and Close Rolls).
MED Middle English Dictionary
PPC Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council
 PRO Public Record Office
Rot. Parl. Rotuli Parliamentorum
Rot. Scot. Rotuli Scotiae
 RS Rolls Series
 SC Bodleian Library Summary Catalogue number
 STC *Short Title Catalogue*

I

John Hardyng and his *Chronicle*: A Study



John Hardyng and his *Chronicle*

Emonges all wryters that haue put in vre
 Their penne and style, thynges to endite,
 None haue behynd them left so greate treasure,
 Ne to their posteritee haue dooen suche delite,
 As thei whiche haue taken peines to write
 Chronycles and actes of eche nacion,
 And haue of thesame made true relacion.

[Grafton's Preface in Ellis 1812: 7]

Introduction

In January 1543, three months after Henry VIII had declared war on Scotland, the first of two editions of Hardyng's *Chronicle* to be produced that month was issued from the printing press of Richard Grafton; from this moment forward Hardyng's reputation as an obsessive advocate of the conquest of Scotland was determined. Grafton, who does not appear to have had any bibliographical data on Hardyng other than what he could glean from the *Chronicle* itself, made the decision to edit the later version of the *Chronicle* in light of the appropriateness of the subject matter to England's contemporary conflict with Scotland.¹ Following in Hardyng's footsteps, stylistically and thematically, Grafton dedicated the *Chronicle* to a patron with a vested interest in the conquest of Scotland, Thomas Howard, third duke of Norfolk,

¹ Grafton issued two editions of the second version of Hardyng's *Chronicle* in the same month (STC 12767 and 12766.7, formerly 12768); extant manuscripts of the second version are listed in footnote 136 below. The two versions differ in minor ways on every page, mainly with regards to spelling but occasionally with expressions; the most striking difference is that the second version (STC 12766.7) has a much shorter account of the reign of Henry VIII (only two folios in length). Grafton was not aware of the first version of Hardyng's *Chronicle*; however, in the preface to the 1570 edition of *A Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles*, in the section entitled 'The names of authors out of the whiche this summarie is collected', John Stow, who had evidently seen, or obtained, London, British Library MS Lansdowne 204 by this point (the only extant copy of the first version), wrote a scathing attack on Grafton's edition stating that the chronicle compiled by Hardyng that he knew 'doth almost altogether differ from that whych was imprinted by Richard Grafton' (1570, STC 23322). Grafton responded in October of the same year, in his epistle to the reader in *An Abridgement of the Chronicles of England* (STC 12151), maintaining his faithfulness to the manuscripts he possessed, and asserting that it was possible for a man to write more than one chronicle during his life. He added: 'I haue at this tyme a chronicle that beareth the name of Iohn Hardyng written in the Latyn tongue in prose', which, he taunted, he doubted that Stow had seen, nor would be able to understand. Stow responded in his 1573 epistle 'To the Reader' in the *Summarie* (STC 23323.5), 'If hee haue any such booke, it is like that he would alledge it, as he hath done manye other authors, whereof I am better assured he hath neuer seene so muche as the outeside of theyr books. If ther be no such Chronicle of Iohn Harding's, as he braggeth on, it is like I haue not seene it, and must needes be hard to vnderstande it' (Stow 1573). For further information on Grafton see Herbert and Ames 1785-90: I, 501-38; for the argument between Grafton and Stow see Herbert and Ames 1785-90: I, 504-06; Ellis 1812: xviii-xix; and Kingsford 1908: I, lxxviii-lxxix. See also Dr Alfred Hiatt's forthcoming article 'Stow, Grafton, and Fifteenth-Century Historiography', to be published in *John Stow (1525-1605) and the Making of the English Past*, ed. by I. Gadd and A. Gillespie. I am grateful to Dr Hiatt for providing me with a summary of his forthcoming piece. An insightful study of the publication, readership and reception of medieval chronicles from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries may be found in Woolf 2000.

who, like his father before him, was appointed by Henry VIII ‘To bee to the Scottes a sharpe scourge and rod’ (Ellis 1812: 5):²

Lorde Thomas of Norffolke, duke moste gracious,
 Of noble auncestrie and blood descended,
 A captain right woorthie and auenturous,
 And from Scotland euen newly retended,
 Wher Englandes querele ye haue reuenged,
 In the behalf of our noble kyng Henry,
 I wyshe you all health, honour, and victorie.

And because it hath pleased almightie God,
 In the right title and querele of Englande,
 To vse your stocke as an iron rod,
 Wherewith to scourge the falsehood of Scotland,
 In whom is no truthe ne holde of any bande;
 Ihon Hardynges chronicle, as me thought, was
 Moste mete to bee dedicated to your grace.

[Ellis 1812: 1]

Grafton went on to conclude that the purpose of his presenting the *Chronicle* to Norfolk was to help him to subjugate the Scots by providing an edition not only of the *Chronicle*, with its historical evidence in support of English hegemony, but also with the fruits of Hardyng’s reconnaissance, appended to the end of the history in the form of his itinerary of Scotland:

Wherfore thys chronycle of Ihon Hardyng,
 I haue thought good to dedycate to your grace,
 Because the same in euery maner of thyng
 Doothe best set out the nature of that place,
 With distaunce of tounes and euery myles space:

² The Howards were an extremely prominent family, particularly so in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Originally they were members of the East Anglian gentry who inherited their dukedom through marriage. The first duke of Norfolk, John Howard, and his son, Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey (later to become the second duke), fought at Bosworth for Richard III; John was killed and Thomas was attainted, but his loyalty to the new king, Henry VII, eventually ensured his restoration to the dukedom. The tomb of the second duke recorded both his early affiliation with Edward IV and his education, stating that he ‘was in hys yong age, after he had been a sufficient season at the gramer schole, henchman to Kyng Edward the iiii’ (McFarlane 1980: 42, 245). Fascinatingly, his interest in literature of a historical and military flavour is attested by the twelve books he took with him on his 1481 expedition to Scotland, which included a copy of Honoré Bonet’s *Arbre des batailles*, a ‘destrucion de troye’ and Raoul Lefèvre’s *Recueil des histoires de Troyes* (Crawford 1992: xix, 277); although all of the items were apparently written in French, not English, his books are representative of the general interest that the nobility and gentry had in such texts, suggesting perhaps another reason for Grafton’s decision to dedicate the work to his son. Furthermore, the son of the third duke was the famous Henry Howard (c. 1517-47), earl of Surrey, famous for his literary works. Other important figures to whom Grafton dedicated his works include King Edward VI, Lord Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, and Sir William Cecil. For information on Howard and his father see Tucker 1964, Head 1978, Vokes 1988 (and Grace 1961 as cited in Vokes 1988); for an overview of Tudor policy towards Scotland see Robson 1989 and Neville 1998 (Claire Etty is currently working on this topic for her doctoral research at the University of Durham).

Besechyng your grace to take in good parte,
Myne honest labours and beneuolent harte.

[Ellis 1812: 5]

Almost eighty years after Hardyng's death, the tactical advantage of possessing geographical knowledge of Scotland from one who 'knew water, woode, toune, vale & hyll' (Ellis 1812: 11) is shown to be just as beneficial to the English sovereign and his magnates as it was in the author's time. Had Grafton possessed a manuscript containing the map of Scotland that Hardyng appended to the end of both versions of the *Chronicle*, and which accompanies three of the extant manuscripts of the second version, he would surely have reproduced it for Norfolk.³

It is evident from Grafton's portrayal of Hardyng as 'a true herted Englysheman,/ An esquier valiaunt, hardie, and bolde,/ And not vnlearned, as the time was than' (Ellis 1812: 1-12), that the 1543 dedication and preface inspired much of the commendation for Hardyng's work that appeared in the sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries.⁴ Similarly, the editor's description of Hardyng as a source of enlightenment in the darkness of late medieval England is particularly important:

In other thinges the tymes were suche,
That, though this werke haue some spice of blindnesse,
Yet it is the authour not to be blamed much,

³ The variant readings in Grafton's prints are most closely related to the following manuscripts: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 378; London, British Library MS Egerton 1992; Urbana-Champaign, University of Illinois MS 83, and Tokyo, MS Takamiya 6. All of these are more widely related to the readings in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 34, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS Bühler 5, and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 345. Of these Ashmole 34, Bühler 5, Douce 345, and Takamiya 6 have connections with the London area (see *The Manuscripts of Hardyng's Chronicle*). Thus, it is likely that the manuscript(s) Grafton used for his prints was similar to those used as exemplars for the Douce 378, Egerton 1992, Illinois 83, and Takamiya 6 group. None of these contains maps, or the additional prose passages appended to the end of several manuscripts (mentioning, amongst other things, Hardyng's upbringing in the Percy household, which Grafton fails to cite), but an interesting enigma is presented by the itinerary printed by Grafton, which does not relate to any of the itineraries in the extant manuscripts of the second version, but is in fact closer to the verse itinerary of the first version (see **Appendix 6**). Perhaps this itinerary was revised by Hardyng, and like the briefer itinerary, only circulated in a select few manuscripts, which no longer survive, and in which the patron commissioning the work decided which supplementary items were required in their copy. For further discussion see *The Relationships of the Manuscripts*. Hardyng's Scottish map occurs in Lansdowne 204, the unique manuscript of the first version, and in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Arch. Selden B. 10, London, British Library MS Harley 661 and Cambridge Massachusetts, Harvard University MS English 1054, all manuscripts of the second version. The significance of the maps is discussed in more detail in *John Hardyng and the Construction of History*.

⁴ See, for example, the comments of George Puttenham in *The Arte of English Poesie* (written c. 1585 and edited by Willcock and Walker 1936); the praise of Winstanley (1687: 37-39), who optimistically, but rather incorrectly, states that he 'valiantly and faithfully adhered' to Edward IV 'not only in the sunshine of his prosperity, but also in his deepest distress' (1687: 38); Nicolson 1714: 68; Campbell 1798: 38; John Weever's *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (1631: 58, 59, 211, 243, 375, 386, 420, 424, 450, 458, 472, 478-79, 518, 612, 749, 868), in which the author uses the *Chronicle* to furnish his reader with numerous historical references, affectionately calling Hardyng 'my old ryming cronicler' (1631: 749); and Thomas Fuller, who stated in *The History of the Worthies of England* that Hardyng 'had drunk as hearty a draught of Helicon as any in his age' (Nichols 1811: II, 514). See also the brief references to Hardyng in Henry Peacham's *The Compleat Gentleman* (edited by Gordon 1906: 95), Richard Brathwait's *The English Gentleman* (1630: 190), and John Lane's seventeenth-century continuation of Guy of Warwick in BL Harley 5243 (noted in Edwards 1987: 79).

For Popyshe error, that season, doubtlesse
 Did all the worlde ouer go and oppresse.
 Therefore such thinges we must in good part take,
 And pardon that faulte for the tymes sake.

[...] to vs it maye bee greate delyte,
 The blindnesse of those tymes to consider,
 From whiche hathe pleased God vs to deyuer [...]
 Fynally, the darkenesse of those dayes to see
 [Ellis 1812: 11-12]

It is this opinion of the chronicler that is later echoed in Campbell's praise of the *Chronicle* and Puttenham's eulogy of Hardyng as a 'Poet Epick or Historicall' who, he believes, should be assigned a collective 'first place' amongst the esteemed ranks of Chaucer, Gower and Lydgate for his 'antiquitie'.⁵ Grafton's description of the 'blindnesse' of late medieval England and his belief that 'Popyshe error' and the religious dissent surrounding the Great Schism were the cause of Hardyng's inaccuracies is ironic; first, because the *Chronicle* fails to mention the Schism and its effect on attitudes towards religion in England, only briefly touching upon the seditious Lollards in the reign of Henry V; secondly, because 'the godly wisdom' of Grafton's own sovereign instigated the greatest religious upheaval of the post-medieval era due to his determination to confound 'All Popyshe trumperye' (Ellis 1812: 12). This, nevertheless, is something only appreciated with hindsight.

Grafton's preface pays a great deal of attention to the duke of Norfolk's recent exploits in Scotland in October and November 1542, in addition to the endeavours of his father, Thomas Howard, second duke of Norfolk, under Henry VII in August 1497 and for Henry VIII at Flodden in September 1513. Consequently, although the details the printer provides are of historical interest, Hardyng's reputation suffered, for Grafton's concentration on the Howards' engagements over-emphasises the Scottish policy of the *Chronicle* and the belief that 'vnto the Scottes he [Hardyng] coulde neuer bee frende' (Ellis 1812: 11). Again, this opinion appears to have influenced later scholars so greatly that, unwittingly, the praise offered by Hardyng's first editor for the anti-Scottish bias of his text became suffocated under a shroud of post eighteenth-century criticism, which focussed, in the main, on the relationship between Hardyng's career as a spy and the spurious documents he offered to various English monarchs relative to this cause, and which became synonymous with his name. From the mid-eighteenth century Hardyng's skill as a writer came under attack,⁶ but Ellis's 1812 edition of the *Chronicle* appears to have encouraged readership of the *Chronicle* once again.⁷ Nevertheless, following the publication of Sir Francis Palgrave's *The Ancient*

⁵ For Campbell's praise of Hardyng see 1798: 38, and for Puttenham's comments in *The Arte of English Poesie*, see Willcock and Walker 1936: 61.

⁶ See for example, the comments of Elizabeth Cooper, who states that Hardyng 'deserves to be remember'd for [his royal service] with honour – I wish I could say as much for his verse' (1741: 32-33); also J. Ritson, who describes him 'as a poet he is almost beneath contempt' (1802: 57-58); and Thomas Warton, who maintains that the *Chronicle* is a work 'almost beneath criticism, and fit only for the attention of an antiquary', whilst the author himself 'may be pronounced to be the most impotent of our metrical historians' (1824: II, 439).

⁷ Ellis's edition is essentially a reprint of the first of Grafton's 1543 editions, with collations from the second, shorter printed edition, Harley 661 and Arch Selden B. 10 (although the collations from the manuscripts are by no means inclusive). The editor provided an introduction incorporating new

Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of His Majesty's Exchequer (1836) and *Documents and Records Illustrating the History of Scotland* (1837), in which Hardyng was dubbed an ignorant and bold forger (Palgrave 1837: ccxvi), the author's integrity was called into question once more. Interestingly, Palgrave's conclusions do not appear to have affected the opinion of Thomas Corser, who, forty years later in his *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, restored a degree of credibility to the chronicler by conceding that although 'Hardyng's verse is weak, harsh, and rugged, and he added little or nothing to the improvement of our language [...] his memorials, as an annalist of those events which he himself witnessed, may be considered as authentic and trustworthy, and give to the work its chief value' (1877: 164).

This then was the meagre state of post-medieval scholarship on Hardyng until the twentieth century, which is particularly surprising given his influence on succeeding chroniclers and authors, providing source material, albeit in a minor sense, for Sir Thomas Malory's *Le Morte D'Arthur* and Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, and possibly even Shakespeare.⁸ Consequently, much of the criticism concerning the *Chronicle* has been prejudiced by the factual details known about Hardyng, the man, rather than with providing an assessment of the value of his text in the wider context of fifteenth-century literature and politics.

In 1912 Charles Kingsford believed that a brief account of the differences between the first and second versions was worthy of 'some space', but admitted that,

transcriptions of two of the surviving documents relating to Hardyng's Scottish missions; thus, once again, emphasising the anti-Scottish elements of the *Chronicle* far more than any other aspect of the work.

⁸ References to Hardyng's work occur, for example, in Fabyan's *Chronicle*, Stow's *A Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles* and *The Annales of England*, and Grafton's *An Abridgement of the Chronicles of England*. He is cited and used as a source by the antiquarian John Rous (see Wright 1955-56 and Ross 1980), and by J. Coke in *The Debate between the Heralds of England and France* (London, 1550). Lansdowne 882 and Harley 1074, heraldic manuscripts belonging to the 1530s or 40s, use the genealogical aspects of Hardyng's work, and Harley 1074 also reproduces part of the second version prologue (Riddy 1996: 104). The sixteenth-century chronicles in Douce 341, ff. 1-20v and Harley 2258, ff. 35-125, and John Lawson's *Orchet*, occurring in Lansdowne 208, ff. 1-411v (see Edwards 1984 and Kennedy 1989a: 2839), also use the *Chronicle*, as does the early seventeenth-century account of kings before William the Conqueror in Harvard University English 628, ff. 104-116. For Hardyng's influence on Malory, who appears to have known the second version, see Vinaver 1967: III, 1405; Kennedy 1969, 1981; Wilson 1970; Benson 1976; Field 1979; Holbrook 1985; Riddy 1987; Withrington 1987; 1988, 1991; McCarthy 1991; and Moll 1999. Edmund Spenser's connections with the Stanleys brought him into contact with Arch. Selden. B. 10, which seems to have passed, by marriage, from the Percy family to the Cliffords and thence, through Margaret Clifford, Lady Strange, to the Stanleys, or more particularly to her son, Ferdinando. Ferdinando (d. 1594), Lord Strange and Derby, and his wife, Alice Spencer, inspired Spenser's Amintas and Amaryllis in the *Faerie Queene*, and Spenser had undoubtedly seen Ferdinando's manuscript of Hardyng. For Hardyng's influence on Spenser see Harper 1904; Tuve 1940: 152-53 and 1970: 161; Bennett 1942: 83, 89. Lord Strange may also have allowed Shakespeare access to his Hardyng manuscript. Gilian West has considered the probable influence of Hardyng's later *Chronicle*, particularly the additional prose passages concerning the Percies, on Shakespeare's *1 Henry IV* (West 1990). She notes that 'Even though it appears only in manuscript versions of Hardyng's *Chronicle*, it is hard to believe that Shakespeare did not read this [Hardyng's] autobiographical declaration linking John Hardyng to the household of Sir Henry Percy' (1990: 348). It is unfortunate that West failed to pursue her hypothesis further by looking at possible links between Shakespeare and known owners of extant Hardyng manuscripts, for it seems likely that the same manuscript that contains the prose passages mentioned by West, and which links Spenser to Hardyng, also connects Shakespeare to the *Chronicle*. For recent research on the topic of Shakespeare's 'lost years', the Lancashire connection and early association with Ferdinando see Thomson 1992: 37-41; Honigmann 1998: 59-76; and Honan 1999: 62-68, 91-92, 108-110.

for him, the value of the *Chronicle* turned ‘largely on the personal view of the author’ (1912b: 462). In a similar vein, other critics have made minor contributions to Hardyng scholarship by noting details about the chronicler’s life and his dependence on particular sources. Unfortunately, these observations have never prompted further research to establish, for example, Hardyng’s relationship with previous chroniclers and his contemporaries.⁹

Ultimately, the surviving independent medieval records, which should have attributed a certain degree of credibility to Hardyng’s claims, by substantiating and confirming his own recollections, have, because of their contents, tarnished both his, and his work’s, reputation. Almost all of the references to Hardyng in the Patent Rolls concern grants awarded to him for his service to the crown, and have therefore, along with Hardyng’s own pleas for reward in the prologue to the first version of the *Chronicle* and the presence of the anti-Scottish materials appended to the work, led critics to conclude that he was a persistently greedy and self-serving old man, who produced a *Chronicle* as the incidental by-product of this greed. In a statement that was to influence the opinion of future critics for nearly a century, Kingsford concluded that Hardyng’s sole intention was to press ‘home to one patron or another the policy of Scottish conquest, which had become an obsession with him, and also his own claim to reward for his services in that behalf’ (1912b: 466).¹⁰ The complicated presence of two versions of the *Chronicle*, and a remarkable deficiency in post-renaissance criticism on Hardyng, has resulted in Kingsford’s conclusions being very influential on modern scholarship and tainting critical opinion of Hardyng’s work to the extent that, until 1996, only the Arthurian sections of the *Chronicle* were ever considered to be worthy of research. This selective attitude may be due, in part, to the popular and wide ranging appeal of Arthurian studies, but nevertheless, twentieth-century scholarship on Hardyng (what little there is) is predominantly of an Arthurian nature.¹¹ Correspondingly there is also an absence of any authoritative edition of either version of the *Chronicle*.

⁹ Bibliographical references to Hardyng and notes on his sources may be found in the following articles, listed here in full for the ease of the reader: James Gairdner, ‘John Hardyng, The Chronicler’, *Notes and Queries*, 4 (1869), 446; J. C. Maxwell, ‘An Echo of Chaucer’, *Notes and Queries*, 214 (1969), 170; Clifford Peterson, ‘John Harding and Geoffrey of Monmouth: Two Unrecorded Poems and a Manuscript’, *Notes and Queries*, 225 (1980), 202-04; A. S. G. Edwards, ‘Hardyng’s *Chronicle* and *Troilus and Criseyde*’, *Notes and Queries*, 229 (1984), 156; A. S. G. Edwards, ‘*Troilus & Criseyde* and the First Version of Hardyng’s *Chronicle*’, *Notes and Queries*, 233 (1988), 12-13; Carl James Grindley, ‘An Early Paper Copy of John Hardyng’s *Chronicle*’, *Notes and Queries*, 242 (1997), 24-26.

¹⁰ See, for example, the comments of Raymond Campbell Paterson, who believes that Hardyng ‘developed a pathological hatred’ of Scotland (1997: 51).

¹¹ Articles concerning the Arthurian elements of the *Chronicle* are listed here in full for the ease of the reader: Edward D. Kennedy, ‘Malory’s Use of Hardyng’s *Chronicle*’, *Notes and Queries*, 214 (1969), 167-70; Robert H. Wilson, ‘More Borrowings by Malory from Hardyng’s *Chronicle*’, *Notes and Queries*, 215 (1970), 208-10; V. M. Lagorio, ‘The Evolving Legend of St Joseph of Glastonbury’, *Speculum*, 46 (1971), 209-31; P. J. C. Field, ‘Malory’s Minor Sources’, *Notes and Queries*, 224 (1979), 107-10; James Carley, *The Chronicle of Glastonbury Abbey* (Woodbridge, 1985); J. K. B. Withrington, ‘The Arthurian Epitaph in Malory’s ‘Morte Darthur’’, *Arthurian Literature*, 7 (1987), 103-44; M. McCarthy, ‘Late Medieval English Treatments of the Grail Story’ (unpublished D. Phil., University of Oxford, 1988); John Withrington, ‘King Arthur as Emperor’, *Note and Queries*, 233 (1988), 13-15; Edward D. Kennedy, ‘John Hardyng and the Holy Grail’, *Arthurian Literature*, 8 (1989b), 185-206; Felicity Riddy, ‘Glastonbury, Joseph of Arimathea and the Grail in John Hardyng’s *Chronicle*’, in *The Archaeology and History of Glastonbury Abbey*, ed. by Lesley Abrams and James P. Carley (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 317-31; Felicity Riddy, ‘John Hardyng in Search of the Grail’, in *Arturus Rex*, ed. by W. Van Hoecke (Leuven, 1991), pp. 419-29; J. K. B. Withrington, ‘The Death of King Arthur

Aside from a few extracts edited by Charles Kingsford in 1912, and an edition of the Arthurian sections executed by Christine Harker in 1996, the first version of the *Chronicle* remains unedited and unavailable to scholars in any complete form.¹² Similarly, the second version of the *Chronicle* is only accessible in Henry Ellis's, now inadequate, edition of 1812, which was based upon the two earlier printed versions by Richard Grafton (1543). The Ellis edition only provides the variants existing between the two printed versions and a couple of manuscripts, primarily Harley 661 and sporadically Arch. Selden B. 10, and fails to account for the numerous variants existing in the other ten complete manuscripts, which often contain more frequently attested readings than those found in the printed editions and the Harley manuscript. Other extracts from the second version are included in A. S. G. Edwards's 'The Manuscripts and Texts of the Second Version of John Hardyng's *Chronicle*' and Christine Harker's edition of the Arthurian sections.¹³ Edwards's initial research into the manuscripts of the second version concluded that the high number of variants and inconsistencies extant in the manuscripts of the second version would not admit collation in a single edited version, nor prove to be 'in any final sense editable, insofar as the notion of editing may be held to aim to recover the author's final *completed* intentions' (1987: 84); however, Harker's doctoral thesis later proved that an edition of the second version was indeed possible.¹⁴

In 1996, Felicity Riddy's essay 'John Hardyng's *Chronicle* and the Wars of the Roses' pioneered the way for a reassessment of Kingsford's observations, with her revision of the circumstances surrounding the composition of Hardyng's second version of the *Chronicle*. Citing evidence extant in the surviving manuscripts of the second version and previous scholarly research into late fifteenth-century public affairs, Riddy demonstrated that the apparent popularity of the second version of the *Chronicle*, witnessed by so many surviving manuscripts, was almost certainly a product of the Yorkist propaganda campaigns of the 1460s and 1470s. By considering Hardyng's second version in relation to the public and political affairs of the late fifteenth century, Riddy's work prompted the question of how much one should consider the revision of Hardyng's *Chronicle* to be attributable solely to his own self-serving nature. If the second version enjoyed greater popularity as a result of specific political motivations within the text, this would explain why it became popular, particularly amongst members of the gentry and mercantile classes.¹⁵ Hardyng's text

and the Legend of his Survival in Sir Thomas Malory's *Le Morte Darthur* and Other Late Medieval Texts of the Fifteenth Century' (unpublished D. Phil., University of York, 1991); Richard Moll, 'Facts and Fictions: Chronicle, Romance and Arthurian Narrative in England, 1300-1470' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1999) and 'Another Reference to John Hardyng's Mewyn', *Notes and Queries*, 245 (2000), 296-98.

¹² See Kingsford 1912a: 740-53. Unfortunately, transcription errors, and inadequate punctuation render these extracts frustratingly inaccurate. In 1965 Eleanor Prescott Hammond edited 18 stanzas from Lansdowne 204 concerning the battle of Agincourt, and Henry Ansgar Kelly edited 27 stanzas from the first version account of the death of Richard II in 1970. Unpublished extracts of the *Chronicle* occur in Withrington 1991, Harker 1996, and Moll 1999.

¹³ See Edwards 1987 and Harker 1996.

¹⁴ Harker selected Harley 661 as her base text and provided many of the variant manuscript readings (with the exception of Takamiya 6); however, the use of Harley 661 meant that many of the predominant readings occurring in the variant manuscripts were confined to the critical apparatus; in a personal correspondence dated 17 March 1999 Harker confirmed that in retrospect she would have used Selden.

¹⁵ For further discussion of the manuscripts and the kind of patrons they may have been aimed at see *The Manuscripts of Hardyng's Chronicle* and *The Relationships of the Manuscripts*.

must contain elements that appealed to individuals in the mid to higher spheres of fifteenth-century society, in order to account for its popularity; therefore it is important that we look more closely into Hardyng's possible motivations for the revision, and how this, in turn, affects our understanding of the first version.

Alfred Hiatt is the most recent scholar to work on Hardyng's *Chronicle*, reviewing the forged documents and maps of Scotland, which accompany several manuscripts of the *Chronicle* as part of his doctoral research thesis.¹⁶ Hiatt's comparison and assessment of the documents, in relation to other fifteenth-century forgeries and maps, has demonstrated, as Ridley did in her aforementioned article, that Hardyng's activities as a forger were more politically focussed and concerned with late medieval affairs than previously accepted; however, whilst Hiatt's study has become the definitive work on the forged documents associated with Hardyng, the fundamental nature and function of the *Chronicle*, in both of its forms, and the relationship between the author and his work have been overlooked. In short, the tendency to focus on particular elements of the *Chronicle*, or the forgeries associated with the chronicler, in previous research means that the essential similarities and differences between the two versions remain unknown and unexplained; to sum up, a full examination and reassessment of Hardyng and his *Chronicle* are long overdue.

¹⁶ See Hiatt 1999a and 1999b. Dr Hiatt has recently revised his thesis for publication as *The Making of Medieval Forgeries: False Documents in Fifteenth-Century England* (London, 2004).

John Hardyng's Life

The chameleon nature of John Hardyng (1378 - c.1465) has both inspired and repelled his critics. Throughout his life he had many guises: soldier, esquire, spy, forger, chronicler, cartographer, and, like many other members of late medieval society, he found that acceptance and adaptation to the ever-changing tide of affairs in fifteenth-century England was the only way to survive. Survive he did, and by the time of his death (at the advanced age of eighty-seven) he had lived through the reigns of five kings; fought in some of the most famous battles of the period, both at home and abroad; worked as a spy and forger in Scotland for Henry V; retired to an Augustinian priory; and written and revised a verse chronicle of English history for three different patrons.¹⁷

Given that many medieval authors remain anonymous, we are fortunate that such a vivid picture of John Hardyng, the man, can be gleaned from the few details that survive about him. Aside from several brief references in surviving documents of the period, such as the Patent Rolls, the other information available on Hardyng is that which he himself reveals in his narrative.¹⁸ The particulars of his pre-chronicler days have been repeated many times by critics; however, in order to address those details overlooked, such as the issue of Hardyng's parentage and education, and for the purpose of example later, it is necessary to give an account of Hardyng's earlier life. Although any attempt at constructing even a succinct biography for someone in this period remains a tentative endeavour, the following account, even when based on conjecture, provides an intriguing insight into the life and milieu of John Hardyng, and is highly beneficial to our understanding of his *Chronicle*.

Hardyng was the son of a northern gentleman, born in 1378, most probably in Northumberland.¹⁹ At the age of twelve he was placed in the service of Sir Henry 'Hotspur' Percy (1364-1403), son of Henry Percy, first earl of Northumberland (1342-1408), where he was brought up and educated as a squire.²⁰ Hardyng's parentage is

¹⁷ All references to the first version of the *Chronicle* are taken from Lansdowne 204 and all references to the second version are taken from Arch. Selden B. 10. Where a quotation is given from, or reference is made to, any of the sections of text edited in this study the line numbers corresponding to the edition in Part Two of this thesis are provided after the folio number.

¹⁸ The Patent Rolls contain several references to Hardyng mostly concerning the grants he received from Henry VI (see *CPR: Henry VI, 1452-61*, p. 393, m. 8, 18 November 1457; *CPR: Henry VI, 1429-36*, pp. 381-82, m. 25, 1 May 1434; *CPR: Henry VI, 1436-41*, pp. 484-85, m. 19, 22 December 1440, p. 490, m. 14, 1 December 1440, p. 431, m. 15, 15 July 1440, p. 557, m. 18, 31 July 1441); the *CPR: Papal Letters, 1427-47* note that Hardyng and Robert Ludburgh, prior of the Augustinian house at Kyme, were granted a portable altar by Pope Martin V on 22-23 July 1429 (see pp. 130-31); Hardyng is also mentioned as a corrodarian at the priory of South Kyme, Lincolnshire, in the records of Bishop Alnwick's visitation in 1440 (see Thompson 1914-18: II, 168-73). The Pipe Rolls covering the period 1440 to 1468 likewise contain references to Hardyng's annuity from Willoughton (see below), and several documents in the Public Record Office also mention Hardyng (see below and **Appendix 2**). Both the first and second versions of the *Chronicle* contain Hardyng's own personal recollections (references to which will be provided in the text as they are mentioned).

¹⁹ In the Close Rolls for 1416 Hardyng is referred to as a Northumberland esquire (*CCR: Henry V, 1413-19*, pp. 321-22, m. 13, 16 September 1416). Later, John Bale describes him as 'ex septentrionali patria natus' (1971: I, 609).

²⁰ Hardyng himself provides this information in the prose passages appended to the second version of his *Chronicle*. See MS Arch. Selden B. 10, ff. 190r and 192r, ll. 3862-63, 3934-36. The sending of one's children into service in noble households was quite usual in the medieval period and can be traced back to an early date (see Orme 1984: 45, 48); the Paston family is an excellent contemporary example of this practice, sending their own children to live with local magnates, whilst they nurtured their

unknown; however, in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, the surname Hardyng belonged to a particularly prominent member of the Northumbrian gentry, who not only appears to have had long-standing connections with both the Percy and Umfraville families (with whom John Hardyng later served), but also played an important role in Northumbrian politics, and gained an outstanding reputation for royal service. Over a period of forty-nine years (1375-1424) the Patent and Close Rolls frequently record the activities of a gentleman named Sampson Hardyng (d. c. 1428), son and heir of Adam Hardyng of Beadnell, Northumberland.²¹ Whilst the details of Sampson Hardyng's earlier life remain uncertain, he begins to play a significant role in contemporary politics from the time of his first royal commission in March 1375.²² He was initially elected as a member of parliament for Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1382, and over a period of forty years he was elected a further five times; 'his record of parliamentary service was particularly impressive because he also sat five times as a shire knight' (Roskell 1993: I, 547). Other commissions held by Sampson Hardyng during his life time include serving as oyer and terminer, alnager of Northumberland, escheator of Northumberland and Cumberland, crown commissioner for Northumberland, mayor of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, collector of customs on the Northumbrian coast, bailiff for Newcastle-upon-Tyne, steward of Morpeth, and justice of the peace for Northumberland.²³ Interestingly, Sampson Hardyng was also 'called upon by successive bishops of Durham to hold sessions of the peace in the episcopal liberties of Northumbria and Islandshire', an activity which was often necessary in an area 'where the maintenance of law and order posed insuperable problems'.²⁴ John Hardyng was certainly familiar with the value of events such as these, and fully understood their necessity for the maintenance of peace within the northern border regions; his comments in the epilogue to the first version of the *Chronicle* concerning the 'March Days', or meetings held by Robert Umfraville, where parties from both sides of the Anglo-Scottish border could articulate and settle their grievances, highlight Hardyng's own experience of the difficulties encountered by the northern authorities governing the borders, and the importance of law-abiding mediators such as Umfraville and Sampson Hardyng.²⁵

'country cousins' (Green 1980: 80). According to the *Chronicle of Alnwick Abbey*, Hotspur was born on the 20 May 1364, so he would have been twenty-six years old when Hardyng moved into his service (Dickson 1984: 42). For a recent study of Hotspur see Boardman 2003.

²¹ A succinct account of Sampson Hardyng's career can be found in Roskell 1993: I, 539-49; III, 288-90. The biographical information given here owes much to this source. Brief references to him may also be found in Surtees (1816-40: II, 250, 252) and Bateson (1893: 325-26). An Adam Hardyng occurs in the *Ancient Correspondence* along with a Richard Hardyng, Robert Hardyng and William Hardyng (PRO SC 1/36/128); the document in question belongs to the early fourteenth-century (1322-26) and is a request from Hugh Despenser, earl of Winchester, to the chancellor Robert Baldock, archdeacon of Middlesex, for pardons of outlawries imposed at his prosecution. Likewise, an Adam Hardyng is mentioned in the late fourteenth-century return for workmen at Windsor Castle surviving in SC 1/55/64; however, this document is very faded and difficult to read. It is impossible, however, to tell whether these men are related to Adam Hardyng of Beadnell; in all likelihood they are not.

²² CPR: *Edward III, 1374-77*, p. 143, m. 28d, March 1375.

²³ See, for example, CPR, *Richard II, 1377-81*, p. 476, m. 1d, 2 May 1380; CPR: *Richard II, 1385-89*, p. 81, m. 38d, 2 December 1385; CCR: *Richard II, 1389-92*, pp. 8-9, m. 29, 6 July 1389; CCR: *Richard II, 1392-96*, p. 454, m. 9, 21 January 1396, pp. 465-66, m.3, 18 May 1396; CCR: *Richard II, 1396-99*, pp. 21-22, m. 20, 27 November 1396.

²⁴ Roskell 1993: I, 541, 549.

²⁵ See Lansdowne 204, f. 220v, ll. 3490-99.

A few details survive in relation to Sampson Hardyng's family; he was living in Beadnell by 1374 and was married to his first wife, Margaret, daughter of John Corbrigg of Stamfordham, by November 1375.²⁶ Nothing much is known about his second wife, Joan, except that she and Sampson married before 1402, and he acquired properties in Crawcrook, near Gateshead, through the marriage (Roskell 1993: III, 290). Sampson had at least two known sons, William and Roger, probably by Joan, rather than Margaret; William followed his father's example and made a notable career in Northumbrian politics, whilst Roger married Elizabeth, daughter of another influential Northumbrian figure, Roger Booth, and inherited the manor of Hollingside in the palatinate of Durham. Aside from the family property in Beadnell, Sampson Hardyng also resided in a house on Pilgrim Street, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, leased to him by Sir Thomas Grey.²⁷

Sampson Hardyng's status as a man of 'considerable wealth and influence' (Roskell 1993: I, 540) brought him into contact with many notable northern magnates, not least the Umfraville and Percy families. A considerable number of contemporary documents record him serving alongside the likes of Sir Henry Percy, Sir Robert Umfraville, Sir Thomas Grey, Sir Thomas Swineburne, Sir Robert Ogle and Sir John Widdrington, on repeated occasions.²⁸ According to Carole Rawcliffe, Sampson Hardyng died shortly before 20 October 1428 'when his elder son, William, released whatever claims he might have inherited to his father's trusteeship of the manor of Gunnerton' (Roskell 1993: III, 290).

Given all this information, it seems reasonable to assume that John Hardyng was in fact related to Sampson Hardyng, and that Sampson helped to secure a place for the future chronicler in the Percy household through his relatively important status and connections. Sampson is known to have had three siblings, a brother named John and two sisters, Agnes and Isabel; and whilst the considerable age-gap between Sampson Hardyng (who was undertaking royal commissions by 1375) and our chronicler (who was not born until 1378) would make it unlikely for the two to have been brothers, it is not inconceivable that the chronicler was the son of Sampson's brother, John, and therefore his nephew.²⁹ The lack of any specific birth dates for both Alan Hardyng, Sampson's father, and Sampson himself, in addition to the elusive nature of Sampson's first marriage, nevertheless, allows room for the possibility that Sampson may have been the brother, father, uncle, or some other close relative, of the chronicler. Rawcliffe believes it probable that William Hardyng was the son of Sampson's second marriage (Roskell 1993: III, 290); thus, John Hardyng may have been a child of his first marriage. This scenario does not, however, account for the fact that William Hardyng appears to be the older son. Unfortunately, no further evidence has yet come to light to either confirm or refute the existence of a familial bond between Sampson and John Hardyng, but nevertheless, given Sampson's connections

²⁶ One Alan Stother granted property in Beadnell to Sampson Hardyng in 1374, and an inquiry into lands inherited by Margaret in Heugh, Stamfordham and Ouston, records her as Sampson's wife before 1375. For further information see Roskell 1993: III, 289-90.

²⁷ For William Hardyng see Anonymous 1940: 17-19; Roskell 1993: III, 290. For Roger Hardyng and the manor at Hollingside see Surtees 1816-40: II, 250-52; Bateson 1893: 326; and Roskell 1993: III, 290. The reference to Grey's lease of his house in Pilgrim Street may be found in the *CIPM: 1-6 Henry IV 1399-1405*, 18, p. 139, no. 434.

²⁸ See for example Roskell 1993: I, 539-49; *CPR: Richard II, 1385-89*, p. 253, m. 23d, p. 259, m. 33d; *CPR Henry IV, 1405-08*, p. 155, m. 8d, p. 480, m. 13d; *CPR: Henry IV, 1408-13*, p. 173, m. 27d; *CCR: Henry IV, 1399-1402*, pp. 357-58, m. 10; *CCR: Henry IV, 1409-13*, p. 475, m. 28d.

²⁹ For the Hardyng family tree see Surtees 1816-40: II, 252.

with the Percy and Umfraville families, his area of residence and his impressive involvement in the political affairs of Northumbria, it remains at least a possibility that the man who played such an important role in upholding the law and keeping the peace in the North was related to the man who, as we shall later see, made these ideals an integral part of his *Chronicle*.

Regardless of his parentage, John Hardyng remained in the service of Sir Henry Percy for thirteen years. One year after Hardyng entered the Percy household, the family held the wardenships of both the East and West Marches towards Scotland; by 1399, after temporarily losing the wardenship of the West March, they once again held both and were the most powerful magnates on the Scottish border.³⁰ The importance of the Percies in the political affairs of this period has been discussed at length by numerous scholars, and it should suffice to say that in his formative years Hardyng was attached to the household of one of the greatest and most influential families in the country.³¹

It is tempting to assume that the description of a young man's education given in the first version of the *Chronicle* is the same as that which Hardyng himself received, both before and during his service as esquire to Hotspur. The description in Hardyng's account of Brutus's upbringing in Lansdowne 204 relates how 'lordes sonnes' begin to learn 'the doctryne of lettrure' at four years of age, 'and after at sex to haue thaym in language' (f. 12r); whilst Hardyng states that this is part of the curriculum followed by a *noble* youth, Nicholas Orme's work on education in the Middle Ages has highlighted numerous examples of children from the noble and gentle ranks of society who had an elementary understanding of Latin and French by the age of eight; he has similarly presented a persuasive argument for the early and informal teaching of Latin, French and English to young children belonging to households in the upper and middle strata of society. Basic literacy such as this was obtained either through parental or private tuition, a household schoolmaster, or a local school. It would appear that Hardyng came from a gentle family, and may therefore have received an elementary education from his parents, a private local tutor, or a northern school, before entering the Percy household; in fact this may have helped to secure his place in service.³² Once Hardyng entered into service with the Percies, he may have followed a curriculum of learning similar to the one described in the *Chronicle*.

At ten ande twelue to reuelle is thaire cure,
To daunse and synge and speke of gentelnesse.
At fourtene yere thay shalle to felde isure,
At hunte the dere and catche and hardynesse,

For dere to hunte and sla and se thaym blede,
Ane hardyment gyffith to his corage,

³⁰ For details of the Percies' wardenships of the East and West Marches see Storey 1957 and Rose 2002.

³¹ For scholarship on the Percies, particularly their accumulation of political and territorial power up to 1403 and the circumstances surrounding their rebellion in 1403, see Bean 1959; Griffiths 1968; Weiss 1976; McNiven 1980; Tuck 1986; Lomas 1999; Rose 2002; and Boardman 2003.

³² A detailed account of the education of young medieval children may be found in Orme 1973: 29-36, 43-50, 60-68 and 1999: 224-27. Orme's location of three schools in the Northumbrian region (at Norham, Hexham and Durham), which may have been active during this period, are of possible relevance to Hardyng's education (1973: 293-325).

And also in his wytte he takyth hede
 Ymagynynge to take thaym at auauntage.
 At sextene yere to werray and to wage,
 To iuste and ryde, and castels to assayle.
 To scarmyse als and make sykyre scourage,
 And sette his wache for perile nocturnayle;

And euery day his armure to assay
 In fete of armes with some of his meynee
 [Lansdowne 204, f. 12r]

Whilst the biennial sequence given here would not have been adhered to in the pedantic manner suggested by the extract, the approximate ages provided for the commencement of each new educational activity do in fact correspond to known cases, and correlate to the ages suggested in educational treatises in circulation throughout the later medieval period.³³ Likewise, Hardyng's assertion that singing, dancing, instruction in courtesy, hunting and military training were an integral part of a young man's education corresponds with the type of curriculum considered to be desirable for a gentle or noble youth. An education of this kind encompassed a wide range of social, literary and military skills as a result of the military ethos embedded at the heart of medieval society: the 'preoccupation with war extended even into their leisure, of which the active pursuits – jousting and hunting – were a training for combat, and even the passive ones – heraldry, chess and the reading of history and knightly deeds – recalled the field' (Orme 1973: 30).³⁴ Similarly, the chivalric concept of the ideal knight made social arts such as singing, dancing or playing a musical instrument, and good manners highly desirable qualities, and 'formed the second important branch of noble or gentle education' (Orme 1973: 30).³⁵ Modern research has concluded that servants of high rank in service at noble and royal households often received a similar tuition and training to their young masters.³⁶ Whether Hardyng himself was educated in the subjects he describes is unclear; he would have certainly encountered others learning them, but his literacy, knowledge of heraldry, interest in military tactics and chivalric ideals (as demonstrated in the *Chronicle*), and his obvious skill as a soldier suggest that he did in fact follow an analogous programme of tuition. Hardyng's successful military career, under Percy and later Umfraville, demonstrates that he received ample practical training in the field, whilst the

³³ For the apparent accuracy of the ages given by Hardyng see Orme 1984: 144-56. Hardyng's suggestion of fourteen and sixteen for the commencement of hunting and military training is the same as the ages suggested by Giles of Rome in *De Regimine Principum*, Christine de Pisan in the *Book of the Fayttes of Armes* (Byles 1932: 29), and the English translator of Vegetius (Lester 1988: 52). See Orme 1984: 182. Hardyng would have been familiar with the programmes of education suggested in works such as these from his own apparent knowledge of such texts, and through his association with members of the local Lincolnshire and Northumbrian gentry and nobility, whose reading tastes, as demonstrated by surviving manuscripts and miscellanies, show that works like these were staple reading. Scholarship on noble and gentle literary tastes is comprehensive, but important studies include: Bühler 1941; Lester 1984; Meale 1985; Riddy 1987: 13; Thompson 1991; Cherewatuk 1997; Sutton and Visser-Fuchs 1997: *passim*; and Radulescu 2003.

³⁴ For the importance of works like Vegetius's *De Re Militari* see Bornstein 1975; Lester 1988; Sutton and Visser-Fuchs 1997; and Anglo 2002.

³⁵ Chaucer's portrait of the Squire in the prologue to *The Canterbury Tales* is a fine example of a young man who is proficient in such 'courtly accomplishments' (Cooper 1996: 36).

³⁶ Green 1980: *passim* and Orme 1984: 51-60.

Chronicle reveals that he must have continued to develop his elementary literary and grammatical instruction. His ability to read and write in Latin and English, together with the extensive range of source materials employed throughout the *Chronicle*, some of which are in French, suggest that he was actively engaged in reading and learning throughout his life.³⁷ Again, whilst Hardyng may have obtained part of his extensive knowledge of historical literature and romances later in life, he does appear to have had his literacy cultivated by the Percies, to whom education was evidently of great importance. It is known that the earls of Northumberland founded a chantry school at Cockermouth in 1394 and a chantry, which was attached to a grammar school in Alnwick in 1448. Additionally, the Percy family's appreciation of the arts is demonstrated by their regular employment of minstrels, subsidy of dramatic performances, and ownership and bequests of manuscripts.³⁸

³⁷ Further opportunity for Hardyng to improve his education presented itself in 1424 under the patronage of Henry Beaufort, and he almost certainly made later use of the manuscripts contained in the library of South Kyme priory during his retirement (see below pp. 24-28, 36). Recent studies concerning the circulation of and dissemination of manuscripts in the late medieval period have suggested that members of the lesser nobility and gentry may have borrowed and copied manuscripts from their neighbours' collections more frequently than previously believed. The Paston letters, for example, contain references to books commissioned, owned and lent by the Paston family (see Davis 1971-76: I, 272-73, 326, 328, 371-73, 408-09, 447, 453-55, 475-78, 516-18, 573-75, 591-92; II, 386-87, 391-92, 616). One must therefore bear in mind that Hardyng may have had access to, and borrowed, manuscripts from the personal collections of acquaintances in both the middle and high social strata in which he lived and worked. The Percy and Umfraville families are known to have possessed or inherited books, as are many notable Lincolnshire figures such as Joan (d. 1434), mother of Ralph, lord Cromwell (Raine 1855: 40), Joan Buckland and Sir Thomas Cumberworth (for book bequests in their wills see Clark 1914: 38, 48, 49; however, for the problem of using wills as evidence of book ownership, or lack of it, see Meale 1985: 101-02). Hardyng also appears to have known John, duke of Bedford, although whether his connection with the duke was strong enough to warrant access to his private collection is questionable. For further examples of manuscript patronage and reading/lending circles in the north of England and the midlands see Moore 1912; Bühler 1941; Keiser 1979 and 1983; Green 1980; Rosenthal 1982; Lucas 1982; Alexander 1983; Doyle 1983; Meale 1984, 1985, 2000; Lester 1984; Coss 1985; Krochalis 1988; Griffiths and Pearsall 1989; Beadle 1991; Riddy 1993; Friedman 1995; Cherewatuk 1997; Thompson 2000; and Radulescu 2003. Pinpointing precise details of the sources used by Hardyng is, at best, difficult, but he did not have first-hand knowledge of all the items mentioned as sources in the *Chronicle*. Aside from the fact that several of the references are either spurious or completely unrelated to the sections of the work in which they are cited, many of the authorities mentioned could derive from florilegia or other such anthologies of authoritative authors. Likewise, some of the authorities listed in the *Chronicle* are second-hand allusions copied from a more current source available to Hardyng and repeated by him to add greater authority to his text. His seemingly extensive knowledge of Arthurian materials and romances may also be deceptive; recent studies of the kind of texts extant in individual and composite manuscripts (items that Hardyng almost certainly had access to through local gentry and nobility reading/lending networks) suggest that he was probably acquainted with numerous Arthurian romances through one or two miscellanies rather than having privileged access to a large number of manuscripts containing the separate texts. Sir Richard Roos (d. 1481/2), for example, owned copies of the *Estoire del Saint Graal*, *Mort Artu*, and *Queste del Graal* (texts known to Hardyng) in his fourteenth-century Arthurian collection, now British Library MS Royal 14 E. iii (Meale 1985: 103 and 1989: 207).

³⁸ Reference to the licence granted for the earl of Northumberland's school at Cockermouth is made in Leach (1916: 211), whilst the foundation of 1448 is referred to in Tate (1869: 70). The earliest record of a schoolmaster within the Percy household is from 1511 (see Orme 1973: 219), but this does not discount the possibility that the Percy children and young men in their service were educated by a private tutor before this date. The *Records of Early English Drama* record several references to minstrels and similar entertainers employed by the Percies in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (see Johnston and Rogerson 1979: I, 67, 69-72, 75-76; Anderson 1982: 30; Klausner 1990: 405, 621). Interestingly, the York city chamberlains' books also record a payment made to minstrel from Durham

Any conclusions with regard to Hardyng's education will, undoubtedly, remain somewhat conjectural. Perhaps, above all, the most important factor to bear in mind when considering Hardyng's formative years is that, irrespective of the skills he acquired during his appointment with the Percies, the household seems to have been regarded as an educational institution in itself; therefore the decision to send Hardyng into service implies that both he and his family envisaged a responsible career in military or aristocratic service. That Hardyng achieved this is apparent, and as we shall see, chivalry, responsibility and the protection of England became the principal themes of the *Chronicle*.³⁹

In his capacity as Hotspur's esquire, Hardyng would have been involved in numerous border raids and disputes with the Scots as well as the bloody battle at Shrewsbury between the Percies and Henry IV; in the second version of his *Chronicle* he proudly notes his presence at the 'bateile of Shrowebury [...] Homyldon, Coklaw, and diuers rodes'.⁴⁰ These military activities, and ultimately his position in Hotspur's retinue, would have brought him into contact with many other northern magnates and influential members of the nobility and local gentry. Many of the asides in the *Chronicle* concerning Scottish and Northern lords suggest that Hardyng had personal knowledge of them from his social milieu.⁴¹

named Robert with a Hardyng of Newcastle in 1449: 'Et Roberto ministrallo Dunelm' cum hardyng de nouo castro vjd' (Johnston and Rogerson 1979: I, 75); perhaps this Hardyng was related to a branch of Sampson Hardyng's family. Manuscripts owned or bequeathed by members of the Percy family include: Bodleian Library Bodley Roll 5; Laud Misc. 702; Marshall 135; London, Sion College, MS Arc. L 40.2/L 26 (now in Lambeth Palace); and British Library Cotton Vespasian E. vii. The Percy Household Book records a library in the sixteenth century (Percy 1905: 365).

³⁹ For evidence that the household was regarded as an educational institution see Orme 1984: 44-58, particularly pp. 48-50 where Orme cites examples of such reasoning from Fortescue's *De Laudibus Legum Anglie* and the *Liber Niger* of Edward IV. For a discussion of the *Chronicle*'s predominant themes see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**.

⁴⁰ Arch. Selden B. 10 f. 192r, ll. 3934-37. The battle of Homildon Hill occurred on 14 September 1402; the siege at Cocklaws Tower, Teviotdale (spring 1403) occurred just before the battle of Shrewsbury (21 July 1403); Hardyng also seems to have been present during the 'Foul Raid' of 1417. For additional information see the **Commentary** to both versions.

⁴¹ See, for example, his frequent references to northern magnates such as Roos and Grey and his detailed knowledge of Archibald Douglas's loss of a testicle during the battle of Shrewsbury (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 167r, ll. 2472-76). Although the traditional hatred between England and Scotland is of paramount importance to the *Chronicle*, it is essential to bear in mind that conditions on the Anglo-Scottish border were unique and far more complicated than the diatribes in Hardyng's *Chronicle* would have us believe. Whilst Hardyng undoubtedly had the same mistrust of the Scots and dislike of the continuous raids held by any other northerner living in close proximity to the border, his *Chronicle*, and indeed other contemporary texts, show that both sides did in fact treat each other with an incredible amount of tolerance. Collectively the English may have disliked the Scots, believing them to be subject to English hegemony; however, on an individual level, the relationship between the northern nobility and Scotland was often one of co-operation and mutual respect. J. A. Tuck (1986) has demonstrated that many of the magnates who owned lands on both side of the border at the end of the thirteenth century encountered a conflict of loyalties during the lengthy outbreak of war between Edward I and Scotland; those who chose to support the English king found it difficult to recover their estates in Scotland, having fallen out of favour with the Scottish king and vice versa. Because of this many notable members of the nobility frequently changed allegiances and cultivated their relationships with cross-border associates. Later, in the fourteenth century men such as George, earl of Dunbar, changed allegiance on several occasions in an attempt to curry favour and position on both sides of the border (Tuck 1986: 9). Therefore, whilst Hardyng's *Chronicle*, like that of the earlier northern chronicler Peter Langtoft, expresses the type of prejudices that one would expect from a northern chronicler in this period, Hardyng simultaneously praises their valour, strategies and chivalric virtues. He discusses the treacherous nature of the French with equal vehemence, and uses examples of Scottish treachery to

In 1393, when Hardyng was fifteen years old, Hotspur was appointed as deputy to John of Gaunt in Aquitaine, and in the same year he travelled to Nicosia, Cyprus, to meet with James, king of Cyprus and Jerusalem.⁴² Whether Hardyng had the opportunity to accompany Hotspur is unknown; however, Hotspur's appointment in France and subsequent journey to Cyprus demonstrate the possibilities for travel that Hardyng may have encountered whilst under Hotspur's patronage. It is highly probable that Hardyng was in the retinue belonging to Hotspur that supported Henry Bolingbroke upon his return to England in the summer of 1399; if so, he would have been amongst the men who stayed with Hotspur throughout the first parliament of Henry IV's reign.⁴³ Additionally, Hardyng informs us that he was in the capital to see the body of Richard II laid in state at St Paul's Cathedral on 6 or 7 March 1400 (Lansdowne 204, f. 204r; l. 2125), and it may be that he accompanied Hotspur.⁴⁴

The Percies' domination of the north of England reached even dizzy heights after Henry IV's ascendancy, when Hotspur was appointed as keeper of Berwick and Roxburgh and his father, the earl of Northumberland, was elevated to the office of Constable of England.⁴⁵ Hardyng's career could only have thrived by being attached to the Percy household throughout their most prosperous years. Conversely, Hardyng was lucky, or astute enough, to remain unscathed by the decline of Percy fortunes in the first few years of the fifteenth century. The account of Owain Glyn Dŵr's revolt in the second version of the *Chronicle* sheds lights on Hardyng's probable feelings during these turbulent times and is markedly different from the vague narrative of the first version; Hardyng sympathises with Glyn Dŵr's cause and writes from the perspective of a devoted Percy supporter, depicting the king's treatment of Hotspur and Mortimer as misguided and harsh. The account of the king accusing Hotspur of treason for failing to capture Glyn Dŵr during negotiations occurs in only one other known narrative, and is indicative of the chivalric customs and practices honoured by

highlight more important matters and themes: mainly that civil division leaves the country weak and prone to attack from her enemies. See, for example, Hardyng's praise of Sir James Douglas, Lansdowne 204, f. 185v, l. 599, and commendation of the earl of Dunbar for protecting Hotspur from the vengeful colleagues of the late earl of Douglas after the battle of Otterburn, Lansdowne 204, f. 198v, ll. 1639-52. A comparable English account, concerning the events surrounding Otterburn and praising the bravery of the Scots, can be found in the ballad known as *The Hunting of the Cheviot* (see Arngart 1973 and Pearsall 1999: 407). An example of Hardyng citing the French as equally abhorrent to the English as the Scots may be found in Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 179r, ll. 3316-19. For Langtoft's anti-Scottish comments see Gransden 1974: 475.

⁴² Rose 2002: 339-40. Rose cites a letter sent on 15 July 1393 from the king of Cyprus to Richard II, thanking the English king for sending Hotspur (printed in Raine 1873: 425-26).

⁴³ Contrary to what Hardyng tells us in the second version (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 155r, ll. 1611-17), the Percies did not send their troops home before Henry IV was crowned. Given-Wilson, citing evidence from the exchequer records (PRO E 403/564), notes that 'both Northumberland and Hostpur were given wages for troops who had not only ridden with them in the summer of 1399 but had also remained with them during the October parliament' (Given-Wilson 1993: 194). It follows then, that Hardyng's apparent memory loss in this instance can only be a deliberate attempt to absolve the Percies of any part in the deposition of Richard II. The first version omits any reference to this.

⁴⁴ Hardyng was undoubtedly in the capital on several other occasions throughout his life. He was certainly there again before 1415, under Umfraville's patronage, as the *Chronicle* states that Edward (1373-1415), second duke of York, showed a muniment to him and Umfraville pertaining to the duke's entitlement to the throne of Portugal by right of his betrothal to the king of Portugal's daughter, Beatrice (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 7v, ll. 183-89); this may have been a document similar to that in Rymer 1816-69: IV, 94-95. It is equally possible that he was also present in 1432 for the return of Henry VI's coronation expedition (see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**).

⁴⁵ *Rot. Scot.*, II, 151.

border magnates, misunderstood by the king, and valued by Hardyng.⁴⁶ Although Hardyng's account may in fact be derived from a personal rendition of events related to him by Hotspur, there is no evidence to suggest that the chronicler served in Wales when Hotspur was appointed as lieutenant there. In all probability he remained in the north of England, possibly at Hotspur's base in Berwick until the siege of Cocklaw Tower and then accompanied Hotspur on the journey that led to his untimely death on 21 July 1403 at the battle of Shrewsbury.

It is not known whether Hardyng passed immediately into the service of Sir Robert Umfraville after Shrewsbury, but it is logical to assume that he already knew Sir Robert.⁴⁷ The Percies in particular had strong familial connections with the Umfravilles, resulting, in the main, from their acquisition of parts of the Umfraville inheritance, and the marriage of Maud de Lacy, widow of Sir Gilbert Umfraville (1310-81), to Henry Percy, first earl of Northumberland. In the fifteenth century these ties were maintained; before the battle of Shrewsbury, Hotspur was the legal guardian of Gilbert Umfraville, royal ward and Sir Robert's nephew. Given this, and the numerous occasions on which the Umfravilles and Percies served together on royal commissions on the borders, it is no surprise that Hardyng was offered a position in Umfraville's service.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ A similar account occurs in the chronicle edited by Giles entitled *Incerti Scriptoris Chronicon Anglie* (1848: 30-32; henceforth *Giles's Chronicle*); see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2213-47.

⁴⁷ Sir Robert Umfraville (c. 1362-1437) was the youngest son of Thomas Umfraville (d. 1386) and Joan, daughter of Adam Roddam. The Umfraville family played an important role in Northumbrian society and its politics, and were connected by marriage to several notable families including the Percies, Nevilles, Tailboys, Clares, Tempests, and Lucys. Upon the death of his elder brother, Thomas (1362-91), the Umfraville estates passed to Sir Gilbert Umfraville (1391-142), Sir Robert's nephew and his brother's heir. Sir Robert acted as his nephew's guardian, whilst others, first of all Sir Henry 'Hotspur' Percy, and later George Dunbar, earl of March, had custody of his estates until he came of age. When Gilbert died in 1421 at the battle of Baugé, Sir Robert inherited the estates, which included Harbottle and Kyme. In September 1408 Sir Robert was elected a Knight of the Garter, possibly in the light of his refusal to join the Percy rebellions of 1403 and 1405, and for his continuous service on the Scottish borders (Collins 2000: 49, 117, 298). Throughout his career, Umfraville undertook many royal commissions, and fought both at home and abroad. As well as being patron of Kyme, he is mentioned as patron of the churches at Elsdon, near Otterburn and Asgarby, near Sleaford (Bennett 1984: 44 and Storey 1956-70: III, 158), and in 1429 he built and endowed the chantry chapel at Farnacres, Whickham (Surtees 1816-40: II, 243-44; *CPR: Henry VI, 1422-29*, p. 454, m. 11-8, 27 June 1428; *CCR: Henry VI, 1429-35*, p. 27, m. 22d, 22 November 1429). Although he had a sister, Annora (married to Stephen Waleys), upon his death on 27 January 1437 the Umfraville estates were divided up; the lands that fell under Sir Gilbert Umfraville's (1310-81) entail of 1378, which included Kyme, reverted to the Tailboys branch of the family; Sir Robert bequeathed the manors of Holmeside and Whitley to Isabel, wife of Rowland Tempest and daughter of Sir Robert's oldest niece Elizabeth and Sir William Elmeden. He was buried at Newminster Abbey, near Morpeth, and the Obituary of the Abbey incorrectly states that he died on the 27 December (sexto Kal. Jan) 1436 (Cokayne 1910-59: I, 152); see also Umfraville's Inquisition Post-Mortem in PRO C 139/83/57. Only the ruins of Newminster Abbey are extant today.

⁴⁸ On 22 November a proclamation was issued to the sheriffs of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland and Yorkshire stating that the king would pardon all adherents of the Percies who sued for pardon before the Epiphany (see Riley 1866: 377). The *Calendar of Close Rolls* for 1416 contain a membrane, tested by Thomas, duke of Clarence, which refers to 'John Herdyng and Nicholas Rothdone' as esquires and soldiers of Robert Umfraville. Aside from Hardyng's own claims in the *Chronicle* and the forged letter of safe-conduct dated 1434 (see below and **Appendix 2**), this is the only known documentation confirming that Hardyng was in Umfraville's service. The document has further interest because of its having been tested by Thomas, duke of Clarence, whom Hardyng may have known (see below).

In the aftermath of Shrewsbury, Hardyng's experience and knowledge of the northern frontier may also have endeared him to the new keeper of Berwick and warden of the East March: Henry IV's son, John of Lancaster (later duke of Bedford). John was appointed to the office in 1403 and was to remain on the border for a further eleven years until he resigned from his appointments there in 1414. Hardyng's two affectionate references to the prince as 'my lorde Sir Iohn' under the entries for the period 1403 to 1405 in the first version of the *Chronicle*, suggest that he may have known him personally, and underscore the possibility that Hardyng was briefly employed by Prince John before commencing his service under Umfraville.⁴⁹ If Hardyng did not know the prince by 1406, he would have had ample opportunity to meet him in 1405-06, when the earl of Northumberland's properties became forfeit to the crown following his involvement in Archbishop Scrope's rebellion. At this time Hardyng was under Umfraville's patronage and, after the seizure of the Percy stronghold at Warkworth, Umfraville was granted custody of the castle and Hardyng was appointed sub-constable under Sir Robert (c. 1406).⁵⁰ Prince John appears to have used Warkworth as his unofficial base before Umfraville was granted guardianship of the castle, and in 1413 the custody of Warkworth was transferred to him.⁵¹ In light of the prince's presence and responsibility in the north, and his early association with Warkworth, it is likely that he had periodic contact with the castle and its officers throughout Umfraville's appointment as constable. This perhaps explains how Umfraville and Hardyng came to be in John's retinue in 1416 for the battle on the

⁴⁹ See Lansdowne 204, f. 206v, ll. 2311, 2333. E. Carleton Williams has demonstrated the volatile nature of the border at this time, and the severe lack of finance that Prince John suffered during his term of office as Warden. The inability to pay his soldiers' wages, and repair the dilapidated castles where the troops were forced to reside, inevitably led to discontent in the prince's garrisons. A man such as Hardyng who knew the majority of these men may have proved useful in persuading them not to desert (see Williams 1963: 11-25).

⁵⁰ A grant dated 27 June 1405 details the confiscation of the Percy lands and estates, recording that the Castle of Warkworth, Northumberland, passed to Umfraville (*CPR: Henry VI, 1405-8*, p. 40, m. 10); the original dispatch from Henry IV to his privy council detailing the same also survives (London, British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian F. vii). The properties and estates were not returned to the Percies until 1416, when Henry V restored Henry Percy, son and heir of Hotspur, to his inheritance (*Rot. Parl.*, IV, 37, 71; Allmand 1992: 371). For details of Warkworth castle see Bates 1891: 81-153; King 1983: II, 343-44; Pevsner 1992: 614-19; and Pettifer 1995: 197-99. For Hardyng's claim to being constable of Warkworth see Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 158v, l. 1862 *gloss after*. To elucidate the tasks involved in a constable's office, Ellis cites an example from a description of the duties belonging to the constable of Farnham castle in 1379; these are 'to keep, govern, and oversee the castle, together with the manor, lordship, lands franchises, liberties, parks, chaces, warrens, & c. belonging to the same: also to hold the courts, and to prosecute challenge, claim, and defend all rights belonging to the bishop and church of Winchester' (Ellis 1812: iv). In order to perform such tasks a good standard of literacy would have been essential, therefore it is reasonable to assume that Hardyng obtained suitable instruction during his service in the Percy household. Unfortunately I have been unable to find any references to Hardyng playing a role in local Northumbrian society at the time of his constableness at Warkworth; whilst the register of inquisitions post-mortem extant in PRO, Palatinate of Durham, DURH 3/2 contains some references to the Umfravilles, it does not refer to Hardyng. However, this in itself does not offer conclusive evidence of Hardyng's lack of involvement in local affairs, because the names of the jurors have not been listed, and it would have been on such juries that Hardyng would have sat if he had taken part in such proceedings. A John Hardyng occurs in the *CIM*, 1399-1422 for 1420 (p. 350, number 596), but this is unlikely to be the chronicler.

⁵¹ Bates 1891: 108. Four letters issued by Bedford from Warkworth survive, dated 26 and 28 November 1407 and 28 December 1407, in British Library, Cotton Vespasian F. vii, ff. 105-107.

Seine; it may also explain how Hardyng initially made the kind of royal contacts that led to the commission of his Scottish mission in 1418 (see below).⁵²

During the first decade of his service as Umfraville's esquire and sub-constable Hardyng undoubtedly learnt how to undertake administrative duties, and must have proved himself to be competent because Umfraville later appointed him constable of Kyme Castle, Lincolnshire.⁵³ Our chronicler's military career went from strength to strength under Umfraville, for Sir Robert and his men took part in frequent border raids against the Scots, particularly during the period 1409-11, and after the 'Foul Raid' of 1417. At this time hostilities towards Scotland were renewed with vigour, due to fresh provocations, such as the failure of the earl of Douglas to return to England after being allowed to visit Scotland on parole, and the recapture of Jedburgh Castle by the Scots in the summer of 1409. Inhabitants on both sides of the border adopted a tit-for-tat policy, as can be seen from an incident at the end of 1409; Umfraville was commissioned to investigate the capture of a Flemish ship driven ashore at Warkworth, which had been plundered by the English in retaliation for the recent Scottish capture of Richard Whittington's ship, the *Thomas of London*.⁵⁴ In the following year, Umfraville initiated his young nephew, Gilbert, into border warfare, raiding the dales around the River Kale and Jedburgh forest.⁵⁵ In all probability Hardyng was present during these raids; he was certainly in attendance when Umfraville led a raid up the River Forth in the summer of 1410, and the episode is given adequate coverage in both versions of the *Chronicle*.⁵⁶ Several years later, when Henry V began his French campaign, Hardyng travelled to France in Umfraville's retinue, although they may have previously fought in France before this date.

At some point between 1412 and 1415 it would appear that Hardyng knew, and had contact with, Thomas, duke of Clarence (1388-1421); Clarence is referred to

⁵² For Prince John's life and career see Williams 1963.

⁵³ Only a solitary tower remains of Kyme Castle. The castle was originally a large moated manor house, built by Gilbert Umfraville, earl of Angus, in the 1350s to replace the existing timber hall of the de Kyme family (Newton 1995: 71); surrounding the castle was an extensive deer park. John Leland documents the property in his *Itinerary* as 'a goodly house and parke' (Smith 1964: V, 32), and the castle remained an important residence for the noble lords of Kyme until lack of finance prompted its demolition in 1720-25. For details of Kyme Castle see Pevsner 1964: 641-42; King 1983: I, 261; Newton 1995: 71-82; and Pettifer 1995: 145.

⁵⁴ See *CPR: Henry IV, 1408-1413*, p. 173, m. 27d, 1 December 1409 and p. 176, m. 13d, 11 December 1409. Interestingly, the reference records that Sampson Hardyng was commissioned to investigate the incident with Robert Umfraville and John Fox. Nicholson suggests that Umfraville's raid on the Forth the following year may have been in retaliation for Whittington's loss (1974: 231).

⁵⁵ See Lansdowne 204, f. 208r, ll. 2436-49 and Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 161r, ll. 2024-30.

⁵⁶ For Hardyng's accounts of the raid see Lansdowne 204, ff. 208r-208v, ll. 2457-84 and Arch. Selden B. 10, ff. 160r-160v, ll. 1982-2016. An instruction to issue 1,000 marks from the Exchequer for the wages of Umfraville and his men survives in the writs and warrants for issue dated 12 December 1410 (PRO E 404/26/211). Another warrant provides details of the two niefs, two barges, and four balingers paid for by the Exchequer, and the one hundred and fifty-six men-at-arms, two hundred and twelve archers and crew of two hundred and eighty-eight men that comprised Umfraville's accompanying retinue (E 404/26/380). In contrast, Hardyng states that there were ten 'sayles', but, as A. Compton Reeves has noted, 'the figures are not necessarily incompatible since Umfraville could well have had two more ships in service than the Exchequer would support' (quotation taken from Professor Reeves's unpublished study of Sir Robert Umfraville). I am very grateful to Professor Reeves for allowing me access to his work; the information in this footnote concerning the Exchequer warrants is also indebted to his study. Wylie also discusses this episode and was aware of the information in E 404/26/380, but, as Professor Reeves has noted, he has mis-transcribed the number of Umfraville's men-at-arms as one hundred and six, not one hundred and fifty-six (see Wylie 1969: III, 280).

as ‘my lorde’ in both versions of the *Chronicle*, in the narrative concerning his activities in France.⁵⁷ This is not to say that Hardyng was under Clarence’s patronage, but rather that Umfraville’s retinue, if indeed Umfraville’s men played any part in the French expeditions at this time, may have been under the jurisdiction of Clarence, who was royal lieutenant in Aquitaine, just as Umfraville and Hardyng had served under Bedford in 1416. Given that this was the most active period of Hardyng’s military career, and that he is either known to have served, or was very likely to have served, the other figures in the *Chronicle* to whom he affectionately refers to as ‘my lorde’ or ‘my lady’, it is not difficult to envisage Hardyng’s account as that of someone with first-hand experience of many of the events he records, as indeed he claims in an accompanying gloss.⁵⁸

It is certain that Umfraville and Hardyng fought at the battles of Harfleur and Agincourt, under Henry V, before returning to England.⁵⁹ Disappointingly, Hardyng’s account of the French campaign of 1415 has none of the uniqueness of an eyewitness account that one would expect from one who was there, and is in fact derived mainly from the pseudo-Elmham *Gesta Henrici Quinti*.⁶⁰ The following year they returned to France with the duke of Bedford to relieve Harfleur.⁶¹ Despite the nationalistic inflation of the size of Bedford’s fleet, Hardyng’s description of the ferocious naval battle on the Seine in August 1416 and the thousands of bodies that floated for days amongst the ships could be the poignant recollection of an eyewitness haunted by the horror of the encounter (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 165v, ll. 2356-59).⁶² An entry in the Close Rolls dated 16 September 1416 informs us that Umfraville and Hardyng returned to England after the encounter with numerous others, and were back in England by September. The record relates to a series of orders, issued from 13

⁵⁷ See Lansdowne 204, f. 209r, l. 2526 *gloss after* and Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 161v, l. 2088; f. 162r, l. 2095; f. 163v, l. 2213. Although the aforementioned record in the *CCR: Henry V, 1413-19* (pp. 321-22, m. 13, 16 September 1416) concerning the arrest of Umfraville and Hardyng in 1416 is tested by the duke, unfortunately this cannot be taken as evidence that he knew either of them (see above).

⁵⁸ He cites himself as a witness to events in the glosses at the beginning of the reigns of Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI, in Lansdowne 204 (f. 203r, *gloss after* l. 2009, f. 209v, *gloss after* l. 2582, f. 217v, *gloss after* l. 3254). The gloss on f. 203r, in which Hardyng claims to have seen, heard and witnessed the events recorded, is of particular interest. Other members of the nobility referred to as ‘my lorde’ or ‘my lady’ in the *Chronicle* include Sir Robert Umfraville, Elizabeth Percy, wife of Hotspur, and John, duke of Bedford.

⁵⁹ Aside from Hardyng’s own reference to his presence in the *Chronicle*, Wylie notes that his ‘name occurs among others not bound by indentures’ in J. Hunter’s study of Agincourt (Wylie and Waugh 1914-29: II, 192). A John Hardyng ‘seller’ (saddler) is similarly noted by Wylie in the PRO Exchequer Accounts 46/3, but this is undoubtedly a namesake. Umfraville’s retinue (twenty men-at-arms and forty archers) is recorded in Nichols 1970: 385.

⁶⁰ See Lansdowne 204, ff. 210v-211v, ll. 2646-2729; Arch. Selden B.10, ff. 164r-65r. ll. 2248-2310. For a comparison of Hardyng’s account with other fifteenth-century texts, and for a translation of the additional prose passages relating to Agincourt in the second version, see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 2248-75, 2276-2310 below and Curry 2000: 78-85. Perhaps Hardyng found it more fitting to use an ‘official’ account of the battle like the *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, which was written by a chaplain closely connected with Henry V in 1415-17 as a propagandist piece; for an edition see Taylor and Roskell 1975.

⁶¹ For Hardyng’s account of the sea battle see Lansdowne 204, f. 211v, ll. 2709-36 and Arch. Selden B. 10, ff. 165r-165v, ll. 2332-73. An indenture between the king and Robert Umfraville for the relief of Harfleur survives in PRO E 101/69/8/540.

⁶² The *Gesta Henrici Quinti* also contains a similar description of the bodies, which, arguably, Hardyng could have used, but since the patent rolls confirm his presence at the battle it would be unwise to assign the inclusion of such a touching detail purely to his familiarity with this source (see Taylor and Roskell 1975: 148-49).

September onwards, which were made to rectify previous instructions in which the Sheriffs of London were told to arrest all those who had allegedly withdrawn from the duke of Bedford's retinue without permission.⁶³ It appears that a significant number of men returned to England without the duke's consent, and it is possible that Umfraville and Hardyng were amongst those unlucky enough to have been detained in the city prison as deserters, until they could prove that they had returned with Bedford's sanction. Fortunately for Umfraville, Sir Thomas Lamberde acted as his mainpernor, paying 500 marks to the Chancery to secure his liberty until the matter was investigated fully; Umfraville in turn acted as mainpernor for his esquires, Hardyng and Nicholas Rothdone.⁶⁴ Whilst this incident may have proved to be an inconvenience for Umfraville and his men, the entries recorded in the Close Rolls provide us with several valuable pieces of information. Hardyng's account of the naval battle on the Seine is indeed an eyewitness account, as critics have previously suspected from his use of 'vs', 'we' and 'our'. Upon returning from France, Hardyng and Umfraville sojourned in London before returning to the north; and finally, we know that Hardyng knew both Thomas Lamberde and Nicholas Rothdone, and no doubt many of the other northern men cited in the analogous entries, thus increasing our awareness of his social milieu.

Of greater concern to our understanding of Hardyng's life at this time is the covert mission into Scotland that he allegedly undertook in 1418. Hardyng had proved his loyalty to the English crown on numerous occasions by fighting at home and abroad, and it would appear that because of this he met with royal approval and was, according to his own account, commissioned by Henry V to undertake an operation of espionage. The mission, Hardyng states, had a twofold purpose: to procure documents relating to English sovereignty, and to obtain geographical details about Scotland in the event that the king decided to invade.⁶⁵ In the prologue extant in the first version of his *Chronicle*, Hardyng describes how he spent 'thre yere and halfe amonge the enmyte/ On lyfes peryle maymed in grete distresse/ with costages grete' (Lansdowne 204, f. 3r, ll. 44-46) obtaining the evidence requested by the King. That he did actually spend time in Scotland and was familiar with the country is apparent from the detailed

⁶³ The reference to Umfraville and his men may be found in *CCR: Henry V, 1413-19*, pp. 321-22, m. 13, 16 September 1416; for the corresponding entries relating to other men on the expedition see *CCR: Henry, 1413-19*, pp. 317-18, m. 15, pp. 320-22 m. 13.

⁶⁴ The payments by Lamberde and Umfraville cannot necessarily be construed as evidence to support the assumption that Umfraville and his men were placed in jail. It is possible that security was paid so that they could maintain their freedom until the matter was resolved satisfactorily. In an attempt to ascertain any further information concerning the arrests of Umfraville and his esquires I searched the surviving Corpus Cum Causa documents relating to 1416 (PRO C 250/10); unfortunately, no additional information was forthcoming to either refute or support the possibility that they were imprisoned. Lamberde was a Durham knight married to Robert Umfraville's niece, Joan, sister of Sir Gilbert Umfraville (*CCR: Henry V, 1419-22*, p. 169, m. 15, 26 July 1421). Rothdone was a Northumbrian soldier and esquire in the service of Umfraville. A provisional search of the *CPR* and *CCR* for the reigns of Richard II to Edward IV, the *CIPM* for the reigns of Henry IV to Henry V (1399-1422), the *CPR*: *Papal Letters* for the period 1362-71, and the *CPR*: *Petitions, 1342-1419* has revealed no further references to Lamberde or Rothdone; a landowner in Gloucester named Thomas Lamberde appears in the *CIPM: Henry IV, 1405-13*, under the year 1408 (p. 181, no. 482), but it is unlikely that this is the Sir Thomas in question. The connection between Lamberde and Umfraville is clear; however, future investigation of surviving fifteenth-century documents may prove rewarding in clarifying who Rothdone was and how long he remained in Umfraville's service.

⁶⁵ The details of the mission are given on several occasions throughout the *Chronicle*, most notably in the prologue to the first version; see Lansdowne 203, ff. 3r-4r, ll. 36-161 *passim*.

local knowledge of legends, practices and geography, revealed sporadically throughout the *Chronicle*.⁶⁶ The extent to which Henry V was responsible for sending Hardyng to Scotland remains unclear; however, given that Hardyng later received two royal grants in recompense for his services in Scotland, it is plausible to assume that there is some foundation in Hardyng's claim of royal patronage, even if Henry V merely articulated an interest in an activity that Hardyng had already decided to undertake independently.⁶⁷ Significantly, in 1420 Henry V and Philip of Burgundy sent Gilbert de Lannoy to the Holy Land to ascertain geographical and military strengths and weaknesses of the region.⁶⁸ Lesley Coote has proposed that Henry V saw himself as the 'great apocalyptic king' of prophecy 'who was at once a hero and an emperor' (Coote 2000: 177); therefore it follows that he would have desired to fulfil the criteria set out for the lauded hero king, which included being undisputed ruler of Britain, regaining his ancestors' possessions in France, and liberating the Holy Land.⁶⁹ The king of Scotland had been imprisoned in the Tower since 1406; thus, in all likelihood, Henry did not consider the Scots to be an immediate threat to either his kingdom or his potential prophetic title, but a reconnaissance mission such as Hardyng's may have been of interest to him for the intelligence it could provide and any diplomatic advantages that the documents retrieved by Hardyng could give him in future negotiations regarding his Scottish sovereignty. It is clear from the proceedings of the Council of Constance (1414-18) that the question of England's status as a nation, including hegemony over Scotland, Ireland, Wales and France, was raised and vehemently argued in March 1417.⁷⁰ Likewise, the autumn of 1417 also saw increased trouble on the Anglo-Scottish border, which Bedford, as lieutenant of England, Henry Bowet, archbishop of York, and Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter, had to deal with whilst Henry was in France. The earl of Northumberland and Umfraville both reported

⁶⁶ See, for example Hardyng's itinerary of Scotland (Lansdowne 204, ff. 223v-26r, ll. 3759-3968), particularly f. 224r, l. 3786 *gloss after*, where Hardyng notes the Scottish term for mountains ('Nota þat oyghels bene hilles and mountayne on our tunges'); f. 224v, ll. 3829-35, where Hardyng comments on the navigability of the Forth; and f. 225r, ll. 3874-3884 where he speaks of local saints and the dangerous currents around Dumbarton. In one of the marginal glosses in the second version Hardyng gives an interesting aside stating that he has been to St Andrews and seen the relics of the eponymous saint there (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 82v).

⁶⁷ Royal spies seem to have been common enough; as Richard Firth Green points out 'Espionage, both domestic and international, was an ever-present threat to royal security. The letters and papers of the period are full of references to spies and secret missions', and substantial rewards were often given to those who carried out investigations for the king (Green 1980: 52).

⁶⁸ For Lannoy's report see Webb 1827; compare also with the comments about Henry V in the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 496).

⁶⁹ For further details of the great hero king in late medieval prophecies and the association of this figure with Henry V see Coote 2000: 169-77, who also highlights the importance of Lannoy's mission. Notably, Henry's fascination with Jerusalem is reflected in his reading tastes; he borrowed a manuscript containing *Les Cronikels de Jerusalem et le viage de Godfray Boylion* from his aunt Joan Beaufort, countess of Westmorland, who had to petition for its return after the king died (Rymer 1704-35: X, 317, 6 February 1424; *PPC*, III, 25). Krochalis believes that Henry's 'interest in Jerusalem seems to have been something [he] inherited from his father, along with tapestries of its first Christian king, Godfrey of Bolougne' (1988: 65).

⁷⁰ See, for example, Allmand 1992: 417-19. For documents relating to the debate over English right to representation as a nation at the Council of Constance see Genet 1984 and Crowder 1986: 108-26. Edward Donald Kennedy cites similar examples of the English attempting to obtain recognition as one of the first European nations to be converted to Christianity in support of his proposal that Hardyng's version of the Grail legend was incorporated into the *Chronicle* in response to 'Scotland's claims to preeminence as a Christian nation' (Kennedy 1989b: 198-99).

that Robert Stewart, duke of Albany, planned to besiege Berwick, and a sizable army was raised following Bedford's summons for military service against the Scots.⁷¹ Hardyng's detailed description of the 'Foul Raid' that ensued in the autumn of 1417, and his references to 'oure hoste' and 'oure lordes' imply that he fought there with Umfraville.⁷² Albany was repelled successfully from Berwick, but during his retreat he burnt Norham; the earl of Douglas, who had simultaneously besieged Roxburgh, fled back to Scotland on learning of Albany's defeat. Predictably, however, problems along the border continued to persist for the next few years, and it is possible that the culmination of the events at home and abroad contributed to Henry V, or someone on his behalf, such as Bedford, commissioning Hardyng's initial expedition into Scotland. Indeed, when viewed in light of Henry's conquest of France, the ensuing Treaty of Troyes, and his known desire to re-conquer the Holy Land, it is almost impossible to believe that he would not be interested in instigating, or supporting, a mission such as Hardyng's. The timing of Hardyng's expedition (1418-21), the finalisation of Henry's French campaign with the Treaty of Troyes (1420) and the beginning of Lannoy's journey (1420), suggest that if Henry V was attempting to fulfil a prophetic destiny, he began his endeavour, as all prudent military strategists would, by securing the territories closest to home before moving further East; in the case of Scotland, an aggressive martial campaign was unnecessary, but documentary evidence of English hegemony might prove useful in persuading the captive king of Scotland to offer homage to his custodian, should the English monarch wish to press his claim to the Scottish throne.⁷³

According to the *Chronicle*, Hardyng returned from Scotland in 1421 with a collection of documents, and a mysteriously incurable 'maim', which appears to have been inflicted whilst he was using a spear (Lansdowne 204, f. 3r, l. 45, f. 4r, l. 152 and Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 197v, l. 4254).⁷⁴ He must have been back for the summer of 1421, since he states that he witnessed Henry V resolve a dispute between two knights (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 168r, ll. 2528-48). Apparently Hardyng's wound did not prevent the 'poor subiect' (Lansdowne 204, f. 3v, l. 111) from making his journey to the royal palace at Bois de Vincennes, France, where he presented four of the documents to Henry V in 1422.⁷⁵ If Hardyng is to be believed, this must have taken

⁷¹ Cotton Vespasian F. vii, f. 115; Allmand 1992: 341.

⁷² See, for example, Lansdowne 204, f. 212r, ll. 2800, 2809 and 2811. For Hardyng's full account of the 'Foul Raid' see Lansdowne 204, ff. 212r-21v, ll. 2772-2841; Arch. Selden B. 10, ff. 167r-67v, ll. 2444-2513.

⁷³ For further discussion of Henry V's Scottish policy see Bradley 1989. Paterson also discusses the revival of Henry V's claim of suzerainty at this time, but more briefly (1997: 48-50).

⁷⁴ The most recent study of the extant Scottish documents 'retrieved' by Hardyng is by Alfred Hiatt (1999b). Hiatt notes that 'John Hardyng presented a series of twenty-one documents relating to Anglo-Scottish relations [...] Fifteen of these documents, fourteen of which survive either in pseudo-original form in the Public Record Office, or as late fifteenth-century transcripts, have been identified as forgeries' (Hiatt 1999b: 128).

⁷⁵ The four documents given to Henry V included 'a letter of homage from David I of Scotland to Henry I and Matilda; a release from Edward II to Patrick, the Earl of Dunbar, extorted from the king shortly after the battle of Bannockburn; and two genuine documents which had been submitted to Edward I at the time of the "Great Cause" in 1291' (Hiatt 1999b: 132). These documents, or the incidents they refer to, are recorded in the *Chronicle* (Lansdowne 204, f. 179r, Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 110r, 129r, 135r). In the prologue to the first version Hardyng states that he held on to several documents for thirty-six years after returning from Scotland, before presenting them to King Henry VI, presumably with the *Chronicle*, in 1457 (Lansdowne 204, f. 4r, l. 145). This statement confirms the year of Hardyng's return from Scotland as 1421. However, the most likely scenario is that Hardyng

place just before the king passed away on 31 August 1422. In return for his service to the crown Henry V allegedly promised Hardyng 'The manere hool of Gedyngtoun'.⁷⁶ Geddington, in Northamptonshire, was obviously intended to be a substantial reward for Hardyng's services since it was valued at an income of at least £32 a year in the reign of Henry VI.⁷⁷ This pledge was to haunt Hardyng for the rest of his life, for the king died shortly after, leaving his nine-month-old son and heir, Henry VI, to reign in his stead; Henry's widow, Katherine of Valois (1401-37), was given Geddington as a dower.⁷⁸ In the ensuing years Hardyng would periodically revive his claim to Geddington in a series of petitions requesting his outstanding reward.

Little else can be gleaned of Hardyng's activities throughout the next twelve years of his life; however, it is possible that during this period he engaged in exploits abroad. In the 1420s he was already pursuing his interest in history, for he obtained 'daily inspeccion and discripcion' in Justin's *Epitome of Trogus Pompeius* from the auditor of Pope Martin V's chamber, Julian Cesarini (Lansdowne 204, f. 5r, *gloss after* l. 161). Hardyng states that the manuscript of Justin's *Epitome* that he was instructed from was in the pope's keeping in Rome, and that he received his instruction in the seventh year of Martin's papacy; on the basis of this Henry Ellis surmised that Hardyng visited Rome in 1424.⁷⁹ However, Kingsford maintained that

forged the documents he presented in 1440 and 1457 at a later date (after 1421). At least one of the documents Hardyng records as being given to Henry V at Bois Vincennes, was later presented to Henry VI in 1440; this was a letter given to Edward I in 1291 in which the ten heirs to the Scottish throne made homage to the English king (see Lansdowne 204, f. 3r, ll. 50-56, and Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 129r-129v). The account of Edward I's reign in the second version states that the document was duplicated, but Hardyng may have inserted this additional information to justify the fact that he presented the same 'evidence' on two separate occasions. Nevertheless it would appear that he offered further duplicates to Edward IV at Leicester (possibly in 1463) and these are not justified by similar statements in the *Chronicle* (the documents included the release of Edward III to Robert of Scotland, previously given to Henry VI in 1440 as stated in Lansdowne 204, f. 3r, ll. 64-70, and the release made by Edward II to Patrick, earl of Dunbar, after Bannockburn, previously presented to Henry V at Bois Vincennes as stated in Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 135r). The reference to Hardyng's presentation of these items to Edward IV is provided in Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 139v, *gloss after* l. 560.

⁷⁶ Lansdowne 204, f. 4r, l. 117. See also Arch Selden B.10, f. 129r-v where Hardyng gives more information regarding his alleged grant: 'For whiche he [Henry V] graunte him [Hardyng] there by his patent,/ The manere hole þan of Gedyngton,/ With thappurtenaunces and rightes þat it appent,/ Foreuer to haue to holde for enheritshon,/ To him his haires and assignes of þe crown,/ By þe seruisse of twelue penyes yerely,/ At þe terme of Saint Mighell onely./ The whiche manoure þan the cardynall/ Of Wynchestre vnto þe qwene disposed/ In hir dowere, and fro him toke it alle,/ Whan þat þe kyng by deth was deposed;/ Him recompense he promised and composed,/ But nought he had, but might þat prince haue lyved,/ He durst ful evel his excellence haue greved.' Unfortunately the *CPR* do not contain any reference to Henry's grant to Hardyng at this time.

⁷⁷ Ellis 1812: vi. The value of the manor does not appear to have fluctuated much throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; in the first year of Edward III's reign Geddington was valued at £32 7s 10d (see PRO SC 12/13/29), and the Sheriff's accounts over a century later, for the years 1436-41, still value it at £32 (see PRO E 199/32/19).

⁷⁸ Kingsford 1912b: 464. References to the queens dower lands occur in *Rot. Parl.*, IV, 203-06.

⁷⁹ Lansdowne 204, f. 5r, l. 161 *gloss after*. Julian Cesarini (1398-1444) had a prominent career in the service of the Curia and was created cardinal in 1426. He is known to have been an eminent scholar, being competent in both Latin and Greek, and had an active interest in the Humanist movement. For further details on Cesarini's career see Cross 1997: 314. For Justin and Trogus Pompeius see Howatson 1989: 308, 582. Pope Martin (d. 20 February 1431) was elected on 11 November 1417 and his investiture was held on 21 November 1417; see Cross and Livingstone (1997: 1045) for further information. There are eighteen extant manuscripts in the Vatican Library containing Justin's *Eptiome*, fifteen of which are fifteenth-century copies (Ottoboniani Latini 2852; Palatini Latini 901; Reginenses Latini 147; Urbinates Latini 438; Vaticani Latini 1820-1827, 1923, 2940, 10668), one belongs to the

Ellis had misinterpreted the gloss and that it was more probable that Hardyng obtained his instruction during Cesarini's visit to England as a papal envoy in 1426-27.⁸⁰ Whilst Kingsford's assumption is certainly more practical, the fact that Hardyng explicitly states that the copy of the *Epitome* Cesarini taught him from was in Rome, and that he received his instruction in 1424 cannot be overlooked. Two additional details mentioned in the *Chronicle* add further credence to Ellis's original belief that Hardyng visited Rome: the first is a gloss occurring later in the *Chronicle*, and the second concerns the patron behind Hardyng's instruction in the *Epitome*. The miraculous account of how Pope Sylvester I heals King Constantine's leprosy in the first version of the *Chronicle* is accompanied by a gloss, possibly in Hardyng's own hand, in which the author claims to have seen the holy water used by Sylvester I:⁸¹

How Seynt Siluestre heled hym by baptyme of hys leprouse squauies, whiche watir is 3it kepte incorrupte and swete of sauour as I haue sene it *and* sauourde. *Secundam Cronicas Martini* [Lansdowne 204, f. 48v].

It would appear that the reference to Martinus Polonus and his *Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum* is given to substantiate the story of Constantine's conversion only, as no reference to the fate or survival of Silvester's holy water occurs in Polonus's text.⁸² Therefore, the claim to have seen the holy water is not a citation from Polonus, but rather a personal assertion from Hardyng. One might argue that he includes the statement as nothing more than an authorising tag to add authenticity to the miracle of Constantine's conversion; however, given that the reference to Polonus already provides an authoritative source for the legend, and that Hardyng rarely cites his own authority to substantiate a story in the earlier sections of the *Chronicle*, it is unusual that he should include a reference testifying that he has seen the relic himself. When Hardyng does cite his own authority for events detailed in the *Chronicle*, it is normally in relation to an incident or subject in which his involvement can be corroborated or, in all likelihood, that he did have knowledge of, or could have witnessed. On its own the gloss fails to reveal any further information concerning where Hardyng saw the holy water, yet read in conjunction with the revised gloss in the second version, the reference becomes of great importance; Hardyng omits any claim to have seen the holy water, but states that it is kept in Rome:

[...] Howe he was by Siluestre made clene

twelfth century (Palatini Latini 927), and two are datable to the fourteenth century (Palatini Latini 946; Vaticani Latini 1860). For Ellis's comments on Hardyng's possible visit to Rome see 1812: vii. Hardyng is not mentioned by Margaret Harvey in her study of the English in Rome (1999); however, her work does provide a lucid account of the ex-patriot community in Rome in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, which Hardyng may have encountered during his visit.

⁸⁰ Kingsford 1912b: 464. Cesarini was sent to England as nuncio by Martin V in April 1426 (*CPReg: Papal Letters, 1417-31*, pp. 16, 34, 36); according to Weiss he was back in Rome by December 1426 (1967: 23).

⁸¹ For information on Sylvester I and the origins of the legend of Constantine's miraculous recovery see Smith 1887: 673-77 and Cross 1997: 1566.

⁸² The thirteenth-century chronicler Martinus Polonus (d. 1278) was a Dominican friar and papal chaplain. His most famous work, the *Chronicon*, was originally a Latin compilation, but due to its incredible popularity it was translated into several vernacular languages, including English. For further information see Embree 1999. The account of Silvester healing Constantine and the emperor's conversion also occurs in the *Legenda Aurea* (Graesse 1965: 70-79).

With holy water þat yit in Rome is sene.
[Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 41v]

If we are to take Hardyng's claim to have seen the relic at face value, rather than as a fabricated authorial interjection designed to give conviction to the story, then we must assume that at some point before the initial composition of the *Chronicle* he had indeed visited Rome.

More importantly, perhaps, the patron behind Hardyng's studies deserves further attention; we are informed that he received his education in Justinus's *Epitome* at the 'instru[cion] and wrytyng of the cardynal of Wynch[ester]'; this of course was Henry Beaufort (c. 1376-1447).⁸³ Between 1418 and 1423 Beaufort expressed an interest in, and assisted, the Italian humanist scholars when he extended his patronage to the famous humanist and apostolic secretary, Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459). Poggio travelled to England, under Beaufort's benefaction, intending to spend his time searching for lost classical works; however, his correspondence with his friend Nicolaus Niccolis during this period reveals his huge disappointment with both an apparent lack of such texts in England, and with Beaufort's patronage. Weiss notes that although Beaufort neglected to take 'much interest in Poggio's studies once he had landed in England', the scholar did in fact accompany him on journeys throughout the country, which would have been conducive to his research, and 'in spite of Poggio's complaints it is possible to perceive that Beaufort was anxious to retain him in his service, and was trying to meet his wishes'.⁸⁴ When one considers Beaufort's encouragement of Hardyng's studies only a few years later, and Gerald Harriss's conclusion that 'Poggio caught Beaufort at a time when his fortunes were at a low ebb' (1988: 100), Weiss's later conclusion that Beaufort 'could hardly spare time for the patronage of letters' (1967: 18) appears to be flawed. Undeniably there is no reason to assume that Beaufort's literary interests were by any means on a par with those of his relatives Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, and John, duke of Bedford, but his frequent associations with Italy in the early fifteenth century when the humanist movement was in progress, together with his interest in promoting the study of classical works on two known occasions, is both important and intriguing.⁸⁵ Furthermore, the frequent continental journeys made by Beaufort, or members of his household, throughout the early fifteenth century demonstrate that it was not inconceivable for Hardyng to have travelled to Rome under his auspices.⁸⁶

⁸³ Lansdowne 204, f. 5r, l. 161 *gloss after*. Henry Beaufort (c. 1376-1447), bishop of Lincoln (1398-1404), bishop of Winchester (1404-47), was named for a cardinalate on 18 December 1417 by Martin V after successfully promoting his election as pope. Henry V strongly disapproved of this and prevented Beaufort from accepting the honour. It was not until 26 March 1426 that Martin elevated Beaufort to cardinal status again, and 25 March 1427 that Beaufort finally received his cardinal's hat from John, duke of Bedford. For Beaufort's life and career see Harriss 1988.

⁸⁴ Weiss 1967: 18. For Poggio's letters to Niccolis and a succinct account of his life see Gordan 1974; for an account of Poggio's visit to England see Weiss 1967: 13-21.

⁸⁵ The literary patronage and manuscript collections of Gloucester and Bedford are explored in Stratford 1987 and Saygin 2002.

⁸⁶ For the difficulties and dangers involved in travelling to Rome at this time see Harvey 1999: 53, who cites several contemporary letters by English travellers. For details of Beaufort's visits abroad see Harriss 1988 *passim*. Two safe-conducts were issued to secular lords accompanying Beaufort's retinue to Rome in 1423 (Rymer 1704-35: X, 268, 26 February 1423, 279-80, 23 April 1423), and Beaufort's chancellor, Nicholas Bildestone (d. 1441), was engaged in several diplomatic missions to Rome, one of which occurred in 1424 (*CPrege: Papal Letters, 1417-31*, p. 28, 27 June 1424 - 7 January 1425; Harriss 1988: 101, 154-6); Weiss highlights Bildestone's friendship with Poggio and his interest in humanism,

Kingsford's readiness to reject Ellis's interpretation is indicative of his limited perception of Hardyng and his tendency to view the *Chronicle* as the product of Hardyng's alleged obsession with Scotland and greed.

How Hardyng came to meet Beaufort remains vague, although his network of connections, even early in his career, provides a multitude of possibilities. His probable interaction with John, duke of Bedford, in the previous decade, at both Warkworth and during the French campaigns, his position as Umfraville's esquire and constable, his alleged royal commission to spy in Scotland, Beaufort's own connections with Lincolnshire and members of the local nobility, such as Ralph, Lord Cromwell (who over the next two decades would prove to be one of Beaufort's staunchest allies), and perhaps even the dispute over Geddington when Beaufort assigned the manor to the dowager queen, all highlight ways in which Beaufort may have come into contact with Hardyng and found him deserving of his patronage in the 1420s.⁸⁷ Perhaps the most apparent event in 1424 that could have resulted in Beaufort's patronage of Hardyng was the marriage of Beaufort's niece, Joan, to James I of Scotland. The embassy elected to accompany the royal couple to Scotland in February 1424 and negotiate a treaty or truce between the two kingdoms included Sir Robert Umfraville and Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, son of Hardyng's former patron. The truce was concluded on 28 March and several of the northern knights, including Percy, escorted James and his queen across the border (Griffiths 1998: 156). If Hardyng accompanied Umfraville, his interaction with the prominent ecclesiastical and secular lords also present during these highly sensitive and critical months may have helped to secure Beaufort's sponsorship for a journey to Rome later the same year.

The Beaufort/James I connection at this time may also explain how Hardyng encountered the four-stanza envoy, extant in a single copy of Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, which he reworked and included as a diatribe on Scotland at the end of the second version of the *Chronicle*.⁸⁸ The four-stanza envoy, written by someone surnamed Greenacres, survives uniquely in Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS English 2 (written c. 1450), but a version of the first stanza also occurs in Bodleian Library MS, Arch. Selden B. 24, at the end of Chaucer's *Troilus and Cressyde*. Appropriately, both manuscripts have connections with Scotland, and Norton-Smith and Pravda have presented a compelling case linking both manuscripts and the envoy with the household of Henry Beaufort and James I, through the Scottish king's marriage to Joan in 1424 (1976: 17-19).⁸⁹ The identity of the mysterious Greenacres

citing their meeting in Rome in 1424 when Poggio helped Bildestone to find Petrarch's Latin works (1967: 19). If Hardyng did indeed make a journey at this time under Beaufort's patronage, it is highly likely that he travelled with a group such as this.

⁸⁷ See Harriss 1988 for details of Beaufort's career, household and relationships with Bedford and Cromwell at this time. Hardyng notes Beaufort's assignment of Geddington to the queen in the second version of the *Chronicle* (see Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 129v cited in footnote 76 above).

⁸⁸ For the envoy see Bergen 1924-27: IV, 1023; Root 1967: 43; Norton-Smith and Pravda 1976; and Peterson 1980. Hardyng's diatribe occurs in three manuscripts of the second version: Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 185r, ll. 3578-98; Harley 661, f. 188r; Harvard 1054, f. 138r.

⁸⁹ Arch. Selden B. 24 was made c. 1488 and owned by Henry, Lord Sinclair, whose signature and arms occur on ff. 118v, 230v. Lyall (1989) discusses Sinclair in relation to other books and book owners in Scotland; likewise, Boffey discusses the significance of the Sinclair connection and the contents of the manuscript, concluding that the volume 'makes both familial and nationalistic statements' (2000: 132). The hand of the main scribe has been linked with the hands in National Library of Scotland, MS Acc. 9253 and Cambridge, St John's College MS G. 19, and both manuscripts are also linked with the Sinclair family (Boffey 2000: 128-29). Whilst the manuscript is too late to be connected directly to

has proved to be an enigma for scholars; however, Norton-Smith and Pravda proposed that he may have been one Richard Greenacres who served in the household of Henry Beaufort in 1446 in a military and political basis, and received a royal grant for military service.⁹⁰ The original version of the single stanza occurring in Arch. Selden B. 24 may have been composed as early as 1429, but the four-stanza version appended to the *Fall of Princes* was probably compiled between 1439, the year Lydgate completed his work, and 1452, the year in which Greenacres ceases to occur in records (Norton-Smith and Pravda 1976: 18-19). This hypothesis would indicate that Hardyng's affiliation with Beaufort and his household was maintained beyond 1424, or, given the grant made to Greenacres in 1446, that Hardyng and Greenacres became acquainted during one of the royal military campaigns. Gerald Harriss has noted that the Beauforts 'attracted to their service some of those professional captains engaged in the defence of the duchy under Bedford: men like [...] Richard Greenacres' (1988: 284); thus, Hardyng's own connections with both Bedford and Beaufort in the first half of the fifteenth century tie in tantalisingly well with those of Greenacres. Interestingly, a Robert Greenacre of Lincoln is mentioned in the entries concerning those arrested after the battle on the Seine in 1416 (under Bedford's command);⁹¹ given the unusual nature of the surname, this Greenacre could be related to the Greenacres who composed the envoy, and the Lincolnshire connection may provide another possible explanation as to how Hardyng came to encounter Greenacres's envoy. Whatever the circumstances, the link between the royal marriage in 1424, Beaufort, Bedford, Hardyng, Greenacres and the envoy, even if coincidental, is quite remarkable.

Hardyng's life appears to have been quite eventful in the first few decades of the fifteenth century; in addition to his apparent travelling, whether at home or abroad, Hardyng was given the constabulary of Kyme castle by Umfraville sometime prior to 1429. The only surviving documentation to mention Hardyng before this date is the record previously discussed relating to the arrest of those who returned to England after the battle on the Seine in 1416 in which Hardyng and Rothdone are both styled as 'of Northumberland'. The first reference to Hardyng's association with Lincolnshire occurs in the summer of 1429 when the Papal Letters note that he was granted a portable altar along with 'Robert Ludburgh, Augustinian prior of Kyme, and astonishingly another 'John Hardyng, *donsel*,' of the same diocese.'⁹² Further details

James I or Beaufort, Norton-Smith and Pravda argue that the manuscript may have been copied from an earlier miscellany of texts brought to Scotland, or obtained by the king via his Beaufort connections following his release in 1424.

⁹⁰ A. E. Marshall mentions Greenacres briefly, citing his occurrence in the Fine Rolls (1445-52, pp. 243-44; 1452-61, p. 20) as mainprise for Edmund, duke of Somerset, and his appointment as 'controller of the subsidy of tunnage and poundage in the port of London' (*CPR: Henry VI, 1446-52*, p. 552, m. 23, 26 June 1452; Marshall 1975: 124). Richard Greenacres appears to originate from Preston in Lancashire, and may be related to other Greenacres who served in France, such as 'Robert Greenacres of Worseton (Lancashire) [...] a member of Thomas, earl of Salisbury's retinue in 1428' and William Greenacres who served in John Beaufort's retinue in 1443' (Marshall 1975: 124-25). A 'William Grenealke' of Yorkshire is recorded as the scribe responsible for a missal and breviary belonging to John Clifford, Treasurer of York Cathedral and Chancellor of Beverley (Friedman 1989: 119); Friedman believes this could be William Greneake (d. 1429), the rector of Scrayingham, in which case the family of this Greneacke's Yorkshire based relatives could point towards another possible connection with the author of the envoy.

⁹¹ *CCR: Henry V, 1413-19*, p. 318, m. 15 (13 September 1416).

⁹² See *CPR: Papal Letters, 1427-47*, pp. 130-31 (8, 21 and 22 June 1429). Ludburgh does not occur in Emden's bibliographical registers of Oxford or Cambridge (Emden 1957 and 1963), nor is there any

concerning this namesake have proved elusive; however, Hardyng himself informs us that he has 'heirs', and so it is possible that the second John Hardyng mentioned was a relation of the chronicler, rather than a coincidental stranger living in the same diocese with an identical name. The exact date when Robert Ludburgh became prior at South Kyme is unknown, but the reference here reveals that Hardyng, first in his capacity as constable and later as a corrodarian at South Kyme priory, had a long-standing acquaintance with Robert Ludburgh. Such an acquaintance may have later contributed to Hardyng initially gaining his corrody at Ludburgh's priory (discussed in more detail below). Surviving references to Hardyng after 1429 cite his association with Lincolnshire styling him as 'of the county of Lincolnshire' or 'of Kyme'.⁹³

Whether Hardyng's duties as constable kept him in Lincolnshire for the remainder of his service with Umfraville is uncertain. He may have accompanied Umfraville to France in the 1430s, perhaps travelling across the Channel with many of the nobility who journeyed to France for the coronation expedition of Henry VI in 1429/30. Anne Curry has noted that a John Hardyng served at the garrison of Argentan, Normandy, in 1430, but unfortunately there is no conclusive evidence to point to this being the chronicler.⁹⁴ If Hardyng did journey abroad, he may have returned to England in time to witness Henry VI's return to London in February 1432. Both versions of the *Chronicle* contain sections derived from Lydgate's *Henry VI's Triumphal Entry into London* (1432), and a pedigree of France very similar in design to the dual pedigrees detailing Henry's descent from Saint Louis of France, which were in circulation as propaganda for the young king in the 1430s. Hardyng certainly had access to either his own copy of such a pedigree and Lydgate's commemorative verses, or to a copy owned by an acquaintance, either in an independent form or incorporated into the *Chronicles of London*.⁹⁵ Frustratingly, Hardyng's knowledge of Lydgate's verses cannot be construed as evidence that he personally observed the young king's celebrated return, but what is certain, nevertheless, is that Hardyng

further reference to him in the Victoria County History for Lincolnshire, the *CPR*, the *CCR* or the *CPR*eg. Similarly, his name does not occur in any of the scholarship concerning the manuscript libraries belonging to religious foundations (i.e. in Ker 1964; Bell 1992; Humphreys 1991; Sharpe 1996; or Webber and Watson 1998).

⁹³ Hardyng was certainly residing at South Kyme as constable in 1434 as he is described in the Patent Rolls for this year as 'John Hardyng of Kyme' (*CPR: Henry VI, 1429-36*, p. 382, m. 25); likewise, in the forged safe-conduct dated 1434, he describes himself as 'squier of lorde Vmfreuile'. See also *CPR: Henry VI, 1436-1441*, p. 431, m. 15 (15 July 1440), p. 490, m. 14 (1 December 1440), p. 484, m. 19 (22 December 1440); PRO IND1/7037, f. 68v; E 39/2/9; and E 39/96/3.

⁹⁴ Curry cites the following manuscripts for this reference: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, manuscrit français 25771/770, 812, 888, 900; 25773/1185; 25774/1285 (Curry 2000: 78). The name John Hardyng is not, however, uncommon and several references to men with this name, who are almost certainly not the chronicler occur in surviving records for this period; see, for example, *CPR: Henry V, 1413-16*, pp. 34, m. 29d (24 March 1413), 168, m. 9 (15 February 1414), 406, m. 42d (14 May 1415); *CPR*eg: *Papal Letters, 1417-31*, p. 311 (30 June 1423); *CPR: Henry VI, 1429-36*, p. 134, m. 3d (12 April 1431); *CPR: Henry VI, 1452-61*, p. 306, m. 14d (2 June 1456); Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson Liturgical e 1, f. 9 (SC 30674); *CPR: Edward IV, 1467-77*, pp. 299, m. 21 (16 August 1471), 343, m. 6 (4 September 1472).

⁹⁵ MS Harley 565, for example, a copy of the *Chronicles of London* containing Lydgate's poem, has the annotation 'Taylboys' at the end (f. 126v) suggesting an early connection with the Tailboys family; a roughly drawn shield bearing the Tailboys arms accompanies the annotation. The Tailboys connection with Kyme is, of course, important to Hardyng's locale, and the presence of such a text in this vicinity illustrates one way in which the chronicler might have had access to such material (assuming, of course, that the Tailboys participated in the book borrowing/lending culture that seems to have existed amongst members of the gentry and nobility elsewhere).

understood the complexities of England's relationship with France, and had first-hand knowledge of the country and its inhabitants, albeit from the biased perspective of an Englishman, who later devoted considerable space in his *Chronicle* to endorsing the accepted political ideologies of his nation.

In 1434, undeterred by the apparent lack of royal appreciation for his first Scottish mission, it is implied in the *Chronicle* that Hardyng undertook a second expedition into Scotland, during which he retrieved further evidence of English hegemony. As with Hardyng's first mission, the only documented evidence to support his claim occurs in the *Chronicle* and in the form of a forged letter of safe-conduct from James I of Scotland, dated 10 March 1434, which in itself, being forged, can hardly be classed as decisive evidence.⁹⁶ It is significant, however, that the truce between England and Scotland at this time was under great scrutiny, and it was feared that the uneasy peace would not be maintained for the remaining two years of the negotiated term. At the beginning of 1434 complaints were made on both sides of the border; James I criticised 'the disorder on the east march and the failure of the English commissioners to make amends and redress his subjects' grievances', whilst the English objected to the lack of co-operation, delays and suspicion on the part of the Scots (Griffiths 1998: 160). In February, one month before the date of Hardyng's forged safe-conduct, a commission was set up to examine breaches in the truce, and ambassadors were sent to negotiate a royal marriage between the two kingdoms (Griffiths 1998: 160, 173); thus, the timing of Hardyng's second Scottish expedition, like his first, is entirely in accordance with increased English interest in the Scottish issue. The reference in the forged safe-conduct to Hardyng's retinue going 'home agayn to Herbotill Castel' suggests that at this time Hardyng may have been engaged on business for Umfraville at his Northumberland estates (**Appendix 2**). An entry in the Patent Rolls, dated 8 December 1433, details shipments of wheat, barley and beans that were to be sent to Harbottle, possibly to stockpile supplies in the event of a Scottish raid, and it is not improbable that Hardyng or Umfraville travelled to Northumberland to supervise the victualling of the castle, and ensure that the castle was prepared in the event that the fragile truce with Scotland failed.⁹⁷

Aside from substantiating the mission and the new batch of documents that Hardyng retrieved, the letter, almost certainly forged by Hardyng himself, inadvertently provides us with an insight into the probable length of his sojourn in Scotland and the size of the party accompanying him in 1434. In the document James I promises 'sauf condute saufely to *comme* and go to *oure presence*, wharesoeuere we be with in *oure rewme* of Scotland, with *sex servauntz* at horses, and saufely thare to abide by fourty days with his gudes and horses'.⁹⁸ Consequently, if the document were to appear genuine and Hardyng did make a second expedition, it follows that he must have had sufficient status as Umfraville's constable to sustain a complement of 'sex servauntz at horses' and expenses for at least forty days travelling in Scotland.

Sir Robert Umfraville died in January 1437 and Hardyng appears to have spent his remaining years as a corrodarian in the Augustinian priory at South Kyme (only

⁹⁶ PRO E 39/2/9. An edition of this letter is provided in **Appendix 2**. The letter suggests that the second mission, if indeed it did occur, was by no means as long as the three and a half year expedition undertaken by Hardyng in 1418.

⁹⁷ *CPR: Henry VI, 1429-36*, p. 328, m. 20.

⁹⁸ See **Appendix 2**.

metres away from the castle where he was constable before Umfraville's death).⁹⁹ Unfortunately, there is no surviving will for Robert Umfraville, so we are unable to determine whether Umfraville was responsible for arranging provision for Hardyng at the priory, or whether Hardyng pre-arranged the terms of his corrody himself.¹⁰⁰ In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Kyme priory, now St Mary and All Saints parish church in South Kyme, was approximately four times the size of the existing building, and had extensive grounds containing gardens, an infirmary, common dormitory, and refectory.¹⁰¹ Although quite small, the priory was situated in the Witham Valley, Lincolnshire, where a high concentration of ecclesiastical foundations flourished along a busy trade route, which ran south-east from the city of Lincoln along the River Witham to Boston. South of Kyme itself there is ample evidence to suggest that there was much interaction and co-operation between the various religious institutions and orders in south Lincolnshire and their counterparts in East Anglia.¹⁰² Of particular interest are the apparent networks of manuscript production in this region and the circulation of texts within the religious community. It is at Kyme priory that Hardyng began his composition of the first version of the *Chronicle*, which survives in a single manuscript, London, British Library, Lansdowne 204, and is approximately 19, 000 lines in length.¹⁰³ The text of the first version reveals that, amongst other items, he

⁹⁹ Hardyng was certainly there by 1440 when Bishop Alnwick made a visitation to the priory (see below). For insightful accounts of corrodies and the relationship between the members of religious houses and their lay boarders see Thompson 1925-26, Harvey 1993: 179-209, 239-51, and Oliva 1998: 116-38. The record of Alnwick's visitation mentions eleven canons at the priory in 1440: Robert Ludborough, Richard Ingoldsby, Thomas Mareham, Thomas Blyton, John Sutterton, William Spalding, William Boston, Thomas Feltwell, Thomas Durham, Thomas Kington, and John Mace (Thompson 1914-18: II, 168-73). John Hardyng is mentioned with Robert Ludburgh in the *CPR*: *Papal Letters, 1427-47*, pp. 130-31 (8, 21, 22 June 1429).

¹⁰⁰ A provisional search through published materials on the bishops' registers for Lincolnshire and Northumberland did not yield any further information or references to a will; however, it is very probable that there was one, for Robert Surtees, citing evidence from the foundation charter of Holmeside Chantry, notes that at Umfraville's request, either 'by will or deed', the manors of Holmeside and Whitley passed to Rowland Tempest, husband of his grand niece Isabel, after his death (Surtees 1816-40: II, 325-26). Umfraville's Inquisition Post-Mortem survives in PRO C 139/83/57, and reference to his heirs is made in PRO C 133/83/5. Marilyn Oliva notes that corrodies ('a grant of room, board, fuel and clothes') were often given 'in exchange for a piece of property, the rents from land, a single payment of cash or services rendered' (1998: 116). Hardyng's corrody may have been granted as a result of a number of scenarios: a bequest by Umfraville in return for over three decades of service from Hardyng (the priory was after all under the patronage of the Umfravilles and Sir Robert was sufficiently wealthy to reward his employees, for in the previous year he is recorded as having an annual income of £400, see Gray 1934: 621 and Payling 1991: 16); services rendered by Hardyng to the priory during his capacity as constable of Kyme; or the corrody may even have been granted to Hardyng after July 1440 in return for the income from his annuity out of the manor at Willoughton. Whatever the circumstances, Bishop Fleming's injunction to Kyme priory in 1422 stated that 'no corrodies, pensions, portions, liveries or copses' should be granted to anyone by the priory 'unless common council and debate of chapter be held concerning the same between all the members of the convent, and the consent of the larger and sounder part of the same be agreeable thereto' and that the license of the bishop or his successor be obtained 'in respect of the premises and for these purposes' (Thompson 1914-18: I, 80); therefore, Hardyng's corrody must have been granted after the unanimous consent of the canons at Kyme and the bishop of Lincoln.

¹⁰¹ For a discussion of Kyme Priory throughout the Middle Ages see Pevsner 1964: 641-42 and Newton 1995: 35-46.

¹⁰² See, for example, Owen 1971 and Oliva 1998 *passim*.

¹⁰³ Kingsford (1912b) and Riddy (1996) have suggested that Hardyng began his composition in the late 1440s; this supposition and the circumstances surrounding his decision to write a history of Britain are addressed in more detail below in *John Hardyng and the Construction of History*.

had access to a minor chronicle source belonging to the Benedictine monks at Spalding Priory, which dealt with the history of Peterborough Abbey from 654-1368.¹⁰⁴ Although we do not know precise details of the manuscripts held in the library at Kyme, we know that it had one, and that Hardyng undoubtedly used it, as suggested by Felicity Riddy.¹⁰⁵ Recent research has highlighted a profusion of manuscripts belonging to religious libraries and secular collections from this area, revealing that copies of many of the sources Hardyng claims to have used were in abundance in this region at the time of the *Chronicle's* composition, in addition to an intriguing and astonishing variety of other items. Many of the religious houses clearly lent or borrowed manuscripts from other orders within the region, or increased their own collections as a result of bequests from lay patrons.¹⁰⁶ Likewise, secular manuscript owners are known to have lent and borrowed books in unofficial reading circles within their community. Aside from the variety of textual sources available to Hardyng through his affiliation with the priory, the Augustinian environment may also prove to be integral to our understanding of the purpose behind his composition of the *Chronicle*.¹⁰⁷

In the summer of 1440 Hardyng presented a second collection of documents to Henry VI at Easthampstead, as described in the prologue of the first version, and received a grant of £10 per year from the manor of Willoughton, in Lincolnshire (an area close to South Kyme).¹⁰⁸ The grant recorded on the Patent Rolls, dated 15 July

¹⁰⁴ The chronicle belonging to Spalding priory is now extant in London, British Library MS, Cotton Claudius A. v, ff. 1-45r. It is Hardyng's strange reference to the discovery of the tombs of Joseph of Arimathea and his companions at Glastonbury in 1367 that points to his use of this source, although whether he used the text in Cotton Claudius A. v or another copy is uncertain (see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1317-23). A late medieval annotation on f. 86v records that the manuscript was owned by 'Sancte Marie de Beluero [?]' ; the name 'Thomas Harris', a later post-medieval owner, occurs on f. 45v.

¹⁰⁵ Ker cites two items linked to Kyme (Oxford Bodleian Auct. D. 4. 15 and Wisbech Museum, Town Library A. 5. 15, a printed book) along with a reference to the library at Kyme made by John Leland in British Library MS Royal App. 69, f. 9 (Ker 1964: 107). Leland's comments are printed in Liddell, but the vague reference merely records 'Multi sunt ibidem libri communes tamen impressive vel de materiis minime tractantibus' (1939: 95). A reference to the priory from 1440 reveals that master Thomas Kynngtone was in charge of instructing two novices in grammar, but that he was dissatisfied with the twenty pence he received quarterly for their tuition (Thompson 1914-18: II, 171). Hence the library must have contained, at the very least, standard materials for grammatical instruction. For Riddy's comments on the library see 1996: 94. The most recent study of the libraries of the Augustinian canons is by Webber and Watson 1998; unfortunately their research sheds no new light on the works at Kyme.

¹⁰⁶ Details of manuscripts in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and East-Anglian religious houses may be found in Ker 1964, 1969-83; Humphreys 1991; Bell 1992; Ker and Piper 1992; Sharpe 1996; and Webber and Watson 1998. Doyle (1989) also discusses the production of manuscripts by members of religious orders. Kathleen L. Scott has made an extensive study of manuscript production in this area, and has shown that East Anglian and Lincolnshire had a flourishing manuscript trade, second only to London; see, for example, Scott 1968, 1982, 1989, 1996, 2002. It is in this region that Lansdowne 204 was produced; for a discussion of this see **The Manuscripts of Hardyng's Chronicle**. The book bequests in the wills belonging to the Lincolnshire knight, Sir Thomas Cumberworth, and Dame Joan Buckland are fine examples of secular bequests to religious foundations (for the wills see Clark 1914: 38, 48).

¹⁰⁷ This matter is addressed below in the **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**.

¹⁰⁸ Lansdowne 204, ff. 3r-3v, ll. 43-77. According to the *Chronicle*, the documents presented in 1440 included the same document he allegedly presented to Henry V in 1422 (see footnote 75 above). The other documents delivered in 1440, as stated in the Lansdowne prologue, include: two royal patents from David II and Robert II of Scotland (PRO E 39/2/7 and E 39/2/20 respectively), binding them and their heirs to hold Scotland under the English king, as exemplified in a previous charter of Alexander I, king of Scotland, and asserting the rights of the church of England over the Scottish church, specifically

1440, was issued at Easthampstead manor and corroborates the information supplied by Hardyng in his *Chronicle*, nearly two decades later. It states that the chronicler was rewarded for 'completion of the promise of the king's father of such reward to the said John for obtaining at great risk from the king's enemies of Scotland certain evidences concerning the king's overlordship of Scotland, which evidences have now been handed to the king.'¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, in December of the same year the Patent Rolls cite a problem with the original award; the manor had previously been demised for seven years to one John Middleton. On 1 December 1440 it was established that John Middleton was to keep the manor itself for the agreed seven-year term (ending in July 1444), and that Hardyng was to receive £10 a year from Middleton for the remainder of his term there; following this, Hardyng was to receive the manor itself, paying a yearly rent of 2s to the sheriff of Lincolnshire. On 22 December 1440, a third reference to the annuity occurs discussing, and finally resolving, a further problem with Hardyng's income, which arose from yet another royal grant dated 12 September 1440.¹¹⁰ At this time the king had granted Henry Chichele, archbishop of Canterbury, and several others all the alien priories and possessions belonging to them (in both the king's and others' hands), and the reversion of these properties after the expiry of the terms granted to the individuals currently holding them. Because of this, the circumstances of Hardyng's annuity had to be ascertained and formalised once again; the archbishop and others were given a royal licence to authorise Hardyng's annuity, as they were now the owners of the manor, not the crown. The remainder of Middleton's term was to continue, but, in addition to the royal licence mentioned above, a writ was to be issued directing the barons and the treasurer to abstain from pursuing Middleton for the annuity. A second writ was to be issued to Middleton requesting that he pay Hardyng £10 each year of his remaining term, after which Hardyng was to receive the manor for life. A fourth and final allusion to Hardyng's grant occurs, confirming indirectly that Henry, archbishop of Canterbury, and the

the liberties belonging to the Archbishop of York and the bishop of Durham (see Lansdowne 204, ff. 3r-3v, ll. 57-77); a release made by Edward III in his youth to Robert, which is no longer extant; and a forged letter of safe-conduct from James I of Scotland to Hardyng offering him a bribe for the surrender of his evidence (PRO E 39/2/9; Lansdowne 204, f. 4r, ll. 141-44). In addition to these, Charles Kingsford also believed that Hardyng presented documents containing the homage of Malcolm, king of Scotland, to Edward the Confessor (a reference to the document is made in both versions, but not to their being presented or recovered by Hardyng); a letter of homage from Edgar, king of Scotland (whom Kingsford mistakenly calls Duncan) to William Rufus (this document is mentioned in the second version as one of the items Hardyng presented to 'Kynge Henry', and as one of the documents that James I wanted: see Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 106r-106v); and the homage of David I to Henry II and the Empress Maud (referred to as being purchased by Hardyng at the request of Henry V in the second version. See Arch. Selden B. 10, ff. 109v-110r and Kingsford 1912b: 467). Conversely, Alfred Hiatt proposes that the following nine items were presented to Henry VI in 1440: charters of homage from Malcolm III (PRO E 39/87) and Edgar of Scotland (Chapter Durham Misc. Charters 560); three letters patent of David II (PRO E 39/2/5, E 39/96/4, E 39/96/5); three letters patent of Robert II (PRO E 39/4/3a, E 39/97/4, Ashmole 789 f. 162r); and a letter of safe-conduct from James I (PRO E 39/2/9). For further details see Hiatt 1999b: 133 and Hiatt 2004.

¹⁰⁹ For details of the grant Hardyng received and the ensuing problems concerning it see *CPR: Henry VI, 1436-1441*, pp. 431, m. 15 (15 July 1440), 490, m. 14 (1 December 1440), 484, m. 19 (22 December 1440). A petition from Hardyng to the king, and a grant under the sign manual to Hardyng concerning this annuity are cited in *CDS*, pp. 236-37, number 1156; however, the reference listed for these items ('Privy Seals (Tower), temp. Hen. VI. File 2') is no longer a valid reference, and, so far, a provisional search within the Privy Seal collections has failed to identify the items. I am grateful to Dr Malcolm Mercer of the Public Record Office for kindly assisting me in my analysis of these documents.

¹¹⁰ *CPR: Henry VI, 1436-1441*, p. 471, m. 30.

others, named as ‘John [Stafford], bishop of Bath and Wells, John [Lowe], bishop of St Asaph, William [Ayscough], bishop of Salisbury, William [de la Pole], earl of Suffolk, John Somerseth, Thomas Bekynton, Richard Andrew, and Adam Moleyns, clerks, John Hampton, James Fenys, esquires, and William Tresham’, agreed to honour Hardyng’s annuity.¹¹¹ This reference is given, along with several other similar cases, in a grant in *frank almoyn* dated 31 July 1441, which formalises the reversion of the lands back to the crown, and issues the £10 annuity to the king’s college of St Nicholas, Cambridge, after the agreed terms have expired under Middleton and Hardyng.¹¹²

The problems surrounding Hardyng’s annuity are indicative of the reign of Henry VI, and give us an insight into the problems of Henry’s inept administration and issue of grants, which inevitably led to the Resumption Acts.¹¹³ Nevertheless, entries on the Pipe Rolls under ‘Item Lincoln’ for the years 1440-68 reiterate the terms of Hardyng’s grant, as detailed in the Patent Rolls, and suggest that Hardyng received his annuity without further hindrance.¹¹⁴ Similarly, when the term of John

¹¹¹ These men were important members of the king’s household, and their names frequently occur together in the 1440s. In all likelihood they had ‘bonds of real affection, strengthened by corporate commitment’; for further details and examples see Watts 1999: 169-71.

¹¹² *CPR: Henry VI, 1436-1441*, p. 557, m. 18.

¹¹³ For the Resumption Acts see Wolffe 1958; Griffiths 1998; Watts 1999: *passim*; and Smith 2000.

¹¹⁴ In an attempt to ascertain whether Hardyng received his annuity regularly I made a provisional search of the Pipe Rolls from 1440 onwards, checking, in the main, alternate years for reference to the grant. The Pipe Rolls run from Michaelmas to Michaelmas, and Hardyng’s annuity is recorded under the ‘Item Lincoln’ sections for the following years: 1440-41 (E 372/286), 1442-43 (E 372/288), 1444-45 (E 372/290), 1446-47 (E 372/292), 1448-49 (E 372/294), 1450-51 (E 372/296), 1452-53 (E 372/298), 1454-55 (E 372/300), 1456-57 (E 372/302), 1457-58 (E 372/303), 1460-61 (E 372/306), 1461-62 (E 372/307), 1462-63 (E 372/308), 1464-65 (E 372/310), 1465-66 (E 372/311), 1466-67 (E 372/312), 1467-68 (E 372/313). There is no reference to the Willoughton grant on the Pipe Roll for the period 1458-59 (E 372/304); however, this does not necessarily mean that Hardyng failed to receive his annuity. It may be that the entry was omitted due to a clerical error, or that Hardyng’s proxy (for it is unlikely at his age that he collected the payments himself) did not collect the money on this occasion. From 1444-45 onwards, when John Middleton’s term expired and Hardyng received the manor, the rolls also contain references to the two shillings paid by Hardyng to the sheriff of Lincoln, in addition to details of the terms of the annuity. The entry for the period 1465-66 is the last time reference to Hardyng’s two shilling debt appears to have been received by the Exchequer without difficulty; on E 372/312 (1466-67) the Willoughton debt appears on three occasions, with two of the entries annotated ‘Et Quietus Est’, which appears to indicate that Hardyng’s debt was cancelled after being paid off or pardoned. On E 372/313, the roll for the following period (1467-68), the entry relating to the debt appears just once and is similarly annotated; no entries occur on the rolls for 1468-69 and 1469-70 (E 372/314 and E 372/315). Critics have generally assumed that Hardyng died at the end of 1464 or just after, as the last datable reference in the second version of the *Chronicle* is a reference to Elizabeth Woodville as Edward IV’s queen, which could not have been added before September 1464 when the marriage was publicly announced. The evidence from the Pipe Rolls suggests that this may have been the case if the entry on E 372/311 was copied onto the roll by accident, or someone was still collecting the late Hardyng’s grant on his behalf, dishonestly. However, it is probably more likely that Hardyng died in 1465 or 1466; whether the two shilling debt listed in E 372/312 was settled by Hardyng’s executors or was pardoned by the crown is impossible to determine without supplementary evidence, but the rolls do seem to indicate that Hardyng was dead before the accounting year began in Michaelmas 1466, and that his affairs were being concluded by his executors. The absence of any reference in Hardyng’s epilogue to Edward IV’s children indicates that the author could have composed the extended epilogue to the king and queen anytime between September 1464 and February 1466 when their first child, Elizabeth, was born. Whilst the alternate entries in the Pipe Rolls not considered here may indicate further consistencies or inconsistencies in the payment of the annuity, and taking into account that the entries on the rolls do not constitute an absolute guarantee that payments were made, it

Middleton's seven-year grant from Willoughton expired in 1444, the new arrangements concerning Hardyng's annuity appear to have been instigated without delay.¹¹⁵

The extent to which Hardyng's claim of royal patronage behind his Scottish mission is true has already been addressed; however, Henry V's original promise to Hardyng of Geddington Manor, the royal grant made to him in 1440, and an ensuing grant issued to him in 1457 (discussed in more detail below), are of particular importance as they seem to substantiate the chronicler's claim that Henry V commissioned the expedition. The initial record of the 1440 annuity in the Patent Rolls explicitly states that the £10 pension was granted to Hardyng 'in completion of the promise of the king's father [Henry V] of such reward to the said John'; a similar statement occurs in the entry dated 1 December 1440, and the third reference to the grant, dated 22 December 1440, implies that the sum promised to Hardyng by Henry V was £10, not £40 as Hardyng notes in the *Chronicle*.¹¹⁶

Your noble fadyr, most famouse, as was sene,
To me, his pore liege subgyt that was bore
Iohn Hardyng, so promysed foreueremore
Fourty ponde by yere of londe assised
Whare that it myght by reson ben devised,

To holde for ay to me and to myne hayres
For feute fre of all maner seruyse
In fe symple to thaym and to all thayres.
So thought he wele that it wolde me suffyse
For my labour amonges his enmyse,
And costage grete, with sore corporall mayme,
Whiche I may neuer recouer, ne reclayme.

[Lansdowne 204, f. 222v, ll. 3677-88]

Intriguingly, the second annuity of £20, bestowed on Hardyng in 1457 by Henry VI, raised the chronicler's income to £30 a year, a sum suspiciously close to the annual value of Geddington.¹¹⁷ Whilst Hardyng may be inflating his worth, as he does in the forged safe-conduct dated 1434, in which James I of Scotland offers him a bribe of 1000 marks of English gold for his documents, it is surely more than coincidence that

is nevertheless reasonable to assume from the information available that Hardyng successfully received his allowance from Willoughton until his death.

¹¹⁵ The Exchequer Q. R. Memoranda Repertory no. 7 (PRO IND1/7037) records, under Hilary term 1444-45, that Hardyng's annuity from Willoughton needs to be enrolled (f. 68v). Unfortunately there is no enrolment on the Memorandum Roll itself (E 159/221) to confirm this, as only one out of four terms (Trinity term) is extant. However, details of the annuity do occur under the 'Item Lincoln' section on the Pipe Rolls for the period Michaelmas 1444 to Michaelmas 1445, and an additional entry concerning the agreed payment by Hardyng of two shillings to the sheriff of Lincoln for the rent of the manor also occurs on the rolls from this date forward. Thus, it is logical to surmise that Hardyng continued to enjoy his annuity without further difficulty once Middleton's term had expired.

¹¹⁶ See *CPR: Henry VI, 1436-1441*, pp. 431, m. 15 (15 July 1440), 490, m. 14 (1 December 1440), 484, m. 19 (22 December 1440), 557, m. 18 (31 July 1441).

¹¹⁷ *CPR: Henry VI, 1452-61*, p. 393, m. 8 (18 November 1457).

the sum total of annuities granted to Hardyng do in fact approximate to the value of the manor on which he had so desperately set his heart.¹¹⁸

In October 1440, several months after Hardyng had received his initial grant from Henry VI, Bishop Alnwick visited Kyme priory. The record of his visitation confirms Hardyng's presence there as a corrodarian, and a complaint made by one of the canons, Thomas Durham, states that:

Hardyng continually, and strangers for a day at a time, do sit in the frater among the canons at their meals; and Hardyng pays only twenty pence a week for himself or for what he gets.¹¹⁹

Bishop Alnwick resolved the first part of Durham's complaint by advising the prior of Kyme, Robert Ludburgh, to 'suffer no secular folk whatsoever to sit of custom in the frater or ... with the canons at table' (Thompson 1914-18: II, 173). How he responded to the second objection concerning Hardyng's contributions is unknown, but Felicity Riddy has suggested that the complaint from Brother Durham may have led to a request for Hardyng's contributions to be increased (1996: 95). Riddy ascribes the timing of Hardyng's petition to 'the increased charges he was facing in 1440 for his accommodation at Kyme priory', and proposes that 'he may have decided to try and cash in on the forgeries' (Riddy 1996: 95); however, unless the amount of Hardyng's contributions was already an issue that had been discussed between him and the canons before Alnwick's visitation, this cannot be the case because Hardyng presented the documents and was rewarded in July, several months before the bishop's visitation in October. Similarly, Riddy's belief that Hardyng 'wrote the first version of the *Chronicle* over the course of some ten years or so in the late 1440s and 1450s, in order to provide a context for a set of forged documents', and thereby in support of his later petitions for further reward (1996: 94), is perhaps a little too simple, given the author's overt criticism of contemporary governance in England and the 'meschefe,/ That regnyth now in londe so generally' (Lansdowne 204, f. 217r, ll. 3192-93). Whilst it is undoubtedly reasonable to assume that Hardyng did foresee

¹¹⁸ The 1457 pension is, nevertheless, problematic (see below for further details). An edition of the forged safe-conduct of 1434 (PRO E 39/2/9) is provided in **Appendix 2**.

¹¹⁹ The record of Alnwick's visitation is published in Thompson 1914-18: II, 168-73. The quotation here is taken from Thompson 1914-18: II, 170. Unfortunately, Thomas Durham is not mentioned in Emden's bibliographical registers of Oxford and Cambridge. It may be determined from Durham's complaint that Hardyng's corrody included the daily provision of food and free housing. Other standard allowances, such as fuel, candles, and clothing may also have been incorporated into the terms of the corrody, and implied by Durham's 'for what he gets'. In comparison with Harvey's study of the fifteenth-century corrodies provided by Westminster Abbey it is likely that Hardyng's annual contributions at Kyme were in return for a basic monk's corrody of food and ale, with housing, and possibly some arrangement for either the additional benefits mentioned above or a weekly allowance (see Harvey 1993: 179-209, 239-51). Harvey states that 'the typical allowance of one loaf and one gallon of ale per day had an annual value of c. £3' (1993: 203); therefore, although Hardyng's annual contributions amounted to more than this, when one takes into account that he was probably being accommodated and provided with additional commodities such as candles and clothing, Thomas Durham was indeed justified in complaining about his contributions. On average, corrodies ranged in value from 'c. £5 to c. £11 per annum'; nevertheless, as Harvey astutely points out, it is 'misleading to consider the purchase price of the corrody without some knowledge of the wider context' (1993: 186, 204). Umfraville, or Hardyng, may have previously purchased the corrody for a larger sum of money, or the weekly rate payable by Hardyng may have been arranged in light of debts or gratuities owed to the chronicler/Umfraville by the canons; the possibilities are endless.

some financial reward transpiring from the composition and presentation of the *Chronicle*, this cannot have been his sole motivation for beginning the work in the late 1440s or early 1450s. The aforementioned documents in the Public Record Office concerning the Willoughton annuity suggest that financial hardship was not necessarily a grave concern for Hardyng at this time. He may have been temporarily anxious about the outcome of the initial grant until December 1440, when the problems with the annuity were resolved, but since it was not retracted there is no obvious reason as to why he would need to compose the *Chronicle* to support another petition for services that he had already been rewarded for. His expenditure at the priory of twenty pence a week for food and lodgings equated to four pounds, six shillings and eight pence a year, which was less than half of the £10 annuity he received, so even if Bishop Alnwick requested that the prior ask Hardyng for a greater contribution towards his upkeep, it is unlikely that the chronicler was as impoverished as he states in the prologue to the first version.¹²⁰

Aside from the annual references to Hardyng's Willoughton annuity in the Pipe Rolls, the chronicler's activities during the decade 1440-50 are somewhat of a mystery. The *Chronicle* provides no insight into his whereabouts or deeds and the official records are silent. It is to be assumed that Hardyng remained at Kyme engaged in cultural pursuits of his own liking, perhaps working on the *Chronicle*, perhaps occupying his retirement by reading or hunting in the nearby deer park. He certainly does not appear to have played an active role in local affairs as there are no known references to him in extant documents, such as the Feet of Fines for Lincolnshire or the Inquisitions Post Mortem; however, this in itself should perhaps come as no surprise given that even during the period when we know he was acting in an official capacity for Umfraville, it is Umfraville, not Hardyng, who appears in the surviving records concerning local affairs.¹²¹

In 1451, Hardyng maintains that he petitioned Henry VI to reconsider Henry V's promise of Geddington manor, but according to his account of the incident (detailed in Lansdowne 204, f. 4r, ll. 113-40), he was thwarted by Cardinal John Kemp who did not believe that Hardyng deserved such a reward. A memorandum in

¹²⁰ It is possible that Hardyng maintained servants too, and given the haughty tone of Durham's complaint it is probable that a larger contribution was expected from someone of Hardyng's rank. In Umfraville's service Hardyng presumably enjoyed the average annual income of a fifteenth-century esquire cited by Dyer as twenty pounds (1998: 19, 31), and by the end of his career he would certainly have ranked amongst the lesser gentry of Lincolnshire society. Because the probable motivation behind Hardyng's composition of the first version is more complicated than a desire for financial gain, it will be addressed separately in **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**.

¹²¹ The documents checked in this respect include: the Feet of Fines for PRO CP 25/1/144/155 (5-10 Henry V) to CP 25/1/155/162 (22 Edward IV), which contain no reference to Hardyng, but a couple of references to Umfraville, and the Parliamentary attestor's records for Lincolnshire in C 219/13-C 219/16 (1-39 Henry VI). Although these items are essentially records of land sales or transfers between different parties, which were registered in the Court of Common Pleas, and records of persons attesting Lincolnshire elections to parliament, it can be surmised that the absence of Hardyng's name on them shows that he did not play a significant role in local society. His position in Lincolnshire society appears to be primarily based on his initial employment by Umfraville and his subsequent grant from the king. Whilst the evidence, or lack of evidence, pointing towards Hardyng's lack of involvement in the public affairs of the locality should, of course, be treated with the usual caution, it is not surprising that the chronicler fails to appear in the surviving documents; he does not after all appear to have had estates of his own to build up, and as Umfraville's esquire it is likely that he would have been continually engaged on matters of importance for his master. I am grateful to Dr Malcolm Mercer (Public Record Office) for assisting my efforts to find evidence for Hardyng's involvement in the local affairs of Lincolnshire society and for helping me arrive at the conclusions offered in this footnote.

the Public Record Office (E 39/48), dated 19 November 1451, tentatively supports Hardyng's claim of making a petition at this time for it details 'the delivery to the treasury of two round boxes under the seal of Lord Cromwell, the treasurer, containing documents unknown to the said treasurer but relating to the "Relaxacio regni Scocie"; the boxes were later placed with two other boxes marked "Scocia Hardyng" (Kingsford 1912b: 468). Kingsford believed that they contained the documents delivered at Easthampstead in 1440, which had been taken out of the treasury for the suspicious Kemp to examine when Hardyng made his petition in 1451 (1912: 469). The motive behind Hardyng's new petition is uncertain. It could be argued that he was attempting to bolster his income and prepare for the worst possible scenario in the future: that Henry's government revoked the annuity he currently enjoyed. The new petition does coincide with the period in which the government resumed a vast number of grants, and one could interpret Hardyng's undertaking as a desperate reaction to financially difficult circumstances. However, although the *Chronicle* refers to the resumption acts that occurred at this time, it does not mention the king resuming Hardyng's annuity from Willoughton, something one might expect if such an event had occurred. Likewise, whilst Hardyng claims that his 'purs' would 'no lengar [...] suffyse' for him to pursue his petition after John Kemp retracted the king's grant of Geddington (Lansdowne 204, f. 4r, l. 129), the annual Pipe Roll entries suggest that he was no worse off financially in 1451 than he was in 1440: he continued to receive his annuity without impediment. Despite the fact that the chronicler was comfortable at Kyme, he may have felt it prudent to be cautious and to attempt to gain further remuneration from the king. Even so his petition failed.¹²²

It was another six years before Hardyng completed and presented his *Chronicle* to King Henry VI in November 1457, with yet another batch of documents, and received a reward of twenty pounds per year, out of the county of Lincolnshire, for 'having acquired not without peril of his body and maiming and grave expenses certain evidences and letters patent [...] touching the king's overlordship of Scotland'.¹²³ There is little doubt that Lansdowne 204 is the presentation copy of the *Chronicle* given to Henry VI at the same time as the documents. Dialectal features, illumination, and even the hand of the main marginal glossator all testify to the production of the manuscript in the Lincolnshire region, and reveal that Hardyng was actively involved in the production of the work.¹²⁴ The high quality and style of the border decorations and lavish illumination, link it directly to a group of mid-fifteenth-century manuscripts produced in a workshop that specialised in providing elegant manuscripts for wealthy Lincolnshire patrons. Similarly, the size and style of the manuscript are consonant with other presentation copies known to have come from

¹²² It is my contention that Kemp's alleged intervention may have prompted Hardyng to write the *Chronicle*, or at least to adapt the history that he may have already begun composing into a polemical discourse concerning the nature of governance and the king's authority see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**.

¹²³ See *CPR: Henry VI, 1452-61*, p. 393, m. 8 (18 November 1457) and *CCR: Henry, 1454-61*, p. 235, m. 28 (18 November 1457). The original privy seal writ, addressed to William Wainfleet, bishop of Winchester, was found in the eighteenth century attached to the cover of a printed copy of Hardyng's *Chronicle*. It was published and discussed in *Archaeologia*, 1 (1770), 98-101.

¹²⁴ For a full discussion and description of Lansdowne 204, its connections with Lincolnshire, and the main glossing hand, which may, or may not, be Hardyng's, see **The Manuscripts of Hardyng's Chronicle**.

the east of England.¹²⁵ The length of time taken to produce the manuscript is questionable, but there is nothing within it to suggest that it was produced in several sections over a long period of time; rather it appears to have been made in one stint from a near complete set of notes or exemplar belonging to Hardyng.¹²⁶ Some of the marginal glosses appear to have been added before the manuscript was originally bound, but the positioning of others imply that Hardyng was still adding material to the *Chronicle* in the final stages of production, after it had been bound. Likewise, some of the stanzas contain lines that have been erased or inserted, possibly by Hardyng, after the main scribe had already written the text, presumably leaving a space where required for the necessary lines to be completed at a later date. The positioning of certain erasures similarly suggests that Hardyng wished to alter certain words or lines for better effect, and in some cases entire marginal glosses seem to have been erased and new ones inserted.¹²⁷ The champ initials in the final folios have been left unfinished, or filled instead with large ink letters; when considered in relation to the generally poor appearance of the final leaves, the crude insertion of the four-stanza dedication and unfinished contents page at the beginning suggest that the final stages of production were hurried.

The cost of the manuscript is difficult to determine; still, an estimate based upon the production costs of other fifteenth-century manuscripts suggests that the manuscript could conceivably have been produced for approximately four pounds.¹²⁸ Hardyng would surely only have been able to meet such costs if he had set aside a significant amount of his annuity each year, or if he had a wealthy patron commissioning or supporting the production of his text.¹²⁹ Either way, Lansdowne 204 itself implies that the lavish presentation copy envisaged for the king was subjected to hurried and careless completion in the final stages of production. It is possible that funding for the finishing touches was running low or unavailable, but given that only the final quire has this negligent appearance it is practical to assume that Hardyng was trying to meet a deadline. The most likely scenario would be that he had a pre-arranged appointment to deliver his Scottish documents to the Treasury (in November 1457) and that he intended to use this as an opportunity to present his *Chronicle* as well. An indenture between Hardyng, John Talbot, the treasurer, and the

¹²⁵ Lansdowne 204 is associated, stylistically and decoratively, with New York Public Library Spencer 19, British Library Egerton 1992, Bodleian Library Laud Misc. 740, and Wellcome Medical Library MS 8004. This connection is explored further in *The Manuscripts of Hardyng's Chronicle*, and comparable presentation copies, known to have derived from Lincolnshire, Cambridge, Norfolk or Suffolk in this period, are given in the accompanying footnotes.

¹²⁶ Aside from the final leaves, the manuscript does not contain any unusually dirty folios that might suggest that some of the quires were written up and left unbound for extended periods of time before being joined with other quires. This is not surprising, since such kind of production is normally associated with composite manuscripts and booklet production (see Robinson 1980).

¹²⁷ For a discussion of the blank lines in the manuscripts of the second version see *The Relationships of the Manuscripts*. Examples of lines filled in by the glossing hand may be found on ff. 199v, stanza 2, 201v, stanza 5, 205v, stanza 2, 207r, stanzas 3 and 4, 211r, stanza 2, 214v, stanza 5, and 215r, stanza 3; examples of erasures within the manuscript may be seen on ff. 121v, 133v.

¹²⁸ I am grateful to Dr Kathleen Scott for her advice regarding the difficult matter of determining the cost of manuscripts. The estimate for Lansdowne 204 is based, conjecturally, on contemporary references to the cost of parchment, illumination, writing, and binding given by de Hamel (1999: 39-41, 65) and Bell (1936-37), but as with any estimation of this kind it should be noted that although the approximate dates and places of the costings used to determine a possible price for Lansdowne 204 are close to the date and place of the production of the manuscript, they are not exact.

¹²⁹ This matter is discussed in *John Hardyng and the Construction of History*.

chamberlains of the exchequer, dated 15 November 1457, substantiates Hardyng's claim to have delivered further documents to the Treasury concerning English hegemony.¹³⁰ Likewise, Felicity Riddy has noted that the wording of the grant given to Hardyng in the Patent Rolls for November 1457 appears to have been influenced by the contents of the proem, as if 'the information [in the grant] is derived directly from the preface to the *Chronicle*' (1996: 96).¹³¹ This supports the widely accepted theory that the *Chronicle* was presented along with Hardyng's petition for reward after the prologue was added to the completed *Chronicle* in 1457. It is clear from Hardyng's comments in the prologue and epilogue to the work that this time the documents presented to the king formed part of a package including the *Chronicle* and the map of Scotland, that Hardyng intended to be seen, read and used for the benefit of the kingdom by the king, his family and his magnates (Lansdowne 204, ff. 3r-4r, 222v-223v).¹³² Therefore, it follows that the completion of Lansdowne 204 was hurried to allow Hardyng to present the work at the same time appointed for the delivery of his Scottish documents, rather than from a lack of finances or patronage.

Surprisingly, although the Pipe Rolls continue to record the payment of Hardyng's Willoughton grant, they contain no reference to Hardyng's pension of twenty pounds from the county revenues of Lincolnshire.¹³³ Two of the Pipe Rolls concerning Hardyng's 1440 annuity are, nevertheless, of further interest with regards to our understanding of the elusive nature of the 1457 grant. The accounts for the sheriff's farm on E 372/307 (1461-62) and E 372/308 (1462-63) are incomplete, and at the top of the relevant section in E 372/307 there is a memorandum noting that the sheriff, Thomas Blount, had not returned a complete account, for which he had been pardoned. Although the accounts in question relate to the reign of Edward IV, they do in fact raise the question of how well the Lincolnshire accounts were being kept and recorded. Griffiths has commented on the problems facing sheriffs in the mid-1450s when the duke of York felt that 'unless many grants were resumed, the county farms would be too low to encourage qualified men to take on the office of sheriff in case they found themselves out of pocket when their term came to an end' (Griffiths 1998: 751). Apparently the 'problem of the sheriff's farm had arisen not long before, when Sir John Tempest, sheriff of Lincs., had asked that he be charged not with the traditional farm but with a realistic sum of revenue; the problem seems to have been

¹³⁰ PRO E 39/96/3 (edited in **Appendix 2**). The six documents delivered by Hardyng, as cited in the indenture, include: a letter patent of David II (E 39/2/7, printed in Palgrave 1837: 368); three letters patent of Robert II (E 39/2/20, and Ashmole 789, f. 162r; E 39/2/20 is printed in Palgrave 1837: 374); a letter patent from the earls, barons and magnates of Scotland (Ashmole 789, ff. 161v-162r); and an indenture of truce made by Edward III (E 39/2/10, printed in Palgrave 1837: 373). The delivery of the items to the king is alluded to in the prologue (Lansdowne 204, f. 4r, l. 149). For further discussion of the documents see Hiatt 1999a and 1999b.

¹³¹ For the grant, issued at Westminster, see *CPR: Henry VI, 1452-61*, p. 393, m. 8 (18 November 1457) and *CCR: Henry VI, 1454-61*, p. 235, m. 28 (18 November 1457). The grant is dated three days after the indenture attesting to the delivery of the documents.

¹³² Compare Hardyng's *Chronicle* and accompanying documents advocating the conquest of Scotland with William Worcester's similar 'package', comprising *The Boke of Noblesse* and a multitude of documents relating to Normandy, advocating the conquest of France; the *Boke* survives in British Library MS Royal 18 B. xxii and the documents in Lambeth Palace Library MS 506 (see Sutton and Visser-Fuchs 1997: 291-92 for descriptions).

¹³³ Importantly there are also only two surviving rolls concerning the county farm for Lincolnshire for this period: E 199/23/27 (33-34 Henry VI) and E 199/24/3 (Edward IV 4-5). Of these the first is irrelevant because Hardyng had not been granted the £20 at this time; the second, naturally, does not contain any information pertinent to Hardyng.

most serious in Lincs.’¹³⁴ It is feasible, therefore, that Hardyng encountered difficulties with his second grant, because it had been issued, like so many other annuities, out of the overstretched county revenues; this hindered Hardyng’s attempts to secure payment of his 1457 annuity and perhaps explains why the grant fails to occur on the Pipe Rolls. Unfortunately, despite the apparent success of the 1457 presentation as implied in the Patent Rolls and the original writ of privy seal detailing the £20 annuity, the absence of even a single reference to the £20 grant in the Pipe Rolls (between 1457-1468) makes it difficult to believe that Hardyng ever received a penny more than his £10 Willoughton pension each year. Collectively, the grants would have given him a sizeable annual income of thirty pounds, hardly an amount for a seventy-nine year old man to be dissatisfied with, but if, as it appears from the extant records, Hardyng did not receive his new income, the possible benefit of receiving another reward for his *Chronicle*, added to the increased political tensions in the late 1450s may indeed have provided the perfect justification for revising his *Chronicle* for Richard, third duke of York.¹³⁵

Hardyng began compiling the second version of his *Chronicle* sometime between 1457 and 1460. This version is much shorter in length (approximately 12,600 lines), and evidently enjoyed greater popularity than the longer version as it survives in twelve manuscripts, three fragments and two printed editions.¹³⁶ Whether the chronicler began revising the text immediately after presenting the first version to Henry VI is debateable. The prologue and several brief interjections in the early part of the *Chronicle* are addressed to York, so he must have begun the revision before his patron died at the Battle of Wakefield (31 December 1460).¹³⁷ By the same token, Hardyng’s reference in the prologue to York’s wife, Cecily Neville, as the elected lady of the land who is ‘tyme commyng like to haue þe souerainte’ (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 8v, l. 263) allows us to refine the composition date of the prologue even further, suggesting that the composition of the new prologue was in progress sometime between 8 November 1460, when York was officially recognised as Henry VI’s legal heir, and his death.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ See Griffiths 1998: 769 and the texts cited there. I am grateful to Dr Malcolm Mercer for his assistance in trying to find evidence of payments made to Hardyng and for his advice concerning the sheriff’s farms.

¹³⁵ York (1411-60) was the son of Richard, fifth earl of Cambridge (c. 1375-1415) and Anne Mortimer (1390-1411); third duke of York (1415-60), sixth earl of March (1425-60), lieutenant of France (1436-7, 1440-5) and lieutenant of Ireland (1447). The matter of Hardyng’s revision is addressed more fully in **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**.

¹³⁶ Arch. Selden B. 10, Ashmole 34, Douce 345, Douce 378, Harley 661, Egerton 1992, Glasgow Hunterian Museum, Hunter 400 (v. 2. 20), Takamiya 6, Princeton, Princeton University Garrett 142, Illinois 83, Harvard 1054 and Pierpont Morgan Bühler 5. The surviving fragments are Harley 293 (ff. 77r-79r), Harley 3730 (f. 1r-1v) and London College of Arms 2. M. 16 (ff. 76v-77v). Kennedy notes a fourth fragment, Harley 2258 (ff. 33v-34v), but this is actually a paraphrase of Hardyng’s account of the reign of Marius as found in Arch. Selden B. 10, ff. 35v-36v, (1989a: 2836). The two printed versions were made by Richard Grafton in January 1543 and can be found in the *Short Title Catalogue*, numbers 12766.7 and 12767 (discussed above in the **Introduction**).

¹³⁷ For direct addresses to York in the early part of the *Chronicle* see Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 24r (reign of Cloten), f. 38v-39r (reign of Carause), f. 67r (reign of Gurmonde), f. 78r-79v (reign of Cadwallader).

¹³⁸ Cecily Neville (1415-95) was the youngest daughter of Ralph Neville and Joan Beaufort (c. 1379-1440), and mother of Edward IV. York formally put forward his claim to the throne on the 16 October 1460. On the 17 October the lords of parliament conceded that he had a better claim than Henry VI and on 24 October an Act of Settlement was drawn up detailing that York should inherit the English throne upon Henry’s death. The Act was made law four days later. York was proclaimed heir apparent to the

Felicity Riddy believes that the amount of text Hardyng managed to rewrite between parliament's acceptance of York's title to the throne and his ensuing death (approximately 5,187 lines) may be deceptive, and that he must have begun reworking the text almost immediately after completing the first version (1996: 101). This suggestion presupposes, however, that the author revised his work in chronological order, managing to rewrite over a third of the *Chronicle* before York's death, which although not an unreasonable supposition, overlooks the possibility that he may have simply selected specific sections, such as the prologue and the interjection following Cadwallader's reign for immediate revision in 1460, leaving the remainder of the adaptation until later.¹³⁹

Apparently not disheartened by York's death, Hardyng continued his revision for Richard's son, Edward IV, and went on to dedicate the epilogue to him.¹⁴⁰ Several of the manuscripts also contain an extended epilogue in which Hardyng commends his 'boke' to Edward's queen, Elizabeth Woodville.¹⁴¹ Edward married Elizabeth at a secret ceremony in May 1464, but did not publicly announce his marriage to his council until 4 September 1464; Elizabeth was officially presented to the people as their new queen at Reading Abbey on Michaelmas day. Hardyng could not therefore have added the reference to the marriage before September 1464, and was still working on the second version of the text at this date. Regrettably Hardyng did not live long enough to finish the revised *Chronicle*; aside from containing a significant number of blank lines, all of the surviving manuscripts of this version end abruptly

throne on 8 November. For further details see Johnson 1988, Riddy 1996: 100-01 and Griffiths 1998: 867-70.

¹³⁹ The comparative table in **Appendix 1** provides details of the length of both versions. Felicity Riddy suggests that Hardyng may have begun revising the work in the late 1450s, and that, having given away his only copy of the text to his sovereign, he was working from little more than notes (1996: 97, 101). Nevertheless, the comparative table and charts in **Appendix 1** show that the systematic reduction of the *Chronicle* during Hardyng's composition of the second version, corresponds, roughly, to the same form as the first version, with the number of stanzas curtailed or occasionally increased. Likewise, Hardyng's personal interjections in the second version are consistent on almost every occasion with the positioning of his addresses to Henry VI in the first version (see **The Relationships of the Manuscripts**). This, together with the continuous verbatim repetition of lines and stanzas from the first version, implies that Hardyng had a complete, or near complete copy of his initial text to hand when writing the second version, and that it would have been possible for him to revise his interpolations first, before reducing the rest of the text. In light of the fact that Hardyng was still working on the revised version in 1464 and that the *Chronicle* overall appears to be unfinished, it would make more sense if he had begun the second recension in, or just before, 1460, rather than immediately after his presentation of Lansdowne 204 in 1457.

¹⁴⁰ An annotation accompanying the Pipe Roll entry concerning Hardyng's Willoughton annuity for the period 1465-66 records 'Capitur in manus Regis et inquiritur quis occupator anno, quarto die Marcii anno primo' ('Taken into the King's hands and enquiry into who occupies it for that year, the fourth day of March in the first year'); this refers to the investigations carried out for the 1461 Resumption Act passed in Edward IV's first parliament, and is by no means unique to Hardyng's grant for similar annotations occur against the names of other individuals as well. It reveals, however, that Hardyng managed to retain his annuity under Edward IV. Recent studies have emphasised Edward IV's dexterous use of propaganda, particularly in the initial years of his reign (see, for example, Coote 2000 and Hughes 2002), therefore, it is possible that Hardyng was encouraged to continue his revision of the *Chronicle* for the new king in return for the prolongation of his annuity.

¹⁴¹ The manuscripts with an extended epilogue are: Arch. Selden B.10, Harley 661, Illinois 83, and Takamiya 6. The most recent study of Elizabeth Woodville is by Baldwin (2002).

with an incomplete comparison of Margaret of Anjou with Isabella, the second wife of Richard II.¹⁴²

Before he died, doubtless between Michaelmas 1465 and Michaelmas 1466,¹⁴³ Hardyng claims to have presented yet another set of documents relating to Scotland to Edward IV at Leicester, most probably in May 1463. No reference is made to a petition for reward from Hardyng for the documents, and indeed it is unlikely that Hardyng (at the age of eighty-five) was very concerned with petitioning for additional income. Without question Hardyng's documents were known to members of the royal faction, and were acquired as a result of the king's anti-Scottish policy; at the time the Scots were viewed as particularly nefarious, having provided refuge for the exiled Henry VI and his family, and several disaffected magnates who had fled in support of the Lancastrian cause.¹⁴⁴ It has been suggested that a copy of the second version was presented to Edward IV along with the documents (Kingsford 1912b: 466); however, none of the extant manuscripts of the second version offer any proof of the *Chronicle* in any finished form, and it is unlikely that Hardyng presented an incomplete work to the king.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴²A. S. G. Edwards notes that the blank lines generally occur where there is a 'b' rhyme in the rhyme royal stanza form. The absent lines do not impede the meaning of the text, and are only essential to the stanza form itself; because of this, Edwards believes that the enormous task of finding three rhyming words for the 'b' rhyme in each stanza meant that Hardyng left many of the awkward rhymes, intending to complete them later, but 'was unable to complete his work in these localized respects before his death' (1987: 83). This theory accounts for the essential differences between the manuscripts of the second version, and implies that the *Chronicle*, in its revised arrangement, was never completed in a definite form.

¹⁴³ See footnote 114 above. The *Chronicle* contains no datable references after September 1464; however, Harley 661 does have a datable variant in one of its lines, that may have been altered by the scribe to reflect current circumstances (see the variant to line 3265 of this edition, Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 178v). The variant states that Henry VI is currently in King Edward's 'honde', and is therefore datable between 13 July 1465, when Henry was captured, and 21 May 1471, when he died. It is unlikely that this variant is authorial given the date of the manuscript (c. 1470) and the uniqueness of the variant in comparison with the other extant manuscripts.

¹⁴⁴ For Hardyng's reference to the presentation at Leicester see Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 139v, *gloss after* l. 560. Details of Edward IV's relationship with Scotland in the early 1460s may be found in Nicholson 1974: 401-406 and Ross 1997: 45-63

¹⁴⁵ Of the surviving manuscripts only two are of presentation quality, Arch. Selden B. 10 and Harley 661, and it was previously assumed by Kingsford (1912: 466) that the Selden manuscript was given to Edward IV in 1463; Gransden (1982a: 277), Sutton and Visser-Fuchs (1997: 170), and Hughes (2002: 129, 172) repeat this error. This, however, cannot be the case, as both Selden and Harley contain the extended epilogue addressing Elizabeth Woodville as queen, and were thus produced after 1464, and Selden bears the arms of Sir Henry Percy, fifth earl of Northumberland, who certainly owned it in the early sixteenth century when he arranged for additional material to be added after the *Chronicle*; it may be that the arms of the earl, which occur on f. 198v, were added at this time. In all probability the manuscript was originally commissioned by Henry Percy, fourth earl of Northumberland, to demonstrate his loyalty to the Yorkist dynasty. In her own analysis of the incomplete state of the text, Felicity Riddy aptly concluded 'Who would present an unfinished poem, after all? And if it had been presented in 1463, why go on to prepare an additional dedication that includes the queen in 1464?' (Riddy 1996: 99). Additionally a comparison of the text of the second versions manuscripts with Lansdowne 204 shows that blank lines appear to have been completed by Hardyng before presentation to Henry VI, unlike Arch. Selden B. 10 and Harley 661. Alfred Hiatt has likewise suggested that the text occupying the space reserved for the highlands on the maps belonging to the second version may also indicate that the second version was incomplete; I am extremely grateful to Dr Hiatt for allowing me to view an advance copy of his forthcoming article entitled 'Beyond a Border: The Maps of Scotland in John Hardyng's *Chronicle*' (due to be published as part of the proceedings of the Eighteenth Harlaxton Symposium on the Lancastrian Court, 23-27 July 2001).

Hardyng's adaptation of the *Chronicle*, as already mentioned, has not impressed those critics who believe that his main motivation was financial. The changing of patrons and the revision of works for dynastically opposed sides was, nevertheless, common in the medieval period, particularly in the fifteenth century, and Hardyng merely ranks alongside more celebrated contemporaries such as John Gower, William Worcester, John Fortescue, John Rous, and John Capgrave in terms of authors who altered their texts to take into account prevailing political circumstances.¹⁴⁶ The issue of dynastic loyalty in fifteenth-century England is a topic beyond the scope of this thesis; however, Hardyng's motivation for writing, and then rewriting, his *Chronicle*, the distinct differences between the two versions, and the cultural and political contexts surrounding the creation of the work, are matters of distinct importance to our understanding of the text and are concerns that I intend to address below.

¹⁴⁶ Originally compiled for Richard II, Gower (1330-1408) revised his *Vox Clamantis* for Henry Bolingbroke, apparently after becoming disillusioned with Richard's policies. Capgrave (1393-1464) dedicated his *De Illustribus Henricis* to Henry VI and his *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles* to Edward IV. Worcester (b. 1415) originally compiled his *Boke of Noblesse* for Henry VI then revised it for Edward IV; it was later rededicated to Richard III (see Sutton and Visser-Fuchs 1997: 84-89). Fortescue (c. 1385-c. 1479) wrote on the issue of succession for both the Lancastrian and Yorkist dynasties (see Plummer 1926; Chrimes 1942; Gill 1968 and 1971; and Litzen 1971). John Rous (c. 1411-91) compiled a genealogical history of the earls and town of Warwick known to modern scholars as the *Rous Roll* for Richard III, and then later revised it for Henry VII (see Wright 1955-56, Ross 1980, Sutton and Visser-Fuchs 1997). Further details of all of the aforementioned authors may be found in Gransden 1982a: *passim*.

Figure 1**Warkworth Castle, Northumberland**

Figure 2**The Remains of Kyme Castle and the Modern Site of the Priory, Lincolnshire.**

The Manuscripts of John Hardyng's *Chronicle*

The First Version of John Hardyng's *Chronicle*

The first version of John Hardyng's *Chronicle* survives in a single manuscript only.

*British Library MS Lansdowne 204 (L)*¹⁴⁷

Description

British Library MS Lansdowne 204 is a late fifteenth-century manuscript consisting of 230 parchment folios (ii + 230 + ii) measuring 430 mm by 300 mm; the text of the *Chronicle* is written in single columns (with a height of approximately 320 mm) comprising six stanzas, of seven lines each, per folio. Foliation occurs, in ink, written by an early hand in the top right-hand corner, but this has been corrected by a modern hand (in pencil) from f. 26 onwards, as the earlier foliation includes two folios marked '25'. It is the modern foliation that is followed here when referring to the manuscript.

Each folio has frame ruling in red/brown, and on many folios the prick marks may still be seen. Collation: flyleaf; 1¹⁴⁺¹ (ff. 1-15, f. 3 is an insert), 2⁸ (ff. 16-23), 3⁸ (ff. 24-31), 4⁸ (ff. 32-39), 5⁸ (ff. 40-47), 6⁸ (ff. 48-55), 7⁸ (ff. 56-63), 8⁸ (ff. 64-71), 9⁸ (ff. 72-79), 10⁸ (ff. 80-87), 11⁸ (ff. 88-95), 12⁸ (ff. 96-103), 13⁸ (ff. 104-111), 14⁸ (ff. 112-119), 15⁸ (ff. 120-127), 16⁸ (ff. 128-135), 17⁸ (ff. 136-143), 18⁸ (ff. 144-151), 19⁸ (ff. 152-159), 20⁸ (ff. 160-167), 21⁸ (ff. 168-175), 22⁸ (ff. 176-183), 23⁸ (ff. 184-191), 24⁸ (ff. 192-199), 25⁸ (ff. 200-207), 26⁸ (ff. 208-215), 27⁸ (ff. 216-223), 28⁴⁺²⁺¹ (ff. 224-27, 228-229, 230).

In addition to each quire being numbered (i-xxviii), quire signatures are also present in the first half of each quire, except in quire 1 (*a-i, k-t, w-z*). The final four quires have unusual quire signatures, comprising abbreviations found at the end of written examples of the medieval alphabet. The first of the final four quires has the abbreviation for the Latin word *et*; the second quire has the abbreviation for *con*; the third quire has a yogh; and the fourth quire bears the word *est*. The form of the alphabet established by the late medieval period, as discussed by Orme (1973: 61), normally ended with the abbreviations for *et, con*, three dots or tittles, and the words *est amen*. The additional quire signatures used by the scribe of the Lansdowne manuscript correspond to this form, with the exception of the third symbol, the yogh, which may represent another abbreviation occurring in alternative versions of the alphabet.¹⁴⁸ Regular catchwords occur at the end of each quire and are enclosed within a drawing of a scroll. The manuscript is bound in eighteenth-century brown calf, decorated with a frame of thin gilt-roll; it has been restored, with the eighteenth-century covers and spine glued onto new leather.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ British Library 1819: II, 73. Where relevant, any published descriptions of the manuscripts of the second version have also been given in the footnotes. I am particularly grateful to the staff of the British Library for their kind assistance during my visits to view Lansdowne 204 and the other manuscripts deposited there, which are studied in this thesis.

¹⁴⁸ For forms and examples of medieval alphabets in manuscripts see Wolpe 1965: 69-74; Orme 1973: 61; Orme 1999: 226.

¹⁴⁹ I am indebted to Dr Laura Nuvoloni, Curator of Manuscripts at the British Library, for the descriptions of the bindings of Lansdowne 204, Egerton 1992 and Harley 661.

There appear to be two major hands present in the manuscript; the first is a professional hand, which writes the main text and sections of the additional prose passages at the end of the *Chronicle* (ff. 5r-225v, 229r-230v) in a common law anglicana script. It is possible that the copyist was a legal scrivener.¹⁵⁰ This hand frequently decorates the ascenders and descenders of the letters in the first line of text on each folio; many of these decorations are so elaborate that the scribe has added smaller, intelligible versions of the letter within the decoration, in red, for the benefit of the reader. This technique is similar to that found in Arch. Selden B. 10 and Douce 345, and may represent a particular shop or school practice. The hand of the main scribe is by no means consistent, and even within the first quire distinctive differences in the style of writing and letter forms may be seen; at first the hand is very compact and formal, but as the work progresses it becomes much looser and cursive. Because of this, it is often difficult to determine whether there are in fact two main scribal hands present; however, my own analysis of the hand has led me to conclude that, aside from the occasional stanza or line completed by a second hand (discussed below), there is in fact only one hand responsible for the main body of the text.¹⁵¹

The second hand, a bastard anglicana, occurs on ff. 2v-4v, 226r-229r, and 230v and is responsible for the four stanza dedication, the succeeding 19 stanza prologue to Henry VI and his family, the incomplete contents page, the running chapter headings and names of kings that occur at the top of each folio, parts of the Itinerary and Latin prose, the final three stanzas, and a considerable amount, if not all, of the marginal glosses, all of which (like the contents page) are written in red ink. Unlike the main text, the dedication and prologue have rhyme bands. **Figure 3** shows the difference between the main scribal hand (hand one) and hand two, which in this figure writes the right-hand marginal gloss. Whilst another hand *may* be responsible for some of the marginal glosses (either the main scribe or a third hand), it is very difficult to determine between the two glossing hands; however, the features of both hands, which at best are inconsistent in their use of specific letter forms, are common enough to belong to the same hand. Part of the difficulty in distinguishing whether two hands are present arises from the fact that many of the additions or corrections to the initial glosses are made in a slightly larger script and with a thicker nib. The same hand writing at different times, and with a different instrument, would nevertheless account for such differences, in much the same manner as a need to finish the work in

¹⁵⁰ I would like to thank Dr Ian Doyle for his comments about the Lansdowne scribe, particularly for this suggestion in private correspondence dated 29 July 2002. Malcolm Parkes suggests that the appearance of the anglicana script 'in many of the manuscripts containing romances and other vernacular texts', from the end of the fourteenth century onwards, is probably connected to 'an increased demand from all classes of patrons for cheap books' (Parkes 1979: xvi); whilst this may have implications for the production of Lansdowne 204, the overall size of the manuscript and presence of several folio size illuminations make it unlikely that Lansdowne 204 was an inexpensive production, even if the costs for the scribal contribution were low. Similar hands may be found in the following manuscripts, which also, interestingly, contain vernacular literature, particularly Chaucer's works: British Library Additional MS 12, 044, ff. 1-64 (Chaucer's *Troilus*); Bodleian Library Digby 181, ff. 1-53 (Miscellaneous works, mainly by Hoccleve, Lydgate and Chaucer, written by John Brode); John Rylands Library MS Eng. 113, ff. 6-194 (Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*, written by John Brode); and Oxford, Christ Church MS 152, ff. 2-276v (Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*). It should however, be remembered that Augustinian friaries often employed lay scribes, and if Lansdowne 204 was produced under the auspices of the canons at Kyme, they too, like the friars, may have arranged for a lay scribe to copy the text, either at their own house, or more likely at a larger foundation. For lay scribes at Augustinian friaries see Humphreys 1977: 219 and 1991: xx.

¹⁵¹ I am grateful to Dr Lesley Coote for her kind assistance in reviewing this hand.

a hurry might also affect the size and style of the hand. Although John Withrington believes that two glossing hands are present, he has pointed out several important features that support the assumption that the second hand referred to here was adding material after the manuscript had been bound. First, in some cases the hand ‘becomes increasingly cramped when approaching the gutter’; secondly, ‘numerous smudges throughout the book (the result of wet ink predominantly from chapter headings and paragraph marks, although occasional examples caused by glosses [...]), would seem to indicate that at least some of these scribal contributions were executed when the MS was already in a bound state.’¹⁵²

Throughout the manuscript hand two also adds occasional stanzas, words or lines amidst the text of the main scribe, apparently after the main scribe had completed his work (see, for example, f. 225v stanzas three and six); they occur in darker ink than that used by the main hand (see, for example, ff. 199v, stanza 2, 201v, stanza 5, 205v, stanza 2, 207r, stanzas 3 and 4, 211r, stanza 2, 214v, stanza 5, and 215r, stanza 3). Likewise, some of the stanzas contain lines that have been noticeably erased and altered. Additionally, a significant number of the marginal glosses have been erased, or corrected, and many have had additional lines added to the end (see, for example, ff. 90v, 122v and 130r).

These are just some of the details in the manuscript that suggest that the manuscript was produced whilst Hardyng was still completing the final stages of his text, and that the second hand was responsible for adding the finishing touches. The blank lines in the manuscripts of the second version reveal a similar process of composition, during which Hardyng left the lines that required the most difficult rhymes blank for later completion (see Edwards 1987: 83 and below); it seems unlikely therefore that the composition of the first version was any different. Interestingly, corrections made by the main scribe in the first half of the manuscript have been carefully erased by scraping the parchment with a sharp instrument, and then re-written over, whilst the corrections made in the latter half of the manuscript are not erased, merely altered through marginal or interlinear insertions, cancellation, or expunction. In addition to this, the first and final folios are extremely dirty, suggesting that the manuscript was left unbound for some time before these folios were protected, although it is equally possible that this could have occurred at a later date in the manuscript’s history.

It has been suggested, tentatively, that the second hand belongs to Hardyng. Felicity Riddy’s assessment of the glosses led her to conclude that ‘whoever was responsible for the last-minute glossing was an obsessive tinkerer who knew the kinds of material that Hardyng had been reading or should have read, and who was forgetful, careless or a manufacturer of evidence. Hardyng seems to have been all three’ (1991: 318). My own comparative analysis of this hand with the hand responsible for two of the forged Scottish documents allegedly retrieved by Hardyng in Scotland, similarly highlights the probability that hand two is Hardyng’s autograph; the dedication and prologue, marginal glosses, and folio headings share distinct similarities in style and letter forms, with the hand responsible for PRO E 39/2/9 and E 39/2/10 suggesting that both could have been written by the same hand: Hardyng’s

¹⁵² Withrington 1987: 121-22. Withrington believes that ‘a predilection for the thorn, its letter form being thicker and flatter than that of its companion, and its use of a deeper shade of red ink’ distinguishes the second glossing hand from the first (1987: 120). My own examination, however, agrees with Felicity Riddy’s assertion that in all probability only one hand is responsible (Riddy 1991: 318).

hand.¹⁵³ In addition to this the untidy nature of the dedication, prologue and contents page, in comparison with the main text, suggests that they were late additions, presumably inserted in 1457 when the *Chronicle* was ready for presentation to Henry VI.¹⁵⁴ It is unlikely that the main scribe of Lansdowne 204 was available when the final stages of the manuscript were completed; the collation suggests that three folios had been left blank at the beginning of the first quire for the prologue and contents page, and that f. 3 is an insert added to the quire later, perhaps because more space was needed for the prologue. The final stanza of the prologue, which is now only visible under ultraviolet light, was squeezed into the bottom margin of f.4r, suggesting that space was limited when the prologue was added. The incomplete contents page on f. 4v similarly highlights the lack of space available to the scribe, probably Hardyng himself, when he attempted to provide a contents page for the manuscript. Moreover, the infrequent and incomplete state of the champ initials towards the end of the manuscript (see below p. 51), and the inferior appearance of the final folios, imply that the final stages of production were hurried, or that financing for the finishing touches was lacking (see, for example, ff. 113r, 220r, 223v, 225, 226r). Given this, it is likely that the manuscript was produced and illuminated to Hardyng's specifications before being returned to him to complete the remaining blank lines and add his own dedication and prologue; at this point something happened to spur Hardyng on to present the work hastily to the king, before the unfinished champs could be finished, corrections could be made carefully by erasure, or further leaves be added for the contents page. If Hardyng had a pre-arranged appointment to deliver his Scottish documents to the king and wished to present his *Chronicle* at the same time, as discussed in **John Hardyng's Life**, attempting to meet such a deadline would provide the best explanation for this carelessness. One final point is worth noting; the hands responsible for Wellcome Medical Library MS 8004 (discussed below) are very similar, if not the same, as those occurring in Lansdowne 204. Whether this is due to them belonging to the same scribe, or two scribes trained to write in a similar style, is not clear. Whilst this manuscript highlights the problematical nature of attempting to ascribe a hand to a particular person, until a more comprehensive study of the hands can be made the possibility that it *could* belong to Hardyng should be considered.

In addition to the main hands mentioned above, there are numerous contemporary and post-medieval jottings present in the manuscript. The first flyleaf bears the following markings: 'No. 200 (cancelled) 204', '\$1510B', '2511c' (cancelled), '74i' (cancelled), and 'LXXIV.I'; the first of these, occurring at the top of the folio, relates to the manuscript's current library classification mark. On f. 2r the hand of Sir Robert Cotton (1571-1631), a previous owner, writes 'A Chronichel of Britane gathered out of diuers auters the auter vnknown'. Below this his librarian, Richard James, writes a brief list of contents naming Hardyng as the author; Colin Tite has noted that it is logical to assume that James added this after Cotton's note because he names the 'auter vnknown' as Hardyng (Tite 1997: 281). Several distinct hands have added intermittent marginal notes beside the text, usually consisting of a single word or phrase concerning a famous king, event, battle, or source occurring in

¹⁵³ For a discussion of the probability that marginal additions 'often characterize autograph manuscripts of chronicles' see Lucas 1995: 231. An edition and figure of PRO E 39/2/9 is provided in **Appendix 2**. I am grateful to Dr Veronica O'Mara, Dr Lesley Coote, and Dr Malcolm Mercer for assisting with my provisional analysis of these hands.

¹⁵⁴ For a similar case see Lucas (1995: 240), who discusses the addition of Capgrave's dedication to Edward IV in the *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*, which was inserted at the beginning when the rest of the text had been written.

the text. The first hand has been identified as belonging to the famous antiquarian John Stow (c. 1525-1605; Tite 1997: 303). Stow frequently makes notes of a religious nature, particularly on the occurrence of 'Gildas', the Holy Grail, miracles, and relics (see, for example, ff. 9v, 28v, 39r, 41r, 41v, 49r, 66v, 67r, 78r, 120r, 120v). Stow's annotations are particularly interesting as they demonstrate the nature of his interests and emphasise the differences between the two versions of the *Chronicle*, which undoubtedly led to his criticism of Grafton's edition.¹⁵⁵ The second hand is a large secretary hand belonging to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century (ff. 7r, 8, 88v, 89r, 166v, 170r). The third hand is a late fifteenth-century bastard secretary, smaller and narrower than the previous hand (see, for example, ff. 120r, 121r, 128v, 161v, 180r, 192v). On f. 134r a seventeenth or eighteenth-century hand makes a note on the foundation of Battle Abbey, and appears again on f. 194v with the word 'Italia'. On f. 171r an owner has drawn a pointing hand next to one of the stanzas and made a marginal note about the king's right to Wales and Scotland. On ff. 203r and 223r a hand, possibly belonging to the sixteenth century, copies phrases from the text in an attempt to mimic the scribe. Several names, written by post-medieval hands, also occur; 'John Clapsshan born the fourth day of [Januarie?] 1555', and 'London' are mentioned on f. 2r; the name William Bowyer 1566 ('Sum Guiliel Bowyer 1566') occurs on ff. 3r, 5r, written by William Bowyer, Keeper of the Records in the Tower; and 'Edward Colwell' on f. 166v. The first of the final flyleaves has the words '230 folios W. Lo Fran (?). G. C. T' written in pencil; this was no doubt added when the manuscript was obtained by the British Library.

The manuscript contains a fair amount of illumination and, given the overall quality, it has been surmised that this was a presentation copy of the *Chronicle* intended for Henry VI. On f. 5r there is a fine champ initial of five lines in height, gold, with a pink, burgundy and white foliated leaf at the centre, on a blue and white ground (see **Figure 5**). The initial has extended feathered sprays which fill the top and left-hand margins to form a partial border around the text; the sprays consist of green ball motifs, daisies with gold centres, squiggles, and twisted acanthus leaves, outlined in black, and coloured either blue and white, red and white, or burgundy, red and white, with a line of white dots on the inside of the stems. Elsewhere champ initials of three lines in height are used to mark the beginning of each new chapter and the change of a sovereign throughout the *Chronicle*; the initials consist of a gold letter on a burgundy and blue quartered ground with white filigree work, and are decorated with small feathered sprays and daisies, with gold ball motifs, circular lobes tinted green and squiggles. The champ initials become smaller and less frequent as the text progresses, but this is due to the fact that the initials mark the beginning of a new king's reign, and the narrative for each king becomes longer as the text approaches Hardyng's own time. Several folios are of particular interest, as they either have spaces left for champ initials, which have instead been filled with plain enlarged ink letters (ff. 225v, 226r and 227v), or they have unfinished champ initials where only the burgundy quarters have been coloured (ff. 227v and 230r). In addition to this, those folios containing the main text (ff. 5r-225v) without a champ initial at the beginning have a decorated first line; each folio begins with a calligraphic initial in filled with smaller red letters, and the ascenders of letters on the top line of the folio are extended into the top margin and decorated (see **Figure 4** for examples).

The emblazoned arms of the earls of Macclesfield occur on f. 1v, quarterly of six: i argent, on a saltire gules an imperial crown or; ii or, a mullet sable, on a broad

¹⁵⁵ For Stow's criticism of Grafton see **Introduction**.

fesse-wise a bordure composée argent and azure, quarterly France modern (azure, three fleur de lys or) and England (gules, three lions passant guardant or); iii per pale azure and gules, three lions rampant or; iv per fesse gules and argent, a canton argent; v argent, on a bend azure, three garbs or, a canton gules; vi argent, two chevrons gules, a canton gules; supporters, sinister and dexter a lion rampant crowned. Smaller, contemporary, coloured arms occasionally occur in the margins; on f. 46v the arms of Constantine (given here as gules, a cross argent) should have been coloured argent, a cross gules; on f. 67v the arms of King Arthur occur (gules, three crowns or; see **Figure 4**); on f. 129v the arms of Edward the confessor occur (azure, a cross or, four martlets or); and on f. 220r the arms of Sir Robert Umfraville decorate the left-hand margin (gules, a cinquefoil, an orle of crosslets or). On f. 217v the arms of Margaret of Anjou have been erased; however, the outline of the arms (quarterly of six: i barry of eight argent and gules; ii azure, semy fleurs-de-lis or, a label of three points gules; iii argent a cross potent between four crosses crosslet potent or; iv azure, semy fleurs-de-lis or, a bordure gules; v azure, semy of crosses crosslet fitchy, two barbels haurient addorsed or; vi or, on a bend gules, three alerions displayed argent) may still be seen and quarters i, iv, v, and vi still have traces of the original designs and colours (red and blue); the arms are entitled 'The Quene'. A second coat of arms (most probably belonging to Henry VI) may also have existed on f. 217v in the small section that has been cut away from the margin.

On f. 196r, a spectacular full-page illuminated pedigree of Edward III occurs detailing his entitlement to the French throne (see **Figure 5**). The pedigree comprises eleven seated figures, each having a gold crown and sceptre (except 'Charles of Valoys, erle' who has only a crown). The figures have simple faces, with eyes, noses and lips highlighted in black, and other features, such as cheeks, rendered in white and pink. Three of the figures (labelled 'Philippe', 'Isabel' and 'Iohn') have yellow curly hair; the rest have brown curly hair. All figures are clothed in either red and blue or gold and blue, with white and black ermine trim on their robes. The figures in gold and blue highlight the pure line of descent from 'Saynt Lowys' through to his great-granddaughter 'Isabel', mother of Edward III; the remaining figures are depicted in red and blue to demonstrate that Isabella's brothers produced no legitimate issue, and to portray the collateral line of the House of Valois, depicted down the right-hand side, as a usurping dynasty. Additional emphasis is given to the importance of Isabella, as she is the only figure to gaze directly forward; all the other figures look towards her, with the exception of Edward III who gestures towards the usurper King John of France. Each figure is seated on a throne coloured in either red, yellow and brown, or purple; some of the seats have blue and gold ornamentation. The backgrounds behind the figures alternate between red and black, but all are filled with long gold filigree sprays or gold cross-hatching. Twisted foliate columns of leaves, in blue and white or two-tone green, decorate the golden bar frames around the figures in the top half of the folio, and clusters of feathered sprays consisting of daisies made from gold balls, circular green lobes and twisted coloured acanthus leaves (red, blue, pink, and green) adorn the spaces without figures (see **Figures 5 and 13**).

On ff. 226v-227r a unique and intriguing coloured map of Scotland (referred to by Hardyng in the *Chronicle* as a 'figure' or 'depycture' (ff. 3v, 223v) details the main fortifications and towns of Scotland with a variety of curious drawings of castles, walled towns, gatehouses, churches and bridges. The map is illuminated in blue, pink, yellow, green, red, purple, white and gold (see **Figure 6**). Forests and rivers are also represented on the map, and a blue and white sea surrounds the land

giving Scotland an island-like appearance. Many of the castles and churches do in fact bear an odd, but similar, resemblance to the real buildings (particularly at Glasgow, Tantallon, and Dunfermline); geographically, the figure is compellingly accurate.¹⁵⁶

A comparison of the illumination in the pedigree and map with other manuscripts containing similar decoration has led Kathleen Scott to conclude that Lansdowne 204 originated from the Lincolnshire area, most probably at Willoughton, near Somerby (the same place from which Hardyng received an annual grant of £10 from Henry VI; see **John Hardyng's Life**). The design of the border sprays, containing gold-ball daisy motifs, and the figures and buildings in the pedigree and map correspond specifically with illumination in other manuscripts known to have been produced in fifteenth-century eastern England.¹⁵⁷ Manuscripts attributable to the same group of artists responsible for the decoration of Lansdowne 204 include New York Public Library MS Spencer 19, British Library MS Egerton 615 (both copies of Guillaume Deguileville's *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, produced between 1413 and 1450), Bodleian Library Laud Misc. 740 (a copy of Deguileville's *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man* produced in the mid fifteenth-century), and Wellcome Medical Library MS 8004 (a medical and astrological compendium produced c. 1454).¹⁵⁸ All four manuscripts contain border decorations and miniatures with an uncanny likeness to the Lansdowne illumination (see **Figures 7-12**). The daisy flowers, green sprays, twisted acanthus leaves, foliate columns and gold filigree backgrounds, form a significant part of the decoration in this group, whilst the buildings depicting the city of Jerusalem and a church on ff. 7r and 86r of Spencer 19 are identical to the style and colour of buildings used to depict the Scottish towns on the Lansdowne map, particularly those representing Dunfermline abbey, Glasgow Cathedral, and Skone (see **Figure 13**). Most striking of all perhaps is the way in which the figures in all five manuscripts are drawn: 'Facial features are emphatically indicated in black, with white dots near the eyes; hair is usually in yellow and always wavy. Their small size and innocent expressions give figures a child like appearance. The [...] style is a late manifestation of the International mode, possibly influenced by the 'sweetness' of Germanic

¹⁵⁶ For scholarship on Hardyng's maps see Harvey 1991: 71, 73; Delano-Smith and Kain 1999: 23; Hiatt 1999b: 157-60, 165-66, and his forthcoming article 'Beyond a Border: The Maps of Scotland in John Hardyng's *Chronicle*'.

¹⁵⁷ For a discussion of motifs particular to this region, and the production of manuscripts outside of the capital at this time see Scott 1968: *passim*; 1996: I, 33-34; 2002: 62.

¹⁵⁸ Scott 1996: II, 218. Four other manuscripts can be linked with confidence to the artists responsible for the Lansdowne/Spencer group. The copy of Lydgate's *Lives of Saints Edmund and Fremund* in Arundel Castle (after 1461, probably produced in Suffolk) contains a pasted-down border on f. 56 (c. 1450) by the same artists responsible for Lansdowne 204 and Egerton 615 (Scott 1982: 347 and 1996: II, 218). Harley 2885 (Breviary, York use) similarly contains a border decorated by same artist responsible for the borders in Egerton 615 (Scott 1996: II, 218); and a 'copy of the *Myrror for Devote People*, owned by John, Lord Scrope of Upsall and Masham' (d. 1455) and his wife Elizabeth Chaworth, contains decoration by the Egerton-Lansdowne artists. The Scropes of Masham had strong Lincolnshire connections, and coincidentally, Lord Scrope's granddaughter, Dame Agnes Radcliffe, later owned Spencer 19 (McGerr 1990: lxxxiii-iv). The manuscript was sold at Sotheby's 3 June 1946, lot 112, where it was purchased by William Foyle; Foyle's collection was later sold at Christies 11-13 July 2000, where the manuscript was purchased on 11 July 2000 (lot 7) by the University of Notre Dame. The existence of Wellcome Medical Library 8004 was communicated to me by Dr Scott in private correspondence, dated 8 September 2003, in which she noted that the manuscript contains 'borders and a miniature by the artist of Spencer 19.'

illustration.¹⁵⁹ Even the throne on which the figure of Lady Doctrine sits on f. 87v of Spencer 19 is identical to the style of thrones depicted in the Lansdowne pedigree (see detail in **Figure 13**).

Scott's belief that Egerton 615 and Lansdowne 204 'probably represent later production from the same shop, or at least from the same geographical area' that produced Spencer 19, and possibly Laud Misc. 740, is not only supported by the findings of *The Linguistic Atlas*, which qualifies the language of Laud Misc. 740 as north-west Lincolnshire or north-east Nottingham (see McIntosh, Samuels and Benskin 1986: I, 150), the same area from which the dialectal features of Wellcome 8004 appear to derive from, but by Christine Harker's linguistic profile of Lansdowne 204 (1996: 381-82), and an 'inscription on f. 1v of Spencer 19, which places the manuscript in the hands of Sir Thomas Cumberworth of Somerby, Lincolnshire, sometime before February 1450'. Whilst there is no conclusive evidence to support the fact that Sir Thomas was the patron of the manuscript, 'the decorative association of Spencer 19 with Lansdowne 204, whose author resided in Lincolnshire at this period near Cumberworth's residence, may increase the likelihood of a Lincolnshire origin for the entire group' (Scott 1996: II, 218-19). Laud Misc. 740 may also have belonged to Thomas Cumberworth, since his will contains references to both a 'boke of grasdaw' (i.e. 'Grace Dieu' the alternative name given to the *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*) and a 'boke of grasdew of the sowde' (i.e. 'Grace Dieu of the Soul'; see Clark 1914: 48 and McGerr 1990: xxiv). A Lincolnshire connection is similarly sustained by the presence of the feast of St Hugh of Lincoln in the calendar extant in Wellcome 8004.

The composition date of Egerton 615 is slightly later than Spencer 19, and Laud Misc. 740, and the figures in Wellcome 8004 and Lansdowne are closer to those in this manuscript, rather than the exceptionally detailed work of those in Spencer 19. Nevertheless, the daisy decorations and border work in Egerton 615 are noticeably different in style from those in Wellcome 8004 and Lansdowne 204, which are similar to Spencer 19 and Laud Misc. 740. Consequently, the Lansdowne pedigree was 'almost certainly made' by the Egerton illustrator 'working in a similar charming style' to the Spencer illustrator, whilst the sprays and daisies, which accompany the champ initials remain 'closer in design to Spencer 19' (Scott 1996: II, 218). The same can probably be said for Wellcome 8004.¹⁶⁰

Given the aforementioned group of texts, the probability of a notable workshop in the Lincolnshire or East Anglia region, which produced prestigious manuscripts for wealthy patrons and religious houses is highly likely.¹⁶¹ For further

¹⁵⁹ Scott 1996: II, 218. Compare with the figure of the 'Blood-Letting Man' on ff. 31-32 of Wellcome 8004 in **Figures 14-16** (these folio numbers are, at present, only provisional since the manuscript lacks proper foliation).

¹⁶⁰ Dr Scott is currently working on Wellcome 8004 and its relationship with the Spencer group.

¹⁶¹ There are several other manuscripts contemporary with the production of Lansdowne 204, produced in Eastern England for patrons in Norfolk or Lincolnshire, and linked by design to the Lansdowne group; these are, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Duke Humphrey b. 1 (John Capgrave's *Commentarius in Exodum*) compiled c. 1440-44, possibly at King's Lynn and presented to Humphrey, duke of Gloucester (Scott 2002: 60-63); Bodley 108 (John Bury's *Gladius Salomonis*), compiled c. 1457, probably in Suffolk and presented to Thomas Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury (Scott 2002: 84-87); Oriel College MS 32 (Capgrave's *Commentarius in Genesim*), before 1444, possibly at King's Lynn (Scott 1996: I, 66); Nottingham, University Library MS 250 (Wollaton Antiphonal) compiled c. 1430 in Norfolk or Lincoln/Nottingham (Scott 1996: II, 204-6); Hatfield House, Marquis of Salisbury, Cecil Papers 270 (Deguileville's *Pilgrimage of the Soul*), probably produced in London but linked to Spencer 19 (Scott 1996: II, 219-21); Harley 2278 (Lydgate's *Lives of Saints Edmund and Fremund*) c.

discussion of the composition circumstances of Lansdowne 204 see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**.

Contents

1. f. 1r: Blank.
2. f. 1v: The arms of the Gerard family, earls of Macclesfield.
3. f. 2r: Originally blank, now contains/notes by Robert Cotton and Richard James.
4. f. 2v: A dedication to King Henry VI beginning 'O souerayne lord, be it to 3oure plesance' and ending 'To byde for euere vnder his hool proteccioun'.
5. ff. 3r-4r: The prologue written for Henry VI beginning 'Who hath an hurte and wille it nought diskure' and ending 'Me to rewarde as pleseth 3oure excellence'.
6. f. 4v: An incomplete table of contents beginning 'Of þe sustirs of Grece how þai came to þis londe' and ending 'Of Seynt Edward confessor and Harolde'.
7. ff. 5r-221v: *Chronicle* proper beginning 'The while that Troy was regnyng in his myghte' and ending 'Whiche point he sayde shuld longe a kynge of kynde'.
8. f. 196r: A full page illuminated pedigree of Edward III's claim to France.
9. ff. 221v-222v: Hardyng's address to Henry VI urging the king to rule his realm well in the peaceful and law abiding manner of Robert Umfraville; begins 'Wharefor to yow moste souereyne prynce and lorde' and ends 'Than in foure yere to youre enbassiate'.
10. ff. 222v-223v: Hardyng's complaint to Henry VI touching the evidence of English sovereignty in Scotland obtained by Hardyng; begins 'O souereyn lorde to yow now wyll I mene' and ends 'That som tyme wolde haue plesed hym in all wyse'.
11. ff. 223v-227v: Advice from Hardyng on how the king might conquer Scotland, including details of the distances between each town and other geographic information enabling the king to conquer Scotland. The verse also touches upon the king's entitlement to sovereignty over Scotland by right of his ancestors; begins with reference to the map of Scotland drawn for the king 'And for als myche as in this depycture' and ends 'Whan thay it held in mighty dignyte'.
12. ff. 226v-227r: A double page coloured map of Scotland.
13. ff. 227v-230r: A Latin prose letter sent from Edward I to Pope Boniface VIII detailing his right to the sovereignty of Scotland; begins 'Sanctissimo in

1434, Suffolk (Scott 1996: II, 225-29); Cotton Augustus A iv (John Lydgate *Troy Book* and *Siege of Troy*) c. 1430, in the vicinity of Norfolk/Lincolnshire/Nottingham (Scott 1996: II, 205); San Marino, Huntingdon HM55 (Capgrave's *Life of St Norbert*), 1440 Norfolk (Scott 1996: II, 219); Huntingdon HM 28561 (*Polychronicon*), compiled c. 1425; New York Columbia University Plimpton 263 (Trevisa's translation of Bartholomeus Anglicanus's *On the Properties of Things*) c. 1430, in the vicinity of Norfolk/Lincolnshire/Nottingham (Scott 1996: II, 206); Bury St Edmund's, King Edward IV Grammar School, Suffolk Record Office MS E 5/9/608.7 (Psalter) last quarter of fifteenth century, Suffolk (Scott 1996: II, 147-49). For discussions of other notable manuscript productions in the East Anglia region, and the politics of book ownership in this region see Moore 1912; Lasko and Morgan 1974; Scott 1982, 1996, 2000, 2002; Alexander 1983; Parkes and Beadle 1983; Meale 1985, 1989; Beadle 1991; Harris 2000; Meale 2000.

- Christo patri domino Bonifacio*’ and ends ‘*datur apud Westminster septimo die Maii anno domini MCCCi et regni nostri vicesimo nono*’.
14. ff. 230r-230v: A Latin prose letter from many lords and barons to Pope Boniface VIII regarding English sovereignty over Scotland; begins ‘*Sanctissimo in Christo Patri, domino Bonifacio*’ and ends ‘*inquietudine pacifice possidere ac illibata percipere benignius permittatis*’.
 15. f. 230v: Three rhyme royal stanzas in English regarding the ‘intent’ of Hardyng’s *Chronicle* and regarding England’s sovereignty over Scotland; begins ‘Remembred bene now to zow youre excellence’ and ends ‘Ne chaungen hew for thayre inequyte’.

Provenance

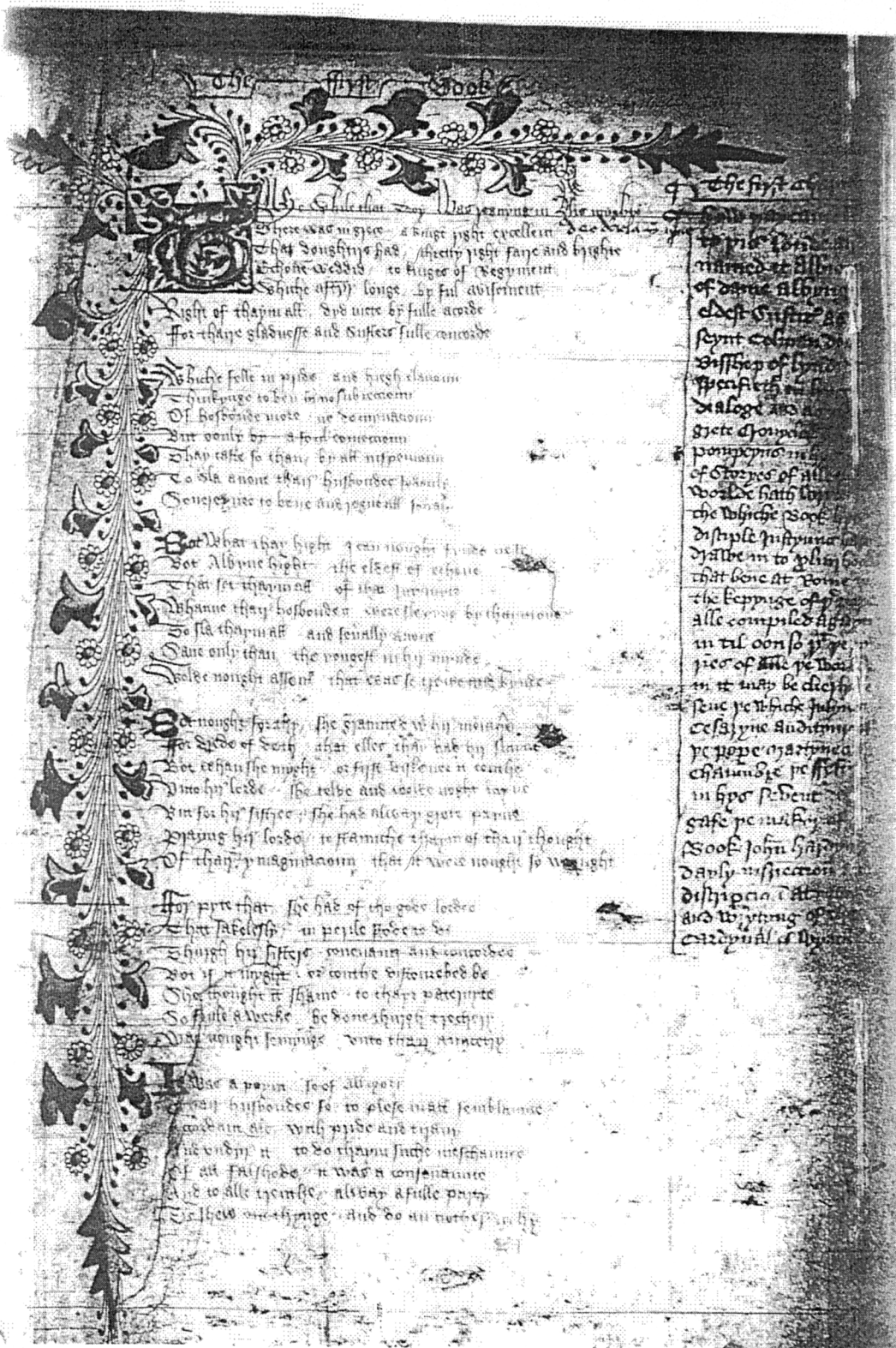
A linguistic profile of a small section (ff. 60r-87v) of the manuscript undertaken by Christine Harker in her unpublished thesis (1996: 381-82) revealed the dialect to be relatively consistent with a south Lincolnshire origin. Felicity Riddy also argues for a Lincolnshire origin of the scribes in her essay ‘John Hardyng’s *Chronicle* and the Wars of the Roses’ (1996). Both scholars hypothesise that the manuscript *may* even be Hardyng’s own autograph, or at least made under his close supervision (see Harker 1996: 9 and Riddy 1996). Given the interesting association of the illuminations with those found in other manuscripts with Lincolnshire connections, it would appear that Lansdowne 204 was not only written, but illuminated in the Lincolnshire region, possibly with Hardyng overseeing the production himself.

Aside from the few jottings mentioned above, there are no marks of medieval ownership. It is generally accepted that the manuscript was Hardyng’s presentation copy to Henry VI, but whether or not the king ever saw, read, or retained the manuscript is unclear. In the sixteenth century John Stow, the antiquarian, owned the manuscript. Later, it found its way into the collection of Sir Robert Cotton, whose hand, along with that of his librarian Richard James occurs on f. 2r.¹⁶² William Bowyer, a colleague of Cotton’s and Keeper of the Records in the Tower, may provide a link between Stow and Cotton; his signature on ff. 3r, 5r implies that he too owned Lansdowne 204 in 1566. Bowyer is believed to have worked with Cotton on various projects (see Sharpe 1979: 42 n. 155) and is noted as owning other manuscripts, many of which contain a similar Latin inscription of his name similar to that in Lansdowne 204.¹⁶³ It is likely, therefore, that the manuscript could have passed from Stow to Bowyer, and from Bowyer to Cotton. There are no surviving records of the date that the manuscript left the Cotton collection, but by the late sixteenth century it was in the possession of the Gerards, earls of Macclesfield, whose arms occur on f. 1v. The marquis of Lansdowne was the last private owner of the manuscript, and it is from his collection that it was purchased by the British Library in 1807.

¹⁶² For further information on Stow see *DNB*: XIX, 3-6; for Cotton see *DNB*: IV, 1233-39; Mirrlees 1962; and Tite 1997.

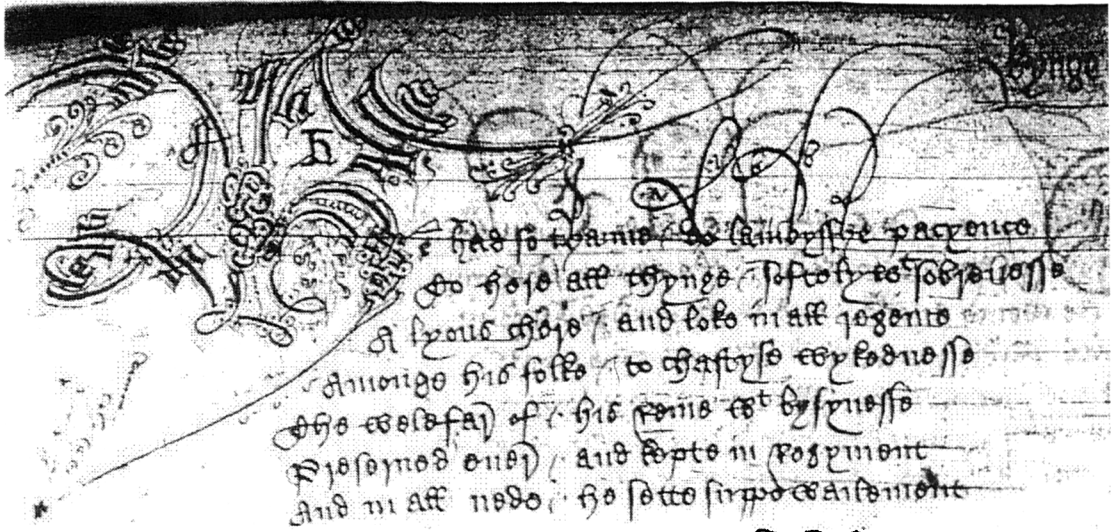
¹⁶³ See, for example, British Library Harley 3776, Harley 4565, and 11 manuscripts in the College of Arms, all of which are mentioned in Wright 1972: 79 and Campbell and Steer 1988: 196-217.

Figure 3



Lansdowne 204, f. 5r.

Figure 4



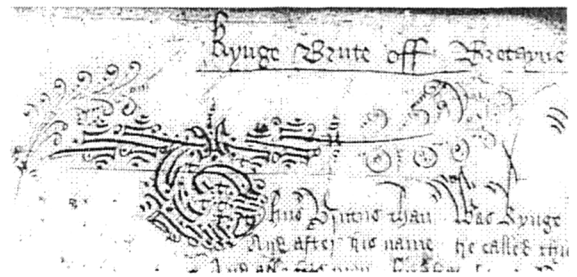
a) f. 47r detail: Initial H.



b) f. 67v detail: Arthur's Shield.



c) f. 13r detail: Initial F.



d) f. 16r detail: Initial T.

Figure 5



The Pedigree of France: Lansdowne 204, f. 196r.

Figure 6



Hardyng's Map of Scotland: Lansdowne 204, ff. 226v-27r.

Figure 7



The Narrator's Dream: Spencer 19, f. 7r.

Figure 8



The Soul's Vision of the Green Tree: Spencer 19, f. 81r.

Figure 9



The Soul's Vision of the Asses' Tombs: Spencer 19, f. 86r.

Figure 10

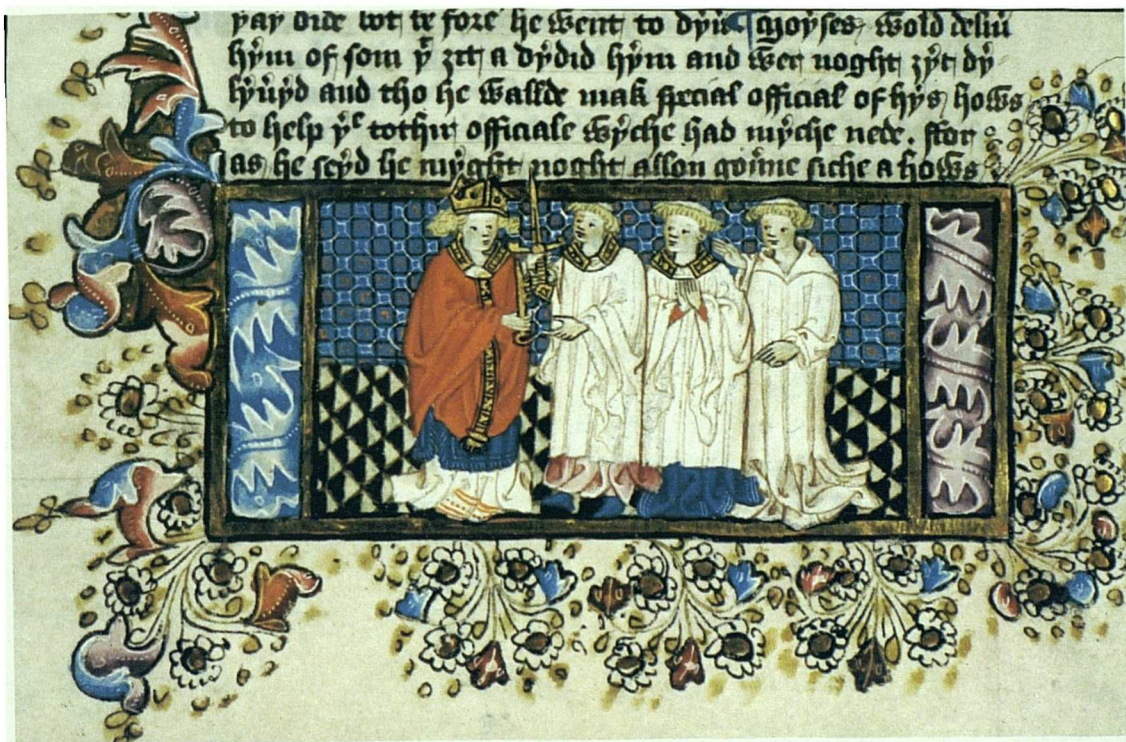


The Soul meets Lady Doctrine: Spencer 19, f. 87v.

Figure 11



a) Pilgrim meets Grace-Dieu: Laud 740, f. 3v detail.



b) Moses, as a Bishop, and Three Clerics: Laud 740, f. 10v detail.

Figure 12

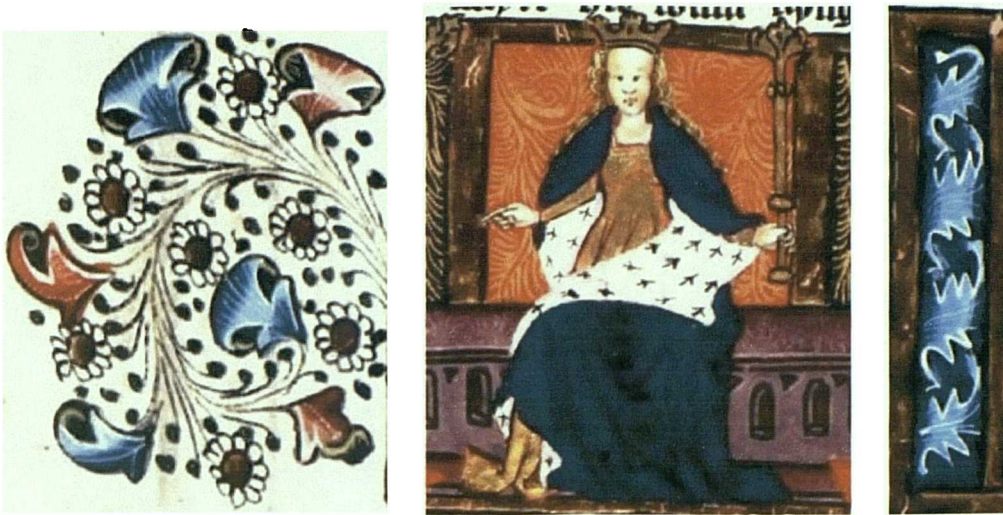


a) Pilgrim meets Gluttony: Laud 740, f. 97r detail.



b) Pilgrim sees a Purged Soul enter Heaven: Egerton 615, f. 31r detail.

Figure 13



a) Details from Lansdowne 204, f. 196r, Pedigree of France.



b) Details from Spencer 19, ff. 7r, 87v.



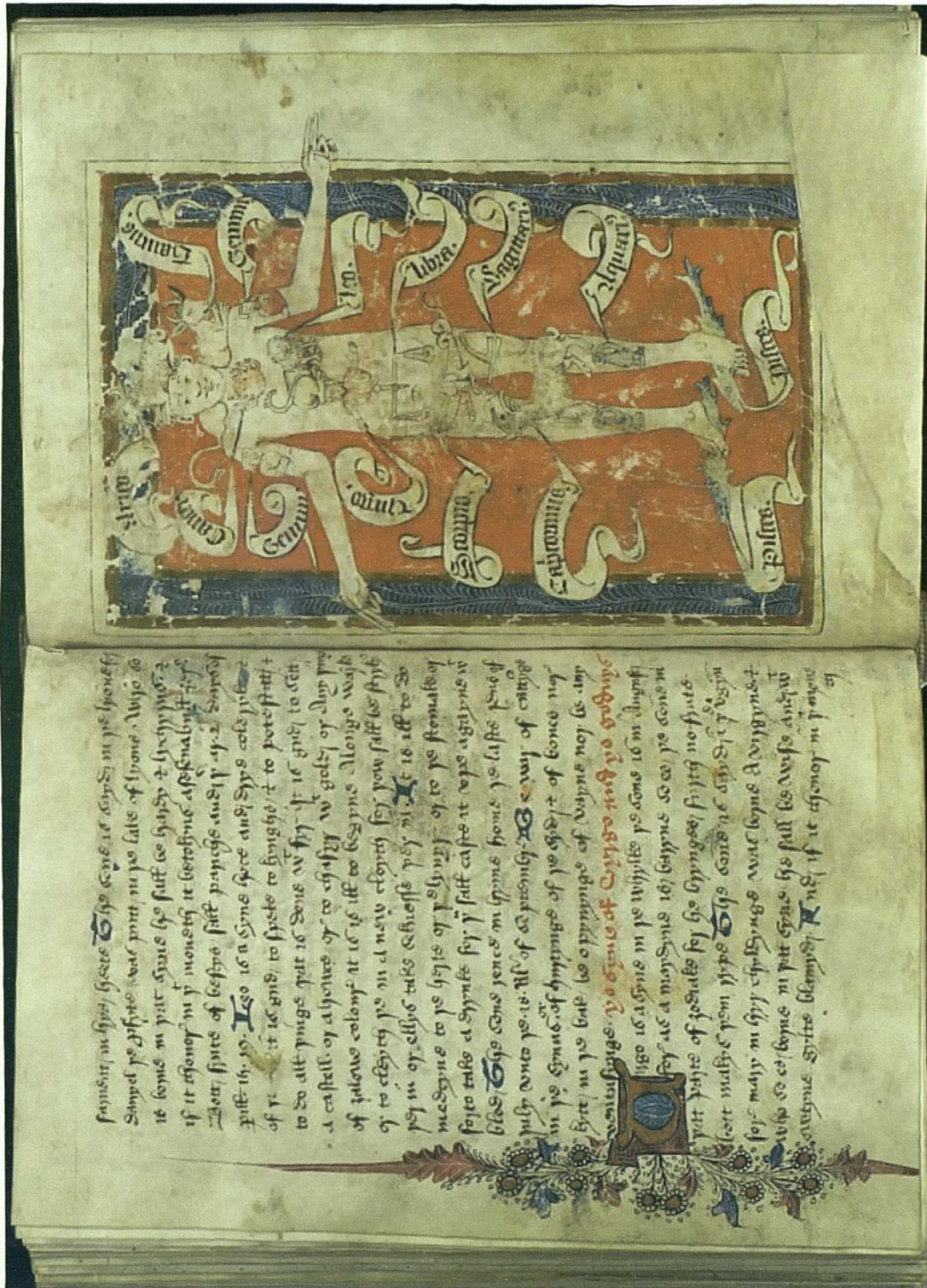
c) Details from Spencer 19, ff. 7r, 86r and Lansdowne 204, f. 226v.

Figure 14



Wellcome Medical Library MS 8004: Blood-Letting Man

Figure 15



Wellcome Medical Library MS 8004: Zodiac Man and Champ Initial

Figure 16



Wellcome Medical Library MS 8004: Zodiac Chart and Champ Initial

The Manuscripts of the Second Version of John Hardyng's *Chronicle*

The second version of John Hardyng's *Chronicle* may be found, to date, in twelve manuscripts and three fragments.¹⁶⁴ All of the manuscripts described below containing a complete, or near complete, text of the *Chronicle* belong to the second half of the fifteenth century, with the majority of them almost certainly belonging to the third quarter;¹⁶⁵ full descriptions have been provided below. Descriptions of the manuscripts containing the fragments (British Library MS Harley 293, ff. 77r-79r; Harley 3730, ff. 1r-1v; and London College of Arms 2 M.16, ff. 76v-77v) are likewise included here, although only minimal descriptions of the other materials extant in the manuscripts have been provided; for further information the reader is directed to the relevant manuscript catalogues.¹⁶⁶

*Bodleian Library MS Arch. Selden B.10 (SC 3356; S)*¹⁶⁷

Description

Bodleian Library MS Arch. Selden B. 10 is a late fifteenth-century manuscript dating from c. 1470-80, consisting of 7 paper flyleaves and 212 parchment folios (iii + i + 211 + i + iii) measuring 335 by 245 mm. The text of the *Chronicle* is written in single columns (with a height of approximately 220 mm) usually with five stanzas, of seven lines per folio. At the end of the *Chronicle* proper there are some additional prose sections in Latin and English (measuring approximately 220 by 117 mm). Foliation occurs in pencil written in the top right-hand corner of each folio by a post-medieval hand, and includes the paper flyleaves.

All folios have frame and marginal ruling (in red) and the stanzas are regularly spaced. Prick marks may be seen on many of the folios. Collation: flyleaves ⁴ (ff. 1-4, f. 4 is an insert); 1 ⁸ (ff. 5-12), 2 ⁸ (ff. 13-20), 3 ⁸ (ff. 21-28), 4 ⁸ (ff. 29-36), 5 ⁸ (ff. 37-44), 6 ⁸ (ff. 45-52), 7 ⁸ (ff. 53-60), 8 ⁸ (ff. 61-68), 9 ⁸ (ff. 69-76), 10 ⁸ (ff. 77-84), 11 ⁸ (ff. 85-92), 12 ⁸ (ff. 93-100); 13 ²⁺¹ (ff. 101-103); 14 ⁸ (ff. 104-111), 15 ⁸ (ff. 112-119), 16 ⁸ (ff. 120-127), 17 ⁸ (ff. 128-135), 18 ⁸ (ff. 136-143), 19 ⁸ (ff. 144-151), 20 ⁸ (ff. 152-159), 21 ⁸ (ff. 160-167), 22 ⁸ (ff. 168-175), 23 ⁸ (ff. 176-183), 24 ⁸ (ff. 184-191), 25 ⁸ (ff. 192-199), 26 ¹²⁺¹ (ff. 200-212, f. 211 is a parchment insert attached to

¹⁶⁴ A paper copy of Hardyng's *Chronicle* occurs in the will of Sir Edmund Rede (1413-89), sheriff of Buckinghamshire. The will was drawn up in 1487 so the reference cannot be to one of Grafton's printed editions; however, it is impossible to determine whether this manuscript is one of the extant manuscripts described here, or a lost copy of the text (see Plomer 1904: 108). For a succinct biography of Rede see Wedgwood 1936: 711-12. Likewise, the list of John Bale's manuscripts edited by McCusker records one 'Ioannis Hardingi Chronicorum opus' (McCusker 1935: 151), but whether this refers to a printed edition or a manuscript is not clear.

¹⁶⁵ I would like to thank Dr Ian Doyle (University of Durham) and Professor Linne Mooney (University of Maine) for their invaluable comments on the scribes of the manuscripts of the second version. Brief references to all the manuscripts detailed below, with the exception of Takamiya 6, are made in Edwards 1987.

¹⁶⁶ See Nares, Horne and Ellis 1808-12: I, 162-65; II, 594; III, 56 and Campbell and Steer 1988: I, 146-47.

¹⁶⁷ I am especially grateful to the staff of the Duke Humphrey Reading Room for their kind assistance during my visits to view Arch. Selden B. 10, and the numerous other manuscripts mentioned in this thesis, which are held at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The relevant summary catalogue numbers from Madan and Craster (1922-) have been provided in parentheses after the shelf-mark of each of the manuscripts of the second version of Hardyng's *Chronicle* deposited in the Bodleian Library.

the final leaf of the quire, f. 212); flyleaves³ (the verso of f. 212 is attached to the first of the paper flyleaves).

Regular quire signatures (alphabetical with roman numerals) were originally present on the first half of each quire; however, these have been cropped and only a handful in quires 2, 6, 8 and 9 (*b*, *f*, *h*, and *i*) survive. Catchwords, often written in calligraphic letters within a scroll shape, occur at the end of each quire, with the exception of quires 12, 13, and 23-27. There are additional catchwords on ff. 136v and 138v. The manuscript is bound in nineteenth-century brown leather with simple blind tooling; it was rebaked in the twentieth century.¹⁶⁸

There are three distinct hands present; the first hand, a bastard secretary, is the main hand, and copied the majority of the text and marginal glosses (in red), ff. 5r-103v, and 112r-198v. This hand is very fine and often decorates the ascenders and descenders of letters on the first and last lines of text; many of these calligraphic decorations are similar in style to the decorations made by the scribe known as Ricardus Franciscus, but less extravagant.¹⁶⁹ The flourishes descending from the final lines of text on a folio usually extend from the letter 'g' and, like the principal scribe of the Lansdowne manuscript, an intelligible version of the letter has been placed within the decoration for the benefit of the reader. The scribes of Douce 345 and Harvard 1054 adopt an identical practice to the Selden scribe, writing guide letters in the midst of their strapwork decoration, suggesting that all four manuscripts were produced by the same group (possibly a master scribe and his apprentices) adhering to an agreed style, and most probably working from a common exemplar.¹⁷⁰

The second hand, also a bastard secretary but noticeably more compact and formal, copied the text only at ff. 104r-111v (the marginal glosses are written by hand one). The collation of the manuscript reveals that an additional three folios were inserted at the end of quire 13, suggesting that two scribes were working simultaneously on the production of the manuscript, and that the first scribe having exceeded the limit of the twelfth quire was 'forced to insert three folios to accommodate the remaining twelve stanzas' (Harker 1996: 27-8). Given that hand one completed the final line of f. 100v and 101r-103r in a noticeably different shade of ink, as well as inserting the final and marginal stanzas on f. 135v, it seems reasonable to assume that the main scribe completed ff. 101r-103r at the same time that he added the missing stanzas on f. 135v, probably later, or at a correctional stage, in the manuscript's production.

¹⁶⁸ I am indebted to Dr Bruce C. Barker-Benfield of the Department of Special Collections and Western Manuscripts at the Bodleian Library for the descriptions of the bindings of Arch. Selden B. 10, Ashmole 34, Douce 345, and Douce 378.

¹⁶⁹ For examples of Franciscus's work see New York, Pierpont Morgan MS M. 126 (John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, c. 1470); Oxford, University College MS 85 (Alain Chartier's *Le Quadrilogue Invectif*, c. 1470); Bodleian Library, Ashmole 765 (*King of Arms*); Laud Misc. 570 (Christine de Pisan's *Libres des quatre vertus*); San Marino Huntingdon MS 932 (*Statutes of London*); Tallow Chandler's Company, Grant of Arms, London, dated 24 September 1456; Harley 4775 (*Legenda Aurea*); Philadelphia, Rosenbach Museum 439/16, (Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, c. 1465-75); and possibly Harley 2915 (Book of Hours) and Ashmole 789 (ff. 1-5, *Exercitia notaria*). Interestingly, Kathleen Scott has linked the illumination in several manuscripts written by Franciscus to the same shop and artists as those responsible for the illumination in Ashmole 34 and Arch. Selden B. 10. In light of this connection, the scribe of Arch. Selden B. 10 may have been trained by Franciscus, or at least influenced by his calligraphic style after seeing examples of his work at the shop. For further information on Franciscus and the shop see Scott 1968, 1976 and Scott 1996: II, 318-20, 352-55.

¹⁷⁰ For further discussion of this see **The Relationships of the Manuscripts**.

A third hand (c. 1520), again a bastard secretary, copied the final section of the manuscript (ff. 200-209) containing 'The Prouerbes of Lydgate vpon the fall of prynces. Empryntede at London in Fletestret at the sygne of the Sonne by Wynkyn Worde' (1519). Malcolm Parkes believes that this hand belongs to a scribe that copied another manuscript belonging to the Percy family, British Library MS 18 D. ii, which contains amongst other works, John Lydgate's *Troy Book* and *Siege of Thebes* (see Parkes 1979: plate 15 ii).

Dialectally *The Linguistic Atlas* qualifies Arch. Selden B. 10 and Ashmole 34 as containing mixed, but northern, Middle English, which suggests, given the similarities in layout and illumination, that they may be southern copies of an earlier northern exemplar (see McIntosh, Samuels and Benskin 1986: I, 145).

Aside from the main scribal hands, there are a couple of post-medieval jottings present in the manuscript. On the recto of the fourth flyleaf there are several pen trails and jottings, including 'Ihon Hardings Chronicle'; on the verso of the fourth flyleaf a late sixteenth or early seventeenth-century hand writes nine lines of verse; 'som be defoued in hope/ som hath at thayr desier/ som through thar foules neclegence/ los that tha myght requere/ and som through thayr happe desienes/ [t]haye that thay neuer requer/ and other som indede ['doth sayne' erased]/ doth sayne in hope of gayne/ another comes in guyes which neur'. On f. 148v a fifteenth-century hand makes a note in the left-hand margin of the Pedigree of France regarding Charles V of France. On ff. 166r and 174r there are tiny sections of text at the edge of the right-hand margin, which look as though they were once marginal notes that have been cropped. On f. 210v the name 'Margaret Clyfforde Elsebeth' occurs in a late sixteenth, early seventeenth-century hand probably belonging to lady Margaret Clifford (b. 1540), daughter of Lady Elianor Grace. In February 1555 Margaret married Henry Stanley, fourth earl of Derby, lord Strange, and later had two sons, Ferdinando (who is known to have owned this manuscript; see Tuve 1940: 152-53) and William. On f. 212r the name 'henry strange' occurs in a late sixteenth/early seventeenth-century hand, possibly belonging to Henry Stanley, fourth earl of Derby, lord Strange, and husband to the aforementioned Margaret Clifford; on f. 212r the name 'Henry Northumbreland' appears in a sixteenth-century hand (perhaps belonging to Henry Percy, fifth earl of Northumberland, c. 1477-1527 whose arms appear on f. 200r); the word 'Romanus' also occurs on this folio; f. 211 bears a fifteenth-century list of names of the dead at Agincourt (beginning 'Cy sen syeut lez noms des sieurs qui mourreront en la bataill a Aigincourt lan mile cccc xv le vendredy le xxv iour doctobre') and the words 'This leaf was found amongst loose papers formerly belonging to [Ralph] Thoresby of Leeds and placed here 1873 H. O. C[oxe]'; this is Ralph Thoresby the antiquarian (see *DNB*: XIX 762-64).

The manuscript is beautifully illuminated: on f. 5r a full vinet border with an initial of five lines in height marks the beginning of the prologue; the initial consists of a blue and white letter, in filled with burgundy, pink and blue curled leaves, on a gold ground; a gold, blue and pink bar frame borders the text on all sides but is broken on the top line to allow for extended stems on the first line of text (obviously written before the illumination was added); the frame is entwined with green, yellow, blue, pink, burgundy and brown curled leaves, incorporating feathered spray with green lobes, flowers (in the same colours as the leaves, with the addition of red), and gold and coloured ball motifs with squiggles tinted green; there is a single gold pine cone with ink spikes in the top left hand corner of the border (see **Figure 17**). Similar initials of four and five lines in height, with spray work forming a partial border along

the left-hand margin, occur on ff. 9r, 11v, and again on ff. 15r and 104r (where the spray work forms a partial border in the top and left-hand margins). In addition to this champ initials, of two to seven lines in height mark, occur throughout the *Chronicle* (ff. 5-198), marking the beginning of each chapter and a change of sovereign; these are worked in gold against a pink and blue ground with white filigree work and have two to three feathered sprays with green lobes, containing coloured ball motifs, and gold lobes or trefoil leaves with squiggles. Elaborately decorated initials also occur ff. 200-207, but these are later in date (belonging to the early sixteenth century) and consist of delicate pen work in red, yellow, green and brown. The same folios also have decorative red line fillers.

Kathleen Scott has identified the border work in Arch. Selden B.10 and Ashmole 34 (see below) with a large group of manuscripts produced between 1470-1480 in the London area (1996: II, 354), and whilst Arch. Selden B. 10 is probably not by the same 'English Illuminator' responsible for the illumination of Ashmole 34, it is associated with the same shop 'either through training, use of designs, or imitation of shop designs'.¹⁷¹ The presence of a date (1477/8) in one of the items decorated by the 'English Illuminator', the London Skinners' Company 'Book of the Fraternity of the Assumption of our Lady', helps to locate the production of Arch. Selden B. 10 and Ashmole 34 in the 1470s; furthermore, since Scott uses the date of this item to deduce that 'the change from green to red or red and blue lobes seems to begin c. 1470' (Scott 2001: 100), the green lobes in both Arch. Selden B. 10 and Ashmole 34 may indicate that the manuscripts belong to the early 1470s rather than the later part of the decade.

Of particular note are the coats of arms that occur in the manuscript; on f. 11v the arms of Brutus occur (gules two lions crowned of gold rampant and combatant); f. 35r has a space left for the arms of St George. On f. 198v the arms of Henry Percy, fifth earl of Northumberland (quarterly of five: i Percy (or, a lion rampant azure) and Lucy quartered (gules, three lucies haurient argent) ii Percy ancient (azure, five fusils conjoined in fesse or), iii Poynings (barry of six or and vert, on a bend gules), iv Fitz Payne (gules, three lions passant argent, on a bend azure), v Bryan (or, three piles azure), supporters; dexter a boar, sinister a unicorn, motto 'Esperance in Diev' and

¹⁷¹ Scott 1996: II, 354. Other manuscripts listed by Scott by the same artist/shop include: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 283; Bodley 596; Digby 235; Hatton 10; Laud Misc. 253; Laud Misc. 299; Rawlinson C. 398; Rawlinson C. 817; Oxford, New College E. 310; St John's College 196; University College 85; London, British Library, Additional MS 26764; Royal 18 D. ii; Cotton Nero C. i; London, Corporation of London Records Office 'Cartae antiquae'; London Skinners' Company 'Book of the Fraternity of the Assumption of our Lady'; Cambridge, Gonville and Caius 107/176; Holkham Hall, Holkham 232; Winchester, College Library 27; Cambridge University Library Dd. 10. 66; Manchester, Chetham's Library 27894; Liverpool, Cathedral Library 6; Nottingham, University Library Mellish Lm 1; Glasgow, University Library Hunter 503 (V. 8. 6); New Haven, Yale University Law School Library G. St. 11. 1); and Philadelphia Free Library LC 14. 9. 5. Interestingly, MS Royal 18 D. ii mentioned above contains the same scribal hand that added the extracts from Lydgate at the end of Arch. Selden B. 10 (ff. 200r-209v); the manuscripts was originally made in the 1450s or '60s for William Herbert, later earl of Pembroke, but it later passed to Herbert's son-in-law, Henry Percy, fourth earl of Northumberland, and afterwards to Henry Percy, fifth earl of Northumberland, who arranged for additional materials to be added (see Meale 1989: 215, 226). Given that the hand responsible for the later augmentations is the same as the hand responsible for the Lydgate passages in Arch. Selden B. 10 it is possible that both manuscripts were updated at the same time, or that Percy continued to use the same scribe/shop. For further details about the shop and the artists responsible for the copy of the *Chronicle* in Arch. Selden B. 10 see also Scott 1968, 1976, 2001: 100. I am grateful to Dr Scott for communicating details of her latest discoveries to me in a personal letter (8 September 2003).

monogram ‘HP’, both in gold); the arms are surrounded by a blue garter and motifs particular to the Percy family, thus suggesting a date after 1495 when Percy became a knight of the Garter. On f. 200r a brown and yellow historiated initial occurs bearing the arms of Percy quartered with Lucy. Other illustrations in the text include a carefully executed Pedigree of France (f. 148v) with an angel, whose wings are tinted brown, yellow and green, holding a scrollwork title above the red roundels and boxes of the genealogy (see **Figure 18** and Pächt and Alexander 1973: III, 96) and a ‘Title of Jerusalem’ on f. 191r. Both pedigrees are similar to their counterparts in Harvard 1054. On ff. 184r-185r there is a map of Scotland, detailing the low and high lands, with drawings of castles, towers, churches and place names, underlined in red; forests and rivers are tinted green and blue (see **Figure 19**). The large castle depicted on f. 185r is tinted grey and surrounded by a brown sea; it is comparable to similar drawings in Harvard 1054 and Harley 661. An identical copy of this map also occurs in MS Harvard 1054. In addition to this, flourished paraphs occur at the beginning of each stanza, alternately coloured red and blue. Doodles occur on the recto of the third flyleaf.

Contents

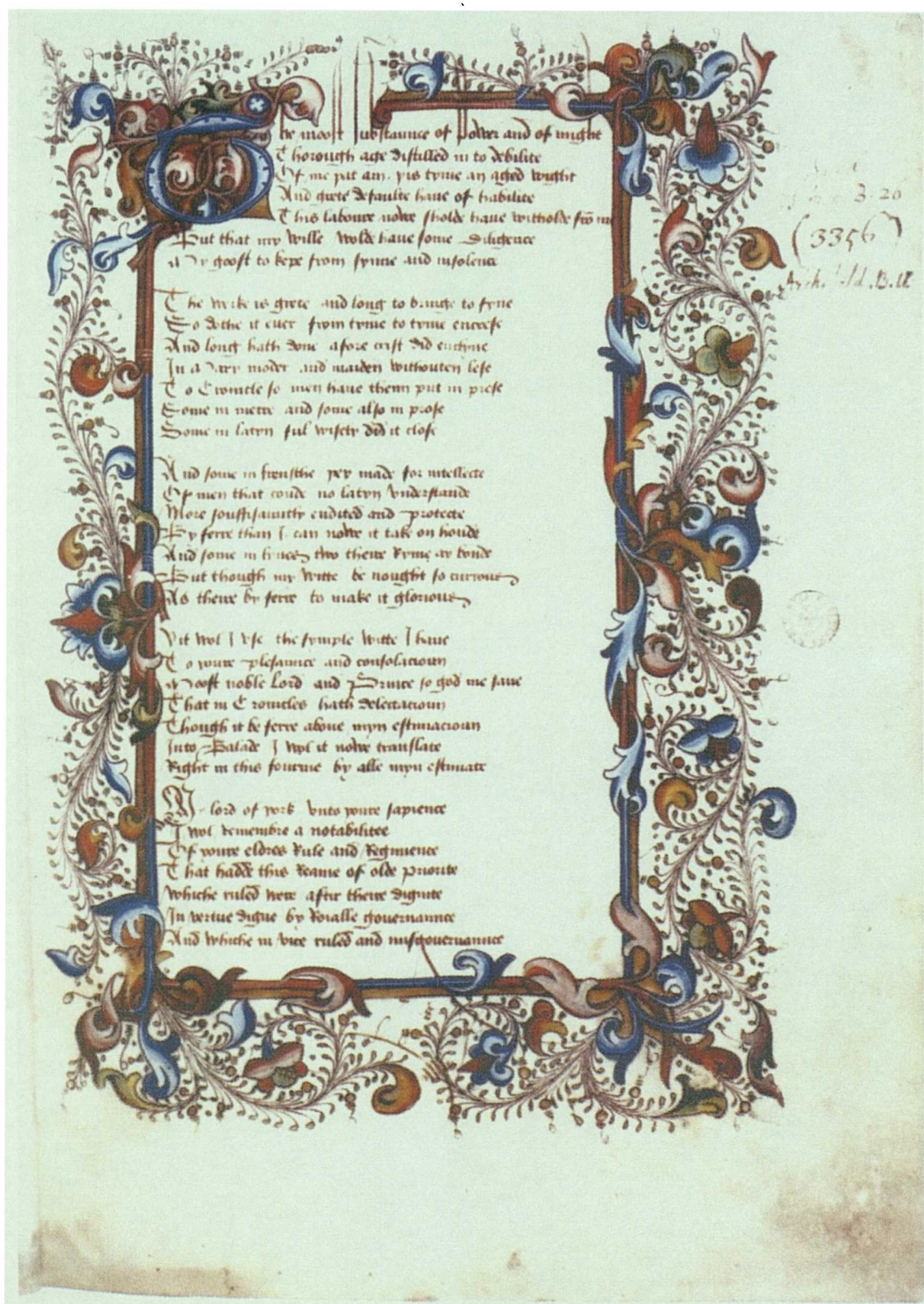
1. ff. 5r-9r: The prologue to the *Chronicle* dedicated to Richard, duke of York, and his family, detailing his sovereignty over various continental kingdoms and his descent from Edward III. Begins ‘The moost substauce of power and of might’ and ends ‘And bigged it, where alle afore was playne’.
2. ff. 9r-177v: The *Chronicle* begins ‘The while þat Troy was reignyng in his might’ and ends ‘That Frenshe men made to thaire owne dampnacion’.
3. f. 148v: A sketch genealogy with illustrated banner and angel showing the descent of the French crown from Saint Louis to Richard, duke of York.
4. ff. 178r-180v: Verse epilogue addressed to Edward IV from Hardyng, advising him to think upon the kindness of Henry IV and Henry V towards Richard II’s heir, the earl of March, and asking him to show the same benevolence to Henry VI and his family by bringing them home from Scotland. Begins ‘O gracious lorde Kynge Edwarde fourt accompte’ and ends ‘To comfort with youre noble high corage’.
5. ff. 180v-183r : Itinerary of Scotland, beginning ‘Ye may entre Scotland at Yareforde’ and ending ‘as King Edward with þe longe shankes did’.
6. ff. 103v, 183v, 199, 210: Blank, and f. 103r is half blank.
7. ff. 184r-185r: A blue and green coloured map of Scotland.
8. ff. 185v-187r: Latin prose regarding Edward III, his claim to the throne of France, and the campaigns he fought in France in an attempt to claim the French throne. Begins ‘Edwardus tercius, rex Anglie et Francie’ and ends ‘rex habuerat villam et castrum de Caleys’.
9. ff. 187r-189v: Latin prose regarding Henry V and his campaign in France. Begins ‘Serenissimus princeps, Henricus rex Anglie et Francie quintus post conquestum Anglie’ and ends ‘cum maxima deuocione litera F tunc dies Dominica Anno Domini M^lCCCCXV’.
10. ff. 189v-190v: English prose regarding Henry IV’s usurpation of the English crown and a spurious chronicle circulated by John of Gaunt, which described Edmund Crouchback as the eldest son and heir of Henry III. Begins ‘For as

- moche as many haue bene merred' and ends 'but that title the erle Percy put by'.
11. f. 191r: Title of Jerusalem.
 12. ff. 191v-192v: Verse address to Edward IV detailing his sovereignty over various continental kingdoms. Begins 'To Englonde haue ye right as ye may see' and ends 'To othir londes ye nede none othir trist'.
 13. ff. 192r-192v: English prose detailing 'The quarell of Sir Henry Percy with Henry IV and the battle of Shrewsbury'. Begins 'For as moche as many men mervail' and ends 'whiche quarell now folowit next after'.
 14. ff. 192v-193v: Latin prose detailing the Percies' quarrel with Henry IV. Begins 'Nos Henricus Percy comes Northumbrie constabularius Anglie' and ends 'hac die omnipotente Deo nobis auxiliante'.
 15. ff. 193v-197r: A Latin prose letter from Edward I, king of England, to Pope Boniface VIII regarding the king's sovereignty over Scotland. Begins 'Sanctissimo in *Christo* patri domino Bonifacio' and ends 'septimo die Maii Anno Domini M^lCCCI et regni nostri vicesimo nono'.
 16. ff. 197v-198v: Extended verse epilogue addressed to Edward IV and his queen recommending Hardyng's 'boke' to them and expressing the author's hopes that they will be pleased with the *Chronicle*. Begins 'Of all maters I haue saide myn entent' and ends 'That we had goot in ten as doth apere'.
 17. f. 198v: The arms of Henry Percy, fifth earl of Northumberland, Knight of the Garter (c. 1499).
 18. ff. 200r-209v: Extracts from Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* taken from Wynkyn de Worde's printed edition of 1519. Begins 'The prouerbes of Lydgate' and ends 'Here endethe the prouerbes of Lydgate vpon the fall of prynces. Enpryntede at London in Flete Stret at the sygne of the sonne by Wynkyn Worde.'
 19. f. 211r-211v: French list of the dead at Agincourt.

Provenance

It is likely that Arch. Selden B. 10 was produced in London, by the same artists working on Ashmole 34. The illumination and layout of work are consistent with other chronicle manuscripts produced in the metropolis between 1467-75, and there are distinct similarities between the decoration of this manuscript and the border artists responsible for Ashmole 34 (see Scott 1996: II, 319, 354). Textually Arch. Selden B. 10 has close affiliations with Harvard 1054, and it is probable that both were copied from a common source; although the Selden text is the superior copy (for further discussion of this see **Editorial Procedure** and **The Relationships of the Manuscripts**). Similarly, the shared Northern dialectal features attributed to Selden and Ashmole 34 by McIntosh, Samuels and Benskin (1986: I, 145), highlight the probability that the manuscripts may have been copied from a northern exemplar. The presence of the Percy arms on two separate occasions in the manuscript and the name 'henry northumbreland' (see above) indicate that the manuscript was owned, if not commissioned, in the late fifteenth century by the Percy family; the most prominent member of the family at this time would have been the fourth earl of Northumberland, whose son doubtless inherited the manuscript and arranged for his arms to be added on f. 198v (probably at the same time that the extracts from Lydgate were appended). The early association of this version of the *Chronicle* with the Percy family in the late fifteenth century is of particular interest given their connections with several other

Figure 17



Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 5r.

Figure 19



Hardyng's Map of the Scottish Lowlands: Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 184r.

Figure 20



Sixteenth-Century Woodcut by Lucas Cranach: Ashmole 34, f. 1v.

manuscripts containing pro-Yorkist materials at this time.¹⁷² It may be that Arch. Selden B. 10 was commissioned to emphasise the family's loyalties to the Yorkist dynasty. This in itself may provide an explanation of how a northern exemplar arrived in the capital, since the Percies owned property in London (Rose 2002: 228), and, having an interest in Hardyng's work, may have taken an exemplar close to the author's original south for copying. For further discussion see **The Relationships of the Manuscripts**.

Given the marital connections between the Percy, Clifford and Strange families, the manuscript probably passed from the Percy family to the Cliffords and thence to the Stranges in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. 'Margaret Clyfforde Elsebeth' and her husband, 'Henry Strange', appear to have owned Arch. Selden B. 10, and passed the manuscript on to their son, Ferdinando (d. 1594), lord Strange and Derby. It is possibly through him that the writer Edmund Spenser encountered and used Hardyng's *Chronicle* for his *Faerie Quene* (Ferdinando himself was the inspiration for Spenser's Amintas; see Tuve 1940: 152-53); likewise, there is reason to believe that Shakespeare may have seen Ferdinando's copy of Hardyng (see **Introduction**). The manuscript was later owned by John Selden the antiquarian and came to the Bodleian Library in 1756.

*Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 34 (A)*¹⁷³

Description

Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 34 is a late fifteenth-century manuscript consisting of 4 paper flyleaves and 180 parchment folios (ii + 180 + ii) measuring 335 mm by 250 mm; the text of the *Chronicle* is written in single columns (with a height of 225 mm) comprising five stanzas, of seven lines each, per folio. There are two sets of foliation, the first in a post-medieval hand occurs in the top right-hand corner; the second appears to be in a later hand that has struck through the numbers of the first foliation; it occurs in the bottom right-hand corner of the manuscript. The later foliation occurs in pencil and includes an additional singleton at the beginning of the manuscript; it is this foliation system that is used here.

Each folio has frame and marginal ruling in red (ff. 2-177), and prick marks may still be seen on many folios. Collation: 1¹⁺⁸ (ff. 1r-9v, f. 1 is an insert), 2⁸ (ff. 10-17), 3⁸ (ff. 18-25), 4⁸ (ff. 26-33), 5⁸ (ff. 34-41), 6⁸ (ff. 42-49), 7⁸ (ff. 50-57), 8⁸ (ff. 58-65), 9⁸ (ff. 66-73), 10⁸ (ff. 74-81), 11⁸ (ff. 82-89), 12⁸ (ff. 90-97), 13⁸ (ff. 98-105), 14⁸ (ff. 106-113), 15⁸ (ff. 114-121), 16⁸ (ff. 122-129), 17⁶ (ff. 130-135), 18¹⁰ (ff. 136-145), 19⁸ (ff. 146-153), 20⁸ (ff. 154-161), 21⁸ (ff. 162-169), 22⁸ (ff. 170-177), 23³ (ff. 178-180; all three leaves are singletons stitched together along the guttering to form a quire). Originally each quire had quire signatures on the first four folios consisting of alphabetical letters and roman numerals (*a-i*, *k-t*, *v*, *w*, *x* and *i-iv*); however, marginal cropping has left only a few of the quire signatures visible. Catchwords are present at the end of each quire except quires 18, 21 and 22. The manuscript has a standard Ashmole binding of late seventeenth-century brown leather, with simple fillet decoration and the arms of Ashmole in gilt on the spine.

¹⁷² Bodley Roll 5 (a genealogical roll linking the Percies with the royal family), Cotton Vespasian E. vii (a miscellany containing, amongst other things, prophetic texts of a pro-Yorkist nature and items relating to the Percies) and Sion College MS Arc. L. 40.2/ L 26 (a copy of *De Regimine Principum*, originally owned by the Percies, but gifted to Richard III).

¹⁷³ See Black 1845: column 15, and Pächt and Alexander 1973: III, 92.

There is one main hand in the manuscript, which writes the text and main marginal glosses (in red) in a single bastard secretary hand. This scribe is also the scribe of Douce 345, further highlighting the likelihood that Arch. Selden B. 10, Ashmole 34, Douce 345 and Harvard 1054 were produced at the same shop and from common exemplars.¹⁷⁴

Dialectally *The Linguistic Atlas* qualifies Ashmole 34 (along with Arch. Selden B. 10) as containing mixed, but northern, Middle English. Given the similarities in layout and illumination between these two manuscripts and Douce 345, it is likely that they are southern copies of an earlier northern exemplar (see McIntosh, Samuels and Benskin 1986: I, 145).

In addition to the main scribe, there are at least three marginal hands that make notes on the text regarding the reigning monarchs and important events. The first of these hands dates from the late fifteenth century, and makes notes specifically about battles and topographical points in the text (see, for example, ff. 9r, 10r, 77r, 158v, 172v and 173r). The second distinctive hand in the margins belongs to either the late fifteenth century or early sixteenth century; again, the hand makes brief reference to events and topics discussed in the text (see f. 128v for example). The third hand to make notes on the text belongs to the eighteenth century (see f. 153v for example). On f. 2r the words '[...] in Henry VI ... 6' have been written by a modern hand in very faint pencil. On f. 110r the initials 'ROHA' occur; they have been written in the form of a square. At the end of the manuscript, on f. 177v, an early seventeenth-century hand writes 'bought the 14th day of februarie 1604 pretium 20s Pe: Manwood' (or possibly Fanwood). The first letter of the surname is difficult to determine; it may be an 'ff' or a crossed 'M', which would make the surname Manwood. This is quite interesting as a famous sixteenth/seventeenth-century antiquarian and book collector called Sir Percy Manwood (c. 1560-1625), son of Sir Roger Manwood (1525-92), may be the person referred to here. Manwood inherited his father's estate in Hackington, and during his lifetime held many esteemed offices, including Baron of the Exchequer; Member of Parliament for Sandwich (1588-59, 1592-93, 1597 and 1601), for Saltash (1603-04), for Kent (1614), and for New Romney (1620-21); and Sheriff of Kent (1602); he was knighted in 1603 and was a member of the Society of Antiquaries in 1617. In the absence of contrary evidence it is possible that Manwood owned Ashmole 34. For further information on him see *DNB*: XII, 990-91.

Illumination is present in the manuscript, but is limited. On f. 1v there is a sixteenth-century woodcut of George, duke of Anhalt, by Lucas Cranach the younger (Hollstein 1966: 137, no. 31), which has been coloured and labelled 'THE PORTRATVRE OF IOHN HARDING MAKER OF THESE CHRONICLES' (see **Figure 20**). The woodcut, taken from Cranach's *Conciones et Scripta* (Wittenberg, 1520), depicts an old man in a dark brown overcoat, trimmed with light brown fur, holding a red book and orange prayer beads; at his foot is a shield (per bend sinister argent and gules). Four other heraldic devices originally ornamented each corner of the woodcut; however, only partial sections of these may be seen, as they have been covered with fragments from an illuminated border (c. 1450). The fragments of border depict gold, blue, pink, and red flowers and leaves, with green squiggles. On f. 2r a champ initial occurs of six lines in height; the initial is blue, pink and white, on a gold ground, with a vine containing four striped trefoil leaves (in blue, pink and green) at the centre; the

¹⁷⁴ Both Dr Ian Doyle and Professor Linne Mooney agree that the scribe of Ashmole 34 is the same as that copying Douce 345, although Dr Doyle comments that Ashmole has 'a distinct increase in formality' (private correspondence dated 29 July 2002).

feathered sprays are green, containing decorative foliate leaves (coloured blue, pink, white, yellow and red), with gold ball motifs and lobes. The sprays extend along the left-hand margin and fill the top margin to form a partial border around the text. On ff. 6r, 8v, 12r and 100r spryngēt initials of between five and seven lines in height are present. They usually consist of a gold letter on a red and blue ground with white filigree work; three green feathered sprays extend from the initials into the margins, containing gold ball motifs and lobes. Smaller champ initials of between two and four lines in height are used to mark a change of monarch, and consist of a blue letter with a red pen-work background. Kathleen Scott associates the border work in Ashmole 34 and Arch. Selden B. 10 (see above) with a large group of manuscripts produced between 1470-1480 in the London area (1996: II, 354). The illuminator of Ashmole 34, she believes, is the same English artist who is known to have worked with the 'Caxton Master' and another artist (referred to as the 'owl' illuminator due to the presence of owls in his border work) on the illumination of Bodleian MS Bodley 283.¹⁷⁵

On f. 9r a space has been left in the right-hand margin possibly for the arms of Brutus, and on ff. 34r and 38v the arms of St George and Constantyne (argent, a cross gules) have been added in the margin. Finally, half of f. 145v is blank; since this folio occurs immediately after the end of Edward III's reign it may have been left blank with the intention of adding a Pedigree of France.

Contents

1. f. 1v: Woodcut of George, duke of Anhalt, by Lucas Cranach the younger over which is written 'THE PORTRATVRE OF IOHN HARDING MAKER OF THESE CHRONICLES'.
2. ff. 2r-5r: Prologue beginning 'The most substauce of power and of myght' and ending 'And bigged it where all afore was playne'.
3. ff. 5r-177v: *Chronicle* proper beginning 'The while þat Troy was regnyng in his myght' and ending 'That Frenshe men made to þayre owne dampnacon'.
4. ff. 175r-177v: Verse epilogue addressed to Edward IV, advising him to think upon the kindness of Henry IV and Henry V towards Richard II's heir, the earl of March, and asking Edward IV to show the same benevolence to Henry VI and his family by bringing them home from Scotland. Begins 'O gracious lord Kynge Edward fourt account' and ends incompletely with 'Trest never truthe in hem ne perfeccyone'.
5. ff. 178r-80v: Blank.

Provenance

There are no medieval marks of ownership; however, the illumination in Ashmole 34, and Arch. Selden B. 10, is the work of artists working in the capital, therefore the manuscript has an early London provenance (Scott 1996: II, 354). Linguistically the presence of northern dialectal features highlights a further link between Arch. Selden B. 10 (see McIntosh, Samuels and Benskin 1986: I, 145), and the shared textual variants common to Ashmole and Douce 345, together with a

¹⁷⁵ For further information on the English artist, or 'Bodley limner', see the description for Arch. Selden B. 10 above and Scott 1968, 1976, 1996: II, 354, and 2001: 100.

common scribe, indicate that the same group of craftsmen produced all three manuscripts. For further discussion see **The Relationships of the Manuscripts**.

On 14 February 1604 the manuscript was purchased for twenty shillings by, or from, a 'Pe. Manwood', possibly the lawyer and antiquarian Percy Manwood. The manuscript came to the Bodleian Library from the collection of Elias Ashmole.

*Pierpont Morgan Library MS Bühler 5 (B)*¹⁷⁶

Description

Pierpont Morgan Library Bühler 5 is a late fifteenth-century manuscript (c. 1470) consisting of 119 paper leaves (ii + 115 + ii) measuring 287 by 220 mm. The first flyleaf is not labelled, the second is marked 'i', and the final two flyleaves are marked '116' and '117'. The paper of the main folios has a watermark of a diamond ring occurring in the centre, similar to Briquet 1923: number 689 (Cologne, c. 1457). The flyleaves are later in date than the other folios, and there is evidence to suggest that they have been removed from a late seventeenth-century copy-book (see the discussion of the minor hands below). The text of the *Chronicle* is written in single columns (with a height of approximately 210 mm) comprising five stanzas, of seven lines each, per folio. There are two foliations in the manuscript; the hand responsible for the first foliation has marked both sides of the first 25 folios with an individual number (e.g. 1r is marked '1', 1v is marked '2') and the foliation ends with f. 26r marked as '51'; the second modern foliation is present in the top right-hand corners, and it is this foliation which is used when referring to the manuscript here. A note on the final flyleaf, no doubt added by a member of staff at the Pierpont Morgan Library, reads 'fol. by W. V. Sept. 9 1986'.

The manuscript has brown frame ruling, and four prick marks may be seen in the gutter, possibly from a previous binding. Collation: flyleaves, 1²⁰ (ff. 1-20), 2²⁰ (ff. 21-40), 3²⁰ (ff. 41-60), 4¹⁶ (ff. 61-76), 5²⁴ (ff. 77-100), 6¹⁶ (ff. 101-115, lacks what would have been the ninth folio of the quire). There are 10 stanzas of text missing from the text in quire 4 between ff. 63 and 64; this suggests that the quire lacks the fourth folio; however, given that sixteen folios are present without taking into account the probable missing folio, it may be that the scribe has accidentally turned over two folios from his exemplar, thus missing ten stanzas of text out of his copy without realising.

There are no quire signatures in the manuscript, and only two visible catchwords, one written within a scroll on f. 40v and the other on f. 60v. The manuscript is sewn on four cords into a very clean and neat limp-vellum wrapper, which according to the current library description belonged to an early fifteenth-century astronomical manuscript.

The *Chronicle* is incomplete at the beginning and end, and towards the end of the manuscript the verses become very faded and difficult to read. The text is written by approximately eight bastard secretary hands. The first (ff. 1-20, 45, 56, 74) has quite a large number of anglicana features, and writes the marginal glosses throughout the manuscript, with occasional elaborated ascenders; the most distinguishing features of this hand are the scribe's preference for secretary *w* and *v*, his placement of a \curvearrowright above the abbreviation for *and*, and his rare use of punctuation (both the *punctus* and the *vigula suspensiva*). Remarkably, this hand has been identified by Carole Meale as

¹⁷⁶ Faye and Bond 1962: 389; Ryskamp 1989: 28. I would like to thank Sylvie Merian and the rest of the staff at the Pierpont Morgan Library for their help and advice during my visit to the library.

that of the ‘Chetham Scribe’, the principal scribe of Manchester, Chetham Library MS Mun. A. 6. 31 (8009), a miscellany of romance and religious items (Meale 1989: 227). What is known of this scribe, and what can be determined from Mun. A. 6. 31, complements the conclusions about Bühler 5 drawn here and in **The Relationships of the Manuscripts**. First, Meale suggests a north-eastern provenance for the version of the romance *Ipomedon*, present in Mun. A. 6. 31 and written by the Chetham Scribe; however, due to the presence of an early sixteenth-century copy of the *Annals of London* in the same volume, and the apparent production circumstances of the manuscript, Meale believes that the manuscript was produced in the metropolis by a shop that specialised in booklet production (1984: 138, 145). This suggests that a north-eastern exemplar was taken down south for copying, a similar situation to the second version of Hardyng’s *Chronicle*. Since parts of Bühler 5 were copied by the same individual, and the text retains dialectal features particular to the north, it is likely that the manuscript had a narrow descent from the missing archetype, as suggested in **The Relationships of the Manuscripts**. This also adds credence to the supposition that Hardyng’s northern archetype was taken down south for copying shortly after his death, and that Bühler 5 was produced in the capital. Further correspondence between Bühler 5 and Mun. A. 6. 31 may be seen in the circumstances of their production, both of which contain an unusual number of hands (approximately eleven in the Chetham miscellany), several of which are difficult to distinguish (Meale 1984: 143, 169). Likewise, the fourteen items forming the Chetham volume have a ‘relatively plain, work-man like’ appearance in keeping with Bühler 5, and seem to date from the early 1470s (Meale 1984: 141).¹⁷⁷ The identification of the Chetham scribe in Bühler 5 provides an intriguing insight into the kinds of materials being copied by the Hardyng scribes, and further study of the various hands in both manuscripts would no doubt be productive.¹⁷⁸

The second hand present in Bühler 5 (ff. 21-44, 46-50) is similar to the first, a bastard secretary with anglicana features, but this scribe appears to prefer the thorn (þ), and anglicana *v* and *w*; punctuation marks (in this case *virgula suspensiva*) are also used by this scribe. The third hand (ff. 51-55v) is noticeably different from the previous two hands, with more pronounced strokes and less cursive features; this hand frequently uses the *punctus*. The fourth hand (ff. 57-73, 75-82r) is similar to hand three, and may be the same scribe employing variations to his script; this, however, is very difficult to determine. Discernible differences between the two hands, if they are not by the same scribe, include slight differences between their *w*, *v*, final *s*, *r*, and *e*; hand three uses the *punctus* more frequently than hand four, and hand three has a slight duct towards the right. Both hands often place a ◌ above words with ‘igh’ in. The fifth hand (ff. 82-84) is more compact and neater than the previous hands, and has very few anglicana or cursive features; the text written by this hand is not punctuated. What appears to be a sixth hand writes the text on f. 84v. This hand may belong to the same scribe as hand three or four; however, the hand responsible for this script uses the *virgula suspensiva* instead of the *punctus* used by hands three and four, and although the script is quite spikey, like hand three, the duct is not as pronounced.

¹⁷⁷ A *terminus a quo* of October 1473 is evident from the inclusion of an account of the meeting between Charles the Bold of Burgundy and the emperor Frederick (Meale 1984: 136-37).

¹⁷⁸ For further details of the contents of MS Mun. A. 6. 31 see Meale 1984, 1989 and Purdie 2001. A provisional comparison of some of the other hands present in Bühler 5 and Mun. A. 6. 31 indicates that the manuscripts may share other hands too; however, due to the similar nature of several of the scripts a fuller study of the letter forms and traits common to each hand is necessary.

Likewise, it is difficult to reconcile some of the letter forms with those present in hands three and four (which themselves could be by the same scribe). The text written by the seventh hand (ff. 85-89r) is not punctuated; this hand is similar to hand one, with distinguishing features including flourishes on final *n* and *g*, secretary *v* and *w* and narrow anglicana *d*. Hand eight (ff. 89v-115) is similar to hand five, and the two may be written by the same scribe; notable features include flourishes on final *d*, compact secretary *a*, *v* and *w*. This hand does not punctuate the text. All eight hands share similar traits, and generally it is difficult to distinguish between them. Each is responsible for much correction, cancellation, deletion and erasure throughout the manuscript and many of the incomplete six-line stanzas have had a seventh line added in the margins (for example, ff. 5r and 67r). On f. 17r two stanzas accidentally omitted by the scribe from the reign of Gurmonde, have been added by another scribe; a similar insertion occurs on f. 57r. Marginal glosses are written in the same brown colour ink as the text. Paraph marks occur at the beginning of each stanza in red, and the names of monarchs begin with a red ink initial. It is possible that more, or fewer, hands are present than defined here; however, only a comprehensive study of all letter forms and notable features throughout the manuscript would help to shed further light on the complex relationship between the various hands.

A. S. G. Edwards describes the manuscript as a 'strange compilation' and suggests that there are at least five hands present, adding that 'the exemplar was not apportioned in regular stints, and there seems to be no pattern to the copying. Yet the number of scribes involved is highly atypical of the production of fifteenth-century English poetic manuscripts' (1987: 77-78). Nonetheless, since the Chetham volume shows equally complex production circumstances, it is possible that the same group of scribes copied other, as yet unidentified works, and that the 'atypical' number of hands is actually a common feature of their productions.

In addition to the aforementioned hands there are numerous jottings present in the manuscript: on the inside cover 'VII A MS. 5 see Henry Ellis's edition (London 1812 pxvi) = this MS.? This MS equals pp. [space] to 380 of Ellis'. The second flyleaf before the *Chronicle* may be from a seventeenth-century copy-book, as it is filled with ten repetitions of Matthew 7. 6-7: 'Geue not that whiche is holy vnto doggs neither cast ye your pearles before swyne lest they treade them under there feete and the other turne agayne, and all to rent you aske and it shalbe geuen yow, seke and ye shall fynd helpe'. The text is written by a late seventeenth-century hand that also occurs on the first flyleaf after the *Chronicle*, this time filling the entire folio with a repetition of Matthew 7. 13-14: 'enter in at the straite gate for wyde is the gate and brode is the waye that leadeth to destruction and many there be that got in there at but strayht is the gate and narrowe is the waye whiche leadeth vnto life and fewe there be that finde that waye. Amen.' An alphabet is present at the bottom of the same folio. On f. 1r what appears to be a shelf-mark from a previous library is present in the top right-hand corner ('L. 8. 16'), and a modern hand notes in the margin that the *Chronicle* begins at what is 'page 117 in printed edition [Ellis] 1812'. This hand also appears to write 'Hardings Chronological poem' on the verso of the second flyleaf. On f. 3r a modern hand has written 'Cap 78 page 121' in blue pencil. The word 'Heprachio' occurs on f. 18v and on f. 26v a late fifteenth-century or very early sixteenth-century hand writes 'Thys ys Roberte ho'. An illegible and vertical line of Latin text occurs on f. 27r, and on f. 33r a proverb ('wrong laws make short lordes') has been copied from the text. On f. 27r a line of Latin text is written vertically down the margin, but it is difficult to read. On f. 45r a post-medieval hand, possibly

eighteenth century, attempts to write the words ‘A good exampell to avoide Diane’ in Gothic style letters; this is of particular interest as the stanza it is written beside contains a reference to providential punishment for adultery; it similarly highlights an ongoing readership of the *Chronicle* beyond the renaissance. A late eighteenth-century hand makes numerous marginal notes from ff. 45v to 54v, recording the names of the monarchs and battles mentioned in the narrative, and adding comments such as ‘A crewell deathe for a kinge’ besides the stanzas on f. 50r detailing the death of Harold, son of Cnut. This reader evidently had a specific interest in the period leading up to the Norman conquest, as the annotations accompany the period from the reign of Edgar to the accession of William the Conqueror. On f. 60v a late fifteenth-century hand writes three notes; the first ‘john howell [?] layit commytt frome [?] and he wold be glade to haue a good maister’; the second ‘in my beginyng god me sped in grace and vertue to procede he ffirst proverbe to [?] it to drede god and flee ffrom syne’; the third ‘nowe good lord giffe me grace to doo well ffor to happen off a goode maister and I pray God so be it’. On f. 61r an eighteenth-century hand writes ‘Ed. Rowe (or Rows)’, and on f. 67r ‘in dei nos amen’ occurs. On f. 91v a sixteenth-century hand writes ‘Robert de mylner vico de mylke stret Towne de London’. The same hand also appears to write the following: f. 45r ‘Byrne gabrell’; f. 51r ‘in dei nomine amen’; f. 52r ‘John Bayre’; f. 54r ‘henry Atkyne’; f. 61r ‘john milner vico de Wodstret’, ‘whyitynton [...]syn’, and ‘Myl’; f. 73r an illegible jotting; f. 74r ‘Molsey wylsey’; f. 74r ‘Robert de milner vico de Wodstret’. On f. 98r there is a reference to a ‘Willimo Stathame cyttezssyn de cownte [?]’ in a late fifteenth or early sixteenth-century hand, and several alliterative lines written in the bottom margin: ‘present pepill present it my prepotem presept and prynt my purpos yez present proporat my commandmentes confyrmyd constandyn to be kept I cowsell yow comlyes þat here be congregat’. The same hand is also responsible for the reference to a William on f. 88r, and the jottings on f. 93r. On f. 98v ‘Thys ys Robert Rolonde hobsunt boke’ is written by a late fifteenth or early sixteenth-century hand followed by a request that whoever finds the book should restore it to him (compare with the jotting on f. 26v).

In the bottom margins of ff. 95v-96r a late sixteenth-century hand writes two stanzas, and a hitherto unknown couplet, from a medieval lyric concerning the deceitfulness of women. The lyric, printed in Davies (1963: 238-40), usually consists of six or seven stanzas beginning ‘Looke well about, ye that lovers be’; the two stanzas in Bühler 5 correspond to stanzas five and six in Davies’s edition, with an additional two lines, not witnessed by the other extant manuscripts containing the text.¹⁷⁹ The stanzas in Bühler 5 are as follows:

Wommen, of kynd, hav condishiones thre:
 Þe ffyrst is þat they be full of deacett;
 To spyne also yt is ther properte;
 Women hav a wonderfall conceate,
 For they weeppe oft, and all is but a slyght,
 Aye when they lust, the teares is in ther eye.
 Whearfor beware: the blind etes many a flye.

¹⁷⁹ There are four known extant manuscripts containing the lyric; Cambridge, Trinity College R. 3. 19, f. 207r, and Trinity College O. 9. 38, f. 28r; London, British Library, Harley 2251 f. 149v; Rome, English College MS 1306 f. 75v. The lyric also occurs in two printed editions of Chaucer’s works; Stowe’s 1561 version (STC 5075) and Speght’s 1598 edition (STC 5077). I have provided modern punctuation and capitalisation for the edition of the verses given here.

Soothlye to saye, yff all this yearth sowabll
 Weare parchment smothe, and papyr scrybabll,
 And þe great see, þat is callyd occyoun,
 Wear turnyd into yngke, blakare then is sablle,
 Al styckes wear penne, ech man a scryvener able,
 They could not wryt womennes tretchrye;
 Therfor beware: þe blynd etes manye a flye.

Not Sallamon the wysse, nor Sammson the stronge,
 Could ['t' canc.] eveal in thear lyves rule a womane longe.
 Fynne quote.

The lyric appears to have been popular in the late fifteenth and sixteenth century, and the proverb 'beware þe blind etes many a flye' occurs in various sixteenth-century texts (see Whiting 1968: 348, B348). For further information on the lyric and its relevance to the *Chronicle* narrative on ff. 95v-96r see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 1042-56, and my forthcoming article 'John Hardyng's *Chronicle* and an Unrecorded Occurrence of *The Index of Middle English Verse* Number 1944'.

There is no illumination in the manuscript, but on f. 98v there is a poorly executed Pedigree of France coloured in red.

Contents

1. ff. 1r-115v: The incomplete *Chronicle* begins in the reign of Aurelius Ambrose with '[That other beam] to Irelande extendynge' and ends in the reign of Henry V at the siege of Melayne (1417) with the last legible line reading 'The kyng of Fraunce *with baner hool displayed*' (the reign of Henry V, siege of Melayne 1417). Another stanza follows this but is very faded and difficult to read; it corresponds with ll. 2437-43 of the edition of the second version.
2. f. 98v: A Pedigree of France showing the descent of the French crown from Saint Louis to Richard, duke of York.

Provenance

The jottings noted above suggest that the manuscript was in the possession of a certain 'Robert Rolonde hobsunt' (ff. 26v, 98v) quite soon after its production and was probably with the Mylner family of London in the sixteenth century. The references to the quarters ['vico'] of 'Wodstret' and 'Mylke Stret' that occur with the 'Mylner' names refer to areas of London known to, and inhabited by, many wealthy merchants and important persons in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, suggesting that the manuscript was owned by a fairly wealthy merchant family in this area. For further information on these streets see John Stow's *Survey of London* (Stow 1908: I, 290-91, 295-99 and II, 338). A probable London provenance for the manuscript is plausible, first because of the presence of the Chetham scribe, known to be working in the capital in the 1470s when this manuscript was undoubtedly produced; secondly, because of the close textual affiliations between this copy of the text, Arch. Selden B. 10, Ashmole 34, Douce 345 and Harvard 1054, which were all

decorated by artists known to be working in the metropolis at this time (see **The Relationships of the Manuscripts**).

According to a paper title page formerly attached to the work, the manuscript was purchased from the collection of John Anstis, esquire (1669-1744), by Charles Brietzcke in December 1768. The Dowdeswell Family of Pull Court, Bushley, Worcestershire, later owned the manuscript before it was purchased by Curt F. Bühler at the sale of the Dowdeswell Library held at Sotheby's, London on 14 February 1933 (lot 395). The manuscript was gifted to the Pierpont Morgan Library by Bühler in 1985.

Bodleian Library MS Douce 345 (SC 21920; D)

Description

Bodleian Library MS Douce 345 is a late fifteenth-century manuscript (c. 1470-80) consisting of 6 paper flyleaves and 160 parchment folios (iii +160 + iii) measuring 305 by 250 mm. The text is written in single columns (with a height of approximately 220 mm) comprising five stanzas, of seven lines each, per folio. There are two sets of foliation present in the manuscript. The first and earliest foliation is post-medieval, and is written in the top right-hand corner of each folio, in ink. However, it would appear that the manuscript was cropped and rebound after this foliation as only partial numbers may still be seen. Where numbers of this early foliation can be determined, they suggest that it was made when all of the folios now lacking were present, unlike the second foliation; this implies that the manuscript was rebound between the first and second foliations. The second foliation, also in ink, occurs beneath the first foliation in the top right-hand corner of each folio; folios 5, 35, 65, 95, 98, 105, 110 and 142 are all numbered twice (one after the other, for example, there are two folio '5s before the foliation moves on to '6'). For ease of reference here these doubles will be referred to as 'a' and 'b' (for example, ff. '5(a)' and '5(b)').

Each folio has brown frame ruling and is carefully spaced. Collation: flyleaves, 1⁸ (ff. 1-4, lacks what would have been the third to the sixth folios of the quire), 2⁸ (ff. 5(a)-5(b), lacks what would have been the second to the seventh folios of the quire), 3⁸ (ff. 6-13), 4⁸ (ff. 14-21), 5⁸ (ff. 22-29), 6⁸ (ff. 30-36), 7⁸ (ff. 37-44), 8⁸ (ff. 45-52), 9⁸ (ff. 53-60), 10⁸ (ff. 61-67), 11⁸ (ff. 68-75), 12⁸ (ff. 76-83), 13⁸ (ff. 84-91), 14⁸ (ff. 92-98(a)), 15⁸ (ff. 98(b)-104, lacks what would have been the fourth folio of the quire), 16⁸ (ff. 105(a)-110(b)), 17⁸ (ff. 111-118), 18⁸ (ff. 119-126), 19⁸ (ff. 127-134), 20⁸ (ff. 135-142(a)), 21⁸ (ff. 142(b)-149), 22⁸ (ff. 150-153, lacks what would have been the third to the sixth folios of the quire). Whilst there are no visible quire signatures in the manuscript, regular catchwords do occur at the end of each quire. The manuscript is bound in eighteenth-century rough brown leather with blind panels and a gilt spine, which bears the title 'Hardyng's Chronicle MS'.

A single bastard secretary hand, the same scribe responsible for Ashmole 34, writes the text and main marginal glosses. On three of the folios (1r, 4v and 5(a)r), the scribe decorates the descenders with strapwork extensions containing a small 'g' in a similar style to the scribes of Arch. Selden B. 10 and Harvard 1054. Other marginal glosses occur in the manuscript, often in Latin, and appear to be written by a different, but contemporary hand. Nevertheless, it is possible that the hand may belong to the main scribe, although the difference in language makes it hard to determine. Dialectally, *The Linguistic Atlas* does not consider Douce 345 to be of any interest;

however, given that Douce 345 shares the same scribal hand and layout as Ashmole 34, it is possible that they share the same exemplar. Ashmole 34 and Arch. Selden B. 10 contain mixed, but northern, Middle English, hence the group may be southern copies of an earlier northern exemplar (see McIntosh, Samuels and Benskin 1986: I, 145, 148).

In addition to this, there are several hands that make jottings and marginal notes throughout the manuscript. On the recto of the first flyleaf the hand of Francis Douce writes 'See a very curious note upon a Ms. Of Hardyng's *Chronicle* by Hearne, in his index to Spelmans life of Alfred. Other Mss of Harding 1. Bodl. Seld B. 26 2. Harl. No 661 3. Lansdowne Ms, vol 200'. On the verso of the second flyleaf two pieces of paper have been stuck into the manuscript containing notes in the hand of Douce. From f. 3 onwards an eighteenth-century hand makes minor marginal notes on the names of kings and topographical points of interest; similar notes are made by a late sixteenth or early seventeenth-century hand from f. 33 onwards. The name 'Elizabeth' occurs in a sixteenth-century hand on f. 86v. On f. 87r a late sixteenth or early seventeenth-century hand writes in the bottom margin 'In youth I heard myne elders sey whost say in god I remember shall B B I rememberde that he that turnstets to a villen sttryue (?) is theratned everne home (?) to fall I for dye no'. The same hand writes on other folios, for example, ff. 65(a), 59r and 84v. A fifteenth or sixteenth-century hand, although quite careless, also makes short notes on the text (see f. 74v for example).

The manuscript contains some illumination. On f. 1 there is a damaged champ initial of five lines in height, coloured gold on a burgundy and blue ground with white filigree work; green feathered sprays extend into the left and top margins, comprised of gold ball motifs and lobes. On f. 3v a similar initial and sprays occur. Later, blue initials, of between two to seven lines in height, on a red pen-work background with marginal flourishes are used to signify a change of monarch. The arms of St George and Constantine occur on ff. 22r and f. 26v (argent, a cross gules), and a blank half page with the catchword 'The Pedegree of ffrance' at f. 126v indicates that a Pedegree of France was originally going to be inserted before the text resumed with the reign of Richard II; however, since there are no missing leaves in this or the following quire, and the text of the reign of Richard II begins immediately on the next folio, it is possible that the pedigree was omitted at an early stage in the production of the manuscript. Finally, two doodles occur on f. 104r (a drawing of bird) and f. 148r (a flower).

Contents

1. ff. 1r- 2v: Proem, begins 'The moost substaunce of power and of might' but ends incompletely at f. 2v 'A fayre persone I saugh him with yion clere'. The missing text (39 stanzas) suggests that four leaves are wanting from the extant quire.
2. ff. 3r-151v: *Chronicle* proper, incomplete, begins 'Amonges þeim silf so grete vnkyndenesse' in the narrative concerning the foundation of Albion, and ends incompletely in the reign of Henry VI with 'In all England than raysed were no mo.'
3. ff. 152r-152v: Verse epilogue addressed to Edward IV from Hardyng, advising him to think upon the kindness of Henry IV and Henry V towards Richard II's heir, the earl of March, and asking him to show the same

benevolence to Henry VI and his family by bringing them home from Scotland. Begins incompletely with 'And love hem bettir for thayre grete lewte' and ends 'And laye them in your folde surely to slepe. Finished.'

4. ff. 153r-155r: Blank.

Provenance

The manuscript's association with Ashmole 34 suggests that it was produced in the London area (see **The Relationships of the Manuscripts**). It is possible that a reader with an interest in the Lincolnshire families of the Blakets of Spillesby and Dymokes of Scrivelsby underlined the family names on f. 129v (line 1393 of the edition below). This is interesting given the northern dialectal traits in Ashmole 34, Douce 345's sister manuscript, and the links with the Percy family in Arch. Selden B. 10 and Harvard 1054, and may show evidence of a small network of provincial, noble readers commissioning copies of the *Chronicle* from the same group of artists.

Francis Douce owned the manuscript in the eighteenth century, and his bookplate occurs on the inside cover. Another eighteenth-century bookplate above that of Douce's indicates that a certain 'Ralph Sympsun Esqr.' also owned the manuscript.

Bodleian Library Douce 378 (SC 21953; D2)

Description

Bodleian Library MS Douce 378 is a late fifteenth-century manuscript, consisting of 70 paper leaves (iii + 62 + v) originally measuring approximately 260 by 180 mm. The paper has a diamond-ring watermark in the centre of the folios, similar to, but not the same as, Briquet 1923: number 689 (Cologne, c. 1457). The folios have been cut and remounted on separate paper leaves measuring 310 by 240 mm. The text of the *Chronicle* is written in single columns (with a height of approximately 210 mm) of four or five stanzas, of seven lines each, per folio. Modern foliation is present in the top right-hand corner of each folio, in pencil, and each folio is frame ruled and neatly spaced. Because the folios have been cut and remounted a collation is not possible; however, the positioning of the watermarks suggests that the manuscript comprised quires of twenty. Again, the cutting and remounting of the original folios has removed any information regarding quire signatures, but some catchwords do survive (see, for example, f. 27v), suggesting that the manuscript probably had regular catchwords, and possibly quire signatures. The manuscript is bound in nineteenth-century light brown leather, with panels of blind tooling (fleur-de-lis and heraldic lion stamps); the title 'Harding's Chronicle' occurs on the spine in gold letters.

A single late bastard anglicana hand writes the text throughout the *Chronicle* and adds brief, occasional notes in the margins (in red ink); unfortunately many of these have been lost due to cropping. No other hands or jottings are present.

Small coloured initials are present throughout the manuscript in blue and red on a plain ground. Red and blue pen flourishes decorate the outer edges of the initials and spread into the margins. There is no other illumination present in the manuscript; however a Pedigree of France occurs on 61r with red roundels and boxes.

Contents

1. ff. 1-62v: *Chronicle* proper begins, incompletely, in the reign of Condage with 'For his peple to serue the goddes there' and ends at the marriage of Richard II to Anne with 'All gentyll disportt as to a lord appent'.
2. f. 61r: A Pedigree of France in sketch form in the same hand as the main text, showing the descent of the French crown from Saint Louis to Richard, duke of York.
3. flyleaves, numbered ff. 63r-67r: Blank.

Provenance

Nothing is known of the early provenance of the manuscript. Nevertheless, the manuscript variants demonstrate that Douce 378 was copied from an exemplar not very far removed from that used for the Egerton 1992, Illinois 83, Takamiya 6 group and Grafton's printed versions, perhaps locating the initial provenance of the manuscript in the metropolis (see **The Relationships of the Manuscripts**). The bookplate of Sir Francis Douce occurs on the front inside cover. In the 1812 edition of the *Chronicle* Henry Ellis suggested that the manuscript came into Douce's possession from an old family library in the country (see Ellis 1812: xvi).

British Library MS Egerton 1992 (E)¹⁸⁰

Description

British Library MS Egerton 1992 is a late fifteenth-century manuscript consisting of 176 paper leaves (ff. iii +170 + iii) measuring 290 by 200 mm. The paper has watermarks in the centre of the folio, in the gutter, similar to Briquet 1923: numbers 6303 and 6304 (a circle pierced by two crossed arrows, Rome c. 1462-74), or Piccard 1961-96: IX, numbers 964 and 965 (Genova 1455 and 1459). The text of the *Chronicle* is written in single columns (with a height of approximately 200 mm) of four or five stanzas, of seven lines, per folio. Modern foliation is present in the top right-hand corner of each folio, and each side has frame ruling, although the writing is not consistently well spaced. Collation: 1¹⁴ (ff. 1-14); 2¹⁶ (ff. 15-30), 3¹⁶ (ff. 31-39, lacks what would have been the first to the seventh folios of the quire), 4¹⁶ (ff. 40-55), 5¹⁶ (ff. 56-71), 6¹⁶ (ff. 72-87), 7¹⁶ (ff. 88-103), 8¹⁶ (ff. 104-119), 9¹⁶ (ff. 120-135), 10¹⁶ (ff. 136-151), 11¹⁶ (ff. 152-167); 12⁴ (ff. 168-170, lacks what would have been the second folio of the quire, but more folios may be lacking since the *Chronicle* ends on an incomplete stanza). Regular quire signatures are marked alphabetically (*a-h*, *k-n*) and numbered on the first half of each quire (i-viii), but no catchwords are present. The manuscript has a British Library quarter binding of red leather.

A single secretary hand writes the text throughout the manuscript and occasional marginal notes in red regarding the monarchs and important events in the history.

There are several jottings present in the manuscript: a late fifteenth-century or early sixteenth-century hand makes numerous brief glosses throughout the manuscript, particularly in the Arthurian sections, where the hand has written 'false' next to several of the stanzas (ff. 44v, 51v), and 'the bastard' next to King Arthur's name (f. 43v). On f. 29 an eighteenth-century hand makes notes in the margins related

¹⁸⁰ British Library, *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum: 1854-75*, II, 939.

to the text; on f. 134v a late fifteenth-century hand notes ‘The old records in ye Tour of London’, and on f. 145v the same hand writes ‘The duke of Norfolke died after in Lombardye’.

Spaces between three and four lines in height, containing guide letters, have been left for illuminated initials to be inserted at the beginning of each new chapter. There is no illumination in the manuscript, although a simple Pedigree of France, executed by the scribe and enclosed in red circles, occurs on f. 140v.

Contents

1. ff. 1r-5v: The prologue begins ‘The most substance of power and of myght’ and ends ‘And bygged it where all afor was playn’.
2. ff. 6r-168v: The *Chronicle* proper begins ‘The while þat Troy was regnyng in his myght’ and ends incompletely ‘in the reign of Edward IV with ‘Vnto fre Rauf Percy of gode entent’.
3. f. 140v: A Pedigree of France, in sketch form in the same hand as the main text, showing the descent of the French crown from Saint Louis to Richard, duke of York.
4. ff. 169r-170v: Incomplete verse epilogue addressed to Edward IV, advising him to think upon the kindness of Henry IV and Henry V towards Richard II’s heir, the earl of March, and asking him to show the same benevolence to Henry VI and his family by bringing them home from Scotland. Begins ‘To his pleasaunce *without*e all suspicion’ and ends ‘wherfor gode lorde now girde you *with your swerde*’.

Provenance

Nothing is known of the early history of the manuscript although it is probable, given the manuscript’s textual affiliations with Illinois 83, Takamiya 6 and Grafton’s printed versions, that it was produced in London (see **The Relationships of the Manuscripts**). A flyleaf indicates that the British Museum purchased the manuscript at Sotheby’s on 6 August 1865 (lot 220) from the collection of Lord Charlemont.

*Princeton University, MS Garrett 142 (G)*¹⁸¹

Description

Princeton University MS Garrett 142 is a late fifteenth-century manuscript consisting of five vellum and paper flyleaves and 149 paper folios, measuring 295 by 210 mm (ii + 149 + iii). The first and the final flyleaves, measuring 295 by 105 mm, are from a thirteenth-century vellum manuscript. The carefully executed Latin text, frame ruling, and prick marks on these leaves suggests that they were originally from a high quality manuscript of a religious text that later became damaged; these particular leaves may have been recycled and added as additional protection to the paper folios during the last rebinding of the manuscript in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century (see below). The watermarks on the paper are difficult to

¹⁸¹ It is with sincere gratitude that I acknowledge my debt to Don C. Skemer, Curator of Manuscripts at Princeton University; his kind assistance and advice concerning Garrett 142 has helped me immeasurably in the composition of this description.

determine, but when they occur they are present in the centre of the folios and appear to resemble a bunch of grapes or raisins similar to, but not the same as, Briquet 1923: number 13064 (Mezzari, 1473); none of the watermarks in Piccard correspond with those in Garrett 142 (1961-96: XIV).

In addition to Hardyng's *Chronicle* the manuscript contains an unidentified Latin commentary on Genesis, and genealogical text beginning in exactly the same way as Roger of St Albans's *Progenies Regum Anglie* (derived from Peter of Poitiers's *Compendium Historiae in Genealogia Christi*), but then differing slightly in its descriptions of the kings.¹⁸² Hardyng's *Chronicle* is the final piece in the manuscript. The text of the *Chronicle* is written in single columns (with a height of approximately 225 mm) usually comprising 42 lines per folio; unlike the other manuscripts, the text is written as continuous verse with no spaces between the stanzas. Modern foliation occurs in the top right-hand corner of each folio in pencil. There is no frame ruling.

The manuscript is sewn on four cords into a limp-vellum wrapper belonging to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. The wrapper has yapps and end ties, but is slightly too small for the folios it contains; it was probably made for another text or collection of documents and re-used to hold the current texts. On the front of the wrapper occur the words 'Hist/Begins at Adam and end with Hen. 6 imperfect No. 12', followed by two symbols that look similar to the kind of monograms used by early printers to identify their work; the first is probably a monogram of the initials 'RS'.¹⁸³

Collation: 1⁶ (i, ii, f. 1; lacks what would have been the fourth to the sixth folios of the quire), 2¹² (ff. 2-13), 3¹⁰ (ff. 14-20; lacks what would have been the seventh, eighth and tenth folios of the quire), 4¹⁰ (ff. 21-30), 5¹⁰ (ff. 31-40), 6¹⁰ (ff. 41-50), 7¹⁰ (ff. 51-60), 8¹⁰ (ff. 61-70), 9¹⁰ (ff. 71-80), 10¹⁰⁺¹ (ff. 81-91; f. 85 is an insert), 11¹⁰⁺¹ (ff. 92-101; f. 99 is an insert, and what would have been the ninth folio of the quire is lacking), 12¹⁰⁺¹ (ff. 102-12; f. 109 is an insert), 13¹⁰ (ff. 113-22), 14¹⁰ (123-30; lacks what would have been the third and fourth folios of the quire), 15¹⁰ (ff. 131-40), 16¹⁰ (ff. 141-49; lacks what would have been the ninth folio of the quire).

Quire signatures are present (marked i-v, except quire 10 which is marked i-vi); in addition, each quire is numbered (1-13) in the centre of each bottom margin. Catchwords are present throughout the manuscript, and a particularly striking quill and inkpot motif occurs next to the catchword on f. 122v.

The manuscript appears to contain one main hand, which writes all of the texts in a cursive, bastard anglicana script, with rhyme braces added to the text of the *Chronicle*, and scribal paraphs. There are many corrections and deletions especially in the marginal notes. The first letter of each line occurs in red ink, and many of the cancellations, marginal and textual, are made in red. Aside from this, there are two minor contemporary hands present; the first, a compact thirteenth-century secretary hand writing in Latin, occurs on the first and last flyleaves; these flyleaves contain matter of a religious nature.¹⁸⁴ The second hand, a bastard anglicana, writes in Latin and English, and makes extensive notes throughout the *Chronicle*, particularly in the

¹⁸² Roger of St Albans (*fl.* 1450) was a Carmelite monk of London. His genealogical chronicle originally ended in 1453, but several copies have been extended to later years. For a list of extant manuscripts containing the text see Sharpe 1997: 580.

¹⁸³ Unfortunately, I have been unable to identify the marks further.

¹⁸⁴ I have been unable to identify the text. I am extremely grateful to Dr William Flynn (University of Leeds) for his kind assistance in attempting to ascertain the contents of these leaves.

later parts. There is reason to believe that this hand belongs to the manuscript's original owner, a Lancastrian sympathiser who commissioned a copy of the *Chronicle* for his own purposes. In 1996 Felicity Riddy suggested that the hand in question belonged to someone who had 'a professional interest in history' and who attempted 'to undertake the hopeless task of checking Hardyng's chronology against biblical and other sources' (1996: 104). The nature of the larger notes made by this annotator, together with several other points, highlight an anti-Yorkist bias throughout the entire manuscript. First, the prologue in Garrett 142 is unique amongst the manuscripts of the second version, as it has been radically cut in order to omit all references to Richard, duke of York, his family, and York's claim to the English throne through his descent from Edward III. Further glorification of the House of York is removed later in the *Chronicle*, as the final 2 stanzas of Edward III's reign and the pedigree of France that follows, detailing the Yorkist claim to the throne of France, are omitted. Since the pedigree occurs in most manuscripts of the second version of the *Chronicle*, and more importantly Garrett's sister manuscript, Hunter 400, it follows that the original owner did not require the Pedigree of France in his copy.¹⁸⁵ Furthermore, many of the extensive marginal notes in the later sections of the *Chronicle* show the annotator's attempt to refute all anti-Lancastrian bias in the text and material pertinent to the Yorkist claim to the throne. On f. 134v, for example, the hand writes a long refutation of the legitimacy of Philippa of Clarence, daughter of Lionel, duke of Clarence, using a defence lifted from John Fortescue's tracts in refutation of the Yorkist claim to the throne, namely *De Titulo Edwardi Marchiae*, the *Defensio Juris Domus Lancastriae*, *The Defense of the Title of the House of Lancaster*, and *Of the Title of the House of York*.¹⁸⁶ Likewise, at the end of the reign of Henry IV (f. 148v) the annotator has taken offence at Hardyng's comment that Henry IV had a leprous face at the time of his death. Undoubtedly aware of the rumours associated with Henry's alleged leprosy, namely that the king's affliction was providential punishment for the execution of Archbishop Scrope in 1405, the reader has filled the

¹⁸⁵ Those manuscripts of the second version in which no Pedigree of France is extant, generally point towards the initial inclusion of one (as, for example, in Takamiya 6 where half of the folio has been cut out of the manuscript), or an intention to provide one (shown, for example, by the catchword 'The Pedegree of ffrance' on f. 126v of Douce 345).

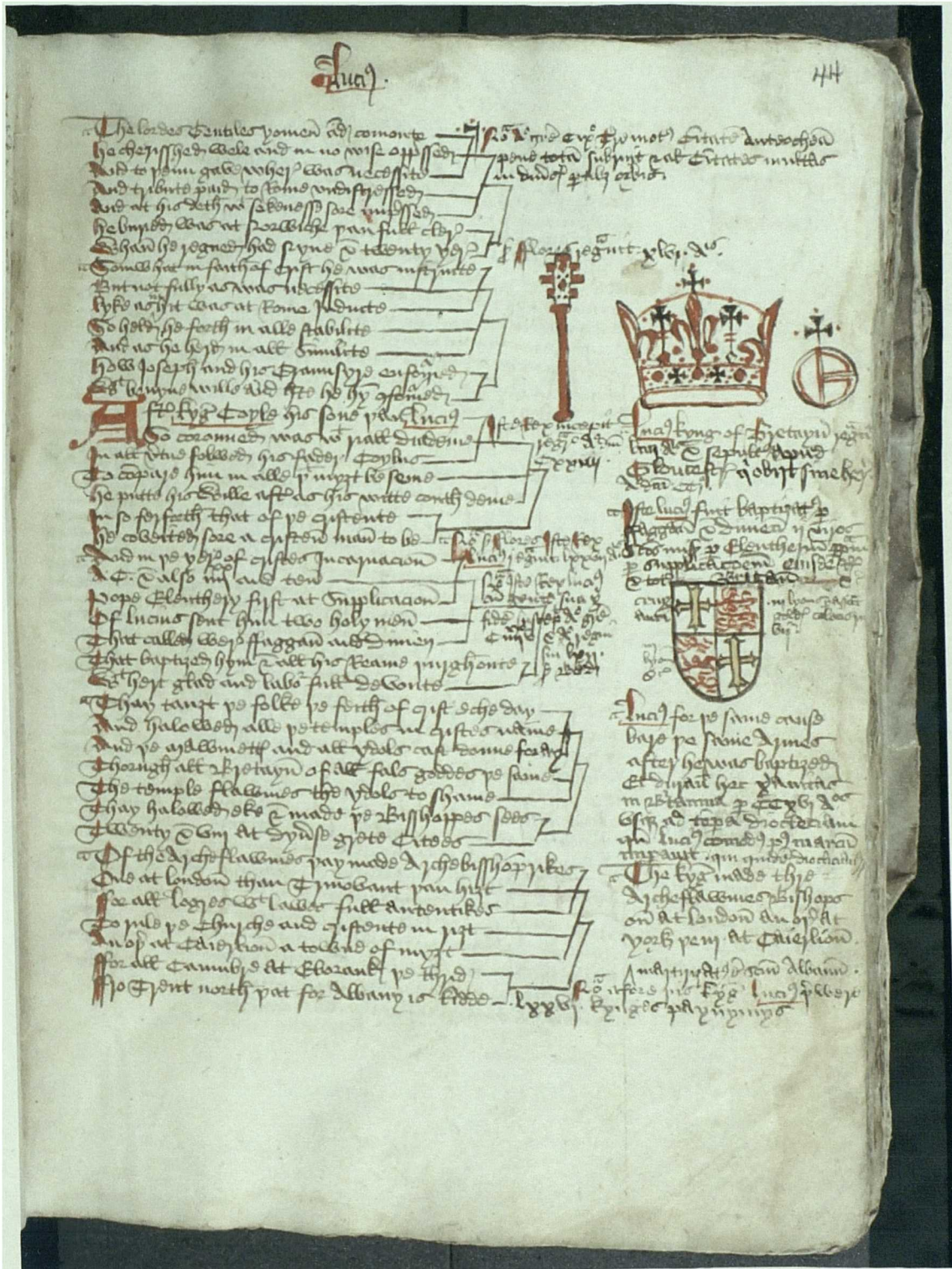
¹⁸⁶ An edition of two of the more interesting glosses from the reigns of Edward III and Henry IV are provided in **Appendix 3**. Michael Bennett (University of Tasmania) has called to my attention the possibility that Fortescue himself may have been responsible for the annotations in Garrett 142. The probable early northern provenance for the manuscript, the pro-Lancastrian nature of the contemporary annotations, the 'professional interest in history' described by Riddy, and the almost verbatim use of Fortescue's arguments so soon after their composition, would all give credence to this hypothesis and what is known of Fortescue's brief sojourn in the north following the first deposition of Henry VI. However, the only manuscript believed to contain Fortescue's holograph (British Library MS Cotton Otho B. i) was lost in the Cottonian fire of October 1731, so in the absence of further evidence a direct link to Fortescue is impossible to determine. Fortescue is known to have owned Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C. 398 (his arms occur in the decorated initials), a manuscript on vellum, richly illuminated in a style similar to the decoration in Arch. Selden B. 10 and Ashmole 34 (see, for example, ff. 79r, 89v and 161r), and almost certainly produced by the same group of artists. In comparison Garrett 142 is a mediocre production, but the change in Lancastrian fortunes which affected Fortescue after 1461 would, nevertheless, account for this. For further discussion of the possible connections between Garrett 142 and the manuscripts of the second version see **The Relationships of the Manuscripts**. Interestingly, Rawlinson C. 398 contains a copy of the Latin *Brut* closely related to the version used as a source by Hardyng; whilst this may be coincidental, the peculiar nature of this version of the *Brut* may point towards a link between the kind of common sources Hardyng had access to through his network of associates and those works commissioned and read by members of the king's affinity.

margins of the folio around the verse with an anecdote explaining how the rumours of leprosy originated, attributing his facial disfigurement and eventual death to a fatal dose of poison administered by the king's cook (see **Appendix 3**). Such annotations have a bearing on the probable date of the manuscript, as the optimistic jottings imply that the glossator supported a Lancastrian restoration, and therefore added his comments before Prince Edward died at Tewkesbury in May 1471 and Henry VI was murdered; it would be pointless to make such an effort to discredit Hardyng's text if all hope of a future Lancastrian monarch was lost. The notes could conceivably been added in, or around, 1470 if the text of the *Chronicle* was produced before the additional materials in the manuscript. The presence of Roger of St Albans's work in the manuscript, a genealogical text with a strong Lancastrian bias highlighting the House of Lancaster's descent from Woden, and concluding with a reference to the numerous miracles witnessed at Henry VI's tomb, complements the carefully edited and annotated version of Hardyng's *Chronicle*, and serves to highlight further the pro-Lancastrian nature of the manuscript as a whole. However, since the pedigree before the *Chronicle* gives the length of Henry VI's reign as forty-nine years, and records his death and burial (1471), a date prior to 1471 can only be posited for the *Chronicle* based on the assumption that the *Chronicle* was prepared and annotated earlier, and then bound with the additional items after c. 1471. Frustratingly, whilst the collation of the manuscript would support the possibility of the quires containing the *Chronicle* being written separately from the other items preceding it, the quire signatures and catchword on f. 20v do not. The intimate relationship between the first probable owner, the main scribe, and the adaptation/annotation of the *Chronicle* do, nonetheless, make Garrett 142 one of the most valuable manuscripts of the second version, in terms of contemporary reader responses to Hardyng's work and the fluid political climate of late fifteenth-century England.¹⁸⁷

A number of jottings occur in the manuscript; various scribbles occur on the first flyleaf (i) along with the name 'Johannes bearyk in comitatum'; on ii 'Harding' occurs in pencil; f. 1r has many scribbles and illegible notes in a sixteenth-century hand containing the names 'Jerard bearyk' and 'Johannes lond[oniensis] in Comitatum'; on f. 2r the same hand as that on i writes 'joh' and there are many letters of the alphabet repeated; on f. 61v, 76v, 122v, 138v and 140r a late sixteenth-century hand writes 'a note'; on ff. 17r, 18r and 19v, several Latin phrases have been added in the margins, and the names 'Guy Sayly (?) doner or donez moy vostre rettonre' and 'Willielmus anleff' occur on f. 19v; on the recto of the flyleaf marked as f. 150 the initials 'HG' occur; the same folio contains several jottings, possibly all by the same late fifteenth or early sixteenth-century hand. The first of these notes occurs three times (at the top, middle and bottom of the folio) with slight variation, and reads 'This byll mayd the xxxiii yeare of the [reinge of] oouer soueringe ladye Elizabeth by [the grace of] God quene of England' (c. 1591), 'This byll mayd the nente day of nouember in the xxxiii yeare of the rainge of ouer soueringe lady Elysabeth [...]', and 'This byl maid the neinte day of nouomber in the xxxiii yeare of the rainge of our soueringe'. The next legible annotation occurs next to the last and appears to be part of an Elizabethan poem beginning 'Was euer a man so toste in loue as I'. Finally, in the bottom right-hand corner the words 'Richard Storye of Thorntone in the cuntye of York [...] cuttler [...]eribus [illegible cancellation]' occur. There are two further jottings on this folio, but they are difficult to read. The annotations highlight the use of the manuscript, and readership of Hardyng's *Chronicle* in the sixteenth century,

¹⁸⁷ For further discussion see **The Relationships of the Manuscripts and Appendix 3**.

Figure 21



The Arms of Lucius and Other Decorations: Garrett 142, f. 44r.

and may also support an early Yorkshire provenance for Garrett 142 (see below for further discussion). It is highly probable, given the date of the hand responsible for writing ‘Richard Storye’ and the other Elizabethan jottings on f. 150r, that Storye may have been the owner of the manuscript in the late sixteenth century, and could have instigated its rebinding in the limp-vellum wrapper c. 1591.¹⁸⁸ Further value would be added to this assumption if the first symbol on the cover were indeed a monogram of the initials ‘RS’.

The manuscript contains many illustrations: red and brown cadel initials occur on ff. 2r, 7r, and 21r, with the initial on f. 2r containing a head with a protruding tongue. On f. 9v a small ‘Tau’ map of the world has been drawn in red and brown ink. The top semi-circle contains the word ‘Asia’, whilst ‘Europa’ and ‘Affrica’ occur in the bottom left and right quarters. A sketch genealogical table occurs on ff. 10r-11v. Numerous crowns, sceptres, swords and orbs are drawn in red and brown ink from f. 27r onwards and are contemporary to the composition of the manuscript. On f. 38v a small musical stave comprising five lines with square notation and lyrics underneath has been added in the margin, along with a drawing of a harp and an instrument similar to a harpsichord in red and black ink. Again, these are contemporary with the production of Garrett 142 and occur in the margins next to the account of King Bledud Gaberd (a king celebrated for his musical abilities in the *Chronicle*). Shields are present on f. 42v (the arms of St George, a red cross on a plain ground), f. 44r (the arms of Lucius, quarterly, a cross in yellow ink and 3 lions in red; see **Figure 21**) and f. 122r (a chevron, three crows, a bordure invecked; motto ‘deo gracias quod S. R (?)’). A sketch genealogy of Constance is present in red ink on f. 47r and on f. 48r someone has drawn a cross coloured red and black. Flags have been drawn in red ink in the margins of f. 56r (one with three crowns, another with St George’s arms and another with the outline of quarters) and f. 82v (yellow cross on a blue ground). On f. 100r there are several pictures of scrolls. Finally, it appears that spaces of two lines in height were originally left for decorated initials to mark each change of monarch; however, for some reason this was not possible, and so the spaces were filled with larger ink letters. The names of kings and places are frequently underlined in red throughout the manuscript.

Contents

1. f. 1: Blank, but contains scribbles and illegible notes.
2. ff. 2r-6r: Latin prose commentary on Genesis begins ‘In principio creavit deus celum et terram et per ipsum omnia facta sunt’ ends ‘secundum Grecos 5500 et secundum metodium 5000’.
3. f. 6v: blank.
4. f. 7r: Prologue to Roger of St Albans’s *Progenies Regum Anglie* begins ‘Considerans cronicorum prolixitatem necnon et difficultatem scolarium’, ends ‘et ab illo vsque ad Henricum sextum originaliter finem perduxit’.
5. ff. 7r-18v: Text of Roger of St Albans’ *Progenies Regum Anglie* begins ‘Adam in agro Damasceno formatus’, ends ‘Rex Henricus sextus regnavit XLIX annis apud Cherchesey sepelitur’.
6. ff. 18v-19v: Notes on British and Saxon kings and place names: begins ‘Nota quod Armonica siue Letania id est Minor Britannia. Britamia et Britonas a

¹⁸⁸ I am indebted to Don. C. Skemer, Curator of Manuscripts at Princeton University for this suggestion.

Brute' and ends 'hec de Anglis qui terram istam optinnerunt DCXVII annis licet a danis sepius infesturentur'.

7. f. 20: Blank
8. f. 21r-21v: Abbreviated prologue of Hardyng's *Chronicle* begins 'The most substauce of power and of myzt' and ends 'And billed hit where alle afore was playne'.
9. ff. 21v-149v: The *Chronicle* proper begins 'The while þat Troy was reygnyng in his myzt' and ends imperfectly in the reign of Henry V, with the duke of Holland on the Themes: 'At his desire, as saith the cronycler'.
10. ff. 136r-137r: Latin prose regarding Edward III, his claim to the throne of France, and the campaigns he fought in France in an attempt to claim the French throne. Begins 'Edwardus tercius rex Anglie et Francie' and ends 'rex habuerat villam et castrum de Caleys.'

Provenance

Textual evidence suggests that the person who originally commissioned Garrett 142 had Lancastrian sympathies; this individual appears to be the person responsible for the late fifteenth-century annotations added to the margins of the *Chronicle*. The identity of this early owner is uncertain, although his evident knowledge of, and interest in, history, competency in Latin, adeptness in presenting an argument, and careful refutation of the pro-Yorkist materials within the text suggest a well educated individual, possibly residing in the north of England, with personal interest in the political affairs of the 1460s and early 1470s. An identification of the arms on f. 122r may shed further light on this matter. Traces of northern dialect within the *Chronicle* suggest that the manuscript may have been copied by a northern scribe, or from a northern exemplar. Textual affiliations and shared variant readings with the copy of Hardyng's *Chronicle* extant in Glasgow University MS Hunter 400 (v. 2. 20), which also bears traces of northern dialect, suggest that both manuscripts were copied from the same exemplar, and are close to Hardyng's original archetype (see **The Relationships of the Manuscripts**). It is generally accepted that parts of the north remained loyal to the Lancastrian cause until quite late in the fifteenth century, so it is perhaps not improbable to assume that this manuscript originated from the north, having been commissioned by a Lancastrian sympathiser before 1471, and remained there until at least the late sixteenth century. Aside from the reference on f. 150r, which suggests that Richard Storey of Thornton, Yorkshire, was an early owner, nothing more of the early provenance of the manuscript is known.

Robert Garrett of Maryland, Baltimore, acquired the manuscript in July 1925 from Ellis booksellers in London, and in 1942 Garrett made a gift of his collection to Princeton University; the Princeton library bookplate is found on the inside cover.

*British Library MS Harley 661 (H)*¹⁸⁹

Description

British Library MS Harley 661 is a late fifteenth-century manuscript consisting of 11 paper folios and 191 parchment folios (vi + i + 190 + v) measuring 345 by 265 mm. The text is written in single columns (with a height of 230 mm) comprising five stanzas, of seven lines each per folio. Modern foliation in pencil is

¹⁸⁹ Nares, Home and Ellis 1808-12: I. 400.

present in the top right-hand corner of each folio. Many of the folios have been badly damaged in a fire and the *Chronicle* is imperfect at the beginning.

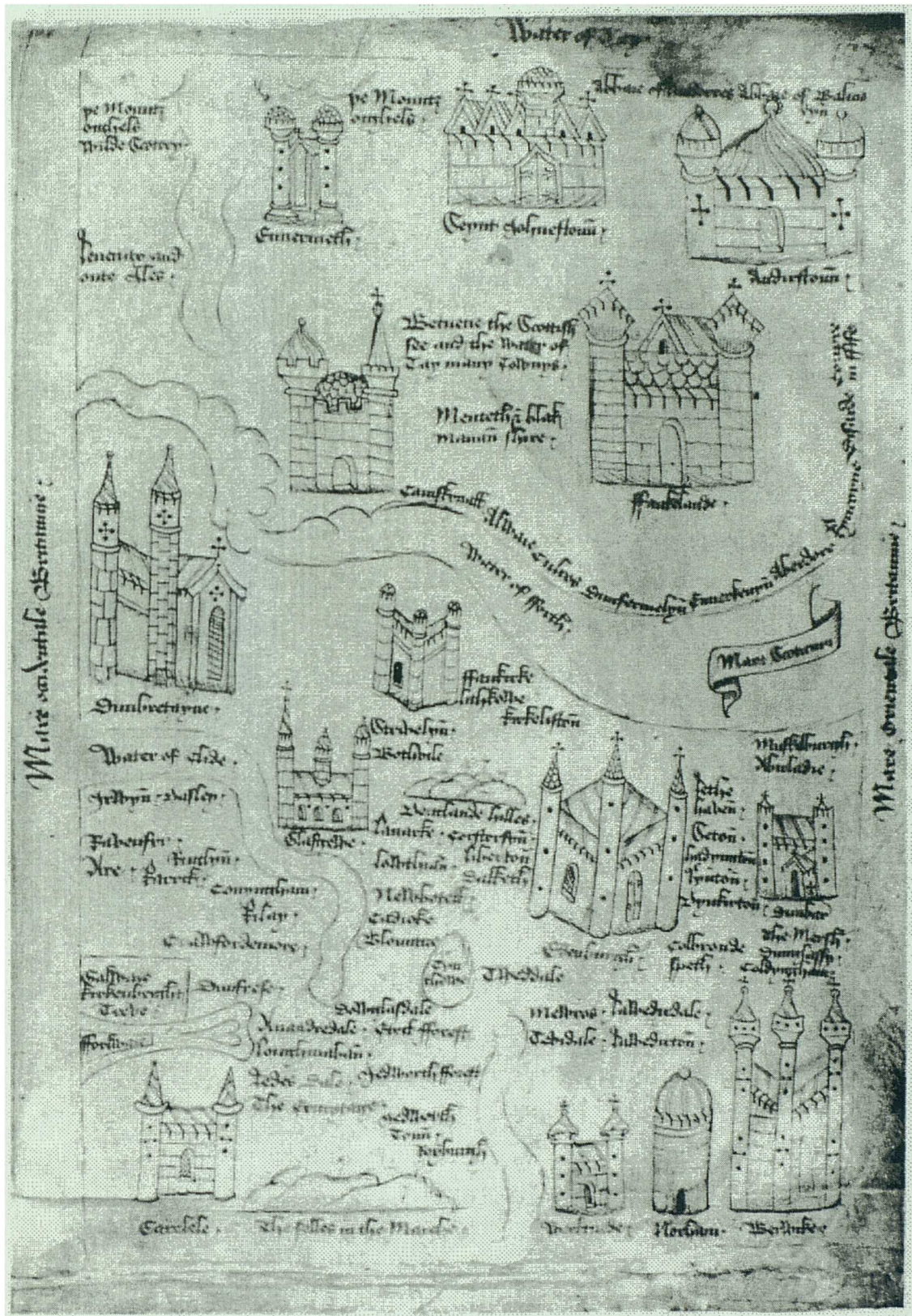
Each folio has black frame ruling and is carefully spaced. Collation: 1⁸ (ff. 1-7, lacks what would have been the first leaf of the quire), 2⁸ (ff. 8-14, lacks what would have been the first leaf of the quire, quire signatures marked 12-17), 3⁸ (ff. 15-22, marked A-H), 4⁸ (ff. 23-29, lacks what would have been the second leaf of the quire, marked I, K-P), 5⁸ (ff. 30-37, marked Q-T, V, X-Z), 6⁸ (ff. 38-45, marked 1-8), 7⁸ (ff. 46-53, marked 9-16), 8⁸ (ff. 54-61, marked 9-16), 9⁸ (ff. 62-69, marked A-F, H, I), 10⁸ (ff. 70-77, marked A1-A8), 11⁸ (ff. 78-85, marked B1-B8), 12⁸ (ff. 86-93, marked 1-8), 13⁸ (ff. 94-101 marked 9-16), 14⁸ (ff. 102-109, marked 1-8), 15¹⁺⁸ (ff. 110-118, f. 110 is an insert, ff. 111-118 marked B-I), 16⁸ (ff. 119-126, marked L1-L8), 17⁸ (ff. 127-134, marked X1-X8), 18⁸ (ff. 135-142, first half marked P1-P4), 19⁸ (ff. 143-150, first half marked 1-4), 20⁸ (ff. 151-158, no marks), 21⁸ (ff. 159-166, first half marked R1-R4), 22⁸ (ff. 167-174, no marks), 23⁸ (ff. 175-82, no marks), 24⁸ (ff. 183-90, no marks). With the exception of the first quire, regular quire signatures are present, but do not conform to any logical order (details of these are given in the collation above). Similarly, catchwords frequently occur in the first half of each quire (usually on the first three folios) and at the end of quires 12, 14-20, 22-3. The manuscript has an armorial eighteenth-century mottled brown calf binding, with the Harley coat-of-arms at the centre of the covers in gold. The binding has been restored with the eighteenth-century covers glued onto new leather.

A single hand writes the *Chronicle* and the red marginal glosses in a bastard secretary hand. There are several jottings present; on the seventh flyleaf, the only parchment flyleaf, there are numerous scribbles and the names 'Rychard' and 'Dougle' occur, and also the name 'Randolph Bathurst' (this name occurs again on f. 190v); at the top of f. 1 a late hand writes 'one leaf wanting', and again at the bottom of f. 7v 'here one leaf is wanting'; on f. 166v an eighteenth-century hand writes a note based upon the text concerning the 'erle faunkerville'; on f. 190v 'Mydlew', 'London', 'Randolph Bathurst me Scripsit' and 'W.d Thomas Layton' occur along with the words 'haue mercy lord of all mankynde for thy great mercy sake'. Harker notes that 'one Randolph Bathurst is named as son of a grocer and citizen of London in 1601' (1996: 32).

The manuscript contains some fine illumination: on f. 7r a detailed, but sadly damaged, grisaille of Adam and Eve accompanies the beginning of a bar and roundel style genealogy that runs down the margins of the *Chronicle* from this folio onwards. The genealogy details the descent of the British kings, whose encircled names are adorned with yellow crowns (on f. 18r there is a gold crown) and joined with red and blue bars (a particularly extravagant example of this may be found on ff. 104v-105r). The names of important saints also occur in unadorned roundels in the margins.

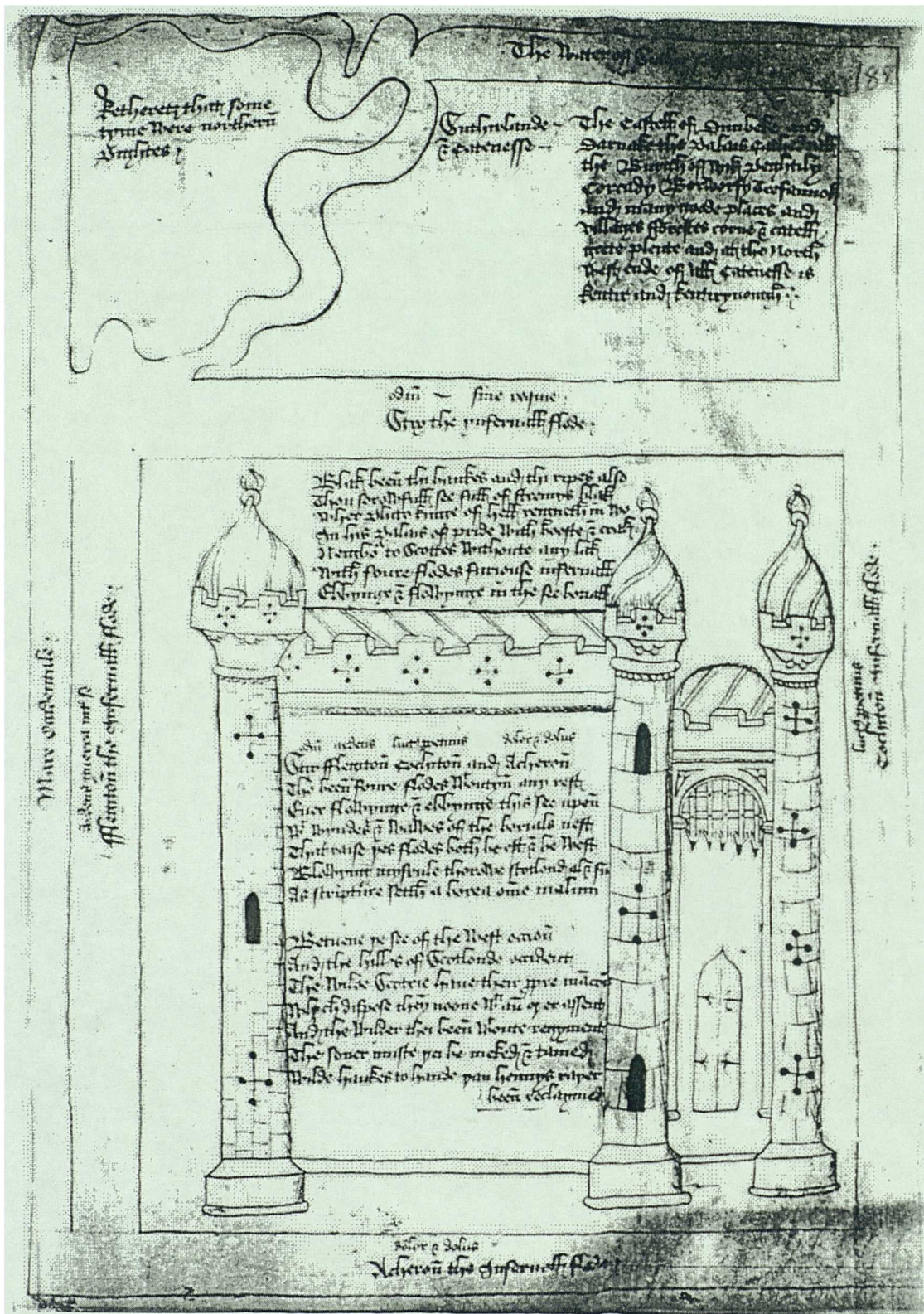
Champ initials (two to five lines in height) are present throughout the manuscript; the initials are gold on a ground quartered pink and blue, with feathered spray work consisting of delicate foliate leaves, lilies and other fine flowers (in the continental style) coloured yellow, green, pink, blue and gold, with green and gold ball motifs and gold lobes. The initials are used to mark a change of monarch or important textual division, and particularly good examples of the workmanship may be seen at ff. 86r, 86v, and 87v. Similarly, each stanza bears small, decorated, paraphs, alternately coloured gold with blue flourishes, and blue with red flourishes which descend into the margins and often contain small drawings of fish (see, for example, ff. 2r, 5r, 7, 19v, 31v). Occasionally the illumination is unfinished, revealing

Figure 22



Hardyng's Map of the Scottish Lowlands: Harley 661, f. 187r.

Figure 23



Hardyng's Map of the Scottish Highlands and The Palace of Pluto, King of Hell: Harley 661, f. 188r

that the decoration of the manuscript was not completed; examples of this include empty roundels, unpainted crowns on the genealogy, and unpainted leaves on the champ initials (see, for example, ff. 14v, 61v).

On ff. 187r-188r an ink map of Scotland occurs, with the names of towns given in red ink (see **Figures 22-23**); the style of the buildings on this map are markedly different from those on the Selden/Harvard maps, but are somewhat similar to the buildings depicted on Bodley Roll 5 (a late fifteenth-century pedigree belonging to the Percy family). An elaborate Pedigree of France occurs on f. 143v, comprised of roundels, bars and gold crowns. Similarly, on f. 108v there is a 'Title of Ierusalem'. Minor doodles are also present in the manuscript; on f. 166v there are two pointing hands in the margin; on f. 190v several heraldic devices including a deer with antlers, a star, a corn bushel, crown and a wreath have been drawn.

Contents

1. ff. 1r-4r: The incomplete prologue to the *Chronicle*, begins '[That Erle was aftir] of Marche and of V[lster]' and ends 'And belded it wher all afore wase playne'.
2. ff. 4r-181r: The *Chronicle* proper begins 'The while that Troye wase rengnyng in his might' and ends 'That Frensh men made to their own dampnacion'.
3. ff. 108r, 110v, 186v: Blank.
4. f. 108v: The Title of Jerusalem, showing the descent of the crown of Jerusalem from Robert Curthose to Richard I.
5. f. 143v: The Pedigree of France showing the descent of the French crown from Saint Louis to Richard, duke of York.
6. ff. 144r-145v: Latin prose regarding Edward III, his claim to the throne of France, and the campaigns he fought in France in an attempt to claim the French throne. Begins 'Edwardus tercius rex Anglie et Francie' and ends 'Rex habuerat villam et castrum de Caleis'.
7. ff. 152r-152v: English prose detailing the Percies' quarrel with Henry IV. Begins 'For as muche as many men mervaile' and ends 'whiche quarell nowe followeth nexte after'.
8. ff. 152v-154r: Latin prose detailing the Percies' quarrel with Henry IV. Begins 'Nos Henricus Percy comes Northumbrie constabularius Anglie' and ends 'hac die omnipotente deo nobis auxiliante'.
9. ff. 154r-155r: English prose regarding Henry IV's usurpation of the English crown and the circulation of a forged chronicle by John of Gaunt, which described Edmund Crouchback, as the eldest son and heir of Henry III. Begins 'For as muche as many men haue been merred' and ends 'but that title the erle Percy put aside'.
10. ff. 170v-173v: Latin prose concerning Henry V and his French campaign. Begins 'Serenissimus princeps Henricus rex Anglie et Francie quintus post conquestum Anglie' and ends 'maxima deuocione littera F tunc dies Dominica Anno Domini M^cCCCCXV'.
11. ff. 181r-184r: Verse epilogue addressed to Edward IV, advising him to think upon the kindness of Henry IV and Henry V towards Richard II's heir, the earl of March, and asking him to show the same benevolence to Henry VI and his

- family by bringing them home from Scotland. Begins 'O gracious lord king Edward fourthe accounte' ends 'To comferte with youre noble high corage'.
12. ff. 184r-186r: Itinerary of Scotland beginning 'Ye may entre Scotlonde at Yareforde' and ending 'as Kynge Edward with the longe shankes dide'.
 13. f. 186v: Blank.
 14. ff. 187r-188r: Map of Scotland.
 15. ff. 188v-189r: Verse address to Edward IV detailing his sovereignty over various continental kingdoms. Begins 'To Engelonde haue ye right as ye may see' ends 'To other londes ye nede noone other truste'.
 16. ff. 189r-190r: Extended epilogue dedicated to Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville, his queen. Hardyng expresses his wish that the royal couple will enjoy his *Chronicle*. Begins 'Of all maters I haue seide myne entente' and ends 'That we hade got in ten as doth apere'.

Provenance

The illuminated genealogical descent, from Adam down to Edward IV, accompanying the text of the *Chronicle*, is similar in design to a number of genealogical rolls produced in the London area (see, for example, London Society of Antiquaries MS 501 described in Scott 1996: II, 266-68). Randolph Bathurst may have been an early owner, but John Stow (1525-1605), the antiquarian and author of *A Survey of London*, is the only person prior to Sir Simonds D'Ewes (1602-50), who can be indisputably linked to the manuscript (see Kingsford 1912b: 482, and *DNB*: XIX, 3-6). It is uncertain how the manuscript came into the possession of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, but it is likely that it came from Stow's collection, along with many of his other manuscripts. Neither Watson (1962 and 1966) nor Wright (1972) lists Harley 661 as part of D'Ewes's collection, but he must have obtained the manuscript at some point before his death, as the manuscript came to the British Library from the D'Ewes collection. D'Ewes also owned Harley 293; for further information on his manuscripts see Watson 1962 and 1966, and Wright 1972.

*Harvard University MS Eng. 1054 (Hv)*¹⁹⁰

Description

Harvard University MS 1054 is a late fifteenth-century manuscript consisting of three paper flyleaves and 149 parchment folios (i + 149 + ii) measuring 335 by 250 mm. The text is written in single columns (with a height of approximately 265 mm) comprising six stanzas, of seven lines each per folio. There are three different foliation systems suggesting at least two re-bindings of the manuscript. The earliest foliation system is written at the bottom of the folios in the gutter, and may first be seen on f. 9r, which is marked '5'. The second system occurs next to the first from f. 33 onwards (labelled '44'), but this system is very confused, at times revealing a two-folio discrepancy (see f. 51), then a nine-folio discrepancy (see ff. 58-63), and overall an eleven-folio discrepancy (ff. 33-41, then f. 64 onwards). The eleven-folio discrepancy implies that the missing quire of ten detailed below and the missing leaf in quire four were lost before or during the second rebinding, and also reveals that the

¹⁹⁰ Faye and Bond 1962: 229; and Houghton Library 1986: IV, 229. I would like to thank the staff at the Houghton Library for allowing me to view Harvard 1054, and for their kind assistance during my visit.

misbinding of the middle section occurred at this time (f. 42r is marked '60'). The third system, also near the gutter of the bottom margin, corrects the inconsistencies of the second. For ease of reference the third foliation system is used here, except where the third system is not present (for example, at the beginning before the original foliation becomes confused).

Each folio has red frame ruling, and prick marks may still be seen on some of folios. Collation: 1⁸ (ff. 1-8), 2⁸ (ff. 9-16), 3⁸ (ff. 17-24), 4⁸ (ff. 25-31, lacks what would have been the sixth leaf of the quire), 5⁸ (ff. 32-39), 6⁸⁺¹⁰ (the collation here becomes very confusing as many of the folios have been rebound incorrectly and do not correspond textually to the order of the modern foliation. Two quires have been confused, and the correct order of the folios should be as follows: ff. 40-41, 51-57, 42, 47-48, 43-46, 49-50 (f. 58r of the following quire follows on from the final line of text on f. 50v)), 7¹⁰ (ff. 58-67), 8⁸ (ff. 68-75), 9⁸ (ff. 76-83), 10⁸ (ff. 84-91), 11¹⁰ (ff. 92-101), 12¹⁰ (ff. 102-111), 13¹⁰ (ff. 112-120, lacks what would have been the eighth folio of the quire), 14⁸ (ff. 121-128), 15⁸ (ff. 129-136), 16⁸ (ff. 137-144), 17⁵ (ff. 145-149).¹⁹¹ Finally, textual evidence suggests that a quire of ten is missing from the manuscript between quires four and five; between f. 31v (the reign of Maximian) and f. 32r (the reign of King Arthur), 123 stanzas are lacking, equating to approximately ten folios. The missing quire is further attested to by the discrepancy of eleven folios shown by the different foliation systems. In actuality there are twelve folios lacking from the manuscript; however, the missing leaf from quire four must have been lost before any foliation was made, since the numbering in quire 13 bears a discrepancy of one between the numbering of the leaves either side of where the missing eighth leaf would have been.

There are no quire signatures present in the manuscript; however, catchwords occur regularly at the end of each quire (except at quires 1, 7, 13 and 15). Damp stains are present in the margins of the final third of the manuscript, and there is extensive damage to the final quire due to heavy cropping of the margins. The manuscript is bound in brown eighteenth-century calf, with gilt edging and is labelled 'Harding's Chronicle' on the spine.

One main hand writes the *Chronicle* and marginal glosses (which generally occur in red) in a secretary hand with some anglicana graphs. Decorative calligraphic flourishes often extend from the letters of the first line into the top margins, and paraph marks occur at the beginning of each stanza, alternating red with blue flourishing and blue with red flourishing. Cancellations are occasionally made in red. Textual evidence suggests that the manuscript may either have been copied from Arch. Selden B.10 or that both manuscripts were copied from a similar source. The former appears to be more likely as this manuscript bears the same errors as the Selden text whilst having numerous others unique to itself (see **The Relationships of the Manuscripts** and Harker 1996: 58-60). Similarly, the decorative strapwork descender, containing a 'g', and occurring on f. 3r is identical to those in Arch. Selden B. 10 and Douce 345, suggesting a connection between this group. In addition to the above hands there are several jottings present in the manuscript: on f. 1r the name 'Percy 1780' occurs in black ink, probably belonging to Bishop Thomas Percy; on f.

¹⁹¹ Due to the poor condition of this final quire it is impossible to determine how many folios were initially part of the gathering; five leaves survive at present. At some point during the manuscript's history the leaves have been rebound incorrectly; to make textual sense the five leaves should be read in the following order ff. 145, 147, 146 and 148. It is possible that this was originally a quire of six, for the text of the *Chronicle* is otherwise complete. A blank leaf was probably removed at an earlier date.

24v a sixteenth-century hand makes notes on the year of Christ's birth; on f. 29v someone has scratched the figure of a hanged man into the vellum; on ff. 135v and 149v, a late sixteenth-century hand, writes 'Iherho...s' [Jeremy?] or 'Iohannes Ewardus', two lines of text occur in the same hand after the name on f. 149v, and another annotation on this folio, concerning 'the h[onou]r of our [lo]rd God', provides a date of '1557'; on f. 136v the name 'Thomas Cara[?]d' appears, and a different hand writes some unclear lines in Latin that include the name 'Bennet'; on f. 148v there is a late fifteenth or early sixteenth-century note concerning rich men; on f. 149v an early sixteenth-century hand writes 'Iohem hurleston' and twelve lines of religious verse addressing the offering of alms follow; a modern hand makes frequent observations throughout the manuscript in pencil, examples of which include, f. 7r 'not in printed version', f. 21r 'one line missing' and f. 26r 'different text completely and unpublished'.

The manuscript contains a little illumination: on f. 1r there is a blue initial of five lines in height on a red pen-work ground. Throughout the manuscript, whenever there is a change of monarch, spaces of between two to five lines in height were originally left with guide letters for illuminated initials to be added, but these have been filled instead with large letters in either red or blue ink. The names of monarchs within the stanzas generally occur in red or blue. At f. 6v and 26r respectively, spaces have been left for the arms of Brutus and St George to be inserted. A fine blue and green map of Scotland, identical to that in Arch. Selden B. 10, occurs on ff. 137r-138r; however, some of the drawings of buildings have been cut out. The names of the towns on the map are underlined in red. On f. 108r there is a Pedigree of France similar to that in the Selden manuscript but lacking the drawing of an angel, which in the Selden manuscript holds the title banner. The roundels of the pedigree are in red ink. Likewise, on f. 143r there is a 'Title of Jerusalem' in sketch form similar to that found in Arch. Selden B. 10, again in red, but very damaged. A few doodles have been added; on f. 1 there are several doodles of fish and geometric designs, and on f. 9v a torch with three branches has been drawn in the bottom margin. Calligraphic letters have been used for the initials of the marginal glosses and to note the change of monarchs against the text.

Contents

1. ff. 1r-4r : The prologue to the *Chronicle* beginning 'The moost substauns of power and of might' and ending 'And bigged it were all afore was playne'.
2. ff. 4r-131v: The *Chronicle* proper beginning 'The while that Troy was reigntyng in his might' and ending 'That French men made the thayre owne dampnacon'.
3. f. 70v: Half a page left blank.
4. f. 108r: A Pedigree of France in sketch form detailing the descent of the French crown from Saint Louis to Richard, duke of York.
5. ff. 131v-134r: Verse epilogue addressed to Edward IV, advising him to think upon the kindness of Henry IV and Henry V towards Richard II's heir, the earl of March, and asking him to show the same benevolence to Henry VI and his family by bringing them home from Scotland. Begins 'O gracious lord Kynge Edward fourth acompte' and ends 'To comfort with your noble high corage'.
6. ff. 134r-136r: Itinerary of Scotland begins 'Ye may entre Scotlond at Yareforde' and ends 'as Kynge Edward with þe longe shankes dyd'.

7. ff. 137r-138r: Map of Scotland identical to that in the Selden manuscript, although damaged through some of the places and castles being cut out.
8. ff. 138v-139v: Latin prose regarding Edward III's claim to the throne of France and the campaigns he fought in France in an attempt to claim the French crown. Begins 'Edwardus tercius rex Anglie *et* Francie' and ends 'rex habuerat villam et castrum de Caleys'.
9. ff. 139v-141v: Latin prose regarding Henry V and his French campaign. Begins 'Serenissimus princeps Henricus rex Anglie *et* Francie quintus post conquestum Anglie' and ends 'cum maxima devocione litera F tunc dies dominica Anno Domini M^lCCCCXV'.
10. ff. 141v-142v: English prose regarding Henry IV's usurpation of the English crown and the circulation of a forged chronicle by John of Gaunt, describing Edmund Crouchback, as the eldest son and heir of Henry III. Begins 'For as moche as many haue bene merred' and ends 'but that the title þe erle Percy put by'.
11. f. 143r: Title of Jerusalem detailing the descent of the crown of Jerusalem from Robert Curthose to Richard I.
12. ff. 143v-144r: Verse address to Edward IV regarding his right to the throne of England and various continental kingdoms, begins 'To Englonde he ye ryght as ye may se' ends 'To othyr londes ye nede none othire triste'.
13. ff. 144r: English prose detailing 'The quarell of Sir Henry Percy with Henry IV and the battle of Shrewsbury'. Begins 'For as moch as many men merwell' and ends 'whych quarell now folowith next after'.
14. ff. 144r-145r: Latin prose detailing the Percies' quarrel with Henry IV. Begins 'Nos Henricus Percy comes Northumbre constabularius' and ends 'hac dio omnipotente deo nobis auxiliante'.
15. ff. 145r-148r: Latin prose regarding the letters sent between Pope Boniface VIII and Edward III of England on the subject of Scottish sovereignty. Begins 'Sanctissimo in *Cristo* patri domino Bonifacio' and ends 'septimo die Maii Anno Domini M^lCCCI et regni nostri vicesimo nono'.
16. ff. 148v-149r: Extended Epilogue addressed to Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville, his queen, expressing a wish that they will enjoy his *Chronicle*. Begins 'Off alle maters I have say[d] myne entent' and ends 'That we had goot yn ten as doth apere'.

Provenance

The name 'Percy 1780' on f. 1r suggests that the manuscript was owned by Bishop Thomas Percy in the eighteenth century. Given that Harvard 1054 is almost identical to Arch. Selden B. 10, both visually and textually (see **The Relationships of the Manuscripts**), and that Arch. Selden B. 10 is also connected with the Percy family (the arms of Henry Percy, fifth earl of Northumberland occur at the end of the *Chronicle*), it is possible that the manuscripts may have been copied in London from the same exemplar (or that Harvard was copied from Selden), and that both were commissioned by the Percies, with the Harvard manuscript remaining in one branch of the family until the late eighteenth century.

Nothing else is known of the early history of the manuscript, but it was later owned by C. W. H. Sotheby, whose bookplate occurs on the inside cover. Some loose leaves containing a description of the manuscript by Harry A Levinson of Beverly

Hills, California, are placed between the inside cover and the first flyleaf. The description is not dated. Harvard University purchased the manuscript from Levinson in 1957, with money from the Amy Lowell Fund; the Harvard College Library bookplate occurs on the inside cover.

*University of Glasgow MS Hunter 400 (v. 2. 20) (Hu)*¹⁹²

Description

University of Glasgow MS Hunter 400 (v. 2. 20) is a late fifteenth-century manuscript (c. 1465-75) consisting of 202 paper folios and three (originally four) parchment flyleaves (ff. ii + iv + iv + 186 + iv (lacks what would have been the fourth leaf of the quire) + iv + ii). The paper folios measure approximately 290 by 210 mm. The manuscript contains three types of paper; the first type is used for the third gathering of flyleaves and has a watermark of two crossed swords in the centre of the folio, similar to Briquet 1923: number 5159 (Venice, 1476) or Piccard 1961-96: IX, numbers 531-36 (Ravenna 1468-69, Rome 1468 and Udine 1455); the second type of paper is used for the main text and has a watermark of two crossed arrows in the centre of the folio, similar to Briquet 1923: number 6277 (Damme, 1462), Piccard 1961-96: IX, number 928 (Traburg, 1458), and 929 (Padua, 1449); the third type is used for the fifth gathering of flyleaves, and has strange crescent shaped watermarks that are very different from anything listed in Briquet or Piccard. The text is written in single columns (with a height of approximately 190-210 mm) comprising five stanzas, of seven lines each, per folio. Modern foliation is present (ff. 1-188) in the top right-hand corner of each folio.

Occasionally frame ruling may be seen in very faint brown crayon. Collation: 1²⁴ (ff. 1-24), 2²² (ff. 25-46), 3²⁴ (ff. 47-70), 4²⁴ (ff. 71-94), 5²⁴ (ff. 95-118), 6²⁴ (ff. 119-142), 7²⁴ (ff. 143-166), 8²⁴ (ff. 167-186, apparently lacks four folios in the second half of the quire because the first half has quire signatures up to 'xii'). Quire signatures (marked i-xii) are present throughout the manuscript, as are regular catchwords at the end of each quire. Additional catchwords are present at ff. 1v, 2v, and 3v.

The manuscript is sewn on five cords into a late seventeenth-century calf binding over paper layer boards. The title 'Hardyng Metrical Chronicle Itinerary of Scotland MSS' occurs in gold letters on the spine. The word 'Hardyng' occurs in ink on a brown paper label on the inside cover, along with the Hunterian bookplate.

There are two scribal hands present in the manuscript. The first and main scribe writes the text and the brief marginal glosses, in brown ink, in a bastard secretary hand. This hand is quite careful, correcting its own mistakes; however on f. 146v and f. 150r the scribe has inserted two symbols into the margin, first in black ink, then in red, to mark a copying error. On f. 152r a second, larger and less careful, hand has written some of the text, and continues onto the verso to write the first ten lines. Rhyme bands occur in brown, and the headings and glosses are written in red ink, as are the distances on the Itinerary.

In addition to this, there are numerous jottings present in the manuscript. In the second group of flyleaves, a book plate was once mounted on the verso of the second leaf, and the original Hunterian Library shelf mark occurs ('Q. 10. 9'). On the

¹⁹² Young and Henderson Aitken 1908: I, 319-20. The manuscript is also discussed briefly in Lyall 1989 and Grindley 1997. I am grateful to the staff at the Hunterian Library for allowing me to view Hunter 400 and several other manuscripts during my visit.

recto of the third leaf in this gathering the name 'E. Asbury' occurs in an eighteenth-century hand. In the third group of flyleaves, on the recto of the first leaf, a late seventeenth-/early eighteenth-century hand writes 'This MS which is fair and beautifully written contains more than Grafton's printed copy & is much more perfect. It appears to have been written by the hand of John Harding'; on the verso of the same leaf a contemporary or early sixteenth-century hand makes a note 'In youth who will nor vertu vse in Age alltogether/ Honor will him Reffuse sic dixit seser (last three words struck through)/ Hym myng haue a Remembrance in alle causisse/ will you be here in this place'; the name 'Robert' also occurs; on the recto of the second leaf in a sixteenth-century hand are the words 'henricus octa [...]'. On f. 115v there is a marginal note about Richard II, and later on f. 119r the same hand writes 'William Awbeney the surnam of erle of Arundle'. On f. 183r a late fifteenth-century hand writes the words 'and me to wary' in the top margin. A sixteenth-century hand writes the name 'yongh' on the recto of the first leaf following the *Chronicle* (marked '187'); on the verso of this leaf occurs 'DC 32 10'. On the recto of the second leaf in this gathering (marked '188') a sixteenth-century hand writes the words 'Equore cum gelido zepherus'; on the verso of the same leaf there are some doodles and a partly illegible jotting 'Thomera offor[...] (?)'. On the final vellum leaf in this gathering the name 'yongh' occurs again, along with 'yonghing', an 'R' and a doodle; there are two references in a late fifteenth or early sixteenth-century hand to one 'Thomas Pycmore'; the first, on the recto of the third leaf of the fourth set of flyleaves, is written backwards 'Samoht Eromcyp I Emdnemocer otnv voy Gneyarp voy ot Rebmemer eht retam eb/ xiwt' ('Thomas Pycmore I recommend me vnto yov Prayeng yov to Remember the mater betwix'); the second reference is on the verso of the third leaf of the same set of flyleaves, and is also written backwards reading 'Samoht Eromcyp sy a evank' ('Thomas Pycmore ys a knave'). 'DC 32 10' occurs again in pencil in the top right-hand corner of the third leaf in the fifth gathering of flyleaves.

Whilst there is no illumination in the manuscript, spaces have been left with guide letters for small illuminated initials to be inserted, and the first letter of each line has been touched with red ink. The three-quarter blank page after the reign of Edward III suggests that a pedigree of France was initially going to be included.

Contents

1. ff. 1r-4v: The incomplete prologue to the *Chronicle* begins 'Edward the III^{de} that was kyng of this lond' and ends 'and bigged it where all afore was playne'.
2. ff. 4v-178r: The *Chronicle* proper begins 'The while that Troy was reignyng in his myght' and ends 'That Frenshmen made to thaire owne dampnacion'.
3. ff. 178r-180v: Verse epilogue addressed to Edward IV, advising him to think upon the kindness of Henry IV and Henry V towards Richard II's heir, the earl of March, and asking him to show the same benevolence to Henry VI and his family by bringing them home from Scotland. Begins 'O gracyous lord Kyng Edward the IIIIth accompte' and ends 'To comferte with youre noble high corage'.
4. ff. 181r-183r: Itinerary of Scotland begins 'Ye may entre Scotlond at Yareford' and ends 'as the noble Kyng Edward with the large Shankes did'.
5. ff. 183v-186: Blank.

Provenance

The traces of northern dialect in Hunter 400, in conjunction with the manuscript's close textual affiliation with Garrett 142, points to both manuscripts having been copied from a shared northern exemplar. It is feasible that Garrett 142 was copied from Hunter 400; however, the obvious lack of a complete prologue in Hunter 400, from which the succinct prologue in Garrett 142 was constructed, the condensed marginal glosses, and the lack of the Latin passages on Edward III (included at the end on the reign in Garrett 142) in Hunter 400 suggests that it is more likely that both manuscripts were copied from a shared exemplar, hence the shared readings for many variants and the additional individual errors occurring in both. R. J. Lyall has highlighted the possibility that Hunter 400 was written by 'a Scottish scribe working from an English exemplar' (Lyall 1989: 254); however, although this speculation is interesting given the nature of the subject matter, Lyall bases the hypothesis solely on the supposition that the 'general character of the hand is consistent with Scottish provenance, and a sprinkling of *-is* and *-it* endings, *sch*-forms and the like' (Lyall 1989: 254).

I have been unable to discover anything about 'Thomas Pycmore', but it is possible that he was an acquaintance of an early owner of the manuscript. The manuscript is believed to be the one sold as Lot 1199 in Ratcliffe's sale of 1776 (catalogue annotated '£2.16s. Thane'). It later belonged to William Hunter (1718-83) who bequeathed his manuscript collection to Glasgow University. The collection briefly remained in London with Hunter's nephew, Dr Matthew Baillie (1761-1823), before coming to the university library in 1807.

*University of Illinois MS Illinois 83 (I)*¹⁹³

Description

University of Illinois MS 83 is a late fifteenth-century manuscript consisting of 224 paper folios, measuring 290 by 210 mm. The text is written in single columns (with a height of approximately 210 mm) comprising four stanzas, of seven lines each, per folio. Modern foliation, written in pencil, is present in the top right-hand corner of each folio. Frame ruling occurs in a brown/rust colour, but this is very faint and sometimes erased.

Collation: 1¹⁸ (ff. 1-18), 2²⁰ (ff. 19-38), 3²⁰ (ff. 39-58), 4²⁰ (ff. 59-78), 5²⁰ (ff. 79-98), 6²⁰ (ff. 99-108), 7²⁰ (ff. 109-138), 8²⁰ (ff. 139-158), 9²⁰ (ff. 159-178), 10²⁰ (ff. 179-198), 11²⁰ (ff. 199-218), 12⁶ (ff. 219-224). There are regular catchwords, and quire signatures are fully marked on the first half of each quire, except quire one (*b-i*, *k-m*). The manuscript is bound in nineteenth-century calf.

Both the text and marginal glosses are the work of a single professional scribe, writing in a bastard secretary hand. The text is written in brown/black ink and rubrications occur in red. The manuscript contains no illumination, but spaces of three to four lines in height were originally left for large initials to be inserted, marking a

¹⁹³ See Faye and Bond 1962: 171. Unfortunately I have been unable to view Illinois 83 in person, and have constructed this description from a microfilm of the manuscript and with the help of Dr Alvan Bregman, Assistant Professor of Library Administration, at the Rare Book and Special Collections Library University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, to whom I am extremely grateful for his kind assistance in providing me with details not apparent from the microfilm.

change of monarch. These have been filled instead with large, plain red initials. The roundels of the pedigree of France on f. 181v are similarly coloured red.

Several jottings occur in the manuscript: on f. 2r the reference ‘Ms 4144’ in the bottom margin suggests that the manuscript was part of an earlier library, although it is difficult to determine the date of the hand; on f. 4v a seventeenth-century hand writes ‘Iohannes Harding autor libri’; on f. 223v three names are written in a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century hand, all of which are difficult to read, but they appear to be: ‘Mayster Gr[...]acape’ (?), ‘James Ward’, and ‘James Driver (?)’.

Contents

1. ff. 1r–6r: The prologue to the *Chronicle* begins ‘The moste substance of power *and* of myght’ and ends ‘And bigged it where all afore was playn’.
2. ff. 6v–218v: The *Chronicle* proper begins ‘The while that Troy was regnyng in his myzt’ and ends ‘pat Frensch men made to þer own dampnacion’.
3. f. 181v: A Pedigree of France (in sketch form and the same hand as the main text) detailing the descent of the French crown from Saint Louis to Richard, duke of York, with additional Latin notes on the royal line.
4. ff. 219r–222r: Verse epilogue addressed to Edward IV, advising him to think upon the kindness of Henry IV and Henry V towards Richard II’s heir, the earl of March, and asking him to show the same benevolence to Henry VI and his family by bringing them home from Scotland. Begins ‘O gracious lord Kyng Edward fourth accompte’ and ends ‘Trust neuer trowth in hem ne perfeccion’.
5. ff. 222r–223r: Verse addressed to Edward IV detailing his sovereignty over various continental kingdoms begins ‘To Englund have ye right as ye may se’ ends ‘To oþer londis ye nede noon oþir trist’.
6. ff. 223r–224r: Extended verse epilogue addressed to Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville, his queen. Begins ‘Off all matters I have seide myn ententt’ and ends ‘pat we had gotte in tenne as doth apere’.

Provenance

Aside from the reference on f. 2r (‘Ms 4144’), which shows that the manuscript was part of an earlier library, nothing else is known of the early provenance of the manuscript. It is probable, given the manuscript’s textual affiliations with Hardyng manuscripts produced in the London area, and with Richard Grafton’s printed editions, that it may have been produced in the metropolis, although the notable absence of marginal annotations by early owners and readers of the chronicle fails to either support or refute this assumption (see **The Relationships of Manuscripts**). The University of Illinois purchased the manuscript in 1947 from W. H. Robinson.

*MS Takamiya 6 (formerly Helmingham Hall MS L. J. 10; T)*¹⁹⁴
Description

MS Takamiya 6 is a late fifteenth-century manuscript containing the *Chronicle* of John Hardyng and two religious lyrics.¹⁹⁵ The manuscript consists of 120 parchment folios (116 + iv) measuring 310 by 205 mm, and the text of the *Chronicle* (ff. 1-116) is written in single columns (with a height of approximately 255 mm), comprising five or six stanzas, of seven lines each, per folio. Modern foliation occurs in the top right-hand corner of each folio.

Each folio has frame ruling and is carefully spaced. Collation: three quires (approximately 36 ff.) are lacking at the beginning; 1¹² (ff. 1-12), 2¹² (ff. 13-24), 3¹² (ff. 25-36), 4¹² (ff. 37-48), 5¹² (ff. 49-60), 6¹² (ff. 61-72), 7¹² (ff. 73-84), 8¹² (ff. 85-94, lacks what would have been the sixth and seventh leaves of the quire), 9¹² (ff. 95-106), 10¹⁰ (ff. 107-116). Quire signatures are fully marked on the first half of each quire (*d-i*, *k-n*), and regular catchwords are present at the end of each quire. The manuscript is bound in seventeenth-century calf.

There are two main hands present in the manuscript; the first, a neat bastard secretary, writes the text of the *Chronicle* and notes a change of monarch in large calligraphic letters in the margins (see **Figure 24**). The second hand, also a bastard secretary, writes the two poems after the *Chronicle*. In addition to the two main hands, numerous jottings are also present in the manuscript: on ff. 16r and 116v a late fifteenth or early sixteenth-century hand writes the name 'Jhon Rael'; on f. 116v the same name occurs in the following phrase 'This is John Ravells boke bare wittnes Robard Crafft and Tomas Numan Robard Chamberlyn and other more'; this hand may also be responsible for the jottings on ff. 35r and 37r, which include the names 'John' and 'Jonh'. On f. 84r a hand of approximately the same date notes that 'Henry Medlton is a shytt loussy knav I dar bowth say *and swer*', and on f. 88r the same hand has drawn the face of a man and written the words 'Henry by the gr[...]'
(unfortunately the margin has been cut away and the rest of the text is missing); it is possible that this hand is also responsible for the sixteenth-century jottings on ff. 57r and 87v. On 30r a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-hand makes a marginal note on the text ('at his deth he yaff to reule esex'), and on f. 40v someone has attempted to copy the scribe's calligraphic 'Eddred' in the margin. A partly illegible late sixteenth-century jotting occurs at the top of f. 120r, which, with the exception of this, is blank; on f. 120v a sixteenth-century hand fills the entire folio with notes about executions in November and December 1531 at Smithfield, London, and other events of interest (see **Appendix 5** for an edition). These notes are of particular interest because they resemble part of an annalistic chronicle occurring in Bodleian Library MS Balliol 354, Richard Hill's Commonplace Book, and are indicative of the records kept by Londoners in their own personal chronicles during this period (see Dyboski 1907:

¹⁹⁴ The description here is drawn from the Sotheby's auction catalogue from 9 July 1969, Lot 32 (*Catalogue of Western Manuscripts and Miniatures*, Sotheby's and Co.), the Bernard Quaritch Catalogue, number 914 (1972), item 5A, a microfilm of the manuscript kindly provided by Professor Toshiyuki Takamiya from his private collection, and his personal notes on Takamiya 6. I am incredibly grateful to Professor Takamiya for his kind assistance in preparing this description and for correcting and commenting on my work.

¹⁹⁵ Editions of the lyrics, and references to them, may be found in Wright 1841: 41-44; Furnivall 1889: 484-85; Brown 1916: 471; Brown 1920: II, 66, number 362; Brown 1939: 169-75, 185-86, 328, 330 (numbers 109 and 118); Brown and Robins 1943: 88, 149 (numbers 550 and 933); Greene 1977: 50-51, 364.

xxviii, 161-64). Professor Takamiya has noted the importance of these notes, which are ‘of interest in showing this manuscript actually in use in Tudor times, when the history of the fifteenth century and the Wars of the Roses were of crucial interest to Halle, Shakespeare, and their contemporaries’.¹⁹⁶ At the bottom of f. 120v the words ‘This bill made the [rest illegible]’ occur. On the inside cover of the manuscript the shelf mark ‘L. J. I. 10’, written in black ink, but now corrected in pencil as ‘L. J. V’, remains from when the manuscript was in the library of Helmingham Hall, in the seventeenth to twentieth centuries.

Several of the folios have sustained damage; f. 1 is heavily damaged; the lower portion of f. 88 has been cut away, as have the outer margins of ff. 27, 33, 59, and 60; the first ten folios are heavily stained and several other folios have minor stains, tears or damaged corners.

The manuscript contains no illumination, although spaces of three lines in height occur in the text signifying a change of monarch and suggesting that they were originally left for illuminated initials to be added; they have been filled instead with ink letters. Similarly, the position of the blank folio at f. 88v implies that a space was reserved for a Pedigree of France, as demonstrated in most other manuscripts of the second version. On ff. 12r and 95r a drawing of a mermaid has been added in the bottom and the right-hand margins.

Contents

1. ff. 1r-112v: The main (but incomplete) body of the *Chronicle*, beginning in the reign of Vortigern; the first legible line of text reads ‘[Which so] ye kyng hym grantid þen anone’ (f. 46 of Arch. Selden B. 10), and the *Chronicle* ends ‘þat Frensmen made to þer own dampnacyon’.
2. f. 88v: Blank, suggesting that a Pedigree of France was to be added at a later date.
3. ff. 112v-115r: Verse epilogue addressed to Edward IV, advising him to think upon the kindness of Henry IV and Henry V towards Richard II’s heir, the earl of March, and asking him to show the same benevolence to Henry VI and his family by bringing them home from Scotland. This is combined with the extended epilogue from Hardyng to Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville, which begins ‘O gracious lorde Kyng Edward IIIIth accompted’ and ends ‘Trust neuer trouth in þem ne perfeccion’.
4. ff. 115r-115v: Verse addressed to Edward IV detailing his sovereignty over various continental kingdoms. Begins ‘To Englonde haue ye right as ye may see’ and ends ‘To odir londis ye nede no opere trist’.
5. ff. 115v-116v: Extended verse epilogue addressed to Edward IV and his queen expressing the hope that the *Chronicle* will please them. Begins ‘Off all maters I haue said myn ententt’ and ends ‘þat we hade gote in X as doth apere.’ On f. 116r Hardyng’s name has been erased from the stanza in which he names his book.
6. ff. 117r-119v: Three additional folios have been added; a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century hand has written two religious lyrics. The first is described as ‘A lamentable complaynt of our saviour and kyng eternall to sinfull mane his brother naturall’. It consists of twenty-eight seven-line stanzas of rhyme royal beginning ‘Brother a-byde, I the desire and pray’ and

¹⁹⁶ This reference is taken from Professor Takamiya’s unpublished description of Takamiya 6.

ending ‘in the blysse of hevyn where ther ys no pouerte’. This is followed by an 18 line ‘carolle’ beginning ‘By resone of ii and power of one/ This tyme god and man were sett at one/ God a-geynst nature iii thyngys hath wrought’ and ending ‘That thus lefte Angell and sauysde mane’. The first lyric is unique to this manuscript, but the second can be found in a longer version occurring in British Library MS Cotton Vespasian A. xxv (c. 1546), which contains a London Chronicle (see McLaren 2002).

7. f. 120v: Notes written in a single hand regarding executions and events around the Smithfield area of London. Similar notes occur in MS Balliol 354, Richard Hill’s *Commonplace Book*, and several early English printed texts; for further discussion on the significance of these notes see **The Relationships of the Manuscripts** and **Appendix 5**.

Provenance

On f. 116v ‘John Ravel’ is noted, in a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century hand, as an owner. A John Revell, son of Robert Revell (a grocer and alderman of London) is mentioned in *London Letter Book L* in the reign of Edward IV (Sharpe 1912: 321), and a Robert Chamberleyn is mentioned in *London Letter Book K* in a list of ‘peautrers’ for the year 1453; these merchants may or may not be linked to the jottings on f. 116v. Similarly, one Thomas Newman, a bookseller in London (c. 1587-98), is known to have purchased a shop in St Dunstan’s Churchyard, Fleet Street, previously owned by Henry Middleton, a London printer (c. 1567-87); the dates pertaining to these men are not consonant with the aforementioned figures, but serve to highlight later characters who may, or may not, be connected to the jottings on f. 116v.¹⁹⁷

The manuscript was almost certainly produced in London, and an early London provenance can be argued on the basis of several points. First, the manuscript appears to have been designed to suit the taste and expenditure of a wealthy merchant or member of the gentry. The names occurring on f. 116v correspond to at least two known London merchants of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Secondly, the poem on f. 119v is extant in only one other manuscript, Cotton Vespasian A. xxv, a diary of a London Citizen belonging to the second quarter of the sixteenth century. This diary also contains a note written in a sixteenth-century hand, which is consistent with the notes written about executions at Smithfield in Takamiya 6; it is probable that these two manuscripts are related either through their early sixteenth-century owners or a shared source. Thirdly, the notes on f. 120v regarding executions around the year 1531 at Smithfield, London, show a distinct concern with the region, and are comparable with entries for this period extant in other London chronicles belonging to the second quarter of the sixteenth-century, mainly Richard Hill’s *Book* and John Stow’s *Abridgement of A Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles*.¹⁹⁸ It is plausible, therefore, that the owner who copied the poem and notes into the manuscript in the early sixteenth century was living either in, or in close proximity to London, and wanted his own copies of texts that he had seen circulating in the capital. Finally, Takamiya 6 has textual affiliations with two groups of Hardyng manuscripts

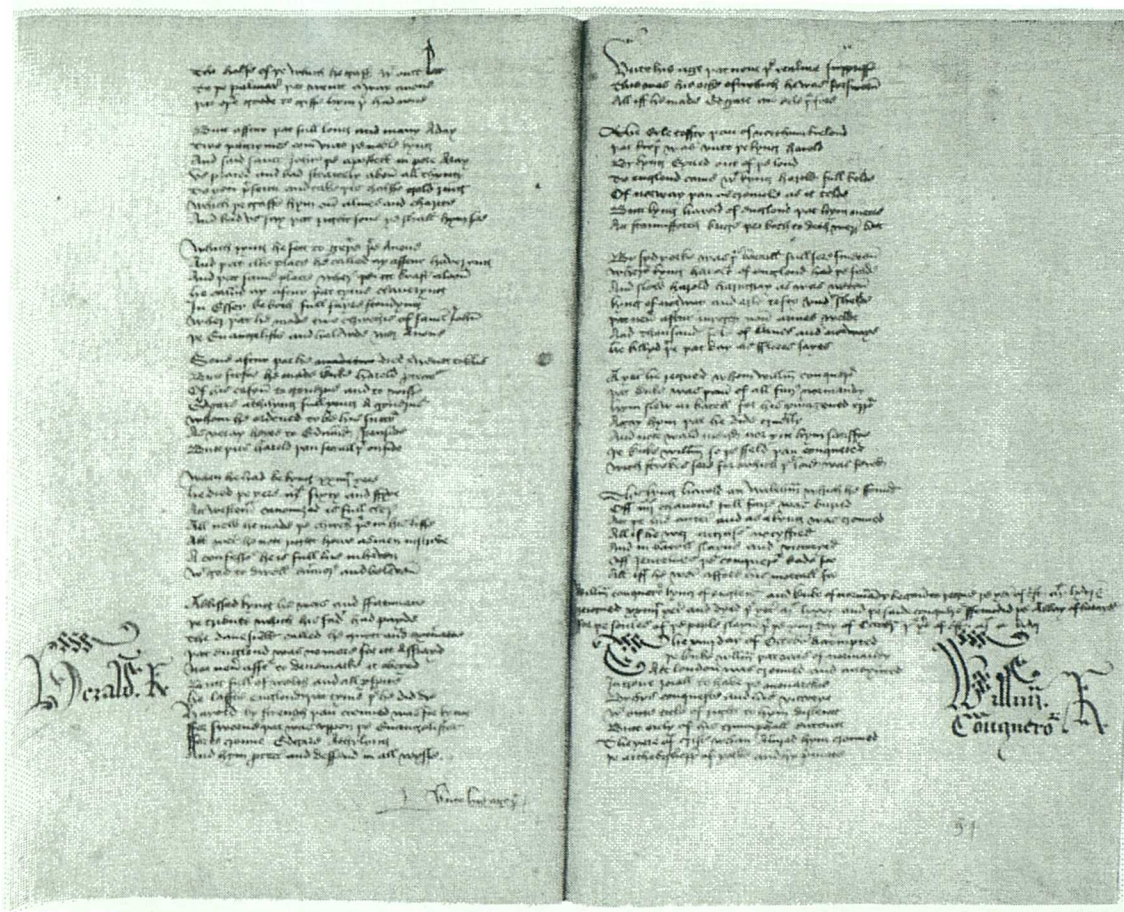
¹⁹⁷ For further details of Henry Middleton and Thomas Newman see McKerrow 1910: 192, 200; Henry Middleton is also mentioned in the *DNB*: XIII, 349-50

¹⁹⁸ For further information on the *Chronicles of London* in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century see McLaren 2002.

connected with the London area, either through their production in the capital, or the presence of early jottings in the manuscripts citing London citizens or early jottings concerning the city in marginalia.¹⁹⁹

From the seventeenth century the manuscript was part of the Tollemache family library at Helmingham Hall, Suffolk (the shelf mark occurs on the inside upper cover). The majority of the manuscripts at Helmingham Hall are believed to have come from monastic houses after the dissolution, and noble houses in East Anglia; however, the Tollemaches also owned Ham House in London, and spent a significant amount of time in the capital. Moreover, they had connections with the Inns of Court, and may have acquired Takamiya 6 as a result of their associates in London. The manuscripts in the Tollemache library reflect the range of gentry reading interests in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries; the collection was sold between 1948 and 1970. In 1969 this manuscript was sold at Sothebys (9 July, lot 32); it was later sold by Bernard Quaritch (1972), and it is now held in the private collection of Professor Toshiyuki Takamiya, Tokyo.

Figure 24



Takamiya 6, ff. 48v-49r.

¹⁹⁹ The groups of manuscripts in question are Arch. Selden B. 10, Ashmole 34, Bühler 5 and Douce 345; and Egerton 1992, Illinois 83, Takamiya 6, and Grafton's printed editions of 1543. See *The Relationships of the Manuscripts* for further details.

The Fragments of Hardyng's *Chronicle*.

There are three known fragments of Hardyng's *Chronicle*; two are extant in sixteenth-century manuscripts, and one survives in a fifteenth-century manuscript. Succinct descriptions of the manuscripts and the nature of each fragment are given below.

*College of Arms 2 M. 16 (fragment, C)*²⁰⁰

London College of Arms 2 M.16 is a sixteenth-century manuscript bound in a single volume with another early sixteenth-century manuscript, College of Arms 1 M. 13. The volume consists of sixteen flyleaves (iii + xiii), a two-page calendar of contents (inserted in 1949 by Glynne Wickham), and 275 paper leaves measuring approximately 305 by 220 mm (ff. 12-14, 75, 116-17 are blank, and there are thirteen blank unfoliated leaves in between ff. 75-76). The manuscript is bound in brown calf with the College of Arms stamp on the front. Manuscript 1 M. 13 contains materials concerning Catherine of Aragon, whilst 2 M. 16 contains numerous historical and heraldic materials, including a fragment of Hardyng's *Chronicle* on ff. 76v, 76bis-77v consisting of verses from Hardyng's prologue to the second version and address to Edward IV detailing his sovereignty over various continental kingdoms; the text, however, is written here as prose; corresponding passages may be found in Arch. Selden B. 10, ff. 5v-7r, ll. 43-185 and ff. 191v-192v. For a list of other items in the miscellany see Campbell and Steer 1988: 141-47. The manuscript is written by several hands, including those of Sir Thomas Wriothesley (d. 1534), Sir Christopher Baker (d. 1550) and a scribe known to have worked for Baker on other items. For further information on Baker and Wriothesley see *DNB*: XXI, 1062-63 and Campbell and Steer 1988.

*Harley 293 (fragment, H2)*²⁰¹

British Library MS Harley 293 is an early seventeenth-century manuscript, consisting of 258 paper leaves (v + 251 + ii) measuring approximately 235 by 345 mm. Of the 251 folios, only 242 are numbered; there are two blank, unnumbered leaves between ff. 61 and 62, six blank leaves in between ff. 236 and 237, and two folios numbered 27 (the second being distinguished with an asterisk). The manuscript was written by Ralph Starkey (d. 1628), son of John Starkey of Darley Hall, Cheshire (see Wright 1972: 314), and contains a fragment of Hardyng's *Chronicle* on ff. 77r-79r; the extract consists of the prose passages from the second version of the *Chronicle* dealing with the sons of Henry III and the Crouchback legend, and the quarrel between the Percies and Henry IV (begins 'Touching the chronicle of the two sonnes of King Henry the third' and ends 'hac die omnipotente Deo nobis auxiliante'); corresponding passages may be found in Arch. Selden B. 10, ff. 189v-190v, ll. 3835-80, ff. 192r-193v, ll. 3930-4010. In addition to the Hardyng extract, the manuscript contains various historical documents and texts and genealogical materials. For further information on the other texts, which include the *Liber Niger* of Edward IV, articles on the deposition of Richard II, documents relating to English hegemony over Scotland, household ordinances of Elizabeth I and James I, material

²⁰⁰ See Campbell and Steer 1988: 141-47.

²⁰¹ See Nares, Horne and Ellis 1808-12: I, 162-65.

relating to various orders of knighthood and numerous coronations, see the relevant entry in the Harley Catalogue (I, 162-65).

In 1628 Ralph Starkey's manuscript collection was acquired by Sir Simonds D'Ewes (1602-1650), in whose family it appears to have remained until the collection was sold by D'Ewes's grandson, Sir Simond D'Ewes (d. 1722), to Robert Harley. It was from Harley that the British Library purchased the manuscript for the Harleian collection. For further information on Starkey see Wright 1972: 314, *DNB*: XVIII, 996-97; for D'Ewes and details of his purchase of Starkey's collection see Watson 1966: 24-26, 324, and Wright 1972: 131-37; for Harley see Wright 1972; and *DNB*: VIII, 1283-90.

*Harley 3730 (fragment, H3)*²⁰²

Description

British Library MS Harley 3730 is a late fifteenth-century manuscript, consisting of 123 paper leaves (ii + 119 + ii) measuring approximately 215 by 295 mm. Modern foliation is present in the top right-hand corner of each folio, in pencil; there is no frame ruling but the text is neatly spaced. There are no visible catchwords or quire signatures, although f. 97v has 'xix' in the margin. The quires are tightly bound together making collation difficult, but, with the exception of the first quire, they seem to be in quires of twelve: 1¹⁰⁺¹ (ff. 1-11; folio 1 appears to be an insert), 2¹² (ff. 12-23), 3¹² (ff. 24-35), 4¹² (ff. 36-47), 5¹² (ff. 48-59; lacks what would have been the fourth leaf, f. 51), 6¹² (ff. 60-71), 7¹² (ff. 72-83), 8¹² (ff. 84-95), 9¹² (ff. 96-107), 10¹² (ff. 108-19).

The manuscript contains a fragment of Hardyng's *Chronicle* on ff. 1r-1v; the text is taken from the epilogue of the second version, addressed to King Edward IV, and corresponds, albeit in a fragmentary way, with the text on ff. 179-180 of Arch. Selden B. 10. Due to the tangled way in which the text relates to other versions of this section of the epilogue, variants have been recorded at the relevant lines of the edition in Part Two of this thesis; an individual edition of the text from Harley 3730 has also been provided in **Appendix 4**. In addition to the Hardyng extract, the manuscript contains a version of the *Brut*, with a continuation down to 1461. This particular version has been copied from Glasgow University Library MS Hunterian 83 and 'shares the same internal features' (Matheson 1998: 206).

Blake (1989: 424) and Matheson (1998: 172) note that MS Peterhouse 190 is probably a copy of Harley 3730 for the *Brut* narrative covering 1419-61. For further information on this version of the *Brut* and its relationship to other known manuscripts of the text, particularly Hunterian 83, see Matheson 1998: 166-67, 170-72, 205-06. In addition there is a jotting on the first flyleaf after the chronicle by a late nineteenth-century hand noting the number of folios in the manuscript on behalf of the British Library and the date 'Dec 1882'.

Contents

1. ff. 1r-1v: Extract from the verse epilogue addressed to Edward IV from Hardyng, focussing on the king's sovereignty over Scotland. Begins 'As cronicles before haue made in memorie' and ends 'To conforte 3our highe noble corage'.

²⁰² See Nares, Horne and Ellis 1808-12: III, 56.

2. ff. 2r-105r: A copy of the abbreviated version of *Brut* to 1419, copied from the *Brut* in Glasgow University Library MS Hunterian 83. Begins 'Here begynnythe a boke in Englysch tonge called Brute of Englonde' and ends 'was sett in reule and gouernaunce'.
3. ff. 105v-119v: Continuation of the *Brut* from 1419 to 1461 copied from the *Brut* in Glasgow University Library MS Hunterian 83. Begins 'How the kyng of Englonde was made heritier and regent of France *and* how he wedde Queen Katerine' and ends imperfectly with 'þat þe erle of March hys sonne was comyng *with*'.

Provenance

The earliest known owner of the manuscript is John Batteley (1647-1708); Edward Harley purchased the manuscript from his collection on 5 November 1723, the date of which occurs in an eighteenth-century hand on folio 1r. For further information on Batteley and Harley see Wright 1972: 66-68 and *DNB*: I, 1336-39; VIII, 1283-90.

The Relationships of the Manuscripts

It is difficult to determine the exact relationships between the extant manuscripts. What is certain is that where the text of the second version of the *Chronicle* corresponds with identical stanzas in the first version, the surviving manuscripts show a striking closeness with regard to syntax, spelling, and lexicon. This suggests that all of the extant manuscripts of the second version are derived from exemplars close to a revised text produced by Hardyng, which originated, in part, from the notes/exemplar used to produce L.²⁰³

L bears evidence of having been copied under the author's supervision, from an exemplar that left certain lines blank for later completion. Erasures in the earlier part of the manuscript show that several rubrications and lines were altered during the preparation of the work, evidently because Hardyng felt that he had composed better glosses and individual lines.²⁰⁴ Other aspects of the manuscript imply that it was returned to the author before the finishing touches had been made, possibly because Hardyng intended to return it to the scribe and limner for presentational 'polishing' of the text and completion of the unfinished champ initials (see **The Manuscripts of Hardyng's *Chronicle*** for examples). Further evidence to support the copying of L from a source free of the unavoidable scribal errors that often filter into later generation copies, is highlighted by the few errors present in the manuscript. In the section of text edited for this study there are no peculiar readings within the narrative suggesting textual corruptions; only one cancellation occurs (l. 4138) and that is due to dittography rather than general textual emendation. All other items recorded in the critical apparatus are attributable to common scribal errors such as the repetition of *he* at l. 652, or are interlinear insertions (such as those at ll. 952 and 1288) or editorial emendations made for this edition (mainly due to the cropping of some margins, where words have been lost). The insertions show that the two main hands carefully checked the text and inserted any necessary words (see, for example, ll. 952, 1288, 1561, 1575, 1925, 2708). The addition of a stanza by hand two at the bottom of f. 92v, marked for insertion between the fourth and fifth stanza, suggests that this individual was carefully checking the text for inconsistencies.²⁰⁵ In the absence of further copies of the first version to compare with the text as it occurs in L, it is difficult to speculate about the production circumstances of the manuscript other than has already been done in **The Manuscripts of Hardyng's *Chronicle***.

The text of the second version shows that Hardyng reworked the *Chronicle* considerably. Felicity Riddy believes that 'the differences between the two texts are at

²⁰³ The manuscripts will be referred to here by the abbreviated forms used in the critical apparatus and detailed in **Abbreviations**. Northern dialectal features are present in the second version manuscripts, particularly A, B, D, G, Hu, Hv and S, suggesting that all were derived from a common northern ancestor (for A, D and S see McIntosh, Samuels and Benskin 1986: I, 145, 148; for Hu see Grindley 1997: 25 and Lyall 1989; B stems from a shared source with A and D; G derives from a shared exemplar with Hu, and Hv is probably copied from S). In light of the apparent production of several of these manuscripts in London (discussed below) and the mixture of dialectal features, a northern exemplar of the second version of the *Chronicle* was probably taken south for copying.

²⁰⁴ There are of course minor erasures throughout the manuscript, no doubt attributable to scribal errors, but the larger erasures referred to here seem to stem from an effort to improve the text; see, for example, the erasure after the gloss on f. 56r, the insertion of the last four lines of stanza three on f. 121v, and the erasure in the right-hand margin on f. 133v.

²⁰⁵ For further information on the scribal hands present in L see **The Manuscripts of Hardyng's *Chronicle***.

times so great that it seems unlikely that Hardyng could have had a complete copy of the first version in front of him when he wrote the later one' (Riddy 1996: 97). However, contrary to Riddy's assumption that Hardyng gave away his only copy of the *Chronicle* and 'had only his notes to hand' (Riddy 1996: 97), it is clear that he must have had a complete, or near complete, exemplar of the first version to hand, which he used during his systematic reduction and revision of the text. Aside from the fact that a significant number of stanzas and lines occur verbatim in both versions, especially in the sections where Hardyng refrains from versifying his sources to make a personal interjection, the table and charts in **Appendix 1** show a cohesion between the overall narrative patterns of the two versions, suggesting that Hardyng followed the structure of the first version when writing the second. For example, even though the length of each reign is reduced, the verses devoted to each monarch in the second version are proportionate, within reason, to the number of stanzas devoted to them in the first version. Only a few exceptions to this pattern are discernible and these can be explained in terms of the thematic differences between the two versions.²⁰⁶ Hardyng clearly sought to reduce the narrative proportionately throughout the *Chronicle* rather than cut the reign of one monarch more severely than another.

As has already been noted, it is unlikely that Hardyng lived to complete his revision of the *Chronicle*. The unsatisfactory ending of the history and the problematic blank lines that occur in all extant manuscripts attest to this, but, fortunately, the way in which the scribes deal with the blank lines helps to underscore the closeness of the surviving witnesses with regards to common ancestry and textual transmission, and reinforces the groups and pairs of manuscripts that re-occur throughout the critical apparatus.²⁰⁷ All manuscripts contain blank lines; whether they are shown by a physical space in the stanza or more discreetly concealed by omitting the space and leaving a five- or six-line stanza, each scribe deals with the problem in a different way, which is by no means consistent even within the same manuscript. Edwards (1987) was the first to discuss the nature of the blank lines and how the various scribes dealt with their presence. Whilst his study was only intended to provide a provisional examination of the possible relationships between the manuscripts, Edwards's belief that the unique lines in G, and possibly those occurring in E, I, P1, P2, were attributable to scribal intervention rather than a lost authorial exemplar, and that 'the text was only available to copyists in a form that lacked lines

²⁰⁶ The first version shows a greater concern with emphasising the perils of civil division and the deeds of celebrated kings, hence the extended account of the Saxon Heptarchy accompanying the reign of Gurmonde, the discussion of civil war and free will in the reign of Inglis and Ive, and the dedication of one hundred and eight stanzas to the accomplishments of Richard I. Conversely, the second version prefers to concentrate on York's importance as the healer and hope of the realm; consequently Hardyng inserts a long address to York after the reign of Cadwallader, which subtly links the House of York with the prophetic tradition associated with the eagerly awaited return of an almighty British king. He likewise places additional emphasis on King Kynulphe's good rule and role as 'protector' of the realm; appropriately the barons decide to restore Kynulphe's disinherited line and give him the monarchy 'as his eldres afore had' (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 81v). For further discussion of the thematic and textual differences of the two versions see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**.

²⁰⁷ The section of text edited for this study forms the basis of this discussion. The complex nature of the manuscript relationships is nonetheless complicated further by the incomplete state of several of the manuscripts: B, D2 and T are incomplete at the beginning, and D lacks several folios from the prologue and foundation of Albion; the scribe of G has deliberately cut and rearranged sections of the text (most notably in the prologue and at the end of the reign of Richard II), apparently to suit the tastes of his patron; in addition to this, B, E and G all end prematurely, and A, D, E, Hu, I, T lack some of the additional materials at the end of the *Chronicle*.

not necessary to sense, but essential to stanza form' (1987: 83) is supported by the critical apparatus collated for this edition. Since the relationship between the group and single variants for the blank lines has a bearing on the wider pattern of variant readings, both will be discussed concurrently below. Suffice to say that all of the extant witnesses show some evidence of scribal intervention with regard to the variant line readings; whenever a single manuscript, a pair, or group of manuscripts share line readings where other manuscripts contain blank lines it is likely that the lost archetype also contained blanks. The diversity of the variant line readings, no doubt supplied by the scribes to fill up some of the incomplete stanzas, may indicate that the manuscripts with a large proportion of blank lines are closer to the incomplete archetype, or at least less textually corrupt than those manuscripts containing individual or group readings; therefore the blank witnesses suggest that no definitive authorial line existed.²⁰⁸

The following conclusions have been posited on the basis that single variants may, or may not, point towards a descent from a deviant exemplar and must, therefore, be treated with caution, whereas re-occurring groups of manuscripts attesting to the same variant readings do qualify as sufficient testimony of a common source from which the said group are descended. With this in mind the following statements may be held to be true:

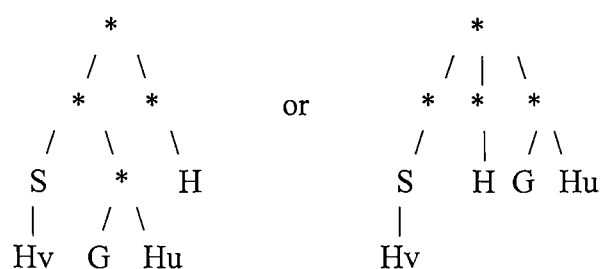
- 1) S and Hv are the first of several pairs to share readings unattested by the other manuscripts (such as the eye-skip errors at ll. 567, 789, the confused reading *som while* at l. 829, and the variant line at l. 1489), and are in turn excluded from the common variants shared by the remaining manuscripts and prints (A, B, D, D2, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2). Whilst both may have been copied from a common exemplar, it is more probable that Hv was copied from S, as Hv copies the errors of S in addition to having errors of its own. Evidence for this may be witnessed at l. 918 where Hv copies S's *Boys*, but unlike S fails to insert an *l* to make the reading *Bloys*, the insertion of *tene* at l. 1150, and the addition of an extra minim at l. 4017. S cannot have been copied from Hv as it does not share its additional variants (see, for example, the independent readings at ll. 968, 1047, 3876, 3878, and the omission of a line at 4217). Aside from rare instances of eye-skip (at ll. 545, 567, 789), the text in S and Hv shows little evidence of corruption.
- 2) S and Hv must share a common ancestor with G, H and Hu, as witnessed by the exclusion of this group from the variant readings shared by A, B, D, E, I, T, P1, and P2 at ll. 1624, 1735, 1751, 1846 and 1970. The nature of this relationship is, nevertheless, complicated by the fact that G, H and Hu frequently share readings with the other manuscripts, excluding S and Hv (see, for example, the shared readings at ll. 1032, 1174, 1361, 1788, 1825). In addition to having some blank lines in common with S and Hv, H has separate line readings where S and Hv contain blanks, which were no doubt added by an innovative scribe or inherited from an exemplar with scribal tampering. Likewise, the other variants in H often form part of a larger group with the remaining manuscripts (excluding S and Hv).

²⁰⁸ A, B, D, H, Hu, Hv and S contain the most blanks in this edition, but the scribe of H has 'modernised' some of the word forms and apparently filled in some of the blanks himself.

S, Hv, G and Hu also appear to have a shared source, as all four manuscripts transpose ll. 2083-84 and share variants such as those at ll. 837, 1230, 1240, where all other manuscripts (A, B, D, D2, E, H, I, T, P1, P2) share readings not attested by G, Hu, S, Hv. However, G and Hu cannot be from the same immediate exemplar as S and Hv, as they share features unique to themselves (such as the variant at l. 499, the shared line at 641, the reversal of words at ll. 661, 1382, and the transposition of l. 1389 to the position of l. 1391).

- 3) Although G and Hu share variants, neither manuscript is the source of the other; Hu cannot be derived from G because it has a fuller prologue than the shorter version in G; also it does not contain G's unique variants (for example, the eye-skip error at l. 694, and the unique line readings at ll. 817, 936, 1482, 1517, 1545). G cannot be copied from Hu because it contains fuller glosses than Hu, in accordance with those in other manuscripts, and it does not share Hu's independent readings (such as the omission of words at ll. 616, 861, 1163, 1497). Both manuscripts must therefore have a shared exemplar or common ancestor, which contained some blank lines in addition to the minor corruptions common to G and Hu (such as the shared line at 641, the omission of words at ll. 686 and 690, and the corruption *sextene* at l. 1159). The supplementary line readings particular to G (i.e. ll. 586, 817, 935, 1293) may be attributed to the scribe, who initially left these lines blank and later went back to add what appear to be his own contributions; since the same scribe demonstrates great dexterity elsewhere, by cutting and rearranging parts of the text, this manuscript is particularly important in highlighting the extent to which scribal interference can affect any attempt to reconstruct textual transmission.

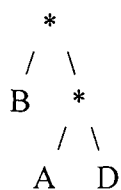
Based on the evidence presented above, a projected stemma for the S, Hv, G, H, Hu group might look something like this (an asterisk (*) denotes the minimum number of missing exemplars necessary to account for the textual differences):



It is difficult to draw up a reliable stemma to demonstrate the common ancestry of the remaining manuscripts; however, this larger group can be divided into clear sub-groups, as will be demonstrated below, which include: A, B and D; D2, E, I, T, P1 and P2; and E, I, T, P1 and P2. From these, two further pairs, A/D and P1/P2 become apparent, and several important comments can be made concerning the remaining manuscripts.

- 4) A, B and D must have shared a common ancestor, as highlighted by the variant *sho* instead of *he* at l. 596, the reversal of words at ll. 911, 938, the corruption *Gloucestre* at l. 1282, and the addition of *for* at l. 1312; still, A and D must derive from a shared exemplar separate from B in order to account for their exclusive readings (for example, the variants *pay faught* at l. 671 and *powere* at l. 806, the probable corruptions at ll. 759, 792, 1136, and the reversal of words at l. 1347). Although both A and D are copied by the same scribe, it is unlikely that A was copied from D; the variants particular to A could conceivably be the result of unintentional scribal errors, such as eye-skip (see, for example ll. 609, 1115, 1603) or the unwitting insertion or omission of words (ll. 725, 770, 978). Moreover, A corresponds with a different group (E, I, P1, P2) at the start of the *Chronicle*, which may indicate that A was copied from two different exemplars; the first of which was more intimately linked to E, I, P1, P2; the second to D. Unfortunately it is impossible to speculate on this matter further, since D lacks a great deal of the text for the prologue and account of the foundation of Albion (where A's correspondence with E, I, P1, P2 is most clear). Given that S shows probable evidence of tandem copying and is linked by layout to A and D, it is feasible that the scribes producing these manuscripts worked from more than one exemplar; this in turn may account for the complexity of the manuscript relationships and the incestuous nature of many of the sub-groups.²⁰⁹ D cannot be copied from A because it does not share its errors (ll. 799, 1532, 1570, 2130).

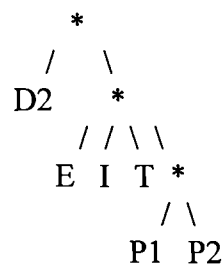
Given this, a projected stemma for manuscripts A, B and D might look something like this:



- 5) D2, E, I, T, P1, P2 share a common ancestor; however, since D2 shares some, but not all of the variant readings in E, I, T, P1, P2 it is likely that it was copied from a slightly earlier exemplar, and that E, I, T, P1, P2 were copied from a sister manuscript of D2 (see, for example, the variant lines at ll. 539 and 935, and the transposition of ll. 919 and 920, 1152 and 1153, and 2762 and 2763). E could not have been the source for I, T, P1 or P2, since it has individual variants/errors of its own unattested by the others (see, for example, the variants at ll. 840 and 914, 1321, 1439, and the reversal of words at ll. 1160 and 1236). I and T also have their own independent variants (such as the transposition of ll. 615 and 616 in T, and the probable eye-skip at l. 1007; and the omission or

²⁰⁹ Quire 14 of S is copied by a different hand from that of the main scribe, although the main hand does add the marginal glosses accompanying the piece; the insertion of additional leaves at the end of quire 13 suggests that both scribes were copying concurrently and that the main scribe had to insert additional leaves at the end of his quire after running out of space. Whether this points towards tandem copying must remain conjecture, but the layout of the manuscript would support this supposition. Frustratingly, the presence of many hands in Bühler 5 (a close relation of A, D, S and Hv) would ordinarily fit in well with the concept of tandem or multiple copying, but the sections copied by each scribe do not conform to any pattern in relation to the quires or layout of the manuscript; they must therefore be treated with caution.

reversal of words at ll. 1336 and 1665), but in terms of textual corruption there is nothing significant in either to suggest descent from a separate exemplar to that used for E. Furthermore, since P1 and P2 (the early printed texts) share common variants not found in E, I, T (see, for example, the variants *wonne* at l. 517 and *And there* l. 642), they too must have been copied from a source, descended from, but not the same as, the exemplar used for E, I, T. Whilst the modernisation of words such as *bigged* (past tense third person singular form) to *builded* (l. 287) in the prints may have been introduced in the print-shop during the copy preparation stage, the overall variation in spelling within the two prints suggests that the preparation of each version was done separately; it is therefore unlikely that the aforementioned variants at ll. 517 and 642 derive from the print-shop. Based on this evidence a projected stemma for this group would look something like this:



- 6) At first it would appear that A, B, D, D2, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2 are derived from a common ancestor independent of the text from which S and Hv were copied (see, for example, the additional word *it* at l. 517, the apparently correct readings *And home bey* and *thridde* at ll. 545 and 567, and the variant lines at ll. 644 and 1174); still, the first missing exemplar shown in the stemma for A, B, D above must be a close relative of the first missing exemplar in the projected stemma for S, Hv, G, Hu and H; this is because A, B, D, S and Hv share a few variant readings (see, for example, ll. 498 and 570 where A, B, D, S and Hv do not share the same variant as D2, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1 and P2, and are therefore excluded from this group). Again, the exact nature of the relationships are complicated by the fact that this group does not share variants in the later sections of the text, although paradoxically the text, in the main, is in agreement because there are so few disparate readings in the critical apparatus.

These are the main groups and lines of textual transmission discernible from the variant witnesses in the critical apparatus accompanying this study. The example below, taken from ll. 1467 and 1187 respectively of the edition of the first and second versions, highlights the similarities between the extant manuscripts discussed above, whilst emphasising the distinct sub-groupings (which also show similarities in spelling and dialectal features) more clearly than is perceptible from the critical apparatus (the coloured emphasis is my own):

| | |
|-----------|----------------------------------------------|
| L | Obeyng hole vnto his mageste |
| S | Obeyand hool vnto his mageste |
| Hv | Obeyand hooll vnto the mageste |
| B | Obeyand hool vnto his mageste |
| D | Obeyand hool vnto his mageste |

| | |
|-----------|---------------------------------------------|
| A | Obeyand hool vnto his mageste |
| H | Obeynge hoole vnto his maieste |
| G | Obeid hole vnto his mageste |
| Hu | Obeid hole vnto his maiesty |
| D2 | Obeyng hole vnto his mageste |
| E | Obeyng hole vnto his maieste |
| I | Obeyng hole vnto his maieste |
| T | Obeyng holle vnto his |
| P1 | Obeyng hole vnto his maiestee |
| P2 | Obeiyng whole vnto his |

A, B, D, Hv and S share the present participle northern *-and* ending in *obeyand*, indicating that they were copied from a shared source, which retained traces of northern dialect; they also share the spellings *hool* and *mageste*. D2, H, E, I, T, P1, P2 on the other hand share the southern form *obeynge* (or *obeyng*) and the spelling *hole* (or *holle*, *hoole*), with P2 having the more modern form *whole*; H, E, I, P1, P2 also share *maieste*, whilst D2 and G share the form *mageste* with A, B, D, Hv and S. Less common are the forms *maiestye* and *maiestie* in T and P2, the unique *maiesty* in Hu, and *obeid* in G and Hu, which suggest descent from an exemplar separate from the other manuscripts. Although, ironically, on this occasion L has the more southerly feature *obeyng* and the spelling *hole*, this example serves to show the syntactical cohesion of the two versions, the mixture of dialect traits distributed amongst the extant witnesses, and two of the larger sub-groupings amongst the texts of the second version (A, B, D, S, Hv; D, E, H, I, T, P1, P2). The next example, taken from ll. 1480 and 1200 of the first and second versions, demonstrates the complex groupings:

| | |
|-----------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| L | The thirde deth sore regned in Englonde tho |
| S | The thirde pestelence in Englonde regned so |
| Hv | The thrid pestelence in Englonde regned so |
| B | The thridde pestelence in Englonde regned so |
| D | The thridde pestelence in Englonde regned so |
| A | The thridde pestelence in Englonde regned so |
| H | The thrid pestilence in Englonde reigned soo |
| G | The pestilence in Englonde regned poo |
| Hu | The pestilence in Englonde reigned so |
| D2 | The pestelence in Englonde regnyd so |
| E | The pestilence [reigned in Englonde] soo |
| I | þe þrid pestilence [regned in Englonde] so |
| T | The pestelence [regned in Englonde] soo |
| P1 | The thyrd pestilence [reigned in Englonde]so |
| P2 | The thirde pestilence [reigned in Englonde] so |

The E, I, T, P1, P2 group is most noticeably different in this line because of the reversal of the phrase *in Englonde regned* to *reigned in Englonde*. Likewise, the absolutely identical form of the line in A, B and D, suggests a common exemplar, whilst the shared occurrence of the forms of *pestelence* and *regned* link A, B and D to S and Hv. S shares the forms *thirde* and *regned* with L; whilst, in contrast, E, G, H, Hu, I, P1, P2 share the form *pestilence*, and E, H, Hu, P1, P2 share *reigned*. The occurrence of *þird* in E suggests either a connection with D2, G, Hu, or H and Hv's

thrid, which also may have contained thorns modernised to *th* by their scribes. The oddities *thyrđ* in T, *thyrde* in P1 and *Engelonde* in H may be due to scribal preference; whereas *England/Englande* in P1 and P2 appear to be deliberate modernisations.

Reassuringly, similar sub-groups of manuscripts and oddities reoccur throughout the manuscripts of the second versions, as the example below demonstrates:

| | |
|----|-------------------------------------------------------|
| L | In Iuyn the two and twenty day full euen |
| S | In Iuyn the two and twenty day ful euen |
| Hv | In Iuyn the two and twenty day full euen |
| B | In Iuyn þe two and twenty day full euen |
| D | In Iuyn þe two and twenty day full euen |
| A | In Iuyn þe two and twenty day expresse |
| H | In Iuyn the two and tuenty daie full euen |
| G | In Iuly þe two and twenty day full even |
| Hu | In Iuly the two and twenty day full even |
| D2 | In Iune the xxii ti day full |
| E | In Iuyn þe xxii ti day full clene |
| I | In Iune the xxii ti day full clene |
| T | In Iune þe xxii ti day full clene |
| P1 | In Iune the xxii daye full clene |
| P2 | In Iune the xxii day ful clene |

These lines, ll. 1472 and 1192 respectively of the first and second versions of this edition, show a distinct affinity between L, S, A, B, D, Hv, whilst A, B and D are distinguished as a separate group by the use of *þe*, and A's substitution of *express* (possibly a transpositional error with the final word of l. 1163 of the edition). D2, E, I, T, P1, P2 appear to share a common source containing Roman numerals instead of the fuller version *two and twenty*; at the same time E, I, T, P1, P2 appear to be descended from a common source, exclusive of D2, as shown by their common variant *clene*. Oddities on this occasion include H's *tuenty daie*, possibly a scribal preference; the shared error *Iuly* in G and Hu; and the spelling *evyn* in D2. The absence of the more modern *Iune* in E may indicate an independent exemplar to D2, I, T, P1, P2, or scribal preference.

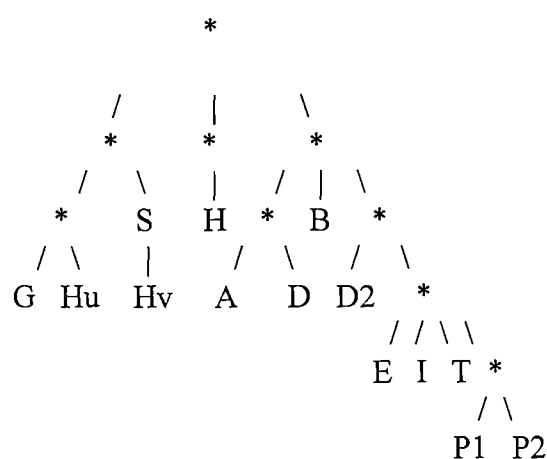
The final example of this kind, taken from the second version (l. 287), highlights the general sprinkling of northern words in the extant manuscripts, and how various scribes have sought to make certain words more accessible to their audience:

| | |
|----|----------------------------------------------------|
| S | And bigged it, where alle afore was playne. |
| Hv | And bigged it were all afore was playne |
| A | And bygged it where all afore was playne |
| H | And bilded it wher all afore wase playne |
| G | And billed hit wher alle afore was playne |
| Hu | And bigged it wher all afore was playne |
| E | And bygged it where all afor was playn |
| I | And bigged it where all afore was playn |
| P1 | And buylded it wher all before was playne |
| P2 | And builded it where all before was playne |

A, E, I, S, Hu Hv, share the past tense (third person singular) form *bigged* (a northern word; see *MED* biggen), whilst H, P1, P2 have updated the word to *bilded*, and in doing so lost some of the original connotations that *bigged* had (meaning *civilised* or *established* a city or kingdom); likewise, the archaic *afore* has been changed to *before* in P1 and P2. The form *wase* in H is a common feature throughout the manuscript and seems to be particular to the scribe. The unusual form *billed* in G may be a corruption of *bilded*.

Whilst several distinct sub-groups and pairings evidently point towards missing shared exemplars, further speculation with regards to textual transmission is impossible without a complete collation of all extant manuscripts. Even then, the incomplete state of some of the manuscripts and the probability of scribal ‘tampering’ suggested by the unique lines in G and H, and possibly in the D2, E, I, T, P1, P2 group, obscure the issue since these lines do not appear to stem from a lost authorial exemplar. What is clear, nonetheless, is that the larger groups of variants and consistent sub-groups indicate that the surviving manuscripts cannot be many generations apart from a common source. A possible explanation for this contradiction may lie in a narrow descent from Hardyng’s original (i.e. a near complete exemplar with some incomplete lines that had been left by the author, as A. S. G. Edwards predicted, for later completion). In comparison with other medieval texts the variants represented by the extant Hardyng manuscripts are negligible, in so far as many of them are concerned with the reversal of words or phrases, for example, the substitution of *pat* for *pe* at lines 710, 1383, 2293 (easily accounted for by the mis-reading of the abbreviated form *p^e* for *p^t*) and other common occurrences, such as eye-skip.

Any attempt to speculate on a stemma including all extant witnesses is invariably difficult, and ultimately nothing more than conjectural; however, one possible line of descent, taking into account the closeness of the twelve complete/near complete manuscripts and two printed texts might look something like this:



Finally, reference should be made to the apparent proximity of the time and place of production of the second version manuscripts, which may help to confirm the closeness of the extant manuscripts posited in the stemma above. In addition to the textual affiliations already discussed, certain decorative features in S and Hv point towards production by the same artisans, evidently working in the metropolis and associated with the artisans responsible for decorating A and D (see the relevant manuscript descriptions for further details). S and Hv may have been decorated by the

same artist, or someone trained in the same style, because the maps and Pedigree of France are almost identical (S being the better of the two). A and D share similar ornamental features with S and Hv, such as decorative descenders and ascenders, which may point to a common house style, or practice, amongst a group of artisans working in co-operation. There is also evidence to suggest that A, D and S had a common exemplar with regards to layout, and that they were following a set design designated for manuscripts of their calibre. The best evidence for this, aside from the identical mise-en-page of the title page of each manuscript and placement of champ initials, may be seen in the shared design flaws. The first of the shared design problems occurs at the same point in A, D and S (ff. 47r, 35(a)r and 50r respectively), where the presence of three six-line stanzas has been ignored in the exemplar, leaving two additional lines free at the bottom of the folio. Since each manuscript is ruled with spacing for thirty-nine lines per folio (five seven-line stanzas, with a single line space between each stanza) the scribe responsible for the exemplar must have copied the first two lines of the next stanza into this space, since A, D and S all repeat this design error. The mistake is remedied in A and D (ff. 49r, 35(b)r) when the scribe leaves two lines free before beginning the reign of Arthur. A large initial at the start of the first stanza dealing with Arthur helps to detract from the excess space. In S (f. 51r) the scribe solves the problem of the spare two lines by inserting a two-line marginal gloss into the space reserved for the text; like A and D, the initial that marks the start of Arthur's reign also helps to make the flaw less conspicuous. A similar problem arises on ff. 49v, 36v and 52v of A, D and S, respectively, where additional space in the exemplar, caused by two six-line stanzas on the folio, has been filled by extending the decorative ascenders of the top lines of two of the stanzas into the free space between the stanzas.²¹⁰ Extra space also occurs on f. 133v of S until another marginal gloss is inserted in between the stanzas on f. 135r. Whether the scribes and artists working on A, D, S and Hv belonged to a single shop is debatable; the decoration may have been done by a group of independent artists known and used by the scribes. However, Felicity Riddy's proposal that 'some stationer developed a line in Hardyng manuscripts for the well-to-do' (1996: 104) certainly rings true as far as the craftsmen responsible for A, D, S and Hv are concerned.²¹¹ Kathleen Scott has dated other work by the artists working on A and S to the 1470s (1996: II, 354), which may explain the increased interest in Hardyng's work following Edward IV's readeption. Certainly a great number of genealogical pieces were produced in the capital at this time by the same artists illuminating A, D and S (see **The Manuscripts of Hardyng's Chronicle**). The unique design of H is in keeping with the popular line of genealogical rolls and chronicles described by Allan (1979), implying that patrons may have found Hardyng's work doubly appealing because of its blend of

²¹⁰ Further similarities in design may be seen throughout the manuscripts; for example, on f. 9r of A a space has been left for the arms of Brutus and the marginal gloss accompanying the projected illustration has been written around it. This is comparable with the completed decoration on f. 11v of S.

²¹¹ Carol Meale has suggested that 'a tendency towards standardisation of format' was adopted by scribes and/or stationers to aid the 'speed and efficiency of production' of fashionable texts (1989: 220); with regards to the similarity in design of the Hardyng manuscripts in question, Riddy's notion of a 'line in Hardyng manuscripts' is important to our understanding of the reception of Hardyng's text in the decades following his death, for it points towards an interest in the *Chronicle*, which continued into the sixteenth century when Hardyng's history appears to have become essential reading for Tudor historiographers such as Grafton and Stow.

genealogical and historical materials.²¹² Superficially H does not look as though it was produced by the same group of artisans responsible for A, D, S and Hv, but its decoration in a style akin to that used in the genealogical rolls and pedigrees produced in the metropolis throughout the 1470s may in fact highlight a connection with the same circle of craftsmen.²¹³ Alison Allan believes that a single London shop, or ‘a small group of craftsmen’ may have been responsible for the production of the Yorkist pedigrees and genealogical chronicles produced in the metropolis during Edward IV’s reign (1979: 174-75), and given the similarity of the illumination in A, D and S to the illumination in genealogical rolls such as Oxford Corpus Christi 207 (produced in the late 1460s or early 1470s), H may represent a special commission adapted to suit an individual patron’s taste for the genealogical style of decoration used in the popular rolls and pedigrees of this period. Catering, and appealing, to the taste of patrons was obviously an important factor in the book trade, and the surviving Hardyng manuscripts demonstrate the range of choice that a patron had when selecting how their particular copy of the *Chronicle* would look. Styles to suit all conceivable tastes and budgets are witnessed, from the luxurious vellum manuscripts containing a Pedigree of France, coloured map of Scotland and illuminated initials and borders, to the simple unadorned paper copies lacking the map, and sometimes the itinerary of Scotland, but retaining a basic sketch version of the Pedigree of France more appropriate to a manuscript produced at the more affordable end of the book market.²¹⁴

This commercial aspect of the *Chronicle* manuscripts may also account for some of the difficulties that arise whilst attempting to ascertain a probable history for the transmission of the text. For marketable purposes many of the scribes may have sought to fill in the gaps left by the author. Likewise, deliberate attempts to update the text can be seen in H, where the scribe has modernised the more archaic words such

²¹² In H the names of kings and saints have been placed in roundels, linked by bars, and running down the margins, in an attempt to copy the design of genealogical rolls belonging to this period. The roundels containing the names of royalty are surmounted with golden crowns. The decoration of H, in particular the form and layout of the roundels and the pen drawings of towns, is strikingly similar to Bodley Roll 5, a late fifteenth-century genealogical roll detailing the descent of the Percy family beside that of the royal family. Unfortunately, as I have only recently discovered these similarities further investigation and comparison of the two items is required before any additional conclusions can be drawn, but in all likelihood H and Bodley Roll 5 were made by the same group of London based artisans, possibly even the same group responsible for Arch. Selden B. 10. I intend to explore this matter in the future.

²¹³ See, for example, the decoration and design of the genealogical rolls extant in Pierpont Morgan Library Bühler 30 (1465-69), Oxford, St John’s College 23 (1473-75), Brasenose College 17 (1470-72) and London Society of Antiquaries 505 (similar in design but probably produced in London before 1455; see Scott 1996: II, 315-16).

²¹⁴ Interestingly, the manuscripts lacking the Pedigree of France, map of Scotland or itinerary usually lack the preceding stanzas that introduce each item. The exceptions to this are A, D, Hu, T, where the stanzas introducing the Pedigree of France are present but the Pedigree is not; in these cases space has been left for a diagram to be inserted, suggesting that the manuscript was not fully completed; D has a catchword on f. 126v (‘The Pedegree of ffrance’) confirming this, whilst T has part of the folio cut away. S, H and Hv include the map and elaborate pedigrees of France and Jerusalem; A, D, H and S contain illuminated borders and champ initials; and B, D2, E and I contain basic sketch forms of the pedigree of France. Garrett 142 underscores the dexterity of the scribes in inserting materials where required by a patron, for a copy of Edward I’s letter to Boniface was undoubtedly inserted at the end of Edward’s reign, as indicated by a gloss on f. 123r, which states ‘*lettre in Latyn euery worde ye shal see yn þe end of this chapter and þe answerys vpon þe same reheryng of rize*’. Unfortunately, the leaves on which the letter would have occurred are now lacking.

as *feel* by substituting *many* (ll. 540, 667, 697, 900), and at line 3264, where the scribe has updated the text to take into account the capture of Henry VI.²¹⁵ Grafton's prints also show a concerted effort to make the text more saleable to his intended audience; like H, the prints, albeit independently, update some of the more archaic words or forms, but more appropriately they 'Protestantise' the pro-Catholic *pope* to *Romische bishop* (ll. 808, 876), and Grafton's preface links Hardyng's policy of Scottish conquest with the current war with Scotland (1542/43).²¹⁶

Two other manuscripts, B and T, and Grafton's two prints may provide additional evidence of a London provenance for all of the manuscripts. A London provenance may be assumed for B on account of the presence of a recognised hand, the principal scribe of Manchester, Chetham MS Mun. A. 6. 31 (8009), also produced in the metropolis at this time (see **The Manuscripts of Hardyng's Chronicle** and Meale 1989: 227). B, textually close to S, Hv, A and D, also contains three sixteenth-century jottings (ff. 61r, 74r and 91v) referring to a Mylner family living in London; given the number of professional hands present in the manuscript (suggesting a number of scribes working in cooperation), and the textual affiliations with S, Hv, A and D, it is reasonable to propose a London provenance.

Correspondingly, T bears evidence of an early London provenance for several reasons: first, the early sixteenth-century jottings regarding executions at Smithfield in 1531 at the back of the manuscript, and the presence of a lyric, only extant in one other manuscript containing a London Chronicle, denote a metropolitan connection in the 1530s; secondly, several of the names written by a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century owner correspond with names of known citizens in the capital (see **The Manuscripts of Hardyng's Chronicle**). The unique variant in T at line 1217, whereby the scribe has written *London* in the place of *bond men* in the account of the Peasants' Revolt, may also illustrate a further London connection. Since Grafton's prints were produced in London and T is derived from the same group that his lost exemplar descended from, the probability of a London provenance for the entire D2, E, I, T, P1 and P2 group is compelling.

Of all the extant manuscripts G and Hu are the most difficult to place in relation to the rest. The traces of northern dialect suggest that they are not too far

²¹⁵ This may point towards a production date prior to 1471 for H, since Henry was murdered shortly after the battle of Tewkesbury, or to H being copied later from an exemplar containing this update. For further information see **Commentary to the Second Version**, l. 3264.

²¹⁶ Garrett 142 also suffered at the hands of a Protestant reader/owner; the words *pope*, *Saint Thomas*, *translation*, *archbishop Thomas* and *Canterbury* are crossed out on ff. 115r, 117v, 123v, 124r, 127v, 131r, 132r, 141v (see ll. 505, 808, 876, 1550, 1551 of this edition). Of particular relevance with regards to the anti-Scottish spirit of the 1543 editions is the verse itinerary of Scotland, which occurs at the end of the prints. This itinerary has parallels with the itinerary extant in the first version (see **Appendix 6** for an edition), but none of the manuscripts that the prints have affinities with in the main body of the *Chronicle* (E, I and T) appear to have contained an itinerary or map of Scotland, let alone one in this form. Given the unfinished state of the text in the second version, and the fact that the itinerary in Grafton's editions is stylistically close to that in L, it is possible that the unique version surviving in the sixteenth-century editions represents an authorial revision of the original itinerary, that somehow failed to be included in the late fifteenth-century manuscripts of the *Chronicle* with itineraries. That said, because the extant manuscripts seem to be closely connected, the itinerary in Grafton's editions may represent a branch of manuscripts similar to the E, I, T group, which circulated with a verse itinerary (but no map); in this case the extant manuscripts which survive with the modified itinerary accompanying S may simply represent a different branch of manuscripts derived from an exemplar lacking the verse itinerary. Unfortunately, the precise nature of the enigmatic verse itinerary in the prints will no doubt remain a mystery.

removed from Hardyng's archetype; the close textual affiliations with A, B, D, H, Hv and S imply that G and Hu were produced from a common source. The sound indications that A, B, D, H, Hv and S were produced in the pro-Yorkist capital during the 1470s are not, however, consonant with the pro-Lancastrian bias of G and evidence of an early northern provenance. A possible explanation for this dilemma may be that G is a unique example of the second version of Hardyng's *Chronicle* being produced during Henry VI's readeption, and copied by a scribe with access to an exemplar related to that used for the other manuscripts. The person who commissioned this manuscript, someone loyal to Henry VI, may have fled north with the king's party soon after the return of Edward IV in 1471. This would account for many of the peculiarities of the manuscript and the disparity between the probable locale of production and early owner, for the annotation on f. 150r implies that G was in Yorkshire in the early sixteenth century. Interestingly, the presence of Sir John Fortescue's argument about the legitimacy of Philippa of Clarence in the contemporary marginal annotations accompanying G may point towards further confirmation of this (see **Appendix 3**). Other annotations made by this hand, in all likelihood the first owner of the manuscript, show that this individual was a well educated person, competent in Latin, well read and knowledgeable in historical matters; a connection with Henry VI's affinity is probable given the annotator's familiarity with Fortescue's arguments so soon after their composition. Fortescue himself is known to have owned a Latin manuscript illuminated by the same group of limners responsible for the decoration of A and S, so it is feasible that somebody known to him, or even Fortescue himself, may have commissioned an inexpensive copy of Hardyng's *Chronicle* from the same shop, or from a scribe associated with this larger network of artists, on Fortescue's recommendation.²¹⁷

Conclusion

To summarise, it is probable that Hardyng's northern archetype was taken to the London area soon after his death, possibly by the person who had instigated the revision, or who knew of it.²¹⁸ This archetype, or a copy of the archetype, was used to

²¹⁷ Rawlinson C. 398, a miscellany of texts including a Latin *Brut*, was owned by Fortescue, and bears his arms in the illuminated initials on ff. 1r, 79r, 89v, 121r, and 137v. Dr Kathleen Scott has kindly confirmed the presence of the artist she refers to as the 'English artist' or Bodley Limner' in Rawlinson C. 398 in a private correspondence (dated 8 September 2003).

²¹⁸ Christine Harker associates Hardyng's archetype with the Percy family (1996: 59); whilst there is certainly a Percy connection with S and Hv, and the family may have inherited or received Hardyng's archetype following his death, the Percies do not appear to have instigated the revision. The prologue, written at the end of 1460, asks for clemency to be shown to Henry Percy (1421-61), third earl of Northumberland, but at this time Percy was politically opposed to York's actions and would not have supported a text so favourably deposed to York. Felicity Riddy (1996: 105) has posited Sir Thomas Burgh as a possible candidate for encouraging Hardyng's revision of the *Chronicle*; in the absence of a better individual candidate at present this hypothesis is quite convincing, for Burgh was a firm supporter of York at this time, had inherited the estates of William Tailboys after he was attainted in 1461, although this excluded the castle at Kyme, and had good reason to ask for clemency towards the Percies, for he was related to them by marriage. However, if the Augustinians at Kyme supported Hardyng's initial composition of the *Chronicle*, as is suggested in **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**, it is highly likely that they also encouraged the revision. The direct Percy connection with the production of S and Hv, and the possible diffusion of a northern exemplar into the south, is nonetheless of great importance to our understanding of the manuscripts commissioned in the 1470s, when Henry Percy (c. 1449-89), fourth earl of Northumberland, wished to demonstrate his

produce S, A, B, D (which would account for the preponderance of northern dialectal features in this group) and possibly H, which is the sole representative of another line derived either from the original exemplar or a copy of this exemplar. In all likelihood Hv was copied from S. Similarly, G and Hu are closely related to S and may be derived from a sister copy of the exemplar used for it. The D2, E, I, T, P1, P2 group probably originates from a later, but still close, copy of the exemplar used for D, A, B; and H.

allegiance to Edward IV (for Percy's career see Hicks 1978). The Percies may, therefore, have been responsible for taking a northern exemplar of the text down south for copying. The lack of contrary evidence makes this explanation as satisfactory as any.

Editorial Procedure

British Library MS Lansdowne 204 is the only surviving witness of the first version of Hardyng's *Chronicle*, and is therefore used as the basis of the present edition of the first version. Bodleian Library MS Arch. Selden B. 10 has been used as the base text for the second version of the *Chronicle* and all variant readings from other extant manuscripts and the sixteenth-century prints are collated in the critical apparatus. Arch. Selden B. 10 was selected on the basis of the following criteria: with the exception of British Library Harley 661, Arch. Selden B. 10 is the most inclusive of all extant manuscripts for both the main text and the contemporary marginal glosses. In addition to this, it also contains the extended epilogue, itinerary and invasion route through Scotland, additional prose passages in English and Latin, and was owned, if not commissioned, by the Percy family, whom Hardyng served and had close affiliations with (see **John Hardyng's Life and The Manuscripts of Hardyng's Chronicle**). Harley 661 was not considered suitable for the base text primarily because it contains variants unattested in other manuscripts, shows evidence of more scribal tampering than Arch. Selden B. 10, and 'is not consonant with Hardyng's probable dialect' (Harker 1996: 41).²¹⁹ Arch. Selden B. 10 on the other hand is one of the earliest manuscripts, and contains dialectal evidence of a northern origin (see McIntosh, Samuels and Benskin 1986: I, 145), making it the most likely candidate to be descended from a manuscript closest to Hardyng's own dialect, and, therefore, closest to his original. The northern ancestry of the exemplar from which Arch. Selden B. 10 is copied is further supported by Christine Harker's own linguistic analysis of the manuscripts, which concludes that Arch. Selden B. 10 and Harvard 1054 represent a textual group closest to the author's original dialect (Harker 1996: 58). Harvard 1054, also associated with the Percy family, was rejected on the grounds that it shares the same errors as Arch. Selden B. 10 in addition to further errors of its own (see **The Relationships of the Manuscripts** for examples). It was logical therefore to select Arch. Selden B. 10 as the 'least textually corrupt' (Harker 1996: 59) of all manuscripts of the second version, and therefore the most appropriate to use for the base text.²²⁰ My own analysis of the variant readings in the extant manuscripts suggests that manuscripts Arch. Selden B. 10, Bühler 5, Ashmole 34, Douce 345 and Harvard 1054 are the least divergent from Hardyng's original archetype of the second version. Since Harvard 1054 can be shown to copy the errors in Arch. Selden B. 10 it was not considered suitable for the base text. Of the three remaining manuscripts, Ashmole 34, Bühler 5 and Douce 345, Ashmole 34 and Douce 345 appear to be copied from a later descendant of the exemplar from which Bühler 5 is copied, but Bühler 5 is textually incomplete and contains a substantial number of corrections; Ashmole 34 and Douce 345 are also textually incomplete. Instances in the present edition supporting Arch. Selden B. 10 as the superior text may be found, for example, at f. 165r, l. 2308, where Selden gives the phrase *woundes sore*, and all other manuscripts contain the reading *woundes so*; obviously, *sore* is a more fitting

²¹⁹ For examples of probable scribal tampering, including attempts to modernise elements of the text, in Harley 661 see **The Relationships of the Manuscripts**.

²²⁰ Harker herself chose to use Harley 661 as the base text for her own extracts on the basis of 'inclusivity and generally careful scribal quality' and to permit 'comparison between the earlier [1812] edition' by Henry Ellis. Her choice seems undeniably inappropriate based on her own acknowledgement that Arch. Selden B. 10 is the 'least textually corrupt' and 'closest to the [Hardyng's] archetype'. In my own correspondence with her (17 March 1999), she acknowledged that in hindsight she should have used Arch. Selden B. 10 instead of Harley 661 for her base text.

description for *woundes*. This is not to say that the Selden manuscript is without errors of its own (see, for example, the minor scribal errors at ll. 545, 567 and 789, probably caused by eye skip), but, rather, that of all the extant manuscripts it is the fullest, and apparently least textually distorted. For further analysis of the relationships between the manuscripts of the second version see **The Relationships of the Manuscripts**.

The critical apparatus in this edition is only intended to record significant differences in the manuscripts of the second version; it does not therefore contain any references to spelling or variants in morphology, except where a scribal correction has been made. The form of the variant given in the critical apparatus corresponds to the spelling and form of the word as it occurs in the first manuscript noted for that particular variant. Where a word occurs more than once within the same line, with the same spelling, the position of that word is given as a number in brackets following the lemma: for example, at line 2801 the word *than* occurs twice, the first word occurs as *Tan* in the base text, and has been amended to *Than* for the edition. This occurs in the critical apparatus as follows: 2801 Than (1)] Tan S.

Any additional words occurring in the variant manuscripts are noted in the critical apparatus by the ensuing lemma as it occurs in the base text, followed by the italicised word *after*, and then the additional word as it occurs in the variant manuscript. For example, in Harley 661 an additional word *be* occurs before the word *deposed* in line 109 of the base text. This is recorded in the critical apparatus as follows: 109 deposed] *after* be H. In the rare instances where the variant readings have additional words after the end of each line of verse in the base text, the final word in that particular line is given as the lemma, followed by the italicised word *before*, then the variant reading; this practice is employed to show the reader the precise line of verse in which the variant occurs. Cases where the scribe has cancelled (i.e. crossed out a word) or deleted (i.e. placed a line of dots underneath the word) an additional word or words are shown in the same format detailed above, with an abbreviated description of the variant given in italics. For example, the scribe of Illinois 83 has cancelled the word *outgreue* before writing the correct form of the word (*ought*) at line 38 of this edition. This variant is recorded in the critical apparatus as follows: 38 ought] *after* outgreue *canc.* I. The same practice has been followed when the scribe has inserted words to emend his text.

Both Lansdowne 204 and Arch. Selden B. 10 have been very carefully written, containing only rare minor errors; therefore, editorial emendations have been kept to a minimum. The text has only been emended in cases where the manuscript is damaged or, in the case of the edition of the second version of the *Chronicle*, on the rare occasion that the variant manuscripts contain a reading superior to that in the base text. All emendations are enclosed in square brackets and the reading as it occurs in the manuscript is given in the critical apparatus, or an explanation as to why such editorial alterations have been made. For example, at line 825 of the second version the scribe has omitted the final word of the line (*fight*), which is attested by all other manuscripts and agrees with the rhyme scheme for that stanza; thus, it has been included in the body of the text as [fight], with an explanation in the critical apparatus as follows: 825 fight] *om.* S.

Folio numbers are provided in square brackets. Marginal or interlinear insertions in the base text are enclosed with < > marks in the edition and explanations given in an abbreviated form in the critical apparatus. Insertions of a similar nature in the variant manuscripts are also recorded in the critical apparatus. For example, the

scribe of Arch. Selden B. 10 has inserted the word *not* above line 408 of this edition, which has been recorded in the edition as <not>, and in the critical apparatus as follows: 408 not] *insert*. S. Conversely, the scribe of Douce 378 has added the word *To* into the margin next to the text occurring at line 681 of this edition. This is recorded as follows: 681 To] *marg*. D2. In cases where the variant manuscripts have the same lemma as the base text, but the scribe has corrected his script by inserting additional letters into words to alter the spelling, the critical apparatus contains the lemma, the word as it occurs in the manuscript and then a bracketed description of the individual letter inserted or cancelled: for example, at line 1820 of the second version the scribe of Illinois 83 originally wrote *ay* for the word *hay*, but has later inserted an *h*. This is recorded as follows: 1820 hay] hay (*h insert*.) I.

Blank lines frequently occur throughout the manuscripts of the second version. Where these occur in Arch. Selden B. 10 they have been retained as blank lines in the edition represented by ***, and are included in the line numbering. When one or more variant manuscript contains a blank line, or an entirely different reading for a line given in the edition, no lemmata are provided in the critical apparatus, merely the relevant line number followed by a square bracket, the variant reading, and the manuscript(s) in which the variant occurs. Where two or more manuscripts share the same variant line the reading has been given as it occurs in the first manuscript; any minor departures or scribal emendations between the variant manuscripts are given immediately afterwards as individual lemma. For example, at line 538 of the second version the scribes of Arch. Selden B. 10, Ashmole 34, Bühler 5, and Douce 345 have all left a blank line before continuing with the text, whereas the scribes of Hunter 400 and Harvard 1054 have continued their text without leaving a space, writing only a six-line stanza. The remaining manuscripts of the second version all have different readings in place of the blank line in the base text. To complicate matters further the scribe of Garrett 142 has corrected his text by inserting the word *to* above his unique variant line. The critical apparatus for this complex group of variants is presented as follows: 538] *blank with space* S, A, B, D; *blank without space* Hu, Hv; By which the Scottis cast hem whatt so betide D2, E, I, T, P1, P2; For þey to passe home þere þay þofte hit wold not be G; to] *insert*. G; Ne no mystruste of no maner escape H. This practice is similarly followed for any lines that have been inserted afterwards by the scribe, either between other lines of verse or in the margins. For example, the scribe of Bühler 5 originally omitted line 2083 of the second version, but later added it in the margin next to the text. This has been recorded in the critical apparatus as follows: 2083] *marg*. B.

Any alternative readings for a complete line are given before the variant lemmata relating to the base text, and instances where a scribe has transposed lines with other lines of the edition are similarly dealt with in the critical apparatus before any lemmata. For example, line 38 of this edition is transposed with line 39 in Egerton 1992, Illinois 83 and the printed texts. Furthermore, in the equivalent reading of line 38 in Illinois 83 two of the lemmata are different; the manuscript reads *nott* instead of *no*, and omits the word *wight*, as do Egerton 1992 and the two prints. This is recorded in the critical apparatus as follows: 38] *transposed with 39 in* E, I, P1, P2; no] *nott* I; *wight*] *om*. E, I, P1, P2.

Rubricated headings and the marginal glosses accompanying the text in both versions have been included in this edition in bold typeface and are inserted within the main text above the stanza next to which they occur in the manuscript. Where two glosses occur either side of the text (e.g. one in the right hand margin and one in the

left) the two have been combined into a single gloss, usually with the gloss in the outer margin occurring first. This is because in the Lansdowne manuscript the glosses in the outer margins generally appear to have been written first, with additional information either appended to the end of the gloss or added in the inner margin near the gutter. In addition to this, there is no distinction in the edition of Lansdowne 204 between the two glossing hands, one of which is possibly Hardyng's own. The glosses have not been ascribed line numbers; therefore any critical apparatus relating to them are recorded under the variants for the line number preceding the gloss, followed by the words *gloss after* and the lemma. For example, the hand responsible for the marginal gloss in Lansdowne 204 occurring after line 161 of the edition has omitted a letter 's' from the name *Lyndisfarn*. This has been recorded in the text as *Lyndi[s]farn*, and in the critical apparatus as follows: 161 *gloss after* *Lyndisfarn*] *Lyndifarn*. In the second version variant readings of the marginal glosses have not been included in the critical apparatus, primarily due to the inconsistency of their appearance in many of the manuscripts; often they are omitted entirely, but when they do occur they are generally in the same format as those in Arch. Selden B. 10.

Capitalisation, word division, punctuation and paragraphing are editorial. The scribe of Lansdowne 204 uses punctuation throughout his text, the *punctus* and the *virgula suspensiva* being the most frequent punctuation marks used; however, his usage does not conform to the requirements of modern punctuation and, due to the complicated nature of Hardyng's syntax, has not been retained in the edition. In Arch. Selden B. 10 the scribe uses the *punctus* and the *virgula suspensiva*; however, once again, the usage does not conform to modern requirements; therefore punctuation in this edition is entirely editorial. Due to the complicated nature of Hardyng's syntax both versions of the text have been punctuated heavily. Folio numbers, line numbers and paragraph indentations (for the prose passages) are also provided.

Abbreviations have been expanded in the usual way and the expansions italicised. The full form of a word, when it occurs in the text, is generally used as the basis for such expansions; otherwise words have been expanded according to normal practice. The exception to this is instances where the scribe is not always consistent with his system of abbreviation. What may, or may not, be an otiose stroke frequently occurs over many of the letters in the manuscripts; where these strokes occur over a vowel, and the full form of the word supports a reading of them as an abbreviation, they have been expanded; in all other cases such strokes have been ignored. In Lansdowne 204 there are three forms for the letter *r*: a '2' shaped *r*; a long *r*; and a long *r* with a flourish curling towards the right, which could be interpreted as an *e* abbreviation. In this edition the latter has been expanded as an abbreviation for final *e*. Similarly, flourishes regularly occur after final *g* and *n* in both Lansdowne 204 and Arch. Selden B. 10; these could be interpreted as abbreviations for final *e*; however, given the scribes' unsystematic use of them, and the fact that many examples of the words containing them occur in their full form both with and without final *e*, where a stroke may be deemed otiose, it has not been expanded. Additionally, there are two cases in this edition of particular note. Where the scribe of Lansdowne 204 has written the names *Ioh̄n* (John) or *Ioh̄ne* (Joan) with a barred *h* (*h̄*), which could be read as an abbreviated form of *Iohanne* (see, for example, f. 186r), the abbreviation, if indeed it is one, has not been expanded because the same names occur elsewhere without an *h̄*. Likewise, on f. 219r of Lansdowne 204 (line 3388), the scribe has placed a *̄* above the *p* of *vp*, which could be interpreted as an abbreviation for *vp̄on* or *vp̄pe*. Since this does not occur elsewhere in this text the word has been transcribed as *vp*.

In both manuscripts the distinction between *u/v* has been preserved, and the letters *þ* and *ȝ* are retained; however, due to the difficulty of distinguishing between the scribes' use of *i* and long *i* (*j*), all long *i*'s (*j*) have been transcribed as *i*. Where *ȝ* occurs in the place of an etymological *s* it has been transcribed as a *z*; similarly where *ff* occurs in an initial position it has been transcribed as *F*. Roman numerals are often written as a mixture of upper and lower case letters in both of the manuscripts, hence, for consistency, they are given here in small capitals.

Further textual information, where necessary, is provided in the critical apparatus or the commentary, depending on the nature of the comment.

Critical Apparatus

The following signs and abbreviations are used in the critical apparatus to describe the variants:

] a single square bracket separates lemma from variant.

, a comma separates variants to the same lemma.

; a semi-colon separates alternate variants to the same lemma or line.

. separates the lemmata on different lines of the edition.

< > interlinear or marginal insertion of a word in the base text, explanatory note given in critical apparatus.

/ change of line (prose sections only).

[...] editorial addition to the text, details given in italics in the critical apparatus.

*** indicates a blank line in the manuscript of the base text where a line of verse has been omitted. Variant readings or alternative line omissions are detailed in the critical apparatus.

after refers to the lemma, and is used to describe where the lemma occurs in relation to additional words in the variant manuscripts or in relation to scribal corrections.

before refers to the lemma, and is used to describe where the lemma occurs in relation to additional words in the variant manuscripts or in relation to scribal corrections.

canc. the lemma or variant has been cancelled by crossing through.

corr. part of the word has been corrected.

del. scribal deletion signified by a line of dots underneath the word.

insert. interlinear insertion.

marg. marginal insertion.

om. the lemma has been omitted.

rep. the lemma has been repeated

rev. order of two words reversed.

In the critical apparatus for the first version all notes refer to Lansdowne 204, therefore the abbreviation *MS* is used to designate the manuscript. Where lemmata in the critical apparatus for the second version involve the base text this information is given first, followed by the variant manuscripts in alphabetical order, and finally the printed versions.

John Hardyng and the Construction of History

Introduction

From least 1440 onwards Hardyng was residing at Kyme Priory, where he wrote both versions of his *Chronicle*. The ecclesiastical order with whom he spent his remaining days was not, however, one that refrained from contact with lay society. In fact the Augustinian canons were renowned for their work in the secular environment beyond the confines of their priory; all too often such frequent contact with the lay folk of their parish led to certain canons abusing the freedom of their order, and visiting bishops repeatedly issued injunctions requesting that they desist from participating in unsuitable activities with lay folk.²²¹ Consequently, it is unlikely that Hardyng ceased to have contact with his past lay associates; local colleagues and visitors to the priory undoubtedly kept him abreast of national and local affairs, as can be seen from the final events he records in the second version of the *Chronicle* which had only happened recently.²²² The canons of Kyme, like a vast majority of ecclesiastical foundations in the later Middle Ages, were evidently dependent upon lay patronage and would have had a vested interest in keeping up to date with the increasingly tumultuous political events of the late 1440s and early 1450s to ensure that they were informed of the fortunes or misfortunes of their patrons. Bishop Alnwick's visitation of Kyme in 1440 is just one example of how Hardyng and the canons would have had the opportunity to learn of national affairs from someone with first-hand knowledge. Alnwick had been an important councillor since the reign of Henry V, when he held the position of King's secretary. Aside from being a Northumbrian man, Alnwick's network of associations with Henry Beaufort, Ralph, Lord Cromwell, John, duke of Bedford, and his appointment as joint custodian of the March estates with the earl of Northumberland and the duke of York, meant that in all likelihood he was personally known to Hardyng, possibly through his former patron Sir Robert Umfraville.²²³

Whatever news reached Hardyng at the priory, one can be certain that there was plenty of it, for the period in which he resided with the canons was one of great change. At home and abroad the Lancastrian government faced great difficulties; the marriage between Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou in 1445 necessitated the concession of numerous English possessions in France, and caused resentment among many of the English; the failure of the royal couple to produce an heir later added to the unpopularity of the match, making the issue of the royal succession an immediate cause for concern towards the end of the decade.²²⁴ In addition to this, attempts to maintain dominion over the few possessions the English retained in Normandy became increasingly difficult, and by August 1450 Cherbourg, 'the only significant

²²¹ See, for example, the injunctions issued following two fifteenth-century visitations to Kyme in Thompson 1914-18: I, 79-80 and II, 169, 172.

²²² See, for example, his reference to the battle at Hexham in 1464 and the marriage of Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville in 1464.

²²³ Alnwick was secretary 1421-22; Keeper of the Privy Seal 1422-32; King's confessor 1424-c. 1436; bishop of Norwich 1426-36; and bishop of Lincoln 1436-49. Felicity Riddy notes that the reference to Hardyng in the record of Alnwick's visitation to Kyme suggests that 'all parties concerned, including Alnwick, knew who he was' (see Riddy 1996: 94).

²²⁴ For a discussion of the increased need to fortify a 'sense' of Lancastrian dynasty in this period see Griffiths 1979.

foothold remaining to the English in northern France', fell to Charles VII and the Bretons (Griffiths 1998: 521). The political climate in England was little better. The parliament of 1449-50 had to deal with a public outcry against corrupt governance; Jack Cade and the commons of Kent rose up in rebellion in 1450; the duke of Suffolk was murdered; Richard, duke of York, challenged the integrity of the king's advisors; and the exchequer was crippled by the king's ineffective distribution of patronage, which resulted in the resumption acts of 1450/51 and prompted further discontent amongst the king's subjects.²²⁵ In 1453-54 the king was incapacitated with a debilitating mental illness, which probably reoccurred in the autumn of 1455; at this time the 'Lancastrian hold on the throne was never so precarious [...] for to the succession problem was now added the more immediate question of who should rule the realm' (Griffiths 1998: 715). When York was elected as protector in 1454-55 and again in 1455, further political tension became inevitable because of his unresolved difficulties with members of the council.

On a local level, law and order became increasingly difficult to maintain in the shires, as many of those in charge of upholding justice in the king's name abused the system and escaped punishment by securing the protection of even more influential figures. Kyme itself was the centre of a protracted rivalry between two of Lincolnshire's most powerful magnates, William Tailboys and Ralph, Lord Cromwell, highlighting the immediate experience that Hardyng had of the 'grete malyvolence' throughout the land compelling 'neyghbours' to 'werr with myghty violence' (Lansdowne 204, f. 217r, ll. 3225-26).²²⁶ Hardyng's exasperated interjections concerning the lack of redress offered by appointed officials in the localities, who fail to 'chastyse hem that market-dassehers bene/ In euey shir that now of new er sene' and allow 'the contekours' to 'kyll' the king's faithful men 'alway by one and one' (Lansdowne 204, f. 221v, ll. 3589-90, 3598, 3601), are similar to the expressions of frustration given in the Commons' petition of 1449 concerning Tailboys, who was 'named and noysed for a Comon Murderer, Mansleer, Riotour and contynuell Breker of your peas' (Virgoe 1973: 463).

It is amidst such an atmosphere of discontent and apprehension that the inspiration for the first version of the *Chronicle* arose. Kingsford has suggested that parts of the *Chronicle* bear evidence of being composed between 1447 and 1450; this would mean that Hardyng must have begun compiling his text in the late 1440s (Kingsford 1912b: 474). Correspondingly, Riddy has conjectured that Hardyng may have begun the work in response to increased financial demands for his upkeep at Kyme Priory (see **John Hardyng's Life**); both critics in turn associate the creation of the work with Hardyng's petitions to Henry VI for his outstanding reward from 1422, when Henry V promised him the manor of Geddington for services rendered regarding the English claim of suzerainty over Scotland. However, since it is reasonable to assume that the first version of the *Chronicle* was presented to Henry VI in 1457, accepting Kingsford and Riddy's suppositions would mean that Hardyng spent approximately ten years or more writing the history. Whilst such a long composition period is not unprecedented amongst medieval writers, it is unlikely that

²²⁵ For the financial difficulties during Henry VI's reign and the resumption acts see Wolffe 1958, Griffiths 1998, and Watts 1999.

²²⁶ For a comprehensive account of the state of England in the late 1440s and 1450s see Griffiths 1968, 1979, 1998; and Watts 1999. For specific articles on the rivalry between Cromwell and Tailboys see Storey 1970 and Virgoe 1973.

Hardyng compiled his work over such a protracted spell for purely financial gain.²²⁷ By the same token, the aforementioned criticisms that Hardyng makes about the lawlessness and lack of justice in England are not elements one would expect in a work written simply for financial gain; such texts usually eulogise the king in a sycophantic manner rather than making decidedly critical observations about his rule. Like any work of a polemical nature, censure of the governance of the kingdom would necessitate a swifter composition period than ten years, for the power and immediacy of such texts come from their ability to communicate to an audience sensitive to the difficulties addressed by the author, an audience who has, perhaps, the capacity to effect change.²²⁸ For this reason, an appraisal of the evidence cited by Kingsford in favour of composition in the late 1440s is necessary before a new assessment of the *Chronicle* and Hardyng's possible motivation for writing can be offered.

The Composition of the First Version

On the basis that Hardyng omits any reference to Richard, duke of York's banishment to Ireland, Kingsford posits the year 1447 as the date by which Hardyng must have composed the later sections of the first version (Kingsford 1912b: 475). This can hardly be considered compelling evidence for composition before 1447, however, since this recension ceases its account of British history at the year 1437, the same date as some Latin and Middle English continuations of the *Brut*.²²⁹ Although the anachronistic reference to York retaining his position as Governor of France and

²²⁷ Other medieval authors known to have compiled their works over an extensive period include Geoffrey Chaucer, who began compiling his *Canterbury Tales* c. 1387, which total over 19,000 lines in length, and continued to work on them until his death in 1400. James Simpson suggests that William Langland spent approximately twenty years writing and revising *Piers Plowman* (1990: 4-5); Russell Peck suggests that John Gower took approximately three years to write his *Mirour de l'Omme* (1376-79), which comprises 32,000 octosyllabic lines in twelve-lines stanzas (Peck 1997: xxx-xxxiii); approximately four years compiling the first recension of the *Confessio Amantis* (1386-90) of 42,356 lines, and a further three years revising it for Henry of Lancaster (later Henry IV); finally John Lydgate produced his *Troy Book*, comprising 30,117 lines, over a period of eight years (Pearsall 1999: 343), and took seven years to complete his *Fall of Princes*, comprising 36,365 lines, which was begun in 1431 and finished in 1438 (Pearsall 1999: 362).

²²⁸ While Hardyng dedicates the *Chronicle* to Henry VI, Margaret of Anjou and their son, Prince Edward, it appears that he actually intended his text to be read and circulated amongst other people of consequence. From the very beginning Hardyng notes the importance of the nobility, who have, he states, traditionally helped to maintain authority and control within the kingdom. I do not mean to imply that Hardyng had visions of mass circulation of his text, but rather that he probably expected the king's manuscript to be copied and circulated amongst the nobility and lesser gentry at court.

²²⁹ Hardyng used a version of the Latin *Brut* as one of his major sources. The *Chronicle*, particularly the first version, also shares common features with the *New Cronichys Compendyusly Idrawn of the Gestys of the Kynges of England*, and it may be that a mutual Latin source links Hardyng's work with the texts in Bodleian Ashmole 791, Holkham 669 and Columbia Plimpton 261, which Matheson classifies as one of the peculiar versions of the *Brut* extending to 1437 (PV1437B). The PV1437B group also has links with the PV1437A and PV1437/1461 groups and corresponds with the text in Rawlinson C. 398, a copy of the Latin *Brut* owned by Sir John Fortescue, (Matheson 1998: xxii, 302-06). However, as Matheson notes the 'precise relationship of the second version of the Latin *Brut* to the English PV-1422:A, PV1437:A and PV1437/61 remains problematical' (Matheson 1998: 44-46); however, it is to the PV1437/1461 group that the *English Chronicle* belongs, and this text, like elements of Hardyng's *Chronicle*, has connections with the *Eulogium Continuation*. Unfortunately, a comprehensive study of the source materials used by Hardyng is beyond the scope of this thesis; sources are addressed only when they are pertinent to the matter discussed here and in the relevant Commentary.

Normandy for seven years effectively takes events up to 1444/45 (Lansdowne 204, f. 220r, l. 2464), it is not Hardyng's intention to continue the history beyond 1437. Further evidence cited by Kingsford for composition in the late 1440s is similarly tentative.

In the final sections of the *Chronicle* Hardyng suggests that the king should send those who disturb the peace in England 'ouer se/ To kepe your right in Fraunce and Normandy,/ Thayr hiegh corage to spende and iolyte/ In sauynge of your noble regaly' (Lansdowne 204, f. 217r, ll. 3220-23). Kingsford saw this as evidence that the lines were compiled before the loss of Rouen in 1449. However, although Hardyng's comment implies that the lands in France need 'sauynge', this does not necessarily mean that Hardyng compiled this section before the loss of Rouen or even before the loss of Cherbourg; he could be alluding to the state of affairs from 1450/51 onwards, when, with the exception of Calais, the Lancastrian hold over northern France was lost, but men still petitioned the king to undertake a campaign of reconquest to defend his hereditary title of Duke of Normandy, a label that all English kings since William the Conqueror used for themselves to emphasise their ancestral dominion over Normandy. A comparison should perhaps be made between Hardyng's appeal to Henry VI to save his inheritance in Normandy and that of William Worcester in his *Boke of Noblesse*. In the *Boke of Noblesse*, initially written for Henry VI, then revised for Edward IV, and later re-dedicated to Richard III, Worcester encourages the king to assert his hereditary claim to France and wage war on the country. It is believed that Worcester composed the *Boke* shortly after 1451 'perhaps to please his master, the veteran of the French wars, Sir John Fastolf' (Sutton and Visser-Fuchs 1997: 291), but by this time the English had already lost their hold over the French provinces in question. Similarly, although Worcester presented his revised version of the *Boke* on the eve of Edward IV's embarkation on a French campaign of reconquest, the revision was nevertheless made when the territories had been lost for some time (see Sutton and Visser-Fuchs 1997: 85). With this in mind, Hardyng's allusion to the king's jurisdiction over France, particularly Normandy, is no different from the claims elsewhere in the *Chronicle*, that England has sovereignty over Scotland.²³⁰ At the time the first version was presented to Henry VI, England had sovereignty over neither France nor Scotland, and the practicalities of reviving the war effort were not at all favourable, but like so many medieval authors, this did not prevent Hardyng from stating the king's right to those territories.²³¹

The final year that Kingsford singles out as notable with regards to the composition of the *Chronicle* is 1450. He speculates that Hardyng's apparently favourable treatment of William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, shows that the parts of the text concerning him must have been compiled before his downfall in 1450 (Kingsford 1912b: 475). Again, this suggestion is tentative; there may be several reasons for the *Chronicle's* lack of critical material concerning Suffolk, not least the fact that Suffolk was one of those who agreed to honour the annuity granted to Hardyng by Henry VI in 1440/41 (see **John Hardyng's Life**). One must not forget that, if Hardyng had wanted to include a retrospective condemnation of the earl, he could easily have done

²³⁰ The verse translation of Vegetius's *De Re Militari, Knyghthode and Bataile* (c. 1458-60), is another example of a work written in the late 1450s, which calls for the king to force his (and Christ's) foes out of France and Normandy (Dyboski and Arend 1936: 82, ll. 2231-37).

²³¹ In June 1457, several months prior to Hardyng's presentation of the *Chronicle* and several forged documents, an Anglo-Scottish truce was concluded, which, technically, made Hardyng's invasion plans obsolete (see Hiatt forthcoming).

so before presenting it in 1457. In view of the fact that this brief reassessment of the evidence cited by Kingsford in support of his assertion that Hardyng had started composing the first version in the late 1440s has shown that his supposition cannot be categorically supported, it is feasible to put forward a slightly later composition date for the *Chronicle* and a more fitting motivation than pure financial gain behind the author's decision to write the history.

Only the prologue is datable to any precise year (1457). Consisting of twenty-three stanzas, it begins with a four-stanza dedication to Henry VI and his family and calls attention to the king's sovereignty over Scotland. The remaining nineteen stanzas describe the Scottish mission undertaken by Hardyng at the request of Henry V; the documents relating to English hegemony that he recovered for the king and presented to Henry VI at Easthampstead in 1440; and the petition that Hardyng made in 1451 for the outstanding reward promised to him by Henry V.²³⁸ The prologue appears to have been added after the main text had been written. It occurs in a slightly larger and less attentive hand than that of the main scribe, and may have been added by Hardyng himself just before the manuscript was presented to the king. The content of the prologue clarifies that it was a later addition. The reference to Henry VI's son Prince Edward on f. 2v, l. 8, suggests a composition date of no earlier than 13 October 1453, when the prince was born, but two further references help to date the prologue more precisely to 1457. The first reference occurs at line 113 where Hardyng discusses his difficulties 'sex yer now go' when Cardinal John Kemp thwarted his attempt to gain the 'maner hool of Gedyngton'.²³⁹ As Kingsford astutely points out, Hardyng's reference to Kemp as the king's 'noble chauncellere' and 'cardinall [...] of zork' (f. 4r, ll. 120, 122, 159) implies that the lines were composed when Kemp held all three offices of Chancellor, Cardinal and Archbishop of York. This could only be between 31 January 1450 and December 1451.²⁴⁰ The second reference to clarify the date of the prologue's composition, and also help us determine the date of Hardyng's return from his first Scottish expedition, is the chronicler's confession that he has kept the documents he now intends to submit to the king for 'sex and thretty zere' (f. 4r, l. 145). As we know that Hardyng presented the *Chronicle* with six accompanying documents to Henry VI in November 1457, and as he informs us that his mission lasted three and a half years, the only conceivable dates for his trip are 1418-21; this would mean that his return in 1421 was thirty-six years before the petition in 1457.²⁴¹

²³⁸ The final stanza of the prologue appears to have been erased at some point, but those lines that are discernible under ultraviolet light have been included in the edition provided in *Illustrative Texts*. The principle of *Illustrative Texts* is to make those parts of the *Chronicle* discussed at length in this section, but not edited in Part Two of this study, available to the reader. For comparative purposes the prologues and the Albyne narrative of each version and full critical apparatus are supplied; difficult or unusual words are explained in the *Selective Glossary*. Again, in order to allow for comparison between the two versions, and to avoid confusion, the line numbering of the edition in Part Two continues sequentially from the numbering used in *Illustrative Texts*.

²³⁹ Lansdowne 204, f. 4r, l. 117.

²⁴⁰ John Kemp (c. 1375-1454) was archbishop of York from 1425; he became cardinal in 1439, and was translated to the archbishopric of Canterbury in January 1452. He held the position of Chancellor from 1426 to 1432 and again from 1450. See *John Hardyng's Life* for further evidence supporting the probability that Hardyng petitioned in this year.

²⁴¹ See Lansdowne 204, f. 4r, ll. 113, 145. For the indenture between Hardyng and the treasurer, John Talbot, attesting to the delivery of six documents to the treasury in November 1457 (PRO E 39/96/3) see *John Hardyng's Life* and *Appendix 2*. Although the information concerning the dates of Hardyng's Scottish mission are vague, the only three consecutive years in Henry V's reign in which Hardyng is not known to be engaged on other business (i.e. at Agincourt or Harfleur) are the years

Given that the examples above help to confirm a date of 1457 for the completion of the prologue, and indeed the first version of the *Chronicle*, it is possible that more can be determined from the same preface with regards to the probable year Hardyng commenced working on the history. Since the autobiographical details concerning the chronicler's royal service provide us with a date of completion, it is to these self-referential elements and the author's petitionary stance that I would now like to turn in order to ascertain whether they offer any additional suggestions as to why Hardyng may have begun his history and why he attaches so much importance to his petitionary stance if the aim of writing was not exclusively for financial gain.²³⁶

The Poet as Petitioner

Petitions for reward and descriptions of financial destitution were by no means uncommon in the Middle Ages, particularly in the fifteenth century; Hardyng's petitionary framework is comparable to similar petitions in the works of Geoffrey Chaucer, Thomas Hoccleve and John Lydgate, as are the autobiographical details he provides in support of his claim of worthiness for such compensation.²³⁷ What is distinctive about the sporadic autobiographical references in both versions of the *Chronicle* is that they occur simultaneously with Hardyng's attempt to provide authority for his own status as an author and for the contemporary events he describes.²³⁸ This in itself is not unusual, as the practice of citing one's own authority in support of the accuracy of contemporaneous events is well documented in medieval chronicles; superficially Hardyng's personal testimony to have heard, seen and witnessed many of the affairs he describes ('audiuit, vidit, et interfuit', Lansdowne 204, f. 203r, *gloss after* l. 2009), although evidently true, is a commonplace method of authenticating recent historical incidents amongst medieval chroniclers.²³⁹ However, whilst the account of the Scottish mission given by Hardyng in justification of his petition supports his assertion that Henry VI has sovereignty over the neighbouring realm, it also in fact serves another purpose. Hardyng states that the objective of his Scottish reconnaissance was twofold: to recover documentary evidence relating to English hegemony and to provide the king with geographical information about the terrain to assist him on any future military campaigns. Only the second version of the

1418-21. These years also agree with Hardyng's claim of later presenting several documents to the king at Bois Vincennes, France, since it was here that Henry spent his remaining days in 1422.

²³⁶ The issue of whether or not a patron encouraged the composition of the *Chronicle*, or supported it financially, is addressed after the discussion of the first version, looking toward the second version.

²³⁷ See, for example, Chaucer's *Complaint to his Purse and Fortune* (Benson 1988: 656), Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes* (Furnivall 1897) and *Complaint and Dialogue* (Burrow 1999), and Lydgate's *Letter to Gloucester* (MacCracken 1934: 665-67). Scholarship on this topic is comprehensive, but works of particular note include Burrow 1981, 1983; Lawton 1987; Hasler 1990; Scanlon 1990; Pearsall 1994; Strohm 1999.

²³⁸ See, for example, the detailed gloss in Lansdowne 204, f. 5r, where Hardyng describes his instruction in Justine's *Epitome* in Rome by Julius Caesarine to emphasise his training in classical history and to highlight his own credibility as a knowledgeable author. The reference to Hardyng's constablership of Warkworth Castle and his affinity with the Percy household during the Shrewsbury episode, which highlight his first-hand knowledge of, and involvement in, the Percy rebellion provide similar illustrations of this (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 158v, *gloss after* l. 1862, f. 190r, ll. 3865-67, f. 192r, ll. 3982-85).

²³⁹ See, for example, the chronicles of Sir Thomas Grey, Adam of Usk, Jean Froissart, and Jean Creton, and the work of the Chandos Herald, all of whom include references to their travels and personal involvement in the contemporary affairs they describe.

Chronicle records Hardyng's claim to have presented Henry V with the fruits of his mission at Bois de Vincennes;²⁴⁶ the first version alludes to it only indirectly, focussing solely on the presentations and petitions made to Henry VI in 1440 and 1451, with particular emphasis being placed on the latter:

Sex yere now go I pursewed to zoure grace;
And vndirnethe zoure lettres secretary,
And pryuy seel that longeth in that cace,
3e graunted me to haue perpetually
The manere hool of Gedyngtoun treuly
To me and to myne hayres in heritage,
With membres hool and other all auantage.

[Lansdowne 204, f. 4r, ll. 113-19]

Hardyng re-iterates that Henry VI agreed to reward him in this year but was prevented by the unjust intervention of Kemp. In a venomous attack on the chancellor's interference he remarks that under Henry V Kemp would 'durste nought so haue lette hys righte fall down,/ Ne layde o syde so riall euydence/ Appertenant vnto hys riall crown' (Lansdowne 204, f. 4r, ll. 135-37). Whilst independently surviving evidence in support of the presentation to Henry V is lacking, extant governmental records do confirm that Hardyng gave several documents to Henry VI at Easthampstead in 1440, as he states. Similarly, a treasury receipt dated from 1451 records the removal and consultation of the documents, suggesting, as Kingsford noted, that the chronicler did indeed petition the king as he claims in 1451.²⁴⁷

It is interesting that Hardyng recounts these incidents, placing emphasis on the more recent petitions, whilst omitting reference to his initial presentation to Henry V at Bois de Vincennes; this may be because he knew that no official record of the event or of Henry V's promise existed.²⁴⁸ Both the 1440 and the 1451 petition were, it would appear, events which were capable of being verified by the king independently of the *Chronicle*. Consequently, the only palpable reason for the author to accentuate them, aside from the hope of further reward, is because they add impartial authenticity to his claim of being a royal spy.²⁴⁹

Other particulars related to Hardyng's memoirs in the prologue work in the same way. After discussing some of the documents he recovered during his mission, the king's former agent proceeds to detail how he fulfilled the second part of his assignment, that of providing England's sovereign with a diagram and itinerary of how best to invade Scotland. This time the materials appended to the *Chronicle* itself bear testimony to Hardyng's efforts.

Although quite accurate for the time, a diagram such as the map Hardyng provides at the end of Lansdowne 204 was not designed for practical use. Itineraries,

²⁴⁶ Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 110r, 129r, 135r.

²⁴⁷ For details of the presentations see *John Hardyng's Life*.

²⁴⁸ The documents Hardyng claims to have presented are listed in footnote 75.

²⁴⁹ Hardyng's discussion of his previous presentations and petitions further highlights that fact that he cannot have intended the king to take his claim of being unrewarded at face value, for by drawing attention to the 1440 petition he is also underscoring the annuity he received from Willoughton. The author's claim should, I believe, be interpreted as a complaint that he was not rewarded to the extent that he had been promised by Henry V; this accounts for the allusion to Geddington in the prologue, valued at this time with an income of approximately £30, and for the king's subsequent reward of a further £20 in addition to the continuation of the Willoughton grant.

rather than diagrams, were used as travel guides in the Middle Ages; hence the figure in Lansdowne 204 is accompanied by a meticulous itinerary.²⁴⁴ The diagram of Scotland was, however, intended to convey alternative information, in this case the diagram depicts a busy island-like community, functioning independently of England; in short the map has a political function.²⁴⁵ Again, it was not unprecedented for chroniclers to incorporate maps and documents into their texts, the works of Matthew Paris and William Worcester are testimony to this; however, Hardyng's ancillary material has a multiple function. The political significance of the map has been examined by Alfred Hiatt in his study of the documents 'recovered' by Hardyng.²⁴⁶ It works in conjunction with the information in the itinerary, and the documents retrieved in Scotland, to highlight the importance of reinforcing English sovereignty over the prosperous and powerful realm of Scotland. Hiatt concludes that the documents accompany and clarify the figure because 'the forgeries "evidence" of title to land complements Hardyng's drawing of it; moreover, both title-deed and map depend on visibility, on the capacity to be adduced and inspected [...] Hardyng the topographer-critic as much as Hardyng the forger-critic acts as the agent of sovereign power, examining and representing both land and documents for the king' (Hiatt 1999b: 166). It should be noted, however, that the diagram and itinerary are also a means of authenticating Hardyng's authority as a reliable author. By presenting documentary evidence of his travels and knowledge of Scotland in the form of the map and itinerary, Hardyng authenticates his claim to have travelled within the realm on a geographical and military survey whilst reaffirming the high degree of trust placed in him by Henry V. Like the references to the petitions, the itinerary and map are tangible examples of reliable information provided by Hardyng that may be corroborated independently of the text; any contemporary readers doubting the validity of Hardyng's mission and knowledge may check the accuracy of his geographical information for themselves.²⁴⁷ The ancillary materials accompanying the *Chronicle* conclude the history with a reminder of Hardyng's loyal service and eligibility for reward and confirm his reliability as an author. It may be argued, therefore, that Hardyng adopts the guise of petitioner, citing his participation in Henry V's undercover mission and his patriotic refusal of James I's bribe of 'A thowsond marke [...] of Englysshe golde' (Lansdowne 204, f. 4r, l. 142), in order to establish

²⁴⁴ For further information on medieval maps and itineraries see Skelton and Harvey 1986, Harvey 1991, Delano-Smith and Kain 1999.

²⁴⁵ This is also the conclusion of P. D. A. Harvey who notes that the basic outline of Hardyng's map is derived from earlier world maps, and is 'clearly related' to those drawn by Matthew Paris. However, unlike Paris's 'desolate picture of Scotland', Hardyng's figure presents a 'view of busy prosperity' (1991: 72-73).

²⁴⁶ Hiatt 1999b and his forthcoming article 'Beyond a Border: The Maps of Scotland in John Hardyng's *Chronicle*'.

²⁴⁷ Compare, for example, Bokenham's 'Life of St Margaret' where the author advises those who doubt his story to visit her shrine in Italy and learn about her life themselves (Serjeantson 1938: 3-4, ll. 105-16); or with Robert Mannyng, who refers the reader to the tomb of 'Malde þe quene [...] at Westmyenster' for confirmation of the story concerning her in his *Chronicle* (Sullens 1996: 554, ll. 2560-62). The military usefulness of Hardyng's Scottish documents cannot be understated, and a comparison with the work compiled by Gilbert de Lannoy following his reconnaissance for Henry V in 1420, whereby the distances of towns and geographical features are noted, should be highlighted (for Lannoy's expedition see **John Hardyng's Life**). Sutton and Visser-Fuchs believe that Richard, duke of Gloucester, (later Richard III) may have been familiar with Hardyng's Scottish map and Itinerary and 'used some of its information about the geography of Scotland for his campaigns of 1480-82' (1997: 23).

himself as a loyal subject of the English crown.²⁵⁴ The record of his retrieval of the documents for the king, references to them at appropriate moments throughout the *Chronicle*, and the inclusion of the diagram and itinerary, function as a device to legitimise the author as a reliable source, on whom Henry VI, like his father before him, may depend.

If the details of Hardyng's mission in the first version of the *Chronicle* function as a means of authorial authentication, the petitionary stance adopted by the chronicler takes on a new dimension. The plea for recognition and remuneration is couched in metaphorical language, which allows Hardyng to compare Henry VI with his illustrious father, Henry V. In the prologue and the epilogue, the image of sickness is evoked to invite comparisons between the two kings. Henry VI is depicted as the chronicler's physician; as the son and heir of Henry V, he is the only person in the entire kingdom who can bring respite to the author, and heal his financial incapacity by acknowledging his services under the late king and honouring the reward he promised to Hardyng.²⁵⁵

²⁵⁴ A mark was equal to 13 shillings and four pence or two-thirds of a pound; hence, Hardyng is implying that he has paid out three hundred pounds for the documents. Given that Hardyng's annual wage as an esquire in Umfraville's service would have probably been approximately £40, it is highly improbable that he ever had enough capital to raise such a large amount, and therefore it appears that the figure given here was invented to demonstrate the valuable nature of the documents and their financial as well as symbolic value to the English crown. The sum is almost half of that allegedly offered as a bribe to Hardyng by James I of Scotland (see Lansdowne 204, f. 4r, l. 142) and it therefore provides Hardyng with a figurative way of comparing the physical cost of the documents with their symbolic worth and the costs willing to be incurred by the 'enemy' to re-purchase them. The emphasis on Hardyng's expenses and the bribe offered by the Scottish king also serve to demonstrate Hardyng's lack of financial reward from his 'natyfe' king and country, which the author argues, is what he hopes the king will provide him with, and a justification for the prologue and the *Chronicle*. For further information on monetary values in the Middle Ages and the wages of an esquire see Dyer 1998. Of additional interest with regards to this matter is Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset's refusal of help from James II during his conflict with the duke of York in the 1450s. As Watts notes, both sides wished to demonstrate their loyalty to the English sovereign and this necessitated rejecting help from his traditional enemies (Kekewich *et al* 1995: 19-20, 183-85). Ironically, Henry VI found himself dependent on the good will of the Scots king several years later, when he and his party escaped across the border to avoid Edward IV.

²⁵⁵ Sickness imagery is a common motif in medieval literature; see, for example, the Harley Lyrics beginning 'My deth I love, my lif ich hate' and 'When the nightegale singes', in which the narrator cites his beloved as his physician (see Ker 1965: ff. 80v-81r; Davies 1963: 59-63). Of particular note is the similarity of lines 29-30 of the Lansdowne prologue to Book I, iv, of Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, in which Lady Philosophy advises Boethius to divulge his sorrows to her ('Si operam medicantis exspectas, orportet vulnus detegas' [If you want the doctor's help, you must reveal the wound]; Stewart, Rand and Tester 1973: 144-47), reasserting her philosophy by referring to an earlier maxim in Homer's *Illiad*, I, 363 ('ἔξάυδα, μὴ κεύθε νόω, ἵνα εἶδομεν ἄμφω' [Speak out; hide it not in thy mind that we both may know]; Murray 1924-67: 30-31). Aside from occurring in translations of Boethius, the adage appears frequently in literature from the late Anglo-Saxon period onwards; see, for example, the pseudo-Alcuin (c. 1000) 'Hwu mæiz se læce zehælen þa wunde, þe se untrume scuneð, þæt he him eowie?' (Assmann 1889: 384, ll. 331-32); Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, I, ll. 857-58 (c. 1385; Benson 1988: 485), 'For whoso list have helyng of his leche, To hym byhoveth first unwre his wownde'; Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes* (c. 1412), 'Ryght so, if þe list haue a remedye/ of þyn annoy þat prikkeþ þe so smerte,/ The verray cause of þin hyd maladye/ þou most discouer, & telle oute al þin herte' (Furnivall 1897: 10, ll. 260-66); Lydgate's *Temple of Glas* (1420), 'For who that wil of his preve peine/ Fulli be cured, his life to help and saue./ He must mekeli oute of his hertis graue/ Discure his wound, & shew it to his lech,/ Or ellis deie for defaute of spech' (Schick 1891: 38, ll. 913-17). The prologue to Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, ll. 61-65, employs a similar theme whereby the 'poet's illness enhances the prologue's theme of the degenerating world' (Peck 1997: 3, 495). For further occurrences

Who hath an hurte and wille it nought diskure
 And to his leche can nought his sore compley[ne],
 In wo euermore withouten any cure
 Alle helpes forth he muste comporte his peyne;
 And who his own erande forgatte to seyne,
 As alle thise wise men say alway and wote,
 Men calle a fool or elles an idyote.

Wherfore to 3ow, as prince moste excellent,
 I me compleyne, as resouⁿ techeth me
 [Lansdowne 204, f. 3r, ll. 29-37]

The image of sickness is further underscored by the account of his Scottish expedition. The chronicler stresses that, although he successfully accomplished this mission, obtaining the documents cost an extravagant amount of money, and that he received an incurable wound, which at the time of writing, almost four decades later, still kept him awake at night:

Whiche euydence in his afore comprised,
 With oþer mo whiche I shal to 3ow take,
 Foure hundre mark and fyfty ful assised
 Cost me treuly for 3oure fadir sake,
 With incurable mayme that maketh me wake.
 Wherfore plesse it of 3oure magnificence
 Me to rewarde as pleseth 3oure excellence.
 [Lansdowne 204, f. 4r, ll. 148-54]

The wound, in all probability a genuine one, becomes a metaphor for the financial and physical hardship Hardyng incurred in the service of his country.²⁵⁰ It serves as an indication that Henry VI inherited not only the English throne but an obligation to fulfil the expectations and needs of the English people, represented here by Hardyng's lack of reward and physical suffering. The remainder of the prologue sustains the theme of financial incapacity as the king is reminded of the two previous petitions made by Hardyng. Now, however, rather than appearing as the mere protestations of a disgruntled subject, Hardyng's castigation of Cardinal Kemp's interference in 1451 serves as an example of how the king can 'cure' Hardyng by avoiding bad counsel.

see Whiting 1968: 333 (L173). In polemical discourse the idea of a sick or wounded body is often associated with the popular image of the 'body politic'; see, for example, *Richard the Redeless*, Passus II, ll. 62-66 (Barr 1993: 110-11); and Gower's *Vox Clamantis*, VI, ll. 497-98 and the *Confessio Amantis*, prologue, ll. 151-56 (Peck 1997: 5); Christine de Pizan's *Livre du Corps de Policie*; Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*, ll. 3928-34 (Furnivall 1897: 142); and Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, II, ll. 827-903 (Bergen 1906-35: I, 222-24). For further discussion of the body politic see Scattergood 1971: 268-70, 292 and Delany 1998. Other texts belonging to the 1450s and employing sickness imagery in relation to the king and his subjects include *Knyghthode and Bataile* (Dyboski and Arend 1936: 33, ll. 887-893; 41, ll. 1090-1103; 44, ll. 1174-80; 46, ll. 1230-50); and the political poems known as 'The Five Dogs of London' (Robbins 1959: 189-91, ll. 19-20) and 'Take Good Heed' (Robbins 1959: 206-07, l. 12), although Allan believes this poem was compiled in 1460 (1981: 109-11).

²⁵⁰ Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 197v, l. 4254.

The critical observation that Henry V would never have allowed a loyal subject to go unrewarded, or forgo his sovereignty over Scotland for the sake of Geddington Manor, invites further comparison between the king and his father, setting the tone for future invocations to avoid the questionable recommendations of ill-informed advisers and follow his father's example of good governance.

The themes of bad counsel, the payments of debts, and rewarding loyal subjects, employed here link the *Chronicle* with a number of discourses circulating in England in the 1450s. Following the infamous 1449/50 parliament, Jack Cade and his supporters issued their proposals for reform based on the premise that the king was being ill advised by his government and that only the restoration of noble councillors, such as the duke of York, could rectify the problem.²⁵⁷ Later, the manifestoes and letters issued by York centred on the same theme of bad counsel, depicting himself and his supporters, as Henry VI's loyal subjects, just as Cade had done.²⁵⁸ They only wished, it was maintained, to free the king from the influence of those harming the common weal through their self-serving machinations. Literature composed at this time similarly indulges in censuring the behaviour of the king's advisors, especially those who have 'made the kyng so pore/ That now he beggeth fro dore to dore'.²⁵⁹ Worcester's *Boke of Noblesse* discusses the importance of employing altruistic counsellors, paying off debts, rewarding loyal subjects and keeping good laws (Nichols 1860a: 58-65, 76-81), as does the 'Three Considerations' (c. 1450), another work linked to Sir John Fastolf's circle.²⁶⁰ John Watts has noted that allegations of corruption amongst the king's advisors are prevalent in discourses circulating during the reign of a bad or incompetent king, as these charges are one of the ways in which the problem of the king's authority (or lack of) can be safely addressed:²⁶¹

Evidence that the common interest had been neglected might be all around but it was impossible for subjects to force remedial actions upon the king without assaulting – and, in fact, usurping, or 'accroaching' - his authority.

One possible solution to this problem was to allege that the king was being either poorly advised or poorly served and to press for action against his counsellors or ministers. This solution [...] had the virtue of combining respect for the king's authority with action to restore the representation of

²⁵⁷ Issues of debts and royal finance are addressed in Cade's manifesto (Kekewich *et al* 1995: 204). As far as possible I have tried to maintain the distinction between 'councillors' and 'counsellors'; however, the terms are by no means exclusive, and, as in this instance, the word 'councillor' can also mean advisor.

²⁵⁸ For the duke's financial difficulties at this time and references to them in contemporary items, see Griffiths 1975: 195-96. For the poverty of the Lancastrian regime as a theme in Yorkist propaganda in the 1450s see Allan 1981: 118.

²⁵⁹ See, for example, the political poems entitled 'The Death of the Duke of Suffolk' and 'Advice to the Court' in Robbins (1959: 187-89, 203-05). The quotation is taken from 'Advice to the Court II', ll. 4-6, in which the poet also comments that 'So pore a kyng was neuer seen,/ Nor richere lordes all by-dene' (ll. 25-26).

²⁶⁰ The poem is based upon Giles of Rome's *De Regimine Principum*, but the topics of judicious counsel and the royal income are given special attention. For the Fastolf connection and an overview of the piece see Kekewich 1987: 64-72. John Shirley's *The Governance of Kings and Princes*, a translation of the French *Secretum Secretorum* dedicated to Henry VI at this time, is also of interest for its allusions to seeking good advice (see Kekewich 1987: 26-27).

²⁶¹ Compare, for example, the diatribes against bad counsel rife in texts belonging to the reign of Richard II.

the common interest [...] the debate over the location of authority and the interests of the common weal was all-important [Kekewich *et al* 1995: 7].

It is this 'debate' about the location of authority so integral to the political discourses of the 1450s that Hardyng enters into in the first version of the *Chronicle*. Before presenting and commenting upon different examples relating to the uses and abuses of authority, he first demonstrates his appropriateness to advise the king. In much the same way that York's mistreatment in the previous decade allowed him to justify his position and make certain allegations against the king's 'evil' counsellors, Hardyng's account of his own experience of the cardinal's intrusion into matters of royal prerogative helps to justify his suitability to offer advice to the king. After calling attention to the usurpation of sovereign power (in the form of Kemp's reversal of the king's grant and, more generally, Scotland's refusal to submit to English hegemony), and after reaffirming his loyalty, the chronicler can go on to address other issues relating to the king's sovereignty, and offer a series of exemplars extolling the virtues of good kingship. The body of the *Chronicle* is dedicated to doing precisely this, hence the history's indebtedness to the 'Mirrors for Princes' form, a genre which, by definition, focusses on the notion of giving advice by example. From the very beginning of both versions Hardyng states that his history of Britain is 'to bene myrour and remembrance to other kynges and prynces' (Lansdowne 204, f. 67r), an educational collection of good and bad exempla of kingship, providing continuous coverage of England's historical relations with its neighbours, mainly Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and France, for the moral edification of the royal family and the nobility of the realm.²⁵⁶ Although not in the same category as the classically structured 'Mirrors for Princes', Hardyng's use of this literary structure gives unity to the ensuing examples; the reigns of past monarchs provide models of acceptable or corrupt behaviour that the king and members of the gentry may absorb at their leisure, and by which, Hardyng hopes, they will aspire to emulate the virtuous, and avoid the immoral. This is expounded throughout the text in frequent authorial interjections, which highlight the vices or virtues of a specific monarch, requesting that the king (or heir to the throne) follow the righteous examples offered.

As one would expect, some of the monarchs featured highlight the rudimentary qualities that a great sovereign should, or should not, possess, focussing on individual aspects of character, such as temperance, fortitude, excessive greed, anger, complacency, rather than methods of governing.²⁵⁷ Other exemplary reigns

²⁵⁶ Compare the quotation from Lansdowne 204 above with Hardyng's explanation of the purpose of the second version in Arch. Selden B. 10, ff. 5r-5v, ll. 29-42. The 'Mirrors for Princes' tradition as the genre originated from classical works such as the *De Regimine Principum* of Aegidius Romanus and the *Secreta Secretorum*. Notable English works based upon these classical precedents include Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*, Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, and William of Worcester's *Boke of Noblesse*. Scholarship concerning the 'Mirrors for Princes' tradition in fourteenth and fifteenth-century English literature is plentiful; see, for example, Scattergood 1971: 274-97; Green 1980; Kekewich 1987; Lawton 1987; Scanlon 1990.

²⁵⁷ For example: King Gurgustius serves as an example against drunkenness (Lansdowne 204, f. 24v; Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 22v), as does Hardyng's conceit on drunkenness in the reign of Andragius (Lansdowne 204, ff. 33v-34r), which does not appear to have an analogue or source elsewhere. In other reigns leaders are warned to eschew the sin of sloth, with Hardyng offering an example of his own avoidance of the sin by compiling the *Chronicle* (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 5r, ll. 5-7; see also, f. 6v, ll. 113-19 and Lansdowne 204, f. 67v). The fate of King Morvide is taken from either the *Historia Regum Britanniae* or the *Brut*, and functions as a warning against excessive wrath (Lansdowne 204, f. 31r-v). Implicit and explicit warnings touching on vengeance, which should, it is stated, be left to God, occur

provide a twofold commentary on how a ruler's personal attributes affect the public sphere. All of the reigns are, nevertheless, given cohesion by Hardyng's omnipresent exploration of kingship and division. These thematic components and the moments when they interconnect and impact upon the kingdom in a particularly positive or negative way, either through a superlative king who attains temporary unity within his realm, or through a particularly deplorable king who sanctions, or causes, civil war, form the basis of Hardyng's overall vision of history as a continual flux between unity and disunity, prosperity and disaster.²⁶⁴

The sentiments expressed in Hardyng's prologue, therefore, appear to be participating in a wider public discourse particular to the 1450s; by using the same images and themes employed by the authors of the various public manifestoes and literature in circulation from 1450 onwards and by making the account of Kemp's intervention in his 1451 petition a focal point of the prologue, Hardyng creates a platform from which he can launch an attack on unwise councillors making decisions in the king's name, and, in turn, call attention to the shift in the use of sovereign power under Henry V and the misuse of that power under Henry VI.²⁶⁵

Consequently, a new scenario can be posited for the composition of the first version. The difficult political and public affairs of the 1440s may have prompted Hardyng to attempt to bolster his £10 annuity by petitioning the king for further restitution in 1451. As a direct result of Kemp's interference the chronicler witnessed, first-hand, the power and influence that the king's governors had, and, being consummately aware that the problems in his own locality arose from similar exploitations of authority, Hardyng may have seen that his own experiences complemented the issues hotly debated in the discourses of the 1450s and began working on the *Chronicle* following his failed petition at the end of 1451, not only to protect his own interests but to voice his concerns for the common weal at large. Whilst this supposition cannot be proved conclusively, a date of late 1451 or early 1452 for Hardyng's commencement of the history, and thus a shorter composition period for the work as a whole, is more suited to the polemical nature of the first version. Additionally, the themes and images employed throughout the history complement those utilised in the public manifestoes issued in opposition to Henry VI's inept governance and therefore suggest that Hardyng was making use of a pre-

on numerous occasions, notably in the account of Saint Augustine (Lansdowne 204, f. 94v), after the reign of Edward II in Lansdowne 204 (f. 185r, ll. 575-88), and in the prologue to the second version (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 7r, ll. 141-47). Hardyng's favourite proverb concerning this topic (murder cries for vengeance) is employed on several occasions by Lydgate in his *Fall of Princes* (Bergen 1924-27: II, 526, ll. 1949-51; II, 673, ll. 3144-45; III, 753, ll. 2932-33; III, 917, l. 3357).

²⁶⁴ The idea of history as a cycle alternating between fortune and misfortune is common in medieval culture; see, for example, the Gawain-poet's description of British history 'Where werre and wrake and wonder/ Bi sybez hatz wont perinne,/ And oft boþe blysse and blunder/ Ful skete hatz skyfted synne (Tolkien and Gordon 1968: 1, ll. 16-19). This concept is related to the idea of the mutability of fortune, which Hardyng uses to evoke many succinct and subtle links between past and present monarchs throughout both versions of the *Chronicle* (see below).

²⁶⁵ Interestingly, the first version of the *Chronicle* does not mention Henry Beaufort's initial encroachment on Hardyng's reward, when the Manor of Geddington was assigned to the queen in her dower following Henry V's death. This only occurs in the second version (Arch. Selden B. 10, ff. 129r-v), which surprisingly lacks any reference to Kemp's intervention. Whether this is because Beaufort made amends to Hardyng by extending his patronage to him in 1424 is uncertain (see **John Hardyng's Life**), but the importance of the 1451 petition to the first version may have something to do with it being a motivating factor in the creation of the text. Either way, Kemp had been dead for several years by the time the first version was presented in 1457, so it was relatively safe to criticise his actions.

determined language more politically charged and appropriate to the affairs of the 1450s, because this was the period in which the *Chronicle* was conceived and written.²⁶⁰ It is these themes and images that I would now like to examine in more depth because reading the *Chronicle* with the affairs of the 1450s in mind allows us to appreciate the effect that Henry VI's weak administration had on Hardyng, and, in turn, provides us with an insight into how he and others like him perceived their personal role in British history and in the future of the realm.

The Foundation Framework

Hardyng's *Chronicle* purports to tell the history of Britain from the legendary settling of Albion to the middle of the fifteenth century. The first version is divided into seven books. The number symbolism of this in medieval terms is quite clear, and Hardyng has undoubtedly thought carefully about where his divisions should occur; the history of the first founders of Albion, Albyne and her sisters, is given an entire book; the coming of Brutus, the eponymous founder of Britain, then heralds the start of Book Two; Lucius, the first Christian king, begins Book Three, which goes on to include the renowned reign of King Arthur; Book Four, the middle book, begins with King Gurmonde, the notorious usurper who divides Britain up into seven realms and it goes on to incorporate the disastrous reign of Cadwallader; the Norman Conquest signifies the start of Book Five; the illustrious Edward I begins Book Six; and the final seventh book commences with Henry V. It is striking that Lucius and Arthur should be associated with the number analogous to the Holy Trinity, whilst Gurmonde and Cadwallader, the epitome of bad leadership are confined to Book Four, the number most frequently associated with the mutable world. If one also considers the popular notion of the seven ages of the world in medieval literature, Hardyng's placement of Henry V and Henry VI in the final book, along with the information on how to reconquer Scotland suggests, perhaps, that Henry VI is living in the last era reserved for the coming of the great apocalyptic hero king, who would traditionally reconquer England's lost colonies.²⁶¹ The concept of the hero-king was synonymous

²⁶⁰ The notion that 'each political society is governed by a matrix of ideas to which all its politicians must make reference' has been considered by a number of scholars (see Watts 1999: 7 and the works cited there). Jenni Nuttall's recent study of Thomas Hoccleve explores this concept in relation to the 'temporarily politicized languages and idioms' used by early Lancastrian poets; furthermore, her study has additional relevance to the argument presented in this chapter, as it is her contention that Hoccleve uses 'seemingly private autobiographical details' in his poetry to 'evoke topics of more public and political concern' (2003: Abstract).

²⁶¹ Perhaps one of the most famous medieval texts to make use of number symbolism is *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, in which the use of threes and fours are especially prominent. With regards to chronicles, Higden's *Polycronicon* is the best known example of a work divided into seven books to represent the seven ages of man, and Hardyng may have been influenced by Higden's division; however, Hardyng was undoubtedly familiar with St Augustine's sevenfold division of time in *De Civitate Dei* (XXII, xxx; Green 1972: 383-84) through his connection with the Augustinian canons at Kyme. It is interesting that Hardyng chooses to begin Book Seven with Henry V and not Henry IV, the first Lancastrian king. He probably felt that a deliberate division between the supremacies of Richard II and Henry IV's drew too much attention to the shift in dynasty, and that Henry's troublesome reign was not as effective as his son's for beginning the seventh section of his work. Equally worthy of note is Hardyng's own relation to the seventh age of man's life. There was no definitive number of ages in a human life but the most frequently cited figures varied from three to ten; the description of the seven ages in *Ratis Raving* states that the sixth age of a man's life begins at fifty and ends at seventy or eighty, and that the seventh age occurs from eighty onwards (see Lumby 1870: 57-74, ll. 1104-1745).

with the coming of a second King Arthur, which so many of the late medieval kings wished to be associated with.²⁶⁸

Certain themes and images recur throughout the seven books of the *Chronicle* and are used to highlight connections between the past and the present. The prologue and the first book are notable in this respect because they set the tone for the subsequent history by introducing the main themes of the *Chronicle*: the notion that history is providential; that chaos arises when the natural order of the medieval world is turned ‘upside down’; the responsibilities applicable to members of the nobility and the necessity of individuals acting in accordance with their social rank; the perils of civil division; and the need for royal authority. Therefore, in order to discuss the overall thematic unity of the *Chronicle*, it is necessary to examine how Hardyng makes the aforementioned themes prominent in Book One, before assessing how the individual themes resurface and interconnect throughout the other six books.²⁶⁹

The story of the first founding of the realm in Lansdowne 204, builds upon, and supplements, the issues addressed in the prologue.²⁷⁰ Opening with a line very similar to the start of John Walton’s verse translation of Boethius’s *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, Hardyng initially focusses on the king of Greece, reigning at the time when Troy was at the height of prosperity, and his thirty daughters:²⁷¹

The while that Troy was regnyng in his myghte,
There was in Grece a kinge right excellent,
That doughtirs had thretty, right faire and brighte,
Ech one weddid to kinges of regyment

Hardyng may have felt himself to be in the final age of his own existence. For an interesting study of the seven ages of man in medieval writing and thought see Burrow 1986: 37-54, 197-98.

²⁶⁸ The most comprehensive and engaging study of this phenomenon in relation to the late medieval monarchs is by Coote (2000), but see also Strohm’s comments on prophecy and kingship in 1998: 1-31. Hughes (2002) considers the impact of the prophetic tradition on Edward IV, although at times his suggestions are not always supported with sound evidence; see, for example, his belief that Hardyng depicts Henry VI as a Fisher King (2002: 67, 72), and his comment about the exclusivity of certain Arthurian materials in the second version, which actually occur in the first version as well (2002: 130, 168, 178).

²⁶⁹ Analogous occurrences of these themes and images in the second version of the *Chronicle*, will be provided in footnotes throughout the discussion of the first version; however, it is not the intention of this study to examine those parts of the second version that are identical, or similar to the first version. The second half of this chapter deals with the different themes and ideas explored in the revised version.

²⁷⁰ The story of the sisters who first found Albion was appended to several versions of the *Brut*, as well as many other chronicles including Castleford’s *Chronicle*, Jean Waurin’s *Chroniques*, the *Euogium Historiarum* and the *Liber Monasterii de Hyda* to name but a few. A different version of the tale exists in the Anglo-Norman poem *Des Grantz Geantz* and a Latin version *De Origine Gigantum* (see Brereton 1937, Reynolds 1983, Carley and Crick 1995, and Evans 1998). Hardyng’s adaptation of the myth corresponds most closely to that in *Des Grantz Geantz* and some of the more peculiar Latin versions; this may point towards his source being a peculiar version of the Latin *Brut*. Ultimately, the story seems to have derived in some way from the classical tale of the Danaïds and the biblical account of the giants before the deluge in Genesis 6: 1-6; for the Danaïds see Ovid’s *Heroides* (XIV; Showerman 1914: 171-81), Horace’s *Odes* (III, xi; Bennett 1927: 217-21), and Aeschylus’s *Suppliants*, the only extant part of a trilogy concerning the Danaïds (Weir Smyth 1922: 1-105).

²⁷¹ Walton’s text begins with ‘The while þat Rome was reignyng in hir floures’ (Science 1927: 4, stanza 10, l.1). For further discussion of the probable influence of Walton’s text on Hardyng’s *Chronicle* see my article in progress on Hardyng’s *Chronicle* and Walton’s translation of Boethius’s *De Consolatione Philosophiae* and footnote 273 below. Hardyng later notes in the gloss on f. 7r, following l. 329, that the king was called ‘Dioclician’.

[Lansdowne 204, f. 5r, ll. 162-65]

Although the narrative begins in this idyllic era, a shadow already threatens the protagonists' world, as Hardyng's audience knows that Troy will fall and Greece will play a significant role in this downfall; from the start we are aware of the continual flux of fortune. Hardyng's reference to the swift fall of Troy from its 'myghte' would be particularly significant to his contemporaries who, only four decades earlier, had witnessed the glorious conquest of France under Henry V and the expansion of the empire, only to see it lost under Henry VI. In comparison with how he later revises the narrative in the second version, the Grecian king plays an important role in the first version, and much is made of his sovereign qualities. We observe him marrying off his daughters to social equals; we see his youngest daughter submit to his authority out of respect for her 'paternyte' and wifely duty to her husband; and we witness the king granting mercy, dispensing justice, and administering severe punishment for his daughters' transgression. To some extent the youngest daughter and the king mirror the depictions of Hardyng and Henry VI in the prologue; the daughter, like Hardyng, must 'diskeur' (f. 5r, l. 185) her predicament to the sovereign, who in turn must resolve the problem. In this way the 'happy ending' that befalls the daughter after disclosing her 'complaynte' (f. 6r, l. 276) might be said to prefigure the reward anticipated by the chronicler, who, like her, wishes to stand 'in al-kyn grace' (f. 6r, l. 279) with the king. If Hardyng did wish to invite such a parallel, it is fitting that the actions of the Grecian monarch correspond precisely with the actions Hardyng later prescribes for Henry VI: to reward loyal subjects, administer justice and chastise lawbreakers regardless of their social rank.²⁶⁶ In the same way, by following the bad advice of the oldest sister, Albyne, who recommends murder in order to gain sovereignty, the thirty sisters lose their status and comfortable lives much the same way that Hardyng loses Geddington through Kemp's ill counsel. The workings of fortune, which intercedes for the sisters by following 'aftir thaire devise' (f. 7v, l. 372) and washing their ship up on uninhabited shore where they can have ultimate sovereignty, are nonetheless heightened. The civilised atmosphere of the Grecian kingdom, with its moral laws and codes of conduct that the sisters fall foul of, is absent from the wilderness that Albyne names 'Albion'; furthermore, the breakdown of social and moral order, maintained by the 'right excellent' Grecian king in his realm, is heightened by the 'hidouse' giants that take over the land tyrannously (f. 8r, l. 426). Hardyng's use of an *ubi sunt* motif to compare their former and present state during the long sea voyage calls attention to this shift in status and prepares us for a change in landscape as we move from civilisation to wilderness:

Thus in sorow thay ere ful sore bystadde,
 Exilde foreuer away oute of thaire lande,
 Whiche were alle quenes richely arrayd and cladde,
 With seruantz feel to knele at fote and hande,
 That now in se and flodes ben wayfande [...]

Lo thay that were byfore so proude and stoute,
 How thay ere tame for care within and oute;

²⁶⁶ Lansdowne 204, ff. 221v-222r, ll. 3584-3639. An echo of this occurs in the duke of York's second bill of 1450, which asks the king to 'areste alle soche persons so noysed or endited of what astate, degre or condicion so ever thei be' (Griffiths 1975: 204).

And how afore thaire hosbondes wold haue slayne,
 To whom subgetz thay wold now bene right fayne.
 [Lansdowne 204, ff. 6v-7r, ll. 309-13, 326-29]

Only in this liminal state do the sisters accept the authority of the father that they have left behind; once they arrive on the shores of Albion, they appropriate the laws that made them 'tame' on the voyage for their own ends. Ironically, whilst the sisters are exiled because of their failure to adhere to the laws of their father's realm, it is Grecian law that Albyne invokes when she claims and names her newly found land. Far from being beneficial to them, the sovereignty that the sisters obtain is not what they expected, and, in a contradictory twist of fate, they find themselves desiring the company of men once again; fortune has come full circle, and the sisters, being human, and therefore contradictory in nature, are still not satisfied with their lot: they desire men but do not wish to be subordinate to them.²⁷³

Again Fortune fulfills the sisters' desires, and as a result of their unnatural union with spirits in 'mannysse fourme' (l. 405), hideous 'geantz' are conceived. It is interesting that Hardyng refers to the incubi who impregnate the sisters as 'spiritz' rather than citing the devil's involvement in this union by naming him as some analogues do. Arguably, this may be due to the particular source he used, for there are several variations of the myth, but it is notable that throughout the *Chronicle* Hardyng never views historical events as part of a cosmic battle between good and evil; instead, like John Gower in his prologue to the *Confessio Amantis*, he ascribes the cause of man's sorrows to man himself.²⁷⁴ The spirits, or incubi, are conjured from the fertile imaginations of the women alone. Equally, the incestuous behaviour of their progeny, which serves to propagate the island with twelve thousand giants, of whom 'Men were adred' because of 'thaire malignacioun' (l. 423), reiterates the idea that humans ultimately engender the suffering of other humans. The notion of accepting personal responsibility for one's actions implied by this episode recurs throughout the text, particularly in Hardyng's numerous interjections. Having already informed his audience that 'no mannysshe corse' (l. 368) inhabited the island before the sisters arrived, Hardyng fails, conveniently, to explain how these other 'men' came to share Albion with giants before the arrival of Brutus. This incongruity, nevertheless, is forgivable, because Hardyng uses the description of the giants' misrule to emphasise an important, if not telling, point. The description of the wild places 'on heghtes on helles and hiegh montayns' where the giants made 'gret edificaciouns' (ll. 428-29) links the mythic past directly to the present day:

Yit men may se in crags thaire operaciouns,
 Of holes, and house, and kaues alle destitute.
 Bot whan werre is yit do thay grete refute;

Comons, for feere of enmyse and of weere,

²⁷³ The Boethian influence on Hardyng's narrative is evident; however, it is difficult to tell whether Hardyng's account was inspired by Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae* or Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, which Hardyng evidently knew and used throughout the *Chronicle*; *Troilus* itself is significantly influenced by the *Consolatione*, but, as has already been noted, Hardyng appears to have been familiar with John Walton's verse translation of Boethius (see footnotes 265 and 273). For Hardyng's borrowing from *Troilus*, particularly in the Albyne narrative, see Edwards 1988.

²⁷⁴ Peck 1997: 16-17, ll. 513-84.

Yit bere thaire gudes this day into suche kaues,
 With strength of men ful seure abyde thay there,
 Fro spoylinge of ennemyse, boyes, and knaues,
 In whiche ful ofte the peple thaire godes saues.
 [Lansdowne 204, f. 8r, ll. 432-39]

By making a connection between the ‘kaues’ that giants once lived within and the caves where contemporary men retreat in times of war and enmity, Hardyng shifts the theme of oppression and civil dissent from the giants’ era to late fifteenth-century England. One might even argue that Hardyng invites us to view the ‘geantz’ that ‘Non durste [...] noye for drede of supplantacioun’ (f. 8r, l. 420) as prefigurements of the contemporary overmighty lords who are criticised in the epilogue for failing to maintain the common weal. The giants are ‘fulle of myght’ (f. 7v, l. 412) and use their greater stature and power to intimidate the weaker men, in the same way that the ‘myghtyest’ men in Hardyng’s time abuse their power to ensure that the ‘wayker gothe benethe’ (f. 221v, ll. 3593-94). Taking the analogy a step further, it is possible that Hardyng is being particularly astute and commenting on Henry VI’s inability to chastise certain individuals out of fear for his own ‘supplantacioun’ or powerlessness to control the giants he has created. In an age when the author himself had witnessed the deposition, or ‘supplantacioun’, of a divinely appointed sovereign, and, more specifically, since he was writing in a decade that had seen the duke of York, and his supporters take arms against the king with similar complaints of oppression and misrule, it seems that the chronicler was using the story of Albyne and her sisters as more than just a preface to his *Brut*-derived history.²⁶⁹ Hardyng’s story of Albyne examines the problems that arise when the natural order of the social hierarchy is inverted; what begins as an unnatural inversion of the usual distribution of power within male/female relationships, because of the sisters’ desire for sovereignty over their husbands, progresses, once they have obtained this sovereignty, into an even greater perversion of acceptable moral codes of conduct. The incestuous relationships entered into by the inhabitants of Albion are as abhorrent to the author as the sisters’ initial plan to murder their husbands because they challenge the very fabric of medieval morality and the hierarchical structure of civilised society. In the absence of patriarchal authority in Albion, it is God who administers justice, punishing the immoral behaviour of the sisters and their monstrous progeny by sending civil dissension amongst the giants until each ‘Distroed othyr by batayle and contencioun’ (f. 8v, l. 459). Appropriately, this serves as a subtle and prophetic warning that God will intervene in English affairs should Henry VI fail to rule his subjects well and reconcile the opposing factions within his own governing body.

In a sense Hardyng’s version of the Albyne myth encapsulates the essence of the *Chronicle* in microcosm. It provides examples of how one should act according to one’s social rank, submit to royal authority, adhere to moral and civilised codes of conduct, and, in the case of the king, use his power to protect the common weal. Later, when Brutus encounters the remaining giants, Hardyng interrupts the narrative with a ‘conceyte on euyl leuyng and wrongful gouernance of peple’ (Lansdowne 204, f. 16r), which refers back to the iniquitous inhabitants of Albion, who ‘by malyce and grete malyvolence/ The poraylle euere deuourde sore and oppreste’ (Lansdowne 204, f. 15r); borrowing from Chaucer’s *Troilus and Criseyde*, and a plethora of

²⁶⁹ Susan Reynolds has discussed the link between foundation narratives and the practice of government (1983).

proverbial wisdom, the author insists that his readers ‘take hede’ of the transience of earthly joy:

O ze yonge, fresshe and lusty creatures,
 In whiche the pride vp groweth with youre age,
 Take hede of these vnsely auentures
 Of these ladise and of alle thaire lynage,
 And thynke on God that after his ymage
 Yow made, and thynke this world shall passe away
 As sone as done the floures fresshe and gay.

Suche fyne, lo, hath Dame Albyne and hir sisters,
 That groundyd were to sla thaire husbondes alle!
 Suche fyne, lo, hath thaire cursed werkes and mysters!
 Suche fyne, lo, hath vpon thaire isshue falle!
 Such fyne, lo, hath thaire generacion alle,
 That bene dystroyde so sone and slayne away,
 For pryde and synne and fore thaire fals array!

Thus after pryde thare commeth alleway grete shame,
 And after synne so commeth grete vengeance;
 Aftyr wyke lyfe commeth a wykyd name;
 And after wronge lawes come shorte perseueraunce;
 After olde synnes come new shames and meschaunce;
 Thus may ye se right by the ende and fate
 Thare cometh no gode of lyfe inordynate.²⁷⁶

The phrase ‘fresshe and lusty creatures’ is general enough to address all levels of the social spectrum, but, as will be demonstrated, this is the only interjection that is not aimed at a specific social group. This may be because Hardyng has taken the line from Chaucer, but even his borrowing from this work points towards a specific type of audience for this version: members of the gentry and nobility. Later interjections seem to confirm this supposition, as does the *Chronicle’s* unique blend of historical and romance materials.²⁷⁷

Having brought the affairs of fifteenth-century England closer to the reader and offered an explanation for the demise of the giants who inhabited the land before the arrival of Brutus, Hardyng sustains the high moral tone and issue of divine intervention that concluded the Albyne narrative, and turns back to his composition of the text to end Book One. The interjection that follows, intriguingly isolating the story of the sisters from the rest of the history, could be described as a second preface to the

²⁷⁶ The first two stanzas of this quotation are influenced by *Troilus and Criseyde* (V, 1828-41); the connection was initially noted by Edwards, who observes that ‘Hardyng seems to have looked on the *Troilus*, and particularly its ending, to provide occasional rhetorical plums, to be plucked to provide moments of *exclamatio*’ (1988: 13). The reference to ‘vengeance’ in these verses echoes the earlier notice of the giants’ malevolence (f. 8v, l. 462) and prefigures future warnings against taking revenge on fellow men, one of which occurs in relation to Edward II wishing to avenge the death of Piers Gaveston (ff. 185r-85v, ll. 566-88).

²⁷⁷ Recent studies on the literary tastes of members of the gentry have shown that, in most cases, they tended to mimic the nobility by reading romances, genealogical chronicles, and military and chivalric manuals see, for example, Meale 1985, 2000; Cherewatuk 1997; Radulescu 2003.

Chronicle, since Hardyng employs several rhetorical devices common to prologues of historical literature in order to place himself and his work within an established literary tradition of esteemed *auctores*. Initially, the first version touches briefly upon Hardyng's lack of eloquence in the opening dedication, where the chronicler asks Henry VI to accept the book made from his 'symplicite' (f. 2v, l. 2), the interjection after the account of Albyne and her sisters develops this theme further:

Of these now wille I cese and speke no more,
Til tyme come efte that Brutus haue thaym slayne

[...] It to remembre I schal now take on honde,
Thurgh olde storise by filosofres compiled
In olde bokes, as I haue sene and fonde,
In Englyshe tonge it shal be made and fyled.

[...] I shalle reporte as God wille deyne to lede
My symple goste, vnkunynge in lettrure,
As liketh hym with language me to sede;

To whom I pray for spede vnto the ende
My wytte enforce in myght and sapience.

[Lansdowne 204, f. 8v-9r, ll. 470-501]

By calling attention to his knowledge of earlier historical works in 'olde bokes' (l. 490), and inviting comparison between with the 'eloquence' of past authors and his own 'symplicite' (l. 522), Hardyng adopts a conventional 'modesty' topos, which ultimately suggests the opposite of his protestations of ignorance. As David Lawton has pointed out, we are not to take fifteenth-century authors at face value when they profess to being 'dull' and devoid of 'eloquence' for this is 'the favourite guise in which [fifteenth-century] poets present themselves: as "lewed," "rude," lacking in "cunnyng," innocent of rhetoric and social savoir-faire, bankrupt in pocket or brain, too young or too old, feeble, foolish and fallen – in a word dull. This is a humility topos of an intensely specific kind' and is employed 'to reclaim access to the public world' (Lawton 1987: 762). Hardyng makes more extensive use of this trope, as we shall see, in the second version, but what is of importance here is that by presenting himself as a simple, unskilled truth teller, inspired by God, Hardyng places himself in a position of unquestionable authority from which he can comment on contemporary affairs through the stories of the past.

Before proceeding with his account of Brutus in Book Two, Hardyng blends his affected modesty with another popular literary device, that of invoking pagan gods. What sets Hardyng apart from the majority of authors using this trope is that he subverts it in order to end his interjection with a reaffirmation of his spiritual humility. Instead of calling for assistance from 'other goddis, whiche poetes vsed and kende/ In olde poeses', he rejects their 'eloquence' and elects to 'pray to God, that sitte in trynyte,/ My goste to guyd.'²⁷² John Walton and Osbern Bokenham, two of Hardyng's contemporaries, undertake the same thing in their works, and Hardyng's verses, particularly Lansdowne 204, f. 9r, ll. 507-22, appear to have been influenced by Walton's translation of Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae*:

²⁷² Lansdowne 204, f. 9r, ll. 502-03, 506, 517-18. Compare also Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 11r-v, ll. 447-69.

Noght liketh me to labour, ne to muse
 Upon þese olde poysees derk
 For Cristes feith suche þing[es] schulde refuse;
 Witnes upon Ierom þe holy clerk
 Hit schulde not ben a Cristen mannes werk
 Tho false goddes names to renewe

[...] And certayn I haue tasted wonder lyte
 As of the welles of Calliope
 No wonder þough I sympilly endite
 Yit will I not vnto Tessiphone
 Ne to Allecto ne to Megare
 Besscchyn after craft of eloquence
 But pray þat god of hys benignite
 My spirit enspire wiþ hys influence²⁷³

Chaucer and Lydgate are famous for invoking the help of classical muses and gods in their poetry; thus, by rejecting them, but simultaneously displaying his knowledge of them in his long roll call of pagan figures, Hardyng, like his clerical counterparts, Walton and Bokenham, appropriates the authority of his literary forefathers whilst attaining a moral victory over them by emphasising his own piety over their partiality

²⁷³ Sciene 1927: 2-3, stanzas 6-8. Compare also with Lydgate's *Troy Book*, ll. 36-62 (Bergen 1906-35: I, 2, ll. 36-62). As previously mentioned, Hardyng appears to have been familiar with John Walton's English translation of Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (see footnotes 265 and 267). The importance and popularity of this work in the fifteenth century has only recently begun to stimulate critical attention, but despite the significant lack of modern appreciation, Walton's verse translation of Boethius appears to have enjoyed a success in the later Middle Ages which 'far surpassed Chaucer's prose *Boece* in popularity'; certainly the appeal of Walton's translation is attested by twenty-two extant manuscripts and nine fragments (Johnson 1987: 139). The most comprehensive list of Walton manuscripts is given in Hartung and Severs 1967-: VII, 2578. For Chaucer's *Boece* see Benson 1988: 395-469. Several colophons in extant manuscripts of Walton's translation provide evidence that he completed the text in 1410, and it would appear that Hardyng must have encountered a copy of Walton's Boethius some time between this date and his preparation for the first version of the *Chronicle*, c. 1440-50. The influence of the *Consolatione* may be witnessed throughout the *Chronicle*, either directly, in the form of textual borrowings from John Walton's verse translation, thematically, or indirectly through another medieval medium, such as Chaucer's *Troilus*, which Hardyng undoubtedly knew and used. Given that Walton was the canon of an Augustinian order at Oseney, it may be that an exemplar of Walton's text was in circulation between the scriptoria of the Augustinian houses, and that Hardyng came into contact with the work in this way. A final point of interest, possibly coincidental but worthy of consideration, lies in a manuscript link between Hardyng's adaptation of the Greenacres envoy (discussed in *John Hardyng's Life*). As already noted Greneacres's envoy occurs at the end of one manuscript copy of Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* and two early printed versions. The only other recorded instance of the envoy is a copy of the first stanza in the Kingis Quair manuscript, Arch. Selden B. 24. The stanza occurs at the end of a copy of Chaucer's *Troilus*, another source known to have been used by Hardyng. Interestingly the manuscript also contains extracts from Walton's *Consolatione*, and the *Parliament of Fowls*, two further sources used by Hardyng. Arch. Selden B. 24 is thought to be associated with Henry Beaufort, whom Hardyng himself claims that he knew and studied under, and certain evidence appears to suggest that the author of the envoy was an employee of Beaufort. It is possible that Hardyng had access to the aforementioned sources when he obtained Beaufort's patronage in 1424, or that he himself owned a composite manuscript containing the aforementioned sources, perhaps derived from a common exemplar to Arch. Selden B. 24.

for pagan assistance.²⁷⁴ This trope similarly gives coherence to the series of self-contained reigns that make up the history of Britain; by stressing that his *Chronicle* is inspired by God, and occasionally reminding his audience of special cases throughout history which have necessitated divine intervention because of a particularly deplorable monarch, Hardyng presents Henry VI with a privileged glimpse of this providential scheme at work.

To conclude his interjection Hardyng submits himself humbly (and conventionally) to his secular betters by asking them to ‘corecte’ and ‘amende’ his book ‘Whare as thay thynke my wytte in ought hath merred’ (Lansdowne 204, f. 9r, ll. 539-39). The utilisation of this trope effectively returns us to the portrait of Hardyng presented in the prologue: a loyal servant who happily yields himself to the king’s will. At the same time, the author’s affected modesty, which is an essential part of this literary device, implies that the *Chronicle* is unlikely to need correction; in this way, Hardyng reasserts his role as an authoritative royal guide.

It is evident by now that the beginning of the first version is deliberately crafted to emphasise the co-dependence of king and subject, and to highlight the necessity of maintaining a well-governed kingdom. Hardyng presents himself as a loyal subject who can help the king preserve the common weal by offering his advice in the form of historical exemplars; likewise, the fruits of his Scottish mission are presented in the hope that Henry VI will fulfill his duty as king and reclaim his lost inheritance across the border. In turn the monarch can relieve Hardyng’s financial suffering by rewarding him; he can similarly help all his subjects by maintaining the law, providing impartial justice, and avoiding bad counsel. The establishment of this at the start of the text paves the way for Hardyng to meditate on these issues later on in the work, whereby he can invite comparisons between Henry VI and previous sovereigns. I would like, therefore, to consider some of the ways in which Hardyng uses the themes and images already mentioned to associate Henry VI with other monarchs in the rest of his history. The topics discussed below, whilst entirely congruent with each other, have been selected and dealt with separately to avoid repetition. Each one elucidates Hardyng’s perception of history and how he uses examples of kingship from the mythic and recent past to relate to the current difficulties facing Henry VI and fifteenth-century England.

As already noted, elements of Boethius’s *De Consolatione Philosophiae* are subtly drawn upon throughout the *Chronicle*, and one could argue that Hardyng deliberately presents himself as a Boethian guide. The *Chronicle* begins, like the *Consolatione*, with a sick narrator who is gradually restored to health throughout the text by a wise adviser who understands, and offers the narrator an insight into, the divine scheme of creation and the human condition. In this context Hardyng’s guide is God, whom he petitions ‘My goste to guyd’ (Lansdowne 204, f. 9r, l. 518), and who, in turn, allows the author to guide the king by providing him with an insight of his providential design in operation. Moreover, in addition to adopting a role analogous to Boethius, Hardyng also assumes the role of Lady Philosophy: he acts as an omniscient mediator and guide for the king, imparting his knowledge accordingly. Although

²⁷⁴ For further examples of the trope see Osborn Bokenham, *Life of Mary Magdalene in the Legendys of Hooly Wummen* (Serjeantson 1938: 143, ll. 5214-24); John Lydgate’s *The Life of Saint Alban* (Van der Westhuizen 1974: 85, ll. 1-28); and Lydgate’s *The Life of Our Lady* (Launtis, Klinefelter and Gallager 1961: 428, l. 1659). Conversely, for examples of medieval authors invoking pagan gods to assist them with their composition see Chaucer’s *Troilus and Criseyde*, I, 6-14, IV, 22-28. For contemporary criticism by preachers on the use of classical authorities see Owst 1961: 178-80.

Hardyng later acts as a critic of the recent state of affairs in England due to the king's current lack of intervention and maintenance of the common weal, the implication is that he knows that the king is capable of turning the fortunes of England around. By suggesting a course of action, he paradoxically implies that the king is a wiser man than himself, who is consummately aware of the perils his kingdom is in and will act accordingly. Without taking this analogy too far, it follows that, as Hardyng's wise 'leche', Henry will adopt a comparable role to Lady Philosophy himself by curing the author's financial incapacity and releasing him from the metaphorical prison of poverty. Since other literature and political discourses produced at this time stressed the importance of good counsel, and since the reciprocal nature of a king and his subjects was a popular notion, the ability of Hardyng's audience to make connections such as these should not be underestimated.

Perhaps the most important connection the *Chronicle* has with the *Consolacione* is that both works share the belief that fortune and free will coexist with providence and predestiny. Often Hardyng provides simple examples of divine intervention, such as the terrible fate ascribed to King Morvyde who, having been 'so immoderately irouse', was devoured by 'a wonder beste or fysshe, which men do call a monstre grete [...] by rightfull dome of God' (Lansdowne 204, ff. 31r-v).²⁷⁵ At other times, however, the chronicler calls attention to, or meditates on, more complex paradoxical issues where the workings of fortune complement the will of God. Several examples are worthy of special consideration in this respect for the adjustments Hardyng makes to his sources in order to relate the reigns of particular kings throughout the *Chonicle* to the reign of Henry VI. To highlight this, the next three sections consider Hardyng's exploration of kingship, free will and Fortune.

Fortune and Providence: Brutus and the Establiment of Civilisation

In the narrative concerning the eponymous founder of Britain, Brutus is accredited with an education befitting a medieval young nobleman;²⁷⁶ this immediately associates him with the chivalric upbringing familiar to the 'lordes' and men of 'hieghe estate' in Hardyng's audience; the accompanying gloss underscores the comparison for good measure. The reference to Brutus being taught to hunt sets the scene for the ensuing hunting accident in which he unwittingly kills his father. Hardyng's borrowing of the line 'As fortune wolde executrice of weerdes' from Chaucer's *Troilus*, attributes the incident entirely to fortune, recalling its earlier intervention in bringing Albyne and her sisters to the island, and sets the pitch for future expositions on its capricious nature, one of which includes another linguistic echo of this *Troilus* line in the account of Arthur's reign.²⁷⁷ Almost as soon as

²⁷⁵ This episode occurs in the *Historia Regum Britanniae*, III, 14-15 (Griscom 1929: 294-95), but Geoffrey of Monmouth does not explicitly attribute his fate to God; the *Brut*, on the other hand, does (see Brie 1906-08: I, 28-29). Again, St Augustine's writings may have influenced Hardyng's perception of history as providential, although this was the normal view taken by medieval chroniclers.

²⁷⁶ Lansdowne 204, f. 12r; for the text of this extract see **John Hardyng's Life**.

²⁷⁷ Lansdowne 204, ff. 12v and 87r; see Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* (III, 617). The phrase 'kalendes of a chaunge' in the next quotation (Lansdowne 204, f. 16r and f. 205v, l. 2243) is also taken from *Troilus* (V, 1634) to describe the renaming of Albion and later the dispute between Henry Percy and Henry IV. Other references to fortune, influenced by *Troilus* occur on ff. 110 and 118v (see Edwards 1988), but Hardyng generally laments its fickleness at the end of Edward I's reign, Edward III's, Richard II's, and Henry V's. For the use of the wheel of Fortune image in contemporary sermons see Haines 1975: 155.

Brutus's fortunes wane, they begin to pick up again, and in the midst of his own sorrows he acts as physician to his new Trojan companions:

Into Grece his sorows forto hyde
 He wente anone whare exils were of Troy,
 Of whom thay were right glad and medifyde
 Thaire double sorowe he leched alle with ioy
 [Lansdowne 204, f. 12v]

The word 'medifyde' recalls the sickness imagery of the prologue, and by choosing the word 'hyde' as its rhyming counterpart Hardyng recalls the idea that hiding sorrow brings no joy. The 'double sorowe' of the Trojans echoes that of the author, who remains unrewarded and injured from his royal service.²⁷⁸ Already the subtle use of sickness imagery has associated Henry VI with two great kings, Brutus and Henry V. The inescapable nature of fate and the workings of fortune are also doubly underscored at the beginning, with the stories of Albyne and Brutus. In the section dealing with Brutus's arrival in Albion (mentioned above) a marginal gloss stresses that 'God sette Brute to distroye' the descendants of Albyne for their iniquitous behaviour (f. 16r); their terrible reign and dominance is brought to a close as the last of their generation, Gogmagog, is killed and the name of Albion is put aside:

So was the name right of Albyon
 Alle sette be syde in kalendes of a chaunge
 And putte away with grete confusion,
 And Bretayne hight it than by new eschaunge
 And after Brute, that slew thise geantz straunge
 And wan this londe by his magnificence,
 In whiche he dwelte longe tyme in excellence.
 [Lansdowne 204, f. 16r]

The attention Hardyng gives to the foundation of Britain stresses the qualities fundamental to a civilised, agrarian society. Having vanquished the tyrannous giants, Brutus turns his attentions to transforming the wilderness of Albion into a sophisticated kingdom. As a ruler 'Fully prused in wytte and sapience' Brutus begins by upholding 'pese' and creating a realm where men can 'go and ryde' safely (f. 16v). The importance of cultivating the land for the good of the common weal is then emphasised as he and his men 'tele the londe and sawe with sede' to 'brynge forthe corne whare before none ware' (f. 16v). The description of Brutus fertilising the 'barayne' fields with 'muk' and 'composte' is hardly in keeping with traditional duties ascribed to a king, but the image of a fertile and healthy land evoked by this scene, contrasts beautifully with the barren 'destitute' 'kaues' and 'craggs' 'withoute watere or fountayns' inhabited by Albyne's giants. The image of sowing corn and cultivating the fields similarly has Christian connotations.²⁷⁹ After seeking a place to settle 'for his helthe' Brutus founds the first British city and encourages his men to participate in the chivalric activities of feasting and jousting (f. 17r); the establishment of courtly practices by Brutus allows Hardyng to place emphasis on the continuation

²⁷⁸ Compare with the 'double sorowe' of *Troilus and Criseyde*, I, 1, 54; IV, 903); Hardyng almost certainly borrowed the image from this.

²⁷⁹ Compare, for example, with the image of the ploughman as a good Christian soul in *Piers Plowman*.

of chivalric traditions by later Christian monarchs, such as Arthur and Edward I. In each of these reigns courtly culture is linked to the concept of the *miles Christi*: Arthur's knights are associated with the Holy Grail, and their Round Table oath emphasises Christian virtues, whilst the description of Edward I's court explicitly mentions God's favourable disposition towards the king and compares the feast and tournaments arranged by him to the halcyon days of Arthur's reign.²⁸⁰ The most important contribution that Brutus makes to civilised chivalric society, however, is the instigation of Trojan law:

At Mewytryne, some tyme a place of fame,
In Bretons tyme in whiche was oon Mewyne,
So wyse poete that tyme was non of name
That florisht so ful longe afore Merlyne,
Who in his boke so wrote for dissiplne
The lawes of Troy to this day vnreuersed,
Amonges the whiche is that I haue rehersed

Howe Brutus made in Bretayne Troyans lawe,
Thaire sacrifice, theyre customes, and thayre rytes,
And in his boke he sette thaym hye and lawe,
Whiche tretise so was called *Infynytes*,
Euermore to dure and byde as fulle *perfytes*
As poyntes which longe to the monarchy
Of Bretayne so and to his successory.²⁸¹

Hardyng's reference to 'Mewytryne', or Glastonbury, is a little strange considering that there is no need to allude anachronistically to either 'Mewyne' (the prophet Melkin) or Merlin at this point in the history. Richard Moll suggests that the comparison of Melkin with Merlin could have derived from a rubric in John of Glastonbury's *Cronica*;²⁸² however, since there is no discussion of Trojan law in the section of the *Cronica* accompanying this rubric, Hardyng's reason for using this borrowing to refer to Melkin demands further attention. The only other references to Melkin in the *Chronicle* occur in relation to Glastonbury and Joseph of Arimathea, although there are also elements of Hardyng's Arthurian narrative concerning the Grail quest that appear to be derived from the *Cronica*.²⁸³ This means that the other references to Melkin and Glastonbury, all of which are associated with serving God,

²⁸⁰ This is discussed at greater length below.

²⁸¹ Lansdowne 204, ff. 18r-18v. The identity of Mewyne, almost certainly the prophet Melkin cited in John of Glastonbury's *Cronica*, is discussed in Carley 1985 and 2001, Ridy 1991a, and Moll 2000. Carley suggests that Hardyng may have had access to a florilegium 'concocted at Glastonbury [...] which contained the book of Joseph of Arimathea, a dialogue *de gestis Arthuri*, Melkin's prophecy and other materials, some attributed to Melkin', which Hardyng cites in his *Chronicle* and which John of Glastonbury also knew and used in his *Cronica* (2001: 54). The 'Mewytryne' in this quotation is a corruption of 'Inis Witrin', or Isle of Glass (Glastonbury).

²⁸² Moll 2000: 298. The rubric states: 'Ista scriptura inuenitur in libro Melkini qui fuit ante Merlinum' [This passage is found in the Book of Melkin who preceded Merlin] (see Carley 1985: 54-55).

²⁸³ See Moll 2000. In the first version Melkin is mentioned again on f. 39v, but the text on f. 78r parallels part of the *Cronica*, and the reference to Joseph of Arimathea bringing two vials of Christ's blood to England with him, and being buried with them also occurs in Glastonbury's account. In the second version Melkin is also mentioned in relation to Glastonbury, Joseph of Arimathea and King Arthur's reign (Arch. Selden B. 10, ff. 34v, 35r, 36r, 37r, 56r, 57v).

help to ally the maintenance of the law to being a good Christian: Joseph of Arimathea is given ‘twelue hydes of londe’ by the good, law-abiding king Aviragus, who wishes Joseph to ‘teche/ Within Bretayn the fayth in dyuerse place’ (f. 39v); Arthur’s purest knight, Galahad, achieves the Holy Grail after being given the holy arms belonging to Joseph of Arimathea at Glastonbury, and then goes on to restore law and order to the land of Saraas; and Arthur himself, the most just and noble king in British history, makes his Round Table in signification of the table used at Christ’s last supper, and dedicates the order to the preservation of the law.²⁸⁴ Connecting later kings with Brutus allows Hardyng to show how Trojan law was established to ensure the continued unity of the realm. Good monarchs follow the example of Brutus, who was sent by God to restore order to the wasteland of Albion. Bad monarchs, who neglect their people or inflict harm on them, are quickly extinguished, like King Morvyde, through divine intervention. Hardyng’s unique lamentation on the passing of Brutus confirms that sovereigns who practice ‘rightwis governaunce’ are beloved by God. His hope that the king’s pagan soul will be saved through God’s mercy provides a poignant conclusion to the reign, and complements the earlier comments at the end of Book One, where Hardyng rejected pagan gods:

O gude lorde God what dole it ys to here
 Of suche a prynce so rialle and benygne,
 Ful of vertu by sight as dyd appere,
 No thyng wyllynge to mysdoue, ne maligne,
 Why was so gode a person and so dygne
 In godenesse sette and alle humylite
 To dye and nocht his soule to saued be?

Bot thus thou myght whan that thou heried helle,
 Knowynge his trouthe and rightwis gouernaunce,
 Of thy mercy from peyne *perpetuelle*
 His soule within some restfulle place auaunce
 Consideringe welle vnto the olde creaunce
 Whiche only was that in grete God aboue
 How myght thou lorde forzette that hym dyd loue?
 [Lansdowne 204, f. 17v]

Having explained some of the specifics of Trojan law (that the ‘eldest sonne shuld haue the soueraynte’ and ‘alle resorte so shuld euere apperteyne/ To the eldere by superyoryte/ Iff the yongare non issu haue to reyne’, Lansdowne 204, f. 18r), Hardyng shows that the instigation of it in Britain was meant to prevent future disunity. He goes on to stress that Brutus’s division of the realm among his three sons, Locryne, Albany and Camber, should not have resulted in the ensuing fragmentation of the kingdom. The law dictated, he informs his audience, that the descendants of Locryne had sovereignty over the territories given to his two younger brothers, but, as the *Chronicle* goes on to show, the failure of the British to adhere to this law and pay homage to Locryne and his ancestors, resulted in the tripartite division of the realm. The mythic schism in the kingdom anticipates the civil discord witnessed in fifteenth-century Britain, particularly the Scots’ refusal to submit to English supremacy, and

²⁸⁴ Arthur and Galahad are discussed in more depth below.

thereby echoes the sentiments expressed in the prologue.²⁸⁵ At the end of the history, Hardyng brings the narrative full circle by returning to this notion; he urges Henry VI to reunite the three parts of Britain, like a good shepherd bringing the stray sheep in his herd back together:

Of whiche Bretayne, two partes to 3ow obey,
 Englund and Wales as to thaire soueraynte,
 Which oweth thynke be shame to se thus disobey
 Scotland, that is the thryd parte of Bretayne [...]

Wherfor, gude lord, now gerde 3ow wyth 3oure swerde,
 And sett vpon tho frowerd errytyces,
 That erren fro the two parte of the heerde,
 And [strayen] out as they where heretykes,
 Which haue forgatte thayre lorde, as cronatykes
 Hauynge no shame of thaire peruersyte,
 Ne chaungen hew for thayre inequyte.

[Lansdowne 204, f. 230v, ll. 4275-87]

The Christian symbolism of the Holy Trinity apparent in the idea of uniting the three regions as one provides an apt link between the Christian predilection for peace and the chivalrous ideal of bringing the rebels who have ‘forgatte thayre lorde’ to heal through military conquest. Since Henry VI is in the fortunate position of ruling with God’s grace he can use his ‘swerde’, as Brutus, Arthur and Galahad once did, to end civil division and restore the lost wholeness of Britain attained by the mythic kings. Thus, the laws and ‘sapience’ that once unified the founding father’s realm of Britain are allied, progressively, with celebrated kings, such as Arviragus, Arthur, Edward I, and finally with Henry VI: it is his duty to invoke his god-given right and enforce the law first established by Brutus that gives him pre-eminence over Scotland.

Free Will and Providence: Cadwallader and Richard II

After the unsurpassable reign of Arthur, who temporarily restores the unity witnessed in Brutus’s reign in Book Three, Britain’s prosperity continues to fluctuate under the control of various leaders until the disastrous reign of Cadwallader, who allows Britain to be attacked and plundered by foreign invaders. Under him the kingdom degenerates so much that foreign invaders exploit the divisions and conquer the realm forcing the British to abandon their homeland. Hardyng’s account of the sorrow the ‘Bretons had at thaire departynge oute of Bretayne’ (f. 110r) is quite remarkable; after an elaborate ‘compleynt’ from ‘þe maker for þe grete peyne whiche the kynge and his Bretons had’, during which their tragic loss is compared to the fall of Troy and a host of other classical cities and realms, Hardyng continues with a long exposition on Fortune:

With hungre eke, and other sodeyn chaunce,
 So plucked were the fedysr by processe
 Of Bretons so thurgh grete mesgouernance,

²⁸⁵ Brutus’s fateful division of the realm is echoed by later kings in the history (i.e. in the accounts of kings Leir and Cloten).

That in shorte tyme thair kynghtly worthynesse
 Deplumed was and made ful bare dredelesse
 By Saxons strengthe and Englissh grete power,
 That from thens forth helde Englonde than ful clere.

For whiche me thynke that euery creature
 Owe to bewayle by way of gentellesse
 The altercacion and grete mesaventure
 Of so noble folke putte into dystresse,
 Whiche thurgh the worlde afore so were perelesse
 And after than be fayne thayre londe to fle,
 How myght thay haue amore aduersyte?

The Breton blode, whils that it dyd endure,
 Swerde off knyghthode and sors of genytllesse,
 Accounted was with euery creature
 And ouer all londes the name of worthynesse,
 It bare away vnto that tyme doutlesse
 And than to fle fro it with peynefull herte
 No meruell thof full sore it dyd thaym smerte.

O lorde God, seth thy dyuyne purvyance
 Hath sene afore thaire grete aduersite
 That thaym shulde fall for thair mesgouernance,
 It myght not fayle, ne yit eschewed be,
 Bot so muste ben of all necessite
 And els in the had bene no prescience,
 Whiche were contray to thyne omnipotence;

Bot that thou haste foresight and prescience
 Of thyng to come in erthe that shall befall,
 I preue and els were none omnipotence
 In the for whiche thy godded shulde appall,
 Bot thy forsyght makyth no cause at all
 Of oure fortune, ne of oure contyngence,
 That fre wyll hath be youe by hole sentence.

Wharfore I wyll by Bretons thus conclude:
 Thy forknowynge, ne yit thy prouydence,
 Ne caused nought thaire surfete to exclude,
 Ner yit to doue it in experience,
 Bot fre choyse hole caused the violence
 Of thair fortune and thayre deficiencie.

[Lansdowne 204, f. 110v]

Once again the stanzas contain borrowings from Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, which provide the vivid description of 'knyghtly worthynesse' being 'deplumed' and the particularly compelling appropriation of Chaucer's 'sward of knyghthod, sours of

gentillesse' (*Troilus*, V, 1591) to illustrate the renown of 'Breton blode'.²⁸⁶ By turning to Chaucer for assistance during his interjections on the capriciousness of Fortune, Hardyng instigates a pattern whereby his reader is continually prompted to recall his comments in earlier addresses. This 'compleynt', nevertheless, takes matters a step further than the previous interjections by emphasising the belief that man is responsible for his own actions, a concept which is ultimately Boethian in origin, as a marginal annotation next to the text acknowledges.²⁸⁷ Hardyng concedes that God has 'forsight', for if he did not it would be 'contray' to his omnipotence; like Boethius, he overcomes the problematic issue of whether predestiny can coexist with free will by noting that although God has 'prescience/ Of thyng to come in erthe' man still has 'fre wyll'. Cadwallader and the British had the 'fre choyse' of governing the kingdom well, to choose 'genytlesse' over 'violence' and 'altercacion', but they did not. God may have sent plague and famine to punish their behaviour until countless numbers 'dede lay in grete multytude/ On hepes hiegh' (Lansdowne 204, f. 107v), knowing that it was their destiny to become exiles, but the choice to behave so miserably was theirs alone.²⁸⁸

Later in the *Chronicle* the unjust reign of Richard II is similarly singled out for special note, due to the young king's personal decision to promote his sycophantic favourites over wiser men. Hardyng depicts Richard in stark contrast to the man designated by God to be England's saviour: Henry Bolingbroke. The providential nature of Bolingbroke's role is enhanced by the chronicler's use of imagery; the future Henry IV is portrayed as a shepherd who unites the scattered flock, that is to say, the king's subjects, and brings them back to their pasture.²⁸⁹

Thurgh all the londe, as I can now compile,
The scatred floke to thare pastur that while
Thus brought he home agayn, with grete plesance

²⁸⁶ See *Troilus and Criseyde*, IV, 960-73, V, 1541-47, 1590-96.

²⁸⁷ The gloss 'Vnde: Boicius dicit maximum genus infortunii est fuisse ffelicem' occurs on f. 110v (compare with *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, Book II, iv; Stewart, Rand and Tester 1973: 190-91) and the maxim is translated and used in the second version (see footnote 412 below). The hand responsible for this annotation is the same as the hand that writes the prologue; it may belong to Hardyng (see **The Manuscripts of Hardyng's Chronicle**). It is possible that Hardyng made the connection with Boethius from his own knowledge of the *Consolatione*, but equally, a similar annotation may have occurred in the manuscript of the *Troilus* that he had access to; a brief survey of the extant *Troilus* manuscripts may shed additional light on this. Hardyng's discussion of free will and predestination is comparable to that in Book V of the *Consolatione*. The perception of individual responsibility is also akin to that defined unequivocally in Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (Peck 1997: 16, ll. 520-71).

²⁸⁸ In the second version the reign of Cadwallader and the lost glory of Britain is also given special attention.

²⁸⁹ The concept of the Good Shepherd is a common motif in medieval literature, and the depiction of Henry IV as England's saviour is particularly common in texts produced in the wake of the Lancastrian ascendancy; see, for example, Gower's *Cronica Tripertita*, Thomas Walsingham's *Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti* and the **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1958-60. The perception of the king as a Christ figure is likewise common in medieval literature; see, for example, Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*, ll. 2409-13, 2521-22, Gower's *Vox Clamantis*, VI, ll. 580-600 and *The Crowned King*, ll. 137-44 (Barr 1993: 210). Hardyng may have derived this image from Gower, or from analogous representations of Bolingbroke's virtuous nature in sources textually similar to his own narrative, such as the *Eulogium Continuation* and the *English Chronicle*. Bolingbroke's association with the Good Shepherd is removed from the second version. The concept that a kingdom divided amongst itself brings desolation to its inhabitants is Biblical (Matthew, 12: 25; Mark, 3: 24; Luke, 11:17) and occurs frequently in medieval polemic literature.

To all the reme than, thurgh his gouernaunce.
[Lansdowne 204, f. 202r, ll. 1957-60]

Hardyng attributes Bolingbroke's coup to God's will, and cites examples of Richard's bad governance to justify why the common people, governors and magnates of the realm, collectively referred to as 'England', deposed the king. In evoking the image of Bolingbroke as the proverbial good shepherd, sent by God in answer to the prayer of the common people for relief, Hardyng highlights the common medieval perception of the divine right of kingship and follows the example of previous chroniclers such as John Gower and Thomas Walsingham by portraying Richard's downfall as providential.²⁹⁰ Two selections of verse from Gower's *Cronica Tripertita* are given by Hardyng in marginal glosses to emphasise the complementary role of fortune in the king's downfall; the first occurs at the beginning of the narrative dealing with Richard's reign and the Peasants' revolt; the second occurs beside the account of his death in the reign of Henry IV.²⁹¹

Principio regis oritur transgressio legis,
Quo fortuna cadit *et humus retrograda vadit*.
Quomodo surrexit populus quem non bene rexit,
Tempus adhuc plangit super hoc, quod cronica tangit.
Stultorum vile cepit consilium iuuenile
Et sectam senium decreuit esse reiectam.
Tunc accusare quosdam presumpsit auare,
Vnde catallorum gazas spoliaret eorum.
[Lansdowne 204, f. 196v, gloss after l. 1484]

O speculum mundi, quod debet in aure refundi,
Ex quo prouisum sapiens acuat sibi visum;
Cum male viuentes Deus odit in orbe regentes,
Est qui peccator non esse potest dominator;
Ricardo teste, finis probat hoc manifeste.
Sic diffinita fecit regna sors stabilita,
Regis vt est vita cronica stabat ita.
[Lansdowne 204, f. 204r, gloss after l. 2121]

Aside from the fact that the extracts are strategically placed at the beginning and end of Richard's career to highlight the cyclic nature of fortune, they also emphasise the theme of the world, and its past history, as a mirror in whose reflection wise men may see examples of good and evil. Richard's reign provides a precedent in living memory to compare with those in the distant past.²⁹² For all of Fortune's apparently arbitrary disposition, her idiosyncrasies are shown to be part of a grander, providential scheme;

²⁹⁰ Compare also *Richard the Redeless*, Passus III, ll. 351-70 (Barr 1993: 129-30). For the reference to the people praying for divine intervention see f. 201r, ll. 1876-83. For further discussion of Hardyng's providential view of history see Kelly 1970.

²⁹¹ The verses are added in the margins beside the main narrative. For Gower's *Cronica Tripertita* see Macaulay 1899-1902: IV. Of the extant manuscripts of the *Cronica*, the verses in Lansdowne 204 correspond most closely to the reading in Glasgow University MS Hunter 59 (T. 2. 17).

²⁹² Adam of Usk makes similar comments in his *Chronicle*, comparing Richard II with Solomon, Absalom, Ahasuerus (Xerxes), Belinus (Belin) and Chosroes, and attributing his downfall to fortune (Given-Wilson 1997: 90-91).

without the fall of Richard there would have been no Lancastrian dynasty, just as without the death of his father at the beginning of the *Chronicle* Brutus would not have become an exile and discovered Britain. Throughout the history Hardyng never fails to cite the aforementioned themes in order to stress how the untimely death, murder, or deposition of an immoral king occurs as a result of divine will and intervention.²⁹³ Therefore, when Henry VI is depicted, metaphorically, as a shepherd at the end of the first version, the implication is that as the anointed sovereign, Henry has the power to bring peace and stability to late medieval England, and resolve the injustices described by the author. Hardyng shows that Henry has the power to unite and govern the three parts of Britain, symbolically described as a scattered herd. Two of the parts, England and Wales, are already united, whilst the third, Scotland, remains defiantly divided from England.²⁹⁴ This is the task that has faced all the kings of the realm from the first ill-fated division of the isle among Brutus's sons. Hardyng's intimation at the conclusion of the work that Henry VI is able to re-establish the unity held by the very first ruler, if that is his wish, is simply another way of inviting comparisons between the oldest and most recent kings.

Free Will and Providence: Arthur and Edward I

To counterpoint the accounts of those sovereigns who use their free will negligently, the *Chronicle* provides numerous examples of kings who use their reigns for the common good. It is through these paradigms that Hardyng acknowledges that there are many providential workings that do not make sense to humans. Aspects of the narrative concerning King Arthur and Edward I provide good examples of this.

Towards the end of the narrative dealing with Edward I, Hardyng interrupts his usual, concise *Brut*-inspired narrative, to provide a heavily classicised account of the royal feast held at Westminster in honour of the marriages of the earl of Arundel and Lord Spenser, in which the celebrations are compared with those held by King Arthur. Although the section is quite long it is nevertheless worth quoting in full.²⁹⁵

The feste so laste by fourtene days all out,
 With iustes grete and hiegh solempnyte,
 With reuelynge of knyghtes, and lordes stout,
 And ladyse fresshe all of femynyte,
 With hertes ioy and worldes felicite,
 With mynstralcy sette full curiously,
 Of toynes newe lyke heuynyssh melody.

The ladyse, fayre and fressh as rose in May,
 Ful of vertu and w[o]manysshe bewte,
 Attyred fresshe in dyuers new array,
 Full aungelyke grounded in all bounte,

²⁹³ See, for example, Lansdowne 204, ff. 25r, 26r, 27r, 31v, 43r, 44v, 50r, 67r, 78r, 79r, 88r, 102v, 107v-108r, 110v. Conversely, the deathbed confession of Henry IV and Hardyng's discussion of the torments 'this gode kyng' encountered during his reign because of the numerous attempts on his life demonstrate how God looked after his appointed sovereign (ff. 209r-209v, ll. 2534-82).

²⁹⁴ Lansdowne 204, f. 230v. Compare with similar verses in Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 180r-180v (Ellis 1812: 413-14).

²⁹⁵ Lansdowne 204, ff. 176r-176v.

At that feeste were of grete benygnyte,
 Tho espousayls to worship with plesance,
 Of trewe menyng and womanly obseruance.

The condytes fresshe and gloriouse arayed
 With byrdes, and bestes of golde fresshely depycte,
 With baners feel aboue, full fayre displayed,
 The wynes oute sente in foremes vndevycte²⁹⁶
 To all comons withoute any restricte;
 So full Bachus with all his plenyttude
 Of wynes, thare shad to the multitude.

That tyme, towarde the ende and lusty May,
 Whan Phebus had into the Geume so ronne,
 Out of the Bole that was the sexte day,²⁹⁷
 And kalendes newe were entred and bygonne
 Of Iuyn comyng, and als the mery sonne
 By all that tyme spied out hir bemes bright
 Vpon this reme and made it glad and light;

The stormy wynde, and tempeste heuynesse,
 Were gone away, as made it remembrance,
 By all the feeste there fell so grete gladnesse
 Thurgh all the reme men thought a suffyshance
 The kyng to se and all his gouernaunce,
 His semelynesse, his countenance, and chere,
 With his vertu morall, and grete power.

It was a tyme that God had so provyded,
 On all the sky there myght no cloude be sene,
 From other tymes that tyme was so devyded,
 And fraunchised full fro mystes, and fro reyne,
 With ayre attempre, no hetes to compleyne,
 The heuen than reioysed of his repayre
 So inwardly the wether made so fayre.

Was neuer no feste afore in all Bretayn
 Ought lyke to it, seth Ihesu Criste was borne,
 Excepte the feste that Arthur made sertayn
 At Caerlyon, his cyte longe aforne,
 Ne yit the lawde that made was euen and morne
 For Kyng Dauyd after his vycory,
 Was nothyng lyke the ioy and grete glory,

Whiche in London, for his famouse conqueste,
 The peple made reioysyng thurgh the reme,

²⁹⁶ From devicten (v.) overwhelmed (?).

²⁹⁷ As it is May the sun has passed through the constellacion of Taurus (the Bole) and into that of Gemini (Geume).

With ordenaunce grete for passyng with the beste
 Deuyseyes riall, the son with all his beme,
 The mone and sterres mynystrynge fayre thare leme,
 Conveyed wele by scripture excellent,
 Whiche to declare I am nocht eloquent.

[Lansdowne 204, 176r-176v]

A distinct difference between the vibrancy of these verses and Hardyng's usual rhyme royal is evident, but, unfortunately, they cannot be attributed to an inspired spell of genius on his part; they are derived instead from Lydgate's poem *Henry VI's Triumphant Return to London*, written in 1432 to celebrate the return of the king from his coronation expedition.²⁹⁸ Astonishingly, instead of using a substantial part of the poem for the later description of Henry VI's French coronation Hardyng chooses to use only a single stanza of Lydgate's piece.²⁹⁹ It is during his account of one of King Arthur's feasts and the aforementioned revels of Edward I that he makes most use of the poem.³⁰⁰ What makes Hardyng's exploitation of the verses on these occasions even more surprising is that the *Chronicle* places great emphasis on Henry VI's claim to the French crown, and contains an elaborate and beautiful pedigree in a similar vein to those in circulation in the 1430s accompanying Lydgate's verses. One would have thought that, since the chronicler had access to the poem, he would have used it to enhance his version of the occasion for which it was written. It may be that because the verses were popular enough to work their way into the *Chronicles of London*,³⁰¹ Hardyng thought them recognisable enough to rely on members of the nobility and gentry making a connection between the monarch for whom they were originally written and his use of them in the reigns of Arthur and Edward I. Perhaps by using them in this way he sought to connect Henry VI with the renowned monarchs of the past and suggest that he could still attain the glory and repute of Britain's most esteemed king: Arthur.³⁰² Hardyng's Arthurian narrative includes an account of

²⁹⁸ The poem, consisting of seventy-six rhyme royal stanzas and an envoy, was probably commissioned by Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, and was part of a consistent Lancastrian propaganda campaign to highlight and celebrate the coronation of Henry VI as the dual monarch of England and France. It is printed in MacCracken 1934: 630-48. Compare Hardyng's text with stanzas 1-3, 4 (ll. 25, 26, 28), 10 (ll. 67-68), 36, 46. Hardyng clearly had access to a copy of the celebratory verses, either as an individual piece in a manuscript collection of other Lydgate works (which is possible given his knowledge of the *Fall of Princes*) or through the *Chronicles of London* in which the verses became integrated. For the poem see Rowe 1932-33; Brown and Robbins 1943: 609, number 3799; Brown, Robbins and Cutler 1965: 431; Hartung and Severs 1967-: VI, 1852; Pearsall 1970: 170-72.

²⁹⁹ See Lansdowne 204, f. 218r, ll. 3290-96.

³⁰⁰ See Lansdowne 204, f. 75r: 'Thetys, that was of waters chefe goddesse,/ Thar had of thaym that tyme no regyment,/ For Bachus so thar regned with all fulnesse/ Of myghty wynes to euery mannys intente,/ Shad oute plente so at that corouneunte,/ To all estates that ther wer moste and leste,/ For honour so and worshyp of the feste.' Compare with stanza 46, ll. 314-20 of Lydgate's poem.

³⁰¹ For the poem in the *Chronicles of London* see Kingsford 1905: 97-116, 301-02 and MacLaren 2002: 44, 52-56, 107, 114.

³⁰² Only the most fragmentary echo of the verses occur in the second version, but other things are added to invite parallels between Arthur's court and the present, such as the reference to the Round Table being founded at Winchester, where, Hardyng states, it still resides (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 62v). In addition to this Hardyng also notes his delivery of one of the documents Edward obtained relating to English sovereignty and which he presented to Henry VI at Easthampstead [f. 168v] 'Nota how, after decease of þe kynge Alisaundre of Scotlonde, x hayres claymyng þe coroun condescende, by thaire letre enseled, to byde þe iugement off Kynge Edward; whiche letre Iohn Hardyng, the maker of this

Arthur's coronation and marriage in Paris, an event that would have undeniably invited parallels between Henry VI and Arthur in the minds of his audience (see Lansdowne 204, ff. 72v-73r). Likewise, both Arthur and Edward I make successful military campaigns against Scotland, and the description of the festivities at Edward's court discussed here occurs in between Hardyng's commentary on the war against the Scots. What is important about both of these episodes, nonetheless, is that they utilise Lydgate's text to underscore the distinction of the monarchs, and, in the case of Edward I and Henry VI, to note God's approval of their decisions and activities (in Edward's case his Scottish campaign and the chivalric fairness of his court; in Henry's case his coronation as king of France).

Having called attention to the commendable aspects of their kingship, Hardyng contemplates the apparent futility of Arthur's and Edward's deaths. Why, he asks, would God wish to end such noble lives so soon, particularly whilst their plans to reconquer their lawful inheritance were unfulfilled? The apostrophe on death at the end of Edward's reign is more poetical than the 'conceit' at the close of Arthur's, but both interjections borrow, once again, from Chaucer's *Troilus*:³⁰³

O influences of these heuens clere,
Vndyr whom so God hath be sette to be,
Why suffred ye this kynge, that had no pere,
From his peple so to appal and de,
That was the floure that day of Cristente,
Thurghout the worlde of knyghthode full appreved
In Cristendome and hethenesse as was breved?

O olde, vnholosom, and mysbeleued, Dethe
What had the kyng so gretly the displesed,
That he contacte was with thy cursed breth,
And slayne so sone that myght this londe haue esed?
O cruell Deth, that so feel hath desesed!
Acursed be thyne vnprovysed sentence,
Through whiche was spent all Englondes hole defence.

O thou, olde Dethe, and fole insipient,
That in thyne age founeste and waxest madde
Withoute reson, or gode advisement,
Why toke thou so that prynce, so feel dyd gladde,
And thousandes left in londe that wer full badde?
O fole! Wolde God I had suppowaylement
To exile the from all suche regyment.

Bot sothe it is through thyne inopience,³⁰⁴
Thou spareste none, nayther prynce, ne emperoure,
And wele worse doest thou through thy violence,
That takest thaym whan thay bene in thair floure.

boke, delyuerde to þe kynge, Henry þe sexte of Englonde, at Esthamstede.' He also stresses the use of chronicles in proving hegemony over Scotland, f. 169r.

³⁰³ For Hardyng's lament on Arthur's death see Lansdowne 204, f. 87r.

³⁰⁴ From inopinable (adj.) meaning overwhelming.

Allas, that suche as thou shulde so deuoure
 So feel prynces, as thou haste brought tyl ende,
 And mo then wytte that may nocht the defende.
 [Lansdowne 204, 178r-78v]

Drawing on the popular theme of death as the leveller of all ranks in society, these four stanzas embody many of the anxieties about human frailty and man's inability to comprehend the workings of God found in other works of the period. The accompanying gloss notes that the king was ravished 'oute the worlde afore he had sette all þat londe in pese', implying that it is the task of future kings to accomplish what Edward failed to achieve. Similar expressions of grief occur at the end of the reigns of Edward III and Henry V, where it is noted that they made related attempts to restore England's lost colonies and greatness, but that it was not their destiny to achieve.³⁰⁵ Again, in both lamentations Hardyng allies the reign of each prestigious monarch with Henry VI's, either to bring additional prestige to Henry or to offer a solution to the king's current problems. Although Hardyng does not purport to know why God failed to extend the lives of earlier champions of the common weal, he uses this to his advantage by conceding that there is a greater providential plan at work that Henry VI is part of, and that he therefore has the potential to turn the fortunes of the kingdom around. Fortune may send tribulation to a realm, but in the face of 'grete aduersite' and 'mesgouernance' the most celebrated sovereigns and people are those who use their free will to *try* to rule well by seeking to unify the land and uphold the common weal. This is the essential difference in the *Chronicle* between those who govern admirably and those who do not; as Hardyng frequently demonstrates, one of the principal ways in which a monarch can exhibit his attempts to rule well is by seeking and maintaining unity within his realm and avoiding division by asserting his authority. The next section considers the theme of division, the ideas related to it, and the ways in which future kings can emulate the celebrated monarchs of the past by avoiding disunity within their realm.

Knighthood and Division: The Maintenance of Law and Order

Many of the reigns in the *Chronicle* attempt to show that although the concord of Brutus's 'four and twenty yere' reign did not last (Lansdowne 204, f. 17v), other exceptional monarchs in Britain's history have managed to attain temporary unity within the realm. The parts of the text detailing the transitional moments when the kingdom shifts from unity to disunity are often striking because of the way in which Hardyng supplements his fairly brief, *Brut*-like, account with additional anecdotal material drawn from other chronicles and romances, or his own interjections, in order to comment on fifteenth-century affairs. Since the *Brut* was the most popular secular work in the Middle Ages, the stories within it would have been familiar to Hardyng's audience, so by elaborating on specific incidents and breaking the flow of the history with his own reflections greater immediacy is given to the theme of division.

The first notable interruption by Hardyng concerning discord within the realm, after the story of Brutus's sons, occurs in the reign of King Cloten and is addressed to

³⁰⁵ See Lansdowne 204, f. 195v, ll. 1429-63, f. 215v, ll. 3037-86, ff. 216r-217v, ll. 3136-3233. There is a linguistic echo of Edward I's ravishment in Hardyng's lamentation for Henry V as he asks the question 'O verry Lorde, that arte omnipotent,/ What hath Englonde so felly the offende/ This noble prynce, pierlesse of regyment,/ To ravysshe so fro vs withouten ende?' (f. 216v, ll. 3164-67).

'prynces and lordes of hye estate' (f. 26r). Following both the *Historia Regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth and a version of the Latin *Brut*, Hardyng's Cloten becomes king as a result of a domestic conflict beginning in the reign of King Gorbodian. We are informed that Gorbodian had two sons, Ferrex and Porrex, that 'couth neuer accorde' (f. 25r); Ferrex leaves Britain to reside with Sywarde, king of France, but returns to fight his brother 'whan he knew of his fadyr deth' (f. 25r). In the ensuing battle one of the brothers is killed; their mother, Queen Judon, then exacts revenge for her dead son by slitting the throat of her other son and cutting him into pieces whilst he sleeps.³⁰⁶ This personal vendetta impinges upon the public domain when the death of Gorbodian's sons leaves the kingdom without an heir. Cloten, duke of Cornwall, takes over the monarchy, but three other kings (four in the *Historia*) assert their own claims, plunging Britain into civil war. The previous themes are then mirrored in reverse in the subsequent narrative, as civil war affects the familial home, and brother kills brother, father kills son:³⁰⁷

Thus was Bretayne to kynges foure devyded,
 Echone of thaym werryng so vpon other;
 And vndur thaym the barons were provyded
 To dystroy other, all wer thay kyn or brothere;
 The yonger brother dyd than ouer renne the tother;
 The sonne his fadyr dyd often tymes dysse
 Of his lyfelode and put hym fro his ese.

Euery cyte and walled toune and toure
 Other werrayde and brought thaym vnto nought;
 Euery tirant than was a conqueroure
 And lordes fayne subgytz bycome forfought
 So wer thay lowe vnto meschefe than brought;
 Thus worthy blude of honour and estate
 Was brought to nought and foully alterate.

[Lansdowne 204, f. 25v]

³⁰⁶ Neither the sources, nor the two versions of the *Chronicle*, agree on which brother is killed upon Ferrex's return. Geoffrey of Monmouth states that Porrex survives, but is then killed by his mother, as does the first version; whereas the second version agrees with the *Brut* by stating that Ferrex survives the battle to be killed that night by his mother. The situation is complicated further, since the first version, this time apparently following the *Brut*, does not mention the maidens who assist Queen Judon in her vengeance. The second version, now following the *Historia*, similarly fails to mention that Judon cuts her son's throat, merely stating that she came 'with alle hir maidens [...] slewe him vpon þe night/ And smote him alle in peces' (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 23r). On balance, Hardyng either had a version of the *Brut* derived more closely from the *Historia* than that edited by Brie (1906) or he used the *Brut* for the first version and the *Historia* for his revision, each with the names of the sons confused. It is also probable that he conflated both sources, but slightly differently, for each recension.

³⁰⁷ Compare with Matthew 10: 21-22. Similar inversions of the natural order of medieval society can be seen in the account of the battle of Shrewsbury in *Gregory's Chronicle*, which states that it was 'one of the wyrste bataylys that evyr came to Inglonde, and unkyndyst, for there was the fadyr a-yenst the sone and the sone a-yenste the fadyr, and brother and cosyn a-yenste eche othyr' (Gairdner 1876: 103-04); the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 548-49); and the accounts of Cade's rebellion in the *Chronicles of London* and the *English Chronicle*, where the authors criticise Cade for being full of pride and dressing like a lord (Kingsford 1905: 159-60; Marx 2003: 69).

Unlike his sources, Hardyng provides his audience with a better understanding of the causes and effects of division. His portrait of a realm where conflict and a desire for sovereignty amongst those who have no right to such power highlights what happens when the natural order of things is inverted, just as the legend of Albyne and her sisters did in Book One: the established medieval world order is turned upside down and 'blude of honour' is brought to 'nought'. Further horrors are detailed as Hardyng describes the 'Fourty wyntyre duryng the barons werre' during which the 'pore men that afore wer desolate' revolted and attained positions of power by sequestering property and marrying wives of noble birth (f. 26r). The failure of the barons to resolve their differences and support one king allows reprobates and social upstarts to obtain power: 'And grew a lorde byfor that was a page' (f. 26r).³⁰⁸ Hardyng concludes his account of this epoch with a direct address to the lords and princes of the realm by asking 'What is a kynge withouten lawe or pese/ Within his reame suffyciently conserued?' (f. 26r). This question invites the audience to reflect upon the episode in a way that the *Brut* and the *Historia* do not.

Several aspects of Hardyng's interruption are particularly striking and warrant brief elucidation. First, the account of the kingdom being divided because of the extinction of the royal line and the procurement of it by one of several legitimate claimants, would not have been lost on Hardyng's contemporary audience. The extinction of Richard II's line after Henry IV's usurpation was still within living memory, and the fear that Henry VI would not produce an heir made the problem of the Lancastrian succession a very real one; even after the birth of Prince Edward in 1453, the failure of the Lancastrian line was still a cause for concern.³⁰⁹ Secondly, the similarity between the *Chronicle's* depiction of this conflict with Jack Cade's rebellion in 1450 and other localised outbreaks of violence in Lincolnshire and East Anglia in the 1440s and 1450s is striking. Hardyng may not have felt it prudent to mention Cade by name in 1457, but the second version reveals that he had the Kentish rebellion in mind when compiling his verses. The majority of the stanzas describing Cloten's turbulent reign in the revised text are identical, or almost identical, to the account in Lansdowne 204, with one salient exception: the final line of the stanza asking 'What is a king withouten lawe and peese? is altered from 'Iff that it be in suche a iupartie' (Lansdowne 204, f. 26r) to 'As traytour Cade made such a iupartie'³¹⁰ (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 24r). The issue of lawlessness and corruption amongst those in positions of importance, and the corruption of noble 'blood', was raised in a document compiled in 1450 detailing the complaints of the 'commons of Kent' and the 'causes of thassemble on the Blakhethe'.³¹¹ In this manifesto Cade notes that 'the lordis of his [Henry VI's] roiall blood bene put from his dayle presence and other meane personnes of lower nature exalted and made cheefe of pryve counsaill. The whiche stoppeth matieres of wronges doone in the reaume from his excellent assiance and may nat be redressed as lawe will, but yif brybes and giftes be messanger to the

³⁰⁸ Compare with John Metham's reflection in *Amoryus and Cleopes*, when he asks why men no longer perform knightly deeds and wonders whether it is because of the civil strife within the realm or a lack of proficiency: 'and thus this story I owte lede/ Meruelyng gretly that noght now, as in eld tyme,/ men do noght wryte knyghtys dedys; nowdyr in prose ner ryme./ Buy qwedyr encresyng off uexacion yt causyth onlye/ Of defaute off cunnyng, with odyr causys moo,/ I can noght deme' (Craig 1916: 77, ll. 2104-09).

³⁰⁹ See Griffiths 1979.

³¹⁰ From *jupartie* (n.) meaning disturbance.

³¹¹ The document, taken from ff. 135r-v of Vale's book, is edited and discussed in Kekewich *et al* 1995: 204-05.

handes of the seid counseill' (Kekewick *et al* 1995: 204). The 'Articles of the duke of York to the king and council' compiled in the same year draw upon similar complaints, stating that without the maintenance of the law the king and his lords are 'as afisshe watirlesse' (Kekewich *et al* 1995: 188). The duke, evidently allying his own complaints with those circulating in the wider public sphere, expresses his sadness that 'the trewe lordes of the counsele and specially the lordes of the blood roiall wol suffer so shamefull mischefes of so blessful a prince doone bi them broughte up of noughte'.³¹² As John Watts has noted, the phrase 'men "broughte up of noughte" [...] canvassed by the duke in the early 1450s' occurs in one of the manifestoes issued by Cade's rebels, which were recirculated in 1460, and re-emerge in John Vale's account of the period 1431-71.³¹³ This suggests that Vale, like other chroniclers after 1460, such as the *English* chronicler, was influenced by sources and documents dating from the early 1450s, the original authors of which had consciously used the phrase 'broughte up of noughte' because of its political currency at the time.³¹⁴ Hardyng's attack on the breakdown of justice in King Bassyan's reign sustains this topic as the narrative is disrupted and the reader is forced to contemplate the pointed criticisms and accusations levied at the present-day lords and barons in the audience:

Bot O ye lordes consydre what myschefe
 Rose in defaute of gode conseruacioun
 Of law and pese, and what harme and reprefe
 Thurgh mayntenaunce of foly and instigacioun,
 That trespasours had no castigacioun
 But inscende wele whare thurgh the kynge was slayne
 And beggars blode made kynge of all Bretayne.

Ye lordes that suffre the law and pese mysledde
 In euery shire whare so ze dwellynge bene,
 Whar ye pore men ouersetse se or mysbedde,
 Ye shuld thaym helpe, and socour, and sustene,
 And chastyse thaym that trespasours so bene;
 Why ys a lorde sette in so hiegh degre
 Bot to mayntene vndyr hym the comonte?/

Bot O ye lordes fro this ful foule ye erre
 From youre ordyr in till apostacy;
 Whan ryotours pvnysse ze ne derre
 For mayntenaunce of gretter seiginory;
 The pore men may seke law in Lumbardy
 As well as right of al riotouse men,
 Whose mayntenours the comons may sore ban,

³¹² Kekewich *et al* 1995: 188; compare also the bill issued by York in 1450 detailing his anxiety about the fact that 'certeyn persones laboured instantly forto have endited me of treson, to thentent to have undo me, myn issue and corrupt my blode' (Griffiths 1975: 203).

³¹³ See Kekewich *et al* 1995: 5, 187-89, 210-12.

³¹⁴ The writer of the *English Chronicle* appears to have had access to a number of Yorkist documents which were incorporated into the text (see Allan 1981: 367, and Marx 2003).

Than sewyth this, of whiche ye take non hede,
 That who may gete moste myght and souereynthe
 Wyll eche of yow supprisen and ouer lede,
 By that same way of lawe and equitye,
 And who of men may make moste assemble,
 His lower to ouerrenne and ouersetete,
 By all reson wyll thynke it is his dette

Than seweth more; thus ryseth barons werre
 That ofte hath bene in grete defaute of lawe.
 He that nocht hath acounteth nothyng derre,
 For haue lesse than the prynces wold ouerethrawe
 The ryall blode aboute thay wolde make lawe;
 Wharfore ye lordes the pryncyple ay withstonde,
 Lesse beggars blode dryue you out of your londe.
 [Lansdowne 204, ff. 43v-44r]³¹⁵

It is evident from Hardyng's concern about uprisings in the shires and the threat from 'beggars blode' that there is a greater authorial anxiety and concern with late fifteenth-century affairs in the first version of the *Chronicle* than has previously been noticed, and that this apprehension results from the political climate of the 1450s. The main point of Hardyng's tirade, like the manifestoes of Cade and York, is that the king and his magnates are placed above the commoners to protect and help them. If united in their desire to uphold the common weal, they can prevent the civil divisions that in England's past history have torn the country apart: if they abuse their natural position of supremacy and fail to protect the common weal, resentment will fester in the 'comonte' and they will be overthrown. The king's dominion as 'chefe iustyse/ Of pese thurghoute [the] londe' (Lansdowne 204, f. 217r, ll. 3213-13) is emphasised to show his influence on a national level, whereas the importance of the local nobility and gentry maintaining peace for the king on a local level is emphasised by focussing on their duty to preserve peace and uphold justice on behalf of the king. Of particular interest is Hardyng's description of the public as the 'sugettez' of both 'prynces and lordes of hie estate'. For other documents belonging to this period contain the same ideology: that it is the duty of the nobility look after the 'comonte'. This is why God has 'sette them in so hiegh degre' (f. 43v). The nobility is shown to be as responsible as the king for the common weal; in effect they are the 'kings' of their counties, and as such are ruling parts of the realm on behalf of the king, who is

³¹⁵ An analogous warning occurs in the same section of the history in the second version, but Hardyng edits the diatribe into a more palatable address to York. He asks him to consider the 'ful lamentable' case of King Bassyan and think especially about the treacherous 'barons' whose hearts were 'englaymed' by the usurper Carauce 'with golde [...] and by his language swete,/ Semyng like treuthe' (Arch. Selden B. 10, ff. 38v-39r). The sickness imagery so prominent in the first version is employed again as Carauce's gifts are said to 'infecte' the nobility and King Bassyan is eventually slain by him (f. 39r). The concluding stanza advises York to be 'þe chief iustice' in his realm in a similar, but milder, manner to Hardyng's earlier warning to Henry VI: 'Good lord, whan ye ben set wele vnder croun,/ With traitours and misruled riotours/ Dispense right so with alle suche absolucioun/ And let hem seke none oþer correctours,/ But mayntene þan youre lawes gouernours,/ And ouer althing be ye þe chief iustice/ To kepe þe peas þat no fals do you supprise' (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 39r).

collectively responsible for all parts of his kingdom.³¹⁶ A good example of this ideology in practice can be seen in a letter dated 8 January 1461/2 from Sir Richard Bingham to Sir William Plumpton, relating to a property dispute the Plumptons had in the 1450s with the Pierpoint family of Holme Pierpoint, Nottinghamshire. The conflict resulted in the deaths of Plumpton's brother-in-law, John Greene, and Henry Pierpoint in 1457, and Bingham's letter petitioned Plumpton to make peace with the Pierpoints 'for the ease of you both and the rest of the contry' (Kirby 1996: 27-28). Concord between members of the gentry and nobility is essential, not solely for their own good, but for the good of the whole country. When the higher members of society do not act as befits their status, when the natural hierarchical order is not adhered to, or when it is corrupted by the maintenance of one subject's interests above that of another's, the kingdom is in danger of ruin and the natural order of medieval society becomes perverted.³¹⁷

Instances of misrule or bad governance in the *Chronicle* are always signposted by examples of unnatural inversion or the image of 'the world turned upside down': Hardyng, a loyal subject, is unrewarded by his sovereign; Albyne and her sisters challenge the authority of their father and husbands; 'beggars blode' rebels against 'ryall blode' (f. 44r); Queen Iudon unnaturally murders her son; Guinevere betrays Arthur and ruins the Round Table; the young Edward III concedes his sovereignty over Scotland; Jack Straw fails to show respect to Richard II by wearing his hood and talking brazenly to him; Richard II allows his courtiers to dress above their station and maintains a court of luxury, whilst his subjects pay for it with excessive taxes; and the Percies rebel against Henry IV when they should be working with him for the good of the country. The 'world upside down' motif was common in medieval literature, particularly in prophetic discourses and political poetry circulating during this period and provides Hardyng with an instantly recognisable way of showing his audience the lack of order and harmony in any given situation.³¹⁸ Like the manifestoes, however, it is not enough for the author to place the responsibility for good governance solely with the king; consequently, Hardyng often alludes to the accountability of the king's subjects, constructing his history in a way that emphasises chivalric deeds and orders of the past with the aim of encouraging new knights to emulate their historical predecessors. The finest example of this may be found in the *Chronicle's* account of the reign of King Arthur. Hardyng appeals to his audience's chivalric tastes by conflating the Arthur of the *Brut* with the Arthur of romance.

Of all of the rulers mentioned in the *Chronicle* the most space is dedicated to Arthur; his reign exceeds that of his nearest competitor, Edward I, by almost one

³¹⁶ From as early as 1434 Hardyng would have had detailed knowledge of the problems outside of Lincolnshire. In May 1434 the registers of Bishop Thomas Langley record that the bishop was appointed, by royal commission, to obtain the oaths of eleven knights, thirty-one esquires and the mayors and bailiffs of various towns in Northumberland, swearing not to 'maintain' evil doers as prescribed by parliament. Robert Umfraville was amongst the knights who promised to uphold the law; thus, Hardyng, who was probably in this area himself two months previous to this for his second Scottish expedition, could have learnt of specific incidents in his home county from his patron (Storey 1956-70: IV, 139).

³¹⁷ Compare the comments of Sir John Fortescue and Bishop Russell, cited by Lander, concerning the importance and power of the nobility and the king's officers (Lander 2000: 13).

³¹⁸ The Wakefield mystery cycle contains several notable instances of unnatural inversions being used to highlight corruption and chaos; in the *Mactatio Abel*, for example, Pikeharnes answers back his master Cain, and in the *Processus Noe* Noah's wife beats him and answers back before the Deluge restores harmony to their relationship. For prophetic discourses containing this motif see Coote (2000: 184).

hundred stanzas.³¹⁹ The importance of Arthur in British history needs no explanation, but Hardyng's Arthurian narrative is unique, not only because of his peculiar blend of romance and chronicle narrative, and his unprecedented incorporation of the grail quest into his history, but because of the skilful way in which he relates events in Arthur's reign to fifteenth-century England.³²⁰

The two key enhancements Hardyng makes to the traditional chronicle account of Arthur, the inclusion of the grail quest and its association with Joseph of Arimathea, are taken from romance. Joseph of Arimathea is first mentioned in the reign of Arviragus, when he arrives in Britain and is given 'twelue hydes of londe' to live on (f. 39v). Reference is made to the companions who journeyed with him from the Holy Land to reside at 'Mewytryne' (Glastonbury), and to the two vials of Christ's sweat 'rede as blode of vayne' which are brought, and later buried, with him (f. 39v).³²¹ With a single reference Hardyng is able to link this remote event with Henry VI's reputed ancestor, Edward III. Under the entry for the year 1367 Hardyng records that the bodies of Joseph and his companions were exhumed 'at Glassenbyry in fere,/ Founden ware than as dethe thaim had arayde' (Lansdowne 204, 194r, ll. 1318-19). His source for this reference appears to be an obscure chronicle belonging to the monastery at Spalding, probably written at Peterborough. By choosing to incorporate this unusual event into his account of Edward III's supremacy, Hardyng links the relics of Britain's apostle and early Christian history with late medieval England, and shows the continuous presence of the apostle on British soil, demonstrating that God is still with his chosen people.³²²

In turn, because of the association of his monarchy with the miraculous location of Joseph's tomb, Edward III is linked, indirectly, to kings Arviragus, Lucius and Arthur, who also feature in Joseph's legendary history. It is in Lucius's reign that 'þe rode of þe north dore', once feared lost after the wrathful Agrestes cast it into the

³¹⁹ For further comparative statistics see the table in **Appendix 1**.

³²⁰ Literature on Hardyng's Arthur is given in footnote 11 above. The importance of Hardyng's Grail quest has been discussed by several notable scholars already (see, for example, Kennedy 1989b and Riddy 1991a, 1991b), therefore it is not my intention to discuss the episode in depth here.

³²¹ Hardyng later associates Glastonbury with Avalon. John of Glastonbury's *Cronica* also mentions the two vials of sweat buried with Joseph of Arimathea and the land given to him by Arviragus (Carley 1985: 28-31, 38-39, 50-51, 54-55), and draws on the French Vulgate cycle. Likewise, *The New Cronichys Idrawn of the Gestys of the kynges of Englond* and the Latin *Brut* in Bodleian Library Rawlinson C. 398 contain an account of Arthur's reign derived from the Vulgate *La Mort le Roi Artu* and record Joseph's arrival in England with the two vials; both texts also end in 1437, the same year that the first version of the *Chronicle* ends. Glastonbury's *Cronica* is also discussed in footnote 281 above.

³²² The Spalding chronicle, extant in Cotton Claudius A. v, does not mention the two vials of blood buried with Joseph, but Hardyng's remark that they were found as they were arrayed in death alludes to his earlier reference to Joseph's burial with the vials, making the discovery of the burial even more important. James Carley has noted Henry V's interest in another excavation at Glastonbury in 1419, probably initiated with the hope of finding the remains of Joseph and his companions (see Allmand 1992: 418 and Carley 1994). John Withrington notes that the 'north dore' cross is mentioned in Pynson's *The Lyfe of St Joseph of Arimathia* (dating from c. 1502); it 'refers in fact to a cross in St Paul's, London, itself the object of pilgrimage in Hardyng's time' and cited in Bishop Reginald Pecock's *The Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy* (see Withrington 1991: 56, 198). The arrival of Joseph of Arimathea and his twelve companions in England after Christ's passion was cited as evidence in defence of England's status as a Christian nation at the Council of Constance in 1417 (see Crowder 1986: 119).

sea, is recovered.³²³ Likewise, the arms adopted by Lucius following his conversion to Christianity are held to be the same as those brought to Britain by Joseph of Arimathea, later carried by Galahad, Constantine, and St George, and currently borne, states Hardyng, by the Knights Templar and Hospitaller.³²⁴ The marginal notation detailing the progression of the arms down the centuries substantiates the romance account of British history presented in the *Chronicle* and helps to define Arthur and Joseph of Arimathea as historical figures, adding prestige to the current monarch, who is shown to be descended from the illustrious king. The heraldic significance of the arms originating with Joseph and figuring in Galahad's grail quest are equally important for defining the origins of chivalric orders, such as the Templars and Hospitallers, and for establishing a common origin and brotherhood for all knightly orders. By associating newer orders with those of the round table and the Grail, Hardyng almost certainly sought to give prestige to contemporary groups, such as the Garter Knights, to which his patron Sir Robert Umfraville belonged. The notification on folio 78v that 'eche ordre were founded vpon other,/ All as on and echone others brother' equates all esteemed members of a chivalric order in Hardyng's time with Arthur's and Galahad's knights, giving members of his audience a sense of their own place in history. Hardyng also takes the origins of the Round Table and Grail orders further back in history, relating them directly to Christ. It is in this version of the *Chronicle* only, that Hardyng claims Joseph of Arimathea first designed the round table, and that Uther Pendragon installed it in Britain at the insistance of Merlin.³²⁵

How templers and hospitulers were founded in figure *and* significacioun of the fraternyte *and* ordoure of the Saynt Grale and the table rounde was made in significacioun of the Saynte Grale

Of whiche Ordre of Seynte Graall so clene
 Wer after longe founded than the Templers
 In figur of it, writen as I haue sene,
 Oute of the whiche bene now Hospitulers,
 Grown vp full hiegh at Rodes withoutne peres;
 Thus eche ordre were founded vpon other,
 All as on and echone others brother.

So was also the table rounde araysed
 In remembrance all of the worthy table

³²³ The account of Agrestes and the door may be found on f. 40r of the first version and f. 35r of the second version. Its recovery is detailed on f. 42r and f. 37v of each version respectively.

³²⁴ The description of the arms and the kings who bore them occur in Lansdowne 204 on ff. 41r, 46v, 47v, 77r, 78r, 78v. As England's military patron, St George became an increasingly important figure in late medieval England. The heraldry associated with the saint was an integral part of the pageant organised by the Londoners for Henry V's return from Agincourt (Taylor and Roskell 1975: 104-09); the *Brut* notes that he was England's martial patron (Brie 1906-08: II, 379).

³²⁵ The account of the foundation of the Round Table in the second version also states that it was created by Uther, but instead of founding the Table on Merlin's advice, Hardyng says that it was established to please Igraine and give her comfort after her ravishment by Uther: 'And sette his day to wedde hir and to cure/ Of hevynesse þat she was þan in brought,/ Hir lordes deth so moche was in his thought/ For hir so slayne, hir wifehode als defouled,/ Afore þat tyme þat euere was kept vn fouled/ [...] To counforte hir he sette þe Table Round/ At Wynchestre [...] The Rounde Table at Winchestre began/ And þere it ende, and þere it hangeth yit' [Arch. Selden B. 10, ff. 50v, 62v].

Of the Seynte Grale, whiche Iosep afore had rayseed
 In hole fygure of Cristes souper comendable.
 Thus eche ordour was grounded resonable
 In grete vertu and condygne worthynesse
 To Goddes plesyr and soules heelfulnesse.

[Lansdowne 204, f. 78v]

How <þe> kynge bigan the Rounde Table in figure of the ordour of þe Saint
 Grale þat Iosep made at Aualon in Bretayne.

A feste riall he made at his spousage,
 And by advyse of Merlyne ordynance
 The Rounde Table amonge his baronage
 Bygan to make, for fygure and remembrance
 Right of the table with all the cyrcumstance
 Of the Saynte Grale, whiche longe tyme so afore
 Ioseph made, in Aramathy was bore.

For right as Criste in Symonde leprous house
 His souper made amonge apostels twelue
 At his table that was so plentyouse,
 At whiche he had the mayster sege hymselfe,
 In fygure so of it Iosep gan delue
 Thurghoute his wytte of his fraternyte
 To rayse aborde of the Saynte Grale shuld be;

The dysse in whiche that Criste dyd putte his honde
 The Saynte Grale he cald of his language,
 In which he kepte of Cristes blode he fonde
 A parte alway and to his hermytage
 In Bretayne grete it brought in his viage.

[Lansdowne 204, f. 66v]

The emphasis on Galahad's receipt of the Grail arms, and their later association with contemporary orders overshadows Hardyng's original account of the Grail quest, which is somewhat a non-event. Even in the second version Galahad's achievement of the Grail is confined to two lines with the emphasis remaining on the artefacts he receives and his foundation of the order of the Seynt Graal (Arch. Selden B. 10, ff. 56r-58r). Far from focussing on the religious meaning of the Grail, Hardyng's text focusses almost entirely on the secular significance of the episode and how it impinges on the foundations of contemporary society. Nevertheless, although the secular elements take precedence over the religious, both are still inextricably linked, as Galahad's order is depicted as *miles Christi* and Arthur's Round Table is shown to be modelled on the table of the Last Supper. Hardyng's definition of the 'reule' of the Round Table similarly provides an amalgamated list of traditional Christian virtues and standard chivalric codes of behaviour exemplified in romance (ff. 66r, 69v, 70v, 71r).

One of the most interesting episodes in King Arthur's reign deals with the conflict between himself and the emperor Lucius, who demands that Arthur pay

tribute to Rome. The account of Arthur's campaign is entirely in keeping with other chronicle and romance accounts of his foreign engagements, but, in addition to constructing a story which is attractive from a martial perspective, Hardyng highlights Arthur's use of diplomatic correspondence to expound his suzerainty over the Empire.³²⁶ When Lucius sends an envoy to Britain asking Arthur to pay tribute to Rome, Arthur responds with a defiant letter, which sets an historical precedent by citing his exemption from homage by right of his ancestors, Belin and Brenny; instead he demands that the emperor be subject to him. In the Latin letter to Pope Boniface VIII appended to the end of the *Chronicle*, Edward I similarly cites his ancestral rights, including his descent from Arthur, in support of his claim to supremacy over Scotland. Hardyng's later petitions urging Henry VI to follow in the footsteps of his ancestors and reclaim England's lost territories deliberately prescribe the same course of actions undertaken by Arthur and Edward I: first, the king's right should be stressed diplomatically through documentary evidence; then, as a final alternative if diplomacy fails, he should take military action. Both Arthur and Edward I are shown to be victorious in their military campaigns, and are praised by the author for their efforts to regain lost territories. Henry VI should emulate his forefathers and assert the rights that other monarchs have progressively enforced throughout history.³²⁷ This is also where the importance of loyal members of the aristocracy and gentry is shown to be paramount to success. Arthur's knights are essential to the good governance and stability of his realm; when the fellowship of the Round Table is broken so is the glory of his reign. It is rare that Hardyng provides dialogue within his narrative, but his report of Arthur's words in anticipation of his knights' departure on the Grail quest poignantly sum up the fears that the king has of losing his trusty lords:

For whiche the kynge morned, with dolefull herte,
At thar partyng with wepyng teres and smerte,

Sayng, 'Allas, what shall I do or say?
My knyghtes all that wer my ioy and hele,
The membres eke to kepe my body ay,
My soules ese and all my hertes wele,
My londes helpe in nede full trew and lele,
Thus sodenly from me to passe thys stounde
Vnto myne herte it is the dethes wounde.'

'O God, seth deth wolde briste myne herte in tweyne
Who shal meytene my coroun and my rightes?
I trow no more to se thaym efte agayne
Thus hole togedyr and so godely knyghtes;

³²⁶ Other notable accounts emphasising, like Hardyng, the king's formulation of a response to the emperor's demand include: the *Alliterative Morte Arthure* (Benson 1986: 123-24, ll. 270-87 and 130-31, ll. 507-21); the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: I, 82-83); and Malory's *Morte Darthur* (Cooper 1998: 82-85).

³²⁷ In the second version of the *Chronicle* the episode concerning the emperor is adapted to give Arthur an emphatic victory over Lucius; unlike the first version, in which Gawain is given the prestige of killing Lucius, Arthur personally slays the emperor, and is then crowned emperor himself at Rome. This version also encourages the king to assert his suzerainty over other lands, particularly Scotland, and stresses the usefulness of previous letters, like that sent by Edward I to Boniface VIII, when advancing a claim. Malory was clearly influenced by the coronation of Arthur as emperor in the second version of Hardyng's *Chronicle*; see footnote 11 for articles dealing with this matter.

Wold God I myght make myne a vowe and hyghtes
 To folow thaym in what londe so thay go
 And take my parte with thaym in wele and wo.'
 [Lansdowne 204, ff. 76v-77r]

Because the king is dependent on the good character of his nobility for the maintenance of law and justice it is essential that he place his trust in loyal persons. The tone of the Vulgate Grail quest, which Hardyng knew and used, is implicit in Arthur's reaction to his knights' departure; being wise, Arthur foresees the end of his fellowship ('I trow no more to se thaym efte agayne/ Thus hole togedyr'). He recognises that his knights are an integral part of the body politic ('my membres eke') and views their leaving as his own 'dethes wounde'. However, Hardyng changes the essence of the Vulgate quest, with its pessimistic outlook on the spiritual deficiency of Arthur's knights to add further esteem to Arthur's reign, as though God rewards him for acknowledging the importance of his knights. The episode dealing with Galahad likewise demonstrates how knights who uphold and seek to maintain the common weal are beloved by God. Before achieving the Grail, Galahad, who in Hardyng's *Chronicle* 'Launcelot gate in verray clene spousage/ On Pelles doghter' (Arch. Seldne. B. 10, f. 56r), enhances the glory of Arthur's knights by obtaining the shield of King Euaclache at Avalon, along with 'The spere, the swerde was by duke Seraphe/ Ther lefte that tyme, who after hight Nacyen' (f. 77r); after achieving the Grail Galahad heals the land of Saraas from 'all fals lyuers his londe that had infect' and executes 'common profyte alway' (f. 78r). By associating the maintenance of the common weal with Galahad and Arthur's kingship, Hardyng implies that effective and just leadership corresponds with divinity.

Of additional interest in these passages is the use of the sickness imagery encountered at the start of the *Chronicle*. Arthur's knights are his 'hele', whilst Galahad rids Saraas of the 'fals lyuers' who 'infect' the realm. Like the emphasis on the heraldic arms, which link the prestigious knights of Arthur's court with the fifteenth-century nobility, Hardyng finds it perfectly natural to ascribe the healing characteristics befitting a king to his description of the king's knights. In this instance it is Galahad who emulates Arthur in his efforts to unify the land by bringing respite to Saraas. Later in the history Hardyng accentuates the role of other great knights who serve the king and common weal by recycling the sickness metaphor and depicting them as healers. Like the kings in the *Chronicle*, this allows Hardyng to present the deeds of past magnates as exemplary models of good and bad behaviour. In the first version Hardyng ends his history in 1437 with a lament on the death of the chronicle's most celebrated magnate, his own patron, Sir Robert Umfraville. Whilst evoking a picture of Umfraville as the epitome of chivalry, we are informed that he was free from the *infection* of vice and falsehood ('Wyth couetyse he was neuer 3yt infecte', Lansdowne 204, f. 220v, l. 3507) and that his kind words brought relief to the hearts of the common people: 'His language so thair hertes medycyned' (f. 221r, l. 3524).³²⁸ Just as the legendary figures of Brutus, Arthur, Edward III and Henry V, are presented as good exemplars for princes and kings to examine and emulate, so too, Umfraville and other important magnates throughout the history become a mirror for the nobility

³²⁸ Compare also Hardyng's criticism of the perjury committed by the Duke of Burgundy and James I, King of Scotland (Lansdowne 204, f. 219v, l. 3426), in which their hearts are described as 'faynte and seke'. Recurrent references to sickness occur throughout the *Chronicle*, particularly the first version; notable examples occur on ff. 3r and 12v.

to emulate.³²⁹ As the people's physicians, knights like Umfraville are shown to be just as important as the king. Hardyng ascribes the sickness metaphor, previously associated with Henry VI, to members of the nobility and gentry in order to reaffirm the influence that they have over the fortunes of England, first mentioned in the opening dedication; thus, suggesting a link between king, subjects and kingdom.³³⁰ This anticipates the most climactic image in the epilogue: the disfigured and wounded body of England. Here Hardyng makes his challenging criticisms of Henry VI's regime, noting that the failure of the authorities to maintain order and justice in the shires has produced many unhealed sores on the body of England. Eventually, he states, if the king does not begin to resolve the minor injustices occurring in his kingdom, the culmination of the minor unhealed wounds will erupt into a large scab that even Henry, as the kingdom's physician, will be unable to heal.

For in your reme iustyse of pese bene none
 That darr ought now the contekours oppresse;
 Suche sekenesse now hath take thaym and accesse,
 Thay wyll nocht wytte of ryot, ne debate,
 So comon is it now in eche estate.

Bot thus I drede full sore, withouten gabbe,
 Of suche riottes shall ryse a more mescheve,
 And thugh the sores vnheled wyll brede a skabbe
 So grete that may nocht bene restreynt in breue.
 Wharfore, gode lorde, iff ye wyll gyffe me leue,
 I wolde say thus vnto your excellence,
 Withstonde the firste mysreule and violence.

[Lansdowne 204, ff. 221v-222r, ll. 3600-11]³³¹

Having provided examples of how a lack of chivalry and internal divisions and civil wars in England have ruined the kingdom, Hardyng has proved past events to be of consequence to fifteenth-century society. The image of England's impending sickness if the king fails to resolve the 'riottes' that permeate the shires works in conjunction with another fascinating image a stanza later to press home the state of civil discord under Henry VI. In a dangerously critical observation, Hardyng compares the law to a pair of Welshman's breeches that are fitted to the shape of the individual's leg. In other words, Hardyng is emphasising how easily English men subvert and adjust the law in order to suit their own needs:³³²

The lawe is lyke vnto a Walshmannes hose,

³²⁹ Helen Cooper has noted a similar tendency in romances written after 1400, wherein the exploits of the characters provide exemplary models of chivalric behaviour for the audience – members of the gentry and aristocracy – to emulate.

³³⁰ Lansdowne 204, f. 2v, ll. 9-11; compare also Hardyng's similar reference in the second version, Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 8v, ll. 276-80.

³³¹ Compare with image of the 'rancur with-owte remedy' in the poem composed in 1456 known as 'The Five Dogs of London' (Robbins 1959: 189-91, ll. 19-20).

³³² This image was a traditional one, used to convey the idea of malleability; Welshmen were supposedly renowned for turning their hose inside out instead of washing them. John Skelton later uses the same motif in his poems 'Collyn Clout' (l. 778-79) and 'Garlande or Chapelet of Laurell' (ll. 1238-39). I would like to express my gratitude to Professor John Scattergood for this information.

To eche mannes legge that shapen is and mete;
 So mayntenours subuerte it and transpose,
 Thurgh myght it is full low layde vndyre fete,
 And mayntnanse vp instede of law complete,
 All, if lawe wolde, thyng were by right reuersed,
 For mayntenours it may nocht bene rehersed.

[Lansdowne 204, f. 222r, ll. 3626-32]

Just as Arthur misplaces his trust in Mordred and loses his crown, it follows that Henry VI is in danger of sustaining the sorrows of his loyal subjects by continuing to condone the behaviour of the corrupt officials he has placed his trust in. The juxtaposition of this criticism with the chivalric portrait of Umfraville, which reads like that of an Arthurian knight, and the presence of Umfraville's illuminated shield in the margin (like those of previous kings in the history), emphasises that all members of the nobility have a comparable heritage of noble ancestors who have maintained the realm with their sovereign. As well as prompting the king to act upon the current problems facing his regime, Hardyng stimulates the interest of his readers to fulfill their divinely appointed role by keeping the peace and upholding the laws first established by Brutus. The message is clear: united a wise king and his proficient magnates can bring about the golden age of Arthur's court by acting as the realm's physicians. Divided they bring about its destruction by inflicting a metaphorical sickness on the kingdom. It is one of the king's many duties to ensure that this does not happen.

The King's Duty and Hardyng's Ideal: 'To haue it hole, no more to be dismembred'

Whilst some of the episodes Hardyng discusses are highlighted for the benefit of the king and his magnates to show their joint responsibility in maintaining the common weal, there are numerous episodes constructed to emphasise the king's sole responsibilities. The majority of these are concerned with him acting as chief justice for his subjects by providing fair arbitration in affairs where his magnates fail to agree or protect the common weal, listening to good advice, and reconquering the lost colonies pertaining to his ancient inheritance. The examples below illustrate how Hardyng presents all of these elements as indicative of good kingship, and how he highlights them for the benefit of the king.

In the account of Owain Glyn Dŵr's rebellion in the first version the familiar sickness motif is used to emphasise the necessity of the king arbitrating in magnate disputes and administering justice to those who deserve it. This is not, however, what Henry IV is shown to do when Glyn Dŵr petitions him to intercede in his dispute with Lord Grey of Ruthin. By failing to help the Welshman, and, later, failing to assist Edmund Mortimer to pay his ransom the king escalates the problems until 'all his reme gretely was contourbed' (f. 205r, l. 2191) and he is forced to take his troops into Wales to quell Glyn Dŵr's rebellion:

In so ferr forth the kyng to Wales went
 With hostes grete by dyuerse tymes thryse,
 Dstroyng so that was the prynces rent,
 That wysdome wolde by sad and gode advyse
 Haue pesed all withouten any suppryse,

Whan he his sore compleynde and his distresse,
 And went away in faute of rightwysnesse.
 [Lansdowne, 204, f. 205r, ll. 2192-98]³³³

The description of the magnate complaining about his 'sore' recalls the phrase from the prologue when Hardyng asks the king to give him his outstanding reward, and, like the previous examples, where rulers and knights, like Brutus, Galahad and Umfraville figuratively heal the ailments of the common man, links the concept of authority with the ability to ease distress. By not helping Glyn Dŵr and Mortimer Henry IV is at fault as a ruler, but the magnates are also at fault for rebelling against the king and causing further division within the realm. What is lacking in this episode, according to Hardyng, is the 'wysdome' that comes from 'sad and gode adyvsse'. The narrative suggests that a king will not always make the right choices, so it falls to his councillors to offer sound advice and guide him; by the same token, when no impartial advice is forthcoming, it is the king's duty to seek good counsel before making rash decisions that could affect the stability of the realm. The philosophy that king and magnates should work together occurs frequently, as has already been noted, and shortly after this episode the consequence of not adhering to this mutually beneficial ideal is repeated again in a similar context.³³⁴

During his description of the prelude to the Percies' rebellion in 1403 Hardyng uses a popular image of the time, the ship of state, to illustrate the disruptive influence that the conflict between Henry Percy and Henry IV had on the country.³³⁵

From thens forthwarde the kynge and he wer straunge,
 And ayther had of thaim grete hete till other,
 And lyke to turne in kalendes of a change,
 And ay in doute as shippe withouten rothere
 [Lansdowne 204, f. 205v]

The image of a ship without a rudder evokes a sense of inevitable trouble, for such a ship is destined to drift onto the rocks. Likewise, the phrase 'kalandes of a change', used earlier to note the shift in regimes when Brutus conquered and renamed the land Britain, signifies the unalterable passage of time and evokes a sense of fate: conflict between a powerful lord and the king is destined to result in trouble. The *Chronicle* shows that the king was right to assert his authority in order to maintain order, and that the Percies should have worked with the king to resolve their differences. When they rebel against royal authority in this version it is not in an attempt to place the Yorkist dynasty on the throne, but because they are rash and 'full of pryde' (f. 206r, l. 2303). The magnates that 'brake thair triste' with the Percies and 'durste nought come

³³³ The account of the rebellion in the second version also uses the sickness metaphor to emphasise the lack of justice from the king; Hardyng states that Mortimer 'No *remedy* gat' from the king (f. 157r, l. 1764 my emphasis).

³³⁴ The nationalistic call for unity is by no means unique to secular works like Hardyng's; it is ubiquitous in religious texts, such as sermons (Haines 1975: 156), which draw upon the warning that desolation will ensue when a kingdom is divided in Matthew 12: 25.

³³⁵ For a discussion of the ship of state image in medieval religious texts see Owst 1961: 67-76; Haines 1975: 145, 149-51. For examples in contemporary poetry see Robbins 1959: 102-06, 191-93; Gower's *Vox Clamantis*, I, ll. 1593-2078 (Macaulay 1899-1902: IV, 66-79); *Richard the Redeless*, IV, ll. 71-82 (Barr 1993: 133); William Worcester's *Boke of Noblesse* (Nichols 1860a: 58); and Scattergood 1971: 180.

[...] Bycause the kynge was knaw of thair entent' (f. 206r, ll. 2275-77) are therefore not mentioned with the same contempt as they are in the second version, but are said to abandon the Percies because they are unsettled by open rebellion against their sovereign and the king's knowledge of this.³³⁶ They are absolved from any overt blame or criticism because they respect the king's right to assert his authority. Henry Percy is also absolved from any significant blame by the chronicler because he is shown to be defending the rights of another magnate, Edmund Mortimer. It is his uncle, Sir Thomas Percy, who is attributed with causing 'the grete mys gouernayle' by lying to his nephew (f. 206r, l. 2301), the implication being that Hotspur and the king would have eventually resolved their differences amicably.³³⁷ Instead the incident results in a great number of people being slain 'on ayther syde' during battle (f. 206r, l. 2302). The death-bed confession attributed to Henry IV in this and the later version (possibly derived from Thomas Elmham's *Liber Metricus* in Wright 1859-61: II, 118-23) also suggests that the king made mistakes but tried to rule well and was acutely aware that his authority was maintained and supported by divine will,³³⁸ something that Henry VI is encouraged to think upon in the epilogue:

Consyder als, in this symple trefyse,
 How kynges kept nayther law ne pese,
 Went sone away in many dyuers wyse
 Withouten thanke of God at thayre decese,
 And noght were dred within ner out no lese,
 Bot in defaute of pese and law conserued,
 Distroyed wer, right as thay had deserued.
 [Lansdowne 204, f. 222r, ll. 3640-46]³³⁹

By alluding back to the kings who have been 'Distroyed' by God's wrath at the end of the history, Hardyng invites a general comparison between Henry VI and his predecessors: there can only be good and bad kings. The epilogue goes on to remind the king of the divine protection he received during his minority and of his distinction in being not only the youngest monarch to reign in England, but also the only monarch to be crowned king of England and France:

Consider als, most souereyn lorde and pryncce,
 In these cronycles that hath bene redde or seyne
 Was neuer no pryncce of Bretayns hole provynce
 So yonge as ye were wan ye gan to reyne;

³³⁶ Compare Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 158v, ll. 1856-62.

³³⁷ Hardyng also interprets the episode involving Hotspur's father, the earl of Northumberland, and Lord Bardolf in this light. Having been exiles in Wales, Scotland and abroad, Northumberland and Bardolf return to England with the aim of making peace with the king (and acknowledging his authority over them) but are killed as traitors by Thomas Rokeby and his men before they can make restitution (f. 207v, ll. 2388-2414).

³³⁸ This is a good example of one of the aspects of the *Chronicle* that Hardyng has revised only slightly to complement the new dynasty in the second version; the death-bed lamentation is reduced, but Hardyng's 'conceit' about the many attempts on the king's life remain, with only an accompanying gloss noting that the king's final 'complaynt' was 'noght of repentance of his vsurpment of the reme, ne of restorement of right heires to þe crowne' (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 162r, l. 2114 *gloss after*).

³³⁹ Identical stanzas also occur in the second version of the *Chronicle*; see Arch. Selden B. 10, ff. 179v, 180r.

And thonkes hym, that was so your wardeyne,
 Aboue all thyng that is omnipotent,
 That keped yowe whils ye were innocent.

Consyder als, he that the dyademe
 Of remes two, of Englund and of Fraunce,
 Vpon youre hede bene sette, as dyd wele seme,
 In tendre age suffred withoute distaunce
 Thurgh pese and lawe and all gode gouernaunce,
 Whiche if ye kepe, ye shall haue vycory
 Shall none gaynstonde your noble monarchy.

Lansdowne 204, f. 222v, ll. 3647-60]

The *Chronicle* has already drawn considerable attention to the fact that Edward III was the ‘first [...] of Englysshe nacioun’ (f. 195v, ll. 1457-58) to hold the throne of France, by providing not only an account of how this came about but also by including a visual representation of the common ancestry and inheritance of Edward and Henry VI in the form of the beautiful illuminated Pedigree of France, but at this point, upon reading Hardyng’s seemingly innocent request that the king ‘consider’ how young he was when he began to rule and how God protected his rights in France, which need to be upheld, the audience would undoubtedly recall the connection with Edward III. There is, nevertheless, an even subtler correlation between the two monarchs that Hardyng’s request invites the audience to notice. His acknowledgement that Henry, like Edward, ascended the throne at an early age, is accompanied by a description of God as Henry’s ‘wardeyne’, a word which recalls the noble governors and councillors who helped to govern the kingdom during the king’s long minority, and implies that he was in need of guidance from wiser governors.³⁴⁰ The address subtly reminds the reader of the problems that can arise from having a young and impressionable monarch. In previous reigns dealing with minorities the *Chronicle* follows a pattern, whereby Hardyng equates the formative years of a young king with the potential to do either good or bad.³⁴¹ Earlier, Hardyng attributed the inadequacies of Edward III’s reign to the bad counsel of his mother, Queen Isabella, and her lover, Roger Mortimer, who unwisely told the young king to renounce his claim to Scotland and surrender his ancient inheritance, something he regrets deeply later on. This episode implies that a monarch can only be an effective ruler if he avoids the self-serving advice offered by unsuitable councillors and upholds the common weal of his country, which includes maintaining his suzerainty over other realms.³⁴²

In order to offset the current divisions within England and to reunite the land and its people, the epilogue suggests that, like Edward III, Henry must take responsibility for, and avoid, the bad counsel of the influential members of the community who are currently oppressing the common weal and pursuing their own personal profit:

³⁴⁰ See Lansdowne 204, ff. 185r, 186r, 195v, 217v, 219v, 222v.

³⁴¹ Compare also the second version, where Hardyng equates the education of the young earl of March with the potential to produce a sound young man or a corrupt one (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 79r) discussed below.

³⁴² For Hardyng’s condemnation of Isabella and Mortimer see Lansdowne 204, ff. 186r-187r, ll. 631-37, 645-58, 670-75, 687-721 and Arch. Selden B. 10, ff. 139v-141r, ll. 554-67, 594-616, 627-44. Also worthy of note is the *Chronicle*’s attention to the inequities of Richard II’s reign, another sovereign who ascended the throne as a minor.

Wharfor to yow, moste souereyn prynce and lorde,
 It sytteth wele that poynte to execute,
 The comon wele and verry hool concorde,
 That none ouerrenne your comons, ne rebute,
 And kepe your lawe as it is constytute,
 And chastyse hem that market-dassehers bene
 In euery shir, that now of new er sene.

[Lansdowne 204, f. 221v, ll. 3584-90]

Interestingly, the dependency of territorial expansion on internal peace within a kingdom, as suggested by the rest of the epilogue and by the image of the king uniting the divided flock at the very end of the text, also occurs in the account of Richard II's reign in this version. Bolingbroke's rebellion in England is juxtaposed in the same stanza with Richard's attempt to further his territorial power with the conquest of Ireland. Hardyng confidently suggests that Richard would have succeeded in subjugating the Irish if the English people had been united behind him, but because of his oppressive regime they were not:

Than went he to Irelande with grete powere [...]
 For whiche he thought thaim fully to conquerr,
 And so he had, if Englonde had bene trewe,
 That chaunged sone and toke a purpose newe.

[Lansdowne 204, f. 201v, ll. 1919-25]

Any attempt by a king to further his territorial acquisitions is shown to be beneficial only when his subjects are united behind his campaign and his current realm is in order. Hereby the concept of a prosperous kingdom becomes synonymous with the contentment of the king's subjects *and* the king's ability to judge when territorial expansion is conducive to the common weal. Again, this is inherent in Hardyng's final warning to Henry VI to uphold the peace and chastise those who break it on peril of incurring God's wrath and losing his kingdom.³⁴³

Wythstonde, gode lorde, begynnyng of debate,
 And chastyse well also the ryotours
 That in eche shire bene now consociate
 Agayn youre pese, and all thair maynetenours.
 For treuly els wyll fall the fayrest flours
 Of your coroune and noble monarchy,
 Whiche God defende and kepe thurgh his mercy [...]

Bot iff your reme stonde hole in vnyte
 Conserued wele in pese and equyte [...]

³⁴³ Similar sentiments occur throughout both versions of the *Chronicle*; see, for example, the treatment of Henry IV's campaign into Scotland in the second version, during which the king takes both wardens of the Marches with him, leaving Bamburghshire unprotected; defenceless, the borders are raided by the Scots (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 157r, ll. 1751-57; Ellis: 1812 358). This viewpoint is analogous to that in other fifteenth-century texts of a political nature such as *Mum and the Soothsegger*, ll. 1457-68 (Barr 1993: 190).

Than may ye wele and saufly with baner
 Ryde into Fraunce or Scotlonde for your right,
 Whils your rereward in Englund stondyth clere
 [Lansdowne 204, f. 222r-v, ll. 3612-70]

The warning echoes earlier examples of kings such as Richard II and Edward II who were deposed, through divine providence, for their appalling governance, whilst insinuating that Henry VI can achieve the glory of previous monarchs, such as Edward I, Edward III and Henry V, who reconquered lost regions with their subjects' support and admiration. Again the link with Henry VI's father is reiterated once more at the very end of the epilogue, as Hardyng repeats the details of his Scottish mission initially given in the prologue. The necessity of the king asserting his royal authority to bring stability to the realm is also highlighted, as before, with the account of Cardinal Kemp's interference. These are not, however, the only comparisons Hardyng invites between the king and his father. After the author's classicised description of Henry V's death, which refers to the Fates weaving and cutting the threads of man's life, the late king is praised and the current lack of justice in England is condemned.³⁴⁴ The 'compleynt', similar to the author's eulogy of Robert Umfraville, serves to celebrate Henry V's military prowess and just governance, and calls attention to the troublesome shires and overmighty magnates who oppress the common man and abuse their position within society. Hardyng suggests the same course of action prescribed in previous interjections and in the epilogue, but adds that another method of controlling and limiting the influence of such men, without offending or legally chastising them, would be to send them to France to uphold English hegemony over Normandy and France at large:

And at the leeste ye may sende hem ouer se
 To kepe your right in Fraunce and Normandy,
 Thayr hiegh corage to spende and iolyte
 In sauynge of your noble regaly;
 For better is ther thair manly vycory,
 Than her eche day with grete malyvolence
 Make neyghbours werr with myghty violence.
 [Lansdowne 204, f. 217r, ll. 3220-06]

Hardyng's verses voice what a substantial number of the gentry and aristocracy may have still felt at the time, and what William Worcester argues in his *Boke of Noblesse*: that Henry's hereditary claims in France were still worth pursuing.

The epilogue ends by linking the image of the realm's ailing and dismembered body to the author's own disabled frame, as Hardyng reminds the king once again of the physical and financial wounds he incurred during royal service: 'For my labour amonges his enmyse,/ And costage grete, with sore corporall mayme,/ Whiche I may neuer recouer, ne reclayme' (Lansdowne 204, f. 222v, ll. 3686-88). In effect Hardyng's financial sickness, resulting from an alleged lack of reward, becomes a microcosm of society; dispensing justice to individual subjects is shown to be just as important as, and indeed the first step towards, dispensing justice to the whole of

³⁴⁴ Again, Chaucer's *Troilus* (V, 3-7) may have influenced Hardyng's classical conceit.

England.³⁴⁵ If the king can recognise the injustice done to the chronicler, in the form of his outstanding reward, it follows that he will be able to recognise, and begin to resolve, the injustices rife in England, detailed by Hardyng so pointedly throughout the *Chronicle*. Ending the history at 1437 leaves the reign of Henry VI open, almost like a blank page on which anything may be written. Henry can live out the rest of his reign following in his father's footsteps or, Hardyng suggests, he can be remembered as an ineffectual ruler who allowed his kingdom to be overcome by the civil discord and injustice witnessed in the reigns of earlier kings in the *Chronicle* such as Richard II. It is unfortunate for Henry that he came to be remembered as the latter, but nevertheless, Hardyng's work shows that even in 1457 his subjects still entertained the belief that the king could turn the fortunes of England around.

A Question of Patronage

One final matter necessitates brief consideration before any final conclusions can be made regarding this recension: whether or not it was solely Hardyng's idea to compose the *Chronicle*, or whether someone else shared his sentiments and encouraged, and financed, its production. As previously mentioned, it is likely that Hardyng chose to write the work in response to his own experiences and the general concerns about corrupt governance expressed at large in England during the 1450s. The existence of Lansdowne 204, a luxurious manuscript by any account, suggests that Hardyng was either sufficiently affluent to pay for the production of the manuscript himself, or that it was funded by his collaboration with a wealthy patron. It is difficult, and perhaps futile, to dwell too much on this topic, as ultimately there is no conclusive evidence either way; nevertheless, there is a particular group who seem to fit the profile of being able to support Hardyng's composition, and are worth brief consideration, since they are ultimately beneficial to our understanding of Hardyng's potential connections at the time; the discussion that follows also provides an indication of the kind of people whose readership Hardyng may have intended to gain for the first version of his *Chronicle*.

The first candidate to attract attention with regards to showing a possible interest in the sentiments promoted by Hardyng's work was Lincolnshire's most powerful magnate. In the 1440s Ralph, Lord Cromwell, built a spectacular new residence at Tattershall, only a few miles from Kyme, and it is likely that Hardyng may have known Cromwell from as early as 1415, when both men served as esquires at Agincourt. There are several complimentary references to Cromwell and his good governance in the *Chronicle*, and given Hardyng's association with influential figures such as the Umfravilles, Percies, Beauforts, Bedford, and Alnwick, and his own position as constable of Kyme, it is inevitable that Hardyng knew Cromwell.³⁴⁶ Cromwell was Treasurer at the time of Hardyng's petition in 1440 and if he were not personally present when Hardyng delivered the documents to the Treasury, he would at least have had access to them and knowledge of Hardyng's mission in the same way that

³⁴⁵ Of relevance here is Elizabeth Porter's consideration of Gower's use of microcosm and macrocosm (1983).

³⁴⁶ For references to Cromwell in the first version see Lansdowne 204, ff. 213v, l. 2931; 215v, l. 3072 *gloss after*; 218r, ll. 3278 (this reference in particular was written before Cromwell's death in 1456, as Hardyng refers to him in the present tense), 3285; 213v, ll. 2925 *gloss after*, and 2931. Cromwell's early career is discussed in Friedrichs 1974. Cromwell's will is printed in Raine 1855: 196-200; unfortunately, but not unsurprisingly, there are no references to Hardyng.

John Talbot did seventeen years later. Cromwell's involvement in the dispute between William Tailboys and John Dymoke in 1448, and its later escalation into a bitter rivalry between Tailboys and himself, provides a good example of why he might wish to endorse the sentiments and complaints featured in the *Chronicle*. Hardyng would surely have known and disapproved of Tailboys's efforts to slander the 'worthy' councillor through 'divers billes and letteres to þe nombre of xxxxi and moo' made at Kyme in 1450 by two of Tailboys's servants, John Stanes and John Millom;³⁴⁷ and he may have offered to highlight the iniquitous behaviour in the shires on Cromwell's behalf. It is fitting that the *Chronicle* expresses apprehension about the management of the kingdom at the very time Cromwell became disillusioned with the workings of England's government; however, all things considered, Hardyng's invective against Kemp, a long-term associate of Cromwell, the absence of any heraldic devices relating to Cromwell within the manuscript, and the lack of an extended account of his exemplary qualities, as in the case of Umfraville, make it highly improbable that Cromwell was anything more than one of the local magnates amongst whom Hardyng envisaged a limited circulation for his *Chronicle*.³⁴⁸

Conversely, there is reason to believe that the Augustinian canons at Kyme, or a well-placed individual within the Augustinian order, did support Hardyng's composition, even if only in the simplest sense of providing him with facilities with

³⁴⁷ Virgoe 1973: 478. Virgoe's article on the Tailboys/Cromwell affair includes an edition of the confession of John Stanes and John Millom, extant in PRO Chancery Miscellanea C 47/7/8, which mentions the composition of 'alle þe billes' that they 'made in ryme', and from which the quotations above are taken. It is interesting that Hardyng too chose to write in rhyme given the critical nature of his work (for a discussion of political poems at this time see Scattergood 1971).

³⁴⁸ Initially I also considered the possibility that Bishops Alnwick, Lumley and Bekyngton may have encouraged Hardyng to compile the work. William Alnwick's long history of royal service under both Henry V and his son, his northern origins and association with Beaufort, Bedford, the Percies and Umfraville, and his position as bishop of Lincoln during a period of increasing lawlessness and unrest, make him an ideal candidate; however, his death in December 1449 would only allow for his encouragement of Hardyng's composition, not his continued patronage until its completion. Similarly, Marmaduke Lumley's northern origins and connections make him a sympathetic candidate to the *Chronicle*'s anti-Scottish sentiments. His familial connections with the Beauforts, Nevilles and Percies and his office as bishop of Carlisle (1430-50) ensured that Lumley understood the difficulties of life in the border regions, and was sensitive towards the northern magnates, so much so in fact that he undertook the commission of Warden of the West March at a reduced fee in 1435 to 1443. In 1434, the year of Hardyng's alleged second mission, Lumley was involved in peace negotiations with Scotland, and in 1450 he was translated to the bishopric of Lincoln. Like Alnwick, his death in December of the same year means that he could only have inspired Hardyng's work in its initial stages, but his appointment as Treasurer (1447-49), meant that he was familiar with the difficulties the Lancastrian government faced in the late 1440s, and the recent conjecture that he may have 'deplored the consequences of current [governmental] policy' in 1449 (Griffiths 1998: 287) is interesting in relation to Hardyng's work. Thomas Bekyngton (d. 1465), secretary by 1437 and in 1440, keeper of the privy seal, and bishop of Bath and Wells from 1443, was exceptionally well placed in the government, and enjoyed the patronage of Cardinal Beaufort early in his career. Like Bishop Lowe he was a dedicated collector of books and advocate of education; he wrote a propagandist tract concerning Henry VI's right to rule France and has been put forward as a probable author of the *Tractatus De Regimine Principum Ad Regem Henricum Sextum* (see Griffiths 1998: 265 and Genet 1977). He is listed in the Patent Rolls as one of the men who confirmed the conditions of Hardyng's £10 grant from Willoughton in 1440/41 (*CPR: Henry VI, 1436-1441*, p. 557, m. 18, 31 July), and had links with Cromwell in 1446 when both men were appointed to investigate alleged incidents of corruption (Griffiths 1998: 506). Beckyngton was, however, a staunch supporter of Henry VI and it is unlikely that he would have associated with the production of a work so obviously critical of the king's governance. For Beckyngton see Judd 1961.

which to complete his work. The Augustinian order as a whole was known for its appreciation of education and learning, and a notable number of Augustinian authors produced works of merit, including chronicles, prophetic discourses and translations of classical texts, as well as hagiographical and religious works.³⁴⁹ The frequent composition of new works by authors attached to religious houses is just one of the many ways in which the mutually beneficial relationship between patron and foundation was cultivated: a wealthy patron might increase his own status or pursue his own personal objectives by commissioning a work advocating a particular political stance, and equally, an author's order might benefit further from the munificence of a patron after dedicating a new work to him or members of his family. Correspondingly, Kathleen Scott, citing Capgrave as an example, has highlighted the 'good political reasons' for an author's house 'to undertake the composition of an illustrated dedication copy' for a person of importance (1996: 32).³⁵⁰ If the canons of Kyme supported Hardyng's work, it may have been in an attempt to commemorate their former patron, Sir Robert Umfraville. Saint Augustine is undoubtedly important to Hardyng since he incorporates a lengthy account of his arrival, and deeds, in

³⁴⁹ See for example the works of William of Newburgh, Walter of Guisborough, Henry Knighton, Thomas Elmham, John Mirk, John Walton, and the Scottish chroniclers Andrew of Wyntoun and Walter Bower. The preponderance of historical works is particularly notable amongst these authors. John Gower, author of the *Cronica Tripertita*, a source used by Hardyng for the reign of Richard II, also had connections with the Augustinians during his time as a tenant at the priory at St Mary Overy, Southwark. After writing up my conclusions with regards to Hardyng and the Augustinian connection at Kyme I was alerted to Ralph Hanna's provisional study of the relationship between the Augustinian Canons and Middle English Literature. Hanna comes to similar conclusions regarding the importance of 'the large vernacular literary involvement' of the order and calls attention to all of the authors mentioned above except Elmham. He similarly calls attention to the fact that the poet John Audelay was 'put out to grass in his blind old age to serve a L'Estrange family chantry in Haghmond priory (Shropshire)', a house of Augustinian canons, to whom he commended a volume of his poems (Hanna 2000: 33); likewise, Hanna also highlights the association of John Shirley (1366-1456), whom he describes as 'an Augustinian hanger-on', with the Augustinians at St Bartholomew's, Smithfield, London (Hanna 2000: 33-34). Reference is briefly made to Hardyng's association with Kyme as Hanna concludes that 'Hardyng's reliance on Latin history of a sort likely to be found in an Augustinian house suggests possible links between order and author' (2000: 35). Attention should perhaps also be drawn to those authors belonging to the separate order of Austin Friars, such as Osbern Bokenham and John Capgrave, as convincing connections have been presented in favour of the friars' involvement 'in the dissemination and perhaps also the copying' of vernacular works such as Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (Stubbs 2001: 17).

³⁵⁰ The topic of literary patronage in the late Middle Ages is an exhaustive subject in itself and, regrettably, too complex for anything other than cursory consideration here; however, the following examples are of relevance to this study of Hardyng, either because of the connection of the author to the Augustinian order, or because they involve members of the royal family and authors contemporary with Hardyng. John Walton's verse translation of Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae* was commissioned by Elizabeth Berkeley, daughter of Sir Thomas Berkeley (1352-1417) in 1410, and Walton has similarly been suggested as the translator of Vegetius's *De Re Militari*, commissioned by Sir Thomas in 1408 (see Science 1927: xlvi-xlix and Lester 1988: 23-28). John Capgrave dedicated his *De Illustribus Henricis* to Henry VI in his *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles* to Edward IV, and his biblical commentaries to Humphrey, duke of Gloucester; whilst Osbern Bokenham dedicated his *Legendys of Hooly Wummen* to Isabel Bouchier, wife of Henry Bouchier and sister to Richard, duke of York, patron of the Augustinian house at Clare. It is also likely that Bokenham was responsible for the translation of Claudian's *De Consulatu Stilichonis* made at Clare in 1445 and dedicated to Richard, duke of York (see Delany 1996 and 1998). For other discussions of the translation of *De Consulatu Stilichonis* see Watts 1990 and Edwards 2001. Susan Saygin's recent study on Humphrey, duke of Gloucester (2002) similarly highlights the duke's use of Lydgate as an early propagandist for the Lancastrian dynasty.

England into both versions of the *Chronicle*, and it may be that the eulogy on Umfraville at the end of the first version of the *Chronicle* was intended to be a celebratory memorial to the man and family who patronised both Hardyng and the priory; the Umfraville arms are one of only a select few to occur in the margins of the *Chronicle*, and, given the penchant medieval magnates had for having heraldic decorations within their households and manuscripts, the inclusion of the arms would appear to have been a fitting way to commemorate Umfraville.³⁵¹ This scenario would likewise account for the *Chronicle*'s failure to refer to specific events, such as the Tailboys and Cromwell rivalry, or the downfall of Suffolk; Tailboys inherited the Kyme estates upon Umfraville's death, and the family became patrons of the priory, William Tailboys was also one of Suffolk's men and benefited from his protection, so to cite examples of the lawless behaviour witnessed by Hardyng in Lincolnshire would have been to implicate the priory's current patron. Interestingly, at the end of the second version William Tailboys is referred to as one of the 'euyl captayns' (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 176v, l. 3146) who fled to Scotland with Queen Margaret after the battle of Towton (March 1461). At this time it would not have mattered how the *Chronicle* depicted the priory's former patron, as Tailboys had been attainted for treason and his South Kyme estates became forfeit to Edward IV.³⁵²

In addition, an important political and Augustinian figure such as Bishop John Lowe would have had a vested interest in seeing a work such as Hardyng's *Chronicle* produced. Lowe was renowned for his scholarly and humanistic pursuits and owned a significant library, including historical works such as Higden's *Policronicon*.³⁵³ John Capgrave, Augustinian friar at Lynn, dedicated his *Corona Super Libros Regum* to him and Lowe encouraged John Bury, Augustinian friar at Clare to write his *Gladius Salomonis* in answer to Bishop Peacock's *Repressor of Overmuch Learning*.³⁵⁴ The bishop himself has been posited as the author of the Latin political tract on the rule of

³⁵¹ Kyme castle itself, one of the Umfraville's many homes, is a good example of the importance medieval magnates attached to heraldry. The ceiling of the ground floor room in the remaining tower is decorated with a carved representation of the Umfraville shield and remaining traces of paint show that it was once emblazoned with the relevant colours; likewise, although the windows of the castle are no longer extant there is a sixteenth-century pictorial representation of the coats of arms that once adorned the windows in Additional MS 17506, f. 6r. As one would expect, the arms show the Umfraville's familial and local connections. Ralph Cromwell's castle at Tattershall is a good local example of the extravagant lengths that some magnates went to show off their status and lineage through their homes. Likewise, Carol Meale's recent study of the heraldic devices in Digby 185 provides a lucid and engaging account of how book ownership and politics intermingle in the Middle Ages, and her conclusions are relevant here (see Meale 2000).

³⁵² The estates were later restored to Tailboys's heir, Sir Robert Tailboys, in 1472 when the attainder was reversed; however, Hardyng did not live to witness this, and the second version of his *Chronicle*, although unfinished, was undoubtedly already in circulation.

³⁵³ For Lowe's manuscripts see Emden 1957: II, 1168-69; he donated his *Policronicon* to the Austin friars of London in 1436 (now Trinity College MS 486, see Abbott 1900: 72).

³⁵⁴ Emden 1957: II, 1168. Capgrave's commentary on the Book of Kings was presumably written and dedicated to Lowe between 1433 and 1437, since Capgrave refers to his dedication to Lowe in the preface to his commentary on Genesis (1437) and cites him as Bishop of St Asaph; the commentary no longer survives (see Lucas 1983: xx). A modest presentation of Bury's work with a dedicatory preface to Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, is extant in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 108. The manuscript has been dated to c. 1457-60 by Kathleen Scott, who links the border illumination to a group of manuscripts decorated in Eastern England (Scott 2002: 84-87). The decoration, although not by the same artists as those working on Lansdowne 204, is therefore in the same style.

princes, *Tractatus De Regimine Principum Ad Regem Henricum Sextum*.³⁵⁵ He was a councillor from 1445 onwards, and previously to this had distinguished himself in positions of importance such as King's confessor, foreign ambassador, prior provincial of the Augustinian order in England (1427-33), and as bishop of St Asaph (1433-44); additionally, as a distinguished court preacher he had first-hand experience of the workings of government. Lowe had connections with Lincolnshire at the beginning of the fifteenth century when he was at a convent there (Emden 1957: II, 1168), and he retained at least one connection with the county through a colleague who resided at the college there.³⁵⁶ Although these are only tentative links to Hardyng and the region in which he resided, a firmer connection between the two men, aside from this and the Augustinian connection can be made. Lowe was one of the men responsible for confirming the terms of Hardyng's grant in 1440/41, and his name occurs in the agreement recorded in the Patent Rolls.³⁵⁷

The Augustinian link would further serve us with an explanation as to why Hardyng revised the *Chronicle* for Richard, duke of York, and his son, for in the late fifteenth century the English Augustinians allegedly had a propensity for being pro-Yorkist.³⁵⁸ The *Chronicle* embodies many of the sentiments levelled at the court by the general public and the Yorkist lords in the 1450s. Once again, Bishop Lowe provides a good example of someone in authority who proved to be sympathetic to the complaints of the Yorkist lords and who sided with Warwick's party in 1460; Lowe's death in 1467 similarly means that he could have encouraged Hardyng's revision until the chronicler's death (c. 1465). Lansdowne 204 would sustain the argument of Augustinian backing behind the *Chronicle* confidently, since the absence of contemporary heraldic devices other than the Umfraville arms would not matter in the same sense that it would if a secular patron such as Cromwell were financing its production.³⁵⁹ Likewise, Augustinians may have helped with the production costs of the manuscript because the priory would have had access to certain materials such as parchment, and would surely have had connections with scriptoria at other religious houses, like, for example, the Austin friary at Lynn, or one of the many houses in the Witham Valley, Lincolnshire.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁵ Griffiths 1998: 239-40, 265. The tract occurs in Cotton MS Cleopatra A. xiii, ff. 4r-135v. For an edition see Genet 1977: 40-173.

³⁵⁶ This colleague, almost certainly a relative, also named John Lowe, was later one of Bishop Lowe's executors (Emden 1957: II, 1169).

³⁵⁷ See *John Hardyng's Life*.

³⁵⁸ See the comments of Delany 1998: 68, 130; and Roth 1966: 108. Osborn Bokenham was producing pro-Yorkist texts in the late 1440s at the most prominent of all the Augustinian houses under Yorkist patronage, the friary at Clare. Delany has noted that Hardyng's patron, Sir Robert Umfraville, 'seems to have had a wavering loyalty to the new [Lancastrian] dynasty, for he was allegedly considered to be a possible partner in the 1415 Southampton plot against Henry V', and that 'it is hazardous to assert that Hardyng was ever "Lancastrian" in any other than the shallowest, most empirical, or opportunistic sense. Insofar as any more thoughtful loyalty emerges from his text, it appears to be Yorkist' (Delany 1998: 157). This assumption, however, disregards the fact that at the time of the composition of the first version the rivalry between York and the court faction had not yet escalated into a dynastic quarrel for the throne. Likewise, the sentiments in the first version concerning the dangers of bad governance and division are repeated again in Hardyng's supposedly 'Yorkist' revision.

³⁵⁹ Capgrave's dedicatees may perhaps provide additional examples of lesser, but nevertheless important, figures who attracted the attention of authors; see, for example, Capgrave's *Concordia* (c. 1442) dedicated to John Watford (d. 1445), abbot of the Augustinian Canons of St James, Northampton (Lucas 1995: 235).

³⁶⁰ Such co-operation between the scriptoria of the larger Augustinian foundations would similarly account for the swift dissemination of works by Austin authors within the religious community.

The First Version: Conclusion

To conclude then, rather than referring to his Scottish mission in the first version out of frustration at not being rewarded, Hardyng cites his current feelings of disappointment in order effectively to present himself as a microcosm of society at large. The petitionary stance allows him to establish his authority as a reliable source and depict himself as one of many people in England who feel that Henry's government has failed them. The ever-present invocation to bring Scotland under English control is not cited to promote Henry VI as the legitimate king of all Britain – of that Hardyng expresses no doubt – but primarily to demonstrate how division within a kingdom, particularly late fifteenth-century England, is unprofitable for both the king and his people.

In response to his own encounter with a lord who used his influence with Henry VI to prevent Hardyng from receiving what he felt to be his lawful reward, and in response to the numerous instances of civil division and disillusionment within the kingdom in the 1450s which prompted political debate about the nature of authority and good counsel, Hardyng compiled his history of Britain to promote the traditional medieval values embodied in the political discourses belonging to this period and in romance and chivalric works at large. Similarities between Hardyng and his contemporary William Worcester, who was compiling his *Boke of Noblesse* at the same time as the *Chronicle* was being written, are especially striking and show a greater cohesion of interest and principles amongst the literature and political discourses produced in the twilight years of Henry VI's government than has previously been acknowledged. Both writers emphasise the necessity of maintaining the inheritance of one's ancestors, which in the case of the English monarch included sovereignty over Scotland and France, particularly Normandy, and both stress the importance of a king taking good advice from selfless councillors, maintaining justice within his realm, and rewarding his loyal subjects. The rank and position within medieval society that Worcester and Hardyng had as assistants to important political figures of the time, ensured that their 'bokes' reflected the reading tastes of the men whom they foresaw as their intended audience: men like themselves and their late masters, who had witnessed, and played an integral part in building the English empire under Henry V only to see it lost again under his son. Worcester's work and

Hardyng appears to be using a copy of John Walton's translation of Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae* within a few years of its composition (see above), and Osbern Bokenham had access to Capgrave's *Life of St Katherine* shortly after its composition, as he describes it as 'newly compylyd' in his version of the saint's life (written c. 1445) belonging to the *Legendys of Hooly Wummen* (see Lucas 1983: xxi). That Hardyng also recieved support for his revision from the Augustinian order with whom he was residing is very likely; the canons' connections with Augustinian houses in the south may similarly help to explain how Hardyng's text was being copied in the metropolis so soon after his death. However, Felicity Riddy's proposal that Sir Thomas Burgh, sheriff of Lincoln from November 1460, may have been responsible for the revision and dissemination of the second version also necessitates consideration. Burgh's familial connections with the Percies make him an interesting candidate as the earl of Northumberland himself is not likely to have been involved with the revision, for he supported Henry VI in 1460; nevertheless, it is difficult to determine whether the increased emphasis on the Percies' exploits in this version are attributable solely to Hardyng, because they were his former patrons and he wished for the earl of Northumberland to be reconciled with Edward IV, or because Hardyng received some form of encouragement to heighten their role in fifteenth-century history by the same person responsible for encouraging the revision. What is certain is that two manuscripts of the second version, apparently the least textually corrupt of the surviving copies, were owned by the Percies (see **The Relationships of the Manuscripts**).

the documents accompanying it in support of English hegemony over Normandy confirm that Hardyng was not, as some critics have maintained, appending documents to the end of his *Chronicle* to dress up or support his petition for reward, but because it was expected that as a reliable author he would provide tangible and reliable evidence to legitimise the claims made within his text.

The reoccurrence of the aforementioned themes within the first version of the *Chronicle* help to focus the audience's attention on the consequences of weak authority and division within a realm and allow Hardyng to offer advice on how to remedy the current difficulties, just as Worcester does with his numerous allusions to classical examples of good and bad rulers. In the *Chronicle* the countless reigns of previous monarchs emphasise the need for active royal authority and each subject's adherence to the natural hierarchical order of medieval society. Although it falls to the king, at the top of this hierarchy, to assert his authority, protect the common weal and resolve debates amongst his magnates, the chronicler shows that the magnates and members of the gentry must use their privileged status to protect and help maintain justice in the localities. The recurrent warnings against civil division and the inversion of the natural medieval world order relate to the apocalyptic biblical visions of misrule which were familiar to all levels of society (through various media such as the communal mystery cycles or the popular prophetic and political discourses in circulation in the late fifteenth century), as well as to a more general literary framework of reference found in the romance and chronicle works owned and borrowed by members of the higher echelons of society.

Like Worcester's use of the past to comment on the present, Thomas Malory's response to current affairs in his Arthurian epic or Thomas Hoccleve's response to the political language and discourses of the early fifteenth century through his self-referential narrative, Hardyng blends history with romance, romance with politics, and politics with autobiography to produce a work that is infused with traditional images and ideals, but utterly contemporary and appropriate to the time in which it was composed: this period of composition was almost certainly after 1451.

The Transitional Years

It is impossible to tell how Henry VI reacted to Hardyng's *Chronicle*; the fact that the chronicler was rewarded with an annuity does not, unfortunately, prove that the king was personally pleased with the work or that he even read it. One event in the immediate aftermath of Hardyng's presentation is, nevertheless, appropriate to our understanding of the kind of reception the *Chronicle* might have received in court circles. It is similarly worthy of mention with regards to the obscure interim period between Hardyng's completion of the first version at the end of 1457 and the final months of 1460, when the composition of the second version for Richard, duke of York, was underway.

In March 1458 the infamous 'Love Day', or reconciliation between the king and York, took place. Several chroniclers, one of whom was Abbot John Whethamstede, called particular attention to the king's part in instigating the Love Day.³⁶¹ Whethamstede's account mentions that the king was inspired to seek unity within his realm and peace with his magnates, after reading several books of advice and Scripture offering instruction in noble governance:

³⁶¹ See the *London Chronicle* in Rawlinson B. 355 (f. 113r; see Flenley 1911: 112); and the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 77).

Anno etiam isto, anno, videlicet, Regis Henrici Sexti vicesimo sexto, dum sederet ipse Rex secum solus, legeretque in libris, ac revolveret saepius in Scripturis, quomodo quod rubigo in ferro, aerugo in panno, cancer in membro, oestrum in armento, in grege ulcus pestilens, in plebe vero virus intoxicans et intabescens, hoc discordia, sive divisio, fertur esse inter proceres, et inter hos praescipue qui generis sunt ejusdem, de eademque regione (Riley 1872-73: I, 295)³⁶²

Regrettably there is no way of knowing whether Hardyng's *Chronicle* was one of the items read and absorbed by the king at this time, or even if the comment has any basis in fact, but the reference does highlight the importance Hardyng's contemporaries attached to the notion of supplying 'good advice' to a sovereign. In this case, the sound governance embodied in, and prescribed by, the books of advice allegedly read by Henry is appropriated by the abbot for propagandist purposes in order to present the king as peace loving, merciful, and appreciative of good counsel. The act of offering and receiving advice, whether it was a real or fictional event, automatically associates the king with the qualities of prudence and wisdom in works belonging to the 'Mirrors for Princes' tradition.³⁶³

Intriguingly, the *English Chronicle* and the *London Chronicle* in Rawlinson B. 355, both written after the accession of Edward IV and therefore having a distinct bias towards the Yorkist dynasty, also ascribe the desire for reconciliation in 1458 to Henry VI. Since Yorkist propaganda after 1460 tended to emphasise the incompetence and illegitimacy of Henry's regime, it is likely that the accounts of the Love Day in these chronicles are derived from early sources originating in the late 1450s when the impetus of the partisan accounts focussed on the competency of the king and the abuses of his unsavoury counsellors. Thus the favourable portrait of Henry VI in the aforementioned chronicles almost certainly reflected the way in which the king was being presented in propaganda belonging to the 1450s.³⁶⁴ Thus it would seem that the depiction of Henry VI in these chronicles, like Hardyng's *Chronicle*, fits with the way in which Yorkist propaganda before 1460 presented him as a capable sovereign in need of guidance in order to avoid the wiles of his corrupt councillors. Hardyng's *Chronicle* breaches the gap between the type of polemical discourse issued in favour of the court party, and that of the Yorkist lords. It accentuates the necessity of maintaining and rewarding loyal subjects for the good of the common weal, just as the Yorkist bills and letters belonging to the 1450s did, but Hardyng concurrently manages to distance his work from an overtly partisan tone by reiterating the responsibility the king's subjects have to act according to their own social status, and help the king uphold the common weal, in the same way as the bills issued by the court faction in the same decade did.

Hardyng's presentation of the first version of the *Chronicle* at a time when the issue of good and bad counsel was at the forefront of political debate underscores the

³⁶² Whethamstede later makes reference to the king consulting numerous accounts of noble deeds in Vegetius's *De Re Militari* before the battle of Blore Heath (September 1459); see Riley 1872-73: I, 338.

³⁶³ Derek Pearsall (1994) has also addressed this issue in relation to the works of Thomas Hoccleve.

³⁶⁴ Compare also with the brief account in Benet's *Chronicle* (Harriss and Harriss 1972: 221). Kelly (1970) has discussed the way in which texts revised in favour of the new dynasty often retain incongruities resulting from the author's failure to revise the entire narrative in favour of the new circumstances (Hardyng himself is no exception to this).

polemical immediacy of the history and the probability that Hardyng compiled the history in response to his own experience of the king's bad councillors, the injustices he witnessed in his locality, and the hostilities he was surely informed about of national importance, as opposed to merely writing the work as a speculative venture to attain financial reward. Ralph Griffiths has focussed on the way in which the Lancastrian dynasty needed to be fortified at this time and how it is impractical to think that Henry's councillors would not recognise the value of propaganda in the difficult decades of the 1440s to 1450s.³⁶⁵ It is no coincidence that one of only two surviving political poems composed in the 1450s to celebrate the policies of the Lancastrian government was written to commemorate the Love Day of 1458.³⁶⁶ Although the *Chronicle* does not appear to have been commissioned as an 'official' piece by the king or a member of the court faction, it is nevertheless important because it implies that Henry VI will be open and responsive to Hardyng's comments, precisely the image the king's propagandists wished to promote at this difficult time. Whether the *Chronicle* was amongst the 'libris' mentioned by Whethamstede or not, the abbot's anecdote and the ensuing reconciliation that occurred four months after Hardyng's presentation suggest that the style of his work and the ideologies behind it would have been well received; although he criticises the lack of justice and order throughout the realm, the impetus is on the king and his magnates to work together and resolve the difficulties, which was precisely the stimulus behind the Love Day. Some historians have noted the shallowness of York's reunion with the court faction, and in the words of one English chronicler the reconciliation 'endured nat long', providing only the most temporary respite (Marx 2003: 77). However, it is the image of unity that Henry VI and his magnates wished to present to the English people that is perhaps the most important aspect of the event. The king undoubtedly wanted to depict himself as someone who cared about the common weal of the realm.

Hardyng's emphasis on the necessity of the magnates working with the king, not against him, for the good of the common weal similarly anticipates the shift in tone of the court propaganda disseminated at the end of the decade. By 1459 the conflict between York and the court had stirred with a vengeance, which resulted in the attainder of the Yorkist lords; John Watts argues that the *Somnium Vigilantis*, a carefully crafted tract written in support of the attainder, demonstrates how the crown managed to annex the 'common weal platform' used by York and his allies to justify their campaign throughout the 1450s.³⁶⁷ Once it was established that 'allegiance to the common weal could not be put before allegiance to the king, York had no choice but to submit' to royal authority or to 'challenge Henry VI's right to the crown' (Watts 1999: 44-45). These were the circumstances that preceded and affected Hardyng's revision of the *Chronicle*.

³⁶⁵ See Griffiths 1979.

³⁶⁶ The 'Reconciliation of Henry VI and the Yorkists' is available in Robbins 1959: 194-96. In relation to the lack of political poems surviving from the 1450s, it is similarly interesting that the parliamentary rolls, which provide a summary of the parliamentary sermons delivered at the start of each session fail to mention any texts for the years 1449, 1451, 1453 and 1455 (see Chrimes 1966: 166); Watts also notes that 'Regrettably, we do not know what kind of sermons were preached during the 1450s and 1460s to accompany the civil disorders of the period, but the pattern of conceptually and rhetorically ambitious sermons apparently resumed in the 1470s, with the gradual infusion of a range of neo-classical terms and tropes to set alongside the romano-canonical and 'mirror'-like ones of the earlier part of the century' (Watts 2002: 41-42).

³⁶⁷ For an edition of the *Somnium Vigilantis* see Gilson 1911. The document is also discussed by Kekewich 1982 and Watts 1999.

The Composition of the Second Version

Rewritten for Richard, duke of York, and his son, Edward IV, the second version is prefaced with a distinctively different style of prologue from that in the first version. Instead of the personal 'complaynte' introducing the *Chronicle* written for Henry VI, the revised prologue provides a carefully constructed genealogical account of the Yorkist claim to the thrones of Britain, France, Portugal, Spain and Jerusalem. At almost double the length of the original preface (forty-one stanzas in length, compared to the twenty-three stanzas in the first version), Hardyng also recycles and amplifies the rhetorical devices used in the first version, amalgamating them with a prodigious amount of pro-Yorkist propaganda, typical of the kind in circulation during the early 1460s, the period in which the majority, if not all, of the second version was composed.³⁶⁸ The overall effect, however, is not that different thematically from the first version, in so far as the preface ultimately serves to legitimise the author and depict the monarch, or in this case the heir apparent, as England's hope for a better future. Like the first version, the second version of the *Chronicle* is truly a product of its time. Many of the traditional themes and ideologies concerning good governance, wise counsel, kingship and the preservation of the commoweal are retained, as they are still of great importance to the work, and feature prominently in the political propaganda issued in the wake of parliament's acceptance of York's title to the throne and Edward IV's accession. The principal focus of the text, nevertheless, is modified, like the political discourses, to reflect the new circumstances. The division of the text into books is only sustained at the beginning of the work, with the account of Albyne being described as 'the boke of the L sistres' (f. 9r, l. 287 *gloss after*) and the start of Brutus's reign being marked with 'Here begynneth þe booke of Britons' (f. 11v, l. 469 *gloss after*); the divisions seem to have been forgotten after this, although whether this is due to the work being unfinished or an error on Hardyng's part is impossible to determine.³⁶⁹

One of the most striking differences between the two versions is the additional emphasis on women in the second version; female patrons, intercessors, heirs, rulers, lawmakers, peacemakers and saints, women as objects of desire and inspiration, fill the pages of the *Chronicle* as characters such as Lady Godiva, Saint Ebba and Scota, the eponymous founder of Scotland, are added to Hardyng's history. Arguably, as Sheila Delany has noted, these are merely the components of British history abounding in many chronicles besides Hardyng's;³⁷⁰ however, a comparison of the two versions reveals a distinct effort on Hardyng's part to increase the importance of women in the *Chronicle* created for York. The increased emphasis on the female undoubtedly stems from York's claim to the throne through Philippa of Clarence, and

³⁶⁸ Riddy believes that Hardyng may have begun revising the *Chronicle* soon after the composition of the first version (Riddy 1996: 101); see *John Hardyng's Life*. For further information on propaganda in this period see Scattergood 1971; Gransden 1975, 1982b; Allan 1979, 1981, 1986; Ross 1981; Richmond 1992; Delany 1996, 1998.

³⁶⁹ The numerous similarities between the first and second versions are too great to discuss at any length here. The reader is therefore referred to the discussion of the first version, where correlations between this and the later text are provided in the accompanying footnotes. It is my intention in the following discussion to highlight only those elements of the second version that are either unique to this recension or which take a slightly different approach to the themes already discussed in relation to the first version.

³⁷⁰ Delany 1998: 158.

complements the large number of genealogies circulated in the 1450s and 1460s detailing his pedigree.³⁷¹ The importance of York's British inheritance is also accentuated and is complemented by Hardyng's increased emphasis on the xenophobic aspects of the *Chronicle*.³⁷² I would like therefore to begin with an examination of some of the ways in which the text was revised in order to make women more prominent, for the episodes and issues concerning their role in the history also help to underline the other thematic changes that Hardyng makes.

Feminising History in the Second Version: The Legitimation of Patron and Author

In the prologue to the first version addressed to Henry VI, Margaret of Anjou and Prince Edward, the reference to the queen is brief, a mere two lines in total, expressing a customary wish that the work will bring her joy:

This book [...]
Whiche I compiled vnto zoure rialte,
And to the quenes hertes consolacioun
To know the state of zoure domynacioun
[Lansdowne 204, f. 2v, ll. 2, 5-7]

No further references to Margaret occur in the first version, not even a note of her marriage to Henry. Instead the rest of the prologue depicts a man's world: a world of chivalric honour, where promises are meant to be kept; heroic figures, such as Edward I and Henry V, who attempt to reconquer their lost ancestral territories; and espionage, where Hardyng shows his loyalty as an Englishman by undertaking reconnaissance missions for his king. The same applies to the epilogue of the first version, in which Sir Robert Umfraville is eulogised as the flower of chivalry, and Hardyng petitions the king to restore law and order to the realm. The emphasis on the deeds of celebrated masculine figures helps to reinforce the chivalric behaviour and ideals perpetuated by the first version of the *Chronicle* and encourage Hardyng's audience, which in this instance was probably a small network of readers associated with the king's affinity or the Lincolnshire gentry and nobility, to uphold these values and use their positions to protect the common weal. In contrast, the women featured in the prologue and epilogue of the second version receive far more attention than Margaret because they play an integral role in accentuating the general significance of women in this version; in a sense they even help to justify why Hardyng revised the

³⁷¹ Although York began promoting his descent from Lionel, duke of Clarence, several years prior to claiming the throne, evidence in Yorkist pedigrees circulating before 1460 implies that he was using his genealogy to promote himself as one of the leading magnates of the realm, not necessarily to challenge the throne. Pedigrees detailing York's descent from Lionel, duke of Clarence, through Phillipa and Mortimer appear in circulation during the 1440s, the same time that Osborn Bokenham translated Claudian's *De Consulatu Stilichonis* as a propagandist piece sympathetic to York, promoting him as a wise councillor, but given the duke's increasing difficulties with Henry VI's court at this time it is understandable that he should wish to publicise himself in this way (see Griffith's 1979: 19-31).

³⁷² In this version Hardyng includes the fascinating story about Scota, the bastard daughter of Pharaoh who marries Gaythelos and founds Scotland whilst in exile during the reign of King Marius. Kennedy argues that Hardyng incorporated the story into the *Chronicle* to counteract the Scots' claims to superiority and independence (Kennedy 1989b). The legend is also incorporated into the chronicles of John Fordun and Adam of Usk. For Scota see Matthews 1970.

history, as will be demonstrated below. This recension was dedicated to Richard, duke of York, his wife, Cecily Neville and their children, between 24 October, the date on which parliament accepted the validity of York's pedigree and recognised him as Henry's heir, and 30 December 1460, when York died at the Battle of Wakefield.³⁷³ Such precise dating of this section is possible because Hardyng describes Cecily as the elect lady of the land 'tyme coming like to have the sovereignty' (f. 8v, l. 263), and requests that York read the history as a 'Mirror for Princes' in which the good exemplars of kingship serve as models for him, as the new heir apparent, to emulate:

My lord of York, vnto youre sapience
 I wol remembre a notabilitee
 Of youre eldres rule and regimence
 That hadde this reame of olde priorite,
 Whiche ruled were, aftir theire dignite,
 In vertue digne by roialle gouernaunce,
 And whiche in vice ruled and misgouernaunce.

By whiche knoueleche youre discrete sapience
 Alle vice euermore destroye may and reprev
 And vertue loue, that may no wight ought greve,
 By vertuous and blissefull diligence,
 Howe ye shal rule youre subgettes while ye leue
 In lawe and pees, and alle tranquillitee,
 Whiche ben the floures of alle regalitee.

[Arch. Selden, B10, ff. 5r-v, ll. 29-42]

³⁷³ York formally put forward his claim to the throne on the 16 October 1460. On the 17 October the lords of parliament conceded that he had a better claim than Henry VI and on 24 October an Act of Settlement was drawn up detailing that York should inherit the English throne upon Henry's death. The Act was made law four days later. York was proclaimed heir apparent to the throne on 8 November (see Riddy 1996: 100-01). For the parliamentary records of York's petition and the outcome see, *Rot. Parl.*, V, 375-80. Cecily Neville (1415-95) was the youngest daughter of Ralph Neville and Joan Beaufort (c. 1379-1440) and mother of Edward IV. The date of her marriage to York is unknown but it certainly took place before 1424. Cecily was well known for her piety and was a notable book collector herself, with a penchant for religious texts and 'the writings of great mystics, like St Catherine of Siena and St Bridget of Sweden' (Ross 1997: 9); Felicity Riddy has argued that Cecily promoted 'a reading community' within her household, which was 'precisely the kind which, seventy or eighty years earlier' might have commissioned manuscripts (1993: 110). York and Cecily had thirteen children, seven of whom survived: Anne (1439-76), Edward IV (1442-83), Edmund (1443-60), Elizabeth (1444-1509), Margaret (1446-1503), George (1449-78), and Richard (1452-85), the future Richard III. The six other children died in childhood (Henry, William, John, Thomas, Joan, Ursula). York's son and heir, the future Edward IV, to whom Hardyng dedicates the epilogue of the *Chronicle*, is a fine example of the education that York's son's received; all had a 'grounding in Latin, and there is abundant evidence that they could both speak and write in French as well as in English' (Ross 1997: 8). Notably, he is considered to be 'the first English sovereign to accumulate a substantial and permanent royal library (Ross 1997: 264; see also Backhouse 1987). Unlike his mother, however, Edward IV, was known for his love of 'histories and historical romances [... which ...] formed the largest group among the surviving works known or presumed to have belonged to him' (for a list of these see Ross 1997: 265). John Vale's book contains a copy of York's claim along with the lord's response to it (Kekewich *et al* 1995: 195-202).

Since the 'Mirrors for Princes' genre necessitated that the author prove his worthiness to educate the recipient of his work, Hardyng demonstrates his suitability by recycling and amplifying some of the rhetorical tropes figuring in the first version.

Having begun the work with a commonplace lament about old age, Hardyng claims that he started the composition to eschew sin. The association of old age with infirmity, and the concept of remaining active to keep one's soul free from sin is ubiquitous in medieval literature, but when one considers the general reflections on the infirmity of old age and the lost strength of youth in relation to the personal details known about Hardyng, it is apparent that the conventional expressions are also particular to the author himself; the lack of 'habilité' may even be a reference to the 'incurable maim' that he suffered in service of the English crown.³⁷⁴ Under these circumstances, Hardyng's contemplation of his infirmity, although conforming to a traditional pattern, provides a personal touch to the prologue.

After presenting himself, albeit briefly, as an old, and therefore, in all likelihood, a wise individual, eager to avoid sin and benefit his peers by continuing a tradition of chronicle writing that began long 'afore Crist did encline/ In Mary, moder and maiden' (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 5r, ll. 10-11), Hardyng reminds his audience of the esteemed literary heritage of the Latin and French works of his scholarly predecessors. The analysis that follows of the various styles in which previous authors have written, and Hardyng's emphasis on his own lack of ability to compile a work as great as theirs is again routine, but it shows an acute concern to identify his own role in relation to this heritage from the start, something that was indiscernible in the first version until after the Albyne narrative.³⁷⁵ Unlike the opening four-stanza dedication in Lansdowne 204, the first four stanzas of the second version are devoted to connecting the author with previous writers. Hardyng also places greater emphasis on the fact that his work is compiled in English, something only briefly alluded to in the first version (see Lansdowne 204, f. 8v, l. 491). Whilst protesting that his 'witte' is not as skilled as his predecessors, he combines the humility topos with another

³⁷⁴ See Lansdowne 204, ll. 45, 111, 152 and Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 197v, l. 4255. The similarity between Hardyng's lines and other contemporary writers such as Hoccleve and Lydgate can be seen clearly: compare Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*, ll. 561-63 (Furnivall 1897: 21) 'Senek seiþ, 'age is an infirmitee/ þat leche non can cure, ne it hele./ ffor to þe deþ next negheburgh is he'; Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, V, ll. 71-77, VIII, l. 191 and IX, ll. 3566-69 (Bergen 1924) 'Yit, for al that, ye haue no sewerte,/ how long tyme is here your abydyng;/ Age, with hire cosyn callyd Infirmyte,/ wyl cleyme hire ryght of verry dewete', and 'fordullis with rudnesse, Mor than thre scor yeris set me date'; and George Ashby's *Active Policy of a Prince*, ll. 64-65 (1470) 'Thaugh I be fallen in decrepit age/ Right nygh at mony yeris of foure score' (Bateson 1899). The concept of sloth (idleness) as the enemy of the soul was another common theme in medieval literature, and was often emphasised as the one sin that opened the way to all other sins (Bloomfield 1952: 223). In the prologue to Chaucer's *The Second Nun's Tale*, for example, we are informed that 'Ydelnesse' is 'The minstre and the norice unto vices' through which the 'feend' may seize a man (Benson 1988: 262, ll. 1-2). The idea of composing a work to combat idleness, found here in Hardyng's prologue, is similarly found in Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, but in this work the narrator depicts the enemy of the soul as 'dreed' and 'onkunnyng' (ignorance), see Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, III, ll. 22-60 (Bergen 1924); Gower too mentions the evil of sloth in his *Confessio Amantis*, l. 342 (Peck 1997: 11). For further comments on sloth see Bloomfield 1952 and Gransden 1992: 133. Another common reason cited by medieval authors for compiling their works is at the request of a patron; see, for example, Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, originally compiled at the request of Richard II, and revised for Henry of Lancaster (later Henry IV); Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, commissioned by Humphrey, duke of Gloucester; and John Walton's translation of Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, which appears to have been compiled at the request of Elizabeth Berkeley.

³⁷⁵ Examples of Hardyng's humility topos and his rejection of pagan gods may also be seen at the end of the narrative concerning Albyne; see, for example, Arch. Selden B. 10, 11r-12r, ll. 447-69, 489-97.

customary trope to highlight the importance of writing in English. Using the same argument as John Trevisa in his *Dialogue between a Lord and a Clerk*, Hardyng justifies his decision to write in his native tongue by concluding that it is a fitting language for those who cannot understand Latin, in this case, York's wife Cecily and the children.³⁷⁶ Modern scholars have defined this practice as one of *translatio studii et imperii*, whereby medieval authors saw a 'relationship between present and past cultures, and [...] the means by which cultural value and authority was transmitted from one period to another' (Wogan-Brown 1999: 7, 317). Rita Copeland's belief that the vernacular works of Chaucer and Gower should be read as "secondary translations" that thematize their displacement of the classical *auctores* they use, asserting their independence as vernacular authors and implicitly claiming equal status with their sources' may be applied to Hardyng, and indeed a great many fifteenth-century writers,³⁷⁷ but Hardyng uses the idea of transmitting knowledge and authority in an extraordinary way. Having previously called attention to the fact that York has great 'delectacioun' in chronicles (f. 5r, l. 25) and acknowledging that he is very capable of reading the Latin sources that pre-date the *Chronicle*, Hardyng insinuates that he is not translating the 'cronicles of this land' (f. 8v, l. 255) primarily for the duke, but for Cecily and his heirs. The lessons history can teach are shown to be beneficial to the entire family, and by making them available through the medium of English, Hardyng implies that his work will meet with secular and divine approval:

To that entent to please bothe God and man;
And eke to please the god femynitee,
Of my lady, youre wife Dame Cecilee,

That in Laten hath litle intellecte
To vnderstonde the grete nobilite
Of this ilke londe to whiche she is electe,
Tyme *commyng* like to haue þe souerainte [...]

Als, for youre heires and for youre successours,
In tyme comyng, to haue a clere knowlege
How of this reame þe noble gouernours
Haue kepte it ay, with helpe of baronage,
[Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 8v, ll. 257-63, 274-77]

Having only limited access and understanding of Latin authorities and truths, Cecily and York's heirs need the guidance of knowledgeable men like Hardyng and the duke to mediate for them. A similar case is presented in the epilogue addressed to Edward IV and his new queen, Elizabeth Woodville, in which Hardyng states, that in addition to pleasing the king he has compiled the *Chronicle* to satisfy the queen, 'for', he states:

³⁷⁶ Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 8v, ll. 258-80. For the text of Trevisa's *Dialogue* see Waldron 1988. In 1362, during the reign of Edward III, English replaced French as the official language of the law courts, and by the time of Hardyng's birth (1378) it was firmly established as the language of all echelons of society. Although Latin was an important part of education and many of the nobility had some knowledge of French, Hardyng's prologue shows a contemporary awareness of the importance of promoting English as the language of the people in the 1460s. Scholarship on the importance of English in late medieval England is plentiful, but see Fisher 1992.

³⁷⁷ Wogan-Brown 1999: 317.

[...] women haue feminine condicion
 To know all thinges longing to thaire husband:
 His high worship, and his disposicion,
 His hertis counceil also, I vnderstond,
 As at weddinge to hir he made his bonde
 And most of all his hertis priuetees
 [Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 198r, ll. 4276-81]

By stressing that Elizabeth falls under Edward's governance, the author recognises both the importance and limitations of her position. Like Cecily, it is not her status as a woman that singles her out for special consideration, but her relationship to the king; both women, as sovereign ladies of England and the mothers of future kings, need to know the history of their realm, just as York needs to know his rights to Spain, Portugal, France and Jerusalem. The writing of historical works for women seems to have been a regular practice in the Middle Ages. Andrew Galloway cites several examples of noble women patronising, or being presented with, historical works, including the rhymed chronicle by Froissart, presented to Philippa of Hainault (no longer extant) and Wace's *Roman de Brut* for Eleanor of Aquitaine; he notes that 'These instances emphasize how important noblewomen, especially members of the royal family, were for writing history in England' (1999: 261-62, 267). In this respect the prologue and epilogue work in conjunction to provide a 'femininity' framework, which Hardyng uses as justification for detailing the titles of the House of York and the role of women in Britain's past.³⁷⁸

Additionally, by underscoring the fact that the *Chronicle* has been compiled for those under York's protection whose first language is English, the women in the prologue and epilogue could be interpreted as a metaphor for Hardyng's new audience. Unlike the first version, which seems to have been aimed at a limited few, there is evidence to suggest that Hardyng, or someone who knew of his initial composition, commissioned the second version as a propagandist piece to be disseminated in favour of York's new status as heir apparent.³⁷⁹ Instead of being aimed solely at the king and those in positions of influence, Hardyng's projected audience seems to cover a wider social spectrum, encompassing all from the higher echelons of the aristocracy to the up and coming mercantile classes and lower gentry. This is precisely the kind of audience that Alison Allan believes the 'official and dissident propaganda' pertaining to the Yorkists was aimed at: 'the nobles and gentry, and the commercial classes; those who staffed government, led and made up armies, provided finance, granted taxation, and maintained law and order in the localities [...] the popular supports sought by most propogandists did not embrace the lower levels of society, but consisted rather of those who were below the highest ranks but still had enough wealth, education and position to have some effect on the course of events' (Allan 1981: 4). Hardyng's reduction of the narrative may also reflect a shift in his intended audience because by presenting his history in a more compact and articulate manner, the text adopts the same approach as the genealogies that were incredibly popular and 'much sought after, particularly by the casual and less scholarly audience to which the authors were primarily directing their pens' (Allan 1981: 260). Manuscript evidence supports the assumption that Hardyng was aiming his new

³⁷⁸ Delany comes to a similar conclusion about the women in the second version (see 1998: 159).

³⁷⁹ As previously mentioned, Hardyng may have been encouraged to revise his text by the Augustinian canons at Kyme or, as Riddy suggests, Sir Thomas Burgh; see footnote 360.

Chronicle at a wider audience: ten out of the twelve surviving copies of the second version, all of which appear to have been produced in the early 1470s, seem to have been produced in the metropolis, the hotbed of Yorkist propaganda at this time, and, as Edwards had noted, they range from plain paper copies to luxurious parchment editions.³⁸⁰ The importance of English for propagandist works in favour of Edward IV in this regard needs no introduction; the *Chronicle* is presented as a work for all loyal English subjects who wish to learn of York's ancestry. Hardyng empowers this audience by underscoring the correlation between the native language of their new queen and their language. Perhaps this is also a way of criticising Margaret of Anjou and cultivating the xenophobic tendencies of other Yorkist pieces at the time, which disparage the French and the Scots.³⁸¹ It is no surprise that Hardyng maintains his anti-Scottish diatribes and later portrays the Scots as the deceitful harbingers of the fugitive Lancastrians, desirous to join forces with the French and exploit the political importance of their guests, for at the time Henry and his family were exiles in Scotland:

His wiffe and sone gete home bi ordinaunce [...]

For bettir were to haue hem surte,
 Thanne lette hem bene with youre aduercite
 With Scottes or Frenssh that wolde se *your* distresse,
 And help to hit with all thaire businesse.

[Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 179r, ll. 3310-18]

The virulent attack on the Scots and French, and the necessity of bringing the exiled king and his family back home before the king's enemies use them to rally support against him, plays on the enmity between England, Scotland and France and implies that Edward should assert his sovereignty over his adversaries. There are many allusions to English hegemony over Scotland and France throughout the *Chronicle*, which help to reiterate the House of York's British and continental pedigrees, particularly at the end of the *Chronicle*.

Because the work was revised at such a fluid time Hardyng goes to extreme lengths to present the new king's genealogy in a convincing manner; hence, the greater part of the prologue is dedicated to demonstrating, unequivocally, that the audience's confidence in his ability to provide a truthful account of British history is warranted and that the advice he intends to offer the duke will be good advice. The

³⁸⁰ See Edwards 1987. Several of the cheaper paper copies of the second version contain the Pedigree of France, perhaps because the visual representation of York's claim to the French throne detailed his ancestry so clearly. Harley 661 is also of particular interest with regards to the genealogical aspects of the *Chronicle* as it has been designed and decorated to include a visual representation of the genealogical descent of the British kings in the margins beside the verses; for further information on the manuscripts see **The Manuscripts of Hardyng's *Chronicle* and The Relationships of the Manuscripts.**

³⁸¹ It would not, of course, have been very acceptable to suggest this whilst Henry VI was still king, but the emphasis on English and the promotion of it as the language of the people is nevertheless in keeping with pro-Yorkist pieces of the time. John Vale's book contains several items highlighting the xenophobic attitudes at the time (Kekewich *et al* 1995: 136, 148-51, 166, 170-73); Allan discusses the presence of patriotism and xenophobia in the 1460 manifesto issued by the Yorkists (1981: 60-70; see also Allan's comments about Edward IV harnessing public dislike of Margaret of Anjou on pp. 102 and 341); the Rolls of Parliament depict the Lancastrian exiles and Margaret of Anjou as unpleasant (*Rot. Parl.*, V, 476-78).

way in which he presents himself at the beginning of the work highlights his diligence and authority, and helps to establish him not merely as an authoritative author but as an historical investigator. The different genealogies given in relation to York's numerous titles are replete with female figures who pass on the sovereignty to their sons or husbands. Attention is drawn to the fact that the information concerning York's ancestry, and therefore his claims to the various thrones detailed in the prologue, has been carefully inspected. Interestingly, the first claim that Hardyng describes does not relate to the English throne, but to the throne of France. This claim is later supported visually with a revised version of the Pedigree of France found in the first version. In the prologue Hardyng justifies the duke's legitimate right by describing his descent from Edward III, whose mother, Isabella, initially gave the title to him.

[...] Quene Isabell the gent,
Sister and heire to Charles by hool entent;
For Charles died withoute any child,
The right descent vnto his moder mylde.

Why sholde þe Frenshe forbarre him of hir right,
Sith God of heuen in Libro Numeri,
Gauf to Moyses this lawe that nowe is light,
In þe chapitre seuen and twenty
By these wordes: 'the doughters rightfully
Of Salphaat aske their faders heritage,
Geue them possessioun among their cosynnage'?
[Arch Selden B.10, f. 5v, ll. 46-56]

By citing the Old Testament precedent of the daughters of Zelophehad inheriting their father's possessions through divine will, Hardyng reminds his audience of the customary claim used by the English since the early fourteenth century to justify their right to the French throne via the heir general line, something that his readers would undoubtedly be very familiar with. Salic law in France prevented such a claim, but this did not prevent the story of Zelophehad's daughters being used in English propaganda during the Hundred Years War.³⁸² The clever presentation of this example at the beginning of the long list of York's royal titles prepares the audience for the details of the most important claim described in the prologue. Hardyng, obviously aware of the fragility of York's claim to the English throne, meticulously details the heir general line to substantiate his claims, allaying any suspicions that Philippa should not have been heir to her father, Lionel, duke of Clarence, by stating that she was his heir 'whom he loued as his life'.³⁸³ The duke's line of descent from Philippa of

³⁸² See Numbers 27: 1-11; see also Wright 1859-61: I, 145-47, 167). Delany also discusses the English right to the French throne (1998: 148-159).

³⁸³ f. 5v, l. 68. As there were no explicit laws in fifteenth-century England regulating the descent of the monarchy it could be inherited by either an 'heir male' or an 'heir general'. In practice, the inheritance of the crown followed the rules of primogeniture governing the 'heir male' principle, ensuring that the inheritance of titles and lands passed to the oldest male. This model was commonly adhered to in matters concerning the inheritance of lay property and titles; however, when the male line failed, as it so often did in the late Middle Ages, an 'heir general', or daughter, could inherit or pass on a claim over a younger male member of the family. Occasionally property and titles were divided between the heir male and the heir general to avoid conflict, but, as Lander states, it was 'impossible to apply such a

Clarence via her son Roger, earl of March, and Anne Mortimer (York's mother) is then supported with a reference to Jesus's inheritance of the title 'King of the Jews' through his mother, Mary:³⁸⁴

Why sholde ye nought than be hir verray heire
 Of alle hir lond, and eke of alle hir right?
 Seth Ihesu Crist, of Iudee land so faire,
 By very meen of his moder Mary light
 To be þe kyng claymed title right
 And so did name himsilf 'Kyng of Iewes':
 So by youre moder the right to you accrewes.
 [Arch. Selden B. 10, 6r, ll. 78-84]

By posing a similar question to the one before and providing biblical paradigms in support of the female right to pass on a claim, Hardyng makes it clear that if the English accept Edward III's inheritance of the French throne via his mother, they must also accept York's claim to the English throne through Philippa of Clarence. With regards to the three Lancastrian kings, Hardyng affirms that John of Gaunt was merely the third son of Edward III, unlike Lionel, duke of Clarence, who was his second son, and that Henry IV, 'wrongfully' deposed king Richard II, referring to his acquisition of the monarchy as 'euel gote goodes' (f. 6v, l. 111). Nevertheless, like other propagandist pieces produced in the early 1460s, the chronicler maintains the praise of Henry V found in the first version of the *Chronicle*, and says nothing unfavourable about Henry VI other than accusing him of 'suche symplenesse' (f. 6r, l. 104).³⁸⁵ We do not see the venomous rejection of all three Lancastrian kings that one might expect in a history written to endorse the Yorkist claim to the throne, but rather a discreet commentary, which casts an unfavourable light mainly on Henry IV as a usurper and perjurer. To this end Hardyng makes use of a popular prophecy recycled in this period, which attributed the downfall of the dynasty to a divine promise that

compromise [...] to the Crown and Kingdom of England' (Lander 2000: 5). The Lancastrian kings claimed descent through the third son and heir male of Edward III, John of Gaunt, whilst Richard, duke of York, claimed descent through the second son and heir general of Edward III, Lionel, duke of Clarence, who passed on his claim through his daughter Philippa. Until the later half of the 1450s, when the Yorkist genealogies began circulating with the heir general line of descent, York had traced his heritage through, and bore the arms of Edward III's fifth son, Edmund of Langley, but this genealogical line was a questionable link as far as the English throne was concerned. For further details of York's descent and the propaganda circulated in support of his claim to the throne see Allan 1979, 1981 and Griffiths 1979.

³⁸⁴ Again this example was used in propaganda during the Hundred Years War to justify the English claim to France. For biblical references to Jesus as king of the Jews see Matthew 27: 11, Matthew 27: 29, Matthew 27: 37, Mark 15: 18, Mark 15: 26, Luke 23: 38, John 19: 3, John 19: 19, John 19: 21. The same example occurs in the Latin prose passages accompanying the second version along with an allusion to the daughters of Zelophehad, see Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 185v, ll. 3617-24.

³⁸⁵ Compare, for example, the harsh criticism of Henry IV's 'fals periury' and usurpment in the contemporary poem 'A Political Retrospect' (written c. 1462; Robbins 1959: 222-26, ll. 9-24); the favourable comments about Henry V (Robbins 1959: 223, ll. 27-30); and the observation that Henry VI returned the country to a state of 'huge langoure' and 'myschyeftz' through his 'gret foly' (Robbins 1959: 223-24, ll. 31-40). The poem in question corresponds well with the revised version of the *Chronicle* as it contains many of the propagandist elements that worked their way into the second version, some of which are listed in the course of the following discussion.

unlawful claims will not endure beyond the third generation.³⁸⁶ Because Hardyng's cautious praise of Henry V and his refined criticism of Henry VI is in keeping with other items in circulation at this time it is difficult to determine whether the author was being conscientiously loyal to the memory of Henry V and Henry VI, the kings under whom he served for the majority of his life, or whether he was simply adhering to the current trend.³⁸⁷ Whatever the case, it is evident that Hardyng's *Chronicle* is integrated with the vast majority of other discourses belonging to the initial years of Edward IV's reign.

The remaining genealogical and anecdotal material in the prologue includes a colourful, if not spurious, story concerning York's right to the Iberian kingdoms, through his descent from Isabella of Castile, and his title to Jerusalem. The dubious reference in the prologue to the 'appointement' or agreement made between John of Gaunt and Edmund of Langley, which stated that the Castilian throne should pass to the first male heir born between them, appears to be entirely fictional, and may have been contrived by Hardyng himself as a means of justifying Richard of York's claim to the Castilian throne.³⁸⁸ The evidence cited by Hardyng in support of this claim provides a good example of the way in which the chronicler uses his own authority and autobiographical references to support some of the claims he makes in the second version. In this case Hardyng states that he and Umfraville were shown a muniment at London by Edward, duke of York, detailing the right of the house of York to the thrones of Spain and Portugal. If Hardyng is telling the truth, this event must have occurred between c. 1403 when Hardyng entered the service of Robert Umfraville and 1415, when York died at the battle of Agincourt; it may have been before 1412, for by this time Edward, duke of York, 'tried to enlist the sympathy of the new king of

³⁸⁶ This 'prophecy' occurs in many fifteenth-century chronicles; see, for example, Adam of Usk's *Chronicle* (Given-Wilson 1997: 156-57, where it is cited in relation to the death of the duke of Milan; Jean de Waurin's *Chroniques* (Hardy 1864-91: II, 393-94); and Whethamstede's *Chronicle* (Riley 1872-73, I, 414). It is also found in 'A Political Retrospect' (Robbins 1959: 224, ll. 43-45), which, like Hardyng, attributes the prophecy to scripture; Robbins notes that the phrase derives from John Bonif, but is 'almost proverbial' in nature (1959: 383); see also McKenna 1970. By attributing the prophecy to the Bible, Hardyng emphasises the providential nature of York's restoration to the throne. The idea of divine punishment for sins that featured in the first version is integral to Hardyng's revised text too, and was a major theme in the political prophecies exploited in the interest of the house of York (see Allan 1981: 351).

³⁸⁷ Allan believes that 'chronicles can be studied as evidence of the reception and reiteration of the Yorkist interpretation of history but they do not provide a sustained and substantial exposition of it [...] the "Yorkist" representation of the years 1399-1461 was very much a royal interpretation sponsored by the crown itself, as might be expected of a king and his adherents who amply demonstrated, both before and after 1461, an awareness of the value of propagandist literature' (1981: 323-24). Hardyng's text is one of the earliest chronicles to do this, so inconsistencies in his narrative are to be expected. The changes Hardyng makes to his *Chronicle* in the second version show that he paid most attention to revising those parts that were essential for justifying the new dynasty; it is therefore of great value because it provides an insight into what was deemed acceptable by certain writers and audiences at this time.

³⁸⁸ John of Gaunt married Constanza, oldest surviving daughter of Pedro I of Castile and official heir to the Castilian throne, in 1371 to ensure that Castilian interests remained connected with England. The couple returned to England along with Constanza's younger sister, Isabella, who was married to Gaunt's brother, Edmund, in 1372. Constanza and Gaunt had two children, a daughter, Catherine (1372-1418) and a son named John (b.1374), who died in infancy. Catherine later married Enrique III of Castile (1378-1406) and produced a long line of Castilian heirs; however, Hardyng is correct in stating that the first male heir born between the Castilian sisters was Edward of Aumale, duke of York and earl of Rutland (1373-1415). Isabella and Edmund had three children: Edward, Richard (c.1375-1415), earl of Cambridge, and Constance of York.

Aragon, Fernando of Antequera, for his claim' asserting that 'since neither of Pedro's daughters Beatriz and Constanza had borne a son, the legitimate right to the Castilian throne pertained to him as the elder son of Isabel' (Goodman and Morgan 1985: 63). Given Hardyng's penchant for 'obtaining' forged documents, it is certainly possible that the muniment never existed; however, it is more probable that Hardyng is confusing the 'writs' mentioned earlier in the prologue regarding York's arranged marriage with the daughter of the Portuguese king in 1380 (see Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 6v, ll. 134-40). Goodman and Morgan concur with this theory, but appear to have misread Hardyng's statement, concluding that his 'wild assertion' of seeing a muniment with Umfraville referred to a copy of the Treaty of Bayonne obtained in 1444 by Richard, duke of York. In deciding that Hardyng is not 'to be trusted' on the grounds that Umfraville died in 1437 and could not have been shown the muniment by Richard, duke of York, they fail to recognise that, even if Hardyng's personal interjection is fabricated, he is referring to Edward, duke of York, not Richard, and to a date before Edward's death in 1415 (see Goodman and Morgan 1985: 64-65).³⁸⁹

Hardyng commences his account of York's claim to Jerusalem by establishing a link with the throne of Jerusalem through the marriage of York's ancestor Fulk V to Mélisande, the daughter of Baldwin II, king of Jerusalem.³⁹⁰

To Ierusalem, I sey ye haue grete right,
 For Erle Geffray, that hight Plantagenet,
 Of Anioye erle, a prince of passing might,
 The eldest son to Fowke, and first begette,
 Kyng of Ierusalem, by his wife duely sette,
 [Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 8r, ll. 218-22]

The syntax used here is quite confusing since Hardyng fails to mention that Fulk married twice, and therefore implies that Geoffrey as the eldest son from Fulk's first marriage has a claim on the kingdom of Jerusalem. This is not the case, for the terms agreed by Baldwin II and Fulk before the marriage stated that the throne of Jerusalem would unquestionably descend through the issue of Fulk's second marriage to Mélisande, and not the issue of his first marriage, as Hardyng suggests. Because of this, Fulk bestowed his title of count of Anjou on Geoffrey before leaving England and further ensured that his son had a strong position in English politics by arranging his marriage to Matilda, daughter and heiress of Henry I of England. Perhaps because of the tenuous link to the throne of Jerusalem through Mélisande Hardyng goes on to assert the English right to Jerusalem through a second example, but it is striking that he chooses to mention the inheritance through the female first. He devotes three further stanzas to detailing an event from June 1184 in which Baldwin IV sent an envoy comprised of the highest officials in Jerusalem in search of aid and support against the Saracen raiders who relentlessly tried to capture the city of Jerusalem under their

³⁸⁹ Osbern Bokenham's *Legendys of Hooly Wummen*, written in 1445 for Richard duke of York's sister also contains a description of the duke's title to the Spanish throne in the introduction to Mary Magdalane's life (Serjeantson 1938: 137, ll. 5004-5019).

³⁹⁰ In 1109 Fulk V (1092-1143), count of Anjou (1109-29), king of Jerusalem (1131-43) married Eremburg of La Flèche (d. 1126), the daughter and heir of Elias, count of Maine, and the couple had two sons, Geoffrey Plantagenet (1113-51), count of Anjou (1129-51), and Elias, and a daughter, Sibyl. Three years after the death of his first wife, Fulk married Mélisande; it was decided that upon the death of Baldwin II, Fulk would become the joint ruler of Jerusalem with his second wife. After several years of assisting Baldwin II with the running of the country, Fulk finally became king in 1131.

leader, Saladin.³⁹¹ Before reaching England the party travelled through Paris, symbolically offering King Philip II Augustus of France (1165-1223) the kingdom of Jerusalem in the form of the keys to the church of the Holy Sepulchre and the keys to David's Tower in return for his assistance against the Saracens. When Philip declined, the envoys crossed the channel to England, where they stayed from January 1185 until mid April. Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, met with Henry II and offered him the keys to the Holy Sepulchre and David's Tower, along with the royal banner of Jerusalem:

Yit haue ye more, for Baldewyn Paralticus,
 Kyng afterward, to þe same king Henry,
 The croun sent and his baner precious,
 As verry heire of hole auncestry,
 Discent of blode by title lynyally
 From Godfray Boleyn and from Robert Curthose,
 That kynges were therof elect and chose.

[Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 8r, ll. 225-31]

What Hardyng fails to mention is that Henry called a council of his barons to determine how to address the envoy's request, but refused to return to Jerusalem with Heraclius, nor would he send any of his sons to champion the cause. The patriarch left England admonishing Henry, and in October 1187 Jerusalem fell to Saladin. Whilst Henry II was indeed a blood relative of Baldwin IV (both were grandsons of Fulk V), his failure to help Heraclius and the Holy City meant that England held no claim to the kingdom of Jerusalem. Once again, by being selective about the information that he recounts, Hardyng's economy with the narrative helps him to substantiate York's tentative title to the Holy Land.³⁹² Ironically, this second example counteracts the first, as it shows that the crown of Jerusalem descended through the children of Mélisande and Fulk, and not through the oldest son of Fulk's first marriage, Geoffrey Plantagent. However, once again, the syntax of the verse makes the reference 'As verry heire of hole auncestry' ambiguous enough to be construed as referring to the genealogical descent of either Henry II or Baldwin IV from the first elected Latin king of Jerusalem, Godfrey Bouillon.³⁹³

³⁹¹ Baldwin IV, king of Jerusalem (1175-85), son of Amalric I, king of Jerusalem (1162-74) was the grandson of Fulk V and Mélisande.

³⁹² For other chronicle accounts of Heraclius's journey and meeting with Henry II see Roger of Wendover, the *Flores Historiarum*, and Gerald of Wales *De Principis Instructione Liber*.

³⁹³ Godfrey Bouillon (c. 1060-1100), duke of lower Lorraine, was elected the first Latin king of Jerusalem on 22 July 1099 after the Holy Land had successfully been recaptured in the first crusade. His life and deeds in the first crusade are celebrated and idealised in several branches of the Old French *Cycle de la Croisade* produced in northern France and the duchy of Brabant between 1100 and 1300 (see Gerritsen 1998: 126-29). According to one version of the legend, the position was first offered to several of the noble lords who had fought well in the crusade, all of whom declined the honour before it was bestowed on Godfrey. Hardyng appears to be referring to one such version of the story by mentioning Robert Curthose (c. 1054-1134), oldest son of William the Conqueror, as an elected king of Jerusalem. Robert's nickname 'Curthose' or 'Short Boots' (*Curta Ocrea*) was apparently given to him by his father because of his lack of height; for an account of his life see David 1920. Later in the *Chronicle* (ff. 108-109), Hardyng states that Robert rejected the kingdom of Jerusalem because of his desire to inherit the kingdom of England; however, for committing the sin of covetousness and going against God's wish, he inherited neither. There are no contemporary sources to confirm the story of Curthose's refusal of the Crown, and it is likely that this developed as a later addition to the legend.

To summarise, the attention Hardyng pays to York's British and continental titles in the new prologue reflects an urgent need to advertise York's royal lineage at a time when his unexpected and unpopular claim to the throne made dissemination of his title essential. This is why Hardyng dedicates so much space to legitimising himself as an author at the beginning of the work, and why he attempts to present York with an anthology of respectable titles pertaining to female ancestors, which have been carefully examined and explained for the benefit of York's family: both his immediate family and his extended family of future English subjects. It is in the revised account of the Albyne myth, nevertheless, that the chronicler best illustrates his studious, but discerning, disposition at work by reworking the foundation framework of the first version with an entirely different purpose in mind: that of continuing what he begins in the prologue by correlating the image of the female with the idea of truth.

The Foundation Framework and the Establishment of Truth

Just as Hardyng used the foundation myth in the first version to repeat and expand upon the themes and issues of his prologue, so he revises the account of Albyne in the second version to complement the thematic content of his new preface. The way in which he begins to relate the story of the Grecian sisters is misleading, but brilliantly effective. The narrative commences in the same manner as the first version up until the point when the sisters are washed ashore on Albion. However, the thirty-one stanzas in Lansdowne 204 (before Albyne names the land) are radically reduced to just four stanzas, and the intriguing characters of King Dioclician and his youngest daughter are diminished almost beyond recognition: the moral dilemma of the daughter is not detailed, nor is Dioclician's grief described as he discovers the treacherous plot; even the decision to exile the sisters is not attributed to the king alone, but to a joint verdict made ambiguously between 'thoo princes' (f. 9r, l. 306), who could be interpreted as the king and husband of the youngest daughter, or could equally refer to all of the daughters' husbands. The emphasis on asserting individual authority, so particular to Hardyng's aim of encouraging Henry VI to act more like his forefathers, is similarly transposed into a more general affirmation of male authority.

The earliest authority to detail Robert's refusal of the kingdom of Jerusalem is William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (Book IV, l. 389). Other later versions, apparently independent of Malmesbury, include the *Historia Peregrinorum*, Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*, *Historia Belli Sacri*, Wace's *Roman de Rou*, and Geoffrey Gaimar's *Lestorie des Engles*. For details of each account see David 1920: 114, 190-99. When Godfrey Bouillon died without an heir, his will decreed that the kingdom should pass to Daimbert, patriarch of Jerusalem and former archbishop of Pisa; however, his wishes were ignored by his Lorraine vassals, who appointed Godfrey's brother, Baldwin, as the next king (Mayer 1994). When Baldwin I realised that he would also die without issue, he declared that his brother Eustace III, count of Bologne, should succeed him, and that should he decline the honour, the vassal kings were to elect his kinsman, Baldwin of Bourcq, as king of Jerusalem. Once again the vassals had their will and quickly elevated Baldwin of Bourcq to the kingship before Eustace could be sent for, and although the succession was later considered to be dubious because it neglected the rightful heir, Baldwin II went on to reign for the next thirteen years. When Baldwin's queen, Morphia, died without providing a male heir to Jerusalem's throne, the king decided to settle the succession jointly in favour of his oldest daughter Mélisande and her future husband, Fulk V. Upon Fulk's death the couple's oldest son became Baldwin III, who in turn was succeeded by his brother Amalric I. Amalric was the father of Baldwin IV, mentioned here as 'Baldewyn Paraliticus' (l. 225). Therefore, as grandsons of Fulk V, both Henry II and Baldwin IV could be said to be related to the long line of Jerusalem's elected kings.

The reason for the chronicler's extreme treatment of the story soon becomes apparent; Hardyng's revised version is particularly interested in the legitimacy of the tale he is imparting. Once the audience has been given enough of the story to settle it into the seemingly safe relationship between narrator and reader/listener, Hardyng interrupts his account with the revelation that the story the audience has just absorbed is not true:

But I dar sey this cronicle is nat trewe,
 For that ilke tyme in Syrie was no kyng,
 Ne afterward to the tyme that Saul grewe,
 Ne no king was in Siry euer lyving
 That had that name

[Arch Selden B. 10 f. 9v, ll. 316-20]

Justifying his reasons for this claim with supporting evidence, apparently gleaned from his own sceptical inquiries into the names of kings ruling Syria at this time, serves to shock the audience further, shattering the illusionary world created over the last four stanzas: Hardyng will not finish this particular version of the story because it is fiction, not historical fact, and, what is more, he can prove it.³⁹⁴ Further evidence is offered in support of his claim in the form of a Latin gloss noting biblical and classical sources, which allegedly corroborate the erroneous nature of the tale.³⁹⁵ The switch from the vernacular to Latin in the two recensions is fascinating as it relates to the issues of language, legitimacy and authority already raised by the author. Since the authority of Latin *auctores* has already been established in the prologue, the language of this gloss alone serves to add authority to Hardyng's claims, regardless of the fact that he alludes, erroneously, to the supreme source of written truth in the annotation: the Bible. Proceeding in the spirit of the old adage that 'there is no smoke without fire' Hardyng suggests that the story of King Danaus and his fifty daughters, more commonly known as the Daniads, is far more likely to be the source of the legend, and he furnishes his audience with further evidence, citing historical and biblical figures such as Samuel, Saul and Alexander.³⁹⁶ More space is devoted to the

³⁹⁴ A comparable case of rejecting false sources is discussed by Galloway, who believes that the 'gesture of excluding unreliable stories' in vernacular chronicles 'parallels that of many Latin chroniclers after the Conquest; the mid-thirteenth-century chronicler misidentified as John of Wallingford, for instance, mentioned that many stories were told about King Offa which he passed over "pro incertis et apocriphis"' (Galloway 1999: 271; details of Wallingford's text are given in the accompanying footnote).

³⁹⁵ The 'Hebrew truth' ('Hebraicam veritatem'), the compilers of the Septuagint ('LXX interpretes') and the enigmatic Roman chronicler, Hugh de Genesis ('Hugo de Genesis nobilis cronicarius Romanus'), are amongst the authorities that he cites. Rather than being a spurious chronicler, it is probable that Hugh de Genesis is one of the many famous ecclesiastical commentators on the Bible, in this case the book of Genesis, and that Hardyng's reference derives from an amalgamation of the author's name with his work. Hugh of St Victor is probably the best candidate for Hardyng's enigmatic 'Hugh', but in order to clarify this further research needs to be done into his works and the citations and annotations accompanying them. References to the 'Hughs' in the popular florelegia often used by medieval authors may also prove helpful in ascertaining the true identity of Hardyng's chronicler. The connection between the Albyne myth and the giants mentioned in Genesis 6: 1-5, who are begotten by the sons of God on the daughters of men, is particularly striking with regard to Hardyng's mysterious source, as is God's ensuing anger at the wickedness of the new race, which parallels his wrath in the *Chronicle*.

³⁹⁶ See Arch. Selden B. 10 ff. 9v-10r, ll. 316-47.

pursuit of truth behind the myth than to the story itself, and before providing a long list of chronicles that attest to the existence of King Danaus (and therefore his own knowledge of other chronicles), Hardyng warns against the dangers of spurious texts:

By alle cronicle that I haue enquired.
That cronicle sholde nought be desired,
Sith that is nought true, ne autentike,
By no cronicle into the truthe ought like.
[Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 10r, ll. 347-50]

An audience should not believe everything it is told without first questioning the validity of the source; instead it is implied that the readers, like Cecily and the children in the prologue, and Elizabeth in the epilogue, need a trustworthy intermediary to intercede for them and discover the truth on their behalf. Since Hardyng shows that he cares about the credibility of the sources used for his text and has seen works that the writer of the misleading tale has not (f. 10r, ll. 351-64), it follows that the audience should allow him to guide them. Incredibly, a gloss in the first version contains information of a similar nature to the aforementioned gloss in the second version, noting the discrepancy between various authorities regarding whether the father of Albyne and her sisters was Dioclician or Danaus, whether he had thirty or fifty daughters, and whether they slew their husbands or not (f. 7r, l. 329 *gloss after*). This gloss, however, is in English and cites the chronicles of ‘Martyne’ (Martinus Polonus) and Trogius Pompeius in support of King Danaus, as opposed to the Bible and Hugh de Genesis. Although Lansdowne 204 provides this information for the reader, Hardyng refrains from drawing his own conclusions and leaves it to the audience to decide which version is correct; only in the revised *Chronicle* does he remove this choice and emphasise his personal pursuit of the truth by telling us which version is more historically accurate. Even after Hardyng has taken up the story again in the second version, explaining how Albion received its name and how the giants came to rule the island, it is not long before he turns back to the subject of truth. Still conscious that all possibilities must be accounted for, he calls attention to the date of the events by placing them once again in a universal context and recording how many years ‘afore the incarnation’ they occurred; a new source, ‘Maryan Scot, the truest croniclere’, namely John of Worcester, is similarly cited to give weight to his narrative.³⁹⁷ The two stanzas that follow are devoted to the etymological problem of how the island came to be called Albion according to Bartholomeus Anglicanus:

But Bartholomew, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*,
Seith howe this ile of Albyon had name
Of the see bankes ful white allee, or sum
That circuyte this ile
[Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 11r, ll. 421-24]

³⁹⁷ See, for example, Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 10r, l. 366 for Hardyng’s attempt to place the *Chronicle* within a universal context. Gransden notes, mistakenly, that Hardyng’s reference to Scotus is really to Florence of Worcester (1982a: 283), but, like Higden, he cites ‘Marianus’ as his source when he appears to be using John of Worcester’s *Chronicle*, a continuation of Scotus’s universal chronicle which was ‘formerly attributed to a monk called Florence [...] solely on a notice of Florence’s death in the annal for 1118’ (see Waldron 2004: xv).

It is not surprising that the chronicler feels he must deal with this matter, since the *Chronicle*, like the *Brut*, is infused with etymological explanations of place names, and readers of this type of work appear to have taken great interest in this kind of topic; explaining the etymology of a country or town was an integral part of the history of that place, and therefore its people.³⁹⁸ Hardyng, having an acute interest in etymological matters himself, was undoubtedly aware of the popularity of Bartholmeus's *De Proprietatibus Rerum* and the threat that it posed to the validity of his account of Britain's mythic history, so he deals with the problem of two disparate sources in the most unobtrusive way that he can, concluding that 'bothe þe wayes may ben right sure and true' (f. 11r, l. 433). This cautious approach helps to reassert the authority vested in chronicles, whilst wisely acknowledging the accuracy of other renowned authors writing outside of this field. The problem of potentially spurious chronicles and contradictory sources also arises at the end of the second version when Hardyng addresses the matter of the forged chronicle circulated in the fourteenth century by John of Gaunt. Supplementary prose passages in English describe the 'grete erreure and controuersi' that arose due to 'an vntrue cronicle, fayned in the tyme of Kinge Richard the seconde by John of Gaunt, duke of Lancastre', which recorded that 'Edmond, erle of Lancastre, Laycestre, and of Derby, was, the eldire sonne of Kinge Henry the thirde, crouchebakked, vnable to haue be kinge; for which Edward, his yonger broþer, was made kinge bi his assent' (ff. 189v-190r, ll. 3835-40).³⁹⁹ The passages attest to what scholars have known for some time, that chronicles from respectable institutions like 'Westminster and all oþer notable mynstres' (f. 190r, l. 3847) were used by medieval authorities to ascertain the truth behind matters of historical importance, such as royal genealogies.⁴⁰⁰ A comparable account of the 'crouchback legend' occurs in Adam of Usk's *Chronicle*,⁴⁰¹ but Hardyng's rendition contrasts the machinations of deceitful men, like Gaunt and Henry IV, with the honest 'erle of Northumbrelond and his brothir Sir Thomas Percy', who stood to benefit from the false chronicle 'for cause they were descent of the said Edmonde [son of Henry III] be a sister' (f. 190v, ll. 3875-76), but who chose to refrain from any part in the deception. The sister in question, Mary, daughter of Henry, earl of Lancaster, and granddaughter of Edmund of Lancaster, provides Hardyng with an opportunity to show how a descent from an important female line can be misused or used to good effect. He makes it clear that the Percies, who were cousins to Blanche of Lancaster, Gaunt's first wife, could have gained from supporting Gaunt's deceitful plot, as they too were descended from a female ancestor of Edmund of Lancaster, but they chose to

³⁹⁸ Countless marginal annotations in manuscripts of chronicles such as Hardyng's and the *Brut* suggest that readers of the British history had an interest in the etymologies of places names and people. Dublin, Trinity College MS 505, recently examined by Professor John Scattergood, is an exceptional example of this, because just as Hardyng's *Chronicle* provides a pictorial representation of Scotland, the *Brut* in this manuscript contains elaborate marginal drawings of the towns and cities mentioned in the text. Professor Scattergood presented his initial findings about Trinity College 505 at *The Third International Medieval Chronicle Conference* in Utrecht (July 2002).

³⁹⁹ This incident is also recounted in the body of the revised *Chronicle*, which, like the *Eulogium Continuation*, states that the earl of March was recognised as Richard II's heir by parliament; see Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 128v.

⁴⁰⁰ On the use of chronicles in this way see Gransden 1975: 363-81, 1982: *passim* and 1992: 219; Clanchy 1979: 116-47; Taylor 1987: 58.

⁴⁰¹ See Given-Wilson 1997: 64-67, who says that the event took place on 21 September 1399. For the crouchback legend, see also Lapsley 1934 and Allan 1981: 193, 196-98, 269, who notes a connection between the crouchback myth and the account in the *Eulogium Continuation*, which details Richard II naming Mortimer as his heir.

support the lawful king of England and take no part in promoting Gaunt's false chronicle. Ironically, the crouchback legend serves to reinforce the legitimacy of York's claim, for by attempting to prove his descent from Edmund, Gaunt is advocating the right of a female to pass on a claim. Once Edmund's status as the younger brother is proven, the descendants of Lancaster cannot deny the validity of the Yorkist claim through Philippa of Clarence. It can be no accident that the stories Hardyng shows himself to be investigating most fully are those concerned with women. The diligent chronicler thoughtfully mediates for his audience because so many 'stond in grete erreure' with regards to what actually happened, and since he has heard the truth directly from the earl of Northumberland, it is his duty to record what really happened so that the truth is not lost (f. 189v, l. 3835).⁴⁰² Time and again, Hardyng proves that he has considered and rejected all counterfeit sources pertaining to historical and genealogical matters that impact on the validity of York's claim to the throne; the regular emphasis on his own relationship to the Percies similarly serves to add weight to his modified account of fifteenth-century history.

From the beginning of Henry IV's accession, Hardyng makes it clear that the king broke his agreement with the Percies, to claim no more than his lawful inheritance of the duchy of Lancaster, and that he seized the crown after sending the Percies' army home. Extended prose passages in English and Latin are appended to the second version detailing Henry's perjury and his unlawful deposition and murder of Richard II. These passages are part of a systematic reworking of the *Chronicle* to interpret important events of the fifteenth century as the actions of loyal men hoping to restore the disinherited Mortimer heirs. The Epiphany rising of 1400, the battle of Shrewsbury, Scrope's rebellion in 1405, the battle of Bramham Moor in 1408, Owen Glendower's revolt and the Southampton Plot of 1415 are all explained as, or linked to, revolts in favour of ousting the usurping dynasty. Two of these events, the battle of Shrewsbury (1403) and Scrope's rebellion in 1405, are referred to in greater depth in the prose passages at the end of the work, and the treatment of Scrope's revolt in the main body of the *Chronicle* is far more engaging than the account in Lansdowne 204, where Hardyng states that he does not know why the archbishop rebelled (f. 206, ll. 2304-10). In the revision the revolt is explicitly linked with the battle of Shrewsbury, as the prose passages explain that the Percies rose against the king 'by good aduice and counceil of maister Richard Scrop, archbisshop of Yorke' (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 192r, ll. 3939-40); the 'swete and deuowte' motivation behind both incidents is said to be the restoration of the Yorkist line.⁴⁰³

The woman at the heart of this controversy is likewise given precedence in Hardyng's new account of late fourteenth-century history, and his examination of

⁴⁰² The idea of preserving a true account of contemporary events for posterity dates back to the first historian, the Greek Herodotus, who states at the beginning of his text that he has recorded the marvellous deeds of the Greeks so that the memory of them will not be lost over time: 'Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνησέως ἱστορίας ἀπόδειξις ἦδε, ὡς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά, τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεῖα γένηται, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι [What Herodotus the Halicarnassian has learnt by inquiry is here set forth: in order that so the memory of the past may not be blotted out from among men by time, and that great and marvellous deeds done by Greeks and foreigners and especially the reason why they warred against each other may not lack renown, Godley 1920: I, 2-3].

⁴⁰³ The similarity of Hardyng's interpolations to those in the *Eulogium Continuation* and the *English Chronicle* is quite striking and points towards a common *Brut*-derived source in Latin for all three texts. Dr William Marx has addressed the similarities between the *English Chronicle*, the *Eulogium Continuation* and the *Brut* in his new edition of the *English Chronicle* (2003).

York's descent from her provides another way in which he examines two disparate reports in an attempt to ascertain the truth. In the first version Hardyng makes no reference to Philippa of Clarence; he offers instead several stanzas describing the negotiations between her father, Lionel, duke of Clarence, son of Edward III, and the duke of Milan regarding his marriage to Violante Visconti, his second wife. His journey to Italy for the wedding celebrations is then recounted, where we are told, he partook in 'manly' activities, such as jousting. In the second version, the narrative is altered to present a careful report of Lionel's first wife and their only child, Philippa, followed by a note of her marriage to Edmund Mortimer, and their children Elizabeth and Roger Mortimer.⁴⁰⁴ Hardyng also pays particular attention to where Lionel was buried. Whereas the first version simply concludes that he was buried at Milan, the second version acknowledges a difference in opinion over his burial place, noting that 'som say he is biried þer [i.e. Milan], and oþer say his bones were brought home *and* biried in Clare in Essex' (f. 147r, l. 1099 *gloss after*). In actuality both stories are based on fact, for he was initially buried in Milan and then in accordance with his will, his remains were returned to Clare. John Capgrave also cites the confusion between the accounts and ultimately concludes that Lionel's remains are at Clare.⁴⁰⁵ At face value, the details of his burial do not appear to be too integral to Hardyng's revision, and aside from having the prestige of Lionel's remains on English soil, one might wonder why he bothers to add this additional text at all. However, there are two important reasons for this. First, he gets another opportunity to demonstrate his selective nature at work, and his personal quest for truth; anyone wishing to question the validity of his claim can visit Clare themselves and check for Lionel's tomb.⁴⁰⁶ The second reason for the inclusion is highlighted best by a contemporary reader's response to Hardyng's revision.

In one of the manuscripts of the second version, Princeton University Garrett 142, a fifteenth-century owner has made extensive marginal annotations that show why it was important to the Yorkist title to place Lionel's bones on English soil.⁴⁰⁷ This disgruntled individual has picked up upon Hardyng's deliberate attempt to highlight the importance of Lionel's daughter and has squeezed a detailed refutation of the legitimacy of Philippa, based on several of Sir John Fortescue's arguments, into the margins around the verse.⁴⁰⁸ The annotation essentially claims that Philippa was the illegitimate daughter of Lionel's adulterous first wife and James Audley. Upon

⁴⁰⁴ Hardyng knew Elizabeth personally as she later married Hotspur; she is mentioned as 'my lady Percy' in the second version (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 147r, l. 1071 *gloss after*).

⁴⁰⁵ The complication concerning the burial place of Lionel, duke of Clarence, arises from the fact that Lionel was originally buried near the grave of St Augustine at Pavia, Italy, but, sometime before 1377, his heart and bones were brought back to Clare by John Newbury. The remains were placed in the choir, and Newbury was later buried near his master. Lionel's last will stated 'In primis lego animam meam Deo et beate Marie omnibus sanctis et corpus meum ad sepeliendum in ecclesia fratrum Augustiniensium de Clare in choro ante magnum altare' (Nichols 1780: 88-91; Roth 1966: 55-56).

⁴⁰⁶ Compare this with the inclusion of the map of Scotland and details of Hardyng's mission in the first version, which verify his claim to have visited the country on behalf of the king, and the reference to Arthur's Round Table being established at Winchester in the second version, where, Hardyng states, it resides today (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 62v). The remark concerning the Round Table also allows Hardyng to ally the renowned knights of Arthur's court with those in the fifteenth century because the presence of the table at Winchester suggests a continuity of chivalric values from the mythic past to the present day.

⁴⁰⁷ See Appendix 3.

⁴⁰⁸ Namely *De Titulo Edwardi Marchiae*, the *Defensio Juris Domus Lancastriae*, *The Defense of the Title of the House of Lancaster*, and *Of the Title of the House of York*.

hearing of this transgression, the annotator notes, Lionel never wanted to see his wife again and he never returned to England:

*and wherefore þe said Sir Leonell wold neuer see þe moder after þat, ne
neuer wold come yn Englund after* [Garrett 142, f. 134v]

If Lionel is buried in Milan, the rumours about Philippa could have some foundation in fact; if Lionel is at Clare, they cannot be true. Admittedly, Fortescue's arguments were not written until his Scottish sojourn in the early 1460s with the exiled Henry VI, but as we know that Hardyng was compiling the *Chronicle* up until 1464 there was sufficient time for such rumours to gain currency, if only through oral transmission. Perhaps hearsay such as this prompted Hardyng to include his discussion of Lionel's tomb. Either way by calling attention to the rumours and apparently assessing the validity of each possibility, he presents himself as an objective author.⁴⁰⁹ It is evident that by presenting himself in this way Hardyng is essentially attempting to do the same thing as he did in the first version when he wished to convince his audience of his worthiness to advise Henry VI. In this version he weighs the evidence presented in disparate sources to associate his personal pursuit of the truth with the stories relating to female figures. I would now like to consider how Hardyng reinterprets certain aspects of British history for the new dynasty.

The Authority of Education

As already mentioned, the perception of the *Chronicle* as a 'Mirror for Princes' is retained and emphasised from the very beginning. The majority of the reigns in the second version, although reduced to provide a more succinct narrative, are designed to highlight good and bad examples of kingship, just as the first version did, but in the new, shorter version Hardyng places greater emphasis on disseminating the wisdom embodied in the historical examples to younger members of society in order to educate them. At the end of the 'boke' dealing with Albyne and her sisters Hardyng repeats his rejection of pagan gods and reverts back to the traditional humility topos used in the prologue to affirm his status as a pious, intelligent Christian writer. Instead of submitting the work to 'alle' to correct where his 'wytte in ought hath merred' (Lansdowne 204, f. 9r, l. 533),⁴¹⁰ Hardyng concludes his interjection by reinforcing the idea of his work as a mirror for 'yong knightes' as he echoes the proverb previously cited at lines 251-52 of the prologue ('As in olde feeldes comes fresshe and grene grewe,/ So of olde bokes cometh oure kunnyng newe'):⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁹ Ironically Hardyng's attempt to appear impartial has been ignored by the glossator, who attempts to give credence to his note by raising the question of Hardyng's biased loyalties to the Percy family.

⁴¹⁰ This is another conventional phrase used by medieval authors; see, for example, John Metham's request that his audience 'amende alle that I haue done amys;/ To me, Iesu, now thi mercy, ful necessary ys/ And thei that my sympyl wrytyng schal rede' (Craig 1916: 81, ll. 2203-05).

⁴¹¹ This proverb is almost certainly taken from Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Parliament of Fowls* I, ll. 22-25: 'For out of olde felde, as men seyth,/ Cometh al this newe corn from yer to yere,/ And out of olde bokes, in good feyth,/ Cometh al this newe science that men lere' (see Maxwell 1969: 170). For further examples of the use of this phrase in medieval literature see Whiting 1968: 98 (C 428), 177 (F128). Hardyng's verses are also worth comparing with the English translation of Vegetius's *De Re Militari*, possibly written by John Walton, which claims to have been compiled for the 'greet informacioun and lernynge of zonge lordes and knightes þat ben lusty & loueþ to here & see & to vse dedes of armes chyalrie' and includes a reference to finding wisdom in old books: 'As we in oold bookes fynde

As oute of olde feeldes newe cornes growe ech yere,
 Of olde bookes ben clerkes newe approued,
 Olde knightes actes with mynstrels tonges stere
 The newe corage of yong knightes to be moued;
 Wherefore me thenke old thing shuld be loued,
 Sith olde connyng maketh yong wittes wise
 Disposed wele to vertuous exercise.

[Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 12r, ll. 477-83]

The stanza is particularly clever because it brings the narrative full circle by subtly taking the reader back to the theme of old age; the association in these verses of old age with wisdom, indirectly implies that the ‘aged wight’ Hardyng (f. 5r, l. 3), with his knowledge of ‘olde bookes’, is the perfect guide to ‘maketh yong wittes wise.’ It also stresses the importance of using examples from the past to stir the ‘newe corage’ of the next generation and convince ‘yong wittes’ to engage in ‘vertuous exercise’.

An important illustration of the bearing of past events on the present, and the importance of learning from ‘Olde knightes actes’, can be seen in the section addressed to the duke of York at the end of the reign of Cadwallader, in which Hardyng emphasises the virtues of written authorities and asks his patron to ‘thenke on’ the lesson of Cadwallader’s fall ‘And teche it to my lord of Marche’ (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 78v). The influence of Boethius’s *De Consolatione Philosophiae* is particularly prominent in these verses, as it was in the analogous sections of the first version. Hardyng begins by linking the misery of Cadwallader’s Britons, as they flee from ‘Grete Britayne, in whiche þey had excelled’ knowing that ‘þeire foos mortal shold it occupie/ For euermore withouten remedie’ (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 78v), with the idea that sorrow is a common human experience resulting from man’s own contrary nature and associated with the continual flux of fortune. The result is a paraphrase of one of the most famous quotations in the *Consolatione*:

Whiche is þe payne moost felle aboue al peyne,
 A man haue be in high felicite
 And fallen down by infortune agayne
 In misery and felle aduersite;
 Howe may a man haue more contrariosite
 Than haue be wele and aftir wo begone?
 Incomparable to it ben peynes echone.

[Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 78v]⁴¹²

Acceptance and understanding of the human condition, in Boethian terms, can only be attained through wisdom and moral integrity, which is precisely what Hardyng instructs his patron to instil in his heir. The *Chronicle* is after all dedicated to York’s

written, in þis wise, as y schal schewe, oure olde aunsetres vsed to teche hir zong kniztes deds of armes’ (Lester 1988: 59, 190).

⁴¹² Compare with Book II, iv, of the *Consolatione* (‘Nam in omni aduersitate fortunae, infelicissimum est genus infortunii fuisse felicem’ [for all the adversities of fortune, the most unhappy kind of misfortune is to have known happiness]; Stewart, Rand and Tester 1973: 190-91). The sentiment is repeated by many medieval writers, most famously perhaps by Dante in his *Inferno* V, ll. 121-23, when Francesca describes her ill-fated love affair with Paolo: ‘Nessun maggior dolore/ che ricordarsi del tempo felice/ ne la miseria; e ciò sa ’l tuo dottore’ (Bosco and Reggio 1993: 82).

entire family and it is best, states Hardyng, to ‘endowe’ them with wisdom while they are young:

For what sauoure a newe shel is taken with
 Whan it is olde it tasteth of þe same,
 And what maner ympe in gardeyne, or in frith,
 Imped is in stok from whens it came
 It sauoureth ay and is nothing to blame,
 For of his rote fro whiche he doth oute spryng;
 He must euer taste and sauoure in etyng.

While he is yong in wisdome him endowe,
 Whiche is ful herd to gete withoute laboure,
 Whiche laboure may not bide with ese nowe,
 For of laboure came kyng and emperoure,
 Lat him nought ydel shalbe youre successoure,
 For honoure and ease togedir may nat ben,
 Wherefore write nowe þe wande while it is grene.
 [Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 79r]

The proverbial wisdom infusing these verses focusses on the necessity of a good education and careful nurturing through hard work or ‘laboure’. This echoes the sentiment in the prologue where Hardyng expressed a hope that the duke would eschew the sin of sloth by working hard to emulate the good rule of his forefathers (see Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 6v, ll. 113-19 in **Illustrative Texts**). In this later address, however, it is not enough to rule well, one’s heirs should also be taught to live virtuously and ‘laboure’ against ‘ease’; in preparation for their eventual reigns. This is something Henry V did not have the opportunity to do, therefore Hardyng compares Henry VI with his father; in the second versions that task falls to York. There is perhaps an anxiety on Hardyng’s part, indicative of the English consciousness at large, that the Yorkist line is secure only as long as the new dynasty rules well. Hardyng’s ensuing request that the duke and his son remain mindful of the numerous princes who have been ‘casten down’ through lack of wisdom and ‘mekenesse’, similarly recalls the petition in the prologue to ‘Trete wele Percy, of Marches lyne decended [...] Remembryng him by witty policye,/ How, by processe of tyme and destanye,/ Youre right might alle ben his, as nowe is youre’ (f. 6v, ll. 120-25), and gains an immediacy unsurpassed at any other time in the Middle Ages, coming as it does with the depositions of two anointed sovereigns in living memory and preceding the readeption of Henry VI:

Endowe him nowe in noble sapience,
 By whiche he may the wolf bete fro þe yate,
 For wisdome is more worthe in al defence
 Than any golde or riches congregate,
 For who want it is always desolate
 Of al good rule and manly gouernaunce
 And euer infecte by his contrariaunce.

Endowe als in al humilitee

And wrath deferre by humble pacience,
 Thorough whiche he shal encrece in dignitee
 And cach always ful grete intelligence
 Of al good rule and noble regimence,
 And to conclude, wrath wol ay set on side
 Al maner thing whiche wisdom wold prouide.

Beholde Bochas⁴¹³ what princes haue þorough pride
 Ben casten down from al þeire dignite,
 Where sapience and mekenesse had ben gide,
 Ful sikerly than might haue saued be
 And stande always in mighty grete suretee,
 If in þeire hertes mekenesse had be grounded
 And wisdom als þey had nought be confounded.
 [Arch. Selden B. 10, ff. 79r-v]

Further proverbial wisdom is blended here with Boethian judiciousness, as ‘sapience’ is shown to be a greater asset than all worldly riches and personal veracity is finally allied to proficient public governance.⁴¹⁴ The explicit return to the ‘Mirrors for Princes’ tradition of fallen princes with Hardyng’s use of the imperative ‘Beholde Bochas’ at the conclusion of the address reiterates the illustrious realms that have crumbled or been conquered due to civil division, which were the focus of the interjection several stanzas previous to the verses cited above; contemporary events coalesce with the past as Hardyng recalls how ineffective rulers and divided realms ‘may nat stande, as late was verified/ In Fraunce [...] whiche þe fite Henry, kyng of Englund,/ Ouer rode [...] And conquered hem’ (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 78v).⁴¹⁵ The allusion to Henry V’s conquest of France does not include a reference to the loss of the realm under Henry VI, but because the notice occurs within the wider context of Hardyng’s discussion of the loss of Britain under Cadwallader. It would, however, have struck an undeniable chord with an audience who had witnessed the loss of France during a period of weak administration and civil division within England. Above all, by mutating his review of Cadwallader’s reign into a dual commentary on how a monarch’s personal attributes affect the public sphere, Hardyng shows political adeptness to be dependent on moral conduct. Portraying the consequences of an absence of peace and law allows Hardyng to make an imperialistic call for the reconciliation of ancestral territories and the British people themselves, a petition that, again, would have had pressing immediacy in England during the period of the second

⁴¹³ Hardyng is probably referring to Lydgate’s *Fall of Princes* here, a text that he certainly had knowledge of, rather than Boccaccio’s *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium* (for an edition of Boccaccio’s text see Ricci and Zaccaria 1983). David Lawton believes that because of Lydgate’s use of additions from Boccaccio ‘that could be taken as a critique of war and misgovernance [...] Boccaccio, Bochas, is useful to Lydgate in the role of Authority, in ways that he was not to Chaucer [...] It is Bochas who was moved to tell of the falls of princes through their vices’ (1987: 785). For Lydgate’s reference to Boccaccio see (Bergen 1924-27: II, 477-78, ll. 155-210; III, 983, l. 2238).

⁴¹⁴ Witness also Hardyng’s description of Sir Robert Umfraville as a ‘iewell for a kyng’ (Lansdowne 204, f. 221v, l. 3577), which implies that noble and law-abiding subjects such as Umfraville are more precious to a sovereign than gold or jewels; and the concluding statement of the second version, in which Hardyng notes how quickly material wealth and territorial possessions can disappear due to war, warning ‘For lighter be thay to wyn than holde’ (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 198v, l. 4354).

⁴¹⁵ Hoccleve makes similar comments in his *Regement of Princes*, ll. 5230-50, 5286-5341.

version's composition. The 'laboure' that Hardyng tells York to teach his son the benefits of appears to be associated with the ideal of recovering the British inheritance and actively working towards a unified kingdom. Cadwallader is of particular importance to York and Edward IV, since his reign not only provides an example of how a legitimate line of kings is withheld from its lawful inheritance, just as York's line is shown to have been 'deforced of all the royalte' for 'this sixty yere *and* thre' by the Lancastrian dynasty in the epilogue,⁴¹⁶ but because Cadwallader is integral to the prophetic tradition which promised the return of a *British* king. This British king was to be the final great ruler before the apocalypse who would recover all of the lost territories and bring peace and prosperity to his subjects. Hardyng briefly alludes to the prophecy divulged to Cadwallader by the angelic voice in the second version's account of his reign, and is at pains to highlight York's, and Edward IV's, descent through the Mortimer family, linking them and their Welsh ancestry to the British line instead of the English ancestral line promoted by the Lancastrians.⁴¹⁷ Significantly, although the evaluation of Cadwallader's reign in the second version is very similar to that in the first version, lamenting the mutability of fortune, comparing the Britains' loss with the loss of great classical cities, and criticising Cadwallader for allowing his realm to become desolate through lawlessness and division, there are telling differences between the two texts.

Cadwallader's pilgrimage to Rome is given precedence and the angelic prophecy is demoted to nothing more than a 'reuelacion' in a dream prompting him 'To confesse hym of all his wycked lyfe' (Lansdowne 204, f. 108v). Following Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (V, vii), Hardyng reproduces the Latin epitaph inscribed on Cadwallader's tomb at St Peter's in Rome, concluding, unlike the second version, that the Pope forgave the monarch for *all* of his transgressions.⁴¹⁸ In the second version Hardyng states that Pope Sergius was not able to absolve Cadwallader of the transgressions he made against his people 'without amendes made and restitucioun/ To comons wele' (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 77r); this indirectly highlights the importance of the angel's prophecy, carefully devalued in the Lancastrian version by Cadwallader's full pardon and which instead places the emphasis of his example on the maintenance of peace and law: the predominant theme of the earlier recension. In focussing on the epitaph, which accentuates the king's dismissal of worldly goods and rank in pursuit of spiritual wealth, the first version presents Cadwallader's end as morally triumphant, concluding that if he had acknowledged his 'negligence' earlier he might have reigned in 'ioy and worthynesse' (Lansdowne 204, f. 109v). Once again, the Boethian ideal of setting no esteem by ephemeral things, such as power and wealth, recurs habitually, particularly throughout the first version where it is often linked with authorial diatribes on the fickleness of fortune. The second version, on the other hand, ends the account of Cadwallader by focussing on the peace and prosperity that York and his son can bring to the realm, if they follow the advice of the *Chronicle* and avoid sustaining the current divisions within the land.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁶ Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 178v, ll. 3257-59.

⁴¹⁷ The prophecy by the angelic voice originates from the *Historia Regum Britanniae*, XII, 17-18 (Griscom 1929: 532-34). Coote has discussed the importance of the angelic prophecy and the British genealogy cultivated by the Yorkists (2000: 195-234); see also Hughes 2002.

⁴¹⁸ Both versions ultimately derive from Hardyng's combination of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, V, vii (King 1930: II, 224-29) and the *Historia Regum Britanniae*, XII, 14-19 (Griscom 1929: 530-36).

⁴¹⁹ The association of fortune with providence witnessed in the reign of Richard II in the first version is similarly toned down. Richard's deposition is still ascribed to his bad governance, but far from being

Using the same strategy as he did in the first version, Hardyng also addresses members of the nobility throughout the work and shows the necessity of their working together to unite the realm and prevent low-born men rising above their station and gaining positions of power through marriage and tyranny. A good example of this may be seen in the episode dealing with Kings Careys and Gurmonde, which precedes the interjection in Cadwallader's reign. In both versions of the *Chronicle* the reigns of Careys and Gurmonde are essentially the same, often with entire lines repeated virtually verbatim, with the basis of the narrative deriving from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*; the only notable exception being that the first version contains an anomalous reference to Gurmonde's false claim to be 'The next of blode [...] descende/ Of thelder doughter of Vter Pendragon 3ynge/ That Anne so hight and quene was of Norway/ Gawayns moder and Modredes was I say (Lansdowne 204, f. 89r). In the *Historia* Geoffrey interrupts his description of the discord in King Keredic's (Careys) realm with an address chastising the British people for the civil wars, in which he cites a biblical warning against civil division:

Quid ociosa gens pondere inmanium scelerum oppressa quid semper ciuilia prelia siciens tete domesticis in tantum debilitasti motibus que cum prius longe posita regna potestati tue subdidisses nunc uelut bona uinea degenerata in amaritudinem uersa patriam coniuges liberos nequeas ab inimicis tueri? Age ergo age ciuile discidium parum intelligens illud euangelicum 'Omne regnum in se ipsum diuisum desolabitur & domus supra domum cadet.' Quia ergo regnum tuum in se diuisum fuit quia furor ciuilis discordie & liuoris fumus mentem tuam hebetauit quia superbia tua uni regi obedientiam ferre te non permisit cernis iccirco patriam tuam ab impiissimis paganis desolatam domos etiam eiusdem supra domos reuersas quod posteris tui in futurum lugebunt. [Griscom 1929: 505-06, XI. ix]⁴²⁰

A similar interjection is lacking in the first version of the *Chronicle*, but at the end of Aurelius Conan's rule, several stanzas earlier than Careys's reign, Hardyng places a comparable caution, directly addressed, in a single stanza, to his audience of 'lordes', to 'thy nke vpon this worldes transmutacion/ And cherisse not contencions no debates [...] lesse it be your confusion' (Lansdowne 204, f. 88r). Nonetheless, in the revised version Hardyng imitates Geoffrey's interpolation at the end of Careys's supremacy, changing the addressees, first to King Careys, then to the magnates of the realm, and finally to the duke of York. Although Hardyng is essentially reworking the *Historia*, his adaptation allows his audience to see a progressive link between the

England's divinely appointed saviour, Henry Bolingbroke sequesters the throne by abusing the power available to him as a magnate, not from a superior dynastic claim.

⁴²⁰ [You foolish people, weighed down by the sheer burden of your own monstrous crimes, never happy but when you are fighting one another, why have you so far weakened yourselves in domestic upsets that you, who need to submit far-distant kingdoms to your own authority, are now like some fruitful vineyard which has gone sour and you cannot protect your own country, wives and children from your enemies? Keep on with your civil squabbling and forget what the Gospel says: 'Every kingdom divided against itself shall fall.' Because your kingdom was divided against itself, because the lunacy of civil war and the smoke-cloud of jealousy obscured your mind, because your pride did not permit you to obey a single king, that is why you see your fatherland ravaged by the most impious heathens and your homesteads overturned one upon the other, all of which things those who come after you will lament in the future]. Translation taken from Thorpe 1966: 264.

historical king, the magnates of the realm and the future king, as each stanza shifts the attention of the audience from one addressee (or group of addressees) to the next:

O Kyng Careys, vnhappiest creature [...]

Thou vnderstode ful litel theuangell,
That euery reame within itsilf deuide
Shal desolate be made, as clerkes telle,
And euery hous on oper shal falle and slyde.
Thy wikked wille þat nowe is knowen wide,
That suffred so debate betwene lord and lord,
Betwene citees and londes cyvile discord;

The cause so was of þy disheritshon
And of þy remes desolacioun [...]

O ye lordes and princes of high astate
Kepe wele þe lawe and pees with gouernaunce,
Lesse youre subgettes defoule you and depreciate,
Whiche ben as able with wrongful ordinaunce
To regne as ye and haue as grete puissaunce;
If pees and lawe ben voide and vnitee
The floures er loste of alle youre soueraintee.

O worthy prince, O duke of Yorke, I mene,
Descended doun of hiest blode roial,
See ye to suche riotes þat none sustene,
[Arch. Selden B. 10, ff. 66r-67r]

By changing Geoffrey's collective *gens* into the singular 'O woful Careys!' (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 66v), then 'O ye lordes and princes of high astate' and finally 'O duke of Yorke', and using the despondent 'O' to mark each shift, Hardyng removes the responsibility for Britain's desolation from the communal *gens* in the *Historia* to the aristocracy and sovereign. His choice of source materials, and the immediacy with which he relates past history to contemporary affairs highlights one of the many ways in which he adapted the most relevant aspects of his sources to suit his own agenda. Even the repetition of Geoffrey's allusion to the Biblical warnings against division within a kingdom causing desolation is included as it takes on a greater immediacy during the period in which he was rewriting the *Chronicle*.⁴²¹ Rather than omitting the stanzas addressed to Henry VI concerning the ruinous state of the kingdom, as one might expect from a revision dedicated to the new Yorkist dynasty, Hardyng reworks his observations and warnings about the state of the kingdom to suit the new monarch. In particular he cites the example of Henry V's successful campaigns in France to highlight how civil war leaves a country open to invasion from her enemies;

⁴²¹ For the Biblical admonitions against civil war see Matthew 12: 25-26 (Every kingdom divided against itself shall be made desolate); Mark 3: 24; and Luke 11: 17. Many fifteenth-century texts allude to this part of scripture: see, for example, *Richard the Redeless*, II, l. 52 (Barr 1993: 110) and Usk's *Chronicle* (Given-Wilson 1997: 136-37, 220-21).

references to Rome and Carthage serve as further examples of great realms, which have fallen through internal division:⁴²²

In Fraunce as fille ful grete diuisioun
 Thorough whiche þe fifte Henry, kyng of Englund,
 Ouer rode þerre lond by grete prouisioun,
 And conquered hem, þey might nat him withstond.
 Alle þeire citees were yold in to his hand
 For cause of þeire cruel dissencioun
 Among hemsilf, susteynde by contencoun;

Rome, Cartage, and many oþer citees,
 And many remes, as clerkes haue specified,
 Haue ben subuerte, and eke many cuntrees,
 By diuisioun among hem fortified,
 Where vnite and loue wele edified
 Might hem haue saued, in al prosperite,
 From al manere hurte and al aduersite

[Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 78v]

Whilst the sickness imagery so prominent in the first version remains,⁴²³ the epilogue places greater emphasis on the image of the king as the good shepherd. Hardyng advises Edward IV to pardon the men who still support Henry VI, and who gave up their freedom and estates to follow him into exile in Scotland:

O rightwis prince, bringe the scatrid men
 To thaire pasture forsakyn and forlore [...]
 Concidir how God hath youe set therfore
 At ouer the flok to seke scatrid shepe,
 And ley hem in youre folde surerly to slepe.
 [Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 179v, ll. 3347-53]

The word 'slepe' is particularly striking here, as it implies that only Edward IV can bring rest and relief to the 'forlore' flock. New stanzas are added, however, to remind Edward IV, poignantly, of the harsh realities of war: the great expense to the king and the kingdom, and the terrible loss of life entailed:

I had it leuer than Fraunce and Normandie
 And all youre rightes that are beyonde þe se;
 For ye may kepe it euermore ful sikerlie
 Within youreself and drede noon enmytie.
 And othir londes without men, golde, or fee,
 Ye may not longe reioise, as hath be tolde,
 For lighter be thay to wyn than holde.

Your e auncetres haue had beyond the se

⁴²² Hoccleve makes similar comments in his *Regement of Princes*, ll. 5230-50, 5286-5341.

⁴²³ See, for example, the reference to Scotland being dismembered from England (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 198r, l. 4301).

Diuers londes and lost hem all agayne;
 Sore goten, sone lost, what vaileth sicke rialte
 But labore *and* cost, grete losse of men and payne?
 For ay before, with treson, or with trayne,
 And want of golde, was lost within a yere
 That we had goot in ten, as doth apere.

[Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 198v, ll.4304-17]

Hardyng fully understands the financial and emotional cost of war and underscores this for the king.⁴²⁴ The emphasis at the end of the second version is that foreign campaigns should only be undertaken when England is free from internal divisions; this is perhaps why Hardyng presents Edward IV with plans to invade only the lowlands of Scotland rather than the grand campaign envisaged for Henry VI, involving the reconquest of the low and high lands. The ‘debate betwene lord and lord’ that ruined Careys’s kingdom, and the ‘riotes’ that York must not sustain relate to the conflicts leading up to 1460, but by the end of the *Chronicle*, as Hardyng continues writing for Edward IV the reunification of fifteenth-century England is still shown to turn on the reconciliation of the king with the exiled Henry VI. In the epilogue the chronicler advises Edward to restore Henry to his lawful inheritance, just as God has restored him to his:

Graunt Henry grace with all his owne lyuelode,
 The duchie hool of Lancastre his right,
 Nought as it is, but as of worthihode

[Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 179r, ll. 3305-07]

This incredible suggestion, whilst preposterous, comes directly after stanzas urging the king to invade Scotland and assert English hegemony, and therefore he cleverly links the restoration of peace with the restoration of one’s lawful inheritance. Perhaps this is why Hardyng kept the addresses to York in the text even after his death, because the messages within the interjections were still of importance to his son four years later. Instead of condemning Henry VI, and the supporters that fled to Scotland with him after his deposition, Hardyng asks Edward to show mercy to them. This will help to appease Henry and reconcile him to Edward’s position as lawful king; it will also appease Henry’s supporters, who in seeing Henry reconciled with Edward will become Edward’s loyal subjects. The additional benefit of this, states Hardyng, is that England’s enemies, the Scots and the French, will be unable to exploit the divisions that the dynastic dispute has caused within England. Loyal and contented subjects are once again shown to be the key to maintaining a unified and prosperous Britain, just as they were in the first version. So although the dynastic dispute between the houses of Lancaster and York has become an issue of concern in Hardyng’s revised *Chronicle*, it is not the principal anxiety of the text. Like the war with Scotland and the local disturbances detailed in the first version, the dynastic dispute discussed in the second version is shown to be another form of division, which threatens the common weal of the kingdom, and which should be avoided at all costs. The

⁴²⁴ Compare other allusions to the expense of war in the *Chronicle*, such as Hardyng’s emphasis on the grant given to Edward III by parliament for his French campaign; Queen Isabella, Richard II’s widow, being returned home with her jewels; and the financial incapacity of Lord Ruthin after paying his ransom to Glyn Dŵr.

motivation for writing remains the same: to promote public welfare and the diligent but merciful distribution of justice for all, whether the person in question is an ex-king, a magnate, or a commoner.

The Second Version: Conclusion

The second version shows a systematic reworking of the *Chronicle* for a wider public sphere. The role of women is enhanced as it suits Hardyng's political agenda to do so, and the stories associated with them allow Hardyng to indulge in a self-literary criticism whereby both he and his text are consistently associated with truth. The overall effect, nevertheless, is not that different thematically from the first version, in so far as the *Chronicle* aims to depict each monarch, or in York's case the heir apparent, as England's hope for a better future. This, however, is where the second version perhaps has the upper hand, for the women within the history are, for the most part, portrayed as peacemakers and unifiers, and in this respect Cecily Neville and Elizabeth Woodville, who humbly submit to their husbands' authority in the prologue and epilogue provide a nice contrast to the warlike depiction of Margaret of Anjou in the second version, who is shown to be prolonging the division within the realm by remaining in Scotland with England's traditional enemies, the Scots. The only time in the entire history when the realm is shown to be in a state of wholeness is when the island is Albion, a name which by definition is derived from the first founder of the realm: a woman. But the female sovereigns of Albion are not able to rule well without the guidance of men and thus the land falls to ruin and lawlessness until Brutus arrives to restore order. Under him the land encounters a temporary golden age until the realm is divided among his sons and the pattern of division inflicted on the realm throughout the ensuing history begins. The *Chronicle* suggests that the wholeness desired by all English men, is the re-unification of the land as one kingdom, another Albion. The impression is that being newly restored to his rightful ancestry and descended from the female line, Edward IV is the country's best hope of peace. As Sheila Delany has suggested, the women then are not advocated as rulers in their own right, but as the progenitors of the next line of kings (1998: 198); they are important because of the men they are connected to and their feminine qualities provide a perfect balance to the 'masculinity' associated in the *Chronicle* with kingship. Ultimately, they inspire, encourage peace, intercede between king and subjects, and help secure a legitimate succession, but for all this, the women in the second version of Hardyng's *Chronicle* still need to take their allotted place below their husbands, who govern and guide them under their rule 'as sholde femynitee' (f. 8v, l. 264).

From the start of the *Chronicle* a marked contrast can be seen in the way in which Hardyng presents the sovereign. The impetus is not on good counsel and rewarding loyal subjects, but on the legitimacy of the new king and his British inheritance. This modification in the thematic focus of the *Chronicle* draws attention to the theme of unity and restoration that was implicit in the first version; if God has restored the disinherited line, then the duke of York or, later, Edward IV, can restore the realm's past glory and heal the divisions within the land.

Conclusion: ‘Of this I wol nowé ceesse, and forth procede/ To my matier, where first that I began’.

Whiche bookes, if they had neuer been set out,
 It had been a greate maime to our knowlage,
 A lamentable lacke, withouten doubtte,
 A greate cause of blindnesse to our age,
 And to our faith inestimable damage;
 But the spirite of God the authour was
 That those examples might bee our glasse.

[Ellis 1812: 9]

It is fitting that the end of the first part of this study of John Hardyng and his *Chronicle* should end as it began with a quotation from the first man to acknowledge Hardyng’s achievement in print, Richard Grafton. Although Hardyng’s contribution in literary terms is minor in comparison to authors such as Chaucer, Lydgate and Gower, the insight his *Chronicle* provides with regards to our understanding of medieval England and the concerns of late fifteenth-century authors is invaluable.

In his pioneering study *Chronicles and Other Historical Writing* Edward Donald Kennedy remarked that ‘Kingsford’s choice of ‘historical literature’ or better still, Gransden’s term ‘historical writing’ is more suitable for much of the [historical or chronicle] material written after 1400’ (Kennedy 1989: 2598); in the case of Hardyng’s *Chronicle* neither term is sufficient to define the generic distinctions of the text, but the definition ‘historical literature’ probably best typifies Hardyng’s unique blend of history, romance, chivalric idealism, antiquarianism and topography. Rather than merely compiling his work in a succinct annalistic format, Hardyng uses literary techniques, such as parallelism and imagery, to provide a sense of continuity throughout his verse account of what would otherwise be a series of historical exempla lacking narrative coherence. It is through allusions to historical and literary figures, real and imagined, that the author is able to provide a framework in which he can contextualize himself, his king, and his era. In essence, history and literature for Hardyng are one and the same thing; one cannot view the *Chronicle* simply as an historical work, for this overlooks the literary contexts and influence under which it was written. What Hardyng achieves is a fine balance between using established models and conceptions to define and illuminate current events and figures. By recycling and blending the time-honoured conceits of previous writers with his own firsthand experience of fifteenth-century affairs, Hardyng presents a unique portrait of late medieval England with an urgency and immediacy unprecedented by contemporary chroniclers. His work is animated by the wisdom and weariness of war felt by a patriot who believed that England’s future could be as glorious as its past.

As one of those who had witnessed and played an active role in the great achievements of Henry V, Hardyng, like others in his social milieu, hoped to restore England’s lost glory by stirring young knights to emulate the chivalric deeds of past knights like his late masters, Sir Robert Umfraville and Sir Henry Percy. Being a member of the gentle ranks of society Hardyng tailored his history ‘to bene myroure and remembrance to other kynges and prynces’ (Lansdowne 204, f. 67r), an educational collection of good and bad exempla of kingship and governance, promoting the chivalric ethos that he believed could still be retrieved from what he perceived to be the lawless and degenerate state of fifteenth-century England. In a

sense he is doing nothing different from what previous medieval historians claimed to be doing; Henry of Huntingdon, for example, stated that the aim of his work was to 'not only provoke men of the spirit to what is good and deter them from evil, but even encourage worldly men to good deeds and reduce their wickedness'²²¹ However, Hardyng is intrinsically different from other medieval chroniclers because, unlike the chronicles written by clerical authors, the two versions of his work embody the tastes and concerns of secular society at two distinct moments when English history was itself being rewritten by those experiencing the turbulent political circumstances resulting from Henry VI's weak regime, and gives us a greater insight into the feelings and anxieties that this period generated within the individual. Hardyng is similarly one of only two medieval English chroniclers to blend historical fact with courtly ideals, and is one of the last medieval writers to see a progressive link between the chivalric past and the present.²²² It is a mistake therefore to cite the composition of either version of the *Chronicle* to self-motivated advancement on the chronicler's part, or to attribute the revised version to authorial fickleness.

The depiction of the king and his kingdom in Hardyng's *Chronicle* is intrinsically the same in both versions. Kingship is divinely appointed, and the earthly monarch has a responsibility to take care of his subjects, administer justice, and heal the divisions within his kingdom. The kingdom is portrayed as both a physical landscape, comprising territories that can be mapped out and measured, won and lost, and an imagined community, comprising all English subjects living under the king's jurisdiction.²²³ The king, his subjects and his kingdom are inextricably linked; united, and devoted to the common weal; they are strong and prosperous, divided and self-serving, they are weak and susceptible to invasion from enemies. By the same token, the history of British kings in Hardyng's *Chronicle* is not presented as a matter of dynastic legitimacy. Instead both versions provide us with a simpler and more significant understanding of late fifteenth-century affairs. Whilst Hardyng uses the reigns of earlier monarchs to invite comparisons with his own sovereign, it is his interpretation of late medieval history (from the reign of Edward III onwards) that is most revealing. The first version reveals an intimate connection between public and personal grievances, similar to those articulated in the civic domain during the 1450s; this version addresses the problem of the king's lack of assertive authority by endorsing decisive and just action, and accentuating the need for Henry VI to procure sound advice from reliable councillors. Rather than referring to his Scottish mission in the first version out of frustration at not being rewarded, Hardyng cites his current

²²¹ 'non solum spirituales ad bonum accendunt et a malo repellunt, sed etiam seculares ad bona sollicitant et in malis minuunt' (Greenway 1996: 5), for an extract from Huntingdon's preface to the *Historia Anglorum*, which sums up beautifully the spirit of Hardyng's work, see the epigraph at the beginning of this study. Henry (born c. 1088) was appointed to the archdeaconry of Huntingdon and canonry of Lincoln after his father's death in 1100, and remained in these offices until his death some time between 1156-64. His history of the English people was compiled at the request of Bishop Alexander of Lincoln and was in circulation, in its earliest form, from c. 1133. For further information on the author and his work see Greenway 1996 and Gransden 1974: *passim*.

²²² The other lay chronicler to incorporate courtly idealism into his chronicle is Sir Thomas Gray, author of the *Scalacronica*. Although Gray was writing in the fourteenth century, there is a distinct correlation between his social milieu and background and that of Hardyng. I hope to pursue the relationship between the works of Hardyng and Gray at a later date. Dr Andrew King (Durham University) is currently preparing a new edition of the *Scalacronica*; only Maxwell's edition of the text for the reigns of Edward I, Edward II and Edward III is available at present (see Maxwell 1907). For the importance of Gray's *Scalacronica* in relation to other historical works see Gransden 1982a: 92-96.

²²³ For the concept of an imagined community see Anderson 1991.

feelings of disappointment in order effectively to present himself as a microcosm of society at large. The petitionary stance allows Hardyng to depict himself as one of many people in England who feel that Henry's government has failed them. Hardyng does not directly lay the blame on the king; instead he addresses his advice to both the king and the nobility, showing that the English magnates are just as responsible for governing the kingdom and upholding the law as the king. Emphasising the educational value of history and advocating qualities such as honour and military prowess perpetuates the chivalric ideal at the heart of the *Chronicle* and appeals to those members of society in positions of authority to uphold the rights of those less fortunate than themselves.

Hardyng's account of the last six English kings in the second version demonstrates that he was not concerned or necessarily bothered about which dynastic line the English king came from, for that, he believes, is God's concern. Instead, regardless of which sovereign reigns, the common weal of England should come before personal grudges and dynastic squabbles. Written before the readeption of Henry VI, this version communicates a desire for unity and reconciliation similar to the 'stabyllnesse' that Lesley Coote has argued the audience of political prophecy in this period coveted (2000: 227). Ultimately the forms of division represented in the *Chronicle*, whether it is dynastic struggle, Hardyng's personal alienation from the king through lack of reward, or the question of Scottish independence, are all used to demonstrate how division within a kingdom, particularly late fifteenth-century England, constricts the realm's potential to prosper. The main concern of the second version is the same as that in the first – a call for an end to personal and political divisions within England, and for the maintenance of the common weal.

As will be seen from the following edition of the text for the years 1327-1464, where Hardyng draws together his conclusions about the reigns of previous monarchs in relation to the present governance of England, after living, fighting, spying and surviving through eighty-seven years of domestic and foreign wars, John Hardyng sees fit to offer up his observations and hopes for England's future, and to attempt to kindle similar aspirations for peace, justice and public well-being in the hearts of those who read his *Chronicle* and who had the power to make a difference.

Illustrative Texts

The Prologue and Albyne Narrative in the First Version

[Lansdowne 204, dedication f. 2v]

O souerayne lord, be it to 3oure plesance
 This book to take of my symplicite,
 Thus newly made for rememorance,
 Whiche no man hath in worlde bot oonly 3e;
 5 Whiche I compiled vnto 3oure rialte,
 And to the quenes hertes consolacioun
 To know the state of 3oure domynacioun;

And for the prynce to haue playne conyshance
 Of this regioun, in what nobilite
 10 It hath been kept alway of greet pushance
 With baronage and lordes of dignyte,
 The whiche alway God graunte þat 3e and he
 May so kepe forth vndir 3oure gouernance
 To Goddes plesire *withouten* variance.

15 Thus to 3ow thre rials in vnyte
 This book *with* hert and lowly obeishance
 I present now *with* al benygnyte
 To been eueremore *within* 3oure gouernance,
 For soueraynte and 3oure inherytance
 20 Of Scotland hool, whiche shuld 3our reule obaye
 As souereyn lorde, fro whiche thay prowldy straye.

Wythin thre 3ere thaire grete rebellioun
 3e myght oppresse and vtirly restrayne,
 And haue it all in 3oure possessioun,
 25 And to obeye 3oure myght make þaym ful fayne,
 As Kyng Edward the first *with* hungir and payne
 Thaym conquerde hool to hys subieccioun
 To byde foreuere vndir his hool proteccioun.

[Prologue f. 3r]

Who hath an hurte and wille it nought diskure
 30 And to his leche can nought his sore compley[ne],
 In wo eueremore withouten any cure
 Alle helpes forth he muste comporte his peyne;
 And who his own erande forgatte to seyne,
 As alle these wise men say alway and wote,
 35 Men calle a fool or elles an idyote.

Wherfore to 3ow, as prince moste excellent,

30 compleyne] compley MS; *the corner of the folio is missing here.*

I me compleyne, as resoun techeth me,
 That 3oure fadir gafe me in commaundement
 In Scotlonde ryde for his regalyte
 40 To seke his ryght thare of hys souereynte,
 And euydence to gette and to espy
 Appurtenant vnto hys monarchy.

Whiche euydence, by labour and processe,
 Thre zere and halfe amonge the enmyte,
 45 On lyfes peryle, maymed in grete distresse,
 With costages grete, as was necessite,
 I boughte and gatte of grete autorite;
 Of whiche I gafe vnto 3oure excellence,
 At Esthamstede, parte of that euydence.

I gafe 3ow there a lettre of rialte,
 By whiche ten men claymyng þe croun
 Of Scotlond þan boonde þaym by þaire agre
 The iuggement to bide and constitucioun
 Of Kyng Edward, *with* long shankes by surnoun,
 55 Whiche of þaym shulde of Scotlonde been þe kyng
 Vndre thaire seels hys souereynte expressyng.

I gafe 3ow als oþer two patentz rial,
 By whiche Daudid and Robert þe Scotz kynges
 Boonde þaym and al þaire hairens in general
 60 To holde Scotlond of Kyng Edward, expressyng
 His soueraynte by clere and playn writyng
 Vndre þaire seels to bide perpetually,
 As playnly is in þaym made memòry.

I gafe 3ow als the relees þat Edward
 65 The thrid to Kyng Robert of Scotlond made
 In tendre age, whiche whill it was in warde
 Of Vmfreuile was dreynt in oyl *and* defade,
 Sex woukes liggyng in it, as it abade;
 But nozt forþy it may hurte 3ow rizt nozt,
 70 For it is all agayn 3oure hieghness wrozt.

[f. 3v]

[In] tho lettres is graunt 3orkes primacy
 [Thru]gh all Scotlonde, and to hys successours,
 [To ha]ue and vse aboue the prelacy,
 [As dyd] afore of olde hys predecessours,
 75 [And also t]he hows of Durham of honours,
 [And Cu]thbertes ryght with all the liberte

71-93] *the corner of the folio is lacking here. The text has been restored using Charles Kingsford's reconstruction (1912: 740-53) and the epilogue of Lansdowne 204 (ff. 222v-223r) as a guide.*

[Thurgh al]l Scotlonde withoute difficulte.

[Also that p]rynce of grete magnificence,
 [3our fadir], so gafe me in *commaundement*
 80 [Scotlond to e]spy with al-kyns diligence,
 [How that it] myght bene hostayde thurgh and brent
 [.....] wele to hys wille and intent,
 [What-kyns p]assage were for ane hoste to ryde,
 [What toures a]nde towns stode on the este see-syde,
 85 [Wher tha]t hys flete myght londe and with hym mete
 [With hys] vitayle, gvnnes and ordenance
 [Hys hoste to] fresshe, and lygge in all quyete
 [From stor]mes grete and wethyrs variance.
 [Whiche] all I dydde and putte in remembrance
 90 [At hys] biddyng and riall *commaundement*,
 [Bot was] nought rewarded aftyr hys intent.

[Whi]che remembrance now to 3oure sapience
 [V]pon the ende of this boke in figure
 Illumynde is for 3oure intelligence,
 95 Declared hool by wrytyng and lettrure,
 How lyghte were now vnto 3our hiegh nature
 For to conquere by rial assistance,
 And kepe it euer vndir 3oure hiegh regence.

Now seth that prynce is gone, of excellence,
 100 In whom my helpe and makynge shulde haue bene,
 I vouche it sauf, wyth all benyvolence,
 On 3ow, gode lorde, hys sonne and hayre that bene,
 For to none other my complaynte can I mene,
 So lynyall of hys *generacioun*
 105 3e bene discent by verry demonstracioun.

For other none will faouere hys *promyse*,
 Ne none that wylle ought forther myne intende,
 Bot if it lyke vnto 3oure owne avyse,
 Alle oonly of 3oure rial regymente
 110 To comferte now withoute impedymente
 3our pore subgite, maymed in hys seruyse,
 Withoute rewarde or lyfelode any wyse.

[f. 4r]

Sex yere now go I pursewed to 3oure grace
 And vndirnethe 3oure lettres secretary,
 115 And pryuy seel that longeth in that cace,
 3e graunted me to haue *perpetually*
 The manere hool of Gedyngtoun treuly
 To me and to myne hayres in heritage,

With membres hool and other all auantage.

- 120 Bot so was sette 3oure noble chauncellere –
 He wolde nought suffre I had such warysoun –
 That cardinall was of 3ork *withouten pere*,
 That wolde nought parte with londe ne zit with toun,
 Bot rather wolde, ere I had Gedyngtoun,
 125 3e shulde forgo 3oure ryall soueraynte
 Of Scotlonde, whiche longe to 3oure rialte.

- 3oure patent cowthe I haue in no-kyns wyse,
 But if I sewed to alle 3oure grete counsayle,
 To whiche my purs no lengar myght suffyse.
 130 So wente I home withoute any avayle;
 Thus sette he me all bakhalfe on the tayle,
 And alle 3oure grace fro me he dyd repelle;
 3oure lettres bothe fro me he dyd cancelle.

- Bot vndirnethe 3oure fadirs magnifence
 135 He durste nought so haue lette hys righte fall doun,
 Ne layde o syde so riall euydence
 Appurtenant vnto hys riall croun,
 Who sonner wolde suche thre as Gedyngtoun
 Hafe 3ove than so forgone that euydence
 140 By whiche the Scottes obey shoulde hys regence;

- For whiche Kynge Iames vnto my warysoun
 A thowsond marke me highte of Englysshe golde,
 Whiche I forsoke in myne oppynyoun,
 As natyfe birth and al-kyns resoun wolde.
 145 Sex and thretty 3ere I haue it kepte, and holde
 In truste 3e wolde of 3oure haboundant grace
 3oure fadirs promyse so faouore in thys cace.

- Whiche euydence in þis afore comprised,
 With oþer mo whiche I shal to 3ow take,
 150 Foure hundre mark and fyfty ful assised
 Cost me treuly for 3oure fadir sake,
 With incurable mayme that maketh me wake.
 Wherefore plese it of 3oure magnifence
 Me to rewarde as pleseth 3oure excellence.

- 155 O souerayne lorde sette case I myghte suffyse,
 [Myne] euydence to get and to obtene;
 How wold 3e th[en]ke that I should it advyse
 [...] for 3our [...] it [...] nought bothe bene?
 3our chaunsler doth revoke it all so clene,

155-61 *This stanza is only legible under ultraviolet light; a reconstruction has been attempted where specific words are no longer legible even after exposure to ultraviolet light.*

160 That here me [compleyne] in this cace,
Or els gette I neuer 3our intent, ne 3oure grace.

[An incomplete contents page follows on f. 4v]

[f. 5r]

The First Book, the First Chapitle

How þay came into þis londe and named it Albion of Dame Albyne þe eldest sustire, as Seynt Colman, doctour bisshop of Lyndi[s]farn, specifieth in hys *Dialoge*, and as the grete cronyclere, Trogus Pompeyus, in hys book of storyes of alle the worlde hath wryten; the whiche book hys disciple Iustynus haþe drawe into XLIII books that bene at Rome in the keypyng of þe pope, alle compiled agayn in til oon, so þat þe stories of alle þe worlde in it may be clierlyche sene; þe whiche Iulyus Cesaryne, auditour of þe pope Martynes chaumbre, þe fyfte, in hys sevent zer, gafe þe maker of þis book, Iohn Hardyng, dayly inspection and discripcion at instance and wrytyng of the cardynal of Wynchest[er].

The while that Troy was regnyng in his myghte,
There was in Grece a kinge right excellent,
That doughtirs had thretty, right faire and brighte,
165 Ech one weddid to kinges of regyment;
Which aftyr longe, by ful avisement,
Right of thaym all dyd mete by fulle acorde,
For thaire gladnesse and susters fulle concorde,

Whiche felle in pride and hiegh elacioun,
170 Thinkynge to ben in no subieccioun
Of hosbonde more, ne domynacioun,
But oonly by a foul conieccioun.
Thay caste so than by all inspeccioun
To sla anone thaire husbondes sodenly,
175 Souereynes to bene and regne all seueraly.

Bot what thay hight I can nought fynde, ne se,
Bot Albyne hight the eldest of echone,
That set thaym all of that inyquyte,
Whanne thaire hosbondes were slepyng by thaym one
180 To sla thaym all and seuerally anone.
Saue only than the yongest in hire mynde
Wolde nought assent, that was so trewe and kynde.

Bot nought forthy she granted *with* hire mouthe,
For drede of deth that elles thay had hire slayne,
185 Bot whan she myght, or first diskeuer it couthe,
Vnto hire lorde she telde and wolde nought layne.
But for hire sistres she had alway grete payne,
Pray[i]ng hire lorde to staunche thaym of thaire thought,

161 *gloss after* Lyndisfarn] Lyndifarn MS; Wynchester] Wynchest MS. 188 praying] prayng MS.

Of thaire ymaginacioun that it were nought so wrought,

190 For pyte that she had of tho gode lordes,
 That sakelesly in perile stode to de
 Thurgh hire sisters couenantz and concordes,
 Bot if it myght or couthe distourebed be.
 She thought it shame to thayr paternyte
 195 So foule a werke be done thurgh trechery
 Was nought semyng vnto thaire auncetry.

It was a poynt so of alligory
 Thaire husbondes so to plese in all semblaunce,
 Accordant als with pride and tirany,
 200 And vndyre it to do thaym suche meschaunce;
 Of all falshede it was a consonaunce,
 And to alle treuthe alway a fulle party
 To shew one thyng and do annothere in hy.

[f. 5v]

Thus in this muse for sorow, and for thought,
 205 Thay rode bothe forthe thaire fadire for to se,
 To lete hym witte afore that it were wrought
 It for to staunche by his paternyte,
 In alle suche wise as thaire fraternyte
 Might holpen be and saufe fro alle meschaunce,
 210 Thaire sisters als be sette in gouernaunce.

Thay tolde hym alle how as it was deuysed
 Amonge his doughtirs by fulle and hool sentence,
 And bot it were sone holpen and auysed,
 Elles were thay like be slayne withoute offence.
 215 The kinge byhelde his doughtirs innocence,
 How that for care hire sorows multiplyed,
 That like she was afore hym to haue dyed.

She quoke, she felle, she cried full ofte, 'Allase',
 For thought the tyme that she was bred or borne,
 220 So mekyl shame she had for thaire trespass.
 She liste nought leue, she thought hireselff forlorne,
 She scrat hir face, hir hede was alle fortorne,
 And fro that she myght speke hire fadire tille
 She seyde, 'Fadir, I am here at youre wille.

225 I pray you, lorde, for mercy and for grace,
 And yow, my lorde, my dere hosbonde, also,
 That whiles I leue in worlde and may haue space,
 I wille amende, whare euere I ride or go.
 My systirs alle haue wrought me alle this wo,
 230 By thaym compelde to swere my husbonde dede,

Allas! What shalle I do, what is youre rede?

For drede of dethe, I durst it nought forsake,
 For thay there swore of thaires right so to do,
 Bot nought forthy that thyng on honde to take,
 235 I thought it neuer indede to do hym to;
 The tenth day now comynge shulde it be do,
 Thus were we alle accordet and consente,
 Bot in myn herte til it I neuere assente.'

This mater sanke in tille hir fadirs witte,
 240 So sore, and depe, he myght no lengare bere.
 Bot forthe anone his lettres made by wrytte,
 Whiche to his sonnes he sende, where so thay were,
 And also to his doughtirs for that affere
 To come hym to, withoute any dilay,
 245 And that in alle the godely haste thay may.

[f. 6r]

With that thay came als sone as euer thay myghte,
 For to fulfille what was his comaundemente.
 And when thay were alle come into his sighte
 Anone he seyde to thaym alle his entente:
 250 'O doughtirs myne, whi did ye so consente
 Yourre husbondes deth so cruelly diffyne?
 O cursed be the day that ye were myne!

What was *your* cause to wyrke that felony
 Agayne my lawe, and als my rialte,
 255 To shame youre blode by suche a vileny,
 That comen bene alle of hiegheste regalte,
 And maride wele, vnto youre egalte,
 With kinges alle and grete of excellence?
 Whi did ye thaym and me this grete offence?

Here is youre sistir, that alle this case me tolde.'
 Thay couthe it nought by ordal than defende,
 As was thaire lawe, hote irne in honde to holde
 And bere aboute in places that were kende;
 Bot with thaire othe thay profred to defende,
 265 The whiche he would in no-wise lete thaym done,
 Trowynge thay wolde of it forsworne thaym sone.

The kinge than swore by alle his hiegh parayle,
 So irouse was that thay hote irne shulde bere,
 'And whiche of yow of it that doth so faile,
 270 Shalle de foule deth or exilde.' For that feere
 Thay saide echone, 'What so youre willes ere,
 Do with vs than, for we wille neuer it done

We swere yow here by sonne, and als by mone.'

Thus were thay alle right dampned and attaynte,
 275 Sauf she, that was the yongest of thaym alle,
 That tille hir fadire of it had made complaynte,
 So dyd she to hire lorde faire mot hire falle,
 Whose fame therfore in no-wise may appalle,
 For recomende she stode in al-kyn grace
 280 Amonge the folke that herde ought of that case.

Thens forthe hire lorde hire helde in grete noblesse,
 And loue euermore aboue alle creature,
 And she hym als in al-kyns gentillesse
 With alle constance, whils she on lyfe myght dure,
 285 Aboue alle thyng, as come hire of nature,
 For his noblay, and als his worthynesse,
 She plesed hym euer with all hire bisynesse.

[f. 6v]

Bot so the kinge anon gafe iugyment
 Of his doughtirs, that nyne and twenty were,
 290 Bycause thay cam down of so hiegh descent
 Of blode rial, and also maride ere
 To kinges of myght that corone did alle bere,
 No foule done deth he wolde nought lete thaym haue,
 Bot in a ship be putte, to spille or saue.

So in a ship he dyd thaym putte anone,
 Withouten men to be thaire gouernoure,
 Bot *with* the flode, whare as the ship wold gone
 Forthe in the se, with tempest, and with showre.
 To se that sight it was ful grete doloure;
 300 Bot *per* no wight than had of thaym pite,
 For thaire treson and thaire inyquyte.

Within the se the flode so did thaym dryue
 Ay forthe, right as the se his course had ronne.
 The wynde thaym drofe, now here, now thare bylyue,
 305 That vnnethe myght thay in thaire wittes wonne;
 In grete perile thay were and litille konne
 To helpe thaymsel so were thay *superate*,
 And seke thurgh stormes and als infortunate.

Thus in sorow thay ere ful sore bystadde,
 310 Exilde foreuer away oute of thaire lande,
 Whiche were alle quenes richely arrayd and cladde,
 With seruantz feel to knele at fote and hande,
 That now in se and flodes ben wayfande;
 And to what parte that thay shalle draw or wyne,

315 They know nothyng bot hungre that thay were ynne.

They wote nothyng if euer thay come to lande,
 Ne whether the dethe, or life, that thay shalle haue,
 So feble were thay myght no fote on stande,
 Thaire braynes febled, thaire mouthes did bot raue;
 320 There was grete reuthe to se how that thay draue,
 Was neuer that wight that bare suche herte on lyue,
 Bot it wold rewe to se thaym sogates dryue

In stormes grete, forhungred and forwake,
 Thaire hertes sore with sekeness closed aboute,
 325 Swownynge ful sore, suche wayknesse dyd thaym take;
 Lo thay that were byfore so proude and stoute,
 How thay ere tame for care within and oute;
 And how afore thaire hosbondes wold haue slayne,
 To whom subgetz thay wold now bene right fayne.

[f. 7r]

Nota that hir fadir hight Dioclician and hir modir Albyne, payens, and as some cronicle sayth he was kynge of Syry. In qua sunt iste prouincie Palestina Iudea Chanaan, Idumya, Samaria, Galilea, Cichen et Fenycia. Bot Martyne in his cronycle sayth thaire fadir was Danaus, kyng of Argyues, and paire husbondes fadir was his broþer Egistus þat had fyfty sonnes wed to L doughtirs, whiche paire wifes slew alle but oon, fore whiche Danaus and Egistus exiled þaym, as Trogus Pompeius sayth in his cronicle of al stories of þe worlde whiche Iustyne his disciple abregid in XLIII bookes.

330 So longe thay drofe and sailde vpon the se
 That at the laste thay cam vnto a lande,
 And landed sone tharein, as it myght be;
 Bot Albyne first sette fote on grounde to stande,
 And seysyne firste she toke there with hire hande
 335 As hire conqueste by ful possessioun,
 As eldeste sistere by trew successioun,

As in Grece than, from whyne that thay were sente,
 The rite so was the law and consuetude
 Where brether failde theldest sistire, by iugement,
 340 Shuld haue the londe by right and rectitude;
 So thinke me wele I may right wele conclude
 Of hire conqueste she shulde haue regency,
 By alle reson and alle gode policy.

But hir sistirs come afir as thay myght,
 345 Vnnethe thay myght ought gone for febillesse,
 Thay felle to grounde with deth as thay wer dight
 Forhungred sore and sette in suche distresse,
 Thay had forzette fro whyne thay come, I gesse,

And also alle the tempestz of the se
 350 In whiche thay felte fulle grete aduersite.

Thaire hungre was so grete withoute mesure
 Thay had forzette alle harme thay felte afore;
 Saue oonly mete thay had non othyr cure,
 Of whiche thay brought with thaym but lytill store;
 355 Yit thay ne wiste whither to go therfore,
 Bot erbes thay founde, whiche of necessite
 Thay ete, of whiche thay fonde gude quantite.

The II Chapitle

**Nota whan Dame Albyne and hir systers cam into thys ile, whiche thay named
 þan Albyon for Albynes name; how thay bicame hire sugitz of whom she had
 souereynte aftyr the lawe of Grece, fro whyne thay came so þat the eldest sister
 had the souereynte þat dwelled in þat party þat now is called Englonde, as Seint
 Colman saip in his sayde *Dialoge*.**

This was the yere afore the incarnacioun
 A thousand and foure hundre als, and fyue,
 360 Whan thay came in this londe by al relacioun,
 Ful sore anoyed and dreding of thaire lyue,
 Oute of the se whan that thay dyd arryue,
 As Omer, whiche was poet sapient,
 To Agrippe wrote, from Grece, by his entent.

Bot to these systirs now forther for to say,
 How that thay dyd I wille me now enforse.
 That wente aboute this londe forto assay
 Who dwelte therein, bot thay no mannysshe corse
 In it couthe fynde, so nede thaym no dyuorse,
 370 Ne women none, bot right thaymselff allone,
 So souereyns were thay of thys londe anone.

[f. 7v]

Nota how fortune folowith a mannes devyse.

Thus fortune than folowed aftir thaire devise,
 As thay afore desired soueraraynte,
 The whiche thay had so thus at thaire avise
 375 Thurgh fortunes stroke and mutabillite,
 That brought were thus from thaire priorite,
 The souereynte to haue and gouernance
 Of alle this londe, withoute disobeyshance.

Bot Albyne than sayde to hire sistirs bright,
 380 'This lande shalle haue Albyon after me.
 It awe to bere the name of me by right,
 I am first borne to haue the souereynte,

And first toke lande by my fortuyte;
 Wherfore ye alle owe me obedience,
 385 And seruice als by right and consequence.

Fortune it gaf to vs by desteny,
 Seynge afore oure cruelle auenture,
 At natife birthe sette oure predesteny,
 This londe to haue, whils we may leue and dure,
 390 To vs and to alle oure hool engendure.
 Wherfore, sethe we haue it so souereynly,
 Lete vs go bigge and dwelle here fynaly.'

The III Chapitle

How the ladise fell in syn and lychery had geantz to sonne that leved agayne the law of God and kepte no pese amonge thaymselfe, bot grete stryfe and wronge sustened, for whiche God toke vengeance on thaym whan Brute destroyed hem.

This ladise so, with mete and drinke replete,
 And of nature revigourde corporaly,
 395 And alle thaire care foryete, and vndrefete
 Thay felte desire to play thaym womanly,
 As women yit wille do fulle louyngly
 To haue fulfilde the werke of womanhede
 And frute to haue, the londe to reule and lede.

400 So were thay tempte and felle in vaynglory,
 That nyght and day thaire hertes were implyde
 To haue at do with men in lichory,
 And how thay myght of men bene beste provyde;
 So inwardly in it thay glorifyde
 405 That spiritz than on thaym toke mannysshe fourme,
 Liggyng by thaym, thaire lustes to refourme.

So dwellynge forthe in that luste and delyte,
 With nature of thaymself and femynacioun,
 Tho spiritz gat childe, that were geantz tyte,
 410 On thaym, and thurgh thaire owne ymagynacioun,
 By feruent hete moued with temptacioun,
 Thus gat thay than grete geantz, fulle of myght,
 Within short tyme that were bothe hieghe and wight.

[f. 8r]

So vsualy echone by other lay,
 415 Modire, ne sistire, agayn it nought replyde,
 Of children feel, sonnes and doughtirs ay,
 Thay gate eche day and strongly multiplyde;
 Of peple so this londe was fortyfyde,
 That in it was so grete generacioun,
 420 Non durste it noye for drede of supplantacioun.

They were so stronge by thaire fortunacioun,
 Bothe myche and large and of thaire *persones* wight,
 Men were adred of thaire malignacioun;
 There was no wight durste come into thaire syght,
 425 Ought thaym to greue so were thay prest to fyght,
 Cruel, and sterne, and hidouse onto se,
 That oon of thaym a thousand wold nought fle.

They dwelte on heghtes on helles and hiegh montayns,
 In whiche thay made gret edificaciouns,
 430 And wondirfull, withoute watere or fountayns,
 Bot castels grete, whare were thaire habitaciouns,
 Yit men may se in crags thaire *operaciouns*,
 Of holes, and house, and kaues alle destitute.
 Bot whan werre is yit do thay grete refute;

435 Comons, for feere of enmyse and of weere,
 Yit bere thaire gudes this day into suche kaues,
 With strength of men ful seure abyde thay there,
 Fro spoylinge of ennemyse, boyes, and knaues,
 In whiche ful ofte the peple thaire godes saues.
 440 Bot alle tho werkes that were on hilles maaste,
 Bene now alle down by tempest and by waste.

These geantz thus this londe did so obtene
 That no wight durste ourwhare thaym ought offende,
 From [the time] Dame Albyne cam to this londe, I mene.
 445 Whils that tho wightes it had and comprehende,
 So regned thay, and strongly it defende,
 Two hundre yere fully also and fyve,
 To tyme that Brute with thaym dyd aftire stryue.

Thaire custome eke, and thaire consuetude,
 450 Thaire glory and mesgouerned appetyte,
 So curste were ay in yowthe and senectude,
 That longe thay myght not dure in thaire delyte;
 Of alle leuynges thay were so inperfyte
 That God right by his reule and regyment,
 455 Of thayre regnynges wolde putte impediment.

[f. 8v]

As God it wolde, of his hiegh prouydence,
 At laste dyd sette amonge thaym grete dissencioun,
 That who maistry myght gete by violence,
 Distroed othyr by batayle and contencioun.
 460 Amonge thaym felle thanne so grete succensioun

Of ire and wrathe, thurgh thaire mesgouenaunce,
That ech of thaym of othere toke vengeance,

For echone othere slew and brought to nought.
Within few yeres sauf thretty bode in alle
465 Of thousandes twelfe, so were thay dede forfought;
Thaire mysreulde pride and boste so doun was falle,
Than were thay few thaire powere did appall,
Whose regne thus felle afore the incarnacioun,
Twelfe hundre yere, by very computacioun.

470 Of these now wille I cese and speke no more,
Til tyme come efte that Brutus haue thaym slayne;
Of whom I wille telle forthe how he was bore,
And of what kynde and blode he came sertayne,
And how he wan, and named it Bretayne,
475 This londe, mysled thurgh cruelle tyranny
Of geantz felle that leued cursidly;

And whare he firste arryued in this ile
Of Albyon that hight afore that day.
And as my tonge can langage it and file,
480 At Adam nowe I wille bygynne, and say
Of whom he came, and clerly doun I may
Convay his blode, as I fynde it writen,
In olde storise it is wele know and wytyn.

Secundus liber I capitulum

How Brutus discomfyte þe kynge of Grece and Albion had, and called it þan Bretayne after hym, and of his auncetry and his successours the genology as is comprised in the grete *Brute* and in the cronicles of Itayll as Pliny saip in his book, *De Gestis Enee Regis Latinorum, Cronica Bruti per Galfridum Monemutensem extracta de quodam libro Britannico sibi tradito per Walterum Oxoniensem archidiaconum et tran[s]lata in Latinum ad regulam Roberti, ducis Gloucestrie, filii regis Henrici primi Anglie.*

As cronycles say and make notificacioun,
485 Who loke thaym wele schal know and vndirstonde
Of wat-kyns blode and generacioun
Brutus first came, that conquerde alle this londe.
It to remembre I schal now take on honde,
Thurgh olde storise by philo[so]fres compiled
490 In olde bokes, as I haue sene and fonde,
In Englisshe tonge it shal be made and fyled.

At the Bible therfore I wille begynne
At Adam, whiche was so firste creature,

483 *gloss after translata]* tranlata MS. 489 filosofres] philofres MS.

Convaynge doun lynyaly in kynne
 495 As thay descent in birth and engendrure.
 Next vnto Brute, as mencionde hath scripture,
 I shalle reporte as God wille deyne to lede

[f. 9r]

My symple goste, vnkunynge in lettrure,
 As liketh hym with language me to fede;

500 To whom I pray for spede vnto the ende
 My wytte enforce in myght and sapience.
 Of other goddis, whiche poetes vsed and kende
 In olde poeses, I lak intelligence;
 Ne nought I wille so hurte my conscience
 505 On thaim to muse, whiche God defendeth me.
 And als for sothe for any eloquence
 I tasted neuer the welles of Caliope;

Yit wille I nought pray helpe of Saturnus.
 Of Iubiter, ne Mars, or Mercury,
 510 Venus, Ceres, Phebus, or Seueus,
 Of Pallas, ne Alecte, or Megary,
 Of Genyus, or yit Thesiphony,
 Of Cupido, ne of Ymeneus,
 Mynerue, Diane, Bachus, or Cerbery,
 515 Manes, Glaucus, Vulcane, or Protheus.

Tho goddis olde and fals I alles refuse,
 And pray to God, that sitte in trynyte,
 My goste to guy on thaim that it nought muse,
 Enspiryng it in alle sufficiente
 520 Of suche language, as is necessite
 This boke to ende in balade and translate,
 Thus newe bygunne of my symplicite,
 Amonges makers it be vnreprobate.

For wele I wote withoute his supportacion
 525 For to reporte alle his genology,
 How he descent by al-kyn generacion,
 From Adam doun to Troiane auncetry,
 Goten and borne certayne in Italy,
 Who Grece conquerde, Guyen, Fraunce, and Spayne,
 530 Makers can I none counterfete ne revy,
 So symple ere my spiritz and my brayne,

Bot to thaim alle this boke for to corecte,
 Whare as thay thynke my wytte in ought hath merred;
 Mekely I wylle submytte now and directe,
 535 Bysekinge thaim amende whare I haue erred,

Alletoughe I am vnworthy be preferred
Amonges makers, yit I wolde fayne bene one
Of thaire seruantz accounted and referred
Thurgh thaire mercy that thay were nocht my fone.

Illustrative Texts

The Prologue and Albyne Narrative in the Second Version

[Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 5r]

The moost substaunce of power and of might
 Thorough age distilled into debilite
 Of me þat am þis tyme an aged wight,
 And grete defaulte haue of habilite,
 5 This laboure nowe sholde haue witholde from me,
 But that my wille wolde haue some diligence
 My goost to kepe from synne and insolence.

The werke is grete, and long to bringe to fyne,
 So dothe it euer from tyme to tyme encrease,
 10 And long hath done afore Crist did enclyne
 In Mary, moder and maiden, withouten lese.
 To cronicle, so men haue them put in prese;
 Some in metre, and some also in prose,
 Some in Latyn, ful wisely did it close.

15 And some in Frensche þey made, for intellectu
 Of men that coude no Latyn vnderstande,
 More souffisauntly endited and protecte
 By ferre than I can nowe it take on honde;
 And some in lynees two, their ryme ay bonde.
 20 But though my witte be nought so curyous
 As their by ferre to make it glorious,

Yit wol I vse the symple witte I haue
 To youre plesaunce and consolacioun
 Moost noble lord and prince, so God me saue,
 25 That in cronicles hath delectacioun.
 Though it be ferre aboue myn estimacioun,
 Into balade I wol it nowe translate,
 Right in this fourme by alle myn estimate.

My lord of York, vnto youre sapience
 30 I wol remembre a notabilitee
 Of youre eldres rule and regimence
 That hadde this reame of olde priorite,
 Whiche ruled were, aftir their dignite,
 In vertue digne by roialle gouernaunce,
 35 And whiche in vice ruled and misgouernaunce.

2 into] in G. 4 defaulte] faulte A, E, I, P1, P2. 6 wille] wytt E, I, P1, P2. 8 The] This E. 14 close] glose E. 18 nowe it] *rev.* A, E, I, P1, P2; on] in P1, P2. 19 bonde] bande P1, P2. 24 lord] king G. 28 by] with A, E, I, P1; G *om. ll. 29-252, resuming at l. 253 of this edition.* 31 rule] *om.* E. 32 That] *after* Of youre *canc.* E; reame] land E, I, P1, P2. 35 whiche] *om.* P1, P2.

[f. 5v]

By whiche knoueleche youre discrete sapience
 Alle vice euermore destroye may and repreve
 And vertue loue, that may no wight ought greve,
 By vertuous and blissefull diligence,
 40 Howe ye shal rule youre subgettes while ye leue
 In lawe and pees, and alle tranquillitee,
 Whiche ben the floures of alle regalitee.

Edward the thridde, kyng of Englonde.

Edward the thrid, that was kyng of this land
 By iuste title and verrey right descent,
 45 And kyng of Fraunce, as I can vnderstand,
 By his moder Quene Isabell the gent,
 Sister and heire to Charles by hool entent;
 For Charles died withoute any child,
 The right descent vnto his moder mylde.

Vt patet in libro Numeri capitulo XXVII dum Deus omnipotens in monte loquens per Moysem Sina[i] tulit in hec verba: ‘Iustam rem postulant filie Saphaat da eis possessionem inter cognatas patris sui et in hereditatem succedant.’

50 Why sholde þe Frenshe forbarre him of hir right,
 Sith God of heuen in libro Numeri,
 Gauf to Moyses this lawe that nowe is light,
 In þe chapitre seuen and twenty
 By these wordes: ‘the doughters rightfully
 55 Of Salphaat aske their faders heritage,
 Geue them possession among their cosynage’?

Prince Edward of Wales.

This king Edward, reigntyng in his dayes,
 In royall actes, tryumphe and victorie,
 Abouen alle princes famed was alwayes,
 60 Fyve sonnes had the worlde thoroughoute to trye,
 Was no mo suiche of one patrymonye,
 Edward the prince, the eldest son of age,
 Who gate Richard, that had the heritage.

Leonell, duke of Clarence, borne at Andewarpe in Braban.

38] *transposed with* 39 E, I, P1, P2; no] not I; wight] *om.* E, I, P1, P2; ought] *after* outgreue *canc.* I. 39 blissefull] *after* discrete I; blessedfull P1, P2. 43] Hu *begins here.* 44 right] iuste P1, P2. 47 to] of P1, P2; by] be Hu. 49 vnto] of P2; *gloss after Sinai*] Sinani S. 50 him] you A, E, I, P1, P2; hir] youre A, E, I, P1, P2; his C, Hu. 55 their] the P1, P2. 56 possessioun] *after* in E, I, P1, P2. 58 royall] marcyall A, E, I, P1, P2. 60] *folio damaged* E; thoroughoute] out E, I, P1, P2; trye] crye P1, P2. 61 Was] Ther wer P1, P2; no mo] noon such no moo such I; mo] *om.* P2; one] so Hu. 62 the (2)] *om.* C; and E, I, P1, P2.

Leonel next borne aftir in Andewarpe,
 65 In Braban lande, that wedde vnto his wife
 The erles doughter of Vlster, as men carpe,
 And begate on hir Philip, his doughter rife,
 (And also his heire) whom he loued as his life,
 Whom Erle Edmond of Marche, the Mortemere,
 70 Wedde to his wife, and begate therle Rogere,

[f. 6r]

That erle was aftir of Marche and of V[lster],
 With wylde Iresshe that slayn was in Irland,
 Who hadde a son, Erle Edmond Mortemer,
 That dyed withoute issue, I vnderstande,
 75 To whom Dame Anne, his sister, vnto his lande
 Was verry heire, whom therle of Cambrige wedde,
 And gate on hir youresilf, as I haue redde.

Vt patet in sacra scriptura quod Ihesus *Christus* temporaliter rex Iudeorum humaniter peruenit ad regnum suum per medium beate virginis Marie matris sue.

Why sholde ye nought than be hir verray heire
 Of alle hir lond, and eke of alle hir right?
 80 Seth Ihesu Crist, of Iudee land so faire,
 By very meen of his moder Mary light
 To be þe kyng claymed title right
 And so did name himsilf 'Kyng of Iewes':
 So by youre moder the right to you accrewes.

85 Aftir Leonell, that was duke of Clarence,
 And of Vlster therle was by his wife,
 And of Itaile, for his grete excellence,
 Kyng sholde haue ben withouten any strife
 Of alle Europe, withoute comparatife,
 90 The royal land, and to his espousaile,
 The dukes doughter of Milayne withouten faile.

John, duke of Lancastre, borne in Gaunte in Flaundres.

Iohn, borne in Gaunte, of Flaundres chief citee,
 The thrid son was of this good kyng Edward,
 That wedded Dame Blaunche, ful of femynitee,
 95 Duke Henry doughter and heire afterward
 Of Lancastre by lawe of kirke and forward,

64 in] *insert*. C. 66 carpe] *after* do P1, P2. 71] H *begins here*; that] this A; Vlster] V S, D, Hv. 72 was] wer P1, P2. 76 whom] whan D. 77 on] of P1, P2. 78 hir] *om*. P2. 79 alle] *om*. Hv; hir (1)] your C. 81 light] that hight C, Hu; bright E, I, P1, P2. 82 þe] *om*. P1, P2; right] *after* be H; *after* and P1, P2. 85 was duke] *rev*. E. 92 in] at P2. 93 good] *om*. H. 94 That] Whiche H. 96 kirke] kynde E, I, P1, P2.

Who gate and bare þan þe fourthe kyng Henry,
That King Richard deposed wrongfully,

Who gate Henry the fifte, the conqueroure
100 Of Normandie, and mekel parte of Fraunce,
That exelled bothe king and emperoure
In marcyal acte by his gouernaunce,
Who gate Henry þe sext at Goddes plesaunce,
Of suche symplenesse and disposicion
105 As men may seen by his discrecion.

[f. 6v]

Vt patet per scriptura commune de male quesitis vix gaudeat tercius heres.

For whan Henry the fourthe first was crowned,
Many a wise man said than ful comonly
The thrid Henry sholde nat ioyse but be vncrowned,
And deposed of alle the regaly;
110 To this reason they did þeire wittes applye,
Of euel gote goodes the thrid heires shulde nought enioise
As who seithe thus, who right hath shal reioyse.

How the maker of this saithe his aduise in brief for þe duc of Yorke.

O my good lord of York, God hath prouyde
In this for you, as men sey comonly,
115 Se that no sleuthe you from his grace deuyde,
But take it as he hath it sent manly,
And thenke wele nowe ye haue þe remedy.
But neuerthelesse lat eueriche man haue his right,
Bothe frende and fo, it may encrease youre might.

Quia dominus facit heredes et successores secundum doctores.

Trete wele Percy, of Marches lyne decended,
To help youre right with might, and fortifie
By tendre meanes to make him wele contented,
Remembryng him by witty policie,
How, by processe of tyme and destanye,
125 Youre right might alle ben his, as nowe is youre,
Thorough Goddes might maketh, and successours.

97 þan] *om.* E, I, P1, P2. 99 Henry] *after* Kyng E; the (2)] lyke P1, P2. 104 disposicion] *condicion* E.
107 a] *om.* C; wise] *om.* Hu. 108 Henry] *after* herry *canc.* I; heyer E, H, Hu, I, P1, P2. 109 deposed]
after be H; the] *om.* P1, P2. 111 heires] *om.* P1, P2. 112] of long agoon it hath been þe commyn voice
E; of long agone it hath been a comon voce I, P1, P2. 113 O] *om.* E; good] *om.* E, I, P1, P2. 115 Se] So
E, I, P1, P2. 117 thenke] rule P1, P2. 118 his] þe E, I, P1, P2. 119 might] right H. 121 right] *after* myght
del. Hu. 122 make] hold A, E, I, P1, P2; him] *insert.* E; wele] *insert.* I; contented] contended Hu. 126
maketh] *after* that heyres C; heirs H; make þem I; make hem herers E; make them your P1, P2.

Edmond, duke of Yorke.

Edmond was than the fourthe son, at Langlee
 Borne, as knouen was wele in alle this lande.
 A noble prince aftir, as men might see,
 130 Atte bataile of Orray that faught sore with his hond,
 As Iohn of Gaunte his brother, I vnderstand,
 There faught ful sore for Iohn of Mountford right,
 Against Charles of Bloys, a manly knight.

This Edmond was the duke of York create,
 135 And had a son that Edward had to name,
 Whom King Richarde made be denomynate
 In alle his writtes, exalting so his fame,
 Kyng of Portyngale; his fader yit at hame
 Lyvyng in age I trowe of IIII score yere,
 140 A faire persone, I saugh him with yion clere.

[f. 7r]

Thomas Wodestok, duke of Gloucestre.

Thomas Wodstok, the fifte son, was indeed
 Duke of Gloucestre that tyme made and create,
 By Kyng Richard murdred, whom for his mede
 Kyng Henry quyt with deth *preordinate*
 145 By Goddes dome and sentence approbate,
 Who sleeth so shal be slayne by his sentence,
 Wele more murdre whiche axeth ay vengeaunce,

Who lay afore Parys amoneth day,
 With oost roial withoute any bataile.
 150 Of alle ennemyes moost dred he was alway,
 And Scottes moost him dred withoute any faile,
 For ay they trowed, by their owne rehersaile
 Of prophecyes, he shold þeire land conquere,
 And make þeire king to Englund homagere.

Edward, prince of Wales, the eldest son of King Edward þe thridde.

155 Now haue I made vnto youre clere knoueleche
 A remembraunce of Edward sonnes fyve,
 Your exemplere to geve you a corage,

128 knouen] knowe it P2; wele] *om.* Hu; alle] *om.* P1, P2; this] þe E, I, P1, P2. 129 see] say E, I, P1, P2. 131 As] And A, E, I, P1, P2. 132 There] That P1, P2. 134 the] after E, I, P1, P2. 136 be] *after* to I, P1, P2. 137 so] *om.* A, D, E, I, P1, P2. 140] *D ends here, resuming at l. 414*; a fair person as a man myght se owhere E, I; a fayre person as a man might se anywhere P1, P2. 141 was] *om.* P2. 146 be] *after* he E, I, P1, P2. 151 withoute any] withouten Hu, A. 152 ay] as E, I, P1, P2. 154 þeire] the P1, P2. 155 clere] owne P1, P2.

Afir my witte, as I can it discryve,
 Excepte Edward, of whom I wol subscriue,
 160 The eldest son, whoos actes I haue lefte oute,
 Who þat in Fraunce and al londes was moost doute;

**Of the rightes and titles þat my lord of York, Richard, hath to Englund, Fraunce,
 and Spayne, with Portingale and oþer lond beyonde see, Iherusalem, and Irland.**

At bataile of Paiters toke Kyng Iohn,
 With grete honoure, triumphe, and victorye,
 By marciall actes, and vertuous life allone.
 165 And in Hispayne, as made is memorye,
 The kyng Petro, by knightly victorye,
 To his kyngdome he did restore agayne,
 By his brother put oute with mekel payne.

This king Petro, to geve him to his mede,
 170 Hadde nothing els but doughtres two ful faire,
 Whiche he betoke to that prince indeede
 For his wages, because þey were his haire,
 With whom he did to Englund so repaire,
 And Constaunce wedde vnto his brother Iohn;
 175 Edmond, his brother, the yonger had anon:

[f. 7v]

**Nota the appoyntement betwene Duke Iohn and Duke Edmond, who sholde ben
 kyng Castell and Lyon, the maker of this booke sawe and redde, at London
 shewed to Sir Robert Vmfreuyle, than lord Vmfreuyle.**

Dame Isabell, the yonger hight by name.
 Bytwene thise brethern was appointment:
 The first heire male whiche of tho susters came
 The kyng shold ben, and haue þe regiment.
 180 To you, my lord of York, this doth appent,
 For youre vncler Edward was first heire maile,
 To whom *your* fadir was heire withoute faile.

So king of Spayne and also of Portingale
 Ye sholde haue ben, by lyne of blode descent,
 185 By couenaunt als and appointment hale,
 As I haue seen of it the munymment
 Vndre seal writen in alle entent,
 Which youre vncler to my lord Vmfreuyle
 At London shewed, whiche that I redde þat while.

158] So noble prynces I trowe were noon alyue E, I, P1, P2; it] *om.* C. 159] Aft my wytt as I can
 discryue E, I, P1, P2. 160 actes] lyfe P1, P2. 169 king Petro] *rev.* E. 170 els] *om.* I. 171 Whiche] *after*
 By marcyall *del.* E; he] *insert.* E; to] vnto H. 172 because] for cause A, E, I, P1, P2. 184 haue] nowe A,
 E, H, Hu, I, P1, P2. 185 hale] alle A; *om.* C. 186 of] *after* the *canc.* I. 189 that] *om.* P1, P2.

190 For Spayne and Portingale bere the renoun
 And comon name, as I haue herde expressed,
 Bothe two þe reame of Castele and Lyon,
 And so the kyng of Spayne hath ay addressed
 His roial style in writing wel impressed,
 195 Kyng of Castele also, and of Lyon,
 Accoumptyng bothe so for his region.

Now ben ye knowe of youre title to England,
 By consequence to Wales and to Scotlond,
 (For þey perteyne, as ye may vnderstand,
 200 Of aunyen tyme to your croun of Englund).
 By papal bulle haue ye right to Irland,
 Gascoigne, Paytowe and Normandie,
 Pountise, Beluile, Saunxie, and Sauntoigny,

**Nota that I Iohn Harding, maker of this booke, hathe deliuered to Kyng Henry
 þe sixt the copie of þe trefy of þese londes as Kyng Edward the thrid trefed and
 had them affir þe bataill of Paytours.**

And alle þe londe beyonde the Charentee,
 205 Of Dangolesme, Dangelismoys, and Luyrezyne,
 Of Caoure, Caournoun, Perydore, Perigut cuntree,
 Of Rodes, Rouegraues, Dagon, Dagenoys þe fyne,
 Tharbe, Bigore, and Gaure shuld you enclyne,
 With al fraunchise and alle þe souerainte,
 210 As had the king of Fraunce in his degree,

[f. 8r]

Caleys and Marke, Colne, Hamines, Oye and Wale,
 Sandgate, and Guysnes, with alle þe hole countee,
 With alle þe londes *and* townes betwene hem hale,
 With al fraunchise and roial souerainte;
 215 Alle these of right ben youres in proptee,
 What by trefy and what by *verray* right,
 As Kyng Edward hem had of mekel might.

Nota som bookes calleth him Plantagenet and his fader Fouke Tailboys.

To Ierusalem, I sey ye haue grete right,
 For Erle Geffray, that hight Plantagenet,
 220 Of Anioye erle, a prince of passing might,
 The eldest son to Fowke, and first begette,

190 bere] be I. 195 also and] *rev.* E, I, P1, P2. 198 to] *om.* E, I, P1, P2. 200 your] the P1, P2. 201
 haue ye] *rev.* P1, P2; right] *after* the P1, P2. 202 Paytowe] *after* Guyen Hu. 203 Beluile] Bebuile E, I,
 P1, P2. 204 And] Of Hu. 206 Perigut] *after* and A, E, I, P1, P2. 208 Bigore] Wigore E, I, P1, P2;
 and] *after* to E, I, P1, P2. 209 fraunchise] *after* the E, I, P1, P2; þe] *om.* P1, P2. 210 had] hath P1, P2.

Kyng of Ierusalem, by his wife duely sette,
Whos son Geffray forsaid gate on his wife
Henry þe second, that knowen was ful rife.

- 225 Yit haue ye more, for Baldewyn Paraliticus,
Kyng afterward, to þe same king Henry,
The croun sent and his baner precious,
As verry heire of hole auncestry,
Discent of blode by title lynyally
230 From Godfray Boleyn and from Robert Curthose,
That kynges were therof elect and chose.

- He sent him als the sepulcre keyes,
Resignyng hool vnto him al his right,
For to defende the lond from Sarizenes;
235 For he was sike and had therto no might,
And alle the londe destroyed was to sight
By the souldan, to grete lamentacion
Of Goddes people, and alle Cristen nacion.

- He sent him als the keyes of Daudid Toure
240 With Heraclio, that of Ierusalem
Was Patriarke and grettest of honoure,
And with Templers, whiche brought them to this ream,

Ful humbly axyng supportacion,
245 For the citee and *Crisþen* consolacion.

[f. 8v]

- Alle these titles, the cronicles wele recorde,
Yif they be sene by good deliberacion.
Many of theym to these ful wele accorde,
As I haue sene, with grete delectacion,
250 By clerkes writen for oure enformacion.
As in olde feeldes cornes fresshe *and* grene grewe,
So of olde bokes cometh oure kunnyng newe.

- Of this I wol nowe ceesse and forth procede
To my matier, where first that I began,
255 The cronicles of this land for worthyhede
To remembre in balade as I can,
To that entent to please bothe God and man;

224 knowen was] *rev.* P2. 226 same] *om.* Hu. 230 from] *om.* E, I, P1, P2. 231 elect] *om.* E, I, P1, P2.
232 sent] *rep. and canc.* E. 233 al] *om.* P2. 238 Goddes] Cristes H. 239 Daudid] *after* Kyng Hu. 242
them] hym E, I, P1, P2; to] into A, I, P1, P2. 243] besechyng hym þat he wold hem sustene E, I, P1,
P2; Of Engelonde so be his auncien name H; *blank without space* Hu. 246 wele] wold E, I; can P1,
P2.s 253] G *resumes here with* And now with goddes grace y wolle procede; ceese] *om.* Hu. 254] And
of his moder Mary and Seynt Anne G; that] *om.* E, I, P1, P2.

And eke to please the god femynitee,
Of my lady, youre wife Dame Cecilee,

- 260 That in Laten hath litle intellecte
To vnderstonde the grete nobilite
Of this ilke londe to whiche she is electe,
Tyme comyng like to haue þe souerainte
Vnder youre rule, as sholde femynitee,
265 Whiche if it may ought please hir ladiship,
My hert reioyse of hir inward gladship.

- For wele I wote youre grete intelligence,
That in Laton hath gode inspection,
Wille plesed ben of youre high sapience,
270 My lady that is vndre youre protection,
Your heires als may rede at þeire election;
Whiche, if it may please þeire nobilitee,
Of my laboure, I wold reioised bee.

- Als, for youre heires and for youre successours,
275 In tyme comyng, to haue a clere knoulege
How of this reame þe noble gouernours
Haue kepte it ay, with helpe of baronage,
In victorie, triumphe, and surplausage,
Seth Brute it won in his prioritee,
280 It hath ben kepte in mighty dignitee.

[f. 9r]

- But howe this ile, embraced with þe see,
Vnedified, was knowen first and founde,
That Albyon was named, of properte
Of Dame Albyn, that first þere in had grounde;
285 And aftir long, howe Brute þerof was crounde,
And did it name so aftir him Britaigne,
And bigged it where alle afore was playne.

The cronicle of this ile, first named Albyon, and of the sisters that had this land first. Here begynneth the <boke> of the L sistres that first occupied this land and named it Albyon, that nowe ben England, Wales, and Scotland.

The while þat Troy was reigntyng in his might,
In Grece there was a king right excellent,

258] G *om. ll. 258-71, resuming at l. 272*; the] *om.* P1, P2. 262 to] of E, I, P1, P2. 265 may] might haue pleased P2; ought] *om.* E, I, P1, P2. 266 reioyse] *after* will E, I; reioiseth Hu; hir] *om.* H. 269 Wille] Welle A, E, I. 271 heires] heyre E, I, P1, P2. 272] G *resumes here*; þeire] your G, P1, P2. 274 for] *om.* I. 277 it] *om.* P1, P2; ay] *om.* E, I, P2. 280 mighty] *insert.* I; worthy P1, P2; dignitee] *after* mekill *del.* I. 281 þe] this P1, P2. 283 was] *om.* G, Hu. 285 crounde] *after* crowned *del.* I. 286] That of his owne name called it Brytayne P1, P2. 287 bigged] billed G; bilded H, P1, P2. 289 right] full A.

290 That Dioclisian some booke seith he hight,
 And of Sirry that had þe regiment.
 Dame Albyne hight his wife, a lady gent,
 Who doughtres hadde thretty, wedde to þeire degree
 To kinges alle of grete nobilitee;

295 Whiche fell in pride and high elacion
 Thenking to ben in no subieccion
 Of housbondes more, ne domynacion,
 But onely by a felle conieccion,
 Toke hool purpose and ful affeccion
 300 To kille þeire lordes sleping sodeinly,
 Souerains to ben and reigne souerainly.

**Nota that women desiren the souerainte of alle thing, and to my consaite more
 in þis lond than in other, for þey haue it of nature of tho sustres.**

The yongest sister the matier al discured
 To hir housbond and to hir fader gent;
 For whiche she was of al that dede assured,
 305 But þey were put in exile by iugement,
 So rightfull was thoo princes of here entent
 They iuged them be put into þe see
 In ship, to passe eche one fro hir cuntree

[f. 9v]

As fortune wold to take theire aduenture.
 310 Which by processe, with stremes too and fro,
 And tempestes grete, and sore disauenture,
 Of sikennesse grete, and oþer mekel wo,
 And moost of al þey knewe nat where to go,
 Til at þe last þey came into this ile,
 315 That þan was waast, as croniclers compile.

But I dar sey this croncile is nat trewe,
 For that ilke tyme in Syrie was no kyng,
 Ne afterward to the tyme that Saul grewe,
 Ne no king was in Siry euer lyving
 320 That had that name, for Saul was þe first kyng

294 alle] *after* of *canc.* E; grete] *after* nobilite *del.* I. 297 ne] *after* do *canc.* I. 298 a] *om.* H. 300 kille] slee H. 301 reigne] leve E, I, P1, P2; souerainly] all seuerally E, G, Hu, I, P1, P2. 302 the] *after* all *del.* I. 304 of] in A. 305 in] to I. 306 was] were E, Hu, I, P1, P2; princes] *insert.* I; here] paire E, H, I, P1, P1. 307 into] in E, I, P1, P2. 308 hir] þeire E, I, P1, P2. 309 As] *after* And G; take] make E, I, P1, P2. 311 and] had G, Hu. 312 oþer mekel] *rev.* E, G, Hu, I, P1 P2. 313 nat] *om.* H; where] whether P1, P2. 314 þe] *om.* G, Hu, P1; into] vnto E, G, Hu, P1, P1; to I. 315 That] Whiche H; waast] *om.* E, I; compile] *after* dothe A, E, I, P1, P2. 317 that] *after* in E, I, P1, P2. 318 the] *om.* E, I, P1, P2. 319 in] *after* levyng *del.* I. 320 þe] *om.* A; þere G, Hu.

Of Syry reame at þe ende of þe thrid age,
In Samuel tyme þe prophete wise and sage.

Nota secundum Hebraicam veritatem et secundum LXX interpretes prout Hugo de Genesis, nobilis cronicarius Romanus, declarat in Cronica sua omnia regna mundi et omnia nomina regum eorum a diluuo Noe vsque ad natiuitate Christi, in qua quidam cronica narrat regem Danam Argiuorum habuisse L filias et regem Egistum Egipti, fratrem suum, tot filios simul maritatos que quidam filie occiderunt maritos et exultate fuerunt per mare arripientes in insula, quam postea Albina soror senior vocauit Albyon a nomine suo Britanniam vocauit.

Ne afore Brute was in that reame, no name,
No king of life that hight ne called so,
325 But of Argyues the kyng, of ful high fame,
Had doughtres fifty, whos name was Danao,
The kyng of Egipte, his brother Egisto,
Had sonnes, als fifty, togedir wedde,
In cronicles of old, as I haue redde.

330 Whiche doughtres slewe hir housbondes echone,
Long afore Brute was of his moder bore;
So fynde I wele by these women alone,
And by the sonnes thusgates slayne afore,
The cronicle trewe in þeire persones more,
335 Than in þe doughtres of Dioclisian,
Where in no land that tyme so hight kyng name.

So in the yere of Ayoth, iuge in Israell,
These ladyes here loded, ful wery and sore,
Sixty and twelue yere, as Hugh dothe telle,
340 Whiche was, I say, two hundred yere afore
That Brutus came into this land, and more
By fyve yeris truly wele accompted
Of yeris odde so mekel more amounted.

[f. 10r]
Als in Siry, there was no king afore
345 Kyng Alisaundre died and expired,
For Seleucus than was þe first king thore
By alle cronicle that I haue enquired.
That cronicle sholde nought be desired,

321 at þe] at G, Hu. 323 Ne] And G; in] *insert*. Hu; that reame no] no realme þat E, G, H, Hu, I, P1, P2; *gloss after* filias] filios S. 324 of] on E, I, P1, P2. 326 whos] his A. 327 kyng of] *insert*. G. 332 wele] *om*. P1, P2. 333 the] þies E, I, P1, P2; thusgates] þus E, I, P1, P2. 336 that] so *canc. after* G; that tyme so hight] so hight þen A; so] *om*. Hu; name] none P1, P2. 337 in] of P1, P2. 338 wery] *after* seke H; verie *then* werie *insert*. I. 339 Sixty and twelue] Seuenty and twoo P1, P2; yere] *om*. G, Hu, P1, P2. 340 two] an P1, P2. 342 wele] *after* and E, I, P1, P2. 343 odde] *om*. H. 346 than] *om*. E, I, P1, P2.

Sith that is nought true, ne autentike,
 350 By no cronicle into the truthe ought like.

I dare wele sey he sawe neuer Hugh Genesis,
 Ne he rode neuer, the cronicles of Siry,
 Of Israel, Iude, ne of Egipciis,
 Ne of Argyues, of Atheynes, ne Thesaly,
 355 Of Macedone, Sisilie, ne of Assiry,
 Of Lacedemoyne, of Lyde, ne yit of Laten,
 Of Affrik, of Asye, ne yit of Babilyn,

Of Perse, ne Mede, Itaile, ne Albany,
 Of Kyng Alisaundre, ne his successours
 360 That aftir him regned diuersely
 In diuerse reames, citees, castels, and toures
 Of Romany, ne of thestate of emperours;
 For had he sene alle this, and þeire stories
 Of Dioclisian, he wold make no memories.

Nota howe these ladies had this ile in the yere of Ayoth sixty and twelue, in þe thrid age of þe worlde, and she called it Albyon of hir name, and toke fewte and seruice of hem alle as souerayn lady of alle þis ile, þat nowe is Englund, Scotland, and Wales, as Hugh Genesis writeth in his *Dialogue*.

365 These ladyes so ay dwellyng in this ile
 The yere of Daoth sixty and twelue no lees,
 Dame Albyne was, as men can compile,
 The eldest sister and thought she wolde encrees
 Hirsilf aboute them alle. Vpon the dees
 370 Sittyng she toke feaute þan of þem alle,
 True to hir been for ought þat might befalle;

And þan she gafe this ile a propre name,
 Of Albyon, oute of hir name as chief,
 And called it so fro þensforward þe same.
 375 She ordeigned than bowes, to þeire relieff,
 Arowes, and boltes, and bowe strynges, made in brief,
 To sle þe dere, þe bole als, and þe bore,
 The bere, and briddes þat were þerynne afore.

[f. 10v]
 With pittefalles grete, and trappes, þey did begile
 380 The beestes and briddes to þeire sustenance;

349 Sith] Seyng P1, P2; is] *after* it E, G, Hu, I, P1, P2. 350 into] vnto E, G, H, Hu, I, P1, P2; ought] oure H. 354 Ne] *om.* E, P1, P2; Thesaly] *after* of A, I. 359 his] *after* of A, E, I, P1, P2. 360 aftir] afor E, I, P1, P2; him] tyme P1, P2. 361 citees] *insert.* E. 366 of] *insert.* E; sixty and twelue] seuenty and two P1, P2. 371 hir been] be to hir I; been] to be E, P1, P2; for] *after* to be P1. 372 þan] þat G. 377 als and] *rev.* P1, P2; þe (3)] *after* also P1. 378] *om.* E; afore] before I, P1, P2.

They gate eche day with nettes, and oþer wyle,
 The fisshe in staunkes and watir souffishaunce;
 Eche day þey made ful witty cheuysshaunce
 To help hemsilf at þeire necessitee,
 385 Forhungred þat þey shold not perished bee.

Nota howe spirits gate geauntes vpon þe ladyes, whiche gate oþer geantz, that in this lond, before Brute came, were XII thousand geantz what in þis lond, that is now England, and what in þe northe þat is now Scotland, and what in þe West þat is Wales, as Scot Maryan seithe in his *Dyaloge*.

These ladyes so with mete and drinke replete,
 And of nature revigured corporally,
 And alle þeire care foryete, and vndirfete
 Had grete desire to play hem womanly,
 390 As women yit wol do ful louanly,
 For to fulfille the werke of womanhed
 And bring forthe fruyte, þe lond to rule and lede.

So were þey tempte with inward meditacion
 And veynglory withynne þeir hertes implied
 395 To haue counfort of mennys consolacion,
 And knewe noþyng howe of hem to prouide;
 But inwardely in it they glorified
 So hote that spirites in mannysshe fourme
 Lay by hem, their desires for to refourme.

So during forthe in suche luste and delite,
 With nature of hemsilf and femynacion,
 The spirites gate children, þat were geantes tite,
 On hem thorough þeire owne generacion
 By feruent hete moued with temptacion,
 405 Thus gate þey þan grete geantz, ful of might,
 Within shorte tyme þat were bothe long and wight.

Nota howe þe fadirs lay be their doughtres, by breþern by þeire sustres, þe sons by þeire modres, and euery kyn with other, as Hugh Genesis reporteth in his *Cronicles*.

The fadirs þan by þeire doughters alle,
 Moder, ne sister, agayne it <not> replied,
 Of childre feel, sonnes and doughtirs ay,
 410 They gate eche day and strongly multiplied.

381 eche] *after* fyssh E. 383 ful] *om.* P1, P2. 386 so] *om.* E, I, P1, P2. 390 yit] *om.* G, Hu; do] *after illegible word canc.* I. 392 fruyte] *om.* G, Hu. 397 in it] *theim* P1, P2. 398 hote] *after* þat *canc.* G. 399 for] *om.* E, G, Hu, I, P1, P2; refourme] *performe* E, I, P1, P2. 403 hem] *om.* H; generacion] *ymagynacion* G, Hu, I, P1, P2. 406 bothe] *om.* E, I, P1, P2. 407 alle] *lay* E, G, Hu, I, P1, P2. 408 not] *insert.* S. 409 feel] *many* H; ay] *ouer* all H. 410 strongly] *stoutely* H.

Of hem this ile þan was so fortified;
 So strong þan was þeire generacion
 None durst it noy for their malnacion.

[f. 11r]

Amonges theimsilf so grete vnkyndnesse,
 415 According wele to þeire vnordinate,
 That eche of them slewe oþer and did oppresse,
 That none was lefte on lyve of their astate
 Of twelue thousand within a litle date,
 Whoos pride thus felle afore the incarnacion,
 420 Twelue hundred yere, by verrey computacion.

But Bartholomew, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*,
 Seith howe this ile of Albyon had name
 Of the see bankes ful white allee or sum
 That circuyte this ile, as shippes came
 425 Fro farrom sene as they þorough þe see fame
 Sayled by and by, for ripes and roches white
 To shipmen were grete gladnesse and delite.

But Maryan Scot, the truest croniclere,
 Seith Dame Albyne was first þat name it so.
 430 Bothe two might been togedre true and clere,
 That shippes so salyng to and fro
 And at hir come, þey called it bothe two,
 So bothe þe wayes may ben right sure *and* true,
 Fro whiche þere wille no croniclere remewe.

435 Of this now wol I ceesse, and sey no more
 Til tyme come efte that Brute haue won þis land,
 And slayne hem alle in bataile foughten sore.
 And nowe of Brute ye shal wele vnderstand
 How that he ded in Grece and toke on hond,
 440 And of what blode he came by clere descent,
 And howe in Grece he had grete regiment,

And howe he gate this ile by his prowesse,
 And called it by name the ile of Britaigne,

411 þan] *om.* E; so] sore P2. 412 þeire] this P1, P2. 414] D *resumes here*; theimsilf] hem fell E, G, Hu, I, P1, P2. 415 wele] *after* ryght P1, P2; vnordinate] *after* lyfe P1, P2. 416 slewe] *om.* P1, P2; and] *om.* P1, P2. 417 was] *after* of them P1, P2; their] þe P1; that P2. 419 pride] *om.* E; thus *om.* P1, P2. 420 verrey] trewe G, Hu. 423 or] and G, Hu. 424 this] the P1, P2. 425 fame] fome H. 428 Scot] saieth P1, P2; truest] *om.* P1, P2; croniclere] *before* to sewe P1, P2. 429 Seith] That P1, P2; first] *after* the P1, P2. 430 true and clere] *rev.* E, I, P1, P2. 431] *insert. next to l.* 430 Hv. 432 bothe] *after* so E, G, Hu, I, P1; so P1, P2. 433 So] *after* And E, I, P1, P2; þe] *om.* E, I, P1, P2; ben] *after* it E. 434 remewe] *after* it E, P1, P2. 438-39] *blank line in between these lines* Hv. 438 And] But P1, P2. 441 he] *om.* G, Hu. 443 the] *after* for þe worthynes *del.* I.

And of his name, for their worthinesse,
 445 He called his men Britayns ay certayne,
 That Troians were afore nought to layne.
 To whiche I pray the holy Trinitee,
 That is one God in verry persones three,

[f. 11v]

How the maker of this booke pray to God for help to make this.

Of help and spede, to bringe this booke to ende,
 450 For simple is my witte of alle science,
 Of rethoryke, as neuer yit I kende,
 And simple am of alle intelligence;
 Yit will I nought so hurt my conscience
 On olde goddes to muse, or on to calle,
 455 That fals were euer, and euer so will befall:

Of Saturnus, ne yit of Mercury,
 Of Iubiter, of Mars, ne yit of Venus,
 Of Pallas, ne of Mynerve, ne Megary,
 Ne of Phebus, Ceres, ne of Geneus,
 460 Of Cupido, ne yit Thesiphonus,
 Diane, Bachus, ne of Cerbery.
 Alle þese I wol refuse, and nowe defye,

And to the God, I pray, in magestee,
 My witte to force with might *and* sapience,
 465 With language such as may ought plesant bee
 To youre pleasaunce and noble excellence,
 For I am bare naked of eloquence
 By insufficiencye and alle simplicitee,
 To ende this booke as were necessitee.

Here begynneth þe booke of Britons, howe Brute conquered Albyon and named it Britayne of his name, nowe England, Wales and Scotlond. The armes of Brutus in which he was cladde whan he entred this ile, aftir Hugh Genesis þe Italian cronicle, of goules II lyons crowned of gold, rampant and combatant.

470 As cronicles telle and make notificacion,
 Who seeth þeym wele shal knowe and vnderstand
 Of what-kyns blode and generacion
 Brutus first came that conquered al þis lond;

445 certayne] *after* forth E, G, I, P1, P2; for Hu. 448 verry] *om.* E, I, P1, P2. 449 ende] *after* an G, Hu. 451 neuer yit] *rev.* E, I, P1, P2; yit] it H. 453 so] *om.* A; hurt] *after* hurt *canc.* G. 454 on (2)] yet G, Hu; *om.* P2. 455 euer (1)] *after* and *canc.* Hu. 457 yit] *om.* E, Hu, I. 460 ne] or E, G, Hu; *after* ne of *canc.* I; Thesiphonus] *after* of P1, P2. 461 ne] or E, G, Hu, I. 462 and nowe] *rev.* E, G, Hu, I, P1, P2. 463 I] *after* in heauen P1, P2. 467 naked] *after* and A, E, I, P1, P2. 471 Who seeth] ho so G, Hu, P1, P2; knowe] *om.* I. 473 al] *om.* P2.

It to remembre I haue nowe take on hond,
 475 Thorough olde stories by philsophres compiled,
 In balade thus it shal be made and filed.

[f. 12r]

As oute of olde feeldes newe cornes growe ech yere,
 Of olde bookes ben clerkes newe approued,
 Olde knightes actes with mynstrels tonges stere
 480 The newe corage of yong knightes to be moued;
 Wherefore me thenke old thing shuld be loued,
 Sith olde connyng maketh yong wittes wise
 Disposed wele to vertuous exercise.

At olde Adam therefore I wol bigynne,
 485 Who was, I fynde, the first olde creature
 Convaying doune lynyally in kynne,
 As þey descent in birthe and in engenderure,
 Next vnto Brute, as mencyonde hath scripture.
 I shal reporte as God will deyne to lede
 490 My simple goost with langauge it to fede.

For wele I wote withoute his supportacion
 For to reporte his genologie,
 Howe he descent in al generacion
 From Adam doun to Troian auncetrie,
 495 Goten and borne certaine in Italie,
 Ful herd it is, allethough I wold ful fayne,
 So simple been my spirites and my brayne.

475 olde] *after* all P1, P2. 477 yere] *om.* P1. 478 ben] by E, I, P1, P2. 481 thynke] *after* þing *canc.* I.
 482 connyng] bokes P1, P2. 483 to] with E, I, P1, P2. 486 kynne] lyn E. 487 þey] *om.* P1, P2; in] *om.*
 E, G, Hu, I. 488 hath] maketh E, I, P1, P2. 489 deyne] please P1, P2. 490 goost] *after* god I. 492
 genologie] *after* verrey E, G, Hu, I, P1, P2. 493 descent] *after* by E, I, P1, P2. 496 allethough] þogh E;
 all yf þough I.

II

**John Hardyng's *Chronicle* in Two Versions,
1327-1464**

The Text of the First Version, 1327-1437

[Lansdowne 204 f. 185r]

VI Book, III chapter.

Edwarde thrydde, kynge of Englonde and of Fraunce, duke of Normandy, Guyen, and Aungooy, and lord of Irelonde, with a pedegre of his title to Fraunce.

540 Edward, the prynce of Wales, in tendre age
Of thertene yere of age was than full faire,
Corounde was so by all the baronage,
With mekyll pepyll and also grete repayre,
Of euery burgh and cyte came the mayre,
545 And all the lordes that were eke spir[i]tuall,
For moste party were ther than corporall,

Ryght in the feste of the purificacion,
The yere forsayde of Criste than accounted,
Whan he ascende at his coronacion,
550 And to the throne riall so surmounted,
With dyademe on hed hiegh amounted,
Of stonys riche and perry hole was sette
As to suche prynce semyng so was and dette.

How Edward of Carnarua[n] was had to the castel off Barkelay to kepe, whare he was slayne on his sege with a hote spete shot in his tewayll, as cronycle myndeth.

His fadyr was fro Kyllingworth translate
555 To the castell of Barkelay pryuely,
Whare with a spete brennyng immoderate
In his tewall, thugh traytours felony
Vpon his sege, was slayne all sodenly
On Seynt Mathew day next in Septembre,
560 At Gloucester byried, as wrytynges doth remembre.

The yer of Criste was than a thousand clere,
Thre hundred eke, twenty and ther to seuen,
Whan thatte his soule forsoke the body here,
And went, I trowe, vnto the blisse of heuen,
565 The firste yere of the kyng than was full euen.
Thus ende his lyfe in peyne and grete distresse,
For oon mescheffe that he wolde nede redresse,

The consayte of þe maker to deferre vengeance les gretter harmes aryse, o[r] ell putte þe cas to law.

Whiche was the deth of *Sir Piers Gauerston*,

545 spirituall] spirituall MS. 553 gloss after Carnaruan] Carnarua MS. 567 gloss after or] o MS.

That *better* had to hym with pacience
 570 Haue suffred it, amended bene by reson
 In esy wyse, as law and sapience
 Asked, and wolde of gode benyvolence,
 And all vengeance fully haue relesede;
 By consequence, all meschefes shuld haue cesed.

575 Bot, o, ye lordes, consyder wele thys case,
 Reuenge ye noght the harmes of euery wronge,
 Bot trete it fayre with reson and with grace
 Wele entremyخته, or els it ye prolonge
 Vnto the lawe, and byde and vndyrgonge
 580 What it will deme, withoute any breggage,
 To offycers, iuges, or zit enquestes wage.

[f. 185v]

Than shall ye dure full longe and to grete age
 For youre gode lyfe with all prosperite,
 Elles shall your lyfe, for all your hiegh lynage,
 585 Abreged bene for your grete cruelte
 With cruell deth and grete aduersite,
 Ryght as ye haue to other afore devysed
 Shall yow befall all sodayn vnadvysed.

**How the kynge seged þe Scottes hoste in Stanhop Parke, in þe bisshopriche of
 Du[r]ham, whiche went away vnfoughten by sutylte of Douglas.**

Bot to this Kynge Edwarde of tendre age,
 590 After my bokes I wyll forther procede.
 At Pentecoste, by all verray knowlage,
 The seconde yer so of his reygne indede,
 The bysshoprike of Durham, as I rede,
 The Scottes hoste distroyed all full clere.
 595 Whom Kyng Edward, with hoste, pursewed so nere

That Stanhop Parke thay toke, and ther abode.
 Whiche parke the kynge layde all his hoste aboute
 With sege grete, and lordes of worthihode,
 Bot Iames Douglas, of knyghthode that was stout,
 600 Caste in his wytte how that thay myght wyn oute
 At ouer a mosse, whare that no sege was sette,
 Whare all men truste away thay myght noght gette.

So many flakes he made his hoste to make
 Within the parke by fiftene days ende,
 605 That ouer that mosse and myre that faste gan qwake
 Vpon tho flakes ech man, as wele was kende,

588 *gloss after* Durham] Duham MS.

His own horse ledde, and homward dyd thay wende,
 And drew the flakes at ouer the myre at laste,
 Whan all the hoste ouer thaym so was paste,

- 610 And to Scotlond thay yede that tyme harmelesse.
 For whiche the kyng, whan he myght nocht atteyne
 Thaym to ouertake, weped full sore doutlesse,
 For thair home gate vnfoughten was certeyne,
 And in his herte for it had mekyll peyne,
 615 Bot to London he came anone forth right,
 Whare he abode at Wyndsore fayr to sight.

How the kyng wed Philip, þe doughter of the erle of Henalde.

- And sone therafter the erles doughter Henalde,
 Dame Philip hight, that was bothe fayre and gode,
 He wed to wyfe and crounde as he walde
 620 With hiegh honour accordyng to hir blode;
 All dyscheuely in hir heer sche stode,
 The croun of golde aboue in riall wyse,
 A fayrer wyght myght no man than devyse.

[f. 186r]

The kyng *and* the quene maryed Dame Iohne off Toure to Dauyd, þe son *and* hayre of Kyng Robert Bruys of Scotlonde, *with* whiche mariage þe kyng in his tendre age made a relese of all his souereynte of Scotlonde.

- The kyng Edward, and his modyr quene,
 625 Dame Iohne of Toure, his sistere, fresshly maryed
 To Dauyd Bruys, Kyng Robertes sonne, I wene,
 Hayr of Scotlonde knowen and notyfyed,
 The seconde day of Iuyll so signyfyed
 At Berwyke than on Twede in his thridde yere,
 630 Full riallly as sayth the cronyclere.

- Thurgh occasion of whiche mariage,
 The kyng inducte was slelyche and excyte
 By his modyr in his tendre age,
 And *Sir* Roger Mortymer was to wyte
 635 Thareof gretly, who was all his delyte
 Of his counsayle derrest and moste do myght,
 For to relese of Scotlond all his right.

- Whiche relese so of homage and seruyce,
 With all the hole superiorite
 640 Whiche his elders euere had in any wyse,
 Vndre the sele than of hys mageste,
 Thurgh thair counsayll in full gret pryuyte
 At Westmynster, the Scottes, in his nounage,

Had home bycause of that same mariage.

645 This same Roger, that was Lorde Mortymer,
 So pryuy was men sayde than with the quene,
 His modyr, than he was hir nyght playfer
 In chambre, whare it aught secre haue bene,
 Thurgh hardynesse of whiche, as it was sene,
 650 He wasted hole the kynges grete tresure,
 Dispendyng it withouten any cure.

And as he wolde, he made all ordynaunce,
 Bothe of the kyng and of his ryalte,
 That Erle Henry myght haue no gouernaunce
 655 Of his *persone*, as was necessite,
 To kepe the kyng than in his iuente,
 Noght withstondyng at the coronacion
 His custode was he made by ordynacion.

How Kyng Robert Bruys dyed lepre, and Dauyd, his son, was crowned kyng.

The yer of Criste a thousand and thre hundre,
 660 And thretty als ioyned ther with in fere,
 Kyng Robert Bruys with lepre caste was vndre,
 And dyed than the twelfe day of Iune clere;
 To whom succede Dauyd his sonne so dere,
 And kyng was than of Scotlonde with honour,
 665 And quene so was his wyfe, Dame Iohne of Tour.

[f. 186v]

How *Sir* Edmond Wodstok, erle of Kente, vncler of þe kyng, was hedyd at Wynchestre in þe kynges tendre age, by strength of the Mortymers and Quene Isabel.

And in the yere of Criste a thousand than,
 Thre hundre eke, and therto thrity writon,
 The kyng in his fourth yer parlyment began
 At Wynchestre, as than was knowyn and wyton.
 670 In whiche parlyment as all the lordes sytten,
 Syr Edmonde than of Wodstoke, erle of Kent,
 The kynges eme, arrested was and hent

By counsayll of the quene Dame Isabell,
 And of the lorde *Sir* Roger Mortymer,
 675 With many other that so vnto thaym fell,
 The Mawtrauers with thaym than helde full clere;
 Whar Erle Edmonde graunted by his answer
 How that the pope hym bade of his blissyng

652 he (1)] *rep.* MS.

To helpe his brother agayn that he wer kyng.

680 So certenly the pope hym certyfyde
 He leuyng was, and so dyd many other,
 Whiche for he hid and noght it notyfyde
 Vnto the kyng, ne yit vnto his mother,
 To payre the kyng and holpen vp his brother.
 685 Adiuged was he than for to be dede,
 Wharfore that day smyten was of his hede.

**How the two Mortymers were taken *and* foriugged for dyuerse cause, aftyr
 specyfyed and expressed.**

In his first yere at Seynt Lukes day anone,
 And of our Lorde Cristes incarnacion
 A thousand and thre hundre, thretty and oone,
 690 At Nottyngham, by gode informacion,
 Parment he helde withoute proclamacion,
 Whare than he toke the lorde Mortymere,
 That erle of Marche *proclaymed* was that yer,

His sonne also, *Sir* Roger Mortymer,
 695 Symonde Bedforde that was of thayr counsayle,
 And to the Toure of London forth in fere
 He sent thaym so ther to be holde in bayle,
 For to abyde the kynges gouernayle,
 Whiche drawn were vpon Seynt Andrew eue,
 700 At London so, and honged, as I leue.

And fro the quene, his modyr, he resumed
 All hir lyfelode, excepte a thousand ponde,
 Bycause she waste his tresur and consumed,
 As proued wele by lordes was and founde
 705 That Mortymer and she had spent full rounde,
 And wasted all thurgh thair grete wantonesse,
 And putte the kyng in poynt of grete distresse.

[f. 187r]

And fully was it spoke than and demed
 That Mortymere and she of his fadyrs dethe
 710 Were counselyng, and sogates wele it semed,
 For she and he helde Notyngham full blethe,
 Tyll that the kyng by ways vndyrnethe
 The erthe than sente his men it for to take,
 Whar thay it toke and helde it for his sake.

715 In hir chambre so was he take by nyght,
 Hir chambyrleyn, *Sir* Wyllyam Trumpyngton,
 Gaynstondyng thaym was slayne that tyme don right,

That nocht had on bot naked saufe his gon.
 Bot than the kyng so putte in depe prison
 720 The Mortymers, tyll day began to clere,
 That to London he sent thaym both in fere.

How Kynge Edwarde went into Fraunce, þe sext yere of hys regne, to do homage to hys eme for his londes byzonde the se in Guyen *and* other; and how Edward Bailiol claymed þe reme of Scotlond, with whom þe erle of Angos, *and* þe lorde Beumont, the erle also of Athetill, with other many went into Scotlond with hoste.

The sext yere than the kyng went so to Fraunce,
 To Kynge Philip, his eme, to make homage
 For Gascoyne so, with hole loue and plesaunce,
 725 And sone he came agayn in that vyage,
 Bot *Sir* Edwarde Baylioll his heritage
 Than claymed hole of Scotlond, haue the crowne
 By ryght of blode, next hair descended downe.

To whom the erle of Angos went full right,
 730 That *Sir* Gylbert Vmframvyle was so than,
 In Scotlond thare to clayme and wyn his right,
 That helden was from hym seth werr began.
 The lorde Bewmount eke went full lyke a man,
 With Baylioll forth to wyn his heritage,
 735 The erledome of Bowghan in that vyage,

To whiche erledom longed the constableri
 Of Scotlonde so by grete antiquyte,
 And to hym fell by right of matrymony,
 Whan he had wed the hayr of grete bewte,
 740 The Comyns doughter in hir virgynyte,
 Of whom Bewmontes ere *comme* don by descente,
 To haue it so with all to it appent.

The erle Dauyd, that was of Athetyll,
 With thaym gan go that was disherite clere,
 745 And many mo that wronge was done vntyll
 In that vyage so went *with* thaym in fere,
 For Kynge Edwarde of Englund wolde nocht ster,
 No lette no man of Englund with thaym gone,
 Bot soudyours and Marchers euerychone

[f. 187v]

How Edwarde Bailiol and his lordes Englysshe forsayd venquysed the Scottes at þe batayll of Kynkorne.

750 That wronged were in Scotlond of thair londe,
 Fore Kyng Dauyd had wed his sister dere,
 Agayns whom none other shulde take on honde

To go bot thay that stode in that case clere;
 Yit nocht forthy, as sayth the cronycler,
 755 Two thousande and fyue hundre fyghtyng men
 Thay nombred wer, at Kynkorne loded then,

Whare than thay faught so with the erle of Fyfe,
 And venquyste hym, and wan on hym the felde,
 With stronge batayle, and strokes that wer ryfe,
 760 Thay slewe the Scottes and wolde lette none thaym yelde.
 The erle of Fyfe saw how his men gan heelde,
 And fled anone als faste as he myght gone,
 And lafte ther dede his men thare nere echone.

Than Roberte Bruys, the son of Kynge Robert,
 765 That bastard was, and Alisaundre Seton,
 With ten thousande Scottes came on full harde,
 And gafe batayle all newe, and slayne were don,
 Sauyng captayns that fled away all bon
 For drede of deth, seand thay wolde take none
 770 For no raunsom, bot slew thaym euerychone.

How Edwarde Bailioll *and* his Englysshe lordes forsaid discomfyte þe Scottes atte batayll of Gladmore.

The erles thre, of Menteth, and of Marr,
 And of Murray, and Robert Bruys bastarde,
 Erle of Karrike, that on the Scottes syde warr,
 On Gladmore faught with Englyssh men full harde,
 775 The seconde day that folowed afterwarde,
 Whare slayne wer than fourty thousand Scottes men.
 So hole fortune sped thair sortes then,

All Englyssh men wer safe excepte thre knyghtes,
 Thre and therty also of other men,
 780 Whiche batayle so dyd dure fro dayes lyghtes
 Tyll none, as men yit in that cuntr[e] ken.
 The Scottes lay dede full hiegh on hepes then,
 That slayne were so with prese of multitude
 As fele as with the Englysshe fortitude.

How Edward Bailioll *and* his Englysshe wan the feelde atte batayll of Dyppling More, *and* went to Seynt Iohneston and gatte the toun.

785 The next day after at Dyppling Mor thay mette
 With *Sir* Nele Bruys, and ten thousand in fer,
 That slayne were don in batayle and sore bette,
 The Englyssh had the feelde and helde it cler.

781 cuntre] cuntr MS.

The morow after thay went with hole power
 790 To Seynt Iohneston, replete of all vytayle,
 And helde it so and made grete gouernayle

[f. 188r]

How the erles of Douglas and Dunbar seged the toun with xxx thousand Scottes, in whiche tyme the Scottes flete fell on þe Englisshe flete in þe water of Tay, bot thay were taken and brent, and paire capatyne fled away, and þe Englisshe hoste crowned Sir Edward Bailioll atte Skone.

Of dykes brode and depe aboute the toun,
 Whiche toun the Scottes seged by hole accorde;
 Syr Archebalde Douglas was thare full boun,
 795 Erle Patrike, als of Dunbarre that was lorde,
 Thretty thousonde with thaym as was recorde,
 Neuerthelesse our flete that lay in Tay,
 Thay sent a flete to bren thaym iff thay may,

Whiche Scottes flete our Englissh navy brent,
 800 And slew the men echone with grete manhede,
 Except Iohn Crabbe to Berwyke fled forshent,
 Thayr captayn was and ner had loste his hede,
 For whiche myshappe the Scottes than toke rede
 To leue the sege and so thay went away,
 805 Whan that thay knewe thair flete had suche afray.

This Scottys flete on Seynt Barthlomew day
 Was so gate waste and holy than destroyed;
 Than out of Tay our Englisshe flete away
 Went to the se full gretely so anoyed
 810 Thurgh grete tempeste that felly thaym acloyed.
 Bot neuerthelees at Skone oure lordes did cron,
 Edward Baylioll kyng of that region,

How Edwarde Bailioll and his lordes forsayd discomfyte and toke the erle of Murrefe in Tevydale, and sent hym to kepe at Durham in prison.

The twenty day and seuen of Septembre
 Than folowyng, with all solempnyte.
 815 So to Roxburgh, as I can remembre,
 Thay with hym went and faught by hole decres
 Agayn the erle of Murray, as men se,
 Whom than thay toke, and vnto Durham sent
 In prison thare to byde his iugement.

820 Syr Archebalde Douglas and Erle Partrike
 Of Dunbarr toke a trew with Kyng Edwarde,
 The Baylyoll, and caste hym to byswyke
 To Candylnesse in truste of thair forwarde.

Wharfore he lette the Englisshe passe homwarde,
 825 Trustyng thay wolde haue holpe hym as thay shewe,
 Bot false thay wer and rose agayn hym newe,

And slew his men and so thay wolde hymselfe,
 Bot that he fledde to Englonde than away,
 With certeyne men that with hym wer bot twelfe,
 830 So had thay fought with hym full sore that day,
 The Douglas fals and Dunbarr that were ay,
 And to the kynge of Englonde tolde his case,
 Besekyng hym of socour and of grace.

[f. 188v]

At whose requeste the kynge graunte hym an hoste
 835 Of Englisshe men on his rebels to ryde,
 Of thaym that had thair heritage so loste
 Within his reme, and myght nought on hym byde.
 The Vmframvyle and Bewmont with grete pride,
 The Percy eke, and Nevyle at thair myght,
 840 The Lucy als, with many mo full right,

Wyth hym so went the nynetene day of Marche cler,
 The yere of Criste after his natyuyte,
 A thousand hole, thre hundre, and thretty wer,
 And ther to als adioyned fully thre,
 845 This kynge Edward Baylioll with his powste
 The Marches brent of Scotlond than thurghoute,
 And layde his sege to Berwyke all aboute.

**How Kynge Edward off Englund and Kyng Edward Bailioll discomfyte the Scotz
 at batayll of Halydoun Hyll, and had Berwyk zolden.**

In whiche tyme so the Scottes, full anombred
 Sixty thousande, Northumbyrlonde gan ride,
 850 The threttene day of Iuyll, nothyng acombred
 And brent the londe with mekyll boste and pride,
 Wharfore the kynge of Englonde wolde nought byde,
 Bot came anone with all his grete power,
 To Berwyke than to strenght the Baylioll cler.

855 And with the Scottes so at Halidon Hill
 Thay faught full sore, of Iuyll the eghtene day,
 Where Scottes wer slayn, whiche nombred wer so tyll
 Thretty thousande that were thar slayne away,
 And many take and fled in foule aray,
 860 For fere of whiche thay yalde vp Berwyke than,
 And forth thay came afore the kynges eche man.

Nota for homage of Scotlond.

The eghtene day of Iune so in the yer
 A thousand than, thre hundre, as bokes say,
 Four and thretty ioyned therto in fere,
 865 At Newcastell-on-Tyne in gode array
 At Frere Prechours withoute any nay,
 Edward Baylioll for Scotlonde and the Iles
 His homage made, as cronyclers compyles.

Fore cause of whiche the Scottes, aboue all thyng,
 870 Hym hated sore, and rose agayn hym stoute,
 The comons hole agayn hym faste gan thryng,
 His lordes all stode with thaym thar thurghoute.
 Wharfore he fled to Englonde oute of doute,
 Besekyng than Kyng Edward of counsayle
 875 And of his helpe and als his suppowayle.

[f. 189r]

How these two kynges, the kyng of Englonde on þe Este Marche, and þe Scottes kyng on þe West Marche, destroyed Scotlonde and mette at Seynt Iohnston, whare þe erles of Athell and of Menteth, with many other, bycame paire man, and made homage by wrytynge.

And in the yere a thousande and thre hundre,
 Thretty and fyve, in Iuyll, thay toke on honde
 These kynges two with hostes farre in sundre,
 In Iuyll than rode and brent so all the londe,
 880 Bothe house and cornes, whare that thay eny fonde,
 And slewe the folke on euery syde full sore,
 And mette at Seynt Iohnston thaym new to score,

Whare than the erles of Athels and Menteth,
 Syr Alisaundre Moubray, with many mo,
 885 Of gode estate became thayr men till deth,
 Away thaym toke to byde in wele and wo,
 With thaym agayn all men, for frende or fo,
 By thair lettre thar writton vndre sele,
 Bycause thay shulde nocht after it repele.

890 This erle than, of Athels, was regent
 Made of Scotlonde so by the kynges two,
 Whom Scottes slewe right of thair fals intent
 In batayle stronge, and many other mo,
 Ful cruelly and that was mekyll wo.
 895 Than lete thay home the erle of Murray gone,
 That in Englonde was taken so anone,

How Sir Henry of Lancastre, þe son of Erle Henry of Lancastre, went to Scotlonde to helpe Edward Bailioll, and at Seynt Iohnston cam þe kyng of Englonde to hem and passed ouere the oyghels and munthes thurgh the wyldes Scottery.

And to London was sent ther to abyde
 In fell prison, at bothe the kynges wyll,
 For his falsehode that knowyn was full wyde.
 900 Syr Henry, than of Langcastre full styll
 The sonne, was sent with hoste Scotlond vntyll
 In May moneth, the yere of Criste playnly
 A thousonde full, thre hundre, sex and thretty,

To helpe the kyng of Scottes so at his nede,
 905 Whar thay distroyed Scotlond with hoste riall,
 And toke the toun of Seynt Iohneston indede,
 That dykes was full brede and depe withall,
 The whiche toun so some men yit Perth do call.
 Bot Kynge Edwarde, that kyng was of Englonde,
 910 Came to thaym thar with hoste, I vndyrstonde,

So passyng forth at on the hiegh mountayns,
 On thair language that bene oyghels called,
 Vnto Elgyne within Murray dymaynes,
 And to Argayle; ther was no castell walled
 915 That hym withstode, so wer thair hedes appalled.
 From thens homwarde he brent to Aberdene,
 Stratherne, Angos, Fyfe, and Louthian clene,

[f. 189v]

And made agayn the castell of Streuelyne,
 Of Bothvyle eke, and dyuers other mo,
 920 And toke thaym to Edward Baylioll syne
 To strenght hym with that Scottes hym nought ouere go;
 Bot Kynge Dauyd yit had thair hertes so
 That moste party of Scotlonde with hym helde,
 Bot yonge he was and lytyll than he melde.

925 In this viage *Sir* Iohn of Eltham dyed,
 Of Cornewayle erle, and brother to Kynge Edwarde,
 In whose manhode the kyng gretly affyed,
 And hevy was and sped hym faste homwarde,
 And beried hym, as honour wolde awarde,
 930 At Westmynster, with all hiegh reuerence
 As noble prynce and hiegh of excellence.

How the kyng made sex erles in his parlement.

And in the yere of Criste a thousonde than,
 Thre hundre als, and seuen and thretty mo,
 The kyng in May, at Westmynster, began
 935 His grete parlement with all his barons tho,
 Whare he his sonne Edward, prynce of Wales so,
 Duke of Cornewayle, and erle of Chester made,

And prynce was calde whar he yede or rade.

And erles sex he made in that parlement,
 940 Yonge *Sir* Henry Langcaster, erle of Derby,
 The sonne of Erle Henry full excelent,
 Of Longcastre and Leycestre plenerly,
 Brother of Erle Thomas was natifely;
 And *Sir* Wyllyam Mountagu that bolde baron,
 945 Of Salesbyry he made erle of renon;

Syr Hugh Audelay, that was of high renon,
 Of Gloucestr the erle he dyd create;
 Syr Wyllyam Bowne, the erle of Northampton;
 Robert Vfford with honour and estate,
 950 Erle of Suffolke was than denomynate;
 And laste he made *Sir* Wyllyam Clynton
 The erle so than called of Huntyngdon.

How the Scottes <gat> þe castels of Andrestoun and Bothvyle, and seged Streuelyn, whiche þe kyng of Englund cam to reskow.

In this mene-while Patrike, erle of Dunbarr,
 Andrew Murreff, and *Sir* Willyam Dowglasse,
 955 The castels of Andreston all vnwarr,
 And Bothvyle als, gatte than as thay gan passe,
 And to Streuelyn the sege so layde than wasse.
 Wharfore the kyng of Englonde thedyr went
 To reskowe it was fully his entent,

[f. 190r]
 960 For drede of whom from it thay dyd remewe.
 Er he came thare, thair captayn ther was slayn,
 Syr Wyllyam Keth, for whom the Scottes gan rewe.
 The kyng than made the castells all agayn,
 And home he came to Englund than certayn,
 965 And with hym brought the hurte men to relefe
 Of thair sore hurtes, and eke of thair myschefe.

Bot than the kyng his wardayn made thurghoute
 In all North Marche the erle of Warwyke so,
 That lytyll halpe the Scottes wer so stoute,
 970 Whiche seged than Edenburgh with mykyll wo,
 Bot Baylioll so, the kyng of Scotlond tho,
 It than reskowde with helpe of Englissh men,
 And slew the Scottes that thar abode hym then.

The erle so than of Warwyke was wardayn,

952 *gloss after gat] insert. MS.*

975 The erle Robert of Angos, Vmframvyle,
 Of Salesbyry the erle so than certayn,
 The lorde Percy, and eke *Sir* Raufe Nevyle,
 Syr Wylyyam Pole, the Lucy, and Menvyle,
 Seged Dunbarr, and whan it noght avayled
 980 Thay toke a trewe that to the Scottes *prevayled*.

How the kynge of Englonde *and* Quene Philipa went to Andewarp, in Braban, for to claym[e] his ryght of Fraunce, þat was descended to hym by deth of h[ys] vncl[e], þat was kynge of Fraunc[e].

And in the yer a thousand fully written,
 Thre hundr eke, with eght and thretty clere,
 The kynge Edwarde of Englonde, as was wyten,
 And Quene Philip his wyfe that was hym dere,
 985 In Iuyll gan ship at Orwell both in fere,
 The erles als of Derby and Northampton,
 Of Salesbyry, Suffolke, and Huntyngdon,

With grete peple and worthy chyualry,
 Agayne the kyng of Fraunce to clayme his right,
 990 At Andewarpe vnto the pope in hy
 He wrote his clayme, and sent it to his sight,
 Declaryng hym his tytill, as Cristen knyght,
 Of Fraunce all hole to haue and ioyse the cron
 By heritage to hym descended don.

How the kynge of Englonde first bare the armes of Fraunce quarterly *with* the armes off Englonde in his baner and in hys seel.

995 The yer of Criste a thousand and thre hundr,
 Nyne and thretty, as sayth the cronycler,
 The kynge Edward the armes that wer in sundre
 Of Englonde and of Fraunce he sette in fer,
 All quarterly he bare thaym in both full cler,
 1000 In his baner and in his sele also,
 By hole advyse of all his frendes tho,

[f. 190v]

Callyng hym kyng of Englonde and of Fraunce,
 In all wrytyng from that tyme so forwarde;
 Whiche of his regne of Englonde gouernaunce
 1005 The thrittene yere than was by all awarde,
 Whan flour-de-lise he bare so with lybarde,
 By counsayle of his frendes and his wyfes kyn,
 That stode with hym his werres to begyn.

980 *gloss after* clayme] claym MS; hys] h MS; Fraunce] Fraunc MS.

The dukes that wer of Braban and of Bayr,
 1010 With other dukes of Almayne so in fere,
 Of Gellerlonde, and Henalde grete repayre,
 Of Holandres, and Selandres grete powere,
 In Fraunce entred and brent byfore thaim clere
 With Kyng Edwarde in Octobre next so than,
 1015 A thousande townes whan that he werr bygan.

Bot than the kyng Philip that helde with wronge
 The reme of Fraunce, by all lawe and reson,
 Day of batayle to mete in felde full stronge
 With Edwarde sette to fighte for thaire raunsour;
 1020 At whiche day so Edwarde by that encheson
 Strongly bataylde so helde the felde all day
 Tyll Kyng Philip was remewede farre away.

Whan that thay were bot thre myle so in sundre,
 He fled to Fraunce full faste and lefte his hoste
 1025 That sparpilde than, of whiche was mekyll wondre
 Wharfore and why that layde was so his boste,
 For whiche Edwarde made sorow with the moste,
 And homwarde so to Braban gan retourne,
 At Andewarpe to reste hym and soiorne.

In that same yere the kyng his parlement helde
 At Westmynster, whar all by barony
 That helde, or by chyualry vncompelde,
 Hym gafe the nynte shafe lambe and flece forthy,
 Two yere duryng the clergy graunt therby
 1035 The dymes hole for his supportacion,
 The comynte to ese than of taxacion;

For whiche he graunte a playn remyssion
 Of all trespace and of all forfeiture,
 Of murdre, rape, and eschape of prison,
 1040 Of felony, and treson, and dettes pure,
 Afore that day withouten any sure,
 Of whiche he graunte his charter so full playn
 To euery men that wolde hym so complayn.

[f. 191r]

**How the kyng Edward of Englonde discomfyte the Frenshe nauy atte batayll of
 Scluse, þe zere of Criste MCCCXL.**

And in the yere a thousande, as ys writen,
 1045 Thre hundre eke, and fourty to acounted,
 Of Iuyn the foure and twenty day was smyten
 The batayle of Scluse, whare doun was brounted
 The Frenssh nauy, whare Kyng Edward, surmounted

With all honour triumphe and victory,
 1050 Thaym slew and drounde, as made is memory.

This batayle grete at nyne of cloke bygan,
 On midsomer day, duryng felly foughten
 To son risyng vpon the morow than.
 The Spanyardes thare full sore that bargayn boughten
 1055 That with the Frenssh that day thair sorow soughten,
 As dogges drownde and slayne vpon the se
 With swerde and axe by thousandes men myght se.

**How the kyng werrayd in Fraunce to þe tyme þat two cardynals treted a trewe
 for a zere at requeste of Kyng Philip, vsurpour of the reme of Fraunce.**

In that same yer the kyng, with his knyghthode
 And riall hoste, in Fraunce brent many toun,
 1060 And seged sore Tournay so as he rode
 Strongly holden with myght of men full bon,
 Fro whyne Philip of Valyos, kyng with cron,
 Was than thre myle with all his hoste full stronge,
 For trefy so of pese than thaym amonge

Two cardynalles betuyx thaym were trefyng,
 And toke it full enduryng for a yere;
 And in that pese two erles wer take ridyng
 Within an ile togedurs, both in fere,
 In Fraunce on werr vnknownen that trefes wer,
 1070 That oon was erle of Southfoke made of new,
 The tother was of Salesbyry full trewe,

Whiche sente wer home by vertu of the trewe,
 Bycause thay were on werr whils it was take
 Vnknowyn of it as euery man it knewe,
 1075 And frethed were bothe two as trefes spake
 By cardynals that dyd the trefes so take,
 That by reson and lawe dyd than so deme,
 As trefes writen full clerly dyd expreme.

Whan in the yere a thousonde and thre hundre,
 1080 Fourty and two, this trefes was at Maltrete
 Writen and seelde, Fraunce was than so vndre
 Thurgh werres strong and seges that were grete,
 With whiche the kyng Edwarde thaym had rehetete
 That pese was kepte betuyxe thaym so that yere,
 1085 So low was Fraunce thar was no mor to stere.

[f. 191v]

**How Erle Henry of Derby, son of Henry erle of Lancaster, in Guyen wan many
 touns and castels to the kyng.**

Bot Erle Henry, that than was of Derby,
 To Guyen than with chyualry so stoute,
 Was sente to kepe and it to fortify,
 With barons fele and knyghtes to make hym route;
 1090 Whare castels fele and cytese than thurghoute
 He wan with strength vnto the kyng agayn
 And gouerned wele, of whom men wer full fayn.

In all his domes he gafe suche iugement
 That freende and fo alway was with hym plesed,
 1095 And fro full farr his fose, with gode intent,
 Wolde to hym come in trauerse to bene esed,
 To byde his dome of thynges thay wer mysessed,
 So trusted thay that both partyse assent,
 To stonde fully to all his iugement.

How the kyng of Englond discomfyte þe kyng of Fraunce, Philip, at the batayll of Cressy, and putte hym *and* his eldeste son fro the feelde, þe zere of Criste MCCCXLVI, þe XX day of August.

1100 And in August the sex and twenty day,
 A thousande full and eke thre hundre yere,
 Fourty and sex vpon the Setyrday,
 Kyng Edward wyth Kyng Philip mette in fer
 In batayle stronge at Cressy toun full ner,
 1105 Whar Kyng Edward had all the vycory,
 Kyng Philip fled with mekyll vylany.

Bot thar was slayne two prynce of estate,
 That kynges both wer called in thair londe,
 And dukes two that wer denomynate,
 1110 Of Alawson and Loreyn so it foonde,
 And erles fyve also, I vndyrstonde,
 Of Bloyse, Flaunders, of Harecourt, and Myloyne,
 And of Grauntpre, wer slayne withoute esoyne.

How the archebosshop of York, *with* lordes of the north, faught *with* Kyng Dauyd of Scotlond and had þe felde; whare Kyng Dauyd was take atte batail of Durham on Seint Luke day, þe zere of Criste MCCCXLVI.

Dyscomfyte thar wer so and also slayne
 1115 An hundre thousande accounted for Frensshmen
 Of soudyours and of his reme certeyne,
 As by writyng men may wele se and ken.
 And in that yere of Criste byfell eke then,
 On Seynt Luke day next after folowyng,
 1120 Kyng Dauyd than to Durham come hostyng,

That brent had so the londe whar as he went,

Bot thar hym mette the archebisshop 3owche
 Of Yorke with all his clerkes to hym appent,
 For his baner afore hym went his crowche,
 1125 And other lordes of whom I wyll now touche;
 Syr Gylbert, erle of Angos, Vmframvyle,
 The lorde Percy, and al *Sir* Raufe Nevyle,

[f. 192r]

The lorde Lucy, with all thair chyualry,
 The Graystoke als, and sherefes with the shyres,
 1130 With gentylls hole, and all the yomanry,
 Thare faught that day withouten fe or hires,
 Clifford, Dakre, and Fylz Hugh, full of fyres,
 The Latymer, the Fauconberge so fayre,
 Sir William Pole, Hastynges with grete repayre.

Kyng Edwarde made grete conquete in Fraunce and wan Caleys by assege, þe zere of Criste MCCCXLVII.

1135 The kyng Edwarde in Guyen and in Fraunce,
 Grete cytese gatte and castels stronge many,
 And mo townes had so at his gouernaunce,
 Than Philip had in Fraunce and Normandy.
 Kyng Edwarde than to Caleys went in hy
 1140 And seged it with all his hole power,
 To tyme that it enfamysst was full ner,

Whiche yolden was to Kyng Edwarde full clere,
 Than written was of Cristes incarnacion,
 A thousand full, thre hundre and fourty yer,
 1145 And seuen ther to, by clerkes computacion.
 The next yer after by Goddes ordynacion,
 Alyce Lacy, doughter that was and hayre
 Of Erle Henry Lacy of Lyncoln fayre,

1150 Oute of this worlde than was expirde and dyed,
 To whom hir sonne Henry, erle of Derby,
 Was hair so than fully notyfyde.
 Of Laycester, that was his patrymony
 He was erle than also full worthily,
 For his fadyr Henry was dede away
 1155 Oute of this worlde to blis foreuer and ay.

The date of the grete deeth in þe zere of Criste MCCCXLIX.

Than in the yere of Criste a thousand counted
 Thre hundre and therto fourty and nyne,
 The grete deeth was of Englund sor surmounted
 And rauysst folke that helpe myght no medycyne.

1160 So gan that deth thair bodyse vndyrmyne
That halfe the peple in that mortalite
So dyed away, thurgh grete infyrmyte.

**How Erle Henry of Derby was made duke of Lancastre aftir hys fadir decese,
olde Erle Henry of Lancastre.**

And in the yere a thousonde, as was sene,
Thre hundre als, and fifty notyfyed,
1165 The erle Henry of Laycestre, I wene,
Of Derby and of Lyncoln fortyfyed,
Duke was made than, and fully signyfyed
Of Lancastre, for his hiegh excellence,
That famed was of knyghthode and prudence

[f. 192v]

**Nota that honoure and ese wylle nocht bene togidir; þerfore who wille haue
hono[ur] laboure contynuly, and cese for no distresse, and let nocht sleuth bene
your gyude: secundum Sir Robert Vmfreuile, my lorde.**

1170 Aboue all lordes that were so in his day
Of ryghtfulnesse, and of gode regymence.
Forpassyng othere he had grete fame alway
Thurgh his labour of knyghtly diligence;
Honour, and ese, by all experience,
1175 Togedyr will nocht so dwellen, ne accorde,
As preued wele so by that worthy lorde.

The prynce Edwarde of Wodstoke that so hight
To Guyen went, and forth so to Narbon,
Whare he distroyed his enmyse than forth right,
1180 And thurgh mountayns of Spayne and Arragon,
To Guyen came agayn to Burdewston,
And Guyen hole he made to hym inclyne,
Whare no man durste from his byddyng declyne.

How Kynge Edwarde of Englund with all his sonnes werrayd in Fraunce.

The kynge Edward in Fraunce made mekyll stere
1185 And wan the londe thurghoute, withoute distaunce.
His sonnes yonge with hym in hostyng were;
Syr Leonell of Andewarpe, whose chaunce
So than byfell that by his allyaunce
Was erle than of Vluenster so by his wyfe,
1190 Erle Rychard doughtere, that loued hir as his lyfe.

Sir Iohn of Gaunt ther with his fadyr was,

1169 *gloss after* honour] hono MS.

Sire Edmond als of Langley, in tendre age,
 And *Sir* Thomas Wodestoke, that dyd nocht passe
 Fourtene yere than of age in that vyage.
 1195 Bot ther thay had echone grete pryuylage,
 To baners putte and had grete gouernaunce,
 As thair fadyr had made by ordynaunce.

**How Edwarde, prynce of Wales, at batayll of Payters toke Kyng Iohn of
 Fraunce prysonere in þe zere of Crist MCCCLVII.**

And in the yere than writen was a thousonde
 Thre hundre als, and seuen and fifty,
 1200 At Payters so Prynce Edwarde toke on honde
 With Kyng Iohn of Fraunce, than his enemy,
 With hostes stronge; whare all the vycory
 Prynce Edward had and toke Kyng Iohn in felde,
 His yonger sonne also he toke and helde;
 1205 Fro whom so thare his eldest sonne dyd fle
 With an hundre baners of his hoste.
 And in the yer next after ouer the se
 The prynce Edwarde came home withouten boste,
 And brought Kyng Iohn, that glad his fadyr moste,
 1210 His yonger sonne and lordes fele of Fraunce,
 That taken were so vndre thair attendaunce.

[f. 193r]

Nota whan Quene Isabel dyed.

Than the quene dyed, that hight Dame Isabell,
 A thousonde full, thre hundre fifty, and eghte,
 At Friere Menours, in London so byfell,
 1215 That beried was, as reson wolde and righte,
 In myd the quere entowmbed of grete hyght
 In riall wyse, as quene so awe to be,
 With all honour and riall dignyte.

**How the kyng of Englonde wen[t] to Paryse vndir baner, lay in his tentes to
 treti, and conuencioun was accorded bituyx hym and þe counsayll of Fraunce.**

The next yer than to Fraunce Kyng Edward yede,
 1220 Afor Paryse he lay longe tyme in tente,
 Thaym to compell vnto a trew for drede;
 To whiche Kyng Iohn and he wer hole assente
 Vndre his banere abydyng on the bente,
 Tyll lordes of Fraunce the trewes so than had seled,
 1225 And sworne than wer it shulde nocht be repeled.

1218 *gloss after went]* wen MS.

Nota the date of þe seconde pestilence.

And in the yere of Criste so than writon,
 A thousonde full, thre hundre, sixty and oone,
 Seconde pestelence regned, as was wyten;
 In whiche pestelence Duke Henry dyed anone.
 1230 Dame Blaunche, his haire, right fayre of flessch and bone
 His doughter was, whom Iohn of Gaunt dyd wedde;
 With hir duche men sayde he had wele spedde.

Nota of the grete wynde on Seynt Maury day.

And in the yere vpon Seynt Maury euen,
 The grete wynde was, with erthquake mervelouse,
 1235 Of May the oon and twenty day full euen,
 That dredefull was and wondre *perilouse*,
 And to all folke it was so tedious
 That stonyn walles, stepels, houses, and tresp
 Were blowen don felly in ser contresp.

How the quene of Scotlond, Quene Iohne of Toures, die[d].

1240 And in the yere a thousand and thre hundr so,
 Sixty and two, accounted than ful clere,
 Dame Iohne of Toures, the quene of Scotlonde tho,
 Kyng Dauyd wyfe, dyed in Englund her,
 And beried was bysyde hir modyr dere
 1245 With grete worship and worthy reuerence,
 Of whiche hir brother, Kyng Edward, made expense.

How Kyng Iohn of Fraunce dyed in Savoy at London.

And in the yere a thousand thre hundr eke,
 Sixty and foure, Kyng Iohn of Fraunce dyed
 At London, whare he sodenly fell seke
 1250 In Savoy so, the palays edifyed
 Full rially, as it is specyfyed;
 His bowels beried at Poules with rialte,
 His corse in Fraunce with all solempnyte.

[f. 193v]

**How Sir Iohn Mounfort, duke of Bretayne, as haire male claymynge Bretayne,
 discomfyte Sir Charles Bloys, claymynge Bretayne by his wyfe, atte batayll of
 Orrers.**

1255 In that same yere Syr Iohn Mounfort so trewe,
 Duke of Bretayn that was by heritage,

1239 *gloss after* died] die MS.

As haire male the tytyll to hym acrewe,
 At Orrers faught agayn the Frenssh lynage
 That thare were with *Sir* Charles in that vyage,
 Erle than of Bloys, claymyng his wyfes right
 1260 The duche hole, and in that poynt dyd fight;

Whare Charles of Bloyse was slayn in batayle stoute,
 And Duke Iohn had the felde and vycory,
 And duke was so of Bretayn in and oute,
 By helpe and strength of Englissh company,
 1265 Whiche that *Sir* Iohn Chaundose had brought oonly
 That all day treet of trewes with sapience,
 And faught at euen with knyghtly diligence.

How Prynce Edwarde wedde Dame Iohne, the hayre of Kent, daughter to Edmond, erle of Kente, brother of the seconde Kynge Edwarde.

Bot of Edward, oure prynce, now wyll I tell,
 That wedded than Dame Iohne, the haire of Kent,
 1270 Of bewte than that othere dyd excell;
 That doughtere was and hair to Edmonde gent,
 That sometye was of Kent erle excellent;
 To whom it fell by deth of Iohn, hir brothere,
 And by decese of Dame Margrete, thair modyre,

1275 That hair was than, and syster to Thomas Wake,
 And wyfe to Erle Edmonde, that was of Kent,
 After whose deth this Dame Iohne was vp take
 For verry hair withoute impedymnt,
 To hir fadyre and modyr by hole descent.
 1280 So was she than of Kent called countesse,
 And Lady Wake, in bewte than pierlesse,

And by the prynce than was she made pryncesse
 Of Wales so, and putte to grete honoure.
 And in the yer a thousonde, thre hundr doutlesse,
 1285 Sixty and fyve, the prynce with grete socour
 To Guyen went, thar to bene gouernour,
 And toke with hym his wyfe and thar dyd wonne,
 And at Burdews was borne Rycharde thair sonne.

How the kynge Petro cam to the prynce in Guyen for suppowayll agayne his brother, bastarde, þat putte <hym> oute of his reme.

And in that yer to hym came out of Spayne
 1290 The kynge Petro, as it was clerly writen,
 That putte was than oute of his reme *with* trayne

1288 *gloss after hym] insert. MS.*

By his own brother, of baast that was so gyten,
 That Henry hight, as in the londe was wyten,
 For grete socour and helpe to wyn his right,
 1295 From his brother that helde it with grete myght.

[f. 194r]

How the prynce discomfite the bastarde of Spayne *and* sette þe kynge Petro in his reme agayne.

And in the yere a thousand and thre hundre,
 Sixty and seuen, the prynce Edward dyd ryde
 Thurgh Spayne, of whiche men had that tyme grete wonder;
 His brother two so wer with hym that tyde:
 1300 Syr Iohn of Gaunt, that knowyn was full wyde,
 That duke was of Lancastre so fayre,
 By Blaunche his wyfe, Duke Henry doughter and hair;

Syr Edmonde als of Langley so his brother,
 Thar with hym was, of Cambrige erle was made.
 1305 With lordes fele and mekyll peple other,
 The thirde day than of Aprill bataylde brade
 With the bastarde of Spayne so in a slade
 He faught full sore and putte hym to the flight,
 And sette the kyng agayn in all his right;

Who for his costes to hym layde in hostage
 His dowghters two, and haire gode and gent,
 To giffe or sell than so thair mariage
 Whare so hym lyke because of non payment.
 Of whiche the duke of Lancastre, excellent,
 1315 So wedded oon full longe tyme after that fight;
 The tother wed the erle of Cambrige right.

That yer Iosep of Aramathy was sayde
 And his felows at Glassenbyry in fere,
 Founden ware than as dethe thaym had arayde;
 1320 Whose bodyes thare in kystes er keped clere,
 And yit men truste thay shall with God be dere,
 And shew grete grace thurgh myght of Goddes wyll,
 Whan other sayntes of sechyng ly full styll.

How *Sir* Leonell of Andewarpe, duke of Clarence, wed the duke of Melayne doughter at Melayne, and was electe by the Italiens to be kynge of Itayll.

A thousand yere, thre hundre sixty and eight,
 1325 Of Criste it was whan that *Sir* Barnabo,
 Duke of Melayne, by his embasshiate heght
 To Kynge Edwarde, his hair and doughter so,
 To bene wedded to Syr Leonell tho,

1330 Whan so hym lyke to bene in Lumbardy,
Thar mariage to make solempnely.

He heght the kyng by that embasshiate
To croune hym kynge enoynte of all Itayle,
By hole consent of euery grete estate,
Of all the londe by thayr comyn counsayle.
1335 The markeys of Ferrare, withouten fayle,
The same so wrote and all the potestates
Of cytese hool with all papall senates.

[f. 194v]

Wharfore the kynge hym sent vnto Melayne,
With company of knyghtes of hiegh corage,
1340 For his increse in suche a reme to rayne,
That passeth Fraunce and Englonde, by all knowlage,
In ryalte and myghty vassalage,
And cytese grete castels and grete rychesse,
And of all thyng longyng to worthynesse:

1345 For in Itayll is all hole Lumbardy,
The londe of Gene, and eke the londe of Pyse,
And Tuskayne als, and all hole Romany,
The cytese eke of Florence, and Venyse,
Terra Laboure, and Campanya of Prise,
1350 Calabre all, and Puyll vnto the Bare,
With all membres appendyng to thaym thar.

This Leonell was made duke of Clarence
In Englonde, so by his fadyr create
Byfore Duke Iohn, and had all reuerence,
1355 As elder brother borne and generate;
Next Prynce Edward he helde alway estate
Aboue his brether, that yongar wer of age,
As nurture walde and all riall vsage.

This duke riall, of Clarence excellent,
1360 At Melayne than was wedded so indede
With that lady gode and benyvolent,
Whose bewte so all other dyd excede
In that cuntre of womanly fayrehede;
And he also the semely prynce to se,
1365 That leuyng was in his fresshe iuente.

Thurgh Lumbardy at euery grete cyte
Grete feste he made and riall tornement,
And iusted ay of his benygnyte,
Amonge thaym so of verry gode intent.
1370 And grete loue had and riall gouernement,

In so ferr forth the lordes and cytese all,
Consented were in counsayll generall

To coron hym for kyng of Italy,
For semelynesse, and for his worthihede,
1375 For his manhede, and vertuse moraly,
And sette a day whan that thay shuld procede,
At Florence so, to execute indede
His coronment, with all solempnyte,
That myght be done by possebylite.

[f. 195r]

How that duke of Clarence dyed at þe cite of Melayne.

1380 In whiche mene-tyme his iustes, and his excesse,
His riotynge, and wyndes of delycasy,
His soule exilde oute of his corse doutlesse
Afore the day so sette of regency.
For whom grete dole was made through Italy,
1385 In Melayne byried in al-kyns ryall wyse,
As to suche prynce of ryght dyd than suffyse,

How two Vmfreuiles faughte with Scottes and discomfyte thaym, of which þelder passed noght sextene zere of age þat tyme.

And issue had none bot a doughter fayr,
With his friste wyfe, that wedded was full wele
Vnto the erle of Marche, that was his hayre,
1390 That Mortymer, *Sir* Roger hight, I fele.
In that same tyme two children, so haue I sele,
That brether were, bot sextene yer of age
The elder was no more by all knowlage,

The elder hight than Thomas Vmframvyle,
1395 The yonger hight Robert Vmframvyle eke,
That with the Scottes on Rede so faught that while,
And made thaym thar with strokes full tame and meke,
And brought mo home that sore were hurte and seke
Of prisoners than with thaym went to felde,
1400 Whiche counted was a gode dede of thair eelde.

How Prynce Edwarde dyed at hys palays of Kenyngtoun.

And in the yere a thousonde and thre hundre,
Sixty and als fortene, so God me saue,
The prynce Edward of Wales was cast vndre
With suche sekenesse, that no leche couth he haue
1405 To helpe his sore, ne yit his lyfe to saue;
At Kenyngton that was his palays fayr,

Bytoke hym hole to God withouten dispaire,

And for his fadyr he sent so forth anone,
 And whan he came his blyssyng than he prayed,
 1410 Besekyng hym for all his men echone,
 That were that tyme so for his deth afrayed,
 And that his dettes fully myght be payed,
 And for his wyfe he prayde hym als full fayre,
 And for his sonne that was thair bothers hayre.

1415 And with that than the payne his lyfe withdrewe,
 And deth his soule oute fro the body refte,
 And beried was at Caunterbery, men knewe,
 In Crychirche whare allone than was he lefte.
 Whose men wer all than with the kyng belefte
 1420 Aboute his sonne, Rychard, that prynce was tho,
 To serue hym day and nyght whar he wolde go.

[f. 195v]

Than bode the kynge in grete mornyng and thought,
 For he had loste the iewels moste he loued:
 His sonne the prynce, for hym that ofte had fought,
 1425 The duke also of Clarence, wele approued.
 Two bettyr knyghtes wer neuer yit sene, ne proved,
 In no-kyns reme vnder the cope of heuen,
 Excepte the kynge that pierlesse was to neuen.

How Kynge Edwarde dyed in þe 3ere of Criste MCCCLXXVI.

Whom in the yer of Criste incarnation
 1430 A thousande hole, thre hundr, and thre score,
 And sextene als, by verry calculacion,
 The cruell deth that never prynce durt afore
 Rauyssht and toke, with peynes stronge and sore,
 Out fro his reme and all his ryalte,
 1435 So mutable is this worldes felicyte.

Who durst haue slayne this noble prynce and kynge?
 No wyght bot God allone omnipotent,
 In whose reule so all erthly lyfe doth hynge,
 Of Heuyn, and Hell, and Erth, hath regyment,
 1440 Withouten helpe, or yit suppowelment,
 Of any wyght, bot of his own deyte
 In thre persones regnyng in vnyte.

Of Iuyn the two and twenty day, I gesse,
 Was whan he dyed and fro this world expired,
 1445 That was the floure of al-kyns worthynesse,
 And to the heght of knyghthode had aspired,

Pierlesse that day, as I haue inquiryed,
 At Westmynster beried in riall wyse,
 As to suche prynce by reson owe suffyse.

1450 That kyng was so of Englonde and of Fraunce,
 By verry blode of lyne and hole descent,
 Withoute wronge clayme or other variaunce,
 In euydence of which now myne entent,
 Vpon this lefe, vndreneth amendement,
 1455 His pedegre here make I of hys lynage,
 That reders all ther of may haue knowlage;

For first he was of Englysshe nacioun
 Descended down by lyne fro Seynt Lowyse,
 At fourte degre of blode by generacioun
 1460 Lynyaly, as I can now devyse,
 As in this pedegre so doth compryse;
 For Charles Valoys, that was hys modir eme,
 Collaterall was to haue that rial reme.

[f. 196v]

VI Book, IIII chapter.

Richarde seconde, kyng of Englonde and of Fraunce, duke of Normandy, Guyen, and Aungeoy, and lorde off Irelonde. Nota quod ista cronica Ricardi regis patet in quodam tractatu Iohannis Gower metrificato.

Rychard his haire, the sonne of prynce Edwarde,
 1465 Than corounde was with all solempnyte
 By all the lordes and barons hole awarde
 Obeyng hole vnto his mageste,
 Who that tyme was in his fresshe iuente,
 Of elleuen yere fully accounte of age
 1470 Whan he had so the croun by heritage.

And kyng was called of Englonde and of Fraunce,
 In Iuyn the two and twenty day full euen,
 And of Cristes date withouten variaunce,
 A thousand and thre hundre sixty to neuene,
 1475 And sextene yere ther with so to byleuen,
 Whan the two remes fell to hym by descent,
 As next haire to Kyng Edward excelent.

Nota the date of thrydde pestilence þe 3ere MCCCCLXXIX of thyncarnacion.

And in the yere a thousand and thre hundre so,
 Sixty and eke adioynt therto nynetene,
 1480 The thirde deth sore regned in Englonde tho
 Full fell and stronge, as thurgh the reme was sene,
 That moste parte of the peple than toke full clene,

And of his reynes of Englonde and of Fraunce
The thyrde yer was by verry remembraunce.

Whan Iak Straw and Watter Tyler, with þe comons of Kente and Essex, arose and slew the archebisshop of Caunterbiry and þe priour of Seynt Iohnes at Tour Hill of London, in þe fifte zere of hym. Nota istos versus secundam cronicam Iohannis Gower metrificatam.

**Principio regis oritur transgressio legis,
Quo fortuna cadit et humus retrograda vadit.
Quomodo surrexit populus quem non bene rexit,
Tempus adhuc plangit super hoc, quod cronica tangit.
Stultorum vile cepit consilium iuuenile
Et sectam senium decreuit esse reiectam.
Tunc accusare quosdam presumpsit auare,
Vnde catallorum gazas spoliaret eorum.**

1485 In Iuyn so than the fyfte yer of his rayne,
And of our Lorde a thousand than acounted,
Thre hundre eke four score and oon certayne,
The comons rose tyl thousandes that amounted
Of Essex and of Kent, that surmounted
1490 The kynges powere and all the hiegh estates,
That fled away to strengthes as exulates.

At London than the prior of Seynt Iohnes,
The archebyssshop of Caunterbyry also,
Thay heded than and killed for the nones,
1495 Bycause thay wer acounte the comons fo.
The bondmen than thair lordes dyd ouer go
In the cuntrese, and brent thair euydence
Suche as thay founde, thurgh grete malyuolence;

Bot as God wolde, Watte Tyler and Iake Strawe,
1500 That captayns wer thar of the comons so,
Sayde to the kyng, 'We comons make yow knawe
That taxe hath made vs all to bene your fo,
And that we wyll fro hens forth pay no mo',
The whiche the kyng, for drede, so graunted than,
1505 Or els thurgh wytte to staunche thaym as he can.

[f. 197r]

Bot Walworth than, that mayre was thare full trewe,
Of London so, in Smythfelde dyd debate
With Iake Strawe so, that he hym smote and slewe,
The cytezens with hym associate
1510 Layde on full sore and made thaym meke and mate,

1484 gloss after tangit] tan MS; reiectam] reiect MS.

And thousandes fled withouten wytte or rede,
Whan that thay knewe thair captayns wer so dede.

The mayr than led, with strength of that cyte,
The kyng vnto the Tour whill all wer pesed,
1515 As than byfell the lordes in eche contre,
The risers all within thair shire so sesed,
And all debates full wer appesed.
Duke Iohn, knowyng comons his palays brent
Of fayr Savoy, fast into Scotlond went.

How the kyng wed Quene Anne, sister of þe emperoure of Rome, Sigismonde.

1520 And at the day of Seynt Agnes folowyng
In that same yer, Quene Anne with grete honoure
Was wed vnto this noble worthy kyng,
That doughter was vnto the emperour,
And sister eke vnto his successour,
1525 That Sygismond so hight by propre name,
That emperour was of Rome of noble fame.

Whan þe erthequake fell in Englonde, þe 3ere MCCCLXXXII of the incarnacioun.

The twenty day of May folowyng
Was Wednesday, as calculers doue knowe,
The date of Criste a thousand than beyng,
1530 Thre hundre als foure scor and two arowe,
The erthquake was that grounde than quoke full lowe
That walles, and houses, stepels, toures, and treese,
In Englonde fell in dyuerse sere cuntrese.

How the kynge Richarde wente to Scotlonde in þe X 3ere of hys regne, and of oure lord MCCCLXXXVI.

And in the yer of Criste a thousand so,
1535 Thre hundre eke foure score and sex ther-till,
And of his reygne the tenth yer and no mo,
The kyng Rychard with hoste so at his will,
To Scotlond went, his corage to fullfill.
The Merse he brent and eke all Tevydale,
1540 So dyd he als thurgh all Lawederdale;

And Louthian he brent to Edynburgh,
The toun also he brent withoute restraynte,
And home he came brennyng the londe all thurgh
Withoute batayle, or any foule attaynte.
1545 To London rode he than whar he remaynte
With ioy, and blisse, and mekyll rialte,
And dukes made of his own parente.

[f. 197v]

How the kynge made the duke of Yorke *and* þe duke of Gloucestre.

Edmond Langley, erle of Cambrige was than,
 He made so duke of Yorke with grete honoure
 1550 That was his eme, as bokes declare it kan.
 Thomas Wodstoke of Bokyngham that houre,
 That erle was than of hiegh and grete valour,
 He made than duke of Gloucester forth right,
 That was his eme also of mekyll myght;

1555 Who constable was of Englund longe aforne,
 By heritage so of his wyfes right,
 That doughter was hole procreate and borne
 To Erle Vmfray of Herford, than of myght,
 Of Essex eke and Northampton so wyght,
 1560 The foxes taylor that bare vpon his spere
 Where so he rode on pese or yit on were.

How the kynge <made> the erle of Oxenford markeys of Deuelyn *and* aftir duke of Irelande on whom þe duke of Gloucester rose.

And in the yere of his regne than elleuen,
 Syr Robert Veer, than erle of Oxenforde,
 He made markeys of Develyn, as men dyd neuen,
 1565 And after sone by writyng and by worde,
 Duke of Irelande proclaymed was at borde
 In presence of the kyng and by his wyll,
 And so was calde ay forth for gode or yll;

On whom the duke of Gloucestr of myght,
 1570 Of Derby eke the manly erle Henry,
 Duke Iohn sonne of Langcastr full right,
 And erles thre, of Arundell sothly,
 Warwyke also, and Marchall in company,
 Made grete chace than at Rottecotebrigge on werre,
 1575 Whar than he fled ouer Themes and come no nerre.

Veer, Pole et Neuille <per mare> *tunc transierunt in alias terras quod melius esse potuerunt secundam cronicam Gower metrificatam de tempore huius regis Ricardi.*

The parlement than in Lentyn next thay sette
 At Westmynster, whar thay hym dyd exyle,
 Syr Michell Pole also withouten lette,
 Erle of Southfolke, and Alisaunder Nevyle,
 1580 Archebyssshop than of York so was that whyle,

1561 *gloss after made] insert. MS.* 1575 *gloss after per mare] insert. MS.*

And iustyse fele out of this londe foreeuer,
That home agayn thens forth retourne shuld neuer.

Syr Nycholl than Brymble, mayre of London,
Tresilian als that was the chief iustyse,
1585 They honged than certayn for hiegh treson,
And *Sir* Symond Bourlay of grete emprise,
For whom Quene Anne afore thaym knelyng thryse
By sought of grace, thay heded at Tour Hill
Of whiche the kyng myght nocht than haue his wyll.

[f. 198r]

How *Sir* Henry Percy, þe son of the erle of Northumbirlond, faughte *with* þe erle of Douglas and *with* the erle of Dunbarre at batayll of Otirburne, whare Douglas was slayne, and Percy taken and his brother *Sir* Raufe.

1590 And in the yere of Criste a thousand than,
Thre hundre eke foure score and eght ther-tyll,
The erle Douglas Northumbyrlond ouerran
To the barras so of the Newcastyll,
Whar *Sir* Henry Percy and he thayre fyll
1595 Faught egyrly with speres half a day,
And ayther hurte ther was in fell aray.

***Nota* that Percy dyd like a knyght, bot nocht like a chieftayn, in that whare as he had a litil power and sent the moste parte fro hym *presumynge* þat þe Scottes wolde fle, by whi[*ch*] he was take prisouner.**

The erle Douglas and the erle of Dunbarre
Than homwarde rode that tyme by Otyrburne,
Whare *Sir* Henry of hym had sight afarre
1600 And folowyd faste withouten long soiorne;
Whare than the erle Douglas agayn dyd torne
And with hym faught, bot *Sir* Henry hym slewe,
For whom the Scottes thar gan full sore to rewe

And wolde haue fled and dyd at all thair myght,
1605 For whiche he sent *Sir* Thomas Vmframvyle,
Syr Thomas Gray, and *Sir* May of Redeman right,
Syr Robert Ogle also fro hym that while,
And Robert als, the yonger Vmframvyle,
To dryue the Scottes agayne that thay nocht fle,
1610 The whiche thay dyd vpon grete iupartē.

Whiche Scottes so relied in agayne
On *Sir* Henry and toke hym prisonere,
With whom thay rode to Dunbarr than full fayne

1596 *gloss after* which] whi MS.

Afore the knyghtes came in agayn in fere,
 1615 Whiche he had sente afore with grete powere;
 Yit whan thay came the felde thay helde that nyght,
 And toke and slew the Scottes doun forth right.

A wondre chaunce it was and foule mysledde
 That thair chiftayn in batayle so was slayne,
 1620 And oures taken and into prison ledde,
 Ere the vawarde it wyste and came agayne
 And wanne the felde with batayle and grete payne,
 After our chifteyn was had thay wyste nocht whare
 Thurgh his corage and magnanymyte thare.

1625 The worthy knyght *Sir* Thomas Vmframvyle,
 His brother als, Robert, that was manly,
 The Gray, and Ogle, with marchers all that whyle
 In Scotlonde rode full ofte and worthyly,
 Distoryng so the Marche contynuly,
 1630 Whils thair wardayn in prison sogates lay,
 In Dunbarr than so kepte in stronge aray;

[f. 198v]

For dyuerse cause of whiche one is to say,
 For he had made so hote a werr afore
 On thaim daylyche, and made thaim many afray,
 1635 In so ferr forth the Scottes hym calde therefore
 Henry Hatespere, that rested neuer more.
 Wharefore thay dredde that he shulde ought eschape,
 Thurgh his wyles and make thaim so a iape;

Another cause was so for that he slewe
 1640 The erle Douglas afore in that batayle,
 Whose frendes than, by treson full vntrewe,
 Hym wolde haue bought to sla withouten fayle,
 And elles thay thought Dunbarr for to assayle
 By pryuy trayne to wynne it if thay myght,
 1645 On hym to bene reuenged so full right.

Wharfore the erle of Dunbarr manfully
 His castell kepte with watche bothe day and nyght,
 And raunsonde hym anone full wyttly
 In all the haste than godely that he myght;
 1650 For whiche he had grete wrath of Douglas ryght
 Full many day tyll that he was full fayne
 To wed his haire to Douglas doughter certayne.

The date of þe batayll of Otyrburne.

And in the yer of Criste a thousand writen,

1655 Thre hundr and four score and eght to neuen,
 Of August so the fifte day than, was smyten
 The sayde batayle of Otyrburne full euen,
 That Vmframvyles grounde men dyd it neuen;
 And his castell was of olde heritage
 In Redesdale so fraunchyst with pryuylage.

The date whan Quene Anne dyed *with commendacion of hyre lyfe.*

1660 And in the yer a thousond than was writen,
 Thre hundre eke four score and als fouretene,
 Quene Anne felly with sekenesse than was smyten
 That cruell deth hir toke, of whiche I mene,
 What car for hir the folke made, as was sene.
 1665 Men sayde she was the blessed creature
 Of all women in tyme she dyd endure,

Nota for the quenes to take exemple of hir gudenesse and womanhede.

For prisons all whareuer she rode aboute,
 And seke folke als deuoutly she vysyte,
 And women all with childe at home and oute,
 1670 To se and helpe she had ful grete delyte
 Whan thay lay in hir custome was and ryte,
 Beddyng, and clothes, money also, and mete
 She gafe thaym euer whare so that she it gete.

[f. 199r]

1675 Als whan the kynge with lordes wer at debate,
 Or whan he was with any cyte wrothe,
 Or greued was agayne the pore estate,
 Or prelates so that ought to hym were lothe,
 For thaym she prayed so on hir knese bothe,
 And gatte thaym grace of hym and forgiffenesse,
 1680 Of gentyll herte and womanly noblesse.

At Westmynster beried in riall wyse,
 Whar Kynge Rychard lyked hir than to lay,
 Whare als hymselffe he thought by all avyse
 With hir to ly whan he wer dede away,
 1685 And his obyte thar made foreuer and ay
 Yerely be done with all solempnyte,
 As suche a prynce shulde haue of souereynte.

How the kynge went into Irelonde on werre *with hoste*, and made þe erle of Marche lieutenant of Irelonde.

At Mighelmesse next after folowyng,
 Intyll Irelonde with hoste and grete powere

1690 The kyng Rycharde so went on hostaynge,
 The wylde Irisshe to distroye farre and nere,
 Whare all the kynges obeyed hym full and clere.
 Both Makemurre and eke the grete Anele
 Bycam his men for tyme *perpetuele*.

1695 And ther he made the erle of Marche to byde
 And lieutenant to kepe that londe in pese,
 For grete lordship had he that lay full wyde
 Amonge Irisshe in Vluestre was no lese.
 Bot Kyng Rycharde came home than at his ese,
 1700 And regnyng wele in worship and honour
 For passyng all kynges or *emperour*.

Grete housholde than he helde withoute mesure,
 Of lordes fele and peple of grete pryde,
 Of grete array was euery creature,
 1705 That in his courte aboute hym shulde abyde,
 To whiche he was full liberall in that tyde
 To giffe thaim londe, and also grete rychesse,
 So fre he was of herte and hiegh noblesse.

**How the kyng wed Isabell, the kynges daughter offe Fraunce, at Caleys with
 trewes for XXII zere.**

And in the yer a thousonde as was than,
 1710 Thre hundre eke four score and als sextene,
 And of his reyne the eghtene yer so whan,
 At Hollowmesse he wedded so the quene,
 Dame Isabell of nyne yer age, I wene,
 Kyng Charles doughter that was so than of Fraunce,
 1715 At Calays so with trews contynuance

[f. 199v]

For twenty yer and two to stonde and dure
 Betuyx thaire remes in all tranquylite.
 And home he brought with hym that vyrgyn pure,
 That was full fair in florissching iuente
 1720 And vertuouse in womanhede to se
 As man couth knawe or in his wytte couth deme
 By any thyng that in hire dyd expreme.

At Cristenmasse than next was she corounde
 At Westmynster in al-kyns riall wyse,
 1725 And iustes grete in Smythfelde wer that stounde,
 Whar *Sir* Robert Morlay had grete empryse;
 And many man thare dyd he grete suppryse
 That for his dede hym hated aftirwarde
 And hyndred hym anentes the kyng forth-ward.

How þe kynge arrested þe duke of Gloucestre, þe erle of Arrundell, þe erle of Warwyke *and* þe lorde Cobham, and foriugged hem.

1730 And in the yere a thousond was so than
 Thre hundr hole foure score and als seuentene,
 Aboute midsomer the kynge with many man
 At Plasshy toke Thomas Wodstoke, I wene,
 Of Gloucestre than duke, as it was sene,
 1735 Whom in the Tour of London than he sette
 And pryuyly fro thens to Calays fette,

 Whar than the kynge men sente hym forto smore,
 Whiche murdred hym vndyre a fedyr bedde,
 As afterward I herde men tell it thore,
 1740 Ful cursedly as God nothyng thay dredde;
 Oon Serle was chief that lorde that so mysledde,
 Withouten cause or gilte in his *persone*,
 Bot for olde wrathe of thyng afore was gone.

Than made the kyng grete proclomacion
 1745 In all shir townes, that than at Mighelmesse
 The parlment shulde withoute prorogacion
 At London bene, at whiche the duke expresse
 Shulde bene at his answer, withoute distresse,
 The whiche was done for fere of insurreccion
 1750 Of the comons, which had hym in affeccioun.

The erle Rycharde, that was of Arundell,
 Cam to the kynge whom than he putte in warde,
 The erle also of Warwyke, as men tell,
 In prisoun sette to byde the kynges awarde.
 1755 The lord Cobham taken was than afterwarde,
 And in prison to byde the kynges wyll,
 In his parlment to stonde for gode or yll.

[f. 200r]

How the kynge made fyve dukes, a markeys, *and* III erles, of whiche certeyne appeled the sayd duke of Gloucetre *and* his felows of treson at Notyngham, and at Westminstre aftyrwarde.

At whiche parlment, the terme of Mighelmesse,
 At Westmynster the erle of Derby gente,
 1760 Duke of Herford the kynge than made doutlesse,
 The erle than of Rutlonde full sapient,
 Duke of Albemarle he made incontyent,
 And than he made the erle of Kent, sothly
 His brother sonne, that tyme duke of Surry.

1765 Than next he made the erle of Huntyngdon,

- His brother, duke of Excestre in hy,
 The erle Marchall, than was of grete renon,
 He made than duke of Northfolke certenly;
 He made the erle of Somerset opynly
 1770 The markeys than of Dorset and create,
 Proclaymed so and denomynate.
- The lorde Spenser of Gloucestre doutlesse
 Than erle he made forsothe of grete power;
 Thomas Percy, his steward than expresse,
 1775 Of Worcestre he made so erle full clere;
 The lorde Nevyle he made so than thair pere
 Of Westmerlonde the erle for his rewarde,
 That woxe to grete estate so afterwarde.
- Syr Wyllyam Scrope, that than was tresorere,
 1780 Erle of Wyltेशir he create thar thaym by,
 At that parlment so forth to bene thair pere,
 And gafe thaym londes forfette wrongfully
 Of lordes whiche he slew full wykkydly,
 For grete malyce and olde odyouste
 1785 Of thynges done wer in his iuente.
- At that parlment the dukes of Albemarle and Surry,
 Of Excestre, and of Northfolke also,
 Appeled the duke of Gloucestr in hy,
 The erles also of Arundell wer tho,
 1790 And of Warwyke, that made than mekyll wo,
 The lorde Cobham with thaym in company
 Of hiegh treson, as made is memory.
- The duke that tyme of Gloucestr was slayne
 At Calays so, as it is sayde afor.
 1795 Of Arundell the erle than was certayne
 Foriugged so, and heded was therfore
 At the Tour Hill, that made many hertes sore,
 Whare *Sir* Symonde Bourlay by thair iugymente
 Was decollate agayn the kynges intente.
- [f. 200v]
 1800 The erle also of Warwyke, in grete age,
 Thay exilde oute into the Ile of Man,
 Thar to be kepte from all his heritage
 Duryng his lyfe, to dwell in kepyng than.
 The lorde Cobham, that tyme a auneyen man,
 1805 Vnto the Tour of London than was sent
 In *perpetuall* prison by thair iugement.
- Than for grete drede the comons shuld haue rysen,

The dukes deth of Gloucestr to venge,
 Whose hertes he had as men dyd her and lisen,
 1810 To helde thaym doun that thay it noght revenge
 He dyd proclayme, hymselff therof to clenge,
 In all shir tounes how that the duke confessed
 Nyne poyntz than of treson vndystressed.

**The kynge helde Chesshiremen to watche hym on nyghtes *and* to kepe hym on
 dayes in all places, and helde forth-ward þe rial housholde of Cristente.**

Than euery day whareuer he rode or yede,
 1815 And euery nyght also whar so he lay,
 Grete watche was made aboute hym, ay for drede,
 Of Chesshyre men, ther couth none elles hym pay
 Two hundr men vpon the nyght and day,
 Of armed men and archers of emprise,
 1820 With wapyns suche as to thair gre suffyse.

He cherisht hem so myche aboue all men
 That thay ay whare than dyd full grete outrage,
 And who so pleynde on thaym no right gatte then,
 Bot strokes grete and fell for his language;
 1825 Wharfore the lordes and all the baronage
 Thaym hated sor in that thay durste or myght,
 Except the lordes that wer his counsaile right.

At Notyngham thay slew his chief porter
 Wythouten cause bot of thair boste and pride,
 1830 And noght for thy so cherisht yit thay wer
 That none thaym durst empeche of it that tyde;
 In eche cuntre aboute as thay dyd ryde
 Thay bette and slew and dyd full mekyll wronge,
 Of whiche the reme full heuy thought and longe.

Of lordes with hym than wer in his housholde,
 Of dukes, and erles, and of his baronage,
 Four and twenty as lyked hym to holde;
 Of bysshops eke, as men had then knowlage,
 Fourtene of Wales and Fraunce in his colage,
 1840 Of Irelonde eke, and also of Almayne,
 And of Englund also, some wer certayne.

[f. 201r]
 Of ladyse eke, that than wer with the quene
 For moste parte of the yer contynuly,
 Thre hundr wer laydyse and maydyns shene
 1845 At bouche of courte, as made is memory.
 In his chapell wer clerkes of prelacy,
 Wele mo than nede of gode perfeccion,

That in clergy had full smale inspeccion.

1850 Lewde men thay wer in clerkes clothynge,
 Disgysed fayr in forme of clerkes wyse,
 Thayr parissyhns full lytill edyfyynge
 In law dyuyne or els in Goddes seruyse;
 Fully instructe in pride and couetyse,
 Eche yer to make a grete colleccion
 1855 In thair parisshe, instede of all correccion.

In eche offyce than wer so in his howse
 Excedyngely ouere many offycers
 And seruytours that wer vnfructuouse,
 And many knyghtes also and eke squyers;
 1860 And treuly as, so wrote the cronyclers,
 Ten thousande folke vnto his house repayred
 Eche day of mete and drynke wer vndispayred.

Grete pride he helde and passyng grete aray,
 And in his house grete vyce and lechery,
 1865 Fornycasion and eke avoutry ay,
 Ful comon was than vsed and notably,
 Of whiche I herde men speke full opynly
 That of that reule bot if he dyd amende,
 It wolde hym brynge in shorte tyme to foule ende.

1870 Thre hundre cokes ther wer and seruytours
 In his householde, in all office that appent
 To the kechyn that made dayly labours
 In it and in the lardre verrayment.
 Thar was neuer kyng helde suche a regyment
 1875 Of housholde grete and passyng rialte.
 Bot taxes grete he toke of comonte,

**How the kyng toke dymes *and* grete taxes of þe comons, for whiche he loste
 payre hertes forth-wardes.**

And of the chirche the dymes full ofte he toke,
 And grete taxes ofte of the comonte,
 For whiche thair hertes eche day hym so forsoke,
 1880 And hated hym full sor in pryuyte,
 And with thayr mouthes in all symylite
 Thay prayed faste for hym in procession,
 Bot with thair hertes hym warried for oppression.

[f. 201v]

**How the erle Henry of Derby appeled the duke of Norfolke of treson, whare both
 were exiled.**

And in the yere of Criste a thousand clere,
 1885 Four score also and there-to full eghtene,
 And of his regne the two and twenty yere,
 The erle Henry of Derby, as was sene,
 At Couentre within barrers full kene,
 Appeelde the duke of Northfolke of treson,
 1890 Whar bothe wer than armed to batayle bon.

Bot than the kynge by his *privey* counsayle
 In parlment thare fro Shrowbyry proroged
 Exylde the erle Henry withouten fayle
 For ten yer hole, for cause he had deroged
 1895 His liegeance so and fro the kynge irroged
 That treson so of longe that was contryued,
 In whiche the kynge so myght haue bene depryued.

And Duke Thomas of Northfolke that so hight
 Foreuer away he exilde ouer the se
 1900 For hiegh treson, and wold noght let hym fight,
 Who after dyed at Venyse withoute le;
 And Duke Henry, for gode moralite,
 To Fraunce than went to byde in pacyence
 The kynges grace and his benyvolence.

Duke Iohn of Lancstre dyed, to whom Duke Henre, his son, succeeded.

1905 In Lentyn after than next withouten fayle,
 Duke Iohn than dyed, of Lancastr that tyde,
 At Paules beried in tombe of fayr entayle,
 Whar prestes two for hym shall ay abyde
 To synge and pray vpon the northiner syde
 1910 In his chauntry, whiche he had ther so bounded
 With hole lyfelode endowed and wele founded.

Nota de blaunche chartres.

In May than next, the kyng thurgh euery shir
 Constreynde the folke blaunke charters for to sele,
 Some seled, some noght, some respyte gan requyr,
 1915 To what intente was holden than counsele,
 Men trowed it was for men shulde noght repele
 Thynges he had done, bot holde thaym ferme and stable,
 So feerde he was for comons variable.

How the kynge went into Irelonde the secunde tyme.

Than went he to Irelonde with grete powere,
 1920 The secunde tyme on wylde Irissh to werr,
 Whiche slayne had than the erle of Marche and Vluestere.

The Englisshery that than full sore gan merr,
 For whiche he thought thaym fully to conquerr,
 And so he had, if Englonde had bene trewe,
 1925 That chaunged sone and toke a purpose newe.

[f. 202r]

**How Duke Henry of Lancastre, and of Herford, cam home into Englonde with
 helpe of his kyn and hys freendes, and brought home with hym the archebisshop
 Arrundell pat was exilde, and the yonger <erle> of Arrundell.**

At midsomer of Herforde [cam] Duke Henry,
 By counsaile of his consanguynyte
 Of Northumbirlonde, the erle Henry Percy,
 And *Sir* Henry, his son, of that cuntre,
 1930 That wardayns were wyth grete felicite,
 To whom the lorde Ros and Lorde Wylugby
 Anone than came, so dyd the lorde Darcy.

**Nota that in Iune the duke Henry of Lancastre loded in Holdirnesse, in
 Yorkshyre, wyth XL persones.**

And after sone the erle of Northumbyrlonde,
 Syr Henry, als his sonne with stronge power,
 1935 Syr Raufe Nevyle, the erle of Westmyrlonde,
 With all the north togedyr came in fere,
 And with the duke Henry than rode full clere
 To Bristoll so, whar Scrop, Busshy, and Grene
 Thay heded than withouten dome, I wene.

And with the duke of Herforde, *Sir* Henry,
 The archebyssshop Thomas of Arundell
 Came home agayne, and had his prymacy,
 Whom Kyng Rycharde exilde and dyd expell
 Out of Englonde with cruell hert and fell,
 1945 Bycause that he for his brother prayed
 Exilde he was no lenger than delayed.

The yonge erle was that tyme of Arrundell
 Dysherite, so came with hym oute of Fraunce
 To his erledome restored was full well,
 1950 For whiche his men as for the moste substance
 Vnto hym came with all hole attendaunce;
 And for the erle of Warrwyke than he sent
 Into the Ile of Man by his maundement.

As steward so of Englonde verraly,
 1955 And duke also of Langcastre by style

1925 *gloss after erle] insert.* MS. 1926 *cam Duke] Duke* MS.

Proclaymed was he than full notably
 Thurgh all the londe, as I can now compile;
 The scatred floke to thare pastur that while
 Thus brought he home agayn with grete plesance
 1960 To all the reme than thurgh his gouernaunce.

How Kynge Richarde cam oute of Irelande into Wales, whar hys men cam fro hym to Duke Henry by nyghtys *and* dayes.

The kynge, whan he in Ireland had message
 Of Duke Henry comyng into Englonde,
 To Wales came with many men in wage
 That fro hym went than, as I vndyrstonde;
 1965 He was so ferde he durste nocht take on honde
 To holde the felde agayn hym forto fight,
 Bot to Conway he went withouten myght.

[f. 202v]

How the erle of Northumberlond by trefy broughte the kynge fro Conway to Duke Henry.

Than came the erle so off Northumbyrlonde
 To hym directe, and prayed by Duke Henry,
 1970 Who thurgh trefy and full discrete couenande
 Hym brought anone withouten felony
 Vnto the duke, that made grete curtesy
 So to hym thare as to suche prynce acorde
 That was his kynge and eke his lege lorde;
 1975 Whom Duke Henry than forth to London ledde
 In Septembre, in stronge and myghty warde,
 And watched ay at borde and eke at bedde,
 And in the Tour was sette for his rewarde
 Thar to abyde the parlmentes awarde,
 1980 What it wolde say of hym or yit ordayne,
 Hym to depose, or haue hym kynge agayne.

How Kynge Richarde renounced, resigned, *and* was deposed of estate riall *and* of the gouernance.

Bot than it was ner vnto Mighelmesse,
 And of his regne the thre and twenty yer,
 Whan he his reme, stondyng in that distresse,
 1985 Resigned hole with all that myght affere
 Tyll Duke Henry of Lancastre full clere,
 Renounisyng than his right and gouernaunce,
 Submyttyng hym vnto his ordynaunce.

1990 The lorde Cobham, adiugged to the tour,
 The duke toke oute and had his baronage;
 To Irelande eke he sente afore that hour
 For all the godes the kyng in that vyage
 Had lefte so thar whan he had firste message,
 And for his sonne Henry that was his hayre,
 1995 And for the sonne of Thomas Wodstoke fayre.

The dukes sonne of Langcastr thay brought,
 The erles sonne of Warwyke with hym came,
 Bot Wodstoke sonne with pestylence so was sought
 That dede he was and layde so was his name,
 2000 For whiche his modyr, that was nothyng to blame,
 For sorowe dyed, what for hir lorde, I wene,
 And for hir sonne hir comfort shulde haue bene.

The gudes all of Kyng Rycharde thay brought,
 And to the duke delyuerde certeynly,
 2005 Who by his wytte and pryuey counseyle sought,
 Couthe noght consayue to leuen sekyrly,
 Bot if he were made kyng all plenerly,
 For whiche he toke on hym the ryalte
 Thurgh his grete myght and pryncipalite.

[f. 203r]

VI Book, v Capitulum.

Henry fourth, kyng of Englonde and of Fraunce, duke of Normandy, Guyenne, and Anngeoy, and lorde offe Irelande. Nota quod totam cronicam istius Henrici regis compilator huius libri audiuit, vidit, et interfuit; et vt patet clarius in quadam cronica magistri Norham, doctoris theologie.

2010 The duke Henry, by counsayle that he hadde,
 The morowe than next after Mighelmesse
 Vpon hym toke the ryalte full gladde,
 And kyng was so forth-warde of grete noblesse,
 And corounde was than in all sykrnesse
 2015 On Seynte Edwardes day of his translacion,
 At Westmynster was made his coronacion.

The archebyssshop Thomas of Arundell
 Hym corounde than, and fully dyd anoynte
 With holy creme that no wyght myght expell,
 2020 In dyuerse place with crosses wele apoynte,
 Rehersyng hym his charge in euery poynte,
 As to suche prynce byfell to know expresse,
 To whiche he graunte and made full grete promesse.

2025 Than came the erle of Warwyke home agayne
 To his erledome with age than smyten sore,

And bot a while he leued, soth to sayne,
 To whom his sonne was hair and erle therfore
 His places than that full wele gan restore,
 That wer that tyme oute of all gode aray,
 2030 And spoyled foule by thaym that in thaym lay.

The kynge Henry made his son Henry prince of Wales, and deposed III dukes, þe markeys, and oon erle, þat Kynge Richarde had made afore.

The kynge Henry than made his eldeste sonne,
 Syr Henry hight also by propre name,
 The prynce of Wales as kynge afor wer wonne,
 Who afterwarde so bare a worthy fame,
 2035 As shal be sayde whan I his dedes attame.
 Bot now of that I cese and forth procede
 To dukes thre deposed wer indede,

Of Albemarle, Excetr, and Surry,
 The markeys eke that than was of Dorsette,
 2040 Of thair duches and the markesy
 He dyd depyue, and thaym with erles sette,
 The erle also of Gloucestr, withoute lette,
 Deposd als, and Lord Spenser agayne
 So called was with barons sette certayne.

The iugement of þe duke off Gloucester and his felows was reuersed by parlement.

2045 The iugement than in parlment was rehersed
 Agayne the duke of Gloucestre so demed,
 By that parlement fully than was reuersed
 And hole repeelde, whose doughter and hair expremed
 Restored was agayn, as wele hir semed,
 2050 To hyr fadyr londes withoute inpedyment,
 As she that was of blode riall descent.

[f. 203v]

How Sir Robert Vmfreuile faughte with Scottes at Fulhoplawe, and discomfyt thaym with grete honeure.

Whils that parlment so was, the Scottes stroyed
 In Englund than and brent full sore the londe,
 With whom Robert Vmframvyle was anoyed,
 2055 And with thaym faught on fote than hond by honde;
 The lorde Gordon his parte that day he fonde,
 And Sir Wyllyam Stewarde at Fulhoplawe,
 Whare he thaym toke and raunsonde by the lawe.

Two thousand Scottes he toke and putte to flight,
 2060 For whiche the kynge hym gaf rewarde and fee,
 For he so had hanselde his emnyse right
 At firste entre so of his mageste,
 Consydering wele his manly iupartē,
 The whiche afore he had so auentured
 2065 Ful ofte in werr and neuer mesauentured.

The kynge made þe erle of Northumberlond constable of Englonde, to hym *and* to his haire males of his body, and þe erle of Westmerlond, marchal of Englonde.

The kyng than made the erle of Northumbyrlonde
 Constable so of Englonde by patent,
 The Ile of Man also, I vndyrstonde,
 He gaf hym hole with all to it appent;
 2070 And than he made also at that parlement
 The erle that was of Westmerlonde full wyse
 The marchall so of Englonde by advyse.

His wardayns than of Marchers anentz Scotlonde
 Vpon the Weste Marche made he sekryly,
 2075 Henry Percy, erle of Northumbyrlonde,
 And on the est made *Sir* Henry Percy,
 The erles sonne as made was memory,
 To kepe the north with all thair hole power
 Agayn the Scottes so whan thay wolde ought ster.

2080 The kynge Rycharde out of the Tour be nyght
 The counsayle than dyd remew pryuely
 To Ledes so, whare thay hym keped right;
 From thens after to Pykryng couertly;
 From thens by nyght to Knaresburgh so in hy;
 2085 And *afterwarde* to Pounfrayte castell sent
 By byddyng of the kyng and comaundement.

How the erle of Kent, the erle of Salesbiry, þe erle of Huntyngdoun, þe lorde Spensere, *and Sir Rauf of Lumley*, rose agayn þe kynge, *and were hedyd*.

Sone *after* than, whan gone was Cristenmesse,
 Agayne the kyng than rose the erle of Kent,
 Of Salesbyry the erle also doutlesse,
 2090 Of Huntyngdon the erle with thaym consent,
 The lorde Spenser also to thaym assent,
 Syr Raufe Lumley eke as he myght suffyse
 Was to thaym so with all his hole seruyse;

[f. 204r]

2095 The erles of Kent, and als of Salysbyry,
 Syr Raufe Lumley also, than wolde haue bene

In Wales right, togedyr in company
 And strenght agayn the kyng Herry I wene,
 At Cynceter wer heded all bydene
 By comons of the toun ther all at ones,
 2100 Thair hedes sent to London for the nones.

The erle this tyme, that was of Huntyngdon,
 To come to thaym so sone myght nocht attayne,
 Bot sodenly he fled fro toun to ton,
 In Essex than whar he was take agayne,
 2105 Whom the countesse of Herford, soth to sayne,
 So heded than and to the kyng she sent
 His hede anone as for a grete present.

The lorde Spenser at Gloucestr was take,
 And heded thar thurgh comons hole consent,
 2110 The whiche hede so thair present forto make
 Vnto the kyng anone so forth thay sent.
 Thus wer thay all that tyme of oon assent,
 Bot no grace had thay than togeder mete
 So hastily the kyng was done to wete.

How Sir Thomas Shellay, Mawdeleyns, and Feryby, were honge and draw, Sir Barnard Brokas heded, and þe bisshop of Carlele put to perpetual prisoun in his abbay of Westmynster.

2115 Syr Thomas than Shellay for all his pryde,
 The erles knyght that was of Huntyngdon,
 And Mawdlayne eke, and Feriby that tyde,
 Kyng Rycharde clerkes than of grete warison,
 Wer drawe and honge at Tyburne for treson;
 2120 Syr Barnarde eke Brokas withouten fayle
 Was heded thare for his mysgouernayle.

How this same kyng Richard died at Pountfrayt; caryed and biryed atte Freres of Langley by commaundment of the kyng Henry.

**O speculum mundi, quod debet in aure refundi,
 Ex quo prouisum sapiens acuat sibi visum;
 Cum male viuentes Deus odit in orbe regent[es],
 Est qui peccator non esse potest dominator;
 Ricardo teste, finis probat hoc manifeste.
 Sic diffinita fecit regina sors stabilita,
 Regis vt est vita cronica stabat ita.
 Vt patet in metris dicti Iohannis Gower in cronica sua tempore Ricardi regis predicti.**

2121 *gloss after regentes*] regent MS.

Sone after so the kyng Rycharde was dede
 And brought to Poules with grete solempnyte,
 Men sayde he was forhungred and lapte in lede.
 2125 Bot thar his masse was done and dyrige;
 In herse rial his corse lay thare, I se,
 And aftir masse to Westmynstir was ledde,
 Whare placebo and dirige he hedde,

Wyth messe on morne in al-kyn riall wyse,
 2130 With clothes of golde offred at bothe the place.
 And sone anone right at the kynges devyse
 Vnto Langley fro thens thay dyd arase
 His corse, whiche in the Freres thay dyd vnlace
 And byried thar with riall exequyse,
 2135 As Freres myght do with all devyne seruyse.

[f. 204v]

How Sir Robert Vmfreuyle faught with Scottes at Redeswyre, whare he toke thaire chifteyn.

At Mighelmesse, after his coronacion,
 Syr Robert than, so called Vmframvyle,
 At the Redeswyre withouten excusacion
 With Sir Rycharde Rotherforde faught that while,
 2140 And toke hym in the felde withouten gyle,
 His sonnes fyve also to prisoners,
 And many slewe withouten thair answers.

With sixty speres and sex score bowes clere,
 He slewe and toke an putte to flight that day
 2145 Sex hundr men, who wyll of it enquere,
 And grete chace made on thaym that fled away;
 So fortunate in werre he was that day
 That prisoners he gatte four sythes mo
 Than he brought men to felde than with hym so.

How the kyng went to Scotlond with grete hoste.

2150 The seconde yer so of his regne, than went,
 In herueste, so the kyng to Edynburgh,
 The cuntre hole thar with his hoste he brent,
 And than homwarde distroyed the londe all thurgh,
 Brennyng all tounes, vyllage, and also burgh,
 2155 In whiche mene-tyme the lorde than of Gordon
 With Scottes hoste brent Bamburghshir and toun.

How Ewayn of Glendore rebelde agayne þe kyng thurgh stryfe bitwix hym and the lorde Grayriffes.

Than came he home and tythandes new than hadde
 How that Ewayn of Glendor was rebell,
 And made grete werre of whiche he was vngladde,
 2160 And to London hym sped as so byfell,
 Whar full tythandes he herde than sothly tell
 Of werre full grete betvix the sayde Ewayne
 And the lorde Gray Ryffyth, the soth to sayne.

So longe it laste whils both Marches were brente
 2165 By thaire discorde and felly wer distroyed
 For lytyll cause that myght haue bene content
 With mekyll lesse than oon of thaym had stroyed;
 So rose grete losse of Englund sore anoyed.
 And after sone Syr Edmond Mortymer
 2170 By Ewayn than was taken prisoner,

And raunsond myght haue bene without greuance
 With his owne gode and his own lyfelode,
 As he the kynge besought with all plesaunce.
 And no grace founde, ne other godely hede;
 2175 Wharfore he wrote of truste and brotherhode
 To *Sir* Henry Percy, that wedded hadde
 His own sistere, he was so wo bystadde.

[f. 205r]

Sone after was the same lorde Gray in feelde
 Fyghtyng taken, and holden prisoner
 2180 By Ewayne so that hym in prison helde
 Tyll his raunson was made and fynauce cler
 Ten thousande marke and fully payed were,
 For whiche he was so pore than all his lyfe
 That no power he had to werr ne strife,

 2185 And worthy was it so for he beganne,
 So all that werre with holdyng his lyfelode,
 To whiche men sayde he had full grete right than,
 And to the kynge compleyned had his grefehode,
 And no redresse couthe gette bot with manhode,
 2190 With whiche the kynge so sore he destourbed
 That all his reme gretely was contourbed.

In so ferr forth the kynge to Wales went
 With hostes grete by dyuerse tymes thryse,
 Distroynge so that was the prynces rent,
 2195 That wysdome wolde by sad and gode advyse
 Haue pesed all withouten any suppryse,
 Whan he his sore compleynde and his distresse,
 And went away in faute of rightwysnesse.

How the erle of Northumberlond and his son *Sir Henry Percy* discomfyte þe erle of Fyfe, the erle Douglas, *and* IIII erles of Scotlond, with thaym atte Batayll of Homyldoun. Nota the date of the batayll of Homyldoun.

2200 In his thryd yer whan he had regned kyng,
At Homyldon the erle of Northumbyrlonde,
Syr Henry, als his sonne that was more zynge,
Whiche wardayns wer and had so take on honde
The Marches bothe to kepe, I vndyrstonde,
With Scottes faught vpon Holy Rode day,
2205 That ryden had the Marche in prowde aray.

The erles of Fyfe, of Athels, and Murray,
Of Angos eke, of Douglas with in fere,
And of Menteth, wer taken so that day;
Thair hoste full grete discomfyt was full clere;
2210 Fourty thousande, heraldes sayde thay were,
That taken wer and slayn and putte to flight,
Full certenly afor that it was nyght.

The erle Henry than, of Northumbyrlonde,
His prisoners vnto the kyng so brought,
2215 Of whiche the erle of Fyfe, I vndyrstonde,
Was chief of thaym as euery man than thought.
Syr Henry had the erle Douglas that sought
On hym full sore that day withouten fayle,
Hym to haue take with strength in that batayle;

[f. 205v]

How the kyng *and Sir Henry Percy* felle at contrauersy a zere afore batayll of Shrowesbyr for *Sir Emond Mortymere* *and* þe erle Douglas.

2220 The erle Murray als was his prisoner
With dyuerse other that wer of grete estate.
Than spake he to the kyng for Mortymer,
Supposyng than so by his estymate
The kyng than wolde haue bene recounselate,
2225 And done hym grace so at his supplycacion,
And none couth haue to his consolacion.

The kyng gan blame hym felly for Ewayne
For cause he spake with hym and toke hym nought,
And sayde hym so a traytour to bytrayne,
2230 Lefull had bene hym to haue take and brought
For any surance that he had gette or sought,
Seth he was than lieutenaunt to the prynce
Of Wales hole that is a grete provynce.

He resounde hym eke for his prisoner,

2235 The erle Douglas, why that he brought hym noght
 Seth he was than the captayne synguler,
 And chief of all the Scottes hoste that fought.
 Syr Henry sawe no grace of it he sought,
 Withdrew hym sone to Berwyke-vpon-Twede,
 2240 Whar his housholde alway so was indede.

From thens forth-ward the kynge and he wer straunge,
 And ayther had of thaym grete hete till other,
 And lyke to turne in kalendes of a chaunge,
 And ay in doute as shippe withouten rothere,
 2245 Whan ayther so of thaym shuld haue sought other,
 Bot noght thay dyd bot message ay betwene
 Than went ofte tyme that ment noght wele, I wene.

**How *Sir Robert Vmfreuile* slew the erle of Angos at Homyldoun in þe bataill, and
 toke þe lord of Dalketh.**

Bot *Sir Robert*, the worthi Wmframvyle,
 At that batayle so ther of Homyldon,
 2250 Vpon the erle of Angos so that while,
 Sette on full sor to sette hym in baundon,
 For his nevew *Sir Gilbert* by resoun
 To that erldome had right by hole descent,
 Whom ther he slewe that day for vengeance.

2255 Whom thare *Sir James Douglas*, lorde of Dalkethe,
 That wedded had the kynges doughter than
 Of Scotlonde, so than stroke so that vnnethe
 On fote he gatte agayn right as a man,
 And smote hym doun and knyghtly so hym wan
 2260 Kepyng hym so as for his prisoner,
 And raunsonde was fyve thousand marke full clere.

[f. 206r]

**How *Sir Henry Percy* wente to Shrousbiry and faughte *with* þe kynge, whare he
 was slayne and þe erle Douglas taken.**

Bot now to speke that yere was suche debate
 Betuyx the kynge and *Sir Henry Percy*
 For causes sayde afore that was full hate,
 2265 Vnto the kynge he sente his secretary
 For answeere suche as myght bene remedy
 Of all debates betuyx thaym in trauerse,
 Who to hym made reporte and wronge reherse;

For whiche in ire he went to Shrowsebery
 2270 In all the haste he myght withouten fayle,
 With eght score horse than in his company

Fro Berwyke than suche was his gouernayle,
 Thurgh Lancasshir and Chesshir for avayle,
 And streng of men on wham he truste full wele
 2275 That brake thair triste and durste nocht come, I fele,

Bycause the kynge was knaw of thair entent,
 And sembled had grete power in the felde,
 And ay onwarde vnto the occident
 He rode full faste and euer vnto hym helde;
 2280 By Shrowsbyry eche other of thaym byhelde,
 And bataylde thaym with all thair ordynaunce
 To fecht anone withouten variaunce.

The kynge had ther than fourty thousand men
 Of shire archers and mekyll comonte,
 2285 And lordes fewe that any man couth ken,
 Excepte the erle of Stafford than, parde,
 And Fournyvale that knew his pryuyte,
 That tresorer of Englond was that day,
 Thomas Nevyle than hight in gode aray;

2290 The lorde Roos eke, and als Lorde Wylugby,
 The erle Dunbarr also, was with hym there
 And gentyls fele of noble progeny.
 With Percy was the erle of Worcester
 With nyne thousande of gentyls all that wer,
 2295 Of kynghtes, squyers, and chosen yomanry,
 And archers fyne withouten raskaldry.

Nota of þe date of the batayll of Shrowsbyry.

Whar than thay faught vpon the Maudeleyn eue,
 The foureth yere of his regne withouten fayle,
 Syr Henry slayne was ther with grete repreue,
 2300 His vncler als with hym in that batayle,
 That cause was of the grete mys gouernayle;
 Grete peple slayne ther was on ayther syde,
 With cruell hertes that faught so full of pryde.

[f. 206v]

How the archebisshop Scrop and þe erle Marchall were take at Yorkmore by trefy and hedyd for treson.

2305 The sexte yere of his regne, at Whissonday,
 The archebyssshop of Yorke, mayster Rychard
 Scrope, and Thomas, erle Marchall, new aray
 On Yorkesmore than made by grete forwarde
 To leue and dye from that day so forwarde
 Agayne the kynge, for what cause or encheson

2310 I knew nothyng what was so thar reson.

My lorde *Sir* Iohn, the kynges sonne that wase,
 And wardayn als of all the Este Marche right,
 Of Westmerlonde the erle eke for that case,
 At Durham were and thought noght forto fight
 2315 The lorde Fylz Hugh, Eures and Fulthorp knyght,
 Bot to haue holde the castell with stronge honde
 For drede than of the erle of Northumbyrlonde.

To wham than came *Sir* Robert Vmframvyle,
 Lieutenaunt than that was so of Berwyke,
 2320 With sex score speres and twelfe score bowes that while
 Of Marchers all arrayed wele and full werlyke,
 And counsaylde thaym with wordes autentyke
 To take the felde and towarde Yorke to spede,
 For of the north thaym nede no more to drede.

2325 With that thay came assemblynge grete power
 Ay as thay rode tyll that thay came in sighte
 Of Bysshop Scrope and Erle Marchall in fere,
 Where Vmframvyle thaym counsaylde forto fighte,
 To whiche thay wolde no thyng assent, I hight,
 2330 Bot than thay sent the lorde Fylz Hugh full sage,
 Fulthorp and Euer to thaym in hole message;

Whiche treted pese betuyx thaym than in fere,
 And to my lorde *Sir* Iohn, by gode accorde,
 Thay yalde thaym both mekely as dyd appere,
 2335 Supposyng that in parlment of recorde
 All shulde bene wele and putte in gode accorde,
 Refourmed hole as moste to God myght plese,
 For thair worschip and for the comon ese;

For whiche accorde than made thay *proclamacion*
 2340 That all men shulde gone home and take thaire ese,
 For all was wele accorde in *prosperacion*,
 The comons hole supposyng none disese
 Fast homwarde rode, bot than the lordes gan sese
 The archebysshop and als the erle Marchall,
 2345 And certayn knyghtes thay putte in warde wyth all:

[f. 207r]

**How certayne knyghtes þat rose with þe archebisshop and with þe erles Marchall
 and of Northumberlond were hedyd.**

The Fauconberge, the Hastynges, and Plumton,
 The Lamplowth, the Griffyth, and Colvyle,
 Whiche heded wer for thair rebellyon

Withoute socoure or yit any exile;
 2350 The archebyssshop and eke the erle that while,
 Lamplowth and eke *Sir* Wyllyam Plumtoun,
 Togedyr so wer heded bysyde Yorke toun.

At Durham *after* the Fauconberge, and Hastyngge,
 The Griffyth eke, and Colvyle of the dale,
 2355 That knyghtes were than heded by the kynge
 Withoute respyte or any lenger tale.
 Than had the kynge tythandes of mekyll bale
 That Ewayne wrought within the south cuntre,
 Brent and stroyed with grete fortuiyte.

All was vntrewe and sayde to that intent
 To make the kynge than to retorne agayne,
 To whom than sayde the Vmframvyle present,
 ‘Go to youre fo, that next yow is certayne,
 And gette the north than wyrke ye noght in vayne,
 2365 For if ze turne zoure bakke thay wylle yow seke
 And in zoure reme wyll make zow mykill reke’.

**How the kynge rode into Northumbirlonde and gatte þe castels of þe erles off
 Northumbirlond, and hedyd his rebels þat helde þe castel of Berwyk agayn hym
 aftir the erle was fled into Scotlond *and* þe lorde Bardolf wyth hym.**

Than rode the kynge into Northumbyrlonde
 And gatte so than the castels euerychone,
 Prudhow, Langley, Werkeworth, I vndyrstonde,
 2370 Alnewyke, and so to Berwyke went anone,
 And by assege and sawtes made gode wone
 And shotte of gunnes he gatte tho castels wyght.
 The keepers all he heded so forth ryght;

That was to say the barons sonne and hayre
 2375 Of Graystoke so, that was the chefe captayne,
 And *Sir* Henry Boynton withoute dispayre,
 Alisaunder of Blenkensop als certayne,
 Rande of the Se, and Rycharde Aske to sayne,
 Robert also of Prendregest no doute,
 2380 Wer heded all afore that wer full stoute.

The kynge than gafe his son, *Sir* John, right thare
 The castels all londes and possession
 That wer the erles of Northumbyrlonde ovrwhare
 Thruh all Englonde, sauynge by discession
 2385 To Vmframvyle he gafe, by his concession,
 The castels two of Werkeworth and Langle,
 And baronyse to thaym that longynge be.

[f. 207v]

Whils that the kynge was comyng to Alnewyke,
 The erle was gone to Scotlonde fled away;
 2390 The lorde Bardolfe wyth hym went fro Berwyke,
 Henry Percy also his hayre that day,
 Elleue yere olde he passed noght, I say,
 Whom to the kyng Robert than of Scotlonde
 He sette to kepe, as I can vndyrstonde.

The erle of Northumberlonde and þe lord Bardolf exilde fro Scotlond went be se to Wales, and fro thens to Fraunce by se, and fro thens by se into Scotlonde agayn and commynge to þe kynge thay were slayne.

2395 So was the erle exilde oute of his londe
 At midsomer than, of the kyng sex yer,
 And of our Lorde that tyme was a thousande,
 Four hundre eke, and fyue accounted cler.
 The next somer to Wales he went in fere,
 2400 The lorde Bardolff with hym for grete socoure;
 Bot none thay had of Ewayne of Glendoure.

Bot than thay sayle by se aboute to Fraunce,
 In Pykardy arrofe, and to Paryse
 Thay rode vpon Cundyte, and assuraunce
 2405 Of thayre iewels thar made thay cheuysaunce
 At Seynt Omers *after* a while thay lay,
 From thens thay went to Flaunders in wayke array;

From whyne thay went to Scotlonde than by se
 And thar abode in mykyll thought and payne
 2410 To Feueryere than next, withouten le,
 That thay wer sette with all thair hertes fayne
 Thaym to submytte vnto the kynge agayne,
 Whom *Sir* Thomas Rokeby with grete power
 On Bramham More than slewe as dyd appere.

2415 The nynte yer was it so whan thay wer slayne
 Of the kynge than afore the Fast-yngonge,
 And of Criste was a thousand yer certayne,
 Four hundre eke, and eght also amonge,
 In Feueryere whan snow had lyggen longe
 2420 Throughout the Marche the depnesse of a spere,
 That vnlyke was he shulde come than of were.

How the kynges son of Scotlonde, Iames, was take vpon þe se passyng to Fraunce for nurture.

That yer afore the kynges sonne of Scotlonde
 Vpon the se so saylynge towarde Fraunce,

Elleue yer olde no more I vndyrstonde,
 2425 Was taken so and brought for grete plesaunce
 Vnto the kynge, that hym in gouernaunce
 So forth dyd kepe, as kynges son appent
 In all honour that was conuenient.

[f. 208r]

**How Robert Stewarde, kynge of Scotlond, and Ewayn Glendore and his son dyed
within a zere.**

The tenth yere than so of the kynges date,
 2430 Ewayne Glendore, and eke his son Ewayne,
 And Kynge Robert of Scotlonde from estate,
 The dethe so toke with sekenesse and with payne,
 And grete feblesse also that made hem fayne,
 That thay forsoke thayre domynacion
 2435 And putte thaym hole to Cristes propiciacion.

**How Sir Gilbert Vmfreuyle and Sir Robert Vmfreuile distroyed Iedworth foreste
and brent Iedworth and parte of Teuydale at Mighelmes.**

In that same yere than Gylbert Vmframvile,
 That lorde was than of Redesdale and of Kyme
 In tendre age of sextene yere that while,
 And warde vnto the kynge so was that tyme,
 2440 His eme Robert, withouten blame or gryme,
 Hym bayted so on Scottes in Tevydale;
 Ten myle on lengh he brent the townes hale

Vndyr his baner thare so friste displayed.
 Than faught thay sore and putte thaym to the flight
 2445 Vpon the water of Calne proudely arrayed,
 And with thair pray to Englonde came full right,
 And prisoners right fele thay had to fight.
 The wyves swere by Seynt Rynzan and yelpe:
 'This olde dogge hath grete ioy to bayte his whelpe.'

**How Sir Gilbert Vmfreuyle þat same zere, of XVI zere age in the kynges warde,
dyd his armes at Lyle, in Flaunders, with the lorde Trumvile.**

2450 And than Gylbert Vmframvyle, in nonage,
 To Flaunders went thare to do armes at Lyle
 To proue hymselfe indede thurgh grete corage,
 Whare than he faught with Sir George off Trumvyle
 With spere and swerde on horsebacke a longe while,
 2455 And than on fote with spere and sworde agayne,
 With dagger eke, and axe the sothe to sayne.

How *Sir Robert Vmfreuyle* by se in þe water of Forth anens *Edenburgh and at Blaknesse*, bysyde *Lythkow*, toke XII shippes of marchandise *and* did grete harme on londe, and brent þe galyot of *Lethe* *with* a bote full of pykterre, flax, wod, and fyre, at full of þe se set to hir *with* men of armes and archers.

The kynge, than in his elleuent yere, so made
 The somer tyme *Sir Robert Vmframvyle*
 To kepe the se that is full longe and brade
 2460 Fro Themes north for enmyse so that while;
 Who than within the water of Forth, twelfe myle,
 Ten shippes toke of floure and marchaundyse,
 Departed *with* his men, as myght suffyse.

With fourty shippes wele manned and arrayed,
 2465 At Blakenesse than he loded manfully,
 And brent the londe and felly it affrayed
 On Southalfe Forth, at the Quenesfery;
 Fourten days lay he thare for nouelry,
 And eche day ones, on this syde or byyonde,
 2470 He slew and brent and spoyled that he fonde;

[f. 208v]

Thayre galiot there the Scottes drew on londe
 And paled hir stronge for he shulde nocht hir wyn,
 For whiche he stufte a bote so than at honde
 With pykke and tarre and flax with fyre ther in,
 2475 And all his botes and cokkes, with lytyll dyn,
 Wele manned so with armed men and archers
 That with that fyre hir brent and hir palers

Wyth batayle stronge at flowynge of the se,
 Whare Scottes fele that tyme were hurte and slayn
 2480 That faught full sore of thayre humanyte,
 Defendyng hir thre days with mekyll payn,
 And euery day on thaym he cam agayne
 With all suche fyre and all his ordynaunce
 Tyll he had brent hir oute at his plesaunce.

How the prynce sent the erle of Arrundell, *Sir Gilbert Vmfreuile*, *Sir Iohn Gray*, *and* other, to suppowayll the duke of Burgoyne agayn the duke of Orlience.

2485 The kynge fell seke than eche day more and more,
 Wharfore the prynce he made, as it was sene,
 Chief of counsayle to ese hym in his sore;
 Who to the duke of Burgoyne sent, I wene,
 The erle so than of Arrundell, I mene,
 2490 And *Sir Gylbert Vmframvyle*, lorde of Kyme,
 Syr Iohn Gray eke his emes son was that tyme,

To helpe hym in his werre with gode power
 Agayne the duke that was of Orlyence.
 The erle came home agayne within half yere,
 2495 Bot *Sir* Gylbert thare helde grete regymence
 With Englysshe folke that drew to his presence,
 And thare bycame his men and his soudyours,
 For his manhode and kynghtly wyse labours,

 Who at Seynt Clo that tyme manly dyd fyght
 2500 Agayne the duke of Orlyence, fro morow clere
 Tyll nere the euen, the brigge who gette it myght
 Whiche on the duke he gatte with his powere,
 With helpe of Syr John Gray, his cosyn dere,
 Whare than thay had full grete worship and fame,
 2505 Thurgh whiche than gan of thaym to ryse grete name.

Thare had thay than many a prisoner
 Mykyll richesse and mekyll peple slewe.
 From thens thay wente to Etham that was nere,
 And Dordon als assaylyng thaym all newe,
 2510 Whare grete powere vpon thaym gan renewe
 Of Armynakes, that gafe thaym batayle sore,
 That ouercome were and fled faste therfore.

[f. 209r]

How the kynge *and* þe prynce fell at grete discorde *and* sone acorded.

Than came thay home with grete thonke and rewarde
 So of the duke of Burgoyne, withoute fayll.
 2515 Sone after than byfell it aftyrwarde
 The prynce was than discharged of counsayll,
 His brother, Thomas, than for the kynges awayll
 Was in his stede than sette by ordynaunce,
 For whiche the prynce and he fell at distaunce;

 2520 Wyth whom the kynge toke parte in grete sekenesse
 Agayne the prynce with all his excellence,
 Bot with trefy of lordes and sobyrnesse
 The prynce came into his magnyfence,
 Obeyand hole, with all benyvolence,
 2525 Vnto the kynge and fully were accorde
 Of all maters of whiche thay were discorde.

**The kynge sent my lorde of Clarence to suppowail þe duke of Orlyence agayne
 þe duke of Burgoyne.**

Than sent the kynge his sonne, Thomas, ouer se
 To helpe the duke so than of Orlyence
 Agayne the duke of Burgoyne than to be

2530 With all his strengh and hole conuenyence,
 And so thurgh Fraunce withouten resistance
 Into Guyen he rode with grete honoure,
 To kepe that londe and be thaire gouernoure.

How the kynge lay in sekenes that he dyed of at Westminster, in the abbay, with grete thankynges and lovynges makyng to God almyghty.

In this mene-while the kynge with grete sekenesse,
 2535 Enfeblisshynge of body more and more,
 The deth than toke the nynetene day doutlesse
 Of Marche in his fourtene yere, distressed sore
 By soonde of God, whom he gan thonke therfore
 With contrite herte and humble yolden chere,
 2540 And of his grace and mercy dyd requere.

‘O Lorde,’ he sayde, ‘O God omnipotent,
 Now se I wele thy godhed lyketh me,
 That suffred neuere my fose haue thair intent
 Of my persone in myne aduersyte;
 2545 Bot euermore Lorde, of thy benygnyte
 Thou haste me kepte from thair malyvolence,
 Me chastysynge oonly by thy sentence.

O Lorde, I thonke the now with all myne herte,
 With all my soule, and all my spiritz clere;
 2550 This wormes mete, this carion foule vnquerte,
 That some tyme thought in worlde it had no pere,
 This face so foule that leprouse doth appere,
 That here afore I haue hadde suche a pryde
 To portray ofte in mony place full wyde,

[f. 209v]
 2555 Of whiche right now the porest of this londe,
 Sauf oonly of thair owne benygnyte,
 Wolde lothe to loke vpon, I vndyrstonde,
 Of whiche, gode Lorde, that thou so vysyte me,
 A thousande tymes, the Lorde in Trynyte,
 2560 With all myne herte I thonke and now commende
 Into thi hondes my soule withouten ende.’

And so he dyed in fayth and hole creaunce;
 At Caunterbery beried with hiegh reuerence,
 As kynge shulde be, with al-kyn cyrcumstaunce,
 2565 Accordyng with his hiegh magnyficence
 Byside the prynce Edward with grete expense.
 Of Criste was than a thousande yere full oute,
 Foure hundre eke and threttene, oute of doute.

Conceyte of þe makere touchant this gode kynge Henry fourth.

O verry God, what tourment had this kynge!
 2570 To remembre in brief and shorte intent:
 Some in his sarke venym so dyd hym brynge,
 And some in mete and drynke grete poysonment,
 Some in his hose by grete imagynement,
 Some in bedstraw irnes doun dyd putte and threste,
 2575 To steke hym on whare he schulde slepe or reste.

Some made for hym also enchauntement,
 To waste hym oute and vtterly distroye,
 And some gafe hym batayle felonousment
 In feelde within his reme hym forto noye;
 2580 And on thaymsel the sorow and the noye
 Ay fell at ende, that honged were and hede,
 As traytours awght to bene in euery stede.

The VII Book, *Primum Capitulum*

Henry the fyfte, kynge of Englonde and Fraunce and lorde of Irelonde, duke of Normandye, Guyen, and of Aungeoy. *Nota quod cronica istius regis Henrici patet in quadam cronica magistri Norham, doctoris theolog[ie], et secundum quod compiler huius libri vidit et audiuit.*

Henry, his sonne that prynce of Wales was than,
 On Seynt Cuthbert day than next folowyng
 2585 In Marce was crounde, as I remembre can,
 And als ennoynte at Westmynstere for kynge,
 Of whom the reme was glad withoute lesyng,
 Obeyand hym in al-kyns ordynaunce,
 As subgytz owe to ryall gouernaunce.

How the kynge fortified the Cherche to done execucioun of þe lord Cobham and hys Lollers and errytykes for erryyses.

In his friste yere the Cobham errytyke,
 Confedred with Lollers incipient,
 Agayne the chirche arose and was full lyke
 It haue distroyed by thare intendement,
 Had noght the kynge than made suppowelment,
 2595 And toke thaym vp by gode inspeccion
 That friste bygan that insurreccion.

[f. 210r]

Than fled the lorde Cobham erronyouse
 To Wales so with Lollers many one,
 Musyng in his oppynyon venymouse
 2600 How that he myght the Chirche distroy anone;

2582 *gloss after* theolog[ia] theolog MS.

Bot God, that sytte in heuen aboue allone,
 Knowyng his herte naked of gode sentement,
 Lete hym be take to haue his iugment;

2605 That prisonde was at London in the Toure,
 Of whiche he dyd eschape away by nyght,
 And taken was agayn within an houre;
 And after sone dampned by law and right
 For errsy by all the clergy sight,
 And brent he was tyll askes dede and pale,
 2610 Thurgh cursed lyfe thus came he in grete bale.

**How Kynge Henry the fyfte fyrste gafe licence to all men to offre to þe
 archebisshop *Richard Scrope* and worship hym.**

The kynge than sette vpon all rightwysnesse
 Of morall wytte and all benygnyte.
 All openly he ordeynde in expresse
 That all men myght withoute diffyculte
 2615 The archbisshop of Yorke vusyte and se,
 That Rychard Scrope so hight, full graciouse,
 For whom God shewed myracles plentyuouse.

**How he toke vp Kynge *Richard* at Langley *and* entowmbid hym rialy at
 Westminster with Quene Anne, as was his own will whiles he was on lyfe.**

Kynge Rychard als, at Langley leyde in erthe
 Agayne his wyll and all his ordynaunce
 2620 By comaundement of Kynge Henry the ferthe,
 For folke of hym shulde haue no remembraunce,
 The kynge toke vp with riall ordynaunce
 And toumbed fayre byside his wife, Quene Anne,
 With all honoure that myght be done by manne.

How he made his brether dukes at Laycestre.

2625 The kynge so than, right in his seconde yere,
 In his parlement, by gode benyvolence,
 At Laycestre, foure dukes made in fere;
 His brother Thomas, duke of Clarence;
 His brother Iohn, for grete expedience,
 2630 Duke off Bedford he made by hole decre,
 That next was than sette in all dignyte;

**How he graunte Henry Percy, the son of *Sir Henry Percy*, his londes þat were in
 taylor.**

His brother Vmfray next hym he dyd create
 The duke so than of Gloucestre by style;

2635 Thomas Bewford, his eme, erle of Dorsette,
 He made than duke of Excester that while.
 And thar he graunte than, as I can compyle,
 Henry Percy his londes that wer in tayle,
 To sewe thaim oute by lawe and gouernayle.

[f. 210v]

2640 On Mawdelayne day, the thirde yere of his rygne,
 Syr Robert than Vmframvyle dyd so ryde
 In Scotlonde so and to none wolde resygne
 His power right, bot on hym toke that tyde
 That laboure hole and toke hym to his gyde,
 And tolde hym whare he shulde hym brynge and lede,
 2645 Whar that he toke grete gode withouten drede,

And faught with thaim at Greterigge in batayle,
 Whare eghtene score of Scottes were dede and slayne.
 Nyne hundre fled: he folowed at thair tayle,
 On whom he made grete chace, the sothe to sayne –
 2650 Twelfe myle on lenghe with thaim he rode agayne –
 Whare in the chase, bot with fyve hundre men,
 He toke thaim vp and slew thaim fleand then.

How Kynge Henry hedid the erle of Cambrige, the lorde Scrope, and Sir Thomas Gray of Werke, and went to Normandy and wanne Harflete, and commynge homewarde he stroke than the batayll of Agyncourt.

At Lammesse after the kynge to Normandy
 At Hampton was with all his hoste to sayle,
 2655 Whare than the erle of Cambrige certanly,
 The lorde Scrope, als *Sir* Thomas Gray, no fayle,
 The kynges deth had caste for thair avayle;
 Of whiche the kynge was ware and toke all thre
 And heded hem at Hampton by decre;

2660 And helde hys way to Harflete than anone
 And wanne it so and made there of captayne
 His eme the duke of Excester allone;
 Ande homwarde went by Calays so agayne.
 At Agyncourte the Frenssh hym mette sertayne,
 2665 And with hym faught with hoste innomorable,
 Whare thay were take and wonne withouten fable.

The duke was take that day of Orlience,
 The duke also of Burboyne certaynly,
 The erle Wendome that was of grete credence,
 2670 And *Sir* Arthur of Bretayn sykyrly,
 The dukes brother of Bretayn verryly,

With many mo of other prisoners
That taken wer, as sayne cronyclers.

The dukes thre of Bare and Alaunson
2675 And of Loreyne were in that batayle slayn;
And for thaire lyfes thay payde no more raunson,
Who to thayre wyfes so more cam nought agayne,
Bot on that grounde thar dyed thay certayn.
Fourty thousande thar layde thair lyfes to wedde;
2680 For thair raunson me thought thay had wele spedde.

[f. 211r]

On oure syde was of Yorke Duke Edward slayne,
A myghty lorde and full of sapience,
And few elles mo of Englysshe men certayne,
As I consayue that were of reuerence,
2685 That was bot grace of Goddes omnipotence,
For Englysshe men nyne thousand nought excede
That faught agayne an hundre thousande indede.

Nota the date of the Batayll of Agencourte whan it was.

Vbi capti fuerunt dux de Orlience, dux de Burboynie, comes de Ewe, comes de Vendom, et Bursigant, Marescallus Francie, ac Arthurus de Bretayn, frater ducie de Bretayn. Et occisi fuerunt dux de Alawnsoun, dux Brabancie, dux de Bare, comes de Nauers, comes de Bowse, comes de Brene, comes de Sauoys, comes Dalmartyn, comes de Merle, comes de Duras, comes de Arroynak, comes Marchie Francie et filius suus.

On Seynt Crispyne and Crispynyan day
This batayle sore certainly was smyten
2690 At Agyncourte, as thay withsette his way,
For whiche the kynge gan fight, as wele was wyten,
With thaim anone, whare were slayne vnsmyten
Thousandes smored thurgh thayre multitude,
That wolde haue fledde fro his excelsitude.

2695 The yere of Criste a thousande and foure hundre,
And seuentene eke whan that this same batayle
Was smyten so, and of his reнге no wondere
The thirde yere was that tyme withouten fayle;
And home thay came than to thair moste avayle,
2700 Thurgh Pykardy, by Guynes, and Calays than,
And thare thay shipte and into Englonde wan.

How the emperour of Rome cam to the kynge to London.

In Englonde than in the somer seson,
The emperoure of Rome, *Sir* Sygismounde,
Was with the kynge and made, by grete encheson,

2705 Of the Garter a knyght so in that stounde,
 And to the reule and ordreure sworne and bounde,
 And had his stall vpon the kynges lifte-honde
 In the colage of Seynt George, I vndyrstonde.

How the duke of Bedford stroke þe bataill of Sayn on the <se> agayn þe carrykes.

The kynge so sente the duke of Bedford than
 2710 Vnto the se with foure hundre sayles stoute
 To stuffe Harflete with vytayle, and to man
 And kepe the se fro enmyse all aboute;
 The whiche he dyd full wele, withouten doute,
 And with carrikes than faught full myghtyly
 2715 Vpon the se and had the vycory

On oure Ladyse day, the assumpcion,
 Fro morne to euen anentz the mouth of Sayne.
 Bot thurgh hire grace thay brought were to consumpcion
 And taken all with mekyll peple slayne.
 2720 With hym ther were the erle of Marche sertayne,
 The erle Marchall, and the erle of Salesbyry,
 The erle also of Oxenforde sothely,

[f. 211v]

The lorde Morlay, the lorde of Wyluby,
 The lorde Talbot, the lorde Gray of Ryffith,
 2725 The lorde Pownynges, the Typtoft was thaym by,
 The Hungreforde was thare, he had no grith,
 Syr Robert als Vmframvyle thar was wyth,
 And barons fele and banretz many oone,
 Assigned by the kynge with hym to gone.

2730 Than fell it so vnto oure Lady day,
 That was the feste of hir natyuyte,
 It was suche cawme thay myght nocht passe away
 For faute of wynde, bot lay ther styll, I se,
 Whare euery day galeys in certaynte
 2735 Assayled our shippes with stronge batayle and fight,
 Whare Spanyardes so and Frensshe wer slayn don right.

Þe kynge broght þe emperour to Calays, and at heruyste aftyr wente to Normandy with two thousand sayles.

In whiche mene-tyme the kynge to Calays went
 With themperour whare thay departed right,
 And home he came. And than with all intent
 2740 He ordeynde for his vyage day and nyght,

2708 *gloss after se] insert. MS.*

To Normandy with many a lorde and knyght.
 The fyfte yere of his regne with ordynaunce
 He londe at Towke withouten variaunce.

2745 And that castell he wanne with ordynaunce,
 And so to Kane he went anone forth right
 And by assege it had with gouernaunce,
 And sixty place with it that were full wyght
 Were yolden than withouten strife or fight;
 Of whiche cyte *Sir* Gylbert Vmframvyle
 2750 He made captayn, as now I can compile.

Bayhowse he wan, and also Argenton,
 Cese, and Falace, Doumfrount, and Mortayn,
 And Ivery, Euerose, and Alaunson,
 2755 Mustre de Vylers, and Caldebek noght to layn,
 Depe, Arke, Gournay, Vnycourt soth to sayn,
 The New Castell, Gysours, and Estoutvyle,
 Rone, and Louers, and also Vmframvyle,

Pountlarge, Pountays also, and Pountdorson,
 Mawnte, and Vyre, Balom, and Aueraunce,
 2760 Castell Galiarde, with many other ton,
 Belham in Perche, Seynt Gylan in Maunce,
 Mortayne in Perche, Chirburgh, and Constaunce,
 Vernell in Perche, Seynt Clo, and Alavayll,
 Vernon on Sayne also withoute batayll.

[f. 212r]
 2765 What shulde I more rehearse? All Normandy
 He conquerde hole and had in his regence,
 So pesibly that none durste it reply,
 Ne yit agayne it do or make defence;
 So bryght than shoone his noble excellence
 2770 Thruh Cristendome that of hym spronge suche fame
 That prynces all his manhode dred and name.

How þe duke of Albany, Robert Stewarde, regent of Scotlond, with sixty thousand Scottes layde sege at Berwyk; *Sir* Robert Vmfrevile þan in the town captayne.

In this mene-while whils that the kynge in Fraunce
 So besy was the duke of Albany,
 With riall hoste and all his suffyshance,
 2775 At Berwyke lay with sege full myghtyly
 Assawtynge it aboute cotydialy;
 Within whiche ton than was the capitayne,
 Syr Robert so Vmframvyle, in certayne,

That thre woukes oute he bataylde with thaym sore
 2780 What on the walles, and some tyme at barrase,
 And some tyme oute vpon thaym whare thay wore,
 He vsshed forth on thaym in dyuerse place,
 And many toke full ofte with grete solace,
 And kepte the town with worship and honoure
 2785 Agayne that hoste, that was of Scotlonde floure.

How þe erle of Northumberlond and þe erle of Westmerlond, þan wardayns of the Marches, the archebisshop of Yorke, with the clergy cam to Baremore III myle fro Berwyke for rescouse.

Than came the erle so of Northumbyrlonde,
 The duke also of Excestre for rescowse,
 The archebyssshop of Yorke, I vndyrstonde,
 The erle also, that was full fortunouse,
 2790 Of Westmerlonde, and barons bountyuouse,
 Knyghtes, and squyers, and manfull yomanry,
 Seuen score thousande nombred with the clergy;

At Baromore than thay lay thre nyght throughoute,
 Foure myle that was fro Berwyke certaynly,
 2795 The Scottes than that seged all aboute,
 To Scotlonde syde thay rode full hastyly,
 Whare that the duke lay than of Albany;
 And sone ther after thay trumped vp and went
 To Norham so, whare than the town thay brent,

2800 That two myle was than fro oure hoste no more,
 And went thair way to Scotlonde home agayne,
 Without batayle harmelesse that tyme; wharfore
 Vmframvyle than folowed thaym certayne
 With his meyny whiche to hym dyd obeyne,
 2805 Leuyng the town in myghty sykernesse,
 By gode advyse and knyghtly besynesse,

[f. 212v]

With soudyours he had with in the towne.
 Thair hynde ryders he toke vp spedyly;
 And to oure hoste he came to make thaym bowne
 2810 To ryde so forth in Scotlonde sodenly
 To Edynburgh, whiche than oure lordes openly
 Refused hole – the kynge beyng in Fraunce –
 Thay durste nocht lede the folke in suche balaunce

How the erles of Douglas and of Dunbarre sent to Sir Robert Vmfreuile, lieutenant *and* kepar of Berwyk, for trewes, whiche he denyed and made werre on thaym III zere to thay were fayn to seke trewes at London.

Bot home thay rode withouten more dylay.
 2815 Sone after than the erle Douglas than sent
 To Vmframvyle for abstynence of werr none nay,
 So dyd the erle Dunbarr by oon assent,
 For eght woukes hole betuyx the Marches orient,
 And so fro eght to eght woukes ay renewe
 2820 The pese bytwix thaym by endenture newe;

Whiche Vmframvyle forsoke and than refused
 And made grete werre vpon thaym violent,
 With helpe of frendes that nothyng thaym excused,
 And cuntreymen than of the borient,
 2825 That loued wele to haue his regyment,
 So fortunate he was to vyctory
 Whare so he were in hoste or company.

Thaire market townes than after faste he brent,
 Iedworth, Hawyke, Selkyrke, and Lederdale,
 2830 Etrike foreste withoute inpedyment,
 He distroyed all and also Tevydale,
 The forestez all, and eke Lawederdale,
 Lawedretoun Dalketh and Hadyngton
 Dunbarre, and all the Merse bothe vp and don.

2835 Thre yere the werre he helde so with his route,
 And made a vowe thay shulde neuer for nothyng
 Haue pese, nor trew, whils he myght ride aboute,
 Bot iff thay sought it only at the kynge,
 That was that tyme in Fraunce it conqueryng,
 2840 And Parise had with all the londe aboute.
 The kynge and quene hym mette with riall route,

Than felle conuencioun and accorde at Troys, in Chaumpayne, bituix the kynge and Kynge Charles.

Than trefy was and hole conuencyon
 Betwix the kynges two fully than accorded,
 That Kyng Henry, without dissencion,
 2845 Kynge Charles doughtere shulde wed wele concorded,
 Whiche was fulfylde, as playnly was recorded,
 At Troys that is full ferre aboute Paryse,
 In Chaumpayne so in al-kyns riall wyse.

[f. 213r]
 And from thens forth he shulde haue Normandy,
 2850 Guyen, and all his othere londes byyonde,
 In pese and reste withoute iniury,
 To hym and to his hayres whils thay myght stonde
 Perpetually to holde so forth in honde,

And reule thaym atte thair wyll withoute lettynge
 2855 Of eny Frensshe in alkyns manner thyng;

And duryng als Kynge Charles lyfe of Fraunce
 Regent to bene of Fraunce and heritere
 Fully thurghoute to haue the gouernaunce,
 And after his decese to haue than clere
 2860 The reme of Fraunce, and corounie with in fere,
 In pese and reste to hym and to his hayres
 For euermore and also to all thaires.

How the kynge Henry wanne Saunce in Burgoyne and Motrews, and toke vp the duke of Burgoyne and beryed hym at Dugeoun, and made Sir Iohn Gray capteyn of Motrews.

Saunce in Burgoyne than wan he myghtyly,
 And Motreus als, whare the duke was beried
 2865 Of Burgoyne so, whom he toke vp in hy,
 And at Dugeon, as it is notyfyed,
 Dyd bery than in Burgoyne vndenyed
 With grete honoure and hiegh solempnyte,
 As suche a prynce of reson owe to be.

And Motreus than he toke to Sir Iohn Gray,
 That brother was by al-kyns mension
 To Sir Thomas Gray of Heton none nay,
 Of Northumbyrlonde, withouten reprehencion,
 And as my wytte can make comprehencion
 2875 That same Sir Iohn, for grete habilite,
 Of the Garter was knyght of gode degre.

How the kynge layde sege to Myloyne, whare Kynge Iames of Scotlonde made homage, and lay at sege with baner displayed with many other prynces. Nota for homage of Scotlonde.

So layde he sege at Miloyne with his hoste,
 Whare with hym was Kynge Iames of Scotlonde,
 That homage made hym than thar in that coste
 2880 For Scotlonde hole, by writyng and by bonde
 Vndyr his sele, as I can vndyrstonde,
 Whare his baner displayed was in felde
 In signe he was his man and with hym helde.

The prynce was thar of Orenge, eke his man
 2885 The duke of Bayre, his syster that had wedde
 His sonne and hayre twenty yer of age than,
 The duke Philip of Burgoyne in armes cledde,
 Yonge and semely, that grete powerē so ledde
 The dukes foure of Clarence, and Bedforth,

2890 Of Gloucestre, and of Excestre, Bewforth.

[f. 213v]

Of erles there were the erle of Marche ful meke,
 The erle Marchall, the erle of Salesbyry,
 The erles also of Warwyke, Stafforde eke,
 Of Huntyngdon, and of Southfolke manly
 2895 Of Arrundell, and Somersette thaym by,
 Of Oxenforde, and of Worscestr fayre,
 And barons fele and eke thaire son and hayre,

How the kynge made *Sir Gilbert Vmfreuyle* capteyne of the toun *and* castel of Myloyne.

The kynge of Fraunce eke, at that sege so lay
 Thare with the kynge and at his gouernaunce,
 2900 Fro midsomer to Cristenmesse alway,
 And helde that sege with all his ordynaunce
 To it was yolde vnto his hiegh puyssaunce,
 Whiche he bytoke for his grete hardyment
 To *Sir Gylbert Vmframvyle* sapient.

**How at Tournels in Parys the erle of Suffolke and *Sir Gilbert Vmfreuyle*,
proclaymed erle of Kyme, vndirtoke þe feelde *with* ten knyghtes to holde the
 iustes agayn al men.**

2905 Than helde the kynge forsoth his Cristenmesse
 In his palays troue of maners all,
 That hight Tournels byside Bastell doutlesse
 Of Seynt Antoyne, whare Vmframvyle dyd call
 Hym erle of Kyme, and made it know ouerall
 2910 That the erle of Southfolke and he *with* ten
 Persones shulde holde the iustes agayn all men

Of Englysshe, Frenssh, or any other nacion
 Thre days fully to gette thaym so a name;
 Bot whan the kynge of it had so relacion
 2915 Forbadde it than, lesse envy, wrath, and grame
 Shulde ryse betuyx the nacions so for fame,
 Wharfore thay iuste with other echone at wyll
 As thay myght mete vnknow whom thay ran tyll.

The kynge Henry dyd feste the kyng and quene
 2920 Of Fraunce with all the rials thare present,
 And lordes all and gentels all bydene;
 So dyd the quene by his comaundement
 Dyd festay than the ladyse that wer gent,
 That thar aboute wer knowe ourwhare, or sene
 2925 In better wyse than ther afor had bene.

How þe kynge *and* þe quene Katerine cam home into Englonde, *and* made þe duke of Clarence his lieutenant in Fraunce *and* Sir Gilbert Vmfrevile marchall, *and* þe lorde Crumwell keper of the kinge of Fraunce *and* þe quene.

Than came he home and brought with hym the quene
 Tyll Englonde so with ioy and grete honoure,
 And of all Fraunce regent he made, I wene,
 His brother duke of Clarence and gouernoure,
 2930 With whom he lefte to bene his counseloure,
 The Vmfrevyle, Crumwell, and Gray for treste,
 For grete manhode and wytte that in thaim reste.

[f. 214r]

And Vmframvyle he made marchall of Fraunce
 By patent so for wytte and eloquence,
 2935 For hardyment and all gode gouernaunce,
 Whiche he afore had fonde in his prudence;
 And with hym home came than in his presence
 The dukes two of Bedford and Gloucette,
 Whiche ther haue lefte hym had bene mekell bettere.

How the duke of Clarence toke the felde at Bawgy agayn the powere of Fraunce, *and* þe erles of Boughan, of Douglas, *and* of Wygtoun of Scotlond, *and* was slayn *and* Sir Gilbert Vmfreuile, Sir Iohn, *and* þe lorde Ros, *with* many other, *and* þe erles of Huntynghoun *and* of Somerset taken prisoners.

2940 In this mene-while, whils he in Englonde bode,
 On Esterne euen, the nynte yer than certayne
 So of his regne, the duke of Clarence rode,
 Whom no man myght recounsyle, ne restrayne,
 So hasty was his wyll to that derayne,
 2945 By counsayll of Andrewe, fals Lumbarde,
 That was his spy bytrayed hym thiderwarde,

Enformyng hym that with lytyll powere
 He shulde take than the rials all of Fraunce
 Full sodenly whare thay bene all in fere;
 2950 Wharfore he toke the felde with smale pusaunce
 At Bawgy so, whar he on that suraunce
 Was slayne that day and wolde take none advyse,
 Ne no counsayle of men wer holden wyse.

How Sir Gilbert Vmfreuyle *and* Sir Iohn Gray answerd *and* counsaylde the duke of Clarence whan thay came to hym.

2955 With angry wordes Sir Gylbert Vmframvyle
 Hym wolde fro that purpose than haue refreyned,
 Syr Iohn Gray als with tonge as thay couthe fyle,

Whom he answerde he wolde nocht be restrayned
 By none of thaym, with heuy loke disdeyned,
 And bad thaym fle whare so thay wolde agayne,
 2960 For he wolde holde his purpose forth certayne.

To whom thay bothe whan that thay se no better
 With knyghtly wordes thay answerde hym no doute,
 ‘To youre noblesse mor semyng wer and swettere
 To seruen God this holy feste deuoute
 2965 Than rials seke of Fraunce with lityll route.
 We counsayle yowe abyde your men awhile
 That come behynde yit fro yow by fyve myle’.

He sayde to thaym agayne with egre chere,
 ‘I se yow ferde, byde ye whare so ze wyll,
 2970 And saue yourself by tyme with that powere
 That come behynde, lesse enmyse do you kyll.’
 Of angry hert thay answerde hym vntyll,
 As knyghtes shulde that were of hiegh corage,
 ‘Whan we two herde and knewe of this vyage

[f. 214v]
 2975 With oure hansmen sped vs to your presence,
 Without powere betuiyx vs both ten men,
 Bot forto fle so fro your excellence,
 And leue yow here amonge your enmyse then,
 And cowardly away fro yow to ren;
 2980 Ye shall neuer say of your hiegh worthihode
 That euer we fled on felde whar ye abode’.

So chydyng forth thay came vnto Bawgy,
 Whan than the erles of Boughan and Wygton
 Of Scotlonde and Frenssh lordes opynly
 2985 Mustred and light vpon the felde, than don
 Enbataylde stronge to fighte all redy bon;
 Whare than thay slewe the duke so of Clarence,
 Vmframvyle als, and Gray with violence,

The lorde Roos eke, and *Sir* Iohn of Lumley,
 2990 With many mo of manfull hardy knyghtes
 Vndyr hys banere wer dede and slayne away.
 And ther were take that day so in that fightes
 To prisoners and led away forth rightes
 The erles two, forsoth, of Somersette
 2995 And Huntyngdon, withouten any lette.

Bot after so our men began increse,
 The dede bodyse thay reskowde and brought away,
 And beried thaym in place, withoute lese,

Whare as thay knew thayr aunceters so lay;
 3000 The Roos so than, the Vmframvyle, and Gray,
 To Englonde than, with the duke of Clarence,
 Wer brought and beried with grete reuerence.

The erles Douglas and Dunbarre were fayne to come to London to take a trewe of the kynge, so Sir Robert Vmfreuyle had wasted thayre londes *and* brent.

The erles Douglas and Dunbarre with feruence
 To Londoun came, and toke a trewe full able,
 3005 And keped was withoute grete violence
 For bothe remes that was full profytable,
 And to thaym bothe was full acceptable
 So that the londes on ayther syde was plesed,
 And Marchers all thar with full wele were esed.

The kynge þan wente to Fraunce *and* lafte þe quene *with* childe in Englund.

3010 The kynge than wente to Fraunce agayn anone,
 With heuy herte anoyed for that chaunce,
 Leuyng the quene in Englund childe bygone,
 And at Paryse so made his ordynaunce
 And layde assege, with al-kyns suffyshaunce,
 3015 To Mows in Bry, whiche by conuencion
 He gatte and had, as made is mencyon.

[f. 215r]

Than gatte the kynge þe castel of Parfount, and þe cyte of Cumpyne, Cessons, Bray, Crayle, *and* Owsare, *and* many other cytes *and* castels.

The castell than of Parfount so he wan,
 A riall place of all that men haue sene,
 The grete cyte of Cumpyne also than
 3020 By sege he gatte, and hadde than so I wene;
 The cytes als of Cessouns, as I mene,
 Of Bray, and Crayle, and also of Owsare,
 With many mo cytes and castels thare.

And than he cam agayn vnto Paryse,
 3025 In his castell of Louer with expectance,
 Abydyng thar a while by gode advyse,
 Whare tythandes came to hym of hiegh plesance,
 By womanly and femynyne obseruance
 The quene was of the prynce delyuerde,
 3030 Of whiche the lettre was to the kynge thare lyuerde.

For wiche the kynge gafe to the messagere
 Full grete rewarde of hys worthynesse,
 As riall prynce that than so had no pere

That semed nought to gefe in suche case lesse
 3035 Than satte vnto his rial hiegh noblesse,
 For to a prynce euermore accordeth ryghte
 Riall rewarde to giffe and for to hyghte.

No doute was it the messenger gatte gode
 Tho tythandes brought amonge tho hiegh estates,
 3040 Of grete rychesse bothe gown, and hayke, and hode,
 So lyked thaym tho glad embassiates,
 And golde ynowth also withouten rates,
 To fynde hym on whils that his lyfe myght dure,
 So wer thay glad than of that auenture.

Nota how the cyte of Parys obeyed to Kyng Henry by the conuencioun made at Troys in Chaumpayne.

3045 Parise vnto Kyng Henry hole obeyed,
 Seynt Dynyse als, and castell Boys Vyncent,
 Corbell also, and Pount Melake apayed,
 To bene his men foreuere in gode intent,
 Grete parte of Fraunce so to hym than assent;
 3050 Troys, in Champayne, with all the towns aboute,
 Burgoyne, Arteys, and Pykardy thurghoute.

Than rode þe kyng to Bawgy, and to Orlyence, distroyande the rebels and wan cytese and castels many in his way.

Than rode the kyng to Bawgy and Orlyence,
 Dystroyng hole the rebels in his way,
 And cytese wan, and castels of defence,
 3055 In his vyage with pride and grete array.
 Bot fro that rode he came than sone away,
 And fore the quene he sent, to whom she came
 In godely haste she myght with ioy and game.

[f. 215v]

The kyng wan Crypy, Lawnes, Millee, Nugent le Roy, Pount Sharentoun. The duke of Bretayne, and þe count Seynt Poule, and other lordes cam his men.

Crypy, Lawnesse he wan, and eke Millee,
 3060 Nugent le Roy, and als Pount Sharenton;
 The duke also of Bretayne than for fee,
 His men became withouten rebellyon,
 The count Seynt Poule, with all his garyson,
 And all his myght was sworne to hym be trewe,
 3065 And many mo that to his hieghnesse drewe

For regent hole of Fraunce and herytere,
 Thay hym obeyed in all his regymence

Duryng the lyfe of Charles, his fadyr dere,
 That than was kynge by his benyvolence,
 3070 After whose lyfe the croune with all regence
 Of Fraunce to haue to hym and to his hayres,
 Withoute lettynge of thaym or yit of thayres.

**How the kynge fell seke, made his devyse, and dyed at Boys Vyncent, leuyng the
 kynge and quene of Fraunce þe lord Cromwell, þaire Gouvernour and keper.**

Genyus, god of all humayne nature,
 No thyng myght stretche his lyfe forto solace,
 3075 So att repose by cruell coniecture
 The threde of lyfe in mydde dyd breke and race,
 Whiche Lathesis had sponne and gan out lace,
 Parcas systres amonge whom suche envye
 Es: what oon spynth, the tother breketh in hy.
 3080 So than the deth anone hym dyd assayle
 With peynes stronge that he ne myght endure
 Ne farrer fle, his body to prevayle,
 Bot oonly to the erthe and sepulture,
 Whiche is the kynde of all fleshy fygure
 3085 And kyndely place agayne forto retorne
 Whan that the soule with God shall euer soiorne.

Afore his deth he had his sacrementes
 In all hole fayth and Cristen hole creance,
 And of his londes made sure establismentes
 3090 To bene gouvernde after his ordynaunce,
 To tyme his sonne had age and gouernaunce
 To reule thaym all by wysdome and manhede;
 Whose age so than thre quarters nocht excede;

Of whom he made his keper and custode
 3095 Of Excestre the duke, Beauford, men kende,
 To gouerne hym in al-kyns worthihode,
 As to suche prynce of reson shuld appende,
 Tyll that his age to gouvernerne couth pretende,
 His remes two of Englund and of Fraunce
 3100 And other londes that ow hym obeysshance.

[f. 216r]

The duke also his brothere of Bedforde
 He made regent of Fraunce and Normandy,
 The Muntagu, manly of dede and worde,
 That erle was than called of Salesbyry,
 3105 The erle also of Suffolke full manly,
 With lordes fele to his estate attende
 In all that myght to gode reule ought extende.

Of Auguste than the laste day so byfell,
 This noble prynce regnyng in his tenth yere,
 3110 His soule, I trow, thurgh peynes smert and fell
 That slew his corse went to the blysse full clere,
 As by his werkes it doth right wele appere,
 That loued euere in Cristen fayth and lawe,
 Kepyng the pese in all his londes thurgh awe.

3115 So dyed he than in Fraunce at Boys Vyncent,
 Whare he had in his reule and gouernance
 Syr Charles, kyng of Fraunce, in gode intent,
 And Isabell, the quene, to that fynance,
 Thayr hiegh estates to kepe in all surance
 3120 Tyll deth thaym toke, that after dyed anone
 For thought thay had fro he was fro thaym gone.

**How þe quene, the kyng of Scottes, the duke off Excestre, with other lordes,
 broght home þe kynges bones to Londoun.**

The quene so than of Englund, Kateryne,
 With knyghtes feel and squyers of gode names,
 With ladyse fayre and maydyns femynyne,
 3125 The kyng also of Scottes that hight *Sir* Iames,
 Thomas Bewforde, that bare that tyme grete fames,
 That duke was than of Excester of myght,
 This kynges bones to Englund brought than right.

Wyth worship grete and holy exequyse
 3130 Ay whare thay lay grete almouise and expense
 Thay gafe eche day in gode and deuoute wyse,
 And beried hym with moste hiegh reuerence
 At Westmynster, whare by his provydence
 Laste beyng thare devysed his sepulture
 3135 Lyke Edwarde fyrste withouten depycture.

**The compleynt *and* lamentacioun of the maker of thys for the kynges dethe, with
 commendacioun of his gouernance.**

O gode Lorde God, why lete thou so sone passe
 This noble prynce, that in all Cristente
 Had than no pere in no londe more ne lesse?
 So excellent was his fortunyte
 3140 In florishyng age of all fressh iuente,
 That myght haue lete hym leue to gretter age
 Tyll he had hole reioysed his herytage

[f. 216v]

Of Fraunce, all hole Guyen and Normandy,
 Whiche thre were his of olde enheritaunce,
 3145 And Angoy eke of full olde auncetry,
 As cronyclers haue made remembraunce;
 For he was sette with myghty grete pusaunce
 To conquere than the londe of all Surry,
 That ys the londe of byheest *proprely*.

3150 To whiche he than, and eke the *emperoure*,
 Accorded were, withoute colusion,
 To Criste, Goddes sonne, to gyffe thair hole labour
 Fro tyme that thay myght make an vnyon
 Betuyx Englonde and Fraunce by gode reson,
 3155 With helpe of other londes that wolde assent
 To that vyage and conquest excellent.

O gode Lorde God that knew his hertes intent,
 That was so sette for soules remysson
 To thyne honoure by his attendement
 3160 To conuerte so that londe of *promysson*,
 Or elles it sette by Cristes hole *permysson*
 With Cristen folke, faylyng thair conuersion
 For thair foly and thayre *peruersion*,

O verry Lorde, that arte omnipotent,
 3165 What hath Englonde so felly the offende,
 This noble prynce, pierlesse of regyment,
 To ravysshe so fro vs withouten ende?
 O Lorde, who shall Englund now defende,
 Seth he is gone that was our hiegh iustyse
 3170 For whom none durste his neyghbor than supprise?

Aboue all thyng he kept the lawe and pese
 Thurgh all Englonde, that none insurreccion
 Ne no riotes than wer withouten lese,
 Ne neyghbours werre in fawte of his correccion;
 3175 Bot pesybly vndyr his proteccion
 Complayntes of wronge alway in generall
 Refourmed were so vndyr his yerde egall.

Whan he in Fraunce dayly was conuersaunt
 His shadow so abowmbred all Englonde
 3180 That pese and lawe wer kept contynuant
 In his absence full wele thurgh all the londe
 And elles, as I can sayne and vndyrstonde,
 His power had bene lyte to conquerre Fraunce
 Nor other reme that were wele lasse *perchaunce*.

[f. 217r]

3185 The pese at home and law so wele conserued
 Were rote and hede of all his grete conqueste,
 Whiche exilde bene away and foule ouerterned
 In so ferr forthe that north, and south, and weste,
 And este, also is now full lytill reste,
 3190 Bot day and nyght in euery shire thurghoute
 With salades bright and iakkes make grete route.

O souereyne lorde, take hede of this meschefe,
 That regnyth now in londe so generaly;
 Such ryottours sende after by your brefe
 3195 And prison so the partyse opynly,
 And raumson thaym els ys no remedy,
 And seurte take of thaym, afore 3e cese,
 With thayr neygbours forth-ward to ber the pese,

Enrolled in your courte of chauncelry
 3200 Thar to abyde for alway of recorde,
 For your iustyse of pese darr noght reply
 Suche tyrauntes that *per*teyne to any lorde,
 For parseners thay bene of suche discorde;
 Or els thay ere the comon barectours,
 3205 Or of suche folyse the pryuy manteynours,

Or els thay bene so symple of estate
 The malefesours by law to iustify,
 Or els thay bene with fe so alterate
 That thay darr noght agayn suche tyranny
 3210 By thayre office so do no remedy,
 Iustyse of pese thay bene, as I deme can,
 As nowondays men call the blacke oxe swan.

Bot o gode lorde, be ye the chefe iustyse
 Of pese thurghoute your londe as for a yere
 3215 Withoute faououre or grace to excersyse
 Your offyce wele after your hiegh power,
 And ye shall wyn heuyn to your mede full clere,
 And rychesse als of fynes for thayr outrage
 That suche riote do make on your homage.

3220 And at the leeste ye may sende hem ouer se
 To kepe your right in Fraunce and Normandy,
 Thayr hiegh corage to spende and iolyte
 In sauyng of your noble regaly;
 For better is ther thair manly vyctory
 3225 Than her eche day with grete malyvolence
 Make neygbours werr with myghty violence.

[f. 217v]

Men chastyse ofte grete coursours by hakenayse,
And writhe the wande while it is yonge and grene.

Therefore whare so er any suche affrayse

- 3230 For bothe partyse sende forth to come, I mene,
To your presence riall whar so ye bene,
And putte thaim in suche reule and gouernaunce,
Than men shall drede youre wytte and gouernaunce.

II Capitulum

Henry sexte, kynge of Englonde and of Fraunce, and lorde offe Irelonde, duke of Normandy, Guyen, and of Aungeoy, corounde at Paryse and at Londoun.

Henry, his sonne, than nocht thre quarters olde,

- 3235 That borne was at Seynt Nycholas day afore
At Wyndesore so, as God almyghty wolde,
Vnto the croune succede, as he was bore
Of Englonde hole to holde for euermore;
The duke, his eme, of Gloucester than wolde
3240 Haue had kepyng of hym wolde who or nolde,

Bot lordes all wolde nocht to it consent;

For whiche he dyd than opynly desire

Protectour bene, to whiche thay dyd assent

And graunte hym fe therfor, who wyll inqyre,

- 3245 For drede he shulde no more aske, ne requyre,
And of counsayle for chief and souereyn
Honourde he was of whiche he was full fayne.

Of Excestre the duke was his custode,

And kepar of his corse in tendre age,

- 3250 Who dyed so that office of worthihode;

After whom than all the baronage

Dyd chese the erle of Warwyke that was sage.

Than dyed forsothe the kyng and quene of Fraunce,

Of whiche the kyng had than enheritaunce.

Nota quod cronica istius Henrici regis in isto libro contenta patet in dicta cronica magistri Norham, et secundum hoc quod compiler huius libri vidit et concepit.

- 3255 The duke, his eme, of Bedford was regent
Of Fraunce so forth, and wele therin was loued;
The erle also of Salesbiry verrament,
The erle also of Suffolke wele approued,
Who to manhode the regent alway moued,
3260 And suche counsayle hym gafe as was avayle
For his honour and eke his gouernayle,

And many fayre iornay thay made indede

In tendre age of that innocent kyng,
 With other lordes that came to thaym at nede
 3265 That wele vphelde his right aboue all thyng,
 Through grete manhode that in thaym ay gan spryng,
 Tyll that he came vnto seuen yer of age,
 And wysdome had to clayme his heritage

[f. 218r]

**How the kyng went into Fraunce *and* was corounde at Parys of VIII zere age, in
 þe seuent zere of his regne.**

That he went ouer the se in speciall
 3270 To Paryse than, whare his fadyrs eme,
 Of Wynchester bisshop and cardynall,
 So crowned hym for kyng of all that reme,
 And hym anoynte with holy oyle and creme,
 As dyd appende vnto suche ryalte,
 3275 In all maner of hiegh solempnyte.

At whiche tyme so thar at his coronacion
 Ryals of Fraunce to hym thar made homage.
 The lorde Crumwell had ther the ocupasion
 That chambyrleyn was than in that vyage,
 3280 Who worthy is haue thanke by all knoulage
 For he so wele that offyce occupyed,
 And all seruyce riall thare notyfyed.

How the kyng was corounde at Westminster at his commynge home.

The kyng came home to Englonde than certayne
 And corounde was at Westmynster full fayre.
 3285 The lorde Cromwell discharged than agayne,
 That worthily amonge the grete repayre
 At Parys so, withoute any dispayre,
 Hys office dyd in suche a worthy wyse
 That euery man þare thought it dyd suffyse.

3290 The God aboue, in crone omnipotent,
 So wele tho tymes than had afore provyde
 From other tymes, that all the fyrmament
 Of rayne and myste wer fully clarifyde,
 And fraunchised hole from foule hayre and devyde,
 3295 Both Paryse and London, by dylectacions,
 Halowed the festes of bothe coronacions.

**How the duke of Bedford, regent of Fraunce, the erle of Salesbyry, *and* þe erle of
 Suffolke, faught *with* the erles of Boughan, Douglas, *and* of Wigtoun, at Vernoyll
 in Perche, *and* had þe feelde; the batayll offe Vernoylle in Perche.**

The erle of Bowghan of Scotlonde with powere,
 And als the erle of Douglas Archebalde,
 The erle his sonne of Wygton als in fere,
 3300 With Frensshe, and Scottes, and other manyfalde
 Than at Vernoyle in Perche, as God it walde,
 Faught with the duke of Bedforde, than regent
 Of Fraunce so fayre that had the regyment;

Whare with hym ware the erle of Salesbyry,
 3305 The Mountagu, that bare that tyme grete fame,
 The erle also of Southfolke full manly,
 That of manhode that tyme bare noble name,
 The lorde Scales full manly with thaim came,
 So dyd also the lorde of Wyloughby,
 3310 With many other of noble chyualry;

[f. 218v]

Whare Englisshe lordes had all the vycory,
 The Frensshe and Scottes in batayle borne all don
 And slayne were thare togedyr in company;
 The Englisshe wolde take no redempcion,
 3315 Bot slaughter grete and stronge p^reempcion
 Of Frensshe and Scottes that day, withoute pytee,
 And bad thaim thynke alway vpon Bawgee.

**How Mountagu, þe erle of Salesbiry, layde sege to Orlvence, whare he was slayne
 wyth a quarell.**

Than after this the erle of Salesbery
 With power grete leyde sege to Orlvence,
 3320 After he had wonne grete lawde and vycory
 In many place by worthy diligence,
 And worship grete had thurgh his excellence;
 Whar slayne he was as wolde the ende of fate
 With a quarell smyten infortunate.

How the duke of Bedford, regent of Fraunce, gouerned till he dyed.

The regent so of Fraunce, by gode advyse
 Of lordes, dyd reule that londe full pesybly
 As Duke Philip of Burgoyne couth devyse,
 Whose sister than the regent wed forthy,
 To noryse loue betuix thaim stedfastly,
 3330 Whose syster als the duke of Bretayn wedde,
 Thurgh whiche lyaunce the regent was mor dredde.

So all his life he kepte that londe in pese
 With grete honoure vnto his souereyn lorde,
 And worship had aboue all other no lese

3335 In Fraunce alway, and regent of recorde;
 In whose tyme so ther was no more discorde,
 Bot loue, and reste, and esy gouernaunce,
 Duryng his lyfe in Normandy and Fraunce.

Than dyed his wyfe, for whiche he wed agayn
 3340 The syster of the counte Seynt Poule of Fraunce,
 The kynges lege man that to hym dyd obayn
 With all seruyce and humble trew lyaunce,
 Who thurgh counsayle and his gode gouernaunce
 The londes kept tyll deth hym toke away,
 3345 For whose soule yit the Frenshe men alway pray.

**How the erle of Warwyke kepte Normandy after decese of þe duke of Bedford;
 and aftir þe erle of Warwyk, the duke of Burgoyne a zere regent of Fraunce.**

Than was the erle of Warwyke thidyr sent,
 And gouernde wele and wysely many day,
 Tyll deth hym toke, withouten argument,
 Within shorte tyme out of this worlde away.
 3350 For whiche so than the counsayls both no nay
 Of Englonde and of Fraunce by oon advyse,
 Dyd trete the duke of Burgoyne in suche wyse

[f. 219r]

That he was made regent of Fraunce so than,
 For certayne fee fully than accorded,
 3355 Who reulde it wele and was the kynges man
 Duryng his terme, as all men so recorded;
 Bot after so his terme he than concorded
 With the dolphyn agayne the kynge to bene,
 And woxe vntrewe, as afterwarde was sene.

**How the duke Philip of Burgoyne seged Caleys, and how it was reskowed by
 Englishe.**

3360 Syr Iohn Rattecliffe, leutenaunt of Calays,
 Dyd certyfy the counsayle newe and newe
 How that the duke of Burgoyne made allways
 His ordynaunce, and to Flaunders drewe,
 Caleys to sege; the whiche fell after trewe,
 3365 Wharfore the erle of Mortayn thedyr yede,
 The lorde Camoys, also of grete manhode,

Wyth gode meyny forto refressh the ton,
 And thare abode tyll that the sege was layde,
 And tyll the duke of Burgoyne, that felon,
 3370 His bastell sette the town to haue affrayde,
 And Marke and Oye fouly he disarayed,

And caste thaym doun and Sandgate eke no nay,
And to Caleys he went it to affray.

How the duke of Gloucetre and the southern lordes were commynge on þe se to reskow Caleys.

3375 Bot than the duke of Gloucestr, Vmfray,
Protector was with myghty grete navy
With all the lordes that wer by south that day,
And all the hole southerne chyualry,
Vpon the see saylyng came myghtyly
It to reskowe and with hym forto fight,
3380 For to defende and kepe the kynges right.

How the duke of Burgoyne trumped vp, and went hys way from Caleys.

Thurgh whiche comforte whan thay oure sayles se,
The erle than of Mortayne at all his myght,
And eke the lorde Camoys, that walde nocht fle
Ouer the bastell with soudyours gan to fight,
3385 And full knyghtly it gatte and toke it right,
The duke Philip of Burgoyne seand thatte,
And how oure flete the londe vpon hym gatte,

He trumped vp and yede away with shame;
The sege so brake thurgh fere so of our flete
3390 More honour had hym tyd haue bene at hame,
Than so haue fled and durste our hoste nocht mete;
Some sayde he was ther casten vndyr fete
And dede away, and som men sayde for thought
He was distracte, and in a fransy brought.

[f. 219v]

3395 Bot than the duke of Gloucester in hy
To Calays came, and forth hostyng so rode,
Thurghoute the syde of Flaunders, next Pykardy,
Distroyng it whare no man hym abode,
So dred thay sore his corage and manhode;
3400 And home so than agayne thurgh Pykardy
With grete honoure and all the victory.

How Iames, kyng of Scotte, seged Roxburgh and remewed whan he herde of þe erles commyng of Northumberlonde with a more myghty hoste.

In that same tyme the Scottes kyng, Sir Iames,
With all the floure of Scotlonde came forth ryght
To Rokesburgh than, me nede nocht tell thayr names,
3405 And layde a sege of men of armes bright.
Syr Rauf Gray than within, the captayn hight,

That kept in wele as he had take on honde
 Tyll the wardayne, erle of Northumbyrlonde,

Was comyng with forpassyng powere
 3410 With all the floure of northerne chyualry;
 Of whiche whan that the kyng had knowlache clere
 He trumped vp and home he rode in hy,
 Withouten harme off ayther parte treuly;
 Bot than the erle into Scotlonde so wente
 3415 With that power the contrey stroyed and brente.

And home he came with honoure and vyctory,
 Withoute harme or losse of any man,
 So hole fortune was contributory
 To his manhode, as wele approued than
 3420 Who sawe euer afor or yit tell kan,
 Whare suche two hertes of so grete multitude
 Forsoke thaire sege *with* suche humylitude.

The maker sayth here his consayte touchant periury in a prynce for þe remewynge of þe sege of Caleys and Roxburgh.

Bot thus, I trewe, thay wer both two forswore,
 The kyng of Scottes, the duke of Burgoyne eke,
 3425 That thay ne durste on no grounde byde, therefore
 Thair vntreuth made thair hertes faynte and seke,
 Truste neuer thair hertes, *ore* manhode, worth a leke
 That vncompelde ere forsworne wylfully
 Shall neuer byfall honour, ne vyctory.

3430 Take hede all men of these grete prynces two
 What came of thaym in shorte tyme *after* this,
 The tone murdred at home in Scotlonde so,
 The tother wodde or elles wytlesse is,
 Whiche thurgh vengeance byfell thaym for thair mys,
 3435 For neuer after had thay honour in felde,
 Bot fled away as cowardes vndyr shelde.

[f. 220r]

Allas a prynce shulde haue suche cowardyse
 To bene vntrewe, or falsen his byheste,
 Seth he nede nocht bene false in any wyse
 3440 So stretcheth ay his power at the leest
 Hys treuth to kepe, and eke his fo arreste
 With strengthe of sworde to make hym holde his treuth,
 Bot cowardyse it lette or feerfull sleuthe.

How the erle of Stafford kepte Normandy than.

Bot *after* that the erle of Stafforde went
 3445 With power grete to kepe than Normandy.
 Two yere, I trowe, by all the lordes assent,
 He kepte it wele and had grete thanke forthy
 On the enmyse had he grete vyctory;
 And some came home with grete loue and honoure
 3450 For trew seruyce he dyd and his labourē.

How þe erle of Huntyngdoun kepte Normandy.

And *after* that the erle of Hu[nt]yngdon
 Was thider sent, who dyd his trew seruyce
 To kepe that londe treuly vnto the croune
 With grete power so than from all enmyse,
 3455 Who was full lothe to take any suppryse,
 And at his terme came home with mekyll loue,
 And wedded was and richely sette aboue.

How þe duke of Yorke kepte Normandy.

Than *after* so the duke of Yorke, than 3ynge,
 Theder was sent with grete power riall,
 3460 And regent was of all longe to the kynge,
 And kepte that londe full wele in generall,
 And in his domes was full trew and egall,
 And wele mayntened the kynges heritage
 Seuen yer thare with worthy vassalage.
 3465 By this tyme was the kyng at his full age,
 And more aboue as shewyth by his date,
 And reulyng wele his reme and baronage,
 To Goddes plesaunce so is he fortunate,
 By gode counsayle electe and ordynate
 3470 That spende thayre wytte defautes to correcte,
 By whiche the kynge his reme dyd wele protecte.

III Capitulum

How the makere of þis commendeth his maystir Sir Robert Vmfreuile, and, by exemple of his gude reule, to enforme the kynge to kepe þe publike profite of his reme and *with* pees and lawe.

In this mene-tyme Sir Robert Vmframvyle,
 That was my lorde distilde by kynde nature,
 Thruh besy age, right as I can compile,
 3475 To suche waykenesse he might no more endure,
 Bot fell so in his grave and sepulture
 Thruh cruell deth that wyll foreber no wyght,

Whom so afore that neuer man conquere myght.

[f. 220v]

Thof my body here be a symple wyght,
 3480 Abydyng at the wyll omnipotent,
 My herte with hym shal be bothe day and nyght
 To pray for hym with all my hole intent.
 A beter lorde, I trow, God neuer yit sent
 Into the north of all gode sapience,
 3485 Ne so helply with knygh[t]ly diligence.

Ne contekour he was in his cuntre,
 Nore neuer drewe swerde, ne knyfe, to Englyshman,
 Ne riotour, ner neuer made assemble
 Agayn neyghbour that any man tell kan.
 3490 The comonte he halpe and neuer ouerran;
 A trew iustyse of pese in his cuntre
 He was alway withouten parcyalte.

A beter knyght was neuer in that cuntre
 To kepe the trewes whils that it dyd endure;
 3495 With costage grete eche wouke in sertaynte,
 Days of redresse to euery creature,
 To Scottes he helde, and Englyssh als full sure;
 Who so complaynde of ought it was reformed,
 So godelyly to pese he hym conformed.

In so ferr forth his iugementes wer approued
 That Scottes feel byyonde the Scottysse see
 Thar own iugges forsoke as hole reprocud,
 And by assent to Berwyke came, I se,
 And bonde thaym thar to stonde to his decre,
 3505 And plesed were with all his iugymentes,
 So rightwyse was his reule and regymentes.

Wyth couetyse he was neuer 3yt infecte,
 Nore key of lok kepte neuer in his possession,
 Iewell, ne golde, so was he hole protecte
 3510 With gentyll herte by his discession.
 Comon profyte withoute oppression
 Was his labour and all his diligence
 In pese and werre with hole benyvolence.

Bot noght forethy whan enmyse gafe vp pese,
 3515 And it away with werre had hole exiled,
 As lyon fell he putte hym forth in prese,
 The werre maynteynde and kepte hym vnrevylde.

3485 knyghtly] knyghly MS.

What so men gat couetyse nocht hym fylde,
 The wynners had it all withoute suppryse;
 3520 For whiche the folke were glad to his seruyse

[f. 221r]

And with hym rode alway euer at his wyll,
 So hole he had thair hertes to hym inclyned.
 What so he wolde the londe assent hym tyll,
 His language so thair hertes medycyned,
 3525 So benygne was and trewe, it vndyrmyned
 Thair hertes hole to loue hym at thair myght,
 And go with hym whar as he went to fight.

Of the Garter full eght and thretty yere
 He was a knyght electe for worthihode,
 3530 Whan his lyfelode exceded nocht all clere
 An hundreth marke to leue vpon indede,
 Bot oonly of the werres thurgh his manhede,
 Yit helde he than a countenaunce and estate
 With hym that was a baron nomynate.

His seruantz wolde he nocht rebuke, ne chide,
 Bot softely say to hym in pryuyte
 All his defaute and as his preest it hide;
 And whan thay stale his gode that he dyd se
 He wolde it layne fro his other meynne,
 3540 And nocht repreue hym more in any wyse,
 So was he kynde withouten couetyse.

An hardyer knyght was neuere none gette ne bore,
 For at my dome he was neuere yit aferde;
 Nore wyser knyght forto devyse afore
 3545 The fetes of werre, with whiche he had conquerde
 His foose full ofte and made thaym many averde;
 Nor frear knyght of herte was none, I gesse,
 So he want nocht he count by no rychesse.

A clenner knyght of his leuyng was none
 3550 In all degre withouten vice detecte,
 And as of treuth he myght be sette allone.
 His worde so sadde was wele and euer protecte,
 With variance yit that it was neuer infecte,
 In so ferre forthe his fose had delectacion
 3555 Mor in his worde than neighbours obligacion.

Of sapyence, and verry gentylnesse,
 Of lyberall herte, and knyghtly gouernaunce,
 Of hardyment, of treuth, and grete gladnesse,
 Of honeste myrth, withoute any greuaunce,

3560 Of gentyll bourdes, and knyghtly daliaunce
 He hath no make, I darr right wele avowe.
 Now is he gone, I may nocht glose hym nowe.

[f. 221v]

His vertuse dygne so hole were and plenerē
 That thay hym made so excellent in all,
 3565 That fortune sattu hym on hir whele so clere
 At his devyse and wolde neuer latte hym fall;
 Ne his honoure she suffred neuer appall,
 Bot euer hir whele tyll hym she dyd apply
 That of his fose he had ay vycory.

3570 And yit he faught vndyr his own banere,
 And what also vndyrnethe his penon,
 Eghtene tymes agayne the kynges fose clere
 In socour of the kynges region,
 And nothyng for his own opynyon,
 3575 Bot in defence of all the comonte,
 Marchyng so with the Scottes in his contre.

**How the kyng shulde reule moste specialy the comon profyte of his reme with
 pese and lawe aftir Sir Robert Vmfreuile.**

Treuly he was a iewell for a kyng
 In wyse consayle and knyghtly dede of werre;
 For comon profyte aboue all other thyng
 3580 He helped, euer was nothyng to hym derre,
 In werr and pese comoun profyte he dyd *preferre*,
 Fore that poynt passed neuer out of his mynde,
 Which poynt he sayde shuld longe a kyng of kynde.

Wharfor to yow, moste souereyn prynce and lorde,
 3585 It sytteth wele that poynte to execute
 The comon wele and verry hool concorde,
 That none ouerrenne your comons ne rebute,
 And kepe your lawe as it is constytute,
 And chastyse hem that market-dassehers bene
 3590 In euery shir that now of new er sene.

In euery shire, with iakkes and salades clene,
 Missereule doth ryse and maketh neyghbours werr;
 The wayker gothe benethe, as ofte ys sene,
 The myghtyest his quarell wyll preferr,
 3595 That pore mennes cause er putte on bakke full ferr,
 Whiche thurgh the pese and law wele conserued
 Might bene amende, and thanke of God deserued.

Thay kyll zoure men alway by one and one,

And who say ought he shal be bette doutlesse;
 3600 For in your reme iustyse of pese bene none
 That darr ought now the contekours oppresse;
 Suche sekeneſſe now hath take thaym and accesse,
 Thay wyll nocht wytte of ryot, ne debate,
 So comon is it now in eche estate.

[f. 222r]

Principiis obsta ne deterius contingat.

3605 Bot thus I drede full sore, withouten gabbe,
 Of suche riottes shall ryse a more mescheve,
 And through the sores vnheled wyll brede a skabbe
 So grete that may nocht bene restreynt in breue.
 Wharfore, gode lorde, iff ye wyll gyffe me leue,
 3610 I wolde say thus vnto your excellence,
 Withstonde the firste mysreule and violence.

Wythstonde, gode lorde, begynnyng of debate,
 And chastyse well also the ryotours
 That in eche shire bene now consociate
 3615 Agayn youre pese, and all thair mayntenours.
 For treuly els wyll fall the fayrest flours
 Of your coroune and noble monarchy,
 Whiche God defende and kepe through his mercy.

Who prayeth yow for any contekoure,
 3620 Whether he be duke, erle, or other estate,
 Blame hym as fore the verry mayntenoure
 Of suche mysreule, contecte and eke debate;
 Whiche elles youre lawe wolde chastyse and abate,
 If mayntenours wolde suffre it haue the course
 3625 That playntyffs myght to lawe haue thayre recourse.

The lawe is lyke vnto a Walshmannes hose
 To eche mannes legge that shapen is and mete;
 So mayntenours subuerte it and transpose,
 Thurgh myght it is full low layde vndyre fete,
 3630 And mayntnanse vp instede of law complete,
 All, if lawe wolde, thyng were by right reuersed,
 For mayntenours it may nocht bene rehersed.

Consyder nowe, moste gracious souereyn lorde,
 In this trefyſe how long your auncetry
 3635 In welthe and hele regned of hiegh recorde
 That keped pese and law contynuly;
 And thynke thay ere of all your monarchy
 The fayrest floures and hieghest of empryse,

3612 begynnyng] *there is an additional minim after the double n in the manuscript.*

And sounest wyll your foreyn foos suppryse.

3640 Consyder als, in this symple tetryse,
 How kynges kept nayther law, ne pese,
 Went sone away in many dyuers wyse
 Withouten thanke of God at thayre decese,
 And noght were dred within ner out no lese,
 3645 Bot in defaute of pese and law conserued
 Distroyed wer, right as thay had deserued.

[f. 222v]

Consider als, most souereyn lorde and prynce,
 In these cronycles that hath bene redde or seyne
 Was neuer no prynce of Bretayns hole provynce
 3650 So yonge as ye were wan ye gan to reyne;
 And thonkes hym, that was so your wardeyne,
 Aboute all thyng that is omnipotent,
 That keped yowe whils ye were innocent.

Consyder als, he that the dyademe
 3655 Of remes two, of Englonde and of Fraunce,
 Vpon youre hede bene sette, as dyd wele seme,
 In tendre age suffred withoute distaunce
 Thurgh pese and lawe and all gode gouernaunce,
 Whiche if ye kepe, ye shall haue vycory
 3660 Shall none gaynstonde your noble monarchy.

Consyder als, moste souereyn erthly lorde,
 Of Frenssh, ne Scottes, ye gette neuer to youre pay
 Any tetry of trews and gode concorde,
 Bot iff it be oonly vndyr youre banere ay,
 3665 Whiche may neuer bene by reson any way,
 Bot iff your reme stonde hole in vnyte
 Conserued wele in pese and equitye;

Than may ye wele and saufly with baner
 Ryde into Fraunce or Scotlonde for your right,
 3670 Whils your rereward in Englonde stondyth cler;
 With you hauyng gode power for to fight
 Vndyr youre banere, the enmyse will yow hight
 Better tetry within a lytill date
 Than in foure yere to youre enbassiate.

III *Capitulum*

**How the makere of this boke compleyneth his greuance and sore to the kyng
 touchant the euydence of the souereynthe of Scotlonde, that he gafe to þe kyng and
 noght rewardid as þe kynges wille was.**

3675 O souereyn lorde, to yow now wyll I mene
 Myne owne erande that greueth me full sore.
 Youre noble fadyr, most famouse, as was sene,
 To me, his pore liege subgyt that was bore
 Iohn Hardyng, so promysed for eueremore
 3680 Fourty pounce by yere of londe assised
 Whare that it myght by reson ben devysed

To holde for ay to me and to myne hayres
 For feute fre of all maner seruyse
 In fe symple to thaym and to all thayres.
 3685 So thought he wele that it wolde me suffyse
 For my labourẽ amonges his enmyse,
 And costage grete, with sore corporall mayme,
 Whiche I may neuer recouer, ne reclayme,

[f. 223r]

For to enquire and seke his euydence
 3690 Of his riall lordship and souereynte
 Of Scotlonde, which longe to his excellence
 Of auntyen tyme ande longe antiquyte,
 And vndyr that that prynce of dignyte,
 Youre fadyr, so gafe me in comaundement
 3695 Scotlonde to spye than after his entent;

How that it myght bene hostayed and distroyed,
 What-kyns passage wer for an hoste to ryde
 Throughtout that londe, with whiche thay myght ben noyed,
 And what toynes stode vpon the este se-side,
 3700 Whare that his flete myght mete hym and abyde
 With his vytayll and all his artelry,
 His hoste to fressh in eche coste by and by.

Whose charges so I labourde bysyly,
 And wrote it all to his intelligence,
 3705 And drew it eke to byde in memory,
 Lyke as he bad me of his sapience,
 And, as me thought, was moste expedyence
 For his noblay to haue that londe conquerde,
 With grete costage I spyed it and enquerde.

3710 Of whiche cuntrey a fygyre nowe depaynte
 To youre noblesse right as my wytte suffyse
 I haue here drawe, whils that this boke remaynte
 To byde with yow and with yow hayres wyse,
 By whiche ye may it hostay and supprise,
 3715 And conquerr it as youre priorite,
 Or by concorde reioyse your souerente.

For whiche lyfelode I pursewed to your grace,
 And vndyrneth your lettres secretary,
 And pryuy sele that longed in that case,
 3720 Ye graunted me to haue *perpetually*
 The maner hole of Gedyngton trewly
 To me and to myne heyres in heritage,
 With membres hole and all othere auauntage.

Bot so was sette your noble chauncellere –
 3725 He wolde nocht suffre I had suche warrison –
 By counsayll of your trusty tresorer,
 That wolde nocht parte with londe ne yit *with* ton,
 Bot rather wolde, er I had Gedyngton,
 That ye shulde lese youre riall soueraynte
 3730 Of Scotlonde, whiche longe to youre rialte.

[f. 223v]

Your patent couth I haue in no-kyns wyse,
 Bot iff I sewed to all youre wyse counsayle,
 To whiche my purse than myght nothyng suffyse,
 Wharfore I yede than home withoute avayle.
 3735 Thus sette thay me all bakkhalf on the tayle,
 And all your grace thay dyd fro me repelle;
 3oure lettres bothe fro me thay dyd cancelle.

Bot vndyrneth your fadyrs magnyfycence
 Thay durst nocht so haue lette his right fall don,
 3740 Ne layde on syde so riall euydence
 Appurtenaunt vnto his riall cron,
 For whiche Kyng Iames vnto my warison
 A thousande marke me hight of Englysshe golde,
 Delyuerde thaym than to hym iff I wolde.

O noble prynce and moste souereyn lorde,
 Mervell yow nocht thof I thus sore compleyne,
 Seth my making stode in his mysericorde,
 That now is dede and all my truste in veyne,
 And no wyght wyll for me ought to yow seyne.
 3750 Your offycers vnfaours his promyse,
 That somtyme wolde haue plesed hym in all wyse.

v *Capitulum*

How the kynge may moste esely conquere Scotlonde, *with* a figure of the londe and the myles fro towne to towne, and whare his flete may vpon euery coste mete hym, begynnyng on the este coste of Scotlond at Berwyk-on-Twede; and how he may charge þe wardayns of Marche to do *with* lesse costages, if he wille abide at home.

And fore als myche as in this depycture,

þat I yowe make, the myles er nocht expressed
 From ton to ton, ne sette in that fygure,
 3755 I write thaym now afore openly impressed
 To your knowlage, that may bene clere adressed,
 To know the space from euery toun to ton,
 And eke what way whether it be fayr or bron.

From Berwyke so to Dunbarr twenty myle,
 3760 And fro Dunbarr as myche to Edinburgh,
 And from thens forth right, as I can compile,
 Vnto Streuelyn, that is the kynges burgh,
 That shire to ryde so westwarde than out thurgh
 Es twenty myle and foure right fayr way,
 3765 Betuyxen Forth and Pentlonde Hylles ay;

Whar all your flete at Lethe may lygge sauflly
 With youre vytayle, whils ye sege Edinburgh,
 And after to Blakenesse, whils that ye ly,
 At Streuelyn so or in that londe thurghoute,
 3770 And won thaym vp bothe castell, toune, and burgh:
 Thus shall youre flete at your necessite
 Bene nere yow ay and drede none enmyte.

[f. 224r]

From Streuelyn so at ouer the *water* of Forth
 Ye shall passe ouere the brigge of Kamskynnell
 3775 And iff thay breke itte than that dwell by north
 Vntyll the forde of Trippes, vndre the fell,
 Ye spede yow than by west thre myle men tell,
 Whare ye may passe vnto Doun in Mentethe,
 That passeth fro that forde thre myle vnnethe.

Nota þat oyghels bene hilles *and* mountayns on oure tunge.

3780 From Don ye shall ride este gode way and fayre,
 Thurghoute Mentethe, and eke Blakmananshyre,
 And thurgh all Fyfe to Faukeland so repayre;
 Whiche thretty myle withouten mosse or myre
 So is accunte with horse and carte to hyre,
 3785 Bytuyxen Forth and all the hiegh oyghelles,
 Whiche some men call mountayns, and som the felles.

From Faukeland than to Dysarde so south-este
 Bot fourtene myle of playne and redy way,
 And from Faukelande to Andreston north-este
 3790 Bot fourtene myle, withouten any nay,
 The bysshopps se, and castell als, I say,
 And at Kynkorne, and Coupre may yow mete
 With youre vytayle so all your Englishsh flete.

Than shall ye ryde so weste from Andreston,
 3795 On southe side so of the *water* of Tay,
 Vpto the toun of Seynt Iohnston,
 On northalf Fyfe, that fayr is to hostay
 By many touns and haue right redy way
 Sex and twenty myles of gode cuntre
 3800 Full of catell corne and prosperite.

Whiche cuntrese so betuyx the Scottysse see,
 And the oyghels in lengh, er to hostay,
 Foure and fourty myles of gode cuntre;
 Whiche is of brede bot sex myle of faire way,
 3805 And forth-wardes bot twelue *with*outen nay,
 Bot estewarde þan of brede is thretty myle,
 And townes feel ryght, as I can compyle.

At Enerkenyn and at Seynt Margrete Hope
 Your nauy may wele vytayle that contre,
 3810 Vp in the water of Forth, as I can grope,
 With hulkes grete, and barges of necessite,
 With balyngars, and fer-costes als parde,
 So that ye may in the contrese nocht fayle
 To haue for all your hoste ay new vitayle.

[f. 224v]
 3815 At Seynt Iohnston, vpon the *water* of Tay,
 Within Stratherne, that stout right fayre and stronge,
 Dyked aboute depe sextene fete, I say,
 And twenty fete on brede ouer thwert to fonge,
 By north oyghelles and este two myle full longe
 3820 From Skone, whare all thayre kynges corounde bene
 And haue bene ay of olde, as hath bene sene.

Whiche *water* so of Tay is nauygall,
 From the este se vnto Seynt Iohnston,
 For shippes so that er in specyall
 3825 Of fourty tonne of wyne both vp and don,
 For vytalyng and kepyng of the ton;
 At whiche ton so the *water* of Tay doth flewe,
 The dykes full, as I haue sene and knowe.

At whiche ton so ye shall passe ouer the brigge
 3830 And hostay forth in Stratherne thurgh that londe;
 And passe ouer Erne estward, as all men sigge,
 Intyll Anges, as I can vndyrstonde,
 And so throughtoute the Crasse of Gour on honde,
 Whare beste cornelonde of all Scotlonde is ay,
 3835 And moste welfare of peple nyght and day.

Nota that þe munthes bene mountes or mountaynes and hilles on oure tunge.

Bytuyxen Tay and eke the munthes gray,
 Whiche some men call mountayns in our language,
 Ye shall hostay estwarde so day by day,
 From place to place with lytill cariage;
 3840 Your nauy shall yow mete in that vyage,
 Eche wouke oons withouten any fayle,
 For to refresshe your hoste with all vytayle,

Bysyde the stuffe and vytayle of that londe,
 That ye shall fynde in cuntre as ye go,
 3845 And market make allway vnto your honde,
 Of all vytayle all, if thay bene zoure fo.
 From Seynt Iohnston vnto Dundee ye se,
 Bot sextene myle and playne way out of doute
 To hostay it and forray it thurghoute.

3850 Than shall ye haue within that same contre,
 Bytuyx Dundee and also Abyrdene,
 Grete townes two Arbrothe, Munres, that be
 Gode marchaunt towns, the whiche I haue so sene,
 And fro Dundee the way, as I can mene,
 3855 To Abyrdene ys gode forto hostay,
 And fifty myle betuyx thaym two I say.

[f. 225r]

Off whiche way so thretty myle gode come londe,
 And twenty myle of more and heeth extent,
 Full of catell, as I can vndyrstonde,
 3860 As to the more and heeth doth wele appent,
 Fro the munthes so to the se orient,
 Whare Bryghyn is a towne of grete rychesse,
 And Abirdene a porte of thryftynesse,

Whare youre nauy also than may yow mete,
 3865 To vytayle with your hoste, whare so ye go
 At ouer the munthes, vngrayth and full vnmete,
 Whar wyld Scottes in hilles bene wonnyng so,
 In Marre and eke in Garriogh also,
 In Ros, Athels, Lenenay, and Cattenesse,
 3870 And in Murrefe, and all Oute Iles I gesse.

How 3e shall hostay homewarde, by þe weste coste of Scotlonde, to Carlelle,

And whanne ye haue that londe so hole conquerde,
 Ye shall come home agayn vnto Streuelyne,
 And fro Streuelyn to Glasgu so homwerde,

3875 Ere twenty myle and foure to Mungows shryne,
 Whare with offrynge ye shall to hym enclyne,
 And so forth on zoure way to Dunbretayne,
 Whiche is full stronge to wyn and to obtayne.

3880 In whiche castell Seynt Patrike so was bore,
 At whose prayer shall neuer horse dunge ther in,
 Aboute the whiche so flouyth, late and ore,
 The westren se withouten noyse or dyn,
 Whan that she sent hir stremes oute to ryn,
 That is eche day and nyght withouten fayle,
 So twyse that no wyght may it longe assayle.

3885 Vpon a cragge of stone full hiegh it stonte,
 That thogh the walles were bette vnto that roche,
 It wer full harde to clymbe vpon that monte,
 And it recouer, iff men thaim wolde approche,
 So stronge it is to gette and to accroche;
 3890 Withouten hungre and cruell famysshment,
 It bese neuer wonne ne take at myne intent.

And fro Glasgu vnto the ton of Are,
 Foure and twenty myles so er acounted,
 And gode cuntre to hostay in ay whare
 3895 And plentyuouse, as men me tolde and counted,
 For thare I was, and to that ton amounted,
 And to Lanarke so foure and twenty myle,
 I came homwarde for doute of Scottes gyle.

[f. 225v]

3900 Bot fro the tonne of Are ye shall hostay
 Thurgh Carrike so, and Galway to Dunfrese,
 That sixty myle is of gode redy way,
 As men thar say that dwell in tho cuntrese,
 To hostay so by the extremytese
 Of Scotlonde thare to thair distruccion,
 3905 As I was taught and had instruccion.

And from Dunfreze to Carlele shall ye ryde,
 Foure and twenty myles of redy way;
 Thus may ye wyne that londe on euery side,
 Within a zere, withouten more dilay:
 3910 For castel none is thare withstonde yow may,
 Ne byde a sege agayne zoure ordenance,
 So symple is and wayke thaire gouernance.

How ze may sette the wardayns of zoure Marches to distroy the Marches of Scotlonde and ze moste soueryne lorde to byde at home, bot for this lesson zour

wardayns wylle kon me no thonke for þay wolde neuer ryde bacce XX myle at farrest and come home on þe morow.

- And if ze like, gode lorde, at home abyde,
 With lityl coste zoure wardayns thidir sende,
 3915 Ye muste thaym charge, *with* hostes for to ryde,
 In propre persons thurgh wyntre to the ende,
 With morow rodes that than so may bene brende,
 Dunfreze, Hawyk, Selkyrk, and Iedworth, wyth
 Lawedir, eke Dunbarre wythouten gryth.
- 3920 And than to sende an hoste of fote-men yn
 At Lammesse next, thurgh all Lawederdale,
 And Lambyrmore thurgh woddes and mosses ryn
 The Frere londe eke and the Stowe of Wedale,
 3925 The Morthwayte londe, Etrike foreste, Tevydale,
 Ledasdale, Ewesdale, and all the Ryngwod feelde,
 To the Crake Crosse, that riden is full seelde.
- The wardayns than of bothe the marches two,
 To bene thayre stale and eke thaire castels stronge,
 To socoure thaym from enmyse whare thay go
 3930 With fleand stales to folow ay amonge,
 Lesse that enmsye supprise thaym ought and fonge,
 And euery nyght relye vnto the hoste,
 And loge thaym than togedyr vpon a coste.
- And than right at the nexte Mighlmesse,
 3935 The weste wardayn to Dunfreze ryde he may,
 That passe noght fourre and twenty myle, I gesse,
 And so than forth thurgh Galway redy way,
 And Carryk als, to Are with hoste forray,
 Whiche sixty myles so bene withouten fayll,
 3940 Bothe full of corne and als of alle catayll.

[f. 226r]

- And than from Are to Glasgew twenty myle,
 And foure also of gode and redy way,
 Right ful of gode, so as I can compyle,
 Whiche in ten days he may right wele hostay,
 3945 Whare than the este wardayne so mete hym may,
 Wyth hoste rial and chifteynes diligence,
 In ten days eke wyth hool expedience.

- For fro Berwyk Dunbarre is twenty myle,
 Fro thens he shall to Edenburgh full gayne
 3950 Bot myles twenty, as I can now compyle,
 To Streuelyn than twenty and foure to sayne,
 Fro whyne so than to Glasgew noght to layne

Foure and twenty myles of redy way,
Whiche in that tyme he may ryght wele hostay.

3955 And at Glasgew to mete in company
Wyth bothe thayre hostes arrayed thare ful clene,
And homwarde bren to Lanarke than forthy,
Foure and twenty myles no more, I wene,
To Pebles so, bot myles than sextene,
3960 And to Soltre twelue myle of redy way,
And þan to Werke-on-Twede twelue myle no nay.

Thus in ten days the londe may be distroyed,
On south halfe forth, if wardayns wylle assente,
And zoure enmyse shall bene ful sore anoyed,
3965 And wasted clene for all that zere and shente,
Iff wardaynes wyrke, aftyr this bokes intente,
Thay may distroye the cruell enmyte,
That is by south this day the Scottysse se.

Off thys matere I haue sayde myne intente,
3970 Like as I couthe espy and thare inquirye,
Whiche, if it may yow plese and wele contente,
Myne herte reioyeth to comferte zoure desyre;
And of zoure grace eueremore I yow requyre
For to consider my losse in this matere,
3975 My mayme also that neuer more may be clere.

Besechyng euer vnto zoure rialte
To take in thonke this boke, and my seruyse,
Thus newly made of my symplicite
Amonges makers that neuer was holden wyse,
3980 Bot zit I wolde in that I couthe deuyse
To youre estate rial do some plesance,
To whiche I lakke nought elles bot suffishance.

[ff. 226v-227r, a double page map of Scotland follows this page]

[f. 227v]

VII Book, VI Capitulum

**Nota conceyte of the makere of this boke how the kynge shulde his right of
Scotlond declare whan tyme is to þe pope, if he blame hym at Scottes
informacion.**

And if the pope walde charge yow for to cese
Of youre conqueste at Scottes informacioun,
3985 As Kynge Edward in lyke case wrote no lese
Vnto the pope for hys declaracioun,
I wylle reporte now to youre domynacioun,
Wyth answeere of hys erles and barons eke,

That youre answere than be nought for to seke,

- 3990 Whiche foloweth now in this boke, worde by worde,
 That ze may haue of it intelligence,
 And for zoure hayres to kepe it in zoure horde
 That somme of thaym may be thayre excellence
 It conquere zit and haue in his regence,
 3995 As Bretons had of grete antiquyte
 Whan thay it helde in myghty dignyte.

**How Kynge Edward the first aftir conquest wrote to Pope Boniface declarynge
 his ryght he had in Scotlonde by hys lettres.**

- Sanctissimo in *Christo* patri domino Bonifacio diuina prouidencia sacrosancte
 Romane ac vniuersalis ecclesie summo pontifici, Edwardus Dei *gracia*, rex Anglie,
 dominus Hibernie, et dux Aquitanie, deuota pedum oscula beatorum. Infra scripta non
 4000 in forma nec in figura iudicii *set extra iudicium* proferenda *sancte paternitatis vestre*
 consciencia vobis *transmittimus* exhibenda. Altissimus inspector nostre [cordium]
 scrinio memorie in debili stilo nouit inscribi, *quod antecessores et progenitores nostri*
 reges Anglie iure superioris et directi *dominii* ab antiquissimis retro temporibus regno
 Scocie et omnibus ipsius regibus in temporalibus et annexis eiusdem *prefuerunt* et ab
 4005 eisdem *pro* regno Scocie et eiusdem *proceribus* a quibus habere volebant, ligia
 homagia et fidelitatis iuramenta *acceperunt et receperunt*. Nos iuris et *dominii*
 possessionem continuantes *pro* tempore eadem tam a rege Scocie *recepimus quam* a
proceribus ipsius regni quin immo tanti iuris et *dominii* prerogatiua *super* regnum
 Scocie antecessores *nostri* gaudebant *quod* regnum ipsum fidelibus suis conferebant
 4010 reges *eciam* ex iustis causis *ammouebant et* *constituebant* sub se, loco *ipsorum*, alios
 regnatos, que *proculdubio* notoria *creduntur et* vera apud omnes licet aliud forsan
paternis vestris auribus *per* pacis emulos et rebellionis filios fuerit falsa insinuacione
 suggestum a quorum *machinosis* figmentis vt *vestre sanctitatis* oculus auertatur
 suppliciter *quesimus* paternam clemenciam *vestram et* *sanctitatem* deuotis affectibus
 4015 *exoramus humiliter* vt quedam exempla de gestis *anteriorum* cronica antecessor
 verorum *pro* declaracione incliori iuris *nostri* et directa *dominii* *predicto* regnim
 Scocie [f. 228r] *tangamus*.

- Sub temporibus itaque Hely et Samuelis vir quidam strenuus et insignis,
 Brutus nomine, de genere Troianorum post excidium vrbis Troie cum multis nobilibus
 4020 Troianorum applicuit in quamdam insulam tunc Albyon vocatam, a gigantibus
 inhabitatam, quibus sua et suorum deuictis potencia et occisis eam nomine suo
 Britanniam vocauit hominesquia suos Britones appellauit et edificauit ciuitatem quam
 Trenouantum nuncupauit que modo Londonia nominatur. Et postea regnum suum
 4025 tribus filiis suis diuisit, videlicet Locrino seniori illam Britannie <partem> que modo
 Anglia dicitur, et Cambro secundo nato illam partem quam tunc Cambriam pro
 nomine Cambri nunc vero Walliam nominant, et Albanecto filio suo minori illam
 partem quam nomine suo tunc Albaniam vocatam que nunc Scociam vocatur,
 reseruata Locrino seniori regia dignitate.

- Itaque biennio post mortem Bruti applicuit in Albaniam quidam rex Humnorum
 4030 nomine Humber et Albanectum fratrem Locrini occidit, quo audito Locrinus rex

Britonum persecutus est eum qui fugiens submersus est in flumine quod de nomine
 suo Humber vocatur et sic Albania reuertitur ad Locrinum. Et Dunwallo rex Britonum
 Scaterum regem Scocie sibi rebellem occidit et terram eius in dedicionem recepit. Et
 4035 duo filii Dunwallonis, scilicet Belynus et Birynus, inter se regnum patris sui
 diuiserunt, ita quod dictus Belynus senior diadema insule Britannie et superioritatem
 possideret; Birynus vero iunior sub eo regnaturus Scociam acciperet, petebat enim
 Troiana consuetudo vt dignitas hereditatis primogenito perueniret. Et Arthurus, rex
 Britonum, princeps famosissimus, Scociam sibi rebellem subiecit et pene totam
 4040 gentem deleuit et postea quemdam nomine Aguseleum in regem Scocie prefecit, et
 cum post idem rex Arthurus apud ciuitatem Legionum festum faceret celeberrimum,
 interfuerunt ibidem omnes reges sibi subiecti inter quos idem Aguseleus rex Scocie
 seruicium suum pro regno suo exhibens debitum gladium Arthuri regis detulit ante
 ipsum et successiue omnes reges Scocie omnibus regibus Britonum fuerunt subiecti et
 4045 succedentibus autem regibus Anglie in predicta insula et ipsius monarchiam et
 dominium obtinentibus subsequenter et Edwardus dictus senior filius Alueredi regis
 Anglie, Scottorum, Cambrorum, et Wallanorum reges tanquam superiori dominos
 subiectos habuit et submissos. Athelstanus, rex Anglie, Constantinum regem
 Scottorum, sub se regnaturum constituit dicens 'gloriosus est regem facere quam rex
 esse'. Et est in memoria quod idem Athelstanus, intercedente beato Iohanne
 4050 Beuerlaci, Scotos ei rebellantes deuicit qui gracias deuote agens Deum exorauit petens
 et interueniente beato Iohanne ei aliquod signum euident ostenderet quod succedentes
 quam presentes cognoscere possent Scotos iure subiugari regno Anglorum et videns
 quosdam scopulos apud Dunbar in Scocia, extracto gladio de vagina, percussit in
 4055 silicem qui lapis ad ictum gladii, ita cauatur vt mensura possit vlne longitudini
 coaptari et huius rei hactenus euident signum apparet et in Beuerlaci ecclesia in
 legenda Sancti Iohannis quasi singulis ebdomadis per annum ad laudem et honorem [f.
 228v] Sancti Iohannis pro miraculo recitatur et de hoc exstat celebris memoria tam in
 Anglia quam in Scocia vsque in presentem diem. Et Constantinus, rex Scotorum, et
 Eugenius, rex Cambrorum, ad predictum regem Athelstanum post aliquam
 4060 dissensionem inter eos habitam venientes se cum regnis suis eidem Athelstano
 submiserunt tanquam domino suo superiori <Wallie>, Scocie. Et Edredo regi Anglie
 Scoti sine bello se subdiderunt et eidem regi Edredo tanquam domino suo fidelitatem
 iurauerunt. Et Edgarus, rex Anglie, regem Scotorum, Kynaldum, et Cambrorum
 4065 Malcolmum regem ac alias tres reges insularum cum subiugasset remigando per
 fluuium de Dee in quadam naui prope proram sedisset fertur ipsum dixisse successores
 suos posse gloriari se reges Anglorum esse cum tanta honoris prerogatiua fruerentur et
 subiectam haberent tot regum potenciam. Post dictum Edgarum successiue
 regnauerunt reges Anglie, Edwardus martir, Ethelredus frater eius, et Edmundus,
 dictus Irnesyde, filius Ethelredi, qui eorum temporibus regnum Scocie in sua
 4070 subieccione pacifice tenuerunt Canutus enim xv anno regni sui Scociam rebellantem
 expeditione illuc ducta regem Scocie Malcolmum paruo subegit negocio subditus est
 eidem predictus Malcolmus. Haraldus enim filius Canuti et Hardcanutus, frater eius,
 vnus post alterum regno Anglie succedens subieccionem regni Scocie pacificam
 habuerunt. Et Edwardus rex Anglie sanctus regnum Scocie Malcolmum filio comitis
 4075 Cambrorum de se dedit tenendum. Et Willelmo, conquerer Anglie, rex a Malcolmum
 rege Scottorum tanquam a suo homine sibi subdito recepit homagium. Et Willelmo
 Rufo, regi Anglie, predictus Malcolmus, rex Scottorum, iuramento fidelitatis subiectus

fuit. Et *predictus* *Willelmus* *Dunwaldum* regem *Scocie*, fratrem *Malcolmi*, de regno
Scocie ex iustis causis ammouit *et* *Duncanum*, filium *Malcolmi*, regno *Scocie* prefecit
 4080 *et* recepit ab eo fidelitatem *et* iuramentum dictoque *Duncanum* dolose perempto dictus
 rex *predictum* *Dunwaldum* qui iterum regno *Scocie* invaserat ammouit ab eodem *et*
Edgarum, filium *Malcolmi* *predicti* regem *Scocie* constituit *et* eidem regnum illud
 donauit. Cui successit *Alexander*, frater *Edgari*, consensu regis *Anglie* *Henrici* *primi*
 4085 *fratris* *dicti* *Willelmi* *Rufi* qui fecit eidem *Henrico* homagium. *Et* *Matildi* imperatrici
 filie *et* heredi *Henrici* regis *predicti* rex *Dauid* *Scocie*, frater *dicti* *Alexandri*, fecit
 homagium *et* idem rex *Dauid* *Henrici* imperatricis regi *Anglie*. *Et* *Willelmus*, rex
Scotorum, deuenit *predicti* *Henrici* pro regno *Scocie* *et* fidelitatem ei iurauit. *Et* anno
 XX regni *predicti* *Henrici* dictus *Willelmus*, rex *Scotorum*, rebellare incipiens venit in
 4090 *Northumbriam* cum exercitu magno *et* exercuit in populo stragem magnam cui
 occurrentes milites comitatus *Eboracum* *Cumbrorum* *et* *Northumbrorum* apud
Alnewik ipsum ceperunt *et* dicto *Henrico* regi *Anglie* tradiderunt qui anno sequente
 permissus est liber abire *et* kalende *Septembris* eodem anno apud *Eboracum* idem
 4095 *Willelmus* rex de consensu prelatorum comitum baronum proserum *et* aliorum
 magnatum regni *Scocie* domino suo regi *Anglie*, *Henrico* *predicto*, suis litteris
 patentibus clamasse noscitur quod ipse *et* heredes *et* successores sui reges *Scocie*
episcopi, abbates, [f. 229r] comites, barones, alii homines, regni *Scocie* de quibus
 dictus *Henricus* rex voluerit facient regi homagium, fidelitatem *et* ligeanciam vt ligio
 domino contra omnes homines. *Et* in signum subieccionis idem *Willelmus*, rex *Scocie*,
 capellum *et* lanciam suam super altare *beati* *Petri* *Eboracum* obtulit que in eadem
 4100 ecclesia vsque in hodiernum diem remanent *et* seruantur. *Et* *episcopi*, comites, *et*
 barones conuencionauerunt vt verbis eiusdem conuencionis vtantur dominus rex
Anglie *et* *Henricus*, filius suus, ‘quod si rex *Scocie* aliquo tempore a fidelitate regis
Anglie *et* conuencionem *predicta* recederet ipsi cum domino rege *Anglie* tenebunt sicut
 cum ligeo domino suo contra regem *Scocie* quousque ad fidelitatem regis *Anglie*
 4105 redeat’, quam quidem compositionem felicis recordacionis *Gregorius* papa nonus in
 diuersis scriptis regibus *Anglie* directis mandauit firmiter obseruari contingentibus
 eciam inter cetera quod ipse rex *Willelmus* *et* *Alexander*, reges *Scocie*, regibus *Anglie*
Iohanni *et* *Henrico*, ligium homagium *et* fidelitate fecerunt que tenentur successores
 <eorum> comites, *et* barones, regni *Scocie* ipsis *et* successores exhibere. *Et* iterum
 4110 quod cum idem rex *Scocie* homo ligius sit ipsius *Henrici*, regis *Anglie*, detrimentum
 nichil debeat attemptare. *Et* *Papa* *Clemens* scribens regi *Anglie* pro *Iohanne*, *episcopo*
Sancti *Andree*, expulso de *episcopatu* suo per regem *Scocie* inter cetera quod
Willelmum, regem *Scocie*, ammoneret seu induceret si necesse fuerit districcione
 4115 *regali* qua ei preminet *et* concessa sue regie celsitudini potestate compelleret vt dicto
episcopo omnem rancorem animi remitteret *et* *episcopatum* suum eum habere
 permitteret. *Et* postea conuencionem *predictam* in ecclesia *beati* *Petri* *Eboracum*
 coram *predictis* regibus *Anglie* *et* *Scocie* *et* *Dauid*, fratre suo, *et* vniuerso populo,
episcopi, comites, barones, *et* milites omnes de terra *Scocie* iurauerunt domino regi
 4120 *Anglie* *et* heredibus suis fidelitate contra omnes homines sicut ligiis dominis suis. *Et*
 idem *Willelmus*, rex *Scocie*, ad mandatum domini *Henrici*, regis *Anglie* *predicti*, venit
 apud *Northampton* ad parliamentum domini sui adducens secum omnes *episcopos*,
 abbates, priores, comites, *et* barones regni sui *et* venit in *Normanniam* ad mandatum
 eiusdem regis. *Et* idem rex *Willelmus*, post decessum *Henrici* regis, venit apud
Cantuariam *Ricardo*, regi *Anglie*, *et* fecit ei homagium. Quo *Ricardo* rege viam

4125 vniuerse carnis ingresso *prefatus Willelmus Iohanni regi Anglie extra ciuitatem*
Lincolnie in conspectu tocius populi fecit homagium et iurauit fidelitatem super
crucem Herberti tunc Cantuariensi archiepiscopi et eidem Iohanni domino suo
concessit per cartam suam quod Alexandrum, filium suum, sicut hominem ligium suum
4130 *maritaret promittendo firmiter in carta eadem quod idem Willelmus, rex Scocie, et*
Alexander, filius suus, Henrico filio regis Iohannis Anglie, tanquam ligio domino suo
post decessum ipsius Iohannis contra omnes mortales fidem et fidelitatem tenerent, a
quo quidem Willelmo, rege Scocie, postmodum pro eo quod desponderat filiam suam
comiti Bolonie siue regis Iohannis, domini sui, assensum pro transgressione temeraria
4135 *presumpcione huiusmodi debitam satisfaccionem suscepit. Et Alexander, rex Scocie,*
sororius noster regi Anglie patri nostro Henrico pro regno Scocie et postea nobis
homagium fecit. Vacante deinde regno Scocie post mortem Alexandri regis et in
subsequenter post mortem [f. 229v] Margarete eiusdem regni Scocie regine domine ac
heredis neptis nostre episcopi, abbates, priores, comites, barones, proceres et ceteri
4140 *nobiles tocius regni Scocie ad nos tanquam ad legitimum defensorem ducem aurigam*
capitaneum et dominum capitalem eiusdem regni Scocie ad nos sic vacantis gratis et
spontanea voluntate attendentes prout tenebantur de iure ius nostrum progenitorum et
antecessorum nostrorum ac possessione superioris domini et directi in regno Scocie et
ipsius regni subieccionem ex certa sciencia simpliciter et absolute recognouerunt. Et
4145 *prestitis ab eis nobis tanquam superiori domino debitis et consuetis fidelitatis*
iuramentis et ciuitatibus, burgis, villis, castris, et ceteris mansionibus eiusdem regni in
manu nostra traditis ad custodiam eiusdem regni iure nostro regio officiales et
ministros deputauimus quibus ipsi tempore vacationis huiusmodi concorditer
obedientes et intendentes regiis nostris preceptis et mandatis. Postmodum autem
4150 *diuerse persone super successione in dictum regnum Scocie iure et hereditario inter se*
contententes ad nos tanquam ad superiorem dominum regni Scocie accesserunt
petentes super concessione regni predicti sibi per nos exhiberi iusticie complementum
volentes et expresse consencientes coram nobis tanquam superiori et directo domino
in omnibus ordinandis stare et obtemperare ac demum iudicialiter propositis et
4155 *sufficienter auditis rimatis et examinatis et diligenter intellectis parcium iuribus quasi*
tocius regni Scocie et de voluntate et assensu expresso precedentes Iohannem de
Balliolo debite prefecimus in regem Scottorum quem tunc in successione eiusdem
regni heredis iura inuenimus habere pociora. Qui quidem prelati, comites, barones,
proceres, et ceteri incole regni ipsius sentenciam nostram acceptauerunt
4160 *approbauerunt et ipsum Iohannem de mandato nostro virtute huius iudicii in regem*
suum admiserunt. Et eciam idem Iohannes, rex Scocie, pro regno suo predicto nobis
homagium debitum et consuetum fecit et fidelitatis iuramentum prestetit. Ac extunc
tam in parlamentiis quam consiliis nostris tanquam subditus noster sicut alii de regno
nostro interfuit et nostris tanquam domini sui superioris beneplacitis et mandatis in
4165 *omnibus obediens et intendens exstitit quousque idem Iohannes, rex Scocie, et prelati,*
comites, barones, nobiles, communitates, et ceteri incole maiores regni ex precepta
malicia et prelocuta ac preordinata predicione communicato consilio cum tunc
inimicis nostris capitalibus notoriis amiciciis capularent sic pacciones, conspiraciones,
et coniuraciones in ex heredacionem nostram et heredum nostrorum et regni nostri
4170 *contra debitum homagium in crimen lese magestatis nequiter incidendo fidelitatis*
iuramentum inierunt. Cum eisdem verum cum premissa relacione fama publica ad
aures nostres deuenissent volentes futuris periculis precauere que ex hiis et aliis

4137 margarete] *after* post mortem *canc.* MS.

possent nobis regno nostro et regni nostri incolis verisimiliter prouenire pro
 assecuratione regni nostri accessimus ad confinium vtriusque regni plures mandantes
 eidem Iohanni, regi Scocie, vt ad nos accederet super premissis et aliis assecurationis
 4175 statum tranquillitatem et pacem et vtriusque regni contingentibus tractaturus. Qui
 spretis mandatis nostris in sua persistens perfidia ad bellicos apparatus cum episcopis,
 prelati, comitibus, et baronibus regno Scocie ac eciam aliis ex certis conductiuis
 contra nos regnum et regni nostri incolas hostiliter se conuertens accinxit et ad hostiles
 4180 aggressus et incursus procedens regnum nostrum inuasit et quasdam villas regni nostri
 Anglie per se et suos depredatus est easque vastauit incendio homines nostros
 interfecit et quam plures nautas nostros pereunt et naues hominum nostrorum
 combussit et e uestigio aggredi redditis nobis homagio et fidelitate tam pro se quam
 pro aliis quibuscumque regni sui incolis per literas eiusdem regis verba offensionum
 4185 exprementes et inter alia verba diffidacionem continentes comitatus nostros
 Northumbrie, Cumbrie, et Westmorlandie regni nostri Anglie congregato exercitu
 magno hostiliter per se et suos inuasit stragem innumeram hominum nostrorum
 incendia monasteriorum, ecclesiarum, villarum eciam et inhumane pertractando et
 patriam vndique depopulando infantes in cunabilis, mulieres in puerperio decubantes
 gladio trucidauerunt et, quod auditum [f. 230r] horrendum est, a nonnullis mulieribus
 4190 mamillas atrociter absiderunt, paruos clericos primam tonsuram habentes et
 gramaticam addiscentes ad numerum circiter CC in scolis existentes obstructis ostiis
 scolarum igne supposito cremauerunt. Nos quoque cernentes tot dampna obprobria
 facinora et iniurias in exheredacionem nostram et destruccionem populi nostri
 prodicionaliter irrogari nec volentes racione iuramenti quo ad conseruacionem iurium
 4195 corone Anglie sumus astricti premissa facinera tam exsecranda detestanda atque
 nephanda vltterius tollerare nec iura relinquere indefensa cum per leges ipsum
 Iohannem regem Scocie gentem que suam nobis subditam iustificare non possemus
 nec ipsum regnum Scocie quod a longissimis temporibus sicut superius exprimitur
 4200 nobis et progenitoribus nostris feudale exstitit in premissis causis contra dictum
 Iohannem et gentem Scocie vires potencie nostre extendimus prout nobis de iure licuit
 et processimus contra ipsos tanquam hostes nostros et proditores subiecto itaque
 regno Scocie et iure proprietatis nostre dicioni subacto prefatus Iohannes quondam
 rex Scocie quatenus de facto tenuit sponte pure et absolute reddidit in manum nostram
 4205 prediciones et scelera memorata coram nobis et proceribus publice recognoscens. Quo
 peracto prelati, comites, et barones ac nobiles regni Scocie ad pacem nostram regiam
 suscepimus subsequenter homagia et fidelitates nobis tanquam immediato domino et
 proprio eiusdem regni Scocie nobis fecerunt prestiterunt ac eciam redditis nobis
 eiusdem regni ciuitatibus, villis, castris, municionibus ac ceteris locis omnibus ad
 4210 dictum regnum spectantibus officiales que ministres ad regimen eiusdem regni Scocie
 prefecimus iure nostro. Cumque iure pleni dominii in possessione eiusdem regni
 existere dinoscamur non possumus nec debemus quin insolenciam subditorum
 nostrorum rebellium si quos inuenerimus preminencia regia prout iustum fuerit et
 expedire viderimus reprimamus. Quia vero ex premissis et aliis constat euidenter et
 4215 notorium exstitit prelibatum regnum Scocie tam racione possessionis quam
 proprietatis ad nos pertinet pleno iure nec quicquam fecerimus vel cauerimus scripto
 facto sicuti nec possemus per quod iuri et possessioni predictis debeat aliquialiter
 derogari sanctitati vestre humiliter supplicamus quatenus premissa prouida
 meditacione pensantes ex illis vestrum motum animi dignemini informare

4213 reprimamus] reprimare MS.

4220 suggestionibus contrariis emulorum in ac parte nequaquam fidem adhibendo
 quinimmo statum nostrum et iura nostra regia superadicta habere velitis si placeat
 promptis affectibus commendata. Conseruet vos altissimus ad ecclesie sue regimen
 per tempora diuturna datur apud Westminster septimo die Maii anno domini M^lCCCI et
 regni nostri vicesimo nono.

VII Capitulum

[Ho]w the erles, [bar]ons and lordes [of] Englund wrote [to] Pope Boniface. The
 lettres of the lordes and barouns to þe pope.

4225 Sanctissimo in Christo Patri, domino Bonifacio diuina prouidencia sacro
 sancte Romane ut vniuersalio ecclesie summo pontifici. Nos vestro comites barones et
 magnates regni Anglie deuoti pedum oscula beatorum.

4230 Sancta Romana ecclesia, per cuius ministerium fides Catholica, in suis actibus
 cum ea sicut credimus et tenemus, maturitate procedit, quod nulli preiudicare, set
 singulorum, conseruari valet illesa. Sane, conuocato per serenissimum dominum
 4235 nostrum Edwardum, Dei gratia regem Anglie illustrem parlamento apud Lincolniam
 generali idem dominus noster quasdam literas apostolicas, quas super certis [negotiis
 conditionem et statum regni Scotie tangentibus], ex parte receperat, in medio exhiberi,
 et seriose fecit [nobis exponi. Quibus] auditis et diligenter intellectis, tam nostris
 4240 sensibus admiranda quam hactenus inaudita in eisdem audiuius contineri. Scimus
 enim pater [f. 230v] sanctissime et notorium in partibus nostris ac nonnullis aliis non
 [ignotum]; quod a prima institutione regni Anglie reges eiusdem [regni, tam]
 temporibus Britonum, quam Anglorum, superius et directum dominium [regni Scotie]
 habuerunt in possessione capitane superioritatis [et directi domini ipsius regni]
 Scotie successiuis temporibus extiterunt; nec ullis [temporibus ipsum] regnum in
 4245 temporalibus per[tinuit vel pertinet quouis iure ad ecclesiam supradictam]; quinimo
 idem regnum Scotie progenitoribus predicti [domini nostri regibus Anglie] atque sibi
 feudale extitit ab antiquo.

Nec etiam reges [Scotorum et] regnum aliis quam regibus Anglie, subfuerunt
 vel subiici [consueuerunt. Neque] reges Anglie, super iuribus suis in regno predicto
 4245 aut aliis suis [temporalibus] coram aliquo iudice ecclesiastico, vel seculari, ex libera
 pre[eminencia status sue regie] dignitatis et consuetudinis cunctis temporibus
 [irrefragabiliter observate], responderunt, aut respondere debebant. Vnde [habito
 tractatu et] deliberatione diligenti super contentis in vestris litteris [memoratis,
 communis] concors et vnanimis omnium rerum, et singularum [consensus fuit, est, et
 4250 erit in]concusse, Deo propitio in futurum; quod prefatus dominus noster [rex super
 iuribus regni sui] Scotie, aut aliis suis temporalibus, nullatenus [iudicialiter respondeat
 coram] vobis, nec iudicium subeat quoquomodo: aut [iura sua predicta in dubium
 questio]nis deducat: nec ad presentiam vestram pro[curatores aut nuncios ad hoc
 mittat] precipue cum premissa cederent manifeste in [exheredationem iuris corone
 4255 regni Anglie et] regie dignitatis ac subversionem status [eiusdem regni notoriam:
 necnon in] preiudicium libertatis, consuetudinum et legum pater[narum ad quarum

4223 gloss after How] w MS; barons] ons MS; lordes of] lordes MS; wrote to] wrote MS. 4231-66]
 The letter is extremely dirty and almost impossible to read without an ultra violet light; unfortunately
 due to the nature of the manuscript it is not possible to view the text under ultra-violet light for the
 period of time necessary to transcribe the letter carefully; therefore any illegible words have been
 reconstructed in square brackets, based on the version of the letter printed in Rymer 1816-69: I, ii, 926-
 27. 4229 per] rep. MS.

observationem et] defensiones, ex debito *prestiti* iuramenti [astringimur; et que
 manutenebimus] toto posse, totisque viribus Dei auxilio def[endemus. Nec etiam
 4260 permittimus aut aliquatenus] *permitteremus* sicut nec [possumus nec] debemus
pre[missa tam insolita] *indebita preiudicialia et alia inaudita prelib*[atum dominum
 nostrum regem etiam] *si vellet facere* seu modo quolibet attemptare. Q[uocirca
 sanctitati vestre] *reuerenter et humiliter supplicamus*, *quatenus e*[undem dominum
 nostrum regem, qui] *inter* aliquos principes orbis terre *Catholicum* si exhibet, [et
 4265 *ecclesie Romane*] *deuotum*, *iura sua, libertates, consuetudines* [et *leges absque*
diminutione et] *inquietudine pacifice possidere ac illibata percipere benignius*
permittatis.

[Consayte] of the [maker] touchant [Scotlon]de for [c]onclusion [and] entent of [this] book.

Remembred bene now, to 3oure excellence,
 The titles alle longynge 3oure regyement
 Of Scotlond hole, in this sayd euydence,
 4270 Whiche thryd parte is of Bretayne by extent,
 And owe to bene at 3oure comandement
 As membre of 3oure riall monarchy,
 By olde wrytynges, as made is memory;

 Of whiche Bretayne, two partes to 3ow obey,
 4275 Englund and Wales as to thaire soueraynte,
 Which oweth thynke be shame to se thus disobey
 Scotland, that is the thryd parte of Bretayne;
 Whiche in two zere 3oure puissance myght distayne,
 And [...] it forth [vnto 3oure] soureynte
 4280 With [...] and drede none emnyte.

 Wherfor, gude lord, now gerde 3ow wyth 3oure swerde,
 And sett vpon tho frowerd errytyces,
 That erren fro the two parte of the heerde,
 And [strayen] out as they where heretykes,
 4285 Which haue forgatte thayre lorde, as cronatykes
 Hauynge no shame of thaire *peruersyte*,
 Ne chaungen hew for thayre *inequyte*.

4266 *gloss after* Conseit of] of MS; the maker] the MS; Scotlonde] de MS; conclusion and] onclusion MS; this book] book MS.

Commentary to the First Version

This Commentary aims to identify the people, places and events referred to in the *Chronicle*. For comparative purposes, and to avoid repetition, historical and contextual information is, in the main, provided in the **Commentary to the First Version**; the **Commentary to the Second Version** refers the reader to the relevant section of the first commentary, but supplies any additional information pertinent to the second version (including any revisions made by Hardyng). Where appropriate comparative allusions to other contemporary historical and literary texts have been provided. References to appropriate scholarship on topics discussed within the commentary have been given in the text. Regnal years and other appropriate dates have been taken from Powicke and Fryde 1961 and Cheney 2000.

The Reign of Edward III

l. 540 *gloss before*: The king's titles to sovereignty over Ireland, Normandy and France are repeated for the succeeding kings in the *Chronicle* as well. Edward claimed the throne of France through his mother Isabella (see below, ll. 1450-63), and like previous English sovereigns had a claim to the lordship of Ireland as a result of Henry II's efforts to bring part of the Irish territories under English hegemony. The titles to Normandy and Guienne result from the hereditary claims passed on from William the Conqueror.

ll. 540-53 'Edward, the prynce ... was and dette': Edward III (1312-77), king of England (1327-77), was the oldest son of Edward II (1284-1327) and Isabella of France (1292-1358). In 1327, at the age of fourteen (Hardyng incorrectly states that he was thirteen), he inherited the English throne after his father was forced to renounce his kingdom in favour of his son on 20 January 1327. Edward officially succeeded his father on 25 January 1327 and his coronation was held at Westminster Abbey on 1 February 1327. Nine bishops and five earls were alleged to have been amongst the dignitaries present (see Rymer 1816-69: II, ii, 684).

ll. 547-48 'Ryght in ... than accounted': The feast of the Purification of Mary, or Candlemas, occurs on 2 February. Edward III's coronation took place on 1 February, not 2 February as Hardyng states here. Amongst contemporary chronicle accounts, the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: I, 247-48), the *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa* (Bond 1866-68: II, 354), Walter Hemingburgh's *Chronicle* (Hamilton 1849: 297) and Henry Knighton's *Chronicle* (Lumby 1889-95: I, 443), all give the date of the coronation as the eve of the feast of Mary's purification; Knighton also briefly discusses how confusion over the actual date occurred. The *Scalacronica* gives the same date as Hardyng (Maxwell 1907: 79), as does one of the manuscripts of Walter Hemingburgh's *Chronicle* noted in Hamilton's edition (1849: 297). The 'yere forsayde' here refers to the year previously mentioned by Hardyng in his account of Edward II's deposition. This is also incorrect as the date given in the *Chronicle* is 1326, and should be 1327. Both the date and year of the coronation are corrected to 1 February 1327 in the second version of the *Chronicle* (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 498-508).

1. 554 'His fadyr': Edward III's father, Edward II (1284-1327), king of England (1307-27), was born at Caernarfon castle. He was the youngest of thirteen children, and the fourth son, of Edward I (1239-1307) and Eleanor of Castile (d. 1290). In 1301 Edward I bestowed the newly created honour 'prince of Wales' on his son, Edward II. Edward became king of England upon the death of his father in 1307, as his three older brothers, John (1266-71), Henry (1267-74), and Alphonso (1273-84), had all died.

11. 554-55 'fro Kylllyngworth ... Barkelay pryuely': Edward II was first imprisoned at Kenilworth castle, Warwickshire, in the winter of 1326. Thomas of Lancaster, Edward's cousin, was appointed his custodian (*Rot. Parl.*, II, i, 52), and it was at Kenilworth, on 20 January 1327, that Edward renounced his throne in favour of his son, Edward III. Although Edward agreed to relinquish the crown, he was in fact given little choice, as his wife, Isabella of France, and her lover, Roger Mortimer, had invaded England in 1326 and imprisoned the king, forcing him to abdicate. W. M. Ormrod notes that whilst the articles of Edward II's deposition detailing why he had forfeited his right to rule may have been read before the parliament held in January 1327, no attempt was made to publish them throughout the country (Ormrod 1990: 45). On the evening of the 3 April 1327 Edward II was removed from Kenilworth castle, under the custody of Thomas Berkeley and John Maltravers, and was taken, via several other places, to Berkeley castle, Gloucestershire; he appears to have been in custody at Berkeley by 6 April (see Doherty 2003: 119). For Edward II's deposition see Ramsey 1913, Valente 1998 and Prestwich 2003.

11. 556-64 'Whare with ... blisse of heuen': The circumstances surrounding the death of Edward II remain obscure, with scholars generally divided in their opinions of the king's fate. The account of Edward's death presented here, mainly that Edward was murdered on 21 September 1327 at Berkeley castle, when a hot poker was thrust up his anus and into his bowels, appeared at an early date. The first occurrence of the story in a contemporary chronicle apparently emerges in Higden's *Polychronicon* (Babington and Lumby 1865-86: VIII, 324-27), with similar accounts occurring in the chronicles of Adam Murimuth (Thompson 1889a: 53-54), Robert Avesbury (Thompson 1889a: 283), Geoffrey le Baker (Thompson 1889b: 33-34), Knighton (Lumby 1889-95: I, 446), Hemingburgh (Hamilton 1849: 297), and the *Brut*; however, the *Brut* states that Edward was murdered at Corfe Castle (Brie 1906-08: I, 252-53). Of the chronicle accounts contemporary with Hardyng's own time John Capgrave's *Abbreviacion of Cronicles* (Lucas 1983: 154-55) gives a similar account, as does the continuation of the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: I, 252-53). Hardyng does not relate, as some sources often do (see, for example, the chronicles of Baker, Murimuth and Knighton), that the brutal nature of Edward's murder is said to have been to disguise the fact that he was murdered, giving the outward appearance, when the body was displayed, that the king had died of natural causes.

Edward's murderers were believed to have been Thomas of Gurney and William of Ogle. Their part in the plot may be confirmed by their quick escape to the continent after the announcement of Edward's death; when Edward III assumed his own personal rule in 1330, they were charged, along with Simon Barford, with the murder of the late king (*Rot. Parl.*, II, 53, 54). Gurney was arrested in Naples, but died on the journey back to England in July 1333, and Barford was executed on 24 December 1330 (see Rymer 1816-69: II, ii, 801, 819, 820, 821; *Rot. Parl.*, II, 53). As

Edward's custodian, Thomas Berkeley was not officially cleared of any involvement in the murder until 16 March 1337 (see Rymer 1816-69: II, ii, 960), and although John Maltravers was not condemned as being a party to Edward's murder, he was later charged with conspiring against Edmund, earl of Kent (see below II. 666-86). He too escaped to the continent, and it was not until fifteen years later, when he surrendered himself to King Edward in Flanders, that he was pardoned for his involvement (Rymer 1816-69: III, 56, 146; *Rot. Parl.*, II, 243).

The lack of any official documentation detailing the murder has led many scholars to be suspicious of the striking connection between the manner of Edward's murder and his reputed homosexuality, and it is highly probable that the details of the murder originate from rumours circulating at the time of Edward's death, rather than from any factual evidence.

An alternative story concerning the fate of Edward II also exists: Manuel Fieschi, a Genoese priest and distant relative of Edward II, claims to have heard a confession from the king, who informed him that he had escaped from Berkeley Castle, leaving a dead porter in his place. Having escaped, Edward is alleged to have travelled to Ireland, then to France where he was received by the pope at Avignon. Later, he travelled to Cologne and on to Italy, where he became a hermit. For a discussion and edition of the 'confession' see Cuttino and Lyman 1978. For a study of Queen Isabella's involvement in the death of her husband see Doherty 2003.

I. 559 'On Seynt Mathew day': The feast of St Matthew, 21 September, is the date on which Edward's death in 1327 is believed to have occurred.

I. 560 'At Gloucester byried': Edward II was buried at the Abbey of St Peter's, Gloucester (now Gloucester Cathedral), in December 1327. According to Ramsey (1913: I, 169), other monasteries had refused to receive Edward's remains. Several years after Edward's interment, Edward III erected the present tomb.

I. 565 'The firste yere': Edward III's first regnal year ran from 25 January 1327 to 24 January 1328. At the time of his father's death, Edward had completed nine months of his reign.

II. 566-74 'Thus ende his ... shuld haue cesed': The unrevenged death that Hardyng refers to here is that of Edward II's first notable favourite, Piers Gaveston, earl of Cornwall (1307-1312). Gaveston was exiled during the reign of Edward I because of his influence on the prince of Wales; however, when Edward II ascended to the throne he was swiftly recalled to England and allowed considerable power. In 1308 Edward demonstrated his trust in Gaveston by appointing him regent of England whilst he travelled to France to accompany his wife, Isabella, home. Later the same year the magnates vehemently opposed Gaveston's influence on the king, and arranged his exile. The exile, however, was short lived and he returned to England in 1309. During the parliaments of 1310 and 1311, Thomas, earl of Lancaster, led the magnates in a second attempt to restrict Gaveston's power and once again, Gaveston was exiled. A designated committee of Ordainers was elected to regulate the king's finances and oversee the administration of the kingdom, but again, Gaveston returned to England and in 1312 Edward revoked the Ordinances. The magnates rebelled and captured Gaveston, beheading him in June at Blacklow Hill, Warwickshire.

Gaveston's relationship with Edward II has often been considered by historians to be of a homosexual nature; Hardyng himself hints at this in the first version of the *Chronicle* (f. 178v) by referring to him as the king's 'playfere', or lover (for a discussion on the use of this word here and elsewhere in the *Chronicle* see below l. 647). For further information on Gaveston's life and his relationship with Edward II see Hamilton 1988 and Chaplais 1994.

ll. 575-88 'Bot, o, ye ... all sodayn vnadvysed': The warning here addressed to the 'lordes' reading Hardyng's *Chronicle* is quite significant on two counts. First, it demonstrates the type of audience Hardyng expected his *Chronicle* would encounter; secondly, the plea relates directly to the period in which Hardyng began writing the first version of his work. The appeal to the 'lordes' to uphold justice is precisely what Hardyng instructs Henry VI to do later in this version (see ll. 3192-3233, 3584-3674), and appears to be indicative of the civil disputes and problems that arose in the 1450s. For a full account of the relevance these lines have to the reign of Henry VI see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**.

l. 580 'breggage': The form 'breggage' does not occur in the *MED*; however, it appears to be a variation of the noun 'abreg(g)ement'. This would make sense because Hardyng is asking the lords to abide by the decisions made by judges and not to take the law into their own hands.

ll. 589-616 'Bot to this ... fayr to sight': In July 1327 the north of England was invaded by Scottish forces under the command of three prominent Scottish lords, Sir James Douglas, Sir Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray, and Donald, earl of Mar. The English retaliated, and Edward III led an army into the north, arriving at Durham on 15 July. After several days of scouting, they finally discovered the Scots near Stanhope Park, encamped on the south side of the river Wear. The English assumed a counter-offensive position along the banks of the opposite side of the river, but after four days the Scots had moved further up the river to a more strategic campsite within a wood. Edward's forces responded to this by taking up a higher, but similar, position across the river. After three further days of confrontation the Scots escaped by crossing the river at night. On 7 August the king was advised of the escape, and it was decided that pursuit would be futile. The English retired to Durham, and then onto York where the army disbanded. For further details see Ramsey 1913: I, 192 and Nicholson 1974: 118. Hardyng's account of the Scots escaping by bridging the river with blocks of peat and bundles of wood appears to be unique amongst the chronicle accounts, as most sources focus on Douglas's raid and attempted capture of the king several nights before the escape, rather than the escape itself; see, for example, the *Scalacronica* (Maxwell 1907: 80-81); the *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa* (Bond 1866-68: II, 356-57); Hemingburgh's *Chronicle* (Hamilton 1849: 298); Jean le Bel's *Chronique* (Viard and Déprez 1904-05: II, 63-77); and the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: I, 251). However, a similar incident occurs in the *Scalacronica* account of the attacks waged on Scotland by Edward Balliol and the 'disinherited' English lords in 1332 (see Maxwell 1907: 90); compare also, the description of a similar operation in the *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, which Hardyng certainly knew and used for the reign of Henry V in the second version of the *Chronicle* (Taylor and Roskell 1975: 72-73). See also **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 550-53.

l. 591-92 'At Pentecoste, by ... his reygne indede': Pentecost is another term for Whit-Sunday, the seventh Sunday after Easter day. The siege at Stanhope Park occurred during the first year of Edward III's reign (1327), not the second year (January 1328-24 January 1329) as Hardyng states here. This error also occurs in the second version (l. 530).

l. 604 'by fiftene days ende': Hardyng's estimation of the length of the Stanhope Park siege, the same as that given in the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: I, 250) and Hemingburgh's *Chronicle* (Hamilton 1849: 298), is fairly accurate. James Ramsey notes that the English arrived in Stanhope on 21 July and that Edward was at Stanhope on 1 August, several days before the Scots escaped. The entire campaign, beginning and ending at Durham, lasted approximately twenty-two days (Ramsey 1913: 191-92).

l. 616 'Wyndsore': Windsor castle, Berkshire, was one of the most important royal residences in the medieval period. It is here that Edward III established his order of the Garter in 1348.

ll. 617-23 'And sone thereafter ... man than devyse': On 24 January 1328 Edward III married Philippa of Hainault (1314-69), second daughter of William, count of Hainault, Holland and Zeeland, at York Minster. The marriage had been negotiated in 1326 between Edward's mother, Queen Isabella, and the count of Hainault, and was a tactical move on Isabella's part, as she used Philippa's dowry to pay the wages of the German and Hainault knights who assisted her invasion of England in 1326. Papal dispensation had to be obtained before the marriage could take place, as Edward and Philippa were second cousins (Joan of Valois, mother of Philippa, was the daughter of Charles of Valois, brother to Philip the Fair, father of Queen Isabella), but this was granted on 30 August 1327 and by the following December Philippa had arrived in London accompanied by an escort of bishops and her uncle, John of Hainault (see Rymer 1816-69: II, ii, 714, 718, 724). The brief version of events given here is very different from that in the second version of the *Chronicle*, where a story of a bishop selecting Philippa on account of her large hips is given (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 568-88).

l. 621 'All dyscheuely in hir heer sche stode': The description of Philippa wearing her hair down for her wedding is typical of a medieval bride. The displaying of long hair in the Middle Ages was restricted to children and virgins; married women covered their hair as a symbol of their married status. A bride traditionally wore her hair down at her wedding as it was the last opportunity to display it, and it symbolised her virginal state (see for example E. V. Gordon's commentary on the description of the Pearl maiden in the Middle English poem *Pearl*, 1974: 56). The significance and importance of a king selecting a virgin bride has been examined in Chamberlayne 1999.

ll. 624-30 'The kynge Edwarde ... sayth the cronyclere': As part of the terms of the Anglo-Scottish treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton, it was agreed that Joan of the Tower (1321-62), second daughter of Edward II and Isabella of France, would marry David Bruce (1324-71, later David II of Scotland, 1329-71), the son and heir of Robert Bruce (1274-1329, king of Scotland 1306-1329), and his second wife

Elizabeth de Burgh. For the circumstances and terms of the treaty see ll. 631-44 below.

l. 624 ‘his modyr quene’: Isabella of France, daughter of Philip IV of France and Joan of Champagne, and sister of Charles IV of France (1294-1328), wife of Edward II (1284-1327). Edward and Isabella had four children: Edward of Windsor, king of England; John of Eltham (1316-36), earl of Cornwall (1328-36); Eleanor of Woodstock (1318-35), who married Reginald II, count of Guelders in May 1332; and Joan of the Tower (1321-62), who later married David Bruce, king of Scotland (1329-71). For a recent study of Isabella and her relationships with Edward II and Mortimer see Doherty 2003. After Edward assumed his own personal rule, he was keen to distance himself from the embarrassing concessions made in the Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton, and claimed that the treaty was no longer valid as he had been a minor, and under the influence of his mother, when he agreed to the terms (for further details see Nicholson 1974: 124). Hardyng, always a steadfast champion of English hegemony, carefully removes any blame from Edward III for the Anglo-Scottish marriage alliance by stressing that it was Queen Isabella who was responsible for the marriage of her daughter, Joan, and David Bruce, and that Edward should not be held accountable because he was young and impressionable.

ll. 628-29 ‘The seconde day ... his thridde yere’: The marriage between Edward III’s sister, Joan, and David Bruce took place on 16 July 1328, not, as Hardyng incorrectly states, on 2 July in the third year of Edward III’s reign. As Edward’s third regnal year ran from 25 January 1329 to 24 January 1330, the year of the marriage recorded by Hardyng (1329) is also incorrect. Both of these errors are present in the second version (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 554-59).

ll. 631-37 ‘Thurgh occasion of ... all his right’: Hardyng’s syntax here is unclear. It is possible that he is implying that the treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton arose after, and as a result of, the marriage of Edward’s sister Joan to David Bruce, rather than that the marriage resulted from the terms of the treaty. The same confusion recurs in the second version (ll. 560-67).

ll. 631-44 ‘Thurgh occasion of ... that same mariage’: Hardyng is referring here to the treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton. As a result of the humiliating and financially crippling defeat at Stanhope Park, which cost the English approximately £70,000, the prospect of sustaining the wars against Scotland became increasingly difficult to justify. On 18 October 1327 Isabella and Mortimer initiated peace negotiations at Berwick, and later at York on 7 February 1328. It was initially agreed that six conditions of peace should be met; these included an alliance between Scotland and England against all parties except France; England was to concede to the independent rule of Scotland; David Bruce, son and heir to Robert, was to marry King Edward III’s sister, Joan; all Scottish lands held by Englishmen were to be reinstated to Scotsmen and vice versa; Robert Bruce was to pay England £20,000 within three years of the conclusion of the treaty; finally, Edward III would negotiate with the pope to revoke the excommunication of Robert Bruce and his subjects. A letter was drafted which became the Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton. On 1 March letters patent renouncing all claims to English superiority over Scotland were issued in the name of the young king of England, and on 17 March the treaty was officially

concluded at Holyrood, Edinburgh (see Nicholson 1974: 119). Before the treaty was sealed in the name of Edward III, Isabella and Mortimer obtained the consent of the Northampton parliament, and Edward then ratified the treaty on 4 May. Certain terms of the treaty were actioned almost immediately. The marriage between Edward's sister and David Bruce took place in July, but Edward refused to attend. On the 15 October 1328 the pope retracted the excommunication of Robert and his subjects (*CPL: 1305-1342*, p. 289) and instalments of the £20,000 were made to the English. In spite of this, the treaty failed to define a solution to the problem of the disinherited English and Scottish lords, and unresolved disputes over earldoms and estates in Scotland soon led to further conflict and border warfare; see, for example, the campaign of 1332, ll. 726-810 below. For the terms of the treaty see Rymer 1816-69: II, iii, 6 and Stones 1970: 161-2)

l. 634 'Sir Roger Mortymer': Roger Mortimer (c. 1287-1330), son and heir of Edward, seventh baron Wigmore, lieutenant of Ireland (1316-30), first earl of March (1328-30). Mortimer inherited his main estates in the Welsh marches upon the death of his father. In 1321 he rebelled against Edward II with the Marcher lords, and after surrendering a year later, was imprisoned in the Tower of London. He escaped in 1323 and fled to France where he became the consort of King Edward's wife, Isabella. After their invasion of England in 1326 and the deposition of Edward II, Mortimer and Isabella in effect ruled England in the name of the young Edward III even though an advisory council had been established to offer the king suitable advice during his minority. As Ormrod has noted, the residue of political upheaval from the previous reign occupied the parliament of February-March 1327 to the extent that they 'missed the opportunity to dictate the form of a regency government'; although a council was elected to advise the young king, it lacked any 'executive power' (1990: 3). One of the members of that council was Henry, earl of Lancaster, whom Hardyng mentions here. The most recent study of the Mortimers is by Hopkinson and Speight 2002.

ll. 645-58 'This same Roger ... made by ordynacion': Henry (c. 1281-1345), third earl of Lancaster and ninth earl of Leicester (1324-45), was the second son of Edmund, first earl of Lancaster. In 1326 he supported the invasion of England by Isabella and Mortimer, and helped to capture Edward II. He was elected as one of the council members selected to advise the young king. However, Isabella and Mortimer had alternative plans; their successful invasion of England and deposition of Edward II had provided them with a wealth of power and influence that proved to be too great to surrender. For the first three years of Edward III's reign, the king's mother and her lover used their influence over the king and ruled England in all but name. Although they had access to a great fortune of their own, they financially crippled the king's treasury and even pawned the crown jewels to fund the Stanhope Park expedition. Ultimately, their greed and bad governance of the crown funds contributed to their downfall, and was one of the issues raised during the rebellion against them in the autumn of 1328 when Lancaster and several other powerful magnates attempted to dispel Mortimer's influence over the king. The first version does not refer to the rebellion, however it does occur briefly in the second version (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 598-609). Other chronicle accounts criticising Isabella and Mortimer include: the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: I, 257, 261-62); the *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa* (Bond 1866-68: II, 358, 360); Knighton's *Chronicle* (Lumby 1889-95: I,

447-53); and the *Scalacronica* (Maxwell 1907: 84). For further discussion see Ormrod 1990: 5.

l. 647 ‘playfer’: The use of the word ‘playfer’ here is of particular interest. Hardyng uses the word in this instance, and later in the second version (ll. 602, 1305), to mean paramour, or lover (see *MED* pleien v.). In the first version of the *Chronicle*, Hardyng also uses the word to describe Edward II’s relationship with Piers Gaveston (f. 178v), and in the second version the word is employed to describe the relationship between Richard II and Robert de Vere (l. 1305). Whilst the term may be used to denote a playmate or companion, it is highly likely, given Hardyng’s use of the word to describe the relationship of Roger Mortimer and Isabella, that the word is intended to suggest a sexual relationship. Because of this, one could make a case for Hardyng supporting the notion implied in other chronicle accounts that Edward II and later Richard II had homosexual relationships with their favourites; see, for example, the *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, which calls Edward II a sodomite (Bond 1866-68: II, 355). Another ambiguous use of the word ‘playfer’ may be found in the sermon preached by Thomas Wimbledon in 1388 (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, l. 1305).

ll. 659-65 ‘The yer of Criste ... Iohne of Tour’: Robert Bruce (1274-1329), king of Scotland (1306-29), died of leprosy on 7 June 1329 at Cardross, leaving his five-year old son and heir, David Bruce, to inherit the throne of Scotland. Hardyng incorrectly gives the date of Bruce’s death as 12 June 1330. The death of Robert Bruce prompted Edward Balliol to revive his claim to the Scottish throne and in response to this Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray and regent of Scotland during David’s minority, arranged a swift coronation for the young king (Nicholson 1974: 123-25); David was anointed on 24 November 1331, when he was seven years old, at Scone Abbey.

ll. 666-68 ‘And in the ... his fourth yer’: The dates given here are incorrect. Edmund, earl of Kent, was arrested in 1329, not 1330. Edward III’s fourth regnal year ran from 25 January 1330 to 24 January 1331.

ll. 666-86 ‘And in the ... of his hede’: In 1329, not 1330 as Hardyng states, Edmund Woodstock (1301-30), earl of Kent, son of Edward I and his second wife Margaret of France (d. 1317), and half-brother to King Edward II, became the victim of a plot allegedly contrived by Roger Mortimer and Queen Isabella. The earl had supported Queen Isabella’s conspiracy to depose her husband, Edward II, in 1326, and was appointed to the council selected to advise and govern for the young Edward III during his minority. Although Kent was initially involved in the rebellion orchestrated by Henry of Lancaster in 1328 (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 598-609), he quickly revoked his support, but in 1329 Mortimer appears to have cultivated rumours of Edward II’s survival in an attempt to implicate Edmund with treason. Mortimer’s agent, John Maltravers, was employed to confirm the stories of Edward II’s survival at Corfe castle, which were been circulated by a Dominican preacher, Thomas Dunhead. On 13 March 1329 Kent was arrested, at the insistence of Mortimer, during the proceedings of the Winchester parliament (summoned for 11 March). On 16 March he gave a lengthy and damning confession at an inquest, in which he implicated a large number of influential people, including Pope John XXII, who either led him to believe that his half-brother was still alive, or who pledged their

assistance to Kent in his efforts to restore the late king to his throne (Ramsey, 1913: 205; for the confession see Murimuth's *Chronicle* (Thompson 1889a: 253) and *The Chronicle of Lanercost* (Maxwell 1913: 265). John Maltravers was subsequently charged for his part in the conspiracy (*Rot. Parl.*, II, 53, 55). Kent was beheaded as a traitor at Winchester on 19 March. Other contemporary chronicle accounts regarding Kent as a victim include: *The Chronicle of Lanercost* (Maxwell 1913: 265), Knighton's *Chronicle* (Lumby 1889-95: I, 452), the *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa* (Bond 1866-68: II, 359), and Geoffrey le Baker (Thompson 1889b: 43). Compare also the additional details of the execution provided in the second version of Hardyng's *Chronicle* (**Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 610-26).

I. 671 'erle of Kent': In 1321 Edward II revived the title 'earl of Kent', which had been in abeyance since 1243, and bestowed the honour on Edmund Woodstock.

II. 687-700 'In his first ... as I leue': In 1330, not 1331 as Hardyng states, Edward III assumed his own personal rule. The corrupt governance of his mother, Isabella, and her lover, Roger Mortimer, prompted the king to summon a clandestine council at Nottingham. On 19 October, after Mortimer had openly challenged the king's intentions, twenty-four of the king's noblemen, led by William Montagu, infiltrated Nottingham castle, where Mortimer and Isabella were residing, and arrested Mortimer in the name of the king. The king's party gained access to the heavily guarded castle through a series of underground passages tunnelled through the rock on which the castle was built, which gave access to the castle interior. After a struggle, in which Hugh Trumpington and Richard of Monmouth were killed defending the queen and Roger Mortimer (see Rymer 1816-69: II, ii, 830), Mortimer, his two sons, Geoffrey and Edmund, Oliver Ingham and Simon Bedford were captured and imprisoned. The following day they were removed to the Tower of London to await the judgement of parliament. On 29 November Mortimer was hanged and drawn at Tyburn, London (*Rot. Parl.*, II, 52). The reference to the underground passages here is similar to the accounts found in the chronicles of Knighton (Lumby 1889-95: I, 453), Baker (Thompson 1889b: 45-6) and Avesbury (Thompson 1889a: 285). For the fate of Queen Isabella see below ll. 701-07.

I. 687 'In his first yere at Seynt Lukes day anone': The 'first yere' referred to here means the first year of Edward III's majority, not the first year of his reign. The feast of St Luke occurs on 18 October, therefore the dating of this incident is incorrect; the arrest of Mortimer took place on 19 October.

I. 693 'That erle of ... was that yer': Roger Mortimer created the title 'earl of March' and was conferred with the honour at the parliament of Salisbury (16-31 October 1328), not in 1331 as Hardyng records here. Many of the magnates viewed Mortimer's new title as an indication that he was becoming over-zealous with the power at his disposal.

I. 699 'Seynt Andrew eue': The feast of St Andrew occurs on 30 November, therefore the eve of the feast of St Andrew is 29 November. This date is correct.

II. 701-07 'And fro the ... of grete distresse': After assuming his own personal rule, Edward III was quite lenient with his mother. He resumed much of the wealth and

property that she had acquired and forced her to retire from public life, restricting her to an annuity of £1,000 and her original dower lands, mainly Castle Rising, Norfolk, and Hertford Castle, Hertfordshire (see Rymer 1816-69: II, ii 835).

ll. 711-21 'For she and ... both in fere': For the capture of Mortimer and Isabella at Nottingham castle see ll. 687-700 above.

ll. 712-13 'by ways vndyrnethe/ The erthe': The reference to the underground passages beneath Nottingham castle is not fictional. Despite been built on sandstone rock, the medieval fortification, no longer extant, had a series of subterranean caves and passages, which may still be viewed today (see Petiffer 1995: 2002).

l. 716 'Hir chambyrleyn, Sir Wyllyam Trumpyngton': The steward killed, defending Queen Isabella and Mortimer during the raid on Nottingham castle, was Hugh Trumpington, not William Trumpington as Hardyng states here.

ll. 722-25 'The sext yere ... that vyage': Edward's sixth regnal year ran from 25 January 1332 to 24 January 1333. Once again the year given by Hardyng is incorrect. Edward journeyed to France in June 1329. On 6 June he paid homage to his uncle, King Philip of France, for the lands he held as duke of Guienne (Rymer 1816-69: II, ii, 765). The journey was kept as brief as possible and Edward made his return crossing on 11 June. For the instrument of homage see Rymer 1816-69: II, iii, 27. The homage to the king of France is omitted in the second version of the *Chronicle*.

ll. 726-810: 'Bot Sir Edwarde ... felly thaym acolyed': In response to the coronation of David II, Edward Balliol mustered those English magnates who had been disinherited from their properties in Scotland by the treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton, and with the alleged knowledge of Edward III, set sail for Scotland from Ravenspurn, an important port at the mouth of the Humber (no longer extant) on 31 July 1332; they landed at Kinghorn on 6 August. The most prominent members of Balliol's party were Henry Beaumont (claimant to the earldom of Buchan through his wife, Alice Comyn), his son-in-law David of Strathbogie (claimant to the earldom of Athol), Gilbert Umfraville (claimant to the earldom of Angus), Thomas Wake, William de la Zouche, Richard Talbot, Ralph Stafford, Henry Ferrers, Alexander and John Mowbray, Walter Comyn and Fulk FitzWarin. After landing at Kinghorn, the English fought against the Scottish forces led by Duncan Macduff, earl of Fife. Several of the chronicles make reference to the bodies of the Scots forming large heaps on the battlefield, see, for example, the *Scalacronica* (Maxwell 1907: 91), and the account in the continuation to the *Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvon* (Stubbs 1882-83: II, 107), where the author estimates that the piles of bodies reached fifteen feet high.

The battle of Dupplin Moor took place in August 1332, where the English had the victory; several days after the encounter the English found themselves under siege at Perth ('Seynt Iohneston', l. 790). The siege was to last only six days in total, as the English destroyed a Scottish fleet on the Tay, which was bringing supplies to the Scots. The siege, led by the Scottish lords, Sir Archibald Douglas, and Patrick Dunbar, earl of March, was swiftly abandoned. John Crabb, a famous Flemish engineer, naval officer, and captain of the Scottish fleet escaped to Berwick; he was captured in December along with Sir Andrew Moray during the attempt to overthrow Balliol. Crabb was forced to change his allegiance to the English in order to save his

own life; his skills and tactics were later employed against the Scots by the English (see Nicholson 1974: 127-8). Hardyng's estimation that 30,000 Scots were killed is an exaggeration.

ll. 811-12 'Bot neuerthelees at ... of that region': Edward Balliol was crowned king of Scotland at Scone on 24 September 1332, by Bishop William Sinclair of Dunkeld.

ll. 813-19 'The twenty day ... byde his iugement': Sir Andrew Moray, guardian of Scotland, was captured at Roxburgh and imprisoned at Durham by the English (Nicholson 1974: 127-28).

ll. 820-33 'Syr Archebalde Douglas ... and of grace': On 17 December 1332 Sir Archibald Douglas, Robert Stewart and John Randolph, the new earl of Moray, led an attack on Balliol at Annan. Douglas had previously negotiated a truce with Balliol, and the presence of the English lords in Scotland seemed unnecessary, so many of them returned to England when summoned to parliament. Douglas and his men took advantage of this, and their evening attack resulted in Balliol fleeing to Carlisle, where he sent three envoys to Edward III advising him of the situation and requesting help (Nicholson 1974: 127). 'Candylmesse' occurs on 2 February.

ll. 834-61 'At whose requeste ... kynges eche man': On 19 March 1333 Balliol re-entered Scotland with a strong company of English magnates and their men at arms to lay siege to Berwick. Edward III joined Balliol at the siege in May 1333. The estimate of 60,000 Scottish men here is the same as the figure given by the continuator of the *Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvon* (Stubbs 1882-83: II, 115). During the fifth month of the siege, the Scots agreed to surrender to the English, if they were not relieved by 20 July 1333. On 19 July the English troops met with the Scottish army, under the command of Sir Archibald Douglas, and fought at Halidon Hill. Douglas and five Scottish earls were killed at the battle, and it is believed that the killing continued until nightfall. The English were victorious and Berwick surrendered the next day (Nicholson 1974: 128-29).

ll. 862-75 'The eghtene day ... als his suppowayle': Edward Balliol made the highly unpopular choice of paying homage to Edward III as his vassal king on 18 June 1334 at a Dominican house in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. This act incited many of the Scottish nobles to rise up against Balliol, and once again the Scottish king was forced to seek assistance from Edward III. For the document of the event see Rymer 1816-69: II, iii, 115.

ll. 876-99 'And in the ... was full wyde': In 1334 Alexander and Geoffrey Mowbray retracted their support of Balliol, following a dispute over Mowbray properties, and joined Bruce's party. David Strathbogie, earl of Athol, had been made Steward of Scotland by Edward III after the battle of Halidon Hill, but John Randolph, earl of Moray, coerced him into swearing allegiance to David II of Scotland on 27 September 1334. In July 1335 Edward III and Edward Balliol set off from Carlisle and Berwick respectively, and raided Scotland all the way to Perth, where they rendezvoused in August with their impressive armies. Having seen the sheer size of the English forces, Athol switched sides once again, negotiating peace terms for himself and others. Athol was assigned the lieutenancy of the north by Balliol, but was slaughtered

shortly after in November 1335 in the forest of Culblean whilst fighting William Douglas; see Knighton's *Chronicle* (Lumby 1889-95: I, 475); the *Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvon* (Stubbs 1882-83: II, 128); Murimuth's *Chronicle* (Thompson 1889a: 75-76); and the *Scalacronica* (Maxwell 1907: 99-101).

Perhaps one of the least expedient decisions Edward III made at this time was releasing Sir Andrew Moray, for Moray would make great trouble for the English in the wake of Balliol's homage to Edward III. For further discussion of these events see Nicholson 130-32.

II. 900-31 'Syr Henry, than ... hiegh of excelece': Edward III's campaign of 1336 began when he sent Henry, earl of Lancaster, and Edward Balliol to Perth in May 1336 (Rymer 1816-69: II, ii, 936); Edward III followed in June. Attempts to maintain an armistice, following the Scottish victory headed by Sir Andrew Moray and William Douglas in the forest of Culblean, had failed, and in the face of Scottish defiance Edward III had little choice but to assert his authority with military vigour. The ensuing description of the journey made by Edward III through Scotland echoes, in miniature, parts of the itinerary of Scotland provided by Hardyng at the end of this version of the *Chronicle* (II. 3752-3968). It was at this time that the king famously rescued the widow of the earl of Athol, who was besieged by Andrew Moray at Lochindorb. After Moray escaped Edward scorched his way to Elgin and Inverness. The king's brother, John of Eltham, earl of Cornwall, died on this campaign having ravaged Clydesdale, and the castles of Stirling and Bothville were re-captured by the English. Compare Hardyng's account of the operation with the *Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvon* (Stubbs 1882-83: II, 128) and *The Chronicle of Lanercost* (Maxwell 1913: 286), which lists the places ceded by the Scots.

II. 932-52 'And in the ... called of Huntyngdon': At the Westminster parliament (May 1337) Edward III created his son Edward, duke of Cornwall and earl of Chester. He also bestowed six earldoms: Sir Henry of Lancaster became earl of Derby; Sir William Mountagu, earl of Salisbury; Sir Hugh Audley, earl of Gloucester; Sir William Bohun, the earl of Northampton; Robert Ufford, earl of Suffolk; and Sir William Clinton, earl of Huntingdon.

I. 936 'his sonne Edward, prynce of Wales': The birth of Edward, prince of Wales (1330-76), oldest son of Edward III and Philippa of Hainault, is not recorded in the *Chronicle*. Edward was born at Woodstock, and his titles included prince of Wales (1334-76); fourteenth earl of Chester (1354-76); first duke of Cornwall (1337-76); and prince of Aquitaine (1362-76). In later times the epithet 'Black Prince' was ascribed to Edward, allegedly as a reference to the colour of his armour. The prince's contemporaries celebrated his military acts, styling him as the epitome of chivalry, and until he contracted severe dysentery on his Spanish campaign in 1370 and became infirm, it had been hoped that he would follow the greatness of both his father and grandfather, Edward I. For the prince's career see Barber 1978 and Green 2001; and for his contemporary biographer, the herald of Sir John Chandos, see Pope and Lodge 1910.

II. 953-80 'In this mene-while ... the Scottes prevayled': Having left Balliol in charge of affairs at Perth, Edward III returned to England; however, the Scots swiftly resumed their attacks on the English strongholds. In February 1337 Sir Andrew

Moray, the earls of Fife and March, and William Douglas attacked the English possessions in Fife. St Andrews castle held for three weeks before surrendering to a siege, and in March 1337 Moray arrived at Bothwell, his own castle, and re-captured it. At the same time, Edward III appointed Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, as captain and leader of the army of Scotland, a promotion that Nicholson believes represents the king's failing interest in the war with Scotland (1974: 136). The Scots suffered a severe setback during the siege of Stirling, when one of their most famous men, William Keith, fell on his own lance and was killed. Edward III returned to Scotland, and the siege of Stirling failed, just as Moray's other siege at Edinburgh had failed. Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel, and William Montagu, earl of Salisbury, then besieged the Scottish stronghold at Dunbar on 13 January 1338. However, the castle was ably defended by 'Black Agnes', the sister of John Randolph, earl of Moray, and it ended unsuccessfully, with the English granting the Scots a truce until Michaelmas 1339; the expedition had cost approximately £6,000 (see Nicholson 1974: 136-37). Other notable accounts of the campaign include: the *Scalacronica* (Maxwell 1907: 167) and Wyntoun's *Chronicle* (Amours 1903-14: VI, 80-90).

ll. 981-94 'And in the ... hym descended don': On 16 July 1338 Edward III, his wife, and the earls of Derby, Northampton, Salisbury, Suffolk and Huntingdon, set sail for Antwerp from Orwell with one hundred and fifteen ships. Edward hoped to muster support for his campaign in France, where he intended to assert his claims of sovereignty over that realm as the heir to the French throne by right of descent from his mother, Isabella of France. This is generally held to be the start of the Hundred Years War, literature on which is exhaustive; however, for a succinct account of the complicated political circumstances that contributed to the start of the war with France see McKisack 1959 and Prestwich 2003: 146-52. Studies of the individual battles fought during the Hundred Years War are numerous and therefore, for the sake of brevity, the reader is referred to the relevant studies for further information. The following are of particular importance: Burne 1955 and 1956; Sumption 1990-99; Vale 1996; Rollason and Prestwich 1998; Green 2002.

At Antwerp Edward III consulted with his allies, many of whom were from the Low Countries; William of Hainault, Count of Holland and Zeeland, Reginald, Count of Guelders, William, Marquis of Juliers, John, duke of Brabant, and Louis of Bavaria, the Holy Roman Emperor. A copy of one of the letters Edward I sent to Pope Boniface concerning his sovereignty over Scotland is provided at the end of the *Chronicle*; however, this reference highlights the way in which Edward III also asserted his claims in a letter to the pope, this time with regard to English sovereignty over France. Compare with the account of the king's letters vindicating his French claim in Murimuth's *Chronicle* (Thompson 1889a: 91-101) and Hemingburgh's *Chronicle* (Hamilton 1849: II, 316-26). The letter to the pope is not mentioned in the second version.

ll. 995-1008 'The yer of ... werres to begyn': The year given here is incorrect; Edward III quartered the arms of England (gules, three lions passant guardant or) with the arms of France (azure, three fleur-de-lys or) in 1340, not 1339, as a symbolic gesture of his dual right to the kingdoms. The chronicler Jean le Bel records that he did it to gain the support of the Flemings, who were obligated to the king of France under forfeit of a large sum of money deposited in the papal treasury; thus, to gain their allegiance and prevent them from breaking their oath and losing their money, Edward

III styled himself King of France. Although this is not referred to here, the second version does concur with le Bel's observations (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 813-23).

ll. 1009-1029 'The dukes that ... hym and soiorne': There was no notable engagement between the English army and the troops of Philip VI during the campaign of 1339. Both kings exchanged letters, some of which are preserved in contemporary chronicles, offering challenges to single combat or combat involving a designated number of men, but although the two armies faced each other at Buironfosse, neither advanced. See Ormrod 1990: 10-11 and Prestwich 2003: 152. Compare this version with the explicit reference in the second version to the letter sent by Philip VI to Edward III (ll. 824-831). The cowardice of Philip is emphasised in both versions, as it is in other chroniclers, such as Geoffrey Baker, who notes that Philip fled when he was within two miles of Edward III, cutting down trees across roads and destroying bridges as he went to prevent the English king from pursuing him (Thompson 1889b: 64).

ll. 1030-43 'In that same ... hym so complayn': Hardyng's text reflects the interests of the fourteenth-century chroniclers here by providing details of the taxes levied to support the king's campaign in France (see, for example, the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 293-94). For the subsidies granted to Edward III by parliament in May 1340 see *Rot. Parl.*, II, 112-13. Hardyng is correct in recording that the ninth sheaf, fleece and lamb were granted for two years on condition that the king grant the petitions that were put before him. This is probably what Hardyng refers to when he mentions the criminals that were pardoned; however, as Prestwich has noted, Edward III sanctioned the recruitment of criminals for the armies: 'At least one thousand eight hundred pardons were issued to criminals in return for their service at the siege of Calais. Not all were common offenders: the list was headed by the Earl of Warwick, but a more typical figure was Robert le White, guilty of "homicides, felonies, robberies, rapes of women and trespasses"' (2003: 172-73). Hardyng may therefore be referring to a more general tendency to pardon lawbreakers in Edward's reign.

ll. 1044-57 'And in the ... men myght se': The battle of Sluys (24 June 1340) was a significant victory for the English. The English fleet bombarded the French ships whilst they were chained together, and hand to hand combat ensued. The chroniclers tend to focus on the vast numbers that drowned during the battle; see, for example, the accounts of Murimuth (Thompson 1889a: 106-07) and Avesbury (Thompson 1889a: 312). For further information on the battle see McKisack 1959: 128-29.

ll. 1058-85 'In that same ... mor to stere': The siege of Tournai was a disaster for the English and it was abandoned in favour of the truce of Esplechin, which offered temporary respite to both sides. Adam Murimuth states that Philip VI was only four leagues away from the siege, but lacked the courage to intervene (Thompson 1889a: 115-16). Even though the besieged at Tournai were in want of supplies and relief, Edward III agreed to the truce, which lasted for the next two years, because of insufficient finances. The truce of Malestroit was concluded in January 1343 following Edward's 1342 campaign in Brittany; it was intended to last until September 1346, its purpose being to adjourn the fighting whilst peace negotiations took place. While the truce was supposed to aid the peace process, neither side

adhered to, or worked towards, this ideal; the French dishonoured the truce on several notable occasions by slaughtering some of England's allies, and Edward III was busy attempting to raise funds for another campaign. The truce ended prematurely in the summer of 1345 after the papal delegations sent to Avignon for peaceful arbitration failed to establish a suitable compromise. Edward III began another campaign in northern France, whilst the earl of Northampton raided Brittany and Gascony. See Rogers 1999: 103-06 and Prestwich 2003: 152-54. Hardyng's chronology here is not very good, as he seems to conflate the truces of Esplechin and Malestroit and the events that occurred in between; compare with the more comprehensive accounts of the siege and ensuing truce in Murimuth's *Chronicle* (Thompson 1889a: 107-08) and Avesbury (Thompson 1889a: 314-23).

ll. 1067-78 'And in that ... clerly dyd expreme': After Edward III had returned to England, Philip invaded Flanders and captured the earls of Suffolk and Salisbury at Lille. The French king arranged for their return in exchange for John Randolph, earl of Moray (*CCR: Edward III, 1339-41*, p. 540). Compare Hardyng's account with those found in Murimuth's *Chronicle* (Thompson 1889a: 104-05), the *Scalacronica* (Maxwell 1907: 108) and Knighton's *Chronicle* (Lumby 1889-95: II, 17). A story of their capture occurs in Bibliothèque Nationale MS Fr. 693, ff. 155r-55v (printed and translated in Rogers 1999: 81-82), but unfortunately it is very different to the one given here. Documents relating to their capture at Lille, and the ransom of Salisbury, occur in Rymer 1816-69: II, ii, 1139, 1170.

ll. 1086-99 'Bot Erle Henry ... all his iugement': Henry of Grosmont, earl of Derby, is celebrated by the chroniclers for his martial prowess. Froissart in particular dedicates a significant part of his *Chroniques* to describing his activities during the Gascony campaign of 1345. His invasion of Gascony was incredibly effective and he managed to re-establish English jurisdiction there; compare with the accounts of his exploits in Knighton's *Chronicle* (Lumby 1889-95: II, 38-39, 40-41) and Avesbury's *Chronicle* (Thompson 1889a: 372). Interestingly he is purported to have written a treatise on the law of warfare, which is no longer extant (see Prestwich 2003: 140, 154). The portrait of him created by Hardyng is similar, albeit brief, to the eulogy of Sir Robert Umfraville at the end of this version of the *Chronicle* (see below, ll. 3472-3583), with the qualities of fair arbitration, military expertise and good governance being emphasised.

ll. 1100-1117 'And in August ... se and ken': The battle of Crécy took place on Saturday 26 August 1346. Despite the fact that Edward III was present, his son, Edward (the Black Prince) fought in the thick of the battle and gained praise for the victory that the English secured. Even though Hardyng exaggerates the size of the French casualties, the numbers were significantly high. Understandably, all of the chroniclers mention the battle; see, for example, Avesbury's *Chronicle* (Thompson 1889a: 368-69); Murimuth's *Chronicle* (Thompson 1889a: 216); the *Scalacronica* (Maxwell 1907: 114-45); and the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 298-99). For further information see Burne 1955 and McKisack 1959: 133-35.

ll. 1118-34 'And in that ... with grete repayre': For a detailed account of the battle of Neville's Cross (17 October 1346) see Nicholson 1974 and Rollason and Prestwich 1998; a substantial narrative concerning the battle occurs in *The Chronicle of*

Lanercost (Maxwell 1913: 335-42). The English appear to have had advance warning of the Scots' intended invasion from the middle of September. In the north the border magnates prepared for an attack, and when the Scots did attack on 17 October (not 18 October as Hardyng states), the English won the field. The archbishop of York, William de la Zouche, was accompanied by a considerable army, and joined with the northern magnates listed by Hardyng. David II was captured during the battle by John Coupland, who was awarded an annuity of £500; Coupland was murdered in 1363 by members of the Northumberland gentry. Details of the retinues may be found in Rymer 1816-69: III, i, 8.

ll. 1135-45 'The kynge Edwarde ... by clerkes computacion': After the battle of Crécy the English force besieged Calais. French support arrived in July 1347; after much posturing, an agreement to meet on the battlefield was made between the two kings, but Philip VI abandoned his plan to attack and retreated, possibly because Edward III occupied an advantageous position and Philip feared defeat (see Prestwich 2003: 156-58). The siege had lasted nearly a year, when Edward entered the town in 4 August 1347 (McKisack 1959: 136-37); compare Hardyng's brief description of the siege with the fuller accounts in the chronicles of Murimuth (Thompson 1889a: 218) and Avesbury (Thompson 1889a: 395-96).

ll. 1146-55 'The next yer ... foreuer and ay': Thomas, duke of Lancaster (1278-1322) married Alice de Lacy, heiress to the earldoms of Lincoln and Salisbury. When his father in law, Henry, earl of Lincoln, died in 1311, Alice succeeded to the earldom of Lincoln, and Lancaster inherited his properties through her, becoming one of the wealthiest magnates in England. When Lancaster died in 1322, his brother Henry (1281-1345) inherited his titles, which in turn passed to his son Henry of Grosmont, earl and duke of Lancaster (d. 1361). In October 1348, following the death of Alice, countess of Lincoln, Grosmont had livery of her lands; he was created earl of Lincoln in 1349 and duke of Lancaster in 1351. For further information see Cokayne 1910-59: VII, 390, 402). Hardyng incorrectly records the death of Henry, duke of Lancaster, at ll. 1163-76 below.

ll. 1156-62 'Than in the ... thurgh grete infyrmyte': The outbreak of plague in England referred to here is that which occurred in 1348-49. Hardyng's brief reference to the plague is meagre in comparison with the detailed accounts of the plague's effects given in the chronicles of Knighton (Lumby 1889-95: II, 58-59) and Avesbury (Thompson 1889a: 406-7).

ll. 1163-76 'And in the ... that worthy lorde': Henry, duke of Lancaster, died in 1345, not 1350 as Hardyng suggests here, and his son Henry of Grosmont was created duke of Lancaster in 1351; compare with the confused lines above (ll. 1146-55). Again, Hardyng invites comparison between Grosmont and Umfraville (compare with ll. 1086-99 above).

ll. 1177-97 'The prynce Edwarde ... made by ordynaunce': The sons of Edward III are mentioned here, and their involvement in their father's French campaign in 1355 is emphasised. However, more space is devoted to them in the second version of the *Chronicle*, where they are discussed not only in the narrative concerning the reign of

Edward III, but also in the prologue (see Arch. Selden B. 10, ff. 5v-7v, ll. 57-77, 85-105, 127-97 in **Illustrative Texts**).

ll. 1177-83 'The prynce Edwarde ... his byddyng declyne': In 1355 Prince Edward was given his first independent command; his army advanced across France from Gascony to Narbonne, raiding as they went. His assaults were considered to be highly profitable to the English cause.

ll. 1187-90 'Syr Leonell of ... as his lyfe': Lionel of Antwerp, duke of Clarence (1338-68), married Elizabeth de Burgh (1332-63), heiress of the earl of Ulster and the Clare estates of the earls of Gloucester, on 9 September 1342. Elizabeth, who was born on 6 July 1332, had not reached ten years of age at the time, but was the only daughter and heir of William de Burgh, earl of Ulster (1312-33); Lionel was four. Their daughter, Philippa of Clarence (1355-1381), married Edmund Mortimer, third earl of March (1352-1381) and produced Roger Mortimer, fourth earl of March (1373-1398). Roger married Eleanor Holland (1373-1405) and fathered Edmund Mortimer, fifth earl of March (1391-1425), and Anne Mortimer (1390-1411), who later became the wife of Richard, earl of Cambridge, and mother of Richard, third duke of York. It is the marriage between Philippa of Clarence and Edmund Mortimer that enabled the house of York to make a claim on the throne of England. When the line of descent through Edward III's oldest son, Edward the Black Prince, failed for lack of an heir, the law of Primogeniture dictated that the throne of England should have passed to the heirs of the second son, Lionel. This did not happen, and instead Henry Bolingbroke, son of John of Gaunt, usurped the throne. After the marginal gloss following l. 1183 an early hand has added a marginal annotation concerning Lionel, duke of Clarence, and his wives, another occurs after l. 1323.

l. 1191 'Sir Iohn of Gaunt': John of Gaunt (1340-99), the third son of Edward III, was born in Ghent, hence the corruption 'Gaunt'. Unfortunately, Gaunt achieved little renown for his activities in France, particularly his unremarkable northern raid in 1369 and his expedition of 1373.

l. 1192 'Sire Edmond als of Langley': Edmund of Langley (1341-1402) fourth son of Edward III and Philippa of Hainault; first duke of York (1385-1402); third earl of Cambridge (1362-1402). In 1372 Edmund married Isabella, daughter of Pedro I of Castile and sister to John of Gaunt's second wife, Constanza. Isabella and Edmund had three children: Edward of Aumale (1373-1415), duke of York and earl of Rutland; Richard (c. 1375-1415), earl of Cambridge; and Constance of York. Edmund's second wife was Joan Holland (d. 1434). Edmund had a long military career, but was rarely given an independent command. On 29 September 1364 he fought at the battle of Auray (southern Brittany) with his brother, John of Gaunt. The encounter was one of a series of battles that covered a period of more than twenty years, and concerned two rival claimants to the duchy of Brittany, John, duke of Brittany, and Charles of Blois. Edmund of Langley founded the house of York when Richard II created the dukedom for him on 6 August 1385. Hardyng, who would have been twenty-four years old when Langley died, states in the prologue to the second version of the *Chronicle* (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 6v, ll. 139-40 in **Illustrative Texts**) that he saw Edmund in person and that he lived to eighty years of age. As Edmund died at the age of sixty-one, Hardyng's information appears to be incorrect; however,

the inconsistency in his age may be due to a scribal error in copying. The age written is 'four score', with the four appearing in Roman numerals, hence it is highly likely that an additional stroke could have been added in error by a scribe copying the text from another source, or indeed a corrupt exemplar.

ll. 1193-94 'Sir Thomas Wodestoke ... in that vyage': Thomas of Woodstock (1355-97), youngest surviving son of Edward III and Philippa of Hainault; fourteenth earl of Essex (1374-97); constable of England (1376); third earl of Buckingham (1377-97); first duke of Gloucester (1385-97). In the prologue to the second version Hardyng mentions Scottish prophecies relating to Gloucester (ll. 150-54); however, I have been unable to locate any specific items that connect Gloucester with the Scots. Aside from the prophecies circulating in medieval England, a great corpus undoubtedly existed in both Wales and Scotland, and Hardyng may by attempting to highlight English hegemony over the Scots by citing their own alleged prophecies against them. Gloucester does, however, feature in two extant prophecies: the first, written in a fifteenth-century hand in Cambridge Corpus Christi MS 369, is actually attributed to Gloucester himself (Coote 2000: 241); the second occurs in Walsingham's *Annales Ricardi Secundi* (see ll. 1560-61 below). For further information on prophecy in medieval England see Coote 2000.

ll. 1198-1211 'And in the ... vndre thair attendaunce': The battle of Poitiers was fought in September 1356, not 1357 as Hardyng states. It was one of the most successful campaigns of the Hundred Years War waged by Edward, the Black Prince, and his English forces against the French king, John II, who was defeated and taken prisoner with his son. Other notable accounts of the battle include: the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 307-09); the *Scalacronica* (Maxwell 1907: 122-25); and Murimuth's *Chronicle* (Thompson 1889a: 187-90). The peace negotiations afterwards resulted in the treaty of Brétigny in 1360, which granted Edward III sovereignty over many parts of France including Gascony, Poitou, the Agenais, Périgod, Quercy, the Limousin, Calais, and Ponthieu. A list of such places is included in the prologue to the second version of the *Chronicle* (see Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 7v, ll. 204-217 in **Illustrative Texts**). For a comprehensive study of the battle see Green 2002.

ll. 1212-18 'Than the quene ... and riall dignyte': Edward's mother Isabella died in August 1358. She was buried at Grey Friars Church, London, beside her lover, Roger Mortimer.

ll. 1219-25 'The next yer ... nocht be repeled': Hardyng rewrites events to make the events of 1359 look favourable to Edward III, when in fact they were not. The English attempted to win Reims, with the intention of crowning Edward king of France, but they failed and retreated via Paris, where they remained for while. Edward did not force the French to agree to the Treaty of Brétigny (1360), but rather it suited both parties to come to the agreement.

ll. 1226-32 'And in the ...had wele spedde': The outbreak of plague mentioned here occurred in 1361-12. In May 1359 John of Gaunt married his first wife Blanche of Lancaster, daughter of Henry of Grosmont, duke of Lancaster. Gaunt inherited Lancaster's titles following his death in 1361. Blanche bore Gaunt eight children, only

three of which reached adulthood: Philippa, Elizabeth and Henry Bolingbroke (1367-1413), who deposed Richard II in 1399 and became Henry IV.

ll. 1233-39 'And in the ... in ser contrese': The great wind and earthquake of 1361 is recorded by the majority of chroniclers for this period. Hardyng gives the date as 14 January, the eve of the feast of St Maurus; this date differs from the slightly fuller account given in the *Brut*, which states that the wind arose from the south at evensong, on the feast of St Maurus (15 January), and continued for seven days (Brie 1906-08: II, 315). The lines describing the destruction caused by the wind here are similar to those used later to describe the earthquake of 1381 (ll. 1527-33), and both parallel the description of the wind in the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 315); nevertheless, they appear to be standard phrases for describing natural disasters. Compare also the *Chronicles of London*, which refer to steeples and houses being overthrown (Kingsford 1905: 13).

ll. 1240-46 'And in the ... made expense': In 1362 Joan of the Tower, wife of David II of Scotland, died and was buried at Grey Friars Church, London, beside her mother, Isabella of France.

ll. 1247-53 'And in the ... all solempnyte': King John of France died in 1364 at Savoy, London; Hardyng's notice of this is similar to that in the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 316).

ll. 1254-67 'In that same ... knyghtly diligence': Hardyng is referring here to the Battle of Auray (1364) and the dispute between Sir John Montfort and Sir Charles of Blois over the duchy of Brittany. The question of who should inherit the duchy arose in 1342 when John, third duke of Brittany, died without issue. Philip VI, king of France (d. 1350), recognised Charles of Blois as rightful heir, whilst Edward III supported the claim of his ward, John IV of Montfort. The fact that John was the king's ward and had been brought up in the English court at London, together with the English political interest in Brittany, ensured that the English king and his sons lent their support to John against Charles. Charles was killed at the battle of Auray and John was restored to the duchy.

ll. 1268-88 'Bot of Edward ... Rychard thair sonne': Joan, fair maid of Kent (1328-85), daughter of Edmund of Woodstock, fourth earl Kent, sixth countess of Kent (1352-85), Richard II's mother, granddaughter of Edward I, countess of Kent in her own right after the death of her brother John. Joan's contemporary, Jean Froissart, described her as the most beautiful woman in England, a quality which may have led to her involvement in the famous love-triangle with William Montagu, fifth earl of Salisbury, and Sir Thomas Holland. In November 1349 her marriage of 1340 to Montagu was set aside by papal bull, after Holland claimed that he and Joan had entered into a clandestine marriage in 1339, and a papal investigation concluded that Joan's marriage to Montagu was invalid. Holland and Joan finally married officially. In 1360 Holland died, and by the summer of 1361, without the knowledge and consent of Edward III, Joan was engaged to Prince Edward. Because the couple were related in the third degree, papal dispensation had to be obtained before their marriage could take place, but on 6 October 1361, they married at Lambeth with Edward III's approval. The marriage was undoubtedly a love match, as Hardyng and other chroniclers state. The surviving documentation and circumstances surrounding Joan's

marriage to Montagu appear to imply that she was forced into the marriage; however, some chroniclers view Joan's morals with suspicion, accusing her of infidelity to her first husband, Holland, with Montagu; see, for example, Adam of Usk's disparaging comment about her 'slippery ways' (Given-Wilson 1997: 62-63). Joan and Prince Edward lived in Gascony from 1362-71, during which time they had two sons, Edward and Richard. Edward (born c. 1364, at Angoulême) died in infancy and Richard (born 6 January 1367, at Bordeaux) later became King Richard II. For further details of Joan's marriages see Wentersdorf 1979.

ll. 1289-1309 'And in that ... all his right': The event described by Hardyng concerns Pedro I (1334-69), king of Castile (1350-69), and the battle of Nájera (3 April 1367), in which Edward, prince of Wales, fought with Pedro against the king's half-brother Enrique of Trastámara. The origins of the English interest in Castile probably began at the start of the Hundred Years War. Both England and France sought control of the Iberian Peninsula, and competed for an alliance with the most powerful of the Iberian kingdoms, Castile. The real issue at stake according to P. E. Russel was the supreme naval power of the Castilian fleet, which could easily have decided the outcome of the war in a single battle (1955: 5). After the death of Alfonso XI, king of Castile, in 1350 Enrique of Trastámara, Alfonso's older but illegitimate son, challenged his legitimate half-brother, Pedro I, for the throne. By 1362 Enrique was known to be planning an attack on his brother with the aid of the Aragonese and French kings, and so to deter this, Pedro made an alliance with England. On 22 June 1362 Pedro I of Castile and Edward III of England finally concluded a formal Anglo-Castilian treaty of alliance in London, but Enrique still led a revolt four years later with the support of Bertrand du Guesclin (who was allied to the French Crown). Pedro called upon the English alliance with Edward III to help reclaim his throne, and Edward, the Black Prince, prepared to lead an army against Enrique on the condition that Pedro would bear the costs incurred by the Prince and his forces. On 3 April 1367 Enrique was defeated at the battle of Nájera and Pedro was temporarily restored to his throne. The prologue to the second version of the *Chronicle* also refers to the Prince Edward's dealings with Pedro (see Arch. Selden B. 10, ff. 7r-7v, ll. 165-175 in **Illustrative Texts**).

ll. 1310-16 'Who for his ... of Cambridge right': On the 23 September 1366, Pedro I and Edward, the Black Prince, drew up an agreement known as the Treaty of Libourne. It detailed how Pedro would not only pay back the 56,000 florins he had already borrowed from Prince Edward but how he would also cover the costs of the campaign against Enrique. Until Pedro could afford to meet these debts, two of his daughters, Constanza (1354-94) and Isabella (1355-92), were to remain with the Black Prince as hostages and security (Rymer 1816-69: III, ii, 805). Clara Estow has highlighted the fact that the financial demands that the Treaty of Libourne expected Pedro to meet were impossible, since the Castilian treasury was, at this time, empty (Estow 1995: 233). Perhaps because of this Pedro later refused to honour the treaty and repay the English expenses, and hence his daughters remained in the custody of the Prince.

When Pedro was assassinated in 1369 on the orders of Enrique, his only son Alfonso (1359-62) and his oldest daughter Beatriz (1353-67) had died, so his will stated that his oldest surviving daughter, Constanza, should be recognised as the official heir to the Castilian throne. Hence, in 1371, to ensure that Castilian interests remained connected with England, a marriage was arranged between John of Gaunt

and Constanza. The couple returned to England along with her younger sister, Isabella, who was married in 1372 to Edmund Langley, Gaunt's brother. For the text of Pedro's will and further information see Russel 1955: 173-175. The prologue to the second version makes a dubious reference to an agreement made between John of Gaunt and Edmund of Langley, which stated that the Castilian throne should pass to the first male heir born between them (see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**). Constanza and Gaunt had two children: a daughter, Catherine (1372-1418), and a son named John (b. 1374), who died in infancy. Catherine later married Enrique III of Castile (1378-1406) and produced a long line of Castilian heirs; however, Hardyng is correct in stating that the first male heir born between the Castilian sisters was Edward of Aumale, duke of York and earl of Rutland (1373-1415). Edward of Aumale was born to Isabella of Castile and Edmund of Langley. Upon his death his inheritance passed to his brother, Richard, earl of Cambridge, father of Richard, third duke of York, and this is why Hardyng claims that the arrangement between the brothers entitles his patron to the kingdoms of Castile and Lyon. Anthony Goodman and David Morgan argue in their article 'The Yorkist Claim to the Throne of Castile' that although the signing of the Treaty of Bayonne effectively ignored any claims from Isabella and the house of York, the existence of later claims made on the throne by Edmund's son, Edward, duke of York, imply that the treaty may simply have been seen as a renunciation that enhanced any claims of Isabella and her heirs (1985: 63). Certainly by 1412 Edward, duke of York, 'tried to enlist the sympathy of the new king of Aragon, Fernando of Antequera, for his claim' asserting that 'since neither of Pedro's daughters Beatriz and Constanza had borne a son, the legitimate right to the Castilian throne pertained to him as the elder son of Isabella' (1985: 63).

ll. 1317-23 'That yer Iosep ... ly full styll': This stanza has no parallel in the second version. On 10 June 1345 a royal writ was issued to John Blome of London granting permission for him to search for the body of Joseph of Arimathea at Glastonbury Abbey, after he had received a divine revelation (Rymer 1816-69: III, i, 44; *CPR: Edward III, 1343-45*, p. 476, m. 8); the writ states that a licence was to be obtained from the abbot and convent of Glastonbury before Blome could commence his search. The outcome of this incident is unknown; however, J. Armitage Robinson is probably correct in noting that 'if the search had been successful we should not have been left in doubt regarding it' (1926: 65). The reference here to the bodies of Joseph of Arimathea and his companions being found at Glastonbury Abbey in the year 1367 may be a result of a confused interpretation of Blome's divine revelations, rumours circulating two decades after the issue of the writ, or a revival of the search two decades later. However, the story and year recorded by Hardyng is found in only one other known source, an anonymous East Anglian chronicle of the late fourteenth century, probably originating from Spalding. This chronicle, extant in British Library Cotton Claudius A. v, was attributed incorrectly by Joseph Sparke to one Robert of Boston; it also appears to have connections with Peterborough (see **John Hardyng's Life** and Robinson 1926: 64). Under the entry for the year 1367 the chronicle briefly states 'Inventa sunt corpora Joseph ab Arimathaea sociorumque ejus apud Glastone'. It is possible that Hardyng may have had access to a copy of this text, or that the entry recorded by both Hardyng and the anonymous chronicler had its foundations in popular myths and rumours in circulation from the late fourteenth century. It has similarly been suggested that Henry V was particularly fascinated with the link between Joseph of Arimathea and England's Christian heritage, and that he 'may have

been responsible for encouraging excavations at Glastonbury in 1419, which, it was doubtless hoped, would produce, in the form of an identifiable coffin containing bones, evidence of the link between Britain and the Holy Land of apostolic times' (Allmand 1992: 418; see also Carley 1994). For further information on Joseph of Arimathea's association with Glastonbury see Robinson 1926 and Lagorio 1971. Other works attesting to the burial of Joseph and his companions at Glastonbury include: John of Glastonbury's *Cronica* (Carley 1985: 30-31, 54-55); William Worcester's *Itineraries* (Harvey 1969: 298); Henry Lovelich's *History of the Holy Grail* (Furnivall 1874-78); and a fifteenth-century interpolation in Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle* (Barron 2001: 79). The East Anglian chronicle used by Hardyng is printed by Sparke under the title 'Chronicon Angliae per Robertum de Boston' (1727: I, 114-37).

I. 1323 *gloss after*: A second marginal note concerning Lionel's marriages is made after this gloss by contemporary hand; the hand is the same as that which makes notes after the gloss following l. 1183.

II. 1324-86 'A thousand yere ... dyd than suffyse': King Edward III created the title duke of Clarence for his son, Lionel, and conferred the honour upon him on 13 November 1362. The creation of the dukedom served no practical purpose, as the dukedom came with no official lands. The title was derived, as Hardyng states in a gloss in the second version (see l. 1100 *gloss after*), from the Latin and French words for Clare. The Clare estates in Suffolk belonged to Lionel through his first wife, Elizabeth de Burgh; however, after Lionel's death, the title duke of Clarence became temporarily extinct, and had nothing to do with ownership of the Clare estates. On 28 May 1368, five years after the death of his first wife, Elizabeth de Burgh, Lionel married his second wife, Violante Visconti (d. 1382, daughter of Galeazzo Visconti, duke of Milan) at Milan, and became heir to the dukedom of Milan. Bernarbo Visconti was Violante's uncle, not her father as Hardyng notes here; John Capgrave makes the same mistake in his *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles* (Lucas 1983: 176, 292). The cost of Lionel's journey to Milan was no small matter; the crossing from Dover to Calais alone cost £173 6s 8d. The duke's retinue consisted of 457 men and 1280 horses (Rymer 1816-69: III, ii, 845). He died on 17 October 1368 at Alba, in Piedmont, Italy, and whilst the circumstances of Lionel's death remain a mystery, there is no reason to doubt, as Hardyng states, that he died as a result of the excessive style of living that he adopted while in Italy. The duke was originally buried near the grave of St Augustine at Pavia, Italy; however, sometime before 1377 his heart and bones were brought back to his estates at Clare, by John Newbury, a knight previously in Clarence's service, where his remains were reinterred in the choir of Clare priory. Hardyng mentions the reburial at Clare in the second version of the *Chronicle* only. For further discussion of the Clare burial see **Commentary to the Second Version**, II. 1126-27.

II. 1387-90 'And issue had ... hight, I fele': Philippa of Clarence (1355-81) was the only child and heir of Lionel, duke of Clarence, and his first wife Elizabeth de Burgh (1332-63), heiress to the earldom of Ulster and the Clare estates of the earls of Gloucester. She was born on 16 August 1355. In 1368 Philippa married Edmund Mortimer, third earl of March (1352-81), son and heir of Roger Mortimer, second earl of March, and later produced three children. Their first child, Elizabeth (1371-1417),

married Sir Henry ‘Hotspur’ Percy (1361-1403), son and heir of Henry Percy (1342-1408), first earl of Northumberland, and produced two children, Henry Percy, second earl of Northumberland, who later married Eleanor Neville (d. 1472), and Elizabeth, who married John, seventh lord Clifford. The first version of the *Chronicle* does not concern itself here with Philippa’s issue; however, in the second version of the *Chronicle* Hardyng records their connections with the Percy family (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 1128-41).

ll. 1391-1400 ‘In that same ... of thair eelde’: Hardyng is referring to the exploits of the Umfraville brothers, Thomas and Robert. Thomas Umfraville, the elder brother, was born in 1362; therefore, if Hardyng’s calculations are correct (which is by no means a certainty), their harrying of the Scots in Redesdale (traditional Umfraville territory) must have taken place in 1378. However, since Hardyng places this event in between the deaths of Lionel, duke of Clarence (1368), and Prince Edward (1376), it would appear that either his dating is out by a couple of years, his chronology is defective, or his estimation of Thomas Umfraville’s age is incorrect. Whatever the case, Hardyng includes the stanza concerning their exploits to record the early activities of his patron, Sir Robert Umfraville, and to highlight the importance of the Umfravilles as scourges to the Scots.

ll. 1401-21 ‘And in the ... he wolde go’: Edward, prince of Wales, died on 8 June 1376 (not 1374 as Hardyng states) and was buried at Canterbury Cathedral. The prince contracted dysentery on his campaigns in Spain, and had to all intents and purposes been an invalid for the remaining few years of his life. The reference here to the debts, which the prince asks Edward III to settle, probably concerns the substantial costs incurred by the prince on the numerous foreign campaigns he undertook for his father. The death of the prince meant that his son, Richard, became heir apparent to the throne (*Rot. Parl.*, II, 330).

l. 1418 ‘In Crychirche’: The use of ‘Crychirche’ (Christchurch) to refer to the place of Prince Edward’s burial also occurs in the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 330). This reading may help to support the theory that Hardyng was using a copy of the *Brut* for the later parts of his history.

ll. 1429-49 ‘Whom in the ... reson owe suffyse’: Edward III died on 21 June 1377 (not 22 June as Hardyng states) at the royal palace of Sheen, Surrey. The old king had fallen ill in the previous September and had spent five months inactive, before finally dying of a stroke (Ormrod 1990: 38). The King was buried at Westminster Abbey on 5 July 1377. The funeral procession from Sheen to Westminster reputedly took three days, and he was buried with so much dignity and pomp that the household expenses for the day of the funeral alone amounted to £566 (Prestwich 2003: 260). Hardyng’s praise of Edward III is typical of most chronicle accounts of the king; see, for example, the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 333-34); and Knighton’s *Chronicle* (Lumby 1889-95: II, 124; Martin 1995: 196-97). Whilst the final years of Edward’s reign were problematic, he was soon remembered for his achievements, and, as the cult of the late king developed, he was frequently compared to King Arthur, becoming synonymous with the highest of chivalric ideals.

ll. 1450-63 ‘That kyng was ... that rial reme’: These lines concern the origins of the Hundred Years War. Edward’s mother, Isabella of France, was the heir general to the French throne. Under English law Isabella, daughter of Philip IV of France (1268-1314) and Joan of Champagne, and sister of Charles IV of France (1294-1328), would have had a legal claim to her brother’s throne if he died with no immediate heir. However, since Salic law in France prevented women from dynastic succession, upon Charles’s death, the direct line of the Capetian kings ended. The throne passed to the house of Valois and Philip of Valois, grandson of Philip III of France, was crowned Philip VI of France. Undeterred by these circumstances, Edward III proclaimed himself the lawful king of France, by descent through his mother, and further provoked France by altering his coat of arms to incorporate the lilies of France with the leopards of England.

ll. 1453-56 ‘In euydence of ... may haue knowlage’: Hardyng’s awareness of the *Chronicle* as an educational device is revealed here. At this point in the manuscript a beautiful illuminated pedigree of Edward III is provided (see **Figure 5**). The pedigree shows Edward III’s descent from St Louis of France and his entitlement to the kingdom of France. The presence of the pedigree of France has particular significance in the first version of Hardyng’s *Chronicle*, as Henry VI was the first king jointly to rule France and England. Hardyng may have originally included the pedigree of France, like the map of Scotland, for the purpose of identifying the king’s territorial and dynastic rights through a visual medium; it also serves to invite parallels between Henry VI and Edward III by highlighting the achievements of Henry’s ancestor in France and the decline of English hegemony over the northern provinces in Henry VI’s reign (mentioned later in the eulogy for Henry V and the epilogue addressed to Henry VI). The pedigree supports and vindicates the claims made by Hardyng in the text by explaining the complex nature of Edward’s title to France through a simple pictorial exposition of that claim, just as the map of Scotland offers a perceptible representation of the territories belonging to England, and which are frequently referred to in the *Chronicle*. For further discussion see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**. Seven manuscripts of the second version contain a revised version of the pedigree, continued to include Richard, duke of York (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 1177-80).

l. 1456 ‘That reders all ther of may haue knowlage’: These lines occur later in a similar form in the second version of the *Chronicle*, and are an excellent illustration of Hardyng’s awareness of his authorial status. In the prologues to both versions of the *Chronicle*, Hardyng expresses a desire that his work will be read and enjoyed by every member of his patron’s family (see Lansdowne 204, f. 2v, ll. 1-18, and Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 5r, ll. 22-31 and f. 8v, 258-80 in **Illustrative Texts**); however, it is highly probable that Hardyng also expected numerous members of the nobility and lesser gentry to encounter his *Chronicle* through the social network of his patrons (see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**).

The Reign of Richard II

l. 1463 gloss after: The reference here is to John Gower’s *Cronica Tripertita* (written c. 1400). The *Cronica*, comprising 1062 lines of Latin verse, composed in leonine hexameter, was appended to the end of Gower’s earlier Latin work, the *Vox*

Clamantis. Hardyng undoubtedly knew Gower's *Cronica*, and given his marginal citations of the work, at both the beginning and end of Richard's reign (see ll. 1484, 2121 below), he must have had a copy to hand when he composed the first version of the *Chronicle*. The influence of the *Cronica* on this section of the narrative may be witnessed on several occasions (see below ll. 1484 *gloss after*, 1560-61, 1575 *gloss after*, 1807-13, 1912-18, 1958-60, 2121 *gloss after*); however, Hardyng's account of Richard II's reign is by no means derived solely from the *Cronica*. If anything, the influence of the *Cronica* is thematic: Hardyng, like Gower, views Richard's downfall and death as divine retribution for his evil deeds, and contrasts Richard's tyrannous actions with the just intentions of Bolingbroke. In particular the first version of the *Chronicle* emphasises Richard's heavy taxation with Bolingbroke's promise to alleviate public taxes, Richard's sequestration of property with Bolingbroke's restoration of the disinherited lords, and Richard's lack of consideration for the common weal of England with Bolingbroke's re-unification of the divided land; compare with the *Cronica Tripertita* (Macaulay 1902: 342). Similarly, of the seventy-eight stanzas concerning the reign of Richard II in the first version, over half of them are concerned with events from 1397-99, the same period to which Gower dedicates approximately half of the *Cronica*. Given that the *Cronica* was composed in the immediate wake of the Lancastrian usurpation, and is overtly partisan towards the new Lancastrian king, it is no surprise that Hardyng thought it an appropriate text to cite as one of his authorities. Interestingly, all references to Gower and his work are removed in the second version. For Gower see Macaulay 1902, Stockton 1962, Porter 1983, and Peck 1997. For Hardyng's providential view of Richard's downfall see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**.

ll. 1464-91 'Rychard his haire ... strengthes as exulates': These stanzas occur in an identical form in the second version (ll. 1184-1211).

ll. 1464-77 'Rychard his haire ... Kyng Edward excelent': The coronation of Richard II took place on 16 July 1377 at Westminster Abbey, when he was ten years old. Hardyng incorrectly states that the coronation occurred on 22 June 1376, and that Richard was eleven years old. This confusion may arise from Hardyng, or a source used by him, mistaking the day on which Richard's first regnal year began, with the date he was actually anointed as king; a marginal gloss in one of the manuscripts of the *English Chronicle* (Oxford, Bodleian Library Lyell 34, f. 145v), for example, states that Richard's reign began on 22 June (see, in this instance, Davies 1856: 1). The continuation of the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 335), the *Eulogium Continuation* Haydon 1858-65: III, 340), the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 3), Henry Knighton's *Chronicle* (Lumby 1889-95: II, 125), Adam of Usk's *Chronicle* (Given-Wilson 1997: 3), and John Capgrave's *Abbreviacion of Cronicles* (Lucas 1983: 181) also incorrectly give Richard's age as eleven. The same errors are reproduced in the second version of the *Chronicle*, although the year is corrected to 1377.

ll. 1478-84 'And in the ... by verry remembraunce': The outbreak of plague referred to here under the year 1379 is also mentioned in Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana* (Riley 1863-64: I, 191-92) and the monk of Evesham's *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi II* (Hearne 1729:13). Both refer to the outbreak occurring primarily in the North, and of its being a great concern to the Scots. The localised nature of this outbreak may account for the fact that none of the other main chronicles for this

period mentions it, which in turn highlights the probability that Hardyng was writing from either personal knowledge of Northumbrian affairs, or from a hitherto unidentified source with a more northern bias towards the events covered in its narrative. The plague is not mentioned in the *English Chronicle*, the *Brut*, the *Eulogium Continuation*, Adam of Usk's *Chronicle*, Knighton's *Chronicle*, or the *Westminster Chronicle*.

ll. 1483-84 'And of his ... by verry remembraunce': Richard's third regnal year ran from 22 June 1379 to 21 June 1380.

l. 1484 *gloss after*: The eight lines of Latin verse occurring in the margin are enclosed in a box flanked by two turreted towers with flags flying (drawn in ink). The drawing, and possibly the gloss itself, was added after the main scribe had written the text of the *Chronicle*, since the tower nearest the text is drawn in around one of the stanzas. The verse is written in a tiny script by a contemporary hand, possibly Hardyng's own, since it shares common features with the larger glossing hand which occurs throughout the manuscript, and writes the prologue and contents page (see **The Manuscripts of Hardyng's Chronicle**). The verse is copied from Gower's *Cronica Tripertita* (Macaulay 1899-1902: IV, 314), as stated, by the larger glossing hand, and it would appear that the glossator had a copy of the *Cronica* available when the verse was copied, as it is copied verbatim. Nevertheless, the glossator has been selective in the lines he copied; rather than copying a single section line for line, he has joined three sections of text from the opening of the *Cronica*, to form a cogent statement which refers directly to the Peasants' Revolt, but which simultaneously comments on the overall theme of Richard's reign – that a kingdom will decline when it is ruled by a bad king. The Boethian concept of Fortune adopted here originates from Gower's *Cronica*, and is emphasised again later in the *Chronicle* in another marginal gloss accompanying the narrative of Richard's death. In this final gloss, the glossator copies a further seven lines of Gower's text, this time from the closing passage of the *Cronica*. It is evident that whoever inserted these particular lines from Gower's text was making a conscientious effort to demonstrate the cyclic nature of Fortune, and the intimate, symbiotic relationship between the fortunes of a king and his kingdom. Also of interest is the dexterous way in which the glossator has chosen not to begin his verse with the original opening lines of Gower's text. Designed as a sequel to the *Vox Clamantis*, which deals mainly with the Peasants' Revolt, Gower commences the *Cronica* by stating the year of the events he intends to describe (1387), and then begins his narrative with the statement 'Dum stat commotus Ricardus amore remotus' [when the emotional Richard forsook love]; this is followed by the first four lines of the gloss occurring in Hardyng's *Chronicle*. By omitting the initial line in the *Cronica* about Richard forsaking the love that he had in the past, and beginning the gloss with the following line ('Principio regis oritur transgressio legis') the glossator makes a greater impact on the reader. The biblical connotations of the word *principio* are obvious. The first and the last books of the Bible begin with the words *In principio*, and both deal with God's judgement: first of the original sin in Eden, and finally of all men at the apocalypse. As Hardyng shows throughout the *Chronicle*, kingship may be appointed divinely, but the sovereign is still accountable for his transgressions. By omitting Gower's reference to the king's love and beginning with a statement concerning the king's transgression of the law, the glossator removes any redeeming qualities from his portrait of Richard, whilst simultaneously evoking the theme of

judgement and conveying a sense of providence; kings who fail to uphold the common weal of their subjects will suffer an appropriate fate. If the gloss was added by Hardyng, or was inserted at his request, it may be that he inserted the verses as a finishing touch to the narrative before presenting it to Henry VI. For further discussion of Hardyng's concept of Fortune and Kingship, and a comparison other references to kings and Fortune see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**.

II. 1485-1519 'In Iuyn so ... into Scotlond went': The Peasants' Revolt of 1381 was the result of a culmination of a series of social, economic and political difficulties, but the principal event precipitating the rebellion was the government's instigation of a poll tax. Two earlier poll taxes had been levied in 1377 and 1379, and, although they were unpopular, they were not unfair. The first had been set at a fixed rate of 4d and the second had been regulated at a rate applicable to the income and status of the individual. The disastrous decision to collect a third tax in 1380, at a fixed rate of 1s per person, was received acrimoniously by the populous, and the ensuing revolt became the most severe expression of public discontent witnessed in the later Middle Ages. Whilst minor disturbances and unrest had been a common, localised feature of the early Middle Ages, the revolt of 1381 gained an important place in history as the first collective medieval uprising against the authority of the king and his government. A great deal of scholarship has focussed on the causes and effects of the revolt; the most detailed studies include Hilton 1973 and Dobson 1983. For a comparison of accounts of the revolt in the chronicles see Duls 1975, Hansen 1980 and Dobson 1983.

1485-91: 'In Iuyn so ... as exulates': The first outbreak of violence occurred on 30 May in Brentwood, Essex. Within days ensuing acts of violence and defiance towards the king's officials occurred throughout Essex and Kent. At the beginning of June the Essex rebels joined with those in Kent, and by 12 June they had advanced to London. The revolt actually began in Richard II's fourth regnal year (22 June 1380-21 June 1381), and ended in his fifth regnal year (22 June 1381-21 June 1382).

I. 1488 'tyl thousandes that amounted': Hardyng's estimation that the rebels numbered thousands is probably correct.

II. 1492-95 'At London than ... the comons fo': On 14 June the king met with the rebels at Mile End to discuss their demands. It is difficult to ascertain whether Richard genuinely intended to honour the concessions he granted to them that day, but a number of the rebels regarded the king's decision to accept their terms as a licence to deal with those they considered to be traitors. Like the *Eulogium Continuation*, Hardyng does not record the meeting at Mile End, but he does refer to the aftermath of the encounter when a faction broke into the Tower of London to seek out those who represented the oppression and bad governance condemned by the revolt. Two of Richard II's senior ministers, Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury (1375-81), and Sir Robert Hales, prior of the Hospitallers, were primary targets; Sudbury had been appointed as Chancellor the previous year, and Hales had been appointed Treasurer in February 1381. After they were discovered hiding in the chapel of St John in the White Tower, they were taken to Tower Hill where they were beheaded on 14 June. John Starling was the man who reputedly beheaded Sudbury.

ll. 1496-98 'The bondmen than ... grete malyuolence': The burning and raiding of property belonging to the king's officials occurred primarily in London, Essex and Kent throughout the rebellion; nevertheless, notable revolts also occurred in other parts of the country, reaching as far north as York, Beverley and Scarborough (for further details and the chronicle accounts containing them see Dobson 1983: 231-300). Hardyng's use of the word 'bondmen' here reflects one of the principal requests made by the rebels: the abolition of serfdom. Modern research concerning the class of people involved in the revolt has, nevertheless, highlighted the probability that many of the rebels, rather than being peasants, were actually from the middle strata of society; thus revealing a more pervasive concern amongst the middle to lower levels of late fourteenth-century society about the governance of the kingdom.

ll. 1499-1512 'Bot as God ... wer so dede': Following the attack on the Tower, a second meeting with the rebels was arranged for 15 June at Smithfield. The chronicle accounts of the meeting are quite varied, with disagreements arising over who was present, how the rebel leader behaved towards the king, and who finally killed him. Hardyng's account generally agrees with that in the *Brut*, naming the rebel leaders as Jack Straw and Wat Tyler (Brie 1906-08: II, 336-38). The murder of Straw by William Walworth, mayor of London, signals the end of revolt in many of the chronicles, as it does here in Hardyng's *Chronicle*; see, for example, the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 337) and the *Chronicle of London* (Kingsford 1905: 15-16).

l. 1499 'Watte Tyler and Iake Strawe': The identities of the rebel leaders vary considerably between the chronicles. Wat Tyler and Jack Straw are amongst the names most frequently cited; however, nothing conclusive is known about either of them. It has been argued that Jack Straw was a pseudonym used by Tyler, and the accounts in Gower's *Vox Clamantis* (Macaulay 1902: IV, 40-41), and Knighton's *Chronicle* (Lumby 1895: 137 and Martin 1995: 218-19) seem to support this. The *Anonimalle Chronicle* cites Wat Tyler as the leader of the rebellion, a John Rackstraw or John Wrawe is named as the leader of the revolt in Suffolk (Galbraith 1927: 150, 195); Capgrave also mentions a 'Jon Wraw' as rebel leader, and it is possible that Jack Straw is a corruption of this name (Lucas 1983: 185). Like Hardyng, some of the chronicles and the parliamentary rolls, cite both of them as important figures in the uprising (see Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana*, the *Brut*, the *Eulogium Continuation*, the *English Chronicle*, *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi II*, *Rot. Parl.*, III, 175). The ambiguity concerning the names of the leaders may account for the apparent confusion amongst the sources as to who was attacked and murdered during the Smithfield negotiations. Hardyng's *Chronicle* agrees with the accounts in the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 337), the *Chronicles of London* (Kingsford 1905: 16), the *Short English Chronicle* (Gairdner 1880: 25), and Adam of Usk's *Chronicle* (Given-Wilson 1997: 4-5) by stating that it was Jack Straw. Interestingly, the name Jack Straw is also attributed to the rebel leader in several literary pieces; Chaucer alludes to Straw as the leader of the revolt in *The Nun's Priest's Tale* (Benson 1988 : 260, l. 3394), and two contemporary poems also ascribe the role to Straw (see Robbins 1959: 57, ll. 25-28, 49-52; Wright 1859: i, 458). Conversely, Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana*, the *Anonimalle Chronicle*, the *Eulogium Continuation*, the *English Chronicle*, the *Westminster Chronicle*, Froissart, *London Letter Book H*, and Capgrave are amongst those that state he was called Tyler.

ll. 1501-03 ‘We comons make ... pay no mo’: On 14 June the rebels met with Richard at Mile End, London, to negotiate their demands. They initially made several important requests: the first was for free labour contracts and the abolition of villeinage, undoubtedly an attempt to counteract the harsh stipulations governing the employment of labourers implemented by the Statute of Labourers in 1351; the second concerned the rent of land, which the rebels wanted regulated to a set price of four pence an acre; and finally they sought the freedom to deal with those they considered to be traitors. The following day at Smithfield, during their second meeting with the king, the rebels increased their demands to include the disendowment of the church, the abolition of outlawry and the equality of all men below the king; the last was probably inspired by the preaching of John Ball, who declared that men and women were created equal. Hardyng only briefly touches on the rebels’ demands, focussing here on the primary cause of the rebellion: the 1380 poll tax. Compare with the revised demands cited in the second version (See **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 1205-39).

ll. 1504-05 ‘The whiche the ... thaym as he can’: Hardyng is deliberately ambiguous here, but the general tone implies that Richard conceded to demands that he had no intention of keeping, either through fear of the rebels or because he had already planned to pacify them by whatever means he could, and retract any concessions later. This account may be compared with that in the second version where the reference to the king’s possible trickery is removed (ll. 1224-25). Other chronicle accounts suggesting deception on the king’s part include Walsingham’s *Historia Anglicana* and the monk of Evesham’s *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi II*.

ll. 1506-07 ‘Bot Walworth than ... Of London so’: Sir William Walworth (d. 1385), Sheriff of London (1370), Mayor of London (1374, 1381). Again, the chronicle accounts disagree over who killed the rebel leader. Most concur with Hardyng that Walworth stabbed Tyler/Straw in outrage for the arrogance he displayed towards the king; see, for example, the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 6-7); the *Chronicles of London* (Kingsford 1905: 15-16); *London Letter Book H* (Sharpe 1907: 166); and the *Westminster Chronicle* (Hector and Harvey 1982: 10-11). Other chronicles, such as Walsingham’s *Historia Anglicana*, Knighton’s *Chronicle*, Froissart’s *Chroniques*, the *Anonimale Chronicle*, and the *Eulogium Continuation*, mention Walworth’s involvement in the skirmish, but attribute the murder to a member of the king’s party, usually an anonymous esquire or Ralph Standish. Irrespective of who killed Tyler/Straw, some of the chroniclers imply that the murder was premeditated by the Richard and his advisors in an attempt to suppress the revolt. Given that Walworth was knighted after the revolt, it is probable that he was the assailant, and that the assault was indeed pre-planned.

ll. 1513-17 ‘The mayr than ... full wer appesed’: The triumphant return into London of the king, and the concluding reference to the restoration of peace through the land, is similar to the account in the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 337-38).

ll. 1518-19 ‘Duke Iohn ... into Scotlond went’: Hardyng’s syntax here suggests that Gaunt’s Savoy palace was burnt after the meeting at Smithfield. It was in fact razed on 13 June. Knighton also confuses the chronology of events, placing the destruction

of Savoy after the beheading of Sudbury and Hales (Martin 1995: 214-15). Hardyng's confused chronology is retained in the second version (see ll. 1212-15, 1233-39). Gaunt was a key political figure in 1370s, but the 'Good Parliament' of 1376 held him accountable for many of the mistakes and disappointments in foreign, and internal, policies. This contributed towards a general feeling of animosity towards him and, unsurprisingly, his properties were targeted during the revolt. Gaunt was not in London at the time of the revolt, as he was commissioning a truce on the Marches. Upon learning of the unrest, Gaunt appealed, unsuccessfully, to Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, for protection, and then fled to Scotland for refuge. Other chroniclers recording the burning of Savoy and Gaunt's ensuing flight to Scotland include Adam of Usk (Given-Wilson 1997: 3) and Knighton (Martin 1995: 230-37). For Gaunt's political career at this time see McKisack 1959, Goodman 1992, Saul 1997.

ll. 1520-26 'And at the ... of noble fame': Richard married his first wife, Anne of Bohemia (1366-94), at Westminster Abbey on 20 January 1382. Anne was the eldest daughter of Charles IV (1316-78), King of Germany and Bohemia (1346-78), Holy Roman Emperor (1355-78), and Blanche of Valois, sister of Philip VI of France, and sister of the Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund, Charles's heir (see below ll. 1525-26).

ll. 1520-21 'day of Seynt Agnes folowyng/In that same yer': The feast day of St Agnes is commemorated on 21 January. Hardyng's date is therefore incorrect. This error is repeated in the second version (l. 1248). The reference to the year is, of course, to the regnal year (22 June 1381 to 21 June 1382) not the calendar year.

ll. 1525-26 'That Sygismund so ... of noble fame': Sigismund III (1368-1437), king of Hungary (1387), Germany (1410) and Bohemia (1419), Holy Roman Emperor (1433-37), son of Charles IV, brother of Anne of Bohemia and Wenceslas IV (1361-1419), king of Bohemia (1378-1419), Holy Roman Emperor (1378-1400).

ll. 1527-33 'The twenty day ... dyurse sere cuntrese': The earthquake of May 1382 is well documented in the chronicles. The date of the event, given here by Hardyng as Wednesday 20 May 1382, is corrected to 21 May 1382 in the second version. Since 21 May 1382 was a Wednesday, and Hardyng later corrected the date in the second version, he was no doubt aware that he had made an error in the first version. Other chronicles agreeing with the date of 21 May include: Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana* (Riley 1863-84: II, 67); the *Chronicon Angliae* (Thompson 1874: 351); the *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi II* (Hearne 1729: 36); the *Annales de Bermundeseia* (Luard 1866: 480); Knighton's *Chronicle* (Martin 1995: 242-43); the *Eulogium Continuation* (Haydon 1858-65: III, 356); the *Westminster Chronicle* (Hector and Harvey 1982: 26-29); and John Somer's *Chronicle* (Catto and Mooney 1997: 241). Of these Knighton states that tremors were felt for several days, whilst the *Westminster Chronicle* says that, although violent, the earthquake was only felt locally, mainly in maritime and riverside areas. The wording used in ll. 1532-33 to describe the effects of the earthquake is similar to that used to describe the earthquake of 1361 in the first version (ll. 1234-39), and is typical of the descriptions in other chronicles; Hardyng's verse is particularly close to the *Eulogium* continuator's prose ('Hoc autem anno [1382] fuit magnus terrae motus per totam Angliam et Flandriam, arbores, domos, ecclesias, campanilia, castra elevans et inclinans, subito post prandium xii kal. Junii';

Haydon 1865: III, 356, italics my own). References to the earthquake of 1382 may also be found in contemporary sermons and poems, where the earthquake is interpreted as a warning of divine displeasure (see, for example, Robbins 1959: 59, ll. 57-64). For further information on this and other earthquakes in the Middle Ages see Davison 1924.

ll. 1534-44 ‘And in the ... any foule attaynte’: The date of Richard II’s Scottish incursion given here is incorrect. Richard attempted to engage the Scots in battle at the end of July 1385, not 1386 as Hardyng states. Although Richard mustered one of the largest armies witnessed in fourteenth-century England, the Scots retreated without confrontation, leaving Richard’s forces little else to do but raid and burn the countryside in retaliation. Several abbeys were targeted as the troops made their way towards Edinburgh, which they found deserted on 11 August. The campaign was aborted several days later, and by the beginning of September Richard had returned to Westminster. Interestingly, in the itinerary of Scotland belonging to the second version of the *Chronicle* Hardyng highlights the itineraries adopted by Edward I, Richard II and Henry IV, in order to offer tactical advice to Edward IV, should he too wish to invade Scotland (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 3424-3577).

l. 1536 ‘And of his reygne the tenth yer and no mo’: Richard’s tenth regnal year ran from 22 June 1386-21 June 1387. This dating is of course incorrect, as the campaign took place in the year before: his ninth regnal year.

ll. 1545-61 ‘To London rode ... yit on were’: Richard conferred dukedoms on his uncles, Edmund of Langley and Thomas of Woodstock in Teviotdale at the commencement of the Scottish expedition; at the same time Michael de la Pole was made earl of Suffolk. The new titles were officially recognised during the October parliament of 1385 (*Rot. Parl.*, III, 203-14). For further details of the parliament see Palmer 1971.

ll. 1555-59 ‘Who constable was ... Northampton so wyght’: The constablership of England was an hereditary title, which Thomas of Woodstock obtained in 1376 through his marriage to Eleanor, daughter and co-heiress of Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford, and constable of England. A considerable number of the Bohun estates came to Woodstock, later duke of Gloucester (1385), from his marriage to Eleanor, including Pleshy in Essex, where he was personally arrested by King Richard in 1397 (see below ll. 1730-43).

ll. 1560-61 ‘The foxes taylor ... yit on were’: This sentence refers to the ensign that Gloucester bore on his spear: a fox-tail. A similar reference to the fox-tail ensign occurs in a marginal gloss to Gower’s *Cronica Tripertita* (Pars I, gloss accompanying ll. 77-96; see Macaulay 1899-1902: IV, 316): ‘Glouernie, qui tunc vulpis caudam in lancea gessit’. Given Hardyng’s references to Gower’s *Cronica* in this section of the *Chronicle*, it is undoubtedly from a manuscript of the *Cronica* that Hardyng obtained his reference. Nevertheless, the use of animals to signify specific people was an integral part of prophetic discourse in the Middle Ages, and the *Annales Ricardi Secundi* record an instance of Gloucester’s fox tail ensign allegedly being used in a late fourteenth-century prophecy: ‘Vulpes cum cauda caveat, dum cantat alauda, Ne rapiens pecus simul rapiatur, et equus’ [Let the fox with the tail beware, while the lark

sings, In case he is captured at the same time as the cattle stealer and the horse] (Riley 1866: 206). This prophecy refers to the triple arrest of the duke of Gloucester and the earls of Warwick (referred to as a cattle stealer, a reference to his insignia of a bear) and Arundel (signified by a horse); however, although Walsingham maintains that the prophecy belonged to a period before 1397, in actuality it appears to have enjoyed only a brief and limited circulation in the early fifteenth century. The form of the prophecy in the *Annales Ricardi Secundi* suggests that Gloucester's fox-tail ensign became conflated with another form of the prophecy 'Vulpis cum cauda', which presented Richard as a tyrant. This prophecy appears at the beginning of the fifteenth century in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson D. 1230 (f. 2r), with other materials relating to Richard's deposition, and again, after 1422, in Eton College MS 213 (f. 252r) owned by John Blacman, Henry VI's confessor and biographer (see Coote 2000: 162, 182, 251, 278). Both of these manuscripts are of particular significance since they demonstrate an interest in the 'Vulpis cum cauda' prophecy, during the period in which Hardyng had probable connections with the court. The first manuscript also reveals that the prophecy was not associated entirely with Gloucester, but also with the concept of Richard as a tyrannous ruler very early in the new Lancastrian ascendancy; whilst the second highlights the reception, and currency, of such prophetic materials and the importance ascribed to them by medieval readers, particularly with educated readers and authors such as Blacman and Hardyng. The version of the 'Vulpis cum cauda' text in Blacman's manuscript is different in that it represents Richard as the destroyer of the Fox (Gloucester), and is annotated by Blacman who records its occurrence in the 'cronici S. Albani 1397', an allusion to the *Annales Ricardi Secundi*. For further details on this and other prophetic texts in circulation during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries see Coote 2000.

ll. 1562-75 'And in the ... come no nerre': Robert de Vere (1362-92), ninth earl of Oxford (1381-88), first marquis of Dublin (1385-88), first duke of Ireland (1386-88). De Vere was renowned for being one of Richard II's favourites, a position that had both advantages and disadvantages. De Vere's exclusive position as royal companion ensured that he acquired several notable properties and titles in the 1380s, but his status also cultivated much suspicion and enmity amongst the nobility. The king elevated de Vere to Marquis of Dublin in December 1385 (*Rot. Parl.*, III, 211), an act which the barons found insufferable, and the following October during the 'Wonderful Parliament' he was created duke of Ireland. In 1387 de Vere alienated his enemies further by divorcing his wife, Philippa, to marry Anges Launcecrona, the queen's lady-in-waiting. As the king's cousin, Philippa was related to many noble families, and de Vere's ignominious treatment of her left many of his enemies eager for revenge. When the lords appellant rose against the king's favourites at the end of 1387, de Vere attempted to join Richard with an army he had raised in Cheshire. In December de Vere's retinue was ambushed by the appellants at Radcot Bridge, Oxfordshire, and after deserting his men and swimming across the Thames, he fled to France. The 'Merciless Parliament' of 1388 (see below ll. 1576-89) sentenced him to a traitor's death, but de Vere remained unscathed for a further four years until he was killed in November 1392, hunting wild boar in Louvain, Belgium. Unlike some of the chronicles, which make specific reference to the cause of the episode at Radcot Bridge, Hardyng makes no mention here as to how, or why, the confrontation occurred; however, see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 1296-1309. For further information on the treatment of the Radcot Bridge episode in the chronicles

see Myers 1927 and Duls 1975. See also McKisack 1959: 452-53; Tuck 1973: 112-20; and Saul 1997: 176-191.

l. 1562 'And in the yere of his regne than elleuen': Richard II's eleventh regnal year was 22 June 1387 to 21 June 1388; therefore Hardyng's dating is incorrect.

l. 1575 *gloss after*: The gloss here refers to Gower's account of the Radcot Bridge episode and the ensuing escape of Robert de Vere, Michael de la Pole and Alexander Neville (Macaulay 1899-1902: IV, 316-17). Interestingly, this section of Gower's text contains the marginal gloss, mentioned above (ll. 1560-61), regarding Gloucester's fox-tail ensign; thus adding further credence to Hardyng's knowledge and use of the *Cronica Tripertita*.

ll. 1576-89 'The parlement than ... haue his wyll': The parliament referred to here is that which took place in February to June 1388. It came to be known, infamously, as the 'Merciless Parliament' because of the severe punishments it administered to Richard's advisors. In the previous November, Thomas Woodstock, first duke of Gloucester, Thomas Beauchamp, twelfth earl of Warwick, and Richard Fitzalan, ninth earl of Arundel, accused Michael de la Pole, third earl of Suffolk and Chancellor of England, Robert de Vere, ninth earl of Oxford and Chamberlain, Sir Robert Tresilian, chief justice, Alexander Neville, archbishop of York, and Sir Nicholas Brembre, former mayor of London, of treason. Gloucester, Warwick and Arundel were later joined by Thomas Mowbray, first duke of Norfolk, and Henry Bolingbroke, ninth earl of Derby, who helped to enforce their charges of treason, and these five magnates became known as the lords appellant, so called because they charged (or 'appealed') Richard's ministers with treason. The Merciless Parliament, held at Westminster, condemned de la Pole, de Vere, Tresilian, and Brembre to death. Of these, only Brembre and Tresilian were executed; Archbishop Neville was exiled (dying several years later in May 1392 at Louvain, Belgium), and de la Pole had fled to France, where he died at Paris in September 1389. Other important figures subsequently impeached by the appellants in the parliament include Richard's confessor, Thomas Rushook, bishop of Chichester, Sir Robert Belknap, Sir John Holt, Sir William Burgh, Sir Roger Fulthorpe, Sir John Cary and John Lokton (royal justices) of all whom were exiled; John Blake and Thomas Usk, who were executed; and several of Richard's chamber knights: Sir Simon Burley, the king's former tutor and vice-chamberlain, Sir John Beauchamp, Sir John Salisbury and Sir James Berners. All of the knights were sentenced to death, but many called for mercy to be shown to Burley; the earls of Derby and Nottingham, Edmund, duke of York, and Richard himself interceded for him, and Queen Anne famously pleaded for his life on her knees, but Burley was sentenced and executed the same day (5 May 1388) at Tower Hill. The other knights suffered the same fate on 12 May. Of the chronicle accounts dealing with Richard's interaction with the parliaments in the late 1380s, Knighton's *Chronicle* provides one of the most detailed accounts of the 'Merciless Parliament' by supplementing the narrative with a number of official documents.

l. 1578-79 'Syr Michell Pole ... Erle of Southfolke': Michael de la Pole (c. 1330-89) was sentenced to death by parliament, but escaped execution by fleeing to France.

11. 1590-1659 'And in the ... fraunchyst with pryuylage': The battle of Otterburn (August 1388) was a humiliating defeat for the English. In the summer of 1388 one of the temporary truces between England and Scotland expired and the Scots planned an attack on the West and East Marches. After raiding Cockermouth, the Scots divided their forces in order to attack both Marches simultaneously. The smaller of the two forces, led by James, second earl of Douglas (1358-1388), acted as a diversion by raiding the East March, up to the walls of Newcastle and possibly beyond, and then retreating, whilst the larger force plundered and destroyed English properties on the West March. Sir Henry Percy, son of the earl of Northumberland, led the opposition against the Scots, engaging them in an overnight battle at Otterburn, Redesdale. The earl of Douglas was killed, but ultimately the English were defeated, and Percy was captured and ransomed by Sir John Montgomery.

Few medieval chronicles mention the battle of Otterburn in any detail, if at all; see, for example, Henry Knighton's *Chronicle*, which briefly touches on Otterburn (Martin 1995: 504-07). However, there are three ballads based upon the event: *The Battle of Otterburn* (the most accurate historically, see Robbins 1959: 64-74), *Chevy Chase* (extant in the Percy folio manuscript), and *The Hunting of the Cheviot* (extant in a sole sixteenth-century copy in Ashmole 48, but dating from the late fifteenth century; see Arngart 1973). Hardyng's account provides a similar narrative to that in the *Westminster Chronicle* (Hector and Harvey 1982: 346-51), and these two sources are probably the most reliable surviving accounts of the battle. The narrative in the *Westminster Chronicle*, although compiled by a monastic author, may in fact have been imparted to the author by an eyewitness, and is almost contemporaneous with the battle, dating from c. 1390-91. Hardyng's narrative has the distinction of being the only account written by an author with military experience, and was no doubt constructed from the personal accounts he obtained from his patrons, Sir Henry Percy and Sir Robert Umfraville, both of whom were present at the battle.

The Otterburn episode is particularly important for Hardyng, as his former patron, Sir Henry 'Hotspur' Percy, makes his debut in the *Chronicle* during the account of the battle. Although the English lost the battle, Percy's actions during it increased his chivalric reputation, and the battle inspired the aforementioned ballads. Of particular interest is the way in which the English ballads, like Hardyng's narrative, show great respect for their Scottish opponents, especially Douglas's courage and ability as a commander (see, for example, *The Hunting of the Cheviot* in Pearsall 1999: 407-13). For several detailed studies on Otterburn and an analysis of the medieval accounts of the battle see Goodman and Tuck 1992.

1. 1596 *gloss after*: Hardyng's distinction here between a 'chieftayn' (a commander or leader) and a 'knyght' is most interesting. The emphasis placed on chivalric values and practices in the *Chronicle* is frequent and striking, and this particular example serves to highlight how a knight can achieve individual fame from his courage and deeds, but to succeed as a 'chieftayn' or leader in battle, one must have a combination of sufficient forces and superior tactical plans. Hardyng points out that Hotspur's forces were defeated because Hotspur, unaware that Douglas's men were a diversionary force, assumed that they would flee back to Scotland. On several occasions throughout the *Chronicle* Hardyng provides similar examples of how carefully executed tactics often make or break a battle or siege; for further discussion see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**. Compare also with the

comments of the Westminster chronicler (Hector and Harvey 1982: 346-51), who notes, like Hardyng, that Hotspur was a valiant soldier, but a poor commander.

ll. 1601-03 'Whare than the ... sore to rewe': Only the English accounts of the battle attribute the death of Douglas to Hotspur. Compare Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana* (Riley 1863-64: II, 176), Knighton (Martin 1995: 506-7), and the *Westminster Chronicle* (Hector and Harvey 1982: 348-49).

ll. 1605-08 'Sir Thomas Vmframvyle ... the yonger Vmframvyle': The magnates mentioned here include: Sir Thomas Umfraville; Sir Thomas Grey; Sir Matthew Redmane; Sir Robert Ogle; and Sir Robert Umfraville.

ll. 1611-12 'Whiche Scottes so ... toke hym prisonere': Sir Henry 'Hotspur' Percy was captured and later ransomed by Sir John Montgomery. Although the ransom was a considerable amount of money, approximately two thirds of it was paid by the crown, leaving only the final third to be paid by Percy's father, Sir Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland (*CDS*, IV, no. 395). The Westminster chronicler also records the capture of Hotspur's younger brother, who was ransomed by Sir John Maxwell of Pollock (Hector and Harvey 1982: 348-49).

ll. 1621-22 'Ere the vawarde ... and grete payne': It was common for medieval armies to advance in three or five 'battles' or groups rather than one continuous battle line: the 'vanguard', the 'middle ward' or principal formation, the 'rearguard', and often two wings to the left and right. This ensured that the central attacking force was flanked on both sides. Hardyng's use of the word 'vawarde' here seems to be referring to the vanguard. For further details of medieval warfare and battle tactics see Keen 1999.

l. 1630 'thair wardayn': Hotspur and his father were appointed as wardens of the Marches on several occasions; from 1391-95 they held both wardships between them, and Hotspur continued to hold the East March, whilst the West March was given to the duke of Albemarle in 1398. Bolingbroke reassigned custody of the West March to the earl of Northumberland on his return to England in 1399; thus the Percies continued to dominate the Marches for a further four years. For further details see Storey 1957 and Rose 2002.

ll. 1632-45 'For dyuerse cause ... so full right': Henry Percy's sobriquet 'Hotspur' was attributed to him in his own lifetime due to his impetuous nature and legendary feats against the Scots. Henry Knighton's account of Otterburn suggests that Hotspur earned his epithet as a result of keeping watch for enemies whilst his men slept (Martin 1995: 506-07); however, since the name itself is evocative of Percy's impetuous nature in battle, it is far more probable that Hardyng's explanation is closer to the truth, although in all likelihood he obtained the epithet before the battle of Otterburn. Similar explanations of the Scots inventing the nickname may be found in Walsingham (Thompson 1874: 370) and Capgrave's *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles* (Lucas 1983: 190).

ll. 1641-52 'Whose frendes than ... Douglas doughter certayne': The story of Hotspur being protected at Dunbar Castle by George Dunbar, earl of March (c. 1340-1420),

also occurs in the *Westminster Chronicle* (Hector and Harvey 1982: 350-51). Hardyng refers to the attempt on Hotspur's life, by Douglas and his companions, as treasonous, because Border Law dictated that any prisoners taken in battle were to be honourably ransomed, not put to death. This system of ransoming was an integral part of Border warfare and was a chivalric practise that was strictly adhered to on both sides of the border. For further information on George Dunbar see Cokayne 1910-59: IV, 508-09.

ll. 1650-52 'For whiche he ... Douglas doughter certayne': Dunbar withdrew his allegiance to the Scots in 1400 after David Stewart, duke of Rothesay, heir apparent to the Scottish throne, broke his contract to marry Dunbar's daughter in favour of Marjorie Douglas. In 1406, after the death of Robert III, Dunbar negotiated his return to Scotland, and was granted restoration on condition that he resign the Lordship of Annandale to the earl of Douglas (Cokayne 1910-59: IV, 508-9). Hardyng has either confused these details, or he is making a similarly confused reference to Dunbar's younger brother, John Dunbar, earl of Moray. John Dunbar also fought at Otterburn; he married Marjorie Stewart, daughter of Robert II of Scotland, and his great-granddaughter, Elizabeth, countess of Moray, married Archibald Douglas, third son of James Douglas, seventh earl of Douglas, between 1434 and 1442. The story is omitted in the second version (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 1324-51).

ll. 1653-56 'And in the ... Otyrburne full euen': An attempt to ascertain the exact date of the battle of Otterburn has prompted much debate amongst historians and military experts. The medieval sources generally disagree, but the most commonly favoured dates are 5 and 19 August. Knighton's *Chronicle* and Bower's continuation of the *Scotichronicon* agree with Hardyng's date of 5 August; however, Colin Tyson has cogently argued in favour of the date posited by Froissart (19 August), which fits in with the account in the *Westminster Chronicle*, and which occurred at a full moon, the ideal condition for a night-time battle (see Tyson 1992: 72-74).

ll. 1657-59 'That Vmframvyles grounde ... fraunchyst with pryuylage': In all probability the Umfraville family possessed the liberty of Redesdale, a region on the Marches in the Redes and Coquet valleys, from the end of the eleventh century. In the seventeenth century a forged charter, dated 1076, was discovered amongst the records of Charles Dymoke, at South Kyme, Lincolnshire. This charter purported to record William the Conqueror's grant of Redesdale to Robert de Umfraville of Tours and Vian (c. 1030-1090) and, although undoubtedly a twelfth-century fake, historians have made a strong case for the liberty of Redesdale passing to the Umfravilles at the end of the eleventh century. Redesdale was an important border region, as it provided the most viable point of entry into England, and retreat, for large Scottish raiding-parties (the battle of Otterburn is, of course, a primary example of this). In addition to this, the main supply routes between the two countries ran through the liberty. The castle mentioned here by Hardyng is probably that of Elsdon, which is only three miles from Otterburn, and belonged to the Umfravilles. In 1877 the remains of approximately 1,200 men, assumed to be casualties from the battle in 1388, were found under the north wall of the nave of St Cuthbert's church in Elsdon. Although Elsdon Castle remained the property of the Umfraville family for several centuries, from the twelfth century onwards the family's principal stronghold was Harbottle Castle, built in 1130 in the upper Coquet valley. For further details of the Umfraville acquisition of Redesdale, and for Elsdon and Harbottle castles, see Keen 1982 and

Pettifer 1995: 183, 186. For the excavations at St Cuthbert's see Robertson 1882 and 1888.

ll. 1660-64 'And in the ... as was sene': Queen Anne died of plague on 7 June 1394 at Sheen Palace, Surrey. Richard's grief upon her death is legendary, and is well attested in the chronicles, some of which, like the monk of Evesham's *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi* and Usk's *Chronicle*, record his destruction of Sheen Palace because Anne had died there (Hearne 1729: 125; Given-Wilson 1997: 18-19). Richard and Anne's marriage appears to have been a successful and genuinely affectionate one, and many scholars have commented on Anne's stabilising influence on Richard during the late 1380s and early 1390s.

ll. 1665-80 'Men sayde she ... and womanly noblesse': Although the English were sceptical of Anne and her Bohemian entourage when she first arrived in England, her compassion and benevolence ensured that she won the hearts of Richard's subjects. Her most famous acts include her intercession on bended knees for the life of Simon Burley, when the lords appellant accused and convicted him of treason in 1388, and her role as peacemaker between Richard and the citizens of London in 1392. The deeds attributed to Anne at ll. 1667-73 are evocative of the seven corporal acts of mercy (i.e. visiting the sick, ministering to prisoners, feeding and clothing the poor), and were probably intended to depict her life and character as that of an exemplary Christian, rather than referring to specific acts. In the second version these stanzas are omitted, although her virtuous nature is still mentioned (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 1352-58). The acts cited at ll. 1674-80 allude to Anne's most famous deeds, and those for which she won the most praise in her lifetime; compare with the account of Anne's death in Walsingham's *Annales Ricardi Secundi* (Riley 1866: 168-69).

ll. 1681-87 'At Westmynster beried ... haue of souereynte': Anne was buried at Westminster Abbey on 3 August 1394. She was interred in a specially commissioned double tomb, in which Richard himself planned to be buried with her. Upon Richard's death, however, Henry IV buried him at Kings Langley, and it was not until Henry V's accession that Richard's body was reburied in the Westminster tomb with Anne (see below ll. 2618-24). Following Richard's reinterment, Henry V also arranged for weekly and annual commemorations to be made in the late king's memory. For a copy of the contract for the elaborate tomb at Westminster see Myers 1969: 1155-57.

l. 1688 'Mighelmesse': The feast of St Michael occurs on 29 September.

ll. 1688-94 'At Mighelmesse next ... for tyme perpetuele': In 1394 Richard became the first king since King John to make a personal expedition to Ireland in an attempt to subjugate the Irish and bring them under English hegemony. The king remained in Ireland from 29 September 1394 to 30 May 1395, at which time he returned to England having obtained the submission of the Irish leaders, Art MacMurrough, king of Leinster and Niall Mor O'Neill, king of Tir Eoghain. The Irish chieftains acquiesced to Richard's superior status as king of England, and entered into a feudal agreement with him whereby they increased their own status as 'kings' by acknowledging Richard as their liege lord and agreeing to be bound by his laws and commandments. However, by 1399 the Irish were in dispute with the English over

territorial rights, and Richard was forced to embark on a second campaign to Ireland (see below). For Richard and Ireland see McKisack 1959: 470-73, 491-92, Otway-Ruthven 1968, Tuck 1973: 170-78 and Johnson 1981.

I. 1691 'The wylde Irisshe': The use of the phrase 'Wild Irish' is widespread in medieval literature, and complements the commonplace that Ireland was wild and uncivilised; see Snyder 1920.

II. 1695-98 'And ther he ... was no lese': Richard made Roger Mortimer, earl of March and Ulster, his lieutenant in Ireland in 1392 (see Saul 1997: 276).

II. 1699-1708 'Bot Kynge Rycharde ... and hiegh noblesse': The size of Richard's household was commented on in many different genres of literature, particularly in chronicles and poetry. Compare these lines with II. 1874-75 below and those occurring in Wright 1859-61: I, 411 ('Where was evere any Cristen kynge/ That ze evere knewe/ That helde swiche an houshold/ Be the half-delle/ As Richard in this rewme').

II. 1709-15 'And in the ... with trews contynuanche': These lines occur in an almost identical form in the second version, see **Commentary to the Second Version**, II. 1373-79.

II. 1709-24 'And in the ... al-kyns riall wyse': Richard's (second) marriage to Isabella (1389-1409), oldest daughter of Charles VI of France (1380-1422), was solemnised on 31 October 1396. The marriage took place in Calais, but occurred in Richard's twentieth regnal year (22 June 1396-21 June 1397), not his eighteenth (22 June 1394-21 June 1395), as Hardyng states here. Isabella was born 9 November 1389, therefore she was six years old, not nine, when she married Richard. The *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 349), the *Eulogium Continuation* (Haydon 1865: 371), and the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 16) also incorrectly state that she was nine years old. The envoys negotiating the marriage between Isabella and Richard were authorised to negotiate a truce with France. In March 1396, after several discussions over the terms, a twenty-eight year truce was confirmed in Paris. Hardyng incorrectly states that the term of the truce was twenty-two years.

I. 1712 'Hollowmesse': Hallowmas, also known as All Hallows or All Saints Day, occurs on 1 November.

II. 1723-29: 'At Cristenmasse than ... the kynge forth-ward': Having spent Christmas in the vicinity of London, Isabella's coronation was held on 5 January 1397 at Westminster Abbey. Whilst many of the chronicles make reference to the elaborate wedding festivities at Calais, none mentions the fortnight of tournaments held after the queen's coronation at Smithfield. The *Brut* however, cites, incorrectly, the great tournaments held at Smithfield in 1390 under the entry for the year 1388 (Brie 1906-08: II, 343).

II. 1730-43 'And in the ... afore was gone': In July 1397 Richard arrested his uncle, Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, at Pleshy, Essex. The arrest followed the capture of Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, who had been taken into custody the

night before; later the same day Richard also had Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel, arrested. Gloucester was initially imprisoned in the Tower, but he was promptly removed to Calais under the custody of Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham. The circumstances surrounding Gloucester's murder, as cited by Hardyng, are the same as those recorded in the official entry on the Rolls of Parliament (*Rot. Parl.*, III, 452-53). In this account one John Hall, who was in the service of the duke of Norfolk in 1397, purported to have witnessed, and participated in, Gloucester's suffocation at the Prince's Inn, Calais; Hall named the men guilty of suffocating Gloucester as William Serle and a valet of the duke of Albemarle's chamber surnamed Frauncis. The Prince's Inn is not mentioned in the first version, but it is cited in the second (l. 1409). Hardyng may have derived his account of this episode from the *Eulogium Continuation*, which contains a similar description of Gloucester's murder under a feather bed, and later, under the entries for the year 1404, names Serle as the murderer (Haydon 1858-65: III, 373, 402); however, it is also possible that Hardyng obtained his information from a similar source, or a combination of written and oral sources, since the *Eulogium Continuation* does not mention the Prince's Inn. The *Brut* is also an unlikely source for this episode, for although it mentions that Gloucester died under a 'feather bed', the narrative states that he was strangled, as do the *English Chronicle*, the *Chronicles of London* and Froissart. Similarly, the *Brut* fails to name Serle or the Prince's Inn. Other chronicles that refer to Serle as Gloucester's murderer in their account of his arrest in 1404 include the *Historia Anglicana* (Riley 1863-64: II, 263-64) the *Annales Ricardi Secundi* (Riley 1866: 390), the *Chronicles of London* (Kingsford 1905: 64), and the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 35). Interestingly, the Rolls of Parliament record that Hall's testament was made in the presence of Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, and his brother Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester; given Hardyng's service in the Percy household, he may have obtained the information about the Prince's Inn from the Percies. This, of course, would support his claim at l. 1739 to have heard an oral account of the murder. For Hall's confession as recorded on the Rolls of Parliament, see Given-Wilson 1993: 219-21. For a prophecy relating to the arrests of Gloucester, Arundel and Warwick, cited in the *Annales Ricardi Secundi* (Riley 1866: 206), see above ll. 1560-61.

ll. 1730-36 'And in the ... to Calays fette': These lines occur in a near identical form in the second version, ll. 1401-07.

l. 1743 'Bot for olde ... afore was gone': The implication here is that Gloucester was murdered as a result of a personal vendetta on Richard's part: specifically for Gloucester's role as the chief lord appellant in 1388 (see above ll. 1576-89). Other works attributing Gloucester's arrest and murder to the king's revenge include the *Eulogium Continuation* (Haydon 1865: 372-73), the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 16-17), Gower's *Cronica Tripertita* (Macaulay 1899-1902: IV, 320-29), the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 351-56), and the *Annales Ricardi Secundi* (Riley 1866: 201).

ll. 1744-50 'Than made the ... hym in affeccioun': Unbeknown to Richard, the parliament he called at Westminster in September 1397 was to be his last (*Rot. Parl.*, III, 347-85). At the time of his arrest, Gloucester was one of the most popular men in England; because of this Richard acted quickly to ensure that the people would not rise against him in anger.

ll. 1751-57 'The erle Rycharde ... gode or yll': Richard of Arundel did not go to the king willingly, but was arrested. For the trial and sentences of Arundel, Warwick and Cobham see Saul 1997: 375-83 and Bennett 1999: 98-108. The phrase 'good or yll' has particular significance here, as it implies that Gloucester, Arundel, Warwick and Cobham had an unfair trial.

ll. 1758-81 'At whiche parlment ... bene thair pere': Hardyng's chronology here is incorrect. The new titles were bestowed by the king at the close of the September parliament of 1397, and therefore after the trials of Gloucester, Arundel, Warwick and Cobham, not before (see below ll. 1786-1806). The new honours were as follows: Henry, earl of Derby, was created duke of Hereford; Thomas Holland (1374-1400), earl of Kent (1397-1400), was created duke of Surry; Edward of York (1373-1415), earl of Rutland (1390-1404), was created duke of Albemarle; John Holland (c. 1352-1400), earl of Huntingdon (1388-1400), was created duke of Exeter; Thomas Mowbray (c. 1366-99), earl of Nottingham and earl Marshal was created duke of Norfolk; John Beaufort (c. 1371-1410), earl of Somerset (1397-1410), was created marquis of Dorset; Thomas Despenser was created earl of Gloucester (1397-99); Thomas Percy was created earl of Worcester (1397-1403); Ralph Neville was created earl of Westmorland (1397-1425); and William Scrope was created earl of Wiltshire (1397-99). See *Rot. Parl.*, III, 355.

ll. 1782-1806 'And gafe thaym ... by thair iugement': During the parliament of 1397, the three original Lords Appellant were appealed of treason by Edward of York, Thomas Holland, John Holland, and Thomas Mowbray. Hardyng refers to them here by the new titles they received at the end of the parliament; however, at the time of the trials they were still only earls. A summons was issued on 21 September to Mowbray, as captain of Calais, requesting him to bring Gloucester to parliament to answer the allegations of treason against him. Several days later, Mowbray declared that Gloucester was dead, and instead the duke's confession was read out in answer to the accusations. Arundel rejected defiantly the charges brought against him, stating in his defence that he had acted in the king's best interests. He was tried and condemned the same day, and was taken from parliament to Tower Hill where he was beheaded. Conversely, the earl of Warwick made a full confession when he was tried on 28 September, and although he was initially sentenced to death, his punishment was later commuted to perpetual exile in the Isle of Man (*Rot. Parl.*, III, 381-82).

At the parliament of 1397 Richard also distributed a considerable number of properties and lordships to the aforementioned magnates, by redistributing the estates and lordships seized as forfeit from Gloucester, Arundel and Warwick. The sequestration of lands by the crown was only deemed acceptable when the owner had committed treason against the crown, and the ease with which Richard appropriated the estates belonging to Gloucester, Warwick and Arundel foreshadowed his seizure of the Lancastrian inheritance in 1399. For further discussion see below ll. 1912-18 and **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**.

A great deal of research has focussed on the circumstances leading up to Richard's decision to act against the senior appellants at this time, and various hypotheses have been offered regarding the extent of their designs against the king and his response to this. For a good summary of this period and the key issues concerning Richard's relationship with the senior appellants see Saul 1997: 366-404

and Bennett 1999: 82-120, who in turn cite further works relating to specific events and magnates.

I. 1791 'The lorde Cobham': The proceedings of the Westminster parliament were adjourned at the end of September until January 1398, when the parliament reconvened at Shrewsbury (*Rot. Parl.*, III, 347-85). It was at this session in Shrewsbury that John, lord Cobham (d. 1408), was impeached along with Sir Thomas Mortimer, and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment on Jersey, not in the Tower of London as Hardyng states at l. 1805 (*Rot. Parl.*, III, 381-82). The majority of the chronicles, like Hardyng, present the parliamentary proceedings at Westminster and Shrewsbury as though they were one continuous event; compare, for example, the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 354), the *Eulogium Continuation* (Haydon 1865: 376), the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 19-20), and the *Chronicles of London* (Kingsford 1905: 18). Usk's *Chronicle* is a rare exception to this (Given-Wilson 1997: 38-39).

II. 1797-99 'At the Tour ... the kynges intente': Hardyng emphasises the theme of revenge as the motivating factor behind Richard's behaviour in 1397 by paralleling Arundel's fate with that of Simon Burley. This correlation is reminiscent of the overt parallels suggested in the *Eulogium Continuation* (Haydon 1865: 375), where, in addition to the author noting the similarities between the executions at Tower Hill, the revenge motif is also highlighted when the king responds to Gloucester's plea for mercy with the words 'Illam gratiam habebis quam praestitisti Symoni de Burley' ['You shall have the same mercy you offered to Simon Burley': Haydon 1865: 372, 375]. The *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 19) and the *Chronicles of London* (Kingsford 1905: 18) likewise touch upon the similarity between the place of execution, whilst the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 351) highlights Richard's desire for revenge.

II. 1807-13 'Than for grete ... of treson vndystressed': Gloucester, Arundel and Warwick had significant support and respect from the English people at the time of their arrest, and the amalgamation of their retainers comprised a significant body of men willing to challenge the king's actions. That public disturbances did occur in the days following the arrests is attested by Richard's need to issue proclamations forbidding protests and authorising the arrest of anyone who disregarded the king's order (*CCR: Richard II, 1396-9*, pp. 137-38, m. 34, pp. 147-48, m. 25, p. 197, m. 32d). The general consensus fuelling public outrage appears to have been that Richard arrested the magnates in retribution for the events of 1388; this mood is reflected in the literature of the period; compare, for example, Gower's *Cronica Tripertita* (Macaulay 1899-1902: IV); *Richard the Redeless* (Barr 1993: 101-33); and the *Annales Ricardi Secundi* (Riley 1866: 206-7), and Richard's proclamation, several days after the arrests, emphatically stating that the lords had been arrested for new, not old, felonies (*CCR: Richard II, 1396-99*, p. 208), suggests that authors such as Hardyng who stress Richard's vengeance, are actually providing an expression of public opinion at the time. A month later, as part of his continued attempt to quell public disapproval of Gloucester's arrest and confinement, Richard sent Sir William Rickhill, chief justice of the Common Pleas, to Calais to extract a confession of treason from Gloucester. The confession was later incorporated into the official Rolls of Parliament and abbreviated copies were published in every county (*Rot. Parl.*, III, 431-32). For Gloucester's death and a discussion and edition of the confession,

Rickhill's procurement of it, and its incorporation into the Rolls of Parliament, see Tait 1902; Stamp 1923; Wright 1932; Given-Wilson 1997: 78-83.

l. 1813 'Nyne poyntz than of treson': William Rickhill's description of Gloucester's confession cites nine counts of treason (*Rot. Parl.*, III, 431). Undoubtedly, Rickhill included the three articles referred to at the end of the confession in his count; these were cut from the version that was distributed and displayed throughout the country. It is possible that Hardyng obtained his information about the nine articles of treason from personal contacts rather than chronicle sources; whether he himself had access to official documentation, or he knew others who did, is uncertain, but his account of Gloucester's confession and murder contains several intriguing items of information, apparently only available to those with knowledge of the parliamentary proceedings of 1397 and 1399.

ll. 1814-34 'Than euery day ... thought and longe': Richard's Cheshire guard was notoriously conceited and violent, and much work has focussed on the nature of the king's unique relationship with them and the county. Richard appears to have been particularly paranoid in the wake of the Gloucester, Arundel and Warwick arrests. In July 1397 he proclaimed that 2,300 Cheshire archers were required for his retinue, and although it is unlikely that he retained so many archers, by September 1398 the number of Cheshire men listed in the king's affinity totalled 760 (PRO, E 101/402/10). The king's preference for Cheshire men in his affinity dominated the final two years of his reign, and Hardyng's observation that he surrounded himself with the Cheshire archers day and night is not an exaggeration for the king's 311 archers were divided into seven watches; compare similar statements in the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 353), Usk's *Chronicle* (Given-Wilson 1997: 48-49), and the *Eulogium Continuation* (Haydon 1865: 380). Many of the chroniclers devote particular attention to criticising the Cheshire guard's disrespect for the law, and their contribution to Richard's downfall by alienating both the general public and the nobility. Again Hardyng is correct in noting that only Richard's favourite councillors were uncritical of their behaviour (ll. 1825-27). Richard's favouritism and tolerance of the Cheshire guard is cited as one of his crimes in the official account of his deposition (*Rot. Parl.*, III, 416-22). For further information on Richard and his Cheshire guard see Davies 1971; Gillespie 1974 and 1979; Bennett 1983; and Morgan 1987.

l. 1821 'He cherisshet hem so myche aboue all men': Hardyng's phrasing here is very similar to that in the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 18): 'and ham most loued and chersshede aboue alle oþer'. The *Brut* likewise states that 'above alle oþer persons' he loved the Cheshire men best (Brie 1906-08: II, 353).

ll. 1828-34 'At Notyngham thay ... thought and longe': The Cheshire men in Richard's household were responsible for several homicides, although I have been unable to determine the particulars of the crime alluded to by Hardyng. Compare Hardyng's comments with those in the *Annales Ricardi Secundi* (Riley 1866: 208, 237). For a brief discussion of the crimes involving Richard's retainers see Gillespie 1979.

ll. 1835-37 'Of lordes with ... hym to holde': Hardyng may be referring to the king's chamber knights, the numbers of which varied each year. Given-Wilson records 35

men listed as chamber knights during Richard's reign; 14 of these were probably referred to as chamber knights for diplomatic or official purposes, whereas the remaining 21 occur in the wardrobe books and appear to have been attached to the household at some point. For further information on Richard's chamber knights and members of the nobility within the king's household see Given-Wilson 1986: *passim*.

ll. 1835-45 'Of lordes with ... made is memory': The excessive size of Richard's household in the later years of his reign was heavily criticised by the king's contemporaries. In 1388 the Lords Appellant had attempted to regulate the household expenses and reduce the large number of people attached to the household; however, by the end of the 1390s the magnitude of the household staff and expenses had reached unprecedented figures. Chris Given-Wilson has highlighted the difficulties of reconciling the exact number of people in the king's household with the figures recorded in official documentation; however, in the late 1390s the Cheshire men increased the size of the king's affinity to approximately 2,000 people: 600 of whom were household servants, 760 Cheshire men, 250 knights and esquires, 90 sergeants-at-arms, 75 archers of the crown, and 250 governmental staff (Given-Wilson 1986: 223, 311). Hardyng's comments on the excessive numbers of bishops and ladies in the household are evocative of the bill presented to parliament in 1397 by Thomas Haxey, a long-standing royal clerk (*Rot. Parl.*, III, 339). Haxey presented his complaint, on behalf of the commons, and the fourth clause concerned the excessive number of bishops and ladies residing in the king's household; he also criticised the extravagant living standards of the king's affinity and their predilection for luxury. It is possible that knowledge of this bill was imparted to Hardyng via an unknown source, written or verbal. Hardyng's description of the king's extravagance highlights the pride and pomp of Richard's court at the height of his reign, and provides a striking contrast to the proceeding stanzas in which he loses everything: Ireland, his subject's loyalty, England and, finally, his crown. The pervading theme of pride suggests an archetypal fall from grace, which is reinforced by the marginal addition of the closing stanza of Gower's *Cronica Tripertita* (see below l. 2121 *gloss after*).

ll. 1838-41 'Of bysshops eke ... some wer certayne': Richard secured bishoprics for nine clerks of his household during his reign, and a further five bishoprics were held by the king's friends (Given-Wilson 1986: 182).

ll. 1842-45 'Of ladyse eke ... made is memory': The number of ladies in Richard's household is difficult to ascertain; however, a significant number of noble ladies and their female attendants no doubt resided in Richard's household; aside from the ladies in the queen's service, other noble ladies within the household may have included Lady Lutterel, Joan Mohun, Lady Burghersh, Katherine Swynford, Lady Ferrers, and the duchesses of York, Albemarle and Exeter (Mathew 1968: 28).

l. 1845 'bouche of courte': This phrase can refer to a sustenance allowance of food and drink, or a monetary allowance given to a member of the king's household to cover the expenses of meals taken away from the household (see *MED* bouche n.). Of additional interest with regards to Hardyng's use of the term in his attack on Richard's household is John Skelton's court-allegory, *The Bowge of Court*, written in 1498. This work addresses the dangers of life at court, and Skelton appears to have derived his title from the phrase 'bouche of court' because the free rations it alludes to 'had been

long the matter of classical Horation and Renaissance Italian satire' (Pearsall 1999: 536).

ll. 1846-55 'In his chapell ... of all correccion': The anti-clerical tone here is indicative of the prevalent sentiments found in late fourteenth-century literature. The crimes ascribed to Richard's prelates by Hardyng (sexual licentiousness, simony, covetousness, deceptive appearance and a disregard for the spiritual needs of their parishioners) are identical to the crimes committed by the false friars in texts such as the *Roman de la Rose*, Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, and Gower's *Vox Clamantis*. Hardyng's anti-clericalism, however, is similar to the form of 'new anti-clericalism' detailed in Wendy Scase's study (1989). Although originating from anti-clerical commonplaces circulating in the early Middle Ages, the 'new anti-clericalism' ascribed by Scase to *Piers Plowman* is not directed at an individual group of clerics, such as the friars in the *Roman de la Rose*, but at all levels of the religious hierarchy. Hardyng's criticism similarly questions the practises of all levels of the clergy within the royal household. For further discussion of the anti-clerical tradition and the new anti-clericalism in the late Middle Ages see Scase 1989. Hardyng's verses are no doubt inspired by polemic texts such as *Piers Plowman*, rather than other chronicles, for the only other chronicler to comment significantly upon the unholy activities of Richard's clerics is the monk of Evesham, who states that Thomas Merks, bishop of Carlisle and Tideman of Winchcombe, bishop of Worcester, participated in frequent late-night revelries with the king (Hearne 1729: 168). Household documents confirm that there was a large number of clerks within Richard's household, and that many of them were disliked (see Given-Wilson 1986).

ll. 1849-55 'Lewde men thay ... of all correccion': These lines occur in an almost identical form in the second version, ll. 1492-98.

ll. 1856-62 'In eche offyce ... drynke wer vndispayred': As noted above, the excess of Richard's household was notorious and prompted many complaints in both parliament and contemporary literature. The figure of ten thousand people dining at the household daily is, however, an exaggeration; in the second version this statement is attributed to Robert Iuelefe, clerk of the Green Cloth (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 1464-73). In the absence of similar estimates and comments in the chronicles examined here, the probability that Hardyng composed these verses, and the sartorial criticism in the second version himself remains a strong one.

ll. 1863-69 'Grete pride he ... to foule ende': The sin of pride, the original sin of Lucifer, was considered to be one of the worst of the seven deadly sins, and a large corpus of homiletic writings focussing on pride survives from this period (see Bloomfield 1952). Hardyng's reference to men prophesying a foul end for Richard and his court, could well be a reference to rumours and popular prophecies in circulation at the time, expressing public disapproval of Richard's reign. However, the reference may similarly be an allusion to the numerous prophetic discourses in circulation just after Richard's deposition, foretelling, retrospectively, that the king would be supplanted. The majority of these are revivals of earlier prophetic texts, reinterpreted in light of the events of 1399; however, the prophecy 'Asinus coronatus' does not occur in extant manuscripts until the early fifteenth century, and may be interpreted in the light of Bolingbroke's return to England, with particular reference to

the Percy family. Whilst it is highly unlikely that a prophecy such as this was a product of an official Lancastrian propaganda campaign, it nevertheless reveals the same pervasive public fascination with Richard's downfall suggested in Hardyng's narrative. The chronicles record numerous instances of popular prophecies and signs forecasting Richard's downfall: see, for example, the prophecy of the toad in the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 589-90), Usk's discussion of the portents at Richard's coronation, and the desertion of his favourite greyhound (Given-Wilson 1997: 86-87, 90-91), and the prophecy attributed to the hermit, William Norham, in both the *Annales Ricardi Secundi* (Riley 1866: 231-32) and the *Eulogium Continuation* (Haydon 1865: 380-81), foretelling bad events for Richard if the disinherited were not brought home. For a thought-provoking analysis of both prophetic discourse in the reigns of Richard II and Henry IV see Coote 2000.

ll. 1870-73 'Thre hundre cokes ... the lardre verrayment': Whilst the number of cooks suggested by Hardyng is an exaggeration, it is known that the court had extravagant eating habits. For the commodities consumed by the household, and the general public dislike of the royal purveyors see Given-Wilson 1986: 41-48.

ll. 1874-83 'Thar was neuer ... warried for oppression': In the aftermath of the Peasants' Revolt public resentment towards taxation was still a major concern for the government. Richard had promised to ease taxation in 1389, but by 1398 four and a half subsidies had been granted by parliament and the general belief amongst the king's subjects was that Richard was using public funds to finance his luxurious household (Saul 1997: 439). The Record and Process of Richard's deposition cites heavy taxation as one of the king's crimes against the country, and it was obviously a significant point of contention amongst the English, because in 1399 Henry Bolingbroke not only promised to reclaim his inheritance, but also to alleviate the burden of taxes. Hardyng emphasises Richard's lack of consideration for his lesser subjects by stating that his harsh taxation made them hate him and pray to God for succour. The public grievance over taxation, and their subsequent prayers, complement Hardyng's presentation of Henry as England's divinely appointed saviour. See also ll. 1958-59 below where Henry is depicted as the good shepherd.

ll. 1874-75 'Thar was neuer ... and passyng rialte': Compare with ll. 1699-1708 above.

ll. 1884-90 'And in the ... to batayle bon': These lines are similar to those occurring in the second version, see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 1506-26.

ll. 1884-1904 'And in the ... and his benyvolence': As a result of Henry Bolingbroke's accusations of treason against Thomas Mowbray at the Shrewsbury parliament of 1398, it was agreed that the two dukes would settle the allegations by judicial combat on 16 September 1398, at Coventry. Before combat was engaged, Richard prohibited the duel and exiled both lords: Bolingbroke for ten years, and Mowbray for life (*Rot. Parl.*, III, 382-83). Bolingbroke went to France, and Mowbray to Venice, where he died on 22 September 1399. It is with this episode that Shakespeare's *Richard II* begins. For further information regarding the episode see McKisack 1959: 485-88, Tuck 1973: 207-10 and Saul 1997: 395-402.

l. 1886 ‘And of his regne the two and twenty yere’: Richard’s twenty-second regnal year ran from 22 June 1398 to 21 June 1399.

ll. 1905-11 ‘In Lentyn after ... and wele founded’: John of Gaunt died on 3 February 1399 and was buried at St Paul’s, London. For details of Gaunt’s ecclesiastical patronage and relationship with the church see Goodman 1992: 241-71. On 18 March Richard confiscated the Lancastrian estates and commuted the term of Henry Bolingbroke’s exile to life (*Rot. Parl.*, III, 372).

ll. 1912-18 ‘In May than ... for comons variable’: The chronicles place great emphasis on Richard’s misuse of blank charters, and most highlight them as a contributing factor to his downfall. See in particular part three of Gower’s *Cronica* (Macaulay 1902), the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 356), the *Eulogium Continuation* (Haydon 1865: 378-79), the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 21), the *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi II* (Hearne 1729: 146-47), and Walsingham’s *Annales Ricardi Secundi* (Riley 1866: 234-37). Rather than being blank, the charters were carefully crafted documents, which gave the king control (or *carte blanche*) over his subjects’ possessions. The combination of Richard’s sequestration of the Lancastrian inheritance and the king’s abuse of blank charters was a cause for great concern amongst the English magnates, who became aware that their estates and titles were vulnerable under Richard’s fickle regime. This may account for the large support given to Bolingbroke on his return to England in 1399. An account of the king’s abuse of the charters was presented at the October parliament of 1399 as part of the deposition proceedings (*Rot. Parl.*, III, 415-53). For further information on the charters see Barron 1968.

ll. 1919-25 ‘Than went he ... a purpose newe’: Richard set out on his second expedition to Ireland at the end of May 1399, arriving in Waterford on 1 June 1399. For an account of the hostilities leading up to Richard’s second expedition to Ireland, and the campaign itself see Otway-Ruthven 1968 and Johnston 1981. Roger Mortimer, fourth earl of March and Ulster, was ambushed and killed on 20 July 1398. Mortimer had been Richard’s lieutenant of Ireland since 23 July 1392, but the king had grown increasingly suspicious of Mortimer’s loyalty and his position as heir apparent to the throne. On 26 July 1398, unaware of Mortimer’s death, the king replaced him as lieutenant with Thomas Holland, duke of Surrey (*CCR 1396-99*: 325). Several of the chronicles state that Richard was prompted to wage war on the Irish in retaliation for March’s death; this seems to be what Hardyng implies in both versions, but more explicitly so in the second where the king takes Mortimer’s sons into his wardenship (ll. 1531-38). Compare for example the *Eulogium Continuation* (Haydon 1865: 379), the *Annales Ricardi Secundi* (Riley 1866: 229), *Historia Anglicana* (Riley 1863-64: II, 229) and Capgrave’s *Abbreviacion of Cronicles* (Lucas 1983: 211).

ll. 1924-25 ‘And so he ... a purpose newe’: Hardyng’s confident suggestion that Richard would have succeeded in subjugating the Irish if his English subjects (here cited collectively as ‘England’) had been united behind him is extremely interesting as it reveals something of Hardyng’s attitude to kingship. The chronicler equates the expansion of territorial power with a stable and prosperous kingdom – only when a kingdom is united can it prosper, leaving the king free to conquer other realms and thus expand the greatness of his kingdom. Conversely, when the king and his nobles are corrupt and self-serving, or when the relationship between them fails to be an

amicable one, the kingdom becomes unstable and divided, and becomes open to invasion from foreign enemies or civil dissent. For further discussion see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**.

ll. 1926-39 'At midsomer of ... dome, I wene': Henry of Lancaster landed at Ravenspur on 4 July 1399. His principal supporters were the Percies, but it is uncertain as to whether they supported his campaign because they believed he would only reclaim his lawful inheritance, or whether they knew of his plans to usurp the throne. This controversial issue has been the subject of much discussion, with historians arguing cogently and citing contemporary evidence in support of both possibilities; in the absence of any further evidence, the true motive behind the Percies' espousal of Bolingbroke's cause remains unresolved. In both versions of the *Chronicle* Hardyng absolves the Percies of any disloyalty towards Richard. For opposing views on the Percies' involvement in Henry's usurpation see Bean 1959; Tuck 1968 and 1973: 217-19; Sherborne 1994: 119-53; Rose 2002. For Hardyng's different perspectives on Bolingbroke's intentions in 1399 see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**.

ll. 1926-32 'At midsomer of ... the lorde Darcy': the syntax here is muddled and there is no main verb.

ll. 1927-28 'By counsaile of ... erle Henry Percy': Hardyng's reference to the consanguinity of Bolingbroke and the earl of Northumberland is particularly important to our understanding of loyalty in the later Middle Ages. The importance of familial loyalty and obligation to a feudal lord (i.e. the king) often conflicted, especially during times of civil crisis. In both versions of the *Chronicle* Hardyng excuses the rebellious actions of the northern magnates, Percy and Neville, by citing their familial connections to Bolingbroke; the implication is that in circumstances where the king has usurped the sacrosanct laws and duties befitting his sovereignty it is quite acceptable for the magnates to call him to account for his actions. The emphasis in the *Chronicle* on Richard's abuse of property rights and disregard for public wellbeing provides adequate justification for Bolingbroke's rebellion and the magnates' rebellion against their feudal lord. Compare with the second version (ll. 1565-68), in which Hardyng touches upon Neville's marriage to Bolingbroke's half sister Joan Beaufort (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 1548-89), and with Hardyng's emphasis on the familial connections of Mortimer and the Percies in his narrative concerning Glyn Dŵr's revolt in Wales, ll. 2157-98 above.

ll. 1931-35 'To whom the ... erle of Westmyrlonde': Aside from Sir Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, and his son Sir Henry 'Hotspur' Percy, the men mentioned here include William, lord Roos of Helmsley (c. 1368-1414), Ralph Neville (1364-1425), earl of Westmorland (1397-1425), and John, lord Darcy (c. 1376-1411).

l. 1932 *gloss after*: The number of men who landed with Henry at Ravenspur, Yorkshire, is generally cited between 40-60 in the chronicles. Usk is an exception in citing 300 men (Given-Wilson 1997: 52-53).

ll. 1937-39 'And with the ... dome I wene': William Scrope, treasurer of England, Sir John Bushy and Sir Henry Green, three of Richard's most hated advisors, were

executed on 29 July 1399 by Bolingbroke's party at Bristol, as traitors to the realm. Sir William Bagot managed to escape, but was later captured and put on trial in the parliament of 1399. Bushy, Bagot and Green were satirised in contemporary poetry; see, for example, *Richard the Redeless* (Barr 1993: 101-33), 'On King Richard's Minister's' (Wright 1859-61: I, 363-66); and Scattergood 1971: 110-15. Hardyng's reference to Bagot's escape may indicate that he was using a peculiar version of the *Brut* common to the source of the *English Chronicle* for this section of his narrative. All three chronicles mention Bagot's escape, but Hardyng does not record that he fled to Ireland as the other two do (Brie 1906-08: II, 358; Marx 2003: 22-23).

II. 1940-53 'And with the ... by his maundement': Thomas Fitzalan of Arundel (archbishop of Canterbury 1396-97 and 1399-1414, chancellor 1386-89 and 1391-96), was impeached by John Bushy in the 1397 parliament for his role in the proceedings against the king and his favourites in 1386 and 1388. As punishment his archbishopric was declared forfeit to Roger Walden, and he was translated to St Andrews and exiled. During his exile he convened with his disinherited nephew, also named Thomas Fitzalan, who had escaped from custody in England; and after rendezvousing with Bolingbroke in France, the three disinherited lords returned to England.

II. 1952-53 'And for the ... by his maundement': The *Annales Ricardi Secundi* (Riley 1866: 252), the *Eulogium Continuation* (Haydon 1865: 385) and the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 26) are amongst those in disagreement with Hardyng, recording that Warwick was sent for after Richard had resigned his crown to Bolingbroke.

I. 1954 'As steward so of Englonde verraly': The Stewardship of England was an hereditary office appertaining to the earldom of Leicester. On 2 May 1308 Thomas of Lancaster, eldest son of Edmund Crouchback, was granted the office of Steward as a feature of the earldom of Leicester in tail male. When Lancaster died without a male heir, his brother, Henry of Lancaster, and his male descendents were unofficially recognised as stewards. In this manner Henry Bolingbroke inherited the office from his father, John of Gaunt, and perceived the title as part of his lawful inheritance. After Richard's sequestration of the Lancastrian estates, the stewardship was granted to Edward, duke of York (*CPR: Richard II, 1396-99*, p. 490, m. 9). For an insightful discussion of the significance Bolingbroke attached to the Stewardship of England, and its relevance to our understanding of Bolingbroke's usurpation of the throne, see Sherbourne 1994: 119-53.

II. 1958-60 'The scatred floke ... thurgh his gouernaunce': Hardyng uses the analogy of the Good Shepherd to suggest that Henry was God's divinely appointed saviour. The concept of the Good Shepherd is a common motif in medieval literature, and the depiction of Henry IV as England's saviour is similarly common in texts produced in the wake of the Lancastrian ascendancy; see, for example, Gower's *Cronica Tripertita*, and Thomas Walsingham's *Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti*. Hardyng may have derived this image from Gower's *Cronica Tripertita* (Pars II and III, *passim*, Macaulay 1899-1902: IV), or from analogous representations of Bolingbroke's virtuous nature in the *Eulogium Continuation* and the *English Chronicle*. The Lancastrian bias of Hardyng's depiction of Bolingbroke is undeniable, and is lacking in the second version. The concept of the king as a Christ figure also

occurs in other forms of medieval literature, particularly, in sermons of the period, texts of a religious nature, such as *Piers Plowman*, and prophetic discourse; see, for example, Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes* (Furnivall 1897: 103, ll. 2836-42) and Coote 2000: 150, 154-55. Compare also Hardyng's description of Henry VI and Edward IV as shepherds appointed by God to reunite his scattered flock of English subjects (Lansdowne 204, f. 230v, ll. 4281-87 and Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 179v, ll. 3347-53, f. 180r, ll. 3403-09).

ll. 1961-67 'The kynge, whan ... went withouten myght': On hearing of Bolingbroke's return to England, Richard left Ireland and sailed for Wales. Many of the chronicles record the desertion of Richard's men at Flint (see, for example the *Brut*, Brie 1906-08: II, 358), but Hardyng does not report this until the second version (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 1548-89). For Richard's return to England see Johnston 1983.

ll. 1968-74 'Than came the ... his lege lorde': Hardyng is one of the few chroniclers to mention that only Henry Percy negotiated with Richard II at Conway: others include the *Chronicque de la Traïson et Mort de Richart Deux Roy Dengleterre* (Williams 1846: 46-52, 195-200) and the *Kirkstall Chronicle* (Taylor 1952). The *Eulogium Continuation* (Haydon 1858-65: III, 382) and the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 23) omit any mention of Percy, stating instead that Bolingbroke and Arundel visited the king (at Conway and Flint respectively). In contrast the parliamentary rolls and some chroniclers, particularly those writing in close proximity to the capital, or who had connections with Arundel (i.e. the Saint Albans group of chroniclers, the *Brut* and Adam of Usk) record that Archbishop Arundel accompanied the earl of Northumberland to the meeting; see, for example, the *Annales Ricardi Secundi* (Riley 1866: 249); the *Historia Anglicana* (Riley 1863-64: II, 233-34); the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 544); Adam of Usk (Given-Wilson 1997: 58-59); and the *Chronicles of London* (Kingsford 1905: 20). There is, nevertheless, some speculation that Arundel's presence may have been invented by Lancastrian propagandists wishing to add a degree of legitimacy to the event; given the accounts of Creton, who claimed to have been an eyewitness to the discussions at Conway, and Hardyng, who was in service with the Percy family at this time, it is probable that such speculation is correct. For further discussion see Saul 1997: 411-16 and Bennett 1999: 160-69.

ll. 1975-81 'Whom Duke Henry ... hym kynge agayne': Richard entered London with Bolingbroke at the beginning of September. Hardyng infers that it was parliament alone that wished to depose Richard. Bolingbroke is portrayed as a just magnate who delivers Richard to account for his misdeeds, and who wishes to abide by whatever parliamentary decision is made concerning the king; compare this with Gower's *Cronica Tripertita*. Richard relinquished his crown on 29 September 1399, and was officially deposed by parliament the following day: he was not present. Thirty-three articles of deposition were read out and recorded on the Parliamentary Rolls (*Rot. Parl.*, III, 417-22), as was Richard's own declaration of abdication. Upon Henry's ascension these articles were freely circulated, for obvious propaganda purposes, and many of the chronicles contain the items in the deposition narratives; see, for example, the *Annales Ricardi Secundi* (Riley 1866: 254-56, 259-78); the *Historia Anglicana* (Riley 1863-64: II, 235-37); the *Chronicles of London* (Kingsford 1905: 19-42); the *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi II* (Hearne 1729: 184-205, 214-16) and

Capgrave's *Liber de Illustribus Henricis* (Hingeston 1858: 102-07). It is probable that many of the complaints raised in the chronicle narratives concerning Richard's reign derive from the articles of deposition, for many of the more common complaints detailed by the chroniclers (i.e. Hardyng's references to the king's excessive household, favouritism towards his Cheshire retainers, heavy public taxation and misuse of Blank Charters) are listed in the articles as specific charges against Richard.

ll. 1982-88 'Bot than it ... vnto his ordynaunce': The circumstances surrounding the deposition of Richard II have been subjected to exhaustive study by scholars; notable works on the subject include: McKisack 1959: 490-98; Tuck 1973: 190-225; Saul 1997: 405-23; Bennet 1999: 170-91. The chronicle accounts of the deposition disagree entirely, undeniably due to the loyalties and perspectives of the authors and the patrons for whom they were writing. The chronicles associated with St Albans record Richard's free and happy resignation of the crown to Bolingbroke, whereas other chronicles, such as the *Chronicque de la Traïson et Mort de Richart Deux Roy Dengleterre* (Williams 1846) and the *Dieulacres Chronicle* (Clarke and Galbraith 1930) suggest foul play. For a comparative account of the treatments of Richard's deposition in the chronicles see Duls 1975: 112-54 and Given-Wilson 1993. Hardyng is very careful to absolve Bolingbroke from any blame in the deposition sequence in this version of the *Chronicle*; however, see the **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 1548-89.

l. 1983 'And of his regne the thre and twenty yer': Richard's twenty-third regnal year ran from 22 June 1399 to 29 September 1399.

ll. 1989-90 'The lorde Cobham ... had his baronage': John, lord Cobham, had already escaped from his exile on Jersey, and was in Bolingbroke's party when he landed at Ravenspur. Other chronicles mentioning Cobham's release after Richard's submission to Henry include the *Eulogium Continuation* (Haydon 1865: 385), the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 26) and the *Annales Ricardi Secundi* (Riley 1866: 252).

ll. 1991-93 'To Irelande eke ... had firste message': Some of the chronicles mention the great treasures and goods taken to Ireland by the king. Interestingly, the reference to Richard's treasure calls attention to the story of the king's discovery of the sacred oil given to Thomas Becket by the Virgin Mary; for further information on literature concerning the Holy Oil prophecy see below, l. 2019.

ll. 1994-2002 'And for his ... shulde haue bene': Richard took Bolingbroke's son, Henry (later Henry V) and Humphrey, son of the duke of Gloucester, with him to Ireland as hostages. The circumstances of Humphrey's death are vague, and the chronicles generally disagree. Hardyng's account of Humphrey dying of plague on his voyage home from Ireland, and his mother (Eleanor Bohun, duchess of Gloucester) later dying of sorrow, agrees with that in Walsingham's *Annales Henrici Quarti* (Riley 1866: 321) and the *Historia Anglicana* (Riley 1863-64: II, 242). Chronicles in disagreement with Hardyng include the *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi II*, which states that Humphrey drowned during his return to England (Hearne 1729: 154) and Adam of Usk's *Chronicle*, which records that Humphrey died on his way home after being poisoned by Thomas Despenser in Ireland (Given-Wilson 1997: 60-61).

ll. 2003-09 ‘The gudes all ... myght and pryncipalite’: The final stanza of Richard II’s reign ends with the king’s possessions being given to Henry Bolingbroke by those returning from Ireland. This stanza is ambiguous in that it implies that Bolingbroke would not leave until he was made king; the reference to him gaining the ‘ryalte’ (l. 2008) through his ‘grete myght’ (l. 2009) is similar to the assertion in the second version that the duke kept his forces with him until he had been crowned king (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 1609-15).

The Reign of Henry IV

l. 2009 *gloss after*: The Latin gloss here is most interesting. The glossator, possibly Hardyng himself, states that Hardyng saw, heard and was present at, the events narrated in the *Chronicle* for the entire reign of Henry IV; of particular note is the way in which Hardyng uses statements such as ‘I se’ (Lansdowne 204, f. 204r, l. 2126), ‘as I remembre can’ (Lansdowne 204, f. 209v, l. 2585), or ‘as afterward I herde’ (Lansdowne 204, f. 199v, l. 1739), to authenticate the narrative from this point forward, as opposed to his previous predilection for common authorising tags such as ‘as sayth the cronyclere’ (Lansdowne 204, f. 186r, l. 630). However, this is not to say that he disregards the need to authenticate the events with reference to written sources, but rather that he demonstrates an acute awareness of his own role as narrator and witness to the events, and therefore as a commentator on contemporary history and the lessons he perceives that should be learnt from recent affairs. To add further authority to the text, the glossator cites Master Norham’s *Chronicle* as written corroboration. It is highly likely that Norham’s *Chronicle* is a version of the ‘peculiar’ *Brut*, either belonging to somebody called Norham and known to Hardyng, or encountered by Hardyng and bearing an ex-libris with Norham’s name. Unfortunately, a provisional examination of manuscript catalogues and extant versions of the ‘peculiar’ *Brut*, as listed in Lister Matheson’s comprehensive study of the prose *Brut* (1998), has failed to confirm either of these speculations; however, an interesting possibility is suggested by an annotation in Bodleian Library MS Laud 702. This fourteenth-century manuscript contains a copy of Giles of Rome’s *De Regimine Principum*, and the annotation on f. 1v states that the manuscript was given by Henry Percy, second earl of Northumberland, to his confessor Father William Norham, doctor of Theology [‘Hunc librum contulit dominus Henricus Percy, inclitus comes Northumbrie, fratri Willelmo de Norham confessori eiusdem domini et sacre theologie doctori xiii die Aprilis 1419’]. The connection between the Percy family, particularly the son of the man with whom Hardyng began his career, and his bequest of a secular text to his confessor may be entirely coincidental; however, in the absence of any contrary evidence, it remains at least a possibility that the same William Norham also owned a copy of the *Brut*, which Hardyng was aware of, and to which the gloss refers. If the dating of the prologue to the second version is taken as c. 1460 (see **John Hardyng’s Life**), then Hardyng’s poignant request to Richard, duke of York, to ‘Trete wele Percy, of Marches lyne decended’ (l. 120) is almost certainly a reference to the second earl of Northumberland’s son, Henry Percy, third earl of Northumberland, and suggests that Hardyng maintained his connections with the Percies throughout his life. This would add further credence to the Norham in the gloss here being connected to Percy’s confessor. Laud 702 and a later copy of Giles’s *De Regimine Principum* owned by the Percies, and later Richard III, are discussed briefly in Sutton and Visser-Fuchs 1997: 118. Similar glosses occur at the beginning of the reigns of Henry V and Henry VI (see Lansdowne 204, f. 209v, l. 2582 *gloss*

after and f. 217v, l. 3254 *gloss after*); they do not, however, occur in the second version.

ll. 2010-23 ‘The duke Henry ... full grete promesse’: Scholarship focussing on Henry IV’s ascendancy is exhaustive: important works include Wylie 1969, Kirby 1970, Saul 1997. Hardyng is careful to absolve Henry of any taint of usurpation, and adds that the new king assumed the sovereignty ‘by counsaile that he hadde’ (l. 2010) rather than by his own machinations; compare, for example, with the *Brut*, which states that Henry was chosen as sovereign by ‘þe lordez & þe comyns, alle with on assent’ (Brie 1906-08: II, 359), and the *Eulogium Continuation* (Haydon 1865: 384), in which all assent to Henry’s claim. Henry’s coronation was held at Westminster on 13 October 1399 (the feast of the translation of St Edward the Confessor). Two new elements were added to the ceremony: Henry was crowned with a closed crown featuring two arches in the shape of a cross, and he was anointed by Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, with the Holy Oil of Thomas Becket (see below l. 2019). The prophecy of the Holy Oil seems to have first originated in the reign of Edward II, but was propagated widely in the reign of Edward III (see Coote 2000: *passim*). Although the prophecy was espoused by some chroniclers to legitimise Henry IV’s usurpation (see, for example, Walsingham’s *Historia Anglicana*; Riley 1863-64: II, 239-40), there is no evidence that it was circulated as official governmental propaganda. Other chronicles referring to the Holy Oil include the *Annales Ricardi Secundi* (Riley 1866: 239, 297-300), the *Eulogium Continuation* (Haydon 1858-65: III, 380), the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 26), and Capgrave’s *Abbreviacion of Cronicles* (Lucas 1983: 214-15).

The second version of the *Chronicle* omits any reference to the Holy Oil, and the recovery of Richard’s treasure, which is often associated with his discovery of the Holy Oil. For further discussion of the Holy Oil and its occurrence in prophetic literature and its function in both Lancastrian and Yorkist propaganda of the fifteenth century see McKenna 1967; Sandquist 1969; Strohm 1998: 207-08; and Coote 2000: particularly 94-98, 161-62.

ll. 2024-30 ‘Than came the ... in thaim lay’: Hardyng provides a subtle contrast between Richard’s unlawful sequestration of properties, and Henry’s just restoration of lands and titles. This is highlighted further by his emphasis on the dilapidated condition of Warwick’s estates.

ll. 2031-51 ‘The kyng Henry ... blode riall descent’: The first parliament of Henry IV’s reign began on 6 October 1399 (*Rot. Parl.*, III, 415-53), and was adjourned temporarily for the coronation on 13 October, resuming the following day. During the proceedings Henry IV elevated his oldest son, Henry, to the titles prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall and earl of Chester (*Rot. Parl.*, III, 426; Rymer 1704-35: VIII, 148 8 November 1399). The acts passed in Richard’s last parliament of 1397/98 were annulled, and the judgements reversed on the attainted lords. As a result of this, the magnates who condemned Gloucester, Warwick, Arundel and Cobham of treason, and who currently held their forfeited titles and honours were arrested and asked to account for their actions. Their punishment was a cause of concern for the new king, as all of the magnates concerned had since reconciled themselves to Henry; in the end very little action was taken against them. The dukes of Albemarle, Surry and Exeter (Edward of York, Thomas Holland, and John Holland) were demoted, respectively, to

their previous earldoms to Rutland, Kent and Huntingdon; John Beaufort, marquis of Dorset, was demoted to the earl of Somerset; and Thomas Despenser, earl of Gloucester, was demoted to his previous title of lord Despenser. All were cautioned that any future support on their behalf towards Richard would be construed as treasonous, a fortuitous warning since all of them were involved in a plot against Henry several months later (see below ll. 2087-2121). The earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, Henry Percy, and Ralph Neville, received exceptional recognition for their assistance and support during Henry's recent coup, and were increased to the offices of Constable of England and Marshal of England respectively. In addition to this Percy was granted the Isle of Man, which had been declared forfeit upon the death of William Le Scrope, earl of Wiltshire (Rymer 1704-35: VIII, 91, 19 October 1399), and the wardenship of the West March towards Scotland for ten years with an income of £1500 per year (*Rot. Scot.*, II, 151). The earl's son, Henry 'Hotspur' Percy, was similarly granted the wardenship of the East March, along with the castles and lordships of Bamburgh, Roxburgh and Berwick, making the Percies a predominant force in the North. In light of these grants it is prudent to assume that Hardyng's defence of the Percies in the second version of the *Chronicle*, and their declaration that Bolingbroke committed perjury by claiming the throne as Henry IV does not appear to have affected their judgement in accepting Henry's accolades (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 1646-80).

ll. 2034-35 'Who afterwarde so ... his dedes attame': Hardyng looks forward here to the reign of Henry V and his glorious reign. This is quite interesting as it reveals that Hardyng does not view his narrative as purely chronological, but as a series of exempla demonstrating good and bad kingship and governance, which may be compared with and emphasised by other examples within the *Chronicle*. The reminder of Henry V's good governance also serves to present the Lancastrian dynasty in a favourable manner at the beginning of the narrative concerning the first Lancastrian king, Henry IV. For further discussion on Hardyng's telescopic view of history see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**.

ll. 2052-65 'Whils that parlment ... and neuer mesauentured': In this version of the *Chronicle* Hardyng presents the skirmish at Fulhopelaw, in Coquetdale (1399) as a separate encounter to the one at Michaelmas the following year at Redeswire (see below, ll. 2136-49), whereas in the second version he appears to confuse the two (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 1681-94, 1737-50). Hardyng was probably not involved in this himself, for it is likely that he was amongst the men present throughout the term of parliament in the Percies' retinue (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 1609-15); however, as wardens of the Marches, the earl of Northumberland and his son would certainly have heard about the incursion, and Hardyng has probably compiled his narrative from the verbal accounts imparted to the Percies, or later from Umfraville himself. Compare Hardyng's account of the raid with the *Annales Henrici Quarti* (Riley 1866: 320-21) and the *Historia Anglicana* (Riley 1863-64: II, 242), which state that the Scots raided and destroyed Wark Castle during Henry IV's first parliament.

Hardyng probably emphasises Umfraville's participation in repelling the Scots because it is at this time, and later the following year in September 1400, that Umfraville's political career began to excel, and he began to receive royal recognition for his services. In December 1402, for example, Henry IV retained Umfraville on a

permanent basis as one of the king's knights, and granted him an annuity of £40 (Given-Wilson 1986: 227). Sir Robert Umfraville is praised throughout Hardyng's narrative, particularly in the first version, which poignantly ends with his death and Hardyng's praise of his character and chivalric virtues. As a prominent member of the northern nobility, Umfraville was a staunch supporter of the Percies before their rebellion in 1403, and had consistently defended the border between England and Scotland. The Umfraville family had a long-standing interest in properties on both sides of the border because of their titular claim to the earldom of Angus.

ll. 2056-57 'The lorde Gordon ... *Sir Wylliam Stewarde*': The Scottish lords to whom Hardyng refers are Alexander Seton, Lord of Gordon, and William Stewart of Jedburgh.

ll. 2059-62 'Two thousand Scottes ... of his mageste': The numbers here are probably exaggerated, and no figures are provided elsewhere to compare with Hardyng's account. The author is also being ironic at line 2061 when he states that the king rewarded Umfraville because Umfraville had 'rewarded' (hanselde) his enemies. See *MED* *hansellen* (v.) and *hanselle* (n.).

ll. 2066-79 'The kyng than ... wold ought ster': See ll. 2031-51 above.

ll. 2080-86 'The kyng Rycharde ... kyng and comaundement': The problem with how to deal with Richard after his deposition was of great concern to Henry. It was judged that Richard should be removed from the Tower at the end of October and transferred to an undisclosed location, where he would remain in isolation. The chroniclers generally agree on the route taken by Richard on the way to his final destination, Pontefract Castle. The first sojourn was Leeds Castle, then Pickering, and onto Knaresborough. The author of the *Chronicque de la Traison et Mort de Richart Deux Roy Dengleterre* is an example of one of the chroniclers who disagrees, stating that Richard was first removed to Gravesend (Kent) before continuing his journey (Williams 1846: 228). The exact date of Richard's later transfer to Pontefract is uncertain; however, most historians favour the beginning of December (see, for example, Saul 1997: 424).

ll. 2087-2121 'Sone after than ... for his mysgouernayle': Hardyng is referring to the rebellion known as the Epiphany Rising. The aim of the uprising was to capture Henry IV and his sons, and free and reinstate Richard as king. The principal conspirators were the lords whom Henry IV had demoted in his first parliament: the earls of Rutland, Kent, and Huntingdon, and Thomas, lord Despenser. Other men involved in the plot to restore Richard to the throne and listed by Hardyng include John Montague, earl of Salisbury, Ralph, lord Lumley (1384-1400), several of Richard's clerks, Richard Maudelyn, William Ferriby, and Thomas Merks, ex-bishop of Carlisle, Sir Thomas Shelley, Huntingdon's esquire, and Sir Bernard Brocas. The plot was originally devised in December 1399, but Hardyng, like Walsingham in his *Annales Henrici Quarti* (Riley 1866: 323), and Capgrave's *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles* (Lucas 1983: 216) does not comment on how the plot was exposed; the *Eulogium Continuation* and the *English Chronicle* suggest that a London prostitute unwittingly alerted the authorities (Haydon 1865: 385-86; Marx 2003: 27), whilst other chroniclers blame the earl of Rutland; see, for example, the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II,

360) and the author of the *Chronicque de la Traison et Mort de Richart Deux Roy Dengleterre* (Williams 1846: 234). Upon discovering the plot against him, Henry IV issued proclamations throughout England requesting the arrests of the conspirators. Kent, Salisbury and Lumley were captured and beheaded by the citizens of Cirencester; the earl of Huntingdon was captured in Essex, and taken back to Pleshy by the countess of Hereford, where he was beheaded; and Despenser was taken and beheaded at Bristol. The heads of all the conspirators were sent to the king in London. Thomas Merks was arrested in London and after several months in prison was transferred to the custody of the abbot of Westminster. Shelley, Maudelyn, Ferriby and Brocas were executed at Tyburn. For a detailed account of the Epiphany Rising see Wylie 1969: I, 91-111, Kirby 1970: 86-90. Benet's *Chronicle* (Harriss and Harriss 1972: 175), the *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi II* (Hearne 1729: 168), and the *Chronicque de la Traison et Mort de Richart Deux Roy Dengleterre* (Williams 1846: 251-58) also mention, as Hardyng does, that Holland was killed by the countess of Hereford.

l. 2114 *gloss after*: Thomas Merks, ex-bishop of Carlisle, is not mentioned in the narrative, only in the gloss accompanying the text.

l. 2121 *gloss after*: The verses quoted here are taken from Gower's *Cronica Tripertita* (Macaulay 1899-1902: IV, 342). They occur at the end of the work and are intended to reflect upon the concept of the world as a mirror, and how God chastises and replaces sinful kings. Both of these themes were medieval commonplaces, particularly in literature taking the form of 'Mirrors for Princes'. Although not in the same category as the classically structured 'Mirrors for Princes', Hardyng undoubtedly views his *Chronicle*, and history, as a series of exempla of good and bad kingship, for his patron to emulate and aspire to. For further discussion of this see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**, and compare with ll. 1463, 1835-45 above. Of the five extant manuscripts of Gower's *Cronica*, the reading in Hardyng's *Chronicle* corresponds most closely to the text in Glasgow, Hunterian Museum MS Hunter 59 (T. 2. 17), ff. 109-19, which according to Stockton may well be Gower's original version (1962: 484). The other manuscripts are Oxford, All Souls College MS 98; Oxford, Bodleian Library Hatton 92; London, British Library Cotton Tiberius A. iv; Harley 6291.

ll. 2122-35 'Sone after so ... all devyne seruyse': The precise date and cause of Richard II's death are unknown; however, historians generally agree that he died at Pontefract Castle, mid-February (possibly 14 February), from starvation, either self-inflicted or malicious. Hardyng is one of only a few chroniclers to state that Richard was starved to death. This is particularly striking in the first version of the *Chronicle*, considering that it was written for Henry VI and his family, since it casts aspersions on Henry IV's involvement in Richard's death, and hints at regicide. Other chronicles claiming that Richard was starved to death include the *Chronicle of Dieulacres Abbey* (Clarke and Galbraith 1930); the *Historiae Vita et Regni Ricardi II* (Hearne 1729: 169), and the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 360). Conversely, Gower's *Cronica Tripertita* (Macaulay 1902: 341), the *Eulogium Continuation* (Haydon 1865: 387), the *Historia Anglicana* (Riley 1863-64: II, 245-46) and the *Annales Henrici Quarti* (Riley 1866: 330) state that he died of self-inflicted starvation, whilst Capgrave's *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles* attributes both possibilities, self-starvation and enforced starvation, to what

'sum men say' about the late king's death (Lucas 1983: 217). Also of note are Adam of Usk's *Chronicle* (Given-Wilson 1997: 90-91) and the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 28), which make an ambiguous reference to Richard's death as a combination of grief and starvation. Hardyng's attribution of the circumstances of Richard's death to hearsay is representative of the reticence in other chronicles, such as the *Historia Anglicana* (Riley 1863-64: II, 245-46). Some of the chroniclers state that Henry wanted the people of the realm to see Richard's body on display, so that they would know he was genuinely dead; see, for example, the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 360); the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 28); the *Historia Anglicana* (Riley 1863-64: II, 246); and the *Annales Henrici Quarti* (Riley 1866: 331). Hardyng instead cites his own authority as witness to the late king's death by disclosing that he himself saw the body at St Paul's Cathedral ('In herse rial his corse lay thare, I se', l. 2125); the claim is omitted in the second version (see, ll. 1723-36). The services for Richard in St Paul's took place on 6 and 7 March, after which the body was taken to King's Langley, and buried on 8 March 1400.

The description of the funeral arrangements omits overt reference to the place of Richard's interment (the Dominican friary at King's Langley) being contrary to his wishes; although this may perhaps be inferred from the comment in the gloss after l. 2121, which declares that Richard was 'biryed atte Freres of Langley by commaundment of the kynge Henry' (compare with the rumour regarding the interment cited in the second version, ll. 1723-36). If indeed it was Hardyng's intention to underscore Henry IV's dubious conduct concerning the death and burial of his predecessor, he offers some restitution, at least, for any slight on Henry's objectives by emphasising the royal elements of the funeral, such as the 'clothes of golde' and the 'riall exequyse'. A document in the PRO (E 403/564) detailing the distribution of alms to the poor during the requiem mass at St Paul's, and a payment of twenty-five marks for a thousand masses to be said for Richard's soul, suggests that the public ceremony in London was, as Hardyng implies, a fairly notable affair, even if the actual interment was not. Likewise, any taint to the Lancastrian dynasty implied by the *Chronicle* is later removed when Hardyng emphasises Henry V's admirable reburial of Richard at Westminster (see ll. 2618-24). In contrast the *Annales Henrici Quarti* (Riley 1866: 331) refer to the lack of ceremony at Richard's burial.

ll. 2136-49 'At Mighelmesse ... with hym so': The skirmish at Redeswere, Redesdale, occurred on 29 September 1400. The Umfravilles held the lordship of Redesdale at this time, and Sir Robert Umfraville played an important role in the battle, capturing Sir Richard Rutherford, his sons, and several other notable Scottish lords, whom he sent to London and was afterwards rewarded for his efforts by Henry IV. Rutherford was a Warden of the March in 1400, and his sons were James, Robert, William, John, and Nicol. Wylie states that the men captured were Richard Rutherford and his two brothers, Gilbert and Alan, Simon Carter and John Turbull (1969: II, 260).

Hardyng's estimation of the numbers in Umfraville's ranks does not appear to be inflated, although the figures he cites for the number of men taken by Umfraville ('four sythes mo/ Than he brought men to felde', ll. 2148-49) is no doubt an exaggeration, and the account of the battle in the second version gives a total of one hundred men less than the six hundred who fled or were slain here (see Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 157r, ll. 1744-45). Compare this with the account in the second version where Hardyng confuses this episode with the Scottish raid that occurred in 1399

(**Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 1681-94, 1737-50). Henry IV bestowed Umfraville's greatest honours on him in the first decade of his reign: first in 1402 when he made Umfraville a royal knight with a life time annuity of £40 from the exchequer (*CPR: Henry IV, 1405-08*, p. 50, m. 19, p. 372, m.30; Given-Wilson 1986: 227); and secondly in 1408 when he admitted him to the Order of the Garter (see Collins 2000: 49-50, 117, 266, 298). In the second version Hardyng mentions these honours in a gloss accompanying his account of the battle at Fulhopelaw (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 156r, l. 1680 *gloss after*).

I. 2150 'The seconde yer so of his regne': 30 September 1400 to 29 September 1401.

II. 2150-56 'The seconde yer ... Bamburghshir and toun': Henry IV continued the efforts of previous English monarchs to bring Scotland under English sovereignty by invading southern Scotland in 1400. Compare the account here with that in the second version where Hardyng appears to criticise Henry for leaving Bamburgh unprotected and with the itinerary of Scotland in the second version where Hardyng analyses the route taken by Henry IV in 1400 and provides a tactical analysis of how Edward IV could progress further than Edinburgh, if he too wished to conquer Scotland (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 1751-57 and 3424-3577). For further information on Henry's Scottish campaign see Wylie 1969: I, 136-39, Kirby 1970 and Nicholson 1974.

II. 2157-98 'Than came he ... faute of rightwysnesse': Owain Glyn Dŵr's revolt in Wales was one of the most important events of Henry's early reign. On 18 September 1400, Owain ap Gruffudd, lord of Glyndyfrdwy (known to his contemporaries as Owain Glyn Dŵr) and a band of several hundred Welsh supporters attacked the properties of his English neighbour, Reginald Grey, lord of Ruthin (d. 1448). The attack marked the culmination of ongoing difficulties between the two lords, but it appears that the territorial dispute was used as an excuse to start a revolt of wider-reaching and national concerns. In April 1402 Glyn Dŵr ambushed and captured Lord Grey of Ruthin, and the English government responded swiftly to obtain his release. The government contributed towards his vast ransom (estimated between 6, 000 and 10,000 marks), but nonetheless Grey was left financially crippled. In contrast, the king and his governors showed little interest in securing the release of Edmund Mortimer who was captured by Glyn Dŵr at the battle of Bryn Glas Hill on 22 June 1402. In the first version Hardyng confuses the chronology of events, citing Mortimer's capture before that of Lord Grey of Ruthin; this is corrected in the second version (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 1758-92).

The Percies played a significant role in the Welsh revolt, and as Hardyng was under the patronage of Hotspur at this time, it is no wonder that a significant part of the narrative for the reign of Henry IV focusses on the rebellion and the Percies' role in it. Hotspur was made lieutenant in north Wales in March 1402 and his uncle, Thomas Percy, was given an identical position in south Wales (*CPR: Henry IV, 1401-05*, p. 53, m. 7). They similarly had a vested interest in the lordship of Denbigh, which Hotspur held in custody for young Edmund Mortimer, fifth earl of March, and nephew to the captured Edmund Mortimer (*CFR: Henry IV, 1399-1405*, p. 22, m. 24, pp. 38-39, m. 18). Hotspur's wife, Elizabeth, was the sister of the captive Edmund Mortimer and aunt to the young earl of March; it is no wonder therefore that the king's reluctance to retrieve Mortimer offended the Percies. The motivating factors

behind the Percies' eventual alliance with Glyn Dŵr in 1403, and later in 1405, are various and complex; the most notable points of contention included the aforementioned reluctance of Henry IV to secure Mortimer's release; non-payment of finances owed to them by the king, which were significantly in arrears; the king's overt attempt to check their power in the north by appointing their biggest rival, the earl of Westmorland, to the Wardenship of the West March; and Henry IV's refusal to allow the Percies to ransom the prisoners they captured at the battle of Homildon Hill in September 1402 (see below, ll. 2213-47). At the end of November 1402 Mortimer married his captor's daughter, Catherine, and allied himself to Glyn Dŵr's cause, thus resolving the question of his ransom (this is also mentioned in the *Eulogium Continuation* (Haydon 1858-65: III, 398) and the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 32)). It is interesting that, once again, Hardyng highlights the familial ties and loyalties between the rebelling parties, as he did in the narrative concerning the coalition involving Bolingbroke, Neville and the Percies in the revolt of 1399 (see above ll. 1927-28). Even though Hardyng only stresses the relationship between Mortimer and the Percies, rather than Mortimer and Glyn Dŵr, the implication is that family loyalties and self-preservation of property rights and inheritance played a key role in deciding which side to support during moments of conflict involving the king.

Both of Hardyng's narratives focus a great deal on the revolt, particularly on the Percies' involvement with Glyn Dŵr and the king's ill-treatment of the Percies and the Mortimers. Hardyng is deliberately vague about his own sympathies in the first version, whilst in the second, it is obvious that the chronicler sympathises with Glyn Dŵr, Mortimer and the Percies. Hardyng is not alone in sympathising with Glyn Dŵr although different accounts are given in the chronicles regarding the start of the revolt; the *Eulogium Continuation* and the *English Chronicle* report his complaint against Lord Grey (Haydon 1858-65: III, 388; Marx 2003: 28-29); the monk of Evesham depicts Lord Grey of Ruthin deliberately causing trouble between Glyn Dŵr and Henry IV (Hearne 1729: 171-72), whilst the *Historia Anglicana* (Riley 1863-64: II, 246), the *Annales Henrici Quarti* (Riley 1866: 333), and Capgrave's *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles* (Lucas 1983: 217) agree with Hardyng's story of the dispute arising from territorial disagreement. Conversely, the *Brut* portrays Owain as a trouble-maker (Brie 1906-08: II, 362-63).

Hardyng's account of the king chastising Hotspur for not capturing Owain Glyn Dŵr when the two met for negotiations, occurs in only one other source: *Gile's Chronicle* (Giles 1848). Interestingly, *Giles's Chronicle* is also of northern origins, and since Hardyng almost certainly received his knowledge of the rebellion either first hand, or from Hotspur himself, it is possible that the episode is grounded in fact. Perhaps Hardyng's guarded narrative in the first version derives from his own allegiance to Hotspur at the battle of Shrewsbury; in the second version his sympathy with the revolt would of course be received favourably by his patrons, Richard duke of York and Edward IV. For a comprehensive study of the revolt see Davies 1995.

ll. 2164-68 'So longe it ... Englund sore anoyed': Here Hardyng laments the suffering and destruction caused in England as a result of the king's inability to settle the dispute between his magnates; this is one of the primary themes of the *Chronicle*, and the author's sentiments provide an insight into the way in which many of those residing on the Marches may have felt about the king's attitude towards the revolt and the intermittent raids and guerilla tactics that destroyed the surrounding land. Compare with the similar statements below, ll. 2190-91, 2195-98. For further

discussion of the main themes in the *Chronicle* see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**.

l. 2174 ‘And no grace ... other godely hede’: Hardyng’s criticism of Henry IV’s treatment of Mortimer is more overt in the second version, but is still of interest here (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 1828-49).

ll. 2176-77 ‘To Sir Henry His own sistere’: Hotspur married Elizabeth Mortimer in 1379. Hardyng knew Elizabeth personally from his service in the Percy household between 1390 and 1403, as his affectionate phrase ‘My Lady Percy’ in the second version of the *Chronicle* demonstrates (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, l. 1071 *gloss after*). Elizabeth died in 1417.

ll. 2190-91 ‘With whiche the ... gretely was contourbed’: Again, Hardyng advocates one of the *Chronicle*’s primary themes: that the actions of the magnates and the king affect the prosperity of the realm. For further discussion see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**.

l. 2194 ‘Distroynge so that was the prynces rent’: Here Hardyng’s reference to the prince’s lands being destroyed is ambiguous; it could be that he is referring to Glyn Dŵr as Prince of Wales, or he may in fact be referring to Prince Henry, son of Henry IV, who was elevated to the title of Prince of Wales after his father’s ascension. Glyn Dŵr asserted his royal ancestry by descent from three prestigious Welsh dynasties: Powys, Deheubarth and Gwynedd (see Davies 1995: 129-31). Support amongst the Welsh for his claim probably grew out of a vast corpus of prophetic materials, deriving from the prophecies of Merlin, which detailed that the next great king would be descended from the ancient line of British kings. Surviving documentation reveals that Glyn Dŵr did not style himself Prince of Wales after his revolt had commenced; therefore it is likely that at the beginning of his revolt rather than harbouring a desire to be proclaimed undisputed Prince of Wales, he merely wished to use his title as a bargaining device with the English king. By 1405, however, if *Giles’s Chronicle* is to be believed, Glyn Dŵr, Mortimer and the earl of Northumberland signed a tripartite indenture detailing how they intended to depose Henry IV and divide England and Wales among the three of them, giving Glyn Dŵr exclusive dominion over Wales. For a discussion of Glyn Dŵr’s use of the title, his ancestry and the Tripartite Indenture see Davies 1995; for the account in *Gile’s Chronicle* see (Giles 1848).

ll. 2195-98 ‘That wysdome wolde ... faute of rightwysness’: Hardyng uses a similar conceit here (l. 2197) to that in the prologue (see Lansdowne 204, f. 3r, ll. 29-32 in **Illustrative Texts**), which describes the author’s financial incapacity and lack of reward from the king for his past services. For the theme of sickness in the *Chronicle* see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**. For a similar use of a sickness related phrase in the second version see f. 157r, l. 1764; compare also the sentiments here with ll. 2164-70, 2190-91 above.

ll. 2199-2219 ‘In his thryd ... in that batayle’: The battle of Homildon Hill (14 September 1402) resulted in a decisive English victory, and Hardyng himself was present in Hotspur’s retinue. Many Scottish lords were taken captive during the battle, the most notable being Murdoch Stewart, second duke of Albany, and Archibald,

fourth earl of Douglas, who according to the second version of the *Chronicle* and the *Annales Henrici Quarti* (Riley 1866: 346) lost one of his eyes during the battle (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 1793-1806 and 2472-78). Compare also with the brief account of Homildon Hill in the *Eulogium Continuation* (Haydon 1865: 395).

l. 2199 'In his thryd yer': 30 September 1401 to 29 September 1402.

l. 2204 'Holy Rode day': The feast of the Exaltation of the Cross occurs on 14 September.

ll. 2210-12 'Fourty thousonde, heraldes ... it was nyght': Hardyng's patriotic exaggeration of the numbers of men involved in the battle is indicative of the psychological effect that the battle must have had on both sides; the second version gives the same figure. In Usk's *Chronicle* the Percies are attributed with killing 'multa milia Scotorum' during the battle (Given-Wilson 1997: 174); the *Eulogium Continuation* states that ten thousand Scots were killed (Haydon 1865: 395); and Capgrave states that 'foure score' were 'taken and slayn' (Lucas 1983: 220).

ll. 2213-47 'The erle Henry ... wele, I wene': Following the battle of Homildon Hill, the ransoming of the captured Scottish lords was, according to border law, an issue that should have been resolved between the captor and captive; thus when Henry IV ordered Hotspur and the earl of Northumberland to bring their prisoners to London and hand them over to royal custody, the king was in effect depriving the Percies not only of their entitlement to decide the fate of their prisoners, but also of the opportunity to make a considerable financial profit from their captives. Accordingly, there is no reason to doubt Hardyng's claim that conflict arose between Henry IV and Hotspur when the king asked Percy to explain why he had not complied with his demands; Hotspur's father, Northumberland, submitted to the king's will and took his prisoners to the king as requested, but Hotspur refused to submit his principal hostage, the earl of Douglas, into royal custody. As maintained by both versions of the *Chronicle*, the ensuing argument resulted after Hotspur petitioned the king for assistance on Mortimer's behalf, believing that Henry would help to recover him; the king responded by accusing Hotspur of treachery for not arresting Glyn Dŵr during his previous negotiations with him. The same story also occurs in *Giles's Chronicle* (Giles 1848: 30-32). The presence of the episode in two independent chronicles of northern origin suggests that the story may have derived from propaganda justifying Hotspur's rebellion in 1403, but the underlying subtext supports the claims of other chronicles written elsewhere: first, the king was suspicious of the relationship between Mortimer, Percy and Glyn Dŵr; secondly, that the Percies, particularly Hotspur, believed that the king should be more favourably disposed to their requests as they were an uncontested power in the north, and, to paraphrase Hardyng's astute summary, they held the hearts of the northern people (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, l. 2443 *gloss after*:). Hardyng's account is worth comparing with that of Adam of Usk, who claims that, after a violent quarrel with the king, the Percies wished to claim the throne for the earl of March, and became 'so puffed up with pride' that their house fell to ruin (Given-Wilson 1997: 168-69, 174-75). In the second version the argument between the Percies and Henry IV is extended to include an insult from the king concerning Mortimer's loyalty, as he accuses him of wishing

to be captured by Glyn Dŵr (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 1828-49). Hardyng's account of the debate between Percy and Henry IV is related to the account in the *Eulogium Continuation* (Haydon 1858-65: III, 395-95).

ll. 2241-47 'From thens forth-warde ... wele, I wene': The images used in this stanza to highlight the discord between Henry IV and Hotspur are common. The rudderless ship motif in particular occurs in various genres of medieval literature, particularly in political works and sermons (see Owst 1961: 67-75). Stephen Barney believes that the phrase 'kalends of change', deriving from 'calends of (ex)change', may have been current in Chaucer's day (Benson 1988: 1055); see *MED* calende(s) (n.). However, Hardyng appears to have borrowed the image, and most of the wording for line 2243 and the accompanying rhyme 'straunge' at line 2241, from Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* (V, 1632, 1634; Benson 1988: 582). Hardyng employs the images to evoke a sense of change, suggesting that the discord between the king and his magnates will inevitably bring about difficulties within the realm. Instead of working together for the common profit of the kingdom, the Percies and their sovereign fail to comprehend the benefits of mutual assistance. For further instances of Hardyng's use of *Troilus* see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**.

ll. 2248-61 'Bot Sir Robert ... marke full clere': According to Hardyng, Sir Robert Umfraville killed George Douglas, earl of Angus, at the battle of Homildon Hill; this however, is not true. Dunbar was captured at Homildon, not killed, although he did die of the plague in England before his ransom could be arranged. The reference to the Umfravilles' right to the earldom of Angus refers to events in the reign of Edward I, when Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, deprived them of their Scottish estates and titles for supporting the English monarch. Gilbert Umfraville (1310-81) was one of the 'disinherited' earls who went with Edward Balliol to campaign against Scotland in 1332 (see above, ll. 726-56). The earldom of Angus originally passed to the Umfravilles when Gilbert Umfraville (d. 1245) married Matilda, countess of Angus, daughter and heiress of Malcolm, earl of Angus. By 1329 the House of Stewart held the earldom, and in 1389 it passed to George Douglas (c. 1380-1403). George Douglas was married to Mary, the second daughter of Robert III of Scotland, and Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith, also mentioned here, was married to Robert III's third daughter, Elizabeth. Negotiations for the ransom of prisoners taken at Homildon commenced at Pontefract in July 1404 (see Wylie 1969: I, 452). It was at this period that Robert Umfraville was appointed as warden of Berwick Castle (Wylie 1969: I, 452).

ll. 2262-2303 'Bot now to ... full of pryde': The battle of Shrewsbury took place on 21 July 1403. Hardyng, twenty-five years of age at the time, fought in Hotspur's retinue, and his account of the battle is therefore an eyewitness one (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 3835-80 and 3930-46). The justification Hardyng gives for the battle in the first version is somewhat unbelievable in comparison with the explanation offered in the second version. In the first version Hardyng blames the incompetence of Hotspur's secretary, who relayed the messages entrusted to him incorrectly, and thereby cause further antagonism between Hotspur and Henry IV; however Sir Thomas Percy also appears to be implicated in Hotspur's downfall (ll. 2300-2301). Both of these elements are similar to the accounts related in the *Historia Anglicana* (Riley 1863-64: II, 413), the *Annales Henrici Quarti* (Riley 1866: 365), the

Brut (Brie 1906-08: II, 363), and Capgrave's *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles* (Lucas 1983: 222), who state that Hotspur's uncle, Sir Thomas, was sent to negotiate with the king on Hotspur's behalf, but ultimately caused the battle by giving his nephew a false account of his negotiations with the king. The earl of Douglas fought with Percy, but unfortunately for him the history of his previous battle repeated itself, and he was wounded (this time losing a testicle; see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 2472-78) and captured. The fullest account of the battle in contemporary chronicles occurs in the *Annales Henrici Quarti* (Riley 1866: 361-71), which, like Hardyng's, was supposedly supplied by an eyewitness. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the account here is that Hardyng ascribes the loss of so many lives to the 'cruell hertes [...] so full of pryde' (l. 2303) an interesting description of a battle in which his first patron lost his life, and which must have changed Hardyng's own situation irrevocably. See also **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 1848 *gloss after* and 1850-78.

ll. 2274-75 'And strength of ... come, I fele': These lines appear to refer to the incident related more explicitly in the second version, in which Hardyng describes how he witnessed letters of support for the Percies cause, signed and sealed by all the magnates except the earl of Stafford. This is interesting, because although Hardyng refrains from mentioning his own involvement in this version, these lines suggest that he had the same low opinion of the men 'That brake thair triste' with Percy (l. 2275) as he does in the second version. Also, it is evident that the report here, whilst presented in a more palatable form for his patron, Henry VI, contains the germ of what was to be developed unequivocally in the second version (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 1848 *gloss after* and 1850-78, and l. 1862 *gloss after*).

l. 2297 'Maudeleyn eue': The feast of Saint Mary Magdalene occurs on the 22 July; therefore the date referred to here is 21 July. The *Eulogium Continuation* and the *English Chronicle* concur with Hardyng's date (Haydon 1865: 397; Marx 2003: 32); however, the English *Brut* incorrectly dates the battle to 22 July (Brie 1906-08: II, 363).

l. 2298 'The foureth yere of his regne': 30 September 1402 to 29 September 1403.

ll. 2299-2303 'Syr Henry slayne ... full of pryde': Hotspur was killed at Shrewsbury; his remains were quartered and displayed at various locations, whilst his head was placed over the northern gate at York. Sir Thomas Percy was captured during the battle and beheaded two days later on 23 July. Although Hardyng would have known of the fate his patron suffered at Shrewsbury, he does not provide any details of the manner of his death, or the aftermath in which his body was quartered. Lines 2300-01 imply that Sir Thomas Percy was the cause of Hotspur's downfall, although he does not elaborate further (see note to ll. 2262-2303 above).

ll. 2304-56 'The sexte yere ... any lenger tale': Hardyng omits two years from his history and proceeds directly to an account of the rebellion of 1405, in which the earl of Northumberland joined with Archbishop Richard Scrope and Thomas Mowbray, the Earl Marshal, against Henry IV. Hardyng's claim to know 'nothyng' (l. 2310) concerning the cause of their rebellion is an obvious lie, particularly in light of his extended treatment of the episode in the second version (see **Commentary to the**

Second Version, ll. 1879-1934). One might also interpret his placement of the 1405 incident immediately after the Shrewsbury episode as evidence that, in fact, Hardyng views the Percy/Scrope revolt as an extension of the 1403 rebellion. Upon learning of the dissent stirred in York by the archbishop, Prince John and Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland, were dispatched southwards towards the city, with Sir Robert Umfraville, Sir Ralph Ewere, Sir Henry Fitzhugh, and a royal army. The troops camped at Shipton Moor, just outside the city of York, and on 29 May discussions were initiated with Scrope and his supporters, who had gathered at Topcliffe to liaise with the force mustered by Northumberland and other Yorkshire knights (see *Rot. Parl.*, III, 605). Hardyng's account of the deception, by which the Archbishop was tricked into disbanding his men, is in agreement with the majority of chronicle accounts (see, for example, the *Historia Anglicana*, Riley 1863-64: II, 270). After the encounter at Shipton Moor, Prince John and the earl of Westmorland retired to Durham in anticipation of an attack from the earl of Northumberland; Hardyng, however, places this episode before the confrontation at Shipton Moor (ll. 2311-17).

This version is different from the later one in that it highlights Umfraville's involvement in the episode, and presents him as Prince John's counsellor, advising him not to fear the north, but to act swiftly by advancing on the rebels at York. Interestingly, the contrast between Umfraville's wish to fight and the negotiations conducted by Fulthorpe, Fitzhugh and Ewere, serves to emphasise Umfraville's chivalric conduct and desire to settle the rebellion in battle, as opposed to the deceitful promises made by the mediators. Furthermore, Hardyng refrains from citing Ralph Neville's involvement in the negotiations, possibly by design, and in doing so removes any implication of treachery from him. Although related to the Percies, at this time Neville was married to Joan Beaufort, the king's half-sister, and had an ongoing rivalry with the Percy family. Other chroniclers do not name the negotiators, but merely cite their allegiance to the king and Westmorland's party; see, for example, the *Annales Henrici Quarti* (Riley 1866: 407); the *Historia Anglicana* (Riley 1863-64: II, 270); the *Eulogium Continuation* (Haydon 1858-65: III, 406); and the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 36).

l. 2304 'The sexte yere of his regne, at Whissonday': Henry IV's sixth regnal year ran from 30 September 1404 to 29 September 1405. Whitsunday, or Pentecost, occurs on the seventh Sunday after Easter Day; in 1405 this would have fallen on 7 June. Hardyng is incorrect in this instance, as the encounter at Shipton Moor took place at the end of May, and the execution of Scrope, Mowbray and Plumpton occurred on Monday 8 June 1405, the day after Whitsunday. Plumpton is mentioned in the second version only (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 1879-1934).

l. 2311 'My lorde *Sir* Iohn, the kynges sonne that wase': Hardyng's reference to John of Lancaster, third son of Henry IV, as his 'lorde' may perhaps indicate that Hardyng spent a brief period in the service of Prince John before entering into service with Umfraville, or alternatively, that Hardyng and Umfraville viewed themselves as being under Prince John's command (see **John Hardyng's Life**).

ll. 2314-15 'At Durham were ... and Fulthorp knyght': These two lines make more immediate sense if they are read in reverse order. Sir Henry Fitzhugh, Sir Ralph Ewere and Sir William Fulthorpe were allied with the royal troops, not against them as these lines might imply if read in the order they occur in the manuscript. This may

simply be an example of how complicated Hardyng's syntax becomes as a result of his chosen rhyme scheme and stanza form, although it is possible that Hardyng originally intended the lines to be written in reverse order, and the scribe of Lansdowne 204 miscopied his exemplar.

l. 2342 'The comons hole supposyng none diseise': This is another example of Hardyng's use of sickness imagery in the *Chronicle*. See **John Hardyng and the Construction of History** for further discussion.

ll. 2345-56 'And certayn knyghtes ... any lenger tale': The men listed by Hardyng are all North Yorkshire Knights: Sir John Fauconberg, of Cleveland and Holderness, Sir Ralph Hastings of Slingsby and Allerston, near Pickering, Sir William Plumpton (the Archbishop's nephew), Sir William Lamplugh, Sir John Fitzrandolph, from Spennithorne near Middleham, and Sir John Colville of Daletown in Ryedale and Arncliffe near Stokesley. For further biographical details see Wylie 1969: II, 219-20. Plumpton and Lamplugh were beheaded in a field beside York with Archbishop Scrope and the Earl Marshal (see also *Rot. Parl.*, III, 604-07). The other four knights were captured and later beheaded at Durham for treason.

ll. 2357-66 'Than had the ... 3ow mykyll reke': The news of Owain Glyn Dŵr's attempt to take advantage of trouble in England and attack the country is presented here as a ruse to remove the king from the North. Glyn Dŵr's association with Archbishop Scrope and Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, is discussed by Davies (1995). According to *Giles's Chronicle* the three men made a tripartite indenture, possibly in February 1405, agreeing to place the earl of March on the English throne, allow the earl of Northumberland to govern the north, and Glyn Dŵr to govern Wales (Giles 1848). Whether the story of their indenture is based on fact or fiction is somewhat irrelevant, but it is evident that Glyn Dŵr stood to benefit from colluding with Percy and Scrope, and the reference later in the narrative to Percy and lord Bardolph travelling to Wales to meet Glyn Dŵr suggests an awareness of their collusion (see ll. 2399-2414 below and the **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 1935-46). This perhaps goes some way towards explaining the fictitious rumours cited by Hardyng here, or it could be that Hardyng's reference is derived from a confusion with one of the chronicles that narrate how Glyn Dŵr took advantage of the king's situation and attacked after the battle of Shrewsbury (for example, Adam of Usk's *Chronicle*; see Given-Wilson 1997: 172-73). Once again Umfraville is presented as a royal counsellor, advising the king to suppress permanently the rebels attempting to undermine his authority by pursuing them instead of turning his back on them. Umfraville's advice is both practical and heroic, and reiterates the qualities later ascribed to him in the epilogue. This episode does not occur in the second version.

ll. 2367-70 'Than rode the ... I vndyrstonde, Alnewyke': After the beheading of the archbishop, Mowbray and the others, the king's men were dispatched to secure the strongholds belonging to the earl of Northumberland, which had been declared forfeit. Warkworth and Alnwick were ordered to surrender on 27 June 1405; Henry Percy of Atholl, who was the son of Thomas Percy and the heiress of David Strathbolgie, thirteenth earl of Atholl, and grandson of the earl of Northumberland, was in charge of Alnwick, and according to the second version of the *Chronicle*, advised the royal troops to capture Berwick first. Given that Alnwick surrendered, without resistance,

immediately after Berwick submitted, and given that both Percy and Sir William Clifford retained their estates with a full pardon, it is probable that Percy and Clifford were in collusion with the king, or at least willing to re-assess with whom their best interests lay. The captain and garrison at Warkworth adopted an entirely different approach and refused to submit. In the meantime, the castles of Prudhoe and Langley had surrendered; Prudhoe being handed over by John Skipton before 1 July and Langley being submitted to Robert Umfraville by Alexander Fetherstonhalgh on 20 July (Wylie 1969: II, 257-58).

ll. 2370-72 ‘and so to ... tho castels wyght’: The garrison at Berwick, like that at Warkworth also refused to surrender, and a siege ensued. Hardyng’s inclusion of ‘gunnes’ in the list of siege weapons used against Berwick is in keeping with other chronicle accounts of the siege. However, unlike Hardyng, most contemporary chroniclers record that the castle yielded after the first shot; see, for example, the *Annales Henrici Quarti* (Riley 1866: 414); and the *Historia Anglicana*, Riley 1863-64: II, 271. Wylie gives an interesting account of the siege weapons used during this period, specifically the ‘gunnes’ used at Berwick and how later chroniclers came to regard the siege as the first occasion on which guns were used (Wylie 1969: II, 265-73). For further information on the history and use of medieval siege weaponry see Keen 1999.

ll. 2373-80 ‘The kepers all ... wer full stoute’: Berwick surrendered before 12 July 1405 and numerous members of the garrison were beheaded at the castle: these included Sir Henry Boynton, Richard Aske, and Ranulf del See; Hardyng also includes Robert Prendergest, Alexander Blenkinsop, and the commander of the garrison William, son of Ralph Lord Greystoke in the list of those executed; for further information see Wylie 1969: II, 272-73.

ll. 2381-87 ‘The kynge than ... that longynge be’: Prince John was given the majority of Northumberland’s forfeited estates, with the exception of the castles, manors and domains of Langley and Warkworth, which were bestowed upon Sir Robert Umfraville for his services. It is at this time that Umfraville became constable of Warkworth for the king, and Hardyng became his sub-constable. For further information see **John Hardyng’s Life**.

ll. 2388-98 ‘Whils that the ... fyue accounted cler’: Hardyng is correct in stating that the earl of Northumberland and Thomas, lord Bardolph (1386-1408), fled into Scotland from Berwick just before the king began his assault on the castle. They took the earl’s grandson, Henry Percy, son of Hotspur, with them, and were received by Sir David Fleming. At the time the young Henry Percy was eleven or twelve years old, his date of birth being 3 February 1393 (Wylie 1969: II, 264); he was placed in the custody of Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St Andrews, and remained in Scotland, where he was initially educated with Prince James, until he was exchanged for the duke of Albany’s son, Murdoch, and restored to his forfeited inheritance and earldom by Henry V in 1415.

ll. 2399-2414 ‘The next somer ... as dyd appere’: The route taken by the earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolph during their exile as given here is accurate. Compare with Adam Usk’s account, where the author states he was in contact with

the earl during this period (Given-Wilson 1997: 214-17, 218-19). Percy and Bardolph sought assistance from Glyn Dŵr in 1406. It is believed that the magnates may have travelled to Wales to avoid being turned over to the English by Albany and other Scottish lords opposed to their presence in Scotland. In the second version the account of their journey to Wales to meet Glyn Dŵr is given, but any indication of help they did, or did not, receive is withheld. This ambiguity allows for the possibility that they did receive help from the Welsh rebel, and contributes to the general feeling of comradeship between the insurgents opposed to Henry IV (a similar ambiguity occurs in the *Chronicle* of Adam of Usk, who states that they travelled to Wales in hope of assistance from Glyn Dŵr, but he does not reveal whether they received his help; see Given-Wilson 1997: 214-15). Nevertheless, Glyn Dŵr's response to their arrival was doubtless closer to the more explicit account of the first version, for, as Davies highlights, the earl and lord Bardolph had probably become 'more of a liability than an asset' (1995: 122). After their involvement in a battle with Edward Charlton in June 1406, Percy and Bardolph travelled to Brittany and on to Flanders, seeking support against King Henry. In the summer of 1407, after unsuccessfully attempting to muster assistance for their plight on the continent, Northumberland and Bardolph returned to Scotland, where they remained throughout the winter.

ll. 2408-14 'From whyne thay ... as dyd appere': The implication here is that the earl of Northumberland and lord Bardolph were reconciled to making peace with Henry IV, but were instead prevented because Sir Thomas Rokeby, sheriff of Yorkshire, engaged them in battle at Bramham Moor first. Rokeby and his men fought with the earl's troops on 19 February; the earl died during the battle near Tadcaster, and Bardolph was captured, but died soon after from his wounds. The earl's body was decapitated, and his head and quarters were displayed at London, Berwick, York, Lincoln and Newcastle. Hardyng states that the battle took place before the 'Fastyngonge' (i.e. Shrovetide, or the Sunday, Monday and Tuesday before Lent), which would have been before 25 February; 19 February occurred in the week before. The *Historia Anglicana* mentions the battle and how the earl's remains were displayed on London Bridge (Riley 1863-64: II, 278). Whilst the *Eulogium Continuation* mentions the battle of Bramham Moor only briefly (Haydon 1865: 411).

ll. 2415-21 'The nynte yer ... than of were': The winter of 1408 was one of the worst on record in the Middle Ages (see Wylie 1969: III, 150-53). Hardyng's claim that the snow was as deep as a spear on the Marches in February is no exaggeration, and, as he states in l. 2421, tactically this was the worst time for the earl of Northumberland to engage in battle. Other chronicle accounts also mention the extremity of the weather; see, for example, the *Historia Anglicana* (Riley 1863-64: II, 277).

ll. 2422-28 'That yer afore ... that was conuenyent': In 1406 the Scots attempted to send their young prince, James, son of King Robert III to France. The reason for this remains ambiguous, but the decision may have been made in an attempt to remove the prince from the influence of the duke of Albany; it is similarly probable, however, that he was sent purely for educational purposes, and to be trained as a future king (as stated in the gloss after l. 2421). In February 1406 Sir David Fleming escorted James to Berwick, and a small boat transferred the future king to Bass Rock. He remained there for several weeks, whilst a ship, the *Maryenknyght*, was prepared at Leith to take him to France. On 14 March, as the prince and his company sailed down the east

coast, the ship was attacked by an English vessel, and James was taken captive. In the absence of an English safe conduct the valuable prisoner was promptly delivered to Henry IV, who dispatched him to the Tower, where he remained a prisoner until 1424. Nevertheless, as Hardyng stresses, James was no ordinary prisoner, and he was afforded all the courtesies appropriate to his status. The date of James's capture and the identity of his captor has been the topic of much debate; however, 14 March and Hugh-atte-Fenn appear to be the most favoured choices (see Nicholson 1974: 227 and Balfour-Melville 1936: 31). The year of the prince's capture given here is incorrect; it should in fact be the seventh regnal year of Henry IV (30 September 1405 to 29 September 1406), not the eighth. In the second version the episode is also incorrectly dated, being placed in the same year as the battle of Bramham Moor (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 1954-60).

ll. 2429-35 'The tenth yere ... to Cristes propiciacion': King Robert III of Scotland died on 4 April 1406 at Rothesay Castle, not in 1408-09 as Hardyng states here. Nothing substantial is known about the death of Owain Glyn Dŵr, least of all the actual year of his death. He probably died between 1415 and 1416, since the Patent Rolls for 5 July 1415 and 24 February 1416 refer to two pardons offered to Glyn Dŵr, and his son (*CPR: Henry V, 1413-16*, p. 342, m. 1, p. 404, m. 1); the emphasis in the second reference on the rolls is placed on Glyn Dŵr's son, and may imply that Glyn Dŵr was dead by 1416 (Davies 1995: 326-27). Adam Usk, who had connections with Glyn Dŵr, records his death under the year 1416 (see Given-Wilson 1997: 262-63). Whether Hardyng's knowledge derived from an oral or written source is difficult to tell, but it is unlikely that Glyn Dŵr died in the year ascribed to him here, Henry IV's tenth regnal year (30 September 1408 to 29 September 1409). Hardyng's information concerning Glyn Dŵr's son is equally suspicious. He had two sons, Gruffudd and Maredudd; the eldest, Gruffudd, was captured and imprisoned, first at Nottingham Castle and later the Tower, in May 1405 (Davies 1995: 311, 326; *CCR: Henry IV, 1405-09*, p. 213, m.4, p. 148, m. 18). Adam Usk describes the activities of the sons in his *Chronicle*; first detailing Gruffudd's capture, and death from the plague in the Tower six years after his capture; secondly, referring to Maredudd hiding out with his father in the Welsh valleys to evade capture (Given-Wilson 1997: 212-13, 242-43). Given that the few historical documents that survive support Usk's account, as opposed to Hardyng's, it is his *Chronicle* that commands greater authority in this instance. For further discussion of Glyn Dŵr's death see Phillips 1970-72 and Davies 1995. According to Wylie, Gruffud's fellow prisoner was called Owen ap Griffith ap Richard (1969: II, 403); it is therefore possible that Hardyng calls Glyn Dŵr's son Owen as a result of some kind of misinterpretation of this information.

ll. 2436-49 'In that same ... bayte his whelpe': These two stanzas and those that follow concern the exploits of Gilbert and Robert Umfraville, and are of particular interest because of Hardyng's affiliation with the family. Hardyng attributes the incidents here to September 1409, a year in which there was much antagonism on both sides of the border. Relations between the Scots and English were strained for many reasons, the most recent provocations being the recapture of Jedburgh Castle and the earl of Douglas's failure to return to England as stipulated in the terms of his parole. Those on either side of the border adopted a tit-for-tat policy, of which the episodes related here, and in the following stanzas (ll. 2457-84), appear to be fine examples. The raids in question took place in the Kale and Rule dales along the River

Kale in Teviotdale, and in the vicinity of Jedburgh forest. In themselves they are nothing out of the ordinary, but what is of interest is the way in which Hardyng depicts the raids as training exercises in the art of warfare for the young Gilbert Umfraville. The language used to describe Gilbert's initiation in border warfare is notable, since Hardyng employs terms associated with a hunt; the Scots become Gilbert's 'pray' (l. 2446) and the evocative word 'bayted' (l. 2441) has connotations not only of baiting a trap, but of tormenting and even devouring one's prey (see **Select Glossary** for the various meanings of 'bayted').

l. 2437 'That lorde was ... and of Kyme': The titles here date back to an entail made in 1378 by Gilbert Umfraville (1310-81), founder of Kyme. As Gilbert had no surviving issue, his legal heir was his niece Eleanor, daughter of his sister Elizabeth, and wife of Sir Henry Tailboys (d. 1370); however, he created an entail so that several of his northern estates passed to his half-brother, Sir Thomas Umfraville. These included Redesdale, Harbottle, Otterburne, and Kyme. As Margaret Newton notes, Sir Thomas 'retained his hold over the South Kyme estate [...] until his death in 1386, although it officially became the property of Walter Tailboys, Eleanor's son' (Newton 1995: 15). Upon the death of Sir Thomas's oldest son, also named Thomas, in February 1391, his seven-month old heir, Gilbert, inherited the properties under the entail of 1378, and, although he was a royal ward, he was taken into the care of Sir Thomas's brother, Sir Robert Umfraville.

l. 2438 'In tendre age of sextene yere': As Gilbert Umfraville was born in 1390, he could not have been sixteen years old in September 1409, but nineteen. In the second version Hardyng changes his age to eighteen (l. 2029), and alters the chronology of this episode, placing it after Robert Umfraville's raid on the Forth in 1410, in King Henry's eleventh year (30 September 1409 to 29 September 1410). Whilst Anglo-Scottish relations would still support Hardyng's corrected date for the Umfraville raids along the Kale at this time, Gilbert Umfraville would have been twenty years old, not eighteen.

ll. 2448-49 'The wyves swere ... bayte his whelpe': These lines are of particular interest for two reasons. First, it is not clear whether Hardyng is referring to Scottish or English 'wyves', or indeed whether the statement about Robert Umfraville (the 'olde dogge') taking pleasure in teaching his 'whelpe' (Gilbert Umfraville) the art of border warfare should be read as an expression of English pride in his exploits or Scottish contempt for them (or perhaps both); however, the association of Umfraville with this proverbial expression, its attribution to the 'wyves', and Hardyng's change from past tense to the present at lines 2448-49, increase the popular tone of the comment and suggests contemporary lay familiarity with the exploits of the Umfravilles, providing an insight into one of the popular northern perspectives of Sir Robert and his nephew. Compare the proverb here with those listed in Whiting 1968: 138 and 638 (D298 'After the old dog the young whelp barks'; W211 'By the whelp the lion is chastised; W214 'The whelp plays as long as the old hound will'; W215 'While the whelp plays the old dog grins') the earliest of which dates to c. 1395 (W211), whilst the others date from c. 1450.

The reference is equally fascinating because it sheds further light on a mystery that has perplexed scholars for centuries. In the link between *The Physician's Tale* and *The Pardoner's Tale* in Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*, both Harry Bailey and

the Pardoner swear by 'Seint Ronyan' (Benson 1988: 194, ll. 310, 320), and the precise identity of this enigmatic saint has prompted much debate, confounding all who have encountered him, from the first scribes to copy manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* to Chaucer's critics (Sledd 1951: 226). The three most favoured proposals recommended by scholars are that Saint Ronyan is one of Bailey's malapropisms, and part of the same humorous confusion that prompts his 'cardynacle' a few lines later (Benson 1988: 194, l. 313); that the saint in question is Saint Ronan, a Celtic saint (Skeat 5: 266-67; Haskell 1976: 17-25); or, finally, that 'Ronyan' is a corruption of the popular form of Saint Ninian, 'Rynyan' (Sledd 1951). The most convincing evidence has been presented in favour of the last, particularly by James Sledd who offers a brief but compelling analysis of the cult of St Ninian, concluding that because the Scots legend of St Ninian placed 'great emphasis on the keeping of Ninian's fast [...] no more incongruous saint than Ninian could be imagined' by Chaucer, for 'the oath alone was enough to make the gentles fear some ribaldry; for they were at a tavern when he swore by Ronyan, and Easter was just past or just at hand' (Sledd 1951: 233).

Regardless of whether one interprets the 'wyves' Hardyng refers to as the 'wyves' of the prisoners captured by Umfraville or the northern English wyves celebrating his victories, the chronicler's use of the word 'wyves' is in keeping with the domestic character of the proverbial wisdom they allude to. It is probable therefore that the name used by Hardyng was the most widely disseminated and familiar form of that particular of the Saint's name: in this case Saint Ninian (whose name occurs in the forms Ringan, Ringen, Rynyane, Ronyan, Ronyon, Trinyon, to name but a few variants). If the 'Seynt Rynzan' whom the wives swear by is indeed St Ninian, again, it does not necessarily matter whether the 'wyves' swearing by the saint are Scottish or English, because it is evident that they are northern 'wyves', and the cult of Saint Ninian was widespread in both Scotland and the north of England. The reference in Hardyng's *Chronicle* therefore provides further evidence in favour of the Pardoner's 'Ronyan' being Ninian; perhaps the Pardoner's self-confessed desire to appeal to common folk with his relics is comparable with his use of the popular form of 'Ronyan'. Hardyng's comment may be of additional importance to our understanding of the Pardoner, because he associates his 'Seynt Rynzan' specifically with women. If the cult of St Ninian was popular amongst women in the Middle Ages Chaucer may have decided to have his Pardoner swear by him to add additional depth to his complex portrait; Chaucer does raise questions about the Pardoner's sexuality, giving him feminine attributes, and Harry Bailey crudely casts aspersions on his sexuality at the end of the tale when he states 'I wolde I hadde thy coillons in myn hond/ In stide of relikes or of seintuarie./ Lat kutte hem of, I wol thee helpe hem carie;/ They shul be shryned in an hogges toord!' (Benson 1988: 202, ll. 952-55). Hardyng's reference to 'Seynt Rynzan' does not occur in the second version.

ll. 2450-56 'And than Gylbert ... sothe to sayne': Hardyng appears to be referring to the tournament at Lille on 2 December 1409, in which three English champions met three French champions. Wylie, citing the *Itinéraires de Philippe le Hardi et de Jean sans Peur*, states that the English champions were John Oldcastle, Robert Umfraville and Roger Rambur, whom he suggests may have been Roger Brember (Wylie 1969: IV, 293); however, given that the *Itinéraires* only provide the surname Umfraville (d'Anfreville) and describe him as an esquire, there is no reason to doubt Hardyng's assertion that it was Gilbert, not Sir Robert. The gloss before this stanza states that

Gilbert was sixteen years old at the time of the tournament, but as Gilbert was born in July 1390 he would have been nineteen years old (see also the **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 1968-81).

I. 2456 *gloss after* 'toke XII shippes': In the second version this figure is increased to 'fourtene shippes', but neither seems to be correct and the figure in the gloss does not correspond with the ten ships in the verse (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, l. 1990). Wylie suggests that Umfraville captured thirteen ships (1969, III, 280).

II. 2457-84 'The kynge, than ... at his plesaunce': Umfraville's famous raid on the Forth occurred in the summer of 1410, Henry IV's eleventh regnal year (30 September 1409 to 29 September 1410). Surviving documents provide some information regarding Umfraville's raid, and are summarised by Wylie (1969: III, 280), who places the episode in 1411; Wylie's list includes the Issue Rolls, which record 'payment to messengers to take muster of men-at-arms and archers going with Sir Robert Umfraville *super mare boreale*' (1969: III, 280); likewise, writs and warrants for issue dated 12 December 1410 record an instruction to issue 1,000 marks from the Exchequer for Umfraville's wages (PRO E 404/26/211); another warrant details two niefs, two barges, and four balingers paid for by the Exchequer, and the size of Umfraville's retinue (E 404/26/380). For further details see **John Hardyng's Life**.

I. 2462 'Ten shippes toke': This number is at odds with the figure given in the accompanying gloss after l. 2456. The 'fourty shippes' (l. 2464) listed as sailing with Umfraville is similarly at odds with the eight vessels detailed in the Issue Rolls for February 1412; however, Compton Reeves has noted that Umfraville may have had more ships than the exchequer would support, therefore the ten given in the second version may be correct, but forty is undoubtedly an error (see **John Hardyng's Life** for further details). Conversely, the date of this document is contrary to the year of the other two documents relating to the raid, being dated over a year after it occurred, which may suggest that this record relates to another voyage. In the second version the number of ships Umfraville captures increases from the twelve mentioned here (l. 2456 *gloss after*) to fourteen (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 160v, l. 1990). Intriguingly, the account of how Umfraville obtained his epithet 'Robyn Mendemarket' does not occur in this version, but is instead only contained in the revised version. Nevertheless, although this is unusual, it is in fact in keeping with the different tones of the narratives. In Lansdowne 204 Hardyng places emphasis on the tactical elements of the raid, particularly Umfraville's use of burning ships to defeat the Scots; see the additional comments in the **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 1982-2016 and 2017-23.

I. 2472 'paled': This form of the verb 'pallen' does not occur in the *MED*; however, I have taken it to mean 'defended' (with stakes or spikes) as this makes most sense in the context given here.

II. 2485-87 'The kynge fell ... in his sore': Henry's health had been in decline from 1406 onwards; but his sickness during this period meant that Prince Henry began to play a more important role in the governance of the kingdom, and he took over as chief council at the council meetings. The nature of King Henry's sickness has baffled

scholars for centuries and has prompted much debate amongst scholars. That King Henry had a disfiguring illness appears evident from contemporary accounts of his condition see, for example, the *Chronicle of Adam Usk* (Given-Wilson 1997: 242-43); however, it is unlikely, as Wylie maintained, that leprosy was the cause of his incapacity, since ‘the belief that [he] died a leper is inconsistent with the facts of his life, and with the necessity for complete isolation prescribed by the exaggerated dread of the infection’ (1969: IV, 151). See **Commentary to the Second Version**, 1. 2114 *gloss after*.

ll. 2488-2512 ‘Who to the ... fled faste therfore’: The conflict between the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans has its origins in 1380 when the young Charles VI of France succeeded to the throne. Because of his youth, the kingdom was effectively governed by his uncles; but similar difficulties to those encountered during the minorities of Richard II and Henry VI arose, when members of the body elected to govern for the monarch attempted to dominate the council. In 1388 Charles asserted his own authority, but by 1392 he was incapacitated with a bout of madness that was to recur throughout the rest of his adult life. Initially, Philip, duke of Burgundy, governed the kingdom during Charles’s periods of inaction, and in response to this, the king’s brother, Louis of Orleans, became involved in a bitter struggle with his uncle for control over France. Even after Burgundy’s death in 1404, the struggle continued with the new duke of Burgundy taking his father’s place. In 1407 Burgundy had Orleans murdered in Paris, and the feud was continued with renewed vigour by his son Charles. By 1411 civil war threatened to ruin France and the Armagnacs, Orleans’s supporters, drove the Burgundians out of Paris. John ‘the Fearless’, duke of Burgundy, appealed to the English for help, and Prince Henry resolved to assist him. In November 1411 English troops under the command of the earl of Arundel prepared to force the Armagnacs away from St Cloud, where they held the bridge with considerable force. The town and bridge had been taken, and the English were sent by Prince Henry and the council to assist the duke of Burgundy in its recovery. They attacked the town and bridge simultaneously early on 9 November and annihilated the opposition, taking the bridge with the help of fire-boats. Hardyng gives no death toll here, but other chronicles place the number of Armagnacs casualties between 800 and 1300; see, for example, the *Historia Anglicana* (Riley 1863-64: II, 286). After the victory, Arundel’s party proceeded to assist at the siege of Etamps (mistakenly called Etham in Hardyng’s account), which surrendered in December 1411, and before returning home they helped secure the fall of Dourdan. Gilbert Umfraville was amongst those who remained in France ‘in the pay of the duke of Burgundy’ (Wylie 1969: IV, 63). Compare with the accounts in the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 371), the *Eulogium Continuation* (Haydon 1865: 419), and the *Historia Anglicana* (Riley 1863-64: II, 285-87), which also detail Gilbert Umfraville’s presence.

ll. 2513-26 ‘Than came thay ... thay were discorde’: Like many of the chronicles, Hardyng’s account oversimplifies the events, presenting the dispute between Prince Henry and his father as a mere difference of opinion; in actuality, although Prince Henry did not wish the king to assist the duke of Orleans, Henry IV decided to support the Armagnacs.

ll. 2527-33 ‘Than sent the ... be thaire gouvernoure’: Envoys from the duke of Orleans and his allies were sent to negotiate with Henry IV in January 1412; in return for his

support against Burgundy it was arranged that the duchy of Aquitaine would be restored to Henry and his hereditary right acknowledged. The terms of the agreement were finalised in May 1412 and by August the English troops had set sail for France to join the Armagnacs. In the same month, however, events in France had taken a turn for the worse; Orleans and Burgundy were officially reconciled, and promised to cancel all previous agreements with the English and unite against them. When the English arrived, they expected their wages to be paid, as promised, by Orleans and his party, and the French had to pay them off, at great expense, before they would return to England. Clarence's retinue travelled to Aquitaine where he remained, assuming command, until news of his father's death reached him and he departed for England in April 1413.

ll. 2534-68 'In this mene-while ... oute of doute': The date of Henry's death as given by Hardyng (19 March) is incorrect; however, the *Brut* gives the date of his death as 'abowte myd Lent Sondag' (Sunday 19 March being the second Sunday of Lent in 1413, Brie 1906-08: II, 372), and Hardyng's error may be due to his use of a common source. Chronicles giving the correct date include: the *Eulogium Continuation* (Haydon 1865: 421), the *Historia Anglicana* (Riley 1863-64: II, 289), and Adam of Usk's *Chronicle* (Given-Wilson 1997: 242-43). Henry died in the Jerusalem chamber at Westminster on 20 March 1413. He was buried at Canterbury Cathedral in Becket's chapel, near to the tomb of Prince Edward (later known as the Black Prince).

ll. 2541-82 'O Lorde [...] in euery stede': These stanzas occur in a near identical form in the second version (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, l. 2114 *gloss after* and ll. 2111-56). Hardyng's account of Henry's death-bed confession is comparable with those occurring in Strecche's *Chronicle* (Taylor 1932: 140) and Elmham's *Liber Metricus* (Wright 1859-61: II, 118-23).

ll. 2552-57 'This face so ... vpon, I vndyrstonde': See ll. 2485-87 above and **Commentary to the Second Version**, l. 2114 *gloss after*. Many chroniclers attribute the king's disfiguration to divine punishment for the death of Archbishop Scrope; see, for example, the *Eulogium Continuation* (Haydon 1865: 408).

ll. 2569-82 'O verry God ... in euery stede': Hardyng's lament concerning the torments of Henry IV during his reign is undoubtedly inspired by the popular rumours and stories concerning attempts on his life, and which are frequently recorded in the chronicles. Whilst some of the tales are unquestionably true, such as the plot in 1400, known as the Epiphany Rising, a great deal of them are spurious. A fine example of the popular nature of these tales may be witnessed in one of the manuscripts of the second version, Garrett 142; in this manuscript the narrative here is accompanied by a contemporary gloss, not written by the scribe, but possibly by an early owner (see **The Manuscripts of Hardyng's Chronicle**), which reports the fictitious story of Henry's cook attempting to poison him (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, l. 2114 *gloss after*, and **Appendix 3**). Many of the chronicles record similar incidents; see, for example, the *Annales Henrici Quarti* (Riley 1866: 322-23), which mention an attempt to poison the king, and John Capgrave's *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles* (Lucas 1983: 218), which states that in 1401 'a hirun with iii braunchis, and so scharp þat, where-euyr þe kyng had turned him, it schuld sle him' was placed in the king's bed, 'but, as God wold, it was aspied, and so he skaped þat perel.'

The Reign of Henry V

l. 2582 *gloss after* and ll. 2583-89 ‘Henry, his sonne ... to ryall gouernaunce’: Henry V, King of England (1413-22), was the son of Henry Bolingbroke (later Henry IV) and Mary Bohun (d. 1394). He ascended the throne following the death of his father on 20 March 1413 (Saint Cuthbert’s day), and was anointed on 9 April 1413 at Westminster. Hardyng states, incorrectly, that he was ‘crounde’ in March; this error is rectified in the second version. The exact date of Henry’s birth has been a matter of contention amongst historians, but he is generally believed to have been born in either August or September 1386/7 at Monmouth Castle.

The heading preceding the gloss notes that this is the beginning of the seventh and final book of the *Chronicle*; Hardyng’s division of the text into seven books is comparable with Ralph Higden’s seven-fold division of the *Polycronicon*. Both chroniclers may have been influenced by St Augustine’s division of history into the seven ages of man, and Hardyng in particular may have intended to show that his contemporaries were living in the final age before the great apocalypse. It is fitting therefore that the celebrated reign of Henry V begins the glorious seventh ‘age’, and may, by association, offer hope of a peaceful and prosperous reign under his son, Henry VI. For further discussion of Hardyng’s seven books see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**.

Hardyng cites the chronicle of Master Norham, doctor of Theology, as the main authority for the events recorded in this section, and then his own authority as a witness to the events (see the note to l. 2009 *gloss after* above). Similar glosses also occur at the beginning of the reigns of Henry IV and Henry VI (see Lansdowne 204, f. 203r, l. 2009 *gloss after* and f. 217v, l. 3254 *gloss after*), but unlike the first of the three glosses in this series, which states that the chronicler, heard, saw and was present at the events (‘audiuit, vidit, *et* interfuit’), the gloss here simply states that the author saw and heard the activities mentioned (‘vidit *et* audiuit’). Later, the gloss accompanying Henry VI’s reign notes that Hardyng saw and understood the events recorded (‘vidit *et* concepit’). This is interesting, since the glosses describing Hardyng’s fullest involvement and engagement with events (in the reigns of Henry IV and Henry V) correspond to the period in which Hardyng was at the height of his career, participating in numerous battles at home and abroad, and playing an active role in the service of influential patrons. Conversely, the final gloss in this sequence suggests that a lesser degree of involvement corresponds to the period in which Hardyng lost his patron and retired to the priory at South Kyme. For a discussion of the probable identity of Norham see **Commentary to the First Version**, l. 2009 *gloss after*. The glosses do not occur in the second version.

l. 2585 ‘as I remembre can’: This is a good example of Hardyng’s increased citation of his own authority as confirmation of the events recorded.

l. 2587 ‘Of whom the ... glad withoute lesynge’: Hardyng notes the joy of the people at Henry’s coronation without alluding to any of the omens witnessed at the start of the reign. The second version mentions the bad weather and hailstorms on the day of the coronation, but, unlike other chroniclers, fails to comment on whether they were

perceived as a good or bad omen. See **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 2164-70.

I. 2590 'In his friste yere': 21 March 1413 to 20 March 1414.

II. 2590-2610 'In his friste yere ... in grete bale': Hardyng's *Chronicle* is similar here to the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* (Taylor and Roskell 1975: 2-11), John Benet's *Chronicle* (Harriss and Harriss 1972: 177) and the *Chronicles of London* (Kingsford 1905: 69) in that it moves from the king's coronation directly to Oldcastle's rebellion against the faith. Sir John Oldcastle (1378-1417), son of Sir Richard Oldcastle, was styled Lord Cobham on account of his marriage in 1408 to Joan, heiress of John, Lord Cobham of Cooling in Kent. Although Oldcastle proved to be proficient in his service under Henry IV and Henry V, his Lollard sympathies made him notorious. After confessing to owning heretical tracts in 1413, Henry V attempted to persuade him to repent and confirm his belief in Catholic doctrine; the king failed and granted Archbishop Arundel permission to take action against Oldcastle. By the end of September Oldcastle was imprisoned in the Tower, but he escaped in October with the help of fellow Lollards. On 9/10 January 1414 he allegedly organised and headed an uprising, which met at St Giles's Field, London; the king, however, had been forewarned of the plan and although Oldcastle escaped, many of his supporters were arrested and later executed, including Sir Roger Acton, whom many of the chroniclers mention. In comparison with other accounts Hardyng's narrative is relatively sparse; failing to mention a time or place for the rising in London; compare, for example, with the slightly more generous account in the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 42, 49).

After fleeing to Wales it was a further three years before Oldcastle was captured in November 1417 near Welshpool. The following December parliament sentenced him to be hanged and burnt at St Giles's Field. Hardyng, like the author of the *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, once again refrains from giving many particulars of the rising, but focusses instead on the providential element of the episode, stating that God allowed Oldcastle to be captured and tried for his heresy. Many contemporary chroniclers interpret the Lollard risings in the early fifteenth century as a series of divine tests, which Henry V and his father before him manage to overcome successfully; this attitude is undoubtedly due to the propagandist nature of the chronicles written in the early fifteenth century in favour of the relatively new Lancastrian dynasty (for further discussion of this topic see Hudson 1988 and Strohm 1998: 81-86). Of additional importance to our understanding of Hardyng's narrative is Marx's discussion of the propagandist nature of the Latin *Brut*, and the way in which it deliberately associates the Lollard risings with sedition (see 2003: lxxi-lxxiii); since Hardyng's text reflects the same attitude this may be construed as further evidence that he was using a version of the Latin *Brut* as a source for the later parts of the history. That Hardyng adopts the same attitude in the first version of his *Chronicle* is not surprising; that he retained it in the second is. However, while the two versions are almost identical, the marginal glosses accompanying them differ, revealing a slight modification in Hardyng's interpretation of events: the first version views the episode as an example of 'How the kynge fortified the Cherche' against the compound threat of 'lord Cobham and hys Lollers and errytykes' (*gloss after* l. 2589); whereas the gloss accompanying the second version remarks only that Oldcastle was 'brent for erresie ageyn þe feith' (*gloss after* l. 2170). The additional underscoring of the universal threat of the Lollards in the first version serves to commend Henry V

further for defending the faith, singling out the episode as an example of his achievements on behalf of the church. This is particularly interesting as it shows an effort on Hardyng's part to reduce Henry V's achievements in the second version. However, since Hardyng rarely includes affairs of a religious nature in his narrative, the inclusion of this episode may derive from the chronicler's sources (i.e. the *Brut* and the *Gesta Henrici Quinti*) rather than his own interest in the event. Of further importance in Hardyng's account is that he emphasises Oldcastle's execution by fire. In actuality he was sentenced to a dual execution of being hanged and burnt; hanging was traditionally the punishment for treason, and burning the punishment for heresy; by omitting reference to the hanging Hardyng accentuates the magnitude of Oldcastle's religious crime. Even supposing that this emphasis is a residue from Hardyng's sources, it is evident that contemporary and near-contemporary chroniclers wished to impart the gravity of Oldcastle's heresy to their readers. For further information on the Lollards and Oldcastle see Hudson 1988.

ll. 2605-06 'Of whiche he ... within an houre': The story concerning Oldcastle's escape from the Tower and his recapture within an hour is spurious and is likely to be a corruption resulting from one of Hardyng's sources or Hardyng's misinterpretation of a source dealing with the escape in October 1413. I have been unable to find an analogous error in any of the comparable texts; however, compare Hardyng's texts with the *London Chronicle* edited by Kingsford, which notes that Oldcastle broke out of the Tower within 'a ffewe dayes' of his confinement there (1905: 69). Capgrave's *Abbreviacion of Cronicles* provides quite a detailed account of Oldcastle's interrogation (Lucas 1983: 239-42) and notes that he escaped from the Tower during his forty-day confinement there, as does his source Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana* (Riley 1863-64: II, 296-97).

l. 2610 'bale': Due to the similarity of the scribe's letter forms for *b* and *v* it is possible that the word transcribed here as *bale* could in fact be *vale*. Either transcription would in fact be valid, since the word *bale* can mean sorrow or suffering and the word *vale*, associated with the popular conceit of 'the world as a vale of tears', can similarly mean suffering. See *MED* vale (n.) sense 3 and bale (n. (1)) sense 3.

ll. 2611-17 'The kynge than ... shewed myracles plentyuouse': The first two lines of this stanza are similar to Walsingham's comment in the *Historia Anglicana* (Riley 1863-64: II, 290). They may also be an allusion to the myth that Henry switched from a life of vice to one of virtue upon becoming king of England; a more specific reference to this is made in the later version (see the **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 2193-98). Also of note is the late fifteenth-century *Brut* in Lambeth 84, which contains the story of how Henry rewarded the councillors who had previously chastised his inappropriate behaviour upon assuming the sovereignty, and expelled those who had been his closest friends at court (Brie 1906-08: II, 594-95). Accounts such as these suggest that reports of the king's riotous youth had an early currency, and although both the *Chronicle* and the *Brut* are later texts, the similarity of Hardyng's comments with Walsingham's narrative (written contemporaneously with Henry's reign) indicates an element of truth behind the myth. More generally Hardyng's lines are typical of the chroniclers' complimentary reports of the king's good governance and fair administration of justice. Records of pardons and

arbitrations analysed by Allmand for the period May and June 1414 appear to support the literary accounts; he notes that 'the way in which pardons and arbitration were used in Henry's name in May and June 1414 shows the king at his best, more concerned to bring together those who had offended society than to apply the law rigorously to them' (Allmand 1992: 436-37).

In the first year of his reign Henry made a concerted effort to distance himself from the unpopular actions of his father. Instead of ostracising the widely held acclaim for Archbishop Scrope, who had acquired the status of a martyr, the new king sanctioned reverence towards him and his shrine. For a discussion of the cult of Archbishop Scrope and the miracles attributed to him see Wylie 1969: II, 339-67 and McKenna 1970. Some scholars have attributed Henry V's monastic foundations at Syon and Sheen to a desire on Henry's part to atone for the sins of his father (see, for example, Taylor and Roskell 1975: 186-87).

ll. 2618-24 'Kynge Rychard als ... done by manne': Hardyng's account of Richard's reburial is probably derived from the *Brut* (see Brie 1906-08: II, 373) or some similarly brief narrative. Comparable accounts include: the *English Chronicle*, which states that 'for þe grete and tender loue that he hadde to Kynge Richard, he [Henry] translated his body fro Langeley vnto Westmystre with grete worshep, and buried hym beside Quene Anne, his firste wife, as his desire wasse' (Marx 2003: 42); and Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana*, which describes Henry's affection for Richard as that of a son for his father (Riley 1863-64: II, 297). The purpose behind Henry's reburial of Richard II has been discussed by numerous scholars, all of whom agree that the decision to reinter the late king was due to several factors: first, Henry had great respect for his late uncle, and genuinely desired to fulfil his final wish to be buried beside Queen Anne; secondly, the reburial was considered to be fitting atonement for his father's usurpation, and was made for propaganda purposes; thirdly, rumours of Richard's survival after 1400 plagued both Henry IV and Henry V, and were a rallying point for those still opposed to the relatively new Lancastrian dynasty. The re-interment of Richard was a good exercise for quelling such rumours. The propagandist nature of the event may be witnessed in the celebratory poem commissioned from Thomas Hoccleve, which emphasises the king's anti-heretical stance more than the burial of Richard II (Furnivall 1892: 47-49). Surviving records in the PRO Issue Rolls (E 403/614) indicate that the reburial took place in mid-December, and although many elements of the ceremony were not wholly in accordance with Richard's final wishes as detailed in his will, the procession and service were entirely fitting for a king (see Strohm 1998: 115). For Richard's will see Nichols 1780: 191-202, particularly pp. 192-93 for his wish to be buried with Anne.

The reference to Henry IV burying Richard at Langley to ensure that the people would forget about him is ambiguous enough to be interpreted in one of two ways. In the section dealing with Richard's deposition this version of the *Chronicle* does not state that Henry IV's usurpation was regrettable, but rather emphasises the providential nature of the event and depicts Henry IV as England's saviour (see ll.1874-83, 1958-59 above). However, the reference here could be an allusion to the crime of usurpation and Henry IV's attempt metaphorically to bury his crime by giving Richard an obscure burial in the hope that he would be forgotten. If this were the case, the reference would not be as incongruous with the earlier stance. Hardyng was writing several decades after the event and was undoubtedly reliant on sources written both during and after Henry IV's reign; since his *Chronicle* highlights Henry

V's attempt to rectify the burial at Langley, the comment (if one is to read it negatively) does not reflect badly on the current Lancastrian monarch. Alternatively, one could argue that Hardyng's text is alluding to the fact that Henry IV thought that the English people wanted to forget Richard. This would be compatible with the *Chronicle's* earlier reference to the prayers made by Richard's exasperated subjects for release from his oppressive rule. Nevertheless, given that the later narrative stresses the neglect of Richard's burial wishes, Hardyng's blunt acknowledgement of Henry IV's desire to forget about the king he deposed does appear to lend more credence to the first interpretation of this reference. The account of the reburial in the second version does not mention Henry IV, but refers explicitly to the fact that the original burial was against Richard's own wishes (see l. 2205).

I. 2625 'in his seconde yere': 21 March 1414 to 20 March 1415.

II. 2625-38 'The kyng so ... lawe and gouernayle': Hardyng is incorrect in stating that Henry V created his younger brother, Thomas, duke of Clarence at the Leicester parliament of 1414. Thomas had already been elevated to his ducal title by his father, Henry IV, in 1412; the second version correctly records the event under this year (see l. 2094). Likewise, Thomas Beaufort, earl of Dorset, was not created duke of Exeter until 18 November 1416 (*Rot. Parl.*, IV, 96; *CPR: Henry V, 1416-22*, p. 50, m. 13, p. 53, m. 11). The only magnates in Hardyng's list to receive honours at the Leicester parliament were the king's brothers, John and Humphrey, who were created dukes of Bedford and Gloucester respectively on 16 May 1414 (*Rot. Parl.*, IV, 17). The *Gesta Henrici Quinti* notes that Beaufort received his title at this time (Taylor and Roskell 1975: 178-81), and the *English Chronicle* refers to the king's conferment of the dukedoms of Bedford and Gloucester on his brothers in a Latin gloss accompanying the text (see, in this instance, Davies 1856: 40); however, in the main, few chroniclers mention the ducal titles, preferring instead to concentrate on the king's preparations for war with France.

As Hardyng accurately notes, 1414 was also the year in which Henry Percy, son of Hotspur, petitioned Henry V for the restoration of the Percy estates, which had been declared forfeit upon the attainder of his grandfather, the late earl of Northumberland; the king granted his request. Negotiations for the return of Percy from Scotland in exchange for the earl of Fife, Murdoch, son of the Scottish regent, Robert, duke of Albany, also took place at this time, but it would be another year before they were successfully completed and Percy returned to England. Henry confirmed Percy's position as the new earl of Northumberland during the parliament held in March 1416 (*Rot. Parl.*, IV, 37, 71). A greater part of the entailed Percy property had been granted to Prince John by Henry IV, but Henry V compensated his brother, who was now forced to return many of the properties to Percy, by granting him the reversion of the earldom of Richmond upon the death of Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland (*Rot. Parl.*, IV, 41; *CPR: Henry V, 1413-16*, p. 370, m. 27; but compare also the comments of Harriss 1985: 42). Hardyng does not mention that the Percy estates had been given to Bedford until the second version (ll. 2211-26). Percy was not the only disinherited heir to petition for restoration at this time; Thomas Montagu also petitioned for the attainder against his father to be reversed in 1414 and for restoration to the earldom of Salisbury (*Rot. Parl.*, IV, 17-19, 35-36, 141-42) and in 1416 Henry agreed to restore John Holland to the earldom of Huntingdon (*Rot. Parl.*, IV, 100-01, 110). Hardyng's failure to mention this may be attributable to his

interest in the Percy fortunes only, but Walsingham also singles out the restoration of Percy for comment (Riley 1863-64: II, 300). The interest in Percy's restoration in these chronicles probably results from a wider-ranging interest amongst the chroniclers in what was viewed as the official conclusion to the conflict which began between the Percies and Henry IV in the initial years of the fifteenth century, climaxing in 1403 with the battle of Shrewsbury.

I. 2639 'On Mawdelayne day ... of his rygne': The feast of St Mary Magdalene occurs on 22 July and Henry's third regnal year ran from 21 March 1415 to 20 March 1416.

II. 2640-52 'Syr Robert than ... thaim fleand then': Hardyng is referring to the battle at Yeavinger, near Kirk-Newton in Glendale, on 22 July 1415 (Wylie and Waugh 1914-29: I, 520 and Balfour-Melville 1936: 63). The numbers given here, both of Umfraville's men and of Scottish casualties differ slightly from those in the second version. Here Hardyng states that Umfraville's retinue consisted of five hundred men, whereas the revised version cites 'VII score speres *and* III C bowis' (l. 2226 *gloss after*), and later four hundred men. In these stanzas 'eghtene score of Scottes' (three hundred and sixty men) are 'slayne', and nine hundred forced to flee the battle, but in the second version 'eghtene score of Scottes' are captured, sixty slain, and one thousand 'put to flight' by four hundred of Umfraville's men (ll. 2231-33). Usk briefly alludes to the trouble in Scotland at this time (Given-Wilson 1997: 252-53), but generally few chroniclers mention this battle. Hardyng's reference to it seems to stem from his personal interest in Umfraville and Anglo-Scottish relations.

I. 2652 *gloss after* 'Sir Thomas Gray of Werke': Although he is more commonly known as Thomas Grey of Heton, Grey was given the lordship of Wark, Tynedale, by the duke of York; the estate should have descended to the duke's brother.

II. 2653-59 'At Lammesse after ... Hampton by decre': Hardyng is referring to the infamous Southampton Plot. On 31 July 1415 Richard, earl of Cambridge (1375-1415), Henry, Lord Scrope of Masham (1373-1415) and Sir Thomas Grey of Heton (1384-1415) were arrested for conspiring against the king after Edmund Mortimer, earl of March (1391-1425), divulged their plans to Henry V at Portchester. Hardyng implies that the plot was disclosed at 'Lammesse' (1 August), but in fact it was revealed on 31 July. The conspirators were to act on 1 August; however, due to the complex nature of Hardyng's syntax, one could argue that the reference to 'Lammesse' is made with regards to the date of the executions mentioned at the end of the stanza. This is much clearer in the second version (l. 2241), but is still incorrect. On 2 August a trial took place during which Thomas Grey was found guilty of treason and immediately beheaded. Cambridge and Scrope requested a trial by their peers, Scrope denying vehemently that he had conspired to kill the king; judgement was deferred until 5 August, when they were both condemned of high treason at Southampton Castle and sentenced to direct execution. Scrope alone was given the indignity of being drawn through the streets before being beheaded.

The confessions of Scrope, Grey and Cambridge may be found in the PRO *Deputy Keeper's Report*, 43, pp. 579-94; Cambridge's petition for clemency is printed in Nicolas 1970: Appendix iv, 19-20; and the parliamentary confirmation of the attainder may be found in *Rot. Parl.*, IV, 65-66.

I. 2654 'Hampton': Southampton.

I. 2657 'The kynges deth had caste': The aim of the plot as disclosed here is that the conspirators wanted the king dead, but in the second version Hardyng states more specifically that they wanted to elevate the earl of March to the throne, which is the motive given in Cambridge's confession (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 2241-47; Nichols 1833: Appendix iv, 19-20; and Pugh 1986: 65). According to Cambridge, who intended to encourage another revolt in Wales, Sir Robert Umfraville and Sir John Widdrington (d. 1443) were 'to assist a Scottish invasion of northern England, and he was expecting the Scots to bring with them Henry Percy, the exiled heir to the earldom of Northumberland' (Pugh 1986: 65). This may account for Hardyng's emphasis on the battle of Yeaveering and Umfraville's valiant efforts to subdue the Scots instead of allowing them to attack the English.

Other probable motivations cited by the chroniclers include: the assertions of the *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, the *Historia Anglicana*, the *Brut*, and Usk's *Chronicle*, which state that the plot involved the French, who offered gold to the conspirators in return for distracting the king from his invasion of France by causing trouble at home (see Taylor and Roskell 1975: 18-19; Riley 1864: II, 305-6; Brie 1906-08: II, 375; and Given-Wilson 1997: 254-55 respectively).

II. 2660-62 'And helde hys ... of Excester allone': Only three lines are dedicated to the siege of Harfleur (1415) in this version. Situated on the Seine, the port of Harfleur in Normandy was of strategic importance. Henry V landed at Chef de Caux, near Harfleur on 13 or 14 August; after being besieged for approximately five weeks, the inhabitants of the town surrendered on 22 September and the king immediately appointed Thomas Beaufort captain. Nichols believes that Hardyng's anachronistic reference to Beaufort as the duke of Exeter shows that his account could not have been written before November 1416 when he was elevated to the dukedom (1970: 214); but since the *Chronicle* does not appear to have been started until c. 1451, the anachronism does not help to date the first version more precisely than the evidence already cited (see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**). The anachronism could equally be the result of Hardyng's own forgetfulness or a corrupt source as the same error occurs in the second version (l. 2274). Strecche's *Chronicle* contains the same error, as well as some other parallels with Hardyng's text, most notably an account of Henry IV's death-bed confession and a reference to the duke of Clarence being duped by a false Lombard before the English defeat at Baugé; given that Strecche was an Augustinian canon at Kenilworth, it is possible that both he and Hardyng had access to a common source, a copy of which was owned by, or lent to, the canons at Kyme. Hardyng's other probable, or known, sources for this section, the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* and the *Latin Brut*, correctly call Beaufort the earl of Dorset (see Taylor and Roskell 1975: 54-55 and Kingsford 1913: 316-17 respectively). Aside from providing a superior account of the siege, the second version also recalls the losses suffered by the English due to dysentery, or the 'flux', during and after the siege (see ll. 2293-96). See **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 2248-75 for further information on the siege; for Strecche and his *Chronicle* see Taylor 1932.

II. 2663-98 'Ande homwarde went ... tyme withouten fayle': The battle of Agincourt (25 October 1415) needs no introduction, as scholarship on the battle, possibly the most famous and decisive English victory of the fifteenth century, is plentiful; the

most comprehensive studies include Wylie and Waugh 1914-29: II, 141-77; Burne 1956; Hibbert 1964; Nichols 1970, Bennett 1991; and Curry 2000. The best of the contemporary sources dealing with the event is probably the *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, which was written in the wake of the victory (Taylor and Roskell 1975). For a recent analysis of this and other sources dealing with Agincourt see Curry (2000), who also discusses Hardyng's version of events. Contemporary sources differ with regards to the exact date that Henry V left Harfleur for Calais; 7 October is probably the best approximation. Considering that the chronicler was present throughout the proceedings, from the siege of Harfleur to the battle on the Seine in 1416, his account for the reign of Henry V generally appears to be derived from the *Latin Brut* (Kingsford 1913: 316-320), but this does not account for his sparse account of the siege of Harfleur. It is evident that Hardyng used parts of the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* for the revised version, but whether he had knowledge of this text, when compiling this edition is uncertain; the names of the French casualties and captives in the text and accompanying Latin gloss are similar to those given in the *Latin Brut*, but the majority of the men mentioned appear in most sources, including the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* (Taylor and Roskell 1975: 94-97). Whilst the space devoted to the battle in the *Chronicle* is considerable in relation to the number of verses appointed for other episodes, frustratingly Hardyng tells us nothing that is not obtainable from other accounts.

ll. 2665-87 'And with hym ... hundre thousande indede': Whilst the English were heavily outnumbered during the battle, and the casualties were relatively few in comparison with those on their opponents' side, scholars have noted the tendency of English chroniclers to underestimate the figures (see, for example, the comments of Wylie and Waugh 1914-29: III, 178-216; Taylor and Roskell 1975: 97-98; and Curry 2000: 11). The large figures Hardyng gives with regards to the French losses are perhaps attributable to the same patriotic exaggeration found in other contemporary chronicles (for a comparative table of the figures given in the main chronicle sources see Curry 2000: 12). Hardyng's estimate that the French army numbered 100,000 (l. 2687) is identical to the figure given in Stretche's *Chronicle* (Taylor 1932: 153), Benet's *Chronicle* (Harriss and Harriss 1972: 177) and the chronicles edited by Kingsford (1913: 286, 317, 326).

The attribution of the victory to God is ubiquitous in all English sources; the celebratory pageant held at London upon the king's return emphasised this in numerous ways, but particularly so by depicting Henry V as the biblical figures David and Abraham; see, for example, the account in the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* (Taylor and Roskell 1975: 108-11) and the poem on Agincourt, attributed to Lydgate, in Harley 565.

ll. 2667-75 'The duke was ... that batayle slayn': The dead and the taken mentioned here are as follows: Charles, third duke of Orleans and nephew of Charles VI of France; John I, duke of Bourbon; Louis de Bourbon, count of Vendôme; Arthur, count of Richemont, brother of John V, duke of Brittany (who took no part in the battle); Edward III, duke of Bar; John, first duke of Alençon; and Charles II, duke of Lorraine.

ll. 2679-80 'Fourty thousande thar ... had wele spedde': The second version does not record the forty thousand casualties given here. Instead two further members of the

French nobility are named, along with ‘fyue barons’ and ‘fiftene hundred knyghtes and squiers mo’ (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 165r, ll. 2305-06).

ll. 2681-84 ‘On oure syde ... were of reuerence’: The only fatal casualty on the English side mentioned in this version is Edward, second duke of York, son of Edmund of Langley and grandson of Edward III. The second version provides a little more information; in addition to mentioning York, the deaths of Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, and ‘knyghtes two with ten’ are recorded (ll. 2290-91). This is in keeping with the majority of other chronicles, which generally mention York and Suffolk; see, for example, the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* (Taylor and Roskell 1975: 96-97).

l. 2687 *gloss after*: This marginal annotation does not appear to be written by either of the main hands of the manuscript, although it has been squeezed into the margin nearest to the gutter in a very small hand and is therefore difficult to distinguish with any certainty; it does, nonetheless, belong to the fifteenth century. The contents of the gloss are similar to the list of the French casualties and captives in the *Latin Brut* (Kingsford 1913: 317). In addition to the figures already mentioned in the main text, the men listed here include: Charles of Artois, count of Eu; John le Meingre II of Boucicaut, Marshal of France; Anthony, duke of Brabant; Philip, count of Nevers, duke of Burgundy and younger brother to Anthony, duke of Brabant; Charles, count of Savoisy; Charles de la Rivière, count of Dammartin; Robert, count of Marle; Bernard VII, count of Armagnac and constable of France and his son John Viscount of Lomagne. The rest of the names are somewhat of an enigma: Monstrelet mentions a Louis de Boussy, brother of the lord of Roissimbos (Nichols 1970: 283); the herald Berry mentions a count of Braine (Curry 2000: 181); I have been unable to determine who the count of Duras could be.

l. 2688 ‘Seynt Crispyne and Crispynyan day’: The feast of Saints Crispin and Crispinian occurs on 25 October. This feast day also marks the translation of St John of Beverley, and due reverence was paid accordingly to him by the English; although other sources mention Saint John, Hardyng does not, which is surprising since the *Chronicle* pays particular attention to him in the earlier sections of the narrative (Lansdowne 204, ff. 120r-120v). St John of Beverley was a popular northern saint of specific importance to the House of Lancaster (Harriss 1985: 108) and the Percy family who patronised Beverley Minster. Whilst this may account for the emphasis placed on him earlier in the work, it does not, however, explain Hardyng’s failure to mention him here, especially since Hardyng would have been familiar with this fact. The saint’s absence may be attributable to the author’s source material; the *Latin Brut* does not refer to St John (Kingsford 1913: 317).

ll. 2695-98 ‘The yere of ... tyme withouten fayle’: Quite incredibly, Hardyng gets part of his dating incorrect. The regnal year mentioned at l. 2698 is correct (21 March 1415 to 20 March 1416), but the actual Christian calendar year is given at l. 2696 as 1417. As Hardyng was present at the battle one would hope that the mistake is due to scribal error, the use of a corrupt source or even the forgetfulness of old age; nevertheless, examples of incorrect dating in eyewitness accounts is not unusual in medieval texts; see, for example, the apparent misdating of the Great Schism in Thomas Spofford’s Procession Sermon (O’Mara 2002: 23-24, 126, ll. 68-69).

ll. 2699-2701 'And home thay ... into Englonde wan': The itinerary followed by the English on their return journey is correct; however, Henry's sojourn at the Castle of Guînes on the way to Calais is not mentioned in the revised version of the *Chronicle* (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, l. 2315).

ll. 2702-08 'In Englonde than ... George, I vndyrstonde': Sigismund (b. 1368), second son of the Emperor Charles IV, was officially recognised as Roman emperor in 1411, although he had elected himself in 1410 following the death of Rupert, elector-palatine of the Rhine, who had deposed Sigismund's half-brother Wenzel IV in 1400. Sigismund was also king of Hungary from 1387, by right of his wife, Maria, the oldest daughter of Lewis the Great, king of Poland and Hungary. The emperor made the visit to England detailed here in May 1416, with the intent of forming a tripartite alliance between the Empire, England and France, and bringing the papal schism to an end. Rather than choosing to emphasise the political nature of Sigismund's visit, during which time the Treaty of Canterbury was signed (15 August 1416), Hardyng focusses on the chivalric honour bestowed on him. Henry V held Sigismund in high esteem and admitted him to the Order of the Garter on Sunday 24 May 1416 at St George's Chapel. The Treaty of Canterbury was later ratified by parliament in October (*Rot. Parl.*, IV, 96).

ll. 2709-36 'The kyng so ... slayn don right': Hardyng was present at the sea battle on the Seine in 1416. Harfleur had been captured by Henry V in 1415 (see ll. 2660-62 above), but its garrison needed relieving urgently in 1416. The king responded swiftly to the request and his brother John, duke of Bedford, mustered a fleet for the expedition. Sir Robert Umfraville was amongst those who made an indenture with Henry V to relieve Harfleur, and his retinue accompanied the duke of Bedford (for further details see **John Hardyng's Life**). Hardyng has patriotically inflated the size of Bedford's fleet to 'foure hundre sayles', a figure also given in the second version (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 2332-73); other medieval sources note, like Hardyng, that the English ships were surpassed by the foreign carricks; see, for example, the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* (Taylor and Roskell 1975: 146-49), the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 45), Capgrave's *De Illustribus Henricis* (Hingeston 1858: 119), the *London Chronicle* (Kingsford 1905: 71), and the poem edited by Wright entitled 'Another incident of kepyng of the see...' (1859-61: II, 199-200).

l. 2712 'And kepe the ... enmyse all aboute': This line is strikingly similar to the sentiments in *The Libelle of English Policy*, which was written c. 1436 (Warner 1926). It has been noted by several critics that Henry V was the first English monarch to establish what could be defined as an English Navy (Wylie and Waugh 1914-29: II, 369-90; Nichols 1970: Appendix v).

l. 2716 'On oure Ladyse day, the assumpcion': The feast of the Assumption of the Virgin occurs on 15 August, the date of the sea battle. Hardyng's pious attribution of the English victory to the Virgin is probably indicative of the general opinion of the English soldiers, who attended mass and offered prayers to Mary before engaging in combat on her feast day. Intriguingly, this victory on the feast of the Assumption may account for Hardyng's steadfast belief in the story of Mary's Assumption, which, he mentions during his account of King Arvirargus's reign in this version, and which he states, he will defend as a true story until Judgement Day ('In whose tyme so of

Kynge Advyragus/ Our lady dyed or els she was assumed/ In body hole and soule full gloriouse/ Lesse clerkes sayne I haue to myche presumed/ To thaym I wyll that mater be transmued [changed] / To argew on vnto the day of dome/ For it assoyle [release] my braynes bene full tome [idle or spiritually deprived]', Lansdowne 204, f. 40r).

ll. 2720-28 'With hym ther ... banretz many oone': The men mentioned here are as follows: Edmund Mortimer, earl of March; John, second duke of Norfolk, earl of Nottingham and earl Marshal; Thomas Montagu, earl of Salisbury; Richard de Vere, earl of Oxford; Thomas, Lord Morley; Robert, Lord Willoughby; Gilbert, Lord Talbot; Reginald, Lord Grey of Ruthin; Robert, Lord Poynings; Sir John Tiptoft; Walter Hungerford, admiral of the fleet; and Hardyng's patron, Sir Robert Umfraville.

ll. 2730-36 'Than fell it ... slayn don right': The English ships at this time needed winds to sail or otherwise they were dead in the water. The day after the fight Bedford sailed back to England, whilst some of the ships went to victual Harfleur. The remaining part of the fleet was stranded for several days due to calm weather and the French took advantage of this by resuming their assault with fire ships. The date given by Hardyng (8 September) may relate to the date when Umfraville and Hardyng were able to sail home, but Bedford was already in England on 8 September (Williams 1963: 38). However, this does not undermine Hardyng's statement, because it is evident from an entry in the Close Rolls that Umfraville and Hardyng did not return with Bedford, and were very likely imprisoned upon their return as suspected deserters. It would appear from similar entries in the Close Rolls that desertion had been a particular problem throughout this campaign, and until Hardyng and Umfraville could prove they had had Bedford's permission to leave Harfleur they were forced to find mainpernors to vouch for their loyalty (see **John Hardyng's Life**).

ll. 2730-31 'oure Lady day... of hir natyuyte': The feast of the Virgin's nativity occurs on 8 September.

l. 2736 *gloss after*: The 'two thousand sayles' cited in this gloss are not mentioned in the second version, and are undoubtedly an exaggeration on Hardyng's part.

ll. 2737-39 'In whiche mene-tyme ... home he came': Sigismund left England and crossed over to Calais at the end of August 1416; Henry V and his retinue followed at the beginning of September and the two kings sojourned in Calais for several weeks. For the diplomatic negotiations that took place during their stay see Wylie and Waugh 1914-29: III, 21-29. Hardyng's brief allusion to the negotiations at Calais is in keeping with the interests of other chronicles such as the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* (Taylor and Roskell 1975: 150-75), the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 46), the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 381), and Benet's *Chronicle* (Harriss and Harriss 1972: 178).

ll. 2739-50 'And than with ... I can compile': Upon his return to England Henry V made preparations to invade Normandy. Hardyng does not give specific details about the subsidies he obtained from parliament as many chroniclers do (i.e. the *Brut* and the *Gesta Henrici Quinti*); this may result from his choice of source materials or from his general lack of interest in such matters.

Henry's expedition crossed over to Normandy in his fifth regnal year (21 March 1417 to 20 March 1418). After sailing up the River Touques the English captured the town of the same name; Wylie believes that the castle referred to as Touques could in fact be the Castle of Bonneville, which was situated about a mile from the Touques. The king marched on Caen in mid-August and, after the English had attacked the town, the castle surrendered on 4 September 1417; as Hardyng correctly states, Gilbert Umfraville was appointed captain of the town (Wylie and Waugh 1914-29: III, 65). Other chronicles state that the duke of Clarence was appointed to the captaincy; see, for example, the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 384) and the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 48).

ll. 2751-71 'Bayhowse he wan ... dred and name': All of the places mentioned here are in Normandy. The long list is designed to emphasise Henry's military prowess and greatness, and the rhetorical question posed by the author at l. 2765 is a fine device for emphasising that the success of Henry's invasion of Normandy was unprecedented. The image of the king as the 'bryght' light of 'Cristendome' (ll. 2769-70) similarly serves to reiterate the righteousness of Henry's campaign and precedes the use of analogous imagery in the eulogy for Henry at the end of the reign (of particular note is the reference to him as the greatest prince in Christendom at ll. 3136-37, which is omitted in the second version, and the image of his shadow falling over England and maintaining the law and peace even when he was in France at l. 3179).

ll. 2772-2840 'In this mene-while ... the londe aboute': Hardyng's account of the 'Foul Raid' of 1417 is one of the best amongst the chronicles; he was almost certainly present himself (see, for example, the personal use of 'oure hoste' at l. 2800), and his detailed description may be viewed as an eyewitness report. According to Hardyng, Robert Stewart, duke of Albany, attacked the town of Berwick for three weeks before reinforcements arrived to assist Sir Robert Umfraville, who was captain of the town at the time; at the same time Archibald Douglas besieged Roxburgh. The earl of Northumberland, the duke of Exeter, the earl of Westmoreland, and the archbishop of York rallied troops and came to assist their countrymen. They engaged with the enemy a few miles from Berwick, and the Scots retreated back across the border, burning Norham on their way. Umfraville allegedly followed them and captured their 'hynde ryders' (l. 2808). Douglas abandoned his siege after having been informed that Albany had retreated from Berwick.

Routinely, the size of the forces is exaggerated, but Hardyng's 'sixty thousand Scottes' (l. 2771 *gloss after*) is moderate in comparison with the figures of some chroniclers (compare, for example, with the 100,000 Scots in Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana* (Riley 1863-64: II, 325). Hardyng's figure is also corroborated by a document reproduced by Rymer, in which Umfraville, writing from Berwick to warn of Albany's impending attack, estimates that his force comprises 60,000 men (1704-35: IX, 310, 24 August 1415); Rymer, however, misdates the letter to 1415.

ll. 2779-85 'That thre woukes ... of Scotlonde floure': This stanza has no parallel in the second version, which tends to emphasise Umfraville's activities less than the first version.

l. 2792 ‘Seuen score thousande’: This figure is also given in the second version (l. 2443 *gloss after*).

ll. 2809-13 ‘And to oure ... in suche balaunce’: These lines are interesting because they highlight the reluctance of the English lords to risk causing dissension amongst the people by complying with Umfraville’s wish to raid Edinburgh whilst the king is absent. It is difficult to determine just how Hardyng intended this statement to be read. In one sense the lords’ belief that Umfraville’s actions might cause further trouble could be said to undermine Hardyng’s portrayal of Umfraville as patriotic and courageous; Hardyng could therefore, be suggesting that Umfraville’s decision to pursue the Scots and propagate the disorder on the border was wrong. However, if this episode is viewed as a parallel to the events in France, where Henry V is engaged in defending his claim to the French throne, one could interpret the lords’ decision not to attack the Scots as a failure on their part to assert the king’s sovereignty over Scotland and punish the Scots for their transgression, something which Umfraville takes it upon himself to do until the king returns. Although problematic, because the *Chronicle* advocates both peace and conquest, the emphasis on Umfraville’s relentless raiding and his refusal to offer the Scots a truce until they petition the king himself, perhaps supports the latter reading. Either way the comment is fascinating because it complements the many examples throughout the *Chronicle* where Hardyng accentuates the necessity of having peace and unity at home before the king can successfully conquer foreign territories. The second version has no parallel for ll. 2811-13. The *English Chronicle* does not mention the Foul Raid, but it does mention Douglas’s homage to Henry V in the same year (Marx 2003: 46). Compton Reeves has noted that after the Foul Raid Umfraville disappears from the records until late 1421; this silence in the extant records could be construed as evidence that Umfraville really did harass the Scots for several years. Coincidentally, this period also coincides with the period during which Hardyng seems to have been on his Scottish mission for Henry V. The Foul Raid also seems to be the final reference to Umfraville’s participation in military activities; Reeves has noted that as ‘far as is known he never bore arms again’ (unpublished). In the second version Hardyng’s account of the siege comes after the narrative dealing with the Treaty of Troyes and Melun. This is a matter of chronological preference, as both events occurred at approximately the same time.

ll. 2821-40 ‘Whiche Vmframvyle forsoke ... the londe aboute’: In the second version only the reference to Umfraville’s refusal to make peace with the Scots and his decision to continue raiding the Scottish lowland until Douglas personally petitions the king for a truce are given at this point. The rest of the information in these stanzas (i.e. the names of the places raided by Umfraville) is paralleled in the revised version after the notice of Henry’s visit to Paris (ll. 2500-13). The length of time that Umfraville was engaged on his personal crusade against the Scots is also changed from three years in this version (l. 2835) to two years in the second (l. 2504).

ll. 2841-62 ‘The kyng and ... to all thaires’: Henry V and King Charles VI of France signed The Treaty of Troyes on 21 May 1420. The terms of the treaty as described by Hardyng are accurate. Henry was to marry Charles’s daughter, Katherine, hold the regency of France during Charles’s lifetime, and be crowned king of France after his death. Henry and Katherine were married at Troyes on Trinity Sunday 2 June 1420

(Rymer 1704-35: IX, 895-908). The stanzas dealing with the Treaty of Troyes come earlier in the second version (i.e. before the account of the Siege of Berwick) but the content is essentially the same as the verses here (see ll. 2395-2408).

ll. 2863-76 'Saunce in Burgoyne ... of gode degre': The town of Sens surrendered on 10 June (Allmand 1992: 152, but see Wylie and Waugh 1914-29: III, 208, who give 11 June); after passing to Montereau the English took the town on 24 June, but the castle held out for a few days longer. Following the capture of Montereau, the body of John, duke of Burgundy, father of Philip the Good, was exhumed from its recent burial place at the parish church of Montereau, and was taken to the Charterhouse at Dijon for reburial. The duke had been murdered on 10 September 1419 after arranging a meeting with the Dauphin's party on the bridge at Montereau. For an account of the incident and the events surrounding the murder see Wylie and Waugh 1914-29: III, 184-87; Hutchinson 1967: 181-85; and Allmand 1992: 135-38. The second version contains identical lines to ll. 2863-69 here, but they occur after the Siege of Melun (see ll. 2416-22).

ll. 2870-76 'And Motreus than ... of gode degre': John Grey of Heton, count of Tancarville and Knight of the Garter, was made captain of Montereau after it capitulated. Grey's membership of the Garter is not mentioned in the equivalent section of the second version (ll. 2423-29); see Collins 2000: 47, 119-20, 229, 293).

ll. 2877-2904 'So layde he ... Gylbert Vmframvyle sapient': The siege of Melun began on 13 July 1420 and continued until 18 November 1420. James I of Scotland had been brought from England to make public homage to Henry in an attempt to encourage the Scots in the opposing army to surrender to Henry as their sovereign lord (*CDS*, IV, 181, number 898); those who refused were executed for disobedience to their king. Reference to James's homage is not made in the second version, neither is the list of noblemen present at the siege, which in this version includes the following: Louis de Chalon, Prince of Orange; Philip, duke of Burgundy; Thomas, duke of Clarence; John, duke of Bedford; Humphrey, duke of Gloucester; Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter; Edmund Mortimer, earl of March; John Mowbray, earl Marshal; Thomas Montagu, earl of Salisbury; Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick; Humphrey, earl of Stafford; John Holland, earl of Huntingdon; William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk; John Fitzalan, earl of Arundel; John Beaufort, earl of Somerset; and Richard de Vere, earl of Oxford.

ll. 2905-25 'Than helde the ... afor had bene': After the siege of Melun, Henry V and Philip, duke of Burgundy, rendezvoused with Charles VI at Corbeil and travelled to Paris. Hardyng states that Henry spent Christmas at the palace beside the Bastille of St Antoine, but historians believe that the king lodged at the Louvre (see Wylie and Waugh 1914-29: III, 232; Hutchinson 1967: 192; Allmand 1992: 154). It is at this point in the narrative that Hardyng refers to Gilbert Umfraville as earl of Kyme, a reference to his ancestral inheritance of the lordship of South Kyme, Lincolnshire (for further details of the Umfraville inheritance see **John Hardyng's Life**). Other chroniclers mention that the title was bestowed upon him at this time, but some are unfamiliar with the name Kyme and attempt to make sense of it by changing the place name to Kent (see, for example, the variants in Grafton's prints at l. 2254 of the second version). The jousts, which, according to Hardyng, were organised by

Umfraville and Suffolk were no doubt part of the general celebrations that were held in honour of Henry's arrival at Paris and the Christmas feast (for details of the festivities see Wylie and Waugh 1914-29: III, 224-26, 232; Allmand 1992: 153-55). Hardyng's notice of the king's concern about animosity during a competitive tourney is remarkable in that it highlights the king's diplomatic awareness of the delicacy and careful planning necessary for dual nationality celebrations. This is part of Hardyng's general characterisation of Henry V as the perfect monarch. More attention is given to the tournament in this version; the second version contains only two lines detailing the jousting, and fails to mention Henry V's anxiety about potential jealousy arising between the competing nations.

ll. 2926-39 'Than came he ... bene mekell bettre': In February 1421 Henry and Katherine arrived back in England. Archbishop Chichele crowned the queen at Westminster Abbey on Sunday 23 February 1421. In his absence, the king's brother Thomas, duke of Clarence, was appointed regent of France, and Gilbert Umfraville, Ralph Cromwell and John Grey of Heton were to assist him; in addition Umfraville was made Marshal of France and the king's other brothers, John, duke of Bedford, and Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, accompanied him home. The *Chronicle's* definition of Clarence's role in Henry's absence is probably one of the more accurate of the varied chronicle descriptions of Clarence's appointment (see Rymer 1704-35: X, 49-50); in the *Brut*, for example, he is 'leef-tenaunte of Normandy' (Brie 1906-08: II, 425) and in Benet's *Chronicle* he is 'custodem Francie' (Harriss and Harriss 1972: 179). Hardyng's note that, with hindsight, it would have been better if Henry had not left him in charge of matters in France, is quite telling with regard to the late fifteenth-century view of Clarence's appointment. This comment is in contrast to Hardyng's earlier praise of Clarence, and anachronistically looks forward to his reported folly at the battle of Baugé; similar sentiments are lacking in the later version.

ll. 2940-3002 'In this mene-while ... with grete reuerence': The battle of Baugé, Maine, took place on 22 March 1421 ('Esterne euen', l. 2941) at the start of Henry V's ninth regnal year (21 March 1421 to 20 March 1422). In this version Hardyng attributes Clarence's foolish assault on the French to the deceitful counsel of his spy Andrew, a 'fals Lumbarde' (l. 2945), who informed the duke that the French had but a small force with them, which could easily be taken at Baugé. The same story also occurs in Strecche's *Chronicle* (Taylor 1932: 185), the chronicle attributed to Peter Basset and Christopher Hanson in College of Arms MS M. 9, ff. 31-66, and later in Halle's *Chronicle* (Ellis 1809a: 106). Waugh rejects the validity of the story claiming that it cannot be true 'for had the English really been enticed to their doom by a lying Italian, every English and Burgundian writer would eagerly have seized at the excuse. As it is some of them hint at treachery on the part of the enemy commanders' (Wylie and Waugh 1914-29: III, 301), but as Rowe has pointed out the story 'represents the view of the disaster which was accepted in English military circles at the time' (Rowe 1926: 510). The similarity of the accounts signifies a common source, which in all likelihood was a newsletter circulating in military and official circles or an oral account of the battle disseminated amongst the English forces in France and later reported to their companions in England. All four chronicles cite the name of the Lombard as Andrew; Hardyng, Strecche, Basset and Hanson all call him Andrew Lombard, but Hall names him Andrew Forgusa. For Basset and Hanson's *Chronicle*

see (Nichols 1860b; Rowe 1926; Campbell and Steer 1988: I, 129; Basset's account of the Agincourt campaign is discussed by Curry (2000: 85-88).

Unique to Hardyng's account is the description of Gilbert Umfraville and John Grey, earl of Tancarville's 'angry wordes' (l. 2954) with Clarence, who advise the duke against acting impulsively with so little military support himself. Quite how Hardyng obtained his 'eyewitness' report of the conversation exchanged between the lords is a mystery, given the massacre that followed, but in the light of the apparent impulsive and rash nature of Clarence's decision, and Hardyng's belief that the duke wished to prove himself in battle and win a personal military victory, it is highly probable that some kind of exchange, similar to that reported here, took place between the magnates present. What is interesting, nevertheless, is the way in which Hardyng presents the dialogue; Clarence's attempt to win military renown on the eve of Easter Sunday, instead of worshipping God is not shown to be fitting behaviour for a knight, particularly when observing the religious feast would allow his reinforcements to catch up and increase his chances of success. Clarence's accusation of cowardice towards Umfraville and Grey merely serves to reiterate their cautiousness and careful tactical thinking in contrast to Clarence's 'hasty' will (l. 2944) and 'egre chere' (l. 2968). The essence of the argument between Umfraville and Clarence is repeated in the second version, albeit in an edited form. Although Hardyng was not present himself (he appears to have been in England for the Foul Raid in 1417 and then engaged on his Scottish reconnaissance from 1418-21), a similar report of discontent amongst Clarence's men is described in the *Vita et Gesta Henrici Quinti Anglorum Regis*, which states that the earl of Huntingdon criticised the foolishness of the duke's actions (Hearne 1727: 302); the information provided by Hardyng's narrative may therefore be part of a greater debate that took place amongst the magnates present about the course of action planned by Clarence, and which was reported in a newsletter with information about the battle. Estimates with regards to the numbers of men present in Clarence's retinue are difficult to ascertain; Waugh suggests approximately 4,000 men mustered with him at Bernay, but of these only a small number, possibly 1,500 accompanied him to Baugé (see Wylie and Waugh 1914-29: III 304 for further estimates). In Hardyng's text Umfraville comments that he and Grey have only ten men between them (l. 2976; the same figure is given at l. 2582 of the second version), but, as the second version shows, this total relates to the 'fyue hors' or men-at-arms that Umfraville and Grey have in their private retinues and does not appear to take into account the men-at-arms accompanying the other lords with them, such as John, Lord Roos, Sir John Lumley, and the earls of Huntingdon and Somerset (see Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 168v, l. 2564). The motive attributed to Clarence's foolish decision to engage the French and Scots with such a small band of men by Hardyng is an overwhelming desire to win fame; this together with the counsel of the 'fals Lumbarde' (l. 2945) emphasises the flaws in Clarence's ability to think and act like a military commander, and reiterates the importance of listening to the wise counsel of experienced commanders such as Umfraville. This theme surfaces on several occasions throughout the *Chronicle*, particularly with regards to military tactics; see, for example, Hardyng's account of the siege of Edinburgh in the reign of Edward II, where he details how the Scots penetrated the castle for the 'informacion of yonge men' (Lansdowne 204, f. 180v).

John Stewart, earl of Buchan, and Archibald Douglas, earl of Wigtown, led the Dauphinist force. Important losses on the English side included Clarence, Umfraville, Grey, John, Lord Roos, and Sir John Lumley. John Holland, earl of Huntingdon and

John Beaufort, earl of Somerset, were captured. The English reinforcements, under the command of Thomas Montagu, earl of Salisbury and governor of Normandy, and Maine, arrived too late to be of assistance to Clarence's men. Hardyng, like other chroniclers, notes that the English managed to recover the bodies of the important magnates and return them to England for burial; some, he states, were buried where they had fallen.

ll. 2971-72 'lesse enmyse do ... answerde hym vntyll': These two lines are difficult to punctuate; the 'angry hert' of l. 2972 could refer to the 'enmyse' in the previous line, meaning that the enemy could kill Clarence because of their angry hearts. However, I have chosen not to include the 'angry hert' in the warning attributed to Umfraville and Grey, but rather to interpret the 'angry hert' as theirs, meaning that they were angry with Clarence for doubting their integrity, and that their response to his taunt of cowardice was fiercely refuted with anger. Given the 'angry wordes' of Umfraville at l. 2954 and the magnates 'chydyng' of Clarence on the way to Baugé at l. 2982, this interpretation is more satisfactory. Overall the exchange highlights the courage and loyalty of Clarence's men; but, like the earlier account of the battle of Otterburn, where Hotspur is said to have fought bravely, like a knight, but lacked the forethought and experience of a commander (see l. 1596 *gloss after*), Hardyng's account of Baugé serves as an example of the necessity of prudent leadership as well as courage.

ll. 3003-09 'The erles Douglas ... wele were esed': This section deals with the outcome of Hardyng's previous description of Sir Robert Umfraville's attacks on the Scots in retaliation for the Siege of Berwick (see ll. 2821-40 above). Peace negotiations were held with the Scots at York in 1421, and safe conducts were issued for the earls of Douglas and Athol, although as Wylie and Waugh note, Athol did not use his (Wylie and Waugh 1914-29: III, 286-87; see also Rymer 1704-25: X, 99-100, 11 April 1421). Douglas was present at Westminster in May 1421 where he signed an indenture on 30 May offering to aid Henry V as part of the terms of James I's release (Rymer 1704-35: X, 123-24; *Rot. Scot.*, II, 229). No official peace agreement was made during his visit, but Scottish troops were not sent to help the Dauphin. Comparable lines occur in the second version at ll. 2549-55.

ll. 3010-23 'The kynge than ... and castels thare': Henry V returned to France in June 1421 after appointing John, duke of Bedford, protector of England. After a brief sojourn in Paris he left to relieve Chartres. The siege of Meaux began on 6 October 1421 and ended several months later in March 1422. Hardyng's reference to the siege occurs, incorrectly, before the account of the battle of Baugé in the second version (ll. 2488-92). The other places mentioned (for example, Pierrefons, Compiègne, Soisson, Bray and Creil) all submitted to Henry V during his campaign.

ll. 3024-44 'And than he ... of that auenture': Hardyng is incorrect in stating that the king heard news of Prince Henry's birth at the Louvre; he was at the siege of Meaux. The error also occurs in the second version (ll. 2622-25). Henry VI was born at Windsor on 6 December 1421. The account of the generous reward given by the king to the messenger who brought tidings of his son's birth and the king's generous reward is omitted from the second version, but seems to have been included here to highlight Henry V's generosity.

ll. 3045-72 'Parise vnto Kyng ... yit of thayres': The subjugation of the places mentioned here (including Crépy, Nogent le Roi, and Charenton) formed part of Henry's final campaign; he was bound by the Treaty of Troyes to overpower those areas under Armagnac control. Henry was assisted by John V, duke of Brittany, and Philip of Burgundy, count of St Pol. Queen Katherine joined Henry in Paris on 29 May 1422 (Allmand 1992: 170; Wylie and Waugh 1914-29: III, 406 say 30 May). Lines 3066-72 have no equivalent in the second version, but they serve to underscore the terms of the Treaty of Troyes and Henry V's title to the throne of France here.

l. 3072 *gloss after*: Henry's appointment of Ralph Lord Cromwell as governor and keeper of the King and Queen of France is mentioned only in the gloss accompanying this section of the narrative; in the second version Cromwell's importance is mentioned in the verses as well (see ll. 2731-37).

ll. 3073-86 'Genyus, god of ... shall euer soiorne': Henry V died at Bois de Vincennes on 31 August 1422. It is uncertain what the cause of his death was, but many believe that it was dysentery. The juxtaposition of classical gods with the Christian God in Hardyng's dirge for Henry V is particularly striking. The opening lament to Genius and the image of the Parcas sisters weaving and breaking the thread of man's life contradicts the author's protestations at the beginning of the work, where he states he will not call upon pagan gods (see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**). However, by noting that Henry V died having taken 'his sacrementes/ In all hole fayth and Cristen hole creance' (ll. 3087-88) and that his soul now resides with God, Hardyng appropriates the heroism associated with similar classical lamentations and associates it with the late Christian king, perhaps to appeal to the English taste for heroic, warlike sovereigns. Reference to Lachesis spinning the thread of life occurs in two of Osborn Bokenham's works; in the *De Consulatu Stilichonis* she weaves the robe offered to Stilicho and is mentioned again in the epilogue (Flügel 1905: 299, l. 33); and in the *Legendys of Hooly Wummen* it is Lachesis who spins the author's own life thread (Serjeantson 1938: 7, l. 248). Compare also with *Troilus and Criseyde*, V, 7 (Benson 1988: 560).

Similar lamentations for Henry V occur in the chronicles of Walsingham (Riley 1863-64: II, 344) and John Strecche, who compares the king to Hector, Achilles, Solomon and Troilus (Taylor 1932: 187). Importantly all of the chroniclers mention his administration of justice and it is this quality that Hardyng uses to comment upon the state of contemporary problems in England below.

ll. 3087-3114 'Afore his deth ... londes thurgh awe': Hardyng notes the basic details of Henry's will, although he omits reference to Humphrey, duke of Gloucester's responsibilities. Gloucester was given general responsibility for the young prince, whilst Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter, was given the task of educating the prince. Beaufort was to be assisted by Henry, Lord FitzHugh, and Sir Walter Hungerford. Gloucester was also appointed regent of England, but his authority was somewhat ambiguous, because ultimately he was subordinate to John, duke of Bedford, who had been appointed regent of France. For Henry V's wills and codicils see Rymer 1704-35: IX, 289-93; Nichols 1780: 236-43; Rymer 1816-69: IV, ii, 138-9; Strong and Strong 1981; and *Rot. Parl.* IV, 299, 399). If we are to take Hardyng's claim to have presented Henry V with the fruits of his Scottish mission at Bois de Vincennes

seriously, it is possible that the chronicler was in the vicinity of the palace during the king's final days.

ll. 3115-21 'So dyed he ... fro thaim gone': Hardyng reminds his readers of Henry V's claim to the realm of France and of the homage paid to him by Charles VI and Queen Isabella. His observation that the king and queen died shortly after Henry out of sorrow at his passing is false, but distinctly patriotic. Charles died on 21 October 1422.

ll. 3122-35 'The quene so ... fyrste withouten depycture': Henry V's funeral cortege was accompanied to England with great ceremony and solemnity. Of the many knights and squires 'of gode names' (l. 3123) that Hardyng notes he chooses to name only James I of Scotland, who accompanied the cortège from Rouen to Westminster, and Thomas Beauford, duke of Exeter. The burial took place at Westminster Abbey on 7 November 1422; the king's tomb was placed between the shrine of Edward the Confessor and the Chapel of the Virgin. Hardyng's reference to the tomb's lack of an effigy may result from his own personal experience of seeing the tomb in its initial state; it was not until later that Queen Katherine commissioned an effigy. In the narrative for the reign of Edward I Hardyng records that the king's tomb has 'no depyctur' (Lansdowne 204, f. 178r).

ll. 3136-3226 'O gode Lorde ... with myghty violence': This lamentation for Henry V is much lengthier than that in the second version. The sentiments expressed by the author are traditional in the way that they question the rationality behind God's decision to end the life of such a noble king. The reference to Henry wishing to 'conquere than the londe of all Surry' (l. 3148) is an allusion to Henry's supposed deathbed confession that he intended to conquer Jerusalem. There may be more to this statement than some critics have allowed, for Henry is known to have sent Gilbert de Lannoy on reconnaissance to the Holy Land in 1420 (see **John Hardyng's Life**).

The emphasis on Henry as England's 'hiegh iustys' (l. 3169) is important because the *Chronicle* at large aims to encourage Henry VI to act as the chief justice in his realm and restore law and order like his father. In this section Hardyng invites comparison between the two kings by praising the good governance of Henry V, and then shifting to a condemnation of the 'meschefe,/ That regnyth now in londe so generally' (ll. 3192-93).

The image of Henry casting his shadow of righteousness over England (l. 3179), even when in France, contrasts nicely with the earlier image of the king as the light of Christendom (ll. 2769-70). He attributes the success of his foreign conquests to his maintenance of peace and law at home. Using an analogy comparable to the popular 'Body Politic' image, Hardyng states that peace and law are the 'rote and hede of all his grete conqueste' (l. 3186). By switching his focus seamlessly from Henry's conquest of France to the present day shires in which 'meschefe' (l. 3192) reigns, he reiterates how swiftly order can turn to chaos and prosperity to disaster. Henry V, he states, was victorious because his own realm supported his foreign policy and was held in check by his good governance; Henry VI's realm is threaten by internal disorder, which if unchecked will leave the realm open to exploitation from foreigners. This is one of many similar expressions in the *Chronicle*, which stress the necessity of maintaining proficient management at home before foreign campaigns are undertaken. The indication that neighbours are currently warring with each other

is echoed later in the epilogue addressed to Henry VI (ll. 3591-97). Hardyng's change of addressee part way through, from God to Henry VI, is perhaps intended to highlight the king's obligation to rule his subjects well according to his status as a divinely appointed sovereign. In keeping with the 'Mirror for Princes' genre, Hardyng proposes how the king could deal with the 'grete malyvolence' (l. 3225) threatening his subjects; the discussion of the problems that follows shows a good knowledge of the corruptions within the legal systems operating in the localities and in late fifteenth-century England at large. Hardyng's suggestion that the criminals be sent to France to uphold the king's sovereignty over Normandy may have been written before the loss of the English possessions in Normandy, but it could equally reflect the English desire to reassert the king's ancient title in the years following the loss of the French territories. The suggestion is interesting because Hardyng approaches the problem from a chivalric point of view; sending the members of the nobility who are currently undermining the common weal of England, will not only remove them from the offices they are abusing, but will allow them to maintain their dignity and fight for a good cause. If one concurs with Hutchinson's belief that 'unemployed soldiery were a perpetual menace to civil peace in the Middle Ages and there was a constant temptation to find them work to do abroad' (1967: 85), Hardyng's proposition would seem to be grounded as much in defining a practical solution as maintaining an ideal.

l. 3160 'londe of promysson': This phrase means 'the promised land'; see *MED* promissioun (n.).

ll. 3165-67 'What hath Englonde ... vs withouten ende?': This is a nice conceit: Hardyng asks how England has offended God for him to take away their finest sovereign at the height of his fame; the comment is indicative of the great sorrow felt in England at Henry's passing.

ll. 3211-12 'Iustyse of pese ... blacke ox swan': Hardyng highlights the corrupt nature of the English justice system by stating that the dishonesty of certain local officials is so prevalent that everyone is aware that the title used to define their office, 'justice of the peace', is a contradiction in terms. The chronicler emphasises this absurdity with the observation that people 'nowondays' men call a black ox a 'swan' (l. 3212); the nonsensical attribution of the name 'blacke ox' to an animal that lacks the attributes traditionally associated with an ox is similar to the irrational 'world upside down' portraits customary in prophetic discourse.

ll. 3227-33 'Men chastyse ofte ... wytte and gouernaunce': Hardyng employs some proverbial wisdom to illustrate his point: the king may only be one man but he has the power and authority to chastise the large number of rebellious subjects who currently undermine the law. For the proverbs see Whiting 1968: 257 (H4), 638 (W211).

The Reign of Henry VI

ll. 3234-68 'Henry, his sonne ... clayme his heritage': Henry VI, son of Henry V and Katherine of Valois, was born at Windsor on 6 December 1421 (St Nicholas's Day). He inherited the English throne when he was almost nine months old (compare l. 3234), and, in accordance with the Treaty of Troyes, he inherited the kingdom of France from Charles VI, who died in October 1422. Henry VI's first regnal year ran

from 1 September 1422 to 31 August 1423, but because he was an infant a council ruled in his name during his minority. The first few stanzas dealing with the reign reiterate the arrangements Henry V made concerning the governance of England and France, and the care of his son (compare with ll. 3087-3115 above). John, duke of Bedford's role as regent of France is repeated, as are the appointments of the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk as his aides in France. These stanzas differ from the early account of the king's will, however, in that they mention Humphrey, duke of Gloucester's role as Protector of England and the debate that occurred concerning his role as custodian of the young king. In a codicil dated 26 August 1422, Henry V had declared that Gloucester should have the guardianship of his heir, acting as a *tutela* to the young king (Strong and Strong 1981: 99), Gloucester appears to have interpreted this appointment as meaning that he should act as regent until his nephew came of age. Susanne Saygin has discussed the importance of the codicil with regards to the duke's 'reading of his claim to the *tutela*, and the role it shaped for him with his nephew', arguing that it 'informed Gloucester's policy well into the 1440s' (2002: 19). Several critics, including Saygin, have suggested that by ascribing the *tutela* role to Gloucester Henry V did plan to install him as regent in England, as Gloucester maintained (see Wolffe 1981: 28-29; Griffiths 1998: 19-20; Saygin 2002: 21-29); however, see Harriss (1988: 115) and Allmand (1992: 172) for the contrasting view that the term *tutela* was not meant to be interpreted in this way. Whatever Henry V's intentions were the lords would not break with English custom, which demanded a conciliar regime during a minority, and, as Hardyng notes, in December 1422 parliament ruled that a council would govern on behalf of the young king, not a regent; Gloucester was, nevertheless, granted the role of Protector of England in Bedford's absence. For further discussion of this and the initial years of Henry VI's reign see Wolffe 1981; Griffiths 1998: 11-50; Saygin 2002: 18-29. For a comprehensive study of the relationship between Gloucester's political actions and his literary patronage see Saygin 2002; for the role of the council and a discussion of the conceptual framework infusing ideas of kingship up to and surrounding Henry VI's accession see Watts 1999: 13-101.

Richard, earl of Warwick (1382-1439), was appointed as Henry VI's guardian/tutor in June 1428 following the death of Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter, in December 1426; see *PPC*, III, 296-99, which notes that the earl's duty is 'to teche þe kyng and make hym to be taught nurture, lettrure langage and oper manere of cunningg as his age shal suffre hym to mow comprehende such as it fitteth so greet a princes to be lerned of' (*PPC*, III, 299). As Griffiths notes, 'Exeter seems to have acted as guardian only formally' (1998: 51), whilst Warwick played a formative role in the education of the young king. The *Brut*, like Hardyng's *Chronicle*, notes the duke's death (Brie 1906-08: II, 433).

Hardyng's recollection of the 'grete manhode' (l. 3266) of the lords who cared for the king and his realm in his minority is in accord with the chivalric nature of the *Chronicle*, and complements the lengthier tributes to other noble characters, such as Henry V and Sir Robert Umfraville.

l. 3254 *gloss after*: This is the last in a series of three Latin glosses, unique to the first version, which note the author's authority as a contemporary witness to the events described in Henry VI's reign; the additional reference to Master Norham's *cronica* as a written source adds weight to the authority of the narrative, and is in keeping with

the two previous glosses. For further discussion see l. 2009 *gloss after* and l. 2582 *gloss after* above.

ll. 3267-96 'Tyll that he ... of bothe coronacions': The order of Henry VI's coronations in this version is chronologically incorrect, as is the dating in the gloss after l. 3268. When he was seven years old Henry VI was crowned at Westminster on 6 November 1429. He journeyed to France the following year (April 1430), where he stayed for some time before being crowned king of France in December 1431 at Notre Dame in Paris. Henry Beaufort, who had been made cardinal on 25 March 1427, performed the ceremony and anointed the young king with the Holy Oil of Thomas Becket. Henry VI returned to England on 29 January 1432. As is witnessed by the use of the Holy Oil, the dual coronation was exploited to its full potential as an exercise in royal propaganda, and special copies of the king's dual pedigree and poems in commemoration of his claims were commissioned in both France and England. One such poem is Lydgate's *Henry VI's Triumphant Return to London* (1432), stanzas from which are recycled by Hardyng in the *Chronicle*; interestingly, Hardyng only uses one stanza from this poem (Lansdowne 204, f. 218r, ll. 3290-96) to describe the king's English coronation; further stanzas are reworked elsewhere in the history to describe the festivities at the courts of King Arthur and Edward I (see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**). The illuminated pedigree of the king's title to France included in this edition (and revised for Richard, duke of York, in the second version) was probably influenced by one of the many pedigrees in circulation in England and France in the 1420s and 30s. One famous example is the large picture by Laurence Calot, which hung in Notre Dame cathedral and emphasised Henry VI's descent from St Louis; it was commissioned by John, duke of Bedford, in 1423 to celebrate the king's inheritance (see Griffiths 1998: 219). For the use of propaganda by Henry's government see Rowe 1932-33; McKenna 1965; and Griffiths 1998: 217-22. For further details of the two coronations see Williams 1963: 201-10; Griffiths 1998: 189-94. Watts discusses the political implications of the coronation as marking the end of the protectorate (1999: 117-20). *Chronicle* accounts comparable to Hardyng's include: the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 436, 450-51, 454-55, 458-61, 500-02, 569, 599); the Latin *Brut* (Kingsford 1913: 320); Benet's *Chronicle* (Harriss and Harriss 1972: 182-83); the *Chronicles of London* (Kingsford 1905: 96-116, 133-34); and the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 59).

ll. 3297-3317 'The erle of ... alway vpon Bawgee': The English had the victory at the battle of Verneuil on 17 August 1424. The men mentioned here include: James Stewart, earl of Buchan; Archibald, fifth earl of Douglas, and his son Archibald Douglas, earl of Wigtown; John, duke of Bedford; Thomas Montagu, earl of Salisbury; William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk; Thomas, Lord Scales; and Robert, Lord Willoughby. Hardyng's notice of the viciousness with which the English slaughtered their enemies in revenge for the crushing defeat at Baugé (1421) is particularly striking. The chroniclers generally devote space to the episode, noting the casualties and patriotically stressing the victory over the French and Scots; see, for example, the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 58); Benet's *Chronicle* (Harriss and Harriss 1972: 179-80); the *Chronicles of London* (Kingsford 1905: 75, 129); the Latin *Brut* (Kingsford 1913: 320-01); and the Middle English *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 441, 497-98, 564-68). For further information on the circumstances of the battle see Williams 1963: 106-17 and Griffiths 1998: 185-86.

ll. 3318-24 ‘Than after this ... quarell smyten infortunate’: A cannonball killed Thomas Montagu, earl of Salisbury, on 3 November 1428 during the siege of Orléans. His death is similarly recorded in the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 434-45, 500) and the *Chronicles of London* (Kingsford 1905: 96, 131-32).

ll. 3325-45 ‘The regent so ... men alway pray’: John, duke of Bedford, married Anne, sister to Philip, duke of Burgundy, on 13 May 1423 at Troyes. On 20 April 1433, several months after the death of Anne on 14 November 1432, he married Jacquetta of Luxemburg, daughter of Pierre, Count of St Pol. The second marriage infuriated the duke of Burgundy, whose relationship with the English was already strained (see Williams 1963: 100-05, 223-24). Hardyng incorrectly calls Jacquetta the sister of the Count of St Pol, but reference to Bedford’s wives is routine amongst the chroniclers; compare, for example, the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 466-67, 502, 570) and the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 60). The assurance that Frenchmen still pray for the soul of Bedford does, nevertheless, appear to be unique to Hardyng. Bedford died on 15 September 1435.

ll. 3346-49 ‘Than was the ... this worlde away’: A few of the chronicles note the passing of the earl of Warwick, who died on 30 April 1439 at Rouen; see, for example, the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 471, 473-74, 507) and the *Chronicles of London* (Kingsford 1905: 143). Warwick replaced Richard, duke of York, as lieutenant-general of France in July 1437 (Griffiths 1998: 454-56, 668). Hardyng does not mention York’s first appointment here, but his account of the office holders is somewhat confused anyway (see ll. 3458-64).

ll. 3350-3401 ‘For whiche so ... all the victory’: Hardyng’s chronology here and at ll. 3444-57 below is deeply flawed. Philip, duke of Burgundy, was appointed lieutenant-general of occupied France on 15 October 1429, whilst Bedford was still alive. The appointment arose after the combined efforts of Bedford and Burgundy in 1429 helped to retain the English hold on Normandy and Paris. Bedford had entrusted the keeping of Paris to Burgundy in the summer of 1429 when his presence was desperately needed in Normandy. Upon his return, Bedford found that Burgundy had successfully avoided armed conflict with Charles VII and gained the respect of the Parisians; to strengthen Anglo-Burgundian relations, the duke was honoured with the aforementioned office of lieutenant-general (for further details see Williams 1963: 178-83). Burgundy abandoned the English in 1435 after signing a treaty of alliance with Charles VI on 21 September at the Congress of Arras (Williams 1963: 246; Griffiths 1998: 198-200). The siege of Calais mentioned in the text occurred the following year, in the summer of 1436. The town was of strategic and commercial importance to whomsoever held it and was therefore a primary target. The men named by Hardyng, Edmund Beaufort, Count of Mortain, Roger, Lord Camoys, and Sir John Radcliffe played an important role in defending Calais and the surrounding areas from the Burgundian forces, which included a large number of Flemish soldiers. Radcliffe had been transferred to Calais as Gloucester’s deputy on 15 March 1436, having been Seneschal of Gascony. On their march towards Calais the Burgundian troops besieged the castle at Oye, which fell on 28 June, and attacked the castle of Marck at the beginning of July. The siege of Calais began on 9 July, but was abandoned twenty days later, possibly due to dissension in Burgundy’s army (Griffiths 1998: 200-06).

By the time Gloucester arrived from England on 2 August with one of the largest forces ever mustered for a French campaign the siege was over; nevertheless, on their way home the English raided Flemish territories in retaliation. All contemporary chroniclers emphasise the treachery of Burgundy's attack, but those accounts sharing features with Hardyng's text include the *Brut*, which mentions the presence of Beaufort and Camoys, and the attacks on Marck and Oye (Brie 1906-08: II, 469-70); the Latin *Brut*, which, in addition to mentioning Beaufort and Camoys, also mentions that Gloucester ravaged Picardy (Kingsford 1913: 321-22); the *English Chronicle*, which mentions Radcliffe, Beaufort and Camoys and highlights the perjury of Burgundy, a 'false forsworne mon' (Marx 2003: 60); the *Chronicles of London*, which mention the presence of Camoys and Beaufort (Kingsford 1905: 141-42); and Benet's *Chronicle*, which records the attacks on Marck, Oye and Sandgate (Harriss and Harriss 1972: 185).

Hardyng's use of 'oure sayles', 'oure flete', and 'our hoste' (ll. 3381, 3389, 3391) may suggest that he was present, perhaps in the force mustered in England by Gloucester; however, although similar phrases are used for battles that he was undoubtedly present at because independent evidence corroborates his presence, he also uses comparable phrases to describe encounters that he cannot have witnessed, such as the battle of Baugé. One should probably attribute these occurrences to the patriotic nature of the *Chronicle*.

After the siege a number of anti-Burgundian and Flemish diatribes appeared in letters, sermons, proclamations and poetry, some of which worked their way into the chronicles (see, for example, the extended account of the siege and the anti-Flemish songs in the Middle English *Brut*; Brie 1906-08: II, 572-84, 599-601). Such scorn of the Flemish people and Burgundy's defection pervades Hardyng's 'consayte' on Burgundy's perjury at ll. 3423-43 below. For further details and examples of anti-Burgundian and Flemish texts see Griffiths 1998: 222-25 and the works cited there.

ll. 3402-22 'In that same ... *with* suche humylitude': To complement the treachery of Philip, duke of Burgundy, and his siege of Calais, Hardyng includes an account of the siege of Roxburgh, which occurred at more or less the same time as the siege in France. A number of factors contributed to the breakdown of Anglo-Scottish relations at this time, particularly the difficulties between James I of Scotland and the earl of Dunbar, who had been disinherited by the Scottish king and had absconded to England in 1435. James I effectively ended the fragile truce between England and Scotland by sending his daughter to France in March 1436 as the Dauphin's future bride (see Nicholson 1974: 292 and Griffiths 1998: 161-62). The constable of Roxburgh, Sir Ralph Grey, held the castle until reinforcements arrived with Henry Percy, and the Scottish troops abandoned the siege on 15 August 1436. Hardyng's account of Roxburgh has parallels with the Latin and Middle English *Brut*, which also note Grey's appointment as constable (Kingsford 1913: 322; Brie 1906-08: II, 505). Of further interest is his notice that the 'southerne chyualry' (l. 3379) accompanied Gloucester to relieve Calais, whilst the 'the floure of northerne chyualry' (l. 3410) accompanied Percy to relieve Roxburgh; the sense that the country is defended on both frontiers by the mutual co-operation of all Englishmen adds weight to Hardyng's assertions elsewhere in the *Chronicle* that the king can only successfully defend his foreign territories if his subjects are united against their common enemies. The account of Percy's personal crusade against the Scots echoes the earlier report of Umfraville's continued harassment of them after the 'Foul Raid' of 1417.

ll. 3423-43 ‘Bot thus, I ... or feerfull sleuthe’: James I was killed on 21 February 1437; his murder concludes several continuations of the *Brut*, suggesting perhaps that Hardyng’s main source for the latter part of the first version was a continuation of the *Brut* (possibly in Latin), which ended at this date. Hardyng’s ‘consayte’ on the perjury of Philip, duke of Burgundy, and James I provides an antithesis to his eulogies on the good governance of Henry V and Sir Robert Umfraville. The themes that arise during his reflection on their ‘cowardyse’ (l. 3437) correspond with those in the other authorial interjections throughout the *Chronicle*. For example, the sickness imagery so prominent in the prologue to this version, and later in the description of Umfraville’s laudable character and the epilogue to describe the unhealthy state of the realm, is employed here to illustrate how ‘vntreuth’ made the hearts of these princes ‘faynte and seke’ (l. 3426). Likewise, the notion that even the fortunes of mighty princes can fall, and that other men can learn from their mistakes is emphasised by Hardyng’s emphatic ‘Take hede all men of these grete prynces two/ What came of thaim in shorte tyme after this’ (ll. 3430-31). In true chivalric style, the false and cowardly nature that Hardyng abhors in these men sets a standard for the current sovereign to emulate and ‘stretcheth ay his power’ (l. 3440) and subdue his enemies ‘With strengthe of sworde’ (l. 3442).

ll. 3444-57 ‘Bot after that ... richely sette aboue’: Hardyng’s narrative is very confused here. Humphrey, earl of Stafford and duke of Buckingham, was not appointed lieutenant-general of France and Normandy. The chronicler may have confused his office as governor of Paris with the lieutenancy; he took this role over from the duke of Burgundy (Williams 1963: 206). Conversely, Hardyng could conceivably have confused a reference to Stafford’s role as captain of Calais, a position he held from 10 February 1441; the *Brut* contains one such notice of this office (Brie 1906-08: II, 474). The reference to the earl of Huntingdon’s appointment is equally suspect; Hardyng may have mistaken the appointment of John Holland, earl of Huntingdon and duke of Exeter, as lieutenant of Gascony for the role of lieutenant-general (see Johnson 1988: 32-33).

ll. 3458-64 ‘Than after so ... with worthy vassalage’: Richard, duke of York, was lieutenant-general of France and Normandy on two separate occasions. The first appointment was for a year (1436-37); the second appointment was made following the death of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, for five years (1440-45), but it was not until Edmund Beaufort, marquess of Dorset and duke of Somerset, replaced York in 1447 that the duke was sent to Ireland in the capacity of lieutenant. For York’s commissions see Johnson 1988: *passim*.

ll. 3465-71 ‘By this tyme ... dyd wele protecte’: Hardyng ends his history with a notice that Henry VI assumed full responsibility for his realm when he came of age, and intimates that he is ruling in accordance with ‘Goddes plesaunce’ (l. 3468). The nature of what pleases God is elaborated on in the ensuing epilogue.

Commentary to the First Version: Epilogue

ll. 3471 *gloss after*: This gloss and the gloss after l. 3576 are important because they outline the purpose of the eulogy for Sir Robert Umfraville and Hardyng’s hope that

the king will ‘kepe þe publike profite of his reme and with pees and lawe’, a topic addressed throughout both versions of the *Chronicle* (see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History** for further discussion).

ll. 3472-3583 ‘In this mene-tyme ... kynge of kynde’: These stanzas deal with Hardyng’s former patron Sir Robert Umfraville. Hardyng joined Umfraville’s service sometime after 1403, and remained in his employment until Umfraville’s death in 1437 (see **John Hardyng’s Life**). Hardyng’s portrait depicts his late patron as the epitome of chivalry: he is wise; honest; full of ‘verry gentylnesse’ (l. 3556); generous; virtuous; loved by his servants, to whom he is kind and courteous even when they abuse his trust; he is feared, but respected, by his enemies; he administers justice to the people who seek his help and upholds the ‘comon profyte aboute all other thynges’ (l. 3579). Apart from providing a literary memorial to Umfraville, the verses set the standard by which all other knights and kings should be measured; anyone falling short of this ideal is less than perfect.

The use of sickness and healing imagery has been discussed at length elsewhere (see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**), but there are two prominent examples of it in this eulogy, which complement the description of the sick realm at ll. 3605-11; we are informed that his ‘language’ always ‘medycyned’ the hearts of the people (l. 3524), and that his heart ‘was neuer infecte’ with variance (l. 3553). Given that Hardyng discloses his ‘sore’ to the king in the prologue to this version, and that he requests the king emulate Umfraville’s behaviour, because the welfare of his subjects should be his primary concern, and the maintenance of the common weal ‘shuld longe a kynge of kynde’ (l. 3583), we should perhaps interpret Hardyng’s description as an indirect plea for Henry VI to begin healing his realm by bringing stability to it. The reference to the length of Umfraville’s membership of the Order of the Garter at l. 3528 is incorrect; Umfraville was elected to the order in September 1408 (see Collins 2000: 49-50, 117, 298), therefore he was a member for twenty-nine years. For details of Umfraville’s income see Gray 1934.

ll. 3570-76 ‘And yit he ... in his contre’: It is difficult to ascertain which ‘Eghtene’ battles Hardyng is referring to, when he states that Umfraville fought ‘agayne the kynges fose’ (l. 3572), because he may or may not be including border skirmishes in this reckoning.

ll. 3584-3674 ‘Wharfor to yow ... to youre enbassiate’: It is here that Hardyng shifts from his eulogy of Sir Robert Umfraville to his direct address to the king. Having surmised that Umfraville possessed a love of the common weal that should naturally be inherent in a king, he highlights the contemporary difficulties in ‘euery shir’ (l. 3590), where ‘Missereule doth ryse and maketh neyghbours werr’ and the ‘myghtyest’ man prevails, whilst the ‘wayker gothe benethe’ (ll. 3592-93). In the world he describes it is the ‘pore’ men that suffer, implying that the common weal is not being defended by the king as it should be. This is underscored by the dramatic notice that the king’s men are being killed ‘by one and one’ (l. 3598) and that no one dare speak out against the ‘sekenesse’ (l. 3602) that has gripped the land. The ensuing lines provide one of the most vivid and insightful uses of imagery in the entire *Chronicle*; Hardyng describes the unresolved disputes in the shires as ‘sores vnheled’, which, if left untended, ‘wyll brede a skabbe/ So grete that may nocht bene restreynt in breue’ (ll. 3607-08). Since Hardyng has depicted the king as the kingdom’s

physician earlier in the *Chronicle*, the course of action he prescribes for the king to assist him in healing the ‘sores’ in his kingdom is entirely fitting. His recommendations embrace all of the qualities described in Umfraville’s portrait: the king must first withstand ‘mysreule and violence’ (l. 3611) and, like Umfraville, he should chastise ‘the ryotours’ (l. 3613). Prophetically, Hardyng emphasises that the ‘flours’ of Henry’s monarchy will, and his favour with God, ‘wyll fall’ (l. 3616) if he fails to administer justice; his warning culminates with another vivid image – that of the law being manipulated by ‘mayntenours’, who ‘subuerte it and transpose’ (l. 3627) it like the proverbial malleable Welshman’s breeches – which highlights the seriousness of the situation. The remaining verses call the king’s attention to the lessons that can be learnt from history, and the grace of God that has blessed his monarchy since his birth, and has provided him not just one realm, but two. Like the second version, which advocates war with England’s traditional enemies, this version of the *Chronicle* urges the benefits of having a unified kingdom behind him: the king will be able to assert his sovereignty over Scotland and France without having to worry about dissension in his own realm. The verses discussed briefly here are considered in greater detail in **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**. For the proverbial nature of ‘Welshmen’s hose’ see Whiting 1968: 637, W196. I am indebted to Professor John Scattergood for alerting me to the idea that Welshmen’s breeches traditionally turned their breeches inside out rather than washing them, and that Hardyng’s simile is meant to convey the image of malleability.

l. 3577 ‘Treuly he was a iewell for a kynge’: The correlation of an honest subject with treasure is common in medieval literature; Hardyng’s contemporary William Worcester similarly uses the analogy in his *Boke of Noblesse* (Nichols 1860: 26-29).

ll. 3633-46 ‘Consyder nowe, moste ... thay had deserued’: Hardyng emphasises the king’s descent from a noble line of ‘auncetry’ (l. 3634), and stresses the importance of maintaining the law and peace. By recalling the fates of those kings in the *Chronicle* who incurred God’s wrath for not placing the well-being of their subjects above all else, Hardyng reiterates the dependency of Henry VI’s kingship on providence, and the importance of emulating the examples of good governance expounded in the history. By maintaining a stable kingdom, Hardyng suggests that Henry VI will be able to conquer his ‘foreyn foos’ (l. 3639) and bring further prosperity to his people; this is a traditional idea, discernible throughout both versions of the *Chronicle*, which is used by Hardyng to reflect accurately the unstable political situation in late fifteenth-century England and the necessity of authoritative leadership lacking in Henry’s regime at a time when England’s internal conflicts were inextricably linked with matters of foreign policy. These lines are re-used in the second version (see Arch. Selden B. 10, ff. 179v-180r, ll. 3354-67).

ll. 3661-74 ‘Consyder als, moste ... to youre enbassiate’: The sense of nationalism in these stanzas is unmistakable; they are reused in the second version (see Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 180r, ll. 3368-81).

ll. 3675-3751 ‘O souereyn lorde ... in all wyse’: These stanzas contain the essence of the prologue to this version (compare with Lansdowne 204, ff. 2v-4r, ll. 1-161 in **Illustrative Texts**). They refer to the Scottish mission that Hardyng undertook for Henry V in 1418-1421, of the documents he retrieved for the king relating to English

hegemony over Scotland, and the geographical information he recorded in the form of an itinerary and map to aid an invasion should diplomacy fail and the king wish to pursue his claims through war. Hardyng also stresses the reward that Henry V promised him for completing the mission successfully. For further details see **John Hardyng's Life**; a discussion of the importance of the autobiographical features here and in the prologue may be found in **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**.

l. 3710 'a fygure nowe depaynte': Hardyng is referring to the map of Scotland which occurs on ff. 226v-227r of Lansdowne 204 after the itinerary. We are not to take Hardyng literally when he claims to have drawn the map himself (l. 3712); the buildings symbolising Scottish towns are drawn and illuminated by the same group of artist responsible for several other manuscripts known to have derived from the Lincolnshire region (see **The Manuscripts of Hardyng's Chronicle**).

l. 3721 'The maner hole of Gedyngton': The manor of Geddington, Northamptonshire; see **John Hardyng's Life** for further details.

l. 3724 'noble chauncellere': John Kemp (c. 1375-1454), archbishop of York (from 1425), cardinal (from 1439), and archbishop of Canterbury (from January 1452). Kemp held the position of Chancellor from 1426 to 1432 and again from 1450.

ll. 3742-44 'For whiche Kyng ... iff I wolde': Hardyng's claim that James I of Scotland offered him a thousand marks to deliver certain documents pertaining to English hegemony is supported by the forged letter of safe conduct extant in PRO E 39/2/9 (see **Appendix 2**).

ll. 3752-3968 'And fore als ... the Scottysshe se': These verses make up Hardyng's Itinerary of Scotland. The information within them is meant to accompany the diagram of Scotland on ff. 226v-227r. Geographically the details Hardyng provides are fascinating, and he clearly was as familiar with Scotland as he claims in the *Chronicle*. Hume-Brown notes that Hardyng 'speaks with fuller knowledge of the country than any other traveller' in his collection of early Scottish travellers (1973: 160). There are numerous touches, such as the note that 'mountayns' are called 'oyghels' (l. 3779 *gloss after*) and the information about the currents around Dumbarton, which add to the uniqueness of the itinerary and highlight the kind of information that Hardyng, as an ex-soldier, thought would have been useful to the king if he were going to invade the country.

ll. 3969-82 'Off thys matere ... elles bot suffishance': Hardyng makes a traditional plea for the king to consider his service and forgive his 'symplicite' (l. 3978).

Latin Letters to Pope Boniface

ll. 3983-96 'And if the ... in myghty dignyte': These stanzas introduce the Latin letter from Edward I to Pope Boniface VIII. Hardyng reworks them in the second version into a prose conclusion following the Latin letter (see **Commentary to the Second Version**, ll. 4238-46), but the essence of the text is the same. Hardyng emphasises the

usefulness of the document, which, he states, can be recycled and used by the current king if the pope should ever challenge his right to Scotland.

ll. 3997-4223 ‘Sanctissimo in *Christo* ... nostri vicesimo nono’: The text of this document is printed by Rymer (1816-69: I, ii, 932-33). Stones provides an edition and translation of the document and discusses the differences between it and the surviving French draft in PRO E 39/99/48, 50, 51 and E 39/1/18 (Stones 1970: 192-219). There are minor differences between the copy printed in Stones and that given here. The letter was given to Thomas Wale and Thomas Delisle to take to Pope Boniface VIII on 15 May 1301, and it was delivered to him on 2 July 1301 (see Stones 1970:192 who cites E 101/308/29). For a study of Wale and Delisle’s mission see Stones 1982.

ll. 4224-66: ‘Sanctissimo in *Christo* ... percipere benignius pemitatis’: The letter from the barons to Pope Boniface VIII was printed by Rymer in 1816 (1816-69: I, ii, 926-27), but Hardyng’s version lacks the list of names given in the letter edited by Rymer. Stones discusses the letter in connection with the other items sent to the Pope at this time, and the responses made by Pope (see 1970 and 1982). This letter does not occur in the second version.

Extended Epilogue

ll. 4267-87: ‘Remembred bene now ... for thayre inequyte’: These stanzas are particularly difficult to read even with the assistance of ultra-violet light, as the folio is very dirty and damaged. The state of the final folio may be the result of the manuscript being unbound for a period of time. The text, where illegible, has been restored from similar passages in the second version; ll. 4267-73 in this version are recycled later as ll. 3382-88 in the second version; ll. 4274-80 are recycled as ll. 3389-95; and ll. 4281-87 are later reworked as ll. 3403-3409. The reference here to the tripartite division of Britain recalls the foundation narrative of Brutus, and has the effect of not only reiterating the theme of division within the *Chronicle*, but it brings the text full circle by reminding the reader of the history of division and reunification that he has just read. The description of the three countries, England, Wales and Scotland, as parts ‘of the heerde’ (l. 4283) echoes Hardyng’s earlier reference to the British people as a herd of sheep in the reign of Richard II (l. 1958) and Henry IV as the good shepherd who restores brings the scattered herd together again. Hardyng develops the image further by correlating the word ‘heretykes’ (l. 4284) with those who disobey the king’s sovereignty. This suggests that because the king is divinely appointed by God, disobeying him is tantamount to disobeying God; since the Scots refuse to acknowledge Henry VI as their overlord they are therefore depicted as ‘errytyces/ That erren fro the two parte of the heerde’ (ll. 4282-83).

The estimate that Hardyng gives here concerning how much time it would take to reconquer Scotland is a year less than the estimate he gives in the prologue (l. 22). It exemplifies, nevertheless, Hardyng’s strategical mind and concern with providing the king with feasible military campaigns.

The Text of the Second Version, 1327-1464

[Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 139r]

**Edwarde, thirð kinge of Englund and of Fraunce, bigan to regne the yere
MCCCXXVI, and died the yere MCCCLXXVII and of his regne LI yere.**

- Edwarde his son, þat prince was of Wales than
In tendir age that tyme of XIII yere,
500 Was coround so vpon Saynt Brice day began,
The yere of Crist than was acompted clere
A thousand hoole, thre hundred sex *and* twenty were;
Whos fadir than had regned nynetene yere out
And <in> his yere twenty, withouten dought,
- 505 Fro Saynt Thomas day, the translacion
Of Caunterbury, to Saynt Brises day
So muche in his twenty, by relacion,
He regned had, and than put downe for ay.
Fro Killyngworth to the castel Berklay
510 By nyght he was caryed and translate
Fro wife and childe, forsake and repudiate;

- Where he was slayne, with an hote brynyng spete
Through his tewayle vp to his hert withinne,
In Septembre, his bowels brent for hete
515 That deed he was, withouten noyse or dyne.
On Saynt Mathew day so thay dyd hym bryne,
The first yere was than accompted and ronne
Of Kynge Edwarde the thirde, that was his sonne,

- At Gloucetre entovmbed fayre and buried,
520 Where som men say, God shewid for him grete grace
Sith that tyme with myracles laudified,
Oft tymes in divers many case,

498 þat] þe E, I, T, P1, P2; was of Wales than] of Wales was þan D2, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 499 In tendir] Of G, Hu; XIII] XIII G, Hu. 500 so] than A, D; *om.* D2, E, I, T, P1, P2; vpon] on D2, E, H, I, T, P1, P2; began] *after* and D2, E, I, T, P1, P2. 501 than was] *rev.* E, G, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 502 sex] *om.* A, E; *after* and P1; were] yer D2, G, Hu, E. 503 nynetene] xx P2. 504 in] *insert.* S; *om.* T, P1; yere twenty] *rev.* D2, E, I, T, P1, P2. 505] From the third daye of July by computacyon P1, P2; Fro] Of G, Hu; Saynt Thomas] *canc.* G; translacion] *canc.* G. 506 Of Caunterbury to] Of the yere vnto P1, P2; to] vnto A, B, D, D2, E, G, H, Hu, I, T. 507 in his] ouer H. 509 to] vnto A, I, T; Berklay] *after* off D2, E, H, I, T, P1, P2; Berke H. 510 he] *after* translate *canc.* E. 513 tewayle] fundament H; vp to] vpon T; to] into A, D. 514 Septembre] *after* Sep *canc.* Hu; his] *om.* Hv; brent] *after* for G, Hu; for] *after* with *canc.* E. 515 he] *om.* T. 517 than] *after* it A, B, D, D2, E, G, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; ronne] wonne P1, P2. 518 the] *rep. and canc.* S; *om.* T. 520 men] *after* s I; men] *om.* P1, P2; grete] *om.* H. 522 divers many] *rev.* I; many] *after* and H. 523] *blank without space* S, A, B, D, G, H, Hu, Hv; As is wreten þer in þat holy place D2, E, I, T; As is wryten there in that same place P1, P2.

For whiche the kynge Richard, called the secunde,
525 To translate hym was purposid hole and grounde.

Sir James Douglas, in Englonde with an hooste,
Destroyed the lond, wherfore the kynge Edward,
Whith Frensshe, Henaldes, and Englishe for the most,

[f. 139v]

In myghty hoost and grete, than came northwarde,
530 The secund yere of his regne to regarde,
Whom in Stanhop Parke he besegid than
That compted were of Scottes ten thousand men.

By fiftene dayes þat sege þere endured;
He helde hem in, þey might nat passen oute
535 But thorough a mosse, þat al men trowed was sured,
So depe a myre, and brode it was aboute,
No sege was layde, for þere þey had no doute.

But James Douglas þere flakes feel did make,
Whiche ouer þe mosse echone at others ende
He leide anon, with fagotes feel ouer þat lake,
Theire gate away and passage to pretende,
On whiche by nyght þey lad þeire hors vnkynde,
545 [And home] þe[y] went to Scotlond þan harmlees,
Wherfore þe kyng was hevy þere doutelees.

Whan þey were ouer þat quakyng mosse and mire,
They drewe þe flakes ay aftir as þey went,
That Englysshe sholde nought þem sue ne conquire.
550 This was a poynt of werre, ful sapient,
But on oure side þere was, by consequent,
Ful litle witte þat lafte þat mire vnwached,
For by good wache þe Scottees might haue ben cached.

524 called] *om.* H; *after t canc.* Hu. 525 grounde] *sounde* E, I, T, P1, P2. 530 to] *insert* Hu; *in* I; *regarde*] *after in canc.* Hu. 531 in] *om.* G, Hu; *besegid*] *beschid corr. to besegid* B. 532 men] *before* By *fyftene* Hv. 534 nat] *insert.* G; *om.* Hu. 535 al] *om.* H. 536 a] *off* D2, E, I, T, P1, P2. 538] *blank with space* S, A, B, D; *blank without space* Hu, Hv; By which the Scottis cast hem whatt so betide D2, E, I, T, P1, P2; For þey to passe home þere þay þofte hit wold not be G; to] *insert.* G; Ne no mystruste of no maner escape H. 539] *blank with space* S, A, B, D; *blank without space* Hu, Hv; To escape away in the nyztis tyde D2, E, I, T, P1, P2; Wherefore þei made grete sorow with many water ye G; More like to foles than to the werly iape H. 540 feel] many H. 542 feel] *seer* H; þat] the A, B, D, D2, E, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 544 þeire] *after h canc.* Hu. 545 And home] On whom S, Hv; þey] þe S; þan] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 546 Wherfore] Whare *off* D2, E, I, T, P1, P2; þere] *insert. after þerof canc.* B. 547 þat] þe P1, P2; mosse and] *om.* G, Hu. 552 Ful] But E; þat (2)] the D2, E, I, T, P1, P2. 553 For] And E, I, T, P1, P2; wache] *wachte (t insert.)* A; cached] *cachted (t insert.)* A; haue] *om.* H.

And in þe yere a thousand counted clere,
 555 Quene Isabell hir doughter maryed,
 Dame Iohane of Toure, to Daud Bruys hir pere,
 Kyng Robert son and haire notified,
 At Berewyke town, þe seconde day signified
 Of Iuill, and of Kyng Edward þan was thre.
 560 Because of whiche þe kyng in priuutee,

**Of the relese of Kinge Edward made in his tendir age to kinge of seruice of
 Scotlond, whiche Iohn Harding deliuered to Kinge Edward fourt at Laicetre with
 a patent, bi which the erle of Dunbarre bond him and his heires to holde his
 londes of the kinges of Englund.**

By counsail of his moder and Mortymere,
 Releesed there his roiall souuerainte,
 And seruice due that to his croun þan were,
 At Berewyke than withoute auctorite

[f. 140r]

565 Of any parlement in any specialtee,
 In tendre age and youthes intelligence,
 In his tendre yere so of his high regence.

He sent forthe þan to Henalde, for a wife,
 A bisshop and other lordes temporall.
 570 Whare in chambre pryve in secretife,
 At discourte deschevely als in alle,
 As semyng was to estate virginall,
 Among hemself oure lordes for high prudence,
 Of the bisshop axed counsail and sentence,

575 Whiche doughter of fyve sholde be þe quene;
 Who counsailed thus with sad aduisement,
 ‘We wil haue hir, with good hepes I mene,
 ‘For she wol bere good sonnes at myn entent’;
 To whiche þey alle accorde by one assent,
 580 And chase Philip þat was ful femynyne,
 As the bisshop moost wise did determyne.

554 counted] *after* and thre hundreth G; clere] *before* with XXIX Quene Isabell hir dou *canc.* G. 555
 Quene] *after* With XXIX G; hir] his E. 556 Toure] *after* þe E, G, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 557 notified] *after*
 hoole B, D, D2, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 559 þan was] *om.* A, D. 561 Mortymere] *after* of þe B; *after*
 the D2, E, I, T, P1, P2. 562 his roiall] the hole T, P1, P2; souuerainte] *after* souy *canc.* Hu. 563 that]
om. D2; his] þe E, I, T, P1, P2. 565 Of] Or E, I, T, P1, P2; any] *om.* A, B, D, D2, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1,
 P2. 566 youthes] *after* yong *canc.* Hu; þoughtes Hv. 567 tendre] thridde A, B, D, D2, E, G, H, Hu, I,
 T, P1, P2. 570 chambre] *after* a D2, E, I, T; in] and D2, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 571 alle] hall P2.
 573 for] of A, D, H. 575 þe] *om.* T. 577 hepes I mene] *om.* H. 581 did] couthe A, D.

But than among hemself þey lewghe fast ay
 The lordes þan, and said þe bisshop couthe
 Ful mekel skele of a woman alway,
 585 That so couthe chese a lady was vncouthe,

 They trowed he had right grete experience
 Of womans rule and hir conuenience.

Kyng Robert Bruys smyten in lepre dyed,
 590 To whom his son Daudid þan did succede,
 And crowned was for kyng and notified;
 His wife also was crowned quene indede,
 Kyng Edward suster she was þan, as I rede.
 Sir Roger than, þat was lord Mortemere,
 595 With Isabell þe quene was holden dere,

Thurgh hardynesse of whiche he wasted clene
 The kynges tresoure, as was notified;
 For whiche Henry, erle of Lancastre for tene,
 Rose with grete hoost, as þan was fortified,
 600 To haue withstande and clerely haue replied
 The wantonnesse of Roger Mortymere,
 That was þat tyme Quene Isabell plaifire.

[f. 140v]
 But trete he was to sitte in rest and pees
 Noughtwithstandyng at þe coronacion
 605 Of Kyng Edward chose he was, withoute lees,
 His custode þan for good informacion
 Of þe kynges persone and preseruacion;
 But Quene Isabell, and þe Mortemere,
 Wolde nat suffir no while þat so it were.

610 Edmond Wodestok, þan was erle of Kent
 By Kyng Edward of Carnarvan create,
 Whos brother he was, by Qwene Isabels entent,
 And Mortymers mighty and grete astate,
 Arrested was and stode repudiate,
 615 At Wynchestre foriuged in parlement,
 And heded þere agayne þe comon assent.

583 and] *om.* P1, P2; couthe] *rep. and del.* Hv. 585 was] *after* it H; *after* þat E, I, T, P1, P2. 586] *blank without space* S, A, B, Hu, Hv; *blank with space* D; And for the mery word that come off his mouth D2, E, I, T, P1, P2; word] wordes E, I, T, P1, P2; That neuer chose afore þis day yn trouthe G; suche lordes the choisse to put upon a bishap mouth H. 587 right] *om.* I. 588 hir] there H. 596 he] sho A, B, D. 599 fortified] notyfyed A, P2; profecyed D. 602 Quene Isabell] the queens D2, E, I, P1, P2; þe kynges T. 606 custode] keper H. 608 þe] *om.* P2. 609 nat] *after* it H; so it] *rev.* A. 610 þan was] þat was þan B, D; þat þan was D2, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; erle] than A. 611 By] Erle be A, D; But Hv; Carnarvan] Carnarwan (*second r insert.*) Hv. 615] *transposed with 616* T. 616 þe] *om.* Hu.

A brother he had, Thomas of Brotherton,
 Erle of Norfolke and Marchal of Englund,
 That of his deth made none execucion;
 620 For lordes alle, þe grettest of þe londe,
 Ful sory were, but nought þey toke on honde.
 Fro none to even withoute þe castell yate,
 He stode condempned as a repudiate,

Whom þan at even a boy of Marchalcy
 625 Stroke of his heedd, for whom þe lordes alle
 And comons alle displesed were inwardly.
 At Notyngham sone aftir so bygan,
 Where Mortemere, the erle of Marche þan,
 Arrested was, and his son Sir Rogere,
 630 And to þe Toure of London sent þey were.

On Saint Andrew day þey were drawe and hang
 At London so, by dome of þe parlement
 At Westmynstre, holden by processe long;
 Sir Symond Bedford was of þeire entent
 635 Draw and hanged þere afore he went
 And fro þe quene, his moder, he resumed
 Hir londes alle, for she had so consumed

[f. 141r]

His tresoure foule and alle his grete richesse.
 He put hir to hir dower and no more,
 640 To leve vpon at Frere Menours doutlesse,

Where she dyed and buryed is expresse.

617 Thomas] *after* hiztt D2, I, T, P1, P2; *after* þat hight E. 618 of] *rep.* Hu. 619 none] moone of H; execucion] excepcon B. 620 alle] of G, Hu. 621 were] *after* þey *canc.* B. 622 even] *after* evyll *canc.* D2; even withoute þe castell yate] eve as a repudyate A; he stode repudyate *canc.*, *rest of line insert.* B. 623 as a repudiate] withoute þe castell gat A; withoute þe castell gate *canc.*, *rest of line insert.* B; a] *om.* T. 624 of] of þe E, H, T, P1, P2. 625 alle] þan A, B, D, D2, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 626 displesed were] *rev.* T. 627 so] þe D2, T, P1, P2; þat E; tho I. 628 Mortemere] *after* þan *canc.* B; Marche] *after* þe G, Hu. 629 was] were I, T, P1, P2. 631 On Saint Andrew day] *rep.* A. 632 so] than A; and T; *om.* P2. 634 of] by T; entent] assent A, B, D, D2, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 635 Draw] *after* l. 636 of this *edition* *canc.* E; þere afore] þerfor E, I, T, P1, P2; he] þay A, B, D, D2, E, I, T, P1, P2. 637 Hir] his A, B, D, D2, E, I, T, P1, P2. 638 foule] *after* all *canc.* E. 640 vpon] þere on T; at] att the D2, E, I, T, P1, P2. 641] *blank without space* S, A, B, D, E, Hv, I, T; And delyuerd all oþer þat she had affore D2; Where she deid and buried is expresse G, Hu; is expresse] *canc.* G; Wher she died and buried is right thore H; Wher she had not been brought before P1, P2. 642] *blank without space* Hu; Where] Whar þat D2; And there P1, P2; is] was T; expresse] she þore D2; therfore P1, P2; Whiche kepte a goode howsold and paid wel þerfore G; Amyddes the quere the high autere afore H. 643] *blank without space* S, Hv; At London than full fayre and reverently A, B, D, D2, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; than] *after* reverently *canc.* B; now D2, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2.

How Edward Bailiol went to Scotlond with an host of Englisshmen.

645 Edward Bailiol to clayme Scotlond þan went,
 And with him went Sir Gilbert Vmfreyule,
 Claymyng to be erle by his hool entent
 Of Angos þan, as cronyclers compile;
 Sir Henry Beaumont also went þat while
 650 His heritage to gete and to conquere,
 The erledome of Boughan shuld be his clere.

Henry Percy with Edward Balyol went
 Galway to clayme as for his heritage.
 By ship þey went al hool by one assent
 655 At Rauenserespurne, and londe with grete courage
 At Kynkorne wele, in Fyfe by al knoulage.
 Daudid Strabolgy, erle of Athelles by right,
 With þem [þen] went for his londes þere to fight.

They were accounted two thousand fightyng men,
 660 And fyve hundred beside þe maryners;
 At þeire londyng þeire shippes þey brent right þen,
 And bored some and sanke at good laisers;
 They þought hemsilf of good and strong powers,
 They toke no hede of shippyng home agayne,
 665 But lond way ride for al þe Scottes dayne.

The first batail of Kinkorne.

They toke no hede nor yit consideracion
 Of thousandes feel, ne of grete multitude
 As lordes do nowe of comons congregacion,
 But put þeire cause to Goddes excelsitude,
 670 And in þeir owne handes solitudine,
 At Kynkorne faught þan with therle of Fyfe,
 Discomfite him he fled away with life;

The second batail of Kynkorne.

His men were slayne vpon þe felde echone.

644] *blank without space* S, Hv; But þere sho dwelte longe aftir full honourably A, B, D, D2, E, G, H, Hu, I, T; aftir] *om.* T; Wher she had dwelt long full honourably P1, P2. 645 clayme] *insert.* B; *om.* T; þan] *after* to clayme *canc.* B; *om.* I. 647 by] of T. 653 as for] that was A. 658 þen] þent S; þere] for E, T. 661 þey brent right] brent þai G, Hu; right] *om.* D2. 662 and] whiche H; sanke] brent *canc.* sank *insert.* Hu. 666 yit] þat Hv. 667 feel] many H, P1, P2. 669 put] *om.* I; excelsitude] *after* grete *del.* I; hie P1, P2. 671 faught þan] *rev.* B, D2, E, I, T, P1, P2; þay faught A, D. 672 he] and E, I, T; fled] *after* feld *del.* Hv.

Than Robert Bruys, the bastard son, þeire gide,
675 The lord Seton with power came anone

[f. 141v]

And newe batail hem gauf with mekel pride,
That nombred were ten thousand on þeire side,
Whiche slayne were alle, for þey wolde taken none,
Sauf þe chefteyns þat fled away allone.

The third bateil at Glasmore after callid Gladmore.

680 The Kyng Edward Bailyol with his powere,
To Dunfermelyn abbay þan forthe so went,
Where on Glasmore þe Scottes þan sembled were,
Fourty thousand ful proude in þeire entent,
And alle were slayne withoute suppowalment.
685 The erle of Marre and therle of Murray,
Therles of Carryk and Menteth died þat day.

The fourt bataile at Dipplingmore.

And aftir sone at Dipplyngmore mette
Sir Neel Bruys with ten thousand in fere,
That slayne were þere and to þe erthe doun bette.
690 The Englissh had þe feeld þat day ful clere;
Theire ordinaunce was to take no prisonere,
Wherefore þey slewe þe Scottes withoute mercy,
Lesse newe bataile vpon hem came in hy.

At þese batails afore þat ben writen,
695 Sixty thousand Scottes slayne and mortified
Were more with prees, as aftirward was witen,
Than with mannes hande þey were so feel multiplied,
Echone oþer of pride þere so revyed,
Withouten rule of marcial gouernaunce,
700 That smored were by þeire contrariaunce.

And but two knyghtes, thretty and thre squyers,
Whiche þere were deed of þe Englissh powere,
In foure batails faught with axe, swerde, and speris,

681 To] *margin*. D2; so] þay A; *insert*. B; *om*. D2, T; he G, Hu. 682 on] in P1, P2; sembled] *after se*
canc. Hu. 687 And aftir sone at Dipplyngmore] *rep*. A; mette] *after* þay A, D. 689 doun] *om*. G, Hu.
690 ful] *om*. G, Hu. 693 vpon hem came] come vpon hem A, B, D, D2, E; came on hem I, T, P1, P2.
694 afore þat ben writen] vpon hem came in hy G. 696 as] *after* and *canc*. T; as] *insert*. T. 697 feel]
om. G, Hu; ofte H. 698 oþer of pride þere] on other þere of pryde A, B, D; on oþer off pride D2, E, I,
P1, P2; of othir of pride T. 700 That] Thei P1, P2; were] werin D2; *after* þay G, Hu. 701 thretty] *after*
and A, B, D, D2, E, I, T, P1, P2. 702 þe] *om*. G, Hu, T. 703 foure] fowle Hv.

At Dipplyngmore fro tyme þe sonne rose clere
 705 Til thre aftir none, aftir croniclere;
 Within seuen dayes þey smote these foure batails,
 As croniclers make ful clere rehearsails.

Than went þey forthe vnto Saint Iohneston,
 That was replete and ful of al vitaile,
 710 And kepte þe toun with manly direccion.

[f. 142r]

Archebalde Douglas and Erle Patrike no faile,
 Of Dunbarre þan þe toun begon to saile
 With thretty thousand, but þere þey were wel bette,
 With caste of stones and grete deffence ouer sette.

715 The citees þan and townes on þe see side
 At þeire costage to Scotlond sent a flete
 To helpe oure lordes and gete theym good þat tide,
 And with þe shippes of Scotlond for to mete.
 And so þey did and sore hem al to bete,
 720 And brought hem home, and some with welde-fire brent
 In Tay watir, and som þey sanke and shent,

Wherfore þe Scottes þe sege so þan forsoke.
 The Englissh lordes at Skone þe kyng did croun
 Edward Bailyoll, þat son was, who will loke,
 725 To Iohn Bailyol kyng of þat regioun,
 Whom þan afore Henry Beaumont brought down
 From Bailyol, where he was lord in Fraunce,
 As his auncetres had ben of remembraunce.

This kyng Edward Balyol his foes sought,
 730 And at Rokesborough faught with therle of Murray,
 Discomfite him in batail sore þey fought,
 And to Durham sent him from þens away,
 There to be kepte in siker strong array.
 Than *Sir* Archebald Douglas and Erle Patryke,
 735 Than of Dunbarre, þeire kyng þought to byswyke;

They toke with him a trews til Candelmasse
 From Octobre, in trust of whiche he sent
 The Englissh lordes to Englond home expresse,

704 rose] *after* gan A, D; was D2. 705 none] þe noon G, H, Hu; aftir] as seith the D2, E, I, T, P1, P2; croniclere] *after* the H. 707 clere] pleyne H. 710 þe] that H. 713 wel] *om.* G, Hu; full Hv. 715 þan] *om.* G, Hu; on] to E, I, T, P1, P2; *after* þan G, Hu; of H. 716 to] *after* a flete A; a flete] *om.* A. 722 þe (1)] *after* þese *canc.* B; so] *om.* D2, E, I, T, P1, P2; so þan] *rev.* H. 724 þat] þe E, I, T, P1, P2. 725 of] *after* was A. 726 down] *om.* P1, P2. 728 had] *after* afore B. 731 him] þaym E, I, T, P1, P2; þey] þere A, D, E, G, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 735 Than] *om.* A, G, Hu.

Trustyng it had ben sure in his entent.
 740 Al was falshode that þo two erles ment,
 For þey vphelde Daud in tendre age,
 Kyng Robert son, to whom þey did homage.

Sir Iames Douglas and Erle Patryke Dunbarre,
 With al þeire help, at þe Candelmesse
 745 On Edwarde rose, þe Balyol, or he were warre,
 And slewe al þat þey fonde with him doutelesse,
 That fayne he was to Englund fle helpleesse.
 At Marche aftir he entred þan Scotlond
 With þe same lordes þan of þe northe lond.

[f. 142v]

750 On bothe þe sides þey rode and fast destroyed,
 And to Berwyke Edward Balyol came,
 And seged it and felly was anoyed;
 To whiche Edward of Englund, with grete fame,
 Came with his hoost and lay þere at þe same.
 755 The Douglas þan and Dunbarre with powere
 Northumbreland al þorough brent þan clere.

Of bateile of Halidon Hill, beside Berwik, the yere MCCCXXXIII.

To Halydoun Hille þey came with al þeire prayes,
 Berwyk Castel and toun so to reskewe,
 Where to oure hoost ful ofte þey made affrayes,
 760 Bothe day and even and morowes or day dewe.
 But þan þe kyng of Englund to hem drewe
 The kyng also of Scotlond with his might,
 Ful sore þat day in batail did þey fight,

How Edward Bailiol did homage to Kinge Edward of Englund.

Where Edwardes two had al victory;
 765 The ryals alle of Scotland þere were slayne,
 Thritty thousand with hem liggyng by,
 Of men of armes and archers deed certayne.
 Than in the yere next aftir sothe to sayne,
 At Newecastel Edward, kyng of Scotlond,

739 it] he E, I, T, P1, P2; his] *insert. after þayre canc.* B. 740 falshode] *after falsho canc.* Hu; two] *om.* H. 746 And] *after That fayn canc.* E; þat] *om.* G, Hu; þey] *insert. after were canc.* B; with him] *om.* D2, E, I, T, P1, P2. 747 That] And I; fle] *after to* P1, P2. 750 þe] *om.* B, D2, E, H, I, T, P1, P2. 752 seged] sesed G. 753 with] of A. 755 and] of G; powere] *after þayre canc.* B. 756 þorough] thurghoute A, D; þan] full A, B, D, D2, E, I, T, P1, P2. 757 al] *om.* P1, P2. 758 to] *after for* I. 759 ful ofte þey made] þay made full ofte A, D. 760 day] morowe A, D. 761 hem] hym P1, P2. 763 in] on A, D. 764 al] the Hu; victory] *after the* A, B, D, D2, E, H, Hv, I, T, P1, P2. 765 alle of] *rev.* P1, P2; þere] *after with his myztt del.* I. 766 with hem] of Scottes A. 768 next aftir] *rev.* Hu.

770 His homage did to þe kyng of Englund;
 For whiche þe comons of Scotlond on him rose
 And slewe his men, þat he in Englund came
 And gate an hoost and rode vpon his foes,
 Thurgh Anande, thurgh Kilay, and Conyngname,
 775 Karryke, and Glascowe, slewe al he founde at hame.
 The kyng Edward of Englund with powere,
 Thurgh Lowthian so did to Stryvely[n] clere,

And bothe þey met þere with mekel gladnesse,
 And home þey came destroying al þe way.
 780 Another yere in Juyll, for to redresse
 Scotlond agayne, with hoostes þey gan affray;
 At Saint Iohnston þey mette in grete aray,
 And þere þey made therle <of> Athells regent,
 Whom þe comons felly þan slew and shent.

785 Kyng Edward sent aftir in another yere,
 In May, Henry Lancastre, a noble knight,
 To Scotlond with an hoost of good power;

[f. 143r]

And afterward he came with mekel might
 To Saint Iohnston [and over the monthes right],
 790 Thurgh Murray to Elgyne, Envernes, and Rosse,
 Thorougoute mountaynes, wodes, myres, and mosse.

Kyng Edward þan came home into Englund
 And proclaymed his son, Edwarde nomynate,
 The prince of Wales thens forth I vnderstand.
 795 Henry Lancastre þe yonger he create
 Erle of Derby, to bere þe hole astate;
 William Mounagu, erle of Salusbury;
 Of Northampton William Bown ful manly.

800 Of Gloucestre he made Hugh of Audelay;
 Of Souffolke þan he made Robert Vffurth;
 Of Huntyngdon William Clynton gay.

770 did] made A, D; to] *after* Edward A; þe] *om.* A. 771 him] *rep. and canc.* Hu. 772 in] into A, B, D, D2, E, I, T, P1, P2; to H. 775 slewe] *after* and A, D; he] *after* þat I, P1, P2; he] þey A, D. 777 Stryvelyn] Stryvely S. 778 þey] *om.* P1, P2; þere] *insert.* E; mekel] grete A, B, D, D2, E, I, T, P1, P2; *om.* G, Hu; muche H. 781 gan] kan T. 783 of] *insert.* S. 784 þan] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 785 aftir] þan A, D. 788 came] went H. 789 Saint] *insert.* I; and over the monthes right] þey mette in grete S, Hv; over] on P1, P2. 790 to] and H; Envernes] Giluernes A, B, D, D2, E, I, T, P1, P2. 791 wodes] *om.* T. 792 came home into Englund] into England came A, D. 794 The] *om.* G. 799 Hugh] erle A. 800 Souffolke] Suff A, D; Vffurth] *after* Vfford *canc.* Hu. 801 William] *after* he made I.

Whiche erles so the kyng toke with him furth,

805 And with þe quene so vnto Andewarp,
And þere abode by alle þe wynter sharp,

With grete people and worthy chivalry,
Agayne þe kyng of Fraunce to clayme his right,
And wrote his title vnto þe pope in hy;
The dukes of Bayre and of Gelre of might,
810 The quenes frendes, þan socoure had *him* hight;
Where þan þe quene of hir son Lyonell
Delyuered was, as cronycle dothe telle.

He cherished than Flaundres that þey forsoke
Theire naturell lord and swore fewte
815 To him and his þeir power þey betoke
To byde and dwelle vnder his souerainte;

He chaunged his armes in baners, penons,
And in his seel quartred of bothe regions.

820 In the yere than of his reigne threttene,
His armes chaunged and called kyng of Fraunce,
He rode in Fraunce on werre as þan was sene,
A thousand townes he brent by his puissaunce.

[f. 143v]

825 The kyng of Fraunce withouten variaunce
Sent him ful worde þat he sholde him [fight];
But at þe poynte he did nought as he hight,

For at þe tyme in sondre þey were a myle,
He fled away, Kyng Edward heeld þe felde;
Two dayes aftir he shewed and som while
830 Of him had sight, and þan he founde his shelde,
By whiche he knewe his couenaunt he nat helde,

802 so] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 803] *blank without space* S, B, D, G, H, Hu; *blank with space* A; With many a worthy knyght both off south and north D2, E, I, T, P1, P2; *Hv gives reading at l. 804, followed by blank line in which* With grete people *has been canc.* 805 by] *om.* H, T. 806 people] *powere* A, D. 808 pope in] *pope* *canc.* G; *Romishe bishop* on P1, P2; *hy]* *hight* Hu. 809] *The duke of Barre and other lordes of might* P1, P2; *of Gelre]* *oper erles* E, I, T. 811 þe] *insert.* E. 815 þey] *he* T. 816 his] *after hi* *canc.* T. 817] *blank with space* S, A, D; *blank without space* B, H, Hu, Hv; *Because they sawe in hym such humanyte* D2, E, I, T, P1, P2; *For þe whiche he loved hem with all his certete* G. 818 penons] *after* and A, B, D, D2, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 820 In] *after* And A, B, D, D2, E, I, T, P1, P2. 823 by his puissaunce] *as than was sene* A, D; *his]* *om.* H. 825 ful] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2; *þat he sholde him fight]* with him for to fight G, Hu; *fight]* *om.* S, Hv; *wold with hym fyght* A, B, D, D2, E, I, T, P1, P2; *shuld with hym fight* H. 826 he] *insert.* E. 829 som while] *Homfrevyle* A, B, D, D2, E, I, T, P1, P2; *Vmwhile* G, Hu; *other while* H. 830 Of] *On* A.

Wherefore þe kyng to Braban went agayne,
The dukes thre of Bayre, Gelre, and Brabayne.

The parlement þan at Westmynstre was hold,
835 Where þey graunte him the ixth lambe flees and shafe
Of the Comons; but þe Churche no more wold
Him graunte but one dyme of hem for to haue,
For whiche he graunte a general pardone and gave
The ix lambe flees and shafe graunt was two yere,
840 To helpe þe kyng his right for to conquere.

Kinge Edward smote the batail of the se at Scluce beside Birges.

And in his yere next aftir þan fourtene,
At Scluse þe kyng faught with þe Frenshe navy
From none til eue and to þe morowe, as was sene,
Where al were drowned and slayne mightily.
845 And Kyng Edward to Fraunce went hastily
With hoost ful grete, destroyed þe lond, and brent
The citee of Tournais, seged and shent.

**How the kinge first rode in Fraunce, and quarterid his armys withe the armys of
Fraunce, and sent to Kinge Philip to try the right bitwene hem two.**

Than wrote he to Kyng Philip of Fraunce,
Nought namyng him as kyng of þat ilke londe,
850 But to Philip of Valoys for greuaunce,
Willyng allone they two to take on honde
To fighten for cause and for to stonde
Who hath þe bettir foreuer to holde Fraunce,
Withouten werre or any more distaunce.
855 Or els they two either with an hundred knyghtes,
And if þese wayes please him nought to accepte,
Come with his hoost and alle his strengest wightes
To þe citee of Tournays, none excepte,

833 thre] *om.* E; Gelre] Earle P1, P2. 834 was] *om.* G, Hu. 835 IXth] nynte (*second n insert.*) B; lambe flees] *rev.* A. 837 for] *om.* A, B, D, D2, E, H, I, T, P1, P2. 838 graunte] *after* gaf generall *canc.* Hu; a] *om.* A, B, D, D2, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 839 flees] *rep.* D2; and] *insert.* B. 840 for] *om.* A, B, D, D2, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; conquere] *enquere* E. 841 And in his yere n] *rep.* A; *gloss after* Birges] *after* the *del.* S. 843 as] *om.* G, Hu. 845 And] *om.* G; to Fraunce went] went to Fraunce T. 846 ful] *after* with *del.* Hv. 847 Tournais] *after* Tor *canc.* Hu. 848 Kyng] *after* the A, B, D, D2, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1. 849 as] *om.* P1, P2; ilke] *om.* D2, E, I, T, P1, P2. 852 cause] *after* the A, B, D, D2, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; for (2)] *after* take on honde *canc.* I. 854 werre] more striff D2; more] *after* variaunce *canc.* D2. 857 Come] *after* At a certeyn day *del.* I. 859] *blank without space* S, B, H, Hu, Hv; *blank with space* A, D; Att a certeyn day iustly to be kepte D2, E, I, T, P1, P2; And þere lete þe batell be trewly kepte G.

[f. 144r]

860 And who þe feelde may gete browke wele Fraunce,
Withoute more strife or any variaunce.

The kyng þan wrote to Kyng Edward agayne
That he wolde not for þoo lettres fecht,
Whiche touchen not Kyng Philip in certayne,
865 But Philip Valoys, as shewes wele to sight,
To whiche he wolde neither sette day nor [n]ight;
But whan he thought it were for his honoure,
He sholde him chace away withoute socoure

Oute of his londe, whiche wrongfully he seweth
870 Agayne his faithe, feute made and homage
To his auncestres by lettre, as it sheweth
Vnder his seel of hool and good knoulage,
For Guyan and his other heritage.
And fro Tournays into Braban agayne,
875 The kyng Edward in wynter did remayne

To bide þe popes rule and disposicion
Of good concorde, for þan two cardinals
Ad take a trewe by good preuision,
Duryng thre yere betwene hem generals,
880 And al þeire frendes þat were principals.
Than came þe kyng Edward into Englund,
His officers newe made, I vnderstond,

To tho trews than taken so atte Maltrete,
The dukes two of Bourgoyne and Bourbone
885 In the kynges soule of Fraunce swore and byhete
Truly to kepe for frendes or for foone.
And Duke Henry of Lancastre sad as stone,
William Bown, erle of Northamptoun,
And William Mountague of high renoun,

890 Erle of Sarum, in Kyng Edward soule þere,
In like manere were sworne and behest.

860 who] *insert. after wheed canc.* E. 861 more] *om.* A, G, Hu; variaunce] *after oper* G; *om.* Hu. 862 to] *vnto* the D2, E, I, T; *vnto* P1, P2. 866 neither sette] *rev.* A, B, D, D2, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; night] *hight* S, D, D2, E, Hu, I, P1, P2. 867 were] *was* A; *om.* T. 868 sholde] *wolde* G, Hu. 871 sheweth] *after hathe canc.* B. 872 of hool and good] *for good and hool* A. 874 into] *vnto* A. 875 The] *There* G, Hu. 876 popes] *canc.* G; *byshoppes* P1, P2. 877 concorde] *accorde* E, I, T, P1, P2. 878 Ad] *To* E, I, T, P1, P2. 879 thre] *two* A, D, D2, E, I, T, P1, P2; þe G; *generals*] *pryncipalles* *erased* H. 880 al] *om.* T; were] *were* than A, D. 881] D2 *ends here beginning again at the reign of Richard II (line 1184 of this edition)*; Edward] *after* to P1, P2. 882 newe] *rep.* S. 883 so] *om.* A, B, D, E, G, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 885 byhete] *hete* E, I, T, P1, P2. 887 sad] *after* as Hu. 889 of high] *full high* of E, I, T, P1, P2.

The nyntene day þan of Ianuere,
 The yere of Criste a thousand than was ceest,
 Thre hundred and two and fourty at leest,

[f. 144v]

895 Whan this trewes was taken so and seled,
 For afterwarde þey sholde nat be repeled.

How Duke Henry of Lancaster went to Guyen, the yere of Crist MCCCXLV.

And þan Henry, duke of Lancastre create,
 Went to Guyan with many bolde baron,
 Where þan he gate þe citees of astate,
 900 And castels feel and many a walled town.
 And made þe londe Englissh bothe vp and downe,
 And to Edward obeying, as it ought,
 And grete worship and richesse þere he caught.

How the bateile of Cressy, the yere of Crist MCCCXLVI.

And in þe yere a thousand thre hundred gone,
 905 Sex and fourty Kyng Edward at Crecy
 Mette with Philip of Valoys þere anone,
 That kyng of Fraunce was by intrusery.
 And whiche batail Edward had victory,
 And with honoure and might þere gate þe feeld,
 910 And Philip fled and cast þere down his child,

And his eldest son with him went away,
 With an hundred baners in compaigny.
 The kynges of Beme were slayne þat day,
 And of Malyogres þere ful manfully;
 915 The dukes of Alawnsom hem by
 And of Loreyn slayn were in that bataile,
 And erles five, withouten any faile,

Of Flandres, Bloys, Harecourte, and of Myloyne,
 And of Grauntpre were þere in bataile slayne,
 920 Of gentils and other withoute any assoyne

892 nyntene] nynte A. 894 and (1)] *om.* A, D; fourty] foure H; leest] *after* the A, B, D, T. 895 trewes] trewes (*second e insert.*) Hv; was] were A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 896 repeled] replied *canc.*, repeled *marg.* E. 898 to] into G, Hu. 900 feel] many H. 902 to] to þe kyng E, I, T, P1, P2; it] þay A, B, D, E, I, T, P1, P2. 905 Sex] *after* And G, Hu. 908 And] In A, D; At E, G, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; victory] *after* þe E, G, I, T, P1, P2. 910 cast þere] *rev.* E. 911 went away] *rev.* A, B, D. 912 With] And G, Hu; compaigny] *after* her E, I, T, P1, P2. 913 kynges] kynges A; were] was A. 914 þere] þere of E. 915 hem] *after* also E, I, T, P1, P2; *after* ther H. 916 of] to Hv; that] *om.* P1, P2. 918 Bloys] Bloys (*insert.*) S; Boys Hv; of] *om.* A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 919] *transposed with* 920 E, I, T, P1, P2.

Fyve score thousand, the twenty day certayne
 And sext also of August counted playne.
 The kyng Edward had al þe victory,
 The kyng Philip had alle þe villany.

Of the bateyle of Durham, the yere of Crist MCCCXLVI.

925 Kyng Daudid than of Scotlond with powere
 To Durham brent, where, on Saint Lukes day,
 Tharchebisshop with his clergy clere
 And *Sir* Gilbert Vmfrevile in good array,
 The lord Percy, þe lord Nevile, þan lay

[f. 145r]

930 With alle þe northe but litle from Durham,
 Where þan þey faught and on Kyng Daudid cam.

And take he was þe yere of Criste was than
 A thousand ful, thre hundred fourty and sex,
 Ful sore wounded ful like he was a man,
 935 ***

Brought to London priuely thorough Essex,
 For lords sholde not him take by grete powere,
 Fro Iohn Coupeland þat was taker clere,

And in þe Toure of London kepte in warde,
 940 Til tyme þe kyng was come home oute of Fraunce,
 That þan in Fraunce mo castels to regarde,
 And towes walled, goten by his puissaunce,
 Than had þe kyng Philip in gouernaunce
 And like was þan al Fraunce to haue conquered
 945 With his allyes, he made þat land aferde.

**How the grete pestelence in þe yere of Crist MCCCXLIX, and in the yere next afore
 the king wente to Fraunce and the prin[ce] of Wales to Guyen.**

And in the yere of Criste clerely counted,
 A thousand hool thre hundred fourty and nyne,

921 the] *after a canc.* S; certayne] to sayne A, D. 924 The] And E. 925 Kyng] *after* The E, I, T, P1, P2. 926 on] *om.* E. 927 with] *after* of A. 929 þe] *after* and G, Hu; lord Nevile] Neuyle P1. 930 but] a E, I, T, P1, P2. 931 Kyng] *after* the I, T, P1, P2. 932 he] *om.* Hu. 935] *blank without space* S, B, H, Hu, Hv; Brought to London prevely thorough Essex A, D, G; And also of his lordes mo þen fyve or sexe E, I, T, P1, P2. 936] *blank with space* A, D; Yn all his demenys and manly kepte his ex G. 937 by] with P1, P2. 938 Coupeland] *after* of E, I, T, P1, P2; was taker] *rev.* A, B, D; was his taker E, I, T, P1, P2; clere] *after* full A, B, D. 939 kepte] *after* þan A, B, D, E, I, T, P1, P2. 940 was] were A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; home] *om.* P2. 941 mo] *after* had A. 942 puissaunce] *after* hygh B, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1. 943 gouernaunce] *after* his A. 944 to] *after* all *canc.* E. 945 aferde] *affreryd corr. to afferd* B; *gloss after prince*] prin S. 946 Criste] *om.* D.

The pestelence was in Englonde mounted.
 The kyng Edward newe werre gan ymagyne,
 950 Agaynst Fraunce pereaftir syne;
 Thider he went, and Prince Edward þan went
 With grete power to Guyen as regent.

The kyng þan put his sonnes þan younger of age,
 In Fraunce þan forthe in mighty gouernaunce,
 955 Sir Leonel, erle of Vluestre, at wage,
 Regent of Fraunce him made by ordynaunce,
 Sir Iohn of Gaunte to haue hool attendaunce
 Of al þe hoost as high and grete constable,
 To whiche he was accounted þat tyme ful able.

960 Sir Edmond Langley ful of gentlesse,
 Sir Thomas Wodestoke ful of corage,
 To þeir baners hem put for worthynesse,
 To haue a rule in þat worthy viage.
 Whiche princes fyve approued in yong age,
 965 There was no kyng Cristen had suche sonnes fyve,

[f. 145v]

Of liklynesse of persones þat tyme on lyve.

So high and large þey were of al stature,
 The leest of hem was of persone able
 To haue foughten with any creature
 970 Synguler batails in actes marciable;
 The bisshops witte, me thynke, was commendable,
 So wele couthe chese þe princesse þat hem bare,
 For by practise he knewe it or he lare.

How the kinge of Fraunce was take prisonere at þe bataile of Payte[r]s, the yere of Crist MCCCLVI.

In þe yere of Criste a thousand counted right,
 975 Thre hundred and sex and fifty mo,
 The prince Edward at Payters sore did fight,
 The nynetene day of Septembre was tho;
 Where Kyng Iohn of Fraunce, his son also,
 He toke and had þe feelde with victory,

949 newe] *after* gan *canc.* B; gan] *insert.* B. 950] The next yere after agayn syne E; The next yere aftir ageyn Fraunce syne I, T, P1, P2; þere aftir syne] þe next yere aftir syne A, B, D, G, Hu; the next yere thereafter syne H. 951 went] yede G, Hu. 953 þan (2)] *om.* A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 955 at] in P1, P2. 957 of] *om.* T; hool] *after* þe G, Hu. 962 hem] then P2. 963 a] *om.* P1, P2. 964 approued] accounted A. 966 liklynesse] symbilnes H; of] and E, I, T, P1, P2. 968 was] were Hv. 972 þe] a E. 973 he (2)] be A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; lare] *after* goode G, Hu; *gloss after* Payters] Paytes S. 974 þe] *om.* G; a thousand] *insert.* I. 978 his] *after* and A.

980 His eldest son fled from him cowardly.

The kyng Daudid dyed and had þe hostage
 For his raunson lyg ay forthe in Englonde,
 The yere a thousand thre hundred by knowlage
 Eght and fifty, as I can vnderstond,
 985 And payed nat yit, ne quyt nat oute his bond,
 Ne his hostage he wolde not so displese
 To delyuer, ne put þem from þeire ese.

The quene Isabel, and þe quene of Scotlond,
 Hir doughter was and Kyng Daudid wife,
 990 Sone aftir dyed, and buried, I vnderstande,
 At Gray Freris, in London knowen rife.

**How the second pestelence, grete wynde, and erthquake, in the yere of Crist
 MCCCLXI.**

995 And in þe yere of Criste a thousand writen,
 Thre hundred als sixty and one,
 Second pestilence regned, as was witen,
 Duke Henry dyed for whom was mekel mone.
 Dame Blaunche his doughter, ful faire of flesh *and* bone,
 1000 His haire was þan, whom Iohn of Gaunt did wed,

[f. 146r]

The duchie had man saide he had wele sped.

In that same yere was on Saint Maury day
 The grete wynde and erthequake mervailous,
 That gretly gan þe people al affray.
 1005 So dredeful was it þan and perilous,
 Specially þe wynde was boystous,

980 fled] *after* þen E, I, T, P1, P2. 981 dyed] *after* and lete *canc.* I; had þe] lete his A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 982 raunson] hostage A; lyg ay forthe] furth aie H. 985 ne] and E, I. 988 and] *after* of Englonde G, Hu. 989 and] *after* Iohane G, Hu; wife] *after* his G. 991 Gray] *after* þe E, I, T, P1, P2; London] lande P1; rife] *after* full E, I, T, P1, P2. 992] *blank with space* S, A, D; *blank without space* B, G, Hu, Hv; The whiche þe quene Isabell foundet in her lyfe E, I, T, P1, P2; her] þer I, P1, P2; Withyn Newegate wherfor hir soule H. 993] *blank with space* S, A, D; *blank without space* B, G, Hu, Hv; Full faire entombede and wrought full richely E, I, T, P1, P2; The friers praie and the bell they toule H. 994] *blank with space* S, A, D; *blank without space* B, G, H, Hu, Hv; Where þoo two quenes rest full honourablye E, I, T, P1, P2. 997 Second] The seconde A, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 999 Blaunche] Blaunches G; his] *om.* G; ful] *om.* G, Hu. 1001 had] *after* he E; *after* by hir I, P1, P2; *om.* T; man] *after* by hir E; *after* þan G, Hu. 1002 on] *om.* T. 1003 and] *after* was A, B, D, H. 1004 That] þe I; al] dide H. 1006 boystous] *after* so E, H, I, T, P1, P2.

The stonen walles, stepils, houses, and trees
Were blowen down in dyuerse sere cuntrees.

**How Kyng Iohn of Fraunce died, and the bateile of Orrers was in þe yere
MCCCLXIII.**

1010 And in þe yere a thousand thre hundred eke
Sixty and foure, Kinge Iohn of Fraunce died
At London then, in Sauoy had ben seke,
The dukes paleyse of Lancastre edified
Ful rially as it is notified;
His bowels buried at Powles *with rialte*,
1015 His corps in Fraunce with all solempnite.

In that same yere *Sir* Iohn Mountfort of newe
Duke of Bretayne was by heritage,
As heyre male his title was accrewe,
At Orrers faught ageyne þe Frenshe lynage
1020 Sir Charles de Bloys, that claymed by mariage
The duchie hool of Bretayne bi the right
Of his wife, whare he was slayne þan by might.

Duke Iohn of Gaunt was at þat same bataile,
Sir Emond als of Langley his brother dere.
1025 Sir Iohn Chaundos treted withouten faile
Al day, and faught at evyn thugh his answer;
Whiche trefy yet is oft remembred here,
For Chaundos trefes þat treted all day to nyzt,
And made bothe parties at euyn togedir fight.

1030 At whiche batell Duke Iohn of Gaunt indede
And his brother Emond than faught ful sore,
Were two bettre knightes þan they in nede,
That bettir faught vpon a feelde afore,
It was but grace that the[y] escaped thore;

[f. 146v]

1035 They put hemselve so ferre forthe ay in prese,
And wounded were they bothe ful sore no leese.

1007 The] Whare G, Hu; houses] *om.* G, Hu; walles T. 1008 sere] *fer* A, B, D, E, G, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 1009 eke] also E, I, P1, P2; also eke T. 1011 At] In E, I, T, P1, P2; Sauoy] *after* the H; had ben] he laie H; seke] syke *corr.* to seke B; *after* so E; *after* seen *del.* I. 1017 heritage] *after* his *canc.* and *del.* B. 1020 Bloys] Bloys (1 *insert.*) I. 1021 right] might P1, P2. 1022 whare] *after* held G, Hu; slayne þan] *rev.* H; þan] *om.* A, D, E, G, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 1023 same] *om.* P1, P2. 1027 trefy] *om.* T; yet is] *rev.* E, I, T, P1, P2; oft] *after* aght *canc.* I; here] ofte Hv. 1029 bothe] *om.* P2. 1030 whiche] what P2. 1031 ful] *om.* G, Hu. 1032 two] *after* never A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; in need] indede P1, P2; nede] *after* deed *canc.* Hu, T. 1034 grace] *after* grete E; they] the S. 1036 And] That P1, P2.

How Edward, prince of Wales, wed Dame Iohan, daughter of Emond Wodstok, erle of Kent, he in þe third degre, *and* she in the secund degre.

Thise brethre two with thaire Englisshe powere
 Set Iohn Mountfort in his hool duchery,
 With grete honoure and manhod als in fere.
 1040 Erle Iohn of Kent dede was afore sothely,
 Erle Emond son, to whom Dame Iane tr[e]wly
 His sistre was heire; whom þe erle Mountagewe
 Of Salesbury had wed of mayden newe,

And hir forsoke aftir and repudiate,
 1045 Whom his steward *Sir* Thomas Holand wed,
 And gat on hir Thomas erle of Kent late,
 And Iohn Holand hir othir son she had;
 Thomas thaire fadir died of sekenesse stad.
 The prince hir wowed vnto a knyght of his,
 1050 She said she wold none but himsilfe iwis.

How Prince Edward went to Guyen þe yere of Crist MCCCLXV.

For hir bewte al only he hir toke,
 And wed hir so and into Guyen went;
 The yere was þan a thousand who-so loke,
 Thre hundred als sexte and five extent.
 1055 Richard his sonne, whils he was þer regent,
 In Burdews borne was þan with grete gladnes,
 Supposing than of him grete worthinesse.

How þe prince Edward smote the bateyle of Spayne þe yere of Crist MCCCLXVII.

The king Petro of Castele *and* Leon
 To Burdews came, *and* their prince withhelde
 1060 To gete ageyne his worthi region,
 Fro whiche his brothir bastard with ful strong belde
 Had put him out, and thought it for to welde.
 For whiche the prince with all his hool powere
 Rode into Spayne to helpe him to conquere.
 1065 Whare þan he faught agayne the bastarde stronge
 The third day of April [a]compted þan,

1039 grete] *after* Iohn *del.* E. 1040 Kent] *after* Gauntt *canc.* I. 1041 trewly] trwly S. 1042 whom] *after* to *del.* B. 1044 and] *om.* P1, P2. 1045 wed] *om.* Hv. 1047 she] *after* of whom Hv. 1048 thaire] hir A, D. 1049 wowed] *after* wo *canc.* T; wowed T, P1. 1051] *Here the text of Hu continues, in error, with 8 stanzas from the reign of Richard II (ll. 1292-1351 of this edition) omitting ll. 1051-1106 of this edition.* 1052 into] to E, I, T, P1, P2. 1053 so] wyll A. 1054 extent] *after* ex *canc.* I. 1059 their] *om.* H; withhelde] beheld E, I, T, P1, P2. 1061 ful] *om.* H. 1062 him] *after* hem *canc.* I. 1063 all] *om.* G. 1066 of] *after* so *insert.* B; acompted] compted S.

In bateyle there foughten þere ful longe,
 In whiche were slayne many a Spaynisshe man.
 The bastard fled, the prince þe feelde þer wan,

[f. 147r]

1070 And set the kinge Petro in his region
 In pees and rest without rebellion.

How þe lordes of Itayle sent ambasshiate to Kinge Edward for Sir Leonel of Andwarp, þe yere MCCCLXVIII, to make him kinge of Itaile, who was create erle of Vluestere by his wife, doughter and heire of Richard, erle of Vlueste[re], of wham he got Dame Philip, wed to Edmond Mortymer, erle of Marche; whiche erle of Marc[he] gat Roger, erle of Marche, and my lady Percy.

The duke of Melane hight Sir Barnabo,
 The lord Mantowe and the markeis Ferrare,
 The lorde of Mount Pollestryne þan also,
 1075 The lordes of Gene, of Pyese than ware,
 The lordes of Venyse and of Florence thare,
 To King Edward sent ambasshiate,
 By comon assent of the papal senate,

For Leonell his sonne with hem to send
 1080 The dukes doughtir of Melane for to wed,
 Promisyng þan him so to recomend
 That of Itayle þe rule shold all ben led
 By him and by his frendes of Itayle bred,
 And in short tyme to ioyse and bere þe crowne
 1085 Of all Itayle þe riall regiowne.

His wife was deed and at Clare was buried,
 And none heire had but his doughtir fayre,
 Philip that hight as cronicle specified,
 Whom Quene Philip cristned for his heyre;
 1090 The archebusshop of Yorke was hir compaire,
 Hir godmodir als of Warwike the countesse
 A lady was of all grete worthynesse.

The kinge his sonne Sir Leonell create
 Duke of Clarence, and to Melane him sent

1067 there] *after* sore A, B, D, E, G, H, I, T, P1, P2; there] *om.* G, H; þere] þan G. 1068 were] was A, D; many] *after* ful P1, P2. 1071 *gloss after* Vluestere] Vlueste S; *after* wol *canc.* S; Marche] Marc S; Roger erle of] of *rep. and canc.* S. 1072 hight] *after* þat E, I, T, P1, P2. 1074 þan] *om.* T. 1075 lordes] lordes (*es insert.*) B; than] *after* þat A, B, D, E, G, H, I, T, P1, P2. 1076 lordes] lordes (*is insert.*) B; Florence] *after* of E, I, T, P1, P2. 1077 To] *margin.* I King] *after* þe *canc.* I. 1078 the] *om.* P1, P2. 1081 þan him] *rev.* A, B, D, E; hym þan hym I, T, P1, P2. 1083 by] *om.* A, D, E, T, P1, P2. 1086 was] *om.* A, D; *insert.* B. 1087 had] *after* he P1, P2. 1088 cronicle] *after* the H. 1090 was] *om.* G; was hir] for his P1, P2. 1092 grete] *om.* B. 1094 to] *after* hym A.

1095 With chivalry of fame wele ordinate,
 And sqwiers fresshe, galant, and suffisshent,
 With officers and yomen as appent,
 And with him went þat grete ambasshiate
 At his costage to Melane consociate.

How Leonell, wan his wife Elianore was deed, was create duke of Claren[ce], and weded þe dukis daughter of Melan a[t] Milan in Lumbardy, and died þer, and had a childe with hir; and som say he is biried þer, and oþer say his bones were brought home and biried in Clare in Essex; bu[t] in truth of Clare he had his name and honour of duke of Clarence, for Cla[re] is callid Clarenca in Latyn, and Clarence in Frenshe.

1100 This duke riall of Clarence excellent
 At Melane wed was þan in riall wise
 With that lady fayre and benivelent,
 Ful rialy as to suche prince suffise,
 And all the rewle he had by counceyle wise,

[f. 147v]

1105 Fro Mount Godard vnto þe cite Florence,
 And wele beloued was for his sapience.

In citees all he held wele vnitees,
 Grete iustus ay and ioyowse turnamentes,
 Of lordes and knightes he made gret assembles
 1110 Thurgh all that lond bi his wise regementes,
 They purposed hool by their comon asentens
 To crowne him kinge of all the grete Itaile,
 Within halfe yere for his good gouernayle.

In all the worlde was than no prince him like;
 1115 Of high stature and of <all> semelines,
 Aboue al men within his hool king-rike,
 Bi the shuldres he might be sene doutlesse
 As a maiden in hall of gentilnesse,
 And in all othre place sonne to retorike,
 1120 And in the feeld a leon Marmorike.

1096 galant] *after* and A, D; *om.* T; suffisshent] sufficyent *corr.* to suffyshent B. 1097 as] that H; of T. 1098 grete] *after* high and *canc.* and *del.* B; þe T; ambasshiate] *after* þat *del.* Hv. 1099 At] It Hv; *gloss after* Clarence] Claren S; at] a S; but] bu S; Clare] Cla S. 1100 excellent] *insert. before* and to Melane him sent *canc.* Hv. 1103 suche prince] suche a prince shuld E, I, T, P1, P2. 1105 vnto] to H; þe] *om.* A, B, D; Florence] *after* of E, I, T, P1, P2. 1107 held] kepte H. 1109 knightes] *after* of T. 1110 that] the P1, P2. 1112 the] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2; Itaile] *rep. and canc.* E. 1113 yere] *after* a E, I, T, P1, P2. 1114 all] *om.* I. 1115] His grete ryote a wyves delicasye A; all] *insert.* S, B. 1116 al] his G, Hu; his] *after* all G, Hu; his] the H; hool] *om.* G, Hu. 1117 the shuldres] *rep.* Hv. 1118 hall] *after* a T. 1119 othre] *om.* A, D.

In whiche mene-tyme his iustes and his excesse,
 His grete riot and wyues delicacy,
 His goste exciled out fro his corps doutlesse,
 Afore the day set of his regency,
 1125 For whom was made grete mone through Italy.
 Som say he is buried at Melayne,
 And othre som say at Clare certayne.

But childer had he none but Phi[li]p here
 Bi Elizabeth his first wife, whiche þe king
 1130 Edward married to Edmond Mortimere,
 The erle of Marche that was his ward ful zynge,
 Who gate on hir Roger, theire feire derlinge,
 And Elizabeth, wed to Henry Percy,
 Son and heire vnto the erle Henry

1135 Of Northumbrelond; whiche two, bothe fadir *and* sonne,
 Were knightly men in werres ay ocupied
 Bezond the see, grete worship had thay wonne
 In many reme, ful gretly magnified
 For marcyall actes bi him multiplied,

[f. 148r]
 1140 The whiche were longe herein for to reporte,
 But in their tyme thei were of noble porte.

But of the prince Edward yet wolde I say
 How he fro Spayne departed than indede.
 The king Petro toke him his dougters tway.
 1145 The elder hight Dame Constance, as I rede,
 To Duke Iohn wed, his life with her to lede.
 The yonger hight Dame Izabell by name,
 To Duke Emond of Yorke wed of grete fame.

Of the prince Edward deth, þe yere MCCCCLXXIII.

1150 And in the yere a thousand fully writen,
 Thre hundred eke sixty and als xiiii<tene>,
 The prince died Edward, as wele was wyten,
 And buried was at Caunterbury men mene,

1121 his (2)] *om.* G, Hu. 1122 grete] *om.* G; and] a A, D. 1123 fro] of A, B, D, E, I, T, P1, P2. 1124 regency] *before long s* (?) *canc.* S. 1127 certayne] *after* in E. 1128 Philip] Phip S. 1129 whiche] whome H. 1132 feire] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 1135 bothe] *om.* G; the Hu. 1136 in werres] *insert.* B; ocupied] *accompted* A, D. 1138 reme] *after* a E, I, T, P1, P2. 1139 him] *theym* E, H, I, T, P1, P2. 1140 herein for] here E, I, T, P1, P2; here for B. 1141 But] For A, B, D, E, I, T, P1, P2. 1150 eke] yere *canc.* eke *insert.* B; als] *om.* E; eke G, Hu; tene] *insert.* S, Hv. 1151 died Edward] *rev.* A, D, E, I, T, P1, P2. 1152] *transposed with 1153* E, I, T, P1, P2. 1152 men] *after* as E, I, T; as I P1, P2; mene] wene H, P1, P2.

At Kenyngton, whiche was his paleise clene,
 Bitoke him hool to Goddis disposicion
 1155 Aftir his mercy to suffer his punycion.

How Kinge Edwarde þe thirde died, þe yere MCCCLXXVII, on þe XXII day of Iuyn.

And in the yere of Cristes incarnacion
 A thowsand hool thre hundred signified,
 The prince pierlesse bi all informacion
 Sixty and seuentene clerely notified,
 1160 Grete sekenesse so had him victoried
 And drofe him out from all his region,
 That neuer prince might haue done bi persecucion;

In Iuyn the two and twenty day expresse
 Was when he died and fro this worde expired,
 1165 That was the flowre of erthely worthynesse
 That to the heght of knyghthod had aspired,
 Of his owne hand pierlesse, as was inquired.
 At Westmynstre buried in riall wise
 As to suche prince by resoun owe suffise,

1170 Who was the first of Inglisshe nacyon
 That euer had right vnto the reme of Fraunce
 Bi succession of blood *and* generacion
 Of his modir without variaunce,

1175 For Crist was kinge bi his modir of Iude,

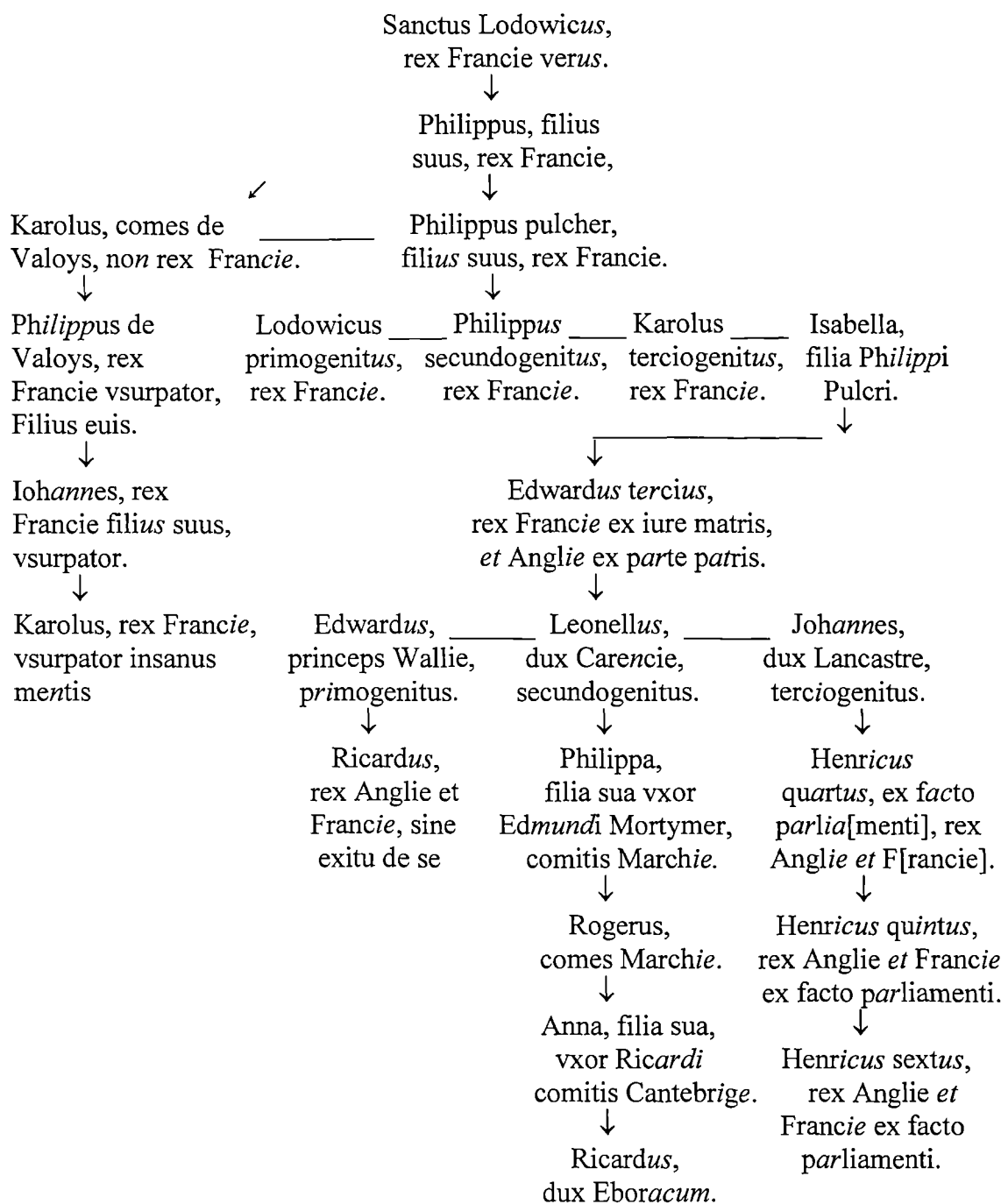
[f. 148v]

Whiche siker side is ay, as semith me.

The pedegre vnto the croun of Fraunce
 Therefore I will his blood and hool descent
 Vpon this lefe, withouten variaunce,
 1180 Remembre nowe *and* draw to that entent
 That reders al, bi good avisement,
 The title of his right and heritage
 May wele conceyue and haue therof knowlage.

1154 hool] *after obeie canc.* G. 1157 thre] *after* and E, I, T, P1. 1159 seuentene] sextene G, Hu. 1160 so had him] had hym so A; so hym had E. 1162 bi] *om.* Hu. 1163 day] *om.* Hu. 1164 Was] *rep., canc. and del.* S; *om.* I. 1167 Of] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2; inquired] *expyred* A, D; *required* E. 1169] *The reign of Edward III in G ends after this line; prince] after* a A, D, E, G, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; *after a canc.* B; *by]* of A, E, I, T, P1, P2; *owe]* owe to A; to D. 1171 reme] *crowne* A, B, D, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 1174] *blank without space* S, Hv; *The whiche me thenke shuld bene of moste substaunce* A, B, D, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 1175] *marg.* Hv. 1176 semith] *pinketh* E, I, T, P1, P2. 1177 The] *His* E; *And of his* P1, P2. 1178] *With his bloode wherof he is discent* P1, P2. 1179] *Within this booke without any varyaunce* P1, P2. 1180] *Mencion is made only to this entente* P1, P2. 1181 al bi] *rev.* P1, P2.

The Title of France



[The following text accompanies the pedigree]

Lodowicus, Philippus, Karolus, filii *Philippi* pulcri, reges Francie, qualibet *per se* diuisim post alterum mortui sine exitu de se, vnde ex iure diuino *et* humano corona Francie successit ad Edwardum, regem Anglie tercium, *per* medium Isabelle matris sue, prout Ihesu *Christus* temporaliter *et* humaniter successit ad regnum Iudeorum *per* medium beate Marie virgine matris sue.

Isabella, filia Philip[us] pulcri, vxor Edwardi *secundi* regis Anglie, et soror Lodowici, Philippi *et* Karoli regum Francie vectorum vnica.

[f. 149r]

How Richarde, kyng of Englonde *and* of Fraunce, gan to regne þe yere MCCCLXXVII, and was deposed by parliament þe yere MCCCLXXXIX and in the yere of his regne XXIII.

1185 Richarde his heyre, þe son of Prince Edwarde,
 Corounde than was with all solempnite
 Bi all the lordes and barons hool awarde,
 Obeyand hool vnto his mageste,
 Who that tyme was in tendre iuente,
 Of elleuen yere fully acompte of age
 1190 When he had so his crowne and heritage.

And kinge was called of Englonde *and* of Fraunce,
 In Iuyn the two and twenty day ful euen,
 Of Cristes date withouten variaunce,
 A thowsand was thre hundred sixty to neven,
 1195 And seuentene yere ther with to beleuen,
 Whan tho two remes fel to him by descent,
 As next heire to Kyng Edwarde excellent.

Of the thirde pestelence þe yere MCCCLXXIX, and of his regn[e] the thirde yere.

And in the yere a thousand thre hundred mo,
 Sexti adioynt and ther with all nynetene,
 1200 The thirde pestelence in Englonde regned so
 So sore that moste partie of þe people clene
 Died away, as thurgh þe reme was sene,
 And of his regnes of Englonde and of Fraunce
 The thirde yere was by verry remembraunce.

Of the risinge of comons of Kent and Essex þe yere MCCCLXXXI at þe mydsomer, their capteyns Iak Straw and Wat Tiler of Essex *and* Iak Ifle.

1205 And of his regne in Iuyn þan the fifte yere
 And of oure lord a thousand þan acompted
 Thre hundred eke foure score and one ful clere,
 The comons rose and hundred thousand þat amounted
 Of Kent and Essex, whiche that tyme surmounted
 1210 The kinge power and all the high astates,
 For whiche the lordes fled þan as exilates,

1184] D2 *resumes here*. 1185 than was] *rev.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 1186 lordes and barons] *rev.* A, D. 1187 his] the Hv. 1188 that] *after* in A, D; that time was] was that tyme I; iuente] *after* age *canc.* T. 1191 of (2)] *om.* E, G, Hu, I, T. 1192 Iuyn] Iuly G, Hu; ful euen] *expresse* A; euen] clene E, I, T, P1, P2. 1193 date] death P1, P2; withouten] *after* withoute G. 1194 was] *om.* E. 1195 ther] *om.* I; beleuen] neven A; be H; *after* be *canc.* Hu. 1197 excellent] *after* þe E, D2, I, T, P1, P2; *gloss after regne*] regn S. 1200 in Englonde regned] regned in Englonde E, I, T, P1, P2; so] þoo G. 1201 So sore] *om.* D2. 1208 and] a E; an I; þat] *om.* D2, E, I, T, P1, P2; þat þe G. 1210 all] *after illegible canc.* Hu; high] hool A, D.

And laft the kinge allone in the Toure
 With tharchbusshop of Caunterbury þan so,
 And the prioure to bene his *gouernoure*
 1215 Of Clerkenwell, whiche the comons heided þo
 And brought þe king forth with hem for to go.
 They axed him all bondmen to ben fre,
 And taxes none euer aftir paied to be.

[f. 149v]

The asked eke Iak Strawe and Wat Tiler
 1220 To bene made dukes of Essex and of Kent,
 (To reule the kinge thens forth in pees *and* were)
 For thay ben wise of royal regiment.
 Thus tolde the[y] to the kinge all their entent,
 The whiche in all thing he graunted by and by
 1225 For he durst nocht any poynt þan hem deny.

Afore Iakke Strawe þe kinge there stode hoodlesse,
 Of whiche Walworth, the mayre of London trewe,
 Aresonde him than of his grete lewdenesse,
 With a dagar in Smithfeed þan him slewe,
 1230 The citezeyns with him strongly þan drewe
 And slewe hem downe and put hem to þe flight,
 And brought the kyng into his owne cite.

The comons brent Sauoy, a palays faire,
 For evil wil that þey had vnto Duke Iohn;
 1235 Wherefore he fled northward in grete dispaire
 Into Scotland, for succoure had he noon
 In Englund than to whom he durst make moon,
 And there abode til comons all were seced
 In Englund hool, *and* all the lond wele apesed.

How þe erthquake and þe grete wynde was þe yere MCCCCLXXXII.

1240 The twenty day of May than folowyng,

1212 in] *after* þan D2, E, G, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 1213 þan] þer D2, E, I, T, P1; *om.* P2; so] *om.* P2. 1214 his] þare E. 1215 whiche] whome H. 1216 for] *om.* D2, E, I, T, P1, P2. 1217 bondmen] London T. 1218 euer] never A, B, D, D2, E, G, Hu, I, T; to] *om.* A. 1219 eke] als H. 1220 of (2)] *om.* D2, E, I, T, P1, P2. 1223 they] the S; to] *om.* P1, P2. 1224] The whiche he graunt in all þyng by and by A, B, D, D2, E, G, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; in] to A, D. 1225 nocht any] no A, D, D2, E, I, T, P1, P2; not no B, G, Hu; poynt] *after* hem *canc.* B; þan] *om.* D2, H, I; þan hem] in no wyse *canc.* than hem *insert.* B. 1226 there] þan A, B, D, D2, E, I, P1, P2; there stode] stode þen T. 1230 strongly þan] *rev.* A, B, D, D2, E, H, I, T, P1, P2. 1231 þe] *om.* G, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 1232 into] to G; his] the P1, P2; owne cite] citee ryght A, D, E, I, T, P1, P2; owne citee ryght B, D2, G, Hu. 1233 Sauoy a] *after* a I; *after* the D2, E, T, P1, P2. 1234 wil] *insert.* I; that] *om.* A, B, D, D2, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; Duke] Kyng A; *after* the D2. 1235 grete] *om.* Hu. 1236 had he] *rev.* E. 1237 moon] *after* his E. 1239 all] *om.* I; apesed] *after* p *canc.* Hu. 1240 than] nexte A, B, D, D2, E, H, I, T, P1, P2.

And oon therwith, as calculers it knowe,
 The date of Criste a thousand þan being,
 Thre hundred als foure score and two on rowe,
 The erthquake was, the which that tyme I sowe
 1245 That castell walles, towres, and steples fyller,
 Howses, and trees, and craggess fro the hille.

How the kinge wedded Quene Anne.

And in the yere afore, Kinge Richard wed
 Quene Anne (vpon Seynt Agnes day) þat flourer
 That doughter was, as I haue sene and red,
 1250 Vnto the kinge of Beme and emperoure,
 And sistre als vnto his successoure,
 The emperoure of Rome, þat Sygemond hight,
 Who to Kynge Henry the fifte came ful right.

[f. 150r]

How Kinge Richarde went to Scotlond þe yere MCCCLXXXVI, and of his regne the tenth yere.

And in the yere of Crist a thousand so,
 1255 Thre hundred als foure score and sex þer till,
 And of his regne þe tenth yere and no mo,
 The kinge Richard with hoost went, at his will,
 Into Scotlond, his corage to fulfill,
 To Edenburgh, and brent þe lond also,
 1260 Without lettyng there of any fo.

How þe kinge create two dukess of York and Gloucetre.

At London þan so at his parlement
 He made the erle of Cambrige, his vncler dere,
 The duke of Yorke to be incontynent,
 And so he was proclaymed þere ful clere,
 1265 That Edmond hight of Langley, of chere
 Glad and mery, and of his owne ay leued
 Withouten wrong, as cronylers hath preued.

When all lordess went to councess and parlement,

1241 calculers] croniclers T. 1242 þan] was T. 1244 the (2)] *om.* A, B, D, D2, E, I, T, P1, P2. 1246 and (1)] fell E; craggess] rockess H. 1248 vpon] *rep. and canc.* T; day] *insert.* T. 1253 the fifte] in Englonde D2, E, I, T, P1, P2; *om.* G. 1254 the] *insert.* Hv. 1256 yere] *after day canc.* E; no] *om.* E, I, P1, P2. 1257] *Two folios lacking in after this line* T. *Text resumes at l. 1413 of this edition.* 1258 to] *after for canc.* B; so to A, D. 1259 also] *after þene þo canc. and del. also insert.* B. 1260 of] *rep.* E. 1261 þan so] *rev.* P1, P2. 1264 so] also G, Hu. 1265 chere] *after good* A, B, D, D2, E, G, H, Hu, I, P1, P2. 1267 preued] breued A, B, D, D2, E, G, H, Hu, I, P1, P2. 1268 lordess went] þe lordess to E, I, P1, P2; went] *om.* D2.

1270 He wolde to huntis, and also to haukyng,
 All gentle disportes þat to murth appent
 He vsed ay, and to the pore supportyng,
 Whereeuer he was in any place bydyng,
 Without supprise or any extorcion
 Of the porayle, or any oppression.

1275 He made also the erle of Bukinghame
 Thomas Wodstok that same day create,
 His othir vncler, the duke of Glouceter by name,
 Proclaymed hool and so denominate
 With his brethre to be consociate.

1280 The fox tayle he bare ay on his spere
 Wherso he rode in pees or els in were.

The kinge þan made the duke of Yorke by name
 Maister of his Mewhous and of his haukes feire,
 Of his venery and maistir of his game,
 1285 In what contrey þat he did repeire,
 Whiche was to him, without any dispaire,
 Wele more comfort and gretter gladnesse
 Than been a lorde of worldly grete richesse.

[f. 150v]

1290 His vncler Thomas, the duke þan of Gloucetre,
 Had wed the doughtir þan of the erle Herforth,
 Bi whiche he had by wrytyng, and bi lettre,
 The constabulary of Englonde þan ay forth

1295 Of heritage of his wyfes londe and right,
 Of auncyen tyme by kinges graunt *and* hight.

Of the batayle of Retkotebrigge where the duke of Gloucester and his put the duke of Irelande to flight.

And in the yere of Kinge Richarde elleuen,

1269 He] *after* Went D2, E, I, P1, P2; to (1)] *insert*. B; huntis] huntynge D2; also] *om.* D2. 1270] D2 ends *after this*; gentle] gentilnes A, B, D, G, H, Hu; disportes] and sperte A, B, D; þat to murth] as to a lord D2, E, I, P1, P2; to] *om.* A, B, D, G, H, Hu. 1276 same] *om.* A, D; create] *after* and A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, P1, P2. 1277 the] *om.* A, D, G, P1. 1281 so he] *rev.* E, I, P1, P2. 1282 Yorke] Gloucestre A, B, D. 1283 his (1)] the A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, P1, P2; mewhous] newhouse P2; of (2)] *om.* B, D, E, G, Hu, I, P1, P2; his] *om.* H. 1285 þat] *om.* E, I, P1, P2. 1286 without] with I. 1287 gretter] *after* a A, B, D, H. 1289 the] *om.* H; þan] *om.* G, Hu. 1290 Had] And E, I, P1, P2; of] *insert*. E; Herforth] *after* of E, G, Hu, I, P1, P2. 1292 forth] *after* furs *canc.* I. 1293] *blank without space* S, A, B, H, Hu, Hv; *blank with space* D; Bothe by south, est, west, and north E, I, P1, P2; As he was of þat ancian comandement and of moche more werþ G. 1294 Of] By E, I, P1, P2. 1295 kinges] *after* iiii *canc.* S. 1296] *The next eight stanzas in Hu have been copied in error from the reign of Edward III; a note on f. 150r of Hu indicates where the correct text should be. The text resumes again correctly at line 1352 of this edition.*

The duke Thomas, þat was Gloucetre,
 Henry, the erle of Derby, did byleuen
 With his by worde, also by his lettre,
 1300 The erle Marchal did so þan for the bettre,
 The erle Beuchamp of Warwike by his name,
 Of Arrundell the erle þan did the same,

These lordes fyue togidir bodily sworne
 Agayne Robert Veer, þan duke of Irelonde,
 1305 The kinges playfere and of age bothe like borne,
 Whom he loued moste, as the[y] couthe vnderstonde,
 With batayle stronge at Retkotebrig toke on honde
 To fecht with him, where þan he fled away
 Ouer Themmes without retourne for ay.

Of þe grete parliament wher þe fyve lordes foriugged the duke of Ireland *and* his compiers.

1310 At Lenten nexte acoumpted in that yere,
 At London þan, the kinge sette his parlement
 At Westmynster to holde it there most clere,
 Whethir these fyve lordes cam armed bi oon assent,
 Appeeld the duke of Irelonde of grete entent,
 1315 The archebusshop of Yorke þat hight Nevile,
 And Michel Pole, erle of Suffolke þat while,

Sir Nichol Bremble of London, þat was mayre,
 Tresilian als, and Sir Symond Bourlaye
 Whiche they exild, and som they hong vnfaire;
 1320 Som they hedid þat tyme þat was ful gay,
 Holte and Belknappe exilde were away
 Into Ireland, for high contrived treson
 Agayne the king and his roial crone.

Of the bataile of Otirburne whare Sir Henry Percy was take and slew þe erle Douglas the yere of Kinge Richard XII.

The erle Douglas, the erle Marche also,

1297 Gloucetre] *after* of A, B, D, E, G, H, Hv, I, P1, P2; of *insert*. Hv. 1298 the] *om*. A, D. 1299 his (1)] hym A, B, D, E, G, H, I, P1, P2; also] *after* and A, B, D, E, G, H, I, P1, P2. 1302 þan] *om*. E, I, P1, P2. 1305 of] *after* oone E, I, P1, P2; bothe] *om*. B. 1306 they] the S. 1309 Themmes] *after* the H. 1310 that] þe E, I, P1, P2. 1312 most] *after* for A, B, D. 1313 Whethir] whare A, B, D, E, G, H, I, P1, P2; cam] *om*. Hv. 1315 of Yorke þat] that than H. 1317 of London] *insert*. E; þat was] þan G. 1319 Whiche] Whome H; som] *after* from *del*. Hv. 1320 was] were G, H. 1321 exilde] *after* þat A, D; away] for ay E. 1323 and] in I. 1324 erle (1)] *insert*. H; the] *after* and E, I, P1, P2; erle (2)] therle Sir Lionell of G; Marche] *after* of A, B, D, E, H, I, P1, P2.

[f. 151r]

1325 Northumbrelond, by west þe New Castell,
 Vnto Morpath northward did mikel wo
 At Oterburne, as cronyclers do tell,
 Henry Percy with smal hoost on hem fell,
 And slew Douglas, and many put to flight,
 1330 And gat the feeld vpon his enmyes right.

He sent the lorde *Sir* Thomas Vmfrevile,
 His brother Robert, and als *Sir* Thomas Gray,
 And *Sir* May Redmayne byyonde þe Scottes þat while
 To holde hem in that they fled not away;
 1335 Wherfor the Scottes releued agayne alway,
 Thurgh whiche Percy was taken there anone,
 To Dunbar led, for whom was made grete mone.

The felde was his all if þat he were take,
 The Vmfreuyle, Gray, Ogle, and Redmane
 1340 Held the feelde hool that nyght so for his sake,
 And knew nothings whithirward he was gane.
 The erle of Marche with pruy men allane
 Ful pruely to Dunbarre with him rode,
 And kepte him there for he was gretely foode.

1345 The Douglas all þat many were þat day
 Labourd ful sore with wiles and grete witte
 Him for to haue þan slayne foreuyr and ay,
 For Douglas dethe sore they rewed itte.
 This bateile was Seint Oswald day *commytte*,
 1350 The twelfe yere of the kinge, and of Cristes date
 Threttene hundre four score and eght sociate.

How Quene Anne died, and how Kinge Richard went first to Ireland *with* hoost.

And in the yere a thousand thre hundred mo,
 Foure score and fourtene, the quene Anne died,
 The eghtene yere was of the king than so,
 1355 And buryed was as wele was notified.
 Of all vertue she was wele laudified
 To womanhod þat might in oght appende;

1327 do] did E, P1, P2. 1328 smal] *after* a G; hem] hym P1, P2. 1329 flight] *after* the P1, P2. 1330 gat] *insert*. I; his] her A, D. 1331 Vmfrevile] *after* humf *canc.* E. 1336 Percy] *after* þe B; Henry P1, P2; taken there] *rev.* I. 1338 þat] *om.* I. 1339 Ogle] *after* the G. 1340 hool] *om.* A, D; nyght] myght P1, P2. 1343 Ful] *after* Th *canc.* 1344 foode] ferde P1, P2. 1346 ful] *after* for *canc.* I; wiles] *after* and *canc.* B. 1347 for] *om.* A, D, E, I, P1, P2; þan] *om.* E, I, P1, P2; þan slayne] *rev.* A, D. 1348 sore] *after* so A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, P1, P2. 1349 Seint] *after* on E, G, I, P1, P2. 1350 of] *after* ath Hv. 1352] Hu *corr.* (*see l. 1296*); yere] *after* re *canc.* E; mo] *after* and P1, P2. 1353 the] *om.* E, I, P1, P2. 1354 of] *rep. and* *canc.* B. 1355 was (2)] is A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, P1, P2. 1357 oght] *after* out *canc.* Hu.

At Westmynster ful wele she is comende.

[f. 151v]

- At Mighelmasse next aftir folowinge,
 1360 In that same yere kinge to Ireland went,
 With grete hoost and power therin weringe
 Vpon Makmurre with all his hool entent,
 And on the grete Aneel bi all assent
 Of his lordes, where Makmurre and þe grete Aneel
 1365 To him obeied and made him homage leel.

- The erle of Marche, *Sir Roger Mortymere*,
 The kinge made þan lieutenant of Ireland,
 That yong was so, and home he cam þat yere
 And grete housold held, I vnderstond,
 1370 Ferpassing kinges of any othre lond;
 For whiche the voyse of him þan rose *and* name
 Thurgh Cristendom he bare thensforth the fame.

How Kinge Richard wed Isabel, þe kinge Charls doughtir of Fraunce.

- And in the yere a thousand as was þan,
 Thre hundred eke foure score and als sextene,
 1375 And of his regne þe eghtene yere was whan,
 At Halowmasse Kinge Richard, as was sene,
 At Calesse wed Dame Isabel to quene,
 Kinge Charles doughtir þat then was kinge of Fraunce,
 At Cristmas corowned by gouernaunce,
 1380 And in Smithfeld grete iustes *and* tournament
 Of all remes and diuers nacion,
 Of Englishe, als Irisshe, and Walshe present,
 Of Scottes als were at the corownacion
 And iusted ther wit<h> grete *commendacion*,
 1385 By fourtene daies iusted þere who-so wolde
 The erle Henry of Derby þan ful bolde.

Henry Percy and Raufe his brothir gay,

1358 ful wele she is] sho is full wele A, D, E, H, I, P1, P2. 1360 kinge] *after* þe A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, P1, P2. 1361 hoost and power] *rev.* A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, P1, P2. 1363 all] oon A, E, I, P1, P2; *insert.* B; *after* oon *del. and canc.* B; Aneel] Auelle A, D; n *insert. above* Aveel D. 1364 þe] *om.* E, H, I, P1, P2; Aneel] Aveel A. 1368 That] And A; was so] þan was A; was than B, D, E, I, P1, P2. 1369 I] as I can A, B, D, E, I, P1, P2. 1371 of] on E, I, P1, P2; of him þan rose] rose on hym A, D; him] *om.* Hv; þan] *om.* B, E, I, P1, P2. 1372 fame] *after* name *del.* Hv. 1374 als] *om.* B. 1375 And] *om.* E, I, P1, P2; eghtene] twenty G; whan] þan E, I, P1, P2. 1376 At] And H. 1377 to] the I, P1, P2. 1382 als] *om.* E, I, P1, P2; Englishe als Irisshe] *rev.* G, Hu. 1383 the] that G, H, Hu. 1384 ther] als G, Hu; with] h *insert.* S. 1385 þere] *om.* E, I, P1, P2; þere who-so] who-so þere B, G, H, Hu. 1386 The erle] *om.* P1, P2; þan] *after* bare hym E, I, P1, P2.

Robert Morlay, and *Sir* Iohn Grene Cornewaile,
 Heer Nichol Hawbarke, and eke *Sir* Mawburnay,
 1390 Waltier Bittirly, *Sir* Thomas Blaunkuayle,
 Sir Hugh Spenser, and Ianyco, saunce faile,
 Heer Hans, heer Iohn, and the lord Filz Waltere,
 Blaket, Dymmok, and als the lorde Spenser,

[f. 152r]

Vmfrevile, and his brother Robert,
 1395 Vmfrey Stafford, and *Sir* Richard Arundell,
 Thise twenty held the feeld within ful smerte
 Agayne all othir that wolde with iustes mell,
 Of what nacion he were that man couth tell,
 Of many a lond þe knightes iusted thare,
 1400 And squiers als without that wele hem bare.

**How þe kinge arrest the duke of Gloucetre, þe erles of Warwike and Arrundell,
 and foriuged for tresone; and made v dukes, one markeis, and IIII erles; and
 wacched day and nyght with Chesshire men, for drede of insurreccion.**

The yere of Crist a thousand was so than,
 Thre hundred eke foure score and als seuentene,
 At mydsomer the kinge with many man
 At Plasshy toke Thomas Wodstak ful kene,
 1405 Of Gloucetre the duke þat was ful clene,
 That smitten was in grete and felle sekeneesse,
 And in the Towre him put in grete distresse.

Whom sone he sent <to> Calise secretly
 And murdred him there in the Princis Inne
 1410 By hool avyce of his counceil privily,
 And in eche shire of whiche he did grete synne,
 His confession of tresone more and mynne,
 Of nyne poyntes feyned he þan proclaymed
 To staunche the folke þat for him cried *and* clayme[d].

1415 He þan arrest Thomas, erle of Warwike,
 And Erle Richard of Arrundell no lees,
 The lord Cobham ful trewe and als manlike,
 Foriuged hem by strength of men and prees,
 The erle Warwike his name for to discrees

1389] *moves to position of l. 1391 in G, Hu; Heer] Sir H. 1391 Ianyco] Iamco Hu. 1393 Blaket, Dymmok] underlined D; als] eke A. 1395 Sir] om. A. 1397 mell] medele Hv. 1398 man] men A. 1399 many] in any P1, P2; a] om. A, B, D, H, I, P1, P2; þe] om. H. 1400 hem] hym Hu. 1403 man] after a E, G, H, Hu, Hv, I, P1, P2; a insert. Hv. 1404 Wodstak] after of I, P1, P2; kene] after clene *canc.* I. 1405 ful] *om.* Hu. 1406 grete and felle] *rev.* P1, P2; and fell] *insert.* B. 1408 to] *insert.* S. 1409 there] *om.* P1, P2. 1410 hool] euyll H. 1412 of] for E. 1413] T *resumes here.* 1414 claymed] clayme S. 1415 Thomas] *rep. then canc.* S. 1416 of] *om.* I; Arrundell] Warwyke D. 1419 Warwike] after of A, E, I, T, P1, P2.*

1420 Into the Ile of Man in sore prison,
Of Arrundell the erle heded for treson.

The lorde Cobham in prison *perpetuall*
In the Toure to bide for *euer*more.

At Mighelmasse next, so than did befall,
1425 The kinge þan helde his grete *parlement* þore,
At Westmynstre, whare the kinge mustred sore
At the Blakeheth an hundred thousand men,
To make the comons for to drede him then.

[f. 152v]

How the kinge made five dukes, a markeis, and IIII erles at his parlement at Westmynster, whiche v dukes appeled the duke of Gloucetre, therle of Warwike, and of Arrundel, Erle Richard.

At whiche parlament he made therle of Derby
1430 Duke of Hereford, therle of Rutlond also
Of Almarle duke, therle of Kent duke of Surry,
Therle of Huntyngdon duke of Excetre tho,
Therle Marchall he made and no mo
Duke of Norffolke. Thus were *per* dukes five
1435 Of new create, and noon was substantyue.

He made therle of Somerset markesse
Of Dorset than, *Sir* Johon Beuford þat hight,
Of pore lyuelode that was þat tyme doughtlesse,
Foure erles next he made in mantyls right,
1440 With swerdes gert, the lorde Spensir oon hight,
That create was þan erle of Gloucetre,
Thomas Percy also erle <of> Worcetre,

The lorde Nevyll þan erle of Westmorlond,
William Scrope erle of Wiltshire create,
1445 That chaumbirlyayne was þan, I undirstond,
And tresorer of Englund ordinate.
Thise foure erles were thus consociate;
Than all thise dukes and erles with many mo
Of lordes yonge he held ay with him so.

1450 Busshops threttene thens forth he held eche day,

1420 Into] Vnto A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, T, P1, P2. 1421 treson] *after* for H. 1422 in] into E, I, T, P1, P2. 1424 next] *om.* T. 1426 kinge] *insert.* I. 1429 At] *after illegible word canc.* B. 1430 therle] *after* and T. 1431 duke (2)] *om.* E. 1432 Therle] *after* Erl *canc.* Hu. 1437 Of] *margin.* B. 1439 in mantyls right] and no mo Hv; right] *after* full P1, P2; dight E; doutelesse I, T. 1440] *l.* 1434 *rep.* Hv. 1441 That] Of Hv. 1442 erle] therle E; of] *insert.* S. 1445 I] *after* as E. 1447] *om.* without space E. 1449 held] had B, E, I, T, P1, P2; so] *om.* P1, P2. 1450 forth he held] he held furth E; he helde þens forthe A, B, D, T, P1, P2; helde þens furth I.

Barons many and many worthi knyght,
 To grete novmbre, and squyers fressh and gay,
 And officers wel moo þan neded right,
 In eche office by ten fold mo to sight
 1455 Than were afore, for þan he had eche day
 Two hundred men of Chesshire where he lay,

**How, for dred of insurreccion, he helde euery day and nyght CC Chessire men
 wached him with men of armes *and* archers.**

To wache him ay where so euer he lay,
 He dred him so of insurreccion
 Of þe commons and of the peple ay,
 1460 He trusted noon of al his region,
 But Chesshire men for his proteccion;
 Whereuer he rode with arues a[n]d bowes bent,
 They were with him ay redy at his entent.

[f. 153r]

**How in that tyme regned our passing pride, avowtry, and lichery, as well in men
 of holy chirche, as oþer in his hous.**

Treuly I herde Robert Iuelefe say,
 1465 Clerke of the Grene Clothe, þat to þe housolde
 Came euery day for the most party alway
 Ten thosand folke by hys meses tolde,
 That folowed the house ay as they wolde;
 And in the kichyn thre hundred *seruytours*,
 1470 And <in> eche office many occupiours;

And ladies faire with their gentil women,
 Chamberers also and lauenders,
 Thre hundred were accompted of hem þen.
 There was grete pride among the officers,
 1475 And of all men ferrepassing their compers,
 Of riche array and mucche more costiose
 Than was before or seth, and more preciose.

Yomen and gromes in clothe of silke arraied,
 Sateyn, and damaske, in doubletes *and* in gownes,

1451 worthi] *after* a E, G, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 1454 by] *insert*. B. 1455 for] *om.* E, Hv. 1458 so] *after* ay D, E, I, T, P1, P2. 1459 þe] *om.* E. 1462 arues] armes A, D; and] ad S. 1464 herde] *after* hee *canc.* I; Iuelefe] Ireleefe E, I, T, P1, P2. 1466 the] *om.* A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 1468 ay] *om.* E; as] *rep.* Hu; *after* his *del.* Hv; house] housholde H. 1470] *om.* *without space* A; in] *insert*. S; eche] þe T. 1473 were accompted of hem] of hem were accounted A, B, D, E, I; of them were occupied P1, P2; of men were accompted T. 1475 of] ouer H; ferre] *om.* B. 1476 more] *om.* Hv. 1477 seth and more preciose] myche more costiose A; moch more precyous T. 1479 in (2)] *om.* Hu, P1, P2; *insert*. I.

1480 In clothe of grayne and scarlet fere vnpayde.
Cut-werke was grete bothe in court *and* townes,
In pride desplaied ferpassing her bondes.
Browdoure and fures and goldsmyth werk ay newe,
In many wise eche day they did renewe.

1485 In his chapell were busshops þan of Beme,
Som of Ireland, and som of Fraunce,
Som of Englund, and clerkes of meny a reme,
That litill kunnyng had or konysshauce
To serve oure lorde with trew obesshaunce
1490 In the gospell, or in holy scripture,
Any matier of him to refigure.

Lewde men they were in clerkes clothinge,
Disgised faire in forme of clerkes wise,
Theire parisshoris ful litil enformyng
1495 In lawe divine or els Goddes seruice;
But right practise they were in covetice,
Eche yere to make ful grete colleccion
At hom[e] instede of sowles correccion.

[f. 153v]

Grete licheri and fornycacion
1500 Was in that howse, and als gret auowtry,
Of paramours was grete consolacion,
Of eche degre, wel more of prelacy
Then of temperal or of the chivalry.
Grete taxe the kinge ay toke thurgh al þe londe,
1505 For whiche comons him hated, fre and bonde.

How þe duke of Herforde *and* the duke of Norffolk were exild out of Englonde.

And in the yere a thousand *and* thre hundred clere,
Foure score also and therwithall eghtene,

1480 grayne] golde A. 1481 townes] *after* in T. 1482] *om. without space* B, H, Hu; *om. with space* A, D; both in mennes hodes and also in þere gownes E, I, T, P1, P2; Wherefore þe comens curse þan vpon hire crounes G. 1483 fures] forrers A, D; ay] al A, D. 1484 wise] *after* a E, I, P1, P2. 1485 were] was I; busshops þan] *rev.* A, D. 1486 Ireland] *Ir canc.* Eng *insert.* G; som of Fraunce] clerks of many reme G; of (2)] *after* also A, B, D, E, H, I, T, P1, P2. 1487 a] *om.* A, B, D, G, H, Hu. 1489] *om. without space* B, H, Hu; *om. with space* A, D; In musyke honoerably Goddes seruice to auance E, I, T; In musike honorably God his seruice to auance P1, P2; Som of Irlond and som also of Fraunce G. 1490 gospell] chapell E, I, T, P1, P2. 1491 Any] On P1, P2; matier] worde A; him] God A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T; Goddis P1, P2; to] *after* for G, Hu. 1492 they] *after* ay Hu. 1495 Goddes] *after* in A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 1497 yere] *om.* Hu. 1498 home] homo S. 1502 eche] þe T. 1503 temperal] *after* þe A, B, D, I, T, P1, P2; or] þan T. 1504 the kinge ay] ay þe kyng E, I, T, P1, P2; toke] *insert.* E. 1505 fre] *after* bothe A, B, D, E, I, T, P1, P2. 1506 and] *insert.* B. 1507 also] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2.

And of his regne the two *and* twenty yere,
 The duke Henry of Herford, as was sene,
 1510 At Couentre in barrers armed clene
 Agayne the duke of Norfolke for treson,
 Whiche bothe the kinge exilde fro his region.

The duke Henry exild was for ten yere,
 That other was also for terme of lyue,
 1515 That died duke, at Venice laide on bere,
 But Duke Henry exild was bylyve
 Bi the kinge and his counceile so contrive
 For ten yere hool for to abide in Fraunce,
 And voide the reme without variaunce

Vpon the payne of decollacion
 And hedyng sone before Saynt Edward day,
 In Octobre, the Translacion;
 Vpon whiche day he shipped forth his way,
 At Calais lond and so rode on alway
 1525 Vnto Paris, where he was feire recette
 With lordes many and wirshipfully was mette.

How Duke John of Lancastre died in the xxii yere of King Richard.

In Lenten next, Duke Iohn, his fadir, died,
 Of Lancastre, for waykenes and for age,
 Entovmbed faire at Seynt Powles buried,
 1530 His heire in Fraunce shuld haue his heritage.
 In May þan next the kinge, with baronage,
 To Ireland went with hoost *and* grete powere
 The wilde Iresshe to wyn and to conquere.

[f. 154r]

How þe erle of Marche was slayne in Irelande.

For than Roger therle of Marche was slayne
 1535 With wilde Irays in bushement for him laide;
 His sonnes then ful yonge þat were but tweyne,
 In warde were take vnto the kinge that day.
 And þan the kinge made felle array,

1512 the king exilde] were exiled A; exiled wer D; his] þis A, D. 1513 Henry] Harry *insert*. Hv; for] *after* also P2. 1516 bylyve] full rife H. 1517] *om. without space* B, H, Hu; *om. with space* A, D; lyke as þe cronicle can openly discryfe E, I, T, P1, P2; Which þat and oþer caused all Englonde to be yn strif G. 1519 voide] *after* to E, I, T, P1, P2. 1522 the] *after* called E, I, T, P1, P2. 1523 forth] þere A. 1524 on alway] furth H. 1528 for (1)] of A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; for (2)] of A, B, D, E, H, I, T, P1, P2. 1530 His heire in Fraunce] In Fraunce his heir G, Hu. 1532 Ireland] Englonde A. 1535 in] with T. 1536 ful] *om.* B; yonge þat] *rev.* B; þat] *om.* A, D, E, I, T, P1, P2; but] both E, I, T, P1, P2. 1538 felle] full grete G, Hu; full fell A, B, D, E, H, I, P1, P2; *corr.* T.

1540 In euery shire blaunke charters to be seled
For cause his actes sholde not been repeled.

How King Richard went to Ireland in þe yere of his regne XXIII the secund tyme in May.

The yere of Crist a thousand was than clere,
Thre hundred als foure score and eke nynetene,
And of his regne the thre and twenty yere,
Bigynnyng at mydsomer than as I mene,
1545 Of the kinge in his viage in sight þat was sene;
He was than londe in Ireland *with* his hoost
Of chyualry and powere with the moste.

How Duke Henry of Herford, and of Lancastre, loded in Holdirnesse in þe same yere, and Thomas Arrundell, archebushop of Caunterbury, þat befor was exilde.

At whiche tyme so the duke Henry toke londe
At Rauenserespurne in Yorkeshire, as was knowe,
1550 The archbusshop Thomas, I vndirstonde,
Of Cauntirbury, Arrundell, þat was lowe
Bothe of richesse and of golde as men sowe,
For the kinge had him out of lond exilde
Fro Caunterbury, neuer more to be reconsilde.

1555 In Holdirnesse he lond with fourty men,
Where the lordes of Lyncoloneshire *him* mette;
Bothe Wiloughby, Ros, and Darcy then,
And Bevmont als, with penons proudly bette
By ordynance of Henry Percy sette
1560 Erle of Northumbrelond and *Sir* Henry,
His sonne, wardayns of the Marches seuerally.

How þe duke Henry swore to þe erle of Northumbrelond and to *Sir* Henry Percy, war[dyn] of þe Marches, and to the erle of Westmorlond, and to other lordes of the North.

To Doncastre he rode ful manfully,
Whare both wardens of the Marches mette
þan with the duke, with hoosts grete *and* chivalry,

1539 seled] *after selyd canc.* I. 1541 The] *after* In E, I, P1, P2; was than] *rev.* G, Hu. 1542 eke] als A, D. 1544 I] *after wene canc.* I; mene] wene A. 1545] *om. without space* B, H, Hu; *om. with space* A, D; Which afterward turned hym to mekle tene E, I, T, P1, P2; As a kyng riall he passed þe see y wyne G. 1546 He] And G; his] the Hv. 1548 duke] *after kyng del.* Hv. 1550 archbusshop Thomas] *canc.* G. 1551 Cauntirbury] *canc.* G; Arrundell] *after neuer del.* Hv. 1552 of (2)] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2; golde] good A; sowe] *after knowe canc. and del.* Hu; knowe A. 1553 him] hem A, D; out] *rep.* then *canc. and del.* B; lond] *after þe* A, B, D, E, G, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; þe *del.* B. 1558 als] *om.* T. 1560 gloss *after wardyn]* war S. 1563 wardens] *after the* Hu, P1, P2.

1565 The erle of Westmorlond was sette,
 With his power, as þan it was his dette;
 For he had wed the dukes sistir dere,
 A good lady without any were.

[f. 154v]

There swore the duke vpon sacrament
 1570 To cleyne no more but his modir heritage,
 His fadir londes, and his wifes in good entent,
 And to lay doune bothe tax and taliage,
 Whils he might lyve, but if the baronage,
 And all estates somond in parlament,
 1575 Thought it nedefull, and therto hool assent.

He swore also the kinge in gouernaunce
 To put by good and hool provision,
 And Chesseshire men, for their misgouernaunce,
 To void of his house of ill condicion,
 1580 And officers of good disposicion
 To rewle his house like his estate riall.
 This was his othe there made in speciall.

Than rode they forth to Bristowe where þan lay
 Scrope and Busshe, *and* als Sir Henry Grene,
 1585 And heded hem, but Bagot fled away.
 But þan the king at Flynt, as þan was sene,
 Grete mustir made of peple þat was ful kene,
 Whiche toke his wage and came to Duke Henry,
 And rode with h[i]m ay forth ful redily.

1590 In this mene-while the erle of Northumbrelond
 Treted with the kinge that tyme in Conway
 To mete with Duke Henry than in Englund,
 And brought him than to him in meke array,
 With litill speche to Chester þan, the way
 1595 Thay rode anone and put him there in warde.
 And so to London fro thens came southwarde,

1565 of] *after* also A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 1568 good] *after* full E, I, T, P1, P2. 1569 sacrament] *after* þe A, B, D, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; the *insert*. Hv. 1570 heritage] ryght A. 1573 if] off I, T, P1, P2. 1574 estates] thestates A, B, D, E, I, T, P1, P2. 1575 nedefull] *after* ndef *canc.* E; therto] þer toke I. 1579 of (1)] *after* oute A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; ill] evell A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 1581 estate riall] *rev.* E. 1584 Busshe] Bagot A; als] *om.* A. 1585 heded hem] *rev.* Hv; fled] went A, D. 1586 But] And A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; þan] *om.* E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 1587 mustir] monstres E, I, T, P1, P2; þat was ful kene] as than was sene A; ful] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2; were H. 1588 came] went H. 1589 with him ay forth] ay furth with hym E, I, T, P1, P2; him] hm S; full] *after* than A. 1592 in] *insert.* I. 1593 him] his P2. 1594 þan the] on his A. 1595 Thay] And I; him] *om.* E; there] þan I.

How Duke Henry of Lancastre was made king by resignacion, renunciacion, deposail, and eleccion of the parliament, and corowned at Westmynstre on Saynt Edward day in Octobre.

And sett him in the Towre, where he resigned
 His right, his reme and his royal cron
 To Duke Henry, whiche no man þen repygned;
 1600 And there he made a playne renunciacion
 Of all his right, for whiche by prouision
 The parlament þan for his misgouernaunce
 Deposid him so than by grete ordinance.

[f. 155r]

Then went they to a fre eleccion,
 1605 Seing the yowthe then of the Mortymere,
 That erle of Marche by trew direccion
 Was than, and heire of Englon[d] þan most nere
 To Kinge Richard, as wele þan ded appere,
 Considering als the might of Duke Henry,
 1610 They chase him kinge; þer durst none him deny.

The erle of Northumbrelond þan had sent
 His power home by counceil of Duke Henry,
 So did his son Henry þat truly ment,
 Suposing wele the duke wolde not vary
 1615 Fro his othe, ne in no wise contrary,
 But he and his kepid all their powere,
 Till he was crownd for kinge, as did appere.

The erles two þan of Northumbrelond,
 Of Worcette, and *Sir* Henry Percy,
 1620 And the erle also of Westmorlond,
 Counceild him þan fro his othe not vary.
 And though at even he did to hem apply,
 On the morow by a pruyv counceile,
 He wolde be kinge without any feile.

Henry the IIIIth, kinge of Englonde and of Fraunce, was electe by hool parliament the morue aftir Mighelmesday, in þe yere of Crist MCCCLXXXIX, and regned XIII yere and an halfe, and died at Westmynster the XIX day of March, in þe yere MCCCXIII of Crist, and of his owne r[egne] the XIII yere.

1598 royal] *om.* G, Hu. 1601 by] p by E; p by *canc.* I. 1603 so than] *rev.* H; grete] *om.* D; grete ordinance] *gouvernaunce* A. 1604-1624] *om.* G. 1604 they] than A. 1606 Marche] *after* the A, B, D, I, T, P1, P2. 1607 Englonde] Englon S; nere] clere A, D. 1610 him (2)] it E, I, P1, P2. 1615 ne] and A, B. 1616 But] And E, I, T, P1, P2; all] *insert.* I. 1617 was] were H; for] *om.* A, P1, P2; *after* kyng *canc.* Hu; did] *after* it P1, P2. 1618 þan] *om.* E. 1620 also] *insert.* E. 1621 fro] *after* not T; vary] *after* to P1, P2. 1622 even] *om.* I. 1624 kinge] *after* crowned A, B, D, E, I, T, P1, P2; any] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2; *gloss after regne]* r S.

1625 This duke Henry, by greete loue of þe lond,
 Of many lordes and of the comonte,
 The archbusshop Arrundell toke on hond
 To coron þan in royall mageste,
 On Seynt Edward day with solempnite;
 1630 And kinge he was the morow aftir Mighelmesse,
 His regne begynnyng þat day without disstresse.

The erle Warwike and the erle of Arrundell
 That exild were, and the lord Cobham eke,
 With all their frendes þat Kinge Richard did expell,
 1635 The dukes frendes of Glowcetre noight to seke,
 Whiche þan bygan for to encrese, and eke
 Through all the reme with Kinge Henry to stond,
 To coron him kinge þat tyme of all Englund.

[f. 155v]

An hundred thowsand cried þan all at ones
 1640 At Westmynstre to crowne him for kinge,
 So hated thay King Richard for the nones,
 For his mysrule and wrong gouernynge,
 For taxe and for blaunke chartres seling,
 For murdre of the duke Thomas Wodstok,
 1645 That loued was wel more than all the flok.

How þe kinge Henry adnulled the parliament and þe iugement made agayne þe duke of Gloucester, and he deposid the dukes þat Kinge Richard had made.

The grete parlement he made than be rehersid;
 The duke thre of Almarle, Excetre, and Surry
 He depriued and the iugement reversed
 That þan was made and yeve ful wilfully,
 1650 Agayne Wodstok and Warwik for envy,
 Arrundell and the lorde Cobham ful trewe,
 Whiche was reversed and revoked newe.

The duke Almarle was than erle of Rutlond,

1625 This] Then G; by] *after* was electe kyng G; loue] leve T. 1627 Arrundell] *after* of P2. 1628 þan] hym kyng A; *after* hym E, I, T, P2; hym P1; in] *after* him G. 1629 solempnite] *after* grete A, D, E, I, T, P1, P2. 1630 And] But A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; morow] morne H. 1631 disstresse] *after* d *canc.* Hu. 1632 The] *after* ll. 1632-34 and 1636 written and *canc.* at end of previous stanza Hv; Warwike] *after* of E, G, I, T, P1, P2; *after* of insert. Hv; of] insert. B. 1633 eke] *om.* Hv. 1634 þat] *after* of Gloucestre nourit *canc.* E. 1635 frendes] *om.* P2. 1636 Whiche] Whych (ch insert.) Hv; for] *om.* I. 1639 þan] *om.* A, D, E, I, T, P1, P2; *canc.* B; all] insert. B. 1640 kinge] *after* their H. 1642 wrong] insert. *after* for his *canc.* B; *after* his *canc.* I. 1644 the] *om.* G, Hu, P1, P2; Wodstok] *after* of E, I, T, P1, P2. 1645 was] as T; all the] of all E; *gloss after* deposid] *after* de *del.* S. 1646 he] *after* þen E, I, T, P1, P2; than be] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 1647 thre] *om.* P1, P2. 1649 wilfully] *after* wilfelly *canc.* E. 1653 of] *om.* B, I, T, P1, P2; of] *om.* P1, P2.

1655 The duke of Surry erle of Kent was agayne,
 And eke the duke of Exceter, I vndirstond,
 Of Huntyngdon the erle was to be fayne,
 The Markesse eke of Dorset was ful bayne
 Of Somerset the erle agayne to bene,
 He chastised hem no feller as was sene.

1660 The erle of Gloucetre was lord Spensere
 Than set agayne vnto his first estate.
 The kinge þan made his eldist son ful clere
 The prince of Wales in *parlement* hool create,
 Duke of Cornewayle and erle denomynate,
 1665 Of Chestre als þat þan was yong of age;
 But yet he was þat tyme of high corage.

How the king gave the constabery and þe marchalcy to the erles of Northumberlond and Westmorlond wit[h] certeyne londes.

At this *parlement* the kinge graunted by patent
 The constabery certeynly of Englonde,
 In heritage so at his corownement,
 1670 To the erle þan of Northumbirlonde,
 Also of Man the Ile, I vndirstonde,
 To holde of him and of his heyres alway,
 By *seruice rial*, as writen was þat day.

[f. 156r]

1675 And to the erle of Westmorlond also
 The marchalry of Englonde þan he gafe,
 At Richmond fe that was in Englonde þo,
 By patent als for terme of life to hafe.
 The lordes all he plesid, so God me safe,
 With office ay, or els with lond *and* rent,
 1680 With liberall hert as to a prince appent.

How Sir Robert Vmfrevile was made of the Garter and captayne of Rokesburgh, and faught on fot[e] at Fulhoplaw, and wan the feeld with all victori, *and* was made Lord Vmfrevile.

And whils that *parlement* so ded endure,
 The Scottes rode by north *and* sore had stroyed

1654 erle] *after* the I. 1655 of] *om.* E. 1656 the] *after* was þan to be fayne *canc.* I; be fayne] *canc.* attayn *insert.* G. 1657 bayne] fayne G, Hu. 1658 the] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2; erle agayne] *rev.* T. 1661 vnto] to E, I, T, P1, P2; into G, Hu. 1665 als] *om.* I; þat þan] *rev.* I. 1666 *gloss after* with] wit S. 1667 *parlement]* tyme P1, P2; patent] *parlement* E, I, T, P1, P2. 1669 corownement] coronment *after* corownement *canc.* B. 1674 the] *insert.* Hv. 1676 At] All P1, P2. 1677 to] *after* he gave *canc.* E. 1679 or] and A; *insert. after* and *canc. and del.* B; and] or E, I, T, P1, P2. 1680 *gloss after* fote] fot S. 1681 that] þe T. 1682 by] all A, D; had] hyt Hv.

In Cokdale þan, where Vmfrevile had cure,
 That with hem faught and hem sore anoyed
 1685 Atte Fulhoplawe, on fote he hem acloyed;
 For ther he toke *Sir* Richard Rotherford
 His sonnes fyue ful fell of dede *and* word;

Sir William Steward also he toke,
 The lorde of Gordon he put to flight,
 1690 And Willy Bard the feeld þere þan forsoke;
 And prisoners brought home wel mo at nyght
 That he had men to feeld with hym to fight;
 For whiche the kyng him had ay aftir in chirete,
 Conside<rid> wele his knyghtly iuberte.

The kyng remeved Kinge Richard fro place to place by nyghtes, in privi wise, in whiche tyme the erles of Kent, Salisbury, and Huntyngdon, the lord Spenser, and *Sir* Raufe Lumley were heded.

1695 The kinge þan sent the kinge Richard to Ledes,
 There to be kepte surerly in pruvete.
 Fro þens aftir to Pikerynge went he nedes,
 And to Knaresburgh aftir led was he,
 But <to> Pountfrayt last where þat he did de.
 1700 But þan the erle of Kent and Salisbury,
 The erle of Huntyngdon, and Spenser sothely,

Sir Raufe Lumley with mo in company,
 Aftir Cristmas thought to haue slayne þe kinge;
 They were discured and fled away in hy,
 1705 But they were slayne at Circetre fleynge
 By the comons with hem ther feghtyng,
 The erles of Kent *and* of Salisbury,
 And *Sir* Raufe Lumley in their company.

[f. 156v]

1710 The lord Spenser take was vpon the se,
 At Bristowe was heded and decollate;
 The erle also of Huntyngdon did fle,
 And brought vnto þe countesse of estate

1683 Cokdale] *after* Cod I. 1684 hem (2)] had E; *after* had I, T, P1, P2; anoyed] *after* had A. 1688-1694] *om.* T. 1689 of] *after* Gray *canc.* E; to] *insert.* E. 1691 brought] *after* he *canc.* B. 1692 That] Than A, E, G, Hu, I; to feeld with hym] with hem to feld E, I; with hym the felde P1, P2; hym] hem D, H. 1693 him had] *rev.* A, D. 1694 Considerid] Conside *with* rid *insert.* S; iuberte] imperte A, B, D, H; apperte E, I, P1, P2; ieoperdie G, Hu; *gloss after* Huntyngdon] hunt *del. before* S. 1695 the (2)] *om.* E, I, T. 1698 to] *om.* T. 1699 to] *insert.* S; þat] *om.* E, G, I, T, P1, P2; he did de] deid he Hu. 1700 But þan] Bothe P2; þan] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 1702 Sir] *after* And E, I, T, P1, P2; in] *om.* P2. 1703 thought] *after* have *canc.* I; *after* have T; to] *om.* A, B, D, E, G, Hu, I, T. 1706 with] *after* ther *canc.* Hu. 1707 of (2)] *om.* A, D, P2. 1711 did] *insert. after* þan *canc. and del.* B. 1712 vnto] was to G, Hu.

Of Herfore þan, who had him forth algate
 To Plasshy so, where she made men him hede,
 1715 Without counceil of any lord or rede.

Sir Thomas Shellay, set ful high of pride,
 And Mawdleyne with Feriby draw and honge;
 Sir Barnard Brokas was heded hem beside;
 The busshop als of Carlile hem amonge
 1720 In Westmynstre, his life there to prolonge,
 Perpetually by iugement was comytte,
 Amonge his brether in order for to sitte.

**How Kinge Richard fro Pountfret was brought ded to Powles and after at Langley
 buried, for men shulde no remembrance of him haue.**

In Marce next aftir Kinge Richard þan was dede,
 Fro Pountfrayt brought with grete solempnite;
 1725 Men said forhungred he was *and* lapped in lede.
 At Powles his masse was done *and* dyrige,
 In hers rial semly to rialte;
 The kinge and lordes clothes of gold þer offred,
 Som eght, som nyne, vpon his heese were proffred.

At Westmynstre þan did þey so the same,
 Men trust he shulde þan þere haue buryed bene
 In that mynstre, like to a prince of name,
 In his owne tombe togider with þe quene
 Anne, þat afore his first wife had bene;
 1735 But þan the kynge to Langley fast him sent,
 There in the freres to bury secrement.

**How Sir Robert Vmfrevile faught wit þe Scottes at Reedswyre, and had the feeld
and victory.**

On Mighelmas day next aftir his coronacion,
 Sir Robert þan, my maister Humfrevile,
 At the Redswyre withouten excusacion,
 1740 With Sir Richard Rothford faught þat while,
 And toke Steward, as I can compile,
 And Iames Douglas with þe lord of Seton,
 And prisoners many for to raunson.

1713] *om.* A, D. 1714 so] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 1716 high of] *rev.* E; of] in Hu, I, T, P1, P2; pride] *after*
 in *insert.* E. 1726 done] do G, Hu. 1727 rialte] *after* his *insert.* Hv. 1728 kinge] *after* lord *canc.* G.
 1729 his] þe E; were] was I; *om.* T. 1731 þan] *om.* A, B, D, E, I, T, P1, P2. 1732 that] *after* at P2; to]
om. E, P2. 1734 þat] *om.* A, D; had] *after* þat A, B, D, H, I. 1735 to Langley fast him] hym fast to
 Langley A, B, D, E, I, T, P1, P2. 1736 bury] *after* be E, I, T, P1, P2. 1739 the] *om.* P1, P2. 1740 Sir]
om. A, D, E, I, T, P1, P2. 1741 toke] eke G, Hu; Steward] *after* þe E, I, T, P1, P2; as] *after* þan *canc.* I.
 1742 of] *om.* P1, P2. 1743 for] *after* than H; to] *after* go *canc.* T; raunson] *after* gyve E, I, T, P1, P2.

[f. 157r]

Two hundred men vpon the feeld were slayne,
 1745 Thre hundred fled, som hole, some mayned sore,
 That died at home with sorow *and* with payne,
 Som died homward that home thay come no more;
 Where so he faught vnto his men right þore
 A mery word he wolde say or they mette,
 1750 To glad theire hertes, theire enmyes to ouersetete.

How the kinge went to Scotlond in the heruest and brent Edenburgh, in which tyme þe Scottes brent Bamburghshire.

The secund yere þan of his regne he wente,
 In heruest so the kynge into Scotlonde,
 And Edenburgh with the contrey brente;
 In whiche tyme so þe Scottes brent oure londe,
 1755 All Bamburghshire in Northumbrelonde;
 For bothe wardayns with þe king were gone,
 No wardayn þere, but husbandes by hem one.

How Owayn of Glendore rose in Wales agayne the kinge, and made werre on the lord Gray Riffith, and toke þe lord Gray and Sir Edmond Mortymere.

The kinge came home and to London went
 At Mighelmesse, where þan he had message,
 1760 That Ewayn Glendore þen felly brent
 In Englund so, and did ful grete outrage,
 For cause the lord Gray held his heritage,
 And to the kinge of it ful sore had playned,
 No remedy gat, so was he þan demayned.

1765 The lord Gray Riffith did him grete wronge,
 Destroyed his lond, and he did him the same,
 So both Marches destroyed were ful longe;
 But Ewayn wan himselfe eche day grete name
 Of Wallysshry, for gentilnesse and fame
 1770 That he hem did, for whiche to him þey drewe,
 And came his men and to him were ful trewe.

So on a day the lord Gray and he mette

1746 with (2)] grete E. 1749 they] he A. 1750 their (2)] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 1751 þan] *om.* A, B, D, E, I, T, P1, P2; he] *after* þan A, B, D, E, I, T, P1, P2. 1752 so] *after* tyme E, I, T, P1, P2; the kynge] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 1754 so] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2; oure] þis A. 1757 wardayn] capeteyn H; husbandes] *insert. after* housheleers *canc.* B; hem one] their owne P1, P2. 1760 Glendore] *after* of E. 1761 so] sore E, I, T, P1, P2; outrage] damage E, I, T, P1, P2. 1763 of it] *insert.* B; had] *after* of it *canc. and del.* B. 1767 were] well T. 1769 Wallysshry] vasselrie E, I, P1, P2; wasselrye T; for] of A, B, D, E, I, T, P1, P2; fame] *after* of E, I, T, P1, P2. 1770 to him þey] *insert. after* þay to hym *canc.* B; they to hym H. 1771 And came] Bycame G, Hu; came] became E, I, T, P1, P2. 1772 mette] set P2.

With grete power vpon eythir side,
 Where þan thay faught in bateil ful sore bette,
 1775 And toke him þan his prisoner þat tide,
 And there þe feeld he had with mykil pride,
 Grete people toke and slew, and home he went,
 The lord Gray he raunsound at his entent.

[f. 157v]

Sir Edmond þan Mortimer werred sore
 1780 Vpon Ewayn, and did him mykil tene;
 But at the last Ewayne lay him bifore
 Where in batey[le] they faught, as wel was sene,
 Where Ewayn toke him prisonere ful kene,
 With mikil folke on bothe their sides slayne,
 1785 And set Edmond in prison and grete payne.

He wrote vnto þe kinge for grete socoure,
 For he had made with Ewayn his fynance,
 To whom the kynge wold graunt no faouere,
 Ne noght he wolde þan make to him chevisaunce,
 1790 For to comfort his foos disobeciaunce;
 Wherfor he lay in fetres *and* sore prison
 For non payment þan of his gret raunson.

How þe erle of Northumbir[lond] *and* his sonne Henry Percy stroke the bataile of Homyldon with Scottes, and toke sex erles, *and* discomfite XL thousand Scottes.

In his third yere þe erles of Fife and Murray,
 Of Athell, and Anges, Douglas also,
 1795 And of Menteth with barons fell þat day –
 The novmbre was forte thousand and mo –
 Had brent the lond by south, northward þo
 To Homyldon, where on Holy Rode day,
 The erle thayme met in good *and* stronge array.

1800 His son also, Henry Percy, was thore;
 George of Dunbarre was in their company,

1773 vpon] on I. 1774 ful] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 1775 toke] *insert.* I; his] *after* as A. 1777 toke and slew] *insert.* *after* slough and toke *canc. and del.* B; he] *after* v I. 1779 þan Mortimer] *rev.* A. 1780 mykil] *after* full Hv. 1781 the] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 1782 bateyle] batey S; wel] *insert.* *after* þan *canc.* B; *om.* P2. 1783 ful] *after* than A, B, D, E; *after* as þan I, T, P1, P2; ful kene] *insert.* *after* was sene *canc.* B. 1784 mikil folke] muche people H; bothe their] ayther A, B, D, I, T, P1, P2; euery E; slayne] *after* was *canc. and del.* B. 1786 vnto] onto B. 1788 no] *after* þan A, B, D, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 1789 to] *om.* A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 1791 sore] strong Hu. 1792 þan] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2; *gloss after* Northumbirlond] Northumbir S. 1793 his] þe E, I, T, P1, P2; third] *om.* T. 1794 and Anges] *rev.* A, D; Douglas] *after* and E, I, T, P1, P2; also] *after* as *canc.* I. 1795 fell] many H. 1796 was] *om.* of *insert.* Hv. 1797 Had] And A, D; northward] *after* and G, Hu; north Hv. 1799 good and stronge] *rev.* T. 1800 son] *after* also *canc.* E.

And with the Scottes þat day þare faught ful sore,
 Destroyed hem and had the victory;
 Sex erles take fourty þousand playnly;
 1805 Some fled, som deed, som mayned there foreuyr,
 That to Scotlond agayne þan came they neuyr.

How þe kinge went thrise to Wales with hoost, in hay tyme *and* haruest in thre yeres, *and* did no good but toke grete harme, *and* Owayn gat mikil of Wales.

The kinge Henry thrise to Wales went
 In the hay tyme and heruest divers yere,
 And euery tyme were mystes and tempest sent,
 1810 Of weders foule þat he had neuere powere
 Glendor to noy, but ay his cariage clere
 Ewayne had at certayn strates and passage,
 And to oure hoost ay ded ful grete outrage.

[f. 158r]

The kinge had neuere but tempestes foule and rayne,
 1815 As longe as he was ay in Wales grounde,
 Rokes and mystes, wyndes and stormes euer certeyne,
 All men trowed wiches it made that stounde.
 The comons all þan of al Englond grounde,
 Waried his gate to Wales euery yere,
 1820 For hay and corne were lorne bothe two in fere,

Whiche made grete derth and of catayle morayn,
 And Ewayn ay in hilles and in mounteynes
 Kept ful stronge, the kyng e ay wrought in vayne;
 The kyng myght noght but euermore held þe playne
 1825 And wast his owne lordship and demaynes,
 And ful grete party Ewayne had and ocupied,
 By processe so in Wales, and victoried.

How the erle of Northumbir[lond] and his son Sir Henry Percy asked of the kinge to raunsom Emon[d] Mortymer, which the king w[ould] not suffre, wherfore thay dep[arted] in wrath and purposed to ha[ue] crowne the yonge erle of

1802 þare] þay Hv; *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 1803 Destroyed] Discomfayte A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; and had] had all A, D; had] *om.* P2. 1804 playnly] trulye H. 1806 to] agayne A; Scotlond] *after* to A; þan] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 1808 tyme] *insert.* I. 1809 And] In E, I, T, P1, P2; mystes] *after* iustis *canc.* T. 1811 ay] euere E, I, T, P1, P2. 1813 ay] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2; ful] *insert.* I; outrage] damage E, I, T, P1, P2. 1814 The] This G; foule] *om.* G, Hu. 1815 As] Als T; as (2)] *om.* I. 1816 euer] *om.* H. 1817 wiches] *after* þat E, I, T, P1, P2; it] had I. 1818 al (2)] *om.* E, I, T. 1819 Waried his gate] Cursed his viage H. 1820 hay] hay (h *insert.*) I; were lorne bothe two] bothe two were loste A; lorne] lost D, E, H, I, T, P1, P2; two] *om.* E, I; in] ine (e *canc.*) G. 1821 and] *om.* E, T; of] *insert.* B. 1822 Ewayn] euen P1, P2; in (2)] *om.* A, D. 1823 ful] *after* hym A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; ay wrought] *rev.* T. 1824 þe] *om.* I. 1825 demaynes] *after* his A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 1826 and (2)] *om.* T, P2. 1827 so] *om.* P2; and] *om.* A, D; *gloss after* Northumbirlond] Northumbir S; Emond] Emon S; would] w S; departed] dep S; haue] ha S.

M[arch] by counceile of all þe lordes þat were assent.

- The erle Henry þan of Northumbrelond
 Brought to the kynge his owne prisonere;
 1830 The erle of Fife was þan, I vnderstond,
 Haire vnto the duke of Albany clere,
 Regent þat was of Scotlond without pere;
 But *Sir* Henry his sonne wolde not bringe
 His prisoners in no wise to the kinge.
- 1835 But to the kinge he prayed for Mortymere
 That raunsound myght he bene with his frendes so;
 He said him nay, for he was take prisonere
 By his consent and treson to his fo,
 Whom he wold nocht confort for to ouergo
 1840 The prince londes, ne his owne to destroy,
 For ay he had gret trust he sholde hym noy.

- The kinge him blamed for he toke nocht Ewayne
 When he cam to him on his assurance;
 And he answerd þan to the kinge agayne
 1845 He myght <not> so to kepe his affiance
 To shame himselfe by suc[h]e a variance.
 The kinge blamed him for his prisonere
 The erle Douglas, for cause he was not there,

[f. 158v]

De intencione Henrici Percy, filii comitis Northumbrie, de coronacione Edmundi, comitis Marchie, tunc minoris et ac in custodia regis.

- And saide he shold him fette, but he him send.
 1850 Sir Henry saw no grace for Mortymere,
 His wifes brother; he went away vnkende
 To Berwike so, and aftir he came no nere,
 Afore they met at Shrowsbury in fere;
 Wher þan they faght for cause his entent
 1855 He purposed had Mortimeres coronment.

The lordes all of Englond had him hight,
 And Ewayne als on Seuerne him to mete,

1827 *gloss after* March] M S. 1829 owne] *om.* T. 1830 was] *insert.* B; was þan] *rev.* A, D. 1831 clere] *after* full T. 1833 wolde] *after* þan A, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 1835 to] *om.* P1, P2. 1836 he] *om.* H. 1837 him] *om.* T. 1838 his (2)] and T. 1839 for] *om.* G, H, Hu. 1840 londes] *after* his P1, P2. 1841 he (2)] *after* þat P1, P2. 1843 on] *om.* T. 1845 not] *insert.* S; so to kepe] keipe so T. 1846 himselfe] hymselfe (hym *insert.*) Hv; by] wiþ A, B, D, E, I, T, P1, P2; suche] sucle S. 1847 for] *after* þen E. 1849 but] *after* and *canc.* E. 1852 he] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 1853 met] *insert.* I. 1854 they] he A, D; faght] *after* mette *canc.* G; his] *after* in A, B, D, G, H, Hu, Hv; *after* of E, I, T, P1, P2. 1855 Mortimeres] *after* the A. 1857 on] in A, D; Seuerne] *after* Stafford *del.* Hv.

Except the erle of Stafford yong to fight,
 By theire lettres vndir theire seales mete;
 1860 But at the poynt they brak all theire behete,
 And he was slayne, and all the cause conceled
 Why he the felde toke and the king appeled.

How in þe erle of Marche right, Sir Henrie Percy and Sir Thomas Percy his vnclerle of Worceter, faught with þe kinge, and were slayne at the bataile of Shrowisbury, where all þe lordes desayued hem, the yere of Crist MCCCCIII, and of his regne þe fourt yere, that were bound to hem by þeire lettres and seles, except the erle of Stafford; which letres I saw in the castell of Werkworth, whan I was constable of it vndir my lord, Vmfrevile, who had þat castell of þe kinge Henry gift, in forfeiture of the erle of Northumberlond.

On Maudelayne evyn was on the Satirday,
 Aftir long trefy the prince began to fight.
 1865 The yere of Cryst a thousand was no nay,
 Four hundred als and thre þerto ful right,
 Whan that batayle was striken with mikill might,
 And of the kyng þan was the fourte yere
 Of his regne acounted wele and clere.

1870 His vncler dere þer was with hym þan dede,
 His fadir came nocht out of Northumbrelond,
 But fayled him foule without wit or rede;
 And to the kinge he came, I vnderstonde,
 And sone was taken and holden with honde,
 1875 Whom than he put to holde in sore prison
 With two men of his owne at Bagyndon.

His castels all his men than helde ful strong
 To tyme the kyng had graunt him plenare grace.
 But þan the lordes in counceyle hem amonge
 1880 Hight him to help the sixte yere at the Pace;
 But non durst come þat tyme, so fil þe cace,
 But Busshop Scrope and þe erle Marchall,
 The lord Bardulf, þan of oure lordes all.

1860 at] in P1, P2. 1862 felde] *after fle canc.* E. 1863 evyn] *after day canc.* E; was] than H; the] a A. 1866 als] *om.* E. 1867 that] the P1, P2; with] of E, I, T, P1, P2; mikill] grete H. 1868 was] *after i I*; the (2)] *after* in D; *after striken del.* Hv. 1870 þer] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2; with] *after h I*; with] *insert.* T; þan] þere E, I, T, P1, P2; *om.* Hu; dede] *after ded canc.* B. 1871 His] *margin. before he canc.* I. 1873 And] But A, B, D, E, G, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 1874] *blank with space* A, D; *blank without space* Hu; Holy submittyng hym vnto his roiall honde E, I, T, P1, P2; honde] *after estate canc.* E; To yeld hymself a sory maner yn þat grounde G; In peaseble wise in truste grace to fonde H. 1875 in] *after* with honde *del.* Hv. 1876 at] in E, I, T, P1, P2. 1877 than helde] *rev.* P1, P2; helde] *insert.* E. 1878 him] *om.* I. 1879 þan] *om.* E, I, T, P1; the P2; hem] then P1, P2. 1880 the (2)] his P2. 1882 Marchall] *after* of E. 1883 oure] the H.

[f. 159r]

How þat in the sexte yere of his regne, and of Crist MCCCCV, Maister Richard Sc<r>op, archebushop of Yorke, Thomas Moubray, Erle Marchal, Sir Iohn Lamplow, and Sir William Plompton, were heded biside York.

1885 In Lentyn aftir he came home to his londe,
By *parlement* hole delivered and aquitte,
And two yere aftir in pees, I vnderstond,
With Kinge Henry ful pesibly did sitte.
Than in the yere, as me remembre yette,
Of his regne sext, the busshop Scrope þan went,
1890 The erle Marchall with him, of oon entent,

To Yorkes More, and there assembled power
Of theire owne and of theire frendis also,
Of the erles men of Northumbrelond þat were
To the novmbre of twenty thousand tho,
1895 Afore the day assigned that was so
By the erle þan of Northumbirlond,
That theire chifteyne with hem shulde þer haue stond,

With other lordes that were to hem assent;
But the Busshop and þe erle Marchall
1900 Wer slayne afore þe day of assignement
Bytwene hem made afore in speciall.
Heded were þan nere York as þan did fall,
Sir Iohn Lamplewe and Sir William Plompton
With the busshop were heded there for treson.

How the lord Hastings, þe lord Faucombirge, Sir Iohn Colvile of þe Dale, and Sir Iohn Riffith, were heded at Durham by the king, for therlis cause of Northumbirlond; and þan he gat therles castels, and stroke of VII hedes at Berwike.

1905 The lord Hastynge at Durham was þan take,
The lord Faucomberge togider in company,
Sir Iohn Colvile of the dale, and his make
Sir Iohn Griffith, that knightes were ful manly
To the erle of Northumbirlond openly,
1910 Were heded there all foure vpon a day.

1883 *gloss after Scrop*] Scrop (*r insert.*) S. 1884-1953] *one folio lacking from B* (10 stanzas). 1884 he] *om.* P2; to] into I; his] this I. 1885 hole] *after of canc.* Hu. 1886 in pees] *om.* A, D. 1888 as] *insert. after of canc.* E; me] men E, G, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; yette] it E, I, T, P1, P2; it *after yat canc.* I. 1889 sext] *after þe* E, I, T, P1, P2; þan] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 1890 of] by G, Hu. 1891 power] *after were canc.* E. 1892 of (2)] *om.* E, T, P1, P2. 1895 so] *after tho* Hv. 1897 theire] *after was* A; shulde þer] *rev.* E, I, T; þer] *om.* P1, P2; haue] *om.* Hv. 1898 were] we P2. 1900 þe] *after an illegible erasure* Hv. 1902 Heded] *after And* H; were þan] *rev.* A; were þan nere] nygh H; þan (2)] *om.* G, Hu; fall] bifalle G, Hu. 1904 were] *after þere* I; there] *om.* I. 1908 ful] *om.* G, Hu. 1909 of] *rep.* Hu.

Ant to Warkworth remeued in grete aray,

Where the castell within a woke was yolde
 Vnto the kinge aftir assawtes fell and sore,
 The castellaynes to passe fre where thay wolde,
 1915 With hors and harneyse withouten chalenge more.
 Then to Alnewike þe king remeved thore,
 Where the captaynes vnto þe kinge þan sent,
 Wyn Berwike ones he sholde haue his entent.

[f. 159v]

So went he þan to Berwike without delay,
 1920 And with asaute and shot of gvnes sore.
 He had it þan, and there heded on a day
 The barons son of Graystok taken thore,
 Sir Henry Boynton and Blenkensop þerfore;
 And Prendregest, Rond o the Se also,
 1925 And Iohn Turnebul with other squyers two.

To Alnewike than þe kynge laide sege agayne,
 Without assaute by hool convencion,
 Henry Percy of Athels, with hert fayne,
 And Willam Clifford without dissencion,
 1930 The castell yald at the kinges entencion,
 With hors and harnesse without empechement,
 Or forfeiture, or els other impediment.

How þe erle of Northumbrelond and þe lord Bardulphe fled into Scotlond

Prudhow, Langley, and also Cokirmouth,
 Alneham, Newsted, delyuered were anone.
 1935 The kyng remeved þan forth into the south,
 The erle of Northumbirlond was gone
 Afore northward to Scotlond with grete mone;
 The lorde Bardulfe with him þedir went,
 And ther abode with pore suppowelment.

1940 The somer next by see to Wales thay went
 Vnto Glendore, and aftir þan to Bretayne,
 And so by see to Flaundres er they stent.

1911 to] *om.* I, T. 1912 was] *wer* T. 1913 assawtes] *after* þe T. 1916 remeved] *remeued* (re *insert.* Hv). 1918 his] *after* is *canc.* T. 1919 went he] *rep.* he *canc.* Hu; þan] for the A. 1920 And] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2; sore] *stronge* A, D, G, H, Hu; *strong* þat were E, I, T, P1, P2. 1924 Rond] *Rande* H; Rond o the] ran on þe E, P1, P2; ran to þe G; ran to Hu; ran on I, T. 1925 Iohn Turnebul] *Tuvile* E, I, T, P1, P2. 1926 laide] *after* so E. 1928 of] *after* with A. 1929 Willam] *after* Sir T. 1930 at] to E. 1932 Or] *Off* I; other] *om.* A, D, E, G, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 1935 The kyng] *Thay* E, I, T, P1, P2; forth] *om.* Hu. 1936 gone] *after* þen E, I, T, P1, P2. 1939 pore] *their* P1, P2. 1941 þan] þay went A; þay D; þat I, T. 1942 er] or E, H, I, T, P1, P2.

The tother somer to Scotlond came agayne
 By the est see, and there they did remeyne
 1945 To þe winter than of snow ful depe,
 That they were slayne, for whom þe folk sore wepe.

How þe erle of Northumbirlond *and* the lord Bardulphe were slayn at Bramham More in Yorkshire.

The nynte yere was þan of þe kinge Henry,
 In Feueryere afore the Fast-yngange,
 Of Cristes date a thousand certeynly,
 1950 Foure hundred als and eght compted amange,
 At Bramham More with speres sharpe and lange,
 In Yorkshire the Rokeby with hem mette,
 Shireff of þe Shire, with power þat he gette.

[f. 160r]

How Iames, þe kynges son and heire, was take on þe se, *and* brought to þe kinge, and than died Owayne and þe king of Scotlond.

The same yere als þe prince þan of Scotlond,
 1955 Vpon the see sayling þan into Fraunce,
 Was take and brought to þe kinge of Englund,
 Elleuen yere olde was þan by remembraunce,
 Whom the kinge þan put in gouernaunce,
 Ful like a prince as to a kinge appent
 1960 In all honewre as was convenient.

The tenth yere þan of the kinges date,
 The kinge of Scotlond and Ewayn of Glendore
 His son also, þe worlde forsoke þan algate,
 And died away, of hem þan was no more;
 1965 The prince of Scotlond þan was kinge þerfore,
 And Wales all became the kinges men,
 In rest and pese without rebellion þen.

How Sir Gilbert Vmfrevile did armes at Arresse of xvii yere age in þe kinges ward þan beyng.

In that same yere Gilbert Vmfrevile
 Lorde was þan of Redesdale and of Kyme,
 1970 That passed nocht seuentene yere olde þat while,

1946 sore] dide H; wepe] *after* did A. 1947 yere] *after* day *canc.* E. 1948 fastyngange] Lentyn songe H. 1950 als] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 1952 the] *after* so A, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 1953 þat he] he hade H. 1954 The] That A; als] þan G, Hu; þan] *om.* G, Hu. 1957 þan] *after* he P1, P2. 1959 to] *insert.* E. 1961 the (2)] *insert.* T. 1962 and] *after* þan was Hv. 1963 þan] *om.* H, T; *insert.* I. 1964 of] on T. 1965 kinge] prynce A, D. 1966 all] *om.* T; all became] *rev.* E. 1969 and of] in P1, P2; of (2)] *om.* E, I, T. 1970 yere olde] yeres E; olde] *om.* A, B, D, E, I, T, P1, P2.

And warde was to þe kinge that tyme,
 At Arrays so þan faught in plates fyne,
 With George Trumvile in listes worthily,
 Gret strokes delte betwene them doughtely,

- 1975 With axe and swerde, and dagar vpon fote,
 Twenty strokes with euery wepyn smyten,
 Vndeparted without any mote;
 And on the morow on horses ther thei syten,
 Twenty cours *with* speres togidir hiten,
 1980 A quarter bare vnarmed and vnrayed,
 Saue their sarke sleue, with speres vnassaid.

How Sir Robert Vmfrevile went into Scotlond, and lay in þe Scottes se XIII dayes, and euery day faug[ht] with þe Scottes, som day on þe no[rth]side, and som day on the southside, and gat XIII grete shippes, and brent þeire galiot with ordynan[ce] and sore bataile in the Scotas see afore Edenburgh, and at Blaknosse.

- The yere elleuent of this same kinge Henry
 Sir Robert þan Vmfrevile toke þe se
 With ten sailes to kepe it notably,
 1985 Whan trews was taken in specialte
 Bitwene Scotland and vs in certente,
 To the Scottes Se bothe by se and lond
 And to Mowshool on oure side, I vndirstond.

[f. 160v]

- 1990 In the Scottes Se with his shippes he lay,
 Where fourtene shippes he toke with his manhede,
 And faught ful sore at ful se euery day,
 And made his enmyes oft evil to spede,
 Sum tyme vpon the northside so indede,
 With the duke of Albany and hem of Fyfe,

1971 to] vnto H. 1972] *blank with space* A, D; *blank without space* B, Hu, I; But xvii yere of age was þat tyme E, T, 1, P2; Whiche of his age was few lyke of body and lyme G; Of goodely porte full gentill to theym hym byme H. 1973] At Arrays so þan faught full worthely A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; so] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 1974] With George Trumvyle in lystes syngulerly A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; *blank without space* B. 1975 and (1)] *om.* A. 1976 strokes] *after stro canc.* G. 1977 vndeparted] vndewarpe T. 1978 on horses] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 1979 with] *after togedir* T; speres] *insert.* Hv; togidir] *om.* T; hiten] smeten T. 1980 vnrayed] arrayed E. 1981 sleue] slew T, P1, P2; *gloss after faught]* faug S; northside] no side S; ordynance] ordynan S. 1983 þan] *om.* P1, P2; þan Vmfrevile] *rev.* E, I, T; toke] to Hv; se] *after same del.* Hv. 1986 vs] *om.* Hv. 1988 on] in A, D; oure] *after vure canc.* I. 1992] Some tyme vpon þa northe syde so indede A, D, E, G, I, T, P1, P2; so] some T; *blank without space* B, H, Hu. 1993] *blank with space* A, D; And some tyme on þe south side out of drede E, I, T, P1, P2; out of] in T; That many man rued sore yn þat stede G. 1994 hem] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2.

1995 And sum tyme on the southside als ful riffe

With the erle of Douglas and hem of Louthiane;
And brought his fyres brennand vpon the se
In botes and cokkes ordeynde þer by hem ane,
With other botes with men of armes in proprete,

2000 And archers good wele pauest in specialte,
That brent thaire shippes and thaire galiote,
A ship of avauntage was þan God wote.

Whan he had bene þer fourtene dayes to þe ende,
With his prices he cam into Englund,

2005 Ful of clothe, wolne, and lyn the lond to mend,
And also he gat with strength hert and hond,
Pyk and terre ynough both, for fre and bond,
Floure and mele of whete and rye he solde,
The market so he mende manyfolde;

2010 And wad he had, and other marchandise,
Wolle, and hide, and irne grete quantite,
Wolskynnes, clothe of golde, and spisaryse,
Iewels in kistes, and stones of preciouste,
With ful grete riches þat he gat on the se,

2015 And prisonors also, and mykill flaxe,
And wynes swete, with mykill Pulan waxe.

How Sir Robert Vmfrevile brent Pebles on þe market day, and made his men to mete þe cloth with sp[e]res and bowes, and aftir þe Scottes callid him Robyn Mendmarket; and he and his newew brent Iedworth and Tevydale sone aftir.

At Pebles longe afore þat tyme foure yere,
He brent the towne vpon their market day
And met thaire clothe with speres and bowes sere,

2020 By his biddyng withoute any nay;

1995] And his proude Scottes þat þan faght full rife E, I, T, P1, P2; þan] *insert*. E; þan faght] *rev*. I; ouer] vpon A, D. 1996 With] *after* With the erle of Douglas a *written at the end of previous stanza* Hv. 1998 cokkes] cogges P1, P2; þer] *om*. A, B, D, E, I, T, P1, P2; ane] than P1, P2. 1999 botes] hotes G. 2000 specialte] *insert. after certaynte canc.* B. 2002 þan] that tyme A, D. 2003 Whan] Where E; þe] *om*. G, Hu. 2004 into] to P1, P2. 2005 wolne, and lyn] lynen and wollon T; the] þat E, I, T, P1, P2. 2006] *om. without space* B, Hu; Pyke and tarre inough bothe for free and bonde A, D, E, G, H, I, T, P1, P2; inough] *om*. E, I, T, P1, P2; bothe] *om*. H. 2007] *blank with space* A, D; *blank without space* Hu; For to amende þe shippes of oure londe E, I, T, P1, P2; And solde grete chepe to þe people þat stounde G; And merchaundise gotyn with strong honde H. 2008 and mele] *om*. A; and mele of whete] of whete and mele T; and rye] *om*. T. 2009 so he] *rev*. P1, P2; manyfolde] *after* in E, I, T. 2011 and hide] *om*. T. 2014] *blank with space* A, D; *blank without space* B, Hu; And oþer marchaundyses in grete speciouste E, I (*margin*), T, P1, P2; And prisonors also and mykell flax G; Of dyuers thynges he ther gote grete plente H. 2015 mykill] right muche H; Full glad þe people was þer of to see G. 2016 And] *om*. A, B, E, I, T, P1, P2; with] and A, B, E, I, T; *gloss after speres]* spres S. 2017 afore] aftur T. 2019 sere] there H.

Wherefore the Scottes, fro thens forth-ward ay,
 Callid him Robyn Mendemarket in certeyne,
 For his mesures were so large and playne.

[f. 161r]

2025 His newew Gylbert and he the elleuent yere
 Of Kynge Henry, vpon the water of Calne þan,
 And als one Rowle and Iedworth forest clere,
 Forayed ful sore with many a manly man;
 His baner first þere was displayed wan
 He was clierly but eghtene yere no more,
 2030 When his vncler had bayted him so thore.

**How þe prince Henry of Wales sent power to help the duke of Burgoyne,
 Vmfreviles two, Sir Iohn Gray, with othre, where Vmfrevile with Englissh men
 held þe felde, for he wold not kil his prisoners as þe duke of Burgoyne had
 ordeyned.**

The prince Henry to Duke Philip þan sent,
 That of Burgoyne was so bothe sire *and* lorde,
 Sir Gilbert Vmfrevile and his vncler, verament,
 His cousyn als, *Sir Iohn Gray*, as men recorde
 2035 In bokes writen with letter sillable and worde,
 And William Porter, agayne þe duke of Orlience,
 And his Arminakes with men of grete defence.

At Seyn Clo þan agayne the duke of Orlience,
 And the duke of Barbone by all a day,
 2040 The Englissh faught with ful grete suffishence,
 And wan the brigge, with batayle bet away
 The Arminakes with many sore affray;
 Where Vmfrevile proclaymed was erle of Kyme,
 Chiftayne was of all Englissh that tyme.

2045 At Durdon als and at Etham agayne
 They faught all new, where þan they had þe feeld,
 And prisoners many they did optayne;
 The whiche the duke of Burgoyne wolde haue welde

2024-29] *beginning of lines missing due to damage* G. 2024 and] *after* Homfrevyle A; he] *om.* T. 2025
 Kynge] *after h canc.* E. 2026 one] of T. 2028 wan] þan E, I, T, P1, P2. 2029 He] *after* When E, I, T,
 P1, P2; clierly] clyerli (li *insert.*) B. 2030 had bayted] anoyseled hade H; so] *om.* H; so thore] full sore
 T; sore P1, P2; thore] sore E, I. 2032 Burgoyne] *after* Burbon *del.* I; was so] *rev.* T; so] *om.* Hu. 2033
 vncler] brothir A, D. 2034 recorde] accorde T. 2035] *blank with space* A, D; *blank without space* B, H,
 Hu; With many oþer worthy with spere and swerde E, I, T, P1, P2; with] *insert.* E; Whiche kepte truly
 togeder with one accorde G. 2036 And] *om.* A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2038 the] *om.* H. 2039
 a] oone H. 2040 ful] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 2042 sore] *after* a G, Hu. 2044 was] *om.* A. 2045 At] *after*
two illegible words canc. Hv. 2046 þan] *om.* G, Hu. 2047 they did] *rev.* E; optayne] *after* þen E. 2048
 The] To E; The whiche] Whome H.

2050 Hem to haue slayne, without socoure or belde;
 Thorow þe feeld he comanded eche captayne
 His prisoners to kyll þan in certayne,

To whiche Gilbert Vmfrevile, erle of Kyme,
 Answerd for all his felowes and all their men,
 They shold all dye togedir at a tyme,
 2055 Or their prisoners so sholde be slayne þen;
 And with that toke the felde, as folke did ken,
 With all their men *and* als their prisoners,
 To dye with hem as wirship it requers.

[f. 161v]

2060 He saide they were not com thider as bouchers,
 To kill the folke in market, nor in faire,
 Ne hem to sell, but as armes requers
 Hem to gouerne without any dispaire,
 As prisoners ow againe home repaire
 For fyne paying as law of armes will,
 2065 And nocht on stokkis, ne on market, hem to kill.

With whom *Sir* Iohn Gray as his cousyn dere,
 And all Englysshe with many othir of Fraunce,
 With their prisoners ful familiere,
 Bataild in feeld with ful stronge ordinaunce,
 2070 More like to feight þan make obeshiaunce;
 And helde þe erle of Kyme for his chiftayne
 To lyve and die vnder his baner certayne.

The duke Philip ful of sapience
 Saw his manhod and knyghtly high corage,
 2075 Lothe was to lese his noble aduertence,
 By trefy and by othre tendre message,
 Of prisoners graunt hem do their auauntage,
 And him withheld with all his feliship,

2049] *blank with space* A, D; *blank without space* B, H, Hu; Bycause to hym þay were so vnbeld E, I, T, P1, P2; to hym þay were] thei were to hym I, T; so] *insert.* I; And made hem þere rez̄t sory and milde G. 2050] Hem to have slayne, he comaunde þan eche captayne A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; þan] *om.* G, Hu. 2051 kyll] slee H; þan] þem T. 2053 his] *rep. and canc.* G; *rep.* Hu ; all (2)] *om.* A, B, D, E, H, I, T, P1, P2. 2054 a] oone H. 2057 With] And E; als] all A, B, D, E, I, T, P1, P2. 2058 it] dothe A; *after* dose B, D. 2060 nor] or B, E, H, I, T, P1, P2. 2062] *text from here to l. 2145 lacking* Hv; without] withoute (*oute insert.*) I. 2063 againe home] *rev.* A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; repaire] *after* to G, Hu. 2064 For fyne] Fynaunce H. 2065 on (1)] no E; ne on] nor A, B, D, E, G, Hu, I, P1, P2; or T; on (2)] in H; kill] sell E, I, T, P1, P2. 2066-67] *beginning of lines lacking due to physical damage* G. 2067 many othir] *rev.* H. 2070 like] *after* to *canc.* E; make] *after* to A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2071 his] þayre A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2074 knyghtly] *after* his P1, P2; high] *om.* P1, P2. 2077 do] *insert.* B; *after* to E, G, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; their] *om.* A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2078 him] *after* with *canc.* T.

As erle of Kyme proclaymed of grete worship.

- 2080 Than aftir sone oure Englisshe men anone
 Came home agayne with grete *and* high rewarde,
 Whom þan the duke by letter commend alone
 Vnto þe prince þat sent hem to him warde,
 In writing specified with hert inwarde,
 2085 And thanked him gretly of their *seruice*
 In his werres shewed agayne his enmice.

- The kinge discharged the prince of his councaile,
 Ant set my lorde *Sir* Thomas in his stede,
 Chife of counceile for the kinges more availe;
 2090 For whiche the prince of wrath and wilfulhede
 Agayne him made debate of frowardhede,
With whom þe kinge toke party, and held þe feelde,
 To tyme the prince vnto þe kinge him yelde.

[f. 162r]

- The kinge þan made his sonne duke of Clarence
 2095 My lord Thomas, and sent him into Fraunce,
 To helpe þe duke Lowes of Orlience
 Agayne the duke of Burgoyne at instaunce
 Of my lord Thomas agayne the prince suraunce;
 Whiche was grete cause als of their heuynesse
 2100 So to refuse Duke Philips loue causlesse.

- But þan the duke of Clarence with powere
 Cam to Duke Lowes of Orlyence,
 Kinge Charles brothir, who made him noble chere,
 And him receyued with ful high reuerence;
 2105 They two werred with mighty suffishence
 Vpon the duke of Burgoyne, *and* him owtrayed,
 That he went into Burgoyne all formayed.

- Than rode the duke of Clarence into Guyen,
 Through Fraunce, þan with hoost full riall,
 2110 And kept that lond with helpe of Duke Lowis þan.
 In whiche mene-wile Kinge Henry gan fall

2081 grete and high] *rev.* T. 2082 the duke by letter] by lettre the duke A, D; by letter] *after* comende *canc. and del.* B; commend] *insert.* B. 2083] *transposed with 2084* A, B, D, E, H, I, T, P1, P2; 2083] *marg.* B. 2084 In] With A. 2085 him] *after* hy I; them P1, P2; their] his E, I, T, P1, P2; seruice] *after* manly H. 2087 of] from A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2090 For] *insert. after* Fro *canc.* E; and wilfulhede] W [*sic*] H. 2091 of] and E, I, T, P1, P2; frowardhede] wrathfulhede A. 2094 duke] *after* Thomas *canc. and del.* B. 2097 at] *after* þe prince surance *canc.* E. 2099 grete] the A, B, D, E, I, T, P1, P2. 2102 Duke] *after* the A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2103 brothir] dother A. 2106 duke of] *insert.* B. 2107-15] *beginning of lines lacking due to physical damage* G. 2109 þan with hoost] wip hoste than A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2110 Duke] *after* kyng *canc.* B.

In grete seknesse þat his strength did appall,
 With coutrite hert and humble yolden chere,
 He seide, ‘O Lorde, thi mercy I requere.’

The wordes of þe kinge at his deth of high complaynt, but noght of repentance of his vsurpment of the reme, ne of restorement of right heires to þe crowne.

- 2115 ‘O Lord’, he saide, ‘O God omnipotent,
 Now se I well thi godhed louith me
 That sufferid neuer my foos haue their entent
 Of my persone in myne aduercite,
 Ne in my seknesse, ne infirmite,
 2120 But ay hast kept fro their maliuolence,
 And chastised me by thy benivolence.’

De lamentacio[ne] Henrici quarty.

- O Lorde, I thanke þe now *with* all myne hert,
 With all my sowle, and all my spirites clere;
 This wormes mete is carroyn foule vnquarte,
 2125 That som tyme thought in world it had no pere;
 This face so fowle, þat leprouse doth appere,
 That here afore I haue had suche a pride
 To portray oft in many a place ful wide,

- [f. 162v]
 Of whiche right now the porest of this londe,
 2130 Excepte only of their benignite,
 Wold lothe to loke vpon, I vndirstonde,
 Of whiche good þat þoue so visite me,
 A thousand tymes the Lor[d] in Trinite,
 With all my hert I thanke, and comende,
 2135 Into thi hondes my sowle withouten ende.’

And died so in feithe and hool creance,
 At Caunterbury buried with grete reuerence,
 As kinge sholde be with al-kyn circumstance,

2113 yolden] *after* þe I; chere] clere T. 2114 Lorde] *after* omnipotent E. 2116] With all my soule and all my spirites clere G, Hu. 2117 my] þayre A; haue] *after* to P1, P2. 2119 ne (2)] myn E; infirmite] *after* myn E; in infirmite owere G; *after* in Hu; *after* in myn I, T, P1, P2. 2120 ay] *insert*. T; fro] *after* it A, B, D, E, I, T, P1, P2. 2121 *gloss after* lamentacione] lamentacio S. 2122 now] *om*. A, B, D, E, I, T, P1, P2. 2123 all (2)] *om*. I, T, P1, P2; my (2)] *om*. E, P2. 2124 wormes mete is carroyn foule] caryowne foule this wormes mete A; is] þis B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; foule] full T, P1, P2. 2126 so] full T. 2128 of] hoste A, D; a] *om*. A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2131 I] *after* me G, Hu. 2132 þat] *after* lord B, Hu, P1, P2. 2133 Lord] Lor S. 2134 thanke] *insert. after* reule *canc*. B; and] *after* the A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2135 Into] And to G, Hu. 2136 died so] *rev*. G; in] *after* þis kyng G; hool] holy G, Hu. 2137 with grete reuerence] beside prince Edward þere G. 2138 kinge] *after* a E, G, I, T; sholde] *after* vnto T; be] *om*. A, B, D; al-kyn] all þe G; all I; circumstance] *after* of P1, P2.

According with his high magnificence,
 2140 Biside þe prince Edwarde with grete expence,
 Of Crist was tho a thousand yere ful out,
 Four hundred eke and threttene out of dout.

The conceit of the maker touchan þe liif of the kinge.

O very God, what tourment had this kinge!
 To remembre in brief and short entent:
 2145 Som tu his sarke put oft tyme venomyng,
 And som in mete and drink grete poysonment,
 Som in his hose by grete ymagenment,
 Som in his bed straw irnes sharpe ground *and* whet,
 Envenymed sore to sle him on thaym set.

2150 Some made for him diuers enchauntment
 To wast him out and vtterly destroy;
 And som gaue him bataile ful felonment
 In feeld within his reme him for to noye,
 And on hemselfe the hurt and all anoye
 2155 Ay fill at end that honged were and heed,
 As traytours oft to bene in euery stede.

This kinge died of his regne in the yere
 Fourten acompte, of Marche þe nyntene day,
 The Sunday was þan by kalendere;
 2160 Of whom the reme grete ioy at first had ay,
 But affirward they loued not his aray.
 At his begynyng ful high he was comende
 With comons þan, and als litil at ende.

[f. 163r]

Henry the fifte, king of Englund and of Fraunce, bigan to regne þe xxxti day of Marce þat was Saint Cuthbert dai[e], and crowned was þe Sondaie þe IX day of

2139 with] vnto E, I, T, P1, P2; high] *om.* A, D; þe xix day of Marche of his regne xiiii yere G. 2140] And of Criste þan a þousand foure hundreþ and xiii clere G. 2141] Whiche kyng grete torment had som in his sark venomyng G; tho] than A, B, D, E, H, I, T, P1, P2. 2142] And ofte in his mete and drynke grete poyseyng G; out of] withoute T. 2143] And som in his hose and bedstrowe by grete ymagenyng G. 2144-50] *substituted with ll. 2150-56, then the text ends, resuming again at l. 2248 of this edition* G. 2145 tu] in A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; tyme in E; oft] of T. 2146] *Hv resumes here;* in] *after tyme* E. 2147 in] *after tyme* E; grete] *om.* T; ymagenment] *after imagynacon canc. and del.* B. 2148 in] *after tyme* E; his] *om.* B, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; bed] bed (d *insert.*) T; sharpe] *om.* T; and] *after wele* A, B, D, E, Hu, I, P1, P2; well sharp T. 2149 on] *after yf he had* E, I, T, P1, P2; thaym] þay A; *after þayme him sette canc. and del.* B. 2154 anoye] *after þe* E, I, T, P1, P2. 2155 that] and T; were] *after þei* T; and] or E; heed] *after heyde canc. and del.* B. 2156 oft] ought A, B, D, E, G, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2158 of] in H. 2159 kalendere] *after the* H. 2160 grete ioy at first] at first grete ioy T; ioy] *after ioe canc.* I. 2161 aray] *after þay canc.* B. 2163 ende] þende E, H, I, T, P1, P2; *gloss after daie*] dais S.

April, the yere MCCCCXIII, and died þe yere MCCCCXXII, aftir he had regned IX yere and a half.

Henry his sonne, prince of Wales was þan,
 2165 On Saynt Cuthbert day in Marche folowing
 King was, so as I remembre can;
 On Passion Sondag aftir was þis kinge
 Enoynt and crounde withouten tariynge,
 The nynt day it was þan of Aprile so
 2170 With stormes fell and hailstons grete also.

How Sir Iohn Oldcastel, lord Cobham, was brent for erresie ageyn þe feith.

In his first yere þe lorde Cobham erritike,
 Confedrid with Lollers incipient,
 Agayne the churche arroos *and* was ful like
 It haue destroyed by thaire entendment,
 2175 Had nocht þe kinge þan made suppowelment,
 And put hem fro þe feeld by good direccion
 That sembled were by grete insurreccion.

Than fled þe lord Cobham erronyouse
 To Wales so with Lollers many oon,
 2180 Musing in his oppinion venymouse
 How that he might þe Church destroy anoon;
 But God þat sitte in Heuy[n] aboue alone,
 Knowing his hert naked of all good entent,
 Lete him ben take to haue his iugement;

And put he was to prison in þe Toure
 Of which he did escape away be nyght,
 And taken was agayne within an owre,
 And aftir sone dampned by law *and* right
 For errisy by all þe clargese sight,
 2190 And brent he was to ashes deed *and* pale,
 Thurgh cursid life þus cam he in grete bale.

How þe houre þat he was enoyntid he was changid from al vice to vertuous lif, *and* licencid al folke to offir to Richard Scrope, and buried Kinge Richard at Westmynstere, *and* graunt to Henry Percie his londis.

2164 prince] *after* þat A, B, D, E, I, T, P2; þe P1; þan] whan D. 2166 can] came P2. 2169 day] *om.* Hu; it] *after* of *canc.* E; it was þan] than it was A, B, D, H, Hu; þan] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 2172 with] *after* was T. 2174 haue] *after* to P1, P2; thaire] þe I. 2175 þan made] *rev.* T. 2176 feeld] fell I, T. 2178 Than] Thay D; erronyouse] *insert. after* herenyouse *canc.* B. 2179 Lollers] *after* the P2. 2181 he] *om.* P2; þe Church destroy] distroye þe churche E, I, T, P1, P2. 2182 Heuy[n] Heuy S; aboue] *om.* A, D. 2183 all] *om.* E. 2184 haue] *rep. and erased* A. 2185 to] *insert. after* in *canc. and del.* B; in] *insert. after* to *canc. and del.* B. 2188] *transposed with* 2189 Hu; And (1)] *om.* Hu; and (2)] *om.* P2. 2189 all] *om.* P1, P2; sight] ryght A; *after* in E, I, T, P1, P2. 2191 he in grete bale] into H; grete] to A.

The houre he was crowned and enoynt
 He chaunged was of all his olde condicion,
 Ful vertuouse he wox fro poynt to poynt,
 2195 Grounded all new in good oppinion
 Ferpassingly without comparison,
 Than sette vpon all right and conscience
 A new man made in all good regimence.

[f. 163v]

He gave leue of good deuocion
 2200 All men to offir to Bisshop Scrope expres,
 Without lettyng or any question.
 He graunted als, of his high worthines,
 To lay Kyng Richard with Anne doutles,
 His wife that was, at Westmynstre þan buried,
 2205 As King Richarde himselfe had signified.

And fro the frieres of Langley, where he lay,
 He caried him to Westmynstre anone,
 And buried him of riall grete array
 With Quene Anne in towmbe of marble stone,
 2210 Ful rially arrayed as rials by hem one.
 And to Henry Percy he graynt his londes clere
 That to the duke of Bedford þan yoven were.

My lorde Clarence fro Guyen home agayane
 Came to þe king with ioy and grete plesaunce,
 2215 The secunde yere, of whome þe kyng was fayne.
 At Leycetre þan, as made is remembraunce,
 In his *parliament* without variaunce,
 His brother Iohn duke of Bedford create,
 His brother Vmfre duke of Gloucetre of estate.

2220 Thomas Be[u]ford, þat was erle of Dorsette,
 He made duke þan of Excetre þat while.
 He gaue in charge þat tyme withouten lette
 Vnto *Sir* Robert there Vmfrevile
 To Scotlonde to ride withouten wile

2192 he] this kyng Hu; he was crowned] this kynge crowned wase H. 2194 wox] was P1, P2. 2198 in] be A, B, D, E, I, T, P1, P2. 2199 of] *after* þan A, B, D, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; deuocion] *after* condicion *canc.* E. 2200 expres] doughtlesse A. 2203 Kyng] *after* the A, B, D, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; with] and P1, P2; doutles] *expresse* A. 2204 was] *insert.* B; þan] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 2208 grete] *after* and A, D. 2209 Quene] *after* þe A, B, D, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2210 one] sone P1, P2. 2212 duke of] *insert.* E. 2213 Clarence] *after* of E, I, T, P1, P2. 2215 yere] *om.* Hu. 2216 as made is] be A. 2218 create] *after* he H. 2220 Beuford] Bedford S. 2221 duke þan] *rev.* Hu, I; þan] *om.* A. 2222 tyme] while A, D. 2223 there] *om.* E. 2224] *blank with space* A; *blank without space* B, D, H, Hu; By his wysdome and manhode þat while E, I, T, P1, P2.

2225 And trete with Scottes to get home Henry Percy,
That layde was in hostage by his graunsirs foly.

How Sir Robert Vmfreuile faght at Greterig the third yere with þe Scottis, þat had but vii score speres and iii c bowis, on Maudleyne daie, and discomfite iii m men, and made chase xii mile on hem into thaire owne londe, and went with the king to the sege of Harflete, with whome I went thidir.

Than was it were betwene vs *and* Scotlonde,
That Sir Robert Vmfreuile myght it spede,
But at Gretrige wit Scottes hond for honde
2230 He faught on foot on Maudleyne day indede,
Where eghtene score of Scottes were take, I rede,
Thre score slayne, a thousand put to flight,
With foure hundred men discomfite hem ful right.

[f. 164r]

Twelue myle he made vpon hem þat grete chace
2235 Into their londe, and home he came agayne
To his castel of Rokesborowe in þat cace,
Whiche he had þan in kepinge soth to sayne,
With prisoners many one hurte certayne,
Himselfe and his, þat þan had wounded sore,
2240 And many Scottes slayne for euermore.

At Lammase next, þe kyng þan as he lay
At Southamton the erle of Cambrige toke,
The lord Scrope als, *and* eke Sir Thomas Gray,
And heded hem, þe cause was who-so loke
2245 In cronicles writen in many a boke,
For thay purposid the erle of Marche to crowne
Kynge of Englund by their provision.

Howe the kinge went into Normandie *and* seged Herflete, *and* gate it with gret payne and losse of men; but who may cast of rennyng houndis and many racchis,

2225 And] To A, B, D, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; Scottes] *after* þe E, I, P1, P2; home] *om.* A, B, D, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2226 That] *om.* A, B, D, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; was] *om.* A, B, D, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2228 myght it] *rev.* E; it] not A. 2229 at] *lat* A. 2230 on foot] *insert.* B. 2231 of] *after* we I; of] *om.* P1, P2. 2232 slayne] *rep.* Hu. 2233 foure hundred] CCC E; ful] forth A, B, D, H, Hu, T, P1, P2; for I. 2234 he] *after* than A, B, D, E, I, P1, P2; he made vpon hem þat] þen of þem he made T; vpon] on E, I, P1, P2; þat] *om.* A, B, D, E, I, P1, P2; than H, Hu. 2235 he] *insert.* *after* þay *canc.* B. 2236 Rokesborowe] Rokesborone *third* o *insert.* Hv. 2238] *blank with a space* A; *blank without space* D; Of his grete labour in hert beyng full fayn E, I, P1, P2; Off his grete labour in hert full sore T; certayne] full sore B, H, Hu. 2239] With presoners many one hurt full sore A, D, E, I, P1, P2; His selfe and his þen had wounded þore T. 2239 sore] þore B, H. 2240 Hym sylfe and his þat þan had wounded þore A, D, E, I, P1, P2; wounded had] *rev.* I, P1, P2; *blank without space* B, H, Hu, T. 2244 was] than A. 2245 *blank with space* A; *blank without space* B, D, H, Hu; Among himself for þay þis counsell toke E, I, T, P1, P2; þis] thus P2. 2246 For thay] And E, I, T, P1, P2.

but he must lese some?

- The kinge helde forth by se to Normandy,
 With al his hoost at Kavre londe þan,
 2250 And leide a sege to Harflete mightily,
 On euery side by londe and watir wan,
 With bulwarke and bastel he began,
 In whiche he put the erle of Huntyngdon,
 The erle of Kyme also of high renowne.
- 2255 Whiche erles two, with other to hem assigned
 Cornewayle and Gray, Stewarde als *and* Portere,
 Ful grete assautes made eche day and repugned,
 Til at the last thay bet the towne towres there,
 And what the kinge with fagottes þat ther were
 2260 And his comynes warkyng vndir þe wall,
 With his gurnys casting thay made the towre to fall,

- And theyre bulwerk brent with shot of wildefire;
 At whiche place þan the erles two vpsette
 Their baners bothe withouten any hire;
 2265 The kinge ther with his gunes bette,
 The duke did so of Clarence without lette,
 On the ferre side, where as he þan lay,
 The erle Mountague ded wel þer alway.

[f. 164v]

- The lorde Gavcourt, that þan was þe chiftayne
 2270 Of Harflete, so with othre of that towne,
 Offerid þan the tovne vnto the kinge ful fayne,
 And he with othre stode at the kynges direccion;
 Than made he there his vncler of grete renowne,
 Captayne of it, duke of Excetre than,
 2275 And homwarde went through Fraunce ful like a man.

How þe kinge coming homward thugh Normandi *and* Picardy smote þe bateil of Agencourt, where I was *with* my maister.

2248] G resumes again here. 2249-51] end of lines missing due to damage G. 2249 Kavre] after Kyl *canc.* S; Kyticans A, B, E, G, I, T, P1, P2. 2251 by londe] *om.* T. 2252 and] *rep.* S; after stoute A, B, D, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; strong E. 2254 Kyme] Kent P1, P2; high] grete A, B, D, E, I, T, P1, P2. 2255 to] with A. 2256 and (1)] *om.* A; with P2; als] *om.* A, D. 2257 Ful] *om.* Hu. 2258 Til] Whiles A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2261 his] the Hu; thay] he T; to] *om.* G, Hu. 2263 place] *om.* D. 2265 bette] after the walles A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2267 he] *om.* T; þan] *insert.* after gan G. 2269 Gavcourt] *insert.* after Garcourt *canc.* B; that] *om.* G, Hu; þan] *rep.* and *canc.* Hu; was] *om.* G; þe] þayre A, B, D, E, I, T, P1, P2. 2270 so] þoo E, I, T, P1, P2; that] þe A, B, D, E, G, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2271 þan the tovne] þe town þen E; vnto] to E, G, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2272 stode] after to E, I, T, P1, P2. 2273 Than] after Capteyn of itt *del.* I. 2274 duke] after þe A; of] *om.* T. 2275 ful] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2.

An hundred myle to Calayce had he than
 At Agencourt, so homward in his way
 The rials þare of Fraunce afore him wan,
 Proudly batailde an hundred thousand in aray,
 2280 He saw he muste nedes with thaym make afray;
 He sette on hem, and with hem faught ful sore,
 With nyne thousand, no mo were with him þore.

The feeld he had and helde it all þat nyght,
 But þan cam worde of new hoost of enmyse,
 2285 For whiche thay slew all prisoners doune right,
 Saufe dukes and erles, in fell and cruel wyse;
 And than the prees of enmyes ded supprise
 Thaire owne peple, þat mo were dede through prees,
 Thanoure men myght haue slayne no lees.

2290 Onoure side was the duke of Yorke there slayne,
 The erle of Southfolke wirshipfully,
 And knyghtes two with ten the sothe to sayne,
 And at the sege the erle of Southfolke sothly,
 The fadir died of flux contynewelly;
 2295 But mykil folke at that sege yet died
 Of fruyt and flux and colde were mortyfied.

On the Frenshe parte the duke of Bare *and* Lorayne,
 And of Alaunson in bataile there were dede,
 And takyn were of chiftaynes in certeyne,
 2300 The duke Lowes of Orlyaunce their had,
 The duke of Burbon within that same stede,
 The Vendom als, Arthure als of Bretayne,
 And Sir Bursigalde, Marchal of Fraunce, certayne.

[f. 165r]
 And the erle of Ewe was take there also,
 2305 Fyue barons als þat were at their banere,
 And fiftene hundred knyghtes and squiers mo
 Were slayne that day in ful knyghtly manere,

2278 rials] nobles P1, P2; þare] *insert.* T. 2279 an] *after* with P1, P2. 2281 ful] *after* for *canc.* T. 2282 were] *om.* P1, P2. 2284 new] *om.* P1, P2; of] and P1, P2. 2286 wyse] *after* wiff *canc.* Hu. 2287 than] *om.* P2. 2289 no] *after* þat tyme A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, P1, P2; *after* doutles *canc.* Hu. 2290 there] than E. 2290-2304] *folio damaged and corner lacking* G. 2291 of] *after* also A, B, D, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; wirshipfully] *after* also full E. 2292 And] With E; ten] *after* oper A, B, D, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1; other P2; the] *om.* E, I; then P1, P2. 2293 the] that P2. 2294 flux] *after* the A, B, D, E, I, T, P1, P2. 2296 and cold were] were colde and A; were and cold D. 2297 On] Of P2; parte] syde A, D; of] *om.* P2; Lorayne] *after* of T. 2298 dede] *after* slayn G, Hu. 2300 had] hede E, I, T, P1, P2. 2301 within] in A, D, E, I, T, P1, P2; within (*with* in *insert.*) B; same] *om.* P1, P2. 2302 Vendom] *after* erle of E, I, T, P1, P2; als (1)] and E, I, T, P1, P2. 2303 Sir] *om.* T. 2305 als] *after* alle *canc.* I. 2306 hundred] M¹T.

With woundes sore as than ded appere,
 As werres wolde vpon Saynt Crispyne day
 2310 And Crispynian that sayntes in blisse ben ay.

How þe Emperoure and the duke came to the kinge, the count Palantyne, the duke Melayne, the markeis Ferrare, þe lorde Mautow, and the markeis Mount Ferrat, and the lord of Mount Pellestrine came with the Emperoure þe same tyme, and þe duke of Bavers and Embaire, and þe prince of Orgent also.

And in the yere of Crist a thousand clere,
 Foure hundred als and ther with all fiftene,
 Whan this bataile was smyten as doth appere,
 In the thirde yere of his rene as was sene,
 2315 To Calayse þan he cam and home bydene;
 Whare tho emperoure of Rome, Sir Sigemounde,
 Vnto him cam than into Englund grounde,

With a thousand men that were ful clene araied,
 The duke of Melayne, the count Palatyne,
 2320 The markais Ferrare, the lord Mautow wel apaied,
 The count Carmilio, the count Pellestrine,
 With many lordes of the watir of Ryne,
 And of the Garter was made the secondary,
 And in it stalled, for he wolde not vary.

2325 The duke of Holand than cam by se
 With sexti shippes in Themes that did aryve,
 And to þe kinge he went vnto Lambe,
 To the emperoure aftir he went bilyve,
 As cronyclers than did discryve;
 2330 Than was he made knyght of þe Gartere
 At his desire, as seith þe cronyclere.

Of the bateile of Sayne, of carrikes þere taken in the see afore þe mouth of Sayne.

The kinge sent þan the duke vnto the se,
 Of Bedford, þan with foure hundred sayles
 To vitaille Hareflete the erle of Marche no le,

2308 sore] so A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2309 Saynt] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 2312 *om.* A. 2314 was] *after* þan *canc.* B. 2315 þan] so A, B, D, E, G, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2316 Whare] When] E, I; With P1, P2. 2317 into] to T. 2318 that were] *om.* T. 2320 apaied] arrayed A, D. 2322 Ryne] *after* þe E, T, P1, P2; *after* þe *insert.* I. 2323 And] *om.* T; garter] *after* gard *canc.* Hu. 2324 it] þat G, Hu. 2325 cam by se] be sea came P1, P2. 2326 aryve] *after* arewe *canc.* I. 2327 to] vnto I, T; vnto] to I, T; Lambe] Lambeth he G; Lambeth Hu. 2329 did] *after* it H. 2330 was] *rep.* Hu. 2331] G *ends after this line.* 2332 kinge] duke E; the duke vnto the sea] with four hundred sayles Hv. 2333] The duke of Bedford vnto the se Hv; þan] þat E, I, T, P1, P2; foure] *om.* H. 2334 the] *after* with E, I, T, P1, P2; erle] *after* duke *del.* Hv.

- 2335 The erle Marchall, withoute any fayles,
 With thes erles, armed in plate and mayle,
 Of Oxonforde, Warwik, and Huntingdon,
 Of Salesbury, Deuenshire, and many baron;
- [f. 165v]
 Of Arundell also, thise erles all
- 2340 Were in that flete, vnto the nowmbre of men
 Twenty thousand heraldes did hem call;
 On oure Lady day thassumpcion þen,
 As men in kalendres did know and ken,
 The v^{te} yere of the kynge was than expresse,
- 2345 Whan their enmyes hem met at Sayne doutlesse.
- They faught ful sore afore the watir of Sayne,
 With carrikes feel wel stuffed and arayed,
 And many othir shippes grete of Hispayne,
 Barges, balingars, and galies vnafraied,
- 2350 Whiche proudly cam vpon oure shippes vnprayed;
 By the evyn their sailes aualed were sette,
 The enmyes slayne in bataile *and* sore bette.
- And many draynt were that day in the se
 That as oure flete rode there than still alway,
- 2355 Vnto the fest next of hir natyvite;
 The bodies flette amonge oure shippes eche day,
 Ful pituous was, *and* fell to se hem ay,
 That thousandes were twenty as thay þan tolde
 That takyn were in that same bataile bolde.
- 2360 In whiche mene-while, whiles oure shippes þere lay,
 It was suche cawme without any wynde,
 We might noght sayle ne fro thens pas away,
 Wherefore their galies eche day þer gan vs fynde,
 With ores many about vs did thay wynde,
- 2365 With wilde fire oft assailed vs day *and* night
 To bren oure shippes in þat they couthe or myght.

2335 Marchall] *after of canc.* E. 2336 thes] the A, B, D, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2338 baron] *after a* E, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2340] vnto] to H; the] *om.* T. 2342 thassumpcion] *assumpcion* I; at *assumpcion* T. 2343] *blank with space* A, D; *blank without space* B, H, Hu; All þies lordes with mony worthy men E, I, T, P1, P2. 2345 hem] þei I. 2347 carrikes] *balyngers* A; *wel*] *om.* E. 2349 balingars, and galies vnafraied] *and carrykes wele stuffed and arrayed* A. 2350 proudly] *om.* A. 2351 By] *rep.* S; *after* And E, I, T, P1, P2; *avaled*] *om.* I. 2352 The] Thaire E, I, T, P1, P2; *sore bette*] *forbett* H. 2354 as] *insert.* E; *there than*] *rev.* T; *still*] *om.* B, E, I, T, P1, P2. 2355 hir] *insert. after his canc.* I; his P1, P2. 2357 Ful] That A, D; *fell*] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2; *foule* H. 2358 thay þan] þan was A, D; þan] *insert. after þaym canc.* B; gan H. 2359 same] *om.* A. 2360 whiles] as H; oure] *after that* Hu. 2361 suche] so P1, P2. 2363 their galies eche day] *eche day þayre galays* A, D; þer] *om.* A, D; vs] to H. 2364 vs] *om.* H; *did thay*] *after they* H; *wynde*] *after fy canc.* E. 2365 vs] *theym* H. 2366 in] if A, D.

The flete cam home þan at oure Lady day,
 From Sayne, whiche tyme the kinge þan had conveyed
 Themperoure than to Calice on his way,
 2370 And home agayne was com right wele apaied
 Of the welfare of that worthi flete wele assaied
 So wele in arnes vnto his high plesaunce,
 Vpon his foos, and kepte hemselfe by gouernaunce.

[f. 166r]

**How þe kinge went into Fraunce þe fifte yere of his regne, þe secund tyme, and
 londid at Towke in Constantyne, Normandie.**

The kinge than in his fifte yere went to Fraunce,
 2375 And lond at Towke, and gat the castell than,
 And so to Cane with all his ordinaunce,
 And leyde his siege aboute with many a man,
 Whiche by processe at the last so he wan
 (Whiche to Vmfreuile, than was erle of Kyme,
 2380 He gaf to kepe for grete manhed that tyme);

Baysons, Falace, Cees, and Argenton,
 Domfrount, Mortayne, and Iuory also,
 Mustre de Vilers, Eueros, and Alaunson,
 Caldbek, and Depe, Arkes, Vincourt tho,
 2385 With othir tovnes named many mo,
 Gouruay, New Castell, Gisours, Estoutvile,
 Roon, Louers, and also Vmfreuile,

Pountlarge, Pounteys, and also Pount Dorson,
 Maunt, Vire, Balom, and also Aueraunce,
 2390 Castell Galiard, with many othir tovne,
 Belham in Perche, Saynt Iulian in Maunce,
 Mortayne in Perche, Chirburgh, and eke Constaunce,
 Vernell in Perche, Seyn Clow and Alauayle,
 Vernovne on Sayne, without any bataile.

2395 All Normany he gat within two yere;
 And afir than he trauayled sore in Fraunce,
 For mar[y]age and conuencion clere,

2367 þan at] that H. 2369 than] *insert. after vn canc. and del.* B; than to Calice] to Cales þan A, D.
 2370 agayne] *om.* Hu; right] *after agayn* Hu. 2371 that] the I; worthi] *om.* H; wele] *om.* A, B, D, E, Hu,
 I, T, P1, P2. 2372 his] *rep.* H. 2373 his foos] her enemyes faught A; his high plesaunce D. 2374 his] þe
 E; to] into P1, P2. 2375 and (2)] *rep.* Hu. 2376 to Cane] came E, I, T, P1, P2. 2377 his] a A; a] *om.* A,
 B, D. 2378 the] *om.* T; so] *om.* A, D, E, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2379 than] *after* þat E, I, T, P1, P2; than was]
om. A; was] *om.* D, Hu. 2385] *blank with space* A, D; *blank without space* B, Hu; named] and castelles
 E, I, T, P1, P2; many] *om.* H. 2388 also] *insert.* B. 2390 othir] anoþer Hu. 2392 Chirburgh] *after*
illegible word canc. Hv; Chirburgh, and eke Constaunce] Seynt Lowe and Alavaile E. 2393] *om.* E.
 2394 on] and T. 2396 And afir than] After whiche Hu; sore] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 2397 maryage]
 marpage S.

Bitwene the kynge Charles and him at instaunce
 Of Duke Philip of Bugoyne of alliaunce;
 2400 In whiche tyme so they were by apoyntment
 Accorded wele, and clerely condescent,

That þan he weded his doughter Kateryne
 And proclamed was þan of Fraunce regent,
 And heritere of Fraunce by right of lyne,
 2405 Of his owne right from Kinge Edward descent,
 And Normandy and Guyen as appent
 Remayne sholde to him and to his heires,
 Kynges of Englonde euermore, and to theirs.

[f. 166v]

Than laide he sege to Melayne anon right,
 2410 Aboue Pares fiftene leges vpon Sayne,
 Whiche bi processe and laboure of his might,
 And ful sore sege ful longe and passing payne,
 He had at last, of whiche he was ful fayne,
 And toke it to Vmfrevile, erle of Kyme,
 2415 To haue foreuer ay forth-wardes fro that tyme.

Saunce in Burgoyne þan gat he mightely,
 And Motrewe als whare the duke was buried
 Of Burgoyne than, whom he toke vp in hy,
 And <at> Dugeon, as it is notified,
 2420 Him buried so in Burgoyne vndernyed,
 With high honoure and grete solempnite,
 As suche a prince of resoun ow to be.

And Motrewe þan toke he than to Sir Iohn Gray,
 That than was made erle of Taunkervile,
 2425 A manly knyght in armes approued ay,
 And Lord Powes was by his wife that while,
 And emes son vnto Erle Vmfreuele;
 Two better knyghtes I trow þer were nocht þan
 Of their estate seth tyme that they began

2430 At sege of Myloyne and all othre citees
 Aftir folowinge the kinge of Scotland lay,
 The prince of Orenge withouten lees,

2398 the] *om.* B, E, I, T, P1, P2. 2400] And Normandie and Guyen as appent Hu. 2402 weded] wolde I. 2403 was þan] *rev.* Hu. 2404 of (2)] *om.* P1, P2. 2405 right from] *insert. after* lyne of *canc. and del.* B. 2409 anon] ny3tt *del. in between a and* noon I. 2412 and (2)] with E, I, T, P1, P2. 2413 ful] *rep.* D. 2415 foreuer ay] for ay ever A, D. 2416 in] and T; he] *insert.* I. 2419 at] *insert.* S. 2422] *om. with space* A; suche] *after* to E, I, T, P1, P2; to] *insert.* T. 2423 þan] *om.* A, B, D, E, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; toke he] *rev.* H; than] *om.* H. 2424 That] *rep.* S. 2427 Erle] *after* the B, D, E, H, I, T, P1, P2. 2428 þer] *om.* T. 2429 that] *rep.* S. 2430 all] *after* at A, B, D, Hu, T; *after* of E, I, P1. 2431 Scotland] *after* South *canc.* Hu.

The duke Gabayre his son *and* heire alway,
 That sustre son þan was ful fresshe *and* gay,
 2435 To Kinge Henry, but at Miloyne wele arrayed
 The kinge of Fraunce, with baner hool displaid,

How þe erles of Sufolke and of Kyme held iustes at Tournels in Paris.

That sege helde fro mydsomer to Cristmesse,
 Whan Kinge Henry at <his> palaice royall
 Of Tournels feire, biside the Bastel pierlesse
 2440 Of Seynt Antoyne, helde his Yole imperiall;
 Whare than he feest thies kinges *and* princes all,
 Where þan the erles of Suffolke and of Kyme,
 With ten men, helde þe iustes by all þat tyme.

[f. 167r]

How þe duke of Albany biseged Berwike *and* the erle Douglas Rokesburgh in þe heruest þe vii yere of the kinge and how Henry Percie, the erle of Northumbrelond], reskewed Berwike *and* Roxburgh with vii score thousand men. For trust it true þer is no lord in Englonde þat may defende youe ayene S[c]otlond so wele as he, for thaie haue þe hertis of the people *and* euer hath had, *and* dout not the North and Percy be youre true man.

But whils the kinge Henry was so in Fraunce,
 2445 The duke Robert, þat was of Albany,
 Laide sege aboute Berwike of grete pusshaunce;
 Sixty thousand of Scottes þat cruelly
 Assailed the toun eche day by and by:
 The captayne was Sir Robert Vmfrevile,
 2450 A knyght of the Garter had ben long while.

Thay shot thaire gunnes and with thaire ladders scaled,
 But noght availed, they were so wele of-bette
 Whan thay oure host saw and it vnscalded.
 They stale away by night, withouten lette,
 2455 For fere our hoost vpon hem sholde haue sette
 At Barmore þan with seven score thousand men,
 For whiche the Scottes fled fro the duke hom then

2433 Gabayre] *after* of H. 2435] *after* To Harry kyng at his palaice royall of Tournels feire *canc.* Hv; but] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2; at] alle Hu; wele] *after* full A, B, E, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2438 his] *insert.* S. 2439 Tournels] Tournnels (nels *canc.* els *insert.*) B. 2440 helde] *after* he *canc.* I; his yole] Nowell H; yole] hole P1, P2. 2441 kinges and princes] *rev.* Hu; princes] *insert.* *after illegible word* *canc.* B. 2443 *gloss after* Northumbrelond] Northumbre S; Scotlond] Sotlond S; B *ends after this line.* 2444-2513] *occurs between ll. 2548-49 of this edition* A, D. 2446 sege] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2; of] a T. 2447 þat] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 2448 and by] day Hv. 2450 had] *after* þat A, D; ben] *after* he T. 2452 availed] *after* þei T; so wele] *om.* I. 2453 and it] anoon þay E, I, T, P1, P2; it] *after* they H; yet Hu. 2454 They] That P1, P2. 2455 haue] *om.* P1, P2. 2456 seven score] xxii^{xx} T. 2457 fled] *after* settes *del.* Hv; hom] *om.* A, D.

Vpon the nyght, and left him there allone
 With his owne men and no mo of waike powere;
 2460 Yet rode he to Norham ner hem anone,
 And brent the ton oure hoost *and* he þan were
 But two myle of and durst nocht com no nere.
 Wherefore he rode home than into Scotlonde,
 Our hoost more sone retourned to Englonde.

2465 Than *Sir* Robert Vmfrevile with garison
 Of Berwike with his cuntremen,
 Folowed aftir the Scottes with his penon,
 On the hind riders, and many of hem þen
 He toke homwarde, and slew squiers ten
 2470 Within Scotlond, biside Chirneside town,
 And to Berwik came with his garisown.

The erle Dowglas þan hight *Sir* Archebalde,
 Whiche his oon egh had lost at Homyldon,
 That semid him wele ay aftir manyfalde,
 2475 At Shrewesbury for his coreccion
 He lost oon of his stones for his raunson;
 His sege þan left at Rokesburgh where he lay,
 And with the duke of Albany rode away.

[f. 167v]

The erles two of Douglas and Dunbarre
 2480 For tr[e]wes sent to Robert Vmfrevile,
 Wardeyne of the Est Marche ful wise *and* warre;
 He wolde none take with hem for no while,
 Seth thay the trewes had broken and did file:
 He sholde hem holde the werre til thay were fayne
 2485 To seke the pees þan at the kinge agayne.

The kinge was þan in Fraunce hool regent,
 And Paris had and all the londe aboute,
 Troys in Champayne, and Mews in Bry had hent,
 With all citees, townes, and castelles stoute,
 2490 In all that lond and cuntry there thurhout;
 Of Mews he made *Sir* Iohn Gray þan capteyne
 That was Lorde Powes so by his wife certayne.

2458 the] *insert.* E; and] *after the canc.* I. 2463] He toke homeward than so to Scotlond Hu. 2464 more sone] soner H; retourned to] turned towarde H; to] into A, D. 2465 garison] *after* þe E, I, T, P1, P2. 2466 with] *after* so and H. 2471 with] *rep.* Hu; his] *om.* T. 2472 Sir] *om.* H. 2473 his] is I; *after* is *canc.* T. 2477 His] *He corr. to His* I. 2480 trewes] trwes S; Robert] *after* Sir T. 2482 for] *after* þan A, D, E, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2483 the] *insert.* Hv. 2484 sholde] wolde H; the] pleyn H; fayne] slayne Hv. 2485 the (1)] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2; their H. 2489 citees] *after* þe T; townes] *rep.* Hv. 2490 there] *om.* E; þen T. 2491 þan] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 2492 so] *om.* E, Hu, I, T, P1, P2.

That tyme *Sir* Raufe Cromwel was *gouernoure*
 Of Kinge Charles and of Isabel the quene,
 2495 Bi Kinge Henry ordeynd theire protectoure,
 Who keped hem at Boys Vincent, as was sene,
 In royall wise as to hem did partene
 The [kinge] bisy that tyme in his conquest
 For to sette rule in Fraunce couthe haue rest.

2500 In this mene-while *Sir* Robert Vmfrevile,
 Wardayne of the Marche, thought þan ful grete shame
 The kinge in Fraunce doing so wele that while,
 He made the werre on Scotte to haue a name,
 Two yere complete he wrought hem mikil shame;
 2505 The Est Marche hool of Scotlond þan he brent,
 And market townes echone or that he stent.

Hawik, Selkirk, Iedworth, and als Dunbarre,
 Law<e>dre also, with all Lawedredale,
 The forestes als fro Berwik that were farre,
 2510 Of Etrik, Iedworth, and eke all Tevidale,
 He stroyed and brent and boldly brought in bale,
 And no helpe had but of his cuntreymen,
 Of the busshopriche and of Northumbrelond þen.

[f. 168r]

How þe kinge and the quene come into Englond the eght yere of him.

The eght yere of his regne, at Candilmesse
 2515 The kinge came home and brought with him the quene,
 That he had wed at Troys in Campayn doutlesse;
 At Troys in Campayn, as þan was wele sene,
 The duke of Clarence, as men wele yet mene,
 He made regent of Fraunce in his abcence,
 2520 To occupy right as his owne presence.

The erle of Salisbury, the Mountagewe,
 He made *gouernoure* thane of Normandy;
 The erle of Kyme, a knyght of his full trewe,
 Marchall of Fraunce he made opynly;

2494 of (2)] *om.* A, D, E, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2496 hem] *after* hym *canc.* I. 2498 kinge bisy] bisy S, Hv; kyng H; in] *after* wase besy H. 2499 couthe] so to H; rest] *after* no A, D, E, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2501 ful] ryght A, D; *om.* H. 2502 in] *rep.* S. 2505 hool] all I; of] and H. 2506 or] *insert. after* er *canc.* E. 2507 als] all E, I, T, P1, P2. 2508 Lawedre] e *insert.* S; all] the P2. 2510 all] of Hu. 2511] *om. with space* A, D; *om. without space* Hu; And all þe villages in hem bothe grete and smale E, I, T, P1, P2. 2513 of (2)] *om.* T. 2514-48] *misplaced after* l. 2555 E, I, T, P1, P2. 2516 That] Whome H; wed] wodde *corr. to* wedde T. 2517] At whiche place so than as wase well sene H; At Troyes in Campayn] Afor þe lordes of Fraunce E, I, T, P1, P2; was] *after* it A, D. 2518 wele yet] it wele Hv; yet] it E, I, T, P1, P2. 2523 of (1)] *om.* T. 2524 opynly] *after* full E, I, T, P1, P2.

2525 These lordes all he ordeynd there to ly,
 Hym to confort, and to bene intendaunt
 To hym in all that might hym bene plesaunt.

This prince of princis in Englund than abode
 To somer aftir, eche day in businesse,
 2530 To ordayne for his passage and his roode
 To Fraunce agayne, in whiche tyme þan doutlesse
 I sawe two knyghtes afore him thanne expresse
 That noon myght hem acorde ne trete to pees,
 Ne iustice noon of feightyng myght hem cees.

2535 The lordes gretly counceilde the kynge
 To make hem fynde surte to kepe the pees,
 The kyng answerde anoon without tariynge,
 ‘I shalle be youre borowe nowe or I cees,
 For of this thyng I may not long youe prees;
 2540 But what case fall that slayne is one of youe,
 The tothir shall die, to God I make a vowe.’

They hering this anoon thay were accorde
 By freendes that tyme bitwene theym two,
 And aftir that they were no more discorde.
 2545 This was a iustice of pees þat cowthe soo
 His office kepe withouten borowes mo:
 For when he died iustice of pees bood noon,
 But barettoures thaire office kept anoone.

[f. 168v]

**How þe Scottis came into Englund in his nynth yere to take þe trews at þe king as
 Vmfreuyle had hight hem afore.**

In this mene-tyme the Scottes had grete payne,
 2550 Wharfore the erles of Douglas and Dunbarre
 To London came, and toke a trewes full fayne,
 As Vmfreuyle hem hight afore the warre
 That to the kynge they sholde it seke of farre,
 Of whyche he kept his heest than ful two yere,
 2555 For with his werre he wast the Marche ful clere.

2525 These] The A, D, E, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; all] *rep. and canc.* Hu; he] *om.* P2; ly] *after bi canc.* Hu.
 2527 hym bene plesaunt] hem accord ne trete to pees I. 2528 This prince of] These H; in] of H. 2532
 expresse] doughtlesse A. 2533 noon] *om.* T; ne] or P1, P2; to] of H; in T. 2534 iustice] *after in canc.*
 T. 2535 gretly] *after* þen E, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; gretly counceilde] *rev.* A, D. 2537 answerde] *after anw*
canc. I; answerde anoon] *rev.* A. 2539 youe] þou I. 2540 is] be H; one] noon E, I. 2541 The] That E;
 to God I make] I make to God A, T; I make hertly to God D. 2543 that tyme] so þat treted A; *after* þat
 trete D, E, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2544 discorde] *after* at E, I, T, P1, P2. 2545 soo] *after* do E, I, T, P1, P2.
 2549 tyme] *after* while *canc.* Hu. 2549-55] *occur in between ll. 2513 and 2514 of this edition* E, I, T,
 P1, P2. 2551 a] *om.* H. 2555 with his] whiche H; he wast the] his H; ful *after* wase than H.

At the Pasche eyn þe duke of Clarence smote the bateil of Baway, in the yere of Crist MCCCCXX[I], and in þe IXth yere of the kinge; for that yere the fest of the Annunciacion of oure Lady fel on Paschetyfe day, and the date chaunged aftir that bateil in Pasche weke.

And at the Pasche thanne in his nynt yere,
The duke of Clarence the enmyes had espied,
At Bawgy thanne for whiche his men in fere
He semblid fast and thider fast he hyed,
2560 On Pasche evyn he wolde not ben replied,
With whom were thanne the erle of Huntyngdon,
And of Somerset the erle, his wiffes sonne.

And nere at Bawgy cam Gilbert Vmfreuile,
Marchal of Fraunce, with fyue hors and no mo,
2565 And of good witte counceild him that while
To kepe the churche and Goddis seruice tho,
And aftir the feest to seke vpon his fo;
He answard him, 'If that thoue be afeerd,
Go home thy way and kepe the churche yerde.

2570 For thoue hast bene with the kynge to longe
To make me lese my wirship and my name,
Thoue hast ay gote the worshyp ay amonge
And I haue none, thus wolde thoue lese my fame,'
With suche wordes chidinge he did hym blame,
2575 'Go home,' he saide, 'if that thoue be af[r]ayed,
And kepe the churche as thoue me nowe has said.'

With that he saide, 'My lorde ye haue no men
With the enmyes thus hastely to fight;
Your men wote not of this, ne how, ne when,
2580 To semble to youe of power ne of myght,
For truly nowe my cousyne Gray now right
And I haue here but ten men and no mo;
But ye shall neuer say we leue youe so.'

[f. 169r]
So rood they forthe, ay chidyng by the way,
2585 To thay to Bawgy ouyr the briges were goon,
Where the enmyse were bataild in array,

2555 *gloss after* MCCCCXXI] MCCCCXX S. 2556 thanne] þair T; nynt] xv P1, P2. 2558 his] *insert*. I; men] *after* in I. 2559 fast (1)] *om*. E, P1, P2; fast (2)] *om*. T; he] hym T; hyed] *after y canc*. Hu. 2561 thanne] *om*. P2. 2562 of] *om*. E, I, T, P1, P2. 2564 and] *om*. Hu. 2568 He] *after* And E, I, T, P1, P2; that] *om*. E, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2572 ay (2)] euer E, I, T, P1, P2. 2573 my fame] *om*. Hv; fame] name H. 2575 Go home] To whome P1, P2; that] *om*. Hu, I, T; afrayed] aflayed S. 2576 And] Then P2; me nowe] *rev*. H; has] have A. 2578 to] *after* for A, D. 2579 ne (2)] *after* to *canc*. Hu. 2582 I] *om*. Hu; here] *om*. T. 2583 ye] *after* yit A, D, E, Hu, I, T, P1; leue] *after* shall Hu. 2584 ay] *om*. Hu.

Where *thar*ne thay light and faught with hem anoon;
 The duke was slayne that day there with his soon,
 With hym were slayne þanne the erle Vmfrevile,
 2590 And *Sir* Iohn Gray, the erle of Taunkerville,

The lorde Roos, and *Sir* Iohn of Lumley,
 With many othir were with him slayne þat day,
 Whos names I cannot write ne sey;
 The erles two of Huntingdon no nay,
 2595 Of *Somerset* als, were takyn there I say
 For prisoners, and put to greet raunson,
 And lay ful longe in Fraunce than in *prison*.

The Englissh powere came when al was doon,
 And reskued thane the deed men where they lay,
 2600 And brought the lordes home fro thens than ful soon
 That deed were there vpon the feeld that day,
 And buried hem in Englund in good array,
 Echone in his owne abbay or colage
 Afore founded within his heritage.

2605 At *Caunterbury* the duke was of Clarence,
 Biside his fadir, Kinge Henry, buried,
 With suche honoure, costage, and expence,
 As the duchesse his wife couth signified,
 Whiche nedid nocht to bene modified;
 2610 She was so wele within herselfe avised
 Of grete sadnesse and womanhod prevised.

**Howe þe kinge went ayene to Fraunce, and left þe quene in Englonde with childe,
 and wan diuers citees, townes, and castels in somer, in his IX yere, and of Crist
 MCCCCXXI, for þe date of Criste changed þat yere on Pashetyfedaie.**

The kinge let the quene in Englund bide
 In somer than, the nynt yer of his date,
 And into Fraunce agayne he went that tide,
 2615 With heuy herte, to Parice went algate,
 The castel of Parfount thanne sone he gate,
 A royal place of all that men haue sene,
 The grete cite of company als, I wene,

2589 hym] *insert*. Hu; the erle] ther P2; Vmfrevile] *after* of A; *after* Sir T. 2590 the] *om*. Hu. 2591 of] *om*. E, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2592 were] *after* þat A, D; þat E. 2595 als] *om*. D; there] als A, D; *insert*. *after* as I T. 2597 than] þere T. 2598 came] *om*. E. 2599 And] A D. 2600 home fro thens than] than fro thens home Hu; than ful] ryght A, D; than] *om*. H, T. 2601 deed] *om*. E, I, T, P1, P2. 2604 within] within *with* in *insert*. T. 2608 couth] made E; than H; signified] *after* haue P1, P2. 2609 nocht] *after* it Hu. 2612 let] *after* than A, D, E, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2614 into] to T; agayne he went] he went agayne A. 2615 heuy] *after* a I. 2616 thanne] *om*. E, I, T, P1, P2. 2617 all] *om*. I. 2618 grete cite of company] gretteste in compasse H.

- [f. 169v]
 The citees also of Cassouys, Bray, and Crayle,
 2620 Of Owsare als, with many citees mo,
 And to Paris agayne withouten faile
 In his castel of Lovre abidinge tho.
 Tydandes þan came ful glad to him and mo
 That of a prince delyuerd was the quene,
 2625 Of whiche all men reioysed as was sene.
- Saynt Dynys þan, and castel Boys Vincent,
 Corbel, Pount Melake, and ful grete parte of Fraunce,
 Burgoyne, Artayes, and Picardy hem sent
 To bene his men without contrariaunce,
 2630 And eche cite, to hym sworne in substaunce,
 Walled townes and castels euerychone,
 As high regent of Fraunce than by hym one.
- Than rode he forth to Bawgy and Orlience,
 Wynnyng the towns and citees in his way,
 2635 And castels all that were of grete defence,
 Crypy, Lawnesse, and Mylly with grete afray,
 Neigent le Roy he gat with grete array,
 Pount Charenton with many othir obeied
 To his highnesse, and were his men conveied.
- 2640 The duke of Britayne þan was his man
 For fe bilaste without rebellyon,
 The count Seynt Poule his man was þan,
 The duke of Burgoyne without suspeccion,
 With many othir his men without colusion
 2645 Were sworne than hool, the citees in same wise,
 Castels and townes, eke as he couthe deuisse.
- In August so of his regne the tent yere,
 He toke siknesse, and lay at Boys Vyncent,
 In paynes stronge, as þan it did appere,
 2650 Ful like to passe, wherfor in his entent,
 The duke of Bedforde he made high regent
 Of Fraunce, and of his othir londes all
 Byyonde the se as chife in generall.

2622 of Lovre abidinge] abydyng of Lover A, D. 2623 þan] *om.* A; þe T; ful glad to him] to hym full glad E, I, T, P1, P2. 2628 hem] *after* to P1, P2. 2630 sworne] *after* were A, D. 2631 Walled] Called H. 2632 of Fraunce] *om.* A, D; than] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2; hym] his H. 2634 townes and citees] *rev.* A. 2637 array] affray A. 2638 othir] þere T. 2641 fe] *om.* H; without] with þe T. 2643 The] *after* With many T. 2644 colusion] abusioun H. 2645 citees] countrees P1, P2; same] *after* þe E, I, T, P1, P2. 2651 high] his Hu. 2653 as] and T.

[f. 170r]

And of hys sonne Henry he made custode
 2655 Thomas Bewford, his vncler dere and trewe,
 Duke of Excetre, full of all worthihode,
 To maynteyn his right, *and* law to pursewe,
 To tyme his sonne of *perfit*e age grewe,
 With helpe of his othir eme than ful wise,
 2660 The busshop of Wynchestre of good avise.

The erle thanne of Salisbury manly,
 That Mountagew than hight by *surname*,
 He sette to kepe þan all Normandy,
 The cuntrey to rewle and kepe fro blame,
 2665 Vndir the regent, as knyght of ful grete fame,
 The erle of Oxenforde, and of Suffolke also,
 Of his covnceile to bene with many mo.

How þe kinge died þe last daie of August, the yere of Crist MCCCCXXII, and of his regne in þe tent yere.

The last day of August than ful clere,
 Of Crystes date a thousand signified,
 2670 Four hundred and two and twenty clere,
 Whann this prince of princes also died
 At Boys Vincent, with deth þan victoried,
 That neuer prince on erth than myght haue done,
 But <he> alone that reulith bothe sonne and mone,
 2675 With whos bones the quene came to Englonde.
 The kinge of Scottes lames with hir also,
 The duke of Excetre, as I can vndirstonde,
 The erle of Marche Edmond Mortymere tho,
 Richard Beuchamp thanne erle of Warwik so,
 2680 Vmfray erle of Stafford, þan yonge of age,
 And Erle Edmond of Mortayn, wise and sage.

The lamentacion *and* conceite of þe maker of this boke for the kingis deeth, þat regned but IX yere and an half.

2655 dere] gude T. 2657] To tyme his son to perfyte age grewe A, D, E, I, T, P1, P2; *om. without a space* H, Hu. 2658] *blank with space* A, D; He to kepe hym chaungeyng for no newe E, I, T, P1, P2; of] to H, Hu. 2659 othir eme] broþer E. 2660 of good avise] bothe good and wyse A; of] both D. 2663 þan] *om.* Hu. 2664] *reading of 2665 given instead* A, D, E, I, T, P1, P2; *om. without a space* H, Hu. 2665] *blank with space* A, D; With oþer lordes full sage and worthy of name E, I, T, P1, P2. 2668 ful] *om.* P2. 2669 signified] noteffied I. 2670 and two] *om.* Hu; clere] yere E, H, I, T, P1, P2. 2671 this] *after* þat A, D, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; also] *om.* A, D; so E, I, T, P1, P2. 2672 victoried] devou H. 2673 on] in A, D, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; than myght] *rev.* P1, P2. 2674 he] *insert.* S; bothe] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 2675 to] into D. 2678 Edmond] *after* Mortymer *canc.* Hu; tho] also E. 2680 erle] *after* þen E, I, T, P1, P2; þan] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 2681 of] *om.* E, Hu, T.

O good Lorde God, that art omnypotent,
 Whi strechid nocht thy power and myght,
 To kepe this prince, that set was and consent
 2685 With the emperoure to conuerte Cirry right,
 And with Cristen enhabite it had hight?
 Why fauourd so thyne high omnypotence
 Mescreantes more than his benivolence?

[f. 170v]

How through þe lawe *and* pees conseruid was þe cawse *and* thencrees of his conquest, and els had he ben of no powere to haue conq<e>rid in owt londis.

Aboue al this he kept the law and pees,
 2690 Thurgh all Englund, þat noone insurreccion
 Ne no riottes were than withouten lees,
 Ne neyghbore were in faute of correccion;
 But pesibly vndir his proteccion
 Complaynte all of wrong in generall
 2695 Reformed were wele vndir his yerde egall.

Whanne he in Fraunce dayly were conuersant
 His shadew so obumbred all Englund,
 That pees and lawe were kept contynuant
 In his absence thurghout in all this londe,
 2700 And els, as I consayue and vndirstonde,
 His power had ben lite to conquere Fraunce,
 Ner othir remes that were wel lesse purchaunce.

The pees at home and lawe so wele conserued
 Were crop and rote of all high conqeste,
 2705 Thurgh whiche the loue of God he wel deserued,
 And of his peple, be north, south, est, and weste,
 Who myght haue slayne that prince, or doun he kest,
 That stood so sure in rightful gouernaunce
 For comon wele, to Goddis high plesaunce.

Henry, his sone, kinge of Englonde *and* of Fraunce, that fled into Scotlond without <cause> on Palme Sondag the XXXIX yere of his regne, and MCCCCLXI, that began to regne MCCCCXXII.

2683 myght] *after* þy A, D, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2684 consent] *after* r *canc.* E. 2685 conuerte] conquere H. 2686 enhabite] *after* it D; it had] hill and T. 2688 *gloss after* conquerid] e *insert.* S. 2689 this] þynge A, D, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2695 wele] *om.* A, D, T; yerde] swerde A, D. 2696 in] *after* was E; dayly] *after* was I, T, P1, P2; ere] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2; wase H. 2698 were] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 2699 in (2)] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2; this] his T. 2700 as] als D; consayue] can seyne P1, P2; vndirstonde] *after* als E. 2701 ben lite] be lytell A; lite] lytell A, E, H, T. 2702 were wel] *rev.* E, I, P1, P2. 2703 at home, and lawe] and law at home A, D, Hu, I. 2704 high] *after* his A, D, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1. 2705 loue] *after* lawe *canc.* T. 2707 that] þe P1, P2; he] hym A, D, E, H, Hu, I, T. 2708 sure] ever Hu. 2709 *gloss after* cause] *insert.* S.

2710 Henry his sonne, thanne not thre quarters olde,
That borne was on Saynt Nicholas day afore,
At Wyndsore, so as al the reme þan wolde,
Vnto the croun succede as he was bore,
Of Englund hool, by myght of lordes thore.

2715 The duke of Gloucetre than desired
To haue kepinge of the kyng aspired.

The busshop of Wyncher it withstode,
With all the lordes there hool of his assent,
Thanne wolde he ben, as for the next of blode,
2720 Lieutenaunt than of Englund and regent,
The busshop ay withstode all his entent,
That chauncellare was by fifte kyng Henry made,
And so forthe stood and in the office bade,

[f. 171r]

How þe duke of Gloucetre, bi parliament, was made protectour and defendoure at Mighelmesse terme, in his first yere.

For cause he was so noyouse with to dele,
2725 An office wolde he haue and gouernaunce,
Wherfor thay made hym, for the comoun wele,
Protectoure of the reme by ordynaunce,
To kepe it in welthe, from all myschaunce.
The kyng of Fraunce for sorow þan so died,
2730 The quene his wife also, as was notified.

The lorde Cromwel lost ther of nothyng
For he had bothe than in his gouernaunce,
And home than came whanne buried was the kyng,
Charles of Fraunce, with worthy ordynaunce,
2735 Quene Isabel also with purviaunce,
Accordant wele to their roial estate,
With costage grete, as was preordynate.

How þe duke of Bedford was regent of Fraunce, and wed Anne, the sistre of the duke of Burgoyne.

2711 on] at A, D, H, Hu, I, T, P1; vpon E. 2712 so] than Hu; al] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2; the] *insert.* T. 2713 croun] *after* reame *canc.* Hu. 2714 Of (1)] All E, I, T, P1, P2; of (2)] and H; lordes] lorde H. 2716 kepinge] *after* þe E, I, P1, P2; aspired] enspired E, I, T, P1, P2. 2719 ben] *after* haue P1, P2. 2720 than of Englund] of Englund þan A; and] *after* þan D, Hu. 2722 fifte] *after* þe E, I, P1, P2; þe T. 2723 and (2)] *insert.* E, T; *om.* H; the] his A, D; bade] *after* and H; *gloss after* protectour] prtectour *with o insert.* S. 2724 to] *after* þat *canc.* T. 2725 he] to T; and] in I. 2727 the] alle Hu; ordynaunce] *after* gouernaunce *canc.* Hu. 2728] *om. with space* A; *without space* D; And Defensoure to avoide all distaunce H; it in welthe] þe londe E, I, T, P1, P2; all myschaunce] myschief and variaunce E, I, T, P1, P2. 2729 so] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 2730 his] *after* also I; as] *om.* T; was] *after* it A, D. 2732 than] them P1, P2. 2734 worthy] roiall H; worthy (w *insert.*) Hv.

The first day of the month Septembre
 He gan to regne, þan was a thousand yere,
 2740 Foure hundred, as I can remembre,
 Twenty and two acompte thanne ful clere,
 Of oure Lordes date, this kynge faire of chere
 Noth than corounde for tendirnesse of age,
 Nor yet enoynte for drede of youthes outrage.

2745 The duke of Bedford stood forth ay regent,
 The duke Gloucetre here was so protectoure,
 The busshop of Wynchestre, by parlement,
 Was chauncellere and highest gouernoure
 Of the kyngis persone and his grete socoure,
 2750 His godfadir and his fadirs eme,
 And supportoure was moost of all this reme.

The regent thanne of Fraunce wed Anne his wife,
 The dukis sistre of Burgoyn, good and faire,
 The duke of Britayn hir sistre knowen rife,
 2755 Had wed afore without any dispayre,
 A noble woman and of good repayre;
 Whiche duke two were sworne and alyed
 With the regent to stonde strongly fortified.

[f. 171v]

How the regent, with lordes, smote the batel Vernoyle in Perche, the thrid yere of Kinge Henry þe sixt.

The erle of Boughan, and the erle Douglas,
 2760 The erle of Wigton with power of Scotlond,
 And lordes of Fraunce togidir semblid was,
 At Vernoyle in Perche, as I can vndirstonde,
 Where the regent and lordes of Englonde,
 Faught with hem sore, and slew the Scottes cruelly,
 2765 And bad hem think amonge vpon Bawgy.

The regent had the feeld and victory
 With grete honowre, and laude ful comfortable;
 The erles were there with hym of Salisbury,

2738 Septembre] *after* of E, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2739 a] *om.* T. 2740 as] *after* als H. 2742] *om. without space* A, D, H, Hu; As I fynde write in þe cronicilers E, I, T, P1, P2. 2743 Noth than] But nought A, D, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2745 forth] *after* so A, D, E, H, Hu, P1, P2; *after* ay *canc.* so I; *after* on T. 2746 Gloucetre] *after* of E, I, T, P1, P2; here] there T; here was so] wase so here H; so] *om.* E. 2750 fadirs] godfadyr Hv. 2751 was moost] *rev.* T; this] his T. 2752 his] *after* to A, Hu. 2756] *om. without space* A, D, H, Hu; Which was a lady of grete repeire E, I, T, P1, P2; a] *om.* P2. 2757 duke two] *rev.* E; were] was I. 2762] *transposed with* 2763 E, I, T, P1, P2. 2763 and] wip A, D, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2764 hem sore, and slew the Scottes] the Scottes and slewe hem þere A, D. 2765 think among] *rev.* E; vpon] wele on E; on P1, P2. 2766 victory] *after* all þe A, D. 2768 hym] *om.* T.

Of Suffolke als, that were ful honerable,
 2770 The lorde Weloughby, ful fortunate,
 The lorde Scale of grete and high corage,
 With many othir of the baronnage.

The erle of Ewe, *and* his broþer manly,
 Faught on þat feeld, *and* gat a worthy name,
 2775 And many mo did so ful doughtily,
 I dar wel say was noon þerfor to blame.
 Al oþer als whiche that were worthi fame,
 I wold haue writen, if I had know þ<e>ire mede,
 But to hir reward I wil commit þ<e>ire dede.

2780 They slew the erles of Boughan and Douglas,
 And of Wigton of Scotlond that were there,
 The lorde of Ennermeth of Scotland than was,
 With grete peple that deed þanne þer were,
 Oure Engliſſhe men, manly did hem bere.

2785 The regent thore was that day a lyon,
 And faught in armes like any champion.

How Mountagew, erle of Salisburie, laide sege to Orlience and was slayne there.

The erle of Salisbury þan, Mountagew,
 With power grete laide sege to Orlience,
 Whare slayne he was, for whom men sore gan rew;
 2790 So manly was his knyghtly diligence,
 He laboured euyr in marcyal excellence,
 Vnto the tyme, as wolde the ende of faute,
 Wyth a quarell was slayne infortunate,

And buried was in Englund that yere,
 2795 With grete worship and high solempnite.
 Richard Nevell had wed his doughter clere,
 And erle was made that tyme by hir in fe.
 The regent than, of grete nobilite,
 By counceyle than of the duke of Burgoyn
 2800 Kept Fraunce ful well without any essoyn.

2769 als] *insert.* E; ful *rep.* and *canc.* I. 2770 ful] *after* þat was A, D. 2773-79 *margin.* S, A, D, H. 2774 on] in E, I, T, P1, P2. 2775 so] þo E, I, P1, P2; þer T; doughtily] *after* doute *del.* I. 2777 als] *om.* A; whiche] *om.* Hu; worthi] *after* of Hu; fame] *after* of E, I, T, P1, P2. 2778 þeire] þeire (*first e insert.*) S. 2779 hir reward] herawdes A, D, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; þeire] þeire (*first e insert.*) S. 2782 of (1)] *insert.* I; *om.* T. 2784 manly] *after* full A, D, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; did] *om.* A, D, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2785 thore was] *rev.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 2786 any] a E. 2788 power grete] *rev.* P1, P2. 2789 gan] dide H. 2797 that tyme by hir] by her þat tyme T. 2798 than] *after* of Fraunce E; *om.* Hu. 2799 than of the duke] of the duke þan A, D, E, Hu, I, T, P1, P2.

[f. 172r]

T[h]an died his wiffe, and wed than so[n]e agayne
 The count Seynt Poules sistir of Fraunce,
 That lieg man was to Kynge Henry certayne,
 To the regent sworne, as by ful grete suraunce,
 2805 With trew *seruice* all trew alliaunce.
 He kept both Fraunce and eke all Normandy
 In pees and rest ful wele and worthily.

The erle Richard of Warwik kept the kynge
 By all this tyme, seth tyme the duke was deed
 2810 Of Excetir that fir[s]t hym had in kepyng.
 But Erle Richard in mykil worthiheed
 Enformed hym, but of his litil simpleheed
 He couthe litill within his brest conseyue,
 The good from evil he couth vnneeth *perseyue*.

**Howe the kinge was enoynt and crowned in Englonde þe yere MCCCCXXIX yere of
 oure Lorde.**

2815 The kynge than in his eght yere in Englonde,
 At Westmyntre vpon Saynt Lynard Day,
 The Sonday than it was, I vndirstonde,
 And of Crist was a thousand ful I say,
 Foure hundred and twenty and nyne no nay,
 2820 He coroued was with all solempnite,
 By hool assent of lordes and comente.

**How he was affir crowned in Fraunce, the yere MCCCCXXXI, and of his regne the
 tenth yere, in whos presence the regent cesid of his office of regent, for þe whiche
 he was wroth with þe cardinal, his vncler, for as moche as þe kinge was present
 there sholde be no regent.**

Than of his regne acompt in the tenth yere,
 To Fraunce he went, where than at Saynt Dynyse,
 His fadirs eme, the cardynal ful clere,
 2825 Hym coroued the[n] with busshops there ful wise;
 The regent was there with suche *seruyce*
 As was dew of reson to hym appent,
 The duke of Burgoyne, also obedient.

2801 Than (1)] Tan S; *after* Thay kept *canc.* E; than (2)] *om.* Hu, T; sone] solie S. 2804] *transposed*
with 2805 Hu; as] *om.* H. 2805 trew (1)] *after* full A, D; all] *after* and A, D, E, Hu, I, P1, P2; and H;
after and with T. 2806 both] all A. 2809 tyme (2)] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 2810 first] firt S. 2811 But
 Erle] The duke E, I, T; Therle] P1, P2. 2812] *after* He couthe lytyll within hys *canc.* Hv; litil] *om.* A,
 D, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2817 it was, I] as I can E, I, T, P1, P2. 2818 a] þen E; *after* þen E, I, P1, P2;
 full T; ful] þan T. 2822 in] *om.* P1, P2. 2823 went] *rep. and canc.* Hu. 2825 then] the S, Hv; fayre A,
 D, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2827 to] *after* and E, I, T, P1, P2.

The duke also was there than of Britayn,
 2830 The count Seynt Poule and the duke Enbayre,
 The erle of Foys, with othir lordes of Guyayn,
 The provest of Paris, with grete repayre
 Aftir theire astate, comly clad and fayre,
 The gouernours of all the grete citees,
 2835 And prelates feel, and barons for thaire fees.

[f. 172v]

The lord Cromwele was chambirlyayne in Fraunce at his coronacion and discharged at his comynge home into Englonde.

The lord Cromwell was his chaumbirlyayne,
 Who was so wise, he wrote of grete recorde
 His homagers as to him did partayne
 In Fraunce that tyme, by good and trew accorde,
 2840 For his fees, than as thay and he concorde.
 Of Cristes date was than a thousand yere,
 Foure hundred als and oon and thretty clere.

How the yere MCCCCXXXV the duke of Bedford, regent of Fraunce, died. The duke of Burgoyne was made regent a yere, and of Kinge Henrie XIII yere.

The regent died, for whom was made grete mone;
 Than both councaills of Englonde and of Fraunce
 2845 Chase the duke of Burgoyne þan anone
 To regent of Fraunce, for grete affiaunce,
 That kept it wele a yere in all suraunce;
 But sone þerafter with the dolpyne accorded,
 And was his man, as þan was wele recorded.

Richard Beuchamp, erle of Warwike, was made regent there, and died at Rone in þe castell.

2850 The erle Richard of Warwik than consayved
 Of the symplesse and grete innocence
 Of Kynge Henry, as he it noght persayued,
 Desired to be discharged of his diligence
 About the kynge; and by his sapience,
 2855 Was sent to Fraunce, and so was made regent,
 And kept it wele in al establisment

2829 than] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 2832 provest] *after* profeste *canc.* T; grete] *after* oþer A, D, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2833] *om.* with space A; *om.* without space D, H, Hu; Of lordes, knyghtes and mony ladies feire E, I, T, P1, P2. 2836 Cromwell] *insert.* *after illegible word canc.* Hu. 2837 wrote] was E, I, T, P1, P2. 2839 that] *insert.* Hv. 2840 than] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 2841 a] *om.* T. 2844 councaills] *after* the Hu. 2846 To] For H; Fraunce] þat londe E, I, T, P1, P2. 2847 it] *om.* I; a] oone H. 2849 And] *om.* P2; þan was well] well was þen T; was (2)] *om.* H, I. 2852 noght] wele E, I, T, P1, P2 ought H. 2855 so] *om.* H; was made] *rev.* E; made] *after* ther H; *om.* P1, P2.

Till that he died out of this wor[l]d away,
 For whom grete mone was made *and* lamentacion,
 For his wisdome, and for his manhed ay,
 2860 For his nature and *communicacion*.
 He stode in grace of hygh *commendacion*
 Amonge all folke vnto the day he died,
 Regent of Fraunce ful gretly laudified.

How þe duke of Burgoyne biseged Caleis and set vp his bastel there, and how þe duke of Gloucetre rescowed it.

The duke of Burgoyne than to Caleis came,
 2865 And set a bataile þan afore the toune,
 The which the erle of Morteyne, by his name,
 Edmond Beuford, as made is mencion,
 With sowdiours it gatt and bet it don.
 The duke went home, and left the sege *with* shame,
 2870 Whan he oure flete saw saylyng on the fame.

[f. 173r]

The protectoure with his flete at Caleis than
 Did lond, and rode in Flaunders litil way,
 And litil did to count a manly man,
 But that þe sege for him þan fled away;
 2875 The duke discrute sore seke was many day,
 For sorow and shame he helde him out of sight,
 Meny a yere he went not out to fight.

How Kinge Iames of Scotlond beseged Sir Rafe Gray in Rokisburgh, and how Henry Percy, erle of Northumbirlond, rescowed it wit[h] VII score thowsand men.

In that same tyme, of Scotlond als Kynge Iames
 To Rokesburgh came, and laid his sege about.
 2880 Sir Raufe <Gray> þan kept it from all shames,
 Agayne his sautes, þat were than ful stout.
 The erle than of Northumbirlond thurghout
 Raised vp the lond, and whan he cam it nere,
 The kynge trump t vp and went away ful clere.

The consaite of the makere of the boke.

2857 world] word S; *after* wolr *canc.* I. 2858 was] *om.* E. 2860 his] *rep.* T; *communicacion*] *after* for his I. 2861 hygh] *om.* A. 2863 laudified] *magnyfied* A. 2864 than] *om.* Hu. 2865 a] *after* vp E. 2869 home] thens Hu; with] w [*sic*] H. 2872 in] into P1, P2; Flaunders *after* Calays *canc.* Hu; litil] *after* a P1, P2. 2873 count] *after* a *canc.* Hu. 2874 that] at T; þe] *om.* Hu; for] from T. 2875 seke] like I; day] *after* a E, H, I, T, P1, P2. 2876 helde] kepte H. 2877 *gloss after* with] wit S. 2878 In] *after* And T; of] *after* also P1, P2; als] *om.* T, P1, P2. 2879 laid] lond Hv; his] *om.* T; about] *after* all T. 2880 Gray] *insert.* S. 2881 were than] *rev.* P1, P2. 2883 it] *om.* Hu. 2884 away] his way A, D; ful] *om.* Hu.

2885 Who sawe euer afore two hostes roiall
 So esily withouten stroke discomfite,
 Of dyuers londes and neythir had a fall,
 In feeld þan wolde nouthir stond nor site,
 But for the shadows þat were inperfitte
 2890 Of oure hoostes so fled and sawe nothyng,
 But vmbres two of oure hoostes þan comyng.

But thus I deme, the princes were forswore,
 The kinge of Scottes, the duke of Burgoyne eke,
 That they ne durst on no grounde bide therfore;
 2895 Thaire vntruth made their hertes faynt and seke,
 Trust neuer thayre manhod after worth a leke,
 Than vncopellid for sworne ere wilfully
 Shal neuer aftir haue honoure or victory.

De periuris principio.

Take hede, ye lordes, of these grete princes two,
 2900 What cam of hem in short tyme aftir this;
 The kinge murdred, at home in Scotland þo,
 The duke was wood, or frantike for his mys,
 Thus vengauce fell vpon hem both iwis.
 Allas, a prince shulde haue soche cowardise,
 2905 To bene vntrue or fals in any wise,

[f. 173v]

Seth he nedith nocht so strecchith ay his powere
 To kepe his trithe, and make his fo the same,
 To kepe to hym with strengthe of swerde ful clere,
 Or els destroy his lond, and all his fame,
 2910 And put him to a foule and opyn shame
 To make hym so to kepe alway his trithe,
 But cowardise it lette and feerful slewthe.

Howe the erle of Huntingdon was regent of Normandy two yere.

Than went the erle thidir of Huntyngdon,

2885 Who sawe] Whosowe Hv. 2888] *reading of 2889 given instead* A, D; And on noo part smote no stroke perfite E, I, T, P1, P2; on] *om.* T; *om. without a space* H. 2889] *blank with space* A, D. 2891 vmbres] shadewes H; þan] *om.* T. 2894 no] the Hu. 2895 vntruth] *insert. after treuth canc.* E. 2896 thayre manhod after] aftir þayre manhode A, D. 2897 Than] That A, D; ere] beene H; or P1, P2. 2898 or] ne A, D, E, I, T, P1, P2. 2899 ye] *after the canc.* Hu. 2902 or] and E, I, T, P1, P2; his] *after this canc.* Hu. 2903 vpon] on A, D; both] boþe (e *insert.*) T. 2904 a prince] *rep.* Hu. 2906 strecchith] stretched (*first e insert. after e canc.*) E. 2910 him] þem T; to] *after so* E, I, T; *om.* P1. 2911] For periurye occupied and lawe vnpreserued E, I, T, P1, P2; so to kepe alway] so alweie to kepe H. 2912] Causeth mony a man to be ouerterbed E, I, T, P1, P2; a man] *om.* T; to] *after for* P1, P2. 2913-19] *transposed with 2920-2926* A, D, E, I, T, P1, P2. 2913 thidir] *om.* T.

2915 That kept thar lond with sad and trew *seruyse*
 With grete powere truly vnto the coron,
 Fro all the foos and eke the kynges enmyse,
 And few plasis loste, ne had no grete suppryse,
 And home he came ayene at two yere ende,
 Whanne his wages were gone and all hole spende.

How þe erle of Staff[ord] was oþer in yere regent of Normandy.

2920 But aftir thanne þe erle of Stafford went
 With powere stronge to kepe all Normandy,
 Two yere withholde by lordes all assent,
 Whiche wele he kept and ful honourably,
 With litill losse of placis fewe, sodenly
 2925 By enmyse wonne þat myght not long ben holde,
 And home he came whan spended was his golde.

Howe Ricard, duke of Yorke, was regent there vii yere.

2930 But aftir him the duke of Yorke ful yinge
 Thidir was sent, with grete p[o]were ryall,
 And regent was of all longe to þe kynge,
 And kept ful wele Normandy in especiall,
 But Fraunce was gone afore in generall;
 And home he came at seuen yere end agayne,
 With mikill loue of all the londe certayne.

Howe þe duke of Yorke was made lieutenaunt of Ireland.

2935 The duke of Yorke sent was þan to Irelande,
 Lieutenaunt there he was than many day,
 And grete thanke there and loue of all that londe
 He had amonge the Englisshe alway,
 And of the Irisshery bygan him to obay;
 He rewled that lond ful wele and worthily,
 2940 As did afore his noble auncetry.

[f. 174r]

How Emond, duke of Somerset, was made keper of Normandy.

2914 thar] þat A, D, E, H, I, P1, P2; the T. 2917 loste] left E; *om.* Hu; ne] he T. 2919 *gloss after* Stafford] Staff S. 2920 thanne] that A, D. 2922 by] with E, I, T, P1, P2; lordes all] *rev.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 2924 And fewe places lost ne had no grete suppryse A. 2925 By] With Hu. 2927 But] And A, D, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2928 powere] pwere S. 2929 longe] *after* þat A, D, E, I, T, P1, P2. 2933 mikill] full grete H; all] *om.* I, T, P1, P2. 2934 duke] Rycharde *insert. after* A; to] into T. 2935 there] *om.* A, D; then P1, P2; than] þere A, D, P1, P2; *after* many *canc.* Hu; day] *after* a A, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2936 all] *om.* T; that] þe E, I, P1, P2. 2937 Englisshe] Iresshrye E, I, T, P1, P2. 2938 of] all E, I, T, P1, P2. 2939 He] And H.

The kinge þan made the markeis of Dorcet,
 Emond Beuuford, at the cardnal request
 Without delay, than duke of Somerset,
 And sent him forth anone withouten rest
 2945 To Normandy, to kepe it for his best;
 But in his tyme Fastolfe and Kyriell
 Discomfite were in batayle sore and fell,

Whare seuen thousand Englishe were ouerthrowe;
 Wherfore the Frensshe semblid new eche day,
 2950 And gat the londe ay by and by on rowe,
 For whiche duke wrote his lettres ay
 Vnto the kynge and his counsell alway
 For more powere, and els he myght not byde
 To kepe the londe, Frenshe were of suche a pride.

2955 He couthe none gete this lond than was so peled
 Thurgh werre of Fraunce, thay wolde not *him* releue;
 So was the lond with Frenshe men wonne *and* weled,
 With sege eche day, and sautes fel and breue;
 The Frenshe noght rest that tyme day to eue;
 2960 We lost more than certeyn within two yere
 Than Kinge [H]enry gat seuen clere.

Than was the kynge com vnto mannys age,
 Wharfor the lordes wolde no protectoure,
 Wherfor the duke lost his grete auauntage
 2965 And was no more after defensoure;
 But þan he felle into a foule errowre,
 Moued by his wife Elianore Cobhame;
 To trust hir so, men thought he was to blame.

He wex thanne straunge eche day vnto the kynge,
 2970 For cause she was foriuged for sorcery,
 For enchauntmentes that she was in wirkyng
 Agayn the churche and the kynge cursidly,
 By helpe of oon may[s]ter Roger oonly,
 And into Wales he went of frowardnesse,

2941 The] Then E; þan] *om.* E. 2942 Beuford] *e insert.* S. 2943 duke] *after* þe E. 2946 Fastolfe] *canc.*
non fuit ibi insert. S. 2951 duke] *after* the A, D, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1. 2952 his] *after* to T. 2953 and]
after an el *canc.* Hu. 2954 Frenshe] *after* þe E, I, T, P1, P2; a] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 2955 than] *om.* A,
 D, T; than was] *rev.* E, I, P1, P2; peled] *after* pile *canc.* Hu. 2957 and weled] ad H. 2958] *transposed*
with 2961 A; and] with T. 2959] *transposed with* 2958 A; day] *after* a A, D, E, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; *after*
 oone H. 2960] *transposed with* 2959 A. 2961 Henry] enry *after* g S; gat] *after* the fiveth H; seuen]
after in A, D, E, H, Hu, Hv, I, T, P1, P2; clere] *after* yere Hv. 2962 vnto] to Hu. 2965 after] *after* þen
 E, I, T, P1, P2; defensoure] *after* þan A, D, H, Hu. 2966 into] in E, I, T, P1, P2; foule] full I; grete P1,
 P2. 2967 Elianore] *after* Dame A; Cobhame] *after* of followed by V *canc.* T. 2969 vnto] to Hu. 2970
 she] he I. 2971 was] had A, D. 2972 cursidly] *after* we *canc.* Hu. 2973 mayster] mayter S. 2974 into]
 in P2; of] for Hu.

2975 And to the kynge had grete heuynesse.

[f. 174v]

Wherfor the lordes þan of the kyngis counceyle
 Made the kynge to set his high parliament
 At Bury thanne, whiche he cam *without faile*,
 Whare in palsy he died incontynent

2980 For heuynesse, and losse of regyment;
 As oft afore he was in that siknesse,
 In poynt of deeth, and stode in sore distresse.

Than of the kynge was seuen and twenty yere
 Whan he so died in ful and hool creaunce

2985 As Cristen prince of royal blood ful clere,
 Contrite in herte with ful grete repentaunce,
 With mouth confessid to Goddis his plesaunce,
 Vnto the erthe, that is all flesshis nest,
 His body went, sowle to heuyns rest.

2990 And of the kynge the nyne and twenty yere
 In May the duke of Suffolk toke the se,
 On pilgrimage to passe as did appere,
 With bryggantes than with compast emnyte
 Hym slewe and heed with ful grete cruelte,
 2995 Agayne assurance of the kynges proteccion,
 That worthy were the deth for insurreccion.

The resumpcion of londis þat Henry þe sixt had graunted the XXIX yere.

That same yere than, at the high parlement,
 Was made a playne and hole resumpcion
 Of all the londes by sad and hole avisment,
 3000 Whiche the kynge had yeue of his affeccion
 To any wight by patent and concession;
 Than taxe secid and dymes eke also,
 In all Englund than reysed were no mo.

The duke of York was made *protetoure and chif of counsel*, þe XXX yere of Henry sixt, and þe erle of Salesbury was chaunceler of En[g]lond.

2978 whiche] whidir A, D, E, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 2979] *margin*. Hv; palsy] partly *after* parle *canc.* Hu. 2981 As] And E, I, T; oft] oft often Hu. 2983 Than] When E, I, T, P1, P2. 2984 Whan] Then E, I, T, P1, P2; so died] *rev.* E; and] and (d *insert.*) Hu; hool] hie T. 2985 Cristen] *after* a E, I, T, P1, P2. 2987] *transposed with l. 2988, but scribe has corrected the order by inserting an A and B at the end of each line* T. 2987 his] hygh A, D, H, Hu, P1, P2. 2988 is all] was Hu. 2989 sowle] *after* his A, D, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; rest] *after* blis I. 2994 ful] *om.* H. 2995 proteccion] *after* hie I. 2998 a] *om.* Hu. 2999 hole] *after* a P1, P2. 3000 his] high Hu. 3001 and] or E, I, T, P1, P2; concession] *after* confession *canc.* Hu. 3002 secid] *after* than Hu; dymes] *after* diuers P2. 3003 Englund] Enlond S; than] longe H.

The duke of Yorke than made was protectoure,
 3005 And gouerned wele, but two yere not endured,
 Discharged he was with passyng grete murmoure,
 Of comons hool among hem than ensured
 To helpe hym so with power aventured,
 For he was sett the comon wele to vayle
 3010 By his laboure and by his hool counceyle.

[f. 175r]

But ay the bettir that he to good was sette,
 The more was othir bysy in worde and dede,
 The contrary to laboure and to lette,
 His good purpose to pursue and to spede,
 3015 So that he had no hap for to procede
 For sotile mene hym let ay at the ende
 To comon wele to maynten and amende.

The erle Richard als of Salisbury
 So was disposid in all thinge to þe same,
 3020 Whiche was the cause of their deth fynlly,
 For whiche of right nedis must folow blame,
 Thaire lyues haue kepte had bene withouten shame,
 For tho princes two died in their kynges right
 For the publike wele of eche Englissh wight.

3025 The thretty yere this was than of the kyng,
 When they the kyng than had in gouernaunce
 And rewlid him wele in al maner of thyng,
 And made good rewle and noble ordynaunce,
 Avoydinge all mysrule and misvsaunce
 3030 For worship of the kyng and of his reme,
 Withouten dout, or any othir probleme.

Howe þe erle of Northumbirlond, the duke of Somerset, and þe lorde Clifford, were slayne at Saint Albones, XXXIII of his regne; where the duke of York, the erle of Salisbury, and the erle of Warwik, toke þe kinge and kept in good rule, the XXII daie of May, þat was than on the Thursdaie next afore Pentacost, the yere of Crist MCCCCLV, Pasche than afore the sext daie of Aprile and þe letter dominical than was E.

They were put by from all <thaire> good entent,

3004-3284] *four folios of text are lacking in D.* 3005 two] *after no canc.* Hu. 3006 he] *om.* A; grete] *om.* H. 3010 by (2)] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 3011 good] God A, E, Hu, I, P1, P2. 3012 was] were E, H, I, T, P1; bysy in] by P1, P2. 3014 good purpose] *rev.* E; to (2)] *om.* Hu. 3015 had no] *om.* A; for] *insert.* I; *om.* T. 3016 For] Full T; mene] mesnes E; ay] *om.* E. 3017 amende] to mende A. 3018 als] *after of canc.* E; so T. 3021 nedis] ne P1, P2. 3022 haue] well P1, P2. 3025 than] *om.* E. 3027 of] *om.* E, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 3029 misvaunce] misvsaunce S. 3031 dout] *after oud* I. 3032 by] *insert.* E; thaire] *insert.* S.

And straunge were hoold aftir many day
 To the thritty yere and thre by hool concent,
 3035 At Saynt Albanes vpon than the Thursday,
 Accompted than next afore the Witsunday,
 Thay slew the duke Edmond of Somersette,
 For cause he had the remes wele so lette.

The erle than of Northumbirlond was there,
 3040 Of sodayn chaunce drawne forth with þe kyng,
 And slayne vnknow by any man ther were;
 The lorde Clifford, ouer bisy in wirkyng,
 At the barres hem mette sore feightyng,
 Was slayne that day vpon his owne assawte,
 3045 As eche man saide it was his owne defawte.

[f. 175v]
 The erle of Wilshire, with fyue hundred men,
 Fled fro the kyng ful fast that tyme awaye;
 The duke of Bukyngham was hurte there þen.
 The kyng thay toke and saued in good arraye;
 3050 To Westmynstre with him thay toke the waye.
 And rewled him wele in all prerogatif,
 As kyng of right without any strife.

**How þe lorde Audlay faught with þe erle of Salesburie, at Blorehethe, the yere
 MCCCCLVIII, and XXXVII yere of his regne in Mighelmes terme.**

Yit were thise lordes voide fro the kyng agayne,
 The duke of Yorke, the erle of Salisbury,
 3055 The erle also of Warwike not to layne
 Withouten cause, I cannot remembre why;
 But at Blorehethe the lorde Audelay in hy
 With the erle of Salisbury faught ful sore,
 The erle prevailed, and Audlay slayne was þore

3060 The thretty yere and eght þan of the kyng,
 And so he went to Lodlow on his way.
 The duke of Yorke in Wales had shippinge,
 To Ireland than he went ful wele away,
 The erles of Marche, Salisbury that day,
 3065 And of Warwik, as God it had previed,
 To Caleis went there wey nothyng deuyed.

3033 aftir] *after* nat I; day] *after* a E, H, I, T, P1, P2. 3035 vpon than] *rev.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 3036 the] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 3037 of] *after* þen E, I, T, P1, P2. 3038 wele] *after* so *canc.* T. 3039 than] *om.* E, H; was] *after* þen E. 3041 ther] of Hu. 3047 ful fast that tyme] þat tyme ful fast T. 3053 were] was T. 3054 the (2)] *after* and P1, P2. 3057 Blorehethe] *after* the I. 3058 sore] clere E. 3060 þan] was A; *om.* P1; of] *after* and eight *canc.* Hu. 3064 Salisbury] *after* and E, I, T, P1, P2. 3065 of] *om.* E.

The bataile of Norhamton, where the erle of Marche *and* þe erle of Warwike preuailed *and* led the kinge to Westminstre, and kept him there þe yere of his regne XXXVIII, and þe yere of Criste MCCCCLIX.

At Couentre the kyng in his *parliament*
 Proclamed hem all thre for rebellours,
 But aftirwarde all thre of one assent
 3070 At Northampton came, as worthy weriours,
 In *somer* aftir to be the kyngis succours;
 Whare the duke of Bukyngham hem mette
 With power grete, and trust hem haue ouersetete.

The erle of Shrewsbury was with him there,
 3075 The lord Beumont with hym was also,
 The lord Egremont ful stout in fete of were,
 Whiche foure were slayne with mikil peple mo,
 Biside Northampton on the Thursday so,
 Next aftir Saynt Thomas day of Caunterbury,
 3080 In Iuyl, the yere of the kyng eght and thretty.

[f. 176r]

They saued the kyng and kepte hym saufe *and* sounde;
 With grete honoure the erle of Marche, Edwarde,
 The erle also of Warwik in that stounde,
 And with him rode so forthe to London warde;
 3085 Ful wirshipfully thay kept him than forwarde
 In all estate royal, as did appende,
 And as his men vnto him did attende.

Of the bateil of Wakefelde, whare the North party preuailed, and was the Monda[y] next aftir New Yere daie, the yere of the kinge XXX[IX], and of Crist MCCCCLX.

Than in the wyntir afore the Cristmesse,
 The duke of Yorke, and the erle of Salesbury,
 3090 The erle of Rutlond, with hem I gesse,
 With power grete for thaire aduersarye,
 To saue thaymselpe as thane was necessarie,
 At theyre owne wolde at Yole so than haue bene
 The robriers there to haue þane staunched clene;

3068 thre] *after* for *canc.* T. 3072 the] *after* than A, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 3073 hem haue] *rev.* P1, P2. 3078 so] thoo E, I, T, P1, P2. 3079] The third daye of the moneth of July P1, P2. 3080 In Iuyl, the yere] And in the reigne P1, P2; in] *om.* A. 3085 wirshipfully] nobely H; than] þens T. 3087 attende] intende A; *gloss after Monday*] Monda S; XXXIX] XXX S. 3088 the (2)] *om.* T. 3089 and] *om.* A, E, I, T, P1, P2. 3092 saue] haue Hv. 3093 wolde] *om.* H; Yole, so than] Cristemasse wold H; so than haue] to T; haue] had P1, P2. 3094 to haue þane] þan to have A; þane] *om.* H, P1, P2; þane staunched] chaunged T.

3095 Whare thane the lordes of the North were assembled
 And faught with hem at Wakefeelde than ful sore,
 And slewe hem doune whiles they were dissembled,
 And gat the felde that day vpon hem thore,
 And southwarde cam they than therfore
 3100 To Seynt Albones, vpon the Fastens eve,
 Whare than they slewe the lorde Bonvile, I leve,

Howe the erle of North[umberlond], the lord Neuile, and the [North] party, faught at Saint Albo[nes], the xvii daie of Feueryere, [and] slewe þe lord Bonvile, Sir Thomas Kiryell, and man[y] othir, the xxxix yere o[f] Kinge Henry sext, and of [Crist] MCCCCLX[I], and led þe kin[g] to Yorke.

And *Sir* Thomas Kyriell als of Kent,
 With mikill folke that pite was to se,
 And spoyled fast, ay homwarde as the[y] went,
 3105 Withouten reule into thaire owne cuntre.
 They set hem noght of rewle nor equite,
 Ne to kepe lawe, ne pees in no-kyn wise,
 Howe might the dure ought long in su[ch] disgise?

But thane the kyng, alone left on þe felde,
 3110 Cam to the quene and went to Yorke his way
 With the North party that than so with hym helde;
 The duke of Excetre with him went away,
 The duke also of Somerset no nay,
 The erle also ful yonge þan of Deuenshire,
 3115 And *Sir* Iames Ormonde than of Wiltshire,

[f. 176v]
 The lorde Moleyns, the lorde Ros also,
 The chief iugge, and *Sir* Richard Tunstall,
 The lorde Riuers, the lorde Scales his son tho,
 The lorde Welles, and Wiloughby with all,
 3120 Sir William Tailbois so did bifall,
 And many othir went to the North party,
 For to mayntene þan the sixt kyng Henry.

Eward the fourt toke vpon him, the IIII day of Marche, the regement of the reme

3100 fastens] fastyngage E, I, P1, P2. 3101 *gloss after* Northumberland] North S; North party] party S; Albones] Albo S; and slewe] slewe S; many] man S; of] o S; of Crist] of S; MCCCCLXI] MCCCCLX S king] kin S. 3103 folke] people H. 3104 they] the S. 3105 owne] *om.* E, I, P1, P2. 3106 of] on E, I, P1, P2; nor] and I, T, P1, P2. 3107 ne (2)] *insert.* Hu; *after* I Hv; pees] *after* and *canc.* Hu; no-kyn wise] o [*sic*] H. 3108 the] þay E, I, T, P1; the dure ought long] þay longe endure A; ought] *insert.* I; *om.* P1, P2; such] su S, Hv; disgise] a guyse E, I, T, P1, P2. 3110 went] toke H. 3111 than so] *rev.* Hu. 3112 away] that waie H. 3113 also] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2; no] *after* it is E, I, T, P1, P2. 3114 also] *om.* A; ful yonge] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2; ful yonge þan] Courtenay H. 3115 Sir] *om.* E; than] Erle A, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 3117 iugge] iustice H. 3118 tho] also E, I, T, P1, P2. 3122 þan] *om.* A.

**in defaut of the kinge þat refused the rule of the lond, the yere of Crist
MCCCCLX[I], and gafe vp Berwik to the Scottes, and fled into Scotlond.**

- The duke Edward, of Marche, þan þe fort day,
Of Yorke ful yonge, þat erle of Marche was þan,
3125 By counel of the lordis be South men say,
Bothe spirituall and temperall as a man,
Vpon him toke estate royal and began
To regne as kinge, and with him reised the londe
With lordes feel by South, I vndirstonde.
- 3130 At Feribrige he faught on Palme Sondag,
Whare þan the erle Henry of Northumbirtonde,
The lorde Neuill, the lord Clyfforde that day,
The lorde Dacre, were dede, I vndirstonde.
The kinge Henry fled than out of the londe
3135 To Berwike toun that stont in Scotlond grounde,
With certeyn lordes and with þe quene þat stounde,

- And gafe the toun and castell to þe Scottes
By hool assent of his symple counsaile,
Whiche might be wele acompted þan fo[r] sottes,
3140 As foles that were þan of no gouernayle.
Into Scotlonde with foule misgouernayle,
The quene Mergrete, and the dukes both two
Of Excetre and Somerset, fledde also.

- The lorde Ros and eke the lorde Moleyns,
3145 And the chief iuge, that callid is Forskewe,
And Taileboys als with othir euyl captayns,
That aftir shall ful sore repente and rewe.
If thay as wele as I now Scotlond kewe,
Thay wolde not so haue hastid thidirwarde
3150 From the presence and grace of Kynge Edwarde.

[f. 177r]

Kinge Edwarde after his victorie folowed on hem to thay fled into Scotland.

Kynge Edwarde thus had þan the victorie
With his lordes and men that were ful trewe,
That halpe him so and were contributorie
To wynne his right, whiche þan þe people kewe;

3122 *gloss after* MCCCCLXI] MCCCCLX S, Hv. 3123 Edward] *after* of E. 3124 þat erle] therle E, I, T, P1, P2. 3126 a man] men say than E, I, T, P1, P2. 3129 I] men A. 3130 Feribrige] Toultonfelde E, I, T, P1, P2. 3131 þan] *om.* E; Henry] *om.* T. 3134 fled] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2; fled than] *rev.* A. 3135 in] on I. 3139 be wele] *rev.* A, E, I, T, P1, P2; þan] *om.* T; for] fo S. 3142 and] *om.* E. 3143 fledde] *om.* A. 3145 iuge] iustice H; is] was E, I, T, P1, P2. 3147 shall] hath H. 3148 as] also P1, P2; now] þan A. 3151 thus had þan] had þan þus I; þen had þus T. 3152 that were] *om.* P2; ful] so H.

3155 To Yorke he went, and fonde it not vntrewe,
 To Durham als and to the Newe Castell,
 That to him was as trewe as any stele.

At Yorke was heded that tyme and [d]ecollate
 The erle ful yonge that than was of Deuenshire;
 3160 And at the Newe Castell so destinate
 Heded þan was the erle als of Wiltshire;
 The kynge þan set that londe at his desire,
 Saue castels fewe with fors þat than were holde,
 By north and west bi rebelis manyfolde.

3165 And south he went for his disport an play,
 At Laycetre helde he than his grete counceyle,
 In the monthe that þan was callid May,
 And ordeynde there for the good gouernayle
 Of all his reme, þat enmyes noght it [a]seile;
 3170 Than in wyntir Margrete, that had be quene,
 Fro Faunce so came by shippe, as þan was sene,

Into Scotlond with foure thousand Frenshe men
 Of soudiours, for whiche the kynge anone
 With hoost royal to Durham cam he then,
 3175 And sent the erle of Warwik ageyne his fone,
 The erle of Kent also, with men good wone;
 The[y] leide a sege to the castele of Bamburgh,
 And the castell also of Dunstanburgh.

Sir Raufe Percy and the duke of Somersset
 3180 Delyuered hem to the kynge by poyntment,
 Bi whiche the kynge, without any let,
 Gafe the kepinge of hem incontinent
 Vnto Sir Raufe Percy of good entent.
 And Alnewike castel was holde many day
 3185 To rescouse cam and sette hem thens away,

3155 not] *after* now Hv. 3156 to (2)] *after* so H; went Hv; the] *om.* H. 3157 was] were E, T, P1, P2; as (1)] *om.* I. 3158 decollate] *ecollate* S, Hv. 3159 ful yonge] *om.* E, H, I, T, P1, P2; than] *om.* Hu; of] *after* Courtenay H. 3160 the] *om.* Hu. 3161 þan was] *rev.* A; als] *om.* E, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 3162 that] þe E, I, T, P1, P2. 3163 with fors þat than] þat þen with force T; fors þat than were holde] strenght tha H; than were] were with A. 3164 bi] with A, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 3165 disport] *after* er *canc.* E; play] *om.* Hu. 3166 he] so E; *om.* T; his] the T. 3168 for the] forth Hu; the] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 3169 all] *om.* P2; all his] þe A; noght it] *rev.* T; it] did E; aseile] seile S, Hv. 3171 so] þan T; came] *after illegible cancellation* E; þan] *om.* T. 3172 Scotlond] Englund T; thousand] *after* thos *canc.* Hu. 3174 cam] went H; cam he then] gan he gone A. 3175 ageyne] *rep.* Hv. 3176 The erle] And Hu; with men good wone] with good menne many one P1, P2. 3177 They] The S. 3178 the] *after* to E, I, T; of Dunstanburgh] *om.* H. 3180 to] *after* þan A; *om.* Hu. 3183] E *ends after this line and resumes again at l. 3252 of this edition.* 3184 And] At P2; holde] kepte P1, P2; day] *after* a H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 3185 thens] *om.* P2.

[f. 177v]

Whiche stode in stale not fer fro the castell,
 But eght to whom the castellaynes
 Came out anone, as men were there do tell,
 With hors and harnayse, and home rode thurgh þe playns,
 3190 Into Scotlond as good and wise chiftaynes.
 I can wele thinke it was a manly dede,
 To noye thaire foos and saue hemselfe a nede.

It is fare and commendable a man of armes to noye, hurt, and destroy, his enemies and kepe himself harmlesse.

My lorde Vmfreuile, whom that I did serue,
 Seide me it was the best thinge might bifall
 3195 Any chiftayn to greue his foos and ouerterne,
 And kepe himself harmeles there with at all;
 He that may hurt his fo withouten fall,
 And passe away to his succoure harmlesse,
 He is a fole to bide any distresse.

But whan that thay were gone so home agayne,
 And had thaire frendis with hem fro thens away,
 Two hundred men of comons came ful fayne
 Out of Alnewike castell in symple aray;
 Oure host bette hem in agayne there alway
 3205 To thay were glad to yelde hem and to haue *grace*,
 The which thay had without longer space.

The quenes power that she brought so fro Faunce
 Was so litill the wardeyns nocht it drad,
 Thay hight the kynge for all her ordinaunce,
 3210 To kepe the londe for any helpe she had.
 How may she ought of gret powere be sped,
 Whanne Charles doughtir of Fraunce, voide of dewere,
 Dispoiled was, of Faunce failed all powere?

Howe Quene Isabel, Kinge Richard wife, was despoiled of all hir iewels, without dower sent home by Henry þe fourt, and hir husband deposed, what vailed all hir kyn for it but grete vexacioun to there owne destruccion?

Quene Isabell þat was Kynge Richard wife

3186 in] *after* in stale *canc.* I. 3187 to] *after* thousand A, H, I, T, P1, P2; the] *after* to I. 3188 out anone] *rev.* I, T, P1, P2; do] to T. 3189 thurgh] be H. 3192 noye] hurte A; saue] helpe I, T, P1, P2; a] at A, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 3193 that] some tyme H. 3194 me] *after* to P1, P2; best] leste I T; bifall] befall (be *insert.*) Hv. 3196 at] *om.* A, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 3199 is] his T. 3201 had] *om.* I, T, P1, P2; with hem fro thens] fro thens with hem Hu. 3203 symple] pore A. 3204 host] men A, H, I, T; in] *om.* H, Hu; agayne there] *rev.* A. 3205 glad] fayne As; to (3) *om.* H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 3207 brought so] *rev.* I, T, P1, P2; so fro] oute of H. 3208 it] hir H. 3210 any] *om.* T.

3215 Dispoiled was by Kinge Henry Derby,
 Of hir iewailes and thri[ft] knowen rife,
 And home was sent without remedy.
 What auayled hir kyn and progeny,
 Of nought els but grete vexacion,
 3220 That Frenshe men made to thaire owne dampnacion?

[f. 178r]

The conseit and mocion of the maker of this boke, tochand Kinge Henry the sixt, his wife, and his sonne, to be gotten home and put in gouernaunce with al that fled with him, considering thaire truthe that forsoke thaire liflode and welfare for his sake, and fro thay so gotten home, that after thay wolde be as true to youe, and els yeue iugement on hem.

O gracious lorde, Kynge Edwarde fourt accompte,
 Considir howe Kinge Henry was admitte
 Vnto the cron of Englund, that did amount
 Not for desert, nor yit for any witte,
 3225 Or myght of himself in othir wise yitte,
 But only for the castigacion
 Of Kinge Richardes wikked *peruersacion*.

Of whiche the reme þan irkid euerychone,
 And ful glad were to his desposicion,
 3230 And glad to croune Kinge Henry so anone,
 With all thaire hertis and hool affeccion,
 For hatry[d] more of Kynge Richardes defeccion
 Than for the loue of Kynge Henry that day,
 So chaunged than the people on him ay.

3235 Yet kept he ay the erle of Marche ful 3ynge
 In erles estate, as he þat was his warde,
 And brought him vp in all maner of thing,
 As his estate axed and couthe awarde,
 And chirisid him in norture to regarde
 3240 As his owne sonnes enduring all his life,
 To make him loue him without any strife.

Thus by wisdom his son Henry also
 Him cherised by good and wise councayle,
 Whiche he assigned <vn>to him tho,

3215 by] of Hu; Derby] *after* of I, T, P1. 3216 and thrift] as itt is I, T, P1, P2; thrift] thrid S; rife] *after* full I, T, P1, P2. 3219 grete] *after* of A, H, Hu. 3221 fourt] the IIIth Hu. 3222 howe] nowe þis A; Kinge] *om.* A. 3225 yitte] witte Hv. 3227 wikked] *after* the Hu. 3228 irkid] grutched H. 3229 ful] *om.* A; to] of A, I, T, P1, P2. 3230 anone] *non rep. and canc.* Hu. 3232 hatryd] hatry S; Kynge] *after* he *canc.* Hu. 3234 than] *om.* A; people] comons A. 3235 of Marche] Marschall I. 3236 was] *after* warde *del.* Hv. 3237 of] *om.* P1, P2. 3240 enduring] durynge A, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 3241 loue] *after* to A. 3242 also] right so H, Hu, T, P1, P2; al right so I. 3244 vnto] vnto (vn *insert.*) S; to A.

3245 Of good rewle þan þat wolde not let him faile,
 For cause he sholde agayne him nocht preuayle,
 And into Fraunce, in his hool estate,
 Had him with his brothir associate.

All this he did of ful good policy,
 3250 To wyn his loue and kepe him *in* direccion
 From enticement of all euil and foly,
 To his plesaunce without all suspeccion;
 This was grete wit and circumspeccion,
 To rewle him thus his highnesse to obay,
 3255 Without strife to sitte in pees his day.

[f. 178v]

O gracious lorde, now of youre sapience
 Considering wele this sixty yere *and* thre,
 Your kynne and ye by alle intelligence
 Haue bene deforced of all the royalte
 3260 To now that God, of his especialte,
 Hathe graunt youe grace youre rightis to recouer,
 And enmyse all forth-wardes to rewle at ouer.

Considre wele the benigne innocence
 Of kind Henri, that now is in Scotlonde,
 3265 Bi Goddis dome of small intelligence,
 For youre preuaile, as men can vndirstonde,
 Get him nowe home agayne into Englund
 With all the menes ye may of sapience,
 His wife *and* son, with all youre diligen[c]e.

3270 For trest it weel if thay may passe to Fraunce,
 Or power get to hem in any wise,
 Eche yere thay wolle youe troble *and* do greuaunce,
 Bi Scottes assent and their excersise,
 To bragge and bost as theie wolde on youe rise,
 3275 To make youre peple *and* comons for to irke,
 Iakkes *and* salades ay new and new to wirke.

3245 þan] *om.* I, T, P1, P2. 3249 of] after *fu canc.* I. 3250 kepe] *om.* Hv. 3251 euil] *after* and of *canc.* Hu. 3252] E *resumes here.* 3253 grete] *insert.* E. 3256 O] *after* All þis *canc.* E. 3257 considering wele] *consydre nowe* A. 3262 enmyse] *after* your E, I, T, P1, P2; forth-wardes] *om.* A, E, I, T, P1, P2; at] all H; and Hu; ouer] *after* þe E, I. 3263 wele] *nowe* A. 3264 kind] Kyng E, I, T, P1, P2; Scotlonde] youre honde H. 3265] *line erased except for the word* intelligence Hv; small] fynall H. 3267] kepe hym wele nowe for honoure of Englonde H; him nowe] *rev.* T. 3269] Gete home his wife and sonne with youre diligence H; diligence] diligene S. 3270] For trust it wele if they accorde with Fraunce H. 3271 Or] And H; Our P2; get to hem] to hem gete Hu. 3272 Eche] *after* Ehe *canc.* T; troble] greve A; do] to T; greuaunce] noyaunce A. 3273 Scottes assent] assent of Scottes H. 3276 and new] *om.* A.

For trist it wel, as God is now in heuen,
 The Scottes will ay do youe þe harme thai may,
 And so þ<ei> haue ful oft with odde or even,
 3280 Afore that Crist was borne so of a may,
 As yet thay do at their power euery day.
 Wherfor, good lorde, bring home these persones thre,
 With all their men and yeue hem grace al fre;

And loue thaym better for their grete leute,
 3285 That they forsake their londes and heritage,
 And fled with him for all aduercite,
 To bide in payne, sorow, and seruage.
 Good hert sholde rew wel more their corage
 Than hem that wolde haue gone *and* durt it nocht,
 3290 Considerid howe they shewid as they thought.

[f. 179r]

Yif ye might gette hem all for any gode
 To ben youre men, and haue their heritage,
 Of youre enmyse þat agayne youe stode
 Ye sholde make trew men to youre avauntage,
 3295 To passe with yow in werres and hostage,
 As treue as thay haue bene to Kinge Henry,
 And mikil truer for youre right of auncetry.

For if ye might hem gett now euerychone,
 Youre werres were done, þan might ye sit *in* rest
 3300 Without troble of any lond alone;
 For all *your* lond thurghout þan myght ye trest,
 Yf it were hool þat ye nede nocht mistrest;
 No prince cristenid might do youe any dere
 But in his londe ye migh[t] wele make him were.

3305 Graunt Henry grace with all his owne lyuelode,
 The duchie hool of Lancastre his right,
 Nought as it is but as of worthihode.
 First Duke Henry had the noble knight
 At his last day, þat was of mikil might;

3277 now] *om.* Hv, T. 3278 harme] *after* ar I; thai] *after* if Hu;. 3279 þei] þei (ei *insert.*) S; or] and P1, P2. 3280 of] *om.* E. 3281 euery] eche H. 3283 yeue] *after* geve *canc.* Hu; grace] *after* free *canc.* grace *insert.* Hu; al] and Hu. 3284] D *resumes here*; loue thaym] *rev.* E; thaym] þen T; their] her Hu. 3286 for all] in E, I, T, P1, P2. 3287 seruage] *after* in A, D, H, Hu. 3288 corage] *after* trewe A, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; *after* high D. 3289 it] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 3293 Of] And E, I, T, P1, P2. 3294 sholde] myght A; avauntage] *after* ad *canc.* Hu. 3297 truer] trewce P1, P2; of] *om.* A, D, E, I, T, P1, P2. 3298 now] *om.* A, D. 3299 were] *after* werres *canc.* Hu; in] at P2. 3300 alone] all all one Hv. 3302 þat ye nede] þan nede ye E; nede] made T. 3304 might] migh S; wele] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 3306 hool] *om.* E; his] *after* þat is E, I, T, P1, P2. 3307 as (2)] *insert.* E; *om.* Hu, P1, P2; for T; of] *om.* T. 3308 the] þat A; knight] *before* had *canc.* T. 3309 mikil] grete H; *after* so T; might] *after* of T.

3310 His wiffe and sone gete home bi ordinaunce,
 And giffe hem counceile for her gouernaunce,

 Suche as ye trust will rewle hem worthily,
 To youre plesaunce in all tranquilite,
 In pees and rest with all goo[d] policy.
 3315 For bettir were to haue hem surte,
 Thanne lette hem bene with youre aduercite,
 With Scottes or Frenssh that wolde se *your* distresse
 And help to hit with all thaire businesse.

And if ye may by no mene nor trefte
 3320 Gette home, ordeyne þan fast youre flete
 On the est see into Scotlond hie,
 At Edenburgh, so may it with youe mete
 With all vitaille *and* ordinaunce ful mete,
 And sett vpon what castell thay be ynne,
 3325 Eskape thay may not but ye may hem wynne.

[f. 179v]
 For I haue sene theire castels stronge echone,
 That strongest bene and worst to gete *and* wynne
 Amonge hem, for certey is ther none
 That may ben holde ought longe when ye begynne
 3330 Saue Dunbretayne; the see about doth rynne
 Eche daie and night twise withouten doute,
 Whiche may be wonne with fam[i]sshing aboute,

With shippes by see, and sege vpon the londe
 Ye may not faile to haue it at the laste.
 3335 All othir will be yolde into youre honde,
 So þat ye haue by werkmen wele forcaste
 Your ordinaunce and gunnes for to caste,
 With ablementis of werre suche as ye nede,
 No castell els may youe withstonde indede.

3340 Therfor in what castell þat thay ben ynne
 Go to that same without impediment,

3311 her] þayre A, D, E, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 3312 ye] þe T; trust] I trust I; will] well H. 3314 good] goo S.
 3315 surte] *after* in A, D, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 3316] *marg.* T. 3317 or] and Hv. 3318 to hit] þerto A.
 3319 And] Than H3; may] se H3. 3320 Gette home] Thai obey wole nocht H3; home] *after* hem A, D,
 E, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; ordeyne] *after* and I. 3321 into] to H3; hie] *after* in A, D, E, H, H3, Hu, I, T, P1, P2.
 3322 At] And I; youe] ge H3. 3323 all] *om.* H3; mete] fete H3. 3324 what] þat E, I, T; *after* hom whar
 and H3; the P1, P2; ynne] than H. 3325 may (2)] shall A, D, E, H, H3, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 3327 bene] w
the rest of the line is om. H. 3328 for] *after* all A, D, E, H, H3, I, T, P1, P2. 3329 ye] *after* þat E. 3332
 with] by P1, P2; famisshing] famsshing S; fanyschyng H3. 3333 see] *after* the H3. 3334 the] *om.* I.
 3335 into] to H, Hu; vnto H3. 3337] *marg.* Hv. 3339 youe] *om.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 3340 thay] ye *canc.* thei
insert. T. 3341 to that] the Hu; that] the P1, P2.

Nought in wintre but in somer ye begynne,
 Whan Iuyl month or August is present,
 That forage may be gote as doth appent
 3345 Of corne and grisse for horses sustinaunce,
 And feire wedir to memmys high plesaunce.

O rightwis prince, bringe the scatrid men
 To thaire pasture forsakyn *and* forlore,
 For youre brest sholde grete fuson renne
 3350 To nedy men of help and grace euermore;
 Concidir how God hath youe set therfore
 At ouer the flok to seke scatrid shepe,
 And ley hem in youre folde surerly to slepe.

Concidre now, most gracious souerayn lorde,
 3355 How long now that youre noble auncetry
 In welth *and* helth haue regned of high recorde
 That kepid law *and* pees contynuelly;
 And thinke thay bene of all youre monarchi
 The feirest flours and highest of emprice,
 3360 And sonnest may youre forayn foos supprice.

[f. 180r]

Considir als, in this simple tretise,
 How kynges kept neythir lawe, ne pees,
 Went sone away in many diuers wise,
 Without thanke of God at their dicees,
 3365 And noght were dred within, nor out no lees,
 But in defaut of pees and lawe conseruid
 Destroye were right as thay had deseruid.

Considir als, most souerayne erthly lorde,
 Of Frenshe or Scottes ye get neuer to *your* paye
 3370 Any trefy of tr[e]wes and good concorde,
 But if it be vndir youre baner aye,
 Which may neuer bene bi reson any waye,
 But if youre reme stond wele in vnite
 Conserued wele in pees and equite.

3342 ye] *after* þat A, D. 3347 the] *after* home A, D, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2; thy H. 3349 youre] *after* of A, D, E, H, I, T, P1, P2; brest] *after* shoulde *del.* I. 3350 help and grace] *rev.* E, I, T, P1, P2. 3352 At] *rep. then del.* Hu; And P1, P2; scatrid] *after* þe A, E, H, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 3353] D *ends here*; ley] sette H; *after* ley *canc.* I. 3356 welth] *rep. and canc.* I; haue] hath *insert.* T. 3357 That kepid] Whiche haue kepte H. 3358 And thinke thay] Whiche thynges beene H; all youre] your own E. 3360 foos] foone H. 3362 kept] *after* that H. 3365 out no lees] without doutelees E, I, T, P1, P2. 3366 pees and lawe] *rev.* A, H. 3368 souerayne erthly] *rev.* E, H, I, T, P1, P2. 3369 or] ne A, E, I, T, P1, P2. 3370 of] or P1, P2; trefes] trwes S; and] or E, I, T, P1, P2. 3372 bene] *om.* I; any] *after* in Hu. 3373 if] of I; reme] *after* reson *del.* Hv; wele in] *rev.* I; vnite] pees and vnyte A; *after* and I. 3374 and] *canc.* nd [*sic*] Hu.

3375 Your Marches kept and als youre se ful clere,
 To Fraunce or Speyne ye may ride for youre right,
 To Portingale or Scotlond with youre banere,
 Whils youre reerward in Englund stondith wight;
 Vndir youre baner the enmyse will youe hight
 3380 A bettir treti, within a litill date,
 Than in fowre yere to youre ambassiate.

Remembred bene vnto youre excellence,
 The titles all longe to youre regiment
 Of Scotlond hool, with all my diligence,
 3385 That third part is of Bretayne by extent,
 And owe to bene at youre commaundment,
 As membre of youre royal monarchye,
 As croniclers haue made in memorie.

Englund and Wales as to their souerayne
 3390 To youe obey, whiche sholde thinke shame *and* right,
 To se Scotlond thus proudly disobeyne
 Agayne hem two that bene of gretter might,
 It is a shame to euery mannys sight;
 Seth Iohn Bailioll his right of it resigned
 3395 To Kinge Edward, whie is it thus repigned?

[f. 180v]

Within thre yere their rebellious
 Ye might oppresse and vtirly restrayne,
 And kepe hem euir in youre possessiouns.
 For to obey youre might make hem ful fayn,
 3400 As Kinge Edward did with hungre *and* payn
 Hem conquerid hool to his subieccion,
 To bide euermore vndir his proteccion.

Wherfor, good lorde, now girde youe with youre swerde,
 And sette vpon the froward heritikes
 3405 That erren fro the two parties of the heerde,
 And strayen out as it were litargikes,
 Which haue foryette thaire lord as cromatikes,

3377 or] and P1, P2. 3378 wight] wiggt *del.* wiztt *insert.* I; right T. 3379 baner] lond *canc.* banner *insert.* T; the] your E, I, T, P1, P2; will] well P1. 3383 longe] longynge A; beene H; *after* þat E, I, T, P1, P2. 3384 hool] *after* with *canc.* Hu. 3385 is] hys Hv; is b I. 3386 youre] roayll Hv; commaundment] *after* monarchy *del.* Hv. 3387 royal] *om.* Hv. 3388 haue] *after* befor H3; in] *om.* H3; *canc.* throoh *insert.* T; therof P1, P2. 3390 thinke] *insert.* E; and] of A, E, H, H3, Hu, I, T, P1, P2. 3391 thus proudly] so gretely *canc.* thus proudly *insert.* T. 3392 that] whiche H; þan I. 3395 is it] *rev.* E. 3396 rebellious] *after* grete E, H, H3, Hu, Hv, I, T, P1, P2. 3397 oppresse] repress P1, P2; *canc.* repress *insert.* T. 3399 hem] hmr H3; fayn] *rep. then* *canc.* Hu. 3400 payn] *after* with I, P1, P2. 3401 to] *after* and T. 3403] E *ends here.* 3405 erren] errer A; fro] *om.* H. 3406 it] þay A, I, T, P1, P2. 3407] *margin.* Hv; thaire] her I; cromatikes] cronnatykes P1, P2.

Hauyng no shame of their *peruersite*,
Nor chaungen hew for their *gret falsite*.

- 3410 And trust it wele, as God is now in heuen,
Ye shall *neuer* fynde the Scotte vnto youe trewe,
Where thay may with youre *enmyse* ay beleuen
They will to youe thane alweie bene vntrewe,
Yet thorowe youre manhod it may theym rewe,
3415 For longer tharne ye haue hem in suggestion,
Trist *neuer* trewth in hem, ne *perfeccion*.

- And, as in caas when plesith youre highnesse
To Scotland passe, I make youe a calende
Of all the way to Edenburgh expresse,
3420 And whare youre *gyste* eche nyght may wele extende,
As Kinge Henry fourt rode, as I wele kende,
That youre highnesse may haue *perof* knowlage
To comfort with youre noble high corage.

[Hardyng's Itinerary of Scotland]

How the make[r] of this boke reportith the way to Edenburgh in Scotlond.

- Ye may entre Scotland at Yareforde;
3425 Fro Yarefore to Dunsparke, vii mile,
Or els fro Yareforde to Chirneside, vi mile;
Fro the placis to Coldingham, vii mile;
Fro Coldingham to Pynkerton, vi mile;
Fro Pynkerton to Dunbarre a market toun and castle, vi mile;
3430 Fro Dunbar to Lynton, vi mile;

[f. 181r]

- Fro Lynton to Hadyngdon, vi mile;
Fro Hadyngdon to Seton, iii mile;
Fro Seton to Abirlady or to Muskilburgh, vii mile;
Fro Muskilburgh or Abirlady to Edenburgh, wher the castel stondith vpon a high
3435 cragge of stone, and a good marchaunt toun of Haly Rood hous, where youre flete
may *comme* to Lethe by youe in the Scottes see, þat othirwise is callid þe watre of
Forth, vii mile;
Som on feeldward LXII mile.

3409 gret] *om.* A, I, T, P1, P2. 3410 trust] *after* for A. 3411 shall] *rep.* Hv; Scotte] Scottes A; vnto] to Hu. 3414] *om.* without space H, Hu; it] *insert.* after ye *canc.* I. 3415 suggestion] *subieccyon* A, P1, P2. 3416] A, I, T, P1, P2 *end here.* 3417 plesith] *after* hit H3. 3421 fourt] *after* the H3, Hu. 3422 highnesse] *after* highie *canc.* H3; may haue *perof*] *peroff* may haue H3. 3423 with] *om.* H3; noble high] *rev.* H3; *gloss after maker*] make S. 3425 Fro Yarefore] *om.* H; Fro thene Hu; to] vnto Hu. 3427 the] tho H, Hu. 3429 castle] *after* a H, Hu. 3433 to (2)] *om.* Hu. 3435 cragge] roche H; of (2)] *after* with an *abbaie* H, Hu. 3436 Lethe by] lie be H; youe] *after* on *canc.* Hv; othirwise] *om.* H. 3437 Forth] *after* fooh *canc.* Hu. 3438] *om.* H.

- And if ye think this ferre inough, ye maye *comm* homward from Edenburgh t[o]
 3440 Dalketh, a good castel and a good market toun, and bete doune Edmonston and
 Lyberton in youre waye, v *mile*.
 Fro Dalketh to Newbotell, v *mile*;
 Fro Newbotill to Lawedre, and bete it doun, v *mile*;
 Fro Lawedre to Ersyldon, VI *mile*;
 3445 Fro Ersildon to Driburgh, and bete doun Wetislade, Crosby, and Hvme, v *mile*;
 Fro Driburgh loge vpon the watre of Teviot, and bete doun Awncrome and Nesbit, VI
mile;
 Fro Careton, on the morowe, to Rokesburgh; and ly ther til it be bigged agayne, III
mile. Or els go to Edenham and leue Rokesburgh, and bete doune Edenham,
 3450 Kesworth, ande Carneton, and loge in Carneton medowes, VI *mile*;
 Fro Carneton to Berwik, and gete it amended, and stuff it with Englishe men; and
 whiles ye ly there to repaire it, ye may send a powere, or go youreselfe, to Dunglassy
 and Colbrandspeth Ennerwike, XIII *mile* (þe ferthest).
 Fro tho places go on and bete doun Langtoun, Cokburne, Blakedre, Swyntoun,
 3455 Polworth, and *comm* to Berwik agayne, and se it putte in saufegarde, XII *mile* (þe
 ferthest). This rode passith ferre Kinge Richard rode, or Kinge Henry the fourt, and
 more shulde hurt the Scotz than [f. 181v] both thaire rodes did, for thay gat no place in
 the londe, but brent Edenburgh and the contrey as they came, and so may ye bren ay
 as ye passe, and get all thaire towres and peles.
 3460 Som homwarde LXVII *mile*.

**Howe the maker of this boke reporteth þe way from Edenburgh to Stryvelyn,
 Dunbretayne, Glasgiew, Are, Galway and Dunfreze to Carlele homward.**

- And if youre will and noble high corage
 Thinketh this is ouer litill to youre pussance,
 When ye haue brent, with all youre baronage,
 Edenburgh toun and there done *your* plesance,
 3465 And haue that castel at youre obeisschance,
 And plesith youe ferther for youre comforte
 To youre highnesse the way I will reporte.

- Fro Edenburgh so vnto Kirkelistoun, VI *mile*;
 Fro Kerkelistoun, bitwene the water of Forth on youre right hand, and Pendlond Hilles
 3470 on youre left hande, to Lithkowe toun, and ay youe shippes in Forth, VI *mile*;
 Fro Lithkowe to Fawkirke, on þe water of Forth, VI *mile*;
 Fro Fawkirke to Stryuelyn on Forth, VI *mile*;
 Fro Strivelyn to Dumbretayn, XXIII *mile*;
 Fro Dumbretayn to Glasgiew, where Saint Mungew lieth in shrine, a good toune and
 3475 the bisshopis see, XXIII *mile*.

3439 to] t S. 3446 doun] *om.* Hu; Awncrome] *text om. until line 3449 H*; and (2)] *after* doune Hu. 3448
 bigged] bylde Hv. 3449 Edenham] H *resumes again here*. 3451 amended] *after* and H; and (2)] *after* it
 H, Hu. 3453 and] at H; þe ferthest] *om.* H, Hu. 3454 on] *om.* Hu. 3455-56 þe ferthest] *om.* H, Hu.
 3456 passith] *after* and iournaye H. 3458 Edenburgh] *after* E Edenbr *canc.* Hu. 3460] *om.* H. 3461 if]
om. Hu. 3466 plesith] *after* it H. 3468 Fro] *after* Sum homewarde H; so] *om.* Hu. 3470 ay] euer H.
 3471 Forth] Ford Hu. 3473 XXIII] *after* VI *mile* *canc.* Hu. 3474 in shrine] shryned H; and] *om.* H.

Fro Glasgew to the towne of Are, where a flete of the West See might mete youe at Dumbretayn and at Are, XXIII *mile*.

3480 Fro the toun of Are in thurgh Carrik and Galway <to> Dumfreze, where at Kirkabright youre flete might vitaille youe, a plentivous contrey to hostay, but that longes to therle Douglas, of whiche coost he can enforme you bettir than I, LX *mile*.

Fro Dunfreze to Carlele, XXIII *mile*, but if ye like to take youre way fro Dumfreze to þe castel of Lowghmabean, *and* so to þe Hermitage, a strong castel, and gete hem ye may, XXIII *mile*.

Som CCIII *mile*.

[f. 182r]

How he declarith the way fro Stryuely[n] ouer Forth into Menteth, Blakmananshire, and Fife, and so into Angos and Marre, ouer þe water of Die, to the water of Done, and so ouer the water of Spey to Stakford, in Ros, and so to Cattenesse.

3485 And, if it pleas to youre noble highnesse,
Whan at Stryuelyn ye haue done *your* plesance
And set the castel in al sikernesse,
Ouer the brige there, withouten distance,
Or at the forde of Trips with youre pusaunace,
3490 Thre myle be west ye may passe ouer Forth
Into Menteth, that lieth there by north.

Fro Stryvelyn so ye shal passe to Downe in Menteth and gete that castel, III *mile*;
Fro Downe castel to Camskynal on Forth, IIII *mile*;
Fro Camskynal to Alway on Forth, X *mile*;
3495 Fro Alway to Culros in Fyfe, VI *mile*;
Fro Culros to Dunfermelyn, II *mile*;
Fro Dunfermelyn to Ennerkenyn on Forth, II *mile*;
To Ennerkenyn to Abirdore on Forth, III *mile*;
Fro Abirdore to Kynkorne on Forth, IIII *mile*;
3500 Fro Kinkorne to Dysard in Fife, III *mile*;
Fro Disard to Cowpre in Fife, a marchaunt toun vpon the se-side, VIII *mile*;
Fro Cowpre in Fife to Fawkland castel in Fife west, XIII *mile*;
Fro Fawkland castel to Andrestoun est, standing vpon the est se-side, whare the bisshops see is and his castell, XIII *mile*.
3505 Fro Andrestoun northe by the se-side to the mowth of the water of Tay, VI *mile*;
Fro the mowth of Tay, vp westwarde on Tay to Balmorynogh, a good abbay, VI *mile*;
Fro Balmorynogh to Lundores, a good abbay, IIII *mile*.
Fro Lundores to Saint Iohnstoun on Tay, a good marchaunt toun, and the watir navigal thidir for vessels of fourty ton tight, XII *mile*.

3476 might] *rep. and canc.* Hv. 3477 XXIII] XIII Hu. 3478 to] *insert.* S. 3479 vitaille] mete H; *om.* Hu; youe a] and Hu; but that] it H; to (2)] *insert.* Hv. 3480] Douglas *rest of the line om.* H; than] that Hu. 3481 ye] it H; to (2)] *after* you H. 3483 XXIII] XIII Hv. 3484 mile] *om.* H; *gloss after* Stryuelyn] Stryuely S. 3486 your] *rep.* Hu. 3489 youre] *after* outen *del.* Hv. 3492 so] *om.* Hv. 3504 is] *om.* H; his] *om.* H; ys Hv; XIII] *after* is H. 3509] thidir] *after* rynneth H.

- 3510 Fro Saint Iohnston westward, vndre þe oyghels, is the castell of Ennermeth *and* othir villages many to forray whils ye lie at Ennermeth, VIII *mile*.
Fro Ennermeth ye shal *comm* agayne to Saint Iohnston, and there ye may passe ouer the brige to the abbay of Scone, whare thay crown þe kinge, IIII *mile*.

[f. 182v]

- Fro Skone abbay to Abirnydhy, where the *water* of Erne remnith into Tay, XV *mile*.
3515 Fro Abirnythy thurgh the Cras of Gowre in Angos, the best contrey of Scotland, to Dundee, the best *toun* of Scotland, on the est se-side, X *mile*.
Fro Dundee, the best *toun* of Scotland to account all thing to my consaite, to Arbrothe, a marchant *toun* on the se coste, and to Mvnros, a good marchant *toun* on the se coste in Angos, more north, XXIII *mile*.
3520 Fro Mvnros within Angos, ouer the *water* of Dye, to Abirdene, a good marchant *toun* on the est se-side whare youre flete may mete youe and a good cuntrey to hostay, XX *mile*.
Fro Abirdene, bitwene the *water* of Dye and the *water* of Done, ye shal hostay thereldome of Marre and gete the castel of Kildromy, and many othir castellis and
3525 places, and al Garyogh, XX *mile*.
Fro the *water* of Done to the *water* of Spey, ye may hostay the erldomes of Boughan and of Athels, whiche sholde be the heritage of the lord Bewmond and Sir Thomas of Burgh, and there may ye gete the castels of Donydoure, the castel of Rithymay, Stranavre, and the castel of Strabolgy, and bete the forestes of Boyne, and Hayng,
3530 with fotemen in tho two erldomes, with fleand stales for to releve hem til tho forestes be drevyn out, XXX *mile*.
Fro the *water* of Spey to the *water* of Stokford, in Ros, thurgh the erldomes of Murref and of Ros; and there shal ye haue the castels of Louet, castel Vrchard, the abbay of Dere, the castel of Terneway, the burgh of Fores, the burgh of Elgive, the burgh of
3535 Envernes, the burgh of Tayne, the colage of Saint Duthake in Ros, the castel of Dignevale, *and* the burgh of Ros, Marky, and the palais of the bisshop of Ros, the castel of Spyuy, whare þe bisshop of Murref is, the burgh Narne, and the nesse of Habena [f. 183r], a famous port on the west se of al Scotland.
Som fro Stryvelyn to Cattenes as ye shold hostay to these places, CCCII *mile*.

Howe the kinge may hostay with III hostes and mete at Stryuelyn.

- 3540 And ye wolde hostay fro Carlele, with an hoste, to Dunfreze, Galway, and bi the Towne of Are, Lanarke, Glasgew, Bothevile, *and* to Stryuelyn, and another hoste fro Werk-vpon-Twede to Pebles, and Lanarke, and so mete at Stryvelyn with the othir

3510 vndre] to H. 3511 lie] be Hu. 3513 þe (3)] theire H. 3517 the best *toun* of Scotland to account all thing to my consaite] *om.* H, Hu. 3518 Mvnros] *after* Mare *canc.* Hu. 3520 ouer the *water* of Dye to Abirdene] *om.* H, Hu; of] *rep.* Hv. 3521 flete] shippes H, Hu; a] *om.* Hu; XX] *after* at ouer H; *after* in at ouer Hu. 3523 Fro] *after* the *water* of Dye to Abirdene a gode merchaunt *toun* on the este see side wher your flete may mete you H, Hu; Dye] *after* daye *canc.* Hu. 3524 thereldome] *after* in H. 3526 Spey] *after* Dye *canc.* Hv; the (3)] *after* in H. 3533 Ros] *after* Ros thurgh the *del.* Hv. 3534 of (1)] *after* of Terneway, the burgh of Envernes, the burgh of Elgyve, the colage of Saynt Duthake in Ros, þe castell of Dignewayle and the burgh the burgh of *canc.* Hv. 3536 the burgh] *rep.* S, Hv; Marky] *after* and H. 3537 is] *after* paleis H; Narne] Marne H; *after* of Hu. 3539 as ys shold hostay to these places] hostayng thus Hu.

3545 hoste, and forray Pentland Hilles. And the third host fro the Yareforde, forray the
 Mers to Dunbarre, Hadingtoun, Edinburgh, and to Lithcow, Fawkirk, and mete at
 Stryvelyn with the other two hostes all togedir; and gette vs all on southhalfe the
 Scottes See, and make hem youre liege men, and to Dunbretayn. And if youre noble
 corage and discession thinke that ye will do more, ye may passe ouer at the Forde of
 3550 Trips, III myle be west Stryuelyn, and at Stryuelyn Brige. And so, as is writen afore,
 fro Stryuelyn north thurgh all Scotland, fro cuntrey to cuntrey; and take barselettes
 and slothe houndes with youe, and seke <out> all the forestes with houndes and
 hornes, as Kinge Edward with þe longe shankes did.

[Hardyng's Map of Scotland follows on ff. 184r-85r, with the following comments on
 f. 184v]

Stratherney and Angus.

3555 The Abbay of Skone whare the kinges be crowned and Stranavire and many othir
 townes and villages. The Cras of Gowre, the Rede Castell, Dundee on the est se-side;
 Arbrothe and Murros on the same see-side, two good marchaunt townes whare youre
 shippes may mete youe. All this contrey is good to hostaiyng and ful of vitaille, corne,
 and catayle, and many good vilages and husband townes, and standing bitwene the
 water of Tay and the water of Dye.

Wilde Scottz of Marre and Gariogh.

3560 The shire of Marre and of Gariogh; all this contreys stonidith bytwix Dye and Done
 two waters. The castel of Mundromy and many good castels and villages with vitail,
 in whiche is corne, cateil, and gris grete plenty, by the est see. And on the se-side is a
 good marchaunt toun Abirdene, whare youre ships may mete youe on the este see.

Wilde Scottz of Boughan and Athelles.

Bowhan and Athelles stond bitwix Done and Spey, in whiche cuntrees ben the castell
 of Strabolgie, the castell of Rithymay, and the castell of Donydowre, and many moo,
 good corne, gris, and all vitaille of the este see coste, the forestz of Boyne and Hayng.

Wild Scottz of Murreve.

3565 The Cuntrey of Murreve, in whiche cuntrey ben the castell of Spynay, the castel of
 Ternway, the burgh of Enuernes, the abbay of Dere, the toun of Elgyve with the
 colage, the burgh of Fores, the castel of Louet, and the castel of Vrcharde. And there
 is on the west se, a famous porte, whare youre shippis <may> mete youe, called the
 Nesse, and that cuntrey is plentiful of vitayle.

3545 gette] *after* so H; vs] *om.* H. 3546 and (2)] so H. 3547 the] *om.* H. 3548 at] *after* ouer H. 3549-50
 barselettes and slothe houndes] kenettes and katches H. 3550 out] *insert.* S. 3551 Kinge] *after* the noble
 Hu. 3555 to] *om.* H. 3558 and (2)] *rep.* S. 3560 is] *om.* H. 3562 whiche] these H. 3563 and the castell
 (1)] *om.* H; and the castell] *om.* H. 3564 good] *om.* H; of the este] on the H. 3565 whiche] this H; the
 castel (2)] *om.* H. 3568 whare youre shippis may mete youe] *om.* H; may] *insert.* S.

Wilde Scottz of Ros.

3570 Ros, in whiche cuntrey is the burgh of Rossemarky and the bisshops palais of Ros, with a colage cathedral of seculere chanons, the castel of Dignevale, with the burgh of Tarue, with the colage of Saint Duthake, and oþer castels, many good townes, *and* villagez plentiful of corne and cateill.

Kethretz that somtyme were northen Peghtes.

3575 Suthirlond *and* Catnesse: the castel of Dunveke and Darnak, the palais cathedral, the burgh of Wyk, Peghtyly, Korcady, Borworsy, Trefannok and many good places and v<i>llages, forestes, corne *and* catail grete plenty. And at the north-west ende of all Catnesse is Kentyre *and* Kentyrynough.

[The following verses occur within the drawing of Pluto's Palace on f. 185r]

The palais of Pluto, King of Hel, neighbore to Scottz.

Blak be thy bankes and thy ripes also,
Thow sorowful se, ful of stremes blak,
3580 Where Pluto, kinge of helles, regneth in wo
In his palais of pride, with boste and crak;
Neighbore to Scottes without any lak,
With foure flodes furious infernal,
Ebbing and flowing in the se borial.

3585 Stix, Flegiton, Cochiton, and Acheron,
Tho ben foure flodes withouten any rest,
Euer flowing and ebbinge this se vpon,
With wyndes and wawes of þe borial nest
That raise thise floodes by Est and by West,
3590 Blowing misrule thurgh Scotland al *and* sum
As Scripture saith: 'a boria omnie malum.'

Bitwene the see of the West occyon
And the hilles of Scotland occident,
The wilde Scotry haue thare proper mansion,
3595 Whiche dispose thaym noon with anoþer assent,
And the wilder thay ben without regiment
The sonner must thay meked be and tamed,
Wilde hawkes to hand than hennys rather be reclaimed.

3570 whiche] this H. 3571 the burgh] *rep.* S, H. 3572-73 and oþer castels, many good townes, *and* villagez] wher is H. 3575 villages] villages (i *insert.*) S. 3578 be thy] beth þe Hv. 3589 by (1)] *after* both H. 3597 meked be] *rev.* H. 3598 rather] *after* þe Hv.

[Four rivers surround the palace labelled as follows]

Odium sine requie: Stix the infernal flode.

Luctus perpetuus: Cochiton the infernal flood.

Dolor et dolus: Acheron the infernal flood.

Ardens guerra inter se: Flegiton the infernal flode.

[f. 185v]

Actus consilii generalis pro Edwardo tercio rege Anglie de iure suo ad regnum Francie. Philippa regina Anglie yemante in Andewarp vbi peperit Leonellum filium suum, postea ducem Clarencie.

Edwardus tercius, rex Anglie et Francie, transiuit cum Philippa regina, vxore
 3600 sua, in Brabancie et in Gellerlond et Henalde et d*misit* reginam in Andewarp
 ciuitate Brabancie vbi ipsa peperit filium Leonellum. Et XIII anno regni eius Anglie
 cepit super ipsum clamare se regem esse Francie et portare arma Francie quarterata
 <cum> armis Anglie, tam in scuto suo quam in sigillo et in scriptis. Et antequam
 incepit guerram mouere super Francos, scripcit domino pape per ambass*atos* suos
 3605 in generali consilio et omnibus principibus Christianis titulum et totum ius suum et
 declarauit quomodo Karolus rex Francie, filius Philippi pulcri, quondam regis Francie
 vltimus seisitus de regno Francie sine prole de se obiit. Vnde ius regni et corone
 descendebat Isabelle, sorori dicti Karoli et proximo heredi suo, et sic per medium
 eiusdem Isabelle ius descendebat dicto Edwardo filio suo. Et Philippus de Valoys,
 3610 filius auunculi sui, in linia collateralis vsurpauit regnum et coronam per vires violenter
 factus contra ius Francie humanum et peciit inde iudicium. Et predictus Philippus per
 oratores et ambassiatos suos alligauit ibidem quod dicta Isabella fuit femina que non
 potuit esse capax corone in capite suo et quod regnum Francie fuit talliatum heredibus
 masculis Sancti Lodowici cui ipse quamvis fuisset dicta Isabella proxima de sanguine
 3615 in linea directa, fuit proximus heres ad regnum et coronam per talliam predictam, et
 nullum scriptum aut specialitatem inde monstrauit nec offerebat monstrare et peciit
 inde iudicium. Vnde concorditer et ex communi consensu tocius consilii generalis
 diffinitum et determinatum fuit quod predictus Edwardus habuit ius ad coronam et
 regnum Francie per medium dicte matre sue per ius diuinum, sicut Ihesus Christus
 3620 temporaliter et humaniter peruenit ad coronam et regnum Iudeorum per medium beate
 Marie matris sue, et per ius humanum Francie notorie obseruatum vsitatum semper et
 approbatum, videlicet, si homo hereditatus mortuus non habiat filium, quod ad filiam
 eius transibit hereditas, et in libro Numeri sic approbatum vbi Deus loquens Moysi in
 monte sic 'Da filiabus Salphat hereditatem suam inter cognatos suos'. Et similiter
 3625 diffinitum fuit in dicto generali consilio: si omnis oporteret predictum Edwardum ius
 suum predictum prosequi per guerram quod ei bene liceat tam per subditos suos quam
 per alienos e[t] amicos suos idem prosequi melioribus modis et viis quibus melius ei
 videbitur expediri non [f. 186r] obstantibus alligacionibus quas Philippus de Valoys

3599-3682] *This section occurs at the end of the reign of Edward III in H.* 3600 dimisit] dimisit (*first i insert.*) S. 3603 cum] *insert.* S. 3604 ambassiatos] ambassiatos (*i insert.*) S. 3614 fuisset] *om.* H; proxima] *after* fuisset H. 3619 per] *after* sicut H; sicut] *om.* H. 3620 et (2)] *om.* H. 3627 et (1)] e S; modis et viis] viis et modis G, H; melius ei] *rev.* G. 3628 Philippus] Iohannes H.

monstrauit per nuncios suos in dicto consilio omni via bone pacis petita et prosecuta
 3630 per antea ne effusio sanguinis Christiani fiat in ipsius defectum. Et vltius
 determinatum fuit in dicto consilio quod quicquid per predictum Philippum de
 Valesio heredes successores siue fautores suos quocumque modo post hec in
 preiudicium siue contrarium prosecutionis dicti Edwardi in hac parte actum sit erit vel
 3635 fuerit per vsurpacionem obstinacionem aut vires violenter factas seu imposterum
 faciendum iniustum merito dici debeat et pro iniusto de cetero teneatur.

**Et post concilium regina iacente in Flandria peperit Iohannem filium suum apud
 ciuitatem de Gaunt dum rex guerrauit in Franciam primo.**

Et post consilium predictum scripsit Philippo de Valesio pro via bone pacis et
 non fuit considerata ex parte Philippi sed denegata quapropter Edwardus intrauit
 Franciam cum armis Francie et Anglie quarteratis et combussit ciuitatem Tornacensem
 et mille villas in via Tornacensi per consilium et auxilium ducis de Gellere, comitis
 3640 Henalde, ducis Brabancie, et aliorum amicorum suorum in illis partibus. Et in
 temporibus istis Philippa regina peperit in Gaunt infra Flandriam Iohannem filium
 regis, postea ducem Lancastrie.

**Viagium regis Edwardi tercii in Normaniam in quo viagio percussit bellum de
 Cressi et habuit victoriam cum honore.**

Memorandum est quod Edwardus, rex Anglie et Francie tercius post
 conquestum Anglie, arripuit apud Hogges iuxta Barbflete in Normania vndecima die
 3645 Iulii anno regni sui Anglie XX, regni sui Francie VII et anno domini millesimo CCC
 XLVI et ab inde pertransiuit versus Cane, in qua via cepit castra, ciuitates, et villas
 muratas et per fortissimum insultum et durissimum bellum cepit dictam ciuitatem de
 Cane, comitem de Ewe, constabularium Francie, comitem de Tankeruile, camerarium
 Francie, viginte milites CCC armigeros et interficit III M^l homines armatos ibi, et
 3650 constituit custodem et officarios suos ibi et ab inde remouit.

Et cepit iter suum versus ciuitatem de Roen, vbi rex Philippus Francie fregit
 pontem quapropter iter suum cepit versus Liseux ciuitatem, vbi duo cardinales sibi
 obuiauere pro pace tractanda set uoluit pro eis tendere dando eis responsum quod
 quando rex Philippus offerat [f. 186v] ei racionem et ius suum ipse vellet libenter
 3655 admittere. Et cepit Liseux forti manu et fecit custodem et officarios suos ibi et ab inde
 remouit versus Parys.

Et cepit viam suam versus ciuitatem de Paris et rex Philippus fecit omnes
 pontes in via sua rumpi per quod rex Edwardus venit ad Poysy, vbi rex Philippus fecit
 pontem rumpi et pontem de Seynt Clo quod non potuit ad Parys venire Philippo regi
 3660 tunc existente in Paris.

Vby rex Edwardus cum exercitu suo ibidem requieuit et reparauit pontes
 predictos per tres dies et tres noctes donec illos duos pontes reparauerat per quos
 pertransiuit aquam de Sayne, vbi forte bellum et magna occisio Gallorum fuerunt de

3629 in] om. G. 3630 Et] om. H. 3631 Philippum] consilium H. 3635 de cetero] om. H; cetero (te
 insert.) Hv. 3639 de] after ducis canc. S; om. H. 3640 comitis Henalde] om. H; et] after comitis
 Henaldie H. 3643 est] om. G. 3646 castra] after plura G, H. 3649-50 et interficit III milia homines
 armatos ibi et constituit custodem et officarios] om. H; ibi] after et del. S. 3651 vbi] om. H. 3662 dies]
 noctes G, H; noctes] dies G, H.; quos] quod H.

3665 ultra aquam de Sayne, et post bellum percussum cum victoria ab inde remouit cum exercitu suo.

Et cepit iter suum versus aquam de Sowme, vbi omnes pontes fracti fuerunt. Vnde iter suum cepit versus villam de Saint Wallery, vbi aquam de Sowme pertransiuit per grande bellum et occisionem Gallorum, vbi de ultra villam vidit Philippum regem ex altera parte aque pertransientem vsque ad villam de Abvile propter quod rex Edwardus pertransiuit vsque ad Cressy.

3670 Et die Sabbati XXVI die Augusti predicti duo reges apud Cressy bellum percussierunt anno predicto ante horam vesperarum, vbi rex Philippus et primogenitus suus cum centum vexillis fugierunt a campo, vbi nobilis rex de Bayhen et XIII M^L CCCCLX domini, milites et armati occisi fuerunt ultra communes Francorum ad maiorem numerum. Et Edwardus rex ibi pernoctauit in campo ad confortandum homines suos vulneratos et lesos et ab inde remouit.

3680 Et cepit iter suum cum victoria versus villam de Calays et venit coram Caleys et obsedit illam quinto die Septembris anno predicto ex omni parte per mare et per terram, vbi nobilis dux Henricus Lancastrie et dominus de Percy, filius sororis sue, venerunt sibi cum exercitu suo ab [f. 187r] Aquitania per totam Francie absque impedimento Francorum permanentes cum rege quousque rex habuerat villam et castrum de Caleys.

Viagium regis Henrici quinti versus Harflete in Normaniam in quo viagio percussit bellum de Agencourt.

3685 Serenissimus princeps, Henricus rex Anglie et Francie quintus post conquestum Anglie, die Mercurie VII die Augusti anno regni sui tercio a castro suo de Porchestre in vna nauicula ad mare descendit, ascendens suam nauem vocatam le Trinite super mare inter Portesmouth et portum de Southamton, erigens veli virgam <in> medium mali vt simul promptitudinem velandi ostenderet vt signum daret nauigio sperso per loca maritina ad eum quo cicius poterant festinandi.

3690 Et cum sequenti die Dominica omnes simul conuenissent vento amicabiliter flante exposuit vela uentis circiter in mille quingentis nauibus. Et proximo die Martis circa horam quintam post nonam intrauit ostium fluminis de Sayne, vbi finxit anchoras coram villula de Kittecaus per tria miliaria a villa de Harflete, vbi proposuit terram ascendere.

3695 Et cum die Mercurie proximo sequenti in vigilia assumptionis beate Marie sol monstrasset pulcram auroram inter horam sextam et septimam, premisit Iohannem Holande, comitem Huntingdon, Gilbertum Vmfreuire, nominatum comitem de Kyme, Iohannem Cornewaile, Iohannem Gray, Willelmum Porter, Iohannem Stewarde, cum aliis equitibus precursoribus ad explorandum patriam si aliqua hostiliter esset prope villam de Harflete et situm pro requiescione regis et exercitus sui.

3700 Et cum rex cognouisset per relacionem predictorum nobilium quod ascensus stetit clare de inimicis in nauiculis et finibus terre, se appulit et cepit montem proximum versus Harflete inter quandam siluam non de grossis arboribus set ceduam in decliuo vallis versus aquam de Sayne ex vna parte et diuersas villulas pomeria et clausuras ex altra parte quousque totus exercitus, equi et euecciones ac alie
3705 necessarie fuissent de nauibus ad terram asportata.

3682 Caleys] G continues with cum al partium et. 3683-3834] This section occurs at the end of the reign of Henry V in H. 3687 in] insert. S. 3701 finibus] om. H.

[f. 187v] Mons vero *et* locus ascensionis regis *et* exercitus sui erat valde petrosus pro defensione inimicorum tam saxorum grandium quam minorum lapillorum ad iactum si regis ascensui resistere voluissent. Et in primo ascensu regis ante se fiebant magne fosse profunde plene aqua ac muri magni te<r>rei grandis spissitudinis cum turribus armati et propugnaculis ad modum castrorum *et* inter vnamquamque turrim *et* propugnaculum terra dimittebatur integra non fossata ad latitudinem vnius cubiti pro vnius hominis introitu *et* exitu. Et introitus *et* exitus predictus cum muris fossatis *et* turribus duravit a rupibus maris vsque ad mariscum versus Harflete per dimidium miliare quam prouiderat Gallicana industria. Set ex eorum vecordia seu pigricia omnino indefensatus erat. Et mariscus predictus tam strictus fuit tum per foueas aqua plenas, tum per vias obstupatas, quod durum fuit intrare mariscum.

Et cum die Sabati sequente proxima omnia euecta que itineri erant neccessaria de nauibus erant asportata, rex remouit se cum exercitu suo monstrando se coram villa de Harflete super litus montis ex deliberacione *et* consilio prehabito misit fratrem suum, ducem Clarencie, cum competente parte exercitus sui pro obsidione ponenda ex altra parte ville. Et die Dominica sequente idem dux Clarencie monstrauit se ex altra parte ville cuius via *et* transitus erat in circuitu circa nouem miliaria sole illius diei ser[e]nante pulcram auroram.

Et die Lune sequente rex ordinauit obsidionem ex parte maris per nauigium ex parte vallis in qua villa de Harflete stat *et* ex parte dulcis fluminis currentis ad villam in batellis per seruiantes suos proprios *et* posuit machinas cauellas sues cum porcellis, clapers cum cuniculis, domos cum plouers *et* alia abilimenta guerre prope villam bene munitas cum municionibus tutamentis que rex fieri fecit ex opere lignario *et* ferrario ex altis tabulis *et* spissis ante quamlibet portam ville pro custodia *et* saluacione dictarum ordinacionum *et* municionum ne lederentur ab hostibus. Eciam rex fecit fieri fossas ex vtraque parte municionum *et* [f. 188r] tutamentorum predictorum altas supra terram cum fasciculis *et* terra edificatas in modum murorum cum fossatis pro saluacione ordinacionum hominum suorum in eisdem vigilancium *et* custodiencium dictas ordinaciones tam per diem quam per noctem.

Et interim predicti vigilantes effoderunt continue die ac nocte terram lucrantes terram versus bastellum ville quousque tandem venerunt in oppositum eius prope latus ad latus *et* tunc rex <cum> cauellis suis *et* machinis sic verberauit bastellum ville quod exarmatum fuit *et* diruptum infra paucos dies quamvis hostes essent bene de ligneis faculis calce viua aqua bulliente ollis terreis plenis pulueribus adustiuis sulphuris ac de aliis vasibus plenis oleorum *et* pinguium bullencium *et* plumbi bullientis que iactauerunt super insultantes.

Eciam rex parari fecit obpugnacionem per cuniculos in clapers tam diebus quam noctibus in viis subteraneis per sues porcellos *et* plouers necnon per fasciculos ad implendum fossata ac eciam per bastellos *et* fortalicios ligneos ad altitudinem murorum ville ac per scalas *et* alia instrumenta *et* cum illis obpugnauit villam ita quod cuniculi *et* porcelli recuperauerunt fossam exteriorem ville alioque die succedente non immediate Galli irrumperunt de bastello super comites Huntingdon *et* de Kyme, Iohannem Cornewayl, Willelmum Bouesere, Iohannem Gray, Willelmum Porter,

3709 terrei] terrei (first r insert.) S. 3715 tum] cum H. 3716 tum] cum H. 3719 ex] after *et* H. 3723 serenante] seronante S. 3724 ex (2)] after *et* H. 3727 porcellis] porcellis (r insert.) S. 3728 tutamentis] after *et* H. 3734 per (1)] om. Hv. 3737 cum] insert. S. cauellis] after suis H; suis] om. H. 3745 murorum] after murorum *canc.* S. 3746 recuperauerunt] after repugnarunter *del.* Hv. 3747 irrumperunt] irrumperut S.

3750 Iohannem Steward, nobiles milites, qui cum gente sua armigera *et* sagittaria eos obpugnauerunt *et* duro prelio deuicerunt occiderunt *et* fugerunt in bastellum ville *et* miserunt ignem furentem *per* sagittas in bastellum illud recuperandum vbi penones *et* vexilla *super* muros posuerunt.

3755 Vnde rex *absque* dilacione proclamari fecit *communem* insultum *per* totum exercitum *pre* timore cuius assultus dominus de Gawcourt capetaneus ville *cum* assensu nobiliorum ville quid *pro* timore de penis legis Deutronomii si villa recuperaretur ab eis resistentibus desperantes de rescussu illa nocte inierunt tractatum *cum* rege si obsideo non [f. 188v] fuerit remota vi Francorum.

3760 Et die *Dominica proxima* sequente XXII die Septembris post nonam rex Francie, Dalphynus, nec aliquis alius ad soluendum obsidionem se obtulit, ascendebat rex soleum suum regale stratum, sub vno papilione, vestibus aureis *et* carpasitis in cardine montis coram villa stipatus viris illustribus proceribus *et* nobilioribus in multitudine *et* apparamentis culcioribus, tenta a dextris suis *super* vno hastili *per* Gilbertum Vmfrevile, comitem de Kyme, <sua> coronata galea triumphali. Venit de villa *prefatus* dominus Gaucourt comitantibus eum XXIII de nobilioribus ville, qui prius secum tractauerunt *et* se obligauerunt ad tractatum *predictum* *et* regi reddiderunt claves se ipsos *que simul et* obsessos gracie sue. *Et* tunc rex fecit poni *super* portas ville vexilla sua *et* vexillum *Sancti* Georgii fecit *que* inde capitaneum Thomam Beauforde, comitem *Dorsetie*, *et* in crastino intrauit villam propria persona.

3770 Et die Lune rex misit haraldum, nomine Guyen, *cum* domino de Gaucourt ad Dalphinum ad intimandum sibi quod expectaret apud villam suam de Harflete ad huc *per* octo dies tunc sequentes ab eo petens responsum infra illud tempus si vellet venire *cum* eo ad pacem *et* dimittis ibi facere ius suum ab[s]que duricia *vel* effusio sanguinis multitudinis *inter* se ipsos persona ad personam *per* duellum terminarent ex vtriusque regis consilio set lapsis inde octo diebus sine responso iter suum arripuit versus villam suam Calisie *que* distat ab inde plus quam centum miliaria Anglicana precipiens exercitui suo se in victua[li]bus instaurare *pro* octo diebus.

3780 Et die Martis, primo die Octobris, *cum* exercitu suo non excedente nongentas lanceas *et* quinque milia sagittarios remouit de Herflete dimittendo villam de Mustre de Villers *per* dimidium miliare a dextris in tribus bellis *et* aciebus constans in trepidus iter cepit *et* sequente die Veneris venit coram castro *et* villa de Arkes *super* fluuio corrente ad Depe *per* tria miliaria dimittens villam de Depe a sinistris. *Et* die Sabbati venit *per* villam de Ewe dimittens eam a sinistris *per* dimidium miliare. *Et* die *Dominica* venit [f. 189r] prope villam de Abvyle, vbi non potuit transire aquam de Sowme *propter* pontes calceta *et* vias diruptas. *Et* die Lune iter suum cepit versus capud aque de Sowme dimittens ciuitatem Ambianensem a sinistris *per* vnam leucam. *Et* die Martis *pertransiuit* lateraliter iuxta aquam de Sowme versus caput aque de Sowme *et* nullum transitum aut vadum vltra invenire poterit *et* die Mercurii simili modo. *Et* die Iovis venit ad Bowes *et* sic ad villam de Corby muratam dimittendo eam a sinistris in valle vbi rex indixit *et* presepit vt quilibet sagittarius faceret sibi palum *vel* baculum quadratum seu rotundum sex pedum longitudinis accutum in vtroque fine ad figendum coram se in ter[r]am vnum finem *et* alterum finem in decliuo versus

3749 Iohannem] *after* *et* H. 3754 timore] *om.* Hv. 3755 Deutronomii] Deutronomii (no *insert.*) Hv. 3756 rescussu] *re* H. 3763 sua] *insert.* S. 3764 Gaucourt] *after* *de* H; xxiii] xxxiii H. 3766 obsessos] *after* *ob del.* S. 3772 *absque*] *abque* S. 3776 victualibus] victuabus S. 3781 *per* tria miliaria] *om.* H; a] *after* *per* tria miliaria H. 3785 capud] caput H. 3786-87 *de* Sowme versus caput aque de Sowme *et* nullum] *om.* Hv. 3787 transitum] situm Hv. 3791 terram] *teram* S.

hostes tempore belli.

Et die Veneris rex hospitabatur in villulis prope villam de Nele muratam vbi
nunciatum fuit regi de duobus locis vbi potuit transire aquam de Sowme quare
3795 premisit dominum Gilbertum Vmfrevile, comitem de Kyme, et Willelmum Portere,
Iohannem Cornewayle, Willelmum Bousere, cum penonibus suis custodire passagium
exercitus vltra aquam predictam qui illud custodierunt a meridie vsque ad vnam
horam infra noctem. Et die Sabbati pertransiuit rex et totus exercitus ad duo loca
3800 predicta, vbi magnus mariscus fuit ex vtraque parte aque predicte et ad duo calceta
inter mariscos pertransitus totus exercitus qui quidem custodes passagii illud
custodierunt a meridie vsque ad vnam horam noctis.

Et die Dominica sequente dux de Orlience et dux de Burbone miserunt tres
haroldos regi quod pugnarent cum eo. Et die Lune rex venit prope villam de Peron
3805 muratam dimittendo eam a sinistris per vnum miliare. Et deinde rex venit ad aquam
de Swerdes et transiuit vltra. Et die Martis et die Mercurii hospitabatur rex et
exercitus in villulis vbi habuerunt visum de maximo exercitu Gallicorum. Et die
Iouis rex statim remouit exercitum semper equitandis arrayati aduersum eos. Et ad
solis occasum Gallici hospitabantur in villulis et ortis prope regem. Et cum rex viderat
hoc et quod quilibet clamauit et vociferauit pro famulo, amico et socio vt moris est.
3810 Presepit exercitum [f. 189v] suum hospitari cum silencio absque vociferacione sub
certa pena in villa de Agencourt prope hoste vsque ad mane.

Et die Veneris in festo Sanctorum Crispini et Crispiniani surgente aurora
Gallici se constituerunt in exercitu in aciebus turmis et cuneis coram rege in dicto
3815 campo de Agencourt in via et transitu suo versus Calisiam. Et interim rex constituit se
in bello ibi prope hostes, ponens Edwardum, ducem Eboracum, in acie anteriori et
dominum de Camoys in acie posteriori, pro alis dextera et sinistra. Et rex
appropinquauit versus hostes et hostes versus eum et per durum prelium percussum
rex habuit victoriam vbi occisi erant dux de Bare, dux de Braban, dux de Alaunsoun,
comites quinque barones et vexilla leuantes nonaginta, mille quinquaginta milites et
3820 maxima multitudo populi secundum computacionem haraldorum ad numerum centum
millia hominum. Et capti sunt dux de Orlience, Lodowicus, frater regis Francie, dux
de Burbon, comes de Vendisme, Arthurus de Bretayn, comes de Richemond et comes
de Ewe, ac dominus Bursegaldus Marescallus Francie ex parte Francie et ex parte
Anglie occisi sunt Edwardus, dux Eboracum, Michael de la Pole, comes Suffolchie,
3825 iuuenis duo milites de nouo insigniti, et decem alie persone.

Cumque dominus noster rex post finitum prelium, ex humanitate et maxima
audacia in villa de Agencourt et in eodem loco vbi pernoctauit et requieuit nocte
presedente pernoctasset. Et die Sabbati iter suum arripuit versus Calisiam per illum
locum vbi bellum fuit percussum amare lamentando in corde effusionem tantam
3830 Christianorum occisorum qui numerabantur ad centum milia hominum vbi rex non
habuit vltra novem millia de viris infirmis et sanis pugnantibus. Et die Martis in
crastino sanctorum Simonis et Iude venit rex cum toto exercitu ad Calisiam cum
magno gaudio populi et leticia vbi laudes soli Deo pro victoria faciens decantare cum
maxima deuocione litera F tunc dies Dominica Anno Domini M^lCCCCXV.

3793 vbi] vibi S, Hv. 3794 transire] after per H; quare] qua de cause H. 3795 et] om. H. 3796
Willelmum] after et H. 3805 et (3)] ac H. 3810 cum silencio absque] erased H. 3814 se] after transitu
del. Hv. 3821 sunt] fuerunt H. 3824 sunt] erant H. 3828 Calisiam] om. H.

Tochauzt the cronicle of the two sonnes of King Henry þe third in evidence that Edward was the elder son and Edmund þe yonger.

3835 For as moche as many haue bene merred *and* yet stond in grete erreure and
 controuersi holding [f. 190r] oppinion froward how that Edmond, erle of Lancastre,
 Laycestre, and of Derby, was the eldire sonne of Kinge Henry the thirde,
 crouchebakked, vnable to haue be kinge; for which Edward, his yonger broþer, was
 3840 made kinge bi his assent, as som men haue alegged by an vntrue cronicle, fayned in
 the tyme of Kinge Richard the seconde by John of Gaunt, duke of Lancastre, to make
 Henry, his sonne, kinge whan he sawe he might not be himself chose for heyre
 apparant to King Richard.

For <I>, Iohn Harding, maker of this boke, herd the erle of Northumbrelond,
 that was slayne at Bramham More in Kinge Henry tyme the fourt, say how the said
 3845 Kinge Henry, on Saint Matheu day afore he was made kinge, put furth that ilke
 cronicle clayming his title to the crowne by the saide Edmond. Vpon whiche all
 cronicles of Westminster and all oþer notable mynstres were had in the covnceil at
 Westminster and examined among the lordes, and proued wele by all thaire cronicles
 3850 that the kinge Edward was the eldere brothir and the said Edmond the yonger brothir,
 and noght crowgebakked, ne maymed, but the semelyest persone of Englonde except
 his broþer Edward; wherfore, that cronicle whiche Kinge Henry so put furth was
 annulled and reproued.

And than I harde the said erle say that the said Kinge Henry made the saide
 Kinge Richard, vndir dures of prison in þe Toure of London, in fere of his lif to make
 3855 a resignacion of his right to him, and vpon that a renunciacioun of his right; and tho
 two declared in the counceil and in the parliament at Westminster, on the morowe of
 Saint Michel than next folowing, what of his might *and* wilfulnesse, and what be
 certeyn lordes *and* strength of the comewns, he was crowned, agayne his othe made in
 the White Freres of Doncastre to the saide erle of Northumbrelonde and othre lordes,
 3860 agayne the will *and* counceil of the saide erle and his sonne and Sir Thomas Percy,
 erle of Worcetre; for whiche cause thei died aftir, as I knew wele, for that tyme I was
 in the felde at Shrowesbury with Sir Henry Percy of age of XXV^{ti} yere armed, afore in
 his hous brought vp of XII yere age.

[f. 190v] Also I herd the said erle of Northumbrelond say dyuers tymes that he
 3865 herde Duke John of Loncastre amonge the lordes in counceils, and in parlimenz, and
 in the comevn hous amonge the knyghtz chosen for the comevns, aske by bille for to
 be admitted heire apparant to Kinge Richard, considered howe the kinge was like to
 haue none issue of his body. To the whiche the lordes spiritual *and* temporal, and the
 comons in the comevn hous, by hole advice, saide that the erle of Marche, Roger

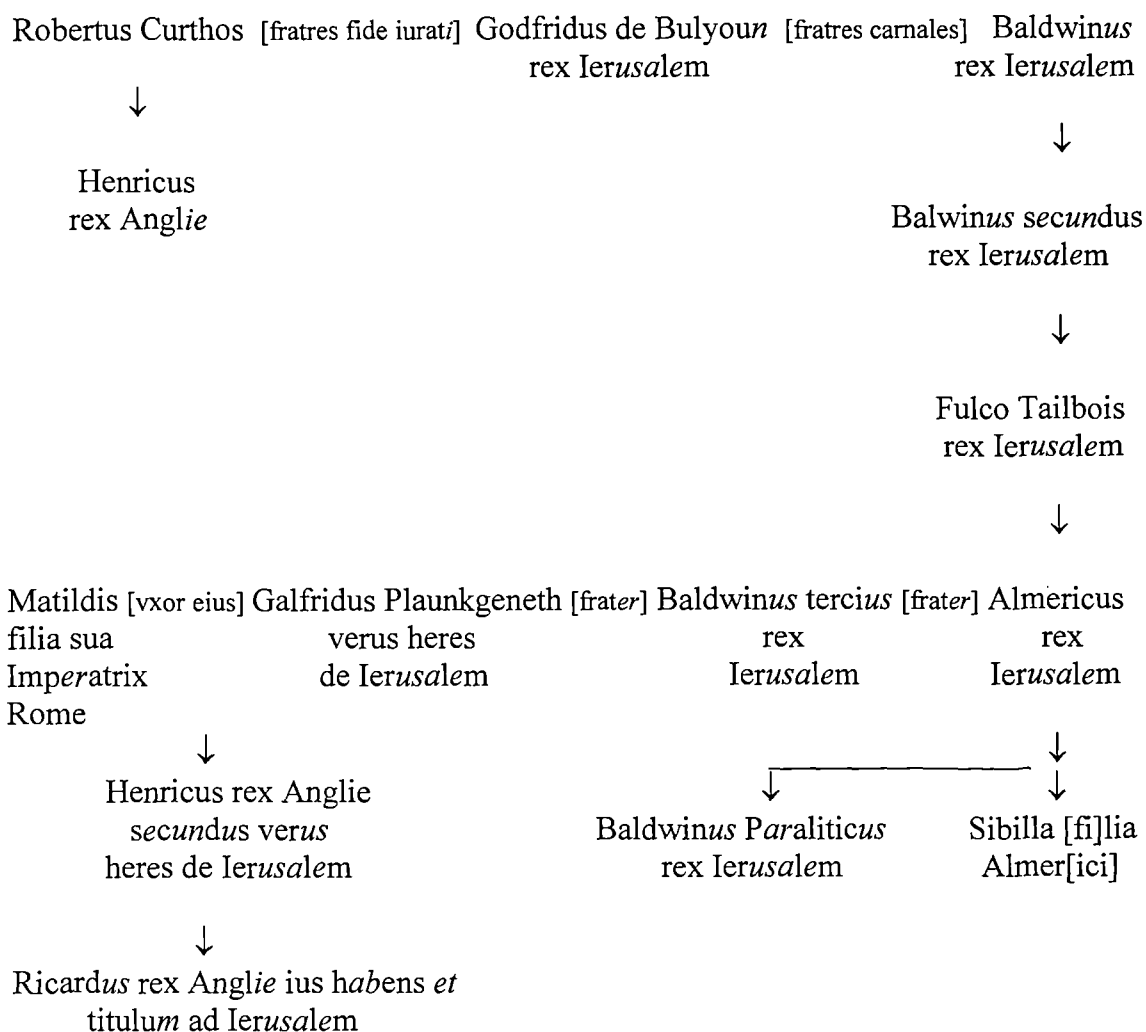
3835 haue] *after* haue *canc.* S; *after* men H. 3836 oppinion froward] a froward opinion H2. 3837 of
 (1)] *om.* H2. 3838 crouchebakked] *after* and that he was H2; which] *after* the H. 3835-80] *occur after*
the reign of Henry IV in H. 3841 be himself] *rev.* H2; himself] *om.* H. 3843 For I] *om.* H2; I] *insert.* S;
om. Hv; maker] *after* the H; *after* therefore H2. 3844 Kinge Henry tyme] the tyme of King Henry H;
 said] same H. 3845 ilke] day H2. 3847 cronicles] *after* the H; all] *after* of H; mynstres] monasteries H.
 3849 kinge] *om.* Hv; eldere] older H. 3850 ne] nother H. 3851 whiche] with Hv. 3853 the said] *om.* H.
 3855 right (2)] *after* seide H; and (2)] *after* to him *canc.* H2. 3856 two] also H2; of] on H2. 3857 what
 (1)] *after* soo as H2; of] by H2; wilfulnesse] *after* his H. 3859 of] at H. 3860 agayne] *after* and H2; his]
after of H; Sir] *after* of H. 3862 age] *after* the H; afore] *after* and H. 3863 his hous brought vp] brought
 up in his house H. 3867 Kinge] *after* the coron after H2. 3868 none] no H.

3870 Mortimere, was his next heire of blood to the crowne and thay wolde haue none othre,
and asked a question vpon it who durste disable the kinge of issue, he being yonge and
able to haue childre, for whiche whan the duke of Lancastre was so put by, he and his
3875 counceil feyned and forged the said cronicle, that Edmond sholde be the eldire brothir,
to make his sonne Henry a title to the crowne and wolde haue had the saide erle of
Northumbrelond and his brothir *Sir Thomas Percy* of counceil there of, for cause they
were descent of the said Edmond be a sister, but thay refusid hitt.

3880 Whiche cronicle so forged the duke did put in diuers abbaies and in freers, as I
herd the said erle oft tyme say and recorde to diuers persones, for to be kept for his
sonnes enheritance of the crowne, whiche title he put first forth after he had King
Richard in the Toure, but that title the erle Percy put by.

[f. 191r]

The Title of Ierusalem



3870 of blood to the crowne] to the crown of full discent of blode H. 3875 his brothir] *om.* H; of] *after*
his brother H. 3876 said] *after* same Hv. 3877 cronicle] *after* said H2; in (2)] *om.* H2. 3878 to (1)] of
Hv. 3879 his sonnes enheritance of] the enheritaunce of his sonne to H. 3880 title] *after* the Hv; by]
aside H.

[The following text accompanies the Title of Jerusalem; editorial emendations follow the text.]

Robertus Curthose, filius primogenitus Willelmi conquestoris Anglie, qui fuit dux Normannie electus, fuit rex Ierusalem anno domini M^LLXXXIX qui reliquit illud.

Godfridus de Bulyoun, dux Lothoryngie, fiebat rex Ierusalem in defectu dicti Roberti anno domini M^LLXXXIX, qui obiit sine exitu de corpore suo vnde ius descendebat Baldwyno fratri suo qui regnavit II annis.

Baldwinus, frater eiusdem Godfridi post decessum dicti Godfridi regnavit apud Ierusalem XVII annis qui obiit anno domini M^LCXVIII.

Henricus, frater suus, rex Anglie dux Normannie succedens post ipsum.

Baldwinus, filius eius, rex Ierusalem secundus obiit anno domini M^LCXXXIII qui regnavit quindecim annis.

Fulco, filius Iuonis Tailboys, comitis Andegaue, postea comes Andegaue qui quidem Fulco duxit filiam Baldwyni secundi, rex Ierusalem, ex iure vxoris sue qui regnavit VIII annis et obiit anno domini M^LCXLI et vocatur Tailbois qu[ia] conduxit<it> soudarios ad elarg[ig]andum vias et semit[as] per desertum in terra sancta succidendo et amputando bosca et subbosca vt exercitus Christianus poterit pertransire super Sarracenos

Matildis, filia sua vnica, et heres Imperatrix Rome postea vxor Galfridi Plaunkgenethis qui habuerunt filium que obiit anno domini M^LCLXVI.

Galfridus Plaunkgeneth, primogenitus eius, comes Andegaue secundum aliquas cronicas, vocatus Plantageneth verus heres de Ierusalem qui obiit anno domini M^LCLIII.

Baldwinus, secundogenitus rex Ierusalem, captus per Saracenos sine exitu de se mortuus anno domini M^LCLXI qui regnavit XX annis.

Almericus, terciogen[itus rex] Ierusalem, succedit po[st fratrem] suum Baldwinum [tercium qui] regnavit XIII obiit anno domini M^L[CLXXV].

Anno domini M^LCLV incepit regnare Henricus, rex Anglie, secundus filius et heres predictorum Galfridi Plaunkgeneth et Matilidis Imperatricis, rex Anglie, dux Normannie, ex iure matris verus heres de Ierusalem et comes Andegaue ex parte patris et dux Aquitanie ex iure vxoris sue et sic per ius hereditarium descendit Ricardo filio suo.

Baldwinus Paralyticus, rex Ierusalem, filius Almerici resignauit coronam et ius suum Henrico regi Anglie filio et heredi Galfridi comitis Andegaue, filio avunculi sui tanquam recto heredi Ierusalem et obiit sine exitu anno domini M^LCLXXXIII et regnavit IX annis.

Sibilla, filia sua vnica nup[ta] [fuit] marchiso de Monte Ferrato qui *per illam* rex fuit occisu[s] [in] Tyro ciuitate *tempore Ricardī* reg[is] [in terra] *sancta* existentur qui *habuerent* fili[um] [Balde]wylum regem *quintum* mortu[um] [d]uorum *quam* Sibillam rex Ric[ardus] dedit Henrico comiti Cam[panie] *et* Saxonie, nepoti suo, cum re[gno] Ierusalem anno M^lCLXXXII [post] decessum marchisii *predicti*.

Ricardus, filius eius, rex Anglie, ius *habens* et titulum ad Ierusalem *transfretauit* illuc anno M^lCLXXX *et* cepit Ierusalem *et* omnes ciuitates *et* castra illius regni *et* terre *et* dedit illud regnum anno *domini* M^lCLXXXII Henrico, comiti Saxonie *et* Campanie, nepoti suo, *et* anno M^lCLXXXIII captus fuit Ricardus *per* Lympholdum, ducem de Hostriche, *et* liberatur Henrico Imperatori qui redemptus fuit anno *domini* M^lCLXXXIII *et* obiit anno *domini* M^lCC in Normanie.

[f. 191v]

The kingis titles to all his londes brefly reported with a mocion to vnyon Scotland to Englund.

To Englund haue ye right, as ye may see,
By Brutes cronicle, Saxons and Normandes;
To Wale the same and Scotlond, als *parde*,
Who that the giste and right wele vndirstondis
3885 Of Iohn Bayliol, how he into the handes
Of King Edward hit gaf *and* resigned.
Why sholde it now ben voide *and* repigned?

To Fraunce youre title is writen, wele I knowe,
Fro Saint Lowes to youe by hole descent,
3890 And Normandy all hole, both high *and* lowe,
Fro William Conquerour by hole entent,
Guyen and Paytow with al to *hem* apent,
Fro Alianore, the modir of King Iohn,
Doughter and heire to Duke William alon.

3895 To Aungeoy als by Geffray Plaunkegeneth,
Fadir of Henry le filtz demperice,
That of Aungeoy was erle withouten let,
And of Mayne als a prince of grete emprice.
To Irelond als, be Kinge Henry le Fice,
3900 Of Maude, doughtre of first kinge Henry,
That conquerid it for thaire grete eryl.

Title of Jerusalem emendations: quia] qu S; condux] conduxit (it *insert.*) S; elargigandum] elargandum S; semitas] semit S; poterit] poteri S; terciogenitus rex] terciogen S; post fratrem] po S; Baldwinum tercium qui] Baldwinum S; M^lCLXXV] M^l S; resignauit] resignaut S; nupta fuit] nup S; occisus in] occisu S; regis in terra] reg S; filium] fili S; Baldewylum] wylum S; mortuum] mortu S; duorum] uorum S; Ricardus] Ric S; Campanie] Cam S; regno] re S; post decessum] decessum S. 3881 haue] he Hv; ye] the C. 3885 into] *after* in he *del.* Hv. 3886 hit] he P2. 3878 I] and H, I, T. 3888 I] and P1, P2. 3890 both] *after* by h *canc.* I. 3893 Fro] For P1, P2; of] to H. 3894 alon] anon P1, P2. 3897 Aungeoy] Aungeoy (o *insert.*) Hv. 3899 le Fice] *om.* C. 3900 doughtre] *after* douzt *del.* I; first] *after* the C.

To Castel *and* to Leon als ye bene
 The enheritere, and als the varry heire,
 Be right of blood descended clere *and* clene;
 3905 Of Portingale, where Lusshburne is ful faire,
 Fro Kinge Petre, without any dispaire;
 For tho two bene the verray region
 That named is Castel and Legion.

3910 Yourre grauntsires moder, Duches Isabell,
 Ful ladilike faire and femynine,
 To Kinge Petro, as I haue herd wel tell,
 Was verray heire of hem by rightful lyne,
 To whom ye ben heire as men determyne.
 Be smale haknayes grete coursers man chasteyse,
 3915 As Arthure did by Scottes wan all fraunceyse.

[f. 192r]
 Though scripture sey of north all evill is shewed,
 Me think I can avaunt it als proprely
 That thay be as manly, lerned and lewde,
 As any folke, and as suoche payne may dry,
 3920 Better men of werre is none vndir sky
 And of lyuing, Daudid saith in his boke,
 Of Scotland, wele who-so will it loke.

Transtulit Deus celum ab austro et in virtute sua posuit affricum.

If Scotland were youre to Wales and Englund,
 Who hath powere to make youe resistance
 3925 In any wise in any vnkouth land?
 Yourre rerward than stont in all sufficience
 To kepe Englund seurely in youre absence;
 Make hem all oon and pas forth where ye list,
 To othir londes ye nede none othir trist.

**The quarell of Sir Henry Percy at Shrowsbiry, and his vncler [and] fadir, by
 councaill of Scrope, archbisshop of York, and othir holy men.**

3930 For as moche as many men mervail gretly why the erle of Northumbrelond, Sir
 Henry Percy, his first gotten sonne, and Sir Thomas Percy, erle of Worsetre, were most

3903 and als] *rev.* I, T, P1, P2; the (2)] *om.* I, T, P1, P2. 3907 region] regions P1, P2. 3908 is] be I, T, P1, P2; Legion] Legions P1, P2. 3911 wel] *om.* I, T, P1, P2. 3914 coursers] coursers (*first r insert.*) Hv. 3916 Though] [poffe T; scripture] *after* seith *del.* I; north] *after* the T. 3917 it] that C; als] as I, T, P1, P2. 3918 thay] *om.* T; be as] ben als H; as] als I, T. 3919 suoche] muche H, I, T, P1, P2; may dry] my dryve C. 3920 is] *om.* C; beth H; er I, T, P1, P2; none] *om.* C; nott I, P1, P2; sky] *after* the I, T, P1, P2. 3922 Scotland] the north H; wele] *om.* T; will] *after* that C, H, I, T, P1, P2. 3923 Of] Iff I, T, P1, P2. 3935 vnkouth] *after* a *canc.* T. 3926 stont] scant P1, P2; all] *om.* H. 3928 all oon] Albion P1, P2; and] *om.* Hv. 3929 trist] trust H. 3930 Sir] *after* and H. 3931 were] *after* thire H2; most] *om.* H.

supportours to Kinge Henry fourth, to haue his heritage and to take Kinge Richard to be put in rule, and why thay rose vpon him aftirward to haue deposid him by strong hand. Truly, I, the maker of this boke, was brought vp, fro XII yere age, in Sir Henry Percy hous to the bateile of Shrowebury, that I was there with him armed of xxvⁱⁱ yere age, as I had been afore at Homyldon, Coklaw, and diuers rodes, with <him> and knew his entent, and had it writen; wherfore, I haue tited in this boke that for truth the cause whi thay rose agayne him may euermore be knowne. Thaire quarell was so swete [and] deuowte, and by good aduice and counceil of maister Richard Scrop, archbissshop of Yorke, for whom God almighty hath shewed many miracles seth that tyme hiderward, and by the counceil of diuers othir holy men, [and] also by counceil of othir diuers lordes that deseyued him and were bounde to him by thaire *lettres and seales*, whiche I saw and had in kepinge while I was with him, and all thaire quarels they sent to Kinge Henry in the felde, writen vndir the seales of thaire thre armes, by Thomas Knayton and Rogere Salvayn, *squiers* [f. 192v] of Sir Henry Percy, whiche quarell now followit next after.

Nos, Henricus Percy comes Northumbrie, constabularius Anglie et custos Westmarchie Anglie versus Scociam, Henricus Percy primogenitus noster custos Estmarchie Anglie versus Scociam, et Thomas Percy, comes Worcestrie, procuratores et protectores rei publice coram domino nostro Ihesu Christo iudice nostro supremo ponimus dicimus et probare intendimus manibus nostris personaliter de instante contra te Henricum ducem Lancastrie, complices tuos et fautores, te iniuste presumentem et nominantem regem Anglie sine titulo iuris nisi tantum de dolo tuo et vi fautorum tuorum quod quando tu post exilium tuum Angliam intrasti, apud Doncastre tu iurauisti nobis super sacra euangelia corporaliter per te tacta et osculata numquam clamare coronam regium [sic] statum, nisi solummodo hereditatem tuam propriam et hereditatem vxoris tue in Anglia, et quod Ricardus dominus noster rex et tuus regnaret ad terminum vite sue, gubernatus per bonum consilium dominorum spiritualium et temporalium. Tu ipsum dominum tuum et regem nostrum imprisonasti infra Turrim London, quousque resignauerat metu mortis regna Anglie et Francie, et renunciauerat totum ius suum in regnis predictis et aliis dominiis suis et terris de vltra mare. Colore quarum resignacionis et renunciacionis, tuorum fautorum consilio, ac publica vociferacione, vulgaris populi apud Westmonasterium per te et tuos complices collecti, tu te coronasti in regem regnorum predictorum et seisiri fecisti omnia castra et dominia regalia contra sacramentum tuum, vnde periuratus es et falsus.

Item nos ponimus dicimus et probare intendimus quod vbi tu iurasti super eadem euangelia eisdem loco et tempore nobis nullas decimas de clero nec quintodecimas de populo nec aliqua alia talliagia seu quotas in regno Anglie leuari permitteres ad opus regium dum viueres nisi per consideracionem trium statuum regni in parlamento et hoc non nisi propter maximam indigenciam pro resistencia

3932 fourth] *after* the H. 3932-33 to be put in rule, and why thay rose vpon him aftirward] *om.* H. 3934 age] *after* of H. 3935 to] and was at H2; that] wher H; there] *om.* H; of (2)] being H2. 3936 age] *after* of H; old like H2; diuers] *after* at H; with] *after* and feeldes H; him] *insert.* S. 3937 for truth] *om.* H2. 3939 swete and] S, H, Hv. 3941 and also] also S, Hv; counceil] *after* the H2. 3942 othir diuers] *rev.* H. 3945-46 of Sir Henry Percy, which quarell now followit next after] *om.* H2. 3947 Northumbrie] Northumbrelond (lond *del.*) Hv. 3950 protectores] *insert.* H2. 3951 dicimus] *after* et H2. 3954 intrasti] *rep. and canc.* H2. 3956 numquam] *iuxta* H; coronam] *om.* H; regium] *rep.* S; statum] *after* seu H. 3957-58 et tuus] ad tunc H. 3964 in regem] *rep. and canc.* H2; et] *rep.* S. 3967 nec] *om.* H2. 3968 seu quotas] *om.* H.

inimicorum tantummodo et non aliter tu contra iuramentum tuum sic prestitum leuari fecisti quam plures decimas et quintodecimas ac alias impositiones et talliagia tam cleri quam communitatis Anglie et mercatorum metu [f. 193r] magestatis regie tue, vnde periuratus es et falsus.

3975 Item nos ponimus dicimus et probare intendimus quod vbi tu nobis iurauisti super eadem euangelia eisdem tempore et loco quod dominus noster et tuus rex Ricardus regnaret dum viueret in regalibus prerogatiuis suis. Tu ipsum dominum nostrum regem et tuum proditorie in castro tuo de Pountfrayt sine consensu seu iudicio dominorum regni per quindecim dies et tot noctes quod horrendum est inter
3980 Christianos audiri fame sciti et frigore interfeci fecisti et murthero periri, vnde periuratus et falsus.

Item ponimus dicimus et probare intendimus quod tu tunc temporis quando dominus Ricardus rex noster et tuus fuit sic ex horribili murthero mortuus vt supra, tu extorsisti vsurpasti et deforciasti regnum Anglie ac nomen et honorem regni Francie
3985 iniuste contra iuramentum tuum ab Edmundo Mortimere, comiti Marchii et Vltonie, tunc proximo et directo herede Anglie et Francie immediate et hereditarie post decessum predicti Ricardi successuro, vnde periuratus es et falsus.

Item ponimus dicimus et probare intendimus vt supra quod vbi iurasti eisdem loco et tempore supportare et mantenere leges regni Anglie et consuetudines bonas et
3990 postea tempore coronacionis tue iurasti easdem custodire et conseruare ille sas. Tu subdole et contra legem Anglie tuis fautoribus scripsisti quam pluries in quolibet comitatu Anglie ad eligendos tales milites pro quolibet parlamento qui tibi placuerint sic quod in parliamentis tuis nullam iusticiam contra voluntatem tuam in hiis querelis nostris nunc motis non potuimus habere quamvis nos pluries tibi secundum
3995 consciencias nostras nobis a Deo datas conquerulauimus sine remedio Deo teste et venerabilibus patribus Thoma Arrundell Cantuariensis et Ricardo Scrope, Eboracensis Archiepiscopis, vnde nunc forti manu oportet coram domino nostro Ihesu Christo nos petere remedium.

Item ponimus dicimus et probare intendimus quod vbi Edmundus Mortimere
4000 frater Rogeri Mortimer nuper comitis Marchie et Vltonie fuit captus per Owinum Glendore in mortali bello campestri et in prisona ac vinculis ferreis aduc crudeliter [f. 193v] tentus in causa tua quem tu proclamasti captum ex dolo et noluisti pati deliberacionem suam per se nec per nos consanguinios suos et amicos. Quare modo affidenter cum predicto Owino pro financia sua de bonis nostris propriis
4005 protractauimus ac pro bono pacis inter te et ipsum Owinum quapropter considerasti nos tanquam proditores et de cetero mortem et finalem destruccionem personare nostrarum subdole et secrete coniectasti et imaginasti. Ideo te et complices tuos et fautores mortaliter diffidimus tanquam proditores et rei publici regni destructores ac veri et directi heredis Anglie et Francie inuasores oppressores et deforsiatores et
4010 manibus nostris hic probare intendimus hac die omnipotente Deo nobis auxiliante.

Nota quod rex Edwardus primus post conquestum Anglie misit istam litteram proximum sequentem domino Pape Bonifacio de iure hereditario suo quo ad superioritatem regni Scocie sibi ab antiquissimis temporibus debitam et consuetam et ideo notam litteram illam hic vt rex Edwardus quartus potest

3971 tu contra] om. H2. 3975 nos] om. H. 3977 dominum] after nostrum H2. 3981 et] after es H. 3982 quod] after vt supra H2. 3985 et Vltonie] om. H. 3947-4010] This section occurs at the end of the reign of Henry IV in H. 3994 nos] eos Hv. 3997 forti manu] rev. H. 4002 noluisti] vluisti Hv.

habere responsum suum ad papam. Litera Edwardi primi regis Anglie post conquestum de titulo ad Scociam missa domino pape.

Sanctissimo in *Christo* patri domino Bonifacio diuina prouidencia sacrosancte Romane ac vniuersalis ecclesie summo pontifici, Edwardus dei gracia rex Anglie dominus Hibernie et dux Aquitanie deuota pedum oscula beatorum. Infra scripta non in forma nec in figura iudicii set extra iudicium proferenda sancte paternitatis vestre
 4015 consciencia vobis transmittimus exhibenda. Altissimus inspector cordium nostro scrinio memorie indebili stilo nouit inscribi, quod antecessores et progenitores nostri reges Anglie iure superioris et directi domini[i] ab antiquissimis retro temporibus regno Scocio et omnibus ipsius regibus temporalibus et annexis eiusdem prefuerunt et ab eisdem pro eodem regno Scocie et eiusdem prioribus a quibus uolebant legalia
 4020 homagia receperunt et fidelitatis debita iuramenta. Nos iuris et domini possessionem continuantes pro tempore eadem tam a rege Scocie recepimus quam a proceribus ipsius regni quinimmo tanti iuris et domini prerogatiua super regnum Scocie et eiusdem reges antecessores nostri gaudebant quod regnum ipsum fidelibus suis conferebant reges eciam [f. 194r] ex iustis causis ammouebant et constituebant sub se,
 4025 loco eorum, alios regnatos, et proculdubio notoria creduntur apud omnes licet aliud forsitan paternis vestris auribus per pacis emulos et rebellionis filios fuerit falsa insinuacione suggestum a quorum machinosis figmentis vt vestre sanctitatis oculis auertatur suppliciter quesimus paternam clemenciam ac excellenciam deuotis affectibus exoramus humiliter vt breuitatis causa gestis anteriorum saluis quedam
 4030 exempla tangamus.

Sub temporibus itaque Hely et Samuelis, vir quidam strenuus et insignis, Brutus nomine, de genere Troianorum, post excidium vrbis Troie cum multis nobilibus Troianorum applicuit in quamdam insulam tunc Albion vocatam, a gigantibus inhabitatam, quibus sua et suorum potensia deuictis et occisis eam nomine suo
 4035 Britanniam vocauit hominesque suos Britones appellauit, et edificauit ciuitatem quam Trenouant nuncupauit que modo Londonia vocatur. Et postea regnum suum tribus filiis suis diuisit, videlicet Locrino seniori illam partem Britannie que modo Anglia dicitur et Albanecto tercio nato illam partem quam tunc Albaniam pro nomine Albanecti nunc vero Scociam nominatur, et Cambro filio suo secundo nato illam
 4040 partem tunc Cambriam nomine suo vocatam que nunc Walliam vocatur, reseruata Locrino seniori regia dignitati.

Itaque biennio post mortem Bruti applicuit in Albaniam quidam rex Hurnorum nomine Humber et Albanectam fratrem Locrini occidit, quo audito Locrinus rex Britonum persecutus est eum qui fugiens submersus est in flumine quod de nomine suo Humber vocatur et sic Albania reuertitur ad Locrinum. Et Dunwallo rex Britonum Scaterum regem Scocie sibi rebellem occidit et terram eius in dedicionem recepit. Et duo filii Dunwallonis Belynus et Byrinus inter se regnum patris sui diuiserunt, ita quod Belinus senior diadema insule Britannie possideret; Bryinus vero iunior sub eo regnatus Scociam acciperet, petebat enim Troiana consuetudo vt dignitas hereditatis primogenito perueneret. Et postea cum dictus Byrinus occupauerat partes Italicas obiit sine herede vnde resors secidit Belino regi Britanie domini superiori. Et Arthurus rex Britanie princeps famosissimus Scociam sibi rebellem subgecit et pene totam gentem deleuit et postea quendam nomine Aguseleme in regem Scocie prefecit Lothum de
 4050

4016 scrinio] scrutinio S, Hv. 4017 domini] domini S, Hv. 4036 que] after ciuitate del. Hv. 4037 diuisit] dimisit S.

4055 Lowthean *et Verrianum* de Murreve sub se regnatos. Et cum post idem Arthurus rex
 apud ciuitatem Legionum festum feceret [f. 194v] sceleb<e>rinum interfuerunt ibidem
 omnes reges sibi subiecti inter quos isdem Aguselus, Lothus, Verrianus reges Scocie
 seruicium suum pro regno exhibentes debitos gladios Arthuri regis detulerut ante
 ipsum et successiue omnes reges Scocie omnibus regibus fuerant subiecti et
 succedentibus autem regibus Anglie in sequenter. Et Edwardus dictus, senior filius
 4060 Alueredi regis Anglie, Scotorum, Cumborum, Northumborum et Wallanorum, reges
 tanquam dominus superior[i] subiectos habuit et submissos. Athelstanus rex Anglie
 Constantinum regem Scocie sub se regnaturum constituit dicens 'gloriosus est regem
 facere quam rex esse.' Et est in memoria quod idem Athelstanus, intercedente beato
 4065 Iohanne Beuerlaci quondam archiepiscopo Eboracum, Scotos rebellantes deuicit qui
 gracias deuote agens Deum exorauit petens et interueniente beato Iohanne ei aliquod
 signum euidens ostenderetur quod succedentes quam presentes cognoscere possent
 Scotos iure subiugari regno Anglorum et videns quosdam scopulos iuxta Dunbar in
 Scocia extracto gladio de vagina, percussit in cilicem qui lapis ad ictum gladii, ita
 cauatur vt mensura poscit vlne longitudini coaptari et huius rei actenus euidens signum
 4070 apparet et in Beuerlaci ecclesia in legenda sancti Iohannis pro miraculo recitatur et de
 hoc extat celebris memoria tam in Anglia quam in Scocia vsque in presentem diem. Et
 Constantinus rex Scotorum et Eugenius rex Cumborum ad predictum Athelstanum
 regem post aliquam dissensionem inter habitam venientes se cum regnis suis eidem
 Athelstano submiserunt tanquam domino suo superiori Scocie et Cumbrie. Et Edredo
 4075 regi Anglie sine rebellio se subdiderunt et eidem regi Edredo tanquam domino suo
 superiori iurauerunt fidelitatem. Et Edgarus, rex Anglie, regem Scotorum Kynaldum
 aliosque regales <quinque> insularum cum subiugasset remigando per fluuium Dee, in
 quadam naue puppis prora sedisset fertur ipsum dixisse successores suos gloriari se
 reges Anglorum esse cum tanta honoris prerogatiua f[r]uerentur et subiectam haberent
 4080 tot regum potenciam. Post dictum Edgarum successiue regnauerunt Edwardus martir,
 Ethelredus frater suus, et Edmundus, dictus Irnesyde, filius Ethelredi, qui eorum
 temporibus regnum Scocie in sua subieccione pacifice tenuerunt Canutus vero xv
 anno regni sui Scociam rebellantem expeditione illuc ducta regem Scocie Malcolmum
 paruo subegit negocio subditus est eidem predictus Malcolmus. Haraldus enim filius
 4085 eiusdem Canuti et Hardeknotus frater eius vnus post alterum regno Anglie [f. 195r]
 succedens subieccionem regni Scocie pacificam habuerunt. Edwardus cum rex Anglie
 sanctus regnum Scocie Malcolmo filio comitis Cumbrie de se dedit tenendum.
 Willelmus bastard rex Anglie a Malcolmo rege Scotorum tanquam a suo hereditate
 sibi subdito recepit homagium. Et Willelmo Rufo regi Anglie predictus Malcolmus rex
 4090 Scotorum iuramento fidelitatis subiectus fuit. Et predictus Willelmus, rex Anglie,
 Dunwaldum regem Scocie, fratrem Malcolmi, de regno Scocie ex iustis causis
 ammouit et Duncanum, filium Malcolmi, regno Scocie prefecit et recepit ab eo
 fidelitatem et iuramentum dictoque Duncano dolose perempto dictus Willelmus rex
 4095 predictum Dunwaldum qui iterum regno Scocie inuaserat ammouit ab eodem et
 Edgarum filium Malcolmi regem Scocie constituit et eidem regnum illud donauit. Cui

4055 sceleberinum] sceleberinum (*third e insert.*) S. 4058 omnes] *the folio containing the text following this is misbound in Hv. The manuscript proceeds instead with the text at line 4129 of this edition (at the word postea); the misplaced folio and text occur after the word existentes at line 4203 of this edition.* 4061 superiori] superior S. 4073 suis] *rep. and canc.* S. 4077 quinque] *insert.* S. 4079 fruerentur] fuuerentur S.

successit Alexander frater Edgari consensu regis Anglie Henrici *primi fratris dicti*
Willelmi Ruffi. Matildi vero imperatrici filie et heredi Henrici regis *predicti* rex Dauid
 Scocie frater dicti Alexandri fecit homagium. Et *Willelmus* rex Scotorum deuenit pro
 4100 regno Scocie hominem Henrici filii Henrici *secundi* in crastino coronacionis sue *patre*
 viuente *et* fidelitatem ei iurauit contra omnes homines salua fidelitate debita *patri* suo
 viuenti. Et anno XX regni regis Henrici *secundi* *predictus* *Willelmus* rex Scotorum
 4105 rebellare incipiens venit in Northumbriam cum exercitu magno et exercuit in populo
 stragem magnam cui occurrentes milites comitatus Eboracum apud Alnewik ipsum
 ceperunt *et* dicto Henrico regi Anglie eum tradiderunt et tercio kalende Maii anno
 sequente est idem *Willelmus* rex promissus libere abire. Postea vero apud Eboracum
 anno eodem septimo kalende Septembris idem rex *Willelmus* de consensu *prelatorum*,
 comitum, baronum, *proserum*, et aliorum *magnatum* regni Scocie *domino* suo regi
 Anglie Henrico filio Matildis imperatricis *predicto* suis *litteris* patentibus clamasse
 4110 noscitur quod ipse et heredes *et* successores sui reges Scocie *episcopi*, abbates,
 comites, barones, *et* alii homines regni Scocie de quibus *dictus* Henricus rex voluerit
 facient regi homagium fidelitatem *et* ligeanciam vt ligio *domino* contra omnes
 homines. Et in signum subieccionis idem *Willelmus* rex Scocie capellum *et* lanciam
 suam super altare beati Petri Eboracum obtulit que in eadem ecclesia vsque in
 hodiernam diem remanent *et* seruantur. Et *episcopi*, comites, *et* barones
 4115 conuencionauerunt vt *verbis* eiusdem conuencionis [f. 195v] vtantur *dominus* rex
 Anglie *et* Henricus, filius suus, ‘quod si rex Scocie aliquo tempore a fidelitate regis
 Anglie *et* conuencione *predicta* recederet ipsi cum *domino* rege Anglie tenebunt sicut
 cum *domino* ligio suo contra regem Scocie quousque ad fidelitatem regis Anglie
 redeat’, quam quidem compositionem felicitis recordacionis Gregorius papa nonus in
 4120 diuersis scriptis regibus Anglie directis mandauit firmiter obseruari. Contingentibus
 eciam inter cetera quod *Willelmus* *et* Alexander reges Scocie regibus Anglie Iohanni
et Henrico tercio ligium homagium *et* fidelitatem fecerunt que tenentur successores sui
 ac comites, barones, *et* sui successores regni Scocie exhibere. Et iterum quod cum
 idem rex homo ligius sit ipsius Henrici regis Anglie detrimentum nichil debeat
 4125 attemptare. Et Papa Clemens scribens regi Anglie pro Iohanne, *episcopo* Sancti
 Andree, expulso de *episcopatu* suo *per* regem Scocie inter cetera quod *Willelmum*
 regem ammoueret *et* induceret si necesse fuerit *districcione* regali qua ei *preminet* *et*
 concessa sue regie *selsitudini* potestate compelleret vt dicto *episcopo* omnem
 rancorem animi remitteret *et* *episcopatum* suum eum habere *permitteret*. Et postea
 4130 conuencionem *predictam* in ecclesia beati Petri Eboracum coram *predictis* regibus
 Anglie *et* Scocie *et* Dauid fratri suo *et* vniuerso populo, *episcopi*, comites, barones, *et*
 milites omnes de terra Scocie *domino* regi Anglie *et* heredibus suis iuraueru[n]t
 fidelitatem contra omnem hominem sicut ligiis *dominis* suis. Et idem *Willelmus* rex
 Scocie ad *mandatum* *domini* Henrici regis *predicti* venit apud Northampton ad
 4135 *parliamentum* *domini* sui adducens secum omnes *episcopos*, abbates *et* priores tocius
 regni sui *et* venit postea ad *mandatum* eiusdem *domini* sui in Normanniam. Et idem
 rex *Willelmus* post decessum regis Henrici venit Cantuariam Ricardo regi Anglie filio
et heredi dicti Henrici *et* fecit homagium. Quo Ricardo rege viam vniuerse carnis
 ingresso *prefatus* *Willelmus* regi Iohanni Anglie fratri *et* heredi *dicti* Ricardi *extra*
 4140 ciuitatem Lincolnie in conspetu tocius populi fecit homagium *et* iurauit fedelitatem
 super *crucem* Herberti tunc Cantuariensis archiepiscopi eidem *domino* suo Iohanni

concessit *per cartam* suam quod Alexandrum filium suum sicut hominem suum ligium
 maritaret promittendo firmiter in carta eadem quod idem Willelmus, rex Scocie, et
 Alexander, filius suus, Henrico filio Iohannis regis Anglie, tanquam domino vno ligio
 4145 contra omnes mortales fidem et fidelitatem tenerent, a quo quidem Willelmo rege
 Scocie [f. 196r] postmodum pro eo quod desponderat filiam suam comiti Bolonie sine
 assensu regis Iohannis domini sui pro transgressione temeraria et presumpcione
 huiusmodi debitam satisfaccionem suscepit. Alexander rex Scocie sororius noster regi
 Anglie patri nostro Henrico pro regno Scocie et postea nobis homagium fecit.
 4150 V[a]cante deinde regno Scocie per mortem Alexandri regis illius et in subsequenter
 post mortem Margarete eiusdem regni Scocie regine et domine heredis et neptis
 nostre, episcopi, abbates, priores, comites, barones, proceres et ceteri nobiles tocius
 regni Scocie ad nos tanquam ad defensorem, ducem, a[u]rigam, capitaneum et
 4155 dominum capitalem eiusdem regni Scocie ad nos sic vacantis gratis et spontanea
 voluntate attendentes provt tenebantur de iure ius nostrum progenitorum et
 antecessorum nostrorum ac possessionem superioris domini et directi in regno Scocie
 et ipsius regni subieccionem ex certa sciencia simpliciter et absolute recognouerunt. Et
 prestitis ab eis nobis tanquam superiori domino debitis et consuetis fidelitatis
 iuramentis et ciuitatibus, burgis, villis, castris, et ceteris mansionibus eiusdem regni in
 4160 manu nostra traditis ad custodiam eiusdem regni iure nostro regio officiales et
 ministros deputauimus quibus ipsi tempore vacationis huius concorditer obedientes et
 intendentes regiis nostris preceptis et mandatis. Postmodum autem diuerse persone
 super successione in dictum reg[n]um Scocie iure et hereditario inter se contententes
 ad nos tanquam ad superiorem dominum regni Scocie accesserunt, petentes super
 4165 concessione regni predicti sibi per nos exhiberi iusticie complementum, volentes et
 expresse consencientes coram nobis tanquam superiori et directo domino in omnibus
 ordinandis stare et obtemperare ac demum iudicialiter propositis et sufficienter
 auditis, rimatis et examinatis et diligenter intellectis parcium iuribus quasi tocius regni
 Scocie, et de voluntate et assensu expresso procedentes, Iohannem de Balliolo debite
 4170 prefecimus in regem Scottorum quem tunc in successione eiusdem regni heredis iura
 inuenimus habere potiora. Qui quidem prelati, comites, barones, proceres, et ceteri
 incoli regni ipsius sentenciam nostram acceptauerunt approbauerunt et ipsum
 Iohannem de mandato nostro virtute huius iudicii in regem suum admiserunt. Ac
 eciam idem Iohannes, rex Scocie, pro regno suo predicto nobis homagium debitum et
 4175 consuetum fecit et fidelitatis iuramentum prestitit. Et extunc tam in [f. 196v]
 parliamentis quam consiliis nostris tanquam subditus noster sicut alii de regno nostro
 interfuit et nostris tanquam domini sui superioris beneplacitis et mandatis in omnibus
 obediens et intendens exstitit quousque idem Iohannes rex Scocie et prelati, comites,
 barones, et nobiles comunitates et ceteri incole regni maiores ex preconcepta malicia
 4180 et prelocuta ac preordinata prodicione communicato consilio cum tunc inimicis nostris
 capitalibus notoriis amicissis copularent sic pacciones conspiraciones et
 coniuraciones in exheredacionem nostram et heredum nostrorum et regni nostri contra
 debitum homagium in crimen lese maiestatis nequiter incidendo fidelitatis iuramenta
 inierunt. Cum eisdem verum cum premissa relacione fama publica ad aures nostras
 4185 deuenissent volentes futuris periculis precauere que ex hiis et aliis possent nobis regna
 nostra et regni nostri incolis verisimiliter peruenire pro assecuracione regni nostri ad

4144 domino] om. Hv. 4150 Vacante] Vocante S. 4153 aurigam] arigam S. 4162 preceptis] om. Hv.
 4163 regnum] regium S. 4166 omnibus] om. Hv.

confinium regni vtriusque pluries mandantes eidem Iohanni regi Scocie vt ad nos
 accederet super premissis et aliis assecuracionis statum tranquillitatem et pacem
 vtriusque regni contingentibus tractaturus. Qui spretis mandatis nostris in sua
 4190 persistens perfidia ad bellicos apparatus cum episcopis, prelatiis, comitibus, et
 baronibus regni Scocie ac eciam cum aliis conductiuis contra nos regnum et regni
 nostri incolas hostiliter se conuertens accingit et hostiles aggressus et incursus
 procedens regnum nostrum inuasit et quasdam villas regni nostri Anglie per se et suos
 4195 depredatus est easque vastauit incendio homines nostros interfecit et nonnullis nautis
 nostris per eos peremptis naues hominum nostrorum regni Anglie fecit comburi et e
 uestigio aggredi nobis homagio et fidelitate tam pro se quam pro aliis quibuscumque
 regni sui incolis per literas eiusdem regis verba offensionum exprementes et inter alia
 verba diffidacionem continentes, comitatus nostros Northumbrie, Cumbrie et
 4200 Westmorlandie regni nostri Anglie congregato exercitu magno hostiliter per se et
 suos inuasit stragem innumeram hominum nostrorum incendia monasteriorum,
 ecclesiarum, villarum eciam et inhumane pertractando et patriam vndeque
 depopulando infantes in cunabilis, mulieres in puerperio decubantes gladio trucidarunt
 et, quod auditum horrendum est, a nonnullis mulieribus mamillis atrociter
 4205 absciderunt paruos clericos primam tonsuram habentes et gramaticam addiscentes ad
 numerum circiter CC in scolis existentes obstructis ostiis scolarum igne [f. 197r]
 supposito cremauerunt. Nos quoque cernentes tot dampna obprobria facinora et
 iniurias in exheredacionem nostram et destruccionem populi nostri prodicionaliter
 irrigare nec volentes racione iuramenti quo ad conseruacionem iurium corone Anglie
 sumus astricti premissa facinera tam exsecranda detestanda atque nephanda vltius
 4210 tollerare nec iura relinquere indefensa cum per leges ipsum Iohannem regem Scocie
 gentem que suam nobis subditam iustificare non possemus nec ipsum regnum Scocie
 quod a longissimis temporibus sicut superius exprimitur nobis et progenitoribus
 nostris feudale exstitit in premissis causis contra dictum Iohannem et gentem Scocie
 vires potencie nostre extendimus prout nobis de iure licuit et processimus contra ipsos
 4215 tanquam hostes nostros et proditores. Subiecto itaque regno Scocie et iure
 proprietatis nostre dicioni subacto, prefatus Iohannes quondam rex Scocie quatenus de
 facto tenuit sponte pure et absolute reddidit in manum nostram prodiciones et scelere
 memorata coram nobis et proceribus publice recognoscen[s]. Quo peracto prelati,
 4220 comites, et barones ac nobiles regni Scocie ad pacem nostram regiam suscepimus
 subsequenter homagia et fidelitates tanquam immediato domino et proprio eiusdem
 regni Scocie nobis fecerunt prestiterunt ac eciam redditus nobis eiusdem regni
 ciuitatibus villis castris municionibus ac ceteris locis omnibus ad dictum regnum
 4225 spectantibus officiales que ministros ad regimen eiusdem regni Scocie prefecimus iure
 nostro. Cumque iure domini pleni in possessione eiusdem regni existere dinoscamur
 non possumus nec debemus quin insolenciam subditorum nostrorum rebellium si quos
 inuenerimus preminencia regia prout iustum fuerit et expedire viderimus
 reprimauimus. Quia vero ex premissis et aliis constat euidenter et notorium exstitit
 4230 prelibatum regnum Scocie tam racione possessionis quam proprietatis ad nos pertinet
 pleno iure nec quicquam fecerimus vel cauerimus scripto facto sicuti nec possemus
 per quem iuri et possessioni predictis debeat aliquo modo derogari sanctitati vestre

4190 apparatus] apparatus (*third a insert.*) Hv. 4194 depredatus] *after* est eas *del.* Hv. 4207-08
 premissa facinera tam exsecranda detestanda atque nephanda] *om.* Hv. 4209 vltius] *erius* Hv. 4219
 comites et barones ac nobiles regni Scocie ad pacem nostram] *om.* Hv. 4219 recognoscens]
 recognoscentes S, Hv. 4221 nobis] nobis S. 4224 possessione] possessionem (*m canc.*) S.

humiliter supplicamus quatenus premissa prouida meditacione pensantes ex illis
 vestrum motum animi dignemini informare suggestionibus contrariis emulorum in ac
 parte nequaquam fidem adhibendo quinimmo statum nostrum *et iura nostra* regia
 4235 supradicta habere velitis si placeat promptis affectibus commendata. Conseruet vos
 altissimus ad ecclesie sue regimen *per* tempora diuturna. Datur apud
 Westmonasterium septimo die Maii anno domini M^lCCCI et regni nostri vicesimo
 nono.

[f. 197v] Afore this *lettre*, befor saide, the pope Boniface wrote to the kinge
 Edward first aftir the Conquest, and charged him to cese of his werres in Scotland;
 4240 w[er]fore to the pope this *lettre* he wrote, declaring all his titles *and* his rightes of
 Scotland, wherfore I haue writen it here, if the pope at Scottis enformacioun wolde
 write to youe in semblable wise, that ye might haue youre answer like as the saide
 Kinge Edward had and wrote to the pope that youre answer were not than to seke at
 4245 youre counceil, ne for to let youre slepe to stodie it, and moreouer, if ye put it to youre
 counceil to devise the answer, yet might thay thurgh the sight of it ordeine a better
 answer.

Of all maters I haue saide myn entent,
 How as <I> coulde espy and in al wise enquire,
 Whiche if it may youre highnes wel content,
 4250 Myn hert reioyth to comferte youre desire.
 And of youre grace euermore I you require
 For to considre my los, my mayme in fere,
 For Englund right as wele as I could spere.

Beseking ay vnto youre roialte,
 4255 If ought be said in this simple tretise
 Displesing to youre high nobilite
 For to reforme it in a better wise,
 Hauyng my witt excusid þat neuer was wise,
 And think I wolde haue ment to your plesaunce,
 4260 To whiche I lak nothing but sufficiaunce.

Pleas it also vnto youre roialte
 The quene may haue a veri intelect
 Of youre eldres of grete antiquite,
 And of Englund of whiche she is elect
 4265 Souerayn lady, ful worthili protect
 Vnder youre rule and noble gouernaunce,
 Whiche God ay kepe without variaunce;

[f. 198r]
 The whiche sholde pleas hir good feminite

4240 werfore] wrefore S. 4243 had] *om.* Hv. 4244 to youre] *rep.* Hv. 4248 How] So H, I, T, P1, P2; I] *insert.* S. 4249 if] of T. 4251 require] *after* requy *del.* I; euermore] euer H. 4252 my los my mayme] my mayem and my losse T; my (2)] *after* and I, P1, P2. 4255 this] *insert.* T. 4256 to] vnto T. 4257 a] *om.* T. 4259 to] vnto I, T, P1, P2. 4267 kepe] *ke rest of line om.* H.

4270 To rede vpon, for comfort and disporte,
 To se, *and* knowe, the gret nobilite
 Of youre eldres regalite and porte,
 Which may hir glad alway *and* recomforte;
 And if <it> may so pleas hir soueraynte
 Of my labore, I wolde reioised be;

4275 For women haue feminine condicion
 To know all thinges longing to thaire husband:
 His high worship, and his disposicion,
 His hertis counceil also, I vnderstond,
 As at weddinge to hir he made his bonde
 4280 And most of all his hertis priuetees,
 And the astate of his <good> auncetrees.

O souerayn lorde, the quene hath al suffiencie
 As touching youe but of youre auncetrie;
 In this tretise of all thaire excellence
 4285 The quene may se the worthi regencie
 Of this youre royaline *and* noble monarchie,
 Whiche hath be kept in grete nobilite
 Be youre eldres of grete antiquite.

This boke I call aftir my name, Harding,
 4290 Seth God lent me þat disposicion
 To enforme him that labored þe writing,
 Be playn language of smal *prouision*,
 Thurgh Goddis grace *and* his supposicioun,
 All destitute of language *and* science,
 4295 And desolate of rethorike eloquence.

Most cause was why I drew this ilke tretise
 To make youre fadir haue had *perfite* knowlage,
 And youe also, of Scotlond in all wise;
 That parcel was of youre oldest heritage,
 4300 And of all landes most were youre auauntage
 To haue it hole, no more to be dismembred,
 Whiche might be gotte, as is afore remembred.

[f. 198v]

I had it leuer than Fraunce and Normandie
 And all youre rightes that are beyonde þe se;

4268 whiche] *insert*. I. 4269 comfort] *after* her P1, P1. 4271 regalite] *after* a I. 4273 it] *insert*. S; so] *om*. P1, P2. 4278 I] to I, P1, P2; *om*. T. 4281 astate] *after* same Hv; good] *insert*. S; noble I. 4283 of] *om*. T. 4286 royaline] reame H, I, T, P1, P2. 4289 Harding] *erased* T. 4293 his] *om*. P2. 4295 eloquence] *after* and I. 4299 oldest] eldest H, I, T, P1, P2. 4300 were] nere P1, P2. 4302 is] itt I, T; *after* it P1, P2. 4304 are] beene H.

- 4305 For ye may kepe it euermore ful sikerlie
 Within youreself and drede noon enmytie.
 And othir londes without men, golde, or fee,
 Ye may not longe reioise, as hath be tolde,
 For lighter be thay to wyn than holde.
- 4310 Your auncetres haue had beyond the se
 Diuers londes and lost hem all agayne;
 Sore gotten, sone lost, what vailleth sicke rialte
 But labore *and* cost, grete losse of men and payne?
 For ay before, with treson, or with trayne,
- 4315 And want of golde, was lost within a yere
 That we had goot in ten, as doth apere.

4305 euermore] euer H. 4307 men golde or] gold men and I, P1, P2; golde or men and T (or *canc.*).
 4308 reioise] reo *rest of line om* H; be] *after* to T. 4309 be] er T; to] forto H, I, P1, P2; holde] *after* to
 T. 4311 lost] *insert*. I.

Commentary to the Second Version

The Reign of Edward III

l. 498 *gloss before*: The glosses accompanying the beginning of each new reign in the second version differ from those in the first version by omitting reference to English sovereignty over Normandy and Guienne. This may be because at the time of Hardyng's revision there was no foreseeable chance of regaining the territories.

ll. 498-508 'Edwarde his son ... downe for ay': Edward III (1312-77), king of England (1327-77), and oldest son of Edward II (1284-1327) and Isabella of France (1292-1358). For details of Edward's coronation see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 540-53. The references to 'Saynt Thomas day' and 'Saynt Brises day' in this version do not occur in the first. Saint Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury and martyr, was translated on 7 July. The feast of St Brice (13 November) is undoubtedly an error for St Bride (a form of Bridget) whose festival falls on 1 February, when Edward III was crowned. Hardyng therefore appears to be correcting (albeit inaccurately) the dating error made in the first version. His observation that Edward II was in his twentieth regnal year when he renounced the throne is right; however, he confuses the dates of this regnal year, erroneously noting that it lasted from 7 July 1326 to 1 February 1327. The actual dates were 8 July 1326 to 20 January 1327, although it is understandable that he should perceive Edward II's reign as ending on the day of his son's coronation. See **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 547-48, and 554-55, for details of Edward II's succession and renunciation of the English throne.

ll. 509-11: 'Fro Killyngworth to ... forsake and repudiate': For the dates of Edward II's imprisonment at Kenilworth castle and Berkeley castle see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 554-55.

ll. 512-16 'Where he was ... dyd hym bryne': The circumstances surrounding the death of Edward II are given in the **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 556-64. The reference here to the murder being 'withouten noyse or dyne' (l. 515) is distinctly different from the more famous account provided by Geoffrey le Baker. Baker, who began compiling his chronicle c. 1341, notes that the inhabitants of Berkeley castle heard the painful cries of Edward II (see Thompson 1889b: 33-34).

l. 516 'Saynt Mathew day': The feast of St Matthew occurs on 21 September.

ll. 517-18: 'The first yere ... was his sonne': At the time of Edward II's death Edward III had reigned for nine months, not a whole year as Hardyng states. Edward III's first regnal year ran from 25 January 1327 to 24 January 1328.

ll. 519-25 'At Gloucetre entovmbed ... hole and grounde': In December 1327 Edward was buried in St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester. The late king's shrine became a highly popular place of pilgrimage, and he was soon revered as a saint and martyr. The relationship between King Richard II and his great-grandfather, Edward II is an interesting one. From 1383 Richard ensured that annual celebrations were held at Gloucester abbey in memory of Edward (*CPR: Richard II, 1381-85*, p. 273, m. 9, 25

May 1383), and in 1385 and 1397 Richard sent John Bacon and Nicholas Dagworth as ambassadors to Rome to petition Pope Urban VI for the canonisation of the late king (Rymer 1704-35: VII, 455-56). Following this, Bishop Braybrooke of London and the archbishop of Canterbury were requested to compile a book of the miracles allegedly occurring at Edward's tomb; the book appears to have been completed by early in 1395 when it was sent to Rome for papal approval. The motives behind Richard's ardent reverence of Edward II have been discussed by many scholars; see in particular Given-Wilson 1994 and Bennett 1999, who provide an interesting account of the relationship between the two kings, concluding that Richard's determination to canonise his ancestor was an attempt to eliminate 'the one great stain on the history of the English Crown, namely the deposition of his great-grandfather' (Given-Wilson 1994: 567). The *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa* mentions how the people wanted Edward to be recognised as a saint (Bond 1866-68: II, 355).

ll. 526-50 'Sir James Douglas ... werre, ful sapient': For an account of the English campaign against Scotland in July 1327 see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 589-616, 591-92, 604.

l. 528 'Whith Frensshe, Henaldes ... for the most': Edward III's force has been variously estimated to have been comprised of 40,000 and 60,000 French, Hainault, and Englishmen.

ll. 550-53 'This was a ... haue ben cached': The tactical viewpoint expressed here by Hardyng is lacking in the first version, but is of interest given his previous career as a soldier. Unlike the *Brut*, which blames the escape of the Scots on Mortimer's incompetent decision to leave the river unwatched, Hardyng prefers to make a more general comment on the careful planning and foresight necessary for a successful military campaign, particularly a siege. The Scots are given due praise for their cunning retrieval of the 'flakes', which they use to cross the boggy terrain, taking them with them so that the English army cannot follow by the same route, just as the poor planning and overconfidence of the English commanders is attacked and held up as an example for future military strategists to learn from. The author's military experience and interest in tactical warfare often filters into both versions of the *Chronicle* and it is likely that he elaborated on this incident to appeal to the martial tastes of his audience; the *Chronicle's* emphasis on the type of martial education advanced in works such as Vegetius's *De Rei Militari*, shows a deliberate attempt to show the educational value of past events. More often than not, as here, Hardyng makes some sort of comment on strategy or manoeuvres that were used in a campaign, and shows how they were either successful or unsuccessful. Another fine example may be witnessed in the account of the reign of Edward II in the first version, when Hardyng describes how Edinburgh Castle was taken from the English 'for informacion of yonge men that kepe castels to bene wise for suche deceytes and gyles' (Lansdowne 204, f. 180v). Equally, the account of Edward III's men tunnelling under Nottingham Castle to penetrate the fortress and arrest Roger Mortimer in the two versions of Hardyng's *Chronicle*, also serve to illustrate successful and unsuccessful tactics in war and siege warfare by providing empirically useful precedents (see Lansdowne 204, ff. 186v-187r, ll. 687-721 and Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 140v-141r, ll. 627-43).

ll. 554-59 ‘And in þe ... þan was thre’: The details given by Hardyng in this instance are incorrect. The marriage took place on 16 July 1328; of the surviving manuscripts of the second version, only Garret 142 contains a different reading for the year ‘a thousand’, but it is still incorrect. For the marriage of Edward III’s sister, Joan, and David Bruce see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 624-30, 628-29.

l. 555 ‘Quene Isabell’: Isabella of France (1292-1358), daughter of Philip IV of France and Joan of Champagne, and sister of Charles IV of France (1294-1328), wife of Edward II (1284-1327). For Hardyng’s presentation of Isabella’s influence on her son, and the Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton, see **Commentary to the First Version**, l. 624.

ll. 560-67 ‘Because of whiche ... his high regence’: Hardyng’s syntax here is unclear. It is possible that he is implying that the treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton arose after, and as a result of, the marriage of Edward’s sister, Joan, to David Bruce, rather than the marriage resulting from the terms of the treaty. Whatever the case, Hardyng makes it explicitly clear that Edward III cannot be held responsible for renouncing his sovereignty over Scotland, as he was of an impressionable age, and under the influence of his mother, Queen Isabella, and Roger Mortimer when he concluded the treaty; the same phrasing occurs in the first version (ll. 631-32). For an explanation of the Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton, which Hardyng refers to here, see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 624, 631-44.

l. 561 ‘Mortymere’: Roger Mortimer (c. 1287-1330), son and heir of Edward, seventh baron Wigmore, lieutenant of Ireland (1316-30), first earl of March (1328-30). See **Commentary to the First Version**, l. 634.

l. 567 ‘In his tendre yere’: Several of the manuscripts of the second version read ‘third’ in place of ‘tendre’. This variant reading is probably incorrect, as the *Chronicle* would be stating that that the marriage of Edward III and Philippa took place in 1330; however, it is possible that the reading of ‘tendre’ in the Selden manuscript may be the result of a scribal error during copying, as the word ‘tendre’ occurs directly above in the previous line. If it was Hardyng’s intention that the *Chronicle* should read ‘third yere’, it is conceivable that Hardyng, or his source, confused the coronation of Philippa in 1330 with her marriage to Edward. Unfortunately, the lack of a similar reading in the first version fails to either confirm or disprove this hypothesis.

ll. 568-88 ‘He sent forthe ... and hir conuenience’: For details of Edward III’s marriage to Philippa of Hainault see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 617-23. The version of events given in the second version of the *Chronicle* is quite different from that in the first; having already mentioned the agreement made in 1326 between Queen Isabella and the earl of Hainault to marry Edward to one of his daughters (see Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 138r), Hardyng elaborates on the circumstances by which Philippa was selected by narrating a story of how a bishop was employed by the temporal lords to select which of Hainault’s daughters would be the most suitable for Edward’s queen. Philippa is selected on account of her large hips, the emphasis being on her childbearing potential. A similar account is found in Froissart’s *Chronicle* (I, 19), although Froissart does not include the alleged exchange between the bishop and the lords, or the description of Philippa’s loose long hair (a typical style for a

medieval bride, and demonstrative of her virginity). The form of Hardyng's revised account of the marriage is quite striking, as it is more suited to the more detailed narrative found in the lengthy first version. As Hardyng usually makes a concerted effort to reduce the content of the second version, the insertion of the bishop's dialogue suggests that the additional details were included for a purpose. Perhaps the story given here was added, with hindsight, to recollect the large number of heirs Philippa provided for Edward, and also to remind Hardyng's audience of Richard, duke of York's dual descent from two of Philippa's children. Also worthy of note is the different chronological order in which Hardyng places the marriage of Edward and Philippa in this version of the *Chronicle*. In the first version the details of the marriage are given after the account of the siege at Stanhope Park and before the marriage of Edward's sister, Joan, to David Bruce.

l. 575 'Whiche doughter of fyve': The earl of Hainault only had four daughters available for marriage (Ramsey 1913: I, 154).

ll. 577-78 'We wil haue ... at myn entent': As noted above, the speech attributed to the bishop is probably derived with hindsight given the number of children that Philippa bore Edward. Altogether, Philippa had twelve children, nine of whom survived; Edward of Woodstock (1330-76); Isabella of Woodstock (1332-79), who later married Enguerrand de Coucy; Joan 'of the Tower' (1333-48); William (b. 1336, died in infancy); Lionel of Antwerp (1338-68); John of Gaunt (1340-99); Blanche (b. 1341, died in infancy); Edmund of Langley (1341-1402); Mary of Waltham (1344-62) who later married John de Montfort, duke of Brittany; Margaret of Windsor (1346-61) who later married John Hastings, earl of Pembroke; William (b. 1348, died in infancy); Thomas of Woodstock (1355-97) Joanne Chamberlayne believes that Hardyng added the story as a criticism of Henry VI's failure to produce more than one heir (1999: 48); however, she fails to notice that this story does not occur in the first version of the *Chronicle* dedicated to Henry VI. Likewise, whilst Hardyng may have made the revision to underscore the number of heirs that Richard, duke of York, and his wife Cecily had in 1460, Hardyng's narrative cannot be interpreted as too critical because his later patron, Edward IV, had no heir at the time that Hardyng was near completion of the second version.

l. 580 'Philip': Philippa of Hainault.

ll. 589-93 'Kyng Robert Bruys ... as I rede': For the death of Robert Bruce and the coronation of his son, David, see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 659-65.

ll. 594-97 'Sir Roger than ... as was notified': For Mortimer's abuse of the king's finances see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 645-58.

l. 598 'Henry erle of Lancastre': Henry, earl of Lancaster. For dates and titles see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 645-58.

ll. 598-609 'For whiche Henry ... so it were': In the autumn of 1328, Henry, earl of Lancaster, Thomas Wake, Edmund, earl of Kent, Thomas, earl of Norfolk, Archbishop Simon of Mepeham, the bishops of Winchester and London, Henry Beaumont, James Audley, and their supporters rebelled against Roger Mortimer's

governance and abuse of power. The indulgent lifestyle adopted by Isabella and Mortimer, the excessive expense of the 1327 campaign against the Scots, and the resulting, unpopular, peace treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton, had exhausted the king's financial resources, and incensed the magnates who had been elected as members of King Edward's council at his coronation. Thus, in an attempt to dispel Mortimer's influence over the king, and assert the authority of the council elected to advise the young king at his coronation, Lancaster and his allies refused to attend the parliament at Salisbury, and journeyed instead to London. On 2 January 1329 at St Paul's they detailed how they believed the king should conduct the governance of England. The main focus of their proposal was that the king should rely solely on his own resources and accept the advice of his counsel (Prestwich, 2003: 99). Mortimer retaliated on 4 January by destroying lands belonging to the allies and occupying Leicester (which belonged to the earl of Lancaster). Lancaster intended to engage Mortimer at Bedford, but was forced to yield when the earls of Kent and Norfolk forsook the rebellion. Lancaster was required to submit half the value of his estate as punishment, and many of the others involved fled abroad (Ramsey 1913: 204).

ll. 610-26 'Edmond Wodestok, þan ... displesed were inwardly': Edmund Woodstock (1301-30), son of Edward I and his second wife Margaret of France (d. 1317), and half-brother of King Edward II. In 1321 Edward II revived the title 'earl of Kent', which had been in abeyance since 1243, and bestowed the honour on Edmund. For details of Edmund's arrest and conviction for treason see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 666-86. The additional account of the execution given in the second version notes how Kent waited all day, outside the castle gates, until an executioner could be found. The story does not occur in the first version of the *Chronicle*; however, identical accounts may be found in the *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa* (Bond 1866-68: II, 359) and Knighton's *Chronicle* (Lumby 1889-95: I, 452), where a boy of the Marchalcy finally performs the beheading. The story is intended to demonstrate the public outrage at Kent's sentence, and the people's sympathy for him. Compare also the account in the *Brut* where a privy cleaner ('gonge-fermer') is finally given the task of execution (Brie 1906-08: I, 267).

ll. 617-19 'A brother he ... made none execucion': Thomas of Brotherton (1300-38), sixth earl of Norfolk (1312-38), son of Edward I and his second wife Margaret (d. 1317), half-brother to Edward II, and brother to Edmund, earl of Kent. Although Norfolk initially supported Isabella and Mortimer's invasion and deposition of Edward II, their later abuse of power and extravagance, together with the execution of his brother, Edmund, prompted the earl to support King Edward's takeover in 1330.

ll. 627-35 'At Notyngham sone ... and hanged þere': Roger Mortimer created the title 'earl of March' and was conferred with the honour at the parliament of Salisbury (16-31 October 1328). For his arrest and the beginning of Edward III's personal rule see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 687-700.

l. 631 'On Saint Andrew day': The feast of St Andrew occurs on 30 November. Mortimer and his allies were hanged and drawn on 29 November. In the first version Hardyng gives the correct date for the execution (see **Commentary to the First Version**, l. 699); however the word 'eve' has been omitted here and therefore Hardyng's dating in this version is incorrect.

ll. 636-42 ‘And fro þe ... buried is expresse’: For the fate of Isabella see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 701-07. In addition to the details recorded in the first version, Hardyng adds a reference to Isabella joining the order of the Poor Clares, a sister order of Franciscans (also known as Friars Minor, or Grey Friars), in an attempt to avoid the wrath of her son, Edward. A similar account is given by the Lanercost chronicler (Maxwell 1913: 267); however, it appears that far from living the remainder of her life in poverty with the Poor Clares, Isabella maintained a large degree of freedom, and wealth, and was able to live out her days in comfort. The scribe of Garrett 142 has marked ll. 641-42 *b* and *a* respectively, to show the order in which they should have been written. In this edition they have been given in the order in which they occur in the manuscript.

ll. 645-722 ‘Edward Bailyol to ... so þan forsoke’: For Edward Balliol’s expedition into Scotland with the disinherited English lords see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 726-810. The story of the English sinking their own ships given here does not occur in the first version, nor does the first version have an equivalent of ll. 666-68 of this version. The additions are interesting for several reasons. First, the reference to the ships appears to have been added to highlight the national pride in the righteousness of the English cause; the idea at lines 667-71 that God granted the disinherited lords a resounding victory reinforces the providential scheme of history that permeates both versions of the *Chronicle*. The inclusion of these additional lines are therefore of particular importance in this version, as they demonstrate providence at work in recent history and complement the comments made by Hardyng in the prologue and epilogue regarding God’s restoration of the disinherited Yorkist line (see also the prologue to the second version in **Illustrative Texts**). Of equal importance is the insight into late fifteenth-century affairs that Hardyng’s comments at ll. 666-68 provide; in stating that the lords accompanying Balliol took no heed of the many thousands that gathered against them ‘As lordes do nowe of comons congregacion’ Hardyng provides an insight into the apprehension that large public gatherings must have caused those in authority in the 1450s and 1460s; for Hardyng to mention this in the second version emphasises the lasting effect that localised uprisings, such as Cade’s rebellion, must have had, and the general feeling of unease that recent events had instilled in those holding positions of authority at this time. Perhaps by deliberately linking the idea of potential civil uprising with the theme of the providential restoration of disinherited heirs, Hardyng sought to underscore the hope for peace and stability that many vested in the new Yorkist ascendancy.

ll. 723-28 ‘The Englisshe lordes ... ben of remembraunce’: On 24 September 1332 Edward Balliol was crowned king of Scotland at Scone by Bishop William Sinclair of Dunkeld.

ll. 729-33 ‘This kyng Edward ... siker strong array’: The guardian of Scotland, Sir Andrew Moray, was captured at Roxburgh and imprisoned at Durham by the English (Nicholson, 1974: 127-28).

ll. 734-47 ‘Than *Sir* Archebald ... Englund fle helpelesse’: See **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 820-33. ‘Candelmasse’ (l. 736) occurs on 2 February.

ll. 748-67 'At Marche aftir ... archers deed certayne': For the English invasion of March 1333 and the Battle of Halidon Hill (19 July 1333) in which the English defeated the Scots and took Berwick, see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 834-61. Halidon Hill was the first victory the English had won across the border in a generation.

ll. 768-79 'Than in the ... al þe way': For Balliol's homage to Edward III and the Scottish reaction to this see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 862-75.

ll. 780-84 'Another yere in ... slew and shent': For the campaign that began in July 1335 and ended in August at Perth ('Saint Iohnston', l. 782) see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 876-99.

ll. 785-91 'Kyng Edward sent ... myres, and mosse': For the campaign of 1336 see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 900-31.

ll. 792-801 'Kyng Edward þan ... William Clynton gay': See **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 932-52.

ll. 802-10 'Whiche erles so ... had him hight': See **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 981-94. The brief account here of how Edward instigated the Hundred Years War with France is supplemented by the Latin prose passages at the end of the second version of the *Chronicle* (ff. 185v-187r, ll. 3599-3682), which describe in more depth the circumstances surrounding Edward III's claim to the French throne and provide brief details of the main battles fought by Edward and his sons in France.

ll. 811-12 'Where þan þe ... cronycle dothe telle': The second son of Edward III and Philippa of Hainault, Lionel (1338-68), was born on 29 November 1338, in Antwerp.

ll. 813-23 'He cherished than ... by his puissaunce': The year given here is incorrect; Edward III quartered the arms of England (gules, three lions passant guardant or) with the arms of France (azure, three fleur-de-lys or) in his fourteenth regnal year (25 January 1340 to 24 January 1341) not his thirteenth, as a symbolic gesture of his dual right to the kingdoms. The story Hardyng gives here, implying that the king quartered his arms and styled himself 'King of France' out of love for the Flemings is similar to that in the chronicle of Jean le Bel, who notes the feudal obligation the Flemings had to the King of France under forfeit of a large sum of money (Viard and Déprez 1904-05: I, 165-68); compare also Hemingburgh's account of this episode (Hamilton 1849: II, 336) and the *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa* (Bond 1866-68: III, 42).

ll. 824-33 'The kyng of ... Gelre, and Brabayne': See **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1009-1029. Several of the chroniclers include the letters exchanged by the monarchs in their account of the 1339 campaign; see, for example, Murimuth's *Chronicle* (Thompson 1889a: 110-12); Avesbury's *Chronicle* (Thompson 1889a: 314-15) and the *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa* (Bond 1866-68: III, 47).

ll. 834-40 'The parlement þan ... for to conquere': References to the parliamentary grants in support of Edward's French campaign are ubiquitous in the contemporary chronicle accounts of Edward's reign. Hardyng's inclusion of this information is

atypical of the type of material he usually incorporates into his narrative, but its presence probably stems from the source materials used by Hardyng for the reign of Edward III. Hardyng's account of the letters sent by Edward III to Philip of Valois is similarly indicative of the contents and interests of the fourteenth-century chronicles, many of which, in addition to providing detailed accounts of the parliamentary proceedings, also include transcripts of documents such as the king's letters (see, for example, Murimuth's *Chronicle* (Thompson 1889a). Compare the description of the subsidies granted here with ll. 1030-43 of the first version, where Hardyng gives further details of the pardons granted by the king.

ll. 841-44 'And in his ... and slayne mightily': For an account of the battle of Sluys see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. ll. 1044-57.

ll. 845-80 'And Kyng Edward ... þat were principals': For the siege of Tournai and the ensuing truces of Esplechin and Malestroit see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1058-85. Hardyng's chronology is still a little confused in this version and he still seems to conflate the two truces, stating, incorrectly, that the truce of Malestroit was ratified in 1342 instead of 1343. The description of the letters exchanged between the two kings is nevertheless quite interesting, and does not occur in the first version. Other chronicle accounts containing the letters include: Adam Murimuth's *Chronicle* (Thompson 1889a: 110-114); Robert Avesbury's *Chronicle* (Thompson 1889a: 314-16); Walter Hemingburgh's *Chronicle* (Hamilton 1849:361-62); the *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa* (Bond 1866-68: III, 46-47); and the *Scalacronica* (Maxwell 1907: 109). For Edward's letter, dated 26 July 1340, and Philip's reply, dated 30 July 1340, see Rymer 1816-69: II, ii, 1131-32.

ll. 881-96 'Than came þe ... nat be repeled': These lines do not have an equivalent in the first version, but they serve to reiterate the importance of the magnates and the feudal obligation they had to the king.

ll. 897-903 'And þan Henry ... þere he caught': For Henry of Grosmont, earl of Derby, and his Gascony campaign of 1345 see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1086-99.

ll. 904-24 'And in þe ... alle þe villany': For an account of the battle of Crécy (26 August 1346) see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1100-1117. In this version Hardyng emphasises the cowardice of Philip VI, by describing his throwing down of the shield in defeat (compare with ll. 830-31 where Edward III finds Philip's shield and learns that the French king has broken his pledge). The estimate of one hundred thousand casualties (l. 921) is the same as the figure given in the first version (l. 1115), but both are exaggerated.

ll. 925-45 'Kyng Dauid than ... þat land aferde': For the battle of Neville's Cross (17 October 1346), which Hardyng is describing here, see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1118-34. John Coupland is named in this version as the captor of David II; however, Hardyng fails to correct the misdating of the battle that initially occurred in the first version. The claim here that Edward III was 'like' to have conquered all of France (l. 944) is patriotically optimistic.

ll. 946-48 'And in the ... in Englund mounted': Hardyng is referring to the outbreak of plague that occurred in England in 1348-49; see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1156-62.

ll. 949-73 'The kyng Edward ... or he lare': These stanzas echo Hardyng's account of Edward III's five illustrious sons in the prologue to this version (see Arch. Selden B. 10, ff. 5v-7v, ll. 57-77, 85-105, 127-97 in **Illustrative Texts**). For information on the individual sons see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1177-83, 1187-90, 1191, 1192, and 1193-94. At ll. 971-73 of this edition Hardyng refers back to the earlier account of the bishop who selected Philippa as Edward III's bride on account of her 'good hepes' (l. 577), which showed her excellent potential to produce healthy children.

ll. 974-80 'In þe yere ... from him cowardly': For the battle of Poitiers (19 September 1356) see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1198-1211.

ll. 981-87 'The kyng Daid ...from þeire ese': David II of Scotland died on 22 February 1371; his death is not recorded in the first version of the *Chronicle*. For details of the complicated nature of his ransom and release from imprisonment detailed in the Treaty of Berwick, see Nicholson 1974: *passim* and Ormrod 1990: 22, 26, 29.

ll. 988-91 'The quene Isabel ... London knowen rife': In August 1358 Edward III's mother, Isabella of France, died. Her daughter, Joan of the Tower, wife of David II of Scotland, died in 1362. Both were buried at Grey Friars Church, London.

ll. 995-1001 'And in þe ... had wele sped': See **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1226-32.

ll. 1002-8 'In that samedyuerse sere cuntrees': The great wind and earthquake of 1361 is recorded by many chroniclers; see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1233-39.

ll. 1009-15 'And in þe ... with all solemnite': King John of France died in 1364 at Savoy, London.

ll. 1016-39 'In that same ... als in fere': For the battle of Auray and the rival claimants to the duchy of Brittany see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1254-67. This version emphasises the prowess of John of Gaunt and Edmund of Langley more than the first version.

ll. 1040-57 'Erle Iohn of ... him grete worthinesse': For Joan, countess of Kent, and her previous marriages see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1268-88. The reference to the 'grete worthinesse' (l. 1057) expected of Richard II in this version is undoubtedly ironic. On ff. 95v-96r of Garrett 142, one of the manuscripts of the second version, a sixteenth-century reader has written two stanzas from the Middle English lyric known as 'Looke well about, ye that lovers be' (see Davies 1963: 238-40) in the margins near this part of the text. The stanzas are accompanied by a unique couplet in keeping with the misogynistic sentiments of the lyric. Interestingly, the

annotation does not appear to have been arbitrarily made in the margins next to Hardyng's reference to Joan of Kent. It is possible that this reader of the *Chronicle* has interpreted Hardyng's description of Joan in a negative way, perhaps reading the word 'repudiate' as 'abandoned' or 'condemned' instead of its alternative meaning 'divorced'. Speculation concerning the legitimacy of Richard II was circulated by those supporting Henry Bolingbroke at the time of Richard's deposition in 1399, and Wentersdorf has suggested that Hardyng, like Knighton, was implying that she spurned her original husband for another (1979: 203). If 'repudiate' in this instance is read as abandon, then Hardyng may indeed be suggesting that Joan abandoned her first husband in favour of her second; however, as the word can also be interpreted as 'divorced', Hardyng may be referring to the official annulment obtained by Joan before her two further marriages, one of which was to Prince Edward. It is probably unlikely that Hardyng, writing for the newly restored Yorkist dynasty, would have cast aspersions on the legitimacy of Richard II, or his mother's marriage; nevertheless, what is important in this particular instance is the way in which the annotator of Garrett 142 appears to have interpreted Hardyng's verses, viewing Joan of Kent as an example of the deceitful qualities supposedly innate in women and satirised in the lyric. For further information see my forthcoming article 'John Hardyng's *Chronicle* and an Unrecorded Occurrence of *The Index of Middle English Verse* Number 1944'.

ll. 1058-71 'The king Petro ... rest without rebellion': The event described by Hardyng concerns Pedro I (1334-69), king of Castile (1350-69), and the battle of Najera (3 April 1367), in which Edward, prince of Wales, fought with Pedro against the king's half-brother, Enrique of Trastamara. For further details see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1289-1309.

l. 1071 *gloss after*: The gloss here reveals a particularly poignant personal touch on Hardyng's part, as he refers to 'my Lady Percy', namely Elizabeth, daughter of Philippa of Clarence and Edmund Mortimer, third earl of March. Elizabeth was the wife of Hardyng's patron, Sir Henry 'Hotspur' Percy, and the chronicler was acquainted with Elizabeth from his service in the Percy household between the years 1390 and 1403. As in the first version (l. 1190), Hardyng incorrectly calls the father of Clarence's first wife, Elizabeth de Burgh, Richard instead of William; however, the prominence of Clarence's family in this narrative shows a distinct effort on Hardyng's part to detail the House of York's connections with Edward III. For further information see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1324-86.

ll. 1072-1141 'The duke of ... of noble porte': For Lionel's marriage to Elizabeth de Burgh (1332-63), whom he mistakenly calls 'Elianore' (l. 1100 *gloss after*), and details of their daughter, Philippa's marriage and her heirs, see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1187-90, 1324-86, 1387-90; for his marriage to Violante Visconti (d. 1382), daughter of Galeazzo Visconti, duke of Milan, see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1324- 86. The Clare estates, Suffolk, mentioned in this section, play a particularly important part in English history. Originally belonging to the earls of Gloucester and Hertford, the estate and name 'de Clare' was in existence by 1090. The first house of Augustinian friars in England was founded near Clare castle in 1248 (Roth 1966: I, 259-60), and the patronage provided by Lionel, duke of Clarence and his daughter, Philippa, established Clare as a royal foundation (Roth 1966: I,

262). As Hardyng spent his final years at the Augustinian priory of South Kyme, Lincolnshire, it is highly probable that he was familiar with the area. When considered alongside Hardyng's life-long connections with the Percy family and their peers, and the manuscript evidence suggesting that Lansdowne 204 was almost certainly produced in the Lincolnshire/East Anglia region (see **The Manuscripts of Hardyng's Chronicle**), it is highly probable that Hardyng himself had visited Clare. Hardyng is correct in stating that Elizabeth de Burgh, wife of Lionel, duke of Clarence, is buried at Clare.

Edward III created his son Lionel, duke of Clarence, on 13 November 1362. The creation of the dukedom served no practical purpose, as the dukedom came with no official lands. The title was derived, as Hardyng states in the gloss after l. 1100, from the Latin and French forms of Clare. In this version of the *Chronicle* the portrait of Lionel as the perfect knight and prince is particularly important, since it is through Lionel that Richard, duke of York, and his son, Edward IV, were able to make their claim to the English throne.

ll. 1093-1099 'The kinge his ... to Melane consociate': For the cost of Lionel's journey to Milan see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1324-86.

l. 1099 *gloss after*: The phrase 'and had a childe with hir' and the syntax of this gloss are misleading. Philippa is Lionel's only heir, and the 'hir' in the gloss should refer back to Elizabeth de Burgh, his first wife, not Violante Visconti.

ll. 1126-27 'Som say he ... at Clare certayne': Capgrave's account of the reinterment of Lionel's remains at Clare in the *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles* (Lucas 1983: 176) bears comparison with Hardyng's narrative, as does Hardyng's notice of Clarence's burial in the first version, (ll. 1385-86), in which Clare is not mentioned. For further discussion see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1324-86; for the significance of the disparate burial places of Clarence in this version see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History** and **Appendix 3**.

ll. 1128-41 'But childer had ... of noble porte': For the marriage and issue of Philippa of Clarence and Edmund Mortimer, third earl of March, see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1187-90. Hardyng only mentions two of their children on this occasion, Elizabeth and Roger; Sir Edmund Mortimer (1376-1409), who married Katherine (d. 1413), the daughter of Owen Glyn Dŵr, is omitted. Space is given, nevertheless, to Sir Henry 'Hotspur' Percy and his father, the earl of Northumberland, another minor alteration discernable in this version, which promotes the Percy family in a favourable light.

ll. 1142-48 'But of the ... of grete fame': Hardyng refers here to the two daughters of Pedro I of Castile, who remained in the custody of Prince Edward as a result of the Treaty of Libourne (23 September 1366). Constanza (1354-94), the older of the sisters, married John of Gaunt in 1371, and Isabella (1355-92), the younger sister, married Edmund Langley, fourth son of Edward III in 1372. For further details see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1310-16.

ll. 1149-55 'And in the ... suffer his punycion': Edward, prince of Wales, died on 8 June 1376 and was buried at Canterbury Cathedral. The incorrect year given here

(1374) previously occurred in the first version, see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1401-1421.

ll. 1156-76 'And in the ... as semith me': Edward III died on 21 June 1377 (not the 22 as Hardyng states) at the royal palace of Sheen, Surrey, and was buried at Westminster Abbey on 5 July 1377. See **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1429-49. As in the first version, Hardyng praises the king and highlights his title to the throne of France; however, in this version he calls attention to the legitimacy of the female side by calling it the reliable or strong side ('Whiche siker sude is ay, as semith me', l. 1176). He supports this observation with an allusion to Christ's inheritance through his mother, Mary (l. 1175; compare with Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 6r, ll. 78-84 in **Illustrative Texts**). In doing this he undermines the concept of Salic law, with a Biblical analogy, whilst simultaneously adding weight to the House of York's claim to the English throne through Philippa of Clarence; for further discussion see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**.

ll. 1177-83 'The pedegre ... haue therof knowlage': Seven of the manuscripts of the second version of the *Chronicle* (Arch. Selden B. 10, Bühler 5, Douce 378, Egerton 1992, Harley 661, Harvard 1054, and Illinois 83) contain a revised version of the 'pedigree of France' found in Lansdowne 204; see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1453-56. Instead of the illuminated miniatures of seated kings occurring in Lansdowne 204, the pedigrees belonging to the manuscripts of the second versions consist of simple roundels, containing the names of each ancestor, and bars linking the individuals. This format was particular to two specific types of texts in the fifteenth century: chronicles and genealogical rolls (Scott 1996: 42). The revised pedigrees begin in the same manner as the Lansdowne pedigree, with St Louis, king of France, but instead of ending at Edward III, they follow the genealogical descent down to Richard, duke of York. In addition to this, the pedigrees accompanying the second version of the *Chronicle* have Latin passages elucidating the line of descent; although one could argue that the visual representation is clear enough, and that the Latin text merely adds authority to the genealogy. Alison Allan has noted that 'once Edward [IV] became king [...] the lineage of the house of York was of paramount importance. It was necessary that what had been achieved by military force and good fortune should be made acceptable in conscience to both nobles and commons, and even perhaps to the king himself. This could only be done by the presentation of an unquestionable hereditary right' (Allan 1981: 193). With this in mind, if Hardyng did indeed revise his *Chronicle* as part of an early Yorkist propaganda campaign (see Riddy 1996), then the genealogical content of the *Chronicle* would remain, as indeed it does, one of the most immediate aspects of the work. Perhaps this is why another pedigree (the title of Jerusalem), not found in the original version, was included in the second version. When one considers the cost of commissioning a manuscript with accompanying illustrations such as the Hardyng pedigree and elaborate map, the presence of them in so many of the manuscripts of the second version of the *Chronicle* demonstrates the intrinsic educational value that manuscript owners attached to such illustrations. For further information on the pedigrees see **The Manuscripts of Hardyng's Chronicle** and **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**.

The Reign of Richard II

- ll. 1184-1211 ‘Richarde his heyre ... þan as exilates’: These stanzas occur in an identical form in the First Version (ll. 1464-91).
- ll. 1184-97 ‘Richarde his heyre ... Kyng Edwarde excellent’: For Richard II’s coronation see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1464-77.
- ll. 1198-1204 ‘And in the ... by verry remembraunce’: For the plague of 1379 see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1478-84.
- ll. 1205-39 ‘And of his ... lond wele apesed’: For the Peasants’ Revolt of 1381 see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1485-1519. The first version does not mention the king’s presence at the Tower when Hales and Sudbury are captured and executed by the rebels. Some of the chronicles, like the *Anonimalle Chronicle* and the *Westminster Chronicle*, place the king at Mile End negotiating with the rebels, whilst a renegade band broke into the Tower. Hardyng may be following the *Eulogium Continuation*, or a similar source, which contains a comparable narrative to the *Chronicle*; there is no meeting at Mile End, the king is present at the Tower when Sudbury and Hales are executed, and later Walworth chastises Straw for failing to uncover his head (see below, l. 1226). The convoluted syntax at l. 1226 is probably due to a corrupt source or scribal error, for it makes greater sense for Hardyng to state that Jack Straw ‘stode hoodlesse’ before the king. Several of the chronicles make reference to William Walworth’s anger at the rebel leader for failing to uncover his head or doff his cap to the king during the Smithfield meeting; see Usk’s *Chronicle* (Given-Wilson 1997 4-5), the *Eulogium Continuation* (Haydon 1865: 353-54), the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 6), the *Westminster Chronicle* (Hector and Harvey 1982: 10-11), and the *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi* (Hearne 1729: 29). Hardyng’s reference may therefore be a mistranslation of a similar Latin source. This version omits the reference to the king’s possible trickery (see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1504-05) and revises the demands made by the rebels, who collectively state their requests here, asking for an end to serfdom and taxation, and the installation of Tyler and Straw as the king’s advisors and dukes of Essex and Kent (ll. 1217-22). However, as in the first version, Hardyng’s chronology is not correct. The palace of Savoy was burnt before the negotiations at Smithfield.
- ll. 1240-53 ‘The twenty day ... came ful right’: These two stanzas occur in the reverse order in the first version, which is correct chronologically; the wedding (20 January) occurred before the earthquake. Hardyng has corrected the date given in the first version (20 May) to 21 May, and additionally, he cites himself as an eyewitness of the event. Since he would have been four years old at the time, it is possible that he genuinely did recall the earthquake.
- l. 1243 ‘on rowe’: This phrase means ‘in a row’; see *MED* reue (n.).
- l. 1250 ‘Beme’: Bohemia.

ll. 1252-53 'The emperoure of ... came ful right': For a brief discussion of the relationship between Henry V and Emperor Sigismund see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2702-08.

ll. 1254-60 'And in the ... of any fo': For Richard's Scottish campaign of 1385 see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1534-44.

ll. 1261-88 'At London þan ... worldly grete richesse': For the king's conferment of the ducal titles see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1545-61. Hardyng's notice of York's appointment of 'Maister of his Mewhous' is unique to this version. Throughout medieval Europe 'hundes' and 'haukynges' were a favourite pastime of royalty. Hunting usually took place in the summer months, whilst falconry was generally a winter sport. The royal mews for the king's falcons was situated at Charing, and the office of Keeper of the Mews was always appointed to a close relative or favourite of the king. Edmund, first duke of York, was appointed Master of the Royal Mews and Falcons after the coronation of Henry IV, not by Richard as Hardyng states. The Yorkist badge of the falcon and fetterlock is allegedly derived from this appointment. Hardyng's comments concerning Edmund's lack of interest in politics are generally accepted by historians as correct. For his fox-tail ensign see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1560-61.

l. 1284 'maistir of his game': This phrase is evocative of the fifteenth-century hunting treatise *Master of Game*, written c. 1406-13 by Edmund's son, Edward, second duke of York. The treatise comprises a translation of Gaston de Foix's *Livre de Chasse* and five original chapters, and was dedicated to the future Henry V. It survives in two manuscripts: Cotton Vespasian B xii and Additional MS 16,165. For further details see the edition of the text in Baillie-Grohman 1909.

ll. 1289-95 'His vncl Thomas ... graunt *and* hight': For Gloucester's constablership see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1555-59.

ll. 1296-1309 'And in the ... retourne for ay': For the encounter at Radcot Bridge and Robert de Vere see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1562-75. In this version of the *Chronicle* Hardyng appears to imply that the lords appellant united against de Vere because of his intimate relationship with Richard, and his position as royal favourite. Richard's nepotism towards de Vere does indeed seem to have cultivated rumours of homosexuality between them, and although, in all probability, they were unfounded, other chronicles also hint at this aspect (see below l. 1305).

l. 1305 'The kinges playfere': For a discussion of the word 'playfere' see **Commentary to the First Version**, l. 647. The use of the word to describe Robert de Vere has dual implications; it is appropriate for describing de Vere's position as the king's companion and childhood playmate, but the word also has sexual connotations. If Hardyng selected the word deliberately to imply a homosexual relationship between the king and de Vere he would not be alone amongst the chroniclers. Both Adam of Usk and Thomas Walsingham imply that Richard committed acts of a homosexual nature. In listing the articles of Richard's deposition, Usk reworks the inventory of crimes cited by Pope Innocent IV during the deposition of Emperor Frederick II (1245), and substitutes sodomitical acts for heresy (Given-Wilson 1997: 63).

Walsingham on the other hand describes Richard's relationship with de Vere as 'familiaritatis obscoenæ' (Riley 1863-64: II, 148). Interestingly, a sermon preached by Thomas Wimbledon at Paul's Cross, London, on Quinquagesima Sunday 1388 (the first Sunday after the opening of the Merciless Parliament) also appears to invite a suggestive interpretation of the word 'pleiferen' in relation to Richard II and his favourites. In order to parallel the disastrous nature of Richard's recent governance, particularly his intimate friendships, with that of the inexperienced biblical king Rehoboam, Wimbledon cites a passage from the Book of Kings (1 Kings 12: 3-20), which describes the King Rehoboam's companions as 'pleiferen' (see Horner 1998: 275). Patrick Horner believes that Wimbledon's choice of words 'implicitly accuses Richard and his friends of homosexual behaviour' (1998: 276). If this is the case, the examples given here may all be indicative of rumour and popular opinion at the time. For an edition of Wimbledon's sermons see Kemp 1967.

ll. 1310-23 'At Lenten nexte ... his roial crone': Hardyng's reference here to the exiles Sir John Holt and Sir Robert Belknap does not occur in the first version. For further details of the sentences passed by the Merciless Parliament of 1388 see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1576-89.

ll. 1324-51 'The erle Douglas ... and eght sociate': Hardyng's account of the battle of Otterburn is revised to less than half the length of the original version. The date of the battle given here corresponds to that in the first version, although Hardyng clarifies the year by adding that it occurred in Richard's twelfth regnal year (22 June 1388 to 21 June 1389). The feast of Saint Oswald occurs on 5 August; Oswald was a Northumbrian saint and therefore one of particular significance to Hardyng. For the battle see the **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1590-1659.

ll. 1352-58 'And in the ... she is comende': The account of Anne's death is much briefer than that in the first version (ll. 1660-87). Although Hardyng refers to the queen's commendable character, he omits the examples of her virtues present in the original *Chronicle*. Once again he clarifies the date by adding Richard's regnal year (22 June 1394 to 21 June 1395).

ll. 1359-72 'At Mighelmasse next ... thensforth the fame': For Richard II and his Irish campaign see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1688-94 and 1695-98.

ll. 1373-1400 'And in the ... wele hem bare': For Richard II's second marriage and the festivities held at Smithfield see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1709-24 and 1723-29. The stanza at ll. 1373-79 of this version is almost identical to ll. 1709-15 of the first version. The list of knights participating in the celebratory tournament at Smithfield does not occur in the first version, and there are twenty-one listed, not twenty as the text states.

ll. 1401-14 'The yere of ... cried and claymed': The arrest and murder of Thomas Woodstock, duke of Gloucester is discussed in the **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1730-43. The first stanza of this section (ll. 1401-07) occurs in an almost identical form in the first version, ll. 1730-36.

l. 1409 'Princis Inne': The place of Gloucester's murder is not given in the first version. See **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1730-43.

l. 1410 'By hool avyce of his counceil privily': This suggestion is not made in the first version, where it is implied that Richard's actions are attributed to his desire for revenge.

ll. 1415-28 'He þan arrest ... drede him then': For the arrest of Warwick, Arundel and Cobham and the charges brought against them in the parliament of 1397 see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1751-57, 1782-1806, 1791 and 1807-13. In this version Hardyng does not highlight the parallels between Arundel's execution and that of Simon Burley. One might assume that Hardyng omits this in an attempt to gloss over the revenge motive suggested in the first version of the *Chronicle*, particularly since he was revising the text for the house of York. However, this could not have been Hardyng's intention, since he describes Richard's actions in 1397 with greater vehemence than in the first version of the *Chronicle*, adding new details to his narrative to reiterate the king's tyranny. The duke of Gloucester is said to be 'smitten [...] in grete and felle sekenesse' (l. 1406) when Richard arrests him. Later, the reference in the first version to Serle murdering Gloucester is omitted and the king and his privy counsel are implicated (l. 1409). Gloucester's confession is now described as 'feyned' (l. 1413); and finally Richard demonstrates his power by mustering an army at Blackheath to quell any protestors and induce fear into the general public.

Another difference between this version and the first is the reference at ll. 1426-28 to the forces mustered by Richard for his entry into London before the commencement of the parliament at Westminster; compare with similar accounts in the *Annales Ricardi Secundi* (Riley 1866: 207-09), the *Eulogium Continuation* (Haydon 1865: 373) and the *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi II* (Hearne 1729: 133). The presence of arms at parliament was of course illegal, and by adding this statement to his narrative, it would appear that Hardyng was attempting to provide yet another example of Richard's tyranny; however, it is interesting that he fails to include this incident in the first version of the *Chronicle*. A longer and detailed version of the king mustering his forces for entry into London occurs in the *Brut*, a version of which was no doubt used by Hardyng for this particular section of his narrative (Brie 1906-08: II, 353).

ll. 1429-49 'At whiche parlament ... with him so': The conferment of the titles on new lords is discussed in the **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1758-81.

l. 1450 'Busshops threttene': In the first version Hardyng cites fourteen bishops (ll. 1838-41). For Richard's excessive household see the **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1835-45.

ll. 1450-1505 'Busshops threttene thens ... fre and bonde': In addition to the notes below, see the notes in the **Commentary to the First Version** covering ll. 1835-73 for criticism of Richard II's household.

ll. 1464-73 'Treuly I herde ... of hem þen': Here Hardyng states that he obtained his information about Richard's excessive household from an eyewitness named Robert

Iuelefe. In the first version he attributes the information to ‘the cronyclers’, but he similarly states that he has ‘herde men speke full opynly’ of the sinful nature of the court (l. 1867). That Hardyng fails to mention Iuelefe as his source in the first version implies he may have invented him to add authority to his narrative; however, it would be unwise to dismiss the revision as a fabrication too readily, particularly given the unique nature of the stanzas. The name occurs in a different form (Ireleefe) in three of the manuscripts and Grafton’s printed versions; however, neither of the forms match with any of Richard’s known household personnel. Hardyng refers to him as a Clerk of the Green Cloth; however, he does not state whether Iuelefe was a Clerk of the Green Cloth during Richard’s reign, or later when he allegedly made his exaggerated account of the household to Hardyng. I have been unable to trace any such person in the official household records, or the Patent or Close Rolls, between the years 1377-1471. The Patent Rolls for July 1400 mention a Robert Jolyf, groom of Henry IV’s chamber. If Iuelefe is a version of Jolyf, it is conceivable that Hardyng is indeed referring to a real source, who was one of the many members of the royal household retained in Henry’s service after Richard’s deposition. In the absence of further information on household staff, this supposition must of course remain mere conjecture. For the duties of a Clerk of the Green Cloth see Myers 1959: 152-54.

ll. 1471-73 ‘And ladies faire [...] of hem þen’: Hardyng’s choice of the words ‘chambrers’ and ‘lauenders’ (l. 1472) is deliberately ambiguous, as the terms can denote handmaidens and serving maids or prostitutes; see *MED* chamberer(e (n.) and lavender(e (n.); and the note to ll. 1499-1503 below.

ll. 1474-84 ‘There was grete ... they did renewe’: Whilst Hardyng’s criticism of the size of Richard’s household occurs in the first version, his critique on the excessive apparel of the courtiers does not. These stanzas stand out in the narrative as some of Hardyng’s most clear and pointed verse. The ideas imparted here, that the household’s pride is epitomised by the clothing of the courtiers, and that dressing above one’s station leads to social disorder, are commonplaces in late medieval literature, and owe much to homiletic writings. Although the pomp and excess of Richard’s courtiers prompted much contemporary denigration, sartorial criticism of this kind occurred much earlier in literature and was already a popular topic of criticism and satire; a poem contained in BL Harley 2253 (Ker 1965: f. 61v), dating from c. 1325, criticises the immorality of the outrageous fashions of the time, whilst chronicles such as the *Eulogium Historiarum* (Haydon 1865: 230-31), John of Reading’s *Chronicle* (Tait 1914: 167) and the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 296-97), all contain similar invectives in their entries for the latter years of Edward III’s reign. In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries the abuses of fashion received attention from some of the greatest writers of the period (Chaucer, Langland, the *Gawain*-poet and Hoccleve), and sartorial satire occurred frequently in contemporary poetry (see in particular *Richard the Redeless* in Barr 1993: 120-22, ll. 162, 145-47, 128, 152, and Severs and Hartung 1967-: V, 1407, 1440, 1460-62, 1469-70). Nevertheless, extant wardrobe books from the 1390s reveal that Richard’s household did indeed spend excessive amounts on luxury items such as fine cloth and furs (see Given-Wilson 1986: 81-84); and examples of opulent clothing, similar to those described by Hardyng, and owned by the king and his courtiers, have been noted by scholars (see, for instance, Mathew 1968: 26-27). Therefore, whilst Hardyng’s diatribe on the fashionable courtiers and their clothes may indeed adopt the commonplaces and themes of earlier critiques on

fashion and pride, ultimately the description is not unreasonable. Aside from being associated with the sin of pride, extravagance in fashion and dressing above one's station also had serious social implications. The numerous Sumptuary Laws that were sanctioned in late medieval England shaped the views of many writers and preachers of the period, who viewed them as an acceptable method of regulating social status. Any attempt to disregard the laws was viewed as deliberate affront to the established hierarchical order of medieval society. For more in-depth discussion of fashion in the late Middle Ages and the sumptuary laws see Newton 1980, Scattergood 1987, and Hodges 2000.

ll. 1478-84 'Yomen and gromes ... they did renewe': The main concern of the sumptuary law of 1363 was with legislating the use of specific materials and ornamentation for clothing. It forbade grooms and yeomen from wearing any cloth exceeding the value of 2 marks or 40 shillings respectively, and specifically stated that they should not wear gold, silver, embroidered cloth, enamel or silk. Only esquires and those of gentle rank were permitted to wear embroidered clothing, and fur was reserved for royalty, or those of the rank of knight, earl, or baron, and prelates (see *Statutes of the Realm*: I, 380-82). The implication here is that the servants were dressing as equals to their peers, thus potentially inverting the natural order of society by reaching pretentiously above their station. For similar warnings against the social conflict arising out of such class inversion in other parts of the *Chronicle* see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**.

l. 1480 'In clothe of grayne': The word *grayne* here means either is a scarlet dye made from the Kermes insect, or a fast-dyed cloth; see *MED* grain (n., sense 6). Given that the colour scarlet occurs in the same sentence it probably means the latter.

l. 1481 'Cut-werke': Ornamental slashes occurring on over-garments to reveal underlying fabric; see *MED* cut-werk (n.). For the wardrobe expenses during Richard II's reign and the excessive amounts of money that were spent on fine cloth, furs and luxury goods see Given-Wilson 1986: 81-83.

ll. 1492-98 'Lewde men they ... of sowles correccion': These lines occur in a near identical form in the first version, ll. 1849-55.

ll. 1499-1503 'Grete licheri and ... of the chivalry': Organised prostitution appears to have been a feature of the male orientated medieval court, and a number of 'damoiselles', or prostitutes, were specifically employed to accompany the household (see Given-Wilson 1986: 60). The emphasis here is on the lecherous behaviour of the clergy, who instead of respecting their vows of celibacy, indulge in licentious behaviour more than the temporal lords. Again, the theme of the lusty cleric was a commonplace in medieval literature, and Hardyng's attack on Richard's prelates adopts similar anti-clerical sentiments to those found in works such as Gower's *Vox Clamantis* and *Piers Plowman*.

ll. 1506-26 'And in the ... wirshipfully was mette': For the altercation at Coventry and the sentences passed on Mowbray and Bolingbroke, see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1884-90. The first stanza here (ll. 1506-12) is similar to ll. 1884-90 in the first version. Conversely, the reference to Bolingbroke's favourable reception in Paris

is not made in the first version. Ultimately, the political situation in France aided Bolingbroke's return to England and rebellion in the summer of 1399. For the politics between England and France at this time see Saul 1997: *passim*.

ll. 1527-30 'In Lenten next ... haue his heritage': See **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1905-11.

ll. 1531-47 'In May þan ... with the moste': For Richard II in Ireland and the Blank Charters see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1912-18 and 1919-25. The reference to the 'wilde Iresshe' (l. 1535) is discussed at l. 1691 of the aforementioned commentary.

ll. 1548-89 'At whiche tyme ... forth ful redily': For Bolingbroke's return in 1399 see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1926-39. This version differs from the first in several ways. In the first version Hardyng does not mention the place where Richard mustered his troops after returning from Ireland. Here he states that the troops gathered, and later deserted Richard, at Flint. Not all of the chronicles mention the episode at Flint; those that do include the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 358). Conversely, some of the chronicles are in disagreement as to where the meeting with Richard and Bolingbroke, or Bolingbroke's ambassadors took place. Those preferring to place the episode at Flint Castle rather than Conway include the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 23), and the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 544). In this version Hardyng also excuses Ralph Neville (1364-1425), earl of Westmorland, for his involvement in the rebellion by stating that 'it was his dette' (l. 1566) because of his marriage to the duke's half-sister, Joan Beaufort (compare with the first version, in which Hardyng emphasises the consanguinity of Bolingbroke and the earl of Northumberland, **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1927-28).

The episode at Doncaster, where Bolingbroke swears on the holy relics is added here to highlight the Percies' later claim that Bolingbroke committed perjury by usurping the English throne. It is uncertain whether Bolingbroke swore such an oath at Doncaster; similar suggestions in other chronicles suggest that Hardyng may be telling the truth. Both the *Eulogium Continuation* (Haydon 1858-65: III, 381) and the *Chronicque de la Traïson et Mort de Richart Deux Roy Dengleterre* (Williams 1846: 181-83) claim that circulars were issued in England affirming Bolingbroke's intention to uphold the promises stated by Hardyng; moreover, the *Dieulacres Chronicle* (Clarke and Galbraith 1930: 179) states that Bolingbroke made a similar oath at Bridlington, and that his perjury incited the Percies to rebel in 1403. For further information on the Percies and Bolingbroke's oath see Sherborne 1988.

ll. 1583-89 'Than rode they ... forth ful redily': For the execution of Richard II's ministers see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1937-39

ll. 1590-95 'In this mene-while ... there in warde': For Hardyng's notice of the earl of Northumberland's meeting with Richard II at Conway see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1968-74.

ll. 1596-1603 'And so to ... by grete ordinance': Based on these words alone Hardyng's account of Richard's resignation in the Tower would not be very telling. His phrasing is ambiguous, and does not imply whether the king renounced his throne

willingly or under threat from Bolingbroke. Two interjections elsewhere in the *Chronicle* do, however, imply that Bolingbroke forced Richard to submit his crown to him. First, the extra episode of Bolingbroke's oath in this version suggests that Richard did not submit freely; secondly, in the supplementary prose passages occurring in Arch. Selden B. 10, Harley 661 and Harvard 1054, Hardyng refers to Richard's resignation being made 'vndir dures of prison in þe Toure of London in fere of his lif' (f. 190r, ll. 3854-55, compare also the statement in the Percy manifesto given later, f. 192v, ll. 3959-62: 'Tu ipsum dominum tuum et regem nostrum imprisonasti infra Turrim London, quousque resignauerat metu mortis regna Anglie et Francie, et renunciauerat totum ius suum in regnis predictis et aliis dominiis suis et terris de vltra mare.'). Other chronicles describing Richard's enforced resignation include the *Eulogium Continuation* and the *English Chronicle*.

ll. 1604-10 'Then went they ... none him deny': The reference to a free election in parliament, where the hereditary claim of Edmund Mortimer was overlooked because of his age, does not occur in the first version. Rumours that Roger Mortimer was proclaimed Richard's heir apparent appear to have been in circulation, briefly, in either the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, but it is uncertain when the rumours first arose. Hardyng is not alone in suggesting that Mortimer's claim was disregarded. Both the *Eulogium Continuation* (Riley 1858-65: III 361) and the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 9) contain an entry under the year 1385 stating that Mortimer was declared heir apparent by parliament; this is later used to explain the Percy and Scrope rebellions in 1403 and 1405. Neither of the texts, however, mentions Mortimer's claim in the narrative dealing with Henry IV's ascendancy, and there is no reference to Mortimer in the Rolls of Parliament for the October 1385 (*Rot. Parl.*, III, 203-14). Hardyng's reference to Mortimer's claim implies a double usurpation by Henry: first King Richard, secondly his heir apparent. Further reference to Mortimer's claim is reserved for the additional prose sections appended to the end of the second version, which survive in three manuscripts: Arch. Selden B. 10, Harley 661, and Harvard 1054. The prose sections also expound the Percies' involvement in the deposition, freeing them from any blame, just as the narrative here provides sufficient commentary to absolve them by claiming that they sent their troops home in the belief that Henry would keep his word and claim only his family inheritance (see below, ll. 1569-82, 1609-15).

ll. 1611-17 'The erle of ... as did appere': Hardyng states that the earl of Northumberland and his son sent their troops home in the belief that Bolingbroke would keep his word and not usurp the throne. However, the exchequer records testify that the Percies were given wages for the retainers that accompanied them during the rebellion, and remained for the duration of the parliament in October 1399 (see PRO E403/564 as cited in Given-Wilson 1993: 194). Far from opposing Bolingbroke's coronation, the Percies appear to have played an important role in the proceedings, and the numerous grants and rewards issued to them within the first few months of Henry's ascension suggest that they were in truth supportive of Henry's new sovereignty. For further discussion on the Percies relationship with Henry IV see McNiven 1982; Sherborne 1988, Rose 2002.

ll. 1618-24 'The erles two ... without any feile': According to Hardyng, Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester, Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland and Ralph Neville,

earl of Westmorland, allegedly advised Bolingbroke not to break the oath made at Doncaster by usurping the throne. The oath is one of the additions inserted into the second version by Hardyng in order to underscore Bolingbroke's usurpation, and alleviate the Percies and Neville of any blame for their part in the rebellion. The references to the oath, Bolingbroke's disregard of it, and the additional prose passages occurring in Arch. Selden B. 10, Harley 661 and Harvard 1054 detailing Richard's enforced resignation and Bolingbroke's perjury, form a coherent justification of the Percy rebellion in 1403, and transform Hardyng's narrative into one exhibiting sympathies for the disinherited house of York. For further discussion see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**.

The Reign of Henry IV

l. 1624 *gloss after*: Compare this with the gloss after l. 2009 in the first version, which states that Hardyng saw, heard and was present at the events detailed in this section of the *Chronicle*. Similarly, the supporting authority of Master Norham's *Chronicle* is not cited. Also of note at this point in the narrative are the unique lines of Latin prose concerning the kings of England from the time of the Norman Conquest to Edward III, in Garrett 142. This manuscript is the only extant version of the *Chronicle* to contain this interpolation between the reigns of Richard II and Henry IV, and it is possible that the person who commissioned the text requested their insertion. (For further discussion of this manuscript and its unique attributes see **The Manuscripts of Hardyng's Chronicle**). In Harley 661 the narrative is interrupted with a series of prose passages in Latin and English, explaining the motive behind the Percy rebellion in 1403. The passages occur at the end of Arch. Selden B. 10 and Harvard 1054, and relate how Bolingbroke committed perjury by breaking the oath made to the Percies at Doncaster. They purport to be a copy of the manifesto issued by the Percies to Henry IV at the battle of Shrewsbury (see ll. 3930-46 below).

ll. 1625-45 'This duke Henry ... all the flock': The basic facts of Henry IV's accession and coronation are retained from the first version (see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2010-23): Henry's reign began on 30 September 1399, and he was crowned on the day of Edward the Confessor's translation (13 October). However, instead of referring to the king's anointment with the 'Holy creme' of Becket, Hardyng elaborates on Henry's election as king by the unanimous consent of both the magnates and the common people of the realm, who, we are informed, 'So hated [...] Richard for the nones' (compare this with the analogous account in the *Brut*, Brie 1906-08: II, 359). Considering that this version of the *Chronicle* was revised first for Richard, duke of York, and later his son, Edward IV, Hardyng's account of Henry's accession in the main body of the *Chronicle* is quite uncontentious; it is only in the supplementary prose passages that Hardyng adds after the verse history that Henry IV is explicitly blamed for the deposition and death of Richard II. His commentary here cannot be construed as entirely 'Yorkist' in sympathy because he highlights Richard's tyrannous qualities, and the part played by his English subjects in his deposition, and in the election of Henry. For further discussion see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**.

ll. 1646-80 'The grete parlement ... a prince appent': For the proceedings of Henry IV's first parliament, see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2031-51. Hardyng's

earlier comments concerning the Percies' aversion to Henry claiming the throne and breaking the oath he made at Doncaster (see ll. 1548-89) are undermined if one views their acceptance of Henry IV's honours as reward for their assistance in helping him obtain the throne. However, some critics claim that Henry's bequests can be construed as a bribe and an attempt to gain the magnates' confidence. For the Percies' relationship with Henry IV see Bean 1959, Weiss 1976, McNiven 1980, Sherborne 1988, and Rose 2002.

l. 1676-77 'At Richmond fe ... life to hafe': The gift of Richmond to Ralph Neville is not noted in the first version. Henry IV granted Neville this lordship at the same time that he elevated him to the office of Marshall of England.

ll. 1678-80 'The lordes all ... a prince appent': Hardyng's reference to Henry's 'liberall hert' (l. 1680) and his distribution of titles or 'lond *and* rent' (l. 1679) for his faithful subjects highlights the qualities that a ruler should possess. It is unlikely, given Hardyng's comments at the end of Henry's reign, that the author intended these lines to reflect on the personal characteristics of this king, but rather to provide a contrast with Richard II's abuse of power. Offering such a contrast underscores the public dislike of the deposed king and reinforces why 'An hundred thowsand cried þan all at ones' (l. 1639) for Henry to be crowned as king.

l. 1680 *gloss after*: Sir Robert Umfraville was elected to the order of the Garter in 1408 (see Collins 2000: 49-50, 117, 266, 298). Perhaps unintentionally this gloss implies that the honour was bestowed on him immediately after his victory over the Scots at Fulhopelaw, which is not the case. Nevertheless, Hardyng is correct in citing this as the period when Umfraville's career excelled, for it was in the first five years of the fifteenth century that he began to receive royal grants (compare ll. 1693-94).

ll. 1681-94 'And whils that ... his knyghtly iuberte': In the first version the capture of Richard Rutherford and his sons is mentioned in Hardyng's account of the skirmish at Redeswire, not Fulhopelaw in Coquetdale. In the account of Redeswire in this version he also mentions Rutherford as one of Umfraville's opponents, and although Wylie believes that Hardyng was recording two separate engagements between the two magnates, it would appear that Hardyng has confused the two encounters (see Wylie 1969: II, 260; the **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2052-65 and 2136-49, and the commentary to ll. 1737-50 below).

l. 1689 'The lorde of Gordon he put to flight': In the first version Hardyng states that Umfraville captured Alexander Seton as well as William Stewart (see Lansdowne 204, f. 203v, ll. 2056-58).

l. 1690 'Willy Bard': Willy Bard is not mentioned in the first version. Unfortunately, I have been unable to discover any information about him.

ll. 1695-99 'The kinge þan ... he did de': The narrative here looks forward to Richard's death, and may suggest that Hardyng was summarising a source such as the *Brut*, which makes a similar statement (Brie 1906-08: II, 359). Compare with the **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2080-86.

ll. 1700-22 ‘But þan the ... for to sitte’: For the revolt known as the Epiphany Rising see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2087-2121, 2114; the reference to Thomas, lord Despenser, being captured at sea does not occur in the earlier text. Likewise, Thomas Merks’s involvement in the uprising is only mentioned briefly in a gloss accompanying the text of the first version. Merks was arrested in London, and after a short confinement at Reigate Castle was imprisoned in the Tower. He was originally sentenced to death, but was later assigned to the custody of the abbot of Westminster. In November 1400 he was granted a full pardon.

ll. 1723-36 ‘In Marce next ... to bury secrement’: The account of Richard’s death and burial retains the same details as the first version; however, Hardyng adds that the general consensus of the people was that Richard should have been buried at Westminster in the joint tomb commissioned for himself and his first wife Anne. Hardyng’s use of the phrases ‘fast him sent’ (l. 1735) and ‘to bury secrement’ (l. 1736) suggest a sense of urgency and guilt on Henry IV’s part, and perhaps serve to implicate him in Richard’s murder, as is stated later in the prose passages at the end of this version of the *Chronicle* (see below, ll. 3947-4010).

l. 1737 ‘On Mighelmas day next aftir his coronacion’: 29 September 1400.

ll. 1737-50 ‘On Mighelmas day ... enmyes to ouersetete’: For the skirmish at Redeswire see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2052-65 and 2136-49. The number of men said to have fled the battle is one hundred less than the figure given in the first version (Lansdowne 204, f. 204v, l. 2145). Hardyng’s praise of Umfraville’s leadership skills in battle is retained from the first version.

ll. 1751-57 ‘The secund yere ... by hem one’: For Henry’s invasion of Scotland in 1400 see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2150-56. By design, Hardyng does not criticise the king’s judgement in the first version; however, here the majority of the stanza devoted to the episode is concerned with the destruction caused in Bamburgh, not in Scotland by the king. The poignant description of how the Scots ravaged the countryside (‘oure londe’, l. 1754) whilst the Percies accompanied the king on his campaign, depriving the Marches of protection and leaving only husbandmen to safeguard the north, is deeply evocative of the public opinion which must have been felt by those living in the border regions at the time. The sentiments are similarly in keeping with Hardyng’s ethos: a good king should look after the common weal of his subjects before attempting to expand his territorial acquisitions. Compare these lines with the first version where Hardyng does not imply criticism (ll. 2150-56), and also with the account of Richard’s attempt to conquer Ireland in the first version, when his land is discontent (ll. 1924-25).

ll. 1758-92 ‘The kinge came ... his gret raunson’: For the revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2157-98. Hardyng’s explicit reference to Glyn Dŵr’s ‘grete name’ does not occur in the first version, but is in keeping with the overtly sympathetic treatment of his revolt in this version. Glyn Dŵr’s heroic status amongst the Welsh is not exaggerated, and the statement here is evocative of the popular myths surrounding both him and his revolt (for further information see Davies 1995). The order of Glyn Dŵr’s capture of Lord Grey of Ruthin (April 1402) and

Mortimer (June 1402) occurs in the reverse order in the first version, but it is this version that is correct.

ll. 1793-1806 'In his third ... came they neuyr': The battle of Homildon Hill occurred on the 14 September 1402; see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2199-2219, 2210-12. Whereas the first version deals with Glyn Dŵr's rebellion before the battle of Homildon Hill, in this version Hardyng places the battle in between his account of Glyn Dŵr's rebellion. Of particular note in this later version is the retrospective reference made by Hardyng at ll. 2472-76 to the wounds incurred by Archibald Douglas at the battles of Homildon and Shrewsbury; many of the chronicles record, as Hardyng does, that Douglas lost an eye at Homildon.

l. 1793 'In his third yere': 30 September 1401 to 29 September 1402.

l. 1796 'The novmbre was forte thousand and mo': This figure is the same as that given in the first version. For comparative estimates in other chronicles see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2210-12.

l. 1798 'Holy Rode day': Holy Rood Day, or the Exaltation of the Cross, occurs on 14 September.

l. 1801 'George of Dunbarre': George Dunbar, earl of March is not mentioned in the first version, but he fought alongside Hotspur against his own countrymen.

ll. 1807-27 'The kinge Henry ... Wales, and victoried': Hardyng continues with his account of Glyn Dŵr's rebellion (see ll. 1758-92). The bad weather and stories of witchcraft cited as explanations for the failure of the king's campaign against Glyn Dŵr are based on contemporary rumours. These lines provide an excellent example of how hearsay and popular anecdotes influenced the chronicle writers, and should be compared with similar accounts incorporated into other contemporary chronicles, such as the *Annales Henrici Quarti* and the *Historia Anglicana*. In the main these texts in particular present a 'version' of history analogous to the official records on the Rolls of Parliament, and thus it is interesting to note the intimate relationship in the chronicles between the 'official', governmentally controlled, account of events and the 'unofficial' version formed by popular opinion. Both the *Annales* and the *Historia* make specific reference to Glyn Dŵr's use of magic, as well as ascribing other events such as the appearance of a comet, terrible storms, and the manifestation of the devil at Danbury, to this period (see Riley 1866: 338, 340, 343 and Riley 1863-64: II, 248-51). Capgrave's *Abbreviacion of Cronicles*, being derived from the aforementioned texts, gives a very similar account, detailing the bad weather encountered by the king and the fact that 'many supposed þis was do be nigromancy, and be compellyng of spirites' (Lucas 1983: 219). For further information on sorcery in relation to medieval English kings see Kelly 1977. The references here to the dearth of corn and loss of cattle complement Hardyng's observation about the futility of the king wasting his own lands; both emphasise the devastation and cost of human life that ensues when countries are at war. Although the dearth of corn and loss of cattle are events that occur naturally because of drought or plague, there is a sense of providence attached to the narrative, which results from Hardyng's earlier presentation of Henry IV's failure to help Glyn Dŵr in the first place.

l. 1827 *gloss after*: This is the first reference after the deposition of Richard II to Henry IV's sequestration of the throne from the rightful Mortimer heirs.

ll. 1828-49 'The erle Henry ... he him send': For the king's request that the Percies bring their prisoners to him after Homildon, Henry Percy's request that the king help secure Mortimer's release and their ensuing argument see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2213-47. Percy's petition to the king to assist in securing Mortimer's release from Owain Glyn Dŵr is embellished in the second version to include an account of the king's refusal to help Mortimer on the grounds that he is a traitor, and wished to be captured by Glyn Dŵr. This allegation also occurs in the *Annales Henrici Quarti* (Riley 1866: 341). Other notable texts comparable with Hardyng's version include the *Eulogium Continuation* (Haydon 1858-65: III, 396) and the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 32-33).

ll. 1848 *gloss after* and 1850-78 'Sir Henry saw ... him plenare grace': For the battle of Shrewsbury see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2262-2303, and 2299-2303. The rationale behind the Percy rebellion and the circumstances leading up to their alienation from the king have provoked much debate; see, for example, Bean 1959 McNiven 1980, Sherborne 1988, Rose 2002, and Boardman 2003. Although the verse account of the battle of Shrewsbury here is shorter than that in the first version, the explanation of the circumstances surrounding the episode present an entirely different perspective on the rebellion, and Hardyng's own role in it as a member of Hotspur's household. Additionally, several Latin and English prose passages appended to the end of this version of the *Chronicle* develop the episode considerably, elaborating on the rationale behind the uprisings in 1403 and 1405. Hardyng's acknowledgement of the Percies' intention to crown Edmund Mortimer as the lawful heir of Richard II and his reference to Owain Glyn Dŵr's involvement in the episode are unique to this version, but not to other chronicles; see, for example, the *Eulogium Continuation* (Haydon 1858-65: III, 396) and the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 33), where Glyn Dŵr's help is sent for, but refused. Hardyng's attribution of the Percies' failure to the behaviour of these unnamed lords, who commit the most heinous of chivalric crimes by breaking their oath, is given greater focus than in the original version (see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2274-75), which in turn lends an element of tragedy to Hotspur's fall, and echoes the falls of other great figures documented in the *Chronicle*. Other significant alterations to the narrative include a shift of blame from Hotspur's secretary and Sir Thomas Percy, who is now dubbed his 'vnclere' (l. 1870) to Hotspur's father, the earl of Northumberland, for failing 'him foule without wit or rede' (l. 1872). Extra details about the earl's imprisonment at Baignton and the confiscation of his lands are given (see below ll. 1873-78), and the striking suggestion that Henry IV attempted to conceal the nature of the rebellion condemns the king further by implying that the Percies' cause was just (ll. 1861-62). Other notable accounts of the circumstances surrounding the battle that parallel this version include: the *Eulogium Continuation* (Haydon 1865: 395-98); the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 32-34); and the *Historia Anglicana* (Riley 1863-64: II, 254-58).

l. 1862 *gloss after*: This gloss is unique in that it provides us with evidence that Hardyng was sub-constable of Warkworth castle under Sir Robert Umfraville. The information concerning Umfraville receiving the castle after the Percy estates became

forfeit is correct, but unfortunately there is no extant evidence to support Hardyng's claim that a substantial number of magnates bound themselves to the Percy cause in an agreement taking the form of sealed letters. This does not necessarily undermine Hardyng's claim, since the letters he describes would have been treasonous and tantamount to a death warrant in the aftermath of the battle for those who had appended their seals. Therefore, if they did exist, they are likely to have been destroyed at the earliest opportunity. Nevertheless, given the dangerous nature of such letters, it is more realistic to assume that Hardyng is attempting to add authority to his account by accentuating his own involvement in the episode, and utilising the letters as evidence of more widespread support for the rebellion among the magnates.

Wylie suggests that the letters mentioned by Hardyng were actually responses written in support of the Percies' claims that they wanted to 'reform the administration of the country, and establish the influence of better councillors, who would see that the taxes and customs granted to the King should be put to the use for which they were intended and not be wasted' (1969: I, 355).

I. 1863 'On Maudelayne evyn was on the Satirday': The battle took place on 21 July (the feast of Saint Mary Magdalene being on the 22 July). Hardyng is correct in stating that this date fell on a Saturday.

I. 1864 'Aftir long trefy the prince began to fight': This statement corresponds to that in the first version (Lansdowne 204, f. 206r, ll. 2265-68); however, unlike the first version Hardyng does not state that the battle occurred as a result of misinformation from Hotspur's secretary.

II. 1868-69 'And of the ... wele and clere': The king's fourth regnal year ran from 30 September 1402 to 29 September 1403.

II. 1871-78 'His fadir came ... him plenare grace': Details of the earl of Northumberland's movements immediately after Shrewsbury do not occur in the first version. Hardyng's attack on the earl of Northumberland for not assisting his son is in keeping with his deprecating statement at l. 2226 of this version, where he remarks that Hotspur's son became a hostage in Scotland because of the earl's 'foly'. In August the earl presented himself to the King at York (*Rot. Parl.*, III, 524) and was imprisoned at Baginton, near Coventry (*PPC*, I, 212, 214). It was determined that the earl's castles would be handed over to the custody of the king's officers, but only Prudhoe and Langley were submitted without resistance; Berwick, Alnwick and Warkworth remained in the hands of Percy's supporters, Sir William Clifford and Henry Percy, son of one of the earl's sons, Thomas Percy. The earl was later released on the condition that he swear an oath of fidelity to Henry IV; see, for example, the *Historia Anglicana* (Riley 1863-64: II, 260), which states that he was restored to his dignities at the parliament of 1404. Given the change in tone towards the earl of Northumberland evident at this point, it is reasonable to assume that Hardyng petitioned for a pardon immediately after the battle and moved into the service of Sir Robert Umfraville. The emphasis on Umfraville's deeds begins in the reign of Henry IV, but the attention to his advice concerning the capture of the earl of Northumberland is particularly significant here.

ll. 1879-1934 ‘But þan the ... delyuered were anone’: These lines concern the 1405 uprising led by Scrope, Thomas Mowbray, the earl Marshall and Northumberland. Thomas, Lord Bardolph, Archbishop Arundel and the Earl Marshal were amongst those who attended the council that met on 19 April 1405 (Easter Day) in London, whilst the King was at Windsor. It is believed that support was offered to the earl of Northumberland, who still held a grievance against the king. Although Hardyng is correct in stating that Henry IV and the earl remained at peace until the next uprising, Percy still maintained contact with Glyn Dŵr, and was undoubtedly plotting against Henry IV for some time. The account of Archbishop Scrope’s rebellion is markedly different from that of the first version; Hardyng’s treatment of the episode, particularly in the additional prose sections accompanying this version, highlights the connections between this rebellion and the battle of Shrewsbury, and demonstrates a sound awareness of the circumstances surrounding the events. Hardyng omits all reference here to Umfraville’s involvement in the episode, and he does not mention the deceitful negotiations attributed in the first version to Fitzhugh, Fulthorpe and Ewere that tricked the archbishop into sending his troops home. Instead, this version emphasises the earl of Northumberland’s involvement, by describing how the archbishop’s troops assembled at Shipton Moor to rendezvous with Northumberland’s men, but that the archbishop was captured and beheaded before the date appointed for the assignation. This version also mentions that William Plumpton was executed at the same time as Scrope and the earl Marshall. The *Latin Brut* edited by Kingsford (1913: 314), the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 35, 37), John Benet’s *Chronicle* (Harriss and Harriss 1972: 176), and *Giles’s Chronicle* (1848: 47) also record Plumpton’s presence, as does the inscription on this tomb in Spofforth Church. For further details of Archbishop Scrope’s rebellion see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2304-56, 2345-56; for Plumpton, and an edition of the extant Plumpton correspondence, see Kirby 1996.

ll. 1888-89 ‘Than in the ... his regne sext’: The sixth regnal year of Henry IV ran from 30 September 1405 to 29 September 1406. Hardyng cites his own recollections in order to provide authority for the history at this point.

l. 1891 ‘Yorkes More’: Shipton Moor is approximately six miles north-west of York. The place name is not mentioned in the first version.

ll. 1905-39 ‘The lord Hastynges ... with pore suppowelment’: For the knights beheaded at Durham see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2345-56. The details given here of the capture of the earl of Northumberland’s castles occurs in a similar form in the first version.

ll. 1911-34 ‘Ant to Warkworth ... delyuered were anone’: For the surrender of Northumberland’s castles see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2367-70, 2370-72, 2373-80. The story of Henry Percy, the captain of Alnwick, advising the king to capture Berwick first, and the consequent surrender of the castle by William Clifford and Henry Percy does not occur in the first version. Following the surrender of Alnwick, the remaining strongholds belonging to the earl of Northumberland surrendered to the king. Hardyng adds the names of two further castles to the list of those that capitulated in the first version: Alnham in Alnedale and Newstead near Bamburgh. Prudhoe and Cockermouth surrendered shortly after Alnwick and Langley

was taken on 20 July by Umfraville. Northumberland and Bardolph escaped into Scotland, having previously sent the earl's grandson, Henry Percy, son of Hotspur, ahead of them.

l. 1924 'Rond o the Se': Ranulf del See, Lord of Barmston. The strange corruptions of this name, as witnessed by the variants 'ran on þe' and 'ran to þe' in Egerton 1992, Illinois 83, Takamiya 6, Garrett 142, Hunter 400, and Grafton's 1543 prints, show the scribes' unfamiliarity with this magnate, substituting instead the nonsensical phrase 'ran to the sea' to describe the actions of men who, in the narrative, have just been beheaded. The reading in the first version, 'Rande of the Se' (l. 2378), shows that the least corrupt manuscripts in this instance are Arch Selden B. 10, Ashmole 34, Harvard 1054, Douce 345 and Harley 661; Bühler 5 lacks a folio at this point.

l. 1925 'Iohn Turnebul': John Turnbull and the 'other squyers two' do not occur in the list of men executed at Berwick in the first version. Wylie proposed that the variant Tuvile instead of John Turnbull (occurring in Egerton 1992, Illinois 83, Takamiya 6 and Grafton's 1543 prints) may be a corruption of Ivo, or Eudo, Lord Welle of Lincolnshire, the variant manuscripts providing a distorted form of his surname, 't Welle or At Welle (1969: II, 260). However, in view of the fact that the manuscripts containing the name of Turnbull are amongst the least textually corrupt (see **The Relationships of the Manuscripts**), and that elsewhere the name Welles occurs without corruption (see l. 3119), this is unlikely.

ll. 1935-46 'The kynge remeved ... folk sore wepe': For the escape of Northumberland and Bardolph into Scotland and their itinerary whilst in exile see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2388-98, 2399-2414. However, in this version Hardyng rewrites the notice of their journey to Wales to exclude the negative comment in the first version that Glyn Dŵr failed to help the fugitives. The first version makes the reference to their downfall more relevant by stating that the earl made a tactically bad decision to undertake a battle.

l. 1946 'for whom þe folk sore wepe': This sentiment does not occur in the first version, but it is interesting because of the popular opinion it expresses concerning the fate of Percy and Bardolph. At this time Hardyng was in Umfraville's service and his comments regarding the sorrow of the (presumably northern) 'folk' undoubtedly derives from first-hand experience of public opinion concerning the deaths. This is just one of the many brief insights Hardyng provides into life in the north of England in the fifteenth century (compare, for example, the reference to old women swearing by Saint Rynzan in the **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2448-49).

l. 1947 'The nynte yere ... þe kinge Henry': 30 September 1407 to 29 September 1408.

ll. 1947-53 'The nynte yere ... þat he gette': The battle of Bramham Moor took place on 19 February 1408. Unlike the first version, there is no suggestion here that the magnates intended to make peace with Henry IV (see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2408-14). The leader of the opposing force was Sir Thomas Rokeby, sheriff of Yorkshire, who was rewarded afterwards for his efforts, and was one of the knights of the shire for Yorkshire at the Long Parliament of 1406 (see Wylie 1969:

III, 147); the earl and Bardolph were not so fortunate. Percy was killed during the battle and his decapitated head and quarters were displayed at London, Berwick, York, Lincoln and Newcastle; Bardolph was captured, but died the same night from his wounds. In both versions Hardyng states that the battle took place before Shrovetide (the 'Fastyngange', i.e. the Sunday, Monday and Tuesday before Lent), which would have been before Sunday 25 February; 19 February occurred in the week before.

ll. 1954-60 'The same yere ... as was convenient': Hardyng incorrectly states that the capture of Prince James of Scotland occurred in the same regnal year as the battle at Bramham Moor (30 September 1407 to 29 September 1408). Prince James of Scotland was captured in March 1406 when the Scots attempted to send him to France. A gloss in the first version suggests that the journey was for educational purposes (see Lansdowne 204, f. 207v, l. 2421 *gloss after*); however, many critics have proposed that the principal reason for the journey was to remove the prince from the influence of his uncle, Robert, duke of Albany. Sir David Fleming led the prince's escort to Berwick in February 1406, where a boat transferred the future monarch to Bass Rock to await a ship to take him onto France. A vessel named the *Maryenknyght*, collected him several weeks later, but the ship was attacked and the prince taken prisoner on 14 March as the party sailed down the east coast of England. Having failed to obtain a safe conduct from the English due to the secrecy of the mission, James's captor, possibly a pirate named Hugh-atte-Fen, delivered him to Henry IV. The Scot remained in the Tower, where he was treated according to his status, until his release was negotiated in 1424. For further information concerning the identity of James's captor see Balfour-Melville 1936: 31 and Nicholson 1974: 227).

ll. 1961-67 'The tenth yere ... without rebellion þen': The date given here for the death of King Robert III of Scotland is incorrect; he died on 4 April 1406 at Rothesay Castle; this error is retained from the first version (ll. 2429-35). Upon Robert's death his son James (at the time a prisoner of Henry IV) succeeded to the Scottish throne.

The death of Owain Glyn Dŵr and his son, also mentioned here, is more of an enigma, see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2429-35. There are two differences between this account and that of the first version; first Glyn Dŵr's son is not named, removing what is otherwise a spurious name, and perhaps adding a little more credit to the revised narrative; secondly, Hardyng includes a reference to the Welsh freely submitting to Henry IV's authority after Glyn Dŵr's death. Whilst this is not strictly true, support for Glyn Dŵr's revolt had waned, and he was no longer an immediate threat to the English government, although, as one critic has pointed out, the revolt started in his name was not 'formally extinguished' until Glyn Dŵr's son accepted an official pardon in April 1421 (see Davies 1995: 2).

ll. 1968-81 'In that same ... with speres vnassaid': These stanzas are comparable with those occurring at ll. 2450-56 of the first version (see **Commentary to the First Version**); however, there are several notable changes to the narrative. First, Gilbert's age is given as seventeen, which although an improvement on the incorrect age of sixteen given in Lansdowne 204, is still not correct; this episode retains the same chronological position as it does in the first version and, whilst no exact date is given, the events occurring before and after the tournament confine the episode to the period between 30 September 1408 (the beginning of Henry IV's tenth regnal year as cited,

incorrectly, Hardyng's record of Robert III's death) and the summer of 1410 when Gilbert's uncle, Sir Robert, terrorised the Scots on the Forth. Next, although Gilbert's opponent remains the same, Hardyng changes the venue of the tournament, claiming that it took place at Arras, not Lille. Finally, the account is increased to two stanzas, and focusses more on the particulars of the combat (i.e. ll. 1976, 1978-81). It is possible that the chronicler is referring to two separate contests, but since Umfraville's name occurs in the lists at Lille on 2 December 1409 (see Wylie 1969: IV, 293 who mistakes Gilbert for his uncle) and this tournament fits with the period ascribed to the event in the *Chronicle*, it would appear that the alterations made to the second version are incorrect.

ll. 1982-2016 'The yere elleuent ... mykill Pulan waxe': See **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2457-84 and 2462. This description of Umfraville's 1410 raid on the Forth has been modified in order to underscore his prowess as champion of the northern people. Hardyng substitutes his earlier account, emphasising Umfraville's tactical prowess during the raid, with a report on the merchandise he plundered on behalf of the needy northerners. A series of particularly bad winters, and increased antagonism along the borders, where both sides employed a 'scorch and burn' policy, made this an acutely difficult time for all as far as food supplies and general provisions were concerned. By altering his narrative, Hardyng accentuates the negative effects of the Anglo-Scots conflict on the king's subjects, and thus the human cost of war, as he did earlier in the account of Henry IV's expedition into Scotland (see above, ll. 1751-57), whilst simultaneously celebrating Umfraville's exploits and heroic status in the north. Accordingly, an additional stanza is added after the account to explain his famous pseudonym, and a similar raid on Pebles. Regardless of their different emphasis, the two versions both highlight characteristics desirable in leaders; the first version focussing on keen tactical sense necessary in battle; the later version reiterating the dependence of the populous on the magnates to provide for them in times of difficulty.

l. 1987 'the Scottes Se': The River Forth.

l. 1988 'Mowshool': Musselburgh.

l. 1990 'fourtene shippes': The number of ships captured given here has increased from the ten mentioned in Lansdowne 204. In this version he sails with ten ships, but in the first version it is forty (see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2456 *gloss after* and 2462).

l. 1994 'the duke of Albany': Robert, first duke of Albany and earl of Fife, was the brother of Robert III of Scotland and acting regent whilst James I remained an English prisoner.

l. 1996 'the erle of Douglas': Archibald, fourth earl of Douglas, the same magnate who was captured at Shrewsbury and held by the English until June 1408 when he was temporarily released and allowed to return to Scotland on condition that he return from parole by Easter 1409. Against all chivalric codes of honour he did not return, but merely succeeded in aggravating anti-Scottish sentiments in England.

ll. 2014-15 ‘With ful grete ... and mykill flaxe’: The scribe of Garrett 142 has marked these lines *b* and *a* respectively to denote the order in which they should be read. In this edition they have been given in the order they occur in the manuscript.

ll. 2017-2023 ‘At Pebles longe ... large and playne’: This episode is not related in the first version, and may have been added to complement Hardyng’s previous concentration on Umfraville’s ability to provide essential commodities for the people of the north (see above, ll. 1982-2016).

ll. 2024-30 ‘His newew Gylbert ... him so thore’: In the first version this episode occurs before Sir Robert Umfraville’s raid on the Forth, not after, as it does here. Hardyng changes his chronology, moving the Umfravilles’ raids along the River Kale and Jedburgh forest to the eleventh regnal year of Henry IV (30 September 1409 to 29 September 1410). Likewise, he alters Gilbert Umfraville’s age from sixteen to eighteen, but neither is correct. The account here does not contain the reference to the ‘wyves’ who swear by ‘Seynt Rynzan’ or compare Sir Robert to an ‘olde dogge’ feeding his ‘whelpes’. See the comments in the **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2436-49, 2437, 2438, 2448-49.

ll. 2031-86 ‘The prince Henry ... agayne his enmice’: See **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2488-2512.

l. 2031 ‘Duke Philip’: Hardyng is incorrect in calling the duke of Burgundy Philip. Duke Philip of Burgundy died on 27 April 1404, and his son, John the Fearless, became the next duke. It may be that the chronicler has confused John with his son, also named Philip, as he later plays a significant part in the chronicle accounts.

ll. 2043-44 ‘Where Vmfrevile proclaymed ... Englysshe that tyme’: This reference does not occur in the first version. Although many critics have considered the story of Gilbert Umfraville being proclaimed earl of Kyme after the battle of St Cloud to be apocryphal, stating that Gilbert never inherited the Kyme estates, the report may actually have some foundation in fact. Gilbert had already come of age by the time of St Cloud, and, as already mentioned in **John Hardyng’s Life**, the entail of 1378 governing the inheritance of the Umfraville estates ensured that the lordships of Redesdale and Kyme devolved to the half-brother of Gilbert Umfraville (d. 1381), Sir Thomas and his descendants, not the Tailboys family, who inherited the greater part of Umfraville’s property. The young Gilbert is certainly styled as ‘lord of the place of Kyme’ during his lifetime (see, for example, *CPreG: 1404-15*, 385). Other contemporary chroniclers also refer to him as the earl of Kyme before the battle of St Cloud (see, for example, the *Historia Anglicana*, Riley 1863-64: II, 286). Hardyng’s own connections with Kyme likewise support the Umfravilles’ association with the estates until the death of Sir Robert in 1437, when they did eventually pass to the Tailboys family.

ll. 2045-86 ‘at Etham agayne ... agayne his enmice’: The episode related here does not occur in the first version, but is entirely appropriate to Hardyng’s recurrent commentary in this version on the effects of war on the common man (compare with ll. 1751-57, 1982-2016 and 2017-2023 above). Gilbert’s refusal to butcher the prisoners taken at Dourdan is in keeping with chivalric rules of conduct, and upholds

the view expressed by Hardyng, throughout both versions of the *Chronicle*, that the magnates are placed above the commoners to ‘gouverne’ (l. 2062) and protect them. The importance of these new stanzas in this shorter and radically condensed version highlights their significance, particularly when one notes that all of the additional materials added here to the reign of Henry IV insist on the negative consequences of war.

ll. 2087-93 ‘The kinge discharged ... kinge him yelde’: See **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2513-26. This version implies a greater rivalry between Princes Henry and Thomas than the first version.

l. 2094 ‘The kinge þan ... duke of Clarence’: Henry IV made Thomas duke of Clarence on 19 July 1412 (Rymer 1704-35: VIII, 757). This reference does not occur in the first version at this point in the narrative, but, incorrectly, under the entry dealing with Henry V’s parliament at Leicester in 1414 (see Lansdowne 204, f. 210r, l. 2628). Whether Hardyng recognised his error and corrected it in this version, or whether the correction occurs indirectly as a result of his using a different source with the correct chronology, similar to the *Eulogium Continuation* (Haydon 1865: 419), is difficult to determine.

ll. 2095-2110 ‘and sent him ... Duke Lowis þan’: Hardyng’s revised account of Clarence’s journey to France to aid the duke of Orleans is incorrect. Orleans and the duke of Burgundy were reconciled before the English arrived in France, but before the French resolved to pay the English off so that they would return home, Clarence and his troops captured Chateauneuf, St Remy and Bellême in the name of the Count of Alençon, who refused to unite against the English (Wylie 1969: IV, 80); it is likely that it is he who is confused here with Orleans. Compare with **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2527-33.

l. 2114 *gloss after* and ll. 2111-56 ‘In whiche mene-wile ... in euery stede’: Surprisingly, Hardyng’s account of Henry’s death-bed confession is the same as that which occurs in the first version (ll. 2534-82). The stanzas are identical save for a few minor variants, and the only criticism regarding Henry’s usurpation is confined to the marginal annotation prior to the account. It is interesting that Hardyng should retain the narrative from the first version, adding only a single stanza at the end to criticise Henry’s reign, when so many of the later chronicles refer to his regret at the deposition of Richard; see, for example, Capgrave’s *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles* (Lucas 1983: 238).

Of even greater interest are the sympathetic annotations concerning Henry IV made by an early owner of one of the manuscripts of the second version. Garrett 142 appears to have been commissioned in the late fifteenth century by someone sympathetic to the Lancastrian cause, or against the Yorkist monarchs (see **The Manuscripts of Hardyng’s Chronicle**); after an abbreviated version of the gloss as it occurs here (l. 2114 *gloss after*), omitting the statement about Henry’s usurpation, the reader has added his own comments concerning the manner of Henry’s death. The glossator attempts to justify Hardyng’s reference to the king’s leprosy by stating that his condition arose after the king’s cook attempted to poison him. According to the gloss, the cook, previously in the service of King Richard, had tried to poison the king out of love for his old master, but Henry had shown mercy to him and allowed him to

remain in his household. Later, the same cook made a second attempt to poison Henry, and this time succeeded in hastening his death and disfiguring the king. The story closes with a reference to the king's final act of mercy in allowing the cook, once again repentant, to live. This little anecdote is exemplary of the rumours surrounding the nature of Henry's disfiguring condition, which many attributed to God's wrath for beheading Archbishop Scrope. Hardyng's reference to the leprous condition is left over from the first version, which lacks any criticism of Scrope's beheading, and although it is perhaps surprising to a modern reader that Hardyng fails to elaborate further on the king's leprosy in the second version, the contemporary annotation in Garret 142 reveals that Hardyng did not need to alter his text any more than he did, because his readers were aware of the implications and rumours concerning the manner of Henry's death (see **Appendix 3** for the annotation).

ll. 2157-63 'This kinge died ... litil at ende': Although Hardyng is correct in stating that the 19 March was a Sunday, Henry IV actually died on 20 March, in his fourteenth regnal year (30 September 1412 to 20 March 1413). He was buried at Canterbury Cathedral, near the son of Edward III, Prince Edward. The sentiments in this stanza are of interest, nevertheless, because Hardyng presents us with the view of later chroniclers, that the initial joy of the English when Henry took the throne soon disappeared.

The Reign of Henry V

ll. 2164-70 'Henry his sonne ... hailstons grete also': Henry V, King of England (1413-22), ascended to the throne following the death of his father on 20 March 1413 (Saint Cuthbert's day). Henry, the son of Henry IV and Mary Bohun (d. 1394), was born at Monmouth Castle in August or September 1386/7. The dates given here and in the gloss after l. 2163 are all correct; the date of his coronation at Westminster (9 April 1413) did fall upon Passion Sunday as Hardyng states, and at the time of his death he had reigned for almost nine and a half years. Unlike, the first version, in which Hardyng incorrectly records that the coronation took place on 20 March 1413, Hardyng includes a reference in this version to the storms and hail that accompanied the coronation. Many fifteenth-century chronicles include a reference to the snow or hail storms, but each differs in its interpretation of the weather as a positive or negative omen for the coming reign. Walsingham, for example, notes the diversity of opinion concerning the portents, but remarks that sensible men interpreted the weather as a good sign (Riley 1863-64: II, 290); Strecche's *Chronicle* states that such an amount of hail had not been seen since the time of King Lear (Taylor 1932: 146-47); Usk's *Chronicle* is one of many to point out that unprecedented storms and heavy snowfall marked the day of the coronation (Given-Wilson 1997: 242-43); whilst John Capgrave's *De Illustribus Henricis* fails to record the storms but cites summer fires instead as a sign that Henry will be a warlike king (Hingeston 1858: 112); the *Eulogium Continuation* ends with references to three churches being struck by lightning in Henry's first regnal year (Haydon 1865: 421). Hardyng's failure to elaborate on how the reader should interpret the weather is perhaps deliberate; personally he may have believed the portents to be advantageous, but his patrons are free to view them as divine displeasure at the coronation of another member of the usurping dynasty. It is similarly interesting that the second version omits reference to the realm rejoicing at Henry's ascension (compare Lansdowne 204, f. 209v, l. 2587).

This is no doubt an attempt to tone down the glorious reign of Henry V for his new patrons; he does, nonetheless, go on to discuss the king's favourable change in character at his accession (see below, ll. 2193-98).

ll. 2171-91 'In his first ... in grete bale': The account of John Oldcastle's heresy in the king's first regnal year (21 March 1413 to 20 March 1414) is almost identical to that in Lansdowne 204 (see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2590-2610).

ll. 2192-98 'The houre he ... all good regimence': This stanza and its accompanying gloss are of particular interest since they do not occur in the first version (although ll. 2611-12 of Lansdowne 204 could arguably be an allusion to Henry's change in behaviour). Most critics agree that stories of Henry's riotous behaviour before his accession, and his miraculous conversion to righteousness upon assuming the crown, are slightly later interpolations to accounts of the king's early life; however, allusions to his 'conversion' in near contemporary sources may suggest that the story gained early currency during Henry's reign. The *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 593-96) and the *Vita et Gesta Henrici Quinti, Anglorum Regis* (Hearne, 1727: 13-15) tell of Henry's rejection of degenerate companions in favour of moral ones. Capgrave's *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles* notes that 'aftir his coronacion he was euene turned onto anopir man, and all his mocions inclined to vertu' (Lucas 1983: 238). Accounts such as these formed the basis of Shakespeare's characterisation of Prince Hal in *Henry IV, Part Two*.

ll. 2199-2210 'He gave leue ... by hem one': For Henry's reburial of Richard II see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2618-24. The reference made here to Richard's will is given more emphasis because Hardyng incorporates it into the main text; in the first version the reference occurs only in the accompanying marginal gloss.

ll. 2211-26 'And to Henry ... his graunsirs foly': For the restoration of the entailed estates of Henry Percy, son of Hotspur and grandson of the earl of Northumberland, and for the conferment of ducal titles at the Leicester parliament see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2625-38. This version differs from the original in several ways. First, the reference to Henry V's reinvestment of Henry Percy's inheritance is accompanied by an additional note of the allocation of his family estates to Prince John, later duke of Bedford; secondly, Hardyng also elaborates on the circumstances of his restoration by alluding to the royal commission given to Sir Robert Umfraville and James Harrington on 9 May 1415 to negotiate for an extension of the existing truce with Scotland (Balfour-Melville 1936: 62). Hardyng's criticism of Percy's grandfather, the earl of Northumberland, may be attributable to his personal feelings towards the late earl; he expresses the opinion that Percy was deprived of his inheritance and forced into exile because of his grandfather's folly. He refers, of course, to Northumberland's alliance with Archbishop Scrope and Owain Glyn Dŵr in 1405, which resulted in his attainder and ensuing exile in Scotland and thus deprived his grandson of his inheritance. Given Hardyng's earlier assertion in this version that Northumberland failed to assist his son at Shrewsbury (ll. 1871-72), it is possible that Hardyng similarly blamed Northumberland for Hotspur's untimely death. This version also differs from the first because it does not spuriously record the conferment of the dukedom of Clarence on the king's brother, Thomas; instead the event is correctly noted under the narrative for the year 1412 (see l. 2094 above). The claim that Clarence returned to England in the king's second regnal year is incorrect;

he returned from France as soon as he heard news of his father's death. Hardyng's reference to Thomas, duke of Clarence, as his lord (l. 2213), may imply that he served under Clarence and knew him personally; for further discussion see **John Hardyng's Life**.

l. 2215 'The secunde yere': 21 March 1414 to 20 March 1415.

ll. 2227-40 'Than was it ... for euermore': Except for a few details, this account of the battle of Yeaveering is almost the same as that in the first version. The gloss accompanying this version provides different information from that in the verse, stating that four thousand Scots were 'discomfite'; this is perhaps an error for four hundred. Hardyng makes reference to Umfraville's wardenship of Roxburgh Castle in this version, which he had originally been given on 1 August 1411 for six years (see PRO E 404/27/403 and E 101/69/2/337, I am indebted to Professor Compton Reeves's unpublished account of Umfraville's life for these references).

l. 2230 'Maudleyne day': The feast of St Mary Magdalene occurs on 22 July.

ll. 2241-47 'At Lammasse next ... by their provision': The account of the Southampton Plot in this version differs from that in Lansdowne 204 as it provides a more detailed motive behind the plot. The suggestion that the rebels planned to revolt in the name of Edmund Mortimer and place him on the throne implies a continuity with earlier attempts in the history throughout the reigns of the Lancastrian kings to restore the English monarchy to the house of York (compare the efforts of Hotspur at Shrewsbury, Archbishop Scrope's revolt in 1405, and the earl of Northumberland at Bramham Moor). Hardyng's interpretation of this episode as part of a continued effort to restore the disinherited Yorkist line is part of a larger re-working of English history in this version in order to present the rebellions of the early fifteenth century as a continuous attempt by righteous men to restore the rightful heirs; he does this to make the work more palatable to his new patrons. In his confession, Cambridge mentions his intention to place Mortimer on the throne in the event that Richard II was really dead 'as y wot wel þat he nys not alyve' and his naming of Henry V 'by autren name Harry of Lancastre usupur of Ynglond to þe entent to hadde made þe more poeple to hade draune to hym and fro 3ow' (see Nichols 1970: Appendix iv), which would seem to indicate an element of truth behind Hardyng's claim; however, Pugh argues that there 'was no plot to kill Henry V, his three brothers and other persons at Southampton in July 1415; that charge [...] was devised and invented as a logical conclusion that could be drawn from the recital of offences set down in the indictment' (1986: 67).

l. 2247 *gloss after*: Although the tone of this gloss is negative in that it mentions the 'gret payne and losse of men' that resulted from Henry V's French campaign, the proverbial question turns the loss into a more positive affirmation of the English conquest by linking the fascinating image of hunting dogs being unleashed with Henry V's men. Hardyng is perhaps suggesting that the French are to be viewed as prey and the conquest of France as a sport akin to hunting. Compare with Hardyng's description of Gilbert Umfraville's initiation into border warfare in the first version (ll. 2436-49).

ll. 2248-75 ‘The kinge helde ... like a man’: In the gloss after l. 2226 Hardyng informs us that he was present at the siege of Harfleur. The account of the siege in this version is superior to that in the first version, where Hardyng’s description of the event is only three lines (see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2660-62). The English fleet arrived at Chef de Caux (given here as Kavre or Kyt cans, l. 2249), and within two days the army had surrounded Harfleur on all sides. Here, and later in the corresponding Latin prose passages at the end of the *Chronicle*, Hardyng mentions the mining operations that took place; he may have added this reference because of his own eyewitness experience of the siege, but his main source for this section, the *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, also touches upon them, as do other chroniclers like Adam of Usk (Taylor and Roskell 1975: 40-41; Given-Wilson 1997: 254-55). The town surrendered on 22 September, but by this time the English army was severely affected by disease and dysentery, a result of living in poor siege conditions for several weeks and the consumption of unripe fruit. This version, like many sources (i.e. the *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, Elmham’s *Liber Metricus de Henrico Quinto*, the northern chronicle edited by Kingsford, Strecche’s *Chronicle*, Capgrave’s *De Illustribus Henricis*, and Adam of Usk’s *Chronicle*) mentions the gravity of the sickness; Allmand notes a list of the sick invalidated home after Harfleur in British Library Additional MS 24512, f. 146 (1992: 81). Interestingly, the author of the *Gesta*, Elmham and Usk remark upon the large number of men who deserted the army, a situation similar to that which Hardyng and Umfraville were arrested for following the battle on the Seine (see Cole 1858: 114; Taylor and Roskell 1975: 58-59; Given-Wilson 1997: 254-57 and **John Hardyng’s Life**).

ll. 2253-56 ‘In whiche he... als *and* Portere’: These men are mentioned in the Latin prose passages dealing with the siege and the ensuing Agincourt campaign at the end of this version (ll. 3694-99); only John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, is mentioned in the *Gesta* (Taylor and Roskell 1975: 22-23).

ll. 2266-68 ‘The duke did ... wel þer alway’: Compare with the account of Clarence’s siege on the opposite side in the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* (Taylor and Roskell 1975: 32-35); Hardyng adds the additional detail that Thomas Montagu, earl of Salisbury, accompanied Clarence.

ll. 2269-74 ‘The lorde Gavcourt ... of Excetre than’: Raoul VI, Sire de Gaucourt. For further information on him and his role at the siege see Taylor and Roskell 1975: 32-33, 48-55.

l. 2275 *gloss after*: It is in this version only that Hardyng mentions his presence at Agincourt with his patron, Sir Robert Umfraville.

ll. 2276-2310 ‘An hundred myle ... blisse ben ay’: For the battle of Agincourt see the **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2663-98. The account of the battle in this version is supplemented by additional Latin prose passages at the end of the *Chronicle*, derived from the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* (see ll. 3683-3835).

l. 2282 ‘With nyne thousand’: The *Gesta Henrici Quinti* estimates that nine hundred lances and five thousand archers were available to fight (see Taylor and Roskell 1975: 58-59). The size of the English army given by other chroniclers is nearer to Hardyng’s

estimate, but generally larger; in the Latin *Brut*, for example, a figure of eight thousand is given (Kingsford 1913: 317, 326); John Strecche gives eight thousand (Taylor 1932: 153); the Middle English *Brut* in Lambeth 84 gives seven thousand (Brie 1906-08: II, 597); and John Benet gives eleven thousand (Harriss and Harriss 1972: 177).

ll. 2290-92 ‘On oure side ... sothe to sayne’: Unlike the first version the death of Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, is recorded alongside the loss of Edward, duke of York.

ll. 2293-96 ‘And at the ... colde were mortyfied’: Hardyng refers back to the siege of Harfleur and the English losses incurred afterwards as a result of dysentery and cold weather conditions. Michael de la Pole (c. 1367-1415), earl of Suffolk, died from dysentery at Harfleur on 18 September 1415; his body was returned to England in October 1415. The *Gesta Henrici Quinti* also mentions his death (Taylor and Roskell 1975: 50-51). Hardyng reference to ‘fruyt’ (l. 2296) is particularly striking, since the dysentery was caused by a combination of bad sanitary conditions and the consumption of unripe fruit and shellfish during the siege; comparable lines are lacking in the first version. Following de la Pole’s death, his son, Michael (1394/95-1415), inherited the earldom of Suffolk, but his time as the new earl was short lived as he died at Agincourt and the title passed to his brother, William, who had been invalidated home in October after the siege of Harfleur.

l. 2300 ‘duke Lowes of Orlyauce’: Hardyng incorrectly calls the duke of Orléans Louis instead of Charles. This error is repeated in the prose passages (l. 3821).

ll. 2303-08 ‘And Sir Bursigalde ... than ded appere’: Jean le Meingre de Boucicaut, Marshal of France, and the count of Eu are not listed in the first version; Hardyng similarly adds ‘fyue barons’ to the list of French captives and casualties, and changes his estimate of ‘fourty thousande’ dead (presumably on both sides) to ‘fiftene hundred’; it is difficult to determine whether English losses are included in this figure, since the chronicler has already given details of those killed during the battle at ll. 2290-92, but it would appear that the total at l. 2306 refers to the French army.

l. 2314 ‘In the thirde yere’: 21 March 1415 to 20 March 1416.

l. 2315 ‘To Calayse þan ... and home bydene’: Unlike the first version, which mentions the king’s sojourn at the Castle of Guînes (see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2699-2701), only Calais is referred to in Hardyng’s revised account of Henry’s homeward itinerary; other chronicles that limit their list of places to Calais include the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* (Taylor and Roskell 1975: 98-101), the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 380, 557), the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 45), and Benet’s *Chronicle* (Harriss and Harriss 1972: 177).

ll. 2316-31 ‘Whare tho emperoure ... seith þe cronyclere’: For provisional details regarding Sigismund’s visit to England in May 1416 see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2702-08. This version differs from the first in that it provides additional details of Sigismund’s group and the presence of William of Bavaria, count of Holland, who represented the interests of the duke of Burgundy, his brother-in-law,

during the negotiations. Similarities between Hardyng's text and other chronicles may be seen in the *Chronicles of London*, which give a comparable list of men accompanying the emperor and Holland's attendance (Kingsford 1913: 124-25, 306-07), and the *English Chronicle*, which mentions the presence of the duke of Holland (Marx 2003: 45).

ll. 2332-73 'The kinge sent ... hemselve by gouernaunce': For the naval battle on the Seine, which occurred as a result of the English attempt to relieve the garrison at Harfleur see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2709-36. This account is longer and more detailed than that in the first version; the report of the grounded English ships being attacked by the Spanish and French with deadly fire ships stirs the imagination in a way that the first version fails to do with its basic statement that the fleet was attacked. It would be moving to ascribe the haunting description of the thousands of corpses that floated amongst the stationary ships for days after the battle to Hardyng's own poignant eyewitness recollections of the battle; however, it should be noted that although Hardyng was present, the 'eyewitness' description must be treated with some caution because the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* also describes the watery interment of the corpses (Taylor and Roskell 1975: 148-49).

ll. 2332-41 'The kinge sent ... did hem call': As in the first version, Hardyng inflates the figures of the ships and men accompanying Bedford.

l. 2342 'On oure Lady day thassumpcion': 15 August.

l. 2344 'The v^{te} yere of the kynge': 21 March 1417-20 March 1418.

l. 2367 'oure Lady day': Hardyng does not mean Lady day (25 March), but the feast of the Virgin's nativity: 8 September.

ll. 2374-94 'The kinge than ... without any bataile': For the sieges of Touques and Caen, and the territories that submitted to the English at this time, see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2739-50 and ll. 2751-71.

ll. 2395-2408 'All Normany he ... and to theires': For the Treaty of Troyes and Henry's marriage to Katherine of Valois, daughter of Charles VI of France, see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2841-62.

ll. 2409-15 'Than laide he ... fro that tyme': For the siege of Melun see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2877-2904. In this version Hardyng choses to emphasise the suffering that was encountered because of the length of the siege.

ll. 2416-22 'Saunce in Burgoyne ... ow to be': This stanza concerning the reinterment of John, duke of Burgundy, is almost identical to that in the first version. See **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2863-76.

ll. 2423-40 'And Motrewe þan ... his Yole imperiall': These lines differ slightly from their counterparts in the first version; however, the account of those present at the siege and the king's Christmas sojourn at Paris, although reworded, is essentially the

same as that in the first version (see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2870-76, and ll. 2905-25).

ll. 2441-43 'Whare than he ... all þat tyme': The description of the festivities and jousting in this version is reduced. See **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2905-25.

l. 2443 *gloss after*: This gloss is worthy of note because it includes a reference to the Percies being the truest lords in the north, asserting that the hearts of the Northerners will always be loyal to them. The insertion of this complements the petition in the prologue to this version, where Hardyng asks Richard, duke of York, to show clemency towards Henry Percy (see Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 6v, ll. 120-26 in **Illustrative Texts**).

ll. 2444-64 'But whils the ... retourned to Englonde': In the first version the 'Foul Raid' of 1417 is described before Henry's activities in Normandy, see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2772-2840. In keeping with the gloss after l. 2443 Hardyng emphasises the importance of Henry Percy's role in defending Berwick and Roxburgh against the Scottish invaders. The estimated size of the forces are the same in both versions. Sir Robert Umfraville, who still emerges as an important figure in this episode, was elected to the Order of the Garter in September 1408 (see Collins 2000: 49-50, 117, 298).

ll. 2465-85 'Than *Sir* Robert ... the kinge agayne': Umfraville's refusal to make peace occurs in the first version at ll. 2821-40 (see **Commentary to the First Version**); however, there are some differences between the two texts. This version does not mention the lords' disapproval of Umfraville's decision to harass the Scots, and the first version does not include the notice of deaths of the ten squires that occurs in this version.

ll. 2472-78 'The erle Dowglas ... Albany rode away': The injuries Sir Archibald Douglas received at the battles of Homildon and Shrewsbury are referred to here in retrospect. Although other chroniclers detail the loss of Douglas's eye (i. e. the *Annales Henrici Quarti*, Riley 1866: 346) none of the chronicles used for comparative purposes in this study state, as Hardyng does, that he lost a testicle at Shrewsbury; other chroniclers do mention that he was wounded, but there is no reason to doubt Hardyng's elaboration on the nature of his injury. Douglas abandoned his siege of Roxburgh upon hearing of Albany's retreat.

ll. 2486-92 'The kinge was ... his wife certayne': Hardyng's placing of the siege of Meaux before the battle of Baugé is chronologically incorrect; he also appears to have confused the siege of Meaux with the siege of Montereau (see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2870-76 and ll. 3010-23).

ll. 2493-99 'That tyme *Sir* ... couthe haue rest': Compare with the references to Ralph Cromwell's appointment in the first version (l. 2925 *gloss after* and l. 3072 *gloss after*).

ll. 2500-13 ‘In this mene-while ... of Northumbrelond þen’: These lines detail Umfraville’s personal campaign against the Scots, and are comparable to ll. 2821-40 of the first version. Differences between the two texts include the positioning of the stanzas, which follow on from the account of the ‘Foul Raid’ in the first version; and the length of time Umfraville harried the Scots, which is given as two years here (l. 2504) and three in the first version (l. 2835). Compton Reeves has noted a parallel in Hardyng’s description of Umfraville’s war on the Scots (l. 2503) with the phrase in Genesis 11. 4 used to describe the builders of the Tower of Babel. Reeves’s belief that Umfraville’s method of building a name for himself is based on ‘destruction rather than construction’ highlights the renown that an Englishman could obtain for destroying England’s traditional enemies (citation taken from Reeves’s unpublished study of Umfraville’s life), and underscores how martial activities were inextricably bound with ideas of nationalism; analogous sentiments can be seen in Hardyng’s praise of Hotspur’s victories over the Scots.

ll. 2514-27 ‘The eght yere ... hym bene plesaunt’: Henry returned to England in his eighth regnal year (21 March 1420 to 20 March 1421), arriving in Dover on 1 February (Hardyng records that it was Candlemas, 2 February), with his new queen, Katherine; see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2926-39 and Allmand 1992: 156. Candlemas is not mentioned in the first version, nor is the reference to Thomas Montagu, earl of Salisbury’s appointment as governor of Normandy.

ll. 2528-48 ‘This prince of ... office kept anoone’: The story of Henry V resolving a dispute between two knights does not occur in the first version. If we are to believe that Hardyng’s first Scottish mission was undertaken between 1418 and 1421, the chronicler must have returned to England by the summer of 1421, when he claims to have witnessed the king’s resolution of the quarrel; this would fit in with the time scale he gives for the mission in the prologue to the first version of the *Chronicle* (see **John Hardyng’s Life**). A similar disagreement between two knights occurs in the *Brut* extant in London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 84, but the entry falls under the year 1413-14 (Brie 1906-08: II, 595). This version of the *Brut* has further affinities with Hardyng’s *Chronicle*; it contains, amongst many other parallels, a story about Henry V’s virtuous conversion following his coronation (Brie 1906-08: II, 594-95); material concerning Joseph of Arimathea and the two phials of blood he brings to England; it details the cause of the battle of Shrewsbury in a similar way to Hardyng, the *English Chronicle*, and the *Eulogium Continuation*; and it likewise mentions Thomas Percy’s contribution to the strife by lying ‘bare fals talys’ (Brie 1906-08: II, 593). Lister Matheson has classified the *Brut* in question as a Peculiar Version (*PV-1479/82*), and it is linked by some kind of common ancestor to the *Latin Brut*; it is this connection that may explain the similarities between the different chronicles mentioned above. For further information on Lambeth 84 and its relationship with other *Brut* texts see Matheson 1985 and 1998: 309-11.

ll. 2549-55 ‘In this mene-tyme ... Marche ful clere’: see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 3003-09.

l. 2555 *gloss after*: Henry V’s ninth regnal year ran from 21 March 1421 to 20 March 1422. In this year Easter Day fell on 23 March and the Feast of the Annunciation fell on 25 March; Hardyng has confused the dates, believing that Easter Day fell on the

same day as the Feast of the Annunciation (the start of the new year). The only years in the late medieval period in which the two festivals occurred on the same day are 1380 and 1459.

ll. 2556-2611 'And at the ... and womanhod prevised': For the battle of Baugé (22 March 1421) see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2940-3002. This version differs from the first in minor ways; the deception of the 'fals Lumbarde' (Lansdowne 204, f. 214r, l. 2945) is omitted; the conversation between Umfraville and Clarence is altered slightly; and this version contains a note about the burial of the men who died at Baugé at the abbeys and college they had founded, unlike the first version, which just mentions the fact that they were taken home and buried. The elaboration on the entombment of Thomas, duke of Clarence, who was buried at Canterbury Cathedral is the clearest addition; his wife, mentioned here, was Margaret Holland.

ll. 2612-22 'The kinge let ... Lovre abidinge tho': See **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 3010-23.

ll. 2623-32 'Tydandes þan came ... by hym one': This version retains the error in the first version by stating that Henry V was given the news of his son's birth at the Louvre; he was actually at the siege of Meaux. See **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 3024-44, which provides a detailed account of the rewards that the king gave to the messenger. The juxtaposition of the birth amongst the description of the towns that submit to Henry's authority suggests, as Allmand has noted, that the birth of Prince Henry 'helped to decide the loyalty of the waverers' (1992: 167).

ll. 2633-46 'Than rode he ... he couthe deuse': See **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 3045-72.

ll. 2647-67 'In August so ... with many mo': Upon discovering that he was 'Ful like to passe' (l. 2650) in the tenth year of his reign (21 March 1422 to 31 August 1422), the king revised his will at Bois de Vincennes. The first version does not mention this, and the details of the will, as given here, also differ slightly. The inclusion of Henry Beaufort's appointment as the prince's custodian only occurs in this version; notice of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester's appointment is omitted; the earl of Oxford is named as one of those who are to assist Bedford as regent of France; and the earl of Salisbury's role as governor of Normandy under Bedford is highlighted.

ll. 2668-81 'The last day ... wise and sage': Henry V died on 31 August 1422 at Bois de Vincennes. His funeral cortege was accompanied to England by a substantial number of important dignitaries; only James I of Scotland and Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter, are named in the first version, but Hardyng adds Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, Sir Humphrey Stafford and Edmund Beaufort, count of Mortain, to the list of noblemen in this version. The late king was buried at Westminster Abbey on 7 November 1422. See also **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 3122-35.

ll. 2682-2709 'O good Lorde ... Goddis high plesaunce': The lamentation for Henry V in this version retains the essence of that in the first version, although it has understandably been reduced here (see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 3136-

3226); some of the lines have been copied verbatim, compare, for example, ll. 2696-2704 of this edition with ll. 3178-86 of Lansdowne 204.

The Reign of Henry VI

l. 2709 *gloss after*: This gloss is interesting in that it notes that Henry VI ‘fled into Scotland without cause’. Hardyng is obviously referring to the aftermath of the battle of Towton on Palm Sunday, 29 March, 1461 (the thirty-ninth regnal year of Henry VI being the 1 September 1461 to 4 March 1461) and his comment is typical of the pro-Yorkist bias of this section of the *Chronicle*, something which is not surprising given that he was writing in the wake of an influx of pro-Yorkist justifications for recent events. The reigns of Henry VI and Edward IV in this version of the *Chronicle* bear the indelible mark of the sentiments expressed in Yorkist propaganda belonging to the early 1460s, when Richard, duke of York, and his son, Edward IV, justified their actions in the name of the common weal of England.

ll. 2710-51 ‘Henry his sonne ... all this reme’: For Henry VI’s accession and the circumstances surrounding Humphrey, duke of Gloucester’s desire ‘To haue kepinge of the kyng’ (l. 2716) see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 3234-68. Several of the stanzas here, like the first version, are dedicated to repeating the details of Henry V’s will and his provisions for the care of his son and his kingdoms. In this version Hardyng makes much more of Gloucester’s pretensions, depicting him in a less than flattering manner (see, for example, the description of him as ‘noyouse with to dele’ at l. 2724). Many historians have concluded that the rivalry between Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, and Gloucester, which Hardyng accentuates here, originated in 1422 when Beaufort opposed Gloucester’s attempt to establish a regency, and that, after a few years of simmering, the conflict between them came to a head in the mid 1420s (see, for example, Wolffe 1981: 31; Harriss 1988: 115-18; Griffiths 1998: 20-24, 28-32, 70-81; however, see Saygin 2002: 30-47, who disagrees with the 1422 origin). Beaufort was a highly influential member of the council elected to govern on behalf of the young king, and had held the office of chancellor (1413-17) under Henry V; for a study of his life and career see Harriss 1988. Many of the chroniclers record the dispute between them under the year 1425, when their conflict came to a head; see, for example, Benet’s *Chronicle* (Harriss and Harriss 1972: 180); the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 58-59); and the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: 432). Hardyng appears to be the only chronicler to mention their disagreement at the start of the reign.

l. 2723 *gloss after*: Henry VI’s first regnal year ran from 1 September 1422 to 31 August 1423.

ll. 2731-37 ‘The lorde Cromwel ... as was preordynate’: The importance of Ralph, Lord Cromwell is stressed in this version as well as the first (see **Commentary to the First Version**, l. 3072 *gloss after*); Hardyng may have known Cromwell personally, particularly given the councillor’s rivalry with the Tailboys family of Kyme in the 1450s (see **John Hardyng’s Life** and **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**).

ll. 2752-58 ‘The regent thanne ... stonde strongly fortified’: For John, duke of Bedford’s marriages see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 3325-45.

ll. 2759-86 'The erle of ... like any champion': The battle of Verneuil took place on 17 August 1424, in the king's second regnal year (1 September 1423 to 31 August 1424), not his third (1 September 1424 to 31 August 1425) as the gloss after l. 2758 states. For further details see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 3297-3317. Hardyng adds Henry Bourchier, Count of Eu, to the list of men mentioned at the siege; I have been unable to identify the 'lorde of Ennermeth' (l. 2782), but Benet's *Chronicle* records a 'sieur Archibald Edmounston' (Harriss and Harriss 1972: 180), which may be the same person. Hardyng's favourable depiction of John, duke of Bedford, and the way in which he fights like a 'a lyon' (l. 2785) is patriotic in tone, because the rival army being described is comprised of French and Scottish men; the author appears to be calling attention to the fact that brave men have defended the king's foreign titles in the past with distinction, perhaps to complement his address in the epilogue, in which the author promises the king that Henry VI's loyal supporters will show greater loyalty to him if he forgives them because he has a more legitimate claim to the throne.

ll. 2787-97 'The erle of ... hir in fe': Thomas Montagu, earl of Salisbury, was killed on 3 November 1428 at the siege of Orléans after he was hit by a cannonball. Richard Neville married the earl's daughter, Alice.

ll. 2798-2807 'The regent than ... wele and worthily': For the death of Anne and Bedford's second marriage see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 3325-45. This version differs in that it separates the two marriages; the first version mentions both in the same stanza.

ll. 2808-14 'The erle Richard ... couth vnneth perseyue': In accordance with Henry V's will, Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter, was Henry VI's official guardian; after his death in December 1426, Richard, earl of Warwick, replaced him as the king's guardian/tutor, although his appointment was not made until June 1428. Hardyng's criticism of Henry VI's 'litol simpleheed' and his inability to distinguish good from evil is obviously determined by the partisan tone of this version, but nevertheless, his comments are quite remarkable in that they present Henry as simple rather than evil; Hardyng's observation is more in keeping with the Yorkist propaganda of the 1450s, which portrayed a king in need of wise counsel (see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**). The *English Chronicle*, in all likelihood composed shortly after 1461, bears comparison with Hardyng's work, since it records that Henry VI 'was simple and lad by couetous counseyll' (Marx 2003: 78; for the dating of the *English Chronicle* see *ibid* xiii-xiv), as does John Blacman's (d. 1485) biography of Henry VI, which presents the king as a simple, God fearing man (Blacman 1919: 25-26). Other chronicles mentioning Warwick's appointment include Benet's *Chronicle* (Harriss and Harriss 1972: 181) and the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: 442, 563-64).

ll. 2815-42 'The kynge than ... and thretty clere': Hardyng corrects the error he made in the first version and gives Henry's coronations in the correct order. He was crowned king of England in on 6 November 1429 (St Leonard's Day) in his eighth regnal year (1 September 1429 to 31 August 1430), and on 16 December 1431 he was crowned king of France at Notre Dame in Paris. See **Commentary to the First**

Version, ll. 3267-96. Hardyng's list of the distinguished magnates present at the coronation is not uncommon in the chronicles.

ll. 2843-49 'The regent died ...was wele recorded': John, duke of Bedford, died on 15 September 1435, in Henry VI's fourteenth regnal year (1 September 1435 to 31 August 1436), not the thirteenth as the gloss after l. 2842 suggests. Hardyng is also incorrect in stating that Burgundy was made regent following Bedford's death; see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 3350-3401.

ll. 2850-63 'The erle Richard ... ful gretly laudified': In keeping with his earlier statement that Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, found Henry VI to be simple and unable to judge right from wrong, Hardyng notes that the earl discharged himself from the king's service and was appointed lieutenant-general of France and Normandy following the death of John, duke of Bedford. Warwick died at Rouen on 30 April 1439.

ll. 2864-77 'The duke of ... out to fight': Philip, duke of Burgundy, lay siege to Calais on 9 July, but had abandoned the siege by the end of the month. See **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 3350-3401. This version differs from the first in that it underplays Gloucester's role. We are told that he 'litol did to count a manly man' (l. 2873), a comment that echoes the opinion in *Giles's Chronicle* (1848: 15-16).

ll. 2878-84 'In that same ... away ful clere': For the siege Roxburgh in 1436 see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 3402-22. This version includes an (exaggerated) estimate of the size of Percy's force ('VII score thowsand men') in the accompanying gloss.

ll. 2885-2912 'Who sawe euer ... and feerful slewthe': Whilst the majority of this 'consaite' is identical to its counterpart in the first version (see Lansdowne 204, ff. 219v-220r, ll. 3423-43), Hardyng adds an additional first stanza, which mocks the French and Scots for fleeing from the sieges as soon as they see the 'shadows' of the English armies arrive.

ll. 2913-26 'Than went the ... was his golde': In this version Hardyng places the earl of Huntingdon's two-year appointment as lieutenant-general of France and Normandy before that of the earl of Stafford, but his narrative is still inherently flawed because neither magnate was appointed to this position. See **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 3444-57.

ll. 2927-40 'But affir him ... his noble auncetry': Richard, duke of York, was appointed lieutenant-general of France and Normandy on two occasions (1436-37 and 1440-45, although he served his latter term until 1447 when he was replaced by Edmund Beaufort, marquess of Dorset and duke of Somerset); after this he was sent to Ireland as lieutenant. Hardyng's emphasis on the respect and love that the Irish had for York helps to present the duke as a champion of the common weal.

ll. 2941-61 'The kinge þan ... gat seuen clere': Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset, was appointed lieutenant-general of France and Normandy on 24 December 1446 for three years; his commission was to begin on 1 March 1447. He replaced the duke of

York. Hardyng describes Somerset's attempts to maintain Henry VI's sovereignty over Normandy, and the help he received from Sir John Fastolf and Thomas Kyriell, emphasising the king's and council's lack of support for his efforts. Of particular interest here is Hardyng's attention to the number of years it took Henry V to conquer France and the number of years it took for his son to lose the territories (ll. 2960-61); the significance Hardyng attaches to the wasted time, and presumably the great loss of life (mentioned at l. 2247 *gloss after*) that was entailed in winning the land, is paralleled in the final stanza of this version, when Hardyng highlights the financial and human cost of warfare and advises the king to consider conquering Scotland instead of waging war on France because Scotland will be easier to 'kepe' (l. 4306). The *English Chronicle* also mentions Somerset's appointment and the difficulties faced by the English in Normandy at this time, but instead of blaming the king, the chronicler states that the lieutenant was culpable for the loss (Marx 2003: 70). For Somerset and his appointment see Jones 1989.

ll. 2962-89 'Than was the ... to heuyns rest': Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, died on 23 February 1447. The controversy surrounding the trial of his second wife, Eleanor Cobham, in 1441 has been discussed at length by critics (see, for example, Griffiths 1968-69). Most of the chronicles give an account of the Cobham trial; notable instances include the *Chronicles of London* (Kingsford 1905: 148-49); the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 508-09); and the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 61-64). The purpose of the parliament at Bury St Edmunds, which began in February 1447, was to challenge the duke of Gloucester, who at this time was opposed to the plans to concede certain parts of France to the French as part of a peace agreement proposed by William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk. Hardyng's text suggests that Gloucester fell into 'foule errowre' (l. 2966) after losing his 'grete auantage' as Protector of the realm (l. 2964), and that the condemnation of his wife contributes towards him growing 'straunge' (l. 2969) with the king; unlike other chroniclers, such as the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 65-66), he does not comment on the suspicious nature of Gloucester's death on 23 February, but attributes it to 'palsy' (l. 2979). For these events see Griffiths 1998: 496-99, Watts 1999: 191-92, 228-32, and Saygin 2002.

l. 2983 'Than of the ... and twenty yere': 1 September 1448 to 31 August 1449. The regnal year is incorrect, since Gloucester died in the twenty-fifth year of Henry VI's reign (1 September 1446 to 31 August 1447).

ll. 2990-96 'And of the ... deth for insurreccion': William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, was murdered in May 1450 in the twenty-eighth regnal year of the king (1 September 1449 to 31 August 1450). Suffolk had been arrested at the end of January 1450, and the Westminster parliament charged him with treason for negligent conduct in his management of affairs in France. Suffolk was murdered on 2 May 1450 as he attempted to leave England as an exile, and the ship that he was travelling on, the *Nichols of the Tower*, was ambushed. The *English Chronicle* also places the events in Henry VI's twenty-ninth regnal year (Marx 2003: 70). Interestingly, although Hardyng mentions the rebel Jack Cade in his address to Richard, duke of York, earlier in this version of the *Chronicle*, he does not discuss the rebellion that Cade headed from the end of May to July 1450 (see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History** and Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 24r). For the circumstances leading up to Suffolk's murder see Griffiths 1998: 252, 286-88, 676-84 and Watts 1999: 240-54

ll. 2997-3003 ‘That same yere ... were no mo’: Hardyng refers to the Resumption Acts passed in 1450-51, which caused much discontent (the twenty-ninth regnal year of the king being 1 September 1450 to 31 August 1451). Hardyng’s annuity from Willoughton does not appear to have been affected by these acts. For the Resumption acts passed by Henry’s government see Wolffe 1958, Griffiths 1998, and Smith 2000.

ll. 3004-31 ‘The duke of ... any othir probleme’: From August 1453 Henry VI suffered from a mentally incapacitating illness for approximately eighteen months. During this time a conciliar government ruled on his behalf, and Richard, duke of York, was elected to the role of Protector (27 March 1454). The king recovered in December 1454 and the duke’s protectorate ended early in the New Year (see Johnson 1988: 125-53). The propagandist nature of these stanzas, which are undoubtedly informed by the propaganda circulating in the 1450s, in which York and his supporters claimed to be acting in the interests of the common weal.

l. 3031 *gloss after*: Hardyng’s dating in this gloss is correct, with the exception of the regnal year, which is given as the king’s thirty-fourth year (1 September 1455 to 31 August 1456) instead of his thirty-third; however, Hardyng does correct this at l. 3035. In 1455 Easter Day fell on 6 April; the Dominical Letter of the year 1455 was E; and 22 May fell on the Thursday before Whitsunday (Pentecost).

ll. 3032-52 ‘They were put .. without any strife’: The first battle of St Albans occurred on 22 May 1455. During Henry VI’s first period of incapacity Richard, duke of York, challenged Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset, over the recent losses in France; the conciliar government who heard York’s charges agreed to imprison Somerset in the Tower. Upon Henry VI’s recovery, Somerset was released and returned to his privileged position as the king’s advisor. York and his allies wished to curb Somerset’s influence on the king, and to avert the council meeting arranged at Leicester in May. Somerset was killed during the battle, as was Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland (whom Hardyng excuses from his alliance with Somerset by stating that ‘sodayn chaunce’ drew him into the battle and that he was killed because nobody realised it was him), and Thomas, lord Clifford. Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham and James Butler, earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, were also supporting Somerset. Once York and his allies had the king in their custody, a parliament was called for July 1455; the second session of this parliament took place in November 1455, in which York was appointed protector for a second time (see Lander 1960-61). Other chronicle accounts sharing similarities with Hardyng’s include the *Chronicles of London* (Kingsford 1905: 165); Benet’s *Chronicle* (Harriss and Harriss 1972: 213-14); the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 520-22, 601); and the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 72-73). For further information on the circumstances surrounding the battle of St Albans see Griffiths 1998: 741-57 and Johnson 1988: 154-59, 181-84.

ll. 3053-59 ‘Yit were thise ... slayne was þore’: The battle of Bloreheath took place on 23 September 1459 (not 1458 or the king’s thirty-seventh regnal year as the accompanying gloss states). In his account of the battle Hardyng develops selective memory, stating that he ‘cannot remembre why’ (l. 3056) York, Warwick and Salisbury became estranged from Henry VI and took arms against the king’s party. Although Hardyng places this battle after the first battle of St Albans (1455), much

had happened to increased tensions between York and certain members of the king's party (for this period see Griffiths 1998: 772-829). James, lord Audley, and his men assembled at Blore Heath to impede the progress of the earl of Salisbury, Richard Neville, who was travelling to meet the duke of York at Ludlow. Audley was killed by Sir Roger Kynaston during the battle, and the losses were high on both sides (see Griffiths 1998: 820-21). The encounter at Blore Heath is mentioned in the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 527, 601-02) and the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 79).

ll. 3060-66 'The thretty yere ... wey nothyng deuyed': The confrontation at Ludford Bridge, outside Ludlow, occurred on 12 October 1459, however, whilst both sides prepared for battle, York and his supporters escaped overnight and journeyed to Ireland. The *Chronicle* is correct in recording that the episode took place in the king's thirty-eighth regnal year (1 September 1459 to 31 August 1460). Hardyng's account is similar to that in the *English Chronicle*, which, as Marx has noted, 'no doubt, purposefully, omits to relate that both sides had prepared for battle, and so avoids any implication of cowardice on the part of the Yorkists for not engaging in this confrontation with the king's forces' (2003: 145). The *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 527) and the *Chronicles of London* (Kingsford 1905: 169-70) deal with York's escape to Ireland in a different manner, by stating that the duke's forces were prepared to fight, but had no choice but to flee when members of their party deserted to the other side, taking knowledge of their intended battle plans with them; this emphasises the deceitful nature of those supporting the king's faction and their betrayal of the 'grete princes' in York's party (Brie 1906-08: II, 526). Hardyng's reference to Warwick's escape to Calais is similarly propagandist in nature as it shows a providential scheme at work. For further information see Griffiths 1998: 686-700 and Johnson 1988: 78-124.

ll. 3067-87 'At Couentre the ... him did attende': The parliament held at Coventry in November 1459, otherwise known as the 'Parliament of Devils', had been arranged before the confrontation at Ludford, and as Griffiths has noted it 'cannot seriously be doubted that its purpose was to proclaim York and his adherents traitors and attain them' (1998: 823). This is precisely what happened when the parliament met on 20 November; for further details of the proceedings, which lasted for a month, see Johnson 1988: 189-95 and Griffiths 1998: 823-27. The battle of Northampton occurred in the following summer on 10 July 1460; York's allies had the victory and the famous casualties included Thomas Percy, lord Egremont, Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham, John, earl of Shrewsbury, and John, lord Beaumont, all of whom are mentioned by the author of the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 91), the *Chronicles of London* (Kingsford 1905: 171), Benet's *Chronicle* (Harriss and Harriss 1972: 226), and the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 530). The Yorkist lords took Henry VI back to London, where according to the contemporary propaganda, which infuses Hardyng's narrative, they 'kepte hym saufe and sounde' (l. 3081), and York himself returned from Ireland in September 1460; a parliament was held in October at Westminster, during which York presented his claim to the English throne, and was accepted as Henry VI's heir (see *Rot. Parl.*, v, 375-80).

ll. 3088-3122 'Than in the ... sixt kynge Henry': The battle of Wakefield and the second battle of St Albans took place on 30 December 1460 and 17 February 1461 respectively. Hardyng incorrectly dates the battle of Wakefield to 'the Monday next

affir New Yere daie' in the accompanying gloss, but in the verse he records that it occurred in 'the wyntir afore the Cristmesse' (l. 3088). The lords supporting York at the battle of Wakefield and mentioned here are Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury, and Edmund, earl of Rutland. After the battle of St Albans William, lord Bonville, and Thomas Kyriell were executed. Other lords mentioned in Hardyng's account as the king's adherents include: Henry Beaufort, duke of Somerset, Henry Holland, duke of Exeter, Thomas Courtney, earl of Devon, James Butler, earl of Ormond and Wiltshire, Robert Hungerford, lord Moleyns, Thomas, lord Roos, Sir John Fortescue, Richard Tunstall, Richard Woodville, lord Rivers, Thomas, lord Scales, Leo, lord Welles, Richard Grey, lord Willoughby and Sir William Tailboys. Compare with the other accounts of the battles in the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: 531, 602), the *English Chronicle* (Marx 2003: 97-98) and the *Chronicles of London* (Kingsford 1905: 172-73). For further information on the battles see Johnson 1988: 210-18 and Griffiths 1998: 866-69, 870-72.

Commentary to the Second Version: Edward IV

ll. 3122 *gloss after*, 3123-29 'The duke Edward ... South, I vndirstonde': Edward, duke of York, son of Richard, duke of York and Cecily Neville, was born on 28 April 1442 at Rouen, Normandy. After the death of his father, Edward inherited the right of succession established by the 1460 Act of Accord. On 4 March 1461, following the defeat of the Yorkist forces at the second battle of St Albans (17 February 1461), Edward was officially declared king of England, but his coronation was postponed until 28 June 1461. Although the royalist forces had recaptured their figurehead, Henry VI, their victory was short lived, because the loss of Henry VI merely prompted Edward to assert his own claims to the sovereignty. The gloss accompanying this stanza, and marking the beginning of Edward's reign, is reminiscent of the *Brut*, which states that 'for-as-myche as King Henry was gone with þame Northward, þat he had forfeited his crown, & ought forto be deposed, According to the Actes made and passed in þe last parlement.' This version of the *Brut* also gives an incorrect year (1459) for Edward's accession (Brie 1906-08: II, 532), as do the *Chronicles of London* edited by Kingsford and McLaren, which, like Hardyng, wrongly cite the year 1460 (see Kingsford 1905: 174; and McLaren 2002: 212).

ll. 3130-33 'At Feribrige he ... dede, I vndirstonde': Hardyng is referring to the battle of Towton, which was fought on Palm Sunday 29 March 1461. He does nevertheless conflate this battle with the clash that took place the day before at Ferrybridge, in which the lords John Clifford and John Neville died. Towton has been dubbed 'the bloodiest battle of the entire civil war' (Ross 1997: 36) and the chronicles single it out for specific reference; the terrible winter weather conditions added to the viciousness of the conflict and thousands perished, including Humphrey, lord Dacre of Gilsland, whom Hardyng mentions here, and Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland.

ll. 3134-50 'The kinge Henry ... of Kynge Edwarde': Henry VI and his queen, Margaret of Anjou, were in York at the time of the battle of Towton, but they fled to Scotland after hearing of the Yorkist victory; accompanying them was a small band of loyal supporters including those mentioned here: Henry Holland, duke of Exeter; Henry Beaufort, duke of Somerset; Thomas, lord Roos; Robert Moleyns, lord Hungerford; Sir John Fortescue; and Sir William Tailboys. Some of the names

provided by Hardyng occur in other sources, such as *Benet's Chronicle* (Harriss and Harriss 1972: 230); however, others, such as Fortescue and Tailboys, do not. *Warkworth's Chronicle* mentions some of the northern lords who would have been familiar to Hardyng in the entry for Edward IV's fourth regnal year (Halliwell 1839: 4). As Hardyng correctly notes, the exiled royal party attempted to negotiate with the Scots, promising the Scottish queen, Mary of Guelders, the town and castle of Berwick for her support; compare with the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 603). Queen Mary, widow of James II, was persuaded to assist Henry VI by the bishop of St Andrews, James Kennedy, but she later withdrew her support (see Ross 1997: 46). Hardyng's anti-Scottish bias and interjection noting that they will 'repente and rewe' (l. 3147) their hasty retreat from the 'grace' (l. 3150) of Edward IV helps to date the time of this section to before the deaths of Henry VI's main supporters, such as the duke of Somerset and William Tailboys in 1464 and his ensuing capture in July 1465. This interjection also highlights Hardyng's attempt to present Edward IV as a merciful and just monarch, whose 'presence and grace' (l. 3150) would be more agreeable to the exiles than living amongst their traditional enemies.

ll. 3151-54 'Kynge Edwarde thus ... þe people knewe': Hardyng emphasises the fact that Edward IV's victory at Towton was ensured because of the loyalty of men who understood his legitimate claim to the throne; these lines are interesting because they allude to an enormous effort on the part of the Yorkist lords to disseminate knowledge of the House of York's royal claim. They similarly highlight the importance of works like Hardyng's genealogical-style *Chronicle*, which were commissioned and disseminated shortly after Richard duke of York's claim to the throne was accepted, and in the early years of Edward IV's reign. Many critics have noted Edward IV's shrewdness in this respect and the general awareness of the power of propaganda that both he and his father before him had as opposed to Henry VI and his governors. Important studies of propaganda employed by the House of York include: Allan 1979, 1981, 1986; Armstrong 1948; McKenna 1967; Ross 1979, 1981. Other articles discussing the use of propaganda by Henry VI's government include: Gill 1971; Lewis 1965; and McKenna 1965, 1970.

ll. 3155-69 'To Yorke he ... nocht it aseile': Edward IV stayed in York for approximately three weeks after Towton; during his sojourn he arranged the beheading of Thomas Courtenay, earl of Devon, who had been captured at the battle. The king then travelled to Newcastle, via Durham, where James Butler, earl of Ormond and Wiltshire, was beheaded. As Charles Ross notes, Butler was the 'arch-enemy' of the king's late father (1997: 45), and the king no doubt took great pleasure in his execution before travelling to those parts of the country that had shown support for Henry VI. The brief details Hardyng's provides of Edward's time in the north after Towton are more in keeping with the information found in *Benet's Chronicle*, which supplies a more thorough account of the king's northern sojourn, including the executions of Devon and Wiltshire at York and Newcastle (Harriss and Harriss 1972: 231). Kingsford's *Chronicles of London* similarly mention the beheading of Devon and the capture of Wiltshire (1905: 175), but the main focus of the narrative shifts to the king's return to the south and the activities that occurred in London at this time. Even though Hardyng's text has some affinities with the *Brut* at this point, it does not appear to be following the standard version edited by Brie for these years, which simply states that Edward 'taried A while in þe Northe' (Brie 1906-08: II, 533).

ll. 3170-78 ‘Than in wyntir ... also of Dunstanburgh’: Margaret of Anjou left Scotland for France in April 1462 in an attempt to gain the support of her kinsman Louis XI. The French king initially promised to assist her, but later withdrew his support due to pressure from the duke of Burgundy and the English. She left France in October, landing near Bamburgh with only eight hundred men (Ross 1997: 50); Hardyng’s estimate of ‘foure thousand Frenshe men’ (l. 3172) is clearly an exaggeration. Edward IV quickly raised an army with the help of Richard Neville, earl of Warwick and Salisbury, and William Neville, earl of Kent and Lord Fauconberg. The king’s forces besieged the castles of Bamburgh and Dunstanborough, which had shifted allegiance and offered support to Margaret upon her return. Other chronicles highlighting the sieges of the northern castles include *Warkworth’s Chronicle*, which mentions the castles of Alnwick, Bamburgh, Dunstanborough and Warkworth (Halliwell 1839: 2), and the *Chronicle of London* edited from Bradford West Yorkshire Archives MS 32D86/42 by McLaren (2002: 212).

ll. 3179-83 ‘Sir Raufe Percy ... of good entent’: Bamburgh and Dunstanborough capitulated on Christmas Eve 1462. Having submitted themselves to Edward IV and received his pardon, Henry Beaufort, duke of Somerset, and Ralph Percy were taken into the king’s confidence and allotted important roles (compare with the *Chronicles of London* edited by Kingsford (1905: 178). Somerset was sent to assist the earl of Warwick at the siege of Alnwick, and Percy was given custody of Bamburgh and Dunstanborough castles. Interestingly, acts such as this, which Ross believes ‘can only be explained by a combination of his [Edward’s] natural generosity and gross over-confidence in his own personal charm as a means of winning the committed loyalty of even the most hardened enemy’ (1997: 52), are precisely the same acts of forgiveness that Hardyng encourages the king to adopt in his dealings with the Lancastrian fugitives supporting Henry VI (compare ll. 3282-97 below). Unfortunately, because of the politically unstable nature of the times, Edward’s ‘generosity’ was not always rewarded with loyalty.

ll. 3184-3206 ‘And Alnewike castel ... without longer space’: The siege of Alnwick castle ended in a perplexing manner. Whilst Bamburgh and Dunstanborough had surrendered before assistance could arrive to aid the besieged, Alnwick held out. In January 1463 a considerable army led by Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, and Pierre de Brézé (one of Margaret of Anjou’s staunchest supporters) came to assist those at Alnwick. For purposes unknown, the earl of Warwick, Richard Neville, withdrew the English troops and allowed the besieged forces to exit the stronghold unchallenged; they quickly escaped across the border. It has been suggested that the morale of the English army was low and that Warwick had no choice but to refrain from engaging in battle (Ross 1997: 52), but many of the chronicles still articulate disbelief at the outcome of the siege; see, for example, *Warkworth’s Chronicle* (Halliwell 1839: 2) and the fifteenth-century chronicler responsible for the brief Latin chronicle edited by Gairdner (1880: 176). Hardyng’s text is particularly striking; incredibly, he appears to be praising the actions of the governors of Alnwick for escaping unscathed into Scotland like ‘good and wise chiftaynes’ (l. 3190), and for annoying their enemy whilst remaining unharmed by not engaging in battle. Although Edward IV’s forces are ultimately shown to be victorious and gracious in pardoning the ‘comons’ (l. 3202) that leave the castle after the captains have escaped, Hardyng’s

emphasis on the shrewd escape of the ‘castellaynes’ (l. 3187) by associating it with the kind of tactical advice his former patron, Sir Robert Umfraville, would have approved of is fascinating and incongruous with the style of narrative in this section of the *Chronicle*.

l. 3193 ‘My lorde Vmfreuile’: one of the few occasions in this version where Hardyng refers to his service with Umfraville and discusses the advice of his former patron. Compare with the extended treatment of Umfraville’s prowess and military astuteness in the epilogue to the first version of the *Chronicle* (Lansdowne 204, ff. 220r-221v, ll. 3472-3583).

ll. 3207-10 ‘The quenes power ... helpe she had’: The statement here with regards to the ‘litill’ (l. 3208) force that Margaret of Anjou managed to muster in France is more in keeping with what is known of the small band of supporters she obtained than the reference to the ‘foure thousand Frenshe men’ at line 3172.

ll. 3211-20 ‘How may she ... thaire owne dampnacion’: Hardyng’s rhetorical question is indicative of the frequent questions he poses in this section of the *Chronicle*. The effect is to emphasise the futility of Margaret’s plight by using the historical precedent of Richard II’s wife, Isabella of France. However, the example he cites is not accurate; Hardyng incorrectly states that Isabella was returned to France after Richard’s deposition and death, without her jewels or any material goods. In fact Isabella was sent home with many valuable items, but not her dowry; it is to this that Hardyng alludes when he states that the French could have responded with military force at her humiliation, but they did not. The matter of Isabella’s return was complicated by the fact that the French demanded the return of her dowry too; negotiations went on for a protracted spell before she was finally returned. One of the best chronicle accounts addressing the problem is Adam of Usk’s; he was present at the ‘question and answer’ session held by the council concerning her return (see Given-Wilson 1997: 102-15). Isabella was returned on 31 July 1401.

Hardyng’s astute observation that the French monarchs refused to assist or defend the French women who became English queens is, nevertheless, an interesting one in terms of foreign diplomacy at this time. Many chronicles note Isabella’s return with her jewels at the start of the narratives concerning Henry VI’s reign; see, for example, the *Brut* (Brie 1906-08: II, 362, 392-93); the *Annales Henrici Quarti* (Riley 1866: 331-32, 337); and the *Historia Anglicana* (Riley 1864: 248).

Verse Epilogue

ll. 3221-69 ‘O gracious lorde ... all youre diligence’: Hardyng asks Edward IV to remain mindful of the fact that Richard II’s usurpation was due to his ‘wikked peruersacion’ (l. 3227), stating that it was the will of the people ‘to croune King Henry’ (l. 3230). However, although these reflective verses are in keeping with the way in which the deposition of Richard II is presented in the first version (Lansdowne 204, ff. 202r-202v, ll. 1958-60, 1975-88), they are, nevertheless, out of touch with the depiction of the event in this version (see above ll. 1569-82, 1596-1603, 1609-22). The additional verse that Hardyng adds to his account of the deposition in this version and the English and Latin prose passages that he appends to the end of the text (ll. 3930-4010) are notably inconsistent with the report of the deposition in the address to

the king here, in which Hardyng states that Henry was not admitted to the sovereignty through any 'myght of himself' (l. 3225; compare this with the contrary statement at ll. 1609-17 of this edition). This is indicative of the contradictions inherent in works produced in this period for politically opposed sides; the feelings of the author appear to clash with the anti-Lancastrian propaganda he incorporates into the *Chronicle* elsewhere. Hardyng encourages the king to show mercy towards the exiled Henry VI and his followers, and to restore him to his natural inheritance, the duchy of Lancaster; rather than presenting the Lancastrian line as a usurping dynasty, he emphasises the generosity of Henry IV and Henry V towards the legitimate heir, the earl of March. The restoration of the Yorkist line after 'sixty yere and thre' (l. 3257) is similarly shown to have been granted through the grace of God, who sends 'Henri [...] of small intelligence' (ll. 3264-65) to prompt the restoration of the legitimate line.

ll. 3256-62 'O gracious lorde ... rewle at ouer': One of the continuations of the *Brut* that appears to have ended shortly after the accession of Edward IV contains similar optimistic expressions and hopes that God will send the new king 'the Accomplishment of þe remanent of his rightful enheritance beyonde þe see, so þat he may regn in þame to þe pleyasor of Almighty God, helth of his soul, honour & worsshyp in þis present life, & wel & profet of al his subgettes' (Brie 1906-08: II, 533).

l. 3264 'that now is in Scotlonde': The reference here to Henry VI still being in Scotland helps to date this section of the text to before his capture in July 1465. Likewise, the variant 'youre honde' in Harley 661, where the scribe has updated the text to reflect the capture of the ex-king suggests that Harley 661, or the exemplar used for this manuscript, was produced between 1465 and 1471, the date Henry was murdered. The text of Harley 661 is similarly altered at l. 3269 to reflect the fact that Margaret of Anjou and Prince Edward are still at large, hence it is likely that the manuscript, or the exemplar it was copied from, was updated after the capture of Henry VI, but before the battle of Tewkesbury when Prince Edward was killed.

ll. 3270-83 'For trest it ... grace al fre': The emphasis on the king's enemies conspiring to overthrow him by using the civil war in England to their own advantage recurs throughout this epilogue (compare, for example, ll. 3315-18), and is typical of the belief perpetuated by both versions of the *Chronicle* that a country divided by civil war is prone to foreign invasion and ruin. The request for the reunification of the land, through the reconciliation of Edward IV with the English fugitives in Scotland, echoes Hardyng's call for peace in the epilogue to the first version, where he petitions Henry VI to act for the common weal of all Englishmen and restore unity to the realm through the effective distribution of justice, an absence of which prompts neighbours to wage war upon each other (see Lansdowne 204, f. 216v, ll. 3171-77, f. 221v, ll. 3584-97).

ll. 3284-3304 'And loue thaym ... make him were': The loyalty of Englishmen is one of the most important qualities emphasised in the *Chronicle*. This version in particular abounds with examples of unquestionable loyalty being shown by the English magnates in their capacity as the king's servants (see, for example, Arch. Selden B. 10, ff. 168v-169r, ll. 2556-2604, where Hardyng stresses the loyalty of Sir Gilbert Umfraville and the other magnates who accompanied the duke of Clarence into battle

at Baugé even though they were aware that they would be slaughtered). Here Hardyng reinterprets the loyalty demonstrated by Henry VI's supporters as an advantage that Edward IV can benefit from once he is reconciled with them, for, the chronicler states, the men who have suffered 'all aduercite' (l. 3286) for Henry VI and who had the 'corage' to show what 'they thought' instead of hiding their feelings (ll. 3288, 3290) will display even greater loyalty to Edward because his claim to the throne has more validity than Henry VI's. It is reconciliation amongst the divided Englishmen that Hardyng craves, for this will bring the 'rest' (l. 3299) that the kingdom needs, and if England is 'hool' again (l. 3302), the whole realm will benefit because the king will be free to pursue his titles to other kingdoms (ll. 3303-04). Of course, the final part of the historical narrative in this version, in which Edward IV places his trust in Ralph Percy and Henry Beaufort (see above, ll. 3179-83), anticipates that Edward IV will follow Hardyng's advice and show mercy to those who absconded with Henry VI, and that Edward, in turn, will be rewarded with their loyalty. Although the reciprocal nature of the king's relationship with his subjects epitomises a medieval ideal, Hardyng's sympathetic treatment of the fugitives, and his petition for clemency on their behalf, are almost certainly founded on his own awareness of the real danger that these men placed themselves and their families in by remaining loyal Henry VI.

ll. 3305-18 'Graunt Henry grace ... all thaire businesse': Hardyng's proposal raises two important points: first, that it was perceived to be more politically advantageous to get Henry and his family back into England, thus preventing them from negotiating any future treaties with the Scots or French in return for support against Edward IV; secondly, that to maintain the respect and support of the English magnates, the king should not be perceived to be unlawfully withholding the inheritance of one of his subjects. Both versions of the *Chronicle* stress that Richard II's sequestration of Bolingbroke's Lancastrian inheritance was unjust, and therefore it is fitting that Edward IV should restore Bolingbroke's grandson, Henry VI, to the duchy of Lancaster, if he concedes that Edward is the lawful king of England. One cannot, however, imagine Margaret of Anjou being content with the role of duchess of Lancaster.

ll. 3319-46 'And if ye ... mennys high plesaunce': Hardyng offers an alternative solution should Edward fail to negotiate the return of Henry and his family from Scotland: war. Whilst this is not perceived to be the ideal course of action, it is nevertheless shown to be more desirable than allowing Henry and his family to reside with the Scots. Some of the information he provides here is recycled from the Itinerary of Scotland accompanying the first version (compare, for example, his comments about Dumbarton in Lansdowne 204, f. 225r, ll. 3876-91). As always, Hardyng's invasion plans reveal a soldier's thought-processes at work; the careful way in which he presents the information about the strong currents around Dumbarton, and suggests that the king should begin his campaign 'in somer' (l. 3342) because the 'feire wedir' (l. 3346) will raise men's spirits and plentiful 'forage may be gote' for horses (l. 3344), are prime examples of the appeal that these verses would have had for martial readers of the *Chronicle*. The advice also relates to earlier episodes in the work, especially this version, where Hardyng underscores the failure of a military campaign because of careless preparation or bad weather; compare, for example, his comments about the failure of the siege at Stanhope Park (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 139v, ll. 529-53) and the fatal battle at Bramham Moor (Arch. Selden B. 10,

f. 159v, ll. 1943-46). For the interest of members of the gentry and aristocracy in works with a military flavour see Bornstein 1975; Lester 1988; Anglo 2002.

ll. 3347-53 'O rightwis prince ... surerly to slepe': The religious connotations of Hardyng's depiction of the king and his subjects as a shepherd and his flock are palpable. Presenting Edward IV as a Christ-like figure 'set ... ouer the flok' by God (ll. 3351-52) accentuates the divine nature of Edward's kingship and interprets the recent political upheaval as part of a providential plan being worked out. The first version of the *Chronicle* also employs this imagery in the narrative concerning Bolingbroke's accession (see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 1958-60). The image is continued later in this version, when Hardyng re-uses a stanza from the first version to describe those who are politically opposed to the king as 'heritikes/ That erren fro the two parties of the heerde' (ll. 3404-05, see note to ll. 3403-09 below). Of further note here is Hardyng's acknowledgement that once Edward brings an end to the civil war within the kingdom his subjects will be able to 'slepe' or rest (l. 3353), implying, perhaps, that Hardyng believes the men are weary of fighting.

ll. 3354-67 'Concidre now, most ... thay had deseruid': Hardyng has recycled these verses from the first version. See **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 3633-46.

ll. 3368-81 'Considir als, most ... to youre ambasshiate': Hardyng has recycled these verses from the first version (see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 3661-74). A notable difference can be seen, nevertheless, with the policy of negotiation advocated by Hardyng at ll. 3282-97 of this version. In the earlier lines Hardyng encourages the king to negotiate with the Englishmen who are opposed to his rule because of their support for Henry VI: reconciliation amongst Englishmen is desirable, fighting against fellow countrymen is not. However, in the case of 'forayn foos' (l. 3360), Hardyng suggests that negotiation is a futile exercise and that, because of the deceitful nature of the French and the Scots, the king's energies would be better focussed on waging war; fear of being annihilated by the English forces will, he claims, produce 'a bettir treti' (l. 3380) than several years of diplomatic negotiations. The contrast between the two types of advice offered by the chronicler with regards to dealing with fellow countrymen and foreigners is fascinating, but understandable, and highlights the abhorrence that Hardyng seems to have for civil war.

ll. 3382-95 'Remembred bene vnto ... it thus repigned?': Hardyng has recycled ll. 3382-88 from ll. 4267-73 of the first version; ll. 3389-95 are derived in part from ll. 4274-80 of the first version, although Hardyng has added a reference here to John Balliol resigning his sovereignty over Scotland to Edward I.

ll. 3396-3402 'Within thre yere ... vndir his proteccion': Hardyng has recycled this stanza from ll. 22-28 of the prologue to the first version. His estimation that the king can conquer the Scots 'Within thre yere' (l. 3396) is another example of his martial way of thinking, and highlights the influence of his years as a soldier. He supports his estimation with reference to Edward I (1239-1307) and the siege warfare that he employed in one of his campaigns against the Scots. Edward I was the eldest son of Henry III and Eleanor of Provence, and throughout his reign he launched many campaigns to conquer, or maintain his sovereignty, over lands that he viewed as vassal kingdoms. Such campaigns led to the conquest of Wales and war with France

over Gascony, but more famously, his efforts to force Scotland to accept English hegemony between 1296 and 1307 eventually earned him the epitaph ‘Scottorum malleus hic est’ (hammer of the Scots). Further particulars of the precise siege that Hardyng had in mind are not given; however, it is likely that he is referring to one of the more famous sieges made by Edward, possibly the siege of Stirling in 1304, in which Edward employed the use of a magnificent siege engine named ‘Warwolf’, and came very close to enforcing English hegemony over Scotland. For further information on the Scottish campaigns waged by Edward I see Nicholson 1974 and Prestwich 1988.

ll. 3403-09 ‘Wherfor, good lorde ... theire gret falsite’: Again, Hardyng has recycled ll. 4281-87 of the first version. This stanza complements the images at ll. 3347-53, where Edward is presented as a Christ-like shepherd, appointed by God to reunite his flock; however, rather than emphasising the king’s ability to reconcile his loyal English subjects with those politically opposed to his monarchy, the impetus here is on reuniting Scotland with England and Wales, to restore the lost wholeness of Britain. The Scots are dubbed ‘heritikes’ (l. 3404) for disregarding Edward IV’s jurisdiction as their overlord, thus implying that they have not only offended the secular authority vested in him as King of England, but that they have also offended God, who has placed Edward in this role by divine will. The comparison of the Scots with ‘litargikes’ (persons suffering from lethargy or mentally incapacitated by it) calls attention to their mental deficiency in choosing to ignore Edward’s authority, and complements the final striking image in this stanza of their being unable to change their allegiance (or ‘colours’) because of their innate ‘falsite’ (l. 3409).

ll. 3410-23 ‘And trust it ... noble high corage’: Edward IV’s prowess, or ‘manhod’ (l. 3414), is emphasised here as the one asset that will help him to subdue the Scots. Although the attribution of this masculine quality to a king is traditional, it nevertheless contrasts nicely with the previous description of Henry VI’s ‘benigne innocence’ (l. 3263), emphasising the salient differences in character that contemporaries must have observed in the two monarchs.

Itinerary of Scotland

ll. 3424-3577 ‘Ye may entre ... Kentyre *and* Kentyrynough’: Hardyng recycles the material that he initially gathered for Henry V and Henry VI concerning the geography of Scotland. The Itinerary of Scotland in this version, however, is much more succinct than the verse Itinerary he provides in Lansdowne 204 and the scope of the invasion that Hardyng envisages for Edward is more flexible: the king may invade as far as Edinburgh, or he can advance further if he wishes. Alfred Hiatt has discussed Hardyng’s fascinating adaptation of the Itinerary for Edward IV by comparing it with the full scale invasion recommended to Henry VI in the first version of the *Chronicle*; he concludes, correctly in my opinion, that the chronicler ‘tailored his strategies in the realisation that the newly-installed Yorkists may not have wished to launch a full-scale invasion of Scotland so early in their reign’ (see Hiatt forthcoming). The emphasis on the Scottish campaigns of earlier monarchs, Edward I, Richard II, and Henry IV, not only places Edward IV in a traditional line of English kings who have asserted their sovereignty over Scotland, but the allusions to their campaigns are given at specific moments for optimum effect. Hardyng elaborates on the options

open to Edward if he manages to advance successfully to certain places; at the end of the first possible route, Hardyng's concluding statement highlights that the king will have surpassed the success of Richard II and Henry IV's campaigns if he reaches Edinburgh via the route suggested (see ll. 3456-59). The subsequent sections of the Itinerary highlight the valuable strongholds and ports that Edward could obtain if he chooses to continue; Hardyng concludes by comparing Edward's possible course of action with that of Edward I, implying that Edward could equal, and perhaps even surpass, his achievements.

The verse itinerary in Grafton's printed editions of 1543 is different from the itinerary accompanying the extant manuscripts of the second version (see **The Relationships of the Manuscripts** and **Appendix 6**); however, it does have parallels with the itinerary in the first version, suggesting that it could represent an authorial revision of the original itinerary. Hume-Brown reprinted it in his study *Early Travellers in Scotland* (1973).

ll. 3578-98 'Blak be thy ... rather be reclaimed': These stanzas are adapted from an envoy written by someone named Greenacres. The envoy, comprising four stanzas, is appended to the end of the mid fifteenth-century copy of Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* (1439) in Manchester, John Rylands English Library, MS 2. A version of the first stanza of the Greenacres envoy also occurs in Bodleian Library, Arch. Selden B. 24 at the end of an edition of Chaucer's *Troilus and Cresyde*; this version appears to be earlier than the four-stanza version, and may have been composed as early as 1429. Norton-Smith and Pravda have argued that both manuscripts and the envoy have connections with the households of Henry Beaufort and James I of Scotland (1976: 17-19). For further discussion of the envoy, the manuscripts it occurs in, and Hardyng's association with them, see **John Hardyng's Life**. An edition of the envoy is available in Bergen 1924-27: IV, 1023; Root 1967: 43; Norton-Smith and Pravda 1976; and Peterson 1980. Hardyng's revised version occurs in three manuscripts of the second version: Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 185r, ll. 3578-98; Harley 661, f. 188r; Harvard 1054, f. 138r.

As Peterson has noted, the envoy, in its original form, 'is an invitation to the book to dress in mourning and grieve over the unhappy matter preceding' (1980: 202); Hardyng cleverly alters this to reflect an anti-Scottish bias. The sorrowful book becomes the 'sorowful se' (l. 3579), which is tormented by the fact that its waters have to wash against the coast of Scotland. He demonstrates his knowledge of classical mythology by associating Pluto, the god of the underworld, with Satan, punning on the word 'helles' (l. 3580), which can mean 'miseries' or 'hell', and giving him the epithet 'Neighbore to Scottes' (l. 3582). Hardyng's choice of 'Pluto' may also have intended to convey an image of wealth and prosperity, since Pluto was also the god of riches. This would be in keeping with the map of Scotland accompanying the first version, which presents the country as a prosperous realm packed with castles and walled cities. The maps belonging to the second version still retain this sense of prosperity with their depictions of grand castles, but the hectic appearance of the map in Lansdowne 204 conveys a greater sense of activity.

The names of the four infernal 'flodes', Styx, Flegiton, Cochiton, and Acheron, and the phrases associated with them, are similarly derived from classical mythology, being the names of the four rivers in the classical underworld, Hades. The Acheron and Styx marked the boundaries of the underworld between life and death, whilst the Cocytus was a branch of the Acheron or the Styx, and the Phlegethon

cascaded down as a huge waterfall, which joined the Cocytus to form the Acheron. The Latin phrases associated with each river distinguish their qualities by alluding to the original meaning of their names in Greek: Styx meaning ‘hateful’, Cocytus meaning ‘Lament’, Acheron meaning ‘woeful’, and Phlegethon meaning ‘fierce’. John Milton gives the same descriptions of the rivers in *Paradise Lost*: ‘Of four infernal rivers, that disgorge/ Into the burning lake their baleful streams –/ Abhorred Styx, the flood of deadly hate;/ Sad Acheron of sorrow, black and deep;/ Cocytus, named of lamentation loud/ Heard on the rueful stream; fierce Phlegethon,/ Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage’ (1994: 148, Book II, ll. 575-81).

Hardyng’s verses hinge on the association of the devil with the north, a traditional concept (compare with Chaucer’s *Friar’s Tale*, where the devil comes from ‘fer in the north contree’; Benson 1988: 124, l. 1413), which ultimately derives from Isaiah 14. 12-14 and Jeremiah 6. 1; this no doubt accounts for Hardyng’s reference to scripture at ll. 3591 and 3916. Likewise, the idea of the devil living in a ‘palais’, or ‘proper mansion’ (l. 3594) is also traditional; in the manuscripts containing the Scottish map, the verses here are situated within an illustration of ‘The palais of Pluto, King of Hel, neighbore to Scottz’ (see **Figure 20**). The correlation between a castle and an evil community is frequent in sermon and other religious literature, and Hardyng no doubt relied on his audience’s recognition of this for the stanzas to have the greatest effect (see Owst 1961: 77-86).

ll. 3597-98 ‘The sonner must ... hand than hennys’: Compare with the proverbial statements in *The Reeve’s Tale*, ‘With empty hand men may na haukes tulle’ (Benson 1988: 81, l. 4134); *The Wife of Bath’s Prologue*, ‘With empty hand men may none haukes lure’ (Benson 1988: 110, l. 415); and the *Paston Letters*, ‘Yit, for as moche as men may nott lure none hawkys wyth empty handys’ (Davis 1971-76: I, 453). See also Whiting 1968: 263-64, H89.

English and Latin Prose Passages

ll. 3599-3682 ‘Edwardus tercius, rex ... castrum de Caleys’: These Latin passages concern Edward III and the origins of the Hundred Years War, and complement the earlier narrative dealing with Edward III’s reign in the *Chronicle*. The examples cited to illustrate the female’s right to pass on an inheritance (i.e. the daughters of Zelophehad in Numbers 27. 1-11, and Christ’s inheritance of the title ‘King of the Jews’ through his mother, Mary), are typical of those used in propaganda produced by the English during the Hundred Years War. Hardyng uses the same examples in the prologue to the second version to justify Richard, duke of York’s claim to England and France (for further information see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History** and Arch. Selden B. 10, ff. 5v-6r, ll. 50-56, 78-84 in **Illustrative Texts**).

ll. 3683-3834 ‘Serenissimus princeps, Henricus ... Anno Domini M^lCCCCXV’: The Latin passages here supplement the *Chronicle’s* verse account of Henry V’s Agincourt campaign. Unfortunately, although Hardyng was an eyewitness to the events he describes, these prose sections tell us more about Hardyng’s source material than they do about his own personal experience of the battle, for they are plagiarised from the *Gesta Henrici Quinti*. For a discussion and edition of the *Gesta* see Taylor and Roskell (1975). The passages dealing specifically with Agincourt are translated

by Curry (2000: 83-85). Hardyng's occasional additions or deviations from the *Gesta* variants are noted where appropriate below.

ll. 3694-99 'Et cum die ... et exercitus sui': The *Gesta* only mentions John Holland, earl of Huntingdon (Taylor and Roskell 1975: 22-23, 46-47); Hardyng has added the names of Gilbert Umfraville, John Cornwall, John Grey, William Porter and John Stewart. Their presence is similarly noted in the corresponding verse (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 164r, ll. 2253-56) and later in the prose section (ll. 3734-49).

ll. 3724-41 'Et die Lune ... iactauerunt super insultantes': Hardyng elaborates on the mining operations during the siege; compare with the brief account in the *Gesta* (Taylor and Roskell 1975: 40-41).

ll. 3747-49 'comites Huntingdon et ... Porter, Iohannem Steward': In keeping with his addition at ll. 3694-99, Hardyng claims that Cornwall, Grey, Porter, and Stewart helped Huntingdon to resist the raid; Umfraville is not mentioned, but William Bouchier is added.

l. 3755 'Deutronomii': Deuteronomy 20: 13-14.

l. 3821 'dux de Orlience, Lodowicus, frater regis Francie': Hardyng repeats the mistake he made earlier (l. 2300) in calling the duke of Orléans Louis, instead of Charles.

ll. 3835-80 'For as moche ... Percy put by': In this prose section Hardyng provides us with important autobiographical information concerning his service in the Percy household, which also helps us to determine his age. In sum, the passages are pro-Yorkist in tone, condemning the unsavoury behaviour of John of Gaunt and his son, Henry Bolingbroke, for forging a chronicle to support their false claim to the throne. What is particularly interesting is Hardyng's emphasis on the importance of chronicles as a means for determining the legitimacy of genealogical claims and historical events. Historians have long since acknowledged the importance that medieval authorities attached to sources such as the 'cronicles of Westminster and all oþer notable mynstres' (l. 3847); perhaps one of the more famous examples known to Hardyng was Edward I's use of them to establish his sovereignty over Scotland at the parliament held at Norham in 1291. Hardyng's decision to include the episode dealing with Gaunt's forgery in the second version is indicative not only of his conscious attempt to legitimise the Yorkist claim to the throne and emphasise the usurpation of Henry VI, but of an anxiety on his part as an author about the nature of spurious sources (compare his careful revision of the narrative dealing with the founding of Albion). This topic is discussed at length in **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**.

It is difficult to ascertain whether Hardyng really did hear about the story of Gaunt's forgery through his service in the Percy household as he claims, or whether he was merely using his association with them to add further authenticity to a written source; some critics have noted that other sources independent of Hardyng appear to confirm certain elements of his account. See the *Dieulacres Chronicle*, for example, which states that Bolingbroke swore an oath not to claim the throne on the relics at Bridlington, and that Hotspur refused to celebrate on the day of the coronation

because Bolingbroke had broken his oath (Clarke and Galbraith 1930: 179); the *Eulogium Continuation* and the *English Chronicle* likewise mention John of Gaunt's attempt to get parliament to name his son as Richard II's heir (Haydon 1858-65: III, 369-70; Marx 2003: 13). Alison Allan believes that both the *Eulogium Continuation* and the *English Chronicle* shared a common source, to which this interpolation was 'added during the reign of either Henry IV or Henry V (perhaps soon after 1401) to support the claim of anti-Lancastrian rebels that the Mortimers were the true heirs of Richard II' (1981: 407); nevertheless, the 'crouchback' legend still appears to have been 'a feature of "unofficial" popular Yorkist propaganda', and two pedigrees dated c. 1455 allude to the myth (see Allan 1981: 269, 408). Whether Hardyng was aware of the story through his association with the Percy and Mortimer families, or whether he incorporated it because it occurred in one of his sources must remain conjecture, but when considered in relation to the fact that the *Chronicle* contains another interpolation common to the *Eulogium Continuation* and the *English Chronicle* (i.e. his account of the Percies' involvement with Archbishop Scrope's rebellion), it is highly likely that all three texts shared a common ancestor. For further information regarding the Crouchback legend see Lapsley 1934; Allan 1981: 193, 196-98, 269; Sherborne 1988; Given-Wilson 1997: 64-67; and Strohm 1998: 3-6. Hardyng's Latin passages are translated and discussed briefly in Given-Wilson 1993: 192-97.

The Title of Jerusalem

This pedigree is unique to the second version of the *Chronicle*. The line of descent is traced from Godfrey Bouillon (c.1060-1100), duke of lower Lorraine, to Richard I and provides a pictorial representation of the verse description of the king's claim to the throne of Jerusalem in the prologue to the second version (see Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 8r, ll. 218-45 in **Illustrative Texts**). The significance of Hardyng's inclusion of this material is discussed in **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**.

ll. 3881-3913 'To Englonde haue ... as men determyne': These stanzas merely reiterate the various claims that Hardyng has advanced throughout the second version of the *Chronicle* to stress the legitimacy of the House of York's royal entitlements. In addition to the throne of England, Scotland, Wales, France, Castile and Portugal, Hardyng notes Edward IV's right to Normandy, Aquitaine and Anjou, through his descent from William the Conqueror, Eleanor of Aquitaine, daughter and heiress of Duke William X, count of Aquitaine (whose inheritance passed to her sons, Richard I and John), and Geoffrey Plantagenet (who inherited the title count of Anjou from his father, Fulk V, and passed his claim on to his son, Henry II). Hardyng's allusion to Henry II's campaigns in Ireland completes his justification of Edward IV's entitlement to the entire British Isles.

ll. 3885-87 'Of Iohn Bayliol ... voide *and* repigned?': An echo of ll. 3394-95.

ll. 3914-15 'Be smale haknaye ... wan all fraunceyse': The proverb cited here is listed by Whiting (1968: 256, H4); it seems to derive from the proverb 'By the whelp the lion is chastised' (Whiting 1968: 638, W211), a proverb that Hardyng alludes to in his account of Gilbert Umfraville's Scottish raids along the Kale (see **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2448-49).

l. 3916 ‘Though scripture sey ... evill is shewed’: see note to ll. 3578-98 above.

ll. 3920-22 ‘Better men of ... will it loke’: Hardyng is referring to Psalm 78; the suggestion that the Scots are warlike appears to relate to the Latin gloss following this stanza, which alludes to Psalm 78: 26. This is particularly interesting because Psalm 78 contains some of the recurrent themes in Hardyng’s *Chronicle*: the maintenance of divinely appointed laws (see, for example, verse 5); rebellion and lawlessness (verse 8); the distribution of mercy to those who have transgressed (verse 38); and the image of God’s appointed leader as a shepherd reuniting his flock and caring for them (verses 52, 70-72). These themes are predominant throughout both versions of the *Chronicle*, but especially so in the epilogue and extended epilogue to this version. Compare also the image of God awakening to destroy the sinners at verse 65 with the description of the Scots as ‘litargikes’ that ‘strayen out’ from the sovereignty of Edward IV at l. 3406 of this edition (this image is not used in the first version).

ll. 3923-29 ‘In Scotland were ... none othir trist’: Again, Hardyng stresses the supremacy that Edward IV could obtain by asserting his foreign titles once Scotland is brought under English hegemony and the three parts of Britain are reunited.

The Percy Manifesto

ll. 3930-46 ‘For as moche ... followit next after’: Hardyng repeats some of the autobiographical details he provides at ll. 3861-63 of this edition. This prose section and the Latin passages that follow are also linked to the earlier prose sections dealing with the Percies and refer to Gaunt’s attempt to obtain the royal succession for his son. Hardyng uses his own authority as the Percies’ confidant to attest to the deceitful practices of Henry VI and justify the Percies’ initial espousal of his cause and the later retraction of their support; at the same time, Hardyng presents himself as a loyal supporter of the disinherited House of York by citing his presence at the battle of Shrewsbury, and the document ‘writen vndir the seales’ (l. 3944) that was entrusted to him by various magnates promising to support the Percy rebellion. This is Hardyng’s way of allying himself with loyalty and responsibility; in the first version he achieved this, and added authority to his authorial status, by recalling the important Scottish mission that Henry V entrusted him with, but in this version it would be counterproductive to cite his mission for Henry V in this way. Instead he rewrites fifteenth-century history, and his own part in it, in order to present the rebellions of the Percies, Archbishop Scrope and the Southampton plotters, as desperate attempts by loyal magnates to restore the Yorkist line to the throne.

l. 3936 ‘Coklaw’: James Gladstone owned Cocklaw Tower at the time of the siege of in 1403. Wylie confuses this with Ormiston near Hawick in Teviotdale (1969: II, 338-39).

l. 3945 ‘Thomas Knayton and Rogere Salvayn’: A Thomas Knayton, one of the deceased esquires of Henry Percy occurs in the Patent Rolls (*CPR: Henry IV, 1401-1405*, p. 252, m. 12, 26 July 1403); a later reference describes how his lands were declared forfeit and given to ‘Robert Harebotill’ (p. 254, m. 12, 18 August 1403). One Roger Salvayn, knight of the chamber, was made treasurer of Calais and is mentioned in Harriss 1985: 88. Chris Given-Wilson highlights the fortunes of a Gerard Salvayn,

retained by the Percies from 1385, who rebelled with them in both 1403 and 1405 (1986: 228).

ll. 3947-4010 ‘Nos Henricus Percy ... Deo nobis auxiliante’: These Latin passages are translated and discussed by Given-Wilson 1993: 192-97. The essence of the argument occurs as an interpolation in the *Eulogium Continuation* and the *English Chronicle*. Although Hardyng may have access to some form of an original document in the Percy family archives, which he used for this prose section, the correspondence of his version of events to the narratives in the *Eulogium Continuation* and the *English Chronicle* is remarkable, and suggests a common source for all three. It is in these passages that Henry IV is accused of murdering Richard II.

ll. 4011-4237 ‘Sanctissimo in *Christo* ... nostri vicesimo nono’: For Edward I’s letter to Pope Boniface see the **Commentary on the First Version**, ll. 3997-4223.

ll. 4238-46 ‘Afore this *lettre* ... a better answer’: This passage is interesting for the insight it provides with regards to the way in which Hardyng perceives historical documents. His suggestion that Edward IV recycle the letter sent to Boniface by Edward I, should the pope ever write to him and ask him to withdraw his claims to sovereignty over that realm, shows how historical documents could be appropriated to legitimise contemporary political situations. The emphasis on the king’s use of his council is important because it presents Edward in a favourable light: taking the advice of wise councillors, who could ‘ordeine a better answer’ (ll. 4245-46) is the response desired from an ideal monarch. The author’s concern for the king’s lack of sleep at times of political tension and foreign diplomacy is quite touching. Compare with the verse address preceding the Latin letter in Lansdowne 204 (**Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 3983-96).

Extended Epilogue

ll. 4247-60 ‘Of all maters ... nothing but sufficiaunce’: Hardyng concludes the second version of the *Chronicle* with a customary petition for financial reward; using a modesty trope he submits his work for correction by the king ‘If ought be said in this simple tretise/ Displesing to youre high nobilite’ (ll. 4255-56; see also ll. 4292-94). The juxtaposition of the chronicler’s modest submission of his ‘simple tretise’ with a remembrance of the espionage he undertook ‘For Englund right’ (l. 4253) and the ‘mayme’ that he incurred at this time (l. 4252) serves to underscore the author’s humility and his acknowledgement of the king’s authority. Interestingly, this is the only occasion in either version that Hardyng elaborates on the nature of his injury, which he hints was caused whilst he was defending himself with a ‘sperre’; this may nevertheless, be misleading, as he could be referring metaphorically to his defence of England’s sovereignty over Scotland.

ll. 4261-88 ‘Pleas it also ... of grete antiquite’: This section of the extended epilogue helps to date Hardyng’s revision of the second version, for Elizabeth Woodville is referred to as Edward IV’s queen. The stanzas could not therefore have been written before Edward’s announcement of the marriage to his council on 4 September 1464. Whilst Elizabeth is known to have purchased and owned books herself, specifically a manuscript containing parts of the Arthurian Vulgate cycle (Royal 14 E. iii) and a

copy of Caxton's *Recuyell of the Histories of Troy* (San Marino, Huntington Library R.B. 62222; see Sutton and Visser-Fuchs 1997: 35), Hardyng uses his dedication to the queen to justify his history, in the same way that he referred to the reading abilities of Cecily, duchess of York, in the prologue to this version as his justification for writing in the vernacular. The additional emphasis on the women associated with the House of York is part of Hardyng's systematic re-working of the *Chronicle* to complement the new political circumstances of the 1460s; see **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**. Hardyng's observation that 'women haue feminine condicion/ To know all thinges longing to thaire husband' is traditional, and originates from the anti-feminist satirical tradition; however, the comment is not meant in a disparaging sense, but rather to ally the queen's curiosity about 'the astate of' Edward IV's 'good auncetrees' (l. 4281) with the inquisitive nature of his audience. For further information on the queen see Chamberlayne 1999 and Baldwin 2002; for books made for her and dedications to her see Meale 1985 and Sutton and Visser-Fuchs 1997: 35-36.

ll. 4289-4316 'This boke I ... as doth apere': The naming of works by medieval authors is quite common, particularly with texts of a petitionary nature (see Burrow 1981, 1983). In addition to citing the queen's interest in her husband's ancestry, Hardyng explains that he compiled his 'tretise' for Richard, duke of York, and Edward IV so that they could use his knowledge of Scotland to regain their lawful heritage and reunite the land 'To haue it hole, no more to be dismembred' (l. 4301). Unlike his contemporary, William Worcester, whose *Boke of Noblesse* advocates the re-conquest of Normandy, Hardyng desires that Scotland be brought under English hegemony, for the practical reason that Scotland can be retained more easily than territories 'that are beyonde þe se' (l. 4304). Hardyng's disenchantment with the cost of war, in both financial and human terms, is discernible in the final stanzas, and a marked shift from the hopes expressed at the end of the first version, in which the author promotes the recovery of Scotland as a catalyst for further conquest abroad. This version still encourages foreign conquest, but it does so cautiously, advancing the reunification of the 'dismembred' realm of Britain as a more crucial concern.

Appendix 1 Comparative Table of Lansdowne 204 and Arch. Selden B. 10

This table is intended to provide a guide to the number of stanzas present in the reigns of each individual ruler mentioned in the *Chronicle*. The chronological and comparative nature of the table allows each reign from the first version to be compared with that in the second version. An asterisk in the left hand margin denotes a reign in the first version where the number of stanzas dedicated to that particular monarch has been reduced by approximately half in the second version.

| Monarchs in the <i>Chronicle</i> | | Lansdowne 204 | | Arch. Selden B.10 | |
|-----------------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| Pre-Conquest | | | address to king | | address to York |
| | Dedication/prologue | 23 | f. 2v | 41 | f. 5r |
| * | Albion | 46 | f. 5r | 26 | f. 9r |
| * | Brute | 101 | f. 8v | 58 | f. 11v |
| * | Locryne | 19 | f. 18r | 10 | f. 17v |
| * | Guendelyne | 5 | f. 19v | 2 | f. 18v |
| | Maddan | 3 | f. 20r | 3 | f. 18v |
| * | Membrice | 6 | f. 20r | 2 | f. 19r |
| * | Ebranke | 14 | f. 20v | 8 | f. 19r |
| | Brute Grensheelde | 2 | f. 21v | 2 | f. 20r |
| | Leyle | 3 1/2 | f. 22r | 3 | f. 20r |
| | Rudhudibrace | 2 1/2 | f. 22r | 2 | f. 20v |
| | Bladud | 4 | f. 22v | 3 | f. 20v |
| | Leyre | 12 | f. 22v | 8 | f. 21r |
| | Cordele | 3 | f. 23v | 2 | f. 22r |
| | Margan & Condage | 5 | f. 24r | 4 | f. 22r |
| * | Ryual | 2 | f. 24v | 1 | f. 22v |
| * | Gurgustius | 2 | f. 24v | 1 | f. 22v |
| * | Sisilius I | 2 | f. 24v | 1 | f. 22v |
| * | Iago | 2 | f. 25r | 1 | f. 22v |
| | Kynnar | 2 | f. 25r | 2 | f. 23r |
| | Gorbodian | 1 1/2 | f. 25r | 1 1/2 | f. 23r |
| | Ferrex & Porrex | 2 1/2 | f. 25v | 1 1/2 | f. 23r |
| | Cloten, Pynher, Ruddan, Scatee | 8 | f. 25v | 9 | f. 23v |
| | | | address to king & lords | | address to York |

| | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|--------|--------|------------------------|-----|--------|
| Tenuancius | 1 | f. 37v | | 1 | f. 33r |
| Kymbelyne | 4 | f. 37v | | 3 | f. 33r |
| Gwyder | 5 1/2 | f. 38r | | 3 | f. 33v |
| Arviragus | 19 1/2 | f. 38v | | 17 | f. 33v |
| Marius | 5 | f. 40r | | 11 | f. 35v |
| Coyle | 2 | f. 40v | | 3 | f. 36v |
| Lucius | 20 | f. 40v | | 9 | f. 37r |
| Seuerus | 8 | f. 42v | | 5 | f. 37v |
| Getan | 1 | f. 43r | | 2 | f. 38r |
| Bassian | 11 | f. 43r | | 2 | f. 38v |
| Carause | 4 | f. 44r | | 5 | f. 38v |
| Allecte | 4 | f. 44v | | 4 | f. 39r |
| Asclepiadote | 14 | f. 44v | | 5 | f. 39v |
| Coyle | 6 | f. 46r | | 6 | f. 40r |
| Constance | 4 | f. 46v | | 3 | f. 40v |
| Constantyne I | 32 | f. 46v | | 15 | f. 41r |
| Octane | 3 | f. 49v | | 2 | f. 42v |
| Traherne | 5 | f. 49v | | 1 | f. 42v |
| Octane (2nd Reign) | 4 | f. 50r | | 2 | f. 42v |
| Maximyan | 16 | f. 50v | | 8 | f. 43r |
| Gracyan | 5 | f. 51v | | 3 | f. 43v |
| Gwyns & Melga invade Britain | 21 | f. 52r | | 3 | f. 44r |
| Constantyne II | 5 | f. 54r | | 4 | f. 44v |
| Constance | 11 | f. 54v | | 6 | f. 44v |
| Vortyger (1st reign) | 34 | f. 55r | | 13 | f. 45v |
| Vortymer | 11 | f. 58r | | 5 | f. 46v |
| Vortyger (2nd reign) | 36 | f. 59r | | 12 | f. 47r |
| Aurilius Ambrose | 30 | f. 62r | | 10 | f. 48r |
| Vler Pendragon | 36 | f. 64v | address to king, f. 67 | 19 | f. 49r |
| Arthur | 237 | f. 67v | | 129 | f. 51r |
| Constantine III | 6 | f. 87r | | 3 | f. 64r |
| Aurelius Conan | 3 | f. 88v | address to lords | 2 | f. 64v |
| Vortypore | 1 | f. 88r | | 2 | f. 64v |
| Malgo | 3 | f. 88r | | 3 | f. 64v |
| Careyse | 2 | f. 88v | | 2 | f. 65r |
| Gurmonde (Britain without king) | 58 | f. 88v | | 19 | f. 65r |

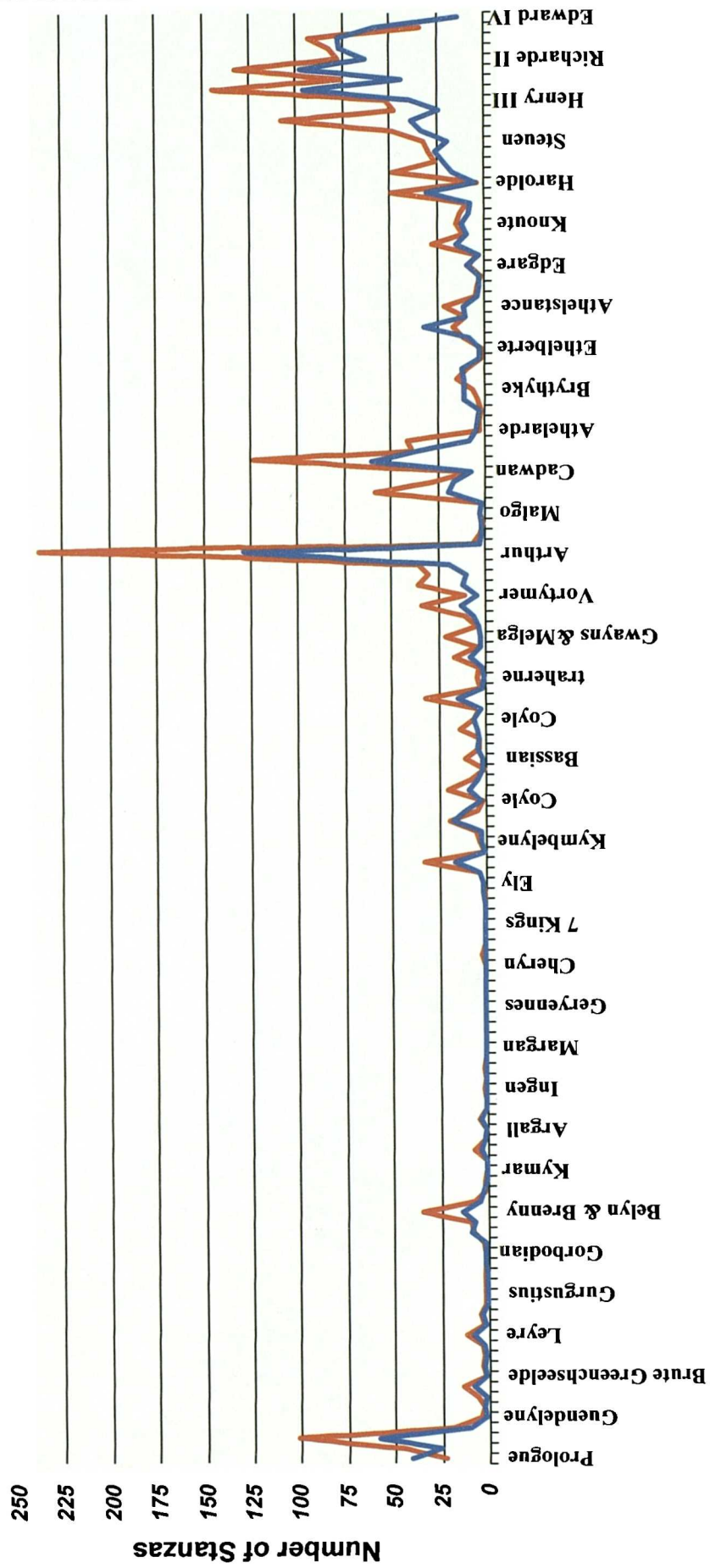
address to York

address to York

| | | | | |
|----------------------------------------|----------------------|---------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| * Ethelbert (arrival of St. Augustine) | 27 | f. 93r | 16 | f. 67r |
| Cadwan | 7 | f. 95v | 7 | f. 68v |
| * Cadwallo | 123 | f. 96r | 60 | f. 69v |
| Cadwaladre (last British king) | 38 | f. 106v | 36 | f. 75v |
| * Ingils & Iwe | 41 | f. 109v | 8 | f. 79v |
| Athelarde | 3 | f. 113r | 5 | f. 80r |
| Cultred | 3 | f. 113r | 4 | f. 80v |
| Sigbert | 2 | f. 113v | 3 | f. 81r |
| Kynulph | 4 | f. 113v | 11 | f. 81v |
| Brythyke | 6 | f. 114r | 11 | f. 82v |
| Egberte | 15 | f. 114v | 11 | f. 83v |
| Adelwolfe | 9 | f. 115v | 12 | f. 84v |
| Ethelbalde | 2 | f. 116v | 3 | f. 86r |
| Ethelberte | 2 | f. 116v | 3 | f. 86r |
| Elfryde | 11 | f. 116v | 8 | f. 86v |
| Aluerede (Alfred) | 16 | f. 117v | 32 | f. 87r |
| Edwarde | 10 | f. 119r | 10 | f. 90v |
| * Athelstane | 21 | f. 119v | 11 | f. 91v |
| Edmunde | 5 | f. 121v | 4 | f. 92v |
| Edrede | 4 | f. 122r | 3 | f. 93r |
| Edwy | 2 | f. 122r | 3 | f. 93r |
| Edgare | 8 | f. 122v | 9 | f. 93v |
| Edwarde | 4 | f. 123r | 3 | f. 94v |
| * Ethelrede | 27 | f. 123v | 15 | f. 94v |
| Edmonde | 11 | f. 125v | 9 | f. 96r |
| Knoute | 15 | f. 126v | 12 | f. 97r |
| Harolde | 13 | f. 128r | 8 | f. 98r |
| Hardknoute | 9 | f. 129r | 7 | f. 99r |
| Seynt Edwarde (the Confessor) | 49 | f. 129v | 30 | f. 99v |
| Harolde | 4 | f. 133v | 5 | f. 102v |
| Total of stanzas (Pre-Conquest) | 1567 | | 981 | |
| Post-Conquest | Lansdowne 204 | | Arch. Selden B.10 | |
| * William conquerour | 48 | f. 134r | 16 | f. 104r |
| | | | | space for 12th stanza |

| | | | | | |
|----------------------------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------------------|-------------|--------------|
| William Rufus | 26 | f. 138r | address to lords, f. 140r | 21 | f. 105v |
| Henry I | 29 | f. 140r | | 26 | f. 107v |
| Steuen | 32 | f. 142v | | 19 | f. 110r |
| Henry II | 48 | f. 145v | | 33 | f. 112r |
| * Richarde I | 108 | f. 149v | | 38 | f. 115r |
| * John | 47 | f. 158r | address to king & lords | 24 | f. 119r |
| Henry III | 52 | f. 162r | | 39 | f. 121r |
| Edwarde I | 144 | f. 166v | | 96 | f. 125r |
| Edwarde II | 76 | f. 178v | | 44 | f. 134v |
| Edwarde III | 132 | f. 185r | | 98 | f. 139r |
| Pedegree of France | - | f. 196r | | - | f. 148v |
| Richarde II | 78 | f. 196v | | 63 | f. 149r |
| Henry IV | 82 | f. 203r | | 77 | f. 155r |
| Henry V | 93 | f. 209v | address to king | 78 | f. 163r |
| Henry VI | 34 | f. 217v | | 58 | f. 170v |
| Edward IV | - | - | | 14 | f. 176v |
| Lament for Robert Umfraville | 16 | f. 220r | | - | - |
| Epilogue and address to king | 24 | f. 221v | | 29 | f. 178r |
| Scottish Itinerary | 33 | f. 223v | | - | ff. 180v-83r |
| Map of Scotland | - | ff. 226v-27r | | - | ff. 183v-85r |
| Prose concerning Edward III | - | - | | - | ff. 185v-87r |
| Prose concerning Henry V | - | - | | - | ff. 187r-89v |
| Prose concerning Henry IV | - | - | | - | ff. 189v-90v |
| Verse address to Henry VI | 2 | f. 227v | | - | - |
| Title of Jerusalem | - | - | | - | f. 191r |
| Verse address to Edward IV | - | - | | 7 | ff. 191v-92r |
| Prose concerning the Percies | - | - | | - | ff. 192r-93v |
| Letter of Edward I to Boniface VIII | - | ff. 227v-30r | | - | ff. 193v-97v |
| Letter of magnates to Boniface VIII | - | ff. 230r-30v | | - | - |
| Extended epilogue | 3 | f. 230v | | 10 | ff. 197v-98v |
| Total of stanzas (Post-Conquest) | 1107 | | | 790 | |
| Number of stanzas in <i>Chronicle</i> | 2674 | | | 1771 | |

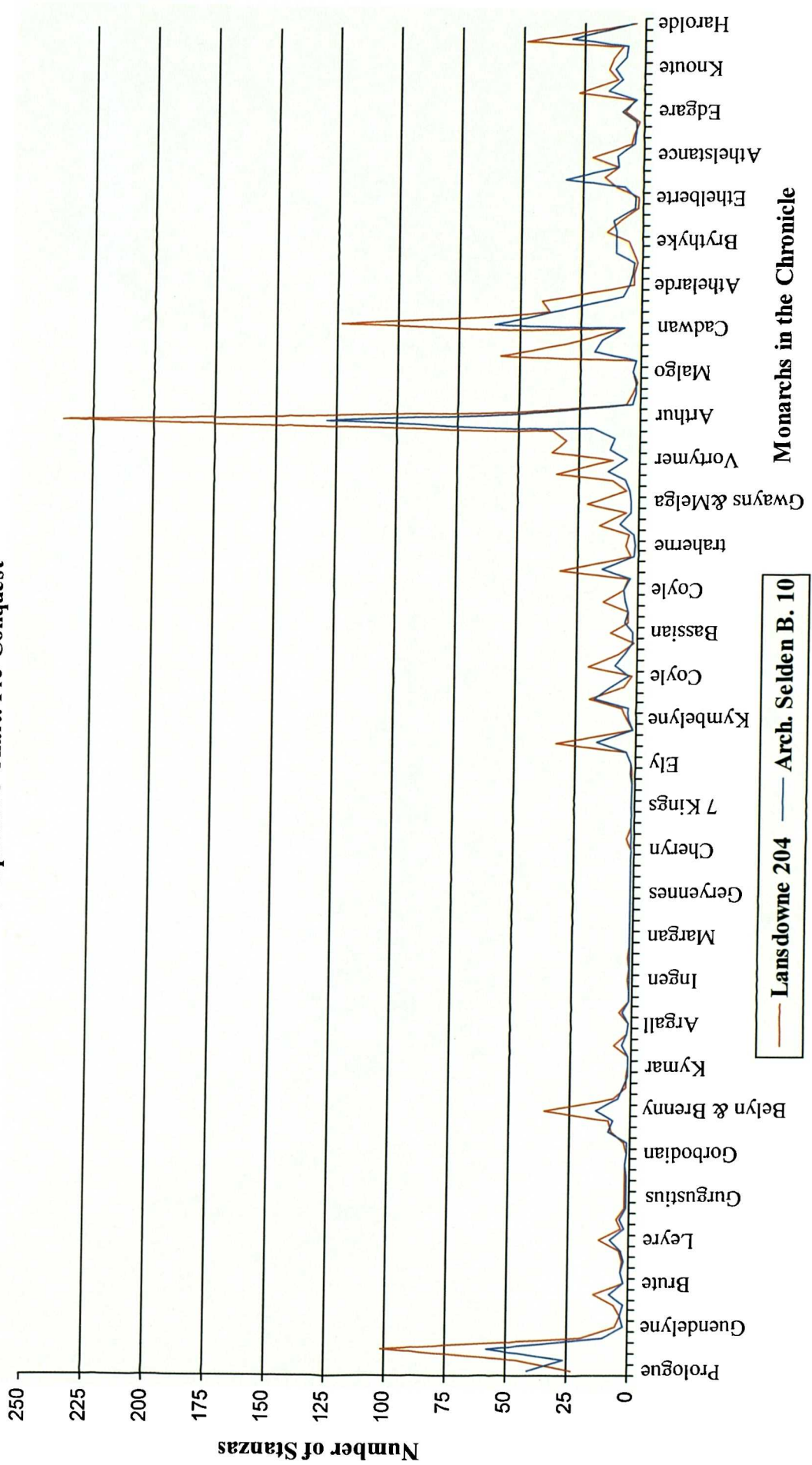
Comparative Chart



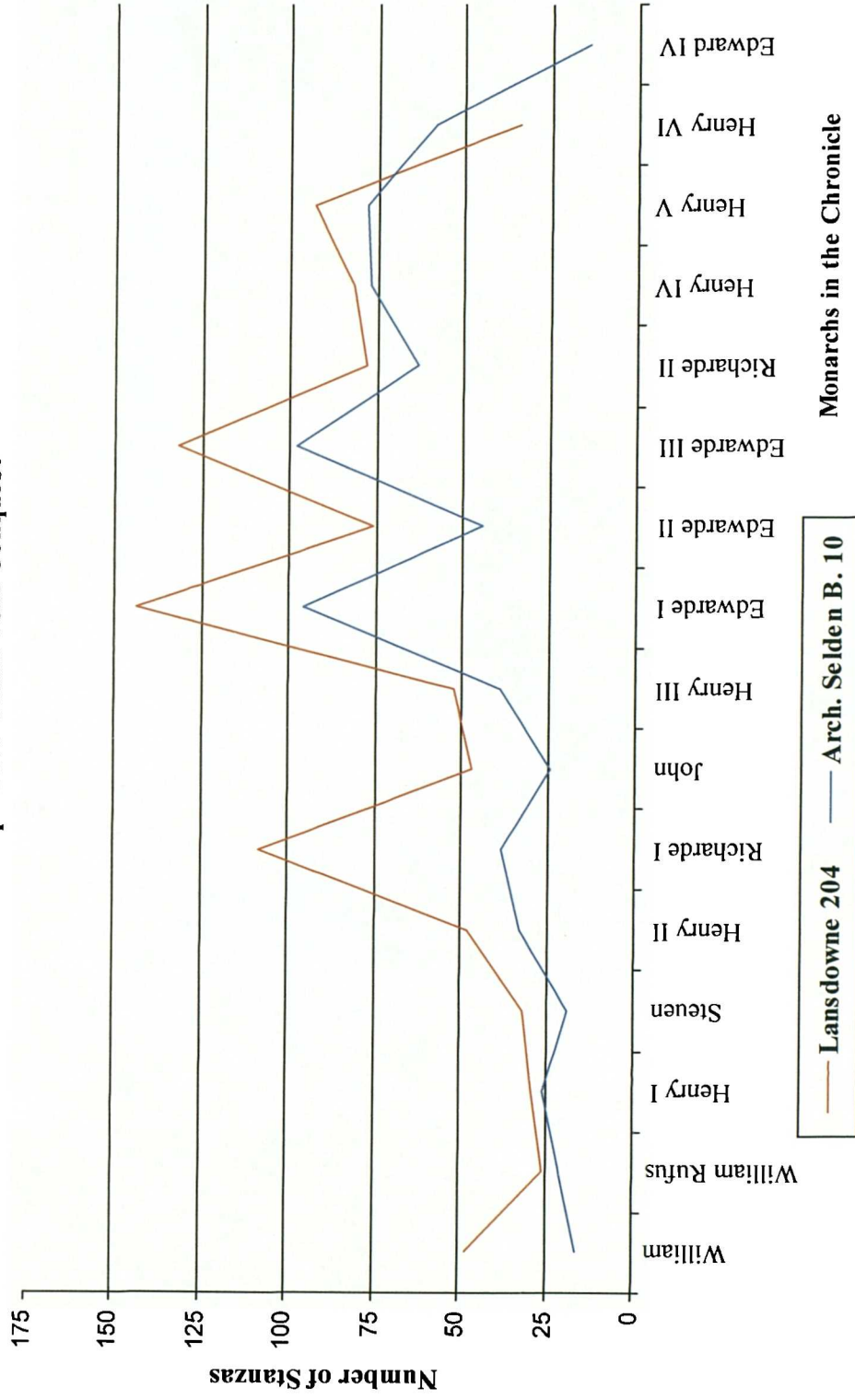
Monarchs in the Chronicle

— Lansdowne 204 — Arch. Selden B. 10

Comparative Chart: Pre-Conquest



Comparative Chart: Post-Conquest



Appendix 2

Two Documents Relating to John Hardyng's Scottish Mission

Letter of Safe-Conduct for Hardyng from James I of Scotland (10 March 1434), PRO E 39/2/9.

James, bi the grace of God, Kynge of Scotlonde, to Iohn Hardyng, squier of the lorde Vmfreuile, sendes gretynge. Wete 3e that we haue sende thise oure *lettres* of seure and sauf condute saufely to *comme* and go to oure *presence*, wharesoeuere we be within oure rewme of Scotland, with sex *seruantz* at horses; and saufely thare to abide by fourty days with his gudes and horses, and seurlly to retourne without distrubance or impediment bi any Scot, bryngand *with* yow the thynges whiche we spake to yow of at Coldyngham, for whiche we bynde vs bi thise *lettres* to pay yow a thousand markes of Inglishe nobles *without* dilay, defaut, or male engyne; and saufly *with* that gold, and al your othere gudes, *seruantz*, horses, and catailles, home agayn to Herbotill Castel, for to retourne *without* distrubance, hurte, or greuance by any Scottesman. Wharfore we charge and comaunde to all lordes and alle oure lieges, whatsumeuere thai be, vpon the payne of deeth and forfeiture of landes and gudes whiche thay haue, that thay, thaire men, nor thaire sugitz, do nor suffre to be done hurt, nor impedymnt, to the forsaid Iohn Hardyng, his *seruantz*, gudes, ne catailles, in any wise, but at 3our powere ye socoure and fortify hem to our *presence* and in thair retourne to thay be in Herbotill Castel agayn saufly, *with* thaire horses, golde, gudes, and catailles. In witnessse of thise oure seure and saufe condute and *proteccioun*, and for seurte of paiement of the said some of a thousand markes, aforsaid, we haue to thise oure *lettres* patentz sette our *priuy* seel, the X day of Marche in the 3ere of grace M^lCCCCXXXIII, at Edinburgh.

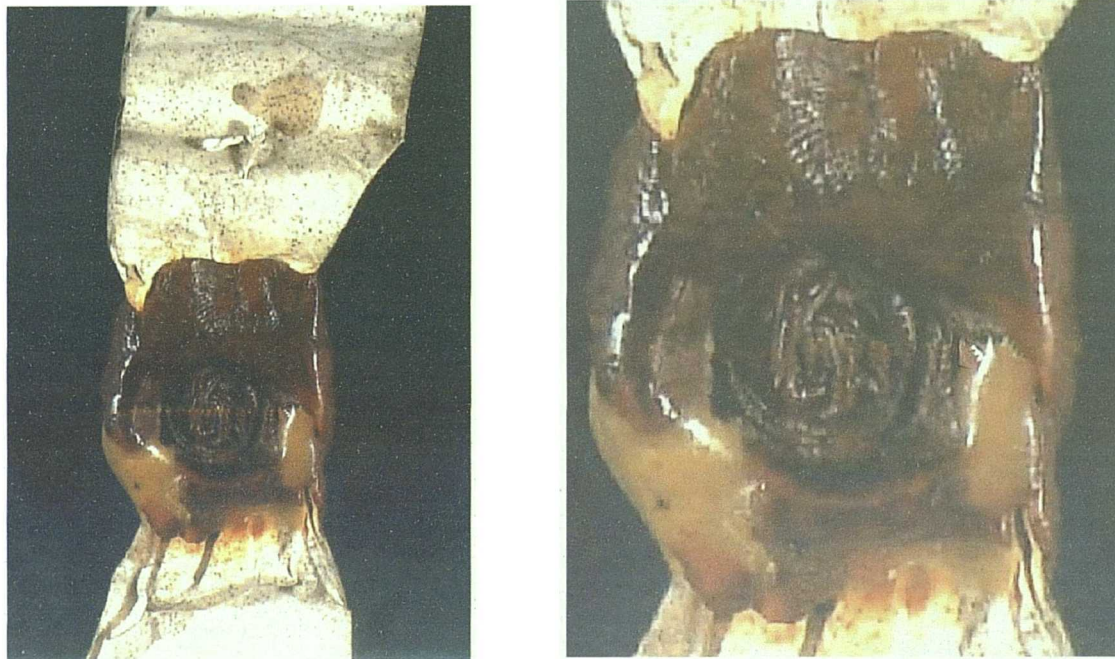
Indenture between John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury and Treasurer, and the Chamberlains of the Exchequer, and John Hardyng attesting to the delivery of Hardyng's documents relating to Scotland (15 November 1457), PRO E 39/96/3.

Hec indentura *facta* inter reuerendum dominum Iohannem Talbot, comitem Salopie, thesaurarium Anglie <et camerarium scaccarii>, ex vna parte, et Iohannem Hardyng de Kyme ex altera parte, testatur quod dictus Iohannes liberavit eidem thesaurario ex precepto domini regis oretenus has *litteras* patentes subsequentes videlicet. In primis liberavit vnam *litteram* patentem per quam Daud, Rex Scocie, recognouit se tenere regnum Scocie de Edwardo, *tercio* Rege Anglie post conquestum, per *homagium*, *ligium* et *fidelitatem* tanquam domino superiori regni Scocie omnimodis relaxacionibus regibus Scocie antea factis non obstantibus, vt patet per eandem *litteram* patentem. Item liberavit vnam *aliam* *litteram* patentem per quam Robertus, rex Scocie, recognouit se tenere regnum Scocie de Edwardo, rege Anglie *tercio*, et heredibus suis per *homagium*, *ligium* et *fidelitatem* tanquam dominis superioribus regni Scocie post relaxacionem predicti Edwardi *factam* regi Scocie, vt patet per eandem *litteram* patentem. Item liberavit vnam *aliam* *litteram* patentem per quam omnes comites, barones et magnates regni Scocie fecerunt *homagia* sua regi Scocie sub *certis* *verbis* in eodem scripto, saluis semper *homagiis* superiori domino

Edwardo, regi Anglie, et heredibus suis superioribus dominis regni Scocie ab antiquo debitis, vt patet in eadem littera patente. Item liberauit vnam aliam litteram patentem per quam Daudid Strabolgy, comes de Athell, indictatus de prodicione, comparuit in parlamento Scocie alligans se non esse culpabilem de prodicione sibi imposita, per hoc quod deuenerat ligius homo regis Edwardi tercii, eo quod reges Anglie semper ab antiquo fuerunt superiores domini regni Scocie, et per hanc alligacionem approbatam per recorda parliamentorum Scocie et coram iusticiariis in itineribus suis Scocie fuit inde quietus. Item liberauit vnam aliam litteram patentem per quam Iohannes Grame, comes de Menteth, indictatus de prodicione ex causa predicta, alligauit in pleno parlamento quod non fuit inde culpabilis, per hoc quod deuenerat ligius homo regis Edwardi tercii, eo quod reges Anglie semper fuerunt superiores domini regni Scocie, et per hanc alligacionem approbatam in parlamento et per recorda coram camerariis et iusticiariis Scocie in itineribus suis fuit inde quietus. Item liberauit vnam indenturam de treugis et abstinenciis guerrarum captis inter Edwardum tercium ex vna parte et Daudid, regem Scocie, ex altera parte per quam Daudid rex recognouit predictum regem, Edwardum, esse dominum superiorem Scocie post quam dictus Edwardus fecerat dictam relaxacionem. In cuius rei testimonium, tam predictus dominus, comes, thesaurarius Anglie, quam predictus Iohannes Hardyng hiis indenturis sigilla sua alternatim apposuerunt. Datur quintodecimo die mensis Nouembris anno regni regis Henrici sexti post conquestum Anglie tricesimo sexto.

[Hardyng's seal appended: an H between two stars. A thumb/fingerprint is still visible in the wax above the seal.]

Figure 25

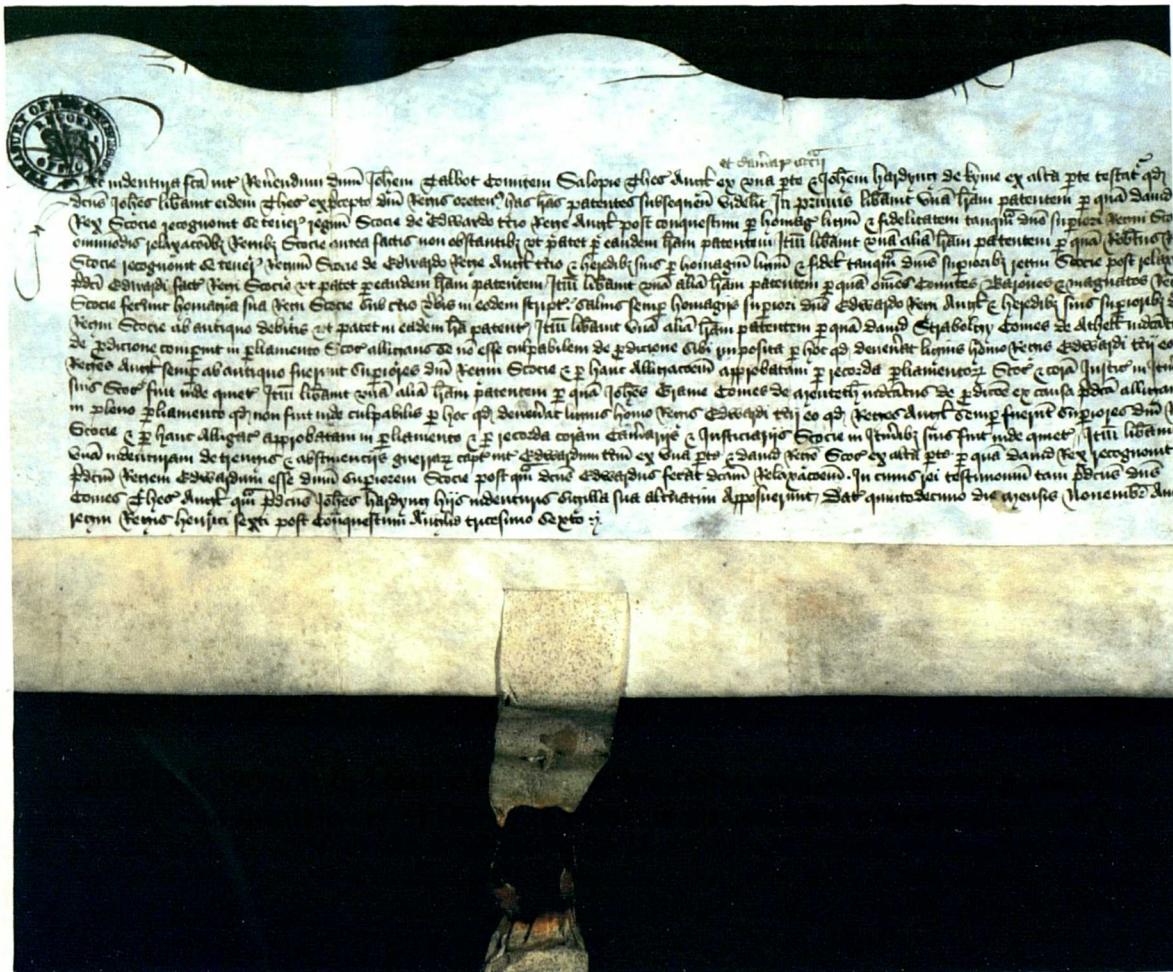


Hardyng's Seal

Figure 26



a) PRO E 39/2/9: Letter of Safe-Conduct for Hardyng from James I of Scotland.



b) PRO E 39/96/3: Indenture between John Talbot and John Hardyng attesting to the delivery of Hardyng's documents relating to Scotland.

Appendix 3

Two Fifteenth-Century Annotations in Garrett 142

The late fifteenth-century copy of Hardyng's *Chronicle* extant in Garrett 142 has already been noted for its unique textual revisions in favour of the Lancastrian dynasty, and the presence of a substantial number of marginal annotations made in response to the text by an early owner of the manuscript (see **The Manuscripts of Hardyng's Chronicle** and **The Relationships of the Manuscripts**). The annotations edited below have been selected for special attention because of the insight they provide into early reader responses to Hardyng's text. To contextualise each gloss a brief commentary is given after each; for further discussion see the aforementioned sections of this study and **John Hardyng and the Construction of History**.

- 1) [...] but of trothe he lieþ at Millan full rially as a kyng for he made a vow neuer to come in Englonð for þe trespasse þat his first wif made. [in opposite margin] *Nota*: what if Iohn Harding, þe makere of þis booke, ybrouzt vp yn Sir Herry Percyes hous, shewing favour to his lord *and* to encrece his birthe, yn þat he was commendable, but, neþerþelese, hit is not lyke to be trewe þat Philep shold be the douzter to Lyonell or þat he had eny issu which over-lived hym; ffor all þe cronyclers whiche writyn of him, *and* of his IIII breþeren, make mencion what issu euery of hem had, but þey make no mencion what issu Leonell had. Which Sir Leonell was duke of Clarence *and* bare þe kynges armes with certen labell; but after his deth no man, nor woman, bare his estate *and* name of duke, neþer bare his armes, as þo armes bi þe whiche þey had be most worshipped, *and* approved þer be of blode to þe croune of Englonð as oþer men *and* wymen issu to þe next of þe said breþerid did, where as þey bare alwey þe armes of þe erle of Marche *and* of Vlstere boþe hole *and* departed. But Sir Iames of Audeley was named ffadir to þe said Philep, þe said Sir Leonell beyng byond þe see XII monet *and* more; *and* wherefore þe said Sir Leonell wold neuer see þe moder after þat, ne neuer wold come yn Englonð after; *and* þe said Sir Iames for þat *and* oþer treson, beyng steward of þe kynges hous, was atteynted of hir treson *and* honged at Tiborn, and his hed smyten of as hit apperet of recordyes. [Garrett 142, f. 134v]

This argument is based upon Sir John Fortescue's *De Titulo Edwardi Marchiae* or *Defensio Juris Domus Lancastriae* (see Chrimes 1966). Fortescue formulated it in response to the Yorkist claim to the throne, whilst he was in exile with Henry VI (c. 1462). According to John Watts it is 'the shortest and, arguably, the most accessible of the five works on the succession which the former chief justice produced' (Kekewich *et al* 1995: 37). The presence of Fortescue's argument in Garrett 142 suggests that the late fifteenth-century owner/glossator of the manuscript was familiar with his work, or at least one of the works citing the story of Philippa's illegitimacy, within a few years of its composition.

A longer version of this argument occurs under the title 'The Replicacion ageinste the clayme and title of the duc of Yorke for the crownes of England and France' in John Vale's Book (British Library, Additional MS 48031A, f. 134r-134v);

later copies by John Stow survive in Harley 543, ff. 163v-164, and Harley 545, f. 136r-v (Kekewich *et al* 1995: 202-03). Notable differences in the argument as it occurs here and the other known versions include the following: James Audeley is described as the Steward of the King's household here, in the other versions he is styled 'steward of the housolde of the aboveseid wyfe of Sir Leonell'; the other accounts cite 'the cronicles of France and of Seelande' in support of the story that Philippa 'was consayved in advoutrye' (see, for example, Plummer 1926: 354 and Kekewich *et al* 1995: 202-03). The initial source of the story is unknown, but Watts (citing Lewis 1985) notes its appearance 'in a French tract of 1464 on the English claim to France', and concludes that a common source was shared by Fortescue and the French author as it is 'unlikely that a copy of the 'Replicacion ...', which cannot have been produced much before 1462, could have reached the author of the French tract sufficiently rapidly for him to absorb and exploit its contents' (Kekewich *et al* 1995: 38). For further discussion of the works produced by Fortescue on the succession of the crown see Plummer 1926; Chrimes 1942: 146, 214-15; Gill 1968: 99-131; Gill 1971; and Litzen 1971.

It is a great shame that the end of Garrett 142 is damaged, since the second version of the *Chronicle* mentions Fortescue as one of the members of the royal party which fled to Scotland with Henry VI after the battle of Towton (see Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 176v, l. 3145), and it would have been fascinating to see the glossator's response to his name, and indeed the deposition of Henry VI in general.

- 2) *Nota þe wordies of þe kyng at his deth of high compleynt*⁴²⁸ whiche was mercyfull in eueryþing and specially on his cooke þat poysond hym twyes and yet he pardond his lif; where of þe laste poysenyng was cause of his breking oute in his face *and* in his body, ylyke a lypre, and none oþerwise was not he leprous. And his said coke was King Richardes coke bifore hym and scused hym of þe furst poisnyng of þe kyng for þat þat he loved his furst maister so moche *and* rich and [pro]mysed þat he woll neuer do so more. þan þe kyng pardoned hym and graunte hym as moche o his fee as he had [o]f his furst maister [bu]t at þe last tyme [ther] was ne remedy [but] dethe and þan he said [he] had deserued þe shamefullest deth [an]y man myzt have yet the kyng of [...] mekenesse pardoned his lif þere be but [...] mercyfull kynges, and died þe XIX day of [Marche in þe XI] III yere of his regne *Anno Domini MCCCCXIII et sepultur* in Canterburie et obite [...] abbatie vocatur Ierusalem [...]. [Garrett 142, f. 148v]

This gloss has been added in response to Hardyng's reference to Henry IV's leprous face (Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 162r, l. 2126). Many of the fifteenth-century chroniclers associated the king's illness and skin affliction, which does not appear to have been leprosy, with an indication of God's punishment for the execution of Archbishop Scrope (see the **Commentary to the First Version**, ll. 2485-87 and ll. 2552-57). The glossator obviously felt a need to explain how the king's disfigurement occurred, and records the story of his treacherous cook in order to highlight the good nature of Henry IV, who shows generosity and mercy towards his servant.

⁴²⁸ The italicised text in the first line highlights the part of the gloss that occurs in other manuscripts of the second version; subsequent square brackets indicate editorial emendation where the text is illegible.

Appendix 4

The Fragment of Hardyng's *Chronicle* in Harley 3730

The verse fragment of Hardyng's *Chronicle* in Harley 3730 is not divided into stanzas. For the convenience of the reader the fragment edited here has been given its own line numbers and individual critical apparatus; all variants of the text as it occurs in Arch. Selden B. 10 have also been given in the critical apparatus accompanying the edition of the second version. For comparative purposes the line numbers of the fragment below correspond to the following line numbers of the edition of the second version: Harley 3730, f. 1r, ll. 1-15 corresponds with Arch. Selden B. 10, ff. 180r-180v, ll. 3388-3402; Harley 3730, ff. 1r-1v, ll. 16-36 corresponds with Arch. Selden B. 10, ff. 179r-179v, ll. 3319-39; Harley 3730, f. 1v, ll. 37-43 corresponds with Arch. Selden B. 10, f. 180v, ll. 3417-23.

[f. 1r]

- As cronicles befor haue made memorie,
 Englund and Walles as to thair soffrayne
 To 3ow obbey, which schold thynke schame of right,
 To se Scotland thus prawdly dysobeyne
 5 Aygayn hem II þat be of gretter myght,
 Hit is a schame to euery mammys sight;
 Sith Iohn Baillowe his right of yt resigned
 To King Edward why is it thus repigndde?
 Within III zer thar grett rebellyone
 10 Ye myght oppresse and vtterly restrayne,
 And kepe hem euer in 3oure possession.
 For to obey 3or myght make h[e]m full fayne,
 As King Edward did *with* hungr *and* payne
 Hem *conquerid* hole to his subieccioun,
 15 To byed euermor vnder his *proteccioun*.
 Than yff ze se by no mean, ne trefy,
 Thai obey wole nocht, ordeyne þan faste 3our fleyt
 On the este see to Scotland, in hye,
 At Edynburgh, so may yt *with* [3]e mete
 20 Wyth vitaill and ordinaunce full fete,
 And sett apon hem whar and what castell thai be yn,
 Eskape thai may nocht but ze schall hem wyne.
 For I haue sen thair castells strong echon,
 That strongist be and worste to gett and wyne
 25 Amonge tham all, for *certeyn* is þer non
 That may be hold ought long whan ze begynne
 Saue Dunbrytaine; the se abowt doth rynne
 Ech day and nyght twyes *withoutyn* dowte,
 Wych may be wone *with* fa[m]yschyng abowte,
 30 *With* schippes be the see, and sege apon þe land,

12 hem] hmr MS. 19 ze] ge MS. 29 famyschyng] fanyschyng MS.

3e may nocht fayle to haue hit at þe laste.

[f. 1v]

All *oder* will be 3old vnto 3our hand,
 So þat 3e haue by werkemen well forcaste
 3our ordinaunce and gynnys for to cast,

- 35 Wyth ablymentes of wer such as 3e nede,
 No castell ells may 3ou *withstande* indeade.
 And, as in case quen hit plesith 3our hignesse
 To Scotland passe, I make 3ow a kalende
 Off all the way to Edynburgh expresse,
 40 And whar 3our gist ech nyght may well extende,
 As King Henry the IIIIth rode, as I well kennyde,
 That 3our highnes þeroff may haue knowlege
 To conforte 3our highe noble corage.

Appendix 5

Sixteenth-Century Notes Concerning London in Takamiya 6

At the end of MS Takamiya 6 a sixteenth-century hand (post 1534) writes several interesting notes, mainly concerning executions at Smithfield.⁴²⁹ Many of the incidents recorded are mentioned in works produced in London during the early sixteenth century, such as Richard Hill's commonplace book, Grafton's continuation of Hardyng's *Chronicle* and his edition of Hall's *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancastre and Yorke*, and Stow's *A Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles* and *The Annales of England*.⁴³⁰ As the notes in Takamiya 6 complement and augment these texts they have been reproduced here along with the analogous sections from the works of Hill, Grafton and Stow.

Takamiya 6, f. 120v

M In the yere of our lord 1531 there wasse a man boylld/ in Smythfyld, for he wolde a poysend þe bysschope of/ Rochester.⁴³¹ Also, in þat same yere, there wasse a munke/ burnyd in Smythfyld for erysy, the 27ti daye of Nouembur.⁴³² Also, in the same yere, there wasse Master Rysse of Waelles/ beheedyd on the Towrehylle, the 4 daye of Desember;/ and, the 3 daye after, buryed a [sic] in þe Crossyd Freersse for treson./ Also on the same daye there wasse a man that wasse/ drawen fro þe Towre vnto Tyburne, and there wasse hangyd/ and quarterd, and sett vpe at 4 gaates for treson.⁴³³ Also in the/ same yere, abowt Bartylmeustyed, there wasse senne a blasyng/ ster in the sowthwest.⁴³⁴ Also in þe same yere þer wasse a powych/-maker, woosse name wasse John Tewytsbery, burynd in Smythfyld/ the 20 daye of December.⁴³⁵ In the yere of our lorde 1534, <the 13 daye of April>,⁴³⁶ the mayed of Kent was drawen fro⁴³⁷ þe Towre of London to Tyburne, and 2 fry[er]es,⁴³⁸ 2 munkes of Cawntebury, and þe person of Aldermay, and was hangyd all and þere cut downe and hedyd, and ther þe bodysse where buryed.⁴³⁹

⁴²⁹ It is with great pleasure that I acknowledge my debt to Professor Takamiya, who kindly read through this appendix and checked my transcription to the original.

⁴³⁰ The commonplace book compiled by Richard Hill, a London grocer, is a city chronicle, which survives solely in Oxford, Balliol College MS 354, ff. 232-47. For the period 1413 to 1490 the work is based on Richard Arnold's *Customs of London* (STC 782 and 783); Hill's own contribution extends the text from 1490 to 1536, when the chronicle ends. The piece is edited along with other items from Balliol 354 in Dyboski 1908: 142-67; further discussion of the work may also be found in Browning 1935 and Hills 1939. The comparable parts of Grafton's continuation of Hardyng's *Chronicle* are printed in Ellis 1812: 605, and the related sections of his edition of Hall may be found in Grafton 1548: 199v, 218v, 219v-224r. For the entries relevant to the Takamiya 6 notes in Stow's *Summarie* see Stow 1566: 204v, 205r, 208r (STC 23319.5) and Stow 1590: 492, 496-97 (STC 23325.2). Extracts from Stow's *Annales* are taken from the 1601 edition, pp. 942, 959-61 (STC 23336).

⁴³¹ Several of the comparable accounts shed further light on this incident. Under the year 1531 Hill's Book adds that the criminal succeeded in poisoning several men in the Bishop's household: 'Item, þer was on skaldyd in Smythfild, for poysenyng of dyueris men of þe Bisshop of Rochesters howse' (f. 238v; Dyboski 1908: 161). Stow's *Summarie* provides a name for the criminal ('The v daye of Apryll one Richarde Rose a coke was boyled in Smythfielde in a cauldron of brasse, for poysonyng dyuers persons at the byshop of Rochesters place', Stow 1566: 204v), as do his *Annales*, which also note that he poisoned 'the number of 16 or more [...] amongst the which Benet Curwine gentleman was one, and he intended to haue poisoned the bishoppe himselfe, but hee eate no pottage that daie, whereby hee escaped, marie the poore people that eate of them, manie of them died' (Stow 1601: 942).

⁴³² There are no comparable notes of this event in the texts considered here.

⁴³³ Hill's Book provides names for the men concerned, but cites the date of the executions as 4 December 1532, not 1531: 'This yere, þe IIIIth day of Decembre, Sir Gryffyn Rise [Sir Rice Griffith] was behedid at þe Towr Hill/ [&] burned at Crossid Freres; & þe same day, William Huys, his *seruant*, was drawn to Tyburn/ & þer hangid & quartered, & his hed set on þe brigge/ & his quarters at III gatis' (f. 238v; Dyboski 1908: 161). Under the entry for the twenty-third regnal year of Henry VIII (22 April 1531 to 21 April 1532) Grafton's continuation states: 'In the xxiii yere Gryffeth Rice was behedded for treason' (Ellis 1812: 605). Stow's entry in the *Summarie* of 1566 is similar to Hill's: 'The IIII day of December, was one Ryce Grifyn a gentyلمان of Wales, behedded at the tower hyl, and hys man hanged drawn and quartered at Tyborne for treason' (Stow 1566: 205r); but the 1590 edition mentions their burial at the 'Crossed Friers' and names 'Iohn Hewes' as Griffith's servant (Stow 1590: 492).

⁴³⁴ This comet was Halley's comet, the orbital path of which was closest to the earth in mid-August 1531. The 'Bartylmeustyed' mentioned in the note is St Bartholomew's Day [24 August]. None of the analogues considered here contains a reference to this event, but Hill's Book does mention the floods and winds that occurred 'a-bowt Alhalowtide' (1 November; see f. 238v; Dyboski 1908: 161-62); these natural disasters may have been related to the comet's appearance, and indeed it may have been viewed as the harbinger of them.

⁴³⁵ The note here supplements the citation in Hill's Book, which does not provide a name for the 'powych-maker', but states instead: 'Item, III herytykis brent in Smythfild, þat ys to say: Richard Boyffild, monk/ & a powche-maker, & William Bayman, gentilman' (f. 238v; Dyboski 1908: 162).

⁴³⁶ The date ('the 13 daye of April') is inserted above the line in the manuscript.

⁴³⁷ The word 'fro' here has been amended; the manuscript reads 'for'.

⁴³⁸ The word 'fryeres' has been amended; the manuscript reads 'fryes'.

⁴³⁹ The fullest account of this incident may be found in Grafton's edition of Hall's *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancastre and Yorke*, which is too long and detailed to provide here, but which explains how the holy maid, Elizabeth Barton, a nun, came to be so called because of divinely inspired visions she allegedly had during an illness. The text recounts further false trances and visions, which the nun professed to have, and which were encouraged and exploited by several learned men. All of the parties involved are named in the lengthy account of the maid's dealing with her accomplices and their seditious preaching against King Henry VIII's marriage to Anne Boleyn. The two monks, the parson of Aldermary, and two friars mentioned in Takamiya 6 are named by Grafton as 'Edward Bockyng doctor in diuinitie, monke of Canturbury, Richard Deryng monke all of Cantorbury [...], Henry Gold person of Aldermary bachiler of Diuinitie, Hugh Riche frier Obseruaunt and Richard Risby' (Grafton 1548: 218v). In addition to these the involvement of 'Richard Master priest person of Aldyngton in the countie of Kent, [...] Edward Twhaytes gentleman, Thomas Laurence register to tharchdeacon of Cantorbury' and 'Thomas Gold gentleman' is also noted (Grafton 1548: 218v). Grafton goes on to explain how the false preachers were condemned at the Star Chamber in November and forced to make a public confession at Paul's Cross. This incident is not mentioned in Takamiya 6, but is described in detail in Stow's *Annales* (Stow 1601: 959-61), and in brief in the 1590 edition of the *Summarie*: 'The 23 of Nouember beyng sunday, on a scaffold before the crosse at Paules, there stood a nunne professed in the priorie of S. Sepulchre in Canterburie, named Elizabeth Barton, with sundry other persons, and the bishop of Bangor, late abbot of Hide, there preaching, shewed their offences, from whence they were committed to the Tower of London' (Stow 1590: 496). Hill's Book owes much to Stow's account: 'This yere, þe xxiii day of Novembre, prechid at Powlys Crosse þe Abbot of Hide./ & þer stod on a scaffold, all þe sermond tyme, þe holy maid of Kent callid [Elizabeth] Barton/ & II monkis of Canturbury/ & II frere obseruantis/ & II prystis & II lay men; & after þe sermond/ went to þe Towr' (f. 239v; Dyboski 1908: 163). Grafton's edition continues with an extended report of the maid's false visions and her exploitation by her male companions. The affair ends with details of the maid's final confession before execution (see Grafton 1548: 218v-224r). In contrast the event is only touched upon in Grafton's continuation of Hardyng's *Chronicle*: 'In the xxv yere [1534], in Apryll, was a nonne called the holy mayde of Kent, II monkes, and two freers hanged and behedded for treason, blasphemye, and ypocrysie' (Ellis 1812: 605). The accounts in Stow's *Summarie* and Hill's Book are closest to the Takamiya notes. The 1566 *Summarie* adds that Elizabeth Barton's street was called 'Curtopstrete' in Kent, and, like Takamiya, mentions the setting up of the decapitated heads of the preachers around London and the burial of their bodies (Stow 1566: 208r); whilst the 1590 edition provides several names for the perpetrators: 'The 20 of Aprill Elizabeth Barton a nunne professed at S

Sepulchres in Canterbury, Edward Bocking doctor, and Iohn Deering two monkes of Christes Church in Canterburie, Hugh Rich warden of the friers Obseruants in Canterburie, and Rich Risbe and another of his fellows of the same house. Rich Maister parson of Aldington in Kent, and Henry Gold priest, were drawn from the Tower of London to Tyborne, and there hanged and headed, *and c.* for sundry conspiracies in the matter of diuorce betweene the kings maiestie and queen Katharine' (Stow 1590: 497). Hill's Book reads as follows: 'Item, þe XX day of Aprell þe parson of Mary Aldermary Chirch in London was drawn on a hirdyll, from þe Towr of London in to þe Tyborn, & ther hangid & hedid. Item, II obseruantis freres drawn on a hurdyll & bothe hangid & hedyd. Item, II monkis of Canterbury, - on was callid Doctor Borkyng, - drawn on a hurdyll to Tyborn, and ther hangid & hedid. Item, þe holy maid of Kent, calid Elizabeth Barton, was drawn on a hurdyll alon to Tyborn, & ther hangid & hedyd; & all þer hedis set on London Brigge/ & on þe gattis of London' (f. 239v; Dyboski 1908: 163-64). Interestingly, British Library MS Cotton Vespasian A. xxv, the manuscript containing the only other known copy of one of the poems written at the end of Takamiya 6, has a similar note to Takamiya 6 on f. 30r: 'then was þe holy mayde of Kent, II freer, II monkes, *and* the person of Aldermary drawn from þe ton to Tiburn there hangid *and* hedid then was an doctor Taylar, prest, put out of the rolls.' It is possible that these two manuscripts are connected, either through a relationship between the individual owners in the early sixteenth century or through a common source (see **The Manuscripts of Hardyng's Chronicle**). At the end of the notes the words 'This bill made the [?] daye [?]' have been cancelled.

Appendix 6

The Itinerary of Scotland in Grafton's 1543 Editions

Grafton's printed editions of 1543 contain a verse itinerary of Scotland unique amongst the surviving witnesses of the second version of the *Chronicle*; the itinerary does, nonetheless, have parallels with the itinerary extant in the first version. For further information on the relationship between Grafton's prints and the extant manuscripts of Hardyng's *Chronicle* see **The Relationships of the Manuscripts**. The itinerary below was previously published by Hume-Brown with a brief commentary on the place names and distinctive features in the text (1970: 16-23).

How the maker of this booke reporteth the distaunce and miles of the tounes in Scotland and þe waye how to conueigh an armie as well by lande as water into the chefest partes therof.

Nowe to expresse vnto your noble grace
 The verie waye, bothe by sea *and* land,
 With the distaunce of tounes, and euery myles space,
 Through the chefest parte of all Scotland
 5 To conueigh an armie, that ye maye take in hand
 Herafter shall folowe, in as good ordre as I maye
 The true discripcion and distaunce of the waye.

From Barwyke to Donbarre XX; Haddingtoun XII; Edenburgh XII; Lythko XII; Sterlyng XII. From Edenburgh to Leith [XII]; to Blanesse IX; to Steling XIII.

From Berwike to Donbarre twenty miles it is;
 And twelfe miles forward vnto Haddingtoun;
 10 And twelfe miles *from* these to Edenburgh, I wille;
 To Lithko twelfe, and so northwest to Bowne
 Twelfe miles it is, vnto Sterlyng toun
 Be south Foorth, that ryuer principall
 Of right faire waye, and plentiful at all,
 15 Where þat your nauy at Leith may rest saufly
 With all your vitayles, a mile from Edenburgh.
 And after at the Blaknesse, whiles as ye ly
 At Sterlyng toun, whiche is the kynges burgh
 And wynne that shire, all whole out through
 20 So shall your nauy at your necessitee
 Bee at your hand still your army to supplie.

From Sterlyng to þe Doune of Monteth [III].

From Sterlyng then ouer the riuer of Foorth
 Passe alongest the brydge to Camskinelle,
 And, if it bee broken toward the north

25 Unto the Foorde of Tirps vnder the fell,
 Then spede you westward three miles, as mene tell,
 Where ye maye passe to the Downe of Menteth
 Whiche passeth from þe Foorth thre miles vnneth.

From Sterlynge to Falkland xxx.

Then from the Downe a waie ye haue right faire
 30 Throughout Monteth *and* eke Clakmannamshire,
 And so through Fiffe, to Falkeland to repaire
 Thirty long miles, without mosse or myre,
 For so it is compted, with horse and carte to hyre,
 From Sterlyng eastward *and* the highe oyghylles,
 35 Which some menne call *montaignes*, *and* some felles.

From Falkland than to Disert towne south east
 Twelfe myles it is of fayre ready waye;
 And from Falkland to Saynte Andrewes east
 But other XII myles, wythouten anye waye
 40 Wher the byshoppes see is and castell, as thei say;
 And at Kyngorne and Disert may ye meete
 You for to vytayle al youre Englysh fleete.

Than ride northwest, from *Saynt* Andrewes towne
 Alongest the south syde of the water of Taye,
 45 Up to the burgh of Saynte Ihons towne
 Right north from Fyfe, a countree freshe and gay;
 And from Saynt Androws XXIII myles they say,
 A pleasant grounde and fruitfull countrey
 Of corne and cattel with prosperitie;

50 Which countrey of Fyfe along the Scottish sea
 And from Saynt Androws to the oyghles they say
 Is XLIII myles longe of good countrey,
 And somtyme in bredth VI myles of fayre way
 But from Logh Leuen eastward, without nay,
 55 Of ryght good way; briefly to conclude
 XII myles conteyne it dothe in latitude.

At Ennerkethen and Saynt Margarete, I hope,
 Your nauy maye receaue vytayle in that countre
 Alongest the water of Foorth, as I can grope,
 60 Wyth hulke and barge, of no smal quantite,
 You to supporte in your necessytee,
 So that ye maye not in those countrys fayle
 To haue for your armye redye vytayle.

Then to *Saynt* Ihons towne, vpon the water of Tay
 65 Within Strathren that standeth fayre *and* stronge,

Dytched about systene foote depe, I saye,
 And xx foote on breadthe ouerwhart to fonge,
 Yt is northest xx myles full longe,
 And nere to Scone Abbay within myles thre,
 70 Wher alwayes thei crowne their kinges maieste.

Whyche water of Tay is so nauygable
 From the east sea to Saynt Ihons toune
 For all suche shippes as bee able
 Fortie tunne of wyne to cary vp and doune
 75 For vitallyng and keping of the toune,
 Unto the whych so floweth the water of Taye
 That all the dytches it fylleth nighte and daye.

At the whych toune passe ouer the brygde ye shall
 With al your armye hostyng through that land,
 80 Wher in Angus that countree pryncypall
 The Kerfe of Gowry doth lye, I vnderstand;
 A plentifull countree, I you warrande,
 Of corne and catell and all commoditees
 You to supporte in your necessarytees.

Bewyxt the mounthes and the water of Tay,
 Whych some do cal mountaynes in our language,
 Passe eastwarde with your armye daye by daye,
 Frome place to place with small cariage,
 For your nauy shall you mete in that viage
 90 At Portincragge, shorte waye from Dundee,
 With vitales to refreshe your whole armye,

Beside the stuffe and vitails of that lande,
 Which ye shall fynde in the countree as ye go,
 And market made alwayes to your hande
 95 Of all theyr vytayles althoughe they bee your fo;
 Now from *Saynt Ihons* towne, the soothe to say is so,
 xviii myles it is to the towne of Dundee,
 The pryncypall bugh by northe the Scotyshe see.

Than ryde northeast all alongest the see
 100 Ryght from Dumber to Arbroith, as I mene;
 Than to Monrosse, and to Baruye,
 And so through the Meernes to Cowy, as I wene;
 Then XII myles of moore passe to Aberdyne,
 Betwyxt Dee and Donea, goodly cytee,
 105 A marchaunt to wne and vniuersytee.

Of the whych waye xxx myles there is
 Of good corne, lande, and xx large extente,
 Full of catell and other goodes, I wylle,

As to moore lande and heth dothe wele appente;
 110 From Brichan cytee to the orient,
 Where doothe stande vpon the see
 A goodly porte and hauuen for your nauye;

Where that the same may easely you mete
 To vitayle your armye wheresoeuer ye go,
 115 Ouer all the mountaynes, drye mosses and wete
 Wher the wild Scottes do dwel than passe vnto,
 That is in Mare and Garith also,
 In Athill, Rosse, Sutherland, and Chatnesse,
 Mureffe, Lenor, and Out Ysles, I gesse.

And when ye haue that lande hole conquered
 Returne agayne vnto Striuelyne,
 And from thence to Glasco homewarde
 Twenty and foure myles to *Saynt* Mongos shrine,
 Wher *with* your offeryng ye shall *from* thence decline
 125 And passe on forthwarde to Dumbertayne,
 A castell stronge and harde for to obtaine.

In whiche castell *Saynt* Patryke was borne,
 That afterwarde in Irelande dyd wynne,
 Aboute the whyche floweth euen and morne
 130 The westerne seas without noyse or dynne,
 When forth of the same the streame dooe rynne
 Twyse in XIII houres, without any fayle,
 That no man may that stronge castell assyle.

Upon a rocke so hye the same dothe stande
 135 That yf the walles were beaten to the roche
 Yet were it full harde to clymbe with foot or hand
 And so to wynne, yf any to them approche
 So strong it is to get without reproche
 That without hunger and cruell famyshement
 140 Yt cannot bee taken to my iudgemente.

Than from Glasgo to the towne of Ayre
 Are twentie myles and foure wele accompted,
 A good countree for your armye euery where,
 And plenteous also, by many one recounted;
 145 For there I was and at the same I mounted
 Towarde Lamarke towne XXIII myles
 Homeward trudging, for feare of Scottish giles.

From the towne of Ayre in Kyle to Galloway
 Through Carryct passe vnto Nithysdayle
 150 Where Dumfryse is, a pretye towne alwaye
 And plentifull also of all good vytayle

For all you army, wythout any fayle,
 So that kepyng this iourney, by my instruccion
 That realme ye shall bring in subieccion.

- 155 Then from Domfrise to Carlill ye shall ride
 XXIII miles of veray redy waye,
 So maye ye wynne the lande on euery syde
 Within a yere, withouten more delaye,
 For castelles there is none þat withstande you may,
 160 Nor abide you seage against your ordinaunce,
 So simple and weake is their purueiaunce.

- And, yf ye like, good lorde, at home to abide,
 With litell cost your wardens ye may sende
 Charging them all with hostes for to ride
 165 In proper persone, through wynter to thende,
 With morow foraies they may them sore offend,
 And burne Iedburgh, Hawike, Melrose *and* Lander,
 Codingham, Donglasse, *and* the toune of Dobarre.

- Then send an hoste of footemen in
 170 At Lammesse next through all Lawderdayle
 And Lammermore woddes and mossis ouer rynne,
 And eke therwith the Stowe of Weddale,
 Melrose lande, Etryke Forest, and Tyuydale,
 Lyddisdale, Ewysdale, and the Ryngwodfelde
 175 To the Creke Crosse, that ryden is full selde.

- The wardens then of bothe the marches twoo
 To bee their stayle and eke their castelles strong
 Then to reskewe from enemies whereuer thei go,
 With fleyng stayles to folowe them ay emong,
 180 Les nor then foes them suppressse and fong
 And euery night to releue to the hoste
 And lodge together all vpon a coast.

- And also than at the next Myghelmesse
 The west warden to Domfryse ryde he maye
 185 Four and twentie myles from Carelyl, as I gesse;
 And than passe forthwarde through Galowaye
 To Carricke after into good araye,
 And then from thence to the towne of Ayre
 In Kile that countree, plentifull and fayre.

- 190 Nexte than from Ayre vnto Glasgew go,
 A goodly cytee and vniuersitee,
 Where plentifull is the countree also;
 Replenished well with all commoditee
 There maye the warden of the East Marche bee

195 And mete the other twayne, as I wene,
 Within tenne dayes, or at the mosst fyftene.

The thyrde army from Barwyke passe it shall
 Through Dumbarre, Edenburgh, and Lythko,
 And then to Sterlyng with their power al;
 200 And nexte from that vnto Glasgo
 Standyng vpon Clyde, and where also
 Of corne and cateil is aboundaunce
 Your army to vitayle at al suffysaunce.

Thus these thre armies at Glasgew shal mete,
 205 Well arayed in theyr armour clene,
 Which homward from thence thei shal retuen complete
 Four and twentie myles to Lamarke so Shene,
 To Pebles on Twede is syxtene myles, I wene,
 To Soltray as muche than twentie miles with spede
 210 From thence returne they shal to Wark-on-Twede.

Within a moneth this lande maye bee deatroyed
 All a south Forth, if wardens wyll assent,
 So that our enemies shal bee sore annoied
 And wasted bee and eke foreuer shent;
 215 If wardens thus woorke after mine intent,
 They may well quenche the crueel enmittee
 This daye by south all the Scottishe see.

Now of this matter I haue sayde mine intent
 Like as I could espye and diligently inquire,
 220 Which, if it maye your highnesse well content,
 It is the thing that I hartely desire,
 And of your grace no more I dooe require
 But that your grace will take in good parte
 Not only my peines, but also my true harte.

Selective Glossary

The intention of this selective glossary is to provide a brief gloss of words that may cause the reader difficulty, or which have unusual spellings. For the ease of the reader each word is listed under the form in which it first occurs in the edition; in the case of nouns and adjectives subsequent forms of the word are given in alphabetical order and are highlighted in bold. Verbs are listed according to the part of speech, and then in alphabetical order if variant spellings occur. Where *y* and *v* have been used as vowels they have been treated as *i* and *u* respectively; where *i* has been used as a consonant it has been treated here as *j*; thorns have been treated as *th*, and yoghs as either *g* or *y* depending upon the meaning. The form of a word as it first occurs in the edition is followed by the relevant part of speech, and then by the *Middle English Dictionary* (henceforth *MED*) headword in bold; etymological details are given after the *MED* headword in square brackets. Lansdowne 204 is referred to as ‘L’ and Arch. Selden B. 10 is referred to as ‘S’; the relevant line numbers of each edition follow, separated by a /. For example, the noun *acorde* occurs at line 167 of the edition of Lansdowne 204; the same noun occurs at line 793 of Lansdowne 204, but is spelt *accorde*; the headword in the *MED* is *accord*. This information is recorded in the glossary below as follows: *acorde* n. **accord** [OF]; agreement [L/167]; **accorde** [L/793]. Only the first occurrence of each meaning/spelling is given. Words in the marginal glosses are listed in the same manner described above, but the words *gloss after* follow the line number. The occurrence of a → *N* after a word indicates that further information is given in the relevant part of the Commentary.

Abbreviations for the Parts of Speech:

| | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 first person | n. noun |
| 2 second person | pa. past |
| 3 third person | pa. pl. past participle |
| adj. adjective | part. adj. participle adjective |
| adv. adverb | phr. phrase |
| aux. v. auxiliary verb | pl. plural |
| comp. adj. comparative adjective | ppl. present participle |
| conj. conjunction | pr. present tense |
| <i>fig.</i> used figuratively | prep. preposition |
| imp. imperative | prop. n. proper noun |
| indef. art. indefinite article | sg. singular |
| indef. num. indefinite number | v. verb |
| inf. infinitive | verb. n. verbal noun |
| interj. interjection | |

Etymology Abbreviations:

A Anglian dialect of OE; AF Anglo-French; AL Anglo-Latin; Celt Celtic; CF Central or Continental French; K Kentish dialect; L Latin; LOE Late Old English; MDu Middle Dutch; ME Middle English; ML Medieval Latin; N Northern dialect of ME; NEM Northeast Midland dialect of ME; M North Midland dialect of ME; OE Old

English; OF Old French; OI Old Icelandic; ON Old Norse; ONF Old Northern French; OProv Old Provençal/Occitan; OScot Older Scots; S Southern dialect of ME; WS West Saxon dialect of OE.

abowmbred] pa. 3 sg. of **obumbren** (v.) [OF & L]; overshadowed [L/3179]; **obumbred** [S/2697].

abregid] pa. 3 sg. of **abreggen** (v.) [OF]; abridged [L/329 *gloss after*]; pa. pl. **abreged** [L/585].

acrewes] pr. 3 sg. of **acreuen** (v.) [OF]; accrues [S/84]; pa. 3 sg. **acrewed** [L/1256]; pa. pl. **acrewed** [S/1018].

acloyed] pa. 3 sg. of **acloien** (v.) [OF]; obstructed [L/810]; caught [S/1685].

acombred] pa. 3 pl. of **acombren** (v.) [OF]; overcame [L/850].

acorde] n. **accord** [OF]; agreement [L/167]; **accorde** [L/793].

acount] inf. **accounten** (v.) [OF & ML]; consider [S/3517]; ppl. **accountyng** counting [S/196]; pa. pl. **accounted** counted [L/538; S/659]; **acompted** [S/342]; **accounte** [L/1469]; **acompte** [S/1189]; **acompted** [S/1206]; **acompted** [S/1310]; **accounted** [L/1045]; **accounte** considered [L/1495]; **compted** counted [S/532].

ad] pa. 3 pl. of **haven** (v.) [OE]; had [S/878].

adioyned] pa. 3 sg. of **ajoinen** (v.) [OF]; joined [L/844]; **adioynt** [L/1479; S/1199]; **ioyned** [L/660].

adred] adj. **adreden** [LOE]; afraid [L/423].

affecion] n. **affeccioun** [OF & L]; desire [S/299]; **affeccion** [S/3231].

affere] n. **afere** [AF & CF]; affair [L/243].

affiance] n. **affiaunce** [OF]; trust [S/1845]; **affiaunce** [S/2846].

affyed] pa. 3 sg. of **affien** (v.) [OF]; trusted [L/927].

affray] inf. **affraien** (v.) [OF]; attack [L/3373; S/781]; pa. 3 sg. **affrayed** attacked [L/2466]; pa. pl. **affrayde** [L/3370].

agre] n. **agrement** [OF]; agreement [L/52].

Alecte] prop. n. Alecto, one of the three Furies [L/511].

al-kyns] adj. **al-kin(nes)** [OE]; all kinds of [L/80]; **al-kyn** [S/2138].

alligory] n. **allegorie** [L]; presentation [L/197].

almouse] n. **almes(se)** [OE & OF]; alms [L/3130].

ambasshiate] n. **ambassade** [OF & ML]; embassy [S/1071 *gloss after*]; **embasshiate** [L/1326]; pl. **embassiates** ambassadors [L/3041].

amoneth day] n. **moneth dai** [OE]; the period of a month [S/148].

amount] inf. **amounten** (v.) [OF]; rise [S/3223]; pa. 3 sg. **amounted** totalled [L/1488]; pa. 3 pl. accumulated [S/343]; pa. pl. mounted [L/551; S/948].

anentes] prep. **anent(es** [OE & ME]; with regards to [L/1729]; **anens** [L/2456 *gloss after*]; **anentz** adjoining [L/2073].

anoyed] pa. pl. of **anoien** (v.) [OF]; annoyed [L/3964]; injured [S/752]; part. adj. vexed [L/361]; injured [L/809].

apaied] part. adj. from **paien** (v.) [OF]; satisfied [S/2370].

appalle] inf. **apallen** (v.) [OF & ME]; fade [L/278]; **appall** [S/2112]; part. adj. **appalled** frightened [L/915].

appeelde] pa. 3 sg. **ap(p)elen** (v.) [OF]; accused [L/1889]; **appeled** [L/1757 *gloss after*]; pa. 3 pl. **appeeld** impeached [S/1314]; **appeled** [S/1428 *gloss after*].

appende] inf. **ap(p)enden** (v.) [OF]; belong [L/3097; S/1357]; pr. 3 sg. **appent** belongs [L/742; S/180]; ppl. **appendyng** belonging [L/1351].

appoyntement] n. **ap(p)ointement** [OF]; agreement [S/175 *gloss after*]; **appointement** [S/177].

approve] pa. pl. **approbat** [L]; sanctioned [S/145].

appurtenant] adj. **appurtenaunt** [AF]; appropriate [L/42]; **appurtenaunt** [L/3741].

aray] n. **arrai** [AF & CF]; condition [L/859; S/2161]; muster [L/2306; S/782]; **array** ceremony [L/865; S/1593]; magnificence [L/1704; S/1911]; condition [S/733]; clothing [S/1476]; order [S/1538]; **of all gode aray** well armed [L/2029].

araied] part. adj. from **arraien** (v.) [AF]; equipped [S/2318]; **arayed**

[S/2347]; **arraied** clothed [S/1478]; **arrayed** [L/2321]; adorned [S/2210].

aresonde] pa. 3 sg. of **aresounen** (v.) [AF & CF]; rebuked [S/1228].

arowe] adv. **aroue** [OE]; in a row [L/1530].

artelry] n. **artelrie** [OF & ML]; implements of war [L/3701].

aske] inf. **asken** (v.) [OE]; demand [S/55]; pr. 3 sg. **axeth** demands [S/147]; ppl. **axyng** requesting [S/244]; pa 3 sg. **axed** required [S/3238]; pa. 3 pl. asked [S/1217].

askes] n. pl. of **asshe** [OE & ON]; ashes [L/2609].

assay] inf. **assaien** (v.) [AF]; determine [L/367]; pa. pl. **assaied** tested [S/2371].

assemble] n. **as(s)emble** [OF]; a hostile assembly [L/3488]; pl. **assembles** assemblies [S/1109].

assised] pa. pl. of **assisen** (v.) [OF]; fixed [L/150].

assoynne] n. **essoine** [OF]; fail [S/920].

assurance] n. **assuraunce** [OF]; security [L/2403]; trust [S/1843]; guarantee [S/2995].

assured] pa. pl. of **assuren** (v.) [OF]; forgiven [S/304].

attaynte] n. **atteinte** [OF]; misconduct, felony [L/1544].

attaynte] pa. pl. of **atteinten** (v.) [OF]; attained [L/274].

attame] inf. **attamen** (v.) [OF]; reach [L/2035].

attheyne] inf. **atteinen** (v.) [OF]; reach [L/611]; **attayne** [L/2102].

auncetry] n. **auncestrie** [OF]; ancestors [L/196].

avaled] pa. pl. of **avalen** [OF]; (sails) to be lowered [S/2351].

averde] part. adj. from **aferen** (v.) [OE]; frightened [L/3546]; **aferde** [S945].

avyse] n. **avis** [OF & ML]; judgement, assessment [L/108]; arrangement [L/1683]; **advyse** prudence [L/2806]; consultation [L/3351]; **avise** judgement [S/2660].

auysed] pa. pl. of **avisen** (v.) [OF]; advised [L/213]; **avised** [S/2610].

avisement] n. **avisement** [OF]; contriving [L/166]; **aduisement** advice [S/576].

avoutry] n. **avoutrie** [OF]; adultery [L/1865]; **auowtry** [S/1500].

awe] aux. v. **ought** [OE]; ought to [L/381]; **owe** [L/1449; S/1169].

baast] n. **bast** [OF]; bastardy [L/1292].

bayte] inf. **baiten** (v.) [ON]; feed [L/2449]; **bayted** pa. pl. fed *fig.* [S/2030]; set upon, harassed [L/2441].

bakhalfe] adv. **bak-half** [OE]; ~ **on the tayle** to be set at a disadvantage [L/131].

bale] n. **bale** [OE]; suffering, sorrow, danger [S/2511].

balyngars] n. pl. **balinger** [AF]; a small, fast naval vessel [L/3812]; **balingars** [S/2349].

baner] n. **baner(e)** [OF]; a company or troop [L/3668; S/912]; a banner (of a lord or country) [L/994 *gloss after*; S/227]; command [S/2072]; **banere** command [L/2991]; pl. **baners** commands [L/1196; S/962]; banners [S/818]; troops [S/2264]; **vndir baner** in combat [L/1218 *gloss after*].

banretz] n. pl. **baneret** [OF]; senior knights [L/2728].

barectours] n. pl. **baratour** [OF]; malefactors [L/3204]; **barettoures** [S/2548].

baronage] n. **barnage** [OF & ML]; the nobility [L/11; S/277].

barras] n. pl. **barre** [OF]; gates (of a city) [L/1593]; **barrase** [L/2780]; **barres** [S/3043].

barrers] n. pl. **barre** [OF]; lances or pieces of armour [S/1510].

barselletes] n. pl. **berselet** [AF]; hunting dogs [S/3549].

baundon] n. **bandoun** [OF]; bondage [L/2251].

bente] n. **bent** [OE]; battlefield [L/1223].

bere] n. **ber(e)** [WS & A]; bier [S/1515].

bette] ppl. of **beten** (v.) [OE & ME]; beating (in the wind), flying [S/1558].

bide] inf. **biden** (v.) [OE]; abide [L/53]; **abyde** [L/698]; **byde** [L/837]; submit [L/852].

bydene] adv. **bidene** [N & NM]; immediately [L/2098; S/2315].

- bydinge] ppl. of **abiden** (v.) [OF]; abiding [S/1272]; **abade** pa. 3 sg. abode [L/68]; pa. 3 pl. **bode** [L/464].
- bigge] inf. **biggen** (v.) [ON]; dwell, build, found (a city or kingdom) [L/392]; pa. 3 sg. **bigged** built, founded (a city or kingdom) [S/287].
- byhete] pa. 3 pl. of **bihoten** (v.) [OE]; pledged, promised [S/885].
- bilaste] pa. pl. **bilast** (from **lasten** v.) [OE]; pledged [S/2641].
- bylyue] adv. **blive** [OE]; swiftly [L/304]; **bilyve** immediately [S/2328]; **bylyve** [S/1516].
- bisynesse] n. **businessse** [OE]; activities [L/287; S/3318]; **besynesse** [L/2806]; **businessse** preparation [S/2529].
- bystadde] pa. pl. of **bisteden** (v.) [ME]; positioned [L/309]; afflicted, distressed [L/2177].
- byswyke] inf. **biswiken** (v.) [OE]; deceive [L/822]; betray [S/735].
- bytrayne] inf. **bitraien** (v.) [OF]; betray [L/2229].
- blethe] adv. **blith(e)li** [OE]; without hesitation (see *MED* sense 2 of **blith(e)li**) [L/711].
- boystous] adj. **boistous** [OF]; strong [S/1006].
- bole] n. **bole** [ON]; bull [S/377].
- boltes] n. pl. **boltes** [OE]; bolts of a crossbow or arrows [S/376].
- bon] inf. **bounen** (v.) [ON]; proceed (with) [L/1890]; **bowne** prepare [L/2809]; pa. pl. **bon** prepared [L/2986]; **bounded** [L/1910].
- bondes] n. pl. **bound(e)** [OF & L]; limitations [S/1482].
- boonde] pa. 3 pl. of **binden** (v.) [OE]; bound [L/52]; **bon** [L/768]; **boun** [L/794].
- borde] n. **bord** [OE]; a table of honour [L/1566]; table [L/1977].
- bored] pa. 3 pl. of **boren** (v.) [OE]; pierced [S/662].
- borial] adj. **boreal** [OI]; northern [S/3584].
- borient] n. **boreal** [L]; north [L/2824].
- bothers] n. **bothe** [OE]; their [L/1414].
- bouche] n. **bouche** [OF]; sustenance; ~ **of courte** an allowance of food and drink [L/1845] → *N*.
- bouchers] n. pl. **bocher** [OF]; butchers [S/2059].
- bourdes] n. pl. **bourde** [OF]; anecdotes, jests [L/3560].
- brade] adv. **brode** [OE]; clearly [L/1306].
- brede] adj. **brod** [OE]; broad [L/907]; **brade** [L/2459]; **brode** [S/536].
- brede] n. **brod** [OE]; breadth [L/3804].
- brefe] n. **bref** [OF & ML]; writ or summons [L/3194].
- breggage] n. variation of **abreg(g)ement** [OF]; abridgement [L/580] → *N*.
- bren] inf. **brennen** (v.) [OE]; burn [L/798; S/2366]; **bryne** burn [S/516]; ppl. **brennand** burning [S/1997];

brennyng [L/556]; **brynyng** [S/512]; pa. 3 sg. **brente** burnt [S/1753]; pa. 3 pl. **brent** burnt [S/514]; pa. pl. **brende** burnt [L/3917]; **brent** burnt [L/81]; **brente** [L/2164].

breue] adj. **bref** [OF & L]; short, brief [L/3608; S/2958].

bryggantes] n. pl. **brigaunt** [OF]; mercenaries [S/2993].

bron] adj. **broun** [OE]; dark or gloomy [L/3758].

brounted] pa. pl. of **bronten** (v.) [ON]; attacked [L/1047].

browdoure] n. **broudur** [OF]; embroidery [S/1483].

browke] inf. **brouke** (v.) [OE]; possess [S/860].

bushement] n. **embushement** [OF]; an ambush [S/1535].

calculers] n. pl. **calculer** [OF & L]; one who makes calculations, a mathematician or an astrologer [L/1528; S/1241].

carrikes] n. pl. **carik(e)** [OF & ML]; large ships [L/2714; S/2347]; **carrykes** [L/2708 *gloss after*].

cast] inf. **casten** (v.) [ON]; unleash [S/2247 *gloss after*]; **caste** shoot [S/3337]; ppl. **casting** throwing [S/2261]; pa. 3 sg. **caste** deliberated [L/600]; threw [L/3372]; pa. 3 pl. plotted [L/173]; pa. pl. **cast** thrown [L/1403]; **caste** [L/661]; **casten** [L/3392]; verb. n. **caste** throwing [S/714].

castellaynes] n. pl. **castelain** [AF, CF & ML]; castle governors [S/1914].

chambrers] n. pl. **chaumberer(e)** [OF]; handmaidens; prostitutes [S/1472] → *N*.

cheysaunce] n. **chevisaunce** [OF]; security [L/2405]; **chevisaunce** security [S/1789]; **cheysshaunce** provision [S/383].

chere] n. **chere** [OF]; humour [S/1265]; spirit [L/2539]; manner [L/2968]; **make him noble** ~ treat him hospitably [S/2103].

chieftayn] n. **chevetain(e)** [OF]; commander [L/1596 *gloss after*]; **chiftayn** [L/1619]; **chiftayne** [S/2044]; **chifteyn** [L/1623]; **chifteyne** [S/1897]; pl. **chefteyns** commanders [S/679]; **chiftaynes** [S/2299].

child] n. **sheld** [OE]; shield [S/910].

clenge] inf. **clengen** (v.) [OE]; purify [L/1811].

cokkes] n. pl. **cok** [AF]; cock boats [L/2475; S/1998].

collaterall] adj. **collateral** [L & OF]; subordinate [L/1463].

comons] n. pl. **communes** [OF & ML]; common men [L/435; S/626]; House of Commons [S/836]; common men **comente** [S/2821]; **comevns** [S/3866]; **comewns** [S/3858]; **comynes** [S/2260]; **comynte** [L/1036]; **comonte** [L/1876].

compaire] n. **compair** [L & OScot]; equal or companion [S/1090].

comparatife] n. **comparatif** -ive [L]; equal [S/89].

compast] pa. 3 pl. of **compassen** (v.) [AF]; surrounded [S/2993].

compiers] n. pl. **comper** [OF]; companions, equals [S/1309 *gloss after*]; **compers** [S/1475].

compleyne] inf. **compleinen** (v.) [OE]; reveal [L/30].

comporte] inf. **comporten** (v.) [L & OF]; endure [L/32].

condicion] n. **condicioun** [OF & L]; manner [S/1579]; disposition [S/2193].

conieccioun] n. **conjeccion** [L & OF]; plot [L/172]; **conieccion** [S/298].

conyshance] n. **conissaunce** [OF]; knowledge; an emblem by which a sovereign's identity is known [L/8].

consayte] n. **conceit(e)** [ME]; opinion [L/567 *gloss after*]; **conceit** [S/2142 *gloss after*]; **conceite** [S/2681 *gloss after*]; **conceyte** [L/2568 *gloss after*]; **consaite** [S/301 *gloss after*]; **conseit** [S/3220 *gloss after*].

consanguynyte] n. **consanguinite** [OF & L]; blood relative [L/1927].

consociate] pa. pl. **consociat** (v.) [L]; associated [L/3614] united [S/1099].

consonaunce] n. **consonancie** [L & OF]; agreement [L/201].

consuetude] n. **consuetude** [OF]; custom [L/338];

constytute] pa. pl. of **constituten** (v.) [L]; constituted [L/3588].

contekour] n. **contekour** [AF]; a rioter or trouble maker [L/3486]; **contekoure** [L/3619]; pl. **contekours** [L/3601].

contourbed] pa. pl. **contourbed** [L]; distressed. [L/2191].

conuenyence] n. **convenience** [L]; propriety [L/2530]; **conuenience** appropriateness [S/588].

conuersaunt] pa. pl. **conversaunt** [L & OF]; engaged [L/3178]; **conuersant** [S/2696].

cope] n. **cope** [ML]; vault [L/1427].

cosynnage] n. **cosinage** [OF]; kindred [S/56].

costiouse] adj. **costious** [OF]; expensive [S/1476].

cotydyaly adv. **cotidialli** [L]; daily [L/2776].

coursours] n. pl. **courser** [OF]; stallions [L/3227] → *N*.

counterfete] inf. **countrefret** (v.) [AF]; imitate [L/530].

couenande] n. **covenaunt** [OF]; pact [L/1970]; **couenaunt** [S/185]; pl. **couenantz** pacts [L/192].

cowthe] aux. v. from **connen** (v.) [OE]; could [L/127; S/2545]; **couth** [L/185; S/972]; **konne** [L/306].

cragge] n. **crag** [Celt]; cliff [L/3885; S/3435]; pl. **crags** fissures [L/432]; **cragges** rocks [S/1246].

creaunce] n. **creaunce** [OF]; belief [L/2562; S/2984]; **creance** [L/3088; S/2136].

cronatykes] n. pl. **cromatik** [ML]; those who preserve their 'colours' [L/4286]; **cromatikes** [S/3407].

crouchebakked] adj. **crouche-bak** [OE & OF]; humpbacked [S/3838]; **crowgebakked** [S/3850].

crowche] n. **crouche** [OE & OF]; cross [L/1124].

curyous] adj. **curious** [ML & OF]; skilful, learned [S/20].

cut-werke] n. **cut-werk** [ME]; decorative slashing on a garment to expose the fabric underneath [S/1481].

daliaunce] n. from **dalien** [AF]; **knightly** ~ polite conversation [L/3560].

dayne] n. **deine** [OF]; contempt [S/665].

deyne] inf. **deinen** (v.) [OF & L]; consider [L/497; S/489].

de] inf. **dien** (v.) [ON]; die [L/270].

debilite] n. **debilite** [OF & L]; physical weakness, feebleness [S/2]

decollate] pa. pl. **decollat** [L]; beheaded [L/1799; S/1710].

dees] n. **deis** [AF & CF]; raised dais; **on** ~ enthroned [S/369].

defade] pa. pl. of **faden** (v.) [OE]; faded [L/67].

defaulte] n. **default(e)** [OF]; lack [S/4]; **default** absence [S/3122 *gloss after*]; **defaute** fault [L/3537]; absence [L/3645]; **defawte** fault [S/3045]; pl **defautes** faults [L/3470]

defeccion] n. **defeccion** [OF & L]; abandonment [S/3232].

deforced] pa. pl. of **deforcen** (v.) [AF]; withheld, divorced [S/3259].

degre] n. **degre** [OF]; rank [L/2876; S/1502]; generation [L/1459; S/1036 *gloss after*]; **degree** honour [S/210];

rank [S/293]; **in all degre** in every way [L/3550].

denomynate] pa. pl. of **denominen** (v.) [L]; named, called [L/950; S/136]; **denominate** [S/1278].

derayne] n. **dereine** [OF]; fight [L/2944].

dere] n. **dere** [OE]; harm [S/3303].

deroged] pa. pl. of **derogen** (v.) [L & OF]; abrogated [L/1894].

deth] n. **deth** [OE]; plague [L/1480].

devyse] n. **devis** [OF]; desire [L/371 *gloss after*]; **devise** [L/372].

dight] pa. pl. of **dighten** (v.) [OE]; predestined [L/346].

digne] adj. **digne** [OF & L]; appropriate [S/34].

dyme] n. **dime** [OF]; a subsidy consisting of one tenth of income or property [S/837]; pl. **dymes** [L/1035; S/3002]

dyscheuely] adj. **dischevele** [OF]; with the hair hanging loose [L/621]; **deschevely** [S/571].

discomfyte] pa. 3 sg. of **discomfiten** (v.) [OF]; defeated [L/483 *gloss after*]; **discomfyt** [L/2052 *gloss after*]; **discomfite** [L/1295 *gloss after*; S/672].

discouert] n. **discovert** [OF]; **at** ~ in an undressed condition [S/571].

discrees] inf. **decresen** [AF]; decrease [S/1419].

discryve] inf. **descriven** (v.) [OF & L]; describe [S/158].

diskure] inf. **diskuren** (v.) [OF]; reveal [L/29]; **diskeuer** [L/185]; pa. 3 sg. **discured** revealed [S/302].

disobeyschance] n. **disobedienc**e [OF]; disobedience [L/378]; **disobeciaunce** [S/1790].

dispoiled] pa. pl. of **dispoilen** (v.) [OF]; deprived [S/3213 *gloss after*]; **dispoiled** [S/3215].

disport] n. **disport** [AF]; pleasure, entertainment [S/3165]; **disporte** [S/4270]; pl. **disportes** pleasures entertainments [S/1270].

distourebed] pa. pl. of **distourben** (v.) [OF & L]; prevented [L/193].

dyuorse] n. **divorce** [OF]; divorce [L/369].

doloure] n. **dolour** [OF & L]; sadness [L/299].

doue] inf. **don** (v.) [OE & ME]; do [L/265]; pa. 3 sg. **ded** did [S/439].

doute] n. **dout(e)** [OF]; fear [L/873].

dreynt] pa. pl. of **drenchen** (v.) [OE]; drowned, engulfed [L/67].

dryue] inf. **driven** (v.) [OE]; suffer [L/322]; pa. 3 sg. **drofe** drove [L/304; S/1161]; pa. 3 pl. **draue** suffered [L/320]; **drofe** [L/330]; pa. pl. **drevyn** driven [S/3531].

dure] inf. **duren** (v.) [L & OF]; live, endure [L/284; S/3108].

durst] pa. 1 sg. of **durren** (v.) [OE]; dared [L/232]; pa. 3 sg. **durst** [S/413]; **durste** [L/135]; **durt** [L/1432]; pa. 3 pl. **durt** dared [S/3289].

edified] pa. pl. of **edifien** (v.) [OF]; built [L/1250; **edified** [S/1012].

efte] adv. **eft** [OE]; again [L/471; S/436].

egall] adj. **egal** [OF]; impartial [L/3177; S/2695].

egalte] n. from adj. **egal** [OF & L]; equal [L/257].

eke] adv. **ek** [OE]; also [L/449; S/79].

elacioun] n. **elacioun** [OF & L]; vainglory [L/169]; **elacion** [S/295].

elleue] cardinal number **elieven** [OE]; [L/2392]; **elleuen** eleven [L/2424; S/1189];

elleuent] ordinal number **elleventhe** [OE]; eleventh [L/2457].

eme] n. **em** [OE]; uncle [L/672; S/2659].

empeche] inf. **empechen** (v.) [AF & CF]; accuse [L/1831].

empechement] n. **empechement** [OF]; impediment [S/1931].

empryse] n. **emprise** [OF]; renown [L/1586]; **emprice** excellent [S/3359]; **emprise** [L/1819].

encheson] n. **enchesoun** [OF]; reason [L/1020].

enclyne] inf. **enclinen** (v.) [OF & L]; bow down [L/3875]; descend from heaven [S/10]; submit [S/208].

endited] pa. 3 pl. of **enditen** (v.) [AF & AL]; written [S/17].

enforse] inf. **enforcen** (v.) [OF]; attempt [L/366]; **enforce** reinforce [L/501].

engendrure] n. **engendrure** [OF]; lineage [L/495]; **engenderure** [S/487].

engendure] n. **engendure** [OF]; offspring [L/390].

enioise] inf. **enjoicen** (v.) [OF]; possess [S/111].

enmyte] n. **enemite** [OF]; enemy [L/44]; **enmytie** [S/4307].

ese] n. **ese** [OF]; ease [L/1036]; idleness [L/1169 *gloss after*]; comfort [S/987].

esed] pa. pl. of **esen** (v.) [OF]; comforted [L/1096].

essoyne] n. **essoine** [OF]; delay [L/1113]; **essoyn** [S/2800].

excelsitude] n. **excelsitude** [L]; majesty [L/2694; S/669].

excyte] pa. pl. of **exciten** (v.) [L & OF]; induced [L/632].

exequyse] n. **exequies** [OF]; funeral rites [L/2134].

expreme] inf. **expreme** (v.) [L & OF]; express [L/1078] pa. pl. **expremed** expressed [L/2048].

exulates] n. pl. **exulate** [L]; exiles [L/1491]; **exilates** [S/1211].

fayne] adj. **fain** [OE]; willing [L/25; S/2484]; happy [L/1651; S/2215]; favourably disposed [S/747]; **fayn** glad [L/1092]; willing [S/3399].

fayne] adv. **fain** [OE]; gladly, willingly [L/329; S/496]; happily [L/1613; S/2271].

feyned] pa. 3 pl. of **feinen** (v.) [OF]; forged [S/3873]; pa. pl. **fayned** [S/3839].

fame] n. **fom** [OE]; foam, the sea [S/425].

farrom] adv. **fer** [OE]; afar [S/425] (variant not recorded in the *MED*).

fast-yngonge] n. **fast-ingong** [OI & ME]; Shrovetide [L/2416]; **fast-yngange** [S/1948].

faute] n. **faute** [OF]; want [L/2198; S/2692].

feaute] n. **feute** [OF]; fealty [S/370]; **feute** [L/3683; S/870]; **fewte** [S/364 *gloss after*].

feel] indef. num. **fele** [OE]; many [L/312; S/409]; **fele** [L/1089]; **fell** [S/1795].

felde] n. **feld** [OE]; battle field [L/758; S/673]; **feld** [S/690]; **felde** [L/784 *gloss after*; S/860]; **feldes** pl. fields [S/251].

fele] inf. **felen** (v.) [OE]; understand [L/1390].

fell] n. **fel(le)** [OF]; bitterness [L/1944].

felle] adj. **fel** [OF]; treacherous [L/476; S/298]; great [S/1538]; **fell** [L/1480; S/1687]; comp. adj. **feller** greater [S/1659].

felly] adv. **felli(che)** [OF]; treacherously [L/810; S/752].

femynacioun] n. **feminacioun** womankind [L/408; S/401].

fer-costes] n. pl. **far-cost** [OI]; boats [L/3812].

fere] n. **fere** [OE]; **in** ~ together [L/660; S/688]; **in fer** [L/786].

forpassyng] ppl. **forpassing** [OF]; surpassing [L/1172]; **ferpassing** [S/1370]; **ferrepassing** [S/1475].

ferpassingly] adv. from **forpassing** [OF]; exceedingly [S/2196].

Feueryere] n. **Feveryer** [OF]; February [L/2410; S/1948].

figure] n. **figure** [OF & L]; likeness, diagram [L/93].

file] inf. **filen** (v.) [OF]; record [L/479]; **fyle** [L/2956]; pa. pl. **filed** recorded [S/476]; **fyled** [L/491].

file] inf. **filen** (v.) [OE, W & S]; violate [S/2483].

fyne] inf. **finen** (v.) [OF]; end [S/8].

flakes] n. pl. **flake** [OI]; coverings (made from bundles of wood) [L/603; S/540].

flode] n. **flood** [OE]; current [L/297]; **flood** ocean [S/3598 *gloss after*]; **flood** [S/3598 *gloss after*]; pl. **flodes** currents [L/313]; oceans [S/3583]; **floodes** [S/3589].

fone] n. pl. **fo** [OE]; foes [L/539]; **foone** foes [S/886].

foode] pa. pl. of **foen** (v.) [OE]; set at variance [S/1344].

forcaste] pa. 3 pl. of **casten** (v.) [ON]; calculated, planned [S/3336].

forfought] pa. pl. of **forfighten** (v.) [OE]; exhausted with fighting [L/465].

forshent] pa. 3 sg. of **shenden** (v.) [OE]; harmed, disgraced [L/801].

forþy] conj. **for-thi** [OE]; (in phrases) **no3t** ~ nevertheless [L/69]; **nought forthy** [L/183]; **noght forthy** [L/754].

forth-warde] adv. **forth-ward** [OE]; henceforth [L/1729]; **forth-ward** [L/1813 *gloss after*; S/2021]; **forth-wardes** [L/1876 *gloss after*; S/2415].

fortuite] adj. **fortuit** [L]; fortuitous, accidental, chance.

fortunacion] n. **fortunacioun** [L]; state of being favoured by fortune, good luck [L/421].

fortunyte] n. **fortunite** [OF]; destiny [L/3139].

forwake] pa. 3 pl. of **waken** (v.) [OE]; tired, exhausted [L/323].

forwarde] n. **forth-ward** [OE]; agreement [L/823]; **forward** [S/96].

fraternyte] n. **fraternite** [OF & L]; group [L/208].

fraunchise] n. **fraunchis(e)** [OF]; privilege [S/209]; **fraunceyse** authority [S/3915].

fraunchised] pa. pl. of **fraunchisen** (v.) [OF]; freed [L/3294]; **fraunchyst** liberated [L/1659].

fresshe] inf. **freshen** (v.) [OF]; refresh [L/87]; **fressh** [L/3702]; **refressh** [L/3367]; **refresshe** [L/3842].

frethed] pa. pl. of **frithen** (v.) [OE]; protected [L/1075].

friste] ordinal number **first** [OE]; first [L/1388].

frute] n. pl. **fruit** [OF]; children [L/399]; **fruyt** fruit [S/2296]; **fruyte** [S/392].

fuson] n. **foisoun** [OF]; kindness [S/3349].

gabbe] n. **gab**(be [ON]; **withouten** ~ truly [L/3605].

gaynstonde] inf. **yenstonden** (v.) [NEM]; oppose [L/3660]; ppl. **gaynstandyng** opposing [L/717].

galeys n. pl. **galei**(e [OF]; gallies [L/2734]; **galies** [S/2349].

galyot] n. **galiot** [OF]; a small galley [L/2456 *gloss after*]; **galiot** [L/2471; S/1981 *gloss after*]; **galiote** [S/2001].

gane] pa. pl. of **gon** (v.) [OE]; gone [S/1341].

gat] pa. 3 sg. of **geten** (v.) [ON]; begot [S/1046]; **gate** [S/63]; **got** [S/1071 *gloss after*]; pa. 3 pl. **gat** [L/409]; **gate** [L/417; S/385 *gloss after*]; pa. pl. **goten** conceived [L/528; S/495]; part. adj. **goten** begotten [S/3931].

geantz] n. pl. **geaunt** [OF & OE]; giants [L/392 *gloss after*; S/385 *gloss after*]; **geantes** [S/402]; **geauntes** [S/385 *gloss after*].

generacioun] n. **generacioun** [OF]; ancestral line [L/104]; **generacion** [L/526]; race [L/419]

Genyus] prop. n. **Genius** [L & OF]; a moral spirit that moderates passion [L/512]; **Geneus** [S/459].

gent] adj. **gent** [OF]; highborn [L/1271; S/46]; **gente** [L/1759].

gerde] inf. **girden** (v.) [OE]; gird, equip [L/4284]; **girde** [S/3403]; pa. pl. **gert** girt [S/1440].

giste] n. **gest**(e [OF & ML]; action [S/3884].

gyste] n. **giste** [OF]; resting place [S/3420].

Glaucus] prop. n. a Roman river god [L/515].

glose] inf. **glosen** (v.) [ML & OF]; describe [L/3562].

grayne] n. **graine** [OF]; a scarlet dye made from the insect kermes [S/1480].

grame] n. **gram**(e [OE]; hatred [L/2915].

grefehode] n. **grefhede** [AF & CF]; pain [L/2188].

greue] inf. **greven** (v.) [OF]; harm [L/425].

gryme] n. **grim** [OE]; cruelty [L/2440].

guy] inf. **gien** (v.) [OF]; guide [L/518].

guyde] n. **gide** [OF]; guide [L/1169 *gloss after*].

gvnnes] n. pl. **gonne** [ON]; siege engines, canons [L/86; S/1920]; **gunes** [S/2265]; **gunnes** [L/2372; S/2451]; **gunnys** [S/2261].

habilite] n. **abilite** [OF]; ability [L/2875; S/4].

haboundant] adj. **aboundaunt** [L & OF]; generous [L/146].

hafe] inf. **haven** (v.) [OE]; have [L/139; S/1677]; pr. 3 sg. **hath** has [L/4; S/10].

hayke] n. **heu(ke** [MDu, OF & ML]; a hooded cloak [L/3040].

hakenayse] n. pl. **hakenei(e** [OF]; a small saddle horse [L/3227]; **haknayes** [S/3914].

hale] adj. **hol(e** [OE]; whole [S/185].

hale] adv. **hol(e** [OE]; completely [L/2442].

hame] n. **hom** [OE]; home [L/3390; S/138].

hanselde] pa. pl. of **hansellen** (v.) [OE & ON]; rewarded [L/2061].

hansmen] n. pl. **hengest-man** [ON]; attendants, noblemen [L/2975].

hardyer] comp. adj. **hardi** [OF]; braver [L/3542].

hardyment] n. **hardiment** [OF]; bravery, courage, daring [L/2903].

hardynesse] n. **hardines(se** [OF]; audacity [L/649; S/596].

hedde] pa. 3 sg. of **haven** (v.) [OE]; had [L/2128].

hede] inf. **heden** (v.) [OE]; behead [S/1714]; ppl. **hedyng** beheading [S/1521]; pa. 3 sg. **heded** beheaded [S/1421]; **hedid** [L/2652 *gloss after*]; **heded** [S/1215]; pa. 3 pl. **heded** beheaded [L/1494]; **hedid** [S/1320]; **heed** [S/2994]; pa. pl. **hede** beheaded [L/2581]; **heded** [S/616]; **hedyd** [L/665 *gloss after*].

heest] n. **hest(e** [OE]; promise [S/2554].

heght] adj. **height** [OE]; noble [L/1326].

helles] n. pl. **helle** [OE]; miseries [S/3580].

helles] n. pl. **hil(le** [OE]; hills [L/428].

hepes] n. pl. **hep** [OE]; heaps [L/782]

hepes] n. pl. **hipe** [OE]; hips [S/577].

hennys] n. **harneis** [OF]; harness [S/3598].

hent] pa. pl. of **henten** (v.) [OE]; seized [L/672; S/2488].

herd] n. **hard** [OE]; hard [S/496].

herse] n. **herse** [OF]; hearse [L/2126]; **heese** [S/1729].

hete] n. **hete** [OE]; lust [L/411; S/404]; hatred [L/2242].

hight] inf. **hoten** (v.) [OE]; promise [L/3672; S/3379]; assure [L/2329]; pa 3 sg. **hight** promised [L/3743]; pa. 3 pl. promised [S/3209]; **highte** [L/142]; pa. pl. **hight** called [L/176; S/176]; promised [S/810].

holpen] inf. **helpen** (v.) [OE]; help [L/684]; pa. pl. **holpen** helped [L/209]; **holpe** [L/825].

hostay] inf. **hosteien** (v.) [AF]; destroy, ravage [L/3714; S/3479]; ppl. **hostyng** ravaging [L/1120]; **hostaynge** [L/1690]; pa. pl. **hostayde** ravaged [L/81]; verb. n. **hostaiyng** ravaging [S/3555].

hoste] n. **host(e** [OF]; an army [L/83; S/3543]; **hoost** [S/1257]; **host** [S/644 *gloss after*]; pl. **hostes** armies [L/878; S/2885].

hurte] inf. **hurten** (v.) [OF]; grieve [L/69]; **hurt** [S/453].

hurte] n. **hurt** [OF]; grievance [L/29]; pl. **hurtes** wounds [L/966].

illumynde] pa. pl. of **illuminaten** (v.) [L & OF]; illuminated [L/94].

Ymeneus] the Roman god Hymen [L/513].

impedymente] n. **impediment** [L & OF]; delay [L/110]; **impediment** trouble [L/455; S/1932]; **inpedyment** difficulty [L/2050]

implyde] pa. pl. of **implien** (v.) [OF]; concerned [L/401]; **implied** [S/394].

incontynent] adv. **incontinent** [OF]; immediately [L/1762; S/1263]; **incontinent** [S/3182].

in myd] prep. **in mid(de)** [OE]; within, in the middle [L/1216].

inperfyte] adj. **imparfit** [OF & L]; imperfect [L/453]; **inperfite** [S/2889].

insolence] n. **insolens** [L & OF]; bad behaviour [S/7].

intrusery] n. **intruseri** [AL & AF]; usurpation [S/907].

irke] inf. **irken** (v.) [Celt]; weary [S/3275]; pa. 3 sg. **irkid** loathed [S/3228].

irouse] adj. **irous** [OF]; angry [L/268]

irroged] pa. pl. of **abrogen** (v.) [OF]; abrogated [L/1895] (this variation is not recorded in the *MED*).

iakkes] n. pl. **jakke** [OF]; a defensive tunic with iron plates in the lining [L/3191].

iape] n. **jape** [OF]; fool [L/1638].

ioyse] inf. **joien** (v.) [OF]; possess [L/993; S/108].

ioyowse] adj. **joious** [OF]; joyous [S/1108].

iuparte] n. **jupartie** [OF]; jeopardy [L/1610]; risk [L/2063]; **iuberte** [S/1694].

iusted] pa. 3 sg. of **justen** (v.) [OF]; jousted [L/1368; S/1384]; pa. 3 pl. **iuste** jousted [L/2917].

iustes] n. pl. **justes** [OF]; jousts [L/1725; S/1121]; **iustus** [S/1108]

iuuente] n. **juvent(e)** [OF & L]; youth [L/656]; **iuvente** [S/1188].

kalendere] n. **calender** [OF & L]; calendar, calculation [S/2159]; **calende** [S/3418]; pl. **kalendres** calendars [S/2343].

kalendes] n. **calende(s)** [L]; beginning [L/2243] → *N*.

ken] inf. **kennen** (v.) [OE]; know, [L/781; S/2056]; understand [S/2343] **kende** know [S/451]; pa. 3 pl. **kende** knew [L/502]; pa. pl. known [L/263].

kene] adj. **kene** [OE]; bold [L/1888]; wise [S/1404]; eager, cruel, rebellious, intelligent [S/1587].

kene] adv. **kene** [OE]; grievously [S/1783].

kest] inf. **casten** (v.) [ON]; cast (down) [S/2707].

- kyndely] adj. **kindeli** [OE]; natural [L/3085].
- king-rike] n. **king-riche** [OE]; kingdom [S/1116]
- kirke] n. **chirche** [OE & ON]; church [S/96].
- kystes] n. pl. **chest(e)** [OE, L & ON]; chests [L/1320]; **kistes** [S/2013]
- kon] inf. **can** (v.) [N & NM]; do [L/3912].
- konysshaunce] n. **conissaunce** [OF]; knowledge [S/1488].
- lay] inf. **leien** (v.) [OE]; spread [L/1697]; pa. pl. **layde** laid aside [L/1026].
- layne] inf. **leinen** (v.) [OI]; lie, [L/186]; phr. **noght to layn** indeed [L/2754]; **nought to layne** [S/446].
- laisers] n. **leiser** [OF]; leisure [S/662].
- langage] inf. from **langage** n. [OF]; report [L/479].
- lare] pa. 3 sg. of **leren** (v.) [OE & WS]; learnt [S/973].
- laude] n. **laude** [OF]; praise [S/2767]
- laudified] pa. 3 sg. of **laudifien** (v.) [L]; praised [S/521].
- lauenders] n. pl. **lavender(e)** [OF & ML]; serving maids, whores, camp followers [S/1472] → *N*.
- leel] adj. **lel** [OF]; loyal [S/1365].
- lefull] adj. **lefful** [OE]; faithful, proper [L/2230].
- lese] n. **les(e)** [OE]; a lie, doubt [L/1698]; **lees** [S/605]; **leese** [S/1036].
- lesynge] ppl. of **lesen** (v.) [OE]; lying [L/2587].
- lette] inf. **letten** (v.) [OE]; delay [L/1578; S/2222]; hinder [L/3443; S/2912]; **let** delay [S/3181]; ppl. **lettyng** hindering [S/1260]; **lettynge** [L/2854]; pa. pl. **lette** hindered [S/3038].
- leve] inf. **leven** (v.) [OE & WS]; believe [S/3101].
- leue] inf. **liven** (v.) [OE]; live [L/221; S/40]; **leuen** [L/2006]; **leve** [S/640]; ppl. **leuyng** living [L/453]; **leuyng** [L/681]; pa. 3 sg. **leued** [S/1266]; pa. 3 pl. **leued** lived [L/476]; **leved** [L/392 *gloss after*].
- leuer] comp. adj. **lef** [OE]; rather [S/4304].
- leute] n. **leaute** [OF]; loyalty [S/3284].
- lewghe] pa. 3 pl. of **laughen** (v.) [OE]; laughed; ~ **faste** laughed loudly [S/582].
- lybarde] n. **leopard** [OF, L, & ML]; leopard (but in heraldic terms a lion) [L/1006].
- lychery] n. **lecheri(e)** [OF]; leachery [L/392 *gloss after*]; **licheri** [S/1499]; **lichery** [S/1463 *gloss after*]; **lichory** [L/402].
- lyfelode] n. **lif-lod(e)** [OE]; income [L/112]; **liflode** [S/3220]; **lyuelode** [S/1438].
- lygge] inf. **lien** (v.) [OE]; remain [L/87]; **lyg** [S/982]; ppl. **liggyng** residing [L/68; S/766]; **liggyng** by

copulating with [L/406]; pa. pl. **lyggen** laid [L/2419].

lyghte] adj. **light** [OE]; easy [L/96].

lighter] comp. adj. **light** [OE]; easier [S/4310].

list] inf. **listen** (v.) [OE]; desire [S/3928]; pa. 3 sg. **liste** desired [L/221].

litargikes] n. pl. **litargik** [ML & OF]; persons suffering from lethargy or mentally incapacitated by it [S/3406].

longe] inf. **longen** (v.) [OE]; belong [L/126; S/3383]; pr. 3 sg. **longeth** belongs [L/115]; **longes** [S/3479]; ppl. **longe** belonging [L/3460; S/2929]; **longing** [S/4277]; **longyng** [L/1344]; **longynge** [L/2387]; pa. 3 sg. **longed** belonged [L/736].

maaste] adj. **most** [OE]; top [L/440].

mayme] n. **maim(e)** [OF & AF]; injury, wound [L/152; S/4253].

maymed] pa. 3 sg. of **maimen** (v.) [OF]; injured [L/45]; part. adj. [S/3850]; part. adj. **mayned** [S/1745].

mayntenoure] n. **maintenour** [OF]; retainer [L/3621]; pl. **maynetenours** retainers [L/3615]; **mayntenours** [L/3624].

make] n. **make** [OE]; equal [L/3561; S/1907].

maker] n. **maker(e)** [OE]; author [L/161 *gloss after*; S/112 *gloss after*]; **makere** [L/2568 *gloss after*; S/2884 *gloss after*]; pl. **makers** authors [L/523].

malefesours] n. pl. **malfesour** [OF]; criminals [L/3207].

malignacioun] n. **malignacion** [ML]; hatred, malice [L/423]; **malignacion** [S/413]

Manes] prop. n. pl. **manes** [L]; spirits of Hades [L/515].

mantyls] n. pl. **mantel** [OF, L & OE]; ceremonial robes [S/1439].

marchalcy] n. **marchalsi(e)** [OF]; the prison attached to the court presided over by the knight marshal of the king's household [S/624].

Marchers] n. pl. **Marcher(e)** [OF]; men of the Marches [L/749].

market-dassehers] n. pl. **market-dashere** [LOE, ON & OF]; an idler, troublemaker [L/3589].

Marmorike] adj. **Marmorik(e)** [L]; African [S/1120].

mate] adj. **mat** [OF]; powerless [L/1510].

mede] n. **mede** [OE]; reward [L/3217]; punishment [S/143].

Megary] prop. n. Megaera, one of the three Furies [L/511; S/458].

meyny] n. pl. **man** [OE]; officers [L/2804]; **meynee** household servants and officers [L/3539].

melde] pa. 3 sg. of **medlen** (v.) [OF]; intervened [L/924].

membres] n. pl. **membre** [OF]; rights, possessions [L/119].

merr] inf. **merren** (v.) [OE]; harm [L/1922]; pa. pl. **merred** corrupted [L/533]; hindered, harmed [S/3835].

mesaventured] pa. pl. from **misaventur(e)** (n.) [OF & ML]; harmed [L/2065].

meschaunce] n. **mischance** [OF & ME]; mischief, harm [L/200]; **myschaunce** [S/2728].

meses] n. pl. **mes** [OF]; meals, courses of food [S/1467].

mysesed] pa. pl. **mised** (from **misese** n. and **esen** v.) [OF]; in want [L/1097].

misvaunce] n. **misfal** [OE & K]; misfortune, adversity [S/3029].

mone] n. **mon** [OE]; lamentation [S/998]; **moon** complaint [S/1237].

morayn] n. **morein(e)** [OF & ML]; death, disease [S/1821].

mortified] pa. pl. of **mortifien** (v.) [OF]; killed [S/695]; **mortified** [S/2296].

mosse] n. **mos** [OE & ON]; moss, bog, moor [L/601; S/535]; pl. **mosses** bogs, moors [L/3922].

mot] inf. **moten** (v.) [OE]; divulge [L/277].

mote] n. **mot** [OE]; debate, conflict [S/1977].

muse] n. **muse** [L & OF]; knowledge [L/204].

muse] inf. **musen** (v.) [OF]; think [L/505; S/454]; ppl. **musung** thinking [S/2180]; **musyng** [L/2599].

mustir] n. **moustre** [OF]; assembly of troops [S/1587].

mustred] pa. 3 sg. of **moustren** (v.) [OF]; assembled for battle [S/1426]; pa. 3 pl. [L/2985].

neuen] inf. **nevenen** (v.) [ON]; speak of, tell [L/1428]; **neven** [S/1194].

noblay] n. **noblei(e)** [OF]; nobility [L/286].

noy] inf. **noien** (v.) [OF]; disturb [S/413]; destroy [S/1811]; **noye** disturb [L/420; S/3192 *gloss after*]; destroy [L/2579; S/2153]; **noyed** pa. pl. destroyed [L/3698].

noye] n. **noi** [OF]; distress [L/2580].

noyouse] adj. **noious** [OF]; difficult, annoying, troublesome [S/2724].

no-kyns] adj. **no-kinnes** [WM]; no kind of [L/127]; **no-kyn** [S/3107].

nomynate] adj. **nominat(e)** [L]; named [S/793]; **denominate** [S/1278]; **denomynate** [S/1664].

nones] n. **nones** [N]; phr. **for the ~** indeed, certainly [L/1494; S/1641].

noryse] inf. **norishen** [OF]; nourish [L/3329].

norture] n. **norture** [OF]; courtesy [S/3239].

notabilitee] n. **notabilite** [OF & ML]; a valuable fact [S/30].

nounage] n. **nounage** [AF]; childhood, minority [L/643]; **nonage** [L/2450].

nouelry] n. **novelrie** [OF]; variety [L/2468].

no-wise] adv. **no-wise** [OE]; no way [L/265].

obeishance] n. **obeisaunce** [OF]; obedience [L/16]; **obeisshance** [S/3465]; **obeysshance** [L/3100]; **obeshiaunce** [S/2070]; **obesshance** [S/1489].

occident] n. **occident** [OF & L]; west [L/2278; S/3593].

occupiours] n. pl. **occupiour** [AF]; officeholders [S/1470].

operaciouns] n. pl. **operacioun** [OF & L]; works, structures [L/432].

ordal] n. **ordal** [OE]; a trial by ordeal [L/261].

ordenance] n. **ordinaunce** [OF]; military supplies [L/86]; **ordenance** [S/3337]; **ordynance** [S/1981 *gloss after*]; command [S/1559]; **ordinaunce** agreement, decision [S/691]; judgement [S/1603]; military supplies [S/2069]; authority [S/3310]; **ordynance** declaration [L/652; S/956]; judgment [L/1197; S/3028]; military supplies [L/2281]; custom [L/2622].

ordynacion] n. **ordinacioun** [L & OF]; appointment [L/658]; judgement [L/1146].

ordynate] pa. pl. of **ordeinen** (v.) [OF]; placed [L/3469]; **ordinate** [S/1095].

ought] adv. **ought** [OE]; in any way [L/107 S/38].

ought] pron. **ought** [OE]; anything [L/280; S/371].

ourwhare] adv. **our-wher** [N or NM]; anywhere [L/443]; **owrwhare** [L/2383].

payens] n. pl. **pagan(e)** [L]; pagans [L/329 *gloss after*].

paled] pa. 3 pl. of **pallen** (v.) [OF & L]; defended (with stakes or spikes) [L/2472] → *N*.

palers] n. pl. **pal(e)** [L & OF]; stakes or spikes used for defence [L/2477].

Pallas] prop. n. the goddess Pallas Athene [L/511; S458].

palsy] n. **palesi(e)** [OF]; sickness [S/2979].

parayle] n. **ap(p)areil** [OF]; apparel [L/267].

parde] interj. **parde** [OF]; by God, without doubt [L/2286; S/3883].

parseners] n. pl. **parcener** [OF]; partakers [L/3203].

parte] n. **part** [OF]; fate [L/314].

patent] n. **patent(e)** [OF]; letter patent [L/127; S/560 *gloss after*]; pl. **patentz** letters patent [L/57].

paternyte] n. **paternite** [OF]; ancestry [L/194]; paternal authority [L/207].

penon] n. **penoun** [OF]; emblazoned flag [L/3571; S/2467]; pl. **penons** emblazoned flags [S/818].

perry] n. **perri(e)** [AF]; precious stone or a pearl [L/552].

peruersacion] n. **perversion** [L]; perversion [S/3227].

pykke] n. **pich(e)** [OE & L] wood tar; ~ **and tarre** melted lead and liquid wood tar [L/2474]; **pyk and terre** [S/2007].

play] inf. **pleien** (v.) [OE]; play (in a sexual sense) [L/396; S/389].

- play] n. **plei(e)** [OE]; entertainment [S/3165].
- player] n. from **pleien** (v.) [OE]; paramour [L/647]; **playfere** companion, paramour [S/1305]; **plaifire** [S/602].
- pleynde] pa. 3 sg. of **pleinten** [OF]; complained [L/1823]; **playned** [S/1763].
- plenere] adj. **plener(e)** [AF & CF]; complete [L/3563]; **plenare** [S/1878].
- plenerly] adv. **plenerli(e)** [AF & CF]; certainly [L/942].
- plesance] n. **plesaunce** [OF]; satisfaction [L/1]; pleasure [L/3981]; will [S/3464]; **plesaunce** satisfaction [L/724; S/23]; desire [L/2173]; will [L/2484].
- poeses] n. **poesi(e)** [OF]; poetry [L/503].
- porayle] n. pl. **poverail(e)** [AF]; poor people [S/1274].
- power] n. **pouer(e)** [OF]; an army [L/789; S/675]; **powere** [L/1012; S/680].
- powste] n. **pouste** [AF & CF]; military power [L/845].
- preordinate] pa. pl. of **preordinat(e)** (v.) [L]; pre-ordained [S/144]; **preordynate** pre-arranged [S/2737].
- prese] n. **preise** [OF]; praise [L/3516; S/12].
- prese] n. **presse** [OF & CL & ML]; crowding [L/783]; **prees** [S/696]; crowd [S/1418].
- prest] pa. pl. of **pressen** [OF & L]; compelled [L/425].
- preued] pa. pl. of **preven** (v.) [OF]; proved [L/1176; S/1267].
- previed] pa. pl. of **previden** (v.) [L]; ordained [S/3065].
- prevised] pa. pl. of **previsen** (v.) [L]; provided with [S/2611].
- priorite] n. **priorite** [OF & ML]; position of honour [L/376]; priority [L/3715]; authority [S/32].
- priuetees] n. pl. **privete** [OF]; secrets [S/4281].
- processe] n. **proces** [OF & L]; passage of time [L/43; S/310].
- profred] pa. 3 pl. of **profren** (v.) [OF & AF]; offered [L/264]; pa. pl. **proffred** [S/1729].
- promyssioun] n. **promissioun** [OF & L]; **londe of** ~ promised land [L/3160].
- propiciacion] n. **propiciacioun** [L]; atonement [L/2435].
- prosperacion] n. **prosperacioun** [L]; prosperity [L/2341].
- Protheus] prop. n. the god Proteus [L/515].
- provest] n. **provost** [OE & OF]; governor [S/2832].
- Pulan] n. **Polaine** [OF & L]; Polish (wax) [S/2016].
- punycion] n. **punicioun** [OF & L]; punishment [S/1155].

pursewe] inf. **purseuen** (v.) [AF & CF]; pursue [S/2657]; pa. 1 sg. **pursewed** sued, petitioned [L/113].

purviaunce] n. **purveiaunce** [AF & CF]; company [S/2735].

pushance] n. **puissaunce** [OF]; authority [L/10]; **puissance** [L/4280]; **puissaunce** [S/823]; **puyssaunce** [L/2902]; **pusaunace** power [S/3489]; **pusaunce** [L/2950]; **pussance** authority [S/3462]; **pusshaunce** power [S/2446].

quarell] n. **quarrel** [OF & ML]; a cross bolt [L/3317 *gloss after*; S/2793].

quyt] inf. **quieten** (v.) [L & ME]; quit [S/985].

quyt] pa. 3 sg. of **quiten** (v.) [OF]; revenged [S/144];

racchis] n. pl. **racch(e)** [OE]; hunting dogs [S/2247 *gloss after*].

rade] pa. 3 sg. of **riden** (v.) [OE]; rode [L/938].

recette] pa. pl. of **receiven** (v.) [OF]; received [S/1525].

recomforte] inf. **recomforten** (v.) [OF]; comfort [S/4273].

recomende] pa. 3 sg. of **recommenden** (v.) [ML]; praised [L/279].

recounselate] pa. pl. of **reconcilen** (v.) [L, OF & AF]; reconciled [L/2224].

rede] n. **red** [OE]; advice [L/231]; decision [L/803]; bidding [L/1511]; judgement [S/1715]; counsel [S/1872].

refigure] inf. **refiguren** (v.) [L]; represent [S/1491].

refte] pa. 3 sg. of **reven** [OE]; seized [L/1416].

refute] n. **refut(e)** [OF]; refuge [L/434].

regaly] n. **regali(e)** [OF]; kingship [L/3223; S/109].

regalyte] n. **regalite** [AF]; sovereignty [L/39]; **regalite** [S/4272]; **regalitee** [S/42]; **regalte** royalty [L/256].

regence] n. **regence** [OF]; authority [L/98; S/567]; **regency** sovereignty [L/342]; **regencie** [S/4286].

regymente] n. **regiment** [OF & L]; power [L/109]; **regement** sovereignty [S/3122 *gloss after*]; **regyement** [L/4270]; **regimence** authority [S/31]; **regymence** [L/1171]; **regiment** sovereignty [S/179]; **regyment** power [L/165; S/2980]; pl. **regementes** powers [S/1110]; **regymentes** [L/3506].

rehet] pa. pl. of **reheten** (v.) [OF]; supported [L/1083].

reioyse] inf. **rejoisen** (v.) [OF]; attain, possess [L/3716; S/112]; rejoice [S/266]; pr. 1 sg. **reioyeth** rejoices [L/3972]; **reioyth** [S/4251]; pa. 3 pl. **reioysed** rejoiced [S/2625]; pa. pl. possessed [L/3142].

reke] n. **rek(e)** [OE & ON]; uproar [L/2366].

reles] n. **reles** [OF]; deed of release [L/64]; **relese** [[L/623 *gloss after*; S/560 *gloss after*].

relese] inf. **relesen** (v.) [OF & AF]; [L/637]; pa. 3 sg. **releesed** [S/562]; pa. pl. **relesede** released [L/573].

relye] inf. **relien** (v.) [OF]; rally (military troops) [L/3932]; pa. 3 sg. **relied** rallied [L/1611].

remeyne] inf. **remainen** (v.) [OF]; continue [S/2407]; pr. 3 sg. **remaynte** continues [L/3712].

remewe] inf. **remeven** [OF]; remove [L/960; S/434]; pa. 3 sg. **remeued** [S/1911]; **remeved** [S/1694 *gloss after*]; **remewed** [L/3401 *gloss after*]; pa. pl. **remewede** removed [L/1022].

repaire] inf. **reparien** (v.) [OF]; return [S/173]; **repeire** [S/1285]; pa. 3 pl. **repayred** assembled [L/1861].

repayre] n. **repair(e)** [OF]; assembly [L/543; S/2832]; company [S/2756].

repelle] inf. **repelen** (v.) [OF & AF]; revoke [L/132]; **repele** [L/889]; **repeled** pa. pl. revoked [L/1225; S/896]; **repeelde** [L/2048].

repygned] pa. 3 sg. of **repugnen** (v.) [OF & L]; resisted [S/1599]; pa. 3 pl. **repugned** attacked [S/2257]; pa. pl. **repigned** [S/3395].

replyde] pa. 3 sg. of **replien** (v.) [OF]; protested [L/415]; **replied** [S/408]; pa. pl. opposed [S/2560]; **replyed** opposed [S/600].

reprehencion] n. **reprehensioun** [L & OF]; reproach [L/2873].

repreue] inf. **repreven** (v.) [OF & AF]; rebuke [L/3540]; **repreve** [S/37]; pa. pl. **reproued** condemned, rejected [L/3502].

repreue] n. **repreve** [OF & AF]; shame [L/2299].

repudiate] pa. 3 sg. **repudiate** [L]; divorced [S/1044]; part adj. abandoned [S/511].

repudiate] n. from **repudiate** (pa. pl.) [L]; a condemned man [S/623].

rereward] n. **rere-ward(e)** [AF]; the rear of an army, rear guard [L/3670]; **rerward** [S/3926].

resounde] pa. 3 sg. of **resounen** (v.) [OF]; proclaimed [L/2234].

reule] n. **reule** [OF]; authority [L/20; S/3105]; governance [L/454]; rule [L/1868]; **rewle** authority [S/1104]; governance [S/3245]; **rule** governance [S/31]; rule [S/699]; judgement [S/876].

revy] inf. **reuen** (v.) [OE]; deprive [L/530]; pa. 3 sg. **revyed** deprived [S/698].

rewe] inf. **reuen** (v.) [OE]; rue [L/322; S/3147]; **rew** [S/2789]; pa. 3 pl. **rewed** rued [S/1348].

rial] adj. **real** [OF]; royal [L/291].

rial] n. **real** [OF]; royal [L/57; S/1727]; **riall** [L/90; S/1085]; **ryall** [L/125]; **roial** [S/1323]; **rials** n. pl. members of the royal family [L/15; S/2210].

rially] adv. **realli** [OF]; royally [L/630; S/1013]; **rialy** [L/2617 *gloss after*; S/1103].

rialte] n. **realte** [OF]; royal power **rialte** [L/126]; authority [L/254].

rife] adj. **rif(e)** [OE & LOE]; renowned [S/67];

rife] adv. **rif(e)** [OE & LOE]; widely [S/224]; **riffe** frequently, widely [S/1995].

ripes] n. pl. **ripe** [L]; shores [S/426].

- roches] n. pl. **roche** [OF]; cliffs [S/426].
- rode] pa. 3 sg. **reden** (v.) [OE]; read [S/352].
- rothere] n. **rother** [OE]; rudder [L/2244].
- sad] adj. **sad** [OE]; wise [L/2195; S/576]; **sadde** [L/3552]; solemn [S/887].
- sakelesly] adv. **saklesli** [OE, OI & ME]; innocently [L/191].
- salades] n. pl. **salet(te** [OF & AL]; bowl shaped helmets [L/3191].
- sarke] n. **serk(e** [OE]; shirt [L/2571; S/1981].
- saues] inf. **saven** (v.) [OF & L]; protect [L/439].
- sauf] prep. **sauf** [OF & L]; except [L/275; S/679]; only [L/464]; **saue** [L/353; S/1981].
- saunce] prep. **saun(s** [OF]; without [S/1391].
- sawtes] n. pl. **saut** [OF]; military attacks, raids [L/2371]; **asaute** [S/1920]; **assaute** [S/1927]; **assawte** [S/3044]; pl. **assautes** attacks, raids [S/2257]; **assawtes** [S/1913]; **sautes** [S/2881].
- scrat] pa. 3 sg. of **scratten** [OF or AL]; scratched [L/222].
- sege] n. **segge** [OF]; bottom [L/553 *gloss after*].
- seysyne] n. **seisin(e** [OF]; seizin [L/334].
- sekyrly] adv. **sikerli** [OE]; certainly, truly [L/2006]; **sikerlie** safely [S/4306]; **sykyrly** [L/2670].
- semblable] adj. **semblable** [OF]; similar [S/4243].
- senectude] n. **senectute** [L]; old age [L/451].
- Seueus] prop. n. a Roman god [L/510].
- sentence] n. **sentence** [OF & L]; counsel [L/212].
- ser] adj. **sere** [ON] diverse [L/1239]; **sere** [L/1533; S/1008].
- seth] conj. **sitthe** [OE]; since [L/99]; **sethe** [L/391]; **sith** [S/482].
- seure] adv. **seur** [OF]; safely [L/437].
- sure] adj. **seur** [OF] sound [L/3089]; safe [S/739].
- seurte] n. **surte** [OF]; surety, pledge [L/3197]; **surte** stability [S/2536].
- seueraly] adv. **severalli** [OF]; individually, independently [L/175]; **seuerally** [L/180; S/1561].
- sewe] inf. **seuen** (v.) [OF & AF]; seek [L/2638]; **sue** pursue [S/549]; pr. 3 sg. **seweth** pursues [S/869]; pa. 1 sg. **sewed** sued [L/128].
- shafe] n. **shaf** [OE]; a sheaf as a tithe [L/1033; S/839].
- shent] pa. 3 pl. of **shenden** (v.) [OE]; destroyed [S/721]; pa. pl. **shente** harmed, destroyed [L/3965].
- siker] adj. **siker** [OE]; safe [S/733]; strong, reliable [S/1176] → *N*.

syne] adv. **sin** [OE]; afterwards, then [L/920].

Syry] n. **Sirie** [L & OE]; Syria, the kingdom of Assyria [L/329 *gloss after*; S/321]; **Assiry** [S/355]; **Siry** [S/319]; **Syrie** [S/317]; **Sirry** [S/291].

skele] n. **skil** [ON]; judgement [S/584].

slade] n. **slade** [OE]; valley [L/1307].

slelyche] adv. **sleighli** [ON]; slyly [L/632].

smerte] adj. **smert** [LOE]; fierce [L/3110; S/1396].

smore] inf. **smoren** (v.) [OE]; suffocate [L/1737]; pa. pl. **smored** destroyed [L/2693; S/700].

sociate] adj. **sociat(e)** [L]; added together [S/1351].

sogates] adv. **sogat(e)** [OE]; in this manner [L/322]; thus [L/710].

solicitude] inf. **soliciten** (v.) [OF & L]; further [S/670].

soonde] n. **sound(e)** [OE or ME]; protection [L/2538].

soudyours] n. pl. **soudiour** [AF & OF]; soldiers [L/749]; **soudiours** [S/3173].

sowe] pa. 1 sg. of **sen** (v.) [OE or LOE]; saw [S/1244].

space] n. **space** [OF, AF, L & ML]; time [L/227; S/3206].

sparpilde] pa. 3 sg. of **sparplen** (v.) [OF & AF]; dispersed [L/1025].

spille] inf. **spillen** (v.) [OE]; kill, destroy [L/294].

spisaryse] n. **spiceri(e)** [OF, AF, ML & AL]; spices [S/2012].

spoylinge] ppl. of **spoil** [OF AF & L]; plundering [L/438]; pa 3 pl. **spoyled** plundered [S/3104]; pa. pl. plundered [L/2030].

stad] n. **stat** [OF]; condition (with regards to physical health) [S/1048].

stale] n. **stal(le)** [OE, OF, AF, ML & AL]; band of armed men [L/3928]; **fleand stales** armed force ready to travel quickly [L/3930].

staunkes] n. pl. **stank** [OF, AF & ML]; ponds, lakes [S/382].

stent] pa. 3 pl. of **steden** (v.) [OE]; stopped [S/1942].

ster] inf. **steren** (v.) [OE]; engage in [L/747]; govern [L/2079]; **stere** restrain [L/1085].

stere] inf. **stiren** [OE]; stir, move [S/479].

stones] n. pl. **ston** [OE & LOE]; testicles [S/2476].

stoute] adj. **stoute** [OF & AF]; rebellious [L/326]; bold [L/1087]; strong [S/2489]; **stout** bold [L/599; S/2881].

straunge] adj. **straunge** [OF & AF]; at odds, estranged [L/2241; S/3033]; hostile [S/2969].

streng] inf. **strengen** (v.) [OE]; reinforce, support [L/854].

stryue] inf. **striven** (v.) [OF]; engage in combat with [L/448].

subscryve] inf. **subscriven** (v.) [OF]; write [S/159].

substantyue] adj. **substantif** [L & OF]; wealthy [S/1435].

succensioun] n. **successioun** [OF, AF & L]; succession [L/460].

superate] adj. from **superaten** (v.) [L]; overcome [L/307].

supplantacioun] n. **supplantacioun** [OF & L]; defeat, deposition [L/420].

supportacion] n. **supportacioun** [L, AL & OF]; support [L/524; S/244].

suppowayle] n. **suppowaille** [OF, AF]; assistance, support [L/875]; **suppowayll** [L/1288 *gloss after*].

suppowail] inf. **suppowailen** (v.) [ME]; assist, help [L/2526 *gloss after*].

suppowelment] n. **suppowailment** [ME & AF]; assistance, support [L/1440; S/1939]; **suppowalment** [S/684].

surance] n. **suraunce** [OF & AF]; promise, truce [L/2231]; assurance [L/3119]; **suraunce** confidence [L/2951]; promise [S/2098]; certainty [S/2847].

sure] n. **seurte** [OF]; surety, pledge [L/1041]; **seurte** [L/3197]; **surte** stability [S/2536];

sured] pa. pl. of **seuren** (v.) [OF]; secured [S/535].

surmounted] pa. 3 sg. of **surmounten** (v.) [OF & AF]; rose [L/550]; overcame [L/1489; S/1209].

surnoun] n. **surnoun** [AF]; last name [L/54].

surplausage] n. **surplusage** [AF & AL]; the rest [S/278].

surte] adj. **seur** [OF]; secure [S/3315].

taliage] n. **taillage** [OF]; a forced levy [S/1572].

tene] n. **tene** [OE]; anger [S/598]; harm [S/1780].

tewayll] n. **teuel** [OF & AF]; anus [L/553 *gloss after*]; **tewayle** [S/513]; **tewall** [L/557].

Thesiphony] prop. n. Tisiphone, one of the three Furies [L/512]; **Thesiphonus** [S/460].

thrift] n. **thrift** [ON]; material wealth [S/3216].

thrynge] inf. **thringen** (v.) [OE]; gather, throng [L/871].

thusgates] adv. **thusgates** [OE]; aforesaid [S/333].

tyte] pa. pl. of **tiden** (v.) [OE] born [L/409]; **tite** [S/402].

tythandes] n. **tiding(e)** [LOE & ON]; news, information [L/2157].

tone] pron. **ton** [OE]; the one [L/3432].

tonne] n. pl. **tonne** [OE]; barrels or casks [L/3825].

toure] n. **tour** [OF, AF, OE and LOE]; tower [L/696; S/630]; pl. **toures** fortified cities or places [L/84; S/361].

trayne] n. **train(e)** [OF]; treachery, [L/1291; S/4315]; stratagem [L/1644].

trauerse] n. **travers** [OF]; dissension [L/1096]; dispute [L/2267].

- trye] inf. **trien** (v.) [OF & AF]; test [S/60].
- trowe] inf. **trouen** (v.) [OE]; believe [L/564; S/139]; **throw** [L/3110; S/2428]; ppl. **trowynge** promising [L/266]; pa. 3 pl. **trowed** believed [L/1916; S/152].
- trumpt] pa. 3 sg. of **trompen** (v.) [OF & AF]; ~ **vp** assembled (an army) [S/2884]; pa. 3 pl. **trumped vp** [L/2798].
- vnafraied] pa. pl. of **affraien** [OF]; undisturbed [S/2349].
- vnassaid] pa. 3 pl. **unassaid** (from **assaien** v.) [AF & CF]; untested [S/1981].
- vncopellid] pa. 3 pl. **uncouplen** (from **couplen** v.) [OF]; unleashed, freed from restraint [S/2897].
- vndenied] pa. pl. **undenied** (from **denien** v.) [OF]; unchallenged [L/2867; S/2420].
- vndisplayred] adj. **undespeired** [OE]; hopeful [L/1862].
- vndyrgonge] inf. **undergon** (v.) [OE]; endure, undertake, [L/579].
- vndrefete] pa. pl. of **underfeten** [error for **underseten** OE]; strengthened [L/395]; **vndirfete** [S/388].
- vnedified] part. adj. **unedified** (from **edifiën** v.) [OE & ME]; vacant [S/282].
- vnfructuose] adj. **unfructuous** [OF & L]; worthless [L/1858].
- vngrayth] adj. **ungreith** [ON]; unprepared [L/3866].
- vnkunnynge] part. adj. **unconning(e)** [OE]; unskilled [L/498].
- vnmete] adj. **unmete** [OE]; unfit [L/3866].
- vnnethe] adv. **unnethe** [OE]; scarcely [L/305]; **vnneth** [S/2814].
- vnordinate] adj. **unordinate** [L]; uncontrolled (lusts) [S/415].
- vnpayde] pa. 3 pl. of **unpaien** (v.) [OF]; displeased, unsatisfied [S/1480].
- vnprayed] pa. pl. **unpreied** (from **preien** v.) [OF]; uninvited [S/2350].
- vnquerte] adj. **unquerte** [ON]; unwholesome, corrupt [L/2550]; **vnquarte** [S/2124].
- vnrayed] pa. pl. **vnraide** (from **raien** v.) [AF]; unarrayed, in disarray [S/1980].
- vnreprobate] pa. pl. of **reprobaten** (v.) [L]; uncondemned [L/523].
- vnrevylde] pa. pl. **unrevilde** (from **revilen** v.) [OF]; not defamed [L/3517].
- vnsmyten] part. adj. **unsmiten** from **smiten** (v.) [OE]; not struck (down), uninjured [L/2692].
- vnwarr] adv. **unwar(e)** [OE & ME]; unexpectedly, without warning [L/955].
- variance] n. **variaunce** [OF & AL]; strife [L/2743; S/1519]; disloyalty [S/1846]
- vawarde] n. **vaunt-ward(e)** [AF]; vanguard [L/1621].

viage] n. **viage** [OF & AF]; a military expedition [L/925; S/963].

voyse] n. **voice** [OF, AF, MDu & OProv.]; reputation [S/1371].

wayfande] ppl. of **weiven** (v.) [ON]; tossing [L/313].

ware] adj. **war(e)** [OE]; aware [L/2658]; **warre** [S/745].

warysoun] n. **warisoun** [ONF & AF]; reward [L/121]; **warison** wealth [L/2118]; reward [L/3742]; **warrison** [L/3725].

wat-kyns] adj. **whatkin(ne)** [N]; what kind of [L/486]; **what-kyns** [L/83; S/472].

weere] n. **wer(re)** [OF]; war [L/435]; **were** [L/1561; S/1221]; **werre** [L/434; S/550].

were] n. **were** [OF & ONF]; doubt [S/1568].

werkmen] n. pl. **werk-man** [OE]; skilled men, soldiers [S/3336].

wete] inf. **weiten** (v.) [ON]; injure, cause harm [L/2114].

wham] pron. **whom** [N & K]; whom [L/2318].

wiches] n. pl. **wicch(e)** [OE]; witches [S/1817].

wight] adj. **wight** [ON]; strong [L/413; S/406].

wilfulhede] n. **wilfulhede** [OE]; willfulness [S/2090].

wone] n. **won(e)** [ON]; **good** ~ with great force [L/2371].

wonne] inf. **wonen** (v.) [OE]; dwell [L/305]; ppl. **wonnyng** dwelling [L/3867].

wonne] n. **wone** [OE]; custom [L/2033].

woukes] n. pl. **weke** [OE]; weeks [L/68].

wrought] pa. 3 sg. of **werken** (v.) [OE]; wrought [S/2504]; done, executed [L/189]; pa. pl. **wrozt** wrought [L/70].

Bibliography

In addition to containing the works referred to by the Author/Date system in the body of the text of this thesis, this bibliography also lists other works of relevance to this study not cited in the thesis.

Manuscripts, Documents and Early Printed Books

Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, MS English 1054

Glasgow, University of Glasgow, MS Hunter 59 (T. 2. 17)

Glasgow, University of Glasgow, MS Hunter 400 (V. 2. 20)

London, British Library, MS Additional 17506

London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius A. v

London, British Library, MS Cotton Cleopatra C. iv

London, British Library, MS Cotton Galba E. vii

London, British Library, MS Cotton Julius B. ii

London, British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian A. xxv

London, British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian E. vii

London, British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian F. vii

London, British Library, MS Egerton 615

London, British Library, MS Egerton 1992

London, British Library, MS Egerton 1995

London, British Library, MS Harley 293

London, British Library, MS Harley 565

London, British Library, MS Harley 661

London, British Library, MS Harley 2258

London, British Library, MS Harley 3730

London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 204

London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 207

London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 285

London, College of Arms, MS 2 M. 16

London, Public Record Office: PRO C 219/13; C 219/14; C 219/15; C 219/16; C 250/10; CP 25/1/144/155 to CP 25/1/155/162; DURH 3/2; E 39/2/5; E 39/2/7; E 39/2/9; E 39 2/10; E 39/2/20; E 39/4/3a; E 39/87; E 39/96/3; E 39/96/4; E 39/96/5; E 39/97/4; E 159/221; E 199/23/27; E 199/24/3; E 199/32/19; E 372/307; E 372/308; E 372/286; E 372/288; E 372/290; E 372/292; E 372/294; E 372/296; E 372/298; E 372/300; E 372/302; E 372/303; E 372/306; E 372/307; E 372/308; E 372/310; E 372/311; E 372/312; E 372/313; E 372/314; E 372/315; IND1/7037; SC 1/36/128; SC 1/55/64.

New York, New York Public Library, MS Spencer 19

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS Bühler 5

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS Bühler 30

Princeton, Princeton University, MS Garret 141

Princeton, Princeton University, MS Garrett 142

Oxford, Balliol College, MS 354

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden B. 10

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden B. 24

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 34

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 789

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 345

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 378

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 702

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 740

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C. 398

Oxford, St John's College MS 23

Oxford, Brasenose College MS 17

Tokyo, MS Takamiya 6 (formerly Helmingham Hall MS L. J. 10)

Urbana-Champaign, University of Illinois, MS Illinois 83

Grafton, Richard, ed., *The Chronicle of John Hardyng* (London, 1543), STC 12767.

Grafton, Richard, ed., *The Chronicle of John Hardyng* (London, 1543), STC 12766.7 (formerly STC 12768).

Grafton, Richard, *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancastre and Yorke* (London, 1548).

Grafton, Richard, *An Abridgement of the Chronicles of England* (London, 1570), STC 12151.

Stow, John, *A Summarie of Englysche Chronicles nowe Abridged and Continued tyll March 1566* (London, 1566), STC 23319.5.

Stow, John, *A Summarie of Englysche Chronicles* (London, 1570), STC 23322.

Stow, John, *A Summarie of Englysche Chronicles* (London, 1573), STC 23322.5.

Stow, John, *A Summarie of Englysche Chronicles* (London, 1590), STC 23325.2 (formerly 23327).

Stow, John, *The Annales of England* (London, 1601), STC 23336.

Manuscript Catalogues

Abbott, T. K., *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College Dublin* (Dublin, 1900).

Black, W. H., *A Descriptive, Analytical, and Critical Catalogue of the Manuscripts Bequeathed unto the University of Oxford by Elias Ashmole* (Oxford, 1845).

Bond, W. H., *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1962).

British Library, *A Catalogue of the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 2 parts in 1 vol. (London, 1819).

British Library, *A Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1843-).

Campbell, L., and F. Steer, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts in the College of Arms Collections* (London, 1988).

Coxe, H. O., *Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues II: Laudian Manuscripts*, rev. edn by R. W. Hunt (Oxford, 1973).

Houghton Library, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Houghton Library, Harvard University* (Alexandria, 1986).

James, Montague Rhodes, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1900-04).

Madan, F., and H. H. E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (Oxford, 1922-).

Mynors, R. A. B., *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College, Oxford* (Oxford, 1963).

Nares, R., T. H. Horne and H. Ellis, eds, *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 4 vols (London, 1808 -12).

Warner, G. F., and J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, 4 vols (London, 1921).

Young, John, and P. Henderson Aitken, *The Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow*, 2 vols (Glasgow, 1908).

Primary and Secondary Sources

Allan, Alison, 'Yorkist Propaganda: Pedigree, Prophecy and the 'British History' the Reign of Edward IV', in *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England*, ed. by Charles Ross (Gloucester, 1979), pp. 171-92.

Allan, A. R., 'Political Propaganda Employed by the House of York in England in the Mid-Fifteenth Century, 1450-71' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wales at Swansea, 1981).

Allan, Alison, 'Royal Propaganda and the Proclamations of Edward IV', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 59 (1986), 146-54.

Allmand, Christopher, *Henry V* (New Haven, 1992).

Alexander, J. J. G., 'Painting and Manuscript Illumination for Royal Patrons in the Later Middle Ages', in *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. by V. J. Scattergood and J. W. Sherborne (London, 1983).

Amours, F. J., ed., *The Original Chronicle of Andrew Wyntoun*, 6 vols (Edinburgh, 1903-14).

Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn (London, 1991).

Anderson, J. J., ed., *Records of Early English Drama: Newcastle Upon Tyne* (Toronto, 1982).

Anglo, Sydney, 'Vegetius's 'De Re Militari': The Triumph of Mediocrity', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 82 (2002), 247-67.

Anonymous, *Archaeologia Aeliana*, fourth series, 18 (1940).

Armstrong, C. A. J., 'The Inauguration Ceremonies of the Yorkist Kings and Their Title to the Throne', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 30 (1948), 51-73.

Arngart, Olof, *Two English Border Ballads: The Battle of Otterburn, and The Hunting of the Cheviot* (Lund, 1973).

Arnold, Thomas, ed., *Henrici Archidiaconi Huntendunensis Historia Anglorum* (London, 1879).

Assmann, B., 'Übersetzung von Alcuin's De Virtutibus et Vitiis Liber', *Anglia*, 11 (1889), 371-91.

Atiya, Aziz Suryal, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1938).

Atkinson, R. L., 'Richard II and the Death of the Duke of Gloucester', *English Historical Review*, 38 (1923), 563-64.

Babington, Churchill, and Joseph Lumby, eds, *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden*, RS 41, 9 vols (London, 1865-86).

Backhouse, Janet, 'Founders of the Royal Library: Edward IV and Henry VII as Collectors of Illuminated Manuscripts', in *England in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by Daniel Williams (Suffolk, 1987), pp. 23-41.

Baillie-Grohman, W. A., and F., *Master of Game* (London, 1909).

Bain, Joseph, ed., *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1888), IV.

Baldwin, David, *Elizabeth Woodville Mother of the Princes in the Tower* (Stroud, 2002).

Bale, John, *Scriptorum Illustrium Majoris Brytanniae Catalogus*, 2 vols (Farnborough, 1971).

Balfour-Melville, E. W. M., *James I, King of Scots, 1406-1437* (London, 1936).

Barber, R., *Edward, Prince of Wales and Aquitaine* (London, 1978).

Barber, Richard, *The Pastons: A Family in the Wars of the Roses* (Woodbridge, 1999).

Barr, Helen, ed., *The Piers Plowman Tradition: A Critical Edition of Pierce the Ploughman's Crede, Richard the Redeless, Mum and the Sothsegger and The Crowned King* (London, 1993).

Barron, C., 'The Tyranny of Richard II', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 41 (1968), 1-18.

Barron, W. R. J., ed., *The Arthur of the English: The Arthurian Legend in Medieval English Life and Literature* (Cardiff, 2001).

Bates, J. C., 'The Borderholds of Northumberland', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 14 (1891), 1-80.

Bateson, Edward, *A History of Northumberland: The Parish of Bamburgh, with the Chapelry of Belford* (London, 1893).

Bateson, Mary, ed., *George Ashby's Poems*, EETS ES 76 (1899).

Beadle, Richard, 'Prolegomena To a Literary Geography of Later Medieval Norfolk', in *Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts*, ed. by Felicity Riddy (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 89-108.

Beadle, R., and A. J. Piper, eds, *New Science Out of Old Books: Studies in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Honour of A. I. Doyle* (Aldershot, 1995).

Bean, J. M. W., 'Henry IV and the Percies', *History*, 44 (1959), 212-27.

Bell, David N., *The Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines and Premonstratensians* Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues (London, 1992).

Bell, H. E., 'The Price of Books in Medieval England', *The Library*, fourth series, 17, (1936-37), 312-32.

Bennett, C. E., ed. and trans., *Horace. The Odes and Epodes* (London, 1927).

Bennett, H. S., 'The Production and Dissemination of Vernacular Manuscripts in the Fifteenth Century', *The Library*, fifth series, 1 (1946-47), 167-78.

Bennett, H. S., *English Books and Readers 1475-1557*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1969).

Bennett, J. W., *The Evolution of the Faerie Queene* (New York, 1960).

Bennett, Matthew, *Agincourt 1415: Triumph Against the Odds* (London, 1991).

Bennett, Michael J., *Community, Class and Careerism: Cheshire and Lancashire Society in the Age of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (Cambridge, 1983).

Bennett, Michael, *Richard II and the Revolution of 1399* (Stroud, 1999).

Bennett, N. H., *The Register of Richard Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln 1420-31* (York, 1984).

Benson, L. D., *Malory's Morte Darthur* (Cambridge MA, 1976).

Benson, Larry, D., *King Arthur's Death: The Middle English Stanzaic Morte Arthur and Alliterative Morte Arthure* (Exeter, 1986).

Benson, Larry D., ed., *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 1988).

Bergen, Henry, *Lydgate's Troy Book*, 4 vols, EETS ES 97, 103, 106, 126 (1906-35).

Bergen, Henry, *Lydgate's Fall of Princes*, 4 vols, EETS ES 121, 122, 123, 124 (1924-27).

Blacman, J., *Henry the Sixth*, ed. by M. R. James (Cambridge, 1919).

Blake, N. F., 'Manuscript to Print', in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475*, ed. by Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 403-32.

Bloomfield, Morton W., *The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature* (Michigan, 1952).

Bloomfield, Morton W., 'History and Literature in the Vernacular in the Middle Ages?' in *Medieval Studies Presented to George Kane*, ed. by E. D. Kennedy, R. Waldron and J. S. Wittig (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 309-15.

Boardman, A. W., *Hotspur. Henry Percy: Medieval Rebel* (Stroud, 2003).

Boffey, Julia, 'Bodleian Library MS Arch. Selden B. 24 and Definitions of the 'Household Book'', in *The English Medieval Book: Studies in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths*, ed. by A. S. G. Edwards, Vincent Gillespie, and Ralph Hanna (London, 2000), pp. 125-34.

Boffey, Julia and John J. Thompson, 'Anthologies and Miscellanies: Production and Choice of Texts', in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475*, ed. by Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 279-315.

Bohna, M. L., 'Political and Criminal Violence in Fifteenth-Century England', in *Violence in Medieval Society*, ed. by Richard W. Kaeuper (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 91-104.

Bond, Edward A., ed., *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa ...*, 3 vols (London, 1866-68).

Bornstein, Diane, 'Military Manuals in Fifteenth-Century England', *Mediaeval Studies*, 37 (1975), 469-77.

Bosco, Umberto, and Giovanni Reggio, eds, *La Divina Commedia con pagine critiche: Inferno* (Florence, 1993).

Bourchier, John, *The Chronicle of Froissart Translated Out of French by Sir John Bourchier Lord Berners* (London, 1901-03)

Bradley, P. J., 'Henry V's Scottish Policy – a Study in Realpolitik', in *Documenting the Past: Essays Presented to George Peddy Cuttino*, ed. by J. S. Hamilton and P. J. Bradley (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 177-95.

Brathwait, Richard, *The English Gentleman* (London, 1630).

Braswell, Laurel, *The Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist IV: A Handlist of Douce Manuscripts Containing Middle English Prose in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (Cambridge, 1987).

Brereton, G. E., ed., *Des Grantz Geanz* (Oxford, 1937).

Brewer, J. S., ed., *Giraldus Cambrensis: De Rebus a se Gestis Opera*, RS 5 (London, 1861), I.

Brie, F. W. D., 'Wat Tyler and Jack Straw', *English Historical Review*, 21 (1906), 106-11.

Brie, Friedrich W. D., *The Brut or The Chronicles of England*, 2 vols, EETS OS 131, 136 (1906-08).

Briquet, C. M., *Les filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier*, 4 vols, 2nd edn (Leipzig, 1923).

Brown, A. L., 'The King's Councillors in Fifteenth-Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, 19 (1969), 95-118.

Brown, Carleton, *A Register of Middle English Religious and Didactic Verse*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1916-20).

Brown, C., *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century* (Oxford, 1939).

Brown, Carleton and Rossell Hope Robbins, *The Index of Middle English Verse* (New York, 1943).

Brown, Carleton, Rossell Hope Robbins, and John L. Cutler, *Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse* (Lexington, 1965).

Brown, Michelle P., *Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts: A Guide to Technical Terms* (London, 1994).

Browning, D. O., 'Commentary on MS Balliol 354' (unpublished B.Litt. thesis, Oxford, 1935).

Bühler, Curt F., 'Sir John Paston's Grete Boke, a Fifteenth-Century "Best Seller"', *Modern Language Notes*, 56 (1941), 345-51.

Burne, Alfred Higgins, *The Crecy War: A Military History of the Hundred Years War* (London, 1955).

Burne, Alfred Higgins, *The Agincourt War: A Military History of the Latter Part of the Hundred Years War* (London, 1956).

Burrow, J. A., 'The Poet as Petitioner', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 3 (1981), 61-75.

Burrow, J. A., 'Autobiographical Poetry in the Middle Ages: The Case of Thomas Hoccleve', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 68 (1983), 389-412.

Burrow, J. A., *The Ages of Man: A Study in Medieval Writing and Thought* (Oxford, 1986).

Burrow, J. A., *Thomas Hoccleve's Complaint and Dialogue*, EETS OS 313 (1999).

Byles, A. T. P., *Book of Fayttes of Armes and Chyualrye*, EETS OS 189 (1932).

Calendar of Close Rolls: Edward III, 1327-30 (London, 1896); *1330-33* (London, 1898); *1333-37* (London, 1898); *1337-39* (London, 1900); *1339-41* (London, 1901); *1341-43* (London, 1902); *1343-46* (London, 1904); *1346-49* (London, 1905); *1349-54* (London, 1906); *1354-60* (London, 1908); *1360-64* (London, 1909); *1364-68* (London, 1910); *1369-74* (London, 1911); *1374-77* (London, 1913).

Calendar of Close Rolls: Richard II, 1377-81 (London, 1914); *1381-85* (London, 1920); *1385-89* (London, 1921); *1389-92* (London, 1922); *1392-96* (London, 1925); *1396-99* (London, 1927).

Calendar of Close Rolls: Henry IV, 1399-1402 (London, 1927); *1402-5* (London, 1929); *1405-09* (London, 1931); *1409-13* (London, 1932).

Calendar of Close Rolls: Henry V, 1413-19 (London, 1929); *1419-22* (London, 1932).

Calendar of Close Rolls: Henry VI, 1422-29 (London, 1933); *1429-35* (London, 1933); *1435-41* (London, 1937); *1441-47* (London, 1937); *1447-54* (London, 1947); *1454-61* (London, 1939); *1461-68* (London, 1949).

Calendar of Fine Rolls: Edward III, 1327-37 (London, 1913); *1337-47* (London, 1915); *1347-56* (London, 1921); *1356-68* (London, 1923); *1368-77* (London, 1924).

Calendar of Fine Rolls: Richard II, 1391-99 (London, 1929); *1377-83* (London, 1926); *1383-91* (London, 1929).

Calendar of Fine Rolls: Henry IV, 1399-1405 (London, 1931); *1405-13* (London, 1933).

Calendar of Fine Rolls: Henry V, 1413-22 (London, 1934).

Calendar of Fine Rolls: Henry VI, 1422-33 (London, 1935); *1430-37* (London, 1936); *1437-45* (London, 1937); *1445-52* (London, 1939); *1452-61* (London, 1939).

Calendar of Fine Rolls: Edward IV, 1461-71 (London, 1949).

Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem: Henry IV, 1399-1405 (London, 1987); *Henry IV, 1405-13* (London, 1992).

Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, 1399-1422 (London, 1916).

Calendar of Papal Registers: Petitions, 1342-1419 (London, 1896), I.

Calendar of Papal Registers: Papal Letters, 1305-42 (London, 1895); *1362-1404* (London, 1902); *1396-1404* (London, 1904); *1404-15* (London, 1904); *1417-31* (London, 1906); *1427-47* (London, 1909); *1431-47* (London, 1912); *1447-55* (London, 1915); *1455-64* (London, 1921).

Calendar of Patent Rolls: Edward III, 1343-45 (London, 1902); *1374-77* (London, 1916).

Calendar of Patent Rolls: Richard II, 1377-81 (London, 1895); *1381-85* (London, 1897); *1385-89* (London, 1900); *1388-92* (London, 1902); *1391-96* (London, 1905); *1396-99* (London, 1909).

Calendar of Patent Rolls: Henry IV, 1399-1401 (London, 1903); *1405-08* (London, 1907); *1408-13* (London, 1909).

Calendar of Patent Rolls: Henry V, 1413-16 (London, 1910); *1416-22* (London, 1911).

Calendar of Patent Rolls: Henry VI, 1422-29 (London, 1901); *1429-36* (London, 1907); *1436-41* (London, 1907); *1446-52* (London, 1909); *1452-61* (London, 1910).

Calendar of Patent Rolls: Edward IV, 1461-67 (London, 1897).

Camille, Michael, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge, 1991).

Campbell, Alexander, *An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland, from the Beginning of the Thirteenth Century Down to the Present Time, Together with a Conversation on Scottish Song* (Edinburgh, 1798).

Carey, Hilary M., *Courting Disaster: Astrology at the English Court and University in the Later Middle Ages* (1992).

- Carley, James P., ed., *The Chronicle of Glastonbury Abbey* (Woodbridge, 1985).
- Carley, James P., 'A Grave Event: Henry V, Glastonbury Abbey, and Joseph of Arimathea's Bones', in *Culture and the King: The Social Implications of the Arthurian Legend*, ed. by M. B. Shichtman and J. P. Carley (New York, 1994), pp. 129-48.
- Carley, James P., 'Arthur in English History', in *The Arthur of the English: The Arthurian Legend in Medieval English Life and Literature*, ed. by W. R. J. Barron (Cardiff, 2001), pp. 47-57.
- Carley, James P., and Julia Crick, 'Constructing Albion's Past: An Annotated Edition of *De Origine Gigantum*', *Arthurian Literature*, 13 (1995), 41-114.
- Carpenter, Christine, *Locality and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401-1499* (Cambridge, 1992).
- Carpenter, Christine, ed., *The Armburgh Papers: The Brokholes Inheritance in Warwickshire, Hertfordshire and Essex c. 1417- c. 1453. Chetham's Manuscript Mun. E. 6. 10 (4)* (Woodbridge, 1998).
- Castor, Helen, 'The Duchy of Lancaster and the Rule of East Anglia, 1399-1440: A Prologue to the Paston Letters', in *Crown, Government and People in the Fifteenth-Century*, ed. by Rowena E. Archer (Stroud, 1995), pp. 53-78.
- Catto, Jeremy, and Linne Mooney, eds, 'The Chronicle of John Somer, OFM', in *Camden Miscellany*, 34, fifth series, 10 (London, 1997), pp.197-285.
- Chamberlayne, Joanna L., 'A Paper Crown: The Titles and Seals of Cecily Duchess of York', *The Ricardian: Journal of the Richard III Society*, 10: 133 (June 1996), 429-35.
- Chamberlayne, Joanna L., 'Crowns and Virgins: Queenmaking during the Wars of the Roses', in *Young Medieval Women*, ed. by K. J. Lewis, N. J. Menuge and K. M. Phillips (Stroud, 1999), pp. 47-68.
- Chaplais, Pierre, *Piers Gaveston: Edward II's Adoptive Brother* (Oxford, 1994).
- Cheney, C. R., ed., *A Handbook of Dates for Students of British History*, new edn, revised by Michael Jones (Cambridge, 2000).
- Cherewatuk, Karen, "'Gentyl Audiencies" and "Grete Bookes": Chivalric Manuals and the *Morte Darthur*', *Arthurian Literature*, 15 (1997), 205-16.
- Chrimes, S. B., *Sir John Fortescue. De Laudibus Legum Anglie* (Cambridge, 1942).
- Chrimes, S. B., *English Constitutional Ideas in the XV Century* (New York, 1966).

Chrimes, S. B., C. D. Ross and R. A. Griffiths, eds, *Fifteenth Century England 1399-1509: Studies in Politics and Society* (Stroud, 1995).

Clanchy, M. T., *From Memory to Written Record, England 1066-1307* (London, 1979).

Clark, Andrew, *Lincoln Diocese Documents 1450-1544*, EETS OS 149 (1914).

Clarke, M. V., and V. H. Galbraith, eds, 'Chronicle of Dieulacres Abbey, 1381-1403', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 14 (1930), 125-81.

Clifford, S. N., 'An Edition of the Continuation of the *Eulogium Historiarum*, 1361-1413' (unpublished M. Phil. thesis, University of Leeds, 1975).

Cohen, Jeffrey Jerome, *Of Giants: Sex, Monsters, and the Middle Ages* (London, 1999).

Cokayne, G. E., *The Complete Peerage*, 12 vols in 13 parts (London, 1910-59).

Cole, C. A., *Memorials of Henry the Fifth, King of England*, RS 11 (London, 1858).

Collins, H. E. L., *The Order of the Garter 1348-1461* (Oxford, 2000).

Cooper, Elizabeth, *The Muses Library* (London, 1741).

Cooper, Helen, *The Canterbury Tales*, Oxford Guides to Chaucer, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1996).

Cooper, Helen, *Sir Thomas Malory, Le Morte Darthur: The Winchester Manuscript* (Oxford, 1998).

Cooper, Helen, 'Romance After 1400', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. by David Wallace (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 690-719.

Coote, Lesley A., *Prophecy and Public Affairs in Later Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2000).

Coote, Lesley A., and Tim Thornton, 'Merlin, Erceldoune, Nixon: A Tradition of Popular Political Prophecy', *New Medieval Literatures*, 4 (2001), 117-37.

Contamine, Philippe, *War in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Michael Jones (Oxford, 1984).

Corser, Thomas, *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica* (Place, 1877).

Coss, P. R., 'Aspects of Cultural Diffusion in Medieval England: The Early Romances, Local Society and Robin Hood', *Past and Present*, 108 (1985), 35-79.

Cowan, Edward J., 'Myth and Identity in Early Medieval Scotland', *Scottish Historical Review*, 63 (1984), 111-35.

Craig, Hardin, *The Works of John Metham including The Romance of Amoryus and Cleopes*, EETS OS 132 (1916).

Crawford, Anne, *The Household Books of John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, 1462-71, 1481-83* (Stroud, 1992).

Croenen, Godfried, 'Princely and Noble Genealogies, Twelfth to Fourteenth Century: Form and Function', in *The Medieval Chronicle: Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. by Erik Kooper (Amsterdam, 1999), pp. 84-95.

Cross, F. L., and E. A. Livingstone, eds, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 1997).

Crowder, C. M. D., *Unity, Heresy and Reform 1378-1460: The Conciliar Response to the Great Schism* (Ontario, 1986).

Curry, Anne, *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2000).

Cuttino, G. P., and Thomas W. Lyman, 'Where is Edward II?', *Speculum*, 53 (1978), 522-44.

Darlington, Reginald R., ed., *The Vita Wulfstani of William of Malmesbury* (London, 1928).

David, Charles Wendell, *Robert Curthose: Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge, MA, 1920).

Davies, John Silvester, *An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI* (London, 1856).

Davies, R. R., 'Richard II and the Principality of Chester' in *The Reign of Richard II*, ed. by F. R. H. du Boulay and C. Barron (London, 1971), pp. 256-79.

Davies, R. R., *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr* (Oxford, 1995).

Davies, R. T., ed., *Medieval English Lyrics* (London, 1963).

Davis, Norman, ed., *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1971-76).

Davis, R. H. C., and J. M. Wallace-Handrill, eds, *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays presented to Richard William Southern* (Oxford, 1981).

Davison, Charles, *A History of Earthquakes* (Cambridge, 1924).

- De Fonblanque, Edward Barrington, *Annals of the House of Percy* (London, 1887), I.
- De Hamel, Christopher, *Scribes and Illuminators* (London, 1992).
- Delano-Smith, Catherine and Roger J. P. Kain, *English Maps: A History* (London, 1999).
- Delany, Sheila, 'Bokenham's Claudian as Yorkist Propaganda', *Journal of Medieval History*, 22 (1996), 83-96.
- Delany, Sheila, *Impolitic Bodies: Poetry, Saints, and Society in Fifteenth-Century England, The Work of Osbern Bokenham* (Oxford, 1998).
- Dickson, W., ed., 'Cronica Monasterii de Alnewyke ex quodam Libro Cronicarum in Libraria collegii Regalis Cantabrigiae de dono Regis Henrici VI Fundamentoria', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, first series, 3 (1944).
- Dobson, R. B., *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381*, 2nd edn (London, 1983).
- Dockray, Keith, ed., *Henry VI, Margaret of Anjou and the Wars of the Roses: A Source Book* (Stroud, 2000).
- Doherty, Paul, *Isabella and the Strange Death of Edward II* (London, 2003).
- Doyle, A. I., 'English Books In and Out of Court from Edward III to Henry VII', in *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. by V. J. Scattergood and J. W. Sherborne (London, 1983), pp. 163-81.
- Doyle, A. I., 'Publication by Members of the Religious Orders', in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475* ed. by Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 109-123.
- Drexler, M., 'Scottish Origin Myths in the Later Middle Ages', in *People, Politics and Community in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. by J. Rosenthal and C. Richmond (Gloucester, 1987), pp. 60-76.
- Du Boulay, F. R. H., and C. M. Barron, *The Reign of Richard II* (London, 1971).
- Duls, Louisa D., *Richard II in the Early Chronicles* (The Hague, 1975).
- Dyboski, Roman, *Songs, Carols, and Other Miscellaneous Poems from the Balliol MS. 354, Richard Hill's Commonplace-Book*, EETS ES 101 (1908).
- Dyboski, R., and Z. M. Arend, eds, *Knyghthode and Bataile*, EETS OS 201 (1936).
- Dyer, Christopher, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c. 1200-1520*, rev. edn (Cambridge, 1998).

- Edwards, A. S. G., 'The Influence of Lydgate's Fall of Princes c. 1440-1559: A Survey', *Mediaeval Studies*, 39 (1977), 424-39.
- Edwards, A. S. G., 'Hardyng's *Chronicle* and *Troilus and Criseyde*', *Notes and Queries*, 229 (1984), 156.
- Edwards, A. S. G., 'Lawson's *Orchet*', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 8 (1984), 477-88.
- Edwards, A. S. G., ed., *Middle English Prose: A Critical Guide to Major Authors and Genres* (New Jersey, 1984).
- Edwards, A. S. G., 'Bartholomaeus Anglicus' De Proprietatibus Rerum and Medieval English Literature', in *Archiv fur das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 222 (1985), 121-28.
- Edwards, A. S. G., 'The Manuscripts and Texts of the Second Version of John Hardyng's *Chronicle*', in *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Daniel Williams (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 75-84.
- Edwards, A. S. G., 'Troilus and Criseyde and the First Version of Hardyng's *Chronicle*', *Notes and Queries*, 233 (1988), 12-13.
- Edwards, A. S. G., 'The Middle English Translation of Claudian's *De Consulatu Stilichonis*', in *Middle English Poetry: Texts and Traditions. Essays in Honour of Derek Pearsall*, ed by A. J. Minnis (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 267-78.
- Edwards, A. S. G., Vincent Gillespie, and Ralph Hanna, eds, *The English Medieval Book: Studies in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths* (London, 2000).
- Ehrenkreutz, Andrew S., *Saladin* (New York, 1972).
- Ellis, Henry, ed., *Hall's Chronicle* (London, 1809) [1809a].
- Ellis, Henry, 'Two Extracts from a Manuscript Copy of Hardyng's *Chronicle*, among the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum; Communicated by Henry Ellis, Esq. F. A. S. in a Letter to Nicholas Carlisle, Esq. Secretary', *Archaeologia*, 16 (1809), 139-44 [1809b].
- Ellis, Henry, ed., *The Chronicle of John Hardyng* (London, 1812).
- Embree, Dan, *The Chronicles of Rome* (Woodbridge, 1999).
- Emden, A. B., *A Bibliographical Register of the University of Oxford to A. D. 1500*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1957-59).
- Emden, A. B., *A Bibliographical Register of the University of Cambridge to A. D. 1500* (Cambridge, 1963).

- Estow, Clara, *Pedro the Cruel of Castile 1350-1369* (New York, 1995).
- Evans, Ruth, 'Gigantic Origins: An Annotated Translation of *De Origine Gigantum*', *Arthurian Literature*, 16 (1998), 197-211.
- Field, P. J. C., 'Malory's Minor Sources', *Notes and Queries*, 224 (1979), 107-10.
- Field, P. J. C., *The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Malory* (Cambridge, 1993).
- Fisher, John H., 'A Language Policy for Lancastrian England', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 107 (1992), 1168-80.
- Flenley, Ralph, *Six Town Chronicles of England* (Oxford, 1911).
- Fletcher, Robert Huntingdon, *The Arthurian Material in the Chronicles* (New York, 1906).
- Flügel, E., 'Eine Mittelenglische Claudian Übersetzung (1445)', *Anglia*, 28 (1905), 255-99.
- Foster, C. W., ed., *Calendars of Lincoln Wills 1320-1600* (London, 1902), I.
- Foster, C. W., *An Index of Wills in the Bishops' Registers from 1320-1547*.
- Foster, C. W., 'The Lincoln Episcopal Registers', *Associated Architectural Societies Reports and Papers* (1932-33), 155-686.
- Friar, Stephen, *Heraldry* (Sutton, 1992).
- Friedman, J. B., 'Books, Owners and Makers in Fifteenth-Century Yorkshire: The Evidence From Some Wills and Extant Manuscripts', in *Latin and Vernacular: Studies in Late-Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*, ed. by A. J. Minnis (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 111-127.
- Friedman, John B., *Northern English Books, Owners, and Makers in the Late Middle Ages* (New York, 1995).
- Friedricks, R. L., 'The Career and Influence of Ralph, Lord Cromwell, 1393-1456' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1974).
- Fuller, Thomas, *The History of the Worthies of England* (originally printed 1662) ed. by John Nichols (London, 1811).
- Furnivall, F. J., ed., *The History of the Holy Grail by Henry Lovelich*, 4 vols, EETS ES 20, 24, 28, 30 (1874-78).
- Furnivall, F. J., 'A Carol', *Notes and Queries*, 8 (1889), 484-85.

- Furnivall, Frederick. J., *Hoccleve's Works I: The Minor Poems*, EETS ES 61 (1892).
- Furnivall, Frederick. J., *Hoccleve's Works III: The Regement of Princes*, EETS ES 72 (1897).
- Gairdner, James, 'John Hardyng, The Chronicler', *Notes and Queries*, 4 (1869), 446.
- Gairdner, James, *The Historical Collections of A Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century*, Camden Society, new series, 17 (London, 1876).
- Gairdner, James, ed., *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, Camden Society, new series, 28 (London, 1880).
- Galbraith, V. H., ed., *The Anonimalle Chronicle, 1333 to 1381* (Manchester, 1927).
- Galbraith, V. H., 'The Literacy of the Medieval English Kings', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 21 (1935), 201-38.
- Galbraith, V. H., *Kings and Chroniclers: Essays in English Medieval History* (London, 1982).
- Galloway, Andrew, 'Writing History in England', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. by David Wallace (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 255-83.
- Genet, Jean-Philippe, *Four English Political Tracts of the Later Middle Ages*, Camden Society, fourth series, 18 (London, 1977).
- Genet, Jean-Philippe, 'English Nationalism: Thomas Polton at the Council of Constance', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 28 (1984), 60-78.
- Gerritsen, Willem P., and Anthony G. van Melle, *A Dictionary of Medieval Heroes: Characters in Medieval Narrative Traditions and Their Afterlife in Literature, Theatre and the Visual Arts* (Woodbridge, 1998).
- Gibbons, A., *Early Lincoln Wills 1280-1547* (Lincoln, 1888).
- Giles, J. A., ed., *Incerti Scriptoris Chronicon Angliæ de Regnis Trium Regum Lancastrensiū: Henrici IV, Henrici V, et Henrici VI* (London, 1848).
- Gill, Paul Eugene, 'Sir John Fortescue: Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Polemicist on the Succession Problem, Governmental Reformer, and Political Theorist' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, The Pennsylvania State University, 1968).
- Gill, P. E., 'Political Propaganda in Fifteenth-Century England: The Polemical Writings of Sir John Fortescue', *Speculum*, 46 (1971), 333-47.
- Gillespie, J. L., 'Richard II's Cheshire Archers', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 125 (1974), 1-39.

- Gillespie, J. L., 'Richard II's Archers of the Crown', *Journal of British Studies*, 18 (1979), 14-29.
- Gilson, J. P., 'A Defence of the Proscription of the Yorkists in 1459', *English Historical Review*, 26 (1911), 512-25.
- Given-Wilson, Chris, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England 1360-1413* (London, 1986).
- Given-Wilson, Chris, *Chronicles of the Revolution 1397-1400: The Reign of Richard II* (Manchester, 1993).
- Given-Wilson, C., 'Richard II, Edward II and the Lancastrian Inheritance', *English Historical Review*, 109 (1994), 553-71.
- Given-Wilson, C., ed., *The Chronicle of Adam Usk, 1377-1421* (Oxford, 1997).
- Godley, A. D., ed. and trans., *Herodotus*, 4 vols (London, 1920).
- Gollancz, I., *Hoccleve's Works II: The Minor Poems*, EETS ES 73 (1925).
- Goodall, John A., 'Some Aspects of Heraldry and the Role of Heralds in Relation to the Ceremonies of the Late Medieval and Early Tudor Court', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 82 (2002), 69-91.
- Goodman, Anthony, *John of Gaunt: The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth-Century Europe* (London, 1992).
- Goodman, Anthony, and David Morgan, 'The Yorkist Claim to the Throne of Castile', *Journal of Medieval History*, 11 (1985), 61-69.
- Goodman, Anthony, and Anthony Tuck, eds, *War and Border Societies in the Middle Ages* (London, 1992).
- Gordan, Phyllis Walter Goodhart, *Two Renaissance Book Hunters: The Letters of Poggius Bracciolini to Nicolaus de Niccolis* (New York, 1974).
- Gordon, E. V., ed., *Pearl* (Oxford, 1974).
- Gordon, G. S., ed., *Peacham's Compleat Gentleman 1634* (Oxford, 1906).
- Gough, Richard, *British Topography*, 2 vols (London, 1780).
- Grace, F. R., 'The Life and Career of Thomas Howard, Third Duke of Norfolk 1473-1554' (unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Nottingham, 1961).
- Graesse, Theodor, ed., *Legenda Aurea*, 3rd edn (Osnabruck, 1965).

Gransden, Antonia, *Historical Writing in England I: c. 550 to c. 1307* (London, 1974).

Gransden, Antonia, 'Propaganda in English Medieval Historiography', *Journal of Medieval History*, 1 (1975), 363-81.

Gransden, Antonia, *Historical Writing in England II: c. 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (London, 1982) [1982a].

Gransden, A., 'Politics and Historiography During the Wars of the Roses', in *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds*, ed. by D. O. Morgan (London, 1982), pp. 125-48 [1982b].

Gransden, Antonia, *Legends, Traditions and History in Medieval England* (London, 1992).

Gransden, Antonia, 'Prologues in the Historiography of Twelfth-Century England', in *Legends, Traditions and History in Medieval England*, ed. by Antonia Gransden (London, 1992), pp. 125-51.

Gray, H. L., 'Incomes from Land in England in 1436', *English Historical Review*, 49 (1934), 607-39.

Green, D., *The Black Prince* (Stroud, 2001).

Green, David, *The Battle of Poitiers 1356* (Stroud, 2002).

Green, Richard Firth, *Poets and Princepleasers: Literature and the English Court in the Later Middle Ages* (Toronto, 1980).

Green, William M., ed. and trans., *Saint Augustine. The City of God Against The Pagans in Seven Volumes: VII, Books XXI-XXII* (London, 1972).

Greene, R. L., ed., *The Early English Carols*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1977).

Greenway, D., *Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingon. Historia Anglorum: The History of the English People* (Oxford, 1996).

Griffiths, Jeremy, and Derek Pearsall, eds, *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475* (Cambridge, 1989).

Griffiths, Ralph A., 'Local Rivalries and National Politics: The Percies, the Nevilles, and the Duke of Exeter, 1452-55', *Speculum*, 43 (1968), 589-632.

Griffiths, Ralph, A., 'The Trail of Eleanor Cobham: An Episode in the Fall of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 51 (1968-69), 381-99.

Griffiths, Ralph A., 'Duke Richard of York's Intentions in 1450 and the Origins of the Wars of the Roses', *Journal of Medieval History*, 1 (1975), 187-210.

Griffiths, R. A., 'The Sense of Dynasty in the Reign of Henry VI', in *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England*, ed. by Charles Ross (Gloucester, 1979), pp. 13-36.

Griffiths, Ralph A., *Patronage, the Crown and the Provinces in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1981).

Griffiths, Ralph A., and James Sherborne, eds, *Kings and Nobles in the Later Middle Ages: A Tribute to Charles Ross* (Gloucester, 1986).

Griffiths, Ralph A., *The Reign of Henry VI: The Exercise of Royal Authority, 1422-1461* (Stroud, 1998).

Grindley, Carl James, 'An Early Paper Copy of John Hardyng's Chronicle', *Notes and Queries*, 242 (1997), 24-26.

Griscom, Acton, *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth* (London, 1929).

Grundy, J., and others, eds, *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, 2nd edn (London, 1992).

Haines, Roy M., 'Church, Society and Politics in the Early Fifteenth Century as Viewed from an English Pulpit', *Studies in Church History*, 12 (1975), 143-57.

Hallam, Elizabeth, ed., *The Chronicles of The Wars of the Roses: The Turbulent Years of the Last Plantagenets, Seven Kings from Richard II in 1377 to Richard III in 1485* (Surrey, 1988).

Hallam, Elizabeth, ed., *Chronicles of the Age of Chivalry: The Plantagenet Dynasty from the Magna Carta to the Black Death* (Surrey, 1998).

Halliwell, James Orchard, ed., *A Chronicle of the First Thirteen Years of the Reign of King Edward the Fourth by John Warkworth* (London, 1839).

Halliwell, Jo, ed., *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simond D'Ewes*, 2 vols (London, 1845).

Hamilton, Hans Claude, *Chronicon Domini Walteri de Hemingburgh* (London, 1849).

Hamilton, J. S., *Piers Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall, 1307-1312: Politics and Patronage in the Reign of Edward II* (Detroit, 1988).

Hammer, Jacob, *Geoffrey of Monmouth. Historia Regum Britanniae. A Variant Version Edited from Manuscripts* (Cambridge, MA, 1951).

Hammond, Eleanor Prescott, 'Poet and Patron in the *Fall of Princes*: Lydgate and Humphrey of Gloucester', *Anglia*, 38 (1914), 121-36.

Hammond, Eleanor Prescott, ed., *English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey* (New York, 1965).

Hanna, Ralph, 'Augustinian Canons and Middle English Literature', in *The English Medieval Book: Studies in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths*, ed by A. S. G. Edwards, Vincent Gillespie, and Ralph Hanna (London, 2000), pp. 27-42.

Hansen, Harriet Merete, 'The Peasants' Revolt of 1381 and the Chronicles', *Journal of Medieval History*, 6 (1980), 393-415.

Hardy, Sir Thomas Duffus, *Syllabus in English of the Documents relating to England and Other Kingdoms Contained in the Collection Known as 'Rymer's Fœdera'*, 3 vols (London, 1873).

Hardy, W., and E. L. C. P. Hardy, eds, *Jean de Waurin Recueil des Croniques et Anchiennes Istories de la Grant Bretagne*, RS 39, 5 vols (London, 1864-91).

Harker, Christine Marie, 'John Hardyng's Arthur: A Critical Edition' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California, 1996).

Harper, C. Annie, *The Sources of the British Chronicle History in Spenser's Faerie Queene* (Bryn Mawr, 1904).

Harris, Kate, 'Patrons, Buyers and Owners: The Evidence for Ownership, and the Rôle of Book Owners in Book Production and the Book Trade', in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475*, ed. by Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 163-99.

Harris, Kate, 'The Patronage and Dating of Longleat House MS 24, a Prestige Copy of the *Pupilla Oculi* Illuminated by the Master of the *Troilus* Frontspiece', in *Prestige, Authority and Power in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts*, ed. by Felicity Riddy (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 35-54.

Harriss, G. L., ed., *Henry V: The Practise of Kingship* (Oxford, 1985).

Harriss, G. L., *Cardinal Beaufort: A Study of Lancastrian Ascendancy and Decline* (Oxford, 1988).

Harriss, G. L., and M. A. Harriss, eds, 'John Benet's Chronicle for the Years 1400-1462', in *Camden Miscellany 24*, Camden Society, fourth series, 9 (London, 1972), pp. 151-233.

Hartung, Albert E., and J. B. Severs, eds, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500* (New Haven, 1967-).

- Harvey, Barbara, *Living and Dying in England, 1100-1540: The Monastic Experience* (Oxford, 1993).
- Harvey, John H., ed., *William Worcestre: Itineraries* (Oxford, 1969).
- Harvey, Margaret, *The English in Rome, 1362-1420: Portrait of an Expatriate Community* (Cambridge, 1999).
- Harvey, P. D. A., *Medieval Maps* (London, 1991).
- Haskell, Anne S., *Essays on Chaucer's Saints* (The Hague, 1976).
- Hasler, Antony J., 'Hoccleve's Unregimented Body', *Paragraph*, 13 (1990), 164-83.
- Hay, Dennis, 'History and Historians in France and England During the Fifteenth Century', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 35 (1962), 111-27.
- Haydon, F. S., ed., *Eulogium Historiarum sive Temporis*, RS 9, 3 vols (London, 1858-65).
- Head, D. M., 'The Life and Career of Thomas Howard, Third Duke of Norfolk: The Anatomy of Tudor Politics, 1473-1554' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Florida State University, 1978).
- Hearne, Thomas, ed., *Titi Livii Foro-Julienensis Vita Henrici Quinti* (Oxford, 1716).
- Hearne, Thomas, ed., *Thomae de Elmham, Vita et Gesta Henrici Quinti, Anglorum Regis* (Oxford, 1727).
- Hearne, Thomas, *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi II* (Oxford, 1729).
- Hector, L. C., and Barbara F. Harvey, eds, *The Westminster Chronicle 1381-94* (Oxford, 1982).
- Hedeman, Anne D., *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France, 1274-1422* (Oxford, 1991).
- Henry, Avril, ed., *The Pilgrimage of the Lyfe of the Manhode: Translated Anonymously into Prose from the First Recension of Guillaume de Deguileville's Poem Le Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine*, EETS OS 288, 292, 2 vols (1985).
- Herbert, William, and Joseph Ames, *Typographical Antiquities or an Historical Account of the Origin and Progress of Printing in Great Britain and Ireland*, 3 vols (London, 1785-90).
- Hiatt, Alfred, 'The Forgeries of John Hardyng: The Evidence of Oxford, Bodleian MS Ashmole 789', *Notes and Queries*, 244 (1999), 7-12 [1999a].

Hiatt, Alfred, 'The Use and Reception of Forged Documents in Fifteenth-Century England' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1999) [1999b].

Hiatt, Alfred, 'Stow, Grafton, and Fifteenth-Century Historiography', in *John Stow (1525-1605) and the Making of the English Past*, ed. by I. Gadd and A. Gillespie (London, 2003).

Hiatt, Alfred, *The Making of Medieval Forgeries: False Documents in Fifteenth-Century England* (London, 2004).

Hiatt, Alfred, 'Beyond a Border: The Maps of Scotland in John Hardyng's *Chronicle*', in *The Lancastrian Court: Proceedings of the Eighteenth Harlaxton Symposium on the Lancastrian Court* (forthcoming).

Hibbert, Christopher, *Agincourt* (London, 1964).

Hicks, M. A., 'Dynastic Change and Northern Society: The Career of the Fourth Earl of Northumberland, 1470-89', *Northern History*, 14 (1978), 78-107.

Highfield, J. R. L., and Robin Jeffs, eds, *The Crown and Local Communities in England and France in the Fifteenth Century* (Gloucester, 1981).

Hills, W. P., 'Richard Hill of Hillend and Balliol 354', *Notes and Queries*, 177 (1939), 452-56.

Hilton, Rodney, *Bond Men Made Free: Medieval Peasant Movements and the English Rising of 1381* (London, 1973).

Hingeston, F. C., *De Illustribus Henricis*, RS 7 (London, 1858).

Hodges, Laura F., *Chaucer and Costume: The Secular Pilgrims in the General Prologue* (Cambridge, 2000).

Holbrook, S. E., 'Malory's Identification of Camelot as Winchester', in *Studies in Malory*, ed. by J. W. Spisak (Kalamazoo MI, 1985).

Hollstein, F. W. H., *German Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1400-1700*, ed. by K. G. Boon and R. W. Scheller (Amsterdam, 1966), VI.

Honan, Park, *Shakespeare: A Life* (Oxford, 1999).

Honigmann, E. A. J., *Shakespeare: The 'Lost Years'* (Manchester, 1998).

Hopkinson, Charles and Martin Speight, *The Mortimers, Lords of the March* (Almeley, 2002).

Horner, Patrick J., 'Preachers at Paul's Cross: Religion, Society, and Politics in Late Medieval England', in *Medieval Sermons and Society: Cloister, City, University: Proceedings of the International Symposia at Kalamazoo and New York*, ed. by

Jacqueline Hamesse, Beverly Mayne Kienzle, Debra L. Stoudt and Anne T. Thayer (Louvain-La-Neuve, 1998), pp. 261-82.

Howatson, M. C., ed., *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1989).

Hudson, Anne, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford, 1988).

Hughes, Jonathan, *Arthurian Myths and Alchemy: The Kingship of Edward IV* (Stroud, 2002).

Hume-Brown, P., *Early Travellers in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1973).

Humphrey's K. W., 'Scribes and the Medieval Friars', *Bibliothekswelt und Kulturgeschichte: eine internationale Festgabe für Joachim Wieder*, ed. by P. Schweigler (Munich, 1977), pp. 213-30.

Humphreys, K. W., ed., *The Friars' Libraries* (London, 1991).

Hunter Blair, C. H., ed., 'The Mayors and Lord Mayors of Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1216-1940 and the Sheriffs of the County of Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1399-1940', and 'The Carr Manuscript', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, fourth series, 18 (1940), 1-15, 15-64.

Hutchinson, Harold F., *Henry V* (London, 1967).

Jacob, E. F. *The Fifteenth Century 1399-1485* (Oxford, 1961).

Johnson, I. R., 'Walton's Sapiient Orpheus', in *The Medieval Boethius: Studies in the Vernacular Translation of De Consolatione Philosophiae*, ed. by A. J. Minnis (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 139-68.

Johnson, Lesley, 'Return to Albion', *Arthurian Literature*, 13 (1995), 19-40.

Johnson, P. A., *Duke Richard of York 1411-1460* (Oxford, 1988).

Johnston, Dorothy, 'The Interim Years: Richard II and Ireland, 1395-1399', in *England and Ireland in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. by James Lydon (Dublin, 1981), pp. 175-95.

Johnston, Dorothy, 'Richard II's Departure from Ireland, July 1399', *English Historical Review*, 98 (1983), 785-805.

Johnston, Alexandra F., and Margaret Rogerson, eds, *Records of Early English Drama: York*, 2 vols (Toronto, 1979).

Jolliffe, John, ed., *Froissart's Chronicles* (London, 2001).

Jones, Michael K., 'Somerset, York and the Wars of the Roses', *English Historical Review*, 104 (1989), 285-307.

Judd, Arnold, *The Life of Thomas Bekyngton, Secretary to King Henry VI and Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1443-1465* (Chichester, 1961).

Keen, Laurence, 'The Umfravilles, the Castle and the Barony of Prudhoe, Northumberland', in *Anglo-Norman Studies V: Proceedings of the Battle Conference*, ed. by R. Allen Brown (Suffolk, 1982).

Keen, Maurice, ed., *Medieval Warfare: A History* (Oxford, 1999).

Keiser, George R., 'Lincoln Cathedral Library MS. 91: Life and Milieu of the Scribe', *Studies in Bibliography*, 32 (1979), 158-79.

Keiser, George R., 'More Light on the Life and Milieu of Robert Thornton', *Studies in Bibliography*, 36 (1983), 111-19.

Kekewich, M. L., 'The Attainder of the Yorkists in 1459: Two Contemporary Accounts', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 55 (1982), 25-34.

Kekewich, M. L., 'Books of Advice for Princes in Fifteenth-Century England, with Particular Reference to the Period 1450-1485' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, The Open University, 1987).

Kekewich, Margaret Lucille, Colin Richmond, Anne F Sutton, Livia Visser-Fuchs and John L. Watts, *The Politics of Fifteenth-Century England: John Vale's Book* (Stroud, 1995).

Kelly, Henry Ansgar, *Divine Providence in the England of Shakespeare's Histories* (London, 1970).

Kelly, H. A., 'English Kings and the Fear of Sorcery', *Mediaeval Studies*, 39 (1977), 206-38.

Kemp Knight, Ione, *Winbledon's Sermon, Redde Rationem Villicationis Tue: A Middle English Sermon of the Fourteenth Century* (Pittsburgh, 1967).

Kendrick, T. D., *British Antiquity* (London, 1950).

Kennedy, Edward D., 'Malory's Use of Hardyng's *Chronicle*', *Notes and Queries*, 214 (1969), 167-70.

Kennedy, Edward D., 'Malory and his English Sources', in *Aspects of Malory*, ed. by Toshiyuki Takamiya and Derek Brewer (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 27-55, 196-200.

Kennedy, Edward Donald, *Chronicles and Other Historical Writing*, vol. VIII of *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500*, ed. by Albert E. Hartung and J. B. Severs (New Haven, 1989) [1989a].

Kennedy, Edward Donald, 'John Hardyng and the Holy Grail', *Arthurian Literature*, 8 (1989), 185-206 [1989b].

Kennedy, E. D., R. Waldron and J. S Wittig, eds, *Medieval Studies Presented to George Kane* (Woodbridge, 1988).

Ker, N. R., *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, 2nd edn (London, 1964).

Ker, N. R., *Facsimile of British Museum Manuscript Harley 2253*, EETS OS 255 (1965).

Ker, N. R., *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, I-III (Oxford, 1969-83).

Ker, N. R., and A. J. Piper, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, IV (Oxford, 1992).

King, D. J. Cathcart, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, 2 vols (London, 1983).

King, J. E., ed. and trans., *Baedae. Opera Historica*, 2 vols (London, 1930).

Kingsford, Charles Lethbridge, ed., *Chronicles of London* (Oxford, 1905).

Kingsford, C. L., *A Survey of London by John Stow*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1908).

Kingsford, C. L., ed., *First English Life of King Henry the Fifth* (Oxford, 1911).

Kingsford, Charles L., 'Extracts from the First Version of Hardyng's Chronicle', *English Historical Review*, 27 (1912), 740-53 [1912a].

Kingsford, Charles L., 'The First Version of Hardyng's Chronicle', *English Historical Review*, 27 (1912), 462-82 [1912b].

Kingsford, Charles L., *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1913).

Kirby, J. L., *Henry IV of England* (London, 1970).

Kirby, Joan, ed., *The Plumpton Letters and Papers*, Camden Society, fifth series, 8 (London, 1996).

Klausner, David N., ed., *Records of Early English Drama: Herefordshire Worcestershire* (Toronto, 1990).

Knowles, D., and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London, 1953).

Kooper, Erik, ed., *The Medieval Chronicle: Proceedings of the First International*

Conference on the Medieval Chronicle (Amsterdam, 1999).

Kraye, Jill, *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism* (Cambridge, 1997).

Krochalis, Jeanne E., 'The Books and Reading of Henry V and his Circle', *The Chaucer Review*, 23 (1988), 50-77.

Kurath, H., and S. M. Kuhn, eds, *Middle English Dictionary* (Ann Arbor 1956-99).

Lagorio, Valerie M., 'The Evolving Legend of St Joseph of Glastonbury', *Speculum*, 46 (1971), 209-31.

Lander, J. R., 'Henry VI and the Duke of York's Second Protectorate, 1455 to 1456', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 43 (1960-61), 46-69.

Lander, J. R., *The Wars of the Roses*, 3rd edn (Stroud, 2000).

Lane-Poole, Stanley, *Saladin and the Fall of Jerusalem* (Beirut, 1964).

Lapsley, G. T. 'The Parliamentary Title of Henry IV', *English Historical Review*, 49 (1934), 577-606.

Lasko, Peter and N. J. Morgan, eds, *Medieval Art in East Anglia, 1300-1520* (London, 1974).

Launtis, Joseph A., Ralph A. Klinefelter and Vernon F. Gallagher, eds, *A Critical Edition of John Lydgate's Life of Our Lady* (Louvain, 1961).

Lawton, David, 'Dullness in the Fifteenth Century', *English Literary History*, 54 (1987), 761-99.

Leach, A. F., *The Schools of Medieval England*, 2nd edn (London, 1916).

Lester, G. A., ed., *Sir John Paston's 'Grete Boke': A Descriptive Catalogue, with an Introduction, of British Library MS Lansdowne 285* (Cambridge, 1984).

Lester, Geoffrey, *The Earliest English Translation of Vegetius' De Re Militari ed. from Oxford MS Bodl. Douce 291*, Middle English Texts, 21 (Heidelberg, 1988).

Lewis, P. S., 'War, Propaganda and Historiography in Fifteenth-Century France and England', *Transaction of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, 15 (1965), 1-21.

Liddel, J. R., "'Leland's' Lists of Manuscripts in Lincolnshire Libraries', *English Historical Review*, 54 (1939), 88-95.

Linehan, Peter, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford, 1993).

Linn, Irving, 'If all the Sky were Parchment', *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 53 (1938), pp. 951-70.

Litzen, V., 'A War of Roses and Lilies: The Theme of Succession in Sir John Fortescue's Works', *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae -B*, 173 (Helsinki, 1971), 5-73.

Lomas, Richard, *A Power in the Land: The Percys* (East Linton, 1999).

Lomax, D. W., and R. J. Oakley, *Fernão Lopes: The English in Portugal 1367-87* (Warminster, 1988).

Luard, Henry Richards, ed., *Annales Monastici* (London, 1866-69), III-IV.

Luard, Henry Richards, ed., *Flores Historiarum*, RS 84, 3 vols (1890).

Lucas, Peter J., 'The Growth and Development of English Literary Patronage in the Later Middle Ages and Early Renaissance', *The Library*, sixth series, 4 (1982), 219-48.

Lucas, Peter J., *John Capgrave's Abbreviation of Chronicles*, EETS OS 285 (1983).

Lucas, Peter J., 'An Author as Copyist of his own Work, John Capgrave OSA (1393-1464)', in *New Science Out of Old Books: Studies in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Honour of A. I. Doyle*, ed. by R. Beadle and A. J. Piper (Aldershot, 1995), pp. 227-48.

Lumby, Joseph Rawson, ed., *Ratis Raving and Other Moral and Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse*, EETS OS 43 (1870).

Lumby, Joseph Rawson, ed., *Chronicon Henrici Knighton vel Critthon monachi Leycestrensis*, RS 92, 2 vols (London, 1889-95).

Lumiansky, Robert M., *Malory's Originality* (Baltimore, 1964).

Lyall, R. J., 'Books and Book Owners in Fifteenth-Century Scotland', in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475*, ed. by Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 239-56.

Lydon, James, ed., *England and Ireland in the Later Middle Ages* (Dublin, 1981).

Macaulay, G. C., *The Complete Works of John Gower*, 4 vols (Oxford, 1899-1902).

MacCracken, Henry Noble, *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate, I: The Lydgate Canon and Religious Poems*, EETS ES 107 (1911).

MacCracken, Henry Noble, *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate, II: Secular Poems*, EETS OS 192 (1934).

- MacPherson, D., *Rotuli Scotiae*, 2 vols (London, 1814-19).
- Maddern, Philippa C., *Violence and Social Order: East Anglia 1422-1442* (Oxford, 1992).
- Major, K., 'The Lincoln Diocesan Records', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fourth series, 22 (1940), 39-66.
- Major, K., *A Handlist of the Records of the Bishop of Lincoln and of the Archdeacons of Lincoln and Stow* (London, 1953).
- Marshall, A. E., 'The Role of English War Captains in England and Normandy, 1436-61' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Swansea, 1975).
- Martin, G. H., ed. and trans., *Knighton's Chronicle, 1337-1396* (Oxford, 1995).
- Marx, William, ed., *An English Chronicle 1377-1461: A New Edition Edited from Aberystwyth National Library of Wales MS 21608 and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Lyell 34* (Woodbridge, 2003).
- Matheson, Lister M., 'Historical Prose', in *Middle English Prose: A Critical Guide to Major Authors and Genres*, ed. by A. S. G. Edwards (New Jersey, 1984), pp. 209-48.
- Matheson, Lister, 'The Arthurian Stories of Lambeth Palace Library MS 84', *Arthurian Literature*, 5 (1985), 70-91.
- Matheson, Lister M., *The Prose Brut: The Development of a Middle English Chronicle* (Tempe, Arizona, 1998).
- Mathew, Gervase, *The Court of Richard II* (London, 1968).
- Matthews, William, 'The Egyptians in Scotland: The Political History of a Myth', *Viator*, 1 (1970), 289-306.
- Maurer, Helen E., *Margaret of Anjou: Queenship and Power in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2003).
- Mayer, Hans Eberhard, 'The Succession to Baldwin II of Jerusalem: English Impact on the East', in *Kings and Lords in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, ed. by Hans Eberhard Mayer (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 139-47.
- Maxwell, Herbert, trans., *Scalacronica: The Reigns of Edward I, Edward II and Edward III* (Glasgow, 1907).
- Maxwell, H. E., trans., *The Chronicle of Lanercost 1272-1346* (Glasgow, 1913).
- Maxwell, J. C., 'An Echo of Chaucer', *Notes and Queries*, 214 (1969), 170.
- McCarthy, Terence, *An Introduction to Malory* (Woodbridge, 1991).

McCusker, Honor, 'Books and Manuscripts Formerly in the Possession of John Bale', *The Library*, fourth series, 16 (1935), 144-65.

McFarlane, K. B., *The Nobility of Later Medieval England*, 2nd edition (Oxford, 1980).

McGerr, Rosemarie Potz, ed., *The Pilgrimage of the Soul: A Critical Edition of the Middle English Dream Vision* (London, 1990), I.

McIntosh, Agnus, M. L. Samuels, and Michael Benskin, *The Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*, 4 vols (Aberdeen, 1986).

McKenna, J. W., 'Henry VI of England and the Dual Monarchy: Aspects of Royal Political Propaganda, 1422-1432', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 28 (1965), 145-62.

McKenna, J. W., 'The Coronation Oil of the Yorkist Kings', *English Historical Review*, 82 (1967), 102-04.

McKenna, J. W., 'Popular Canonization as Political Propaganda: The Cult of Archbishop Scrope', *Speculum*, 45 (1970), 608-23.

McKerrow, Ronald B., *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557-1640* (London, 1910).

McKisack, May, *The Fourteenth Century 1307-1399* (Oxford, 1959).

McLaren, Mary-Rose, 'The Aims and Interests of the London Chroniclers of the Fifteenth Century', in *Trade, Devotion and Governance: Papers in Later Medieval History*, ed. by Dorothy J. Clayton, Richard G. Davies and Peter McNiven (Gloucester, 1994), pp. 158-76.

McLaren, Mary-Rose, *The London Chronicle of the Fifteenth Century: A Revolution in English Writing* (Cambridge, 2002).

McNiven, Peter, 'The Scottish Policy of the Percies and the Strategy of the Rebellion of 1403', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 62 (1980), 498-530.

McNiven, Peter, 'Legitimacy and Consent: Henry IV and the Lancastrian Title, 1399-1406', *Mediaeval Studies*, 44 (1982), 470-88.

Meale, Carol, 'The Middle English Romance of Ipomedon: A Late Medieval "Mirror" for Princes and Merchants', *Reading Medieval Studies*, 10 (1984), 136-91.

Meale, Carol, 'Manuscripts, Readers and Patrons in Fifteenth-Century England: Sir Thomas Malory and Arthurian Romance', *Arthurian Literature*, 4 (1985), 93-126.

Meale, Carol, 'Patrons, Buyers and Owners: Book Production and Social Status', in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475*, ed. by Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 201-38.

Meale, Carol, "'... Alle the Bokes that I haue of Latyn, Englisch, and Frensch": Laywomen and their Books in Late Medieval England', in *Women and Literature in England 1150-1500*, ed. by Carol Meale (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 128-58.

Meale, Carol M., 'The Politics of Book Ownership: The Hopton Family and Bodleian Library Digby MS 185', in *Prestige, Authority and Power in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts*, ed. by Felicity Riddy (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 103-31.

Millican, C. B., 'Spenser and the Table Round', *Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature*, 8 (1932).

Milton, John, *The Works of John Milton* (Ware, 1994).

Minnis, A. J., ed., *Middle English Poetry: Texts and Traditions. Essays in Honour of Derek Pearsall* (Woodbridge, 2001).

Mirrlees, Hope, *A Fly in Amber: Being an Extravagant Biography of the Romantic Antiquary Sir Robert Bruce Cotton* (London, 1962).

Mitchell, Jerome, *Thomas Hoccleve: A Study in Early Fifteenth-Century English Poetic* (London, 1968).

Morgan, Philip, *War and Society in Medieval Cheshire, 1277-1403* (Manchester, 1987).

Moll, Richard J., 'Fact and Fictions: Chronicle, Romance and Arthurian Narrative in England, 1300-1470' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1999).

Moll, Richard J., 'Another Reference to John Hardyng's "Mewyn"', *Notes and Queries*, 245 (2000), 296-98.

Monro, Cecil, ed., *Letters of Margaret of Anjou and Bishop Beckington and Others Written in the Reigns of Henry V and Henry VI*, Camden Society, original series, 86 (London, 1863).

Moore, Samuel, 'Patrons of Letter in Norfolk and Suffolk, c. 1450', *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 27 (1912), 188-207.

More, Philip, *The Works of Peter of Poitiers: Master of Theology and Chancellor of the University of Paris (1193-1205)* (Notre Dame, 1936).

Murray, A. T., ed. and trans., *Homer. The Iliad*, 2 vols (London, 1924-67).

Myers, A. R., *The Household of Edward IV* (Manchester, 1959).

- Myers, A., *English Historical Documents 1327-1485* (London, 1969).
- Myers, J. N. L., 'The Campaign of Radcot Bridge in December 1387', *English Historical Review*, 42 (1927), 20-33.
- Mynors, R. A. B., R. M. Thompson, and M. Winterbottom, eds, *William of Malmesbury. Gesta Regvm Anglorvm: The History of the English Kings*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1998).
- Neville, Cynthia J., *Violence, Custom and Law: The Anglo-Scottish Border Lands in the Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1998).
- Newton, Margaret, *South Kyme: The History of a Fenland Village* (South Kyme, 1995).
- Newton, Stella Mary, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince: A Study of the Years 1340-1365* (Woodbridge, 1980).
- Nichols, Harris, *History of the Battle of Agincourt and of the Expedition of Henry the Fifth into France in 1415 to which is Added, the Roll of the Men at Arms, in the English Army*, facsimile edition (London, 1970).
- Nichols, J., *A Collection of All the Wills Now Known to be Extant of the Kings and Queens of England, Princes and Princesses of Wales, and Every Branch of the Blood Royal, From the Reign of William the Conqueror, to that of Henry the Seventh Exlusive, With Explanatory Notes, and a Glossary* (London, 1780).
- Nichols, John Gough, ed., *The Boke of Noblesse* (London, 1860) [1860a].
- Nichols, J. G., 'Peter Basset: A Lost Historian of the Reign of Henry V', *Notes and Queries*, second series, 9 (1860), 424 [1860b].
- Nicholson, Ranald, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1974).
- Nicolson, W., *The English Historical Library*, 2nd edn (London, 1714).
- Nissé, Ruth, "'Oure Fadres Olde and Modres': Gender, Heresy, and Hoccleve's Literary Politics", *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 21 (1999), 275-99.
- Norton-Smith, J., *James I of Scotland: The Kingis Quair* (Oxford, 1971).
- Norton-Smith, J., and I. Pravda, eds, *The Quare of Jelusy*, Middle English Texts, 3 (Heidelberg, 1976).
- Nuttall, Jennifer Anne, 'Hoccleve's "sensible ensauple": The Personal and the Political in Lancastrian Poetry' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford, 2003).
- Offord, M. Y., ed., *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, EETS OS 246 (1959).

- Oliva, Marilyn, *The Convent and the Community in Late Medieval England: Female Monasteries in the Diocese of Norwich, 1350-1540* (Woodbridge, 1998).
- O'Mara, Veronica, ed., *Four Middle English Sermons Edited from British Library MS Harley 2268*, Middle English Texts, 33 (Heidelberg, 2002).
- Opie, Peter and Iona Opie, *Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes* (Oxford, 1952).
- Orme, Nicholas, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (London, 1973).
- Orme, Nicholas, *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy 1066-1530* (London, 1984).
- Orme, Nicholas, 'Children and Literature in Medieval England', *Medium Aevum*, 68 (1999), 218-46.
- Ormrod, W. M., 'The Personal Religion of Edward III', *Speculum*, 64 (1989), 849-77.
- Ormrod, W. M., *The Reign of Edward III: Crown and Political Society in England, 1327-1377* (London, 1990).
- Otway-Ruthven, A. J., *A History of Medieval Ireland* (London, 1968).
- Owen, Dorothy M., *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1971).
- Owst, G. R., *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1961).
- Pächt, Otto and Alexander, J. J. G., *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1966-73).
- Palgrave, Francis, *Documents and Records Illustrating the History of Scotland and the Transactions between the Crowns of Scotland and England Preserved in the Treasury of Her Majesty's Exchequer* (London, 1837), I.
- Palmer, J. J. N., 'The Parliament of 1385, and the Constitutional Crisis of 1386', *Speculum*, 46 (1971), 477-90.
- Parkes, M. B., *English Cursive Book Hands 1250-1500*, rev. edn (London, 1979).
- Parkes, M. B., *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot, 1992).
- Parkes, M. B., 'Patterns of Scribal Activity and Revisions of the Text in Early Copies of Works by John Gower', in *New Science Out of Old Books: Studies in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Honour of A. I. Doyle*, ed. by R. Beadle and A. J. Piper (Aldershot, 1995), pp. 81-121.

Paterson, Raymond Campbell, *My Wound is Deep: A History of the Later Anglo-Scots Wars 1380-1560* (Edinburgh, 1997).

Patterson, Lee, ed., *Literary Practice and Social Change in Britain, 1380-1530* (Oxford, 1990).

Patterson, Lee, 'Making Identities in Fifteenth-Century England: Henry V and John Lydgate', in *New Historical Literary Study*, ed. by J. N. Cox and L. J. Reynolds (New Jersey, 1993), pp. 69-107.

Payling, Simon J., 'Law and Arbitration in Nottinghamshire 1399-1461', in *People, Politics and Community in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. by J Rosenthal and C. Richmond (Gloucester, 1987), pp. 140-60.

Payling, Simon, *Political Society in Lancastrian England: The Greater Gentry of Nottinghamshire* (Oxford, 1991).

Peacham, Henry, *The Compleat Gentleman*, ed. by G. S. Gordon (Oxford, 1906).

Pearsall, Derek, *John Lydgate* (London, 1970).

Pearsall, Derek, 'Hoccleve's Regiment of Princes: The Poetics of Self Representation', *Speculum*, 69 (1994), 386-410.

Pearsall, Derek, ed., *Chaucer to Spenser: An Anthology of Writings in English 1375-1575* (Oxford, 1999).

Peck, Russell, ed., *Confessio Amantis* (Toronto, 1997).

Percy, Thomas, *The Regulations and Establishment of the Household of Henry Algernon Percy, the Fifth Earl of Northumberland at his Castles of Wressle and Leckonfield in Yorkshire, Begun Anno Domini MDXII* (London, 1905).

Perkins, Nicholas, *Hoccleve's Regiment of Princes: Counsel and Constraint* (Woodbridge, 2001).

Peterson, Clifford, 'John Harding and Geoffrey of Monmouth: Two Unrecorded Poems and a Manuscript', *Notes and Queries*, 225 (1980), 202-04.

Pettifer, Adrian, *English Castles* (Woodbridge, 1995).

Peverley, Sarah L., 'Dynasty and Division: The Depiction of King and Kingdom in John Hardyng's *Chronicle*', in *The Medieval Chronicle: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle Utrecht 12 – 17 July 2002* (Rodopi, Amsterdam, forthcoming).

Peverley, Sarah L., 'John Hardyng's *Chronicle* and an Unrecorded Occurrence of *The Index of Middle English Verse* Number 1944' (forthcoming).

- Pevsner, N., and J. Harris, *The Buildings of England: Lincolnshire* (Harmondsworth, 1964).
- Pevsner, N., *The Buildings of England: Northumberland* (London, 1992).
- Phillips, J. R. S., 'When Did Owain Glyn Dŵr Die?', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 24 (1970-72), 59-77.
- Piccard, Gerhard, *Die Wasserzeichenkarten Piccard im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart: Findbuch Bearbeitet*, 16 vols in 24 (Stuttgart, 1961-96).
- Plomer, H. R., 'Books Mentioned in Wills', *The Library*, 7 (1904).
- Plummer, Charles, ed., *The Governance of England: Otherwise Called The Difference Between an Absolute and a Limited Monarchy By Sir John Fortescue, Kt. Sometime Chief Justice of the King's Bench*, 2nd edn (London, 1926).
- Pollard, A. J., *North-Eastern England During The Wars of the Roses: Lay Society, War, and Politics 1450-1500* (Oxford, 1990).
- Pollard, A. J., *The Wars of the Roses*, 4th edn (London, 1993).
- Pope, M. K., and E. C. Lodge., eds, *Life of the Black Prince by the Herald of Sir John Chandos* (Oxford, 1910).
- Porter, Elizabeth, 'Gower's Ethical Microcosm and Political Macrocosm', in *Gower's Confessio Amantis: Responses and Reassessments*, ed. by A. J. Minnis (Woodbridge, 1983), pp. 135-62.
- Powicke, Maurice and E. B. Fryde, eds, *Handbook of British Chronology*, 2nd edn, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, 2 (London, 1961).
- Prestwich, Michael, *Edward I* (London, 1988).
- Prestwich, Michael, *The Three Edwards: War and State in England, 1272-1377*, 2nd edn (London, 2003).
- Public Record Office, *Deputy Keeper's Report*, 43 (London, 1882).
- Pugh, T. B., 'The Southampton Plot of 1415', in *Kings and Nobles in the Later Middle Ages: A Tribute to Charles Ross*, ed. by Ralph A. Griffiths and James Sherborne (Gloucester, 1986), pp. 62-89.
- Purdie, Rhiannon, *Ipomadon*, EETS OS 316 (2001).
- Puttenham, George, *The Arte of English Poesie*, ed. by Gladys Doidge Willcock and Alice Walker (Cambridge, 1936).

Raine, James, ed., *Testamenta Eboracensia: A Selection of Wills from the Registry at York*, II (London, 1855).

Raine, James, ed., *Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers*, RS 61 (London, 1873).

Radulescu, Raluca L., *The Gentry Context for Malory's Morte Darthur* (Cambridge, 2003).

Ramsey, James H., *Genesis of Lancaster: The Three Reigns of Edward II, Edward III, and Richard II*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1913).

Rawcliffe, Carole, and Susan Flower, 'English Noblemen and Their Advisers: Consultation and Collaboration in the Later Middle Ages', *Journal of British Studies*, 25 (1986), 157-77.

Reynolds, Susan, 'Medieval *Origines Gentium* and the Community of the Realm', *History: The Journal of the Historical Association*, 68 (1983), 375-90.

Reynolds, Suzanne, 'Inventing Authority: Glossing, Literacy and the Classical Text', in *Prestige, Authority and Power in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts*, ed. by Felicity Riddy (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 7-16.

Ricci, Pier Giorgio and Vittorio Zaccaria, eds., *Tutte le Opere di Giovanni Boccaccio: IX, De Casibus Virorum Illustrium* (Milan, 1983).

Richmond, Colin, 'The Nobility and the Wars of the Roses, 1459-61', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 21 (1977), 71-86.

Richmond, Colin, 'Propaganda in The Wars of the Roses', *History Today*, 42 (July 1992), 12-18.

Riddy, Felicity, *Sir Thomas Malory* (Netherlands, 1987).

Riddy, Felicity, 'Glastonbury, Joseph of Arimathea and the Grail in John Hardyng's *Chronicle*', in *The Archaeology and History of Glastonbury Abbey*, ed. by Lesley Abrams and James P. Carley (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 317-31 [1991a].

Riddy, Felicity, 'John Hardyng in Search of the Grail', in *Arturus Rex*, ed. by W. Van Hoecke (Leuven, 1991), pp. 419-29 [1991b].

Riddy, Felicity, 'Women Talking about the Things of God: A Late Medieval Sub-Culture', in *Women and Literature in England 1150-1500*, ed. by Carol M. Meale (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 104-127.

Riddy, Felicity, 'John Hardyng's *Chronicle* and the Wars of the Roses', *Arthurian Literature*, 12 (1996), 91-108.

- Riddy, Felicity, ed., *Prestige, Authority and Power in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts* (Woodbridge, 2000).
- Riley, H. T., *Thomae Walsingham, quondam Monachi S. Albani, Historia Anglicana*, RS 28, 2 vols (London, 1863-64).
- Riley, Henry Thomas, ed., *Johannis de Trokelowe et Henrici de Blanesforde, Monachorum S. Albani necnon quorundam Anonymorum Chronica et Annales Regnantibus Henrico Tertio, Edwardo Primo, Edwardo Secundo, Ricardo Secundo, et Henrico Quarto* (London, 1866).
- Riley, Henry Thomas, *Chronica Monasterii S. Albani: Registra Quorundam Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani, Qui Saeculo XV^{mo} Floruere. Registrum Abbatiae Johannis Whethamstede, Abbatis Monasterii Sancti Albani, Iterum Susceptae; Roberto Blakeney, Capellano, Quondam Adscriptum*, RS 28, 2 vols (London, 1872-73).
- Ritson, J., *Bibliographia Poetica* (London 1802).
- Robbins, Rossell Hope, ed., *Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries* (Oxford, 1952).
- Robbins, Rossell Hope, ed., *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries* (New York, 1959).
- Robertson, E. C., 'On the Skeletons Exhumed at Elsdon, and their Probable Connection with the Battle of Otterburn', *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists Club*, 9, (1882), 506-99.
- Robertson, E. C., 'Elsdon, the Church', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne*, 3 (1888), 315
- Robinson, J. Armitage, *Two Glastonbury Legends: King Arthur and Joseph of Arimathea* (Cambridge, 1926).
- Robinson, P. R., 'The "Booklet": A Self-Contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts', *Codicologica*, 3 (1980), 46-69.
- Robson, R. J., *The English Highland Clans, Tudor Responses to a Medieval Problem* (Edinburgh, 1989).
- Rogers, Clifford J., *The Wars of Edward III: Sources and Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 1999).
- Rollason, David and Michael Prestwich, eds, *The Battle of Neville's Cross, 1346* (Stamford, 1998).
- Root, Robert Kilburn, *The Manuscripts of Chaucer's Troilus* (London, 1967).
- Rose, Alexander, *Kings of the North* (London, 2002).

- Rosenthal, Joel T., 'Aristocratic Cultural Patronage and Book Bequests, 1350-1500', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 64 (1982), 522-48.
- Roskell, J. S., Linda Clark and Carole Rawcliffe, *The History of Parliament*, 4 vols (Stroud, 1993).
- Ross, Charles, *The Wars of the Roses: A Concise History* (London, 1976).
- Ross, Charles, ed., *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1979).
- Ross, Charles, *The Rous Roll: An Historical Introduction* (Gloucester, 1980).
- Ross, Charles, 'Rumour, Propaganda and Popular Opinion during the Wars of the Roses', in *Patronage, The Crown and The Provinces in Later Medieval England*, ed. by Ralph A. Griffiths (Gloucester, 1981), pp. 15-32.
- Ross, Charles, *Edward IV*, new edn (London, 1997).
- Roth, Francis, *The English Austin Friars, 1249-1538*, 2 vols (New York, 1966).
- Rowe, Benedicta J. H., 'A Contemporary Account of the Hundred Years War, 1415 to 1429', *English Historical Review*, 41 (1926), 504-13.
- Rowe, B. J. H., 'King Henry VI's Claim to France in Picture and Poem', *The Library*, fourth series, 13 (1932-33), 77-88.
- Russel, P. E., *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward III and Richard II* (Oxford, 1955).
- Rymer, Thomas, ed., *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae et ...*, 20 vols (London, 1704-35).
- Rymer, Thomas, ed., *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae et ...*, 4 vols in 7 parts, rev. edn by A. Clarke, F. Holbrooke and J. Coley (London, 1816-69).
- Rymer, Thomas Duffus Hardy, *Syllabus in English of the Documents Relating to England and Other Kingdoms Contained in the Collection Known as Rymer's Foedera*, 2 vols (London, 1869-73).
- Ryskamp, Charles, ed., *Twenty-First Report to the Fellows of the Pierpont Morgan Library, 1984-1986* (New York, 1989).
- Sandquist, T. A., 'The Holy Oil of St Thomas of Canterbury', in *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Bertie Wilkinson*, ed. by T. A. Sandquist and M. R. Powicke (Toronto, 1969), pp. 330-44.
- Saul, Nigel, *Richard II* (London, 1997).

- Saul, Nigel, *A Companion to Medieval England, 1066-1485* (Gloucester, 2000).
- Saygin, Susanne, *Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (1390-1447) and the Italian Humanists* (Leiden, 2002).
- Scanlon, Larry, 'The King's Two Voices: Narrative and Power in Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*', in *Literary Practice and Social Change in Britain 1380-1530*, ed. by Lee Patterson (Oxford, 1990), pp. 216-47.
- Scase, Wendy, *'Piers Plowman' and the New Anti-Clericalism* (Cambridge, 1989).
- Scattergood, V. J., *Politics and Poetry in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1971).
- Scattergood, John, 'Fashion and Morality in the Late Middle Ages', in *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed., Daniel Williams (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 255-72.
- Scattergood, John, 'The *Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*: The Nation and its Place', in *Nation, Court and Culture: New Essays on Fifteenth-Century English Poetry*, ed. by Helen Cooney (Dublin, 2001), pp. 28-49.
- Scattergood, V. J., and J. W. Sherborne, eds, *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1983).
- Schick, J., ed., *Lydgate's Temple of Glas*, EETS ES 60 (1891).
- Schofield, William Henry, *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer* (London, 1925).
- Science, Mark, *Boethius: De Consolatione Philosophiae*, translated by John Walton, *Canon of Oseney*, EETS OS 170 (1927).
- Scott, Kathleen L., 'A Mid-Fifteenth-Century English Illuminating Shop and its Customers', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 31 (1968), 170-96.
- Scott, Kathleen L., *The Caxton Master and his Patrons* (Cambridge, 1976).
- Scott, Kathleen L., 'Lydgate's Lives of Saints Edmund and Fremund: A Newly-Located Manuscript in Arundel Castle', *Viator*, 13 (1982), 335-66.
- Scott, Kathleen L., 'Design, Decoration and Illustration', in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475*, ed. by Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 31-64.
- Scott, Kathleen L., 'Limning and Book-Producing Terms and Signs *in situ* in Late-Medieval English Manuscripts: A First Listing', in *New Science Out of Old Books: Studies in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Honour of A. I. Doyle*, ed. by R. Beadle and A. J. Piper (Aldershot, 1995), pp. 142-88.

- Scott, Kathleen L., *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490*, 2 vols (London, 1996).
- Scott, Kathleen L., 'Limner-Power: A Book Artist in England c. 1420', in *Prestige, Authority and Power in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts*, ed. by Felicity Riddy (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 55-75.
- Scott, Kathleen L., *Dated and Datable English Manuscript Borders c. 1395-1499* (London, 2002).
- Serjeantson, Mary S., *Legendys of Hooly Wummen by Osbern Bokenham*, EETS OS 206 (1938).
- Sharpe, Kevin, *Sir Robert Cotton 1586-1631* (Oxford, 1979).
- Sharpe, Reginald R., ed., *Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London: Letter Book H, Temp Richard II* (London, 1907).
- Sharpe, Reginald R., ed., *Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London: Letter Book I, Temp Henry VI* (London, 1909).
- Sharpe, Reginald R., ed., *Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London: Letter Book K, Temp Henry VI* (London, 1911).
- Sharpe, Reginald R., ed., *Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London: Letter Book L, Temp Edward IV-Henry VII* (London, 1912).
- Sharpe, R., and others, eds, *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 4 (London, 1996).
- Sharpe, Richard, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1500* (Turnhout, 1997).
- Sherborne, James, 'Perjury and the Lancastrian Revolution of 1399', *The Welsh History Review*, 14 (1988), 217-41.
- Sherborne, James, *War, Politics and Culture in Fourteenth-Century England* (London, 1994).
- Showerman, Grant, ed. and trans., *Ovid. Heroides and Amores* (London, 1914).
- Simpson, James, *Piers Plowman: An Introduction to the B Text* (London, 1990).
- Skelton, R. A., and P. D. A. Harvey, eds, *Local Maps and Plans from Medieval England* (Oxford, 1986).
- Sledd, James, 'Canterbury Tales, C 310, 320: "By Seint Ronyan"', *Mediaeval Studies*, 13 (1951), 226-33.

- Smith, Bill, 'The Financial Priorities of Lancastrian Government, 1450-55', in *Social Attitudes and Political Structures in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by Tim Thornton (Stroud, 2000), pp. 168-83.
- Smith, David M., *Guide to the Bishops' Registers of England and Wales: A Survey from the Middle Ages to the Abolition of the Episcopacy in 1646* (London, 1981).
- Smith, Lucy Toulmin, ed., *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the Years 1535-1543*, 5 vols (London, 1964).
- Smith, William and Henry Wace, eds, *A Dictionary of Christian Bibliography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines* (London, 1887).
- Snyder, Edward D., 'The Wild Irish: A Study of Some English Satires against the Irish, Scots, and Welsh', *Modern Philology*, 17 (1920), 147-85.
- Sparke, Joseph, *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Varii* (London, 1727).
- Stamp, A. E., 'Richard II and the Death of the Duke of Gloucester', *English Historical Review*, 38 (1923), 249-51.
- Stamp, A. E., 'Richard II and the Death of the Duke of Gloucester', *English Historical Review*, 47 (1932), 453.
- Stephen, Lesley, and Sidney Lee, eds., *The Dictionary of National Biography from the Earliest Times to 1900, founded in 1882 by George Smith*, 22 vols (London, 1921-22).
- Stewart, H. F., E. K. Rand and S. J. Tester, eds, *Boethius. The Theological Tractates and the Consolation of Philosophy* (London, 1973).
- Stockton, Eric W., *The Major Latin Works of John Gower* (Seattle, 1962).
- Stones, E. L. G., *Anglo-Scottish Relations 1174-1328: Some Selected Documents* (Oxford, 1970).
- Stones, E. L. G., 'The Mission of Thomas Wale and Thomas Delisle from Edward I to Pope Boniface VIII in 1301', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 26 (1982), 8-28.
- Stones, E. L. G., and G. Simpson, *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland 1290-1296* (Oxford, 1978).
- Storey, R. L., 'Marmaduke Lumley, Bishop of Carlisle, 1430-1450', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, 55 (1956), 112-31.
- Storey, R. L., ed., *The Register of Thomas Langley, Bishop of Durham, 1406-1437*, Surtees Society, 164, 166, 169, 170, 177, 182, 6 vols (1956-70).

- Storey, R. L., 'The Wardens of the Marches of England Towards Scotland, 1377-1489', *English Historical Review*, 72 (1957), 593-615.
- Storey, R. L., *The End of the House of Lancaster* (London, 1966).
- Storey, R. L., 'Lincolnshire and the Wars of the Roses', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 14 (1970), 64-83.
- Stow, John, *A Survey of London: Reprinted from the Text of 1603*, ed. by Charles Lethbridge Kingsford (Oxford, 1908).
- Stratford, Jenny, 'The Manuscripts of John, Duke of Bedford: Library and Chapel', in *England in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by D. Williams (Bury St Edmunds, 1987), pp. 329-50.
- Stratford, Jenny, 'The Royal Library in England before the Reign of Edward IV', in *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1989 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by N. Rogers (Stamford, 1994), pp. 187-97.
- Strohm, Paul, 'Conterfeiters, Lollards, and Lancastrian Unease', *New Medieval Literatures*, 1 (1997), 31-58.
- Strohm, Paul, *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation, 1399-1422* (London, 1998).
- Strohm, Paul, 'Hoccleve, Lydgate and the Lancastrian Court', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. by David Wallace (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 640-61.
- Strong, Patrick and Felicity Strong, 'The Last Will and Codicils of Henry V', *English Historical Review*, 96 (1981), 79-102.
- Stubbs, Estelle, 'Clare Priory, the London Austin Friars and Manuscripts of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*', in *Middle English Poetry: Texts and Traditions. Essays in Honour of Derek Pearsall*, ed. by A. J. Minnis (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 17-26.
- Stubbs, William, *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, 2 vols (London, 1882-83).
- Sullens, Idelle, ed., *Robert Mannyng of Brunne: The Chronicle* (Binghampton, 1996).
- Sumption, J., *The Hundred Years War*, 2 vols (London, 1990-99).
- Surtees, Robert, *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*, 4 vols (Durham, 1816-40).
- Sutton, Anne F., and Livia Visser-Fuchs, 'A "Most Benevolent Queen" Queen Elizabeth Woodville's Reputation, her Piety and her Books', *The Ricardian*, 10 (1994-96), 214-45.

Sutton, Anne F., and Livia Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books: Ideals and Reality in the Life and Library of a Medieval Prince* (Stroud, 1997).

Tait, James, 'Did Richard II Murder the Duke of Gloucester?', *Historical Essays by Members of the Owens College Manchester*, ed., T. F. Tout and J. Tait (London, 1902) pp. 193-216.

Tait, James, *Cronica Johannis de Reading et Anonymi Cantuariensis 1346-1367* (Manchester, 1914).

Tait, J., 'Richard II and the Death of the Duke of Gloucester', *English Historical Review*, 47 (1932), 726.

Tate, G., *The History of the Borough, Castle and Barony of Alnwick*, 2 vols (Alnwick, 1866-69).

Taylor, Frank, 'The Chronicle of John Strecche for the Reign of Henry V (1414-22)', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 16 (1932), 137-87.

Taylor, Frank, and John S. Roskell, eds, *Gesta Henrici Quinti* (Oxford, 1975).

Taylor, J., ed., *The Kirkstall Abbey Chronicles*, Thoresby Society, 42 (1952).

Taylor, John, *English Historical Literature in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1987).

Tite, Colin G. C., "'Lost or stolen or strayed": A Survey of Manuscripts Formerly in the Cotton Library', in *Sir Robert Cotton as Collector: Essays on an Early Stuart Courtier and his Legacy*, ed. by C. J. Wright (London, 1997), pp. 262-306.

Thomas, Keith, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, rev. edn (London, 1997).

Thompson, A. H., ed., *Visitations of Religious Houses in the Diocese of Lincoln*, 2 vols (Horncastle, 1914-18).

Thompson, A. H., 'A Corrody from Leicester Abbey', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society*, 14 (1925-26), 114-34.

Thompson, Edward Maunde, ed., *Chronicon Angliae 1328-1388*, 64 (London, 1874).

Thompson, Edward Maunde, ed., *Adae Murimuth Continuatio Chronicarum. Robertus de Avesbury de Gestis Mirabilibus Regis Edward Terti*, RS 93 (London, 1889) [1889a].

Thompson, E. Maunde, ed., *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebroke* (Oxford, 1889) [1889b].

Thompson, John J., 'Collecting Middle English Romances and Some Related Book-Production Activities in the Later Middle Ages', in *Romance in Medieval England*,

ed. by Maldwyn Mills, Jennifer Fellows and Carol M. Meale (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 17-38.

Thompson, John J., 'A Poet's Contacts with the Great and the Good: Further Consideration of Thomas Hoccleve's Texts and Manuscripts', in *Prestige, Authority and Power in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts*, ed. by Felicity Riddy (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 77-101.

Thomson, Peter, *Shakespeare's Professional Career* (Cambridge, 1992).

Thorpe, Lewis, *Geoffrey of Monmouth. The History of the Kings of Britain* (London, 1966).

Tilley, Norris Palmer, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Michigan, 1950).

Tolkien, J. R. R., and E. V. Gordon, eds, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, 2nd edn revised by Norman Davis (Oxford, 1968).

Tuck, J. A., 'Richard II and the Border Magnates', *Northern History*, 3 (1968), pp. 27-52.

Tuck, J. A., *Richard II and the English Nobility* (London, 1973).

Tuck, J. A., 'War and Society in the Medieval North', *Northern History*, 21 (1985), 33-52.

Tuck, J. A., 'The Emergence of a Northern Nobility, 1250-1400', *Northern History*, 22 (1986), 1-17.

Tucker, M., *The Life of Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey and Second Duke of Norfolk 1443-1524* (London, 1964).

Turville-Petre, Thorlac, *England the Nation: Language, Literature and National Identity, 1290-1340* (Oxford, 1996).

Tuve, Rosemond, 'Spenser and Some Pictorial Conventions: With Particular Reference to Illuminated Manuscripts', *Studies in Philology*, 37 (1940), 149-76.

Tuve, Rosemond, *Allegorical Imagery: Some Medieval Books and their Posterity* (Princeton, NJ, 1966).

Tuve, Rosemond, 'Spenserus', in *Essays by Rosemond Tuve: Spenser, Herbert, Milton*, ed. by Thomas P. Roche (Princeton, NJ, 1970), 139-63.

Tyson, Colin, 'The Battle of Otterburn: When and Where was it Fought?', in *War and Border Societies in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Anthony Goodman and Anthony Tuck (London, 1992), pp. 65-93.

- Vale, M., *The Origins of the Hundred Years War*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1996).
- Valente, C., 'The Deposition and Abdication of Edward II', *English Historical Review*, 113 (1998), 852-81.
- Van der Westhuizen, J. E., *John Lydgate. The Life of Saint Alban and Saint Amphibal* (Leiden, 1974).
- Viard, Jules, and Eugène Déprez, eds, *Chronique de Jean le Bel*, 2 vols (Paris, 1904-05).
- Vinaver, E., ed., *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, 3 vols, 2nd edn revised by P. J. C. Field (Oxford, 1990).
- Virgoe, Roger, 'William Tailboys and Lord Cromwell: Crime and Politics in Lancastrian England', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 55 (1973), 459-82.
- Vokes, Susan Elizabeth, 'The Early Career of Thomas, Lord Howard, Earl of Surrey and Third Duke of Norfolk, 1474-c. 1525' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Hull, 1988).
- Waldron, Ronald, 'Trevisa's Original Prefaces on Translation: A Critical Edition', in *Medieval Studies Presented to George Kane*, ed. by E. D. Kennedy, R. Waldron and J. S. Wittig (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 285-99.
- Waldron, Ronald, ed., *John Trevisa's Translation of the Polychronicon of Ranulph Higden, Book VI: An Edition Based on British Library MS Cotton Tiberius D. VII*, Middle English Texts 35 (Heidelberg, 2004).
- Wallace, David, ed., *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge, 1999).
- Warner, George, ed., *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye: A Poem on the Use of Sea-Power, 1436* (Oxford, 1926).
- Warton, Thomas, *The History of English Poetry*, 4 vols (London, 1824).
- Watson, Andrew G., 'Sir Robert Cotton and Sir Simonds D'Ewes: An Exchange of Manuscripts', *British Museum Quarterly*, 25 (1962), 19-24.
- Watson, Andrew G., *The Library of Sir Simonds D'Ewes* (London, 1966).
- Watts, John, 'De Consulatu Stiliconis: Texts and Politics in the Reign of Henry VI', *Journal of Medieval History*, 16 (1990), 251-66.
- Watts, John, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship* (Cambridge, 1999).

- Watts, John, 'The Policie in Christen Remes: Bishop Russell's Parliamentary Sermons of 1483-84', in *Authority and Consent in Tudor England: Essays Presented to C. S. L. Davies*, ed. by G. W. Bernard and S. J. Gunn (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 33-59.
- Webb, John, 'A Survey of Egypt and Syria, Undertaken in the Year 1422, by Sir Gilbert de Lannoy', *Archaeologia*, 21 (1827), 281-444.
- Webber T., and A. G. Watson, eds, *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 6 (London, 1998).
- Wedgwood, Josiah C., *History of Parliament: Biographies of Members of the Common House, 1439-1509* (London, 1936).
- Weever, John, *Ancient Funeral Monuments* (London, 1631).
- Weir, Alison, *Lancaster and York: The Wars of the Roses* (London, 1998).
- Weir Smyth, Herbert, *Aeschylus: I, Suppliant Maidens, Persians, Prometheus, Seven Against Thebes* (London, 1922).
- Weiss, Michael, 'A Power in the North? The Percies in the Fifteenth Century', *The Historical Journal*, 19 (1976), 501-09.
- Weiss, R., *Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 1967).
- Wentersdorf, Karl, P., 'The Clandestine Marriages of the Fair Maid of Kent', *Journal of Medieval History*, 5 (1979), 203-31.
- West, Gilian, 'Hardyng's *Chronicle* and Shakespeare's Hotspur', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 40 (1990), 348-51.
- Whiting, Bartlett Jere, *Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases: From English Writings Mainly Before 1500* (London, 1968).
- Willcock, Gladys Doidge, and Alice Walker, eds, *The Arte of English Poesie by George Puttenham* (Cambridge, 1936).
- Williams, Benjamin, *Chronicque de la Traïson et Mort de Richart Deux Roy Dengleterre* (London, 1846).
- Williams, David, ed., *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium* (Woodbridge, 1987).
- Williams, E. Carleton, *My Lord of Bedford, 1389-1435* (London, 1963).
- Williams, Hugh, ed., *Gildae, De Excidio Britanniae* (London, 1899).

- Wilson, Robert H., 'More Borrowings by Malory from Hardyng's "Chronicle"', *Notes and Queries*, 215 (1970), 208-10.
- Winstanley, William, *The Lives of the Most Famous English Poets, or the Honour of Parnassus* (London, 1687).
- Withrington, John, 'The Arthurian Epitaph in Malory's "Morte Darthur"', *Arthurian Literature*, 7 (1987), 103-44.
- Withrington, John, 'King Arthur as Emperor', *Notes and Queries*, 233 (1988), 13-15.
- Withrington, J. K. B., 'The Death of King Arthur and the Legend of his Survival in Sir Thomas Malory's *Le Morte D'Arthur* and other Late Medieval Texts of the Fifteenth-Century' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of York, 1991).
- Wogan-Browne, Jocelyn, and others, *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280-1520* (Pennsylvania, 1999).
- Wolffe, B. P., 'Acts of Resumption in the Lancastrian Parliaments 1399-1456', *English Historical Review*, 73 (1958) 583-613.
- Wolffe, B. P., *Henry VI* (London, 1981).
- Wolpe, Berthold, 'Florilegium Alphabeticum: Alphabets in Medieval Manuscripts', in *Calligraphy and Palaeography: Essays Presented to Alfred Fairbank*, ed. by A. S. Osley (London, 1965), pp. 69-74.
- Wolf, D. R., *Reading History in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2000).
- Woolgar, C. M., *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1992).
- Wright, C. E., 'The Rouse Roll: The English Version', *British Museum Quarterly*, 20 (1955-56).
- Wright, C. E., *Fontes Harleiani: A Study of the Sources of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1972).
- Wright, H. G., 'Richard II and the Death of the Duke of Gloucester', *English Historical Review*, 47 (1932), 276-80.
- Wright, Thomas, *Specimens of Old Christmas Carols* (London, 1841).
- Wright, Thomas, *Political Poems and Songs*, 2 vols (London, 1859-61).
- Wylie, James Hamilton, and William Templeton Waugh, *The Reign of Henry Fifth*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1914-29).
- Wylie, James Hamilton, *History of England Under Henry the Fourth*, 4 vols (New York, 1969).

Ziegler, Philip, *The Black Death* (Stroud, 2000).