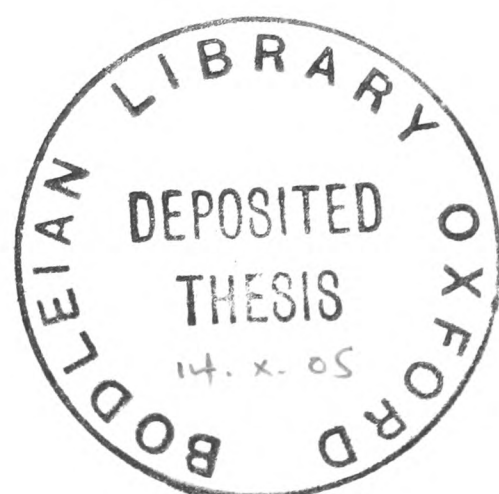


Once Called Albion:
The Composition and Transmission of History Writing in England, 1280-1350

Matthew Fisher
Lady Margaret Hall
Oxford University



Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Trinity Term, 2004 (i.e. 2005)
(LTS 7.1.05)

ABSTRACT

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This thesis considers late thirteenth and early fourteenth century insular history writing in the vernaculars in its multilingual, codicological, and historical contexts. It seeks to explicate the changes in insular historiography after the conquest of Wales and amidst the ongoing Scottish wars. The dominant mode of history writing during this period shifted: the texts examined in the thesis are 'derivative texts', complex assemblages of translations from numerous source texts, compiled and combined into unique, original works. Revising current notions of scribal competency, and arguing for a wider consideration of scribal authorship are fundamental aims of the thesis. By demonstrating the diverse and sophisticated textual lexicons of the authors of derivative texts, the thesis exposes vernacular historiographies as learned productions, written for learned audiences, engaged in intertextual dialogue with more 'authoritative' Latin historiography. Medieval translation is explored throughout, in an attempt to broaden an understanding of the term to include textual and ideological transposition, and overwrite 'compilation' as an acceptable description of these sophisticated and politically engaged texts.

Chapter 1 examines the *Anonymous Short English Metrical Chronicle* as a derivative text, situating the work in its historical context of Edward I's appeals to historiography on the Scottish question at the end of the thirteenth century. Chapter 2 is a detailed study of the chronicles of Robert Mannyng and Pierre Langtoft, arguing for the sophistication of the texts, and complexifying previously monolithic ideas of ethnicity and 'Englishness' in the chronicles. Chapter 3 focuses on the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester, providing a comprehensive introduction to the text, and offering readings of the ideological agenda of its derivative methodology. Chapter 4 investigates London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 58, a mid-fifteenth century manuscript of Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle* with unique and substantive prose interpolations, considering the physical processes by which derivative texts were written.

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INTRODUCTION

History writing in England is not the most obvious genre in which to seek insights into fundamental questions of medieval authorship, scribal competence, translation, and textual originality. Yet the major works of historiography written in Middle English and Anglo-Norman between 1280 and 1350 provide, because of their nature, evidence that contributes to the revision of current perceptions of how medieval texts were composed, and how and by whom they were read. Moreover, the historical circumstances of the period changed what was at stake in the writing of history. The Edwardian conquest of Wales and the beginnings of the ongoing conflict with Scotland brought historiography into the sphere of legal, documentary contests at the same time that the narratives of ethnically specific sovereignty over the island were appropriated by the authoring of an English political agenda. The internal political divisions of the island – the legacy of Magna Carta, the Barons' War, the Baronial crises of 1297-98, and the ongoing power struggles in Edward II's reign – are the primary backdrop for the historiography of the period, moving beyond the racial politics so central to twelfth century history writing. Yet despite the historical subject matter, and the participation in the shaping of the history of Britain, vernacular historiography remains an emphatically literary corpus of writings, very much written to be read by diverse audiences.

The idea of a 'derivative text' – a text indebted, whether through compilation, adaptation, or translation, to any number of source texts, yet distinct, original, and valuable in and of itself, and in its manipulation of its sources – is at once straightforward, and elusive. Texts such as the *Anonymous Short English Metrical Chronicle*, the Anglo-Norman *Brut*, and the chronicles of Robert of Gloucester, Robert Mannyng, and Pierre Langtoft, all survive in multiple textual versions in multiple manuscripts. These derivative texts all translate portions, sometimes extensive, of each other, as well as of other source texts in Middle

English, Latin, and Anglo-Norman. Moreover, they combine in themselves translations and redactions of the two competing, and previously irreconcilable, traditions of history writing of the twelfth century: the Galfridian (British) and the Bedan (English); the difficulties in assimilating these two strands of history, and thereby negotiating and reconciling their opposing ideological projects, contribute to the complexity of derivative histories of the period.

The manuscripts preserving these texts contain sometimes wildly differing versions of the ‘original’ text they supposedly represent in some stage of its codicological transmission. Yet in reducing the status of these texts to ‘versions’ of an hypothetical original – an inevitable byproduct of stemmatic editing – the original, and significantly original, contributions of large numbers of scribes to the writing of history have been lost. The paucity of our knowledge of the actual methods and processes of medieval composition reflects, I believe, the reductive perception of these texts as ‘variants’ or ‘corruptions’ rather than original, though derivative compositions. By situating derivative texts fully in their unique historical and codicological contexts, and by studying them as individually valuable contributions to the tradition of history writing (itself inherently derivative: writing history is a process both historical and historicised, indebted to and constitutive of the past it creates), this thesis attempts to recover more accurately the complexities of medieval composition and circulation.

Derivative texts, because of their unique and varied nature, resist traditional source and analogue study. This thesis does, certainly, engage in ‘traditional’ source study inasmuch as it seeks to identify, where possible, the specific and local textual indebtedness of one text to another. Yet the resulting textual lexicon thereby constructed is not defined, as has historically been the case, as solely the province of the author. Scribal authorship has largely been overlooked as a fruitful category in which to comprehend the historiographical

texts of the period – or of any period. Demonstrating individual scribes' access to a body of work is only significant inasmuch as it enables a reassessment of the idea of authorship, unencumbered by the insidious influence of modern, print-culture notions of originality and copyright. Additionally, a modified perception of the expanded horizons of textual knowledge and awareness of individual scribes/authors necessitates a fundamental revision of expectations for the audiences of derivative texts: the scribes who copied and wrote derivative texts are, ultimately, amongst the few demonstrable medieval readers of their source texts.

Derivative texts are perhaps best perceived as translations, rather than as compilations. Although compilation is certainly a part of the process of assembling and creating a derivative text – identifying and isolating materials in a number of source texts and bringing them together into a whole – the overtones of the term are such that any overarching sense of purposeful unity and structural coherence is lost.¹ The idea of translation considered closely, and indeed, its very etymology, suggest the breadth of meaning the term can bear. Beyond the most reductive sense of linguistic transformation, the idea of translation carries with it acts of textual transposition and relocation, an accompanying change in context, and thus ultimately, a change in meaning. Without entering into the questions of classical rhetoric and 'word for word' or 'sense for sense' translation, consider, for a moment, the praxis of translation as seen in the historiographical texts of the period, discussed in broad, heuristic terms.² Lagamon's *Brut* is widely acknowledged to be a translation of Wace's

¹ Moreover, the technical and more rigorously defined 'compilatio' is closely associated with the use of the term 'compilation' and, I believe, heavily inflects its meaning. For *compilatio* see M. B. Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book', in eds. J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson, *Medieval learning and Literature* (Oxford, 1976), 115-141. See also B. Guenée, 'L'historien et la compilation au xii^e siècle', *Journal des Savants* (Jan.-Sept., 1985), 119-35, 'l'opposition fondamentale entre l'auteur et la compilateur' (125). Guenée does eventually offer, for the later thirteenth century, a more sophisticated idea of compilers and compilations, 'L'compilateur n'a pas simplement la lourde responsabilité de choisir ses extraits. Il a celle de les ordonner et de faire véritablement, par là, œuvre nouvelle' (128).

² For rhetoric and discussions of translation, see, amongst many works on the topics, R. Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge, 1991); J. Beer, ed., *Translation Theory and Practice in the Middle Ages* (Kalamazoo, 1997), and *Translators*

Roman de Brut, itself, in turn, a translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*. Yet the textual fidelity of the *Brut* to the *Roman de Brut* varies widely, as Lagamon inserts episodes not found in Wace, expands and diminishes others, and systematically erases the source text's Anglo-Norman lexicon from the archaized, emphatically non-French Middle English he employs.³ Robert Mannyng's *Chronicle* also translates the *Roman de Brut* into Middle English, yet, again, the decisions made about narrative, language, and structure – not to mention those alterations made to serve the continuation of history past the *translatio imperii* from the British to the Saxons – obscure, even over-write, the source text.⁴ This act of obscuring a source text linguistically is, in fact, the complicated paradox at the root of any translation, a complex dialogue of preservation and erasure, of retention and eradication.⁵

Medieval translation is a no less politicised process, with no less nuanced effects and requirements, than modern translation.⁶ But it is fair to set aside such reductive pronouncements as that of Hugotio of Pisa, whose *Magnae Derivationes*, written between 1197 and 1201, states 'Translation is the exposition of meaning through another language', as simplified examples of academic theorising unsupported by the evidence of surviving medieval translations.⁷ Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* is a derivative text – a translation, primarily of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* and the Anglo-Saxon

and *Their Craft* (Kalamazoo, 1989); and A.J. Minnis and A.B. Scott, eds., *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism c.1100 - c.1375: The Commentary Tradition* (Oxford, 1988).

³ See, amongst numerous articles on the subject, E.G. Stanley, 'Lagamon's Antiquarian Sentiments', *Medium Ævum* 38 (1969), 23-37 and 'Lagamon's un-Anglo-Saxon Syntax' in ed. F. LeSaux, *The Text and Tradition of Lagamon's Brut* (Woodbridge, 1994), 47-56.

⁴ See Chapter 2, below.

⁵ Walter Benjamin's meditation on translation, 'The Task of the Translator', remains, I believe, a seminal work on the ineffable contradictions inherent in, and produced by, translation. See W. Benjamin, *Illuminations* (London, 1970).

⁶ Consider, for example, the flurry of reviews and essays surrounding Seamus Heaney's recent translation of *Beowulf*, many of which consider the interplay between a twenty-first century Irish poet and an Anglo-Saxon poem entrenched in centuries of English nationalism and canon formation.

⁷ Quoted in A. J. Minnis and A. B. Scott, eds., *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism*, xiii.

Chronicle.⁸ Greenway, in her recent edition of the *Historia Anglorum*, has chosen to italicise verbatim ‘quotations’ from the work’s source texts; even a quick glance at the edition reveals how complexly, inextricably, and substantively translations constitute the text itself.⁹

Alternatively, consider Pierre Langtoft’s translation of the *Historia regum* as against the *Historia Anglorum*. Langtoft’s translation of the *Historia regum* has been much maligned – one modern scholar has dismissed it as ‘little more than a versified extract’.¹⁰ Yet the term ‘translation’ is used more readily to describe Langtoft’s chronicle, because of the element of linguistic transformation, than for those sections of Henry of Huntingdon’s *Historia Anglorum* which rely upon the *Historia Ecclesiastica*.¹¹ Practically speaking, however, there is nothing to separate the ‘weaving compiler’ working monolingually and the creator of a ‘versified extract’ working bi- or tri-lingually: the processes of composition and derivation are the same. Changing the case endings of a verbatim Latin quotation to fit the syntax of a newly crafted sentence, written hundreds of years after the creation of the original text, is no different than the ‘Latinised’ Anglo-Norman or ‘Frenchified’ English lexicons that abound in more conventionally defined translations of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Thus, in addition to the standard notion of translation, which is inherently inter-lingual, I would like to introduce the idea of intra-lingual translation. Inasmuch as translation re-produces an original text – at once providing access to, and standing in the stead of an original, and yet standing in its own right as an original production wholly separate from its source(s) – there is a fundamental aspect of translation that involves the dislocation of

⁸ See Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. and trans. D. Greenway (Oxford, 1996), lxxxv-cvii. Greenway adopts Guenée’s term, ‘weaver compiler’, to describe his ‘derivative’ work, which remains for Greenway, nonetheless, ‘still very much his own creation’ (lxxxv). See also D. Greenway, ‘Authority, Convention and Observation in Henry of Huntingdon’s *Historia Anglorum*’, *Anglo-Norman Studies* 18 (1996), 105-21. See also B. Guenée, ‘L’historien par les mots’, in *Politique et histoire au Moyen Âge. Recueil d’articles sur l’histoire politique et l’historiographie médiévale (1956-1981)* (Paris, 1981), 221-37.

⁹ That is, those materials taken essentially verbatim from both Latin and English sources. On the question of the Old English poems translated in the *Historia Anglorum*, see A. G. Rigg, ‘Henry of Huntingdon’s metrical experiments’, *Journal of Medieval Latin* 1 (1991), 60-72.

¹⁰ See Chapter 2, n. 102, below.

¹¹ Thus Greenway avoids the term ‘translation’ entirely in discussing Henry of Huntingdon’s reliance on Bede.

context.¹² It is precisely this process of re-contextualisation, innate to translation, that is the constitutive element in writing derivative texts. To complexify the idea of derivative texts offered above, as primarily translations, it is in the broadest, and potentially, most ambiguous sense of ‘translation’ the term is used. At root, this is an attempt to recapture the full spectrum of meanings intrinsic in the term’s Latin root, *trans* + *latus*, to bear or carry across or through. As a saint’s relics or body were translated, as a bishop was translated to a new see, so the act of literal, physical re-location is as significant an element of textual translation as the ‘carrying over’ of meaning across languages.

Beyond the creation of a new context for old words, there are more obviously apparent aspects of intra-lingual translation. Dialectal transformation, for instance, is readily conceived of, and widely attested. Consider Hudson’s observations on one manuscript of the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 205, wherein local morphological forms and spellings are consistently used, overwriting the source text of the scribe’s exemplar, ‘[the philological evidence] must mean that the scribe was taught to translate the material within the line but to leave the rhyme words alone’.¹³ The extent to which dialectal, intra-lingual translation is considered substantive – the significance of its effect on meaning – lies with the reception of the text, rather than the text itself.¹⁴ At the most basic of levels, a text in a significantly distant dialect from an audience’s own reads

¹² Perhaps the most radical conception of intra-lingual translation, taken to startling if mystical extremes, is Borges’s short story, ‘Pierre Menard, Author of the *Quixote*’, in which the narrator marvels at the radical and daring attempt by Menard to write the *Quixote* itself, translating the poem from seventeenth century Catholic Spain to twentieth century, post-Inquisition, post-Reformation Argentinean modernity. The translation, an incomplete but audacious life’s work, is then compared to the original *Quixote*: the two are wholly identical, yet ‘the contrast in style is also vivid’. Borges captures here precisely the paradoxical dialectic of meaning, ideology, context, and authorial identity embedded in a process (translation, transformation) that both reveals and conceals.

¹³ See A. Hudson, ‘Tradition and Innovation in some Middle English manuscripts’, *Review of English Studies* n.s. 17 (1966), 359-72; 369. Note how Hudson’s use of the term ‘translate’ implies dialectal modification is a form of intra-lingual translation.

¹⁴ That is, how significant is a dialectal, intra-lingual translation in which all pronouns are systematically replaced with a scribe’s local forms, as against those of the original text, but nothing else is changed?

quite differently than the linguistic familiarity that accompanies a ‘local’ text.¹⁵ Another obvious example of intra-lingual translation, connected in part to issues of dialect, is translation across time. To turn to the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester, those passages translating Lagamon’s *Brut* – a text composed perhaps a century earlier – indicate that historical translation involves precisely transformations of syntax, morphology, and lexicon, whilst simultaneously preserving some core essence of meaning and ‘Englishness’ unchanged, replicating the conflicting approaches that serve as the basis for conceptions of conventional, inter-lingual translation.¹⁶ Indeed, the two manuscripts of Lagamon’s *Brut* serve as an outstanding example of what is, at first glance, a substantive project of dialectal, lexical, and historical re-writing, of intra-lingual translation, by the so-called ‘Otho-reviser’ on the text of the *Brut* as represented by London, British Library, MS Cotton Caligula A.ix.¹⁷

Thus derivative texts can be understood as translations of multiple sources. The unity of the text thereby produced, the linguistic, structural, syntactic, lexical, narrative, textual, and ideological transformations typical of medieval translations – of the historiographical texts examined throughout this thesis – are subsumed in the emphatically ambiguous use, and idea, of ‘translation’. The complicated textual structure of the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester, in which, in the midst of an extensive translation of one source, a half-line is sometimes recognisably translated from still another source, can be productively analysed in minute detail, teasing out the consequences of the constitutive textual and linguistic decisions. It is precisely the agency and forethought involved in making the requisite decisions to construct a derivative text that indicate a responsible methodological approach

¹⁵ Consider, perhaps, attempts at reproducing regional dialects in contemporary fiction, such as the wave of Scottish/English novels written in intentionally (de)familiarising dialect over the last decades.

¹⁶ See Chapter 3, below.

¹⁷ Here, of course, the questions of dating both codices and the language of both arises. The relationship between the Otho and Caligula manuscripts, and the nature of the Otho-reviser’s project, remain unsatisfactorily understood. See E. Bryan, *Collaborative Meaning in Medieval Scribal Culture: The Otho Lagamon* (Ann Arbor, 1999), and C. Cannon, ‘The Style and Authorship of the Otho Revision of Lagamon’s *Brut*’, *Medium Ævum* 62 (1993), 187-209.

for analysing these texts: the subtlety of local linguistic choices and of minor textual rearrangements are significant elements in attempting to construct coherent understandings of derivative texts, and as significant terms as overt statements or narrative observations.

This thesis examines in detail all of the major vernacular historiographies written in England between 1280 and 1350, except for the Anglo-Norman and Middle English prose *Bruts*, which are considered in relation to the texts herein studied. Because these derivative histories draw on romances, hagiography, and other works of historiography, a large number of texts in Latin, Anglo-Norman, and Middle English from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries are also addressed. It is important to stress that, in some ways, the focus on historiographical texts is secondary to the types of questions being asked of the texts, and the articulation of a methodology to understand derivative textuality, scribal authorship, textual originality, and the sophistication of learned, multilingual audiences of vernacular texts. The same issues arise with contemporary religious texts, and with more conventionally ‘literary’ productions, although the paucity of, in particular, Middle English texts from the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries raises other challenges to such a study. It is also important to stress that addressing the complex and intricate questions of ethnicity, and assessing the refiguration of the competing traditions of Galfridian/British and Bedan/English historiography are not part of the primary agenda of this thesis. Inasmuch as intertextual engagement with these primarily Latin traditions of historiography is exhibited by the vernacular texts here considered, it reveals the intellectual and textual sophistication of derivative vernacular history writing; the contributions of derivative texts to the ongoing questions of ethnicity and racial ideology, and the political and historical deployment of these issues in medieval historiography, require a full and separate study.

Chapter 1 begins by considering the development of the Albina myth in the context of Edward I’s appeal to historiography during the ‘Scottish question’ of the late thirteenth

century, particularly as it appears in the Anglo-Norman poem *Des Grantz Geanz*. The *Anonymous Short English Metrical Chronicle*, an extreme example of the compression and textual complexity common to derivative historiography, is examined in its historical and codicological contexts. Chapter 2 offers a detailed reading of the *Chronicle* of Robert Mannyng, rejecting previous arguments about the text's ethnically English bias and its unlearned audience. The *Chronicle* of Pierre Langtoft, in particular the Middle English 'songs' found in this Anglo-Norman work, and the text's historiographical sophistication and intertextuality are explored. Chapter 3 presents a comprehensive introduction to the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester, including the fundamental questions of authorship, date, and the complex processes of composition and redaction. Chapter 4 investigates one manuscript of the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester, London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 58, a unique mid-fifteenth century version of the text containing substantive interpolations, both original and translated from other sources: a derivative text derived from a derivative text. The idea of scribal authorship is further developed, and the processes of translation and compilation constitutive of such texts as revealed by this codex are assessed. Lastly, the conclusion articulates the implications of this study for the reconsideration of a broad range of medieval texts, and suggests the directions in which future projects might assimilate, refine, and extend the ideas central to this thesis.

***I* REVISING ALBION**

One of the characteristic methodologies of derivative texts is the compression of source materials during the processes of adaptation and translation, typically in order to accomplish the contextual and linguistic transformations, and to accommodate the materials to the metrical and narrative requirements of the new work. This chapter examines the derivative text edited as *An Anonymous Short English Metrical Chronicle*, a work in which narrative compression is taken to extremes. Precisely because of its brevity, however, it is too easy to overlook the text's historical subject matter, and its affinities with the traditions of historiography well established in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The question of racial politics, in particular those constructed by the great historiographies of the twelfth century, including the *Historia Anglorum* of Henry of Huntingdon and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*, is a constant and acute subtext for thirteenth and early fourteenth century vernacular historiography. Accordingly, although the *Anonymous Short English Metrical Chronicle* is not the earliest of the history writing herein examined, but is in clear and terse dialogue with the refiguring of racial and political history at the turn of the fourteenth century, a brief examination of the ideological and historiographical landscape is first required.

'Britain, once called Albion' Bede begins his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, and thus he begins history with geography, but a contested, always already historicised geography.¹ The sequences of settlements and conquests, peoples and languages, religious conversions and heretical movements mapped onto a finite insular geography in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* became the foundational terms for historiographical debate and revision over the course of some seven centuries. Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*

¹See B. Colgrave and R.A.B Mynors, eds., *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1969), I.i.15.

initiated the most significant alteration to the historical and etiological conceptions of the island, inserting the legendary history of the British into the gap left by Bede, and doing so at a pivotal moment in English/Welsh relations in the twelfth century. Although over the course of the next two hundred years, Geoffrey's narratively preemptive text was absorbed, sometimes violently, into the dominant tradition of English historiography, the subtlety and sophistication of his strategically composed and framed narrative did not go unnoticed. Against the backdrop of the conquest of Wales in 1284, and the crisis of Scottish succession that devolved into the ongoing 'Scottish question', the perceptions of historiography, and the political stakes in which history writing was increasingly engaged, fundamentally changed.

Although there is a clear *terminus* from which historiography enters the explicitly political arena, several caveats are in order. Writing history is always a political act, and historiographical texts are never read in a political vacuum. Thus, although the emergence of historiography at the end of the thirteenth century as a political tool to be deployed at the highest of levels, in a controversy with the highest of stakes, marks a milestone in insular history, it is naïve to contend that historiographical works prior to this time were any less engaged in contemporary politics. More complicated, however, is how audiences – including the authors composing new histories, reliant upon those of their predecessors – received and comprehended the ideological struggles of texts written a century or more before: the case can all too easily be under- or over-stated. Consider, for example, the sophisticated interrogation of hybridity and ethnicity embedded in the works of Giraldus Cambrensis, in particular the *Itinerarium Kambriae* and the *Descriptio Kambriae*.² Written at the close of the twelfth century, Giraldus's project relies on an intimate knowledge of contemporary figures – Welsh and English – and their connections by marriage, kinship, and inherited ideological responsibilities. How much of the political component of Giraldus's *oeuvre* was

² See Giraldus Cambrensis, *Giraldi Kambrensis Opera*, eds. J.S. Brewer, J.F. Dimock, and G.F. Warner, 8 vols., Rolls Series (London, 1861-91).

submerged by the passage of time, particularly by the fundamental reconfiguration of ethnic and political relations between the king and the marcher lords, between the Welsh and the English, and amongst the Welsh themselves, seems, in some ways, unanswerable.

However, historiographies operate at many levels, and whilst the markedly contemporary may become obscured or irrelevant, there are larger trends and implicit arguments that remained not only comprehensible, but pertinent. Thus, in the broadest outline, the narrative of the foundation(s) of the island and the sequence of conquests and kings to the audience's present day, was not only always relevant for the composition of historiography, but always stood in a teleological, if not necessarily causal, relationship to the author's present. The transitions of power, the ethnic and linguistic identity of the ruling class, heresy and orthodoxy, and disruptions to the lineal descent of rule over the island are the classic loci of historiographical attention and anxiety. Historiography written after 1135, however, faced two diametrically opposed histories, the Bedan, English narrative, and the Galfridian, British/Welsh narrative.³ Although Bede – Saint Bede! – remained the imaginative progenitor of insular history writing, it is the *Historia Anglorum* of Henry of Huntingdon and the *Gesta Regum* of William of Malmesbury, both of which rely quite heavily on Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which form the opposing tradition to Geoffrey of Monmouth's upstart interpolations.⁴ Crucially, however, Geoffrey of Monmouth's creation of an entirely other account of the origins of the island was designed to contest Bede's narrative precisely by exploiting his silence on the matter.⁵ And even after the silence had been filled by the *Historia regum*, there remained still the initial temporal gap, expressed

³ See J. Miller, *Lagamon's Brut and English Historiography* (Oxford, forthcoming).

⁴ This is not to exclude other ideologically English, Bedan texts such as William of Newburgh's *Historia rerum Anglicarum* or John of Worcester's *Chronicon*, but merely to mark the *Historia Anglorum* and *Gesta Regum* as primary amongst the foundational texts of the Bedan historiographical tradition.

⁵ See Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth with contributions to the study of its place in early British history*, ed. A. Griscom (London, 1929), 'Cum mecum multa & de multis sepius animo reuoluens in hystoriam regum britannie inciderem . in mirum contuli quod infra mentionem quam de eis gildas & beda luculento tractatu fecerant nichil de regibus qui ante incarnationem christi inhabitauerant nichil etiam de Arturo ceterisque compluribus qui post incarnationem successerunt repperissem' (219).

etymologically, in the opening words of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ‘Brittania...cui quondam Albion nomen fuit’, and the possibilities implicit in Geoffrey’s narrative that the island was originally, ‘a nemine exceptis paucis hominibus gigantibus inhabitabatur’.⁶

The narrative of the foundations of power was inextricably linked with the justification of rule – in a very different fashion than the traditional teleological explication of why those in power held it – by Edward I at the end of the thirteenth century. Although the Edwardian conquest of Wales proved, over the next century, to be decisive despite recurrent Welsh insurgency and rebellion, the ‘Scottish question’ brought about by the death of Alexander III in 1286 and the death of his heir, the Maid of Norway, in 1290, provided a new stage for historiography. In 1291 and again in 1301, Edward I famously sought historiographical justification for his colonial impulses, rather than to confirm the legitimacy of what he already held, and sent out requests to English monasteries and cathedrals for anything touching on the status of the two realms.⁷ The very vagueness of Edward’s request for the purposeful mining of local historiographies concerning insular history ensured a wide variety of responses. Of the surviving records, replies range from ‘nichil continet ad propositum’ to far more extensive compilative accounts stretching back to the Anglo-Saxon past, to the mythico-historical accounts of Brutus’ conquest of the island and its division amongst his three sons, Locrinus, Camber, and Albanactus.⁸

⁶ Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, I.i; *Historia regum*, i.xvi.249. Translations from the *Historia regum* will be supplied from L. Thorpe, trans., *The History of the Kings of Britain* (Harmondsworth, 1966), ‘uninhabited except for a few giants’, Thorpe, 72.

⁷ The literature on the Scottish question is vast. See especially E.L.G. Stones, ‘The Appeal to History in Anglo-Scottish Relations between 1291 and 1401’, *Archive* 9 (1969), 11-21, 80-83; E.L.G. Stones, *Anglo-Scottish Relations 1174-1328: Some Selected Documents* (Oxford, 1965); E.L.G. Stones and G.G. Simpson, *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1978); and R. J. Goldstein, *The Matter of Scotland: Historical Narrative in Medieval Scotland* (Nebraska, 1993). One surviving response, perhaps recapitulating the wording of the original request, states, ‘regnum nostrum et regimen Scocie qualitercumque contingencia’, Stones and Simpson, i.139.

⁸ For the surviving responses to the 1291 and 1301 inquests, see F. Palgrave, *Documents and Records Illustrating the History of Scotland and the Transactions Between the Crowns of Scotland and English* (London, 1837), 56-137. An assessment of a record as useless, for whatever purposes, is attached to the return from Bath on a small membrane serving as a label; see Palgrave, 58.

Although the response, from some 36 monasteries and convents and nine secular cathedral chapters, quite predictably varies, far and away the most common starting point for the surviving records is the reign of Edward the Elder, in 901.⁹ The individual returns also differ greatly in approach: some merely offer a bare historical outline of the intersections of the rule of Scotland and England, whereas others cite the sources upon which they are drawing and provide lengthy commentary.¹⁰ In a document that seems to be an abridgement of the returns, the itemised list begins with Edward the Elder, and adds details for relevant reigns, whilst noting from which return the details come, and upon which texts the return relies.¹¹ The results were then condensed into the so-called Great Roll of John of Caen in 1291, which begins with Edward the Elder – a safely Saxon, widely attested historical king, who fits incontestably into the Bedan historiographical framework of English, and then Norman, sovereignty.¹²

But in the second inquest of 1301, the historiographical debate on the historical rights of English kings over Scotland followed instead lines suggested by a few of the returns from the inquest of 1291. A 1301 letter from Edward to Pope Boniface VIII – who was now attempting to adjudicate the issue – survives in two forms. In the first, ‘proof’ is offered extending back to Edward the Elder and his conquest of Scotland and the Strathclyde Welsh – a history of English sovereignty over Scotland from Edward to Edward, as it were. Yet the

⁹ See Palgrave, 56-137; nine of the 23 returns printed in Palgrave begin with Edward the Elder. Two begin with Brutus, three with Athelstan, three with William the Conqueror, three with Henry I, and three with other rulers. See also F.T. Wainwright, ‘The Submission to Edward the Elder’, *History* 37 (1952), 114-130.

¹⁰ Thus, for example, the return from Worcester Cathedral priory explicitly cites the *Historia Anglorum*, and those from the Diocese of London add, somewhat peculiarly, the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*. See Stones and Simpson, i.141-46.

¹¹ Palgrave notes that three copies of the document survive, 137; the document itself is printed in Palgrave, 134-7. Thus, for example, ‘Tempe Willelmi...rebellante Malcolmo Rege Scocie...Hoc invenitur in Cronica Mariani Scotti’, Palgrave, 134. See also Stones and Simpson, i.137-46.

¹² See Stones and Simpson, i.146-160. William of Malmesbury notes of Edward the Elder, ‘Anno Dominicae incarnationis nongentesimo primo regnum obtinuit Eduardus filius Elfredi, et tenuit annis uiginti tribus, litterarum scientia multum patre inferior, sed regni potestate incomparabiliter gloriosior, siquidem ille duo regna Mertiorum et Westsaxonum coniunxerit...iste primum mortuo Etheredo Mertios omnifariam, mox Occidentales et Orientales Anglos et Northanimbros qui cum Danis iam in unam gentem coaluerant, et Scottos qui aquilonalem insuale partem inhabitant, et Britones omnes, quos nos Walenses dicimus, bellis profligatos suae ditioni subegerit’. See R.A.B. Mynors, R.M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, eds. and trans, *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (Oxford, 1998), ii.125, 196.

roll containing a draft of this letter was altered, and a separate membrane inserted which fundamentally revises the terms of the debate.¹³ The revised letter begins not with Edward the Elder, but rather with Brutus and his three sons. In a rapid narrative, the letter then mentions Dunwallo, Belin and Brennin, and Arthur: a catalogue of British kings and British sovereignty deriving directly from the *Historia regum*.¹⁴ Yet this revisionist history avails itself precisely of the Galfridian methodology of interpolating into an uncontested space an ideologically and teleologically determinate narrative.¹⁵

Even as Edward and his court adopted Geoffrey of Monmouth's historiographical strategy, however, the Scots responded in kind. There survives an 'informal report' – perhaps made to Edward I – concerning the Scot's reply to Boniface VIII on the historiographical challenges set forth by the English.¹⁶ The Scots, too, resort to legendary pre-history to make their case, beginning their account of Scottish sovereignty with Brutus's division of the island amongst his three sons, emphasizing, 'les fist piers issint que nul ne fust

¹³ The so-called 'draft' survives in London, Public Records Office E39/99/48,50,51; the insertion is catalogued as P.R.O. E 39/1/18. A Latin version of the letter survives in P.R.O. Close Rolls (C 54), 118, MS 10 d, 9 d. A version of this text, beginning with Edward the Elder, is preserved in the *Chronicle* of Walter of Guisborough.

¹⁴ Indeed, the closeness of the letter to the *Historia regum* can be seen in the inclusion of the synchronisms, 'sub temporibus itaque Ely et Samuelis prophete', *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, 194. Compare the identical, if separate, instances in *Historia regum*, i.xviii and ii.vi.

¹⁵ It is intriguing to note that the conquest of Wales must have seemed, by 1301, secure enough for the royal, authorised deployment of British history in the service of English interests. Historiographical insistence on British history as fabulous (as by William of Newburgh), or on Arthur as emphatically dead, rather than in messianic limbo, served to counter a historiographical mythologising potentially connected to Welsh insurgency. Although this more broadly marks the general appropriation and assimilation of British history by English historiography, and typifies later thirteenth century history writing, it nonetheless suggests how rapid the process was to occur when compared to Giraldus Cambrensis's writings into the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

¹⁶ The 'report' survives in British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian F.vii, a manuscript containing miscellaneous historical documents relating to Scotland from the early fourteenth to the mid-fifteenth century. An adaptation of what was the Scots' case survives in the *Processus* and *Instructiones* of Baldred of Bisset, preserved in the fifteenth century *Scotichronicon*. See *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, 'The text is manifestly a report to Edward I of Scottish arguments...but it is not in letter form (having neither salutations, date, nor place); and though the hand of C is contemporary, the precise nature of the MS is not clear' (220). See also N.F. Shead, W.B. Stevenson, and D.E.R. Watts, eds., *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower* (Aberdeen, 1987) and R.J. Goldstein, 'The Scottish Mission to Boniface VIII in 1301: A Reconsideration of the Context of the *Instructiones* and *Processus*', *Scottish Historical Review* 70 (1991), 1-15. A second Scottish reply to Pope John XXII from 1321 repeats, often verbatim, Bisset's account; see P.A. Lineham, 'A fourteenth-century history of Anglo-Scottish Relations in a Spanish Manuscript', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 48 (1975), 106-22.

a autre souzmis ne sugiet'.¹⁷ The methodological lessons learned, however, appear with the introduction by the Scots of Scota, Pharaoh's daughter, into the historiographical contest.¹⁸

Scota, the eponymous founder of a post-Brutus Scotland, initiates Scottish history along with two other eponyms, her son Ark and husband Gayl (after whom Argyll is named):

Et de cel temps les Escotz come gentz nouveaux et de novel noun ne
communèrent ove les Bretons mais les poursuivrent touz jours come leur
ennemis, et se menerent par diverses lieux et coustumes et par diverse lange.¹⁹

The methodological savvy of the Scottish reply to the English historiographical arguments not only serves to solidify and homogenise a distinctly Scottish *origines gentium*: the report proceeds to undermine precisely the superficial continuity of the *translatio imperii* from the British to the Saxons to the Normans asserted in the English case by re-inscribing the cycles of British, Saxon, and Danish conquest, 'Et dient que les Britons puis furent en getetz par les Saxoneis, et puis les Saxoneis par les Danois, et puis les Danois par les Saxoneis'.²⁰

The Scottish historiographical response to Edward I's original appeal to historiography reveals the foundational terms of English history as still, to some degree, mutable and contestable at the end of the thirteenth century. In particular, the processes by which British, Galfridian history was prefixed to English, Bedan history were not entirely cohesive, nor resistant to the critical elucidation of inconsistencies, or emulation. Both the English and the Scottish sides, in arguing their cases, made use of the possibilities inherent in the temporal and narrative gaps of both Bede's and Geoffrey's histories. Closely

¹⁷ *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, 226; '[Brutus] made them peers, so that none of them was subject to another' (227).

¹⁸ It should be noted that there is a minimal, if discernible, tradition surrounding Scota before this time. See S. Reynolds, 'Medieval *Origines Gentium* and the Community of the Realm', *History*, 68 (1983), 375-90.

¹⁹ *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, 226; 'And from that time the Scots, as a new race and possessing a new name, had nothing to do with the Britons, but pursued them daily as their enemies, and were distinguished from them by different ranks and customs, and by a different language' (227). Note the almost textbook assertion of a *natio*: *gens*, *terra*, and *lingua*.

²⁰ *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, 226-8; 'They say that the Britons were then expelled by the Saxons, and then the Saxons by the Danes, and then the Danes by the Saxons' (227-9). Consider the preposterously unproblematic transition from Arthur to Edward the Elder as depicted by Edward's letter to Boniface VIII, 'Succedentibus autem regibus Anglis in predicta insula et ipsius monarchiam et dominium optinentibus subsequenter Edwardus dictus senior filius Elvredi regis Anglie Scotorum Cumbrorum et Stregwallorum' (*Anglo-Scottish Relations*, 196). Note, too, the glorious silence on the Conquest, 'Item Willelmus dictus bastardus rex Anglie, cognatus dicti Edwardi, a Malcolmo rege Scotorum...homagium cepit' (*Anglo-Scottish Relations*, 200).

contemporary to the historiographical inquests and the legal manoeuvrings over the Scottish question, another author assimilated the collective implications of Bede's 'once called Albion', Geoffrey's *ex nihilo* giants, and the possibilities of interpolative historiography: into a space at once historiographically authorised, and yet uncontested, the poet of the Anglo-Norman *Des Grantz Geanz* introduced Albina, eponymous founder of Albion.²¹

The narrative of *Des Grantz Geanz* – although there are in fact several variants of the story – can be summarised briefly.²² 30 sisters, all daughters of a king, plot to murder their husbands in order to be free of the perceived subjection of their marriages. The youngest sister exposes the plot, and the other sisters are tried; their lives are spared, but they are condemned to be set adrift in a boat without sail or rudder, which miraculously comes to an island.²³ The eldest sister, Albina, ritually takes possession of the island, and imposes her name upon it: Albion. Although the sisters civilise the island and adapt to their exile in an uninhabited Edenic space, inflamed with desire for companionship in their banishment from human/male society, they are seduced by demons who temporarily assume human form. The sisters and their giant offspring then incestuously reproduce, populating the island with a race of giants – implicitly the forbears of those encountered, and exterminated, by Brutus and the Britons. *Des Grantz Geanz* is an adeptly situated narrative, introducing its entire tale into a chronological frame that prevents contradiction by existing historiographical accounts.

²¹ See G. Brereton, *Des Grantz Geanz: An Anglo-Norman Poem* (Oxford, 1937).

²² Perhaps the point has been reached where summarisation is no longer necessary. See J. Marvin, 'Albine and Isabelle: Regicidal Queens and the Historical Imagination of the Anglo-Norman Prose *Brut* Chronicles', *Arthurian Literature* 18 (2000), 143-91; see also L. Johnson, 'Return to Albion', *Arthurian Literature* 13 (1995), 19-40 and J.P. Carley and J. Crick, 'Constructing Albion's Past: An Annotated Edition of *De origine gigantum*', *Arthurian Literature* 13 (1995), 41-114. See also T. Drukker, 'Thirty-three Murderous Sisters: A Pre-Trojan Foundation Myth in the Middle English Prose *Brut* Chronicle', *Review of English Studies* 54 (2003), 449-63.

²³ The trope of the unguided boat is a common motif in *vitae* and romance. See, for example, I. Short and B. Merilees, eds., *The Anglo-Norman Voyage of Saint Brendan* (Manchester, 1979) and M.K. Pope, *The Romance of Horn*, Anglo-Norman Text Society 9-13 (Oxford, 1964). For a later example, note the motif's appearance in the tale of 'Apollonius of Tyre' in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*. See J.R. Reinhard, 'Setting Adrift in Medieval Law and Literature', *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 56 (1941), 33-68.

Ruth Dean's recently published account of Anglo-Norman texts and manuscripts identifies five distinct versions of *Des Grantz Geanz*: the octosyllabic, alexandrine, prose, short verse, and short prose versions survive in 34 manuscripts, ranging in date from the first third of the fourteenth to the second half of the fifteenth century.²⁴ In sixteen of these manuscripts, the octosyllabic version of the poem serves as a prologue to the short version of the Anglo-Norman prose *Brut*, a text which, without the Albina story, narrates insular history from Brutus to the 1330s.²⁵ Of the sixteen manuscripts containing both *Des Grantz Geanz* and the *Brut*, eleven contain a 'linking passage' in Latin that serves to facilitate the re-commencement of insular history with Brutus as narrated by the *Brut* – entirely without reference to Albina.²⁶ Indeed, the passage makes doubly clear the possibility of historiographical coexistence for the two narratives – ideological considerations aside – by reiterating the series of names for the island: Albion, Britain, England.²⁷ Yet the doubled foundation narrative and the proliferation of eponymnic figures, especially considering the rise to primacy of the Brutus story since the composition of the *Historia regum*, were not unproblematic, despite attempts for reconciliation such as that of the linking passage.²⁸

Of the five Anglo-Norman versions of the story, only one, the octosyllabic *Des Grantz Geanz*, has been edited, although the editor prints two texts in parallel, a longer

²⁴ See R. Dean, *Anglo-Norman Literature: A Guide to Texts and Manuscripts* (London, 1999), 26-30. Note that these figures only apply to the Anglo-Norman versions of the Albina story.

²⁵ The title 'Brut' is, of course, a convenient fiction for a morass of manuscripts, all ending at different points and with different texts. Although Dean's categorisation of the manuscripts is enormously useful, the division into clear 'versions' is misleading, and perhaps misguided. See also L. Matheson, *The Prose Brut: The Development of a Middle English Chronicle* (Tempe, 1998).

²⁶ The passage accomplishes this transition by summarising the Albina story and then explicitly extending the otherwise implied connection of the giants of *Des Grantz Geanz* to the giants encountered by Brutus upon arriving in Britain, 'Ex quibus demones horridos genuerunt gigantes, sibi montibus cavernas subterraneas preparantes fossis magnis murisque circumdatas fortissimis' (*Des Grantz Geanz*, p. 31). Compare the description in *Historia regum*, 'gigantes ad cauernas montium fugant' (*Historia regum*, l.xvi.249). The verbal similarities suggest that the author of the linking passage was familiar with the *Historia regum* in addition to *Des Grantz Geanz* and the Anglo-Norman *Brut*.

²⁷ See *Des Grantz Geanz*, p. 31, 'Anglie nomine insulam primo Albion nominando expedivi sub compendio... Secundo vero dicendum est de Bruto Albion nomen deponente, postea Britaneam apponente. Tercio de Engisto Saxonio, nomen qui Bretanie deposuit, vero Engistlond nominavit'.

²⁸ Compare the *Liber Hyda*, which begins with a short redaction of the Albina story, and explicitly connects the giants to those encountered by Brutus, 'Ex quibus nati sunt gigantes, quorum unus dictus est Gogmagog', *Liber Monasterii de Hyda*, ed. E. Edwards, Rolls Series (London, 1866), 4.

version, found only in London, British Library MS Cotton Cleopatra D.ix, and a shorter version, found in twenty manuscripts, in all but four of which it precedes the *Brut*. As recent work on the poem has emphasised, the shorter version accompanies the short version of the *Brut*, a text extending to 1332 and likely composed close to that date, suggesting, in turn, a similar *terminus post quem* for *Des Grantz Geanz*. MS Cotton Cleopatra D.ix is dated firmly to 1333-1334, as the book's owner, Alan of Ashbourne died, according to the register of Lichfield Cathedral, in 1334; a list of the archbishops of Canterbury, written in the same hand as the poem, ends with Simon de Mepham (d. 1333).²⁹ In addition to the Anglo-Norman *Des Grantz Geanz*, there are various Latin versions of the Albina story, including two translated from the shorter version of the Anglo-Norman poem, known as *De origine gigantum*.³⁰ Later in the century, the Middle English *Brut* begins with Albina, as does Castleford's *Chronicle*.³¹ It is worth noting that, while the codices containing the Anglo-Norman poem can be dated no earlier than 1332-3, this does not, in fact, constitute evidence for the date of the poem's composition. Moreover, Brereton's two versions, which differ by some 100 lines, are potentially an over-simplification of the poem's textual tradition: one manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D.329, although edited as an instance of the shorter version, contains sixteen lines otherwise unique to the longer version, suggesting, perhaps, a more complicated form of textual transmission.³² Also, the production of a Middle English translation of the Albina story in the Auchinleck manuscript might argue for a slightly earlier

²⁹ See *Des Grantz Geanz*, vi.

³⁰ See Carley and Crick, 'Constructing Albion's Past', and R. Evans, 'Gigantic Origins: an annotated translation of *De origine gigantum*', *Arthurian Literature* 16 (1998), 197-211.

³¹ See Drukker, 449-53.

³² See *Des Grantz Geanz*, 494, 547-62. It should also be noted that, despite assumptions to the contrary, the shorter version may well precede the longer version, rather than be an abridgement. Fifty-two of the lines found in the longer version anticipate the so-called linking passage and the opening chapters of the prose *Brut*. There is nothing, however, to argue that these lines were not a subsequent addition to the poem, rather than 'original'. See Brereton, *Des Grantz Geanz*, p. 53; Brereton rejects Brie's arguments that the longer version is a series of interpolations to the shorter version. See F.W.D. Brie, *The Brut or The Chronicles of England*, EETS o.s. 131, 136 (Oxford, 1906, 1908), 35. Brereton's argument by poetic talent is not wholly convincing, 'It is far more likely that the idea – an excellent one – of utilizing in this new way [that Gogmagog is momentarily spared in order to recount the history of the giants to Brutus] the respite accorded to Goemagog [sic] in Geoffrey's account should have occurred to the author than to a mere interpolator' (53, n. to 495-546).

date of composition of *Des Grantz Geanz*, in order for the text, and knowledge thereof, to circulate.³³ The Anglo-Norman poem, then, can likely be dated after 1291, and certainly in the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

Despite the clear historical and historiographical context in which *Des Grantz Geanz*, by virtue of its subject, situates itself, it is difficult to read the poem as a 'direct' contribution to the historiographical wars waged alongside the physical wars for the rule of Scotland.³⁴ Yet the poem too perfectly exemplifies the interpolative methodologies of the historiography surrounding the 'Scottish question' to be considered unrelated. The poem is perhaps at its strongest and most influential when considered as a negative contribution to the historiographical tradition. That is, Albina, as an additional eponymous figure in the contest for *ab origine* primacy precisely undermines the obvious geographic, ethnic, and linguistic signification that Brutus bears.³⁵ The Albina legend both preempts the British/Galfridian historiographical narrative of insular power, and more importantly, enables the appropriation and assimilation of the Galfridian tradition into Bedan, English historiography. This is not, of course, to argue that the Albina legend was the first such attempt at suturing the two ideologically contradictory narratives. Rather, the Albina story stands as an attempt to wipe the slate clean, as it were, and pre-write the history of the island not as a map of competing ethnicities, but as a unified, geographical and political whole: a starting point precisely in service to the conclusion Edward I was attempting to reach.

Critics considering the Albina story have focused, on the whole, upon the disruptive aspects of the poem: female rebellion, the abuse of power, transgressive female sexuality, and

³³ See 'Scribal Reading', below.

³⁴ Thus Carley and Crick, 'Constructing Albion's Past', 'the poem does not seem originally to have been framed as a direct contribution to the Anglo-Scottish dispute' (59-60).

³⁵ The same is true, to a lesser extent, of Albina's impact on the Scots legend, but Scottish eponyms made fewer inroads into English historiography.

challenges to male political society.³⁶ The myth is indeed transgressive, and gender plays a complicated role in the text. Read not, however, as primarily a narrative of insular foundation, but rather as an abortive genealogy that sustains the sequence of failed ethnic and political genealogies of power (British, Saxon, Danish, English) as presented in later thirteenth century hybrid Bedan/Galfridian historiography, the poem is most disruptive. There is an Edenic quality to the island that pervades the poem upon the sisters' arrival, and a (female) political space characterised by consensus and unity.³⁷ The sisters civilise the island, to a certain extent, first, as scholars have noted, performatively enacting their rightful claims to the island in a passage replete with legal language, and then enjoying its natural fruitfulness, fishing and hunting and building a society.³⁸ Yet the successful and validating rule of Albina and her sisters – however complicated by the problematic frame of the story – becomes the misrule of their demon-sired offspring. This transformation replicates the Gildasian model of history, a generative cycle of spiritual and political economies in which conquest punishes sin.³⁹

³⁶ See Marvin, 143-49. Johnson discusses the inversion of gender roles in the story, and concludes the poem exposes, 'certain paradoxes of the relation of elite women to the mechanisms of power and authority in patriarchal, feudal societies' (36).

³⁷ See *Des Grantz Geanz*, 'Mes par grant necesseté / Les herbes crues unt mangé, / Dunt grant plenté i troverent, / E des fruiz qe es arbres erent.' (269-72). That the island is uninhabited is strongly stressed as well, 'Amont alerent en la terre / Pur espier e enquere / Quele gent i habitoient / E quele vie demenoient. / En la terre tant alerent / Qe par mi tut la cercherent. / Rien ne troverent humeine / En boscage, ne en pleine, / Ne en valey, ne sur mont, / Qe haut e bas illoques sunt. / Home ne femme ne troverent, / Dunt grantment s'esmerveillerent' (287-98).

³⁸ The island's abundance is, of course, a constant theme of the historiographical tradition, and appears in the works of Bede, Geoffrey of Monmouth, William of Malmesbury, and their textual descendents. See, for example, the hexameter verses of Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*, translated into English rhymed couplets in Robert of Gloucester, *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*, ed. W. Wright, 2 vols., Rolls Series (London, 1887). See further Chapter 3, below. Albina claims 'seysine' over the island as her 'feffee'; see Johnson, 33-4, who discusses the other technical legal terms employed in the poem, as do Carley and Crick, 'Constructing Albion's Past', 59.

³⁹ See M. Winterbottom, ed. and trans., *De excidio et conquestu Britanniae* (London, 1978). See also R. Hanning, *The Vision of History in Early Britain: From Gildas to Geoffrey of Monmouth* (New York, 1969), 'The aim of the historical chapters of *De excidio*...can be said to be the establishment of the British past firmly within the context of the history of salvation, i.e. of the guidance of history by divine providence' (57). See also Hanning's comments on Bede, 'By accepting Gildas' testimony on the sinfulness of the Britons, he made possible a depiction of the Saxons not simply as virtuous heathens...but...[as] chosen by God to replace the sin-stained Britons in the promised land of Britain' (70). But cf. Miller, Chapter 4, for the complexities of Bede's re-working of Gildas's text, important arguments which do not, however, affect the general concept of Gildasian, providential history.

The poem's contribution to the historiographical tradition, then, is to decouple the ethnic and linguistic components of the foundations of the island from conceptions of historical 'rights' to the rule of the island. At the same time, in establishing the first rulers of the island – Albina, her sisters, and their giant progeny – as sinful, and thus justly conquered by the Britons, it endorses the cycle of conquest and *translatio imperii* that is the dominant theme of Bedan, English historiography.⁴⁰ Its very decisive engagement with historiography, and with the revisions of history argued in the Scottish question, suggest that the Albina story was written precisely to accompany historiographical texts, to precede Galfridian history in order to both authorise English and Edwardian continuations of history, and preclude the insertion of ethnic, divisive, or enduring foundation legends.⁴¹

In addition to the twenty one manuscripts of the Anglo-Norman *Des Grantz Geanz*, and the thirteen manuscripts of other Anglo-Norman versions of the story, sixteen manuscripts survive of a Latin translation of the poem, edited as *De origine gigantum*. In six manuscripts, *De origine* accompanies the *Historia regum*, much as the shorter *Des Grantz Geanz* introduces the Galfridian beginnings of the prose *Brut*.⁴² Carley and Crick observe of the Latin version that, '*De origine gigantum* thus represents an attempt to rewrite a vernacular narrative as serious history'.⁴³ I would argue that the Albina story is no less 'serious history' in its vernacular forms. Indeed, the story's participation in the historiographical tradition, seen in its deployment of salvational history as a means of

⁴⁰ First Bede, and then more generally Bedan historiography adopted the model of Gildasian providential history in order to justify first Saxon, then Norman power. I thus disagree with Johnson, 'the story of Albina and her sisters might also be interpreted as offering indirect support for the legitimacy of the story of Brutus's foundation of the island' (26). Johnson reads Brutus's foundation, following Albina's, then, as a corrective narrative, compensating for the monstrous and the 'world-upside-down' aspect of female power.

⁴¹ The Latin versions of the myth that serve as prefaces to the *Historia regum* may add evidence to the idea of the story as written to accompany the *Brut*, again suggesting the long version in Cleopatra D.ix is a redaction, rather than the original; see further, below.

⁴² See J. Crick, *The Historia regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth III: A Summary Catalogue of the Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1989). In four manuscripts, *De origine* directly precedes the *Historia regum*; in two others it follows Geoffrey's text, although in one of these, British Library MS Cotton Vespasian E.x, the text is a fifteenth century addition to the codex. See Carley and Crick, 'Constructing Albion's Past', 76-7, and Crick, no. 98.

⁴³ Carley and Crick, 'Constructing Albion's Past', 53.

defusing the political implications of the Brutus foundation myth and the *Historia regum*, suggests the Anglo-Norman version was always in dialogue with the Latin tradition of Bedan and Galfridian historiographical texts.⁴⁴ The romance overtones and locutions of the Anglo-Norman text are no different than those found throughout the Anglo-Norman prose *Brut* – itself a derivative text, translating numerous Latin sources, and very much in dialogue with them even while enacting a shift in audience and language. The Albina story is more than simply another contribution to the somewhat improbable proliferation of eponymic figures of the thirteenth century. Its historiographically sophisticated engagement with the textual traditions of historiography, both the Galfridian and Bedan, and its imaginative underwriting of the appropriation of British history by English historiographers – including those at the court of Edward I – mark the story, in its Anglo-Norman, Latin, and Middle English forms, as a substantive participant in the historiographical fray of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

In Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D.329, a manuscript containing *Des Grantz Geanz* as a preface to the prose *Brut* extending to 1333, and written in the 1330s, there is a series of half-page illuminations of the kings of Britain from William the Conqueror to Edward II.⁴⁵ Written above the illumination of Edward I is a Latin couplet, ‘Wallensem Scotum rex Edwardus spoliauit / Eos petens totum sibi quod Brutus populauit’.⁴⁶ Edward’s conquest of Wales, and the beginnings of the war for Scotland, were successes where others had failed to achieve anything resembling the unification of the island since the misty Saxon

⁴⁴ Recall, too, the close verbal connections between the ‘linking passage’ and the *Historia regum*, n. 26, above.

⁴⁵ See Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D.329, ff. 2-7.

⁴⁶ MS Rawlinson D.329, f. 6^r. A loose translation might render the couplet, ‘Edward despoiled Wales and Scotland, wresting to himself all that Brutus settled’. The verses, and frequently very similar illuminations and genealogical diagrams, are also found in British Library, MS Cotton Claudius D.ii and MS Royal 20.A.ii. The verses, with spaces left for unexecuted illustrations, survive in Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc 637 and British Library, MS Additional 62451. The verses may also appear in London, Inner Temple Library, div 8/9, shelf 1, no. 511, 19; I have not yet had the opportunity to examine the codex. As the illuminations in Claudius D.ii are attributed to the artist of the Queen Mary Psalter, and as the composition of the miniatures is almost wholly identical to those found in Rawlinson D.329, the iconographical and codicological tradition of these verses warrants further study.

past. Yet the island, undivided under a single ruler, was a powerful rhetorical and imaginative trope, an island as Brutus first populated it or Albina first found it. MS Rawlinson D.329 celebrates English kingship, beginning with the illuminations of post-Conquest kings, and then the Albina story, and a *Brut* text remarkably forgiving of Edward II's failings.⁴⁷ The compilation ends with a text that has previously been identified as a 'Scottish oriented' chronicle.⁴⁸ The text is, in fact, a close translation into Anglo-Norman of Edward's letter to Pope Boniface VIII, the version of the letter beginning with Brutus rather than Edward the Elder. Thus the codex ends with a translation of an officially commissioned and royally issued letter used to demonstrate, at the Papal court, English sovereignty and superiority over Scotland. The emphatically English bias of the codex is perhaps best captured by the recognition of the book's ideological project by a later reader, who systematically and literally defaced all nine kings from William the Conqueror to Edward I.⁴⁹ The political agenda of *Des Grantz Geanz* and the Albina story, and its conjunction here with the royal letter that elicited the Scots' deployment of Scota, reveal a text very much 'directly' in dialogue with the Scottish question, but in a historiographical, rather than expressly political, frame. The sophistication of short, romance-inflected vernacular texts in the methodological and ideological engagement with a learned, historical, and largely Latin tradition of history writing, and the recognition by Latin and multilingual texts and codices of this fact, should not be underestimated.

⁴⁷ See Marvin, 'Albine and Isabelle', 164-68.

⁴⁸ See Dean, 21, 'A particular redaction of [*Le Livre de Reis de Engleterre*]...with emphasis on Scotland'.

⁴⁹ The illumination of Edward II is incomplete, and thus there was nothing to deface.

Narrative History

In the 1330s, in addition to serving as an Anglo-Norman preface to the Anglo-Norman prose *Brut*, and a Latin preface to copies of *Historia regum*, the Albina myth preserved in *Des Grantz Geanz* was translated into Middle English. The text again serves as a prologue to a work of historiography, albeit one with radically different contexts and contents than the prose *Brut* the Anglo-Norman story typically accompanies. Its status here is also ambiguous, prefacing a historiographical text surrounded by romances translated from Anglo-Norman in a luxurious secular codex; the Albina myth's agenda, too, is perhaps here inflected by its depoliticised contexts. As the translation of the Albina story appears in only one manuscript of the text, and indeed, all manuscripts of the text contain versions substantively different from that accompanied by the Albina myth, pressing questions concerning not only scribal authorship and scribal knowledge, but the creation and definition of derivative texts must be carefully articulated and addressed.

The text edited as *An Anonymous Short English Metrical Chronicle* by Ewald Zettl for the Early English Text Society in 1935 survives in five manuscripts without evident loss of materials, and in two fragments.⁵⁰ An edition of one manuscript of the text has recently been printed as *The Abridged English Metrical Brut*.⁵¹ Zettl dates the manuscripts from the early fourteenth to the mid-fifteenth centuries on paleographical grounds, and the work, on

⁵⁰ See *An Anonymous Short English Metrical Chronicle*, ed. E. Zettl, EETS o.s. 196 (Oxford, 1935). Zettl's sigla are as follows: London, British Library MS Additional 19677 (B); Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.v.48 (F); London, British Library, MS Royal 12.C.xii (R); Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates MS 19.2.1 (A); Cambridge, Cambridge University Library MS Dd.xiv.2 (D). The two fragments are Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson Poet. 145 (H) and London, British Library, MS Cotton Caligula a.xi (C), a codex containing the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester, for which see Chapter 3, below. Thomas Hearne possessed the fragments now Rawlinson Poet. 145 and printed excerpts; see Chapter 2, n.69, below. See also G.V. Smithers's review of the edition in *Medium Ævum* 5 (1936), 68-76. The text from Royal 12.C.xii was first printed in J. Ritson, *Ancient English Metrical Romances* (Edinburgh, 1885), vol. 3, 18-45.

⁵¹ See Una O'Farrell-Tate, ed., *The Abridged English Metrical Brut: Edited from British Library, MS Royal 12.C.XII* (Heidelberg, 2002). The ongoing debate on the title of the work is evident from the title of this edition. Although she acknowledges the term 'Brut' is not well defined, O'Farrell-Tate uses it in preference to Zettl's 'Chronicle' in order to avoid assumptions about the nature of the text. However, the assumptions and implications of both titling the text a 'Brut', and moreover adding 'abridged' as a modifier seem to me more problematic than the generic marker provided by Zettl's title. The work will be referred to throughout as the *Short Chronicle*.

evidence both internal and external, to the first quarter of the fourteenth century. O'Farrell-Tate dates the version of the text in British Library, MS Royal 12.C.xii with great precision to 1316-17.⁵² In dating the work, Zettl's edition, the only modern critical edition of all known manuscripts of the *Short Chronicle*, falls foul of the traps such evidence can pose. Zettl employs as his base text that found in British Library, MS Additional 19677, a late fourteenth or early fifteenth century codex, a remarkably peculiar choice when noting that his editorial stemma places Additional 19677 at the furthest remove from the hypothetical original of all extant manuscripts, a descendant of four conjectured intermediate manuscript groups.⁵³ As Additional 19677 is neither the earliest extant manuscript, nor, according to Zettl, textually the most 'original' version surviving, the choice requires explanation.

As is standard for volumes printed by the Early English Text Society, the edition begins with descriptions of the manuscripts containing the text; the order in which they are presented – neither chronologically, nor alphabetically by location or sigil – betrays the assumptions of the editor. The seven manuscripts are, according to Zettl, 'arranged below according to the year to which they extend'.⁵⁴ Thus Zettl chose the late, textually derivative MS Additional 19677 as his base text because it ends with a short prayer for Edward II, 'oure gonge kyng', and was thus apparently written c. 1307. The next text in Zettl's order, Cambridge University Library MS Ff.v.48 also ends with a version of the prayer for Edward II, but as it omits the modifier 'gonge' was consequently composed after MS Additional 19677. Royal 12.C.xii provides a later *terminus post quem*, narrating the execution of Piers Gaveston in 1312. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates MS 19.2.1, the Auchinleck manuscript, continues past Edward I's death and supplies a short account of

⁵² Her dating relies on the work of Carter Revard on the scribe of London, British Library, MS Harley 2253, also responsible for Royal 12.C.xii. See C. Revard, 'Scribe and Provenance', in ed. S. Fein, *Studies in the Harley Manuscript: The Scribes, Contents, and Social Contexts of British Library MS Harley 2253* (Kalamazoo, 2000), 21-110. See also N.R. Ker, *Facsimile of British Museum MS. Harley 2253*, EETS o.s. 225 (Oxford, 1965).

⁵³ *Short Chronicle*, xxxiv-xlvi; Zettl's stemma is on p. xlv.

⁵⁴ *Short Chronicle*, xi.

Edward II's reign, concluding with a version of the final prayer, now applied to Edward III, 'þe gong kyng'.⁵⁵ Lastly, Cambridge University Library MS Dd.xiv.2, although it contains a version of the prayer addressed to 'þe gunge kyng' Edward II, contains a significantly different ending, and continuations through the reign of Henry VI. Zetl disregards the date of the manuscripts, and other evidence that can be gleaned, choosing instead uncritically to accept the narrative's end date, and the wording of the prayer, as transparently indicative of the date of composition. Although there are certainly cogent arguments for dating texts on where, historically, their narratives conclude, the complex question of what precisely the text at hand is must be answered first, rather than after a categorisation by the point of conclusion.⁵⁶

Indeed, the process of dating the text according to the ending of the narrative found in each manuscript, and the ongoing assumptions about the nature of the text, are revealing. O'Farrell-Tate notes in her introduction that the *Short Chronicle*, 'is thought to date from shortly after 1307, and the version of the *AEMB* in the Royal manuscript can be dated to c. 1316'.⁵⁷ The 1307 date is literally an assumption deriving from no other evidence than an unexamined acceptance of the description of Edward II as 'oure gonge kyng'.⁵⁸ Yet the recent re-dating by Ralph Hanna of the fragment of the *Short Chronicle* found in British Library, MS Cotton Caligula A.xi to c. 1280, and his dialectal placement of the fragment, entail fundamental revisions of current perceptions of the text.⁵⁹ The concluding prayer is

⁵⁵ T. Turville-Petre dates the Auchinleck version of the *Short Chronicle* to c.1329-1337. See T. Turville-Petre, *England the Nation* (Oxford, 1996), 110.

⁵⁶ The arrangement of manuscripts of the prose *Brut*, both Anglo-Norman and Middle English, similarly muddles categorisation and textual grouping. See L. Matheson, *Prose Brut*, 49-54.

⁵⁷ *Abridged Brut*, 9. The precision of O'Farrell-Tate's date relies on Revard's scheme for the historical development of, and changes in, the Harley scribe's script in dated documents.

⁵⁸ Similarly, Zetl concludes, 'with King Edward I the original version of the *Short Chronicle* came to an end' (xcix).

⁵⁹ See R. Hanna, 'Reconsidering the Auchinleck Manuscript' in ed. D. Pearsall, *New Directions in Later Medieval Manuscript Studies* (York, 2000), 91-102, 'Here the Early English Text Society editor of the "Chronicle" served his readers badly; in his view, the fragment was written in the first half of the fourteenth century. In fact, it is considerably older, in a hand of about 1280 and with distinctive dialectal forms one would associate with northern Gloucestershire or southern Worcestershire...it also suggests that the original

found with sometimes slight alterations to the king being addressed in various manuscripts of the *Short Chronicle*, such as the adaptation from Edward II to Edward III in the Auchinleck version of the text; the prayer, and thus the conclusion, have hitherto been the locus of much of the work attempting to date the *Short Chronicle*.⁶⁰ Yet the complexity of the ending is best indicative, perhaps, of the complexity of the text as a whole.

The five manuscripts of the *Short Chronicle* all conclude at different points, narrating the reigns of Henry III and Edward I with substantive and significant differences. Moreover, the entirety of the texts in the five manuscripts vary, from the shortest version at some 900 lines, to the Auchinleck version of the text, almost 2400 lines long. Yet despite the insightful description of the text in the *Manual of Writings in Middle English* as ‘in five recensions in five manuscripts’, the idea of a singular, authorial, monolithic text has retained its sway over modern scholars considering the text, as they refer to ‘the original chronicle’ and state ‘the original *AEMB* is not extant’.⁶¹ There is something innate to the poem that poses fundamental challenges to traditional editorial practices, and to traditional conceptions of originality, authenticity, and the composition, redaction, and circulation of medieval texts. Beyond simply ending at different points, it is exceedingly difficult to identify precisely what

“Chronicle” may only have extended to Henry III, rather than the supplemented forms elsewhere recorded’, 100. The dialectal assessment of the oldest fragment also brings into question O’Farrell-Tate’s conclusion that the text, ‘originated in the West Midlands, probably south or south-eastern Warwickshire’, although the localisation of Royal 12.C.xii to the Ludlow area, again deriving from Revard’s work, is likely correct. Note that the five manuscripts of the *Short Chronicle* suggest it was a widely distributed, even ‘national’ text: the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (hereafter *LALME*) places the texts dialectally in Oxfordshire, Derbyshire, London, Wiltshire, Herefordshire, and North Riding Yorkshire. See A. McIntosh, M.L. Samuels, and M. Benskin, *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*, 4 vols. (Aberdeen, 1986).

⁶⁰ Indeed, Hanna’s argument that the ‘original’ chronicle may have ended with the reign of Henry III might imply that the concluding prayer was addressed to Henry III, rather than Edward I. I am grateful to Professor Anne Hudson for pointing out that metrically Henry’s name could be seamlessly substituted for (or replaced by) Edward’s.

⁶¹ See J.E. Wells, *A Manual of Writings in Middle English 1050-1400* (New Haven, 1916), 198. See Hanna, ‘Reconsidering’, 100, and *Abridged Brut*, 12. Wells’s assessment of the text is emphatically more generous than that of most subsequent scholars, ‘The story proceeds rapidly and with enthusiasm. The piece is interesting; it is nowhere a mere tedious abstract’ (199). Compare Zetzl’s observation, ‘we can hardly expect the *Short Chronicle* to be of particular value either on account of the historical information it supplies or from a literary point of view’ (cxxxiii). See also E.D. Kennedy, ed., *A Manual of Writings in Middle English 1050-1500*, vol. 8 (Hamden, 1989), which essentially reiterates Wells’s position, ‘The five manuscripts that represent approximately complete redactions’ (2622).

the *Short Chronicle* is, a prerequisite for considering what the ‘original’ might or might not be.

Terminology presents a significant obstacle to discussing the *Short Chronicle*. ‘Redaction’, ‘recension’, even ‘version’ all carry with them an implicit assumption of some ‘original’, changed in various ways, perhaps not extant, but nonetheless having existed at some point, and from which all surviving instances derive. In the case of the Auchinleck *Short Chronicle*, where much less than half of the text is closely connected to that found in other codices, it is difficult to argue that it stands in a pronounced or close relationship to some common ancestor, or that ‘redaction’ or ‘version’ accurately capture the distance between this text and others. Conversely, for those manuscripts containing texts more similar than different, such as CUL, MS Ff.v.48 and CUL, MS Dd.xiv.21, it is equally difficult to argue that the closeness of the texts is not the product of some ‘original’ version from which they are both textually descended in a more traditional fashion. Yet all five texts are somehow recognisable as instances of the ‘same’ text, subsumable under a single title, and collapsible into a single, if complex and awkwardly fragmented modern edition. The extant texts might be loosely characterised as compressions and expansions of some core framework of a historiographical narrative. Yet close investigations into what that ‘core’ might be swiftly collapse in contradictory evidence and a strong sense of the illusory aspect of the shared and essential ‘core’, the very existence of which re-asserts itself only with critical distance – at which point the cycle re-commences.⁶²

To set aside the overtly theoretical, consider the very idea of ‘scribal’ in the production of medieval texts. An almost axiomatic assumption in the creation of modern critical editions is that scribes intend to copy their exemplars. Thus scribal accuracy and

⁶² There is, of course, a large body of philosophical work and thought on categories, necessary and sufficient conditions, radial categories, family resemblances, schemas, and the like. Most apposite here might be L. Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, §66-77, and his consideration of ‘games’.

inaccuracy are defined entirely in relation to their success or failure at this task – measured, moreover, against an ‘original’ often hypothesised and imaginatively reconstructed precisely on the grounds of scribal (in)accuracy. There are, of course, instances for which this methodology is wholly valid and productive, most typically in the case of authors whose texts survive in reasonably authoritative manuscripts, and the majority of contested readings are emendable on arguably solid grounds.⁶³ Yet the *Short Chronicle*, particularly inasmuch as the singular ‘genius author/poet’ model that sustains the editing of Chaucer’s and Langland’s texts rather emphatically does not apply, seems to be a fundamentally different type of text, produced by scribal activity of a nature and intent far removed from the binaries of accurate reproduction of the authorial, and scribal corruption and error.⁶⁴

With some sort of ‘family resemblance’ base text seemingly common to all manuscripts of the *Short Chronicle*, however elusive and indefinable, and yet common patterns of compression, expansion, omission, and interpolation found in all of the texts, it remains to be answered both what the *Short Chronicle* is, and what, precisely, the seven manuscripts of the text are.⁶⁵ I would argue that each codex contains the substantially original work of a scribe/author engaged in a discernibly local project, expressing his idiosyncrasies, priorities, and agendas, and potentially inflected by those of the projected or anticipated audience(s) of the text. Although this is not in and of itself a contentious statement for any medieval text, the degree and the extent to which the scribes of the *Short Chronicle* do not merely ‘alter’ their base text(s), but rather create new texts, is atypical. The short, exclusively ‘historical’ text envisioned and implied by Zetl’s modern title can be seen

⁶³ Consider, however, the paradox brought to the fore by Lynne Mooney’s recent proposed identification of Adam Scriveyn. At the same time Chaucer laments the corruption of his verse, the complex textual relationship between the Ellesmere and Hengwrt manuscripts suggests his rejection of scribal corruption is accompanied by the authorisation, even enshrinement, of variation.

⁶⁴ O’Farrell-Tate’s edition of the *Short Chronicle* found in Royal 12.C.xii is particularly welcome in this respect. Although Zetl’s edition does nominally present the texts of all known manuscripts, its attempts to accommodate the diversity of the texts are quite awkward. Additionally, his transcriptions are not free from error, nor does he reproduce capitula, marginalia, and other elements of the textual apparatus.

⁶⁵ Note Wells’s attempt to categorise the texts by both the date to which the texts extend, and then with and without ‘episodes’ and ‘episodic details’, *Manual of Writings*, 198.

instead as a template or schematic framework for an historical narrative, but one inviting, if not requiring, revision, adaptation, and interpolative compilation in order to be completed. Each text of the *Short Chronicle* reveals scribes/authors' individual knowledge of historical fact and legend, of source texts, of local geographical features, and of cultural and ecclesiastical vignettes. The performance of such local, individualised knowledge is, as well, essentially shameless: the scribe of the Auchinleck *Short Chronicle* neither expresses nor evinces any misgivings about a substantive and radical project of (re)writing a text at once recognisably connected to, and largely distinct from, its 'source'.⁶⁶ Similarly, the precise emendations by the scribe of the Royal 12.C.xii *Short Chronicle* of the regnal lengths of numerous kings are, in fact, indicative of the same impulses and textual freedoms: errors and omissions invite correction and interpolation.⁶⁷ It is precisely the scribal decisions regarding what constitute 'errors' and 'omissions' that contribute to the sense of the 'base text' as a schema or template rather than some inviolable, structurally and textually complete whole.

It may be that critical uncertainty about what the *Short Chronicle* is – or was meant to be – affects not only how the text is perceived, but how the connections and disjunctions between all of the manuscripts can be conceived. Its subject is incontestably historical, but the treatment of the subject matter has been variously described as in the romance tradition, as popular and literary, and as educational, edifying, or pedagogical.⁶⁸ Generic distinctions may be the least useful way of considering the text, however, particularly inasmuch as the notoriously complex overlap between historiography, hagiography, and romance render the

⁶⁶ The question arises whether any medieval scribe/authors were reluctant to compose the sort of verse common to the *Short Chronicle*. See the Conclusion, below, for a discussion of this 'hack writer' paradigm.

⁶⁷ See *Abridged Brut*, 21-28 on the dates the Royal text supplies and corrects as against those found in the other manuscripts of the *Short Chronicle*.

⁶⁸ Thus, for example, Smithers observes in his review of Zettl's edition that the text has, 'marked affinities with the diction of the romances, its appropriation by one redactor who turned it into...[an] obviously minstrel-like account' (69-70). O'Farrell-Tate begins to move away from a consideration of the text by genre, 'The categories of romance and education were not necessarily so distinct in the Middle Ages...so it is possible that the author of the *AEMB* intended both to educate and entertain his audience' (12). See also Kennedy, *Manual of Writings*, who describes the text as 'intended to offer a rapid survey of English history and to teach the main facts to the uneducated through recitation or memorization' (2262).

issue all the more unclear. The brevity of the *Short Chronicle*, moreover, has contributed to its dismissal as historiography, and has clearly factored into views of the text as popular and edifying for the unlearned. Compared to the lengthy Middle English chronicles of Robert of Gloucester and Robert Mannyng, the Anglo-Norman chronicles of Gaimar and Pierre Langtoft, and the great twelfth century Latin histories, it is certainly a short text. Yet if length is not considered a factor in determining the accessibility of so-called popular romance – *Guy of Warwick*, for example – it is unclear it should dictate our conceived audience of the *Short Chronicle*. The codicological contexts of the *Short Chronicle* are suggestive, if not without variation. In MS Additional 19677 the text accompanies the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester, and in CUL MS Dd.xiv.2 it follows a bishop's register, other historical materials relating to Oxford and Oseney, and a short Latin history – both emphatically historical, even documentary contexts. In contrast, in the Auchinleck manuscript and in Royal 12.C.xii, both of which contain a large number of sometimes quite miscellaneous texts, the *Short Chronicle* reflects the more 'popular' tone of its primarily romance-laden surroundings. MS CUL Ff.v.48 is essentially a private commonplace book; its contents tend towards the practical and an individualised idea of the devotional – again, not an entirely inconceivable understanding of the *Short Chronicle*.⁶⁹ The text's mutability, and its affiliation with both historiographical and romance texts, suggest a productive ambiguity that does not, in fact, require resolution.

The idea of the *Short Chronicle* as a 'popular' work, written for pedagogical, or at least edifying purposes, is perhaps as difficult to disprove as it is impossible to prove. Again, the codices in which the text survives provide ambiguous insight: the Auchinleck manuscript, which has generated a large body of critical attention, nonetheless hovers uncertainly on the

⁶⁹ CUL Ff.v.48 is a fifteenth century codex in which the scribe/owner identifies himself as 'Gilbert Pilkington'. See F.A. Foster, ed., *The Northern Passion: Four Parallel Texts and the French Original, with Specimens of Additional Manuscripts*, 2 vols., EETS o.s. 145, 147 (London, 1913, 1916). See also W. Heuser and F.A. Foster, eds., *The Northern Passion (Supplement)*, EETS o.s. 183 (London, 1930). The oral formula with which the *Northern Passion* found in CUL Gg.i.1 begins is quite similar to that found in the Auchinleck *Short Chronicle*, and in the prologue to Mannyng's *Chronicle*.

line between a book meant to be read, and a book meant to be read aloud.⁷⁰ Three of the five manuscripts, Additional 196677, CUL Dd.xiv.2, and CUL Ff.v.48, however, are very much books meant to be read as books; they are densely textual productions, with supporting apparatus for readers, and with none of the concessions one might imagine for a text meant to instruct.⁷¹ In fact, it is difficult to separate the arguments for the *Short Chronicle* as an instructional text from the perception of the text as a written artifact preserving an oral legacy – a view, of course, again entirely unproven, but complicated to refute. The text's brevity again influences this, although in comparison with the willingness of modern scholars to imagine works such as Mannyng's 24,000 line *Chronicle* as performed for the 'lewed', it is somewhat more convincing.⁷² Although the *Short Chronicle* could certainly be presented orally, I would argue that its inclusion in historiographically oriented codices indicates that it was seen, if only intermittently, as written history, in dialogue textually with, and akin to such texts as those it accompanies.⁷³

⁷⁰ For the Auchinleck manuscript, see *The Auchinleck Manuscript: National Library of Scotland Advocates MS. 19.2.1*, introduction by D. Pearsall and I.C. Cunningham (London, 1977); T. Shonk, 'A Study of the Auchinleck Manuscript: Bookmen and Bookmaking in the Early Fourteenth Century', *Speculum* 60 (1985), 71-91; A.J. Bliss, 'Notes on the Auchinleck Manuscript', *Speculum* 26 (1951), 652-58; and, famously, L.H. Loomis, 'The Auchinleck Manuscript and a Possible London Bookshop of 1330-1340', *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 57 (1942), 595-627. Additionally, see discussions of the manuscript in editions of particular texts, especially *St Patrick's Purgatory*, ed. R. Easting, EETS o.s. 298 (Oxford, 1991); *The King of Tars*, ed. J. Perryman (Heidelberg, 1980); D. Embree and E. Urquhart, 'The Simonie: The Case for a Parallel-Text Edition' in ed. D. Pearsall, *Manuscripts and Texts* (Woodbridge, 1987), 49-59; G.P. Faust, *Sir Degare: A Study of the Texts and Narrative Structure* (Princeton, 1935); and *Of Arthour and of Merlin*, ed. O.D. Macrae-Gibson, EETS o.s. 268, 279 (Oxford, 1973, 1979). Pearsall and Cunningham rather side-step the question, 'The audience for which such a book was designed was one that wished to be both edified and entertained; one that relished familiar piety and instruction, but one that also desired, access, in the native tongue, to the historical dignities and fashionable *haut monde* of romance' (vii).

⁷¹ Thus, for example, CUL Ff.v.48 has numerous one-line red capitals, and several annotations in the hand of the main text, as, for example, on f. 97^v. Additional 19677 employs paraph marks to organise the text after the first few folios of the *Short Chronicle*, beginning on f. 93^v. Royal 12.C.xii also employs capitals, marginal red ink annotations, and red ink pointing of proper names to facilitate reading. Although it is more difficult to assess the fragments surviving in Rawlinson Poet. 145, on f. 6^v, 7^r, and 12^r the text is accompanied by Latin introductory lines, again, a suggestion of a learned, multilingual audience for the *Short Chronicle*.

⁷² For Mannyng's *Chronicle*, and a rejection of both an oral-performance model and an audience of 'lewed men', see Chapter 2, below.

⁷³ Consider, for example, a roughly contemporary text also frequently labeled 'popular' and 'educational', the *South English Legendary*. Despite being generically definable as hagiography, the text's audience, circulation, and circumstances of composition remain bedeviled by the popular label, and its literary, if not linguistic, sophistication has long gone neglected.

Compare the short Latin text edited as the *Metrical History*, a versification of the so-called *Harley Epitome*, written in the late fourteenth century.⁷⁴ Written in end-rhymed hexameters, Rigg conceives of the text as mnemonic verses, used for educational purposes, ‘the poem – no literary masterpiece – makes sense as a pedagogical tool, and this is supported by the existence of the prose commentaries’.⁷⁵ If Rigg is correct in viewing the *Metrical History* as a school text, the *Short Chronicle*, whilst not much longer, nonetheless differs essentially. The fidelity of the *Harley Epitome* (and consequently the *Metrical History*) to the *Historia regum* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and to the conventional English histories of Henry of Huntingdon and William of Malmesbury, is such that the episodic character of the *Short Chronicle* is entirely lacking. The *Metrical History*, with only minor exceptions, adheres to the ‘purely’ historical and historiographical: the colour added to the *Short Chronicle* by such episodes as the description of the workings of the baths at Bath, Bladud’s flights, Alfred’s calendrical arrangements, the gifts given to Athelstan, and John’s poisoning, is quite noticeably absent.⁷⁶ Although this argument, by the tone of the texts, merely defers the question of what might be acceptably pedagogical, it does elucidate the literary and historiographical ambitions, if not successes, of the *Short Chronicle* in contrast to the conservatively historical narratives of the *Metrical History* and the *Harley Epitome*.

The scribes responsible for the creation of the extant manuscripts of the *Short Chronicle* are, of course, its first recorded readers. This does, however, re-raise the question of what sort of exemplar or text they might have had in front of them – of what *the* text is, if anything. It is clearly necessary to postulate some ‘originary’ text, chronologically

⁷⁴ See A.G. Rigg, ed., *A Book of British Kings 1200 BC – 1399 AD* (Toronto, 2000). In this volume, Rigg edits the *Metrical History*, the *Harley Epitome*, and a commentary on the *Metrical History*. Both the *HE* and the *MH* show an overwhelming interest in Northern and Scottish affairs, and two manuscripts of the text, British Library, MS Titus A.xix, and Bodleian Library, MS Digby 186, are connected to York. Along with British Library, MS Harley 2386, the three manuscripts all contain the Latin version of the Albina story, *De origine gigantum*. See Carley and Crick, ‘Constructing Albion’s Past’, 74–81.

⁷⁵ Rigg, *British Kings*, 3.

⁷⁶ The *Harley Epitome* and the prose commentary are, if anything, even more ‘purist’ in their stances vis-à-vis the historical. The commentary in particular adds a sense of authority, even learned bookishness difficult to perceive in the *Short Chronicle*.

antecedent, and to which all subsequent texts are somehow connected, if not necessarily descended from it. Attempting to define this hypothetical starting point textually, although possible to some extent, swiftly collapses, as even in the case of lines shared by all manuscripts there is nothing to argue for their presence in an ur-text.⁷⁷ As a thematic and, more significantly, a methodological exemplar, however, the very distinctness of the five surviving texts can be seen as products of something innate to the 'original'. That is, it seems likely an 'original' *Short Chronicle* narrated history, extending from Brutus's arrival on the island to contemporary history, whether mid-thirteenth century or later. Beyond such a schematic framework, there is no way of knowing which reigns were included or developed at length, which 'episodes', to use Wells's term, were present or alluded to. Yet this core, somehow common to the surviving manuscripts, was generative: rather than foreclosing textual alteration, it seems to have invited revision, expansion, redaction, and interpolation.⁷⁸ Not only is this peculiar from a textual standpoint – some form of textual self-preservation, as it were, cannot have been inscribed in the text – but the text indeed elicited significant scribal intervention. That is, there are two aspects in play here: the text itself was not written to prevent alteration, as against, for example, authorial self-inscription through rhyme, acrostics, or rigorous alliterative patterns.⁷⁹ Secondly, the scribes copying the text *all* perceived its mutability, its susceptibility to change and revision, and accepted the invitation: the five

⁷⁷ That is, it is always possible to imagine a text, not the 'original', written with the processes of expansion, interpolation, and alteration typical of all surviving copies, having introduced lines now common to all texts, but not in fact 'original'.

⁷⁸ Compare, perhaps, the case of the *Romance of the Rose* as examined by S. Huot, *The Romance of the Rose and its Medieval Readers* (Cambridge, 1993). Huot, in a section on the 'malleability' of the text notes, 'A similar diversity characterizes the textual tradition itself: the habit of selective reading parallels the selective copying and editing to which the *Rose*, even more than many other medieval vernacular texts, was subject' (37). I would put the textual additions, interpolations, and revisions to the *Rose* in a somewhat different category than those of the *Short Chronicle*, as they demonstrate a much more significant moral and ethical engagement of the text within the narrative frame by readers and scribes.

⁷⁹ Thus Chaucer's Adam Scriveyn, Cynewulf's four runic signatures, Ælfric's works, and, to a lesser extent, *Piers Plowman*, which the poem(s)' editors and critics argue similarly discloses scribal variation as against inscribed authorial genius.

unique short chronicles are not ‘meddlings with makings’, but ‘makings’ in and of themselves.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ See *Piers Plowman*, B.122.16-17. See also J.J. Thompson, *The Cursor Mundi: Poem, Texts and Contexts*, *Medium Ævum Monographs* n.s. 19 (Oxford, 1998), for discussions on similar issues present in *Cursor Mundi*, ‘Starting with the simplest hypothesis, that there was once an “original” poem from which all extant copies are ultimately derived, seems the least attractive of several possibilities’ (21).

Scribal Reading

As readers and writers both, the scribes/authors of the *Short Chronicle* demonstrate, independently, a remarkable knowledge of other texts. There are numerous difficulties with traditional source and analogue study, not least of which is the decision that must be made between originality and ‘unknown sources’. In her edition of the Royal 12.C.xii text, O’Farrell-Tate attempts to identify the sources for each reign in the Royal *Short Chronicle*; for many she declares the text relies on ‘no known source’, ‘no one source’, ‘no specific source’, ‘common knowledge’, or a ‘lost source’.⁸¹ Yet it is possible for each manuscript of the *Chronicle* to identify unique source texts known to and used by their scribes/authors. Methodologically, it is important to stress the primary failing of traditional source and analogue study is the reliance on positive evidence – on verbal quotation, on details otherwise uniquely attested, on syntactical and lexical fidelity to a source text. The acceptable terms for identifying sources in this manner thus preclude precisely the obscuration intrinsic to translation and textual transference, the primary methods of creating derivative texts. Yet there are examples in which obscured source texts are precisely those in direct dialogue with the text at hand, despite the seeming absence of evidence.⁸² The *Short Chronicle* is a derivative text of great complexity – the number and variety of source texts upon which all of the manuscripts of the text draw, and from which they translate and transpose, is considerable. But beyond the originality entailed in assembling a derivative text, there are instances where, rather than postulating an ever-longer list of lost sources, it makes more sense to identify such materials as original, as the work of a scribe/author. That said, in order to better understand the initial reception of the *Short Chronicle*, even at the moment of

⁸¹ *Abridged Brut*, 35-46. O’Farrell-Tate’s idea of a lost romance of Brutus and Locrinus, and another of Corineus, are intriguing if wholly speculative explanations for the disproportionately lengthy account of Brutus’s conquest of the island.

⁸² For an example concerning Robert Mannyng’s *Chronicle* and Lagamon’s *Brut*, see Chapter 2, below.

copying and composition, some of the identifiable sources available, separately, to the scribes/authors of the *Short Chronicle* will be considered.

Because of the magnitude of the project of re-composition achieved by Scribe I of the Auchinleck *Short Chronicle*, it is easiest to identify the supplementary sources upon which he relies and from which he translates.⁸³ The most obvious text in Scribe I's textual lexicon, absent from those of the other scribes of the *Short Chronicle*, is, of course, *Des Grantz Geanz*. Indeed, the Auchinleck *Short Chronicle* declares its derivative nature from the first, in a four-line red ink incipit, preceding the (surviving) six-line illuminated initial, 'Here may men rede who so can / How Ingland first bigan / Men mow it finde jn Engliche / As þe Brout it telleþ ywis'.⁸⁴ The reference to the *Brut* here, although potentially a generic gesture towards written authority, more likely, in fact, quite literally denotes an Anglo-Norman prose *Brut* with *Des Grantz Geanz* serving as a prologue.⁸⁵ The Auchinleck Albina story is, in places, a close translation of the shorter version of *Des Grantz Geanz*, although it indulges in the redaction, compression, and omission characteristic of derivative texts.⁸⁶ Scribe I's functional bilingualism in Anglo-Norman and English, although readily perceptible in the predominance of texts in the Auchinleck codex translated from Anglo-Norman, nonetheless bears remarking. Although the book's audience may or may not have been monolingual, Scribe I's casual fluency suggests the context that should be considered for the texts he copied and translated is distinctly multilingual.

⁸³ It is worth noting that the *Short Chronicle* occupies a quire-initial place in the manuscript, a term of importance in the book's organisational scheme almost exclusively reserved for the 'major' texts for which Auchinleck is so well known. See, amongst others, Hanna, 'Reconsidering', 94.

⁸⁴ *Short Chronicle*, A.I-IV. Zetl's line numbering system for the texts of different manuscripts, although somewhat confusing, will be used throughout.

⁸⁵ See Johnson, 'Return', 21. Dean lists 16 manuscripts of the short version of the Anglo-Norman prose *Brut* prefaced by *Des Grant Geanz*, of 26 in total. See Dean, 24-6.

⁸⁶ Note, for example, 'heye parage' (SC, A.73), 'graunt parage' (DGG, 32); 'þis lond ichil sese to me' (SC, A.310), 'De la terre prist seisine' (DGG, 256); '& gras & rotes gadred blue / Frouit & acen to her mete' (SC, A.314-15), 'Des bones herbes ount mangé, / Dont grant plenté y troverent, / Et des frutz qe as arbres erent. / Glans, chesteines et alies' (DGG, 270-3); '& engenderd þo on hem / Geauntes þat wer strong men' (SC, A.339-40), 'Et la furent engendrez / Enfauntz qe grauntz devindrent' (DGG, 424-5), etc.

By beginning the Auchinleck *Short Chronicle* with the Albina story, Scribe I's narrative absorbs the political and historiographical implications of its source text in *Des Grantz Geanz*. Albina, eponymous founder of an always already over-written name for the island and an always already conquered genealogy, enables the Auchinleck text to subsume British history to an English political agenda. Moreover, in inscribing the cycle of conquest within a Gildasian framework of providential history, Brutus's conquest of the giants becomes the explicit conquest of the island as a whole: rule over the entirety of the island can exist, and do so independently of historical or ethnic priority. It is precisely with this vision of Edward I as conqueror of Wales and Scotland that Scribe I's *Short Chronicle* concludes:

¶Edward he het sikerli
 þe kynges sone Henri...
 For þat Brut wan to his hond
 Jnglond Wales & Scottlond
 He nold forlese non of hem alle
 For noþing þat migt bifalle
 First Wales he wan to him
 & sloug Daud & Lewlin
 & seþþe forsoþe ich vnderstond
 He wan to him Scotland⁸⁷

Scribe I's comparison of Edward I to Brutus, rather than Albina, should not be surprising.⁸⁸

Admittedly, the praise for Edward I, and the implication of a complete victory over the Scots is somewhat disingenuous, given the text was written after the accession of Edward III in 1327, when it was clear that Edward I had not supplied a lasting resolution to the Scottish conflict.⁸⁹ What is remarkable, however, is Scribe I's adaptation of an Anglo-Norman text,

Des Grantz Geanz, in order to write a wholly new text of the *Short Chronicle* narrating

⁸⁷ *Short Chronicle*, A.2303-4, 2307-14. The passage goes on to lament Edward's death before he had been able to go on crusade, with the clear implication that Edward would succeed where so many others had failed, 'Y no can telle gou wiþ no voice / Hou lef him hadde ben to win þe croice / þat is in þe hepen lond' (A.2323-5). Edward had, in fact, taken the cross in 1268, and had been on crusade, returning after Henry III's death to take the throne.

⁸⁸ Recall the verses in MS Rawlinson D.329 discussed above.

⁸⁹ See R. Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots* (Oxford, 1965). The question of dating the composition (rather than the copying, if the two are to be separated) of the Auchinleck *Short Chronicle* bears further investigation: it is possible that the so-called 'final peace' between Scotland and England from 1328-1332 had expired, and the text was written after Halidon Hill in 1333, suggesting copying and composition were near simultaneous, if not identical, acts.

British history in the service of ideologically English ends. The Auchinleck *Short Chronicle*, a derivative text constructed from translations of numerous source texts, is a markedly sophisticated and politically consistent assemblage.⁹⁰

Several manuscripts of the *Short Chronicle* introduce another eponymous figure: Inge, founder of England. Inge is, depending upon the manuscript of the *Short Chronicle*, a Saxon, Saracen, or Spanish princess, who combines in herself various episodes firmly connected to the perfidious Saxon Hengist and his daughter Renwein in the *Historia regum*.⁹¹ Intriguingly, Inge, in those manuscripts of the text in which she is not Saxon, serves much the same function as Albina, providing a narrative detached from the ethnic implications of the famous drinkhail/wassail moment of Saxon treachery. The drinkhail episode attracts throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth century the attentions of historiographers, yet the unique recasting in the *Short Chronicle*, and the conflation of the several of the most notable Saxon treacheries – including the ‘nimeð eoure saxes’ slaughter Hengist initiates at Amesbury – occludes a fundamental shift in insular history: the Saxon *adventus*. Indeed, the *Short Chronicle* introduces the episode as the seemingly innocent remains of the lasting social and linguistic legacy of ‘drinkhail’ and ‘wassail’, ‘In þat tyme wite ge wel / Com wesseil & drynkheil / Into þis lond withoute wene / þoru a maide brygt & schene’.⁹² The scribes of the manuscripts of the *Short Chronicle* all demonstrate a marked flexibility in their narrations of the Inge story. The Harley scribe, copying MS Royal 12.C.xii, omits Inge entirely, re-inscribing Hengist’s treachery (displaced from Amesbury to Stonehenge), and attributing ‘drinkhail’ to Renwein. The Harley scribe’s fidelity to the narrative of the *Historia regum*, although potentially derived from numerous sources including the Anglo-

⁹⁰ Which is not to say the Auchinleck text is not also a literary construction. The Albina myth is clearly an enjoyable, if sensational, story, and its inclusion very much also reflects a text written to entertain.

⁹¹ See *Short Chronicle*, 282-7, ‘þis lond hæp hadde names þre / Furst men clupid þis lond Albion / Or Brut fram Troie com / & nou Engelon icluped hit is / After maide Inge iwis / þilke Inge of Saxons come’. Auchinleck reads ‘of Speyne come’; CUL MS Dd.xiv.2 has ‘of Sarcyns come’. See *Historia regum*, vi.12. For a fuller discussion of Inge, see Chapter 2, below.

⁹² *Short Chronicle*, 275-8.

Norman prose *Brut*, is instructive. As remarked above, the Royal *Short Chronicle* corrects various details throughout the history, in particular when, and for how long, various kings ruled. His decision to reproduce the Galfridian tale of Saxon treachery and British defeat, and omit the Inge story, demonstrates again the unique political and literary agendas of the scribes/authors of the *Short Chronicle*.

Scribe I's translation of the Albina prologue demonstrates his willingness and ability to turn to Anglo-Norman historiography – the prose *Brut* – to supplement the text he entitles rather grandiosely in an explicit, 'Liber Regum Anglie'. But he also works at a rather different scale than the 350 line Albina prologue. At the moment of the arrival of Christianity to Britain, Scribe I interpolates 130 lines adding other historical details, including Ethelbert's conversion, Sebert's reign, and Mellitus's founding of Westminster. The 'episode' describes the miraculous appearance of St Peter to a fisherman, and St Peter's personal blessing of Westminster. An odd detail, repeated twice, concerns the Abbey's consecration:

þ̅e man to Westenmister gan wende
 & gret lig̅t þ̅er he tende
 Singnes he made on þ̅e wal
 & on þ̅e grounde ouer al
 þ̅at al men mig̅t wele se
 Of Gru he made an a.b.c.
 & þ̅o þ̅e chirche halwed was...
 Say þ̅at Peter on of þ̅e tvelue
 þ̅at chirche haþ̅ halwed to himselue
 þ̅e tokne þ̅ai may wele se
 Of Gru þ̅ai han an a.b.c.⁹³

This detail, concerning the double inscription of the Greek alphabet as a ritual consecration, although without parallel in the primary tradition of Westminster literature, appears in Matthew Paris's *La Estoire de Seint Aedward Le Rei*.⁹⁴ In an achronological insertion, Paris

⁹³ *Short Chronicle*, A.1171-7, 1211-14.

⁹⁴ See K.Y. Wallace, ed., *La Estoire de Seint Aedward Le Rei*, Anglo-Norman Text Society 41 (London, 1983). The text survives only in one manuscript, the exquisitely decorated CUL MS Ee.iii.59, and is traditionally dated

recounts the apostolic hallowing of Westminster, an episode not unconnected to the new shrine at Westminster for Edward's relics begun in 1241.⁹⁵ Moreover, the ritual also appears twice in the *Estoire*:

Merchee est la eglise tute,
N'a mester ke nuls en dute:
Eu sabelun les escriptures
Tutes fresches, e figures
Sanz esfauçure aperte e fresche.
I verriez l'abecé grezesche.⁹⁶

It is not surprising, then, that for Edward the Confessor's actual reign Scribe I expands the four to ten line accounts found in other manuscripts of the *Short Chronicle*, adding 30 lines on Edward's vision of the destruction at sea of the king of the Danes, and a vision of Christ in the Eucharist, both of which are to be found in the *Estoire*.⁹⁷ The complex and interconnected nature of the 'episodes' selected, translated and interpolated by Scribe I is captured very neatly in this example. Moreover, the separation of the two excerpted translations by some 800 lines in the Auchinleck *Short Chronicle* is noteworthy. The actual processes of composition behind the text are, it must be admitted, somewhat impenetrable. Yet this doubled translation from a single source suggests either Scribe I was extremely conversant with the text of the *Estoire*, able to recall at the prompt of Sebert's rule the St Peter/Westminster narrative, or, when employing the *Estoire* to supplement Edward's reign

to c. 1236-45. See also G.E. Moore, *The Middle English Verse Life of Edward the Confessor* (Philadelphia, 1942), xlvii-xlix, who compares the *Estoire* with Ailred of Riveaulx's *Vita Sancti Edwardi* and the anonymous *vita*, and identifies this detail as unique to the *Estoire*.

⁹⁵ See P. Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power 1200-1400* (New Haven, 1995). Binski argues for a date closer to 1245.

⁹⁶ *Estoire*, 2189-94; see H.R. Luard, ed., *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, Rolls Series (London, 1858), 'Marked is the whole church, / That no one may doubt of the service. / In the sand the writings / All fresh, and figured / Without fault, evident, and freshly written / There you will see the Greek alphabet' (241). The second occurrence clearly refers back to the first, and omits to specify the language used, 'E l'abecé eu pavement / Escrit duple apertement' (2201-2).

⁹⁷ See *Estoire* 1279-1304, 2514-73. The interpolation is *Short Chronicle* A.1935-64. It should be noted these two episodes are not unique to the *Estoire*, but occur in Ailred's *Vita* as well. Intriguingly, Binski reproduces a late fourteenth century manuscript, Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.10.2, which illuminates both visions, one above the other, on a single folio. The same scenes are also depicted in the high altar reredos at Westminster. See Binski, 56, figures 71 and 72. Binski also reproduces CUL, MS Ee.iii.59, f.18, of Peter consecrating Westminster Abbey; no Greek alphabet is visible. See also the facsimile, *La Estoire de Seint Aedward Le Rei*, intro. M.R. James, Roxburghe Club (Oxford, 1920).

in the *Short Chronicle*, Scribe I went back and added the miraculous consecration.⁹⁸

Regardless, the colour added by Scribe I to enrich and enliven his narrative is hardly the work of a ‘hack translator’, as he has been too long dismissed.⁹⁹

The ‘hack translator’ tag derives from L.H. Loomis’s work on the Auchinleck manuscript, and her now largely rejected ‘London bookshop’ theory; as Hanna puts it, Auchinleck is very much ‘Scribe I’s book’.¹⁰⁰ What remains of Loomis’s work on the codex, however, are insights into, and examples of, a certain textual fluidity common to the Auchinleck texts – couplets and short passages borrowed, transposed, and translated amongst the texts. One such example noted by Loomis are the miraculous gifts given to Athelstan by Hugh of France.¹⁰¹ These include, amongst many riches:

þe scaberge was of gold pur & fyn
 þerinne was iclosid a nail gret
 þat gede þoru oure lordis fet
 gut he presented hym þe sper
 þat Charlemayne was woned to ber
 Agenst Saracyns in batail....
 & a partie of þe holi crois
 In cristal don in clos
 & þre of þe þornys kene
 þat were in Ihesu is hed isene.¹⁰²

These gifts originally appear in William of Malmesbury’s *Gesta Regum*, but appear, redacted and rededicated, in the Auchinleck *Short Chronicle* and *Roland and Vernagu*.¹⁰³ Although

⁹⁸ The questions of how, physically, derivative texts were composed, and what sort of intermediary stages were involved, are considered at length in Chapters 3 and 4, below.

⁹⁹ Note, too, that as Matthew Paris’s *Estoire* survives only in the single manuscript, very little is known of the text’s circulation. Wallace notes the dedication to Queen Eleanor, but beyond speculation on the surviving *de luxe* manuscript as a presentation copy, the work’s audience is little addressed. Binski does observe, on the question of a female audience for the text, ‘As it happens, there is nothing in the text to indicate that it was anything other than a male concoction, catering as much to the interests of the king as the queen’ (61). Surely, however, Scribe I is traveling in rather different circles some 80 years later; his knowledge and use of the text is important evidence for the *Estoire* and its later reception.

¹⁰⁰ See Hanna, 93. Shonk’s seminal article remains the most comprehensive discussion of Scribe I’s responsibilities.

¹⁰¹ See L.H. Loomis, ‘The Holy Relics of Charlemagne and King Athelstan: The Lances of Longinus and St. Mauricius’, *Speculum* 25:4 (1950), 437-56, and ‘The Auchinleck *Roland and Vernagu* and the *Short Chronicle*’, *Modern Language Notes* 60 (1945), 94-97. See also R.J. Geist, ‘On the Genesis of *The King of Tars*’, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 42 (1943), 260-68 and A.J. Bliss, ‘Notes on “The Kings of Tars”’, *Notes & Queries* 200 (1955), 461-2. See also C.H. Slover, ‘*Sire Degarre*: A Study of a Mediaeval Hack Writer’s Methods’, *Texas Studies in English* 11 (1931), 5-23.

¹⁰² *Short Chronicle*, 570-75, 579-82.

Loomis argues the historiographical source privileges the historiographical *Short Chronicle* as the origin of these lines over the excerpts in *Roland and Vernagu*, more convincing is the appearance of these lines in all manuscripts of the *Short Chronicle*. That is, Athelstan's gifts are not original evidence for the textual lexicon of Scribe I or his knowledge of the *Gesta Regum*, but rather his knowledge of the *Short Chronicle* whilst composing and copying *Roland and Vernagu* some 8 gatherings or 40 folios earlier.¹⁰⁴ However, this passage does provide evidence for the independent knowledge of the scribe of CUL Ff.v.48 of William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*, or a French source derived from it. The manuscript adds two couplets, 'ȝet he presentid hym jwis / þe gomphanon of Seint Moris / þat he was wont for to bere / Before þe holi religion þere'.¹⁰⁵ The Anglo-Norman 'gonfanon' is a distinctive and reasonably uncommon borrowing into Middle English, although, intriguingly, it is most frequently attested in texts found in the Auchinleck manuscript, which in this case has emended the line and reads, 'baner of Seint Moris'.¹⁰⁶ Because of the inflected lexical choice, it seems more probable that the scribe of CUL Ff.v.48 is translating *Li Rei D'Engleterre*, 'Si li presenta la gunfainun Seint Moriz qe il soleyt porter devaunt legioun'.¹⁰⁷ All of the scribes of the *Short Chronicle* demonstrate not only broad textual lexicons, but a marked willingness to alter their texts in subtle but significant ways.

¹⁰³ See *Gesta Regum*, ii.135.4. See also S.J.H. Herrtage, ed., *The Taill of Rauf Coilyear with the Fragments of Roland and Vernague and Otuel*, EETS e.s. 39 (London, 1882) and R.N. Walpole, 'The Source MS of Charlemagne and Roland and the Auchinleck Bookshop', *Modern Language Notes* 60 (1945), 22-26.

¹⁰⁴ All of which, of course, merely adds to the booklet production method that is now the standard view of Auchinleck. Note Hanna's intriguing suggestion that some composition and copying might have taken place, 'when portions of the volume were unavailable to him [Scribe I]' (94). The use of the *Short Chronicle* for *Roland and Vernagu* may provide some evidence for the simultaneous availability of both gatherings. See *Der Mittelenglische Versroman über Richard Löwenherz*, ed. K Brunner (Leipzig, 1913).

¹⁰⁵ *Short Chronicle*, F.633-36.

¹⁰⁶ See *MED*, 'gounfanoun', and *Short Chronicle*, A.1639-42. *MED* cites as the word's earliest attestations the versions of *Arthour and Merlin*, *Sir Tristrem*, *Bevis of Hamptoun*, *Reinbrun*, and *Roland and Vertagu* in the Auchinleck manuscript. Note, too, that the term appears in the *Chronicle* of Robert Mannyng (II.639) and Langtoft's *Chronicle* (I.326), suggesting the possibility one of these texts may be connected textually to the *Short Chronicle*. The matter requires further investigation.

¹⁰⁷ See *Le Livre de Reis de Britannie (Li Rei)*, 64.31, in C. Foltys, ed., *Brutus, Li Rei de Engleterre, Le Livre de Reis de Engleterre* (Berlin, 1962); in *Le Livre de Reis Engleterre*, the text reads, 'la banere ausi Sein Moriz', and the gifts do not appear in the Anglo-Norman text found in CUL MS Gg.i.1. Eight of the nine manuscripts Foltys edits of *Li Rei* read 'gonfanon'; the other describes it as 'l'enseyne'. See Foltys, 83.

Because of the intertextual fluency Scribe I demonstrates in borrowing from the *Short Chronicle* for *Roland and Vernagu*, the fact that he further adds additional texts to his textual lexicon that are otherwise found in the Auchinleck manuscript, and his own work, is rather anticlimactic. The Auchinleck *Short Chronicle* adds an episodic interpolation of 140 lines to the account of Richard I's reign as found in the other manuscripts of the text. Zetl observes of the interpolation, 'In condensing the corresponding narrative...a free rendering and a rearrangement of what little material could be incorporated was necessary'.¹⁰⁸ The materials that Scribe I adds, drawn from the romance *Richard Coeur de Lyon*, start with an intriguing rhetorical flourish, as if a new text is being commenced, which, in some senses, it is, 'Jichil gou tel in what maner / Listeneþ al þat ben here'.¹⁰⁹ Scribe I introduces a small taste of the romance, adding eclectic details concerning sieges, bee hives, the quarrel between Richard and Philip, and a touch of Richard's heroism – again, details and miniature narratives chosen for no clearly discernable reasons, but effective in constructing a sense of colour, character, and history.¹¹⁰ The process, utterly characteristic of derivative texts, of selecting, transforming, and translating source texts, must be viewed as the complex creation of a new text. There is, moreover, no reason to ignore the scribe/author's conception of his work as a literary whole, rather than seeking strictly ideological explanations; historiography is innately political, but is no less literary for its subject matter. Rather than a 'hack translator', Scribe I clearly attempts to write a rich narrative, exploiting the schematic historiographical core of the *Short Chronicle* to create a detailed and colourful text exploring the productive indeterminacy of the intersections between historiography, hagiography, and romance.

¹⁰⁸ *Short Chronicle*, xcvi.

¹⁰⁹ *Short Chronicle*, A.2037-8. Transitions of this type, vague and entirely without definite referent, are quite common in derivative texts; generic citations 'as hit ywrite is' often can be read quite literally, rather than simply as appeals to written authority, while at the same time they obscure any particular text or textual obligation. See further Chapter 4, below.

¹¹⁰ The cannibalism episodes that so enliven *Richard Coeur de Lyon* have peculiarly been omitted.

More remarkable than Scribe I's knowledge of a text found in the Auchinleck codex, however, is the fact that the other manuscripts of the *Short Chronicle* all evince knowledge of *Richard Coeur de Lyon*. For the reign of Richard, Zetl prints the following, which is essentially the text only of MS Additional 19677:

¶ & suppe regnede kyng Richard
 He was an hardi knygt & a bold
 In eche londe wel of itold
 Suppen he was ischoten alas
 At þe Castel Gailard þer he was
 At þe Fount Euerard liggeþ his bon¹¹¹

The Auchinleck *Short Chronicle*, as has been noted, adds 140 lines derived from the romance; CUL Dd.xiv.2 adds two lines concerning Richard's victory at Acre; Royal 12.C.xii adds a line providing his cognomen, 'Richard Queor de Lyoun', and correctly notes, 'Ah he ne reignede her / Bote vnneþe ten ȝer'; CUL Ff.v.48 also adds the length of Richard's reign, and describes with a formulaic line Richard's burial, 'Jburied in a marbul ston'.¹¹² All five manuscripts, however, share lines 916-17, 'Suppen he was ischoten alas / At þe Castel Gailard þer he was'. Compare the final lines of *Richard Coeur de Lyon* as found in all but two of the text's manuscripts:

Kyng R. dougty off hand
 Turnyd homward to Yngeland.
 Kyng R. reynynd here
 No more but ten ȝere.
 Syþpe he was schot, allas,
 In Castel Gaylard, þer he was.¹¹³

Although these lines may well be an example of something 'original' to the *Short Chronicle*, it is clear they are translated from the romance to the *Short Chronicle*: nowhere else does

¹¹¹ *Short Chronicle*, 913-18.

¹¹² See *Short Chronicle*, A.2037-2178, D.913-14, R.984-5, F.967-8, F.970.

¹¹³ *Richard Coeur de Lyon*, 8203-8. The two printings of Wynkyn de Worde (1509, STC 120269 and 1528, STC 101588), and the text of London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 58 have a different ending. Line 8207 differs substantively in one manuscript, London, British Library, MS Additional 31042, the Thornton manuscript.

Richard Coeur de Lyon demonstrate this type of derivative textuality. If the *Short Chronicle* is to be dated, following Hanna, to early in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, there are significant implications for the dating of the romance.¹¹⁴ The extremely brief reign of Richard in most manuscripts of the *Short Chronicle* is both utterly characteristic of the textual compression of the text, especially of post-Conquest rulers, and of the derivative methodology of the text as a whole. Scribe I's doubled knowledge of the text, too, is an intriguing example of a single source text being consulted and translated by two scribe/authors in the service of creating the 'same' text.¹¹⁵

The sophistication of scribes, as both readers and authors, should not be underestimated. The scribes of the *Short Chronicle* each demonstrate independent textual knowledge of a number of source texts, ranging from Anglo-Norman historiography to Middle English romance, whilst simultaneously revealing a thorough understanding of the (primarily Latin) historiographical tradition in which the text they are writing is best contextualised. The text itself may be edifying, even popularly pedagogical, but neither the manuscript contexts in which it circulates, nor the recorded, scribal, audience should be considered unlearned or ignorant. Whether correcting the lengths certain kings ruled – an act requiring either extensive knowledge, or the ability and resources to consult other texts to supply the correct information – or inserting fanciful details concerning Richard on crusade, the scribes/authors of the *Short Chronicle* communicate their textual lexicons and historiographical knowledge. Although the derivative nature of the text is such that conventional notions of originality would diminish claims to that effect, it is precisely the

¹¹⁴ Very little work has been done on the text, but the commonly accepted date, as for so many of the romances found in Auchinleck, follows the *MED*, and is estimated to be c. 1300.

¹¹⁵ The situation is the opposite of that with *Roland and Vernagu*; *Richard Coeur de Lyon* follows the *Short Chronicle* in the Auchinleck manuscript, the first text in a different booklet. Again, this may be evidence for Scribe I's simultaneous access to different booklets of Auchinleck whilst composing the *Short Chronicle*. See n. 104, above.

scribes/authors' intervention in the formation of the text(s) that confirm the *Short Chronicle* as at once derivative and wholly original.

Interdict

The reign of King John, as Zettl prints it, runs to just over 100 lines, although Zettl remarks that the 'original' account was a mere nine lines – a particularly confusing opinion, inasmuch as he chooses to include the 100 lines in the main body of his edition, rather than with the supplementary, manuscript-specific readings at the end.¹¹⁶ The longer text can be divided into three sections: ll. 926-45 relate how John arbitrarily blinds a fletcher who blinks at him repeatedly with one eye – a trait acquired from the practice of his craft; ll. 946-56 tell of John's murder of a priest for refusing to sing mass during the Interdict; ll. 956-1027 narrate the story of a monk of Swineshead Abbey who murders John with a bowl of poisoned plums in order to save England from John's planned depredations, and to end the Interdict. The disproportionately lengthy account of a post-Conquest king - recall the brief account of Richard's reign – is not only intriguing, but revealing of the processes by which the *Short Chronicle* was composed, and demonstrates an intertextual dialogue with source texts common to derivative texts.

The Interdict of 1208-1213 is, from the modern vantage point, a somewhat surprising feature to serve as the defining characteristic of John's reign.¹¹⁷ Yet all five manuscripts of the *Short Chronicle* portray the event as central. Royal 12.C.xii and CUL Ff.v.48, the two manuscripts which do not contain the long 'episodic' narrative, relate John's reign in a mere nine lines, of which all but the three lines stating the beginning and ending of his rule are

¹¹⁶ *Short Chronicle*, xcvi. Three manuscripts, Auchinleck, Additional 19677, and CUL Dd.xiv.2 contain the longer account of John's reign.

¹¹⁷ The Interdict is surprisingly understudied. See C.R. Cheney, *King John and the Papal Interdict* (Manchester, 1948), reprinted from *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 31. See also P.M. Barnes and W.R. Powell, eds., *Interdict Documents* (London, 1960).

concerned with the Interdict and John's contest with Stephen Langton – a primary factor in the events that led to the Interdict.¹¹⁸ The three distinct episodes in the longer account all begin with the insistent repetition of the same theme, 'In his tyme al Engeland / Was enterditid in his hond', 'In þat tyme þat Engeland / Was enterdit in his hond', and 'þe pope sende boþe bulle & scrit / þat þis lond schold be enterdit / þat no prest scholde masse synge / Ne no belle in churche ryng'.¹¹⁹ In particular, the emphasis by the texts of the *Short Chronicle* on the centrality of the Interdict to John's reign is all the more noteworthy when contrasted to the relative silence surrounding the issue in other historiographical texts, both contemporary with the event, and later in the thirteenth century.¹²⁰

Although the Interdict placed on the entirety of England in 1208-13 is without parallel in English or British history, more localised interdicts, and the intertwined sentence of excommunication, were common throughout the thirteenth century, and bound up, politically, with English constitutional history.¹²¹ In the aftermath of John's death, Louis of France was excommunicated for invading England; his lands, those of the barons who supported him, and London were placed under interdict by Gualo, the papal legate.¹²² In 1264, the baronial leaders of the Barons' War, including Simon de Montfort, were placed under interdict and

¹¹⁸ *Short Chronicle*, 920-5, 'In his tyme al Engeland / Was enterditid in his hond / For on erchebischoþ / þat was wisman & no sot / He het Steuene of Langedone / þe kyng hym nolde vnderfonge'.

¹¹⁹ *Short Chronicle*, 920-1, 948-9, 956-9. Note the closeness of these last lines to those found in the *Chronicle* of Robert Mannyng and Lagamon's *Brut*, discussed in Chapter 2, below. See *Lagamon Brut*, eds. G.L. Brook and R.F. Leslie, 2 vols., EETS, o.s. 250, 277 (Oxford, 1963, 1978), 'no belle i-rungen; no masse isunge. / na chirche þer nas ihaleged. no child þer nes ifuleged' (14693-4).

¹²⁰ For a convenient survey of the majority of the extant historiographical texts from John's reign, see A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307* (London, 1974), i.318-355; their treatment of the Interdict can be inferred negatively from Gransden's account. See also A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Cornell, 1982). Note, too, the generally condemnatory assessment of John's reign common at the end of the century, as captured by the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester, '& seuentene yer he was king . & fif monþes ich wene / & fif dawes & þat þougte . mani man longe iwis' (10,557-8).

¹²¹ The Interdict was applied to both England and Wales, although the Pope lifted the sentence from certain rebel Welsh princes and their lands, leading to a rhetoric of 'holy war'. See Miller, Chapter 1, and R.F. Treharne, 'The Franco-Welsh Treaty of Alliance in 1212' in ed. E.B. Fryde, *Simon de Montfort and Baronial Reform* (London, 1986), 345-60.

¹²² See F.M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century: 1216-1307* (Oxford, 1962), 484 n.2. See also Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum sive Chronica Minor*, ed. F. Madden, 3 vols., Rolls Series (London, 1866-69), ii.180-1. Note also that before Louis's arrival, the barons opposing John had been briefly excommunicated, *Chronica Minor*, ii.172-3.

excommunicated for refusing to renounce the Provisions of Oxford; the papal legate who issued the formal sentence became Pope Clement IV two months later.¹²³

Excommunication, a far more individually specific ecclesiastical sentence than interdict, had become over the course of the thirteenth century a commonplace tool of legal proceedings and minor controversy.¹²⁴ Yet despite its degradation through over-use, it remained a powerful symbol, particularly in its close association from 1225 onwards with the violation of Magna Carta and the Charter of the Forest.¹²⁵ The use of excommunication as a political tool can be seen, too, in Piers Gaveston's excommunication in 1308, its revocation by papal bull in 1309, and the sentence's re-issue due to his violation of the Ordinances of 1311: Gaveston died excommunicate.¹²⁶ On the grand scale, however, the association of excommunication and the periodic re-issues of Magna Carta and the Charter of the Forest continued throughout the thirteenth century; the Baronial Crisis of 1297-98 forced Edward I to have the Charters publicly proclaimed, and the accompanying sentence of excommunication for violators of the Charters announced. Indeed, the idea pervades the confirmation of the charters in Edward II's coronation, and the 'constitutional' crises of 1341-3. It is in this context that the *Short Chronicle's* emphasis on the Interdict as a central feature of John's reign, whether in the brief accounts of the two manuscripts, or the longer episodic narratives of the other three manuscripts, becomes less surprising. There is no causal link in John's reign, but one is manufactured through the powerfully effective lens of

¹²³ See Powicke, 195. The interdict lasted for less than a year, ending after Evesham in 1265. See further Chapter 3, below.

¹²⁴ See Powicke, 464, and F. Pollock and F.W. Maitland, *The History of English Law Before the Time of Edward I*, Second Edition (Cambridge, 1898), i.478. See also Giraldus Cambrensis's outrage at this diminution, *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, ed. J.S. Brewer, Rolls Series (London, 1862), 'Per hoc enim quod praelati partium illarum minus discrete, facile, et frequenter nimis citra causas dignas et commonitiones excommunicant, et facilius etiam, (quia citra omnem satisfactionem, absolvunt) consequens est, et ita jam accidissee videmus, ut qui prae aliis gentibus [the Welsh] excommunicationes longe plus vereri solebant, minus eas hodie quam aliae nationes vereantur, a quibus nimirum, eadem facilitate qua dantur, contemnuntur', 159-60.

¹²⁵ See R. Bartlett, *England Under the Norman Kings: 1075-1225* (Oxford, 2000), and Chapter 3, below.

¹²⁶ See P. Chaplais, *Piers Gaveston* (Oxford, 1994). Edward II's re-interment of Gaveston at King's Langley in 1315 seems to have taken place despite the lack of any evidence that the sentence has been lifted.

historiographical hindsight: the Charters were the direct result of the Interdict, and the violation of the Charters prefigures a return to excommunication, and interdict.

The first two episodes of John's reign, concerning the fletcher and the priest, remain untraced in historiographical and literary texts. While not necessarily in itself evidence that these are not borrowed or translated episodes, this does prompt consideration of the two as potentially original to a scribe/author of the *Short Chronicle*. The introduction to the third episode, the poisoning of John, which does have texts that are likely identifiable as sources, may be of limited significance, 'Forsouþ as I haue ihurd telle / Hym hadde leuere to ben in helle'.¹²⁷ Inasmuch as the passage is introduced with a generic gesture towards a source – whether oral or written – it employs a device common to derivative texts that actually mark reliance upon a source; the absence of such a marker is, of course, not evidence to the contrary for the first two episodes, but may be indicative.¹²⁸ More significant is the formulaic repetition of the framing of both the fletcher and priest episodes, and the recurrence of specific vocabulary and rhyme pairs.¹²⁹ Even if these two episodes are a translation of a source text or texts, they demonstrate convincingly the originality of the derivative text as crafted by a scribe/author. That is, in the conjunction of the three episodes concerning John's cruelty, in addition to the significant character development of a historical figure, they collectively articulate a coherent, original ideological and political stance towards the past and the present.

Depending upon the date of composition of the poisoned plums episode in the *Short Chronicle*, it may be original to the Middle English text, and subsequently transferred into Latin historiography. There are two other accounts of John's poisoning, both composed around the turn of the thirteenth century. Thomas Wykes, an Augustinian canon at Osney

¹²⁷ *Short Chronicle*, 964-5.

¹²⁸ See n. 109, above, and Chapters 2 and 4, below.

¹²⁹ Thus 920-1 and 948-9, quoted above. Also, 'Langedone': 'vnderfonge' (924-5); 'vnderfonge': 'honde' (962-3), 'gut anon after þat' (926) and 'gut he dude more shrewednesse' (946).

from 1282 (at the age of 60) wrote his *Chronicon*, and parts of the Osney Annals, from the late 1270s to the early 1290s.¹³⁰ Wykes's *Chronicon* is in large parts a derivative text, compiled and translated from the works of William of Newburgh, John of Worcester, Ralph Diceto, Matthew Paris, and portions of the Osney Annals written before his arrival at the abbey. Wykes introduces to his account of John's reign, however, a novel tale of John's death, innovating an explanation for the illness that beset John at Swineshead Abbey, 'Anno eodem rex Johannes in monasterio quodam Cisterciensis ordinis quod Swynesheued dicitur in provincia Holandae, intoxicatus, ut dicebatur, continuo coepit ex violentia veneni contabescere'.¹³¹ Historiographical innovation is not, of course, in itself surprising: consider the accretions to William Rufus's death in the New Forest over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹³² John's sudden illness at Swineshead, particularly given his unpopularity by the end of the thirteenth century, very much invited historiographical invention, and the modification of history to align with a teleological trajectory shaped by an author's politics.

Wykes's account was joined by the *Chronicle* of Walter of Guisborough around the turn of the thirteenth century.¹³³ Guisborough's *Chronicle*, also a derivative text, relies primarily on the *Historia rerum Anglicarum* of William of Newburgh, supplemented with materials from the works of Simeon of Durham, Henry of Huntingdon, Martinus Polonus,

¹³⁰ See Gransden, i.463. The texts of both the Osney Annals and the *Chronicon* are printed in volume four of H.R. Luard, ed., *Annales Monastici*, 5 vols., Rolls Series (London, 1864-1869). See also N. Denholm-Young, 'Thomas Wykes and his Chronicle', *English Historical Review*, 61 (1946), 157-79; Denholm-Young refines Luard's dating, placing the composition of the *Chronicon*'s text to 1277 as complete by 1282.

¹³¹ See Wykes, *Chronicon*, 59-60. In that year king John, in the monastery of the Cistercian order called Swineshead, in the province of Holland (Lincolnshire), it is said that he was poisoned, and immediately began to be consumed by violent poisons. It is worth recalling the CUL Dd.xiv.2 manuscript of the *Short Chronicle* is accompanied by charters, documents, and historical material concerning Oxford and Osney Abbey.

¹³² Thus, in the *Short Chronicle*, the Gildasian model of providential history is firmly asserted, 'He was luper & vnwrest / For in þe Newe Forest / Fifty moder churchen & to / He let fylle & chapels bo / & clene caste al adoun / & made wode þer ar was toun' (876-80).

¹³³ See H. Rothwell, ed., *The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough*, Camden Series 89 (London, 1957). The *Chronicle* had, from the sixteenth century onwards, been attributed to Walter Hemmingford before Rothwell's edition. Rothwell places the composition of the text between 1300 and 1304.

and Pierre Langtoft.¹³⁴ Guisborough narrates a wholly dramatic and otherwise unattested scene leading to John's poisoning by a monk of Swineshead Abbey, adding direct dialogue and thoroughly expanding the spare account found in Wykes's text. Moreover, Guisborough begins the episode with a framing story, in which the monk who poisons John overhears his plans to rape a nun at the house, the sister of the abbot.¹³⁵ This depravity then leads to John planning further atrocities against the whole of the country, as he threatens to create a scarcity of food and a run on bread prices, 'fertilitas ista maxima fecit iam barones meos et populum meum insurgere in me. Nunc autem si per annum integrum comites mihi fuerint vita et salus, faciam valere panem tanti ponderis .xij. obolos'.¹³⁶ The unnamed monk then serves John the poisoned fruit ('pira'), and is compelled by the king to eat them as well: both die. The tradition of poisoned fruit permeates the subsequent historiographical tradition, although the precise fruit used varies, and some versions provide other vehicles for the poison.¹³⁷

The account in the *Short Chronicle* omits the scandalous frame tale, instead relating only John's wild words on inducing famine across the country:

He made þo his parlement
 He swor his oþ verrament
 þat he scholde make suche a saut
 To fede al Engeland with a spaud
 & eke with a [white] lof...
 A monke hit hurde at Swyneshed
 & of his wordis was aferd

¹³⁴ See Guisborough, *Chronicle*, xxv-xxvi. Rothwell notes, 'Between 1198 and 1291 the chronicle is meager, compared with what precedes and follows. Many years are mere annals...He is ready enough to enlarge when he has the material and he seems to have used anything without much regard for kind or quality', xxvi. The contrast between the overtly 'rationalist' writers of history such as William of Newburgh and Martinus Polonus, and the narrative of John's death, is striking. See W.V. Ikin, 'Martinus Polonus' *Chronicle of the Popes and Emperors*: A Medieval Best-Seller and its Neglected Influence on Medieval English Chroniclers', *English Historical Review* 116 (2001), 327-41.

¹³⁵ See Guisborough, *Chronicle*, 155.

¹³⁶ Guisborough, *Chronicle*, 155. The great fruitfulness of this land has made my barons and my people rise up against me. Now, however, if in this year I restore the earls to me as they were in life and safety, by causing bread to be such a burden at twelve half-pennies a loaf.

¹³⁷ Primarily pears (as in Guisborough), and plums, as in the *Short Chronicle*. Note, however, in the Middle English *Brut* the poison is delivered in ale, and mixed with the 'drinkhail' and 'wassail' exchange. In London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 6, the St Albans' chronicle, a beautiful illumination of the scene on f. 160^v portrays John receiving the poison in a gold chalice from a kneeling monk. On the table are two plates, one of which seems to hold a white loaf of bread.

He wende hom to his fere
 & seide to him in þis manere
 þe kyng haþ ymad a sori op
 þat he schal with a whit lof
 Fede al Engeland & with a spaud
 Iwis hit were a wickede saut.¹³⁸

The monk's motives in poisoning King John, however, are rather more complex than forestalling economic disaster. The monk requests of his abbot, as he recounts his plan and requests confession, 'ge schulle for me do bellis ringe / & afterward boþe rede & synge / So help ȝou god heuene kynge'.¹³⁹ The *Short Chronicle* adaptation of the story of John's poisoning subtly re-focuses the episode on the Interdict as the primary evil of John's reign – precisely in line with the preceding stories of the fletcher and the murdered priest. Moreover, this focus on the Interdict is distinctly lacking from Wykes's *Chronicon* and Guisborough's *Chronicle*.

This passage bears many of the hallmarks of derivative textuality. From the outset, there is the suggestion of a source, 'Forsoup as I haue ihurd telle'. The *Chronicle* of Walter of Guisborough seems the most likely direct source for the episode as found in the *Short Chronicle*, particularly given the far fuller narrative framework supplied therein with the account of the abbot's sister. The Middle English version is comparatively less well structured: John's oath to starve the country appears without explanation, and the monk's self-sacrificing intervention is, considered without the reference to the ending of the Interdict, decidedly less probable. The text engages in implicit dialogue with Guisborough's text; it is the translation and redaction of a source text created not merely to facilitate access for the unlearned or for those unfamiliar with the Latin account, but rather at once to acknowledge textual indebtedness and assert ideological independence.

¹³⁸ *Short Chronicle*, 968-72, 976-81. I have supplied the reading 'white' in 972 in preference to Zetl's 'wyuys', a corrupt reading that appears only in MS Additional 19677; Auchinleck and CUL Dd.xiv.2 both read 'white'; all three manuscripts read 'white' at line 981, the monk's recounting of the oath. Note, too, the formulaic repetition of 'op', 'saut', 'spaud', and 'lof', which suggests the passage is at once a translation, and an original, derivative composition written by expanding its own text.

¹³⁹ *Short Chronicle*, 986-8.

The brevity of the *Short Chronicle* should not obscure the sophisticated acts of interpretation preceding the translation of numerous source texts from a range of genres in Latin, Anglo-Norman, and Middle English, the scribe/authors' independent knowledge and adaptation of source texts, and a coherent and consistent historiographical agenda. Yet derivative texts also can be much more substantial productions, written in Anglo-Norman and Latin as well as Middle English – consider the chronicles of Wykes and Guisborough. Methodologically, the complexity of derivative texts has long been evident, but the possibilities for ideological, political, and literary sophistication – and consistency despite their textual plurality – have largely been overlooked. The *Short Chronicle* stands at one extreme of the tradition of derivative historiography, radically compressing history to a narrative at times so brief as to verge on the incoherent. Yet the possibilities for expansion, for the inclusion and translation of episodes and details from sources, remain an intrinsic part of the processes of composition that generate derivative texts.

2 TRANSLATING HISTORY

The chronicles of Robert Mannyng and Pierre Langtoft, both written in the first third of the fourteenth century, represent a distinct shift in vernacular historiography.¹ As against the *Roman de Brut* of Wace, Layamon's *Brut*, and other vernacular *historiae Brittonum*, the two chronicles combine British, English, and post-Conquest history in a single narrative, thus harkening back to the immense Latin histories of their twelfth century predecessors in Henry of Huntingdon and William of Malmesbury. Yet Mannyng and Langtoft negotiated the disjunctions and inconsistencies in reconciling British and English history, and in treating the rupture of Conquest as, in fact, a non-event after some 300 years, issues not faced by their predecessors. In unifying these three distinct, sometimes opposed, and yet continuous narratives, Langtoft and Mannyng necessarily turn to a number of supplementary source texts to expand and enrich their own texts beyond the confines of a literal combination of their source histories, and provide original material, in order to write the history of the island itself up to, essentially, their present time. This shift in subject matter is accompanied by a transformed approach to compilation and redaction – to derivation – as both writers struggle to accommodate the uncertainties of the present (in particular the Scottish wars) within larger teleological agendas, and to inflect the irregularities of the past with etiological reformulations and re-directions.

¹ Mannyng's text is discussed immediately following; evidence for the dating of Langtoft's *Chronicle* is discussed in 'Langtoft's Songs', below.

Deriving Mannyng

As the ‘British’ section of Robert Mannyng’s *Chronicle* draws to a close, and before the advent of Saxon history, Mannyng steps momentarily back from his historical narrative to acknowledge his sources, ‘I fond in maistre Wace boke, / of Pers of Langtoft also I toke, / & of Gildas þer to I laid / right as Pers þerof said’.² Mannyng’s depiction of his literary and historiographical labours – regardless of the ‘facticity’ of his references – recalls, graphically, the words and work of another historian who laid three books out before him a century earlier: Lagamon, who in the prologue to his *Brut* states, ‘Boc he nom þe þridde; leide þer amidden. / þa makede a Frenchis cleric; / Wace wes ihoten ; þe wel coupe writen’.³ That Mannyng had seen a copy of Lagamon’s *Brut* while composing his own *Chronicle* seems to have been known by scholars for some time: Frederick Madden hints at it in the notes to his edition of the *Brut*, although, surprisingly, James McNelis seems to have been the first to comment upon it in print, though rather in passing, in 1994.⁴ Yet the deep

² See Robert Mannyng, *The Chronicle*, ed. I. Sullens (Binghamton, 1996), I.14121-4. The Lambeth Palace Library manuscript of Mannyng’s *Chronicle*, discussed further below, adds the following two lines, ‘of alle þre bring y to place / Gyldas, Peres, & Maister Wace’. See R. Stepsis, ‘The Manuscripts of Robert Mannyng of Brunne’s *Chronicle of England*’, *Manuscripta* 13 (1969), 131-41, and Sullens’s discussion in her edition. It appears as if one leaf containing 84 lines from Mannyng’s *Chronicle* has languished unnoticed in Gloucester Cathedral Library since N. Ker’s notes on fragments found in the bindings of books at Gloucester Cathedral identified the text, dating it to s. xiv^{ex}; I have not yet had the opportunity to consult the fragment, but will do so shortly. See *A Catalogue of Gloucester Cathedral Library*, compiled by S.M. Edward (Gloucester, 1972), 5-6; the fragment is now bound with other miscellaneous fragments as Gloucester Cathedral Library, MS 36, item 8.

³ *Brut*, 19-21. It should be noted that T. Turville-Petre hints at the possibility of Mannyng’s knowledge of Lagamon’s text, ‘In a passage reminiscent of Lagamon’s account of the three books spread out on his desk, Manning details the three major authorities for the first part of his *Chronicle*’ (5), in T. Turville-Petre, ‘Politics and Poetry in the Early Fourteenth Century: The Case of Robert Manning’s *Chronicle*’, *Review of English Studies* 39 (1988), 1-28.

⁴ J. McNelis, ‘Lagamon as Auctor’, in ed. F. LeSaux, *The Text and Tradition of Layamon’s Brut* (Woodbridge, 1994), 253-72. Madden does not, in fact, state in the notes to his edition that the passage in which Mannyng verifiably borrows from Lagamon, discussed below, is connected to Lagamon’s *Brut*, although he does quote sections of Mannyng’s *Chronicle*, and of the fragmentary text of the *Short Chronicle* preserved in MS Cotton Caligula A.xi, just before. Lesley Johnson, in ‘Tracking Lagamon’s

familiarity with the *Brut* suggested by Mannyng's playful – and pointed – reworking of Lagamon's prologue marks something well beyond the simple consultation of a historiographical predecessor. Mannyng here, in a moment typical of his self-aware style, visibly participates in a collective textual community, one familiar not only with the common tropes and topics of English history writing, but sharing detailed knowledge of a diverse and sophisticated textual lexicon consisting of Latin, English, and Anglo-Norman works. Much, indeed rather too much, has been made of Mannyng's claim that he wrote, 'not for þe lerid bot for þe lewed', as he states in his *Chronicle*, or as in *Handlyng Synne*, 'For lewed men y vndyr toke / On englyssh tonge to make þys boke'⁵: Mannyng's learning, and the learning he expects of others at moments such as his reworking of Lagamon's three books, contrast markedly with the simplicity he himself claims, and claims for his audience.⁶

Robert Mannyng is, unquestionably, one of the more historicisable of the historiographers writing in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. We know of two works by Mannyng, *Handlyng Synne*, a twelve thousand line devotional or penitential piece in rhymed couplets, and the *Chronicle*, in two different forms of rhymed couplets, running to twenty-four thousand lines of history, from Brutus and the founding of Britain, through Anglo-Saxon history and the Norman Conquest, to

Brut', *Leeds Studies in English* 22 (1991), 134-66, notes, 164-5, n.43, 'Lagamon's work has at least one recorded reader. The second recension of the *Chronicle* traditionally attributed to Robert of Gloucester'. This suggests that Johnson was not aware of the Mannyng/*Brut* connection. Thomas Hearne does not refer to Lagamon's *Brut* in his 1725 edition of Mannyng's *Chronicle*.

⁵ Mannyng, *Chronicle*, I.6. See also Robert Mannyng, *Handlyng Synne*, ed. I. Sullens (Binghamton, 1983), 43-4. I am deeply indebted to Jennifer Miller for her 'rhetorical' reading of Mannyng's *Chronicle*, and the preface to the work. See J. Miller, 'Prologue(s)'. See, for example, R.J. Moll, *Before Malory: Reading Arthur in Later Medieval England* (Toronto, 2003), 'Mannyng's *Chronicle*, therefore, is intended for a lay audience whose primary language is English' (20).

⁶ See J. Coleman, 'Strange Rhyme: Prosody and Nationhood in Robert Mannyng's *Story of England*', *Speculum* 78 (2003), 1214-1238. Coleman offers a welcome new voice by not accepting Mannyng's

Edward I's death in 1307.⁷ Unusually for a Middle English author of this period, Mannyng identifies himself in both of his texts, and moreover, dates each of them, *Handlyng Synne* to 1303, and the *Chronicle* to 1338.⁸ Scholars have uncovered a number of references to various 'Robert Mannyngs' and 'Robert of Brunnes' as executors in wills, in bishops' registers, and in legal records relating to Lincoln and Lincolnshire between 1287 and 1345, not all of which are necessarily to be identified with the author of these texts.⁹ Indeed, some of the evidence presented by Sullivan seems rather tenuous: he makes much of references to 'Robert of Brunne', although the singular reference to a Robert 'with the Mannyng surname' surely argues against the consistent identification of these historical 'Roberts' with the author of the *Chronicle*.¹⁰ Indeed, 'of Brunne' is hardly a unique identifier – note Master Roger 'called "Brun", clerk, doctor of canon and civil law, of the diocese of Lincoln', who was Chancellor of the University of Oxford.¹¹ Mannyng himself tells of residencies at the Gilbertine houses of Sempringham, near Bourne, and Sixhills, and also at the

claimed audience as a 'straight' statement, 'the target audience for the *Story of England* were neither peasants nor laborers' (1224).

⁷ The first part of the *Chronicle* is in octosyllabic couplets; the second part, in long lines, though with varying stresses, and irregularly employing mid-line rhymes, seemingly reflects Langtoft's monorhymed *laissez*.

⁸ See Mannyng, *Chronicle*, II.8357-8, *Handlyng Synne*, 73-5. It is curious, given Mannyng's insistence upon embedding himself, historically and historiographically, in his texts, that he fails to refer to his own works – that the *Chronicle*, that is, does not mention *Handlyng Synne*. Note also J.M. Cowper, ed., *Meditations on the Supper of our Lord, and the Hours of the Passion, by John Bonaventura the Seraphic Doctor. Drawn into English Verse by Robert Manning of Brunne*, EETS o.s. 60 (London, 1875). The attribution of this text seems to have derived from the presence of the *Meditations*, in its two manuscripts, alongside *Handlyng Synne*. The attribution, though not formally contested, seems simply to have been silently rejected.

⁹ See Mannyng, *Chronicle*, pp. 13-22. See also R. Crosby, 'Robert Mannyng of Brunne: A New Biography', *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 57 (1942), 15-28; R. Stepsis, *An Edition of Part II of Robert Mannyng of Brunne's Chronicle of England*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 2 vols. (Harvard, 1967); M. Sullivan, 'Biographical Notes on Robert Mannyng of Brunne and Peter Idley, the Adaptor of Robert Mannyng's *Handlyng Synne*', *Notes & Queries* 236 (1991), 155-7; E. Seaton, 'Robert Mannyng of Brunne in Lincoln', *Medium Ævum* 12 (1943), 77.

¹⁰ See Sullivan, 'Biographical Notes', 302.

Gilbertine priory at Cambridge, St Edmund's.¹² Yet his construction of himself, and the elaborate lengths to which he goes to place his text, quite particularly, in social, geographical, and historical circumstances should be interrogated more closely given their exceptionality.

This rhetorical construction of authorship, of historically definite identity, is distinctly a trope for Mannyng, deployed in both of his texts. And it is as a trope that Mannyng's presence in his texts needs re-consideration. There are, certainly, models for this kind of authorial self-inscription, especially amongst historiographical works. In the dedicatory prefaces to their works, the great triumvirate of twelfth century history writers, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Henry of Huntingdon, and William of Malmesbury, all name themselves and situate themselves historically, in relation to their patrons or dedicatees.¹³ The Anglo-Norman historiographer Geffrei Gaimar does so as well, in the so-called Epilogue to his *L'Estoire des Engleis*.¹⁴ Wace, who translated Geoffrey's *Historia* into Anglo-Norman in his *Roman de Brut*, tells us little of himself in that text, but asserts his presence more firmly in his other work, the *Roman de Rou*.¹⁵ And, famously, Lagamon identifies and locates himself in the prologue to his *Brut*. Yet for all of these models, Mannyng's elaborate construction

¹¹ W.H. Bliss, ed., *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers (Regesta Romanorum Pontificum) relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters*, Rolls Series (London, 1893), i.518. The item is dated to September, 1290.

¹² See Mannyng, *Chronicle*, I.135-44, II.8233-4; *Handlyng Synne*, 57-70.

¹³ Indeed, all three include Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, amongst the patrons of their work. See also Chapter 4, 'Epilogue(s)', below.

¹⁴ See A. Bell, *L'Estoire des Engleis by Geffrei Gaimar*, Anglo-Norman Text Society, 14-16 (Oxford, 1960), 6432-76. See also I. Short, 'Gaimar's Epilogue and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Liber vetutissimus*', *Speculum* 69 (1994), 323-43.

¹⁵ See Miller, Chapter 1. The exceptionality of Mannyng's self-aware prologue, on a theoretical par with the preface to the Wycliffite Bible, is registered by its inclusion in the collection of J. Wogan-Browne, et al., *The Idea of the Vernacular*, although separating the preface from the text is, I believe, a disservice to readers. The anthologisation of the piece obscures readings possible only in the context of the entire *Chronicle*, and similarly authorises inconsistent readings.

of authorship remains remarkable in a vernacular chronicle, as he aligns himself, implicitly, with his projected audience, writing simply, he says, ‘for luf of þe lewed man’.¹⁶ Mannyng’s *Chronicle*, however, is far more complex than the simplicity to which it purportedly aspires. Mannyng himself is clearly embedded in a very different culture: one learned, and highly textual.¹⁷

One of the central mysteries of Mannyng’s *Chronicle* – though one not usually treated as, in fact, mysterious at all – is his access to texts. His *Handlyng Synne* is a translation of the *Manuel des Péchés*, an Anglo-Norman work extant in twenty seven manuscripts, and part of the burgeoning tradition of instructional and penitential literature of the later thirteenth century, including such texts as the *Somme le Roi* and Grosseteste’s *Chasteau d’Amour*.¹⁸ Some of Mannyng’s exempla in *Handlyng Synne*, moreover, come not from his primary source in the *Manuel*, but from a number of other sources, including Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica*.¹⁹ His *Chronicle*, too, is a translation – as he acknowledges throughout the text – primarily of Wace’s *Roman de Brut* and Pierre Langtoft’s *Chronicle*. Yet Wace’s and Langtoft’s texts form only the backbone of Mannyng’s work: Mannyng, we have seen, depicts Langtoft’s work lying side by side with the works of Gildas and Wace.²⁰ Although this trail of texts may not

¹⁶Mannyng, *Chronicle*, I.126.

¹⁷See Turville-Petre, *England the Nation*, who despite the generally contrary tenor of his arguments, suggests that the implied audience may possess, ‘a considerable degree of sophistication and an appetite for learning’ (5).

¹⁸See *Handlyng Synne*, xvi-xviii; see also F. Kemmler, ‘Exempla’ in *Context: a historical and critical study of Robert Mannyng of Brunne’s ‘Handlyng Synne’* (Tübingen, 1984). See also Dean, 349-51. Furnivall printed the text of a single manuscript of the *Manuel* in his edition of *Handlyng Synne*; see F.J. Furnivall, ed., *Robert of Brunne’s Handlyng Synne (written A.D. 1303) with the French treatise on which it is founded, Le Manuel des Pechiez*, Roxburghe Club (London, 1862). Extracts from the same manuscript were printed in the Early English Text Society edition of *Handlyng Synne*.

¹⁹See Sullens, *Handlyng Synne*, xvi-xviii.

²⁰The debate concerning references to Gildas and Nennius, and what texts medieval authors understood to be by them, is not addressed here. See, amongst many works on the topic, D. Dumville, *The Historia Brittonum: The ‘Vatican’ Recension* (Woodbridge, 1985) and R. Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540* (Turnhout, Belgium, 1997), 293-4.

yet seem mysterious – though Lagamon’s presence amongst histories that are far better represented by surviving manuscripts is difficult to explain – consider Mannyng’s demure mention of his unsuccessful search for record of Havelok:

Bot I haf grete ferly þat I fynd no man
þat has writen in story how Hauelok þis lond wan:
no iþer Gildas, no Bede, no Henry of Huntyn-ton,
no William of Malmesbiri, ne Pers of Bridlynton
writes not in þer bokes of no Kyng Athelwold,
ne Goldeburgh, his douhtere, ne Hauelok not of told.²¹

Mannyng’s list of authorities here is *the* list of insular historians, from the sixth century Gildas, to Bede, to the twelfth-century historians Henry of Huntingdon and William of Malmesbury, to Pierre Langtoft, writing at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Nor does Mannyng neglect the great founder of the *Brut* tradition: he refers, at the beginning of the *Chronicle*, to ‘Geffrey Arthure of Minumue’, that is, Geoffrey of Monmouth.²²

Yet there are authors left out from this list, and it is important to recognise this not merely as an exhaustive list of historiographers, but a crafted list of authorised historiographers. It is precisely those authors omitted from this list, yet present in Mannyng’s textual lexicon, upon whom I want to focus: Gaimar, Lagamon, and other, sometimes anonymous, writers. For the delineation of this corpus of historiographical texts by Mannyng, and his explicit professions of textual indebtedness in the prologue to the *Chronicle*, are practices emphatically atypical of the history writing of the period. The *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester, for example, pointedly does not mention its sources, although it translates extensively from Geoffrey of Monmouth, Henry of Huntingdon, William of Malmesbury, Lagamon, and the *South English*

²¹Mannyng, *Chronicle*, II.519-24.

Legendary. Pierre Langtoft refers to Bede and Henry of Huntingdon in passing, but allows Geoffrey, his primary source for the first half of the work, to remain unnamed, dismissing him as a mere ‘latymer’ - a translator or interpreter.²³ The Anglo-Norman *Brut*, in its many incarnations prose and verse, makes no mention of its sources, nor does the *Short Chronicle*.²⁴ We are a far cry from the explicit rhetorical positionings of Henry of Huntingdon’s and William of Malmesbury’s loquacious praise of Bede, Geoffrey of Monmouth’s elaborate references to a ‘liber vetustissimus’, or Gaimar’s complicated description of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the *Historia regum Britanniae*.

Mannyng aligns himself, in his prologue, with ‘symple men / þat strange Inglis can not ken’, and ‘þat þe Latyn no Frankys con’, who require ‘symple speche’.²⁵ Mannyng himself accentuates this alignment between author and audience, claiming that some English texts are too difficult for him to read, ‘and my witte was oure thynne, / so strange speche to trauayle in’.²⁶ Accepting his self-positioning as a textual mediator at face value, scholars have treated Mannyng’s rhetoric of citation as a mark of authority, to be passively accepted by his audience as the trappings of

²²Mannyng, *Chronicle*, I.163.

²³Langtoft, *Chronicle*, I.264, ‘Peres de Langtoft trove nent plus par dit / K’il n’ad complye e mys en cel escryt. / Les trofles ad lessé, à veritez se prist. / Nul autre trovera homme ke le lyst, / Si noun li latymers en sun Latyn mentist’. The edition by Thomas Wright remains the only complete edition of the poem. T. Wright, ed., *The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft in French Verse, from the earliest period to the death of King Edward I*, 2 vols., Rolls Series, (London, 1868). See also the edition of the third section of the poem, J.C. Thiolier, *Édition Critique et Commentée de Pierre de Langtoft, Le Règne d’Édouard I^{er}*, (Paris, 1989). Regarding ‘latimers’, or translators, see the seminal work by C. Bullock-Davies, *Professional Interpreters and the Matter of Britain* (Cardiff, 1966).

²⁴ Excluding, that is, a vague reference to a ‘boke’ in the opening lines of most manuscripts of the *Short Chronicle*, for which, see Chapter 1, above.

²⁵Mannyng, *Chronicle*, I.77-78; I.8; I.73.

²⁶Mannyng, *Chronicle*, I.113-14.

learning, validating his history.²⁷ The question of access to these texts by Mannyng's audience is thereby axiomatically precluded by their monolingualism and unlearnedness. That Mannyng's posturings are a rhetorical construct should be clear, given the sophistication of his ambitious project of translation and compilation. The correlative – an unlearned audience of simple English speakers – should be suspect as well.²⁸

Consider one verifiable reader of Mannyng's *Chronicle*, the scribe of one manuscript of the work, the early fifteenth century London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 131. Mannyng, towards the end of Book I of the *Chronicle*, introduces the minor Saxon king Oisc, eponym of the 'oiscingas,' the kings of Kent, 'þis word of Saynt Bede I toke, / þe fifte capitle of þe boke; / þorgh þat capitle, I wist, / bituex Ethelbright & Hengist: / Hengist sonne, Oysk was his name'.²⁹ The scribe of Lambeth Palace Library, MS 131 rewrites a line, 'þe fifte chapitre of þe *secounde* boke'.³⁰ In another instance, whereas London, Inner Temple Library, MS Petyt 511 reads, 'takis out gour sexis seid Hengist', in describing the famous massacre at Amesbury, the Lambeth scribe provides a reading much closer to the original found in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum*, 'Nymep gour sexis'.³¹ Although it is clear, from

²⁷ See, for example, Sullens, 'His direct use of Geoffrey's *Historia* is also evident: he often adds "as the Latin says" when he wants to support a particular detail' (53).

²⁸ Again, Coleman's 'Strange Rhyme' is a welcome attempt to re-think Mannyng's text. Nonetheless, her rather complicated and elaborate reading of the prologue, and of Mannyng's textual self-locating of the *Chronicle*, is not wholly convincing. In particular, her idea of Mannyng desiring to write a complex and metrically sophisticated text, but forced by circumstance and patronage to produce 'merely' the *Chronicle* as a matter of 'practical necessity' (1224) seems improbable.

²⁹ Mannyng, *Chronicle*, I.14329-33. See *Historia Ecclesiastica* ii.v.150, 'Oisc, a quo reges Cantuariorum solent Oiscingas cognominare, cuius pater Hengist, qui cum filio suo Oisc inuitatus a Uurtigerno Britanniam primus intrauit, ut supra retulimus'.

³⁰ Mannyng, *Chronicle*, I.14330. Italics mine.

³¹ Mannyng, *Chronicle*, I.7765. See *Historia regum* vi.15, where the original, taken from Nennius's *Historia Brittonum* 46, reads 'Nimeð oure saxes', a startling moment of the reproduction of Old English in the Latin chronicle marking the greatest instance of Saxon treachery. Stepsis remarks of

dialectal peculiarities of both manuscripts of Mannyng's *Chronicle*, that neither is an 'original' text, the two scribes of Lambeth Palace 131 do engage in a certain amount of 're-writing' of the text, especially in Part II. Although in the latter instance, Lambeth Palace 131 may retain an 'original' reading, whereas Petyt 511 may itself re-write the text, the former example, especially given that the addition compromises the (loose) metre of the line, seems most likely to be scribal, rather than authorial. The precision and accuracy of Mannyng's original reference to Bede, and the Lambeth scribe's minor revision, suggest not an audience mutely absorbing the construction of historiographical authority, but a learned, multilingual, and textually literate audience, with the intellectual and bibliographical resources to assess Mannyng's *Chronicle* within the textual tradition it depicts.

Mannyng's elaborate rejection of complicated verse forms, syntax, and vocabulary, warrants closer attention:

ffor many it ere þat strange Inglis
in ryme wate neuer what it is.
And bot þai wist what it mente,
ellis me thoght it were all schente.
I made it not forto be praysed,
bot at þe lewed men were aysed.
If it were made in ryme couwee,
or in strangere or enterlace
þat rede Inglis it ere inowe
þat couthe not haf coppled a kowe;
þat outhere in couwee or in baston
som suld haf ben fordon...
so þat fele men þat it herde
suld not witte howe þat it ferde.³²

Lambeth 131, 'the two Lambeth scribes copied their manuscript from a text written in a dialect manifestly different from their own' (135).

³²Mannyng, *Chronicle*, I.79-90, I.91-2. See also Coleman, 'Strange Rhyme', 1214-29.

Mannyng continues to renounce those texts, ‘þai sayd in so quante Inglis / þat manyone wate not what it is...And forsoth I couth nought, / so strange Inglis as þai wrought’.³³ Turville-Petre has commented upon the probable connection between Mannyng’s professions of using only ‘symple speche’ and the injunction of the Gilbertine rule that, ‘Qui vero scripturus est literas, simpliciter scribat, et omnino caveat vanitatem profundi vel pomposi dictaminis’.³⁴ This performative and public adherence to the injunctions of the Gilbertine rule clearly also answers a question not previously considered in regards to Mannyng’s *Chronicle*: the work’s status as an authorised Gilbertine work, given the accompanying conditions in Capitulum xix, ‘Nullus de nostris præsumat libros aliquos, vel etiam orationes, vel meditationes scribere, vel scribi facere, sine assensu prioris domus, vel scriptores conducere et retinere in ecclesiis monialium...Libros tamen ad divinum officium ebdomadariis sibi assumere licit’.³⁵ It would follow in some measure, then, that Mannyng’s depiction of himself in the prologues to his works as a Gilbertine, and the ‘symple speche’ to which he lays claim, can be read as establishing both the *Chronicle* and *Handlyng Synne* as authorised works as specified by the Gilbertine Rule.³⁶

³³Mannyng, *Chronicle*, I.109-110, I.115-16. I have argued elsewhere that the prologue, and in particular the emphasis on ‘strange speche’ can be explicated with reference to Lagamon’s *Brut*.

³⁴See R. Graham, *S. Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines* (London, 1903), ‘He who writes letters shall write simply, and above all shall avoid the vanity of profound and swelling words’ (61). See also Turville-Petre, ‘Politics and Poetry’, ‘Mannyng carefully points out that he has observed this injunction’, 4. The Gilbertine rule is printed in W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1817-30), vi.ii, l-li. This is taken from capitulum xix, ‘De Scriptoribus, et Poena occulte scribentium, et Libris propriis non scribendis, nec habendis, et sigillis prohibitis’. The rule survives only in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 136, an early thirteenth century copy containing interpolations to the rule as Gilbert of Sempringham established it.

³⁵ *Monasticon*, vi.ii, li: ‘No one of us is, without the assent of the prior, to take upon themselves to write or have written books, orations, or meditations, or the writings will be collected and impounded in the church...nevertheless, books of the divine office are assumed to be permitted by the order’ (translation mine).

³⁶ Note Coleman’s observation on *Handlyng Synne*, ‘Mannyng is careful to cite the master of the order and the priors at Sempringham...presumably to establish that his composition was duly authorized’ (1226).

Yet there is more to the question of Mannyng's idiom, and the self-conscious articulations regarding his style. His knowledge of Lagamon's *Brut* – referred to above, and discussed more fully below – and his references not only to other verse forms, but to other source texts, reflect on what Mannyng may mean by 'quante Inglis', 'strange speche', and 'strange Inglis'.³⁷ He indicts particular authors for their style, the complexity of their language, and their compositional motives:

I see in song, in sedgeyng tale
of Erceldoun & of Kendale:
Non þam says as þai þam wroght,
& in þer sayng it semes noght...
þai said it for pride & nobleye
þat non were suylk as þei,
and alle þat þai wild ouerwhere,
alle þat ilk wille now forfare
þai sayd in so quante Inglis
þat manyone wate not what it is;
þerfore heuyed wele þe more
in strange ryme to trauayle sore,
and my witte was oure thynne,
so strange speche to traualye in.³⁸

This passage implies that, for Mannyng, there is some expected standard of English, excessive stylistic deviation from which he condemns. Mannyng's own rather prosaic language does serve as a remarkable counterpoint to the language of, for example, *Havelok*. More significantly, however, is the contrast with Lagamon's markedly archaic idiom: although Mannyng's and Robert of Gloucester's demonstrable use of Lagamon's *Brut* demonstrate the text was not impenetrable for its audiences at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries, Mannyng's complaints of 'strange ryme' and 'strange speche', and his pointed assertion of writing

³⁷Mannyng, *Chronicle*, I.109, 114, 116.

³⁸Mannyng, *Chronicle*, 93-96, 105-114. See also n. 28, above.

comprehensible English, seem to be in dialogue with Lagamon's *Brut*, and moreover, with an audience familiar with the *Brut*, rather than the 'sedgeyng' performances of the (mysterious) works of Thomas of Erceldoune and Kendale.³⁹

Whatever Mannyng's feelings on 'ryme couwee', 'strangere' and 'enterlace', consider, for a moment, the relationship between the verse forms and texts cited in the prologue, and Mannyng's own sources and project. There is a strange disjunction between the historiography he writes, drawing on the octosyllabic couplets of Wace and the alexandrines of Langtoft, the Latin prose of the *Historia regum*, and, of course, the famously elusive verse or rhythmical prose of Lagamon's *Brut*, and the verse forms and romance texts with which Mannyng is overtly engaging in the prologue. The verse forms Mannyng lists as difficult for audiences to comprehend are secondary to his steady complaint about language itself – the failure lies not in the rhyme scheme, but in the 'strange Inglis', 'strange speche', and 'quante Inglis' that form the crux of this part of the prologue. Again, although the syntax and the series of uncertain pronominal references are rather unclear, there is a sense of a subject matter being avoided, being written around.⁴⁰ In this passage, Mannyng works and re-works ideas concerning strange language, anxieties regarding the difficulties of performing strange texts, and the failure of such texts to communicate successfully with audiences. The question remains, of course, whence this anxiety stems. McNelis has suggested that, 'It may be that Mannyng used Lagamon as a crib for Wace rather

³⁹ Concerning Thomas Erceldoune, who is typically associated with the Middle English *Sir Tristrem*, and Kendale, about whom, beyond presumably having ties to Kendal in Westmorland, nothing is known, see Coleman, 1219-20.

⁴⁰ Coleman's reading of the prologue, whilst an improvement on those previously offered, does not, I believe, capture the full nuances or subtleties present, in particular in relation to Lagamon's *Brut*. See Coleman, 1217-1223. I am grateful to Eric Stanley, Ros Allen, Jane Roberts, and others at the 5th International Conference on Lagamon's *Brut* for conversations on an earlier version of this argument.

than as a source *per se*'.⁴¹ Yet the fact that Mannyng did know, and use, the *Brut*, can offer insight into the elusive prologue.

The disjunction between the romance tales in complicated verse forms and the historiographical work being introduced, and Mannyng's peculiar concern about 'strange Inglis', can, I believe, be resolved by reading Lagamon's *Brut* as a sort of absent referent for the prologue. Mannyng does not provide a direct acknowledgement or citation of Lagamon's work as he does with his other sources, yet its inscription in the imagination of the text is not overly difficult to perceive for readers of both the *Brut* and the *Chronicle*. That is, if one turns to the historiographical sources employed by Mannyng, and his self-declared project to turn 'strange Inglis' into 'light ryme', Lagamon's *Brut*, with its obscure verse and difficult, antiquated language, fits the bill all too well. The reasons for Mannyng's decision to at least partially obscure the presence of the *Brut* in the textual lexicon he employed in creating the derivative *Chronicle* are, it must be admitted, unclear. In the scenario proposed by McNelis, wherein Mannyng uses the *Brut* as a 'crib', Mannyng nonetheless has to know the text, and know where it differs from the *Roman de Brut*, Langtoft's *Chronicle*, and the *Historia regum* itself: a process entailing significant and detailed knowledge of all of the texts involved. Moreover, the playfulness evident in his reworking of Lagamon's three books and Lagamon's prologue is a gesture that suggests at least part of the *Chronicle*'s audience would recognise the passage and its source – certainly not an audience of the 'lewed men' we have hitherto too readily posited, but rather a sophisticated and textually knowledgeable audience. Mannyng's engagement with the *Brut* is at once more subtle, and more

⁴¹ McNelis, 'Auctor', 257.

substantive, than has previously been recognised, and indicates knowledge of the *Brut* by the *Chronicle*'s audience, and not simply its author. It attests to the *Brut*'s reputation, even cachet, at precisely the time when Lagamon's historiographical and political project was being literally over-written by derivative texts combining the uneasy legacies and tangled narratives of British, Saxon, and post-Conquest history.

Mannyng's extended access to many of the historiographical texts which he mentions— provable for some of those listed through detailed textual analysis — brings us back to the particularity of his historical circumstances. The Gilbertine Order — founded by the native-born Gilbert of Sempringham in the middle of the twelfth century — was a curious order, hardly as well known today as the much larger monastic orders, yet distinctive and durable in its double foundations for monks and nuns both.⁴² Although the order is described by modern historians as having been 'largely dead' by 1300, this claim rather unkindly diminishes those Gilbertine houses that nonetheless endured until the Dissolution. The order is hardly known for its learning or book production. David Bell, in his catalogue of monastic libraries, says of the order's known libraries, 'The case of the Gilbertines is perhaps the most dismal of all: only 15 manuscripts have been traced from 5 out of a total of 25 houses, and not all these identifications are certain'.⁴³ Yet it is difficult to reconcile this paucity of books with the foundation by the Gilbertines of St Edmund's priory at Cambridge in 1291, and the 1301 foundation at Stamford —a rising academic establishment before

⁴²The two primary works on the order are R. Graham, *S. Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines* and B. Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertine Order c. 1130 – c. 1300* (Oxford, 1995). The order receives very short shrift in D. Knowles' classic *The Monastic Orders in England*.

⁴³ David Bell, *The Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines, and Premonstratensians*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues (London, 1992), xxii.

the suppression of Stamford's schools in the mid-1330s.⁴⁴ Golding's detailed analysis of the surviving records of the Gilbertine Order reveals the Cambridge foundation was quite poor by the Dissolution. However, as the records of St Edmund's were destroyed by fire in 1348, the number of scholars at the house throughout the early fourteenth century must remain conjectural.⁴⁵ An important caveat might be the opinion of the Barnwell Chronicler, who wrote for the year 1291 that the Gilbertines were 'lectionibus audiendis et disputationibus multum insistebant'.⁴⁶ The Cambridge and Stamford foundations can be used as a crude yardstick of the order's intellectual ambitions, though not their successes or failures; the Gilbertine's intellectual legacy may be relatively faint, but there is no need to dismiss, as does Brian Golding, the scholar to have worked most recently on the order, their learning as 'unexciting' in 'both quality and quantity'.⁴⁷

Of the fifteen manuscripts catalogued by Bell, most are not, in fact, the service books predicted by historians of the order as the staple crop, as it were, of their copying efforts.⁴⁸ The Gilbertine regulations concerning the copying of books other than service books, quoted above, has led to this conclusion. Yet strict adherence to monastic rules is decidedly the exception rather than the norm. It is important to recognise that uncomplicated inferences regarding the actual copying of books other

⁴⁴ See Golding, 171-5. The question of the nature of the schools at Stamford continues to be a vexed one. Although dated, *The Victoria History of the County of Lincoln*, ed. W. Page, vol. 2 (London, 1906), ii.468-9 remains an invaluable account. See also H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. F.M. Powicke and A.B. Emden (Oxford), 1936, vol. 3. It is worth noting, as well, the proximity of Stamford to Mannyng's native Bourne.

⁴⁵ Golding, 173-4.

⁴⁶ J.W. Clark, ed., *Liber Memorandum Ecclesie de Bernewelle* (Cambridge, 1907), 212, 'assiduous in attending lectures and disputations'.

⁴⁷ Golding, 183.

⁴⁸ See J.R. Liddell, 'Leland's Lists of Manuscripts in Lincolnshire Monasteries', *English Historical Review* 54 (1939), 88-95. See also J.P. Carley, 'John Leland and the contents of the English pre-

than service books cannot be drawn from the Rule. The majority of the surviving books are not service books, but rather academic or theological works: commentaries and glosses on the Old and New Testaments, and patristic texts. Of the small remainder, a copy of Giles of Rome's *De Regimine Principum* was at the Bullington house, as was a 'Libellus de libertatibus Anglie' – potentially a collection of charters, including Magna Carta and the Charter of the Forest.⁴⁹ None of the surviving Gilbertine manuscripts contain any work in a vernacular language. Yet of those works probably composed, as against owned, by Gilbertines – the *Vita* of Gilbert of Sempringham, the Gilbertine Rule, the so-called 'Sempringham Continuation' to *Le Livre de Reis Engleterre*, and Mannyng's two works – three of the five are in English or Anglo-Norman.⁵⁰

The elaborate series of rules and restrictions in the Gilbertine Rule concerning the production of texts and manuscripts may suggest the scarcity of surviving manuscripts and identifiable texts is not, in fact, indicative of the order's practice. As with the Cistercians, Gilbertines were not permitted to copy books other than service books without the permission of the Master of the order. Nor were Gilbertine canons to write anything new without the Master's consent – again, following the Cistercian rule. Those canons who did produce new works or copy unauthorised books faced, in theory, serious consequences, and the loss of the book thereby produced.⁵¹ Yet, as is

dissolution libraries: Lincolnshire', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 9 (1989), 330-57.

⁴⁹ See Golding, 177-8; N.R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, ed. A. Watson, Second Edition (London, 1964), 177.

⁵⁰ For the 'Sempringham Continuation', see Dean, 21, and C. Foltys, *Brutus, Li Rei de Engleterre, Le Livre de Reis de Engleterre*, 226-35. See also the older edition of J. Glover, ed., *Le Livre de Reis de Britannie e Le Livre de Reis de Engleterre*, Rolls Series (London, 1865), 322-354.

⁵¹ See *Monasticon*, vi.ii, li, 'Quod si aliquis contra hoc facere praesumpserit ordinis vel potestatis suae, si officialis fuerit, periculo subiaceat; et flagello gravioris culpa reatum luat, et quod scriptum est ad

well known, the Cistercians did not adhere strictly to their Rule⁵²: by the end of the twelfth century, the Cistercians were quite active in writing texts; a quick assessment of their surviving books and medieval library catalogues reveals a full complement of theological, devotional, liturgical, and historical books. This should add an important caveat to our perception of the Gilbertines, namely, the distinction between copying and possessing books, and composing books. The Gilbertines, too, have left evidence that the limitations of their Rule regarding books may have been more restrictive in theory than in practice. In 1300, Philip de Burton, then master of the order, pronounced that members close to death were forbidden, under pain of excommunication, to distribute their possessions, including specifically books, to servants, rather than to the house as a whole.⁵³ At the same time, Philip de Burton also instituted a system whereby all books in a house were to be catalogued, and made available for reading: the system was clearly designed to prevent individuals from hoarding books. The implications of both of these pronouncements are clear: many more books were circulating within the order than we now have records or evidence for.⁵⁴

Interestingly, Philip de Burton was prior of St Edmunds, Cambridge, when Mannyng may have been there, and is named in the prologue to Mannyng's *Handlyng Synne*, along with two other Masters of the order, John of Camelton or Hamilton, and

voluntatem prioris domus, in communes usus domus cedat; et ipse qui scripsit vel scribere fecit, illo scripto in aeternum careat'.

⁵² See A. Lawrence, 'English Cistercian Manuscripts of the Twelfth Century', in eds. C. Norton and D. Park, *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles* (Cambridge, 1986), 284-98.

⁵³ See Golding, 180-1.

⁵⁴ Gilbertine canons were required by the Rule to be literate. Golding comments upon the hoarding of books, 'the clear implication is that some of the precentors as librarians had been appropriating volumes held by the convent to their own use' (181). Golding seems to avoid here the implications of the surplus of books necessary for such behaviour to require legislation. Note also the injunction

John of Clynton or Glynton, ‘Yn þe tyme of gode dan Ione / Of Camelton þat now ys gone. / Yn hys tyme was y þer ten gers / And knew & herde of hys maners. / Seþyn wyþ dan Ione of Clyntone...Dan felyp was mayster þat tyme / þat y be ganne þys englyssh ryme’.⁵⁵ John of Glynton, Master of the Gilbertines between 1332 and 1341, that is, precisely the period during which Mannyng says he completed his *Chronicle*, left an interesting legacy. Of the fifteen surviving Gilbertine manuscripts, four are known because of donation inscriptions: John of Glynton gave these four books – all theological and canon law texts, including works by John of Fribourg, Bernard, and Augustine – to the Sempringham house.⁵⁶ Glynton had taken his degree from Cambridge by 1313, and was thus both Master of the Gilbertine order, and a magister.⁵⁷ The Master of the Gilbertines during Mannyng’s final years of composing his history, then, clearly lived in a culture of learning and books, as well as within the more spartan rules of the Gilbertine order; given both his Cambridge degree, and his surviving private library, Glynton likely tolerated, if not fostered, the advancement of learning in the order. Cambridge and Sempringham were not exclusive of each other, and the series of Masters of the Gilbertine order at the beginning of the fourteenth

regarding simplicity could be extended to textual decoration – against which the two illuminated Gilbertine manuscripts, both at the Chicksands house, could be adduced. See Golding, 177; Ker, 51.

⁵⁵ *Handlyng Synne*, 67-71, 73-4. Although ‘Camelton’ does not present any obvious possibilities for (local) place names, it might perhaps be a derivative of the Roman ‘Camelodunum’ for Colchester. Note too the Sempringham continuation in MS Vatican City, Bibl. Apost. Vatic., Barberini lat. 3528, ‘en quel council l’ordre des Templers fu defeat, e furent la pur l’ordre de Sempingham *Iohan de Camelton*, dunqz priour de Sempingham, e *Gilbert de Thetelthorp*, haut cerche de meisme l’ordre, en quel tens *Philip de Bartoun* fu maistre de l’ordre. Meisme l’an fu l’assaut done a la maisoun de Sempingham par Roger de Birthorp, qe mena od luy sires Geffrai Lutrel, Edmoun de Colvile, Gui Gobaud, chivalers, e plusours autres’, Foltys, 228; italics mine.

⁵⁶ See Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, 177, 304. The four manuscripts are London, BL Royal 3.A.xv, Royal 3.B.iii, Royal 5.C.v, and Royal 8.G.v. Carley, ‘John Leland and the contents of the English pre-dissolution libraries’, notes of these volumes with reference to Leland’s *Itinerary*, ‘since all four are precisely the kind of theological texts which were being sought out by the king’s commissioners....it seems logical to assume that they are the very books which the prior delivered up in 1531. Perhaps, therefore, there was nothing left in the library to interest Leland’ (335).

century who had spent time at, and received degrees from Cambridge implies, potentially, a favourable climate for both copying works other than service books, and composing new works.⁵⁸

Mannyng is, as has been seen, unusually explicit about the sources he employed and consulted in the process of composing the *Chronicle*. Moreover, he is unusually explicit, in his remarkable prologue, about his opinions of those source texts:

One mayster Wace þe ffrankes telles
þe Brute, alle þat þe Latyn spellles
ffro Eneas tille Cadwaladre.
þis mayster Wace þer leues he,
and ryght as mayster Wace says,
I telle myn Inglis þe same ways,
ffor mayster Wace þe Latyn alle rymes
þat Pers ouerhippis many tymes.
Mayster Wace þe Brute alle redes,
& Pers tellis alle þe Inglis dedes.⁵⁹

It is clear that Mannyng has done his research before beginning his translation:

Wace's *Roman de Brut* is indeed a much more thorough translation of Geoffrey's *Historia regum Britanniae* than is Langtoft's *Chronicle*.⁶⁰ Langtoft himself admits, at the end of the first book of his *Chronicle*, that he 'Les trofles ad lesé, à veritez se prist' – a choice not in itself surprising, and as typical of medieval translation practice as Wace's expansions of the same text. One scribe of Langtoft's *Chronicle*, the scribe of British Library, MS Royal 20.A.xi, a manuscript of the second quarter of the fourteenth century, uses Langtoft's own words against him to voice his complaint,

⁵⁷ See A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge, 1963).

⁵⁸ Golding notes of a later period, 'Very few names of individual canons who studied at St Edmund's are known: all were students in the fifteenth century and it may be significant that all but one of those identified were, or later became, priors of Gilbertine houses' (175).

⁵⁹ Mannyng, *Chronicle*, I.57-66.

‘Le livere mestre Wace counte plus parfit / E dit tut la lettre qe Peres trop
salit...Mestre Wace dit tut la lettre q’il trova / Trufles e verité tretut complia’.⁶¹ The
judgments that Mannyng makes concerning his source texts are important, however
much the scribe of Royal 20.A.xi may have inflected his opinions. It not only
emphasises Mannyng’s wide and scrupulous reading, but is a compelling
demonstration of his laying out multiple texts before him, side by side – here
Langtoft’s and Wace’s British histories.

Mannyng’s use of Wace, however, is never simply straightforward translation.
Having access to multiple versions of history – the works of Geoffrey of Monmouth,
Wace, Bede, Langtoft, and Lagamon amongst others – necessarily forces decisions,
concerning particular details, and about broader narratives, thematic or historical.
Geoffrey’s, Wace’s, and Lagamon’s accounts of British history, although they differ
substantively, do not, in fact, present the types of contradictions that exist for English
history, or for the transition from ‘British’ to ‘English’ history. Composing or
compiling his history, Mannyng demonstrably refined Wace’s version of history,
including details, judgments, and even episodes present only in other sources. It is
this entangled process of translation and compilation from multiple sources that marks
Mannyng’s *Chronicle* as a derivative text. By the time of Mannyng’s writing, the
primary method of composing historiographical texts can be categorised as
‘derivative’; Mannyng, Robert of Gloucester, the Anglo-Norman *Bruts* – all are
tissues of quotation, translation, and adaptation, creating a coherent and consistent

⁶⁰ This holds true regardless of whether the prologue was written after the body of the *Chronicle*.

⁶¹ Langtoft, *Chronicle*, I.264: ‘The story in the book of Master Wace is more perfect, and relates all the details that Piers skips. Master Wace relates all the details which are found written, the trifles and the truth are all complete’ (translation mine). See also ‘Scribal Judgments’, below.

whole from fragments. There are always seams, however, always junctures between texts, which are sometimes marked as such, and sometimes obscured.

Turning first to a particular episode, Mannyng, at one point in his *Chronicle*, employs not one, but two texts to supplement the material as he finds it in Wace's *Roman de Brut*. One King Bladud, son of Rudhudibras, first appears in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum*. Bladud, in Geoffrey's text, is credited with founding the city of Bath and constructing the baths there, with dedicating a temple and a perpetually burning fire to Minerva, and with successfully flying, only to die in a precipitous fall on top of the temple of Apollo in London:

Successit ei deinde Bladud filius tractauitque regnum .xx. annis. Hic edificauit urbem Kaerbadum. quae nunc bado nuncupatur. fecitque in illa calida balnea. ad usus mortalium apta. Quibus preficit numen Minerue in cuius ede inextinguibiles posuit ignes qui nunquam deficiebant in fauillas...Hic admodum ingeniosus homo fuit. docuitque nigromantiam per regnum Britanniae. Nec prestigia facere quieuit donec paratis sibi alis ire per summitatem aeris temptauit. ceciditque super templum Appolinis infra urbem Trinouantum in multa frustra contritus.⁶²

Both Wace, and later Lagamon, expanded the story slightly, filling in details about Bladud's brief but dramatic career. Wace, it should be noted, leaves Geoffrey's account essentially untouched, and the story in its sparest form.⁶³ Lagamon adds to the baths' etiology an account of how they were constructed, and also dramatises and expands the flight leading to Bladud's death. Lagamon, in describing Bladud's

⁶² *Historia regum* ii.x.261-2; 'Hudibras' son Bladud finally succeeded him and ruled the kingdom for twenty years. It was he who built the town of Kaerbadum, which is now called Bath, and who constructed the hot baths there which are so suited to the needs of mortal men. He chose the goddess Minerva as the tutelary deity of the baths. In her temple he lit fires which never went out and which never fell away into ash...Bladud was a most ingenious man who encouraged necromancy throughout the kingdom of Britain. He pressed on with his experiments and finally constructed a pair of wings for himself and tried to fly through the upper air. He came down on top of the Temple of Apollo in the town of Trinouantum and was dashed into countless fragments' (Thorpe, 80-1).

flights, states, 'He makede his feðerhome; 7 þaruore he hæfde muchel scome. / To Lunden he ferde; mid muchelen his folke. / his feðer-home he dude him on; 7 he his fluht þer bigon'.⁶⁴ Mannyng's version of Bladud's flight takes up Lagamon's archaic diction, 'At þe last he wild flie: / fedirhames he mad slie. / At London he toke his flight, / & fley fer as he myght. / Apon þe temple of Apolyn, / þeron he felle & mad his fyn'.⁶⁵ Mannyng's use of Lagamon here, while subtle, is distinctive: Mannyng's version of Bladud and Bath contains a number of other locutions and details present in Lagamon's *Brut*, but absent from Wace's *Roman de Brut*.

Mannyng also includes a detail of the baths' construction, attributing their heat to 'tunnes of bras' heated through magic:

Bladud did many maistri:
he gaf him tille Nigromanci;
þe hate bathe he did mak
for mykille gode to mans sak
He did ley þer it springes
tunnes of bras, quante þinges
þat makes þe water euer hote;
what is þerin no man wote.⁶⁶

The only other account of the baths to credit their mysterious workings to brass barrels is the *Short Chronicle*:

He made a wonder þyng iwis
þe Hote Baþ icluped hit is
Herkenef alle þat beþ hende
& ich wolle telle orde & ende
þat rigtful soþe iwis
How þe baþ imaked is

⁶³ See *Roman de Brut*, 1627-55. See Wace, *Wace's Roman de Brut. A History of the British: Text and Translation*, ed. and trans. J. Weiss (Exeter, 1999).

⁶⁴ *Brut*, 1436-8.

⁶⁵ Mannyng, *Chronicle*, I.2251-6. See Chapter 3, below, concerning Robert of Gloucester's translation of this passage.

⁶⁶ Mannyng, *Chronicle*, I.2235-42.

To tonnys þer beþ of bras
& to oþer ymad of glas.⁶⁷

Although the detail concerning the origins of Bath may not necessarily be taken from the *Short Chronicle* – there is a slight possibility that a conjectural emendation to the text of Lagamon’s *Brut* at this point might provide the reading ‘tunne’ – there is evidence elsewhere in Mannyng’s *Chronicle* that he knew the *Short Chronicle*.⁶⁸ Several manuscripts of the *Short Chronicle* introduce Inge, eponymous founder of England. Inge is, variously, depending upon scribal idiosyncrasies, a Saxon, Saracen, or Spanish princess, who combines in herself various episodes that, in their original form in Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia regum*, and in Wace, are firmly attached to Hengist, the perfidious Saxon, and his daughter Renwein. In the process of adapting the *Historia*, the *Short Chronicle* erases from history the British king Vortigern and his son Vortimer, and Hengist and Renwein; Hengist’s famous treacherous cry at Amesbury to ‘nimeð eoure saxes’, thus instigating the massacre of the British, becomes conflated with a massacre prompted by Renwein’s introduction into England of the ‘drinkhail’ and ‘wassail’ exchange.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ *Short Chronicle*, 155-62. As always, there is significant variation amongst the manuscripts of the *Short Chronicle*. The long list of alchemical ingredients that follows the passage quoted is the locus for most of the differences; all manuscripts share the line concerning the ‘tonnys’ of brass, although one manuscript, Royal 12.C.xii, specifies there are four, rather than two, and omits the second set, those of glass, entirely.

⁶⁸ See *Brut*, ‘þes ilke king Bladud; Baðen iwrohte. / þurh swiðe muchele ginne; mid ane stæn-cunne. / al swa great swa a beam; þe he leide in ane walle-stream’ (1421-3). As the volume of commentary for the Brook and Leslie edition has not appeared, there remains no textual commentary other than that at the end of Madden’s edition. Madden proposes to emend ‘stæn-cunne’ to ‘stæn-tunne’, and quotes the fragment of the *Short Chronicle* found in BL, MS Cotton Caligula A.xi. See F. Madden, ed., *Lagamon’s Brut or Chronicle of Britain*, 3 vols. (London, 1847), iii.317-18.

⁶⁹ See Furnivall’s edition of Mannyng’s *Chronicle*, *The Storye of England in verse by R. Manning*, ed. F.J. Furnivall, Rolls Series, 2 vols. (London, 1887), where he notes that Inge is ‘Rowena and Hengist combined’ (ii.515). In the glossary to his edition of the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester, Thomas Hearne notes under his entry for ‘wasseyll’, ‘Upon this occasion I cannot but insert a remarkable Fragment...that was given me...being one of the Vellam Fragments that I have mentioned...at the End of Heming’s Chartulary’. T. Hearne, *Robert of Gloucester’s Chronicle* (Oxford, 1724), ii.731. Hearne

Yet Mannyng emphatically denies Inge her (recently created) place in history and historiography. Mannyng, however, protests his point rather too vigorously:

In a schip with geentille men
come Hengist doghter, sche hight Ronewen,
a fair woman & a loueli,
aunaunt gret & fair was hi.
þis lewid men seie & singe,
and tellit it was a maydin ginge;
writin of Ingge no clerk may ken
bot Hengest douhter Bonewenne.⁷⁰

A little later in his narrative, whilst praising Engle, still another eponymous hero after whom England was supposedly named, Mannyng again insists, ‘Bot of Inge sauh I neuer nouht / in boke writen ne wrouht / bot lewed men þer of crie / & maynten þat ilk lie’.⁷¹ Scholars have traditionally taken Mannyng at his word, here, and ascribed the reference to that elusive catch-all, oral tradition. Yet Mannyng’s vehement protestations that Renwein introduced ‘drinkhail’ and ‘wassail’, and not Inge, are clearly in dialogue with the version offered by the *Short Chronicle*. His dismissive rhetoric in fact obscures historiographical disagreement; rather than being a construct of the ‘lewed’, Inge survives (and perhaps only ever existed) in a written context.

then prints 68 lines of the Inge story, wherein ‘wassail’ and the massacre are combined. The lines printed by Hearne come from a manuscript of the *Short Chronicle*, now Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson Poet. 145. See Zetl, *Short Chronicle*, xxiii-xxviii. Hearne prints four more lines in T. Hearne, ed., *Hemingi Chartularium Ecclesiae Wigorniensis* (Oxford, 1723), where he first notes, ‘I have some such Fragments, in Vellam, in my own possession...written about the time of K. Richard I’ (654). Describing a different set of fragments from which he quotes extensively, and attributes to Stow, Hearne remarks with remarkable insight, ‘I rather incline to believe, that they were annex’d to some Short Chronicle, to which there was prefix’d some Calendar’ (653). Hearne prints only four Middle English lines from these ‘vellam fragments’ in *Hemingi Chartularium*, regarding King Sebert and the founding of Westminster, which immediately precede the Inge material in the *Short Chronicle*.

⁷⁰ Mannyng, *Chronicle*, I.7423-30. See also the comments in Madden, *Lagamon’s Brut*, iii.417-18.

⁷¹ Mannyng, *Chronicle*, I.14215-18. The introduction of the element of time to the writing process is remarkable, and worth considering alongside the practical issues of composing derivative texts: explaining how authors such as Mannyng had access to the numerous texts required for their work remains challenging. On this question, see further, Chapter 4, below.

Interestingly, Mannyng's second rejection of Inge comes at the end of the first part of his *Chronicle*, at the painful transition from British to Saxon history – painful not only historically, but historiographically. In the midst of this transition from Geoffrey of Monmouth to Bede (or his historiographical followers, including Henry of Huntingdon and Langtoft), Mannyng narrates, briefly, the story of King Engle. Mannyng claims, 'Long after þis, writen I fond, / how a Breton chalanged þis lond. / Engle, þe story sais he hight, / he brouht a champion to fight...On alle þe lond he set chalange, / his ancessours wild he venge / & tak vengeance of þe Englis / þat chaced þe Bretons out of þis'.⁷² Engle, curiously given his name, was a Briton, whom the English feared so greatly that they appointed him king, and his champion, named Skardying, then becomes the eponymous founder of Scarborough. Mannyng attributes this story to 'Thomas of Kendale', a name otherwise unknown, and supplies additional details concerning Engle's legacy from one 'Maistre Edmunde', also unknown.⁷³ These two unknown authorities come in the midst of what can only be expressions of Mannyng's anxiety about how multiple, sometimes conflicting, sources can be brought together into a new whole. In the one hundred lines surrounding Thomas of Kendale and 'Maistre' Edmund, Bede is referred to twice, Wace twice, Gildas three times, and Piers Langtoft twice. Moreover, within these hundred lines falls the reworking of Lagamon's prologue to the *Brut*, and an insistent assertion of Bede's authority, 'Bot þat Saynt Bede of þam sais, / els suld non haf knowen what wais, / no story forto haf writen; / bot þat Saynt Bede dos vs witen'.⁷⁴

⁷² Mannyng, *Chronicle*, l.14174-6, l.14179-83.

⁷³ See n. 39, above.

⁷⁴ Mannyng, *Chronicle*, 14164-6. Note, too, Mannyng's depiction of the chaos following the reign of the African Gormond, 'no kirke halowed, no messe songen / no childe cristned, no belle rongen'

Coming, as it does, at the end of 14,000 lines of British history entirely absent from Bede's *Historia*, Mannyng's profession of historiographical orthodoxy is rather more performative than substantive. This crisis of authority is a fascinating relic from the process of creating the derivative text that is the *Chronicle*, at a moment when the disparate sources, the Bedan and the Galfridian, cannot be made to mesh seamlessly.⁷⁵

Mannyng's protests that Inge has no textual authenticity, but is merely a myth, sung by 'lewed' men, vividly recall his insistence upon Havelok's similarly a-textual existence. Yet once again Mannyng's denials belie textual knowledge, though more complicatedly. Gaimar's *L'Estoire des Engleis*, written in the late 1130s, is the earliest example of insular history-writing in Anglo-Norman. Additionally, as Gaimar's text translates and expands the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, it is a remarkable example of translation from Old English into Anglo-Norman. Gaimar's *Estoire* is, in all four of the manuscripts in which it survives, preceded by Wace's *Roman de Brut*. Two of the four manuscripts can be placed in Lincoln and Lincolnshire, and Gaimar, in the complicated and convoluted epilogue to his history, locates himself in Lincolnshire.⁷⁶

Gaimar begins his work in the murky mid-history of Britain, somewhere between the succession of Arthur by Constantine, and the early sixth century annalistic entries in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.⁷⁷ Yet he begins his *Estoire* with the story of Havelok, and narrates it at length. Mannyng's redaction of the Havelok story

(Mannyng, *Chronicle*, 14235-6) and the closeness of the passage to Lagamon's lines taken to refer to the Interdict under King John, 'no belle i-rungen; no masse isunge. / na chirche þer nes ihaleged. no child þer nes ifuleged', *Brut*, 14693-4.

⁷⁵ See Chapter 1, above.

⁷⁶ The two probable Lincolnshire manuscripts are Lincoln Cathedral, MS 104 and London, BL Royal 13.A.xxxi.

is one of many circulating by the fourteenth century, including the Anglo-Norman *Lai d'Havelok*, a brief account in the Anglo-Norman prose-*Brut*, in *Le Petit Bruit*, composed in 1310 by Rauf de Boun, and, of course, the Middle English romance, surviving only in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 108.⁷⁸ At first blush, the outline of the story as it appears in Mannyng's *Chronicle*, and the names and narrative details suggest either the *Lai d'Havelok* or Gaimar as his source.⁷⁹ Amongst other details, Mannyng calls Havelok, when he is a servant at the beginning of the tale, a 'quistron' – taken from the Old French, 'cuistron', scullion or bastard. The only other fourteenth century occurrences of the word in English, according to the *MED*, are in the romances *King Alexander* and *Ywain*. 'Cuistron', however, is how Gaimar describes Havelok, and the verbal and syntactical similarities at places between the two texts suggest Gaimar's account, rather than the *Lai*, as Mannyng's source – as indeed Frederick Madden argues in his landmark edition of the Middle English romance, and Alexander Bell in his work on Gaimar's *Estoire*.⁸⁰

However, this so far relies on an intentionally over-simplified account of the situation of the connections between Mannyng's *Chronicle* and Gaimar's *Estoire*.

The Havelok episode in Mannyng's *Chronicle* occurs in only one of the two

⁷⁷ I follow Miller here in rejecting the idea of a 'lost' *Histoire des Bretuns*, somehow supplanted by Wace's *Roman de Brut*. See A. Bell, 'The "Prologue" to Gaimar', *Modern Language Review* 15 (1920), 170-5, and Miller, Chapter 4.

⁷⁸ The literature on Havelok is vast. See the most recent edition, G.V. Smithers, ed., *Havelok* (Oxford, 1987). See also A. Bell, ed., *Le Lai d'Havelok and Gaimar's Havelok Episode* (Manchester, 1925); E.K. Putnam, 'The Lambeth Version of *Havelok*', *Publications of the Modern Languages Association* 15 (1900), 1-16; D.B. Tyson, ed., *Le Petit Bruit*, Anglo-Norman Text Society Plain Text Series 4 (London, 1987); and S. Kleinman, 'The Legend of Havelok the Dane and the Historiography of East Anglia', *Studies in Philology* 100 (2003), 245-77, esp. 248-50.

⁷⁹ Putnam argues at length that the Lambeth-Havelok derives from a version of the story antecedent to both the *Lai d'Havelok* and Gaimar's *Estoire*, and indeed, was the common source for all three. His arguments are not ultimately convincing.

⁸⁰ See F. Madden, *The Ancient English Romance of Havelok the Dane* (Roxburghe Club, 1828). See also Bell, *Estoire*, 47-51; Bell argues, *pace* Putnam, for the derivation of the *Lai* from Gaimar's

manuscripts of the poem, Lambeth Palace Library 131. Conversely, the other manuscript of the *Chronicle*, Inner Temple Library, MS Petyt 511, contains the *occupatio* section, the recitation of authorities in whose texts Havelok is not mentioned – a list not present in Lambeth Palace Library 131.⁸¹ It is a vexed and vexing question what precisely the relationship between the two codices, and between Mannyng's and Gaimar's chronicles, might be.⁸²

Crucially, and a point apparently overlooked by previous scholars, the names of the characters in the Havelok story differ between the Petyt 511 *occupatio* and the Lambeth 131 account. The version in Petyt 511 states that none of the historiographical authorities, 'writes not in þer bokes of no Kyng Athelwold, / ne Goldeburgh, his douhtere, ne Hauelok not of told. / Whilk tyme þe were kynges, long or now late / þei mak no menyng whan, no in what date'.⁸³ The text of Lambeth Palace Library 131, however, tells of King Edelbright, and his daughter Argille or Argentille. In his edition of the Middle English *Havelok*, Smithers traces the development of the names of the characters in the various incarnations of the Havelok story – although he, perhaps crucially, does not include the names listed in the Petyt version.⁸⁴ The name 'Aþelwold', and minor variants, appears only in the Middle English *Havelok*, in *Le Petit Bruit* of Rauf de Boun, and in the Petyt *Chronicle*; on the other hand, Gaimar, the *Lai d'Haveloc*, the Anglo-Norman prose *Brut*, and the Lambeth *Chronicle* all have variants on the name 'Adelbright'. The divide for 'Goldeburgh' and 'Argentille' follows precisely the same lines, with the two different

Estoire. See also M. Kupferschmidt 'Die Haveloksage bei Gaimar und ihr Verhältniss zum Lai d'Havelok', *Romanische Studien*, 4 (1880), 411-30.

⁸¹ See page 62, above, quoting Mannyng, *Chronicle*, II.519-24.

⁸² See pages 64-5, above, and Stepsis, 'The Manuscripts'.

naming conventions being represented in the two manuscripts of the *Chronicle*.

Although, as Smithers notes, ‘The two different sets of names are not enough to constitute two different traditions’, and at later dates, the naming conventions certainly become intermixed, as, for example, in the Anglo-Norman *Brut* found in the mid-fourteenth century Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D.329, which uses ‘Goldeburgh’ alongside ‘Athelbright’, although the dominant tradition in the Anglo-Norman *Brut* is ‘Argentille’.⁸⁵ Yet despite Smithers’s cautious conservatism here, the use of both of the conventions in the Petyt and Lambeth versions of the *Chronicle* warrants viewing the names as not entirely interchangeable, or circulating wholly independently of a written source.

In the Petyt 511 *Chronicle*, Mannyng again wields his double-edged trope concerning the songs of the unlearned:

Bot þat þise lowed men vpon English tellis
right story can me not ken þe certeynte what spellis ...
& of Gryme, a fisshere, men redes ȝit in ryme
þat he bigged Grymesby, Gryme þat ilk tyme.
Of alle stories of honoure þat I haf þorgh souht
I fynd þat no compiloure of him tellis ouht.
Sen I fynd non redy þat tellis of Havelok kynde,
turne we to þat story þat we written finde.⁸⁶

The term ‘compilour’ here is intriguing: Henry of Huntingdon, whose *Historia Anglorum* is essentially a translation and compilation of Bede’s work, is, in the only

⁸³ Mannyng, *Chronicle*, II.523-6.

⁸⁴ See *Havelok*, xxxi.

⁸⁵ See Smithers, xxv, and MS Rawlinson D.329, f. 56^r. See Chapter 1, above, for more on the manuscript. Note also the comment in Thomas Gray’s *Scalacronica*, written soon after Mannyng’s *Chronicle*, who, in his muddled version of the Havelok story, wherein Cuaran and Havelok become separate people, he notes ‘he got a doughter caullid Argentile in Brutisch and Goldesburg in Saxon’, in ed. J. Stevenson, *Scalacronica: by Sir Thomas Gray of Heton*, Maitland Club (Edinburgh, 1836), 261.

⁸⁶ Mannyng, *Chronicle*, II.527-8, 533-8.

two other instances of the term, called a ‘compilour’ by Mannyng in the *Chronicle*.⁸⁷

The distinction Mannyng establishes here, between the Havelok ‘ryme’ read by ‘lewed’ men, and the silence of the ‘stories of honour’, that is, the histories of distinction and authority by writers such as Henry of Huntingdon, suggests that Mannyng did indeed have a copy of the Havelok story before him, quite possibly the Middle English version, yet chose not to include the tale, given his historiographical concerns about it. This decision parallels that made concerning Inge, where the overwhelming testimony of supposedly reputable historiography attached to Renwein outweighs the isolated account in the *Short Chronicle* of Inge.

Yet the text of the Lambeth Palace Library 131 *Chronicle*, and its connections to Gaimar’s *Estoire*, require explication. It is worth noting that syntactically and lexically, the Havelok section is indistinguishable from the rest of the *Chronicle*; dialectal differences between the two manuscripts preclude any useful comparison in that regard. Metrically, however, the mid-line rhyme that characterises Mannyng’s verse in the long-line couplets of the second part of the *Chronicle*, is lacking. Yet the mid-line rhyme does not become consistently present in the text until somewhere around line 2000 and the Norman Conquest – well after the Havelok episode.⁸⁸ It is distinctly possible that the so-called Lambeth interpolation is, contrary to the contentions of other scholars, Mannyng’s work. There is, I believe, ultimately

⁸⁷ Mannyng, *Chronicle* II.95, II.2694. In the latter instance, Mannyng is translating closely from Langtoft, ‘Henry de Huntedoun puyt l’an e un jour / Des gestes des Englays est dist compilour’ (I.286).

⁸⁸ Note Sullens’s comment, ‘The internal and end rimes, however, are consistently observed’ (62), is inconsistent when compared against the text of her edition. Better, although still only partially accurate, is her observation, ‘The internal rime, though consistently maintained in P [the Petyt manuscript] after a rather tentative beginning, has no logical relationship to the mark that divides the line... The fact that the internal rime words begin after the first thousand lines of Part II strongly suggests some kind of scribal alteration: the rimes might have been present in the earlier lines and ignored by a scribe until he decided to copy accurately’ (62-3). Sullens’s argument here is, I think, singularly unconvincing.

insufficient evidence to prove one way or the other if the Havelok section is, in fact, a later interpolation, or original to Mannyng. Entirely speculatively, I would suggest that the Havelok section is indeed Mannyng's work, but later, and that the text in the Lambeth Palace Library 131 here preserves a revised text of the *Chronicle*. Thus Mannyng's initial encounter with the Havelok story, in the Middle English or a similar version (including those redactions in the Anglo-Norman *Brut*), was the original version of the *Chronicle*, and was followed by Mannyng's discovery of the Havelok story in Gaimar's *Estoire* – which, it should be recalled, only survives in manuscripts also containing Wace's *Roman de Brut*, a text with which Mannyng was extensively familiar. Mannyng then revised his *Chronicle*, excising his earlier summary, and instead translating and adapting the work of a newly acceptable 'compilour', Gaimar.⁸⁹

Throughout all of this, it remains to be answered *how* the textual sophistication of Mannyng's historiographical compilation registers with his audience. Simply to track textual relics is merely to refine the answers already arrived at by traditional source and analogue study. Yet that is emphatically not my project. Mannyng's textual literacy has never been challenged: even if Wace and Langtoft were all he knew, we still must consider him, comparatively speaking, demonstrably well read. Proving the influences and inflections of additional texts, both vernacular and Latin, expands that textual lexicon, but still does not alter our conventional expectations for reception. Consider a passing comment Mannyng makes in the middle of describing Richard I's crusade, 'Whan Philip tille Acres com,

⁸⁹ Recall Mannyng's comments, when narrating the Engle story, how 'long after þis, writen I fond' (l.14174), and the implications for the acquisition, assimilation, and translation of source texts in the process of composing derivative texts.

litelle was his dede; / þe Romance sais great skam, who so þat pas wille rede'.⁹⁰ Is this reference, which appears to be to *Richard Coeur de Lyon*, merely a passing aside, or a tool for the reader, informing them of the existence of a text? Indeed, how precisely people knew about texts – knew they existed – seems to be very much an unanswered question. Mannyng, far more so than any other Middle English author of the period, provides the reader with a wide-ranging and thorough list of other texts, in Latin, Anglo-Norman, and English. But the critical step – that these citations are meant to be actively used, and not merely passively noticed by the readers of the *Chronicle* – is, essentially, impossible to prove.

Moreover, moments such as the re-working of the image of Lagamon's three books, pose a still more complicated question. Derivative texts constitute the majority of the historiographical texts of this period. Fundamentally distinctive from the twelfth century historiographical predecessors, upon which they draw, texts such as Mannyng's translate, adapt, and compile numerous sources to form a new composite whole. Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*, Langtoft's *Chronicle*, and the Anglo-Norman *Brut* all similarly owe their origins to translation, compilation, and redaction. Nor should this list be restricted to vernacular texts: many Latin histories of this period, such as those of Walter of Guisborough and Thomas Wykes, are similarly derivative. But the question of the audience of these texts is essential. Derivative historiographical texts operate very much within a relatively well-defined canon of a dozen texts or so; familiarity with these texts provides a level of access to derivative texts that penetrates their smooth surfaces, and reveals their constituent

⁹⁰ Mannyng, *Chronicle*, II.3869-70. See Chapter 3, n. 91, for a curious parallel in the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester.

parts. It is possible to conceive of an audience – a learned audience, even an academic one - who can be expected to react to, and even recognise Mannyng's playful use of Lagamon's prologue. Indeed, the references to Inge and to Havelok, to *Richard Coeur de Lyon* and Thomas' *Tristan*, make little sense except in a context of knowledge – of collective, collaborative knowledge - rather than ignorance.

Mannyng's *Chronicle* is, ultimately, a sophisticated and learned work, explicitly registering the influence of a number of historiographical sources, and revealing the presence of still other sources in subtler, more suggestive ways. Yet the simple fact that Mannyng's text is in English, compounded by his rhetorical self-positioning in the prologue, has, I think, encouraged us to diminish his audience. Although the *Chronicle* is certainly accessible, indeed, enjoyable, for a broad spectrum of audiences, it is at its richest – and self-consciously so – when read by a sophisticated and textually knowledgeable community. Robert Mannyng's *Chronicle* is not simply a learned text for a vernacular audience, but rather a vernacular text for a learned audience.

'Les trofles' and 'les verites': Langtoft's Songs

The *Chronicle* of Pierre Langtoft is not a particularly well known text, even amongst the long and hazy list of histories of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Yet a disproportionately small section of the text has attracted most of the attention paid to the *Chronicle*. The nine songs, or soldiers' chants, or minstrel's verses, or simply verses, preserved in various forms in various of the manuscripts of the *Chronicle*, containing the only Middle English found in an otherwise entirely Anglo-

Norman work, are, of course, responsible for what little notice has been taken of the text. Given the role of Langtoft's *Chronicle* as a source for Mannyng's *Chronicle*, as examined above, a broader consideration of the text is in order.

The *Chronicle* survives, in various forms, in nineteen manuscripts, the majority of which date to the first quarter of the fourteenth century – not far removed from a history that narrates events to the end of Edward I's reign.⁹¹ The entire text has been edited once, by Thomas Wright in 1866; more recently, in 1989 J.C. Thiolier edited only the final part of the *Chronicle*, that part covering the reign of Edward I. All of the so-called songs are to be found in this section of the text, eight of which are set in between 1294 and 1298. Although some work has been done on textual relationships amongst the extant manuscripts, the situation quickly devolves into three revisions or redactions, a large number of postulated lost exemplars, and rampant cross-copying from multiple sources.⁹² All of which render the Holy Grail of stemmatic editing, *the* text, wholly unattainable, and further confuse the already murky state of Langtoft's *Chronicle*.⁹³

About Langtoft himself we know very little, in stark contrast to his translator, Mannyng. He was an Augustinian canon at Bridlington, in Yorkshire, and was procurator of the priory for some fifteen years in the 1270s and 1280s. There is

⁹¹ See Dean, 43-46. See also D. Legge, 'A List of Langtoft Manuscripts, with notes on MS. Laud Misc. 637', *Medium Ævum* 4 (1935), 20-24, and T.M. Smallwood, 'The Text of Langtoft's *Chronicle*', *Medium Ævum* 46 (1977), 219-230.

⁹² There is no dominant opinion on the surviving manuscripts and their textual interrelations. Thiolier's complicated narrative of a text composed in two or three different periods of Langtoft's life is rejected by T. Summerfield, *The Matter of Kings' Lives* (Amsterdam, 1998), 21. Smallwood's rough outline of the three textual redactions of the *Chronicle* is used here primarily for convenience, and is not an endorsement; I believe the emphatically local textual criteria used to establish such stemma are, particularly in the case of derivative historiography, overly reductive and misleading.

⁹³ See in particular the work of Thea Summerfield, 'The Political Songs in the *Chronicles* of Pierre Langtoft and Robert Mannyng', in eds. E. Mullaly and J. Thompson, *The Court and Cultural Diversity* (Woodbridge, 1997), 139-148, and T. Summerfield, *Kings' Lives*, esp. 21-36.

scattered evidence that he may have had some legal training in his life, and that he did a fair bit of traveling, including to Westminster, where he may have worked in the Chancery for some years.⁹⁴ Perhaps the best information we have about this canon of Bridlington, and his *Chronicle*, can be found in Mannyng's *Chronicle*, completed in 1338 – within a quarter century of Langtoft's death. In Mannyng's none too flattering words, 'Than com out of Brydlyngton, / Pers of Langtoft, a chanon / Als Mayster Wace þe same he says, / bot he rymed it oþer ways'.⁹⁵ Mannyng is slightly more forgiving of the third part of Langtoft's *Chronicle*, precisely that portion not as transparently reliant on other sources, and the section that Mannyng uses as his primary source for the latter part of his own history, 'After þe Inglis kynges, he says þer pris / þat alle in metir fulle wele lys. / And I, Robert, fulle fayn wald bringe / in Ynglis tonge þer faire saiynge'.⁹⁶

The 'fair saiynge' and 'metir' of Mannyng's observations warrant further consideration, all the more so as the 'songs' deviate from the *Chronicle*'s normal patterns, and potentially its more typical sources. The *Chronicle* itself is written in mono-rhymed alexandrine laisses, a verse form well developed in Anglo-Norman and Old French since the early twelfth century, and indeed used for Wace's *Roman de Rou*.⁹⁷ Langtoft suggests at the end of the first part of his *Chronicle*, based on Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*, that he is translating from a

⁹⁴ See Thiolier, 165, and T. Summerfield, 'Context and Genesis of Pierre de Langtoft's *Chronicle*', in eds. D. Maddox and S. Sturm-Maddox, *Literary Aspects of Courtly Culture* (Woodbridge, 1994), 321-32. Summerfield traces Langtoft's seeming association with Antony Bek, Bishop of Durham, and sees the 'central message' of the *Chronicle* as the 'reconciliation of the Crown and the Bishop of Durham' (331). See also R. Stepsis, 'Pierre de Langtoft's *Chronicle*: An Essay in Medieval Historiography', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, n.s. 3 (1972), 51-73.

⁹⁵ Mannyng, *Chronicle*, I.187-189.

⁹⁶ Mannyng, *Chronicle*, I.195-98.

Latin source, albeit in the loosest possible sense, 'Les trofles ad lessé, à veritez se prist. / Nul autre trovera homme ke le lyst, / Si noun li latymers en sun Latyn mentist'.⁹⁸ The second part of the *Chronicle*, narrating English and Norman history, is also a classic example of a derivative text, compiling, translating, and re-writing a number of source texts, including the works of Henry of Huntingdon, William of Malmesbury, and John of Worcester. The final part of the text is widely considered to be wholly original, setting aside, for the moment, the question of the nine songs.⁹⁹

'Original' is a rather fraught term, especially when looking at historiography. Unoriginality and textual indebtedness are cornerstones of the process of composing history, as textual generations build upon the work of their predecessors. Langtoft's redaction and reduction of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum* has been belittled by both medieval and modern commentators of the text for the 'trofles' he self-confessedly has omitted. The first such detractor, the scribe of British Library, Royal 20.A.xi, uses Langtoft's own words against him to voice his complaint, 'Le livere mestre Wace counte plus parfit / E dit tut la lettre qe Peres trop salit...Mestre Wace dit tut la lettre q'il trova, / Trufles e verité tretut complia'.¹⁰⁰ Following the opinion of this scribe, Robert Mannyng similarly dismisses Langtoft's British history as a source text, instead founding his work on Wace's *Roman de Brut*, and translating the scribal aside in the prologue to his own work, 'ffor mayster Wace þe Latyn alle rymes / þat

⁹⁷ See K. Togeby, 'Histoire de l'alexandrin français', in eds. P. Nykrog and H. Sørensen, *Etudes Romanes dédiées à Andreas Blinkenberg à l'occasion de son soixante-dixième anniversaire* (Copenhagen, 1963), 240-66, esp. 247-50.

⁹⁸ Langtoft, *Chronicle*, I.264. 'The trifles he has omitted, and held to the truth. He who reads this will find no other truths, unless the latimer has lied in his Latin text' (translation mine).

⁹⁹ Note, however, Summerfield's objection to the tripartite division of the text. She posits instead only a "historia Brittonum" and a "gesta Anglorum", a division clearly indicated by the author, 'Context and Genesis', 322.

Pers ouerhippis many tymes. / Mayster Wace þe Brute alle redes, / & Pers tellis alle
þe Inglis dedes'.¹⁰¹ In a now time honored tradition, Thea Summerfield dismisses the
first part of the *Chronicle* as 'little more than a versified extract' of the *Historia*
regum.¹⁰²

But to write off the first third of the *Chronicle* as inferior to Wace's *Roman de Brut*, or the *Historia regum* itself, is to replicate precisely the traditional views of historians who have dismissed such derivative texts as largely worthless, because factually or textually unoriginal. Langtoft's *Chronicle*, as a derivative text, compiling and reorientating, literally re-presenting a number of source texts as a new, integrated, whole, is in and of itself textually original, with a distinct ideological and textual agenda. Langtoft's sometimes virulently anti-Scottish sentiments are readily apparent throughout the latter part of his text, the apotheosis of which may well be found in many of the so-called songs. Yet his agenda is fully integrated into the whole of the *Chronicle*, including in the midst of his 'versified extracts'.

The preface to the third part of the *Chronicle* begins, rather grandiosely, 'Ky volt oyr des rais, coment chescun vesquit / En la ylle ke Brutus Brettayne appeler fist, / Et pus cel heure en sca ky gayna, ky perdist'.¹⁰³ These lines are followed by 17 lines, each beginning 'Coment', and providing a brief abstract of the preceding British and English rulers of the island:

Comment li rei Belyns Itaille tut venquist
Comment Romain pur rome tributa li rendist

¹⁰⁰The story in the book of Master Wace is more perfect, and relates all the details that Piers skips. Master Wace relates all the details which are found written, the trifles and the truth are all complete' (translation mine). See 'Scribal Judgments', below, for the manuscript contexts of these verses.

¹⁰¹ Mannyng, *Chronicle*, I.63-66.

¹⁰² Summerfield, *Kings' Lives*, 18.

¹⁰³ Langtoft, *Chronicle*, II.162; 'Who desires to hear of the kings, how each lived / In the isle which Brutus caused to be named Britain / And from that time to this who gained, who lost' (II.263).

Comment li romayn bretayne après surprist
 Comment li danaÿs sur bretoun trowe mist
 Comment adrain la terre leissa quist
 Comment li reis uthur le duk gorloys occist
 Comment Arthur sun fiz regiouns conquist
 Comment li bretoun de bretayne sen partist
 Comment li Saxonays vint remist
 Comment li reis gurmounde bretaine tut surquist
 En vij realmes les cuntrez assist
 Comment le velz Edward le regale en unist
 Comment li reis harald le regne a tort enprist
 Comment li conquerour Willeam sur li le prist.¹⁰⁴

In Cambridge University Library Gg.i.1, the preface begins with a dramatic seven line capital 'K', and the parallel sentence structure for each line is made visually prominent; other manuscripts, including Oxford, All Souls College MS 39, are similarly formal in the presentation of these lines, although they lack the rather tendentious introductory lines found in Gg.i.1, written in red ink, 'Ici commence le brut li bon rei Edward gaigna Esotz e Galis'.¹⁰⁵

But the brief historical recitation is hardly a neutral listing of rulers. At first blush, the list seems an entirely orthodox summary of the *Historia regum*, listing Brutus, Belin and Brennin, and Arthur, before turning to Edward the Elder, and then a list of the Norman kings of England. The list replicates the sequence of rulers found in the letter from Edward I to Pope Boniface VIII, sent in 1301, which offered 'proof'

¹⁰⁴ CUL, Gg.i.1, f. 328^v. Wright's text differs somewhat in minor ways. See Langtoft, *Chronicle*, ll.163, 'How king Belinus entirely conquered Italy; / How the Roman paid him tribute for Rome; / How the Roman afterwards took possession of Britain; / How the Dane laid a tribute upon the Britons, / And how at lest he left the land quit; / How king Uther slew duke Gorlois; / How Arthur, his son, conquered kingdoms; / How the Briton departed from Britain; / How the Saxon came there, and remained; / How king Gormond soon seized Britain; / And arranged the countries in seven realms; / How the old Edward united the regality; / How king Harold took the kingdom by wrong; / How the conqueror William took it from him'.

¹⁰⁵ CUL, Gg.i.1 328^v. 'Here begins the Brut of the good king Edward who plundered the Scots and the Welsh' (translation mine). These are two of the three manuscripts containing the 'introduction', and thus delimitation, of the third part of the *Chronicle*, the other being Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College MS 43. The integration of the larger ideological agenda of the text, discussed below, suggests that Summerfield's rejection of this division as 'un-authorial' is mistaken.

on the Scottish question and English overlordship. Although the letter initially began its claims with Edward the Elder, it was revised to appropriate legendary British history, including Brutus, Belin and Brennin, and Arthur, to make its case.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, a versified Anglo-Norman redaction of the letter, thought to be by Langtoft, survives in two manuscripts, London, British Library Royal 20.A.xi and Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College MS 43.¹⁰⁷ But the inclusion in these codices of the translated letter after the end of the *Chronicle* proper is quite distinct from the incorporation of the ideological and political agenda in the text itself. Langtoft's description of Edward the Elder in the preface to the third part of the *Chronicle*, and his emphasis on the unification of power at the expense of Scottish sovereignty, 'Coment li veuz Edward le regal en unist', makes the function of the text that has come before rather more significant than the historical place-holder it has hitherto been seen as.¹⁰⁸

The anti-Scottish tone, and agenda, of the *Chronicle*, is far less sophisticatedly expressed in the 'political songs', as Thomas Wright entitled them by including them in his publication of the same name.¹⁰⁹ The nine songs vary in length and in language quite significantly. Two of the songs are entirely in Anglo-Norman, four are in Anglo-Norman with concluding Middle English stanzas, and three are in Middle English. The songs are written in tail rhyme, and consist of three short lines of two stresses each, which alliterate, albeit somewhat irregularly. The lines follow a rhyme pattern of a-a-b, c-c-b. As Thea Summerfield has observed, the songs are structurally

¹⁰⁶ See also Chapter 1, above.

¹⁰⁷ For the potential connection between these manuscripts and Mannyng, see 'Scribal Judgments', below.

¹⁰⁸ Langtoft, *Chronicle*, II.162; 'How the old Edward united the regality' (II.163).

¹⁰⁹ See Thomas Wright's *Political Songs of England From the Reign of John to that of Edward II*, ed. P. Coss (Cambridge, 1996).

integrated into the text of the *Chronicle* itself, despite the vastly different meter.¹¹⁰

This integration takes place at the grammatical level, and more commonly, through rhyme, wherein the rhyme of the immediately preceding *laisse* is picked up in the song.

It is the sophistication of the placement and structural continuity of the songs that has led to continued debates over their origins. The difference in tone between the songs – from complicated Biblical allusions and metaphor in Anglo-Norman to suggestive and crude jests in Middle English – has led to speculation on their origins ranging from identifying them as the preservation and translation of oral compositions, to Langtoft's own work.¹¹¹ Perhaps because of the linguistic homogeneity, assigning the two entirely Anglo-Norman songs to Langtoft seems initially less problematic. The first song (no. 1), which is grammatically integrated with the text of the *Chronicle*, also exhibits an awareness of its place in the larger narrative, 'De Escoce sait cum pot; / Parfurnyr nus estot / La geste avaunt parlé'.¹¹² The second entirely Anglo-Norman song (no. 8), although not connected through syntax or rhyme to the text of the *Chronicle*, nonetheless deploys references to the prophecies of Merlin on the unification of the island, here under Edward I. Although this is not in and of itself necessarily a literary reference, or an intertextual reference to the translation of the prophecies included in some manuscripts of the *Chronicle*, the lines adopt nearly verbatim a Gildasian historical understanding, 'Ne sayt blemye

¹¹⁰ Summerfield, 'Political Songs', 'However, integration [of the songs and the text of the *Chronicle*] is more often achieved by poetic means... With a single exception, all the Anglo-Norman songs or parts of songs have been integrated into the text in this manner' (144).

¹¹¹ See Summerfield, 'Political Songs', 140-141; R.M. Wilson, 'More Lost Literature in Old and Middle English', *Leeds Studies in English* 5 (1936), 1-49, esp. 43; Thiolier, 17; and T. Turville-Petre, 'Politics and Poetry', 8.

¹¹² Langtoft, *Chronicle*, II.222; 'Of Scotland be it as it may / We must continue / the history before told' II.223).

/ La prophecye / Par pecchez'.¹¹³ At the end of Part I of the *Chronicle*, Langtoft attributes an explanation of the loss of British sovereignty to Gildas, 'Sicom Gildas dist, tut est par pecchez, / Ke Deu ne les suffre pas guyer les dignetez'.¹¹⁴ The obvious parallels between Langtoft's deployment of Gildas in Book I, and the trope in relation to the unification of the island under Edward I in the Anglo-Norman song in Part III, suggest this song, too, can be seen as closely connected with the whole of the *Chronicle*.

The remaining seven songs, perhaps precisely because of the jarring linguistic difference, are more problematically integrated with the *Chronicle*. The second song, one of two expressing anti-English, rather than anti-Scottish, sentiments, is introduced by Langtoft quite distinctly as a separate entity, 'En reprovaunt le Escot, ke ad de ly chaunté, / Et par mokerye en Englays rymeyé'.¹¹⁵ Close analogues to the four short Middle English stanzas can be found in Rishanger's closely contemporary *Annales Angliae et Scottiae*, and in the Middle English prose-*Brut*.¹¹⁶ Given, however, that the prose-*Brut* for the reign of Edward I is itself based on Langtoft's *Chronicle*, this does not necessarily constitute independent evidence for the separate existence and circulation of these verses.¹¹⁷ Robert Mannyng's *Chronicle*, translating Langtoft, adds

¹¹³ Langtoft, *Chronicle*, II.268; 'Let not be blemished / The prophecy / By sin' (II.269).

¹¹⁴ Langtoft, *Chronicle*, I.248; 'As Gildas says, all is through sin / That God does not suffer them to rule the dignities' (I.249). See also Chapter 1, above, on Gildas's construction and conception of providential insular history.

¹¹⁵ Langtoft, *Chronicle*, II.234; 'In reproof of the Scot, who had sung of him / And in mockery made rhymes upon him in English' (II.235).

¹¹⁶ See Rishanger's *Chronica et Annales*, ed. H.T. Riley, Rolls Series (London, 1865), 373, 'Confestim unus e Scotis alta voce coepit convitia et verba probrosa Regi Angliae inferre, patria lingua; "Kyng Edward, wanne þu havest Berwic, pike þe, wanne þu havest geten, dike þe"'. The verses occur on f. 165^{vb} of London, British Library, Cotton Claudius D. VI, and other than an almost imperceptible shift in the script, are not otherwise distinguished from the surrounding text.

¹¹⁷ See Matheson, 'The source of the material [of the Short Version of the Anglo-Norman *Brut*, and subsequently the Middle English *Brut*] from 1272 to 1307 is an unedited version of Langtoft's verse *Chronicle* that is exemplified in MSS. College of Arms Arundel 14, CUL Gg.i.1, and Bodleian Fairfax 24' (32). See also Brie, *Geschichte und Quellen*, 44-46.

an additional two stanzas to this song not present in any of the manuscripts of Langtoft's text.¹¹⁸ As tempting as it may be, with these small indications, to conclude that Langtoft has transcribed actual Scottish verses, or, at the very least, some oral tradition, the last lines of the song are exceedingly strange read in such a context, 'Ryth if I rede / Thai tumbled in Twede / That woned by the se'.¹¹⁹ Moreover, although the first two stanzas of the song are quite clearly anti-English, the final two stanzas – including the reference to reading – are emphatically pejorative and negative about the Scots. The mixed agenda of this song, and the somewhat improbable play on the idea of reading history, again suggest that the text of the song has not been transparently absorbed into the *Chronicle*, if absorbed at all.

The other songs all exhibit, to varying degrees, incongruous and sometimes suspiciously literary elements, even amongst the Middle English lines characterized as 'violent' and 'earthy'.¹²⁰ The second 'anti-English' song (no. 3), for example, although putatively a call to arms for the Scots, and derisive of the English, is curiously muted in its attack on the English:

On grene
That kynered kene
Gadered als gayt;
I wene
On summe it es sene

¹¹⁸ Mannyng, *Chronicle*, II.6599-6604, 'Pikit him & dikit him . on scorne said he / He pikes & dikes . in length as him likes . how best it may be / & þou has for þi pikyng . mykille ille likyng . þe soþe is to se. / Withoute any lesyng . alle is þi heþing . fallen oþon þe, / for scatred er þi Scottis . & hodred in þer hottes . neuer þei ne the. / Right als I rede . þei tumbled in Tuede . þat woned bi þe se'.

¹¹⁹ Langtoft, *Chronicle*, II.236. I do not believe 'rede' in the sense of 'counsel' here makes sense with the past tense of the following lines. Moreover, Mannyng's version of the line, 'Right als I rede' (II.6604) further confirms this reading. I am grateful to the audience at Kalamazoo, 2004, for their questions and comments on an earlier version of this section presented there.

¹²⁰ Summerfield, 'Political Songs', 141. See, for example, the concluding Middle English stanzas of song no. 6 (*Chronicle*, II.254-258), and the use of the word 'overhipped': 'For he [Baliol] haves overhipped, / His tipet is tipped, / His tabard is tom' (II.258). The *MED* strangely uses this instance to illustrate definition 1 (a), 'To omit...esp. in a text, narration, etc'. All other, more literal definitions of the term, do not occur until the end of the fourteenth century. See also the discussion of 'overhippe' as a translation of 'trop salit', below.

Whar the byt bayt.¹²¹

The marks left behind by the 'byt' that the English 'goats' are implicitly accused of wearing, although an insult to the humanity and freedom of the English, are a far cry from the outrageous anti-Scottish elements of song no. 4, where the English foot soldiers 'put the Scottes in the polk / and nackened thair nages'.¹²² Again, the anti-Englishness of this particular song, although somewhat less compromised than that in song no. 2, emphatically fails to mirror the stridency found in the anti-Scottish songs. The inclusion in the *Chronicle* of these two songs, whilst remarkable, nonetheless betrays the careful construction and protection of an ideological agenda and trajectory, whereby English virtue and dominance are never seriously threatened.

A remarkable aspect about the integration of the songs into the text are the carefully positioned transitions to and from the nine songs, which establish distinctly clear frameworks in which the songs, and the *Chronicle*, are to be understood. Recalling again the project of unifying the island under English rule, and the judicial and historiographical arguments advanced to this end, Langtoft introduces song no. 6, following the capture of John Baliol and his forcible removal to London, 'attender jugement', 'Ore ad le rays Eduuard Escoce enterement / Cum Albanak le awayt al comencement'.¹²³ The introduction of the mythico-historical Albanak, and the comparison with Edward I, particularly as against the (native) counter-myth of Scota, locates the song in a historical and historiographical continuum. Similarly, in the text

¹²¹ Langtoft, *Chronicle*, II.244.

¹²² Langtoft, *Chronicle*, II.248. The insult seems to resonate curiously with the English 'tails' or 'ray tails' that appear in Lagamon's *Brut* and subsequent historiographical texts, and also the romance *Richard Coeur de Lyon*. See Madden's note to *Brut*, 14764-8 (Madden line 29583ff) in his seminal edition of the poem, iii.419-21, where he discusses the insult's textual pedigree. The insult seems to originate with Lagamon's *Brut*, and, after a hiatus, reappears in Robert of Gloucester's and Robert Mannyng's texts. Note, too, the carefully hedged aspect of the insult, 'I wene' and 'on summe'.

of the subsequent song, no. 7, there are a number of typical references that resonate with the papal proceedings on the matter of Scotland, in particular, 'Andreu est mort / Ou il se dort / Al mouster', and the burning of churches, 'counte et baroun, / Ke par arsoun / Destrut l'alter'.¹²⁴ The trope becomes explicit in its deployment in the introduction to song no. 8:

Rays n'y ad ne prince de tuz les countrez
 Fors le ray Eduuard, ke ensi les ad joustez;
 Arthur ne avayt unkes si plainement les fez.
 Desore n'y ad ke fere for purver ses alez
 Sur li ray de Fraunce, conquere ses heritez,
 Et pus porter la croyce où Jhesu Cryst fu nez.¹²⁵

Again, the consistent appeals to the historical, the Arthurian, and the kings and series of succession proposed in Edward I's letter to Pope Boniface recur in the *Chronicle*.

The political songs are not present in each of the extant manuscripts – quite obviously, as not all contain Part III of the *Chronicle*. Moreover, there is significant variation as to which songs are included in any given manuscript, and as to the texts of the songs where they are present. The songs are, in at least seven of the nineteen manuscripts, presented 'as' tail-rhyme. That is, to accommodate the short lines of the songs, the scribes choose a different *mise-en-page* than for the rest of the *Chronicle*, almost invariably single columns of text written fully across the page with ragged right margins. The songs in these seven manuscripts, London, British Library Cotton Julius A.v, Royal 20.A.ii, Harley 114, Cambridge, Cambridge University Library

¹²³ Langtoft, *Chronicle*, II.254; 'Now has king Edward Scotland entirely / As Albanak had it at the beginning' (II.255).

¹²⁴ Langtoft, *Chronicle*, II.262; 'Andrew is dead / Or he sleeps / At the minster'; 'Earl and baron / who by burning / destroys the altar' (II.263). See Stones, *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, 214. See also above, Chapter 1. The primacy of Andrew as an apostolic founder of the Scottish church is taken up in this period by the rise of the Joseph of Arimathea legends, for which see Chapter 4, below.

¹²⁵ Langtoft, *Chronicle*, II.266; 'There is neither king nor prince of all the countries / Except king Edward, who has thus united them; / Arthur had never the fiefs so fully / Henceforth there is nothing to

Gg.i.1, Sidney Sussex College MS 43, Oxford Bodleian Library Fairfax 24, and Oxford, All Souls College MS 39, employ a second column, wherein the first two verses are written to the left, and joined by a squiggly bracket, which tails off to meet the third verse in the right column.¹²⁶

Despite, then, the formal, linguistic, and visual distinctions between the songs and the remainder of the *Chronicle*, their presence in the *Chronicle* is less anomalous, perhaps, than the chance preservation of brief passages of Middle English first suggests, as their textual and ideological affinity to, and integration with, the rest of the *Chronicle* is clear. It is important to note that the switch from Anglo-Norman to Middle English does not seem to have presented any major difficulties for the scribes of the *Chronicle*: thorns are written correctly and without any visual distinction, abbreviations such as 'thorn-T' for 'that', and suspensions for 'M' and 'N' are employed in perfectly characteristic fashion. It can, I believe, be concluded that the scribes of these seven manuscripts were all familiar with copying English texts, in addition to the Anglo-Norman texts we have surviving in their hands. Only one scribe that I'm aware of felt the need to add the rather unnecessary marginal annotation, 'Engleis' to the two songs that appear in British Library, Royal

do but provide his expedition / Against the king of France, to conquer his inheritance / And then bear the cross where Jesus Christ was born' (II.267).

¹²⁶ Variation amongst the manuscripts in this layout does, of course, occur. The c-verses are sometimes provided with joining brackets across stanzas, as in CUL Gg.i.1. Other manuscripts attempt to squeeze each stanza into a single long line, which typically crosses over into the margins of the folio. See N. Ker, intro. and ed., *Facsimile of British Museum MS. Harley 2253*, EETS o.s. 255 (London, 1965), for similar presentation decisions for English and French verse, in particular for tail rhyme. See also E.G. Stanley, 'The Use of Bob-Lines in "Sir Thopas"', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 73 (1972), 417-426; P.J. Frankis, 'The syllabic value of final "-es"', *Notes & Queries* 212 (1967), 11-12; and C. Strong, 'History and Relations of the Tailrhyme Strophe in Latin, French, and English', *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 22 (1907), 371-420.

20.A.XI.¹²⁷ For the remaining codices, neither scribes nor, presumably, audience found the switch from Anglo-Norman to English in any way remarkable.

To argue for a particular origin for these political songs seems a somewhat impossible task – the ever elusive ‘oral tradition’ always remains a possible source, as do unknown or lost texts. Their careful syntactical, structural, and substantive integration into the *Chronicle* as a whole demonstrates Langtoft’s skillful work in assembling his *Chronicle* as a derivative text. In fact, it is perhaps most precisely considering the *Chronicle* as a derivative text that largely renders irrelevant the question of the ‘originality’ of the nine songs. Whether translated from oral or textual sources, composed by Langtoft explicitly for inclusion in the *Chronicle*, or created by some other process of assimilation and accommodation, their presence in the *Chronicle*, and their careful resonance with the whole of the text, accomplish precisely the radically understated transformative project of this derivative text.

Scribal Judgments

¹²⁷ See Royal 20.A.xi, f. 110^v and 126^r. Note also the moment in which the head of Edmund King and Martyr cries out in English, ‘Après le cors trouvé, “here! here! here!” parlait’ (Langtoft, *Chronicle*, I.312).

The verses passing judgment on the quality of Langtoft's translation from the *Historia regum*, found in London, British Library MS Royal 20.A.xi, are, in their manuscript presentation, and their possible connections with other manuscripts, somewhat problematic. Given that Royal 20.A.xi is considered to be the copy, or at least the extant textual representative, of Langtoft's *Chronicle* from which Mannyng was working, the verses warrant closer interrogation.¹²⁸ The verses assert Langtoft's lack of skill and the legitimacy of his text when compared to Wace's *Roman de Brut*, and are found at the top of the otherwise blank f. 37^v in Royal 20.A.xi. The ink and hand, ruling and layout, are as that of the preceding section of the *Chronicle*. Because there are strikingly close verbal parallels to the 'authorial' conclusion to Part I of the *Chronicle*, and indeed the partial continuation of the rhyme pattern, the two will be considered side by side:

Royal 20.A.xi, f. 37^r

Pieres de Langtoft . troue ne plus *par* dit.
 Qil n'ad complie . e mis en cest escrit.
 les troefles ad lesse . a verite se prist.
 Nul autre trovera . home qe le list.
 Si noun li latiners . en sen latin mentist.

Royal 20.A.xi, f. 37^v

Le livre mestre Wace . counte plus *parfit*
 E dit tut la lettre . qe Peres trop salit.
 Peres par tut lessa . meint lyne respit
 Qe bon fust a lire . e aver la debit
 Mestre Wace dit tut . la letter qil trova
 Trufles e verite . tretut complia.
 L'un livre e l'autre . qi bien regardera
 jeo di qe mestre Wace . plus overtement *parla*¹²⁹

The derisive verses are quite clearly written in direct response to the authorial closing of Part I: the shared vocabulary, 'trufles', 'verite', 'trova', 'complia' is quite distinctive. Moreover, the scribe's pointed reply to Langtoft is not that the 'latimer' (presumably Geoffrey of Monmouth, translating the infamous 'liber vetustissimus'

¹²⁸ See Summerfield, *Kings' Lives*, 'the manuscript used by him' (54) and 137; see also Mannyng, *Chronicle*, 'But this manuscript has a version of Langtoft's text that was very similar to the one Mannyng used for his translation' (53).

¹²⁹ See Langtoft, *Chronicle*, I. 265, 'Piers de Langtoft finds no more in record / Than he has completed and put in this writing. / He has left the trifles and stuck to the truth, / Whoever reads it will find no other / Unless the interpreter lied in his Latin'. It continues, 'Piers has omitted things, and held back

from Welsh) has lied, but rather that it is precisely another ‘latimer’, Wace, who gives the lie to Langtoft’s claims to accomplishment and accuracy.

Coming between the ending to Part I of Langtoft’s *Chronicle* on Royal 20.A.xi f.37^r, and the scribal verses on f. 37^v, are four lines of Latin verse. The Latin verses are presented oddly on the page: the four lines of text occupy six ruled lines, and are written in a noticeably more spacious and elaborate script.¹³⁰ The four, almost double-spaced lines, are then followed by five blank lines – thus the eight lines of the scribal verses could have been accommodated on f. 37^r had the Latin verses not been included. The obscure, and therefore, of course, ‘prophetic’ verses invoke Merlin’s name to offer a curious comment on endings and transitions:

brutus finitur . per eum nullus reparitur .
tempus nescitur . redeunti quod stabilitur .
tempus transibit . Taurus mucrone peribit .
Merlinus scribit . quod bruti turba redibit .¹³¹

At the same point in the text, immediately preceding the ‘gesta Anglorum’, two manuscripts, London, College of Arms MS Arundel 61 and, partially, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 930, contain verses peculiarly contrary to those found in Royal 20.A.xi:

Ffinito Bruto,	Brutones fugiunt relegati,
Extento scuto,	Daci remanent dominati.
Hic quod Beda legit	Petrus scribendo peregit

many lines that are pleasurable and beneficial to read. Of the one book and the other, and of which is well regarded, I say that Master Wace speaks more openly’ (translation mine).

¹³⁰ It is important to note that the Latin verses are, I believe, in the same hand as both the scribal verses and the body of the *Chronicle*: the ink, fading, and other indicators are identical.

¹³¹ Royal 20.A.xi, f. 37^r. Note Thiolier’s observation, ‘Nous comprenons ainsi ces vers attribués à “Merlin” et volontairement mystérieux: “Brutus est mort, par lui plus personne n’est sauvé. On ignore l’époque qui a été fixée pour son retour. Le temps passera, le taureau (Guillaume le Conquérant ou Guillaume II le Rufus?) périra par le fer. Merlin écrit que le peuple de Brutus reviendra”’ (42, n.1). Thiolier’s attempted identification of the ‘taurus’ is unconvincing. Because of the ambiguity inscribed in prophecies of this sort, I have chosen not to offer translations that would inherently preclude the plurality of possible readings intended. Also, there are other reasons the bulk of medieval prophetic texts remain untranslated and inedited.

Gallo sermone,	te duce, Beda bone.
Cernitur in gestis	Anglorum plurima pestis;
Captivis, mestis,	miseris est Anglia testis.
Sunt nam bis bina,	fraus, fastus, gwerra, rapina,
Plena quibus pena	manus est Anglis aliena. ¹³²

In contrast to ‘Merlinus’, instead Arundel 61 provides ‘Beda bone’; to the return of the British found in Royal 20.A.xi, they instead here remain subject, and it is the English who face the ‘pestis’, which can only be a poetic rendering of Henry of Huntingdon’s five plagues. Langtoft’s fidelity to Bede is praised in the Arundel 61 verses, before he has properly begun narrating English, Bedan history. Again, in contrast to the promise of British return in Royal 20.A.xi, these verses mark the ideological and textual gulf between British/Galfridian history and English/Bedan history, and seemingly preserve scribal responses to the complications posed by Langtoft’s attempted unification of the two.

Although in one manuscript of Langtoft’s *Chronicle*, British Library, MS Julius A.v, the end of Part I of the *Chronicle* is followed by the Latin ‘Prophecies of Merlin’, as indeed Langtoft states earlier in Part I¹³³, in Royal 20.A.xi, the eight verses on the otherwise blank but ruled folio are followed on the facing recto by the beginning of Part II, and the visible transference of textual authority to a new source in Bede, ‘Incipiunt gesta que sunt angles manifesta / Beda pater presta . Petro quod dicat honesta / Lector narrabit id et quod scriptora parabit / Petrus dictabit . quod sibi beda dabit’.¹³⁴ To return, for a moment, to the scribal verses on Langtoft in Royal 20.A.xi, the verbal similarity of Mannyng’s assessment of the relative merits of

¹³² The verses from Arundel 61 are printed in Thiolier, 57, and Langtoft, *Chronicle*, I.264. See also Thiolier, 134-5.

¹³³ Langtoft, *Chronicle*, I.114, ‘Le Latyn est escriz de sa prophecye / En latyn de livre, ke l’em ne l’oblye’.

Langtoft and Wace to that of the scribe of Royal 20.A.xi – ‘overhippis’ quite literally translates ‘trop salit’ - suggests that Mannyng may have had access to this, or a very similar, manuscript whilst translating Langtoft’s *Chronicle*.¹³⁵ There is a manuscript sharing closely the contents of Royal 20.A.xi, namely Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College MS 43.¹³⁶ The two manuscripts share the so-called prose version of the *Prophecies of Merlin* interpolated into Langtoft’s text, and Anglo-Norman verse translations of letters between Edward I and Pope Boniface VIII concerning Scotland known in only one other manuscript.¹³⁷ Although the scribal verses themselves are lacking from Sidney Sussex College 43, the codex can be dialectally located in the north-east, and bears a sixteenth century note placing it at Swineshead Abbey, in Lincolnshire.¹³⁸

In Sidney Sussex College MS 43, the four Latin verses do appear at the conclusion to Part I. Moreover, the four lines resemble uncannily in layout and presentation those found in Royal 20.A.xi.¹³⁹ The lines are again ‘double-spaced’, overwrite the ruling of the folio as established by the first 19 lines of the text on f. 48^v, and are set in a more spacious display script in the same hand as the main text. The coincidences between Royal 20.A.xi and Sidney Sussex College MS 43, in particular

¹³⁴ Royal 20.A.xi, f. 38^r. The demarcation of the shift would seem all the more essential in light of the Latin, ‘Merlinic’ verses on the preceding folio.

¹³⁵ See n. 128, above.

¹³⁶ The manuscript was first noted by R.S. Loomis, ‘Edward I, Arthurian Enthusiast’, *Speculum* 28 (1953), 114-127, esp. 126. See Thiolier, 128-32 for a description of the codex. Thiolier tentatively localises the manuscript to Durham, and dates it to 1307-1327.

¹³⁷ See Dean, 46. The texts are edited in Thiolier, 459-83; Wright provides translations, though not the original texts, in his edition. The verse versions of Boniface VIII’s bull, Edward I’s response, and the barons’ letter to the pope, also survive in Princeton University Library, Taylor Medieval MS 12; all three manuscripts date to the first half of the fourteenth century.

¹³⁸ Sidney Sussex College, MS 43, f.20^v, ‘Datum apud Swyneshed preduit sexto die maij . Anno regni Henrici octaui vicesimo’. Thiolier also notes the comment, 32; the localisation is not found in Ker, *Medieval Libraries*.

¹³⁹ See Sidney Sussex College, MS 43, f. 48^v.

the near identical presentation of the Latin verses concluding Part I of Langtoft's *Chronicle*, raise immediately questions regarding the conclusions of Sullens and Summerfield that Royal 20.A.xi was the codex used by Mannyng for his translation.¹⁴⁰ Although the presence of the verses in Royal 20.A.xi, and their absence from Sidney Sussex College MS 43, would seem to argue almost incontestably for the former as Mannyng's source, or a now lost shared exemplar, the circumstantial evidence locating Sidney Sussex MS 43 in Mannyng's milieu remains tantalizing.

It is a curious fact that Mannyng does not translate the entirety of the verses in Royal 20.A.xi; he omits much of the verses' positive praise of Wace, and translates only Langtoft's deficiencies. Mannyng's translation of the scribal verses occurs in the prologue to his *Chronicle*, where he notes that he follows Wace from 'Eneas tille Cadwaldre', and Langtoft for 'þe Inglis dedes'.¹⁴¹ This displacement from the conclusion of Book I of Langtoft's *Chronicle* to the opening of Mannyng's *Chronicle*, and indeed, the choice of Wace as the primary source text, suggest that Mannyng had not only consulted a copy of Langtoft's *Chronicle* before beginning his derivative project, but adopted the scribal judgments of Langtoft's text. Yet Mannyng returns, at the end of Part I of his text, to the question of Langtoft and Wace, not once, but twice. The first occasion, the Lagamonian setting out of Wace, Langtoft, and Gildas side by side, is in fact the actual point of his departure from Wace, and the beginning of his compilation from Langtoft and other sources.¹⁴² The second occurrence, following the actual *translatio imperii* to the Saxons, comes at the very end of Part I, where

¹⁴⁰ Both Summerfield and Sullens do hedge their assertions slightly. Sullens, however, emphatically rejects Thiolier's leading questions about the presence of Sidney Sussex MS 43 at Cambridge, and thereby its potential proximity to Mannyng's presumed location. See Thiolier, 128-32, and Sullens, 53.

¹⁴¹ Mannyng, *Chronicle*, I.59, 66. The assessments of Wace and Langtoft occupy Mannyng, *Chronicle*, I.55-71.

Mannyng praises Langtoft's 'faire spech' and 'how he [Langtoft] was quaynt in speech & wys / þat suilk a boke mad of pris, / & gadred þe stories alle tille one / þat neuer ore was mad for none'.¹⁴³ Mannyng's decision to embrace the advice of the scribal verses, but to translate them only partially, and the likelihood that he chose to omit the Latin verses prophesying a return to British sovereignty which accompany the scribal verses in manuscripts, make it clear that, even whilst relying on, and working quite closely to his source text in Langtoft, it was never an uncritical engagement. Instead, he recognises precisely the value of Langtoft's text, in unifying the histories 'þat neuer ore was mad', and adapts and adopts both the text, and its textual, derivative project.

The two chronicles pose difficult challenges for those who would offer 'complete' or comprehensive readings.¹⁴⁴ Although each text, certainly, has a distinctive and overarching ideological trajectory and historiographical project, there remain many traps in reading too much into any given passage. This is the case whether such passages are 'original' to the text (i.e. not found in the immediate source text, such as Mannyng's lewed/lered division in his prologue), an original interpretation or translation of an immediate source text (as in Langtoft's re-writing of Henry of Huntingdon's account of Edward the Elder to accord with the papal proceedings on the Scottish question), or even the 'straightforward' translation from a source text. For in all cases, there remains a certain unevenness, even uneasiness, in the conjunctions crafted in these two derivative texts. Beyond historical

¹⁴² Mannyng, *Chronicle*, I.14120ff.

¹⁴³ Mannyng, *Chronicle*, I.15926, 15931-34.

¹⁴⁴ See, for example, Summerfield, *Kings' Lives*, Turville-Petre, *England the Nation*, and R. Knight, 'Stealing Stonehenge: Translation, Appropriation, and Cultural Identity in Robert Mannyng of Brunne's *Chronicle*', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32 (2002), 41-58.

inconsistencies, it is not unexpected to encounter, also, textual and ideological inconsistencies that tend to undermine larger readings of these texts. All of which is not to say that such readings cannot be offered. Methodologically, however, the importance of reading the chronicles of Mannyng and Langtoft not only in relation to their source texts, both direct and, more problematically, indirect, but in their manuscript contexts, and alongside their textual successors, should be clear. It is only when these derivative texts are fully situated in their textual, codicological, and historical milieux that specific claims about the texts' political agenda, audience, or concepts of race or ethnicity, can be productively offered.

3 DERIVATIONS ON A THEME

The *Chronicle* attributed to ‘Robert of Gloucester’ has passed from being a prominent term in the historiographical and literary vocabularies of sixteenth and seventeenth century antiquarians to a text drifting in the margins, at best, of the attentions of modern critics and scholars.¹ Although quite recently there has been a small surge of interest in the *Chronicle*, it remains very much in the shadows of superficially similar texts, such as the *Chronicle* of Robert Mannyng or the *Brut* of Lagamon.² On the whole, the *Chronicle*, little studied, remains but little understood. Very little is known of the processes of composition and compilation that created this derivative text, of the author, of the date of composition, of the circulation and reception of the text, and, to a certain extent, of what the text itself is. Indeed, these questions may well be insoluble. Regardless, much like the *Chronicle* of Robert Mannyng, the work of Robert of Gloucester evinces sophistication and subtlety in its assembly of a historical narrative from the founding of Britain by Brutus to the end of the thirteenth century. Robert of Gloucester may not be the finest example of the ‘poet historical’ as imagined by Spenser, but his neglect is more indicative, perhaps, of our own discomfort with the conjunction of the two roles, than the failings of the poet or the *Chronicle*.

¹ See A. Hudson, ‘Robert of Gloucester and the Antiquarians’, *Notes & Queries* 214 (1969), 323-33. After Stow’s 1570 *Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles* (STC 23322), wherein the author first became ‘Robert of Gloster’ or ‘Robertus Glocestrensis’, text from the *Chronicle* and the appellation appear in numerous other locations, all of which are dependent upon Stow, for which see Hudson, ‘Antiquarians’. The antiquarian attention to the *Chronicle* culminates in Hearne’s 1724 edition of the *Chronicle*.

² See, for example, S. Mitchell, *A Post Conquest English Retrospect Upon the Age of the Anglo-Saxons: A Study of the Early-Middle-English Verse Chronicle Attributed to Robert of Gloucester*, Unpublished D.Phil. thesis (University of York, 1997), Mitchell, ‘Kings, constitution, and crisis: “Robert of Gloucester” and the Anglo-Saxon Remedy’, in eds. D. Scragg and C. Weinberg, *Literary Appropriations of the Anglo-Saxons from the thirteenth to the twentieth century* (Cambridge, 2000), 39-56, and Mitchell, ‘“We Englishe men”: construction and advocacy of an English cause in the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester’, in ed. E. Kooper, *The Medieval Chronicle: Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle* (Amsterdam, 1999), 191-201; see also Turville-Petre, *England the Nation* and W.R.J. Barron, ‘The Idiom and the Audience of Lagamon’s *Brut*’ in eds. R. Allen, L. Perry, and J. Roberts, *Lagamon: Contexts, Language, and Interpretation* (London, 2002), 157-84.

Textual Identity

Although the situation is not as extreme as that found with the *Short Chronicle*, defining the text and textual tradition of the *Chronicle* remains a vexing question. It survives in fifteen manuscripts, ranging in date from the early fourteenth century to the seventeenth century.³ These fifteen manuscripts can be divided into two recensions, differing in the earlier part of the *Chronicle* by some 800 lines, and from the reign of King Stephen onwards by some 2400 lines. Five manuscripts of the ‘longer’ recension can be localised, on dialectal grounds, to Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, and Wiltshire; five manuscripts of the ‘shorter’ recension can be similarly localised to Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Northamptonshire, and Warwickshire.⁴ The dialect of the ‘original’ *Chronicle*, as established by Hudson in exceptional detail in her pre-*LALME* philological analysis of the text, belongs to the Worcestershire/Gloucestershire area.⁵ In some ways these bare dialectal ‘facts’, and the little information known about the provenance of some manuscripts of the text, are the only empirical truths known about the *Chronicle*. Before proceeding to examine the author’s

³ For descriptions of most of the manuscripts, see A. Hudson, *An Edition of Part of the Chronicle attributed to Robert of Gloucester with a Study of the Original language of the Poem*, Unpublished D.Phil. thesis (University of Oxford, 1963), i.1-36. I follow Hudson’s sigla for the manuscripts. The terms ‘longer’ and ‘shorter’ are used in preference to the previous terms ‘first’ and ‘second’ and ‘earlier’ and ‘later’. Longer recension codices: London, British Library, MS Additional 19677 (A); British Library, MS Additional 18631 (B); British Library, MS Cotton Caligula A.xi (C); Glasgow, University of Glasgow, MS Hunterian 415 (V.3.13) (G); British Library, MS Harley 201 (H); and London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 58 (K), for which see Chapter 4, below. Shorter recension codices: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 205 (D); London, London University, Senate House Library, MS 278 (L); Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys MS 2014 (M); San Marino, Huntington Library, MS HM 126 (Q); British Library, MS Sloane 2027 (S); Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.4.26 (T); and Cambridge, Cambridge University Library MS Ee.4.31 (U). Without sigil is London, British Library, MS Additional 50848. Also without sigil is the recently discovered London, Guildhall Library, City of London MS 34125, a manuscript of the longer recension. See A.S.G. Edwards and A. Gillespie, ‘A Manuscript of Robert of Gloucester’s *Chronicle* copied by John Stow’, *Notes & Queries* 248 (2003), 384-5.

⁴ *LALME* localises the codices as follows: Gloucestershire: MS Q (LP 7060), MS T (LP 7070), MS H, Hand 2 (LP 7080), MS C (LP 7100); Herefordshire: MS H, Hand 1 (LP 7500); Northamptonshire: MS M (LP 4710); Warwickshire: MS S (LP 4685); Wiltshire: MS A (LP 5300), MS K (LP 5411); Worcestershire: MS D (LP 7710).

⁵ Hudson, i.305-311, ‘Thus, Gloucestershire seems the most suitable area, though any rigid definition of the text’s localisation within the limits of the modern county is to be avoided’ (i.306). Hudson’s arguments for a reconsideration of scribal competence, on the basis of the scribes’ dialectal choices exhibited in the manuscripts of the *Chronicle*, have gone, perhaps, too long without wider notice. See also A. Hudson ‘Tradition and innovation in some Middle English manuscripts’, *Review of English Studies* 68 (1966), 359-72.

identity, the text's sources, the date of the work, and the relationship between recensions, a somewhat closer look at the manuscripts of the *Chronicle* is warranted.

The late date of a large number of codices containing the *Chronicle* is particularly notable. Of the fifteen manuscripts and fragments, nine are dated, on paleographical grounds, to the fifteenth century, four of which are dated to the middle of the century.⁶ Although fifteenth century manuscript copies, even of a late thirteenth or early fourteenth century text, are not in and of themselves unusual, the implications for the popularity of the *Chronicle* are significant. The almost alarmingly rapid rate of production throughout the fifteenth century of copies of the Middle English prose *Brut* (and, to a lesser extent, the Anglo-Norman prose *Brut*) has tended to encourage scholars to conceive of the prose *Brut* as the defining historiographical text of the period. Although in comparison with the large proportion of the 180 manuscripts of the Middle English prose *Brut* copied in the fifteenth century, the nine copies of the *Chronicle* are, at best, a modest number, it attests to an ongoing interest in the verse *Chronicle*, and to an ongoing perception of the text as a viable work of historiography. Many manuscripts of the *Chronicle* attracted a significant volume of marginal annotations, both contemporary with the production of the manuscripts, and throughout the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries.⁷ It is important, then, to conceive of the *Chronicle* as a reasonably popular work of historiography throughout, at least, the middle of the fifteenth century. In turn, the work's English vernacular narrative of history – the first to narrate contemporary events in Middle English since the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* – did not exist, for

⁶ MSS H, B, K, L, S, Q, M, D, and U.

⁷ For a significant series of instances, consider John Stow's involvement with the text. The Guildhall Library, City of London MS 34125, containing the *Chronicle*, is the only surviving instance of a Stow binding in England. Moreover, Stow annotated both Caligula A.xi and Hunterian 415. I am grateful to Dr Alex Gillespie for sharing her knowledge of Stow and the Guildhall codex with me.

its author, nor its audience, in the isolated position we have come to perceive it as occupying.⁸

There are a few additional, inconclusive observations to be made about the manuscripts and codicological contexts of the *Chronicle*. It is a curious fact that three of the four surviving copies of the Middle English translation of the *Chronicle* of Martinus Polonus, known as the *Chronicle of Popes and Emperors*, accompany the *Chronicle* in three shorter recension manuscripts.⁹ Hudson, in the stemma she constructs of the shorter recension, identifies the group of three manuscripts as closely connected through shared error, and likely descended from a common ancestor some distance removed from the original text.¹⁰ All three codices are dated, paleographically, to the beginning and middle of the fifteenth century. Given the close textual relationship amongst the texts preserved in the three manuscripts, it is not unreasonable to assume the *Chronicle of Popes and Emperors* was present in their exemplar(s). Yet the decision to copy not only the *Chronicle*, but an accompanying text, suggests that there is a conceptual element to the decision, not merely reproductive fidelity. The annalistic, short entries of the *Chronicle of Popes and Emperors*, immediately preceding the *Chronicle* in two of the three codices, establish an emphatically historiographical, vernacular context for the *Chronicle* – not in itself terribly surprising, but in stark contrast to the circulation of the *Short Chronicle*, and even, to some extent, Langtoft's *Chronicle*. Moreover, it suggests that the perception of the *Chronicle* was as authoritative history, and that it was copied as such, complemented by a text supplying a largely factitious, bare bones account of Continental history, a subject mostly omitted from

⁸ Anglo-Norman historiography that narrates contemporary history is intentionally excluded from this statement, for which, see further, below.

⁹ See Hudson, i.26-33. See also D. Embree, *The Chronicles of Rome: An Edition of the Middle English Chronicle of Popes and Emperors and The Lollard Chronicle* (Woodbridge, 1999). The three manuscripts are Magdalene College Cambridge, MS Pepys 2014, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 205, and Cambridge University Library, MS Ee.4.13. The text of the *Chronicle of Popes and Emperors* ends at the papacy of John XXI, d. 1277; Embree posits the Latin text of Polonus's *Chronicle* preserved in Bodleian MS 712 as the source text for the translation, on the grounds of various odd readings and erratic forms of proper names.

¹⁰ Hudson, i.81-91.

Robert of Gloucester's insular history. In this, perhaps, it is in contrast to the contemporary *Chronicle* of Pierre Langtoft, which circulated rather more piecemeal, supplemented by numerous other works of historiography, romance, and miscellaneous short texts and verses.¹¹

Another oddity of the manuscripts concerns the textual apparatus. Between some manuscripts of the *Chronicle* there is a remarkable consistency in the placement of line-initial capitals, which visually 'break' the text into sections.¹² There is, as well, a largely systematic set of parallels between larger, six-line initials, typically gold leaf, between other manuscripts.¹³ Without preparing a complete index of one- and two-line red and blue ink capitals, the section from, in particular, the end of British history through Saxon and early Norman history, evinces such consistency that Erik Kooper, the scholar currently working on this aspect of the *Chronicle*, claims that the system of textual divisions generated by the use of capitals in manuscripts of the longer recension, 'may go back to Robert of Gloucester'.¹⁴ Although much work remains to be done on the topic, it potentially will revise conceptions not only of what were significant features for scribes copying medieval manuscripts, but also how the *Chronicle*, and historiography more generally, were physically and imaginatively navigated by readers and scribes.

The identity of the author of the *Chronicle* has long frustrated scholars. Hudson's review of the evidence remains the most comprehensive to date; she concludes, after tracing the first occurrence of the attribution to John Stow's 1570 edition of *The Summarie of*

¹¹ Note, however, the Middle English paraphrase of verses by 'Cato' in CUL MS Ee.iv.31, printed in M. Förster, 'Die Burghsche Cato-Paraphrase', *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen* 115 (1905), 298-323, and the verses on the Passion in Magdalene College, Cambridge, MS Pepys 2014, printed in R. Fischer, 'Vindicta Salvatoris', *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen* 111 (1903), 285-98 and 112 (1904), 25-45.

¹² Compare, for example, MS Caligula A.xi, MS Harley 201, and Cambridge University Library, MS Ee.4.31.

¹³ Thus MS Arundel 58 and Huntingdon Library, MS HM 126. Note, too, the intriguing occurrence of identical marginal annotations found in a few places between MS Caligula A.xi and MS Cotton Julius D.ix, containing the Middle English *Life of Edward the Confessor*, a text loosely affiliated with the *South English Legendary*, and between Caligula A.xi and Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS 2014 (e.g. f. 36^r, 'occisio gygantis'). I am grateful to Professor Ralph Hanna for his insights on how marginalia might influence those in other manuscripts, and otherwise be transmitted.

¹⁴ I am grateful to Erik Kooper, of the University of Utrecht, for sharing with me his work on the *Chronicle*, and for conversation following his paper at the 2004 Kalamazoo Congress, 'Presentation Strategies in Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*'.

Englishe Chronicles, 'the appearance of the title Glocestrensis in 1570 is undoubtedly unsupported, and untraceable...[but] Stow's careful use of the Chronicle suggests that his designation may not be arbitrary'.¹⁵ Hudson reviews the evidence for authorship of the *Chronicle*, largely an evaluation of that presented by Hearne and Wright, the text's editors, and finds it wholly inconclusive. She does add the important caveat, not heeded by modern scholars, that the evidence as it stands may apply only to the text of the longer recension, and only that part from the reign of Stephen onwards.¹⁶ Most recently, Sarah Mitchell has revived the identification first proposed by W.W. Capes in 1906, suggesting that the chronicler was one 'Robert le Wyse' or 'magister Robertus Gloucestria', Chancellor of Hereford Cathedral from 1299, and a doctor of canon law from Oxford, born c.1252.¹⁷ Mitchell adds no new evidence to the conclusions first offered by Capes in his 1906 note on the subject, though Emden's remarks in the *Bibliographic Register of the University of Oxford* might be considered, noting that le Wyse was credited with authorship of the *Chronicle*, 'on no stronger evidence than that the author, whose name was Robert, was familiar with Gloucester and its neighbourhood'.¹⁸ As the identification stands, beyond

¹⁵ Hudson, i.54.

¹⁶ The irony of this neglect is perhaps best captured by Hudson's closing quotation in 'Antiquarians', observing that neglect of Hearne's edition has in fact led to many false premises, 'it chiefly bears witness, as must any future research on Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*, to the truth of John of Salisbury's observation that "the morrow was the disciple of yesterday"' (333). On the question of multiple authorship, posited by Wright, xxix, tacitly affirmed by Hudson, and explicitly endorsed by Mitchell, see 'Recensions', below.

¹⁷ See Mitchell, 6. See also *Registrum Thome de Cantilup*, transcribed by R.G. Griffiths, with an introduction by W.W. Capes (Hereford, 1906), vii n.2, 'The Robert of Gloucester of the metrical history may be probably identified with the Canon of the same name, also styled le Wyse, who is often mentioned in this Register, and who gave evidence at the Commission [for Cantilupe's canonisation] in 1307. The writer was at Oxford with Cantilupe, and shews intimate acquaintance with scenes at Hereford connected with Bishop Peter; the Canon also had familiar knowledge of the career at Oxford, where he seems to have been at the same time. The belief that the versifier was a monk rests on no evidence whatever'. See also W.W. Capes, ed., *Registrum Ricardi de Swinfield* (Hereford, 1909) for eight documents recording le Wyse's presence in the diocese under Swinfield (Bishop of Hereford, 1283-1316). For arguments concerning Robert of Gloucester as a monastic author, see Gransden, ii.432-38; her arguments largely rest on a loose correlation between pro-Baronial accounts of the Barons' War and monastic productions. On this, see 'Bot hit be þorg gyle', below.

¹⁸ See Emden, *A Bibliographic Register of the University of Oxford* (Oxford, 1957), ii.773-4. Mitchell does cite Emden, though not Capes. She does not offer any additional information that might strengthen the le Wyse proposition, although she does attempt to develop the thirteenth century historical context of the *Chronicle*, and to draw connections between the concerns of the ecclesiastical and social circles le Wyse traveled in, and the text. Her methodology, although perfectly acceptable, does not, in fact, strengthen the case for attributing the *Chronicle* to a particular individual.

identifying a learned man, traveling in politicised ecclesiastical circles, named 'Robert', and living through approximately the right time period in approximately the right place, there is nothing in particular to argue the case.¹⁹

There are, however, some interesting attendant circumstances to add when considering le Wyse as a possible candidate for authorship. His position at Hereford, and his close connections with the Cantilupe family, generally, place him in unexpected proximity to a likely lost manuscript of Lagamon's *Brut* – one of the source texts employed by the shorter recension of the *Chronicle*, of which the extremely limited (known) circulation makes it the most difficult of all the sources employed in the creation of the *Chronicle* to explain how the author managed access to the text.²⁰ Members of the Cantilupe family were patrons of Titchfield Abbey, a Premonstratensian house, from 1232 onwards.²¹ As N.R. Ker, B. Hill, N. Cartlidge, and others have remarked, a surviving Titchfield Abbey library catalogue notes an entry of a 'Hystoria Brutonum', preceding a copy of one 'Altercacio inter philomenam et bubonem'.²² The teasing conjunction of a 'Hystoria Britonum' and *The Owl and the Nightingale* recalls, of course, their co-occurrence in London, British Library, MS Cotton Caligula A.ix, and the possibility remains that the Titchfield 'Hystoria Brutonum' refers not

¹⁹ Consider two other 'Robert of Gloucesters', one the (contested) prior of Llanthony Secunda in 1324, the other a deacon of St Mary at the Gate at Gloucester Abbey (d. 1339). Both Roberts are slightly too late, assuming the reference to the Battle of Evesham is to be read literally (for which, see n. 30, below), but nonetheless attest to the rather obvious fact that 'Robert' was not an uncommon forename, nor 'Gloucester' an unlikely cognomen. See J. Greatrex, ed., *Biographical Register of the English Cathedral Priories of the Province of Canterbury c. 1066-1540* (Oxford, 1997), 811, and D.M. Smith and V.C.M. London, eds., *The Heads of Religious Houses in England and Wales II: 1216-1377* (Cambridge, 2001), 415.

²⁰ Note, however, that the 'Robert' identification does not appear in the shorter recension, in which all known materials derived from Lagamon's *Brut* occur, but rather in the longer recension.

²¹ See D.A.L. Maclean, 'The Cantelupe Family', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club* 36 (1958), 5-21, 'The abbot of Prémontré in 1252 appointed William (d. 1254) as patron of their house of Tychefeld in recognition of the bounty shown by him and his father towards it' (10). Maclean cites Hereford, Hereford Cathedral Archives, No. 774 as the source for this claim.

²² See N. Cartlidge, 'The Composition and Social Context of Oxford, Jesus College, MS 29 (II) and London, British Library, MS Cotton Caligula A.ix' *Medium Ævum* 66 (1997), 250-69. See also *The Owl and the Nightingale. Reproduced in Facsimile*, intro. N.R. Ker, EETS o.s. 251 (London, 1963). See also B. Hill, 'The history of Jesus College, Oxford, MS 29' *Medium Ævum* 32 (1963), 203-13.

to a copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum*, but rather Lagamon's *Brut*.²³

Moreover, there survives a dispensation from Godfrey Giffard, Bishop of Worcester in 1268, that 'William, rector of the church of Areley' received whilst doing business on behalf of Thomas Cantilupe.²⁴ For Lagamon's *Brut*, Cartlidge concludes, '[this document] demonstrates a link between Lagamon's parish and the Cantilupe family'.²⁵ The evidence, whilst inconclusive and wholly circumstantial, does, nonetheless, potentially place Robert le Wyse in close social and professional, if not geographical, proximity to the two places connected most closely with Lagamon and his *Brut*: Areley Kings and Titchfield Abbey.

The date of the text, as well as the identity of its author, is mired in uncertainty. Such evidence as exists has been noted and evaluated since Hearne's edition. The manuscripts provide no additional evidence, as the earliest, British Library, MS Cotton Caligula A.xi, dated paleographically to s. xivⁱⁿ offers only a *terminus ante quem* close to the likely date of composition, but insufficiently precise to refine the existing dating of the text to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.²⁶ For the shorter recension, which extends to the reign of Edward I, it must necessarily be dated after 1272, although the use of the past tense may indicate a date after 1307.²⁷ More concretely, the following line likely places the shorter recension after 1284, describing, as it does, the conquest of Wales, 'þat of þe welische londe . clanliche al out / I wan þe seignorige . nere hi no so prout'.²⁸ The longer recension, which breaks off in the longest manuscript during the reign of Henry III, can likely be dated after

²³ See Cartlidge, 265 n.29, and R.M. Wilson, 'The medieval library of Titchfield Abbey', *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society* 5 (1940), 150-77, 252-76. Cartlidge specifically states that he believes the *Historia regum* to be the more likely text that was in Titchfield Abbey's library.

²⁴ See Cartlidge, 251 and 264 n. 28.

²⁵ Cartlidge, 251-2.

²⁶ See C.E. Wright, *English Vernacular Hands from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1960), 10.

²⁷ *Chronicle*, XX.589, 'Edward his son was þo . man of of gret pris'. Citations of the shorter recension of the *Chronicle* will employ the letters used by Wright to print the shorter recension materials as appendices, followed by line numbers. On the reign of Edward I in the shorter recension, see 'Recensions', below.

²⁸ *Chronicle*, XX.591-2.

1297, on the basis of a reference to 'St Louis' first noted by Frederic Madden.²⁹ The passage in which the author names himself as 'Roberd' seems to place the author in the vicinity of Evesham on the eve of the 1265 Battle of Evesham, as he observes of a 'dark weder' spread across the area 'Vor þretti mile þanne . þis isei roberd / þat verst þis boc made . 7 was wel sore aferd'.³⁰ It should be stressed that these lines appear only in two manuscripts, MS Cotton Caligula A.xi and MS Hunterian 415, and may perhaps refer only to the 'roberd' responsible for the longer recension from the reign of Stephen onwards.³¹ Hudson notes two lines, common to both recensions, that place the text in the reign of Edward I, or potentially after, if, again, the past tense is to be considered significant, 'Vor gode þe nexte king Edward . þat after him suppe com / Ne gef him nogt folliche so muche . wiþinne is kinedom'.³² It must be admitted that no new information has come to light, nor can anything new be offered to supplement Hudson's dating of the *Chronicle* in both the shorter and longer recensions to after 1272, and perhaps after 1307; the longer recension, because of the reference to Saint Louis, can be dated after 1297, and perhaps after 1307.³³

²⁹ See F. Madden, *The Ancient English Romance of Havelok the Dane*, Roxburghe Club (London, 1828), lii. See also Wright, xi.

³⁰ *Chronicle*, 11748-9. The 'storm' is decidedly not unique to the *Chronicle*. Indications of dramatically poor weather at the Battle of Evesham occur in *Chronica Maiora*, ed. H.R. Luard, 7 vols., Rolls Series (London, 1872-1883), iv.76; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 529, f.70^v (in D.C. Cox, 'The Battle of Evesham in the Evesham Chronicle', *Historical Research* 62 (1989), 337-45); *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H.R. Luard, 3 vols., Rolls Series (London, 1890), iii.5n; Guisborough, *Chronicle*, 200-1; *Osney*, 168-9; *Waverley*, 365; *Winchester*, 102; *Worcester*, 454. See also F.W. Maitland, 'A Song on the Death of Simon de Montfort', *English Historical Review* 11 (Apr, 1896), 314-18.

³¹ The line can, perhaps, be read not as a self-referential statement in the third person, but rather as the observation of a continuator or a scribe. Thus 'verst þis boc made', instead of an assertion of authorship, might be an attribution. In which case, it is possible that 'Roberd' rests upon the same utterly inconclusive grounds as 'Gloucester'. Indeed, see Wright, xi, 'at first I was inclined to think that they [the lines] might refer merely to the transcriber of the Cottonian MS'. Oliver Pickering disputes this, 'The stylistic homogeneity appears to rule out interpreting "þat verst þis boc made" as a reference by a later writer to Robert as the original author of the *Chronicle*', in O. Pickering, 'South English Legendary Style in Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*', *Medium Ævum* 70 (2001), 1-18, 18 n.57.

³² Hudson, i.50 and 'Antiquarians', 330. *Chronicle*, 7000-1.

³³ Note, however, Hudson's suggestion that, 'the brevity of entries for the kings after Stephen may suggest that the *Chronicle* was brought up to date by a succession of continuators' (i.51). On this question, see 'Recensions', below. If Robert le Wyse is indeed the author of the *Chronicle*, his continued and attested activity well into the fourteenth century adds nothing to our ability to date the text.

Because of the dramatic pace of historical events throughout the thirteenth century, the necessarily imprecise date hinders attempts to situate the *Chronicle* firmly in a particular historical context. None of the source texts employed by the author of the *Chronicle* can be used to supply any refinement to a date of composition in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century: Lagamon's *Brut*, the most closely contemporary historiographical source text, remains famously uncertain for both the date of its composition, and the date of the surviving manuscripts.³⁴ The *South English Legendary*, although closely connected in places to the *Chronicle*, has also proven difficult to date with any precision; the latest opinions place the composition of the text to the period 1260-88, again, of little use in refining the date of the *Chronicle*.³⁵ It is worth noting that the *Chronicle*, regardless of where it is placed in the range of possible dates, is closely contemporary to Pierre Langtoft's *Chronicle*, to the inquests concerning the Scottish question instigated by Edward I, and thus the Scottish conflict, with the early stages of development of the Anglo-Norman prose *Brut*, and to the *Chronicle* of Walter Guisborough.³⁶ As such, again, it is important to stress not the linguistic and textual isolation of the *Chronicle*, but rather its place in a continuous and vibrant tradition of historiography. Although it may lack the grandeur of its twelfth century Latin predecessors, it is emphatically more sophisticated than the prose *Bruts* and the *Short Chronicle*, and a more ambitious work structurally, narratively, and conceptually.

The question of the use of Lagamon's *Brut* in relation to locating the author of the *Chronicle* historically and geographically, and to dating the text, raises, in turn, the issue of

³⁴ The literature on the date of the *Brut*, and of MS Cotton Caligula A.ix and MS Cotton Otho C.xiii, is vast. Dates range, essentially, throughout the whole of the thirteenth century for both composition and the copying of the two manuscripts.

³⁵ See A. Samson, 'The *South English Legendary*: Constructing a Context' in eds. P. Coss and S. Lloyd, *Thirteenth Century England I* (Woodbridge, 1986), 185-95; 185. See also T.J. Heffernan, 'Additional Evidence for a more Precise Date of the *South English Legendary*', *Traditio* 35 (1979), 345-51.

³⁶ For Langtoft and the Scottish inquests, see Chapters 1 and 2, above. For the prose *Brut*, see Matheson, 30-1. See also J. Taylor, *English Historical Literature in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1987), and 'The French Prose *Brut*: Popular History in Fourteenth Century England', in ed. W.M. Ormrod, *England in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 1985), 247-54.

the sources employed by the *Chronicle*. As a derivative text, the *Chronicle*'s primary sources tend to be the great Latin historiographies of the twelfth century – the *Historia regum*, *Historia Anglorum*, and *Gesta Regum* – rather than, as in Mannyng's *Chronicle*, later Anglo-Norman redactions of those texts. Research into the *Chronicle*'s sources has been a continuous process since Hearne's edition, developed significantly in the introduction in Wright's edition, and disentangled from scholarship on the *South English Legendary* over the course of the twentieth century.³⁷ Wright's work in identifying the sources of the *Chronicle* is complicated by several factors, however. One is his willingness to identify analogues, and the occurrence in texts of extremely minor details, such as precise regnal lengths, as evidence for the 'reliance' of the *Chronicle* on other texts. The tone of certainty, for example, with which Wright establishes a connection between the *Chronicle* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* belies the complexity of the textual evidence and the nature of the details upon which his judgment is founded.³⁸ This should not, however, diminish the magnitude of Wright's accomplishment: his nearly line by line correlation between the *Chronicle* and some fifteen distinct Latin sources and three Middle English sources was no small task, and his accuracy, though certainly not flawless, is more than sufficient to enable subsequent scholars to make more local, and more specific, investigations.

Wright offers fifteen Latin sources for the *Chronicle*, discounting various continuations of particular texts: *Historia regum*, *Historia Anglorum*, *Gesta Regum*, and the works of John of Worcester, Ralph Diceto, Roger Wendover, Ailred of Rievaulx, Eadmer, Roger Hoveden, Matthew Paris, 'John of Brompton', and four annals, those of Dunstable,

³⁷ See Wright, xiv-xxxix, and Hudson, i.55-68 for the sources of the portion of the *Chronicle* therein edited. See also W. Ellmer, 'Über die Quellen der Chronik Roberts von Gloucester', *Anglia* 10 (1887), 1-37, 291-322, of limited use as it precedes Wright's edition. For the *SEL* and the *Chronicle* see B.D. Brown, 'Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle* and the *Life of St. Kenelm*', *Modern Language Notes* 41 (1926), 13-23 and M. Görlach, *The Textual Tradition of the South English Legendary* (Leeds, 1974). Oliver Pickering has recently attempted, unconvincingly in my opinion, to revive the theory that the author of the *Chronicle* and an author of the *SEL* are one and the same. See O. Pickering, 'Style', and O.S. Pickering, 'The Outspoken *South English Legendary* Poet' in ed. A.J. Minnis, *Late Medieval Religious Texts and their Transmission: Essays in Honour of A.J. Doyle* (Cambridge, 1994), 21-37.

³⁸ See, for example, Wright, xxv. See also Hudson, i.65-66.

Tewkesbury, Waverley, and Winchester.³⁹ Of the three Middle English sources Wright lists, one, as mentioned above, is Lagamon's *Brut*, for which Wright presents the evidence concerning the shorter recension of the *Chronicle*.⁴⁰ The other English sources, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the *South English Legendary*, serve as sources, in Wright's view, for the *Chronicle* as a whole.⁴¹ From even a quick perusal of the sources Wright identifies, it is clear that there is something quite odd in the striking predominance of Latin sources for the English *Chronicle*, and in the complete absence of *any* Anglo-Norman sources.⁴² Whilst this would be less surprising for a contemporary Latin chronicle – that of Walter Guisborough, for instance – it is, in comparison with other works of thirteenth and early fourteenth century Middle English historiography such as Lagamon's *Brut*, Mannyng's *Chronicle*, and the prose *Brut*, quite exceptional.⁴³

Given the predominance, moreover, of translation as the fundamental mode of Middle English composition in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, as attested, for example, by the texts found in the Auchinleck manuscript – compiled some 30 years later – almost all of which are translations of Anglo-Norman sources, the situation becomes more remarkable. There are several ways to frame the issue that may shed some light on the matter. The extent to which identifying a source text relies on close verbal parallels

³⁹ 'John of Brompton' is an erroneous ascription of a chronicle narrating history to the end of Richard I's reign, derived from Higden's *Polychronicon*, to John of Brompton, Abbot of Jervaulx. See Gransden, *Historical Writing*, ii.56-7. Of the annals, it might be noted that their printing in the Rolls Series some 20 years earlier may well have, in their ready availability, coloured Wright's conclusions.

⁴⁰ Wright, xxxiii-xxxvii. Note that Wright adds the Burton Annals for the shorter recension, xxxviii.

⁴¹ Note Wright's observation that, 'I think that the metrical Lives of the Saints...have been too hastily attributed to Robert of Gloucester' (xxxix). See also Brown, 23, and Pickering, 'Style', 13.

⁴² This may be connected, in part, to the lack of printed editions of texts such as *Brutus* and *Li Rei de Engleterre* (published 1962, although *Le Livre de Reis de Engleterre* was published in 1865), the Anglo-Norman *Brut* (edited by Julia Marvin, forthcoming), the Royal-*Brut* (1969), and Gaimar's *Estoire*, published in 1888, a year after the appearance of the *Chronicle* in the Rolls Series. The printing of Langtoft's *Chronicle*, however, preceded the *Chronicle* by fully 20 years. Note, however, Wright's dismissal in his treatment of the work's sources, 'It has been stated more than once that the *Chronicle* is evidently a translation from the French...so far from the *Chronicle* being a translation...it is extremely doubtful whether there is any support for the...opinion...that the writer appears not to have been un-acquainted with Wace's *Brut* and his *Roman de Rou*, as well as...with *La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei*' (xiv-xv). However, regarding *Li Rei*, see further, below.

⁴³ These translate, of course, Wace's *Roman de Brut*, Langtoft's *Chronicle*, and the Anglo-Norman prose *Brut*.

complicates the fact that translation, by its very nature, linguistically obscures its source.⁴⁴ In an expanded consideration of what texts might qualify as sources, aspects such as narrative structure, ideological precedent, and even imagery might indicate a text's source. It is certainly possible to imagine Anglo-Norman historiographies standing silently and almost invisibly in this type of relation to the *Chronicle*, but exceedingly difficult to demonstrate as sources, and almost impossible to do so conclusively. Alternatively, Anglo-Norman translations, such as Wace's and Langtoft's, of Latin texts with which the author of the *Chronicle* was familiar may well have served as 'cribs' or glosses.⁴⁵ Again, however, in this scenario the use of Anglo-Norman texts is obscured by their merely intermediary status, and by the presence of the Latin originals as the direct ground of the act of translation: while it is certainly possible to imagine the author of the *Chronicle* as bilingual in English and Latin, rather than trilingual, and perhaps, thus, ignorant of the continuous tradition of Anglo-Norman historiography, it does seem somewhat unlikely that he could be wholly unaware of Anglo-Norman writings.⁴⁶

There are only two lines of Anglo-Norman in the *Chronicle*, in the longer recension, reported speech attributed to, intriguingly, Peter de Aquablanca, 'a freinss bissop þer was . at hereforde þo', who, when dragged from his church in the Barons' War, cries, 'Par crist he sede sir tomas . tu es Maveis / Meint ben te ay fet . vor he adde muche god'.⁴⁷ Previously unremarked are two short colloquialisms in the text, 'ge belamy quap þe king' and 'Heo

⁴⁴ Thus 'positive' evidence forms the cornerstone of traditional source and analogue study, but it can paradoxically obscure more subtle intertextual engagement.

⁴⁵ Compare Mannyng's opinion on Langtoft's and Wace's works, and the knowledge of both texts required to reach that opinion, discussed in Chapter 2, above.

⁴⁶ Concerning the shorter recension and its connection to Anglo-Norman texts, see 'Recensions', below.

⁴⁷ *Chronicle*, 11110, 11119-20. The two lines are part of separate couplets; the rhymes are 'peis': 'maveis', 'god': 'vnderstod'. Peter de Aquablanca was Bishop of Hereford before Thomas Cantilupe, from 1240-1268. Mitchell attributes these two lines to the direct experience of the author, that is, they were overheard, or local hearsay in Hereford, which seems an oversimplified explanation of their presence. Mitchell offers these lines, then, as proof of the Robert le Wyse/Robert of Gloucester identification. Yet, if the identification is correct, surely, in the midst of all of the dialogue the author offers, there must be other instances of reported speech for which he might provide an Anglo-Norman version rather than Middle English verses. See Mitchell, 12.

miȝte wanne heo come hom . segge si haut si bas'.⁴⁸ Yet the vocabulary employed by the author of the *Chronicle* often demonstrates the first recorded use of Anglo-Norman and Old French words in English: 'apel', 'assise', 'botelier', 'caudel', 'chatel', 'cheventaine', 'essoine', 'fraunchise', 'mansinge', 'panetere', 'playding' or 'plaidynge', 'plaining', 'play' or 'ple', and 'voweson', to list only a few from the body of the *Chronicle* and from both the longer and shorter recensions.⁴⁹ Although only the most basic of evidence, these lines, and the lexicon of the *Chronicle*, perhaps evince an ability to understand Anglo-Norman that makes the absence of any identified Anglo-Norman sources for the longer recension all the more puzzling.⁵⁰

Given the large number of sources employed by the author of the *Chronicle*, and the diversity of genres – chronicles, annals, *vitae* – some attempt must be made to consider where and how the author might have had extended access to such texts. The complexity of the derivative project is such that the author could not have produced the *Chronicle* with only passing access to, or familiarity with, his main source texts. That is, the assembling of even the first few thousand lines of the *Chronicle*, drawn from the *Historia regum, Historia Anglorum, Gesta Regum*, and the *South English Legendary*, requires not merely excerpts copied from these texts, gathered prior to the commencement of composition, but ongoing and continuous availability. It seems most likely, then, that the author had for the most part complete texts of his sources to hand during the processes of derivation and composition. Whether this is to be extended past a text's actual use is uncertain. For example, once the

⁴⁸ *Chronicle*, 8020, 9499.

⁴⁹ The highly technical, legal aspect of much of this vocabulary is remarkable. Many of the terms are unique to the itemising of the Constitutions of Clarendon, in the reign of Henry II. Note, for example, 'apel' (both instances: 9705, 9706), 'chateus' (two of four instances: 9665, 9666), 'mansinge' (three of four instances: 9686, 9691, 9695), 'plaidyng' (two of three instances: 9711, 9714), 'plaininge' (only instance: 9711), 'play' (only instance: 9704), 'playdinge' (only instance: 9662), 'ple' (only instance: 9679), and 'voweson' (only instance: 9678). Of this list, a remarkable number are the first, or near first, recorded usage of these terms in English, according to the *MED*. 'Apel' enters the language with this use in the *Chronicle* and the comparable instance in the *SEL*. 'Ple' appears in 1275 in the Statutes of the Realm (in French), and then this use. 'Mansinge' occurs twice before the *SEL/Chronicle* instance. 'Chateus', the plural of 'chatel' is first recorded for use in the *Chronicle*.

⁵⁰ For the shorter recension, see 'Recensions', below.

composition of the *Chronicle* reached Saxon history, the availability of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum* was no longer a requirement, and thus its presence or absence to hand is likely unknowable.⁵¹

Continuous access is not the only possible model, however, to explain how the *Chronicle* might have been written. Some system of 'staged' access, and a concomitant process of 'staged' composition, seem possible. In this model, for the bulk of the British and Saxon portions of the *Chronicle*, access to the *Historia regum*, *Historia Anglorum*, and *Gesta Regum* would be required. At a later stage, however, additional materials might be translated and interpolated into the text, such as those from the *South English Legendary* occurring in the first 200 lines of the *Chronicle*. Although this potentially resolves some questions concerning the author's access to books, considered below, it is difficult to imagine what evidence might be found in the *Chronicle* to demonstrate such a method conclusively.⁵² To some extent, then, it is not possible to add to the state of knowledge concerning the composition of the *Chronicle* offered by Wright in his introduction, 'I am unable to frame even a plausible theory of the manner in which the *Chronicle* has been compiled', although various scenarios can certainly be offered.⁵³ The magnitude of the task of creating the *Chronicle* certainly suggests that a series of intermediary stages – identifying sources, translating them, arranging and refining the resultant text – were involved. It is possible to demonstrate, through close textual analysis of the *Chronicle* in comparison with many of its source texts, that the author has translated, and therefore read, portions of his source texts, if not necessarily the entirety of those texts. Evidence from *Becket*, a legend in the *South English Legendary*, and the *Chronicle*, indicates at least a selective reading of over 2000

⁵¹ Similar, of course, is the situation with almost all of the *Chronicle*'s identified sources, except for the annals, once contemporary history becomes the subject of the narrative.

⁵² Transitions between sources, the likeliest locations to identify textual 'layering' of this nature, are typically silent and seamless in the *Chronicle*. Awkwardness in such transitions, or what might be considered 'mishandling' of the historical narrative, are as likely to be stylistic failings or inabilities as evidence of revision. However, note the possibilities examined below, in 'Recensions'.

⁵³ Wright, xxxix.

lines; the evidence from Lagamon's *Brut*, in the shorter recension, also attests to the reading of some 2000 lines. Essentially the entirety of the *Historia regum* is translated, although the evidence for the reading of the *Historia Anglorum* and *Gesta Regum* is more limited.⁵⁴ How precisely source materials were identified, acquired, copied, translated, and compiled remains unanswerable: there are not visible relics of the processes of composition that might reveal the process.⁵⁵

The evidence concerning demonstrable partial reading (and translating) of source texts, as against the likelihood that the entirety of these texts were read, raises interesting possibilities for the idea of non-linear reading. This type of reading is, essentially, the consultation of a text, wherein only a portion of the text is located and read – very much the equivalent of consulting the index of a modern text and reading only those sections with which one is concerned. Such a process of non-linear reading would be physically facilitated by the textual apparatus found in historiographical manuscripts, such as the marginal annotations of names and dates, and the division of the text through the use of line-initial capitals.⁵⁶ This idea may also refine the process of staged composition described above. Consider the narrative in the *Chronicle* of the reign of Edward the Confessor, for which the *Gesta Regum*, *Historia Anglorum*, and the *Edward* legend in the *South English Legendary* are all demonstrable sources.⁵⁷ It is possible to imagine a textual 'framework' of sorts being constructed out of translations from the *Gesta Regum*, and a subsequent, revision 'pass' in which the author reads only the account of the reign of Edward the Confessor in the other source texts, and then translates and interpolates as appropriate.

⁵⁴ There is, for example, no indication that books 8, 9, 11, or 12 of the *Historia Anglorum* were read, as the material does not appear in the *Chronicle*; this may, however, be connected to the complexity of the circulation of the *Historia Anglorum* in various forms with and without this material. See Greenway, lxvi-lxxvii. Additional materials from other legends in the *South English Legendary* greatly increase the total number of lines demonstrably read, although again, are not proof that the entirety of the legendary was read.

⁵⁵ Unlike, for example, the peculiar text of the *Chronicle* found in College of Arms, MS Arundel 58, for which see Chapter 4, below.

⁵⁶ See page 114, above.

⁵⁷ See Wright, xxii-iii, Görlach, 135, and G.E. Moore, ed., *The Middle English Verse Life of Edward the Confessor*. See also F. Barlow, *Vita Ædwardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit* (Oxford, 1962), xxx.

The potential presence, as sources of the *Chronicle*, of the annals of Dunstable, Tewkesbury, Waverley, and Winchester suggests access to monastic libraries, if not necessarily a monastic author.⁵⁸ The question must be asked again here, however, of the accuracy of Wright's conclusions regarding the *Chronicle*'s sources. To consider but a single example, Wright notes of Henry II's reign that the destruction of Glastonbury Abbey by fire is to be found in the Waverley Annals for 1184.⁵⁹ Yet such a minor detail of historical note, although only, perhaps, extant in the Waverley Annals amongst the hitherto identified sources of the *Chronicle*, surely left some mark at Glastonbury itself, whether written, or some other form of communal memory or historical record.⁶⁰ There are, certainly, moments in the *Chronicle* wherein an annalistic tone occurs, somewhat stark in comparison to the rich development of detail with which the *Chronicle* more typically narrates its material. Even calling into question the evidence for the use of the various monastic annals, or some sort of ur-annal copied and varied amongst numerous houses in a process similar to that of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the large number of source texts to which the author demonstrably had access remains remarkable: simply accounting for the eight to ten primary sources is a challenge.

Because of the cognomen supplied by Stow, and the evidence concerning the Battle of Evesham in the text, attention has largely focused on placing the *Chronicle*'s composition in the Worcester/Gloucester/Hereford area – the Marches, essentially.⁶¹ In recent years, this has been further developed by the assessment of Worcester as a seat of 'English' learning

⁵⁸ Gransden draws a comparison with Thomas Wykes, who entered Oseney Abbey late in life after a secular career, as a means of explaining the *Chronicle*'s extensive knowledge of secular affairs and, in her opinion, its monastic origins and author. See Gransden, i.437 n.237, and Chapter 1, above.

⁵⁹ Wright, xxx; *Annales Monastici*, ii.243; *Chronicle*, 9851-3. Note that Turville-Petre confirms Wright's conclusions, or tacitly accepts them, concerning the use of the Waverley Annals for the *Chronicle*'s narrative of Henry II's reign; *England the Nation*, 76. Regarding the shorter recension's use of the Burton Abbey annals, see 'Recensions', below.

⁶⁰ Indeed, the fire, which was of great significance for the history and development of the abbey, occurs in the *Cronica* of John of Glastonbury. See John of Glastonbury, *Cronica*, ed. J.P. Carley, *British Archaeological Reports* 47 (1978), ii.211.

⁶¹ As, indeed, Hudson's dialectal assessment of the 'original' *Chronicle* confirms.

into the twelfth century, thus providing a milieu of ethnic and linguistic continuity, and implicitly explaining the *Chronicle*'s appearance in Middle English not as an *ex nihilo* production, but rather as evidence for the continuity of the 'English' Worcester tradition.⁶²

The surviving records are such that a reasonable picture can be drawn of the medieval library holdings of both the Benedictine Abbey at Gloucester and the Benedictine Cathedral Priory at Worcester. Worcester had, by the early fourteenth century, copies of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum*, and John of Worcester's *Chronicon*; Gloucester had copies of Bede, *Historia Anglorum*, and the *Gesta Regum*.⁶³ Although the *South English Legendary* has been localised, on dialectal grounds, to the Gloucester and Worcester area, copies of the text cannot be located with any certainty to these libraries; of the numerous manuscripts of the *Historia regum*, only one can be placed at Worcester.⁶⁴

No single monastic library, incomplete as our knowledge is, seems to have possessed all the requisite volumes necessary for the composition of the *Chronicle*. In itself, of course, this may indicate nothing more than the state of the surviving information about the holdings of medieval libraries – not a terribly surprising conclusion.⁶⁵ Yet it does point to the large

⁶² See W. Collier, "'Englishness' and the Worcester Tremulous Hand", *Leeds Studies in English* n.s. 26 (1995), 35-47; C. Franzen, *The Tremulous Hand of Worcester* (Oxford, 1991); K. P. Jankofsky, 'Entertainment, Edification, and Popular Education in the SEL', *Journal of Popular Culture*, 11 (1977), 708-717; A. Samson, 'The South English Legendary', 185-87; J. Frankis, 'The Social Context of Vernacular Writing in Thirteenth Century England: the Evidence of the Manuscripts', in *Thirteenth Century England*, 175-84; J. Frankis, 'Towards a Regional Context for Lawman's *Brut*: literary activity in the dioceses of Worcester and Hereford in the twelfth century' in eds. R. Allen, L. Perry, and J. Roberts, *Lagamon: Contexts, Language, and Interpretation*, 53-78. Note, however, the arguments of 'Bot hit be þorg gyle', below.

⁶³ See Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, 91-2, 205-15; R.A.B. Mynors and R.M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library* (Woodbridge, 1993); R. Sharpe, J.P. Carley, R.M. Thomson, and A.G. Watson, *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues*, Corpus of Medieval British Medieval Library Catalogues (London, 1996), 245-55; 651-75. J. Crick, *The Historia regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth III: A Summary Catalogue of the Manuscripts*, 83; *A Catalogue of Gloucester Cathedral Library, passim*.

⁶⁴ See Görlach, *Textual Tradition*, 74-130. On dialectal grounds, *LALME* places four manuscripts of the text in Gloucestershire, and two in Worcestershire. For the *Historia regum*, see Crick, 83.

⁶⁵ Consider, for example, the almost startlingly extensive collection of books at Titchfield Abbey, in D. Bell, *The Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines, and Premonstratensians*, 180-254. This list is comparable, in some ways, to the holdings of the 'great' cathedral libraries. Surely such exceptions suggest the incompleteness of our knowledge for other, if not all, medieval libraries, and the consequent dangers of extrapolating from the

number of texts, and the diversity of the titles, involved in the creation of the *Chronicle*, and, from what evidence there is, the limited likelihood that all of the source texts were to be found at a single library. This, in turn, raises the possibility of the chronicler's access to multiple libraries. Whilst this scenario is far from unimaginable, or even implausible, it does not necessarily provide a solution for the problematic requirement of simultaneous access to numerous texts, unless, improbably, we are to ascribe to the author not only the *Chronicle*, but complete and partial manuscript copies of some or all of its source texts.⁶⁶ It does, however, present itself as a possibility if the 'staged' composition model is considered to be the likely process by which the text was composed. Alternatively, there are surviving records of books being loaned from one house to another, for example Glastonbury and Malmesbury, which might go some way to explaining the collection of books that author had to hand, yet remains an entirely speculative scenario.⁶⁷

Again, it must be admitted that very little concrete information can be added to the work of Hearne, Wright, and Hudson concerning the identity of the author, the date of composition, the precise historical and geographical milieu, or the means of composition. However, I believe that the above speculations on the problems of physical access to manuscripts of the source texts of the *Chronicle*, of the manner and extent to which the source texts might have been read, and how the *Chronicle* might have been written, do shed some light on the text. Twelve thousand lines of rhymed couplets, or merely the nine thousand lines up to the reign of Stephen, of which the vast majority are close translations

presence or absence of particular texts at particular locations. Nor, incidentally, did Titchfield Abbey contain the requisite volumes for the *Chronicle*'s composition.

⁶⁶ That is, if a single, continuous process of composition is considered likely, traveling to consult manuscripts does not resolve all the difficulties of simultaneous access. Potentially, of course, the author might carry with him some texts and complete the 'textual requirements' – however conceived – at another location, but such speculations are largely fruitless and entirely conjectural.

⁶⁷ For which, see Chapter 4, pages 176-7. Such a scenario raises the difficult question of *how* medieval authors knew of texts, and how textual reputation circulated. For less well known texts, such as Lagamon's *Brut*, this issue becomes particularly significant. Moreover, it should be noted that this argument implicitly assumes a monastic author or, at the very least, an ecclesiastical author with almost unfettered access to monastic libraries, an assumption that remains entirely unproven.

from Latin and English sources, are not written without at least one intermediary stage, if not several.⁶⁸ That is, some sort of working papers must have been involved in the process, whether simply copies of portions of source texts, drafts of translations, or stages in translating and compiling sections of the text.⁶⁹ The evidence, such as there is, suggests that not only the reading of source texts, but the writing of the *Chronicle* itself may have been a non-linear process, with successive drafts incorporating materials – from minor details to the substantive and extensive – from various sources as and when they were available, or even, perhaps, encountered.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ I have not attempted a formal count of how many lines of the *Chronicle* are demonstrably translating closely from sources, or are ‘original’.

⁶⁹ There is, of course, no evidence for any working papers. See also Chapter 4, ‘Prose and Verse’, below, for an examination of the processes of composition and the potential involvement of intermediary stages for the Arundel 58 text of the *Chronicle*.

⁷⁰ On this last point, see ‘Recensions’, below.

Theory and Praxis

The *Chronicle* is perhaps best perceived as a translation, rather than a compilation. Yet without an overt authorial statement addressing methodology – however obliquely – such as that in Mannyng’s *Chronicle*, a theoretical understanding of the processes of composition standing behind the text of the *Chronicle* as it survives must derive from a close analysis of its relationship to its sources both narratively and linguistically. It is worth recalling that, on the whole, the *Chronicle* does not translate from thirteenth century Anglo-Norman translations, but rather the great Latin histories of the twelfth century, the *Historia regum*, *Historia Anglorum*, and *Gesta Regum*, to bring its narrative to the post-Conquest period. Yet interspersed with these historical texts, the *Chronicle* translates extensive portions of the Middle English *South English Legendary*, a text decidedly outside the historiographical canon as conventionally conceived. Prior to the acts of inter- and intra-lingual translation, there are a series of decisions concerning the structure, and thus agenda, of the *Chronicle*. Yet the political import of these can be difficult to establish, if not impossible, suggesting it is, at times, a mistaken approach to reading the text. The ideological importance of omitting the claims to British sovereignty and historical legitimacy implicit in Belin and Brennin’s conquests of France and Rome from the longer recension, but included in the shorter recension, is a tangled, if resonant example. Yet there are many other instances, such as the few lines concerning St. Alphege’s martyrdom at the hands of the Danes, which do not fit neatly, if at all, into categories that determine the methodological imperatives behind the formation of the text.⁷¹

Structural and narrative translation remain the most complex aspects of derivative texts. Although, because of linguistic resemblance or the reproduction of narrative details

⁷¹ See *Chronicle*, 6058-6061; the lines are translated from the *South English Legendary* text of *Alphege*.

only found in particular sources, it is not necessarily challenging to unravel the tissue of translations that constitute the *Chronicle*, offering cogent explanations for the almost excessive level of detail sometimes translated – half lines, or a few lines from one source in the midst of hundreds of consecutive lines from another source – remains an incomplete and inconclusive project. Indeed, it must be the case that aesthetic concerns play a role in the processes of assembling derivative texts; the metre and rhyme may not be the most sophisticated, but the *Chronicle* renders its largely prose sources in verse, and there are efforts at alliteration, interlocking verses, and other literary and rhetorical devices. Thus to arrive at a responsible methodology for reading the *Chronicle*, translation in both the narrative and linguistic senses must be considered carefully. As the *Chronicle* is the product of a series of transformative decisions by the author regarding his sources and his work, the relics of those decisions, large and small, narrative and linguistic, must stand for the prologue the author of the *Chronicle* chose to dispense with.

A brief examination of the actual praxis of translation in the *Chronicle*, both inter- and intra-lingual, can reveal some of the patterns typical of the linguistic processes of translation – setting aside, for the moment, the textual, contextual, and other aspects of the act of translation in the fullest sense of the term.⁷² To begin with intra-lingual translation, compare the shorter recension of the *Chronicle* and Lagamon's *Brut*:

Chronicle

After þis king kunedag . his sone þat het riual
 King was imad after him . wisman þoru out al
 Ac blod þer ron & fligene . in his time ywis
 þat mucche folc þer deigede . ase hit ywriten is
 Riual wysliche held þis lond . forto his ending
 Gurgustinus þat was his sone . after him was
 king
 þer after siluius was king . & sone fel to grounde
 & ligo was þer after king . on litel stounde

Brut

He hefte anne sune ræhne; Riwald wes ihaten.
 he wes wis he wes fæir he welde þat riche hæf
 al hit hine luuede; þat liuede in londe.
 An þan ilke time; hæf com a selkeð taken.
 sulche hare nere eær ne com; ne neuere seoððen hider-to
 From heouene her com a selcuð flod; þre dægges hit rinde
 blod...
 swulc. fare of fleogen her was. þat heo freten þet corn 7 þat
 græs
 wo wes al þen folke þe wuneden an folden.

⁷² For a more extensive analysis of the practice of translation in the *Chronicle*, see my M.Phil thesis, *Translating History in the Chronicle of 'Robert of Gloucester'* (University of Oxford, 2000).

Eyte wike and na mo . & partede out of lyue	þær-after com swulke mon-qualm; þat lute hæf cwike læfden...
Sepþe was king Marke . þritti wikes alyue	Suððen com Lago; þa æhte wike liuede.
Gorbodagus þer after . her was vif ger king	Suoðen. com king Marke. he wes þritti wiken king.
& twege sones hadde . wyþere þoru alle þing	þeo com Gorbodiago; he wes fif gere god king.
Ferreus het þe vldere . þe gongore porex was	þe king hauede twege sunen; beiene vniselie.
þis breþeren were wiþere . bitwene ham no loue nas	þe eldere hehte Fereus; þe gengere hehte Poreus.
	þas breþren weren swa wode; and swa wiþer-warde ⁷³

The *Chronicle* demonstrates quite clearly the effects of the vocabulary of the *Brut* on its own lexicon in this passage of intra-lingual translation.⁷⁴ ‘Wipere’, which the *Chronicle* employs to translate ‘vniselie’, is unattested in the text, other than these two instances; its occurrence two lines later in the *Brut*, however, is revealing.⁷⁵ The vocabulary of the *Chronicle* can be seen to be inflected by Lagamon’s text, not only at the precise point of translation (as with the second instance), but within the immediate surroundings of a line, as well. The repetition, in the *Brut*, of the line-initial ‘suððen’, is varied in the *Chronicle*, once rendered as ‘sepþe’ and also reformulated to occupy a half line, ‘þer after’: translation in the *Chronicle* is neither overly literal, nor without an eye to variation. The general process can be described as a compression of the core sense of the source text, followed by an expansion to meet the demands of metre and rhyme, frequently accomplished through the creation of ‘blank’ half lines. These efforts at varying vocabulary and re-arranging syntax, while capturing sense and, to some extent, preserving (whilst transforming) style or tone, are typical of intra-lingual translation in the *Chronicle*.

Yet it is precisely the fluidity of a translation that preserves diction and style that can also occlude them. Although the Latin source texts of the *Chronicle* are all prose works, the translation of Henry of Huntingdon’s hexameters in praise of Britain offer a rare example of inter-lingual translation of verse in the *Chronicle*:

⁷³ *Chronicle*, 901-2, G.1-12; *Brut*, 1938-43, 1948-50, 1955-60.
⁷⁴ It is, of course, precisely this sort of positive evidence and linguistic transparency that most significantly facilitate the identification of source texts.
⁷⁵ Madden’s glossary to his edition of the *Brut* indicates ‘wiper’, and a variety of compounds based on the word, are common in the text.

Chronicle

In þe contrey of kanterbury . mest plente of fiss is
 & mest chas a bout salesbury . of wilde bestes iwis
 At londone ssipes mest . & win at winchestre
 At herevorde ssep . & orf & frut at wircestre
 Sope aboute couentre . & ire at gloucestre
 Metal as led and tyn . in þe contreie of eccestre
 Euerwik of fairest wode . lincolne of feirest men
 Grantebrigge & hontendone . mest plente of dep ven
 Ely of fairest place . of fairest sigt roucestre
 Evenest aien france . stont þe contrei of cicestre
 Norwich aien denemarch . chestre agen irlonde
 Duram agen norþwey . as ich vnder stonde

Historia Anglorum

De cuius laude ita scripsimus heroice...
 Testes Lundonie ratibus, Wintonia Bacho,
 Hereforda grege, Wirecestria fruge redundans;
 Batha lacu, Salebira feris, Cantuaria pisce,
 Eboracum siluis, Excestria clara metallis;
 Noruuicium Dacis, Hibernis Cestria, Gallis
 Cicestrum, Noruuageniis Dunelma propinquans.
 Testis Lincolie gens infinita decore,
 Testis Ely formosa situ, Rouecestria uisu.⁷⁶

Of the places lauded in the *Historia Anglorum*, the *Chronicle* omits only one, Bath, although it freely re-orders those it does translate.⁷⁷ The *Chronicle* also adds four locations to its source text – Coventry, Gloucester, Cambridge, and Huntingdon – generating various points of praise for each of them. As seen with the verse of Lagamon, above, the *Chronicle* freely expands its material, in this case a particularly necessary approach to manage the terseness of the Latin hexameters; Henry of Huntingdon's two-word accounts become at least half lines, if not full lines. But there is an element of poetic sensibility at work: 'grege', flocks, is expanded metonymically to 'ssep & orf', sheep and cattle; 'clara metallis' is enumerated as 'led and tyn'.⁷⁸ Even, too, with the almost automatic rhyme supplied by many place names, which account for the rhyme of three of the six couplets, the poet supplies alliteration in lines 139a and 141b, and potentially strives for something more complex in 145a, 'Euerwik of fairest wode'. On the whole, of course, the translation of the Latin verses is not particularly spectacular. But it reveals the freedom with which source texts are re-worked and rearranged

⁷⁶ *Chronicle*, 139-150. *Historia Anglorum* i.6.21, 'I have written in hexameters in Britain's praise...to this witness London rich in ships, Winchester in wine, Hereford in flocks, Worcester in the fruits of the earth; Bath famed for pools, Salisbury for wild game, Canterbury for fish, York for woodlands, Exeter for metals; Norwich near to the Danes, Chester to the Irish, Chichester to the Gauls, Durham to the Norwegians. There witness also Lincoln's people boundless in beauty, Ely beautiful in its site, Rochester in its appearance' (22). See also Greenway's discussion of the verses, *Historia Anglorum*, cix.

⁷⁷ The omission is potentially connected to the immediately following 'Mirabilia Anglia' in the *Chronicle*, of which Bath is the first, 'þre wonders beþ in engelond . none more inot / þat water of baþe is þat on . þat eue is iliche hot' (*Chronicle*, 151-2).

⁷⁸ Wright's oft-quoted dismissal of the *Chronicle*, 'As literature, it is as worthless as twelve thousand lines of verse without one spark of poetry can be' (xl), is rather unnecessarily harsh. Lead and tin may have been suggested by their appearance one hundred lines earlier, in the 'Commendacio Anglie', an elegiac listing of the island's natural resources, 'Of seluer or & of gold . of tyn & ek of lede' (*Chronicle*, 16).

to suit the needs of the *Chronicle*, whether for rhyme and metre, or for more textually or ideologically significant purposes. Most importantly, perhaps, these two examples of intra- and inter-lingual translation demonstrate how the *Chronicle* is at once faithful and indebted to its source texts, yet, in the process of creating a derivative text, adept at translating the sources into a new context, and a new, original, whole.

Recensions

The two recensions of the *Chronicle* pose many difficulties, as has been seen, for dating the text and identifying the author – if there is, indeed, only one. Theories of multiple authorship have largely been the norm since Wright's edition – the first to identify the two recensions – primarily given the doubled narration of the reign of Stephen, in almost precisely the same number of lines, in both the longer and shorter recensions, and the radically different character and extent of the subsequent reigns.⁷⁹ Hudson concludes 'whether this treatment of the source material implies unity or diversity of authorship seems insoluble,' and notes of this section, 'as a theoretical consideration, it appears more improbable that two different authors should independently have produced such close similarity, using the same source but, generally, different parts of it'.⁸⁰ The character of the two recensions is, from the reign of Henry II onwards, quite dramatically different: the shorter recension compressing swathes of history into a few lines, the longer providing lengthy hortatory speeches before battles. For all of the theoretical and practical difficulties in assessing the relationship between the recensions of the *Chronicle*, there is, in fact,

⁷⁹ See, for example, Hudson's customarily cautious remarks, 'Not only is it peculiar that two versions, whether by the same or different writers, should be made from the same source, and, within a few lines, of the same length, but it is also remarkable that very little of the material in Henry of Huntingdon is used twice' (Hudson, i.56-7).

⁸⁰ Hudson, i.57-8, 58 n.1. See n. 33, above, for Hudson on the shorter recension as potentially the work of a series of continuators, presumably, however, for the shorter recension from the reign of Henry II to the end.

previously unnoticed evidence that may go some way to settling the questions raised by the existence of the two recensions.

The almost complete lack of reference in the *Chronicle* to its source texts is remarkable, particularly in comparison with other vernacular historiographies such as Mannyng's *Chronicle* and even, to some extent, with Lagamon's *Brut*.⁸¹ Indeed, the lack of any sort of prologue to the *Chronicle* is quite distinctive when compared to the text's Latin sources.⁸² Such a complete absence of authorial inscription, or at least a passing discussion of methodological or textual concerns, resembles more the prose *Brut* tradition, or works such as monastic annals or the *Short Chronicle*, than the lengthy, richly narrated textual tradition with which the *Chronicle* implicitly aligns itself. Despite the lack of prefatory comments, and the near total silence regarding sources, there are nonetheless two vague comments on sources in the first 700 lines, two others found only in the longer recension, and two others found in the shorter recension. These are, with only one exception, extremely vague, gesturing more towards an idea of textuality than necessarily a particular text, 'as it is iwrite', 'as me may in bok . redder & ise', 'as þe boc aþ itold', 'in romance of him imad . me it may finde iwrite', 'ase hit ywriten is', and the exceptional instance found in the shorter recension, 'rede on þe cronikes . þat buþ of him ywrite / þat haþ maistre huwe . of howedene ywrou'.⁸³ In general, the narrator's voice throughout the *Chronicle* is not particularly prominent. Yet moments such as these, and a small number of instances in which the narrator conveys a grasp of the text at hand, such as the essentially formulaic remark, 'as ich

⁸¹ See Chapter 2, above. See also Chapter 4 for a discussion of the Arundel 58 text of the *Chronicle*, which is surprisingly explicit in some ways about its sources.

⁸² See C. Marchello-Nizia, 'L'historien et son prologue: forme littéraire et stratégies discursives', in ed. D. Poirier, *La chronique et l'histoire au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1984), 13-25. Also, of course, are the prologues found in the reductively monolingual, even monovocal (note the use of the singular and the definite article in the title), J. Wogan-Brown, N. Watson, A. Taylor, and R. Evans, eds., *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory 1280-1520* (Exeter, 1999).

⁸³ *Chronicle*, 607, 646, 9733, 9987, G.2, XX.518-19.

eu telle kan', are remarkable.⁸⁴ They are remarkable precisely for their rarity and understated tone in a text that is a tapestry woven of translations from numerous Latin and English sources, a derivative text of incredible intellectual and historiographical sophistication.

Of the sections in the *Chronicle* identified by Wright as translated from Lagamon's *Brut*, the two longest sections, printed as appendices G and H in Wright's edition, occur at moments where the elision of materials is remarked in the longer recension. The accuracy of the comments – they both mark points in the text where significant materials from the *Historia regum* have, in fact, been omitted – is all the more peculiar for the shorter recension's 'correction' of the omissions. The first of the two instances, both found in the British section of the poem, is in the midst of a long sequence of British kings following Cunedag.⁸⁵ The longer recension elides an extraordinary amount of history, quite casually, in its leap from Cunedag to Gurgunt, 'After þis king kunedag . his sone þat het rual / King was imad after him . wisman þoru out al / After him gurgust is sone . & suppe anoþer sicille / & monion suppe afterward . of wan we mote be stille'.⁸⁶ Omitting the final two lines, the shorter recension responds by interpolating 270 lines taken from the *Historia regum* and Lagamon's *Brut*, not only rejecting the idea that the text 'mote be stille' on the matter, but turning explicitly to textual authority to do so, 'After þis king kunedag . his sone þat het rual / King was imad after him . wisman þoru out al / Ac blod þer ron & fligene . in his time ywis / þat muche folc þer deigede . ase hit ywriten is'.⁸⁷

The second instance occurs only 100 lines later, all of which are spent narrating the history of Gurgunt, Brennin's son, 'After kyng gurguont . kinges monion / þer were here in

⁸⁴ *Chronicle*, BB.1.

⁸⁵ *Historia regum*, ii.15-16. The listing of numerous kings whose reigns are described briefly follows the Lear story.

⁸⁶ *Chronicle*, 901-4. The omission of some 12 chapters of the *Historia regum* (ii.16-iii.11), including the entire story of Belin and Brennin, British conquerors of Rome, is a blatantly ideological position, arrived at textually in the longer recension, and thoroughly altered by the revisions of the shorter recension.

⁸⁷ *Chronicle*, 901-2, G.1-2. And 'ywriten' it indeed is; the first line is directly translated from the *Brut*, 'From heouene her com a sulcuð flod ; þre dæges hit rinde blod...Her comen blake flegen ; and flugen in mone egene' (*Brut*, 1943, 1946).

engelond . me ne may nogt telle echon / Aboute ane four hondred ȝer . after him þer com / A kyng þat was lud icluped . þat wel huld þis kinedom'.⁸⁸ Again, the shorter recension, as if in dialogue with the explicit omissions of the longer recension, omits these lines, and supplies almost 300 lines drawn from Lagamon's *Brut* and the *Historia regum*. In this instance, there is not an explicit reference to textual authority, set in dialogue with the articulation of omission in the longer recension, but the sense remains quite clear that the shorter recension is responding to the prompts or challenges of the longer recension's significant re-casting of British history.⁸⁹

There is another example of inter-recension dialogue, coming, however, not in the body of the *Chronicle* where, on the whole, the two textual traditions differ only little. In the midst of the 200 line account of Richard I's reign in the longer recension, concerning Richard's nobility and the crusades, the narrator momentarily emerges, 'Of so noble kniȝt ne prince . ne do so muche prowessse / Me ne mai nogt al telle her . ac wo so it wole iwite / In romance of him imad . me it may finde iwrite'.⁹⁰ This reference, quite possibly to the romance *Richard Coeur de Lyon*, is the only semi-explicit textual reference in the longer recension.⁹¹ Startlingly, the 45 line account of Richard I in the shorter recension begins with another textual reference, and moreover exhibits meta-textual awareness on the part of the narrator:

Richard his sone þat vlke ȝer . was ycrouned king
þat noble man was after . & hende in alle þing
Ac of his chiualerige . who so wole y wyte
Rede on þe cronikes . þat buþ of him ywrite
þat haþ maistre huwe . of howedene ywroun
Vor al his chiualerige . þer inne is wel ibroun

⁸⁸ *Chronicle*, 1015-18. The omitted portion is *Historia regum*, iii.13-iii.20.

⁸⁹ It should be stressed that the term 'dialogue' used to describe the relationship is used very intentionally to sustain the possibility that the longer recension is marking the omissions. That is, given the rarity of such meta-textual comments in the longer recension, their potential significance should not be lightly overlooked.

⁹⁰ *Chronicle*, 9985-87.

⁹¹ Note, too, the puzzling resemblance to a similar reference made to the 'Romance' of Richard in Mannyng's *Chronicle*, for which see Chapter 2, n. 90, above. Moreover, note the fact that one manuscript of the *Chronicle*, Arundel 58, does, in fact, insert at this point a nearly complete copy of the romance *Richard Coeur de Lyon*.

þar fore on þis boke . nis hit nout ywrite
Ac of his endinge . me schal her inne ywite.⁹²

This singular reference to a text is, in fact, misleading; the shorter recension here translates almost verbatim the annals of Burton Abbey, not the *Chronica* of Roger of Hoveden.⁹³

Whilst the *Chronica* of Roger of Howeden could, in some ways, be thought of as a ‘romance’ of Richard, the Burton Annals rather likely cannot be called such, even with the most generous interpretation of the term; thus as a direct response to the textual reference and suggestion of the longer recension, the shorter recension here does not seem to be literally responding. Yet the emphasis on external texts, found at identical points in the reign of Richard I in both recensions, remains notable, and contributes further evidence to the sense not only that the shorter recension responds to the longer recension, but that moments such as these occur in the longer recension almost precisely to elicit responses.⁹⁴ Because of the gulf in how the two recensions handle their subject matter after the reign of Stephen, it has not been suggested, to my knowledge, that the author of the latter portions of the shorter recension had a copy of the longer recension in front of him, or either was aware of the text, or necessarily had access to it.⁹⁵ Nonetheless, this example again points to a distinctive, if but poorly understood, connection between the two recensions.

An additional instance of meta-textual awareness on the part of the narrator of the shorter recension again demonstrates knowledge of a larger textual tradition by the author.

Of the ten lines devoted to the (long) reign of Henry III in the shorter recension, four lines

⁹² *Chronicle*, XX.515-22.

⁹³ Wright notes in his introduction, ‘The beginning of the reign of Richard is singularly like that in the Annals of Burton, in which the chronicler whose narrative is followed is likewise called Hugh of Hoveden instead of Roger’ (xxxviii). Wright’s assessment is here correct. See *Annales Monastici* i.188, ‘Rex Ricardus coronatus est. Hic fuit bellicosus et fortunatus in adversis. Regnum Angliae et omnes terras transmarinas tenuit invita sua, sed armorum exercitio. Quantus etiam fuerit si quis scire voluerit legat Chronica magistri Hugonis de Hovedene’. See also *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols., Rolls Series (London, 1868-1871), iv.82-5.

⁹⁴ Compare, perhaps, the ideas regarding the ‘original’ *Short Chronicle* as a text inviting alteration and interpolation discussed in Chapter 1, above.

⁹⁵ That is, there seems to be an implicit understanding and agreement that the author of the shorter recension must have had a copy of the longer recension up to the reign of Stephen, but nothing is said of the post-Anarchy sections.

justify the stance of the current work in relation to other texts, ‘þer were on his time . two batailes on londe / At lewes & at euesham . as ich vnderstonde / þat were ihurd ilome . & ne buþ for gūte nout / þer fore on þis boke . ne buþ hi nout ywrou’t’.⁹⁶ Although not responding to a particular textual prompt in the longer recension, the shorter recension’s drastic reduction of the material that constitutes the bulk of the narrative of the longer recension after Stephen’s reign curiously inverts the two instances in the British portion of the *Chronicle*, where the longer recension eschews relating portions of the *Historia regum* only to be ‘completed’ by the shorter recension. There are other moments of textual awareness exhibited in the shorter recension, ‘as ich eu telle kan’, ‘nou ycleped he is / In bok of holi chirche’, ‘Vor as ge ssolle her after hure’, and ‘ich wot icleped he is / In bok of holi chirche’.⁹⁷ Whilst these examples do not contribute to the interplay between the recensions, they do indicate a certain grasp of the narrative as a whole by the author of the shorter recension, and provide glimpses of formulaic consistency that may indicate unity of authorship for the shorter recension.

There are other trends to be found in the interpolations of the second recension. Two sections add materials relating to Glastonbury, six add sometimes extensive materials about saints, and two show concern for preserving a record of the names of women.⁹⁸ The greatest number of shorter recension interpolations, however, are connected to the history of the Britons, in particular, to some of the more famous moments of the *Historia regum*, often as they are found in its translation in the *Brut* – Bladud’s flights in London, Belin and Brennin’s conquest of Rome, Morpidus and the sea monster, the ‘ray tails’ of the Saxons, the burning of Cirencester by sparrows, and the massacre of British monks at Bangor.⁹⁹ The concern

⁹⁶ *Chronicle*, XX.583-6. The exceptionally tendentious statement that the Barons’ War ‘ne buþ for gūte nout’ will be considered below.

⁹⁷ *Chronicle*, BB.1, KK.3-4, MM.1, OO.1-2.

⁹⁸ Respectively, *Chronicle* appendices N and LL, W,X,Z,II,KK, and OO, and CC and DD.

⁹⁹ Respectively appendices E,G,H,S,T, and U. See Madden’s edition of the *Brut*, iii.419-21 on the ‘caudati’ of the Saxons, wherein Madden, unaware of the shorter recension, states that Robert of Gloucester omits the tale.

evinced in the shorter recension for correcting notable omissions in the longer recension of substantive and teleologically significant episodes of British history, indicates the text, and the additional translations, are not without the prompt of an ideological or historiographical project, however complex. It is important to recall that, in translating from Lagamon's *Brut* in places, there is little, in fact, being added to the narrative of British history as found in the *Historia regum* – a text open in front of the author of the longer recension whilst composing this section of the *Chronicle*. It is as much a case of asking 'why Lagamon instead of Geoffrey of Monmouth' as 'why these particular sections'.

The idea of staged composition introduced above, although applied there to the creation of the whole of the *Chronicle*, and not to one or the other of the recensions, may offer some insight into the appearance of the *Brut* in the shorter recension, and more generally, into the patterns of intervention in the British and Saxon sections of the history. Although the shorter recension certainly does not systematically revise the longer recension text, it is wholly possible to imagine the shorter recension up to the reign of Stephen as another 'stage' in the composition of the *Chronicle*. That is, positing the longer recension as having been written first, upon encountering Lagamon's *Brut*, the author chooses to incorporate materials translated from the *Brut*, supplying both items specifically omitted before, such as Belin and Brennin, and expanding sections that previously had redacted the *Historia regum* with a loss of detail. Similarly, the connections between the *Short Chronicle* and the *Chronicle* all occur in shorter recension interpolations, such as the remarkable relics given to Athelston.¹⁰⁰ It seems that the defining mark of the shorter recension to the reign of

¹⁰⁰ See *Chronicle*, appendix EE. The question of the *Short Chronicle*'s derivation from Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*, explored by McNelis, requires further study. I believe that the current understanding is incorrect, and the length and 'named' aspect of the *Chronicle* have led to its posited role as a source for the *Short Chronicle*. The evidence, particularly inasmuch as all connections between the two texts occur in the shorter recension of the *Chronicle*, suggests that the *Short Chronicle*, like Lagamon's *Brut*, may well be a textual source added to the lexicon of the shorter recension. Otherwise, one must imagine a manuscript of the shorter recension in which those features unique to the text, and not present in the longer recension, are somehow marked, and then translated by the scribes/authors of the *Short Chronicle*.

Stephen is the addition of texts to the (already) long list of source texts, very possibly indicative of their addition to the author's textual lexicon. The brevity of some of the interpolations makes this generalization impossible to prove.¹⁰¹ Yet it may be these brief additions, if they do not necessarily record the inclusion of new details from new texts, may well be a subsequent stage of composition, translating details previously overlooked, rejected, or re-assessed, into the *Chronicle*. Modern scholars do not hesitate to discuss and investigate, some 70 years later in the fourteenth century, the A,B,C, and Z texts of Langland's *Piers Plowman*, or the 'C-reviser's corrupt B-text'. This Langlandian evidence for the complexities of manuscript and textual circulation, for texts circulating beyond an author's control, and for authorial attempts at intervention and revision, may well provide insight into the two recensions of the *Chronicle* up to the reign of Stephen – a plurality of authorial texts, frozen in manuscript, in different stages of conception, revision, and composition.¹⁰²

So far, a careful line has been drawn at the doubled narrative of Stephen's reign in the two recensions. Hudson notes, 'the source of the entire reign of Stephen, in both recensions, is the Chronicle of Henry of Huntingdon'.¹⁰³ Hudson's close analysis of the text of Stephen's reign in both recensions, based upon her edition of that portion of the text, identifies the correlations between the *Chronicle*'s translation of Henry of Huntingdon's work and the *Historia Anglorum* itself, and rejects the theory that the two texts once formed a whole and have somehow become separated.¹⁰⁴ The identical length of the two recensions' texts of the reign of Stephen suggests, perhaps, that one of the two was designed to replace, or perhaps

¹⁰¹ Frequently, Wright identifies a single couplet as found in the manuscripts of the shorter recension, which may represent merely a different textual tradition, rather than necessarily a characteristic feature of the shorter recension. Thus appendices F,I,M,P,FF,GG,QQ,RR,TT, and VV are potentially suspect; appendices MM, NN, and WW are all longer recension manuscripts preserving lines not in Wright's base text. Compare Hudson's demonstration of a similar phenomenon in the reigns of Henry II and Stephen, Hudson, i.81-114.

¹⁰² Note, too, how long it took for Langland studies to overcome the question of multiple authorship for the poem, a question now re-framed and re-played in the debates over the status of the Z-text, and other potentially scribal inventions, insertions, and reworkings.

¹⁰³ Hudson, i.56.

¹⁰⁴ See Hudson, i.56-8.

re-create, the other. That is, the identical length of the two versions, especially inasmuch as they differ for the reigns of subsequent rulers, may indicate that physical exigencies dictated the style and extent of the narration. It is possible to imagine an existing manuscript wherein the folios to be occupied by the reign of Stephen were blank, but the reigns of Henry I and Henry II had already been copied, thus requiring the text to be written to order, as it were.¹⁰⁵ Thus one of the two versions may have been written very particularly to be inserted into an existing space, a space estimated and lineated on the basis of a text somehow no longer available.

However, the idea that one of the two texts of Stephen's reign was 'designed' to replace the other is complicated by the largely different use the two make of the *Historia Anglorum*, and by the differences in the sections included, expanded, alluded to, and redacted.¹⁰⁶ There is nothing in particular, however, to separate the two, either linguistically or in terms of subject matter: for all practical purposes, the reign of Stephen in both recensions is a translation from the *Historia Anglorum*, differently inflected, with a difference in which episodes are treated and how they are translated, but substantially interchangeable.¹⁰⁷ I do not believe it is possible to offer an irrefutable explanation for the

¹⁰⁵ The reigns of Henry I and Henry II, in this scenario, would have to occur in such a way as to prevent the inclusion of additional quires or leaves, i.e. would have to occur in a quire of which the opening and closing leaves were filled. Curiously the 539 lines of the longer recension (537 lines in the shorter) fill just under eight folios, assuming an average of 34 or 35 lines per side, as is the case with MS Additional 19677 and Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R.4.26, or just over seven folios, with the 38 lines per folio of CUL MS Ee.iv.31. If it was a quire that was to be inserted and filled, there are no convincing arguments against the possibility that the 'replacement' version could have been longer, occupying a quire of 10 or 12 leaves, or even multiple quires.

¹⁰⁶ For example, whereas the events surrounding the Battle of the Standard occupy some 45 lines in the shorter recension, a mere 11 on the topic occur in the longer recension. Conversely, the extensive 200 line narration of the Battle of Lincoln in the longer recension is alluded to in two lines in the shorter recension. See Hudson, i. 57.

¹⁰⁷ Consider the translation of *Historia Anglorum* x.2, the spectacularly gruesome account of the rotting of Henry I's body and its dismemberment for burial. The longer recension observes, 'King henryes brain & gottes . & eyen ibured were / At reins in normandie . & suppe þe bones hii bere / Wel iselt & isode . to þe abbeye of redinge / & bured is þere vaire inou . as vel to an kinge', whereas the shorter recension translates more of the *Historia Anglorum*, 'At reyns as he was ibrou . & gan foule smille / O man for mede him openede . & gan þo to culle / His heued mid o pol hax . þat al hit to schrop / & so nom out þat brayn . for þe smul þat was lop / So þat brayn & Ineward . & his eygene also / Were iburede ifere þere . mid fol gret wo / Vor he þat al wroute . sone ded he lay / Wel dure he aboute . his mede þat day / gute his hefd was ywonde . mid clop faste ynou / þis man was þe laste . þat henri king slou' (*Chronicle*, 9162-65, XX.23-32).

existence of the two texts of Stephen's reign, nearly identical in length, yet vastly different in content. The model of staged composition, as well, seemingly cannot hold for these 500 lines, as not only is there no evidence that one is a redaction of the other, and no additional sources are included, but the almost wholly different use of the same source text is, ultimately, baffling. Whether this entirely undermines the idea that the two recensions may be stages of revision of a single text, or merely remains an inexplicable exception to an otherwise largely coherent theory, must be left to others.

After the reign of Stephen, the narration of the shorter recension accelerates rapidly, the reigns of Henry II and Richard I are related in fewer and fewer lines until the almost ludicrously brief accounts of John, Henry III, and Edward I's coronation and conquest of Wales occupy a mere 33 lines. Although the choice leading to the fundamental change in tone, from the complexly developed to the barest of outlines, is inexplicable, the change in the nature of the text itself is not. Marking the addition of yet another source text, the reigns of Henry III and Edward I are translated closely from the Anglo-Norman text known as *Li Livre de Reis de Britannie* or *Li Rei de Engleterre*.¹⁰⁸ The two are most easily compared side by side:

Chronicle

Henri his sone com after . & þis lond þo nom
& vifti ger & sixe . huld þis kinedom
& eke twenti dawes . & ded was ywis
& ibured at westmunstre . þer his bodi gut is
þer were on his time . two batailes on londe
At lewes & at euesham . as ich vnderstonde
þat were ihurd ilome . & ne buþ for gute nout
þer fore on þis boke . ne buþ hi nout ywroun
Of grace twelf hundred . & two & seuenti ger
Ded was þe king henri . ase ich seide nou er
Edward his sone was þo . man of gret pris
At westmunstre icrouned . strong king & wis
þat of þe welische londe . clanliche al out

Li Reis de Engleterre

Après li Henri sun fiz rescut la regne, a regna
lvi. ans e xx.jors. Si murust, e gist a
Westmoster. En sun tens furunt ii grant
batailes, un a Lewes, e l'autre a Evesham.

Après li fust Edward sun fiz rey, e corone a
Westmoster, e conquist tote la
seignorie de Wales.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ The second title is used in preference to the first, reflecting the work of Foltys as an improvement over that of Glover for the Rolls Series. I am grateful to Sharon Goetz of the University of California, Berkeley, for sharing her transcriptions of various manuscripts of *Li Rei* and her work on the text and its tradition.

¹⁰⁹ *Chronicle*, XX.579-592. *Li Rei*, in *Le Livre de Reis de Britannie*, ed. J. Glover, 30. Note the variant Glover provides (of the two manuscripts he edits), 'Apré ly fu rei Eaduard sun fiz, beau bachelier pruz e vailant', 30 n. 9. See also Foltys, 112-13.

I wan þe seignorize . nere hi no so prout

That the shorter recension of the *Chronicle* is translating *Li Rei* here is, I believe, incontestable, particularly given the variant for the reign of Edward I, in which he is described as a ‘beau bachelor pruz e vailant’. As evidence for the use of an Anglo-Norman source text by the author of the *Chronicle*, however, it is important to stress that, much as with the ‘Roberd’ of the longer recension, this may well apply only to the author of the shorter recensions, and not the text as a whole. It does, however, serve to bring the shorter recension after the reign of Stephen in line with the pattern seen in the earlier interpolations, namely, as demonstrably turning to new source texts for its development. Indeed, the reigns of Henry III and Edward I in the shorter recension exhibit all of the typical features of expansion, inheritance of vocabulary, and the addition of contextualising lines typical of translation throughout the *Chronicle* in both recensions.

Much of the discussion here on the two recensions of the *Chronicle* has indulged in speculation in an attempt to provide some insight into the issue. The traditional view of the text, despite the hedge implicit in the description of the ‘recensions’, essentially holds the *Chronicle* from the reign of Stephen onwards as evidence that there are two texts by separate authors; by extension, as well, those alterations made to the earlier part of the *Chronicle* in the shorter recension are the work of a later reviser. What evidence there is for the connections between the longer and shorter recension – a sense, in places, of inter-recension dialogue, shared methodology of translation and composition, linguistic and tonal similarity – is suggestive, rather than conclusive. My own position, clearly at odds with those of Mitchell and Turville-Petre, attempts to argue for sufficient unity in methodology, and offers a series of plausible scenarios to explain the differences between the two recensions through the reign of Stephen as the work of a single author, preserved in manuscript in different stages of revision. Although some patterns do emerge for the alterations of the shorter recension both

before and after the reign of Stephen, in particular the introduction of source texts not otherwise used in the longer recension, including the Burton Annals for the reign of Richard I, and *Li Rei* for those of Henry III and Edward I, the evidence remains, ultimately, inconclusive.

‘Bot hit be þorȝ gyle’: Racial Politics and the Barons’ War

The *Chronicle* of Pierre Langtoft is well known for its stridently anti-Scottish agenda. The *Chronicle* of Robert Mannyng, *Des Grant Geanz*, and the *Short Chronicle* all participate in the vociferous assertion of English superiority, and potentially sovereignty, over Scotland, that runs throughout historiography at the end of the thirteenth century. All of these texts do so, moreover, regardless of when, historically, their narratives draw to a close; the undermining of Scottish foundational mythologies is not essentially different from the direct attacks on the Scots for perfidy and barbarism found scattered throughout late thirteenth and early fourteenth century historiography. Much as the almost complete absence of Anglo-Norman from the text of the *Chronicle*, and of Anglo-Norman source texts from the author’s textual lexicon, are striking, so, too, is the almost complete silence on the ‘matter of Scotland’ in a chronicle likely written after 1297, the year of the Scots’s victory at Stirling Bridge. Of the Barons’ War there is no shortage of material in the *Chronicle*, and there are any number of re-workings and small asides on the Conquest, the Anarchy and the legitimacy of Stephen’s reign, and on the transitions of power and rule over the history of the island from the Britons to the Saxons, Danes, and Normans. All of which make the silence of the *Chronicle* regarding Scotland, especially as there are numerous opportunities for foreshadowing and anachronistic assessments, all the more noteworthy.

It is essential, first, to reject what has become an almost axiomatic assumption that the use of English as a written language indicates an author's ethnic English identity.¹¹⁰ Latin texts are permitted by modern scholars to allow the ethnic identity of the author to be determined by the ideological stance of the text.¹¹¹ Yet too often, it seems, Middle English texts are ethnically English first, and only then considered ideologically, politically, and evidentially. To date, the majority of the scholarship on the *Chronicle*, in particular that of Turville-Petre and Mitchell, has argued for the Middle English *Chronicle* as representative, if not constitutive, of an English linguistic and ethnic resurgence, positioned against the 'Norman oppressors', at the end of the thirteenth century.¹¹² Against this heroic view of linguistic oppression, rebellion, and finally victorious emergence as the dominant *lingua franca*, as it were, at the end of the fourteenth century (perhaps in Langland, certainly reaching its insular apotheosis in Chaucer), some rather fundamental reconsiderations are required.¹¹³

Mitchell and Turville-Petre both argue that the author of the *Chronicle* reveals his ethnic/political English agenda primarily in a few brief authorial asides. The first occurs at the classic locus of ethnic unrest in England, the Norman Conquest. In his analysis of the *Chronicle*, Wright notes of this passage, 'After some reflexions of his own (7324-7337), the writer in the main follows William of Malmesbury' regarding the Conquest, and the events

¹¹⁰ I am grateful to Professor Jennifer Miller for discussions on ethnicity and multilingualism, and for generously sharing her work with me at the 5th International Conference on Lagamon's *Brut* in August 2004.

¹¹¹ Similar is the question of Latin and Middle English borderline Lollard texts, where the reflexive extension from the choice of language to a religious/social/political agenda has unnecessarily complicated readings. In a slightly different vein, consider the work (and fate) of Reginald Pecock.

¹¹² The titles of Turville-Petre's *England the Nation* and Mitchell's 'We Englishe Men' encapsulate their positions neatly.

¹¹³ Thus, for example, Mitchell, 'We Englishe Men', 'At the time of the *Chronicle*'s composition, the English language had been cast down from the exalted position it had held in pre-Conquest formal usage, by the Anglo-Norman "interregnum"; it was to this position that its claim was being reasserted through Robert's chronicle' (192).

immediately following, attributing a few later lines as, again, 'remarks of his [the author's] own'.¹¹⁴ The passage bears quoting in full:

Mvche aþ þe sorwe ibe . ofte in engelande
 As ȝe mowe her & er . ihure & vnderstonde
 Of moni bataile þat aþ ibe . & þat men þat lond nome
 Verst as ȝe abbeþ ihurd . þe emperours of rome
 Supþe Saxons & englisse . mid batayles stronge
 & supþe hi of denemarch . þat hulde it al so longe
 Atte laste hii of normandie . þat maisters beþ ȝut here
 Wonne hit & holdeþ ȝut . icholle telle in wuch manere.¹¹⁵

At first glance, the passage indeed seems remarkable in its anti-Norman sentiment, echoing, as Turville Petre notes, the similar sentiments from the beginning of the *Chronicle*, 'þat folc of normandie / þat among vs wonieþ ȝvt . & ssulleþ euere mo / We ssulleþ her after in þise boc . telle of al þis wo'.¹¹⁶

It is essential to recognise this passage as, in fact, a translation of Henry of Huntingdon's paradigmatic 'five plagues' of history.¹¹⁷ Moreover, the paradigm itself must be understood not simply as a convenient schema for the transitions of power in insular history, but in fact a model that subsumes history – in particular sovereignty – to an economy of Christian salvation, ethnic sin, and temporal power. That the *Chronicle* is interested in preserving this model of the *Historia Anglorum* is incontestable: it appears twice, first in the opening 60 lines of the *Chronicle*, and again in the passage quoted above.¹¹⁸ Yet the

¹¹⁴ Wright, xxiii.

¹¹⁵ *Chronicle*, 7324-7331.

¹¹⁶ *Chronicle*, 54-56. Turville-Petre perceives 'a leitmotif of the *Chronicle* is the subjection of the English to the people of Normandy', *England the Nation*, 94-5.

¹¹⁷ See *Historia Anglorum*, i.4.14, 'Quinque autem plagas ab exordio usque ad presens immisit diuina ultio Britannie, que non solum uisitat fideles, sed etiam diiudicat infideles. Primam per Romanos, qui Britanniam expugnauerunt sed postea recesserunt. Secundam per Pictos et Scotos, qui grauissime eam bellis uexauerunt, nec tamen optinuerunt. Terciam per Anglicos, qui eam debellauerunt et optinent. Quartam per Dacos, qui eam bellis optinuerunt, sed postea deperierunt. Quintam per Normannos, qui eam deuicerunt et Anglis inpresentiarum dominantur'. Note the crucial object of the divine punishment is articulated, that both the 'fideles' and the 'infideles' are caught up in the plagues of conquest. Henry's emphatically English, Bedan agenda is evident throughout his *Historia Anglorum*.

¹¹⁸ Thus in the opening of the *Chronicle*, 'Engelond haþ ibe . inome & iwerred ilome / Verst þorȝ grete louerdes . þe emperours of rome / þat wroȝte & wonne engelond. & þat lond nome / Supþe þorȝ picars & scottes . þat to engelond come / þat werrede & destruede . ac al clene ne wonne it nogt / Supþe þorȝ engliss and Saxons . þat hider were ibroȝt / þorȝ brutons for to helpe hem . & supþe hom over come / þe brutons þat hom heder

translation, even reduplication of Henry's model of the five plagues, without the crucial component of salvational history – a tradition anchored in the works of Gildas and Bede, and typified in Wulfstan's hortatory 'Sermo Lupi ad Anglos' – should not be read as the uncritical endorsement or adaptation of Henry's ideological position, particularly inasmuch as the *Chronicle* removes the key basis of Henry's Gildasian model of conquest: the sins of the conquered.¹¹⁹ Moreover, note the differences between the two translations in the *Chronicle* of the 'five plagues'. The first translation greatly develops the complexities of the transitions of power, compromising the structure of Henry of Huntingdon's account by introducing the fundamental treachery of the Saxons in conquering the Britons, 'Suppe þorȝ engliss and saxons . þat hider were ibrogt / þorȝ brutons for to helpe hem . & suppe hom over come / þe brutons þat hom heder brogte . & þat lond hom binome'.¹²⁰ The second translation removes the Galfridian, anti-Saxon emphasis added to the 'five plagues', presenting instead a guiltless, justified, almost consequence-free Saxon conquest, thereby silencing the 5000 lines of British, literally Galfridian history, and 2000 lines of Bedan, Saxon history that have just been narrated, and positioning the Norman Conquest as an event occurring in an exceedingly faint historical context.

Thus the second translation of the 'five plagues' passage, occurring, as it does, at the pivotal moment of the Norman Conquest is indeed significant. But the significance does not lie in the observation that the Normans 'maister beþ ȝut here', but instead in the historiographical framework being erected within the *Chronicle*. After the opening five lines,

brogte . & þat lond hom binome / Suppe haþ engelond ibe iwerred ilome / Of þe folc of denemarch . þat ne beþ nogt ȝvt isome / þat ofte wonne engelond . and helde it bi maistrie / þe viſþe time ȝwan engelond . þat folc of normandie / þat among vs wonieþ ȝvt . & ssuelleþ euere mo / We ssulleþ her after in þise boc . telle of al þis wo' (*Chronicle*, 43-57).

¹¹⁹ See Turville-Petre, *England the Nation*, 'The suggestion for this passage comes indeed from Henry of Huntingdon, who structured his *Historia Anglorum* around the five plagues that God had sent the country as a punishment... It is one thing to write this within a century of the Conquest as Henry of Huntingdon did. Quite different are the implications of saying it at the end of the thirteenth century and expressing it from the standpoint of the oppressed, two hundred and fifty years after the Conquest' (94-5). See also Chapter 1, above.

¹²⁰ *Chronicle*, 48-50.

the *Chronicle* begins a close translation of the *Historia Anglorum*, turning briefly to the legend of *Kenelm* from the *South English Legendary* (itself a translation of William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*), and then returns to the *Historia Anglorum* before finally commencing British history and a translation of the *Historia regum* at line 206. Yet at the conclusion of British history, and at the awkward moment of making the political and textual transition from the British history of Geoffrey of Monmouth to the English histories of Henry of Huntingdon and William of Malmesbury, the *Chronicle* returns, after 5000 lines of history, to *Historia Anglorum* i.4 and the Heptarchy to accomplish the switch.¹²¹ The Heptarchy and the 'five plagues' are inextricably linked in the *Historia Anglorum*: found in the same chapter at the outset of the work, they frame the progression of sin and (deserved) conquest that constitute Henry's historiographical teleology.¹²² Their deployment in the *Chronicle* is not an anxiety about the 'passage of dominion' to the Normans some 250 years after the Conquest, but a more sophisticated attempt to actually understand the bases of sovereignty outside a paradigm of simplified racial divisions that were no longer usable, or wholly accurate, by the end of the thirteenth century.¹²³

In developing his arguments concerning the *Chronicle*'s 'Englishness', Turville-Petre then turns to the next 'authorial' lines to remark the ethnic divisions of the island, in particular, as delineated by linguistic identity:

& þe Normans ne coupe speke þo . bote hor owe speche

¹²¹ Thus at the end of British history and the beginning of Bedan, English history, the *Chronicle* returns to the beginning of the *Historia Anglorum*, 'þo brutayne was þus ylore . & þe londes name / To þe name of engelond . yturnd hom to gret ssame / Seue kinges hii adde longe . as þe king of est sex / Of kent of homberlond . of estangle of soupsex / Of þe march of westsex . of alle þes echon' (*Chronicle*, 5143-48).

¹²² At the conclusion of *Historia Anglorum*, book iv, Henry of Huntingdon observes, 'Sed cum iam ad monarchiam Anglie peruenimus et ad plagam horribilem que per Dacos illata est, liber proprius rebus nouis donandus est' (*Historia Anglorum* iv.30.264). Greenway remarks of this, 'the development of the single monarchy of the Wessex kings and the visitation by God of five plagues on the people of Britain are two major themes of the *HA*' (264 n.214).

¹²³ Note, for example, the extreme partisanship exhibited for Arthur of Brittany as against King John, *Chronicle* 9993-7, 10,112-23, or the description of Henry III as 'hor kunde louerd' (10,575). The first seems an unlikely cause to endorse at the end of the thirteenth century; the latter is an acknowledgement of the processes of intermarriage, assimilation, and the blurring of racial and ethnic lines, particularly after the loss of Normandy, that marked the end of Angevin rule of England.

& speke French as hii dude atom . & hor children dude also teche
 So þat heimen of þis lond . þat of hor blod come
 Holdeþ alle þulke speche . þat hii of hom nome
 Vor bote a man conne frenss . me telp of him lute
 Ac lowe men holdeþ to engliss . & to hor owe speche ȝute
 Ich wene þer ne beþ in al þe world . contreyes none
 þat ne holdeþ to hor owe speche . bote engelond one
 Ac wel me wot uor to conne . boþe wel it is
 Vor þe more þat a mon can . þe more wurþe he is.¹²⁴

The digression on language, here, seemingly unprecedented in any source texts, recalls somewhat the prologue of Mannyng's *Chronicle* written some 40 years later. Yet Turville-Petre's and Mitchell's interpretations of the passage both fail to consider the import of the final lines, which imply a social mobility through language acquisition – itself interesting evidence for the possibilities of bilingualism amongst the audience of the *Chronicle*, in addition to the demonstrable trilingualism of the author.¹²⁵ Moreover, the curious lines that England is the only country which does not 'holdeþ to hor owe speche' or, intriguingly, 'hor kynde speche', as five manuscripts have it, actually seem to indicate that French is, in fact, the language of England.¹²⁶ That is, at the same time this passage asserts ethnic and linguistic equivalency (Normans/French, English/English), it simultaneously indicates a national and linguistic equation distinct from ethnicity – if England doesn't 'holdeþ' to its 'owe speche' as other countries do, then it must 'hold' to the Other's speech: Anglo-Norman French. It is precisely the binarism that the *Chronicle* creates and dissolves here that is essential, namely, a bilingualism throughout the country that in fact crosses the divides of class ('hiemen',

¹²⁴ *Chronicle*, 7538-47. Turville-Petre states of these lines and the previous quotation on the five plagues that, 'On no other subject does Robert of Gloucester identify his own position so uncompromisingly, or express such passionate views and insist so strongly upon the consequences of historical events for present conditions' (96). Mitchell observes, in 'We Englishe Men', '[English is] the proper language for "we englishe men", to be speaking and, significantly, the only language usable for the address of not just the higher social orders but also the common people' (192). Recall the rhetorical reading of the prologue of Mannyng's *Chronicle* offered in Chapter 2, above.

¹²⁵ Turville-Petre does not quote the final four lines of this passage. Note, too, the emphasis created by the repetition of 'holdeþ' three times in these ten lines. The word seems to carry with it a sense of historical preservation, as well as partisanship inasmuch as the nobility and the 'lowe men' 'adhere' to a language, 'retain' it, and 'preserve' it.

¹²⁶ Of the five manuscripts, two are from the longer recension and three from the shorter recension.

'lowe men'), ethnicity ('hor blod'), and historical linguistic identity: 'Ac wel me wot uor to conne . bope wel it is' – 'but well do men know it is better to understand both languages'.

Indeed, the classic *loci* of linguistic overwriting in historiography are the recitations of place names.¹²⁷ Yet the *Chronicle*, in its opening section – translated from the *Historia Anglorum* – omits entirely the British names, or the rudimentary comparative philology, offering only the contemporary 'English' place names.¹²⁸ Consider, too, the always fraught choice of the name employed for the island and its subdivisions – Albion, Albania, Britannia, Sexlond, England, Wales, Scotland. The *Chronicle* is exceedingly inconsistent in its use of these terms, and inconsistent in its use of the first person possessive pronoun to assert collective and communal relationships between history, author, and audience. The author's racial sympathies, as attested in the text of the *Chronicle* as a whole, are, in fact, exceedingly difficult to pin down.¹²⁹

Yet racial politics may not be the frame in which the text is best understood.

Consider the opening five lines of the *Chronicle*:

Engelond his a wel god lond . ich wene ech londe best
Iset in þe on ende of þe . worlde as al in þe west
þe see geþ him al aboute . he stond as in an yle
Of fon hii dorre þe lasse doute . bote hit be þorȝ gyle
Of folc of þe sulue lond . as me haþ iseye ȝwile¹³⁰

Despite, at first glance, being a translation of the traditional beginning of Latin historiographies, including Geoffrey of Monmouth's, 'Britannia insularum optima', Henry of Huntingdon's, 'Hec autem insularum nobilissima cui quondam Albion nomen fuit, postea

¹²⁷ See, amongst others, *Historia Anglorum* i.3.11-13; *Historia Brittonum*: Vatican c.3; Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, i.i.

¹²⁸ See *Chronicle*, 36-42. Thus the litany of *Historia Anglorum* i.3, 'Ciuitatum autem nomina hec erant Britannie: Kair Ebrauc, id est Eboracum; Kair Chent, id est Cantuaria; Kair Gorangon, id est Wigornia', etc.

¹²⁹ Thus 'Wales' appears twice in the prologue (41,81), although 'Brutons' (57) are the rulers of the island; Cassibel rules 'brutaine' (1044), but 'kayrleon' is in 'walis' (1670); Vortigern flees into 'Walis' (2700), but Arviragus and his 'brutons' speak 'engliss' (1447, 1450). The British Guiderius is 'Gwider vr king of þis lond' (1430), and Vortigern is 'Vortiger vre feble king' (2698). Harold is denounced as a 'fals king þat nadde no rigt . to þe kinedom' (7495), and the interloping Conqueror introduced as 'a nywe louerd . þat more in rigte was' (7496).

¹³⁰ *Chronicle*, 1-5.

uero Britannia, nunc autem Anglia', or Bede's 'Brittania Oceani insula, cui quondam Albion nomen fuit', including the physical measurement of the island, it is the final two lines that are truly remarkable.¹³¹ The *Chronicle* here marks a radical break from its historiographical predecessors, and indeed, from the typical concerns of insular history, to stress that internal enemies, not external, are the fundamental threat to the stability of the island. Moreover, it is 'folc of þe sulue lond', acting treacherously, 'thorȝ gyle', who are particularly identified. This fundamental reconception of political and sovereign vulnerability reveals the inherited, translated implications of the 'five plagues' and the Heptarchy, of fears of racially delineated strife and conquest, as emphatically secondary.

The question, then, is who are the internal enemies, the spectre of whom haunts the *Chronicle*, in the first emergence in the text of an 'original' line, not translated from a source text. Of those potentially to be identified as foes, it is, peculiarly, the insurgent Welsh and Scottish who seem the least likely, despite the preoccupation exhibited, particularly with the latter, by other contemporary chronicles. Rather, it is precisely the internal turbulence of the second half of the thirteenth century, and the domestic crises of the Barons' War, the Baronial reform movement, and the 'constitutional' crisis of 1297-8, that are the foundational anxieties, and agenda, of the *Chronicle*. The temporal stress of 'as me haþ iseye ȝwile' seems to emphasise precisely the recency of the fundamental shift in the vulnerability of the island, stemming no longer from outside, but from within.

It is against this telling commencement of the *Chronicle* that the text as a whole must be read. Whereas the evidence for racial and ethnic advocacy is inconsistent, erratic, and often the ideological legacy of a translated source text, the *Chronicle*'s recurring concern with good governance, legal discourse, and the promulgation of good laws as the means of

¹³¹ *Historia regum*, II.1; *Historia Anglorum* i.2, *Historia Ecclesiastica* i.1. Mitchell's observation that the use of 'Engelond', rather than 'Britain' here, is an act of ethnic colonization over the whole of the island and insular history, whilst perceptive, is, I believe, undermined by the rather different agenda of the text examined here.

bettering the country, is readily attested throughout the text.¹³² Culminating in the reigns of Henry I and Henry II in particular, these concerns reach their most explicit in the inclusion of the Constitutions of Clarendon, translated from the *Becket* legend of the *South English Legendary*.¹³³ This attention by the *Chronicle* parallels precisely the development of the reigns of Henry I and Henry II as a legal *terminus post quem* throughout the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and sees the conflict between Becket and Henry II entirely reformulated as a documentary touchstone for contemporary politics.¹³⁴ The reign of Henry II in the *Chronicle* focuses almost exclusively on Becket and his political and ecclesiastical conflict with Henry II – the only other element of Henry II's reign to receive significant treatment is the uprising of Henry the Young King.¹³⁵

The Constitutions of Clarendon stem from the ongoing negotiations of the troubling intersections between secular and ecclesiastical law in England. The Constitutions were, of course, but one of the conflicts between Henry II and Becket, but their codification – anticipating the documentary impulse behind the periodic reissuing of Magna Carta – served to erase the Anarchy and establish a firm anchor for English legal practice, more definite than appeals to 'custom' and 'tradition'.¹³⁶ It is as such that the *Chronicle* presents the Constitutions, and not only as the antidote to 'luper lawes' and erroneous 'costume':

¹³² The *Chronicle*'s blatantly pro-Baronial stance, developed at length in the longer recension's account of the Barons' War, and further confirmed by asides such as the shorter recension's remark that the battles of Lewes and Evesham, 'ne buþ for ȝute nout' (XX.585), suggest precisely the locus of these concerns.

¹³³ See P. Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century. Volume I: Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford, 1999); Bruce O'Brien, *God's Peace and King's Peace: The Laws of Edward the Confessor* (Philadelphia, 1999); and P. Brand, *Kings, Barons and Justices: The Making and Enforcement of Legislation in Thirteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2003).

¹³⁴ See P. Brand, "'Time out of Mind": the Knowledge and Use of the Eleventh and Twelfth Century Past in Thirteenth-Century Litigation', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 16 (1994), 37-54.

¹³⁵ Of the 324 lines devoted to Henry II in the *Chronicle*, the Constitutions of Clarendon and the Becket controversies more generally occupy some 121 lines, of which the Constitutions themselves fill 70 lines. Their centrality is clear, as well, when considered as a translation of the *Becket* legend from the *South English Legendary*. The *Chronicle* selectively translates from some 1900 of the 2000 lines of *Becket*, including 70 nearly verbatim lines on the Constitutions. See Görlach, 215.

¹³⁶ The Constitutions are printed in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury* (Canonized by Pope Alexander III, A.D. 1173), ed. J.C. Robertson, 7 vols., Rolls Series (London, 1875-1885), i.18-23. See also *English Historical Documents 1042-1189*, eds. D.C. Douglas and G.W. Greenway (London, 1953), 766-70, '[They are] a record and declaration of a certain part of the customs, liberties, and privileges of

Vor þer adde er ibe . kinges of luper dede
 As william bastard & is sone . william þe rede
 þat luper lawes made ynou . & helde in to al þe lond
 þe king [Henry II] nolde nougt bileue . þe lawes þat he fond
 Ne þat is elderne hulde . ne þe godeman sein tomas
 þougte þat þing age rigte . neuere lawe nas
 Ne soþnesse ac costume . mid strengþe vp iholde...
 þe king drou to rigte lawe . mani luper costome
 Sein tomas hom wiþsede . & grantede some
 þe lawes þat icholle nou telle . he grauntede vawe.¹³⁷

The tension between 'luper' laws and customs and good laws, partially addressed in the *Chronicle* by the legislative import of the Constitutions of Clarendon, and partially by their translation and preservation as authoritative documents in the *Chronicle*, is not, of course, wholly resolved, either historically or historiographically.

Magna Carta stands as the symbolic anchor of what could be termed the country's legal imagination.¹³⁸ In that capacity, its political use throughout the thirteenth century, and the reissuing of the document, were often at the forefront of the conflicts (and resolutions) between barons and the king.¹³⁹ The *Chronicle* makes explicit the connection between the Constitutions and Magna Carta before the conclusion of Henry II's reign:

& he [Henry II] vndude þe luper lawes . & grauntede alle þe gode
 þat sein tomas esste . as hii vnderstode
 Of forest & of oþer þing . þat is elderne nome amis
 He vndude & þer to . is chartre made iwis
 Ac after is daye iholde . febliche it was
 Of king Ion & of oþere . & napeles þer nas

his ancestors, that is, of King Henry, his grandfather, and other things which ought to be observed and maintained in the realm' (766). Pollock and Maitland note of the Constitutions, 'It is in opposition to "the canons and Roman laws" that (if we may so speak) our English law becomes conscious of its own existence. In the Constitutions of Clarendon we have our first authoritative redaction of hitherto unwritten customs', in F. Pollock and F.W. Maitland, *The History of English Law Before the Time of Edward I*, Second Edition (Cambridge, 1898), i.131.

¹³⁷ *Chronicle*, 9640-46, 9652-4.

¹³⁸ See J.C. Holt, *Magna Carta*, Second Edition (Cambridge, 1992).

¹³⁹ See, amongst many works on the subject, H. Rothwell, 'The Confirmation of the Charters, 1297', *English Historical Review* 60 (1945), 16-35 and 177-91; J.H. Denton, 'The Crisis of 1297 from the Evesham Chronicle', *English Historical Review* 93 (1978), 560-79; J.R. Maddicott, 'Edward I and the Lessons of Baronial Reform: Local Government, 1258-80', in eds. P.R. Coss and S.D. Lloyd, *Thirteenth Century England I* (Woodbridge, 1986), 1-30; *Documents Illustrating the Crisis of 1297-8 in England*, ed. M. Prestwich, Camden Fourth Series, 24 (London, 1980); and *Documents of the Baronial Movement of Reform and Rebellion, 1258-67*, ed. R.F. Treharne (Oxford, 1973).

Non of hom þat some time . Mid wille þei it nere
 Ne grauntede & confermede it . þei it lute wurþ were
 Vor mani is þe gode bodi . þat aslawe is þeruore
 To betere ende god it bringe . þat vor vs was ibore¹⁴⁰

It is clear that this passage refers not only to the Constitutions of Clarendon, but potentially to other significant laws passed under Henry II, including the 1166 Assize of Clarendon, the 1176 Assize of Northampton, and the 1184 Assize of the Forest; the reference to John and the cycle of violating and issuing Magna Carta takes in the multiple occasions of re-issue, including 1216, 1225, 1237, 1297, and 1298.¹⁴¹ References to Magna Carta occur twice in the *Chronicle*'s narrative of the reign of Henry III, once in describing the 1225 re-issue, and once in relation to the 1258 Provisions of Oxford.¹⁴²

The dissatisfaction of the author of the *Chronicle* with regards to the efficacy of the repeated 'publications' of Magna Carta in correcting fundamental political ills is clear, '& to graunti gode lawes . & þe olde chartre al so / þat so ofte was igraunted er . & so ofte vndo / Her of was þe chartre imad . & aceled vaste þere'.¹⁴³ Clear, too, is the totemic, yet devalued status accorded to the document. This sentiment resonates quite precisely with the Baronial aims of 1297-8, a complicated period in which the intersecting and cumulative complaints of the clergy, the general populace, and the nobility brought the threat of civil war in a scenario all too reminiscent of Simon de Montfort and the Barons' War some 40 years earlier. At the heart of the issue was taxation, both of the clergy and the country more generally, and a complicated negotiation of political theories of royal 'emergency powers' and 'government

¹⁴⁰ *Chronicle*, 9808-17.

¹⁴¹ See *Select Charters: Earliest Times to Edward I*, ed. W. Stubbs, Ninth Edition (Oxford, 1957), 163-7 (Constitutions of Clarendon); 170-3 (Assize of Clarendon); 186-88 (Assize of the Forest). See also J.C. Holt, 'The Assizes of Henry II: the texts' in eds. D.A. Bullough and R.L. Storey, *The Study of Medieval Records: Essays in Honour of Kathleen Major* (Oxford, 1971), 85-106, and Holt, *Magna Carta*, Chapter 11.

¹⁴² See *Chronicle*, 10,700-703, 'Vor þe gode olde lawes . of wan we abbeþ ispeke / He confermede vaste þo . þat me ne ssolde it breke / & made þer of chartres . on ich vnderstonde / Of þe forest & anoþer . of franchise of þe londe'.

¹⁴³ *Chronicle*, 11,018-20.

by consent'.¹⁴⁴ And key to the resolution of the crisis, in addition to the generally unifying patriotic response to the defeat of the English at Stirling Bridge in 1297, was the demand, by the Barons, for 'securities for the observance of the Charters – the chief guarantee of their law, customs, and liberties – which Magna Carta of 1225 did not contain'.¹⁴⁵ The steps taken in the 1298 re-issue of Magna Carta, including the systems implemented regarding the regular 'publication' of the document at all cathedral churches, to be read aloud twice a year, and the refinement of 'consent' with regards to taxation, enabled Edward I to avoid the disasters that had befallen his father in the Barons' War.

The reference to Saint Louis, which dates the longer recension after 1297, places the *Chronicle* in precisely the brief period during which English internal politics were paramount. In the years following the conquest(s) of Wales in the 1280s, and before the tide and tone of the Scottish conflict turned in 1297 and proved an irresolvable issue for the next 40 years, the focus on the laws of England and good governance could be sustained without reference to external foes and external conquest. Rather than offering an ethnically English agenda, then, the *Chronicle*, I believe, offers, for the first time in the vernacular, a politically English agenda, dissociated from the divisions of race. The threat of 'folc of þe sulue lond', of an enemy within, reaches towards an idea of a greater national good, no longer determined simply by the king. Rather, as in the theatrically nationalist vocabulary of nineteenth century studies of English common law and constitutionalism, the 'gyle' feared is a challenge to the stability of a self-determining English polity.

The *Chronicle* of 'Robert of Gloucester' remains a complicated text. Essentially all of the empirical questions of authorship, date, and textual status remain unanswered, the

¹⁴⁴ See Prestwich, *Documents*, 27. The papal bull *Clericis laicos*, issued in 1296 by Pope Boniface VIII, essentially stipulated that ecclesiastics were not to pay secular taxes, and were empowered to excommunicate those who attempted to collect such. The Barons were entangled in Edward's attempts to sustain the ongoing Scottish expenses, and raise funds for the invasion of Flanders, employing variously innovative taxes, for which the customary (and hitherto largely symbolic) 'consent' had not been granted.

¹⁴⁵ Rothwell, 'Confirmation', 180.

insights offered here notwithstanding. The ideological and political agendas of the work also remain elusive, difficult to articulate, and even more difficult to demonstrate conclusively for the entirety of the *Chronicle*. Yet these are decidedly connected to the complexity of the derivative text. Identifying its source texts must not be confused with reaching an understanding of the text's arguments; explicating its methodologies of translation and derivation can go some way to elucidating its place in the historiographical tradition, but again, the danger of overstating the significance of the local as indicative of the whole remains. The crafting of a derivative text from a wide variety of sources, translated inter- and intra-lingually, is an ambitiously complex project. Disentangling the resultant text to assess an ideology distinct from those it inherits through translation is no less complex. It is essential, however, to accord the *Chronicle* its place in the continuous tradition of historiography in Latin, Anglo-Norman, and Middle English, from which it borrows, and to which it contributes. A remarkable product of erudition, demonstrating knowledge of a wide range of texts in several genres, the neglect of the *Chronicle* reveals more, perhaps, of our own inability to penetrate its dense weavings, conveyed in a disarmingly simplistic language, than of the text's simplicity, or importance.

4 PROSAIC HISTORY

London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 58, a quarto volume traditionally dated to the middle of the fifteenth century, contains a unique – and problematically unique – copy of the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester. The manuscript was recognised as containing a text of the *Chronicle* by Thomas Hearne, as he printed in his 1724 edition portions of the additions (which are frequently but not exclusively prose) made to the ‘original’ text of the *Chronicle* as it stands in the longer of its two recensions.¹ It is these interpolations to the text of the *Chronicle* that make the manuscript unique beyond the ways in which every manuscript is unique: the systematic, if irregular, interpolations to the source text seem to be original to the fifteenth century codex, and the work of its scribe(s)/author(s).² Arundel 58, then, is the work of fifteenth century scribes copying, and dramatically altering the shape of, a late thirteenth or early fourteenth century chronicle. Both the preservation and the modifications of the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester at this late date are significant, not only in the history of the *Chronicle*’s text and its reception, but for conceptions and understandings of the nature and practice of scribal authorship, and as evidence of the changing ideas of the historical and historiographical in the fifteenth century. Moreover, Arundel 58 is, perhaps, the most dramatic example of a derivative text in which the text reveals the constitutive elements of its derivative, compilative project; the text has explicit references to its sources, and in places renders transparent the all too frequently obscured processes by which derivative texts are

¹ See T. Hearne, *Robert of Gloucester’s Chronicle* (Oxford, 1724). As Hudson remarks, ‘Some, but by no means all of the prose insertions are printed by Hearne in his footnotes’ (17). Hudson prints the prose materials from the reigns of Henry I and Stephen in her partial edition; see Hudson, vol. 2. The first surviving prose insertion, immediately recognisable as such because of a change of the *mise-en-page*, does not occur in the manuscript until f. 76^r, and thereafter prose becomes increasingly common. Undoubtedly the long stretch at the beginning of the codex of the ‘conventional’ text has facilitated the recognition of the Arundel 58 text as, in fact, a version of Robert of Gloucester’s *Chronicle*. The additions and alterations to the text of the *Chronicle* prior to f. 76^r, though significant, are written in verse, and thus not readily identifiable as interpolations.

² For evidence concerning the originality of the text, and the circumstances of its production see ‘Prose and Verse’ and ‘Strategies of Intervention and Composition’, below.

created. College of Arms MS Arundel 58 begins with an acephalous short prose treatise on hunting and a list of animals, followed by a prose summary of the ‘cronycul offe Engeland fro queen Albion the fyrste erthely creature that entrede unto this londe un to kyng Richard the secunde’ – a short prose redaction of the Albina story.³ This prose summary of English history, proclaiming Henry VI’s direct descent from ‘Henri fitz Emperes’, forms a part of what the scribe declares to be ‘thys boke w^l hys antedecens and consequens was ful ended the vj day offe August ; the gere of oure lorde an m cccc xlviii’.⁴ The rest of f. 1^v through f. 4^v contain a table of contents, written in red, outlining major sections of the *Chronicle* and the prose interpolations, with corresponding folio numbers. Following the table of contents, f. 5^r contains a prose version of the story of Albina and her thirty sisters – itself repeating in part the Albina story already presented.⁵ The Albina material fills f.5^{r-v} and f.6^{ra}; f. 6^{rb} is entirely blank, and f.6^{ra} ends, ‘here endith þe *prologe* of þe yle of Albyon’.⁶

The Arundel *Chronicle* itself begins on f. 6^v, with an ornate six-line gold capital ‘E’, elaborately decorated with blue and pale pinks, with green foliage stemming from it that spreads to frame the top, bottom, and outer margin of the folio.⁷ The text is in places daubed

³ Written in red ink, Arundel 58, f. 1^v. For Albina, and her historiographical and textual roles, see Chapter 1, above.

⁴ Arundel 58, f. 1^v.

⁵ This version of the Albina ‘prologue’, which begins with the rubricated incipit, ‘Here a man may hure how yngelonde was ycleped Albyon and by wham it receyued the name’, is also found as a prologue to a version of the Middle English *Brut* found in London, British Library, MS Harley 4690, ff. 4^r – 5^r. Matheson describes Harley 4690 and three passages of Arundel 58 as, ‘a second translation into English of the Anglo-Norman *Brut*...attributed...to a John Mandeville, rector of Burnham Thorpe in Norfolk, who made it in 1435’ (328-9). The three ‘passages’ of Mandeville’s translation in Arundel 58 are f. 5^{ra}-6^{ra} (Albina), f. 76^{ra-b} (Prophecies of Merlin), and f. 302^v (Thomas Beckett). It should be noted that both manuscripts also contain copies of *Richard Coeur de Lyon*. See ‘The Merlin of the Prophecies’, below, concerning the attribution of the version of the Middle English *Brut* to Mandeville by Brie and Matheson. See L. Matheson, *The Prose Brut*, 330-4. See also F.D. Brie, *Geschichte und Quellen der mittelenglischen Prosachronik The Brute of England oder The Chronicles of England* (Marburg, 1905), 75-78, especially 76, containing a collated text of Harley 4690, Arundel 58, and a French text of the *Brut*.

⁶ Arundel 58, f. 6^{ra}.

⁷ The term ‘Arundel *Chronicle*’ will be used throughout to refer to the unique text of the *Chronicle* and all interpolations and additions contained in Arundel 58, as against the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester. The initial recalls the six-line gold capital ‘E’ found in San Marino, Huntington Library, MS HM 126, another fifteenth century manuscript of the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester. Close comparison of the two capitals reveals them as stylistically distinct. However, a second gold, pink, and green capital in Arundel 58 on f. 19^v is

with a faded yellow ink, and has a full complement of running heads, marginal annotations, and rubrications, some unquestionably in the main scribe's hand, others in potentially contemporary hands, and others much later.⁸ Hudson considers the manuscript to be written by a single scribe, as does Matheson, although *LALME* distinguishes two hands in the codex.⁹ The recent *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 880-1600 in London Libraries* by P.R. Robinson offers an entirely new opinion on Arundel 58, discerning four hands at work in the manuscript.¹⁰ As valuable evidence for this discrimination of hands, Robinson notes that hand 2, 'signs the beginning of his start "hic incipit Robertus Moille"'.¹¹ This note, written in a small script at the foot of f. 99^r, indeed seems incontrovertible evidence that at least two scribes were at work on the codex. Yet I believe Robinson's conclusion that four hands are present in the codex is incorrect. The work of Scribe 1 varies significantly, and his script and style can be quite erratic. Although Scribe 1's work on f. 98^v, facing the change to Scribe 2's much sloppier work on f. 99^r, is unusually tidy, looking back even a few folios reveals ample variation in the letter forms, care, and the precision of Scribe 1's hand. It is precisely this variation in Scribe 1's hand, discernible throughout folios 1-98, that lead me to ascribe the work of both Robinson's hand 3 (f. 265-275) and hand 4, that 'similar' to hand 1 (f. 335-42), to one and the same scribe. The 'sloppier' stints of Scribe 1 such as those on f.

mirrored at the same place in the text by another elaborate red and blue capital in HM 126, f. 21^v. Gold capitals appear in Arundel 58 at f. 6^v, 19^v, 53^r, 124^v, 129^v, 161^v, and 170^v.

⁸ There is a distinctive change of the script and ink used between f. 1-6^r and f. 6^v, but the decorative yellow ink 'blobs' daubed on the initial letters of lines on f. 6^v continue the daubing found on the Albina story of f. 5^r.

⁹ Hudson states the codex is 'possibly by a single scribe using the fifteenth century "secretary" hand' (I.17). Matheson agrees, though echoes Hudson's hesitations in making a definitive statement, 'It is possible, though, that only one scribe was involved' (332, n. 7). *LALME* claims 'two hands, in similar language' (I.117), and assigns both hands to Wiltshire (LP 5411). See further, below, for more on the localisation of the codex.

¹⁰ P.R. Robinson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 880-1600 in London Libraries* (London, 2003). Robinson separates the scribes' work as follows: Scribe 1: f. 1-98^v, 304-34. Scribe 2: f. 99-264, 276-303. Scribe 3: 265-275^a. Scribe 4 ('a hand similar to that of hand 1') f. 335-42.

¹¹ Robinson, 29. Note that Robinson identifies the later (extensive) annotations to Arundel 58 as 'in the hand of Lord William Howard (d. 1640)' (29). The 'Robertus Moille' was first noted by Hearne, lxxxi-lxxxii, and subsequently by Hudson, i.18 n.2; Hudson observes of the note, 'It is almost certainly not in the scribe's own hand'.

48^r, 79^v, 87^v or 92^v, and the letter forms employed, are, I believe, sufficient to demonstrate the later portions of the codex can be attributed to the work of one hand.¹²

The table of contents preceding the text, necessarily written after the text, is intriguing, although incomplete. The table indicates that the section ‘*Britannia insularum optima*’ begins on folio ii, that is, the current f. 6^v, and that folio i addresses ‘Albion’.¹³ The scribe has noted in the bottom margins of folios 7^r and 8^r ‘fo iii^o’ and ‘fo iiii^o’. Folio 6^v, and thus the beginning of the *Arundel Chronicle*, is folio ii in the scribe’s system. The text on f. 5, then, is the beginning of the work as envisaged by the scribe: the text of the Albina prologue, and not the beginning of the *Arundel Chronicle* on f. 6^v commences the text, despite the dramatic visual difference between the simple three lines of red text at the top of f.5^{ra} and the six-line gold capital on f.6^v.¹⁴ The table of contents is itself incomplete, ending with folio ‘c iiii’ and the kings of ‘Southsex’ (f. 97) and the ‘*lettre offe Boneface*’ (f. 98), although the folios themselves are numbered through ‘cxxvi’ (f. 119’).¹⁵ A modern pencil note in Arundel 58 observes that folios 107-8 have been inadvertently swapped with folios 125-6, and misbound. The medieval foliator of the codex may have noticed the textual discontinuity arising from this mistake: the medieval foliation is continuous from f.106^r (cxiiij) to f. 107^r (cxiiiij), but the scribe responsible for the foliation changes on f. 108^r, and

¹² Although the script of Robinson’s ‘hand 3’ is slightly more pointed and angular than that typical of Scribe 1, in particular the yellow used to daub word-initial letters, as well as the rubrication and the running headings all point back to the identically presented opening 43 folios of Arundel 58. Robinson’s hand 4, writing the ‘petegreu’ after the end of the *Chronicle*, employs a more formal display script, but still reveals the habits and letter formation of Scribe 1. I would therefore divide the work of the two scribes as follows. Scribe 1: ff.1-98^v; Scribe 2: ff.99^r-264; Scribe 1: ff.265-75; Scribe 2: ff. 276-303; Scribe 1: ff. 304-42. Folio 275 is numbered twice, the first time a full leaf, the second instance a single column strip, labeled 275e, of which only the recto has text. Also, the current foliation omits 288.

¹³ Arundel 58 is quired as follows: v, i⁵, ii⁸, iii⁸, iv⁸, v⁸, vi⁸, missing quire of 8, vii⁸, viii⁸, ix⁸, x⁸, xi⁶ + 1 (missing 1 and 2), xii⁸, xiii⁸, xiv⁸, xv⁶, xvi¹⁰, xvii-xxxii⁸, xxxiii⁶, xxxiv-xxxviii⁸, xxxix⁷, xl⁸, xli⁸, xlii⁸, xliii⁷ (ends incomplete), xlii⁸, iiii. There is a significant quantity of text missing from the text of the *Chronicle* after f. 43, and a gap of 8 leaves indicated by the medieval foliation in the table of contents (f. 43 is ‘xl’ and f. 44 ‘xlix’); the catchword at the foot of f. 43^v, ‘A wonder’, does not align with the text on f. 44^r.

¹⁴ At the bottom of folio 5^r, the scribe has foliated it as ‘p^o’.

¹⁵ The Boniface entry has the scribal foliation rubbed out; it clearly read ‘fo. c’ before erasure, although the expected entry would be ‘fo. cv’. See Arundel 58, f. 4^v.

ends three-quarters of the way through the following quire.¹⁶ The table of contents and the foliation of Arundel 58 provide valuable evidence for understanding how the codex was put together, who was in charge of the production, and the relationship between scribes and text.

¹⁶ The medieval foliation ends, therefore, before the second set of misbound leaves have been reached. Note, however, that medieval quire signatures survive erratically for later parts of the codex, as on f.138^r 's o' (quire xix), and f.165^r, 'x iiij' (quire xxii). See further, below, for more on the foliation of the codex.

Prose and Verse

That there are two scribes at work in Arundel 58 poses difficult challenges for understanding the complicated sequence of decisions entailed by the sophisticated layout of the manuscript. A decision concerning the presentation of prose and verse on the page was made prior to the creation of the manuscript. Verse is written throughout in single columns, extending across the page, leaving a ‘ragged’ right margin.¹⁷ Prose is written in double columns, and moreover, written continuously across each column; the columns thus appear to be ‘justified’, in modern typographical terms. There are a significant number of folios – 60, just under one quarter of the total number of folios of the *Arundel Chronicle* – that are ‘mixed-format’ folios, wherein a single folio contains both single columns of verse and double columns of prose¹⁸; some folios contain multiple ‘blocks’ of single and double columns.¹⁹ It should be noted that the scribes are quite proficient at preparing mixed-format folios: those portions of the mixed-format folios ruled for double columns are consistently symmetrical, and even columns of 20 or more lines rarely vary by more than a line.²⁰ That is, in a mixed-format folio consisting first of double columns of prose, and then a single column of verse, the prose is written from top to bottom, left to right, filling in the A column and then the B column, followed by the verse written across the entire text area.

Because the prose sections are, axiomatically, interpolations to the verse *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester, they therefore necessarily contain materials derived from other source

¹⁷ Brackets joining couplets are by Scribe 1 throughout the codex, but not by Scribe 2.

¹⁸ Mixed format folios are Arundel 58, f. 80^v, 81^r, 82^r, 83^r, 85^r, 87^r, 87^v, 89^r, 90^r, 91^v, 93^r, 96^r, 127^v, 128^v, 129^v, 130^r, 132^r, 133^r, 134^r, 134^v, 135^v, 136^r, 136^v, 137^r, 141^v, 142^v, 143^r, 143^v, 144^r, 146^r, 146^v, 150^v, 154^r, 154^v, 156^r, 160^v, 170^v, 185^r, 186^v, 200^r, 201^r, 201^v, 206^v, 207^r, 213^v, 216^r, 218^v, 219^r, 221^v, 222^r, 226^v, 227^r, 227^v, 228^r, 247^r, 250^r, 250^v, 284^r, 302^r.

¹⁹ See Arundel 58, f. 85^r, 87^r, 135^v, 141^v, 154^v, for the instances of three blocks of prose and verse per folio.

²⁰ See, for example, f. 89^r, 96^r, and 134^r.

texts.²¹ Moreover, there are additions in verse to the text of the Arundel *Chronicle*, not visibly identifiable, but interpolations nonetheless.²² The layout does not substantively differ across the stints of the two scribes: the *mise-en-page* of prose and verse is consistently maintained. Additional material, such as running headings, rubrication, annotation, paraphs, and blue ink text capitals with decorative red pen-work, are present in the work of Scribe 1. Such features occur erratically in the much rougher efforts of Scribe 2: headings are written in text ink, rather than in red, and other features appear intermittently, and are of a distinctively lesser quality. It would seem to be a requirement that decisions about the content of the codex precede the act of copying. This, in turn, poses the difficult questions of what the scribes' exemplar(s) may have looked like (and contained), and what processes of composition can explain this convoluted text. Before offering answers, or even further refinements, to either question, a much closer assessment of the manuscript is warranted.

There are a number of exceptions to the otherwise consistently maintained *mise-en-page* for presenting prose and verse. Nineteen folios contain, to varying extents, verse written in a two column layout, rather than in the typical single column layout.²³ For example, on folio 162^{ra}, the first 24 lines are prose, and written in the appropriate visual style. However, having filled 24 of 38 lines of the column with prose, the scribe fills the remaining 14 lines of f.162^{ra} and all 38 lines of f.162^{rb} with lines of verse, copied from the *Chronicle*.²⁴

²¹ Prose interpolations occur on f.80^v-81^r, 82^r-83^r, 85^r, 87^r, 87^v-89^r, 90^r-91^v, 93^r-96^r, 97^r-127^v, 128^v-129^v, 130^r-132^r, 133^r-134^r, 134^v-135^r, 135^v, 136^r, 137^r-141^r, 141^v-142^r, 143^r, 144^r-145^r, 146^r, 146^v, 147^v-150^v, 154^r, 154^v, 156^r-159^r, 160^v-162^r, 164^v-166^v, 170^v-185^r, 186^v, 189^r-193^r, 195^r-198^v, 200^r, 200^v, 201^r, 201^v-205^v, 205^v-206^v, 207^r, 213^v-214^v, 216^r, 218^r, 219^r-220^r, 221^v-222^r, 225^v-226^v, 227^r, 228^r-245^r, 247^r-250^r, 250^v-251^v, 276^r-278^r, 284^r-300^v, 302^v-334^v.

²² See Moll, *Before Malory*, especially Chapter 7, 'Fifteenth-Century Scribes' (198-210), where he considers Arundel 58 and interpolations to the Arthurian sections of the text. Note, for example, his identification of a passage on Arundel 58, f. 61^v-62^r, wherein some sixteen lines from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum*, translated into English verse, are inserted into the base-text of Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*. See Moll, 203 and 315 n.24. Moll identifies other interpolated materials as well. See also 'Epilogue(s)', below.

²³ Arundel 58, f. 81^r, 145^r, 154^r, 157^r, 159^r, 162^r, 166^v, 193^r, 198^v, 200^r, 200^v, 201^r, 205^v, 214^v, 216^v, 220^r, 278^r, 300^v, and 334^v.

²⁴ Robert of Gloucester, *Chronicle*, 6756-62, 6764, 6766-77, 6844-49; f. 162^v continues seamlessly at *Chronicle* 6850.

The shift is immediately visible, as the second line of each verse leaves a 'ragged' right margin separating the verses: each long line is written across two lines of each of the columns. The mis-formatted verse ranges from a single couplet inserted in a column of prose (f. 200^{va}) to a full column and a half of verse (f.220^{ra-b}). Only four of the folios containing verse written ragged in double-columns, f. 81^r, 154^r, 200^r and f. 201^r, are mixed-format folios; the other folios are entirely written in double columns.

These nineteen instances of verse written in double columns are surprising exceptions to the codex's otherwise consistent implementation of the visual distinction between prose and verse. A competent scribe can, of course, estimate precisely the resulting length of verse copied from an exemplar if lineation is retained; it is much more difficult to estimate the length of prose, given the potential differences in the size of script, folio, and margins.²⁵ The majority of the exceptions to the planned *mise-en-page* of the manuscript are errors of significant magnitude, rather than minor mis-estimations of the extent any prose being copied might occupy. The scribes' demonstrated competence throughout the manuscript in arranging mixed-format folios suggests that a different explanation is required for these folios other than technical difficulties, or simple planning mistakes. It is also important to remark that these are not errors likely to be made with an exemplar already containing both the verse *Chronicle* and substantive prose interpolations with a similar layout.²⁶

In addition to the visual demarcation between prose and verse, the scribes also employ – erratically – both marginal annotations and in-text descriptions of the nature of the text to follow. Marginal annotations, such as 'prose'²⁷ and 'ryme'²⁸ mark passages presented

²⁵ I am grateful to Professor Anne Hudson for her suggestions and insights on this section.

²⁶ Instances of accidental repetition do occur in the prose portions of the text, at f.133^{ra}, 'In this doynge / Athelston shewed shewed wysdom / and holynese', at f.178^{rb}, 'but Natheles he truste sum what / in the multitude of his peple / But natheles he truste sum what / in the multitude of his peple', and f. 179^{ra}, 'not using not usynge'. Another error occurs at f. 87^{rb}, where the scribe crosses out 'cronicles', having seemingly repeated the word accidentally from earlier in the sentence, where the word is divided across the bottom f.87^{ra} and the top of f.87^{rb}.

²⁷ Arundel 58, f.200^{rb}, 214^{vb}, etc.

in both the expected, and in the irregular, layouts. Comments written into the text itself, such as that on f. 198^{va} ‘Rym here after’, or f. 90^r, ‘And for as much as we speke her of *cristendom* / a litel in prose y wole rehers’ also mark the transitions between prose and verse both compliant with and divergent from the expected layouts. Both the mistakes made in writing verse in double columns, and the annotations and textual remarks identifying sections as prose and verse pose fundamental questions about the processes involved in the physical copying of the codex.

Most obviously, the function of the structural annotations demarcating prose and verse might be either compositional aids or reception aids. That is, do the marginal annotations serve as aids for the scribes in the process of composing a pre-planned but unexecuted text, or do they meaningfully prompt a subsequent reader? The latter category, reception aids, can, I believe, be eliminated: given the distinctive means of presenting prose and verse on the page (double-column continuous text, and ragged single-column text), they provide little or nothing not already visually obvious to a reader; moreover, their appearance in the margins is quite erratic. As copying aids or formatting instructions, perhaps, for a copyist, they also make little sense, whether inherited from the manuscript’s exemplar, or directed to subsequent copyists. Imagining a hypothetical exemplar where prose and verse are not visually distinguished, although the occurrences of the marginal ‘prosa’ and ‘ryme’ might be prompts for the scribes of Arundel 58, they are not at all consistent across all of the prose and verse sections and transitions of Arundel 58 – certainly not enough so to be useful instructions.²⁹ Additionally, those instances contained within the text of the poem itself, such as ‘in ryme y fynde hit nought’, ‘in prose’, ‘hit is to remembre the latyn story telleth’, ‘as rymed is byfore’, and not accompanied by marginal annotations to the same effect, would

²⁸ Arundel 58, f.220^r, etc.

²⁹ Of the 48 prose sections of the manuscript, and therefore 96 transitions to and from prose and verse, only 40 marginal annotations appear indicating ‘prose’ or ‘ryme’, fewer than half of the total number possible.

seem to preclude any mechanical act of copying without an accompanying act of reading not typically ascribed to (or permitted of) scribes.³⁰

As compositional aids, and even as a record of the actual process of composition of the *Arundel Chronicle*, however, the annotations and meta-textual rhymes and comments make the most sense. To return, for a moment, to the lineation of the mixed-format folios, and the question of how such folios might be planned, it becomes clear that the exactitude of the layout requires significant planning. Although, as mentioned above, it can be extremely difficult to project and estimate how much space on a folio prose will occupy when copied, it is important to recall that frequently these sections are as short as five lines.³¹ Rather than an estimation of textual extent at the level of the folio or quire, then, it is frequently a matter of as few as perhaps 60 words in two columns, a far more manageable amount of text to estimate, before copying, the number of lines required.³² The amount of planning required for longer prose sections – as many as 20 lines per column – is larger, but not an unreasonably complicated or onerous proposition, especially given that this skill was an essential component of a scribe's core competence.³³ Where extensive prose excerpts are copied – those extending across multiple folios, and even quires – calculations would only have to be made for the initial and concluding transitions to prose or verse.³⁴

³⁰ That is, it strikes me as unreasonable to expect cues written into the text itself (and sometimes in rhymed couplets indistinguishable visually from the *Chronicle*) would be read, understood, and identified by scribes copying the text in a timely fashion in order to enable them to make decisions about the layout of the text to follow.

³¹ That is, two columns of five lines each.

³² The estimate is based on sample word counts from prose sections of Arundel 58, averaging 7-8 words per line per column.

³³ Scribes are perhaps much better known for their failings than their successes at such tasks. Yet, on the whole, the largely successful arrangement of Arundel 58 argues in favour of their competence at projecting textual extent, rather than their incompetence. The generally negative perception of scribes, resting, perhaps, on techniques of stemmatic editing that rely on 'scribal error' as a fundamental category of textual occurrence, may over-colour our assessments of scribal abilities and accomplishments.

³⁴ Consider the second largest continuous stretch of prose, from f. 97^r – 127^v. F. 97^r is not a mixed-format folio, so the prose begins at the top of 97^r, the preceding verse having concluded at the foot of f. 96^v. Therefore only f. 127^v involves calculating a transition from prose to verse and lineating the mixed-format folio appropriately; f. 127^v begins with two columns of prose, the first column with 26 lines of text, the second (slightly misjudged)

To summarise, then, the instances of verse mis-written in a double column, rather than a single column, layout, suggest that any exemplar of Arundel 58 did not provide the visual presentation of the book we now consider. The scribal marginal annotations indicating ‘ryme’ and ‘prose’ are not sufficiently regular to be instructions for copying, nor are they useful to readers who can readily perceive the shift in layout. The presence of versified comments on the prose and verse text to follow in the body of the text itself are, again, not useful for scribes to establish the layout of Arundel 58 whilst engaged in the process of writing the book. This suggests the marginal annotations are, then, relics of the processes of composition, used in the complex transitions between source texts. If, then, the layout is original to the codex, and not copied from an exemplar, what of the content? This question becomes particularly vexing when considering the manuscript is the work of two scribes: instances of mixed-format folios, and therefore of prose interpolations, occur in the work of both scribes.³⁵ Were the codex in a single hand, one might argue that the visual structure of the codex belies the actual process of composition. That is to say, in the process of copying some base text of the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester, the scribe/author approaches a point in the text that, for reasons that will be explored below, will be a prose section – whether original or from another text. Lineation for the folio *must* take place after both the point of insertion and the extent of the insertion have been determined. After lineating a mixed-format folio, the verse section is copied from the *Chronicle*-exemplar, and then the prose copied from another exemplar – whether from a separate codex, working papers – or

column with 22 lines, followed by a blank line and then 11 lines of rhyme written in a single column across the folio. Of 30 folios of prose, the only decision regarding formatting involves some 50 lines of prose.

³⁵ As do examples of mis-written verse. It is perhaps worth noting that there are far fewer interpolations in Scribe 1’s first stint, ff. 1-98^v, than in Scribe 2’s work. This is perhaps most easily explained by the material at hand: Robert of Gloucester’s translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia regum*. Compared to English and post-Conquest history, there are simply far fewer sources upon which to draw for interpolations, and those that do exist are all fundamentally indebted to the *Historia regum* in a manner completely unlike that for later periods.

translated or composed on the spot.³⁶ Thus, while a large amount of preparatory work is required, identifying and selecting texts to be incorporated into the *Arundel Chronicle*, and the places in which the materials are to be interpolated, the compilation itself takes place in the very writing of the manuscript.

Whilst this process of composition seems to be the simplest explanation for the creation of Arundel 58, the self-announced work of Scribe 2, 'Robertus Moille', complicates things. Potentially, one might argue the process of composition and approximately simultaneous copying holds true for each scribe. If so, we are faced with two exceptionally well-read scribes, collaborating on a unique text. Scribe 1 includes, in his stint, verse and prose interpolations from the *Historia regum*, John of Glastonbury, William of Malmesbury, and the Anglo-Norman *Brut*. Scribe 2 has, in his textual lexicon, amongst other texts the works of William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, John of Worcester, Nicholas Trevet, and the anonymous Anglo-Norman *Brut*.³⁷ Although it is certainly not impossible to imagine two such scribes, existing and collaborating on a single text, it is, almost paradoxically, an impression of unity of tone, methodology, idiosyncrasies, and priorities across the entirety of this erratic derivative work that argue against this scenario. As Arundel 58 is indeed the work of two scribes, neither of whom is working from an exemplar that provides the visual layout used, nor one that likely contains the entirety of the text, and as the *Arundel Chronicle* is probably not the work of two authors, it is difficult to conclude what the manuscript does preserve.³⁸

³⁶ In the case of tri-partite mixed-format folios, the scribe might then return to the *Chronicle*-exemplar. Marginal annotations regarding prose and verse then indicate the appropriate source text after lineation but before copying; remarks concerning the text to follow in the body of the text would perhaps be written impromptu.

³⁷ This is not, nor intended to be, a complete list of the texts used by the scribe/author of the *Arundel Chronicle*. The question of the scribes' access to texts, and the localisation of Arundel 58, will be discussed further, below.

³⁸ See, moreover, the blank lines left at the bottom of f. 64r, discussed in R. Moll, *Before Malory*, 209. A handful of blank spaces and columns are left throughout the codex. See Arundel 58, f. 63^v, 64^{r-v}, 93^r, 94^{vb}, 95^{vb}, 97^{rb}, 97^{va}, 102^{vb}, 135^{ra}, and 150^{vb}.

The layout, I believe, and in particular the mistakes made on the nineteen folios, where after partially or completely lineating a folio for double columns, a scribe copies prose which only occupies some portion of the allotted space, and then copies verse into the columns (each verse line taking two column lines to copy, the second of which is not flush to the right margin of the column), suggest the immediacy and the coincidence of the acts of compilation and physical composition. Most instances suggest that the planning leading to the mixed lineation of the folios was faulty, overestimating the prose to be copied. As argued above, the magnitude of the more extensive of the errors are such that mere mechanical error seems unlikely. Rather, I would suggest the error took place either in the initial evaluation of the source text, that is, after marking an entire passage for copying and lineating Arundel 58, the scribe/author discovers or realises that the passage was off-topic, repetitive, out of chronological sequence, 'incorrect' inasmuch as it contradicted other sources, or was otherwise inappropriate for historical or ideological reasons. Alternatively, the error might be in the placement of the interpolation, that is, recognising that some or all of the above arguments for not including a prose passage were resolved by shifting the text to a later point in the text of Arundel 58. Connecting the processes of composition and copying, although the most coherent argument for the layout – and the lapses – of the scribes, still fails to account for the stints of the two scribes. Perhaps conceiving differently the exemplars from which they are working can go some way to explaining Arundel 58. It seems clear they were not copying from an exemplar visually distinguishing prose and verse. It seems equally clear that an exemplar containing the exact text, written without visual distinctions or cues for prose and verse, poses an unlikely set of challenges to be successfully transformed into Arundel 58, and would, in any case, make for an extremely odd and unwieldy book.

The colophon that precedes the text, written by Scribe 1, is remarkably peculiar in its terminology, describing the project that follows as 'thys boke wt hys antecedens and

consequens'. Both 'antecedent' and 'consequent' are technical logical/philosophical or grammatical terms; neither, according to the *MED*, appears much earlier than the last quarter of the fourteenth century, while most instances are dated to the first half of the fifteenth century.³⁹ Regardless of the precise date of the introduction of the terms to Middle English, the technical, even academic, register in which they were used is clear.⁴⁰ What they mean in the colophon of Arundel 58 is less immediately obvious. One possible interpretation of the terms seem likely: the terms refer to the textual structure of the chronicle that follows, that is, the Albina prologue constitutes the 'antecedens', and the genealogical verses following the conclusion of the text of the *Arundel Chronicle* on f. 335^r are the 'consequens'. This reading is strengthened by the beginning of the opening colophon, written in red on f. 1^r-1^v, 'this tabel kalender of more plennarly knewlich ffoloyng wt a boke offe the fful text. All so ll a petegreu fro William Conquerour of the Crowne of Engelande lynyally descendyng unto Kyng Henri the vi in the end of thys boke limned in fygurs'. Thus the unity of the codex, including the opening prose 'Tabile offe cronycul of Engeland' account of Albina and her sisters, and the verse and prose of the *Chronicle* itself, *Richard Coeur de Lyon* on f. 252^r, the Saxon genealogy on f. 335^r, and the 'lymned' genealogies, derived from Lydgate's 'Kings of England', of William the Conqueror to Henry VI, on f. 335^v-342^v, would seem to be suggested from the outset.⁴¹

Scribe 1's colophon, therefore, indicates his knowledge of the entirety of Arundel 58 as it survives.⁴² His copying of the incomplete table of contents, and his foliation of the

³⁹ *MED*, 'antecedent' and 'consequent'. 'Antecedent' appears twice in Passus 4 of *Piers Plowman C*, in Pecoock's *Rule of Christian Religion*, the *Donet*, and *The Follower to the Donet*, Wycliffite Sermons in Bodley 788, and most frequently in Guy de Chauliac's *Grande Chirurgie*, a medical text. It should be noted they frequently appear as a pair, as in the *Wycliffite Sermons*, 'al oonli whanne antesedent and consequent ben convertiblis in kynde'.

⁴⁰ As would be expected from the directness of their derivation from the Latin terms.

⁴¹ For the 'petegreu' at the end of the codex, see further, below. See also L. Mooney, 'Lydgate's "Kings of England" and Another Verse Chronicle of the Kings', *Viator* 20 (1989), 255-90. Mooney argues for a distinction between the anonymous (derivative) "Kings of England" and Lydgate's text, and edits the anonymous version from the sixteen manuscripts in which it survives. See Mooney, 279-85.

⁴² Note, too, the foliation of the codex indicates the missing quire of 8 between quires vi and vii.

manuscript, add interesting details to this picture. Although the last entry in the table of contents, 'lettre offe Boneface' should have read, before erasure, 'fo cv' (f. 98^v, the last folio of Scribe 1's first stint), it is on 'fo cvi' (f. 99^r) that the text appears – including a marginal annotation 'lettre of Boneface'. Intriguingly, although the text of f.99^r is written by Scribe 2, the annotation is in the hand of Scribe 1, as is the foliation at the foot of the page.⁴³ Scribe 2 begins annotating his own work on f.100^r. Moreover, Scribe 1 foliates the codex through f.107^r, thus including the first quire containing Scribe 2's work, and the first two leaves of the second quire, before Scribe 2 takes over the foliation from f.108^r to f.119^r, at which point the medieval foliation of Arundel 58 ends.⁴⁴ Recall, too, that ff. 107 and 108 have been swapped with the current ff. 125 and 126, which must have taken place before the (continuous) medieval foliation. Scribe 1 therefore ceases his foliation on the first mis-bound folio, indicating, perhaps, his realisation that something had gone wrong in the binding of the book. As the table of contents was necessarily written before the entirety of the book was bound, perhaps the quires of the text of the *Chronicle* were sewn in phases, and the quire containing the table of contents sewn onto the front of the book before binding. It is possible, therefore, that the incomplete table of contents does not reflect Scribe 1 ending the table of contents at the end point of his copying, but rather that, in the process of foliating quires xiv and xv (ff. 98-111), his discovery of the mis-sewn text may have led him to end both foliation and the necessarily subsequent table of contents; the coincidence with the end of Scribe 1's copying stint on f.98^v and the end of the table of contents may be exactly that.⁴⁵

⁴³ There is a second annotation in Scribe 1's hand during Scribe 2's first stint, on f. 99^{rb}, 'olde saxone is in alamayne'.

⁴⁴ Scribe 2's foliation is in a distinctly sloppier hand, somewhat in contrast to the catchwords he employs throughout his work, which tend to be surrounded by text-ink drawings of various complexity and artistic skill.

⁴⁵ I am grateful to Professor Anne Hudson for her insights on this section. It seems unlikely that the table of contents was copied into a blank quire already bound into a finished book. However, consider Robert Cotton's habit of re-sewing and re-binding the manuscripts in his collection; although certainly a possibility that Arundel 58 was unbound in order to add the table of contents, it is not a scenario I believe to be plausible.

The overlapping stints of the two scribes, and indeed the division of the codex between the two of them, remains difficult to explain if composition of the text and production of the codex are to be connected. Scribe 1, as discussed above, copies the introductory Albina story, including the colophon dating the text, the table of contents, and the first 92 folios of the *Arundel Chronicle*. Scribe 2 then writes a continuous section of 155 folios, including the first 13 folios of the romance *Richard Coeur de Lyon*. Scribe 1 then resumes for his second stint of 11 folios (across two quires) midway through the romance, which his work then brings to its (incomplete) ending, before Scribe 2 resumes the *Arundel Chronicle*, for his second stint from ff. 276 – 303. Scribe 1 completes the *Arundel Chronicle*, entirely in prose, then completes the codex with a one folio genealogy and the illuminated anonymous ‘Kings of England’, some 39 folios. Scribe 1 is thus responsible for copying less than half of Arundel 58 as it stands.⁴⁶

There are a number of reasons to view the unique text preserved in Arundel 58 as the work of a single author, not least the continuity and consistency of compilative processes and tone across the entire text. Given Scribe 1’s knowledge of the entire codex, and his responsibility for the colophon, foliation, and table of contents – all hallmarks of a completed text – I believe it more likely that he, rather than Scribe 2, was the author of the *Arundel Chronicle*. The mistakes made in the layout of prose and verse are most likely connected to decisions made regarding the composition of the text, indicating perhaps a model whereby the distance between writing and copying was minimal. The practical difficulties of

⁴⁶ A missing quire of 8 and other folios lost from the codex suggest the total work of Scribe 1 is a little bit greater than this figure, but is likely still to be at or below half of the total. Moreover, the final portion of the text is not actually entirely in prose; the text ends with verse mis-written in the double columns of f.334^{vb}. Intriguingly, the verses are not from the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester (which does not narrate history this far), but instead are rhymed couplets clearly connected to the ‘political songs’ found in Langtoft’s and Mannyng’s chronicles, ‘¶There þan men myght se / many a Scott swiftly fle / And þe Englysshmen after pykyng / wiþ sharp swerdys þe Scott stykyng / 7 þat hure banerys weryn founde / al displayd lyeing on grounde / and þey lay sprad on blood / as þey foughton on þe flood’. There are 12 more lines, all clearly identifiable as a re-versification of Song 2, with elements of Song 4 as well. No one seems to have previously commented on this connection; the verses are on Halidon Hill, and are from the so-called Mandeville *Brut*. See Brie, 287-9, and ‘The Merlin of the Prophecies’, below. Also, see Chapter 2, ‘Langtoft’s Songs’, above.

assembling numerous source texts, which must have been present for copying or translation, into a single coherent whole are not insignificant: the project required a surprisingly extensive and diverse library, containing books in English, Anglo-Norman, and Latin in the middle of the fifteenth century.⁴⁷ Beyond the presence of the source texts, the procedural requirements of marking passages for copying and translation, identifying the points of textual insertion and transition, and other sheerly practical considerations, lead me to conclude that some sort of informal (in terms of presentation) middle stage mediates between the raw text of the exemplars and the final product of Arundel 58.⁴⁸ That is, it is not simply a matter of bracketing large swathes of text and copying them directly into the Arundel *Chronicle*. The text translates and adds clauses and even individual words to the text of the *Chronicle*, as well as re-arranging lines and adding prose interpolations: the process is a complicated one, and probably involved multiple stages.⁴⁹ Thus the seemingly close connection between composition and copying exposed by the mistakes made in presentation may well be slightly misleading, inasmuch as some form of intermediate step is involved. The complexity of the process of assembling and identifying the materials, and the creation of some form of working papers from which to copy the final text of the Arundel *Chronicle* may well have been accomplished by Scribe 1. Scribe 1, then, recopied his own work for the first stretch of the codex (or worked, perhaps, directly from his source texts) and organised, foliated, and finished the codex after Scribe 2 copied those portions of the text supplied to him, in some largely but not wholly complete form, by Scribe 1. Such a model is, of course, conjectural, but I believe it presents a viable explanation of the creation of Arundel 58.

⁴⁷ Moll observes of the reading 'Ke in the boke of Seint Graal may rede and se' (f. 62^v), 'The scribe's mistaken use of the Anglo-Norman "Ke" implies that he is translating a French text as he writes' (208).

⁴⁸ That is, it would be very difficult to identify passages to copy, points to switch to other exemplars, and when to switch back, and navigate the stacks of books involved without physically marking up the exemplars – a challenge readily conceptualisable were one to imagine attempting to create such a text today.

⁴⁹ See Chapter 3, 'Textual Identity', above, for arguments on a staged process of composition for the *Chronicle*.

The later history of the codex is such that its origins are unlikely to be therein discovered. The book was owned, and quite heavily annotated, by Lord William Howard (1563-1640), son of Thomas Howard III, 4th Duke of Norfolk. Howard, a Catholic, was a keen antiquarian, involved in the formation of the Society of Antiquaries and friends with other major antiquarian figures of his day – Cotton, Camden, and Spelman, amongst others.⁵⁰ In 1592, Howard published Florence [John] of Worcester's *Chronicon ex Chronicis* in London, basing his text on that found in what is now Dublin, Trinity College MS 502.⁵¹ Howard's diverse antiquarian interests can be seen in the partial 1697 catalogue of his library at Naworth Castle, Cumberland.⁵² Howard possessed numerous historical manuscripts and printed volumes, although there is no record of his acquisition of what is now Arundel 58; the College of Arms must have received the book from Howard's heirs or estate before the publishing of the 1829 catalogue of the Arundel manuscripts.⁵³

Faced, then, with only the evidence of the book itself, and the language of the text, it is nonetheless possible to add some information to the question of provenance. The most obvious question to ask of the book's production involves its reliance upon numerous and distinctive source texts. It is clear that not only an extensive knowledge of historiographical texts was possessed by the scribe/author, but that he had access to these texts for sufficient time to enable verbatim copying and extensive translation. Source texts such as Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum*, and the Middle English and Anglo-Norman *Bruts* offer little additional information because of their widespread and numerous copies. John of

⁵⁰ One of Howard's daughters married Thomas Cotton, Sir Robert's son. For a brief account of Howard's life, see the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁵¹ See John of Worcester, *Chronicle*, vol. 2, xxxvi. Darlington and McGurk localise the codex to Coventry, s. xii^{med}. Howard was, moreover, first loaned, and then given, Dublin, Trinity College MS 503, the *Chronicula* of John of Worcester, by William Lambarde during the time Howard was editing the text (xxxii-ii).

⁵² The list, first printed in the *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae in unum collecti* (Oxford, 1697), is supplemented with lists of manuscripts and printed books still at Naworth in the nineteenth century. See G. Ornsby, *Selections from the Household Books of Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle*, Surtees Society (London, 1834), 469-85.

⁵³ See Ornsby, lx, '[Howard's manuscripts] are now hopelessly scattered...with the exception of some which form a part of the Arundel Collection...and a small number...at Naworth Castle'.

Glastonbury's *Cronica sive Antiquitates Glastoniensis Ecclesie*, discussed below, and the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester, though far less common, nonetheless provide meagre grounds from which to work, largely because little is known about the late medieval circulation or copying of either text.⁵⁴ *LALME* localises the two hands at work in Arundel 58 'in a similar language' to Wiltshire – near Amesbury if one is to trust the scale and detail of the maps generated by the project. Whilst this localisation may be over-specific, it nonetheless places the Arundel *Chronicle* in reasonable proximity to the likeliest milieux, and libraries, containing the required source texts: Malmesbury, Glastonbury, and Salisbury.

It is important, moreover, not to imagine medieval books as solely and wholly confined to the libraries and locations in which they were written and stored, nor their scribes and authors to be incapable of travel. As one example, consider the case of John of Glastonbury's *Cronica*.⁵⁵ In his edition of the *Cronica*, Carley offers as an identification of John of Glastonbury one John Seen, a Glastonbury monk and D.Th. from Oxford in 1360.⁵⁶ Carley prints from the register of Walter de Monyngton, Abbot of Glastonbury from 1342, a letter from 1358 from Bishop Grandison of Exeter, requesting John Seen's assistance with a historical question at Exeter, 'venerabilis et religiosus vir dompnus Johannes Sene domus vestre commonachus inter omnes huius regni peritos de gestis antiquis et cronicis magis novit'.⁵⁷ That Seen had a reputation, and in particular a reputation as a chronicler and historian, should emphasise how little we know, or is recorded, about individuals and their interconnections in this period. Adding to this Seen's time at Oxford, and the general trend in the fourteenth century of Glastonbury monks studying at Oxford, an entire network of reputations, and personal relations amongst individuals no less complicated than that of today

⁵⁴ One manuscript of Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*, also containing the *Short Metrical Chronicle*, London, British Library MS Additional 19677, dated to c.1400, and its companion volume, MS Additional 50848, are localised by *LALME* to Wiltshire.

⁵⁵ See 'Glastonbury/Foundations', below.

⁵⁶ See J.P. Carley, *The Chronicle of Glastonbury Abbey: An Edition, Translation, and Study of John of Glastonbury's Cronica sive Antiquitates Glastoniensis Ecclesie* (Woodbridge, 1985), xxix.

⁵⁷ From London, British Library, MS Arundel 2, f. 42^v, printed in Carley, *Cronica*, xxix.

should be expected, rather than exceptional. For the scribe/author of Arundel 58, then, it is essentially not merely a question of what source texts he used, and thus demonstrably knew. Rather, within a social context of individuals sharing unique knowledge and intersecting networks of reputation, accomplishment, and specialisation, it is more than likely that the author of Arundel 58 would have availed himself of such personal resources, and participated in such circles.⁵⁸

To be added to the fluid networks of individuals and reputations is the mobility of books. Looking to Wiltshire, Malmesbury provides two significant examples. From Monyngton's register, Ker notes of Cambridge, Trinity College MS 1301, a twelfth century copy of Scotus's *De divisione nature* and a Gospel of Luke, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F.3.14, an early twelfth century computistical text, that they 'are to be identified with volumes returned to the abbot of Malmesbury by the abbot of Glastonbury after the death of Roger Swyneshead, monk of Glastonbury, 12 May 1365'.⁵⁹ Some 50 years later, Cambridge, Trinity College MS 727, a twelfth century copy of William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum* was borrowed from Malmesbury 'by the abbot of Glastonbury in 1411/12'.⁶⁰ These examples, of people and books traveling between the two abbeys, and in particular these two prominent abbeys that provide a possible backdrop for Arundel 58, should serve to highlight the culture of intellectual exchange throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that made productions such as Arundel 58 possible at all. The recorded instances of these loans and borrowings are, undoubtedly, far less frequent than was the practice itself. Books, and the knowledge of texts, traveled with individuals beyond the boundaries of ecclesiastical and secular institutions.

⁵⁸ The question being addressed here, albeit somewhat obliquely, is *how* authors learned about the existence of texts, and subsequently how exemplars were acquired. While for historically distant texts, such as Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, it is reasonable to expect a large number of people knowledgeable about the existence of the text, if not the text itself, for more recent texts, the reputation of author and book must necessarily spread further than the spheres in which the text is copied, if it is to be copied outside of its original location at all.

⁵⁹ Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, 128 n.1.

⁶⁰ Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, 90 n.7.

Yet a monastic origin is not the only setting imaginable for the production of Arundel 58. In particular, the late date of the codex places it firmly in the increasingly secular milieu of book production in England. Texts such as the Middle English prose-*Brut* were produced in London in large numbers at this time, and the works of Thomas Gray, Malory, and Usk suggest that access to significant numbers of source texts was, over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, entirely possible outside of monastic or ecclesiastical contexts.⁶¹ Whereas the date of the original *Chronicle* argues strongly for its composition at a religious house in order to explain the access to the historiographical corpus required for the creation of the derivative text, such conclusions should not be uncritically extended to Arundel 58. However, the surviving records and the state of current knowledge are such that it is quite difficult to identify, or even suggest particular secular settings that could have provided the resources necessary for the composition of the Arundel *Chronicle*, although such a background is entirely conceivable. It is, moreover, entirely possible to posit a mixed background for Arundel 58, composed by an author with access to monastic libraries and secular holdings as well. Entirely speculatively, I think it more likely that the author of Arundel 58 was working in an ecclesiastical setting or settings in order to account for the diverse and substantial set of source texts upon which he draws, but no evidence exists to prove or disprove this position.

In some ways, the consequences of these arguments for literary and cultural peripateticism can work against the attempt to localise Arundel 58. Theoretically, the author might have worked anywhere once he had assembled the requisite library. More practically, however, he is likely to have been working someplace where the majority of the texts

⁶¹ See, generally, the articles in eds. J. Griffiths and D. Pearsall, *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475* (Cambridge, 1989). See also S. Cavanaugh, *A Study of Books Privately Owned in England, 1300-1450* (PhD Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1980). The evidence concerning historiographical texts in private hands is ultimately inconclusive: although religious figures seem to have been the more likely to have willed historiographies in both Latin and the vernaculars, there are sufficient numbers of secular individuals who owned history texts to make generalisation impossible.

involved in the production of Arundel 58 were present. Although Glastonbury and its extensive library remains an obvious candidate, Malmesbury and Salisbury both undoubtedly offered not only the libraries required for the creation of the work, but the cachet and contacts necessary to acquire supplementary texts as needed. It is not impossible that more light will be shed on the question of the codex's provenance as it receives further study. For the moment, however, much like the questions of authorship and the processes of composition, conclusions must remain speculative. Without final resolution to the issues of how, where, or by whom Arundel 58 was composed or copied, it is important to stress that the question is, at some level, unimportant for the reading of the text and codex offered here. The unrecoverable processes of composition, potentially taking place at an indefinite and indeterminable number of points prior to the copying of Arundel 58, have left a physical and textual artifact that retains its originality.

'More pleine of the same mater'

There is, in Arundel 58, an extraordinary citation of the source text employed, 'And as wise in bothe side speke of this matere / In ryme y fynde hit noght write but in prose here / as hit in latyn is rad y wole telle nouthe / after the storye of Geffray of Monemouth'.⁶²

Beyond the distinction he makes between the 'ryme' and the 'storye of Geffray of Monemouthe', the scribe/author of Arundel 58 reveals here something of the literary processes of compilation that have produced this derivative text. Writing in rhymed couplets essentially indistinguishable from the preceding couplets taken directly from the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester⁶³, and joined by brackets in the manuscript, the scribe/author confronts

⁶² Arundel 58, f.80^v.

⁶³ *Chronicle*, 4910, followed by the section printed by Wright from the MS Harley 201, ll. 57-65, and 3 unknown lines.

the two sides to the story that he is re-writing. The Arundel *Chronicle* is negotiating the transition and *translatio* from the British to the English, from Cadwallo to Edwin – a tension captured in the annotations serving as headings to f. 80^v and f. 81^r and thus facing each other, 'Cadewalle brut' and 'Edwyne Englissh'.⁶⁴ At this point in the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester, the text navigates the complexity of the transition from relying on Geoffrey of Monmouth to the texts of Henry of Huntingdon and William of Malmesbury through the subtle transpositions and transformations typical of derivative texts.⁶⁵ It is precisely the complexity of the textual re-ordering of the *Chronicle*, and its divergence from what, up to this point, is an overwhelming adherence to Geoffrey of Monmouth's narrative, that prompt the Arundel *Chronicle*'s first set of prose interpolations. Prose, translated from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum* xii.2-xii.19, occurs intermittently on folios 80^v to 87^r, before finally arriving at the epilogue to the *Historia regum* and the *Chronicle*'s final transition to Saxon history, in the form of Henry of Huntingdon's Heptarchy, on f. 87^r.

The historiographical confusion created by the attempts of the *Chronicle* to silently reconcile its conflicting sources is transformed by the Arundel scribe/author. Rather than attempting to represent history itself as singular, monolithic, and fixed, the Arundel scribe/author not only acknowledges that history is a 'matere' – that is, subject to literary and historiographical treatment – but acknowledges the discrepancies in his historiographical sources. At once, his matter is not found in his rhymed source, but in the prose of Geoffrey of Monmouth, yet rather than the sources complementing each other, and thus contributing to a more 'complete' narrative, 'bothe side speke of this matere'. The explicit concession of competing sides opens up a space in which competing ideological projects, as well as

⁶⁴ Arundel 58, ff. 80^v-81^r. The conflict between Cadwallo and Edwin, beginning in *Historia regum* xii.4, leads inexorably to Geoffrey's climactic *translatio imperii* from the Britons to the English.

⁶⁵ See my M.Phil thesis, 'Translating History in the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester', for more on this process at this point in the *Chronicle*. Specifically, the *Chronicle* reverses *Historia regum Britanniae* xii.17 and xii.18 in order to better accommodate a (largely) seamless, if complicated and confusing, transition from British to Saxon history.

narrative accounts, are reconciled not through concealment, but through simultaneous exposure. Alongside this sophisticated perception of historiographical disagreement, or at the very least substantive discrepancy, the scribe/author also records a more conventional reaction to multiple sources, by presenting the *Arundel Chronicle* as a more comprehensive text precisely because of its derivative nature. This can be readily seen in the introduction to a return of the verse of Robert of Gloucester when discussing William Rufus:

many sor
rowful thynges and thynges sodey
ne fell in his tyme . Which beth
tolde in the Ryme here after
for hit accordeth to the latyn
prose the most part . And now to
the geste rymed . that telleth sum
what more than the prose hath
tolde of summe thynges . and yut
nought all that the prose hath tolde
¶Whanne that kyng William Rous
as Rymed is byfore
Accorded was with Curthose 7
othes swore⁶⁶

As against the opposing 'sides' of the previous example, the *Arundel* scribe/author's sources now exist in a complementary relationship; the texts agree for 'the most part'. Faced not with conflicting narratives, but rather accounts that relate details not found in the other, a sense of a larger whole of history, greater than its constituent historiographical parts, emerges. This, of course, is the greatest strength, by modern critical standards, of the derivative text, especially a work of history-writing.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ *Arundel* 58, f. 198^{va}. Lineation of the manuscript is retained, especially as the final four lines are an instance of mis-written verse, presented in a single column. The final couplet of the passage quoted is a light revision of *Chronicle* 7966-7973, before subsequently resuming a closer fidelity to the source text at *Chronicle* 7974.

⁶⁷ Simultaneously, their 'unoriginality' is precisely the reason for the scorn heaped upon texts of the genre. Note, however, the marginal annotation on f.135^v, next to 'xiiij yer he was kyng' (*Chronicle*, 5646), '¶The latyn seis / ix yer 7 a half', where the 'latyn' is the *Gesta Regum* of William of Malmesbury, 'annis nouem et dimidio', *Gesta Regum* ii.146:1 (234); Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* offers 'octauo anno' in one place, but 'ix annis' in another, *Historia Anglorum*, 318, 334. Also note another instance in *Arundel* 58, wholly in the text, 'after he / had regned . xxxiii . yer as the / Englissh story seith . and the latyn / story . xxxv . yere' (f. 150^{ra}). See a similar sort of correction in Mannyng's *Chronicle*, discussed in Chapter 2, 'Deriving Mannyng', above.

It is important to note that the scribe/author does not discriminate against his sources, or their authority, on the basis of language. His terminology is quite flexible, referring to the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester as 'ryme' (f. 80^v), 'englyssh geste in ryme' (f. 132^{rb}), 'the rymed story in englissh' (f. 146^{rb}), 'this Englissh ryme' (f. 150^{vb}), 'the Ryme' (f. 193^{vb}), 'Englyssh bokes in Ryme' (f. 205^{va}), 'the Englys storye' (f. 278^{rb}), and 'the cronicles rymed' (f. 300^{vb}). The *Historia regum* is described explicitly as 'tunc de historia galfridus monemouth' (marginal annotation, f. 58^v), 'the storye of Geffray of monemouthe' (f. 80^v), and 'Geffray Monemouthe' (f. 123^{rb}). Other unnamed Latin sources – most likely including amongst them the *Historia regum* at times – are described as 'cronica latina' (marginal annotation, f. 37^v), 'the latyn' (f. 135^v, f. 142^{rb}), 'the latyn story' (f. 136^{ra}, f. 146^{va}, f. 154^{va}, f. 200^{rb}), 'Cronicles' (f. 186^{va}), 'the latyn cronicles' (f. 189^{ra}), 'prose after the latyn' (f. 193^{vb}), and 'the latyn prose' (f. 198^{va}). Texts explicitly referred to in the Arundel *Chronicle* include 'bokes of Brut a Frenshe' (f. 44^r), the 'boke of seint graal' (f. 62^v), the 'cronicles' of Henry of Huntingdon (f. 87^{ra}), 'the gestes of the Kynges of Walys...[of] Caradoc Lancarbaenous' (f. 87^{rb}), 'the boke of antiquite of Glastenbury' (marginal, next to 'the book of olde / doyngs . which William monek / of malmesbury made of the minstre forsaiden' f. 118^v), 'Gildas the chronicler and tryuet the cronicler' (f. 123^{rb}), 'Jordanes the cronicluer' (f. 123^{ra}), 'the words of virgill' (f. 127^v), 'the Cronicles of Popes' (f. 145^{rb}), 'malemsburyes cronicles' (f. 166^{va}), 'Julius Cesar...seith in a boke of the Bataylles of Fraunce' (f. 176^{va}), 'the Englyssh Bruyt' (f. 193^{rb}), and 'cronicles ycleped triuetes cronicles' (f. 300^{va}). Uncertain sources include, 'the gestis of Brutones' (f. 87^v, f. 93^r), a 'lyf' of Kenelm (f. 102^r), 'the lyff of Seynt Larenes' (f. 93^r), 'seynt Edward the martens story' (f. 140^{ra}), 'cronicles' (f. 161^{ra}), 'the storye' (f. 165^v), 'the story of wynnyng of Jerusalem' (f. 173^{rb}), and 'another cronicle' (f. 249^v). Arundel 58 provides an extraordinarily rich apparatus describing, identifying, and referring to its source

texts and, in all probability, texts and authors that are simply paraded to lend added authority to the composition.

The themes of clarity and comprehensiveness are recurrent features of the scribe/author's remarks on transitions from verse to prose and back: 'whiche in Ryme afterward is tolde more pleine' (f. 185^{ra}), '¶prose more pleine of the same mater' (f. 221^v), 'as myche notable þynges in the cronicles rymed that is nat in this prose' (f. 300^{vb}). The stress placed on communicating successfully with an audience, on 'pleine' speech, is also found in the remarkable translation of the epilogue to Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum*, 'as men may in hure stories more plenerly rede after the cronicles that William malmesburiens and henry of huntyngdon cronicles made of the Englissh kynges' (f. 87^r).⁶⁸ The scribe/author deploys two phrases, developed into troped exchanges between author and audience, to address the dual questions of the clarity and comprehensiveness of the derivative *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester. Textual clarity, that is, the scribe/author's estimation of, and his anxiety about, his audience's ability to understand a given section of his text, or larger narrative trends, is particularly difficult to untangle. The oft-repeated phrase, 'more pleine of the same mater', seems a fairly straightforward articulation of a concession to the *Chronicle*'s audience.⁶⁹ But there is no one source upon which the Arundel scribe/author is drawing that is consistently more clear: on f. 136^{vb} the couplets of the *Chronicle* are re-introduced with 'more open', and again on f. 221^v the *Chronicle* is described as 'more plenure fulliche', yet on f. 221^v it is prose that is 'more pleine', and on f. 284^r the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester is criticised, 'Now be cause the story in Ryme is nought full plenore'. All of the scribe/author's sources potentially threaten the clarity of the historical narrative he is attempting to relate.

⁶⁸ For more on this translation, see further below, 'Epilogue(s)'. Notice the echoes of the emphasis in Robert Mannyng's *Chronicle* on 'symple speche'.

⁶⁹ Arundel 58, f. 221^v, marginal. Variants include, 'more oppen' (f. 136^{vb}), 'more plenure fullich' (f. 185^{ra}), and 'mor pleinur' (f. 193^{rb}).

The seemingly more innocuous question of comprehensiveness proves similarly complicated upon closer examination. Beyond the opposing 'sides' and strands of narrative discussed above, the scribe/author has other concerns, 'And for as myche notable þyn/ ges in the cronicles rymed that is nat / in this prose And manye names of gen / tiles of auncetreye by thulke dayes / of whiche gentiles desireth to hure / the Ryme folwith of þis same kyng'.⁷⁰

The idea of particular subject matters, preferred by facets of a projected audience, is not revolutionary. But it is not a sensitivity or sophistication we would typically ascribe to the 'compiler' of a derivative vernacular history writing in the mid-fifteenth century. The scribe/author makes other observations about his audience's tastes, 'And for as myche as in the / Englys storye is rymed for the / more comfort to retors and hurors' and 'to prose torne we agene more storiall thyng to hure'.⁷¹ In another remarkable concession to clarity, comprehensiveness, and audience, the scribe/author remarks, '¶Hit is to remembre that / many notable thinges dude he / ther . But a mong other thyn / ges the letre that he sent fro / Rome is here titled . for the mor / notablete and comfort to men / hurying hit'.⁷² 'Comfort', 'notablete', and 'names of gentiles of auncetrye' contrast with the repeated transition employed by the scribe/author to mark interpolations made for the sake of comprehensiveness, 'Hit is to remembre of this'. The three impulses – clarity, comprehensiveness, and adaptations for audience – do not resolve neatly. The transitions from verse to prose, whilst visually clear, and made as smooth as possible through textual

⁷⁰ Arundel 58, f. 300^{vb}.

⁷¹ Arundel 58, f. 278^{rb}, f. 284^r. *MED*, 'rhetor', 1b: 'master of literary eloquence' seems the more likely definition. A more generalized sense of 'rhetorician', as well, may be understood here, as in an individual who appreciates figures of speech and poetic structures. 'Storiall', l.b., 'of a book; dealing with history' suggests this line is slightly dismissive of the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester, and its conclusion of the brief narrative of King John's reign, as the Arundel *Chronicle* sets aside chronology to return to an annalistic-like survey of various omitted details.

⁷² Arundel 58, f. 156^{ra}. See also f. 245^{vb}, 'And / now by cause ich haue contynued / the cronicle of latyn huder to / mekyng no mension of the En- / glissh ryme . In which some no- / table thinges both that both nat / in this prose . Ther for ich wolle / write hit her as hit is rymed fro / the gynnyng a non to the buryng of / this yonger kyng'.

introductions and supporting marginalia, remain jarring for an audience, as they expose the sutures in a genre where the concealment of sources and transitions is the norm.

Because of the potential for his mixed-text to work perversely against a sense of coherence and clarity, the scribe/author's introductions to interpolations sometimes step back from local textual concerns to larger understandings of the derivative text at hand:

Of this Rolle and other
dukes after him of whiche ich
wryte after is muche more of her
gestes wretyn in the gestes of nor
maundy . But for to conueye my
mater to William Bastarde of
wham this storye is to be wryt
The gynnyng is of Rolle . and other
his after comers . of what kynde
he cam of.⁷³

The scribe/author conveys an overwhelming sense of structure in this transition, implying a control over his narrative that refutes any accusations of *ad hoc* interpolation or compilation.

The express reference to a source text, and to the scribe/author's 'mater' as distinct from that of his source, recalls again the comment that 'bothe side speke of the matere'. The composition and formation of the *Arundel Chronicle* reveals not only the complexities of creating derivative historiography, but the extensive planning and forethought required for the task, a grasp not only of history but histories.

The degree of sophistication with which the scribe/author steers his narrative is paralleled by his subtle appreciation of his (projected) audience:

This historie of kyng William
Rous hederto thus is y write
in prose after the latyn by cau
se of the names of the gen
tiles of olde tyme and other
thynges here on is more pleynure
thanne in the Ryme . And
her now see hit in Ryme after

⁷³ Arundel 58, f. 171^{ra}. The reference to what can only be Wace's *Roman de Rou* is remarkable, and I believe unique; the matter requires further study.

the Englyssh Bruyt þat som
men lusteþ better to hure than prose⁷⁴

This transition from prose to verse not only justifies the reasons why the preceding prose text has been included, but looks forward to the potential discrepancy between reading (or hearing) tastes and historiographical completeness. The troped explanation of clarity, 'mor pleinur', and of comprehensiveness stand in tense proximity to the demands of an eager audience and structural coherence. The description of the reign of William Rufus, and the names of 'olde tyme' emphasises the utterly textual nature of historiography in the mid-fifteenth century. Although the writing of history is always a textual phenomenon, depending upon previously written accounts, the intervening centuries between event and codex, and between the *Chronicle* and this derivative product, are particularly exposed here in the transition between sources. Writing history inherently involves a re-fashioning for a contemporary audience; here the Arundel *Chronicle* refashions not only history itself, but, quite explicitly, its source texts.⁷⁵

This impulse, too, leaves its residue in the Arundel *Chronicle*. Beyond the refashioning of history, the rehabilitation of historical individuals is a commonplace of the historiographical. Introducing a section on William the Conqueror, the Arundel scribe/author goes to great lengths to exonerate William's decisions and character:

and o-
ther diuers maners hadde whiche
in Ryme afterward is tolde
more plenure onliche is that
is blameworthy the cruelye
gaderyng of money whiche by
alle wyse he used . but lightlich
myght he be ther of excused be
cause that he hadde so grete

⁷⁴ Arundel 58, f.193^{rb}. 'Englyssh Bruyt' here refers to the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester; the verse that follows, miswritten in double columns as noted above, consists of *Chronicle* 7855, 7854, 7856-60.

⁷⁵ See, for example, the comment on f.161^{ra-b}, 'Of this Emperoure aboue saide many glorios doynges beth rad in Cronicles | which for lenthe both ouerpassed'.

ll coste in the conquest of a ne
we reaume . And withoute gret
coste he myght nat holde hit
ne gouerne hit . And nedes most
him drede many that many
were adrad of ffor thi for to
putte of his ennemys . And
to kepe his frendes he gade
red and dude as to fore is
seide. –Ryme.⁷⁶

The imperative to excuse and justify taxation imposed and hostages taken almost 400 years before, and to smooth over a recurrently contentious issue, marks a fundamental ideological shift in historical and historiographical perspective. Note that this interpolation works on several levels, beyond refashioning the character of William the Conqueror. There is again the emphasis on clarity, as the scribe/author promises his audience that the story will be, 'tolde more plenure fuliche'. Moreover, the passage looks both ahead to the imminent 'Ryme', and backwards to the historical narrative just related in prose, 'as to fore is seide'.

This overarching grasp of the derivative text, the revelation of an awareness of narrative trajectory and structure, marks Arundel 58 as a sophisticated production, written to be a coherent whole. The appearance of original transitions between prose and verse in the *Arundel Chronicle* is a distinctly different approach than that taken in the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester itself, where derivation and compilation are accomplished silently, and with varying degrees of discontinuity. The consistent *mise-en-page* for prose and verse, the control exhibited in laying out and executing mixed-format folios, the textual transitions between prose and verse, and the marginal annotations remarking on those transitions, all contribute to something resembling the culmination of the genre: a mid-fifteenth century approximation of a 'modern', academic history text, balancing the demands of readability and

⁷⁶ Arundel 58, f. 185^{ra-b}, followed by *Chronicle* 7554-81, an account of William's hostage-taking as a method of suppressing those whose 'hert drowe' 'toward Edgar Ethelyng' (f. 185^r) and his control of England.

historical fidelity, of comprehensiveness and coherence, of a plethora of contradictory and overlapping sources, and an idea of monolithic, singular history itself.

Strategies of Intervention and Composition

The Arundel *Chronicle* employs four primary strategies of intervention with relation to its main source text – the longer recension of the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester. These strategies should be viewed as occupying broad categories, rather than as rigid sets of features; many features of particular categories intersect with or replicate features of other categories. The numerous interpolations, broadly speaking, can be categorised in two sets, the first of which is made up of ‘original’ interpolations and ‘translated’ interpolations. Original interpolations, that is, prose or verse written by the scribe/author of the codex, can be extremely complicated to identify: there are places in the text where lost or unidentified sources seem more likely to account for the text than would conventional authorial activity. Yet there are numerous instances of original interpolations that are identifiable. One obvious set are the transitions introducing sections of prose and verse, and other cases of meta-textual and self-referential commentary examined above. Some original interpolations are recognisable because of the historical distance between the date of the Arundel scribe and the earlier *Chronicle*. One such instance is the interpolation concerning Edward I’s removal of the Stone of Scone from Scotland into a description of the founding of Scotland by Scota on f.17^v.⁷⁷ Translated interpolations, again, are potentially difficult to discern, especially as it is impossible to separate wholly the successful identification of source texts and identifying material as translated.⁷⁸ Again, however, many examples exist that can be quite readily

⁷⁷ Discussed below, in ‘Scota and Scone’.

⁷⁸ Consider Matheson’s observation, ‘He has also preserved *passim* a series of extracts from a verse history similar in style (and literary quality) to the *Short English Metrical Chronicle*’ (331). Matheson’s use of the term

perceived, including the more extreme instances such as the translation of the epilogue of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum* on f. 87^r, and the insertion of *Richard Coeur de Lyon* at f. 252^r.

The second set of interventions are structural in nature, that is, relating to the organisation and presentation of the text of the *Arundel Chronicle*, and the surrounding and supporting apparatus. An obvious example of structural intervention is the re-ordering of sections of the source version of the *Chronicle*, a purposive engagement with a source text complicatedly entangled with and describable through theories of translation. Examples of structural intervention can be seen almost from the outset: the *Arundel Chronicle* omits lines 56-189 of Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle* on f. 7^r, and after copying lines 204-5, includes lines 139-150. This sort of detailed structural alteration is common throughout the *Arundel Chronicle*, with varying effects, and variously determinable prompts for the changes. Marginalia, and other physical contextualisations (including *mise-en-page*) of the *Arundel Chronicle*, constitute the final category of the strategies used in the codex to transform its source. The following examples are intended to present a generalised examination of instances of these four categories, not to comprehensively enumerate their presence in *Arundel 58*.

'extract' here obscures, potentially, the issue of identifying these items as original to the *Arundel* scribe, or as interpolated translations.

Original Interpolations: *Scota and Scone*

In describing the populating of Ireland, the *Chronicle* narrates how the Picts sailed from Sicily, and came to Ireland, ‘So þat hii come attelaste ; to yrlondes norþ ende / Agen þat folc of scotlond ; & þat folc þat hii founde þere / Of þis eldore kunde ; scottes icluped were’.⁷⁹ The scribe of the Arundel *Chronicle* responds to the etiological prompt present in his source text, and expands the text:

Aftur a womman that Scote hyght . the doughter of pharaon
that broughte into Scotlond ; a white marbel ston
that was ordeyned for hure kyng . whan he crouned were
And for a gret jewel longe . hit was yholde there
kyng Edward with the longe shankes fro Scotlond hit sette
By syde the shryne of seynt Edward at westmenster let hit sette⁸⁰

The three couplets interpolated into the text of the *Chronicle* here can not be attributed to any particular source text, nor need they be. Edward I’s removal of the Stone of Scone from Scone to Westminster in 1296 was a resoundingly symbolic act, marking (prematurely) the conquest of Scotland, and paralleling neatly the presentation in 1284 of ‘Arthur’s crown’ at the altar of Westminster Abbey.⁸¹ The very theatricality of the event, and the ramifications of the symbolic gesture, ensured that it would endure in historiography despite the vagaries of history: in the second part of the *Chronicle* of Robert Mannyng there is a ‘couwe’, as the marginal annotation identifies it, drawn from Langtoft’s *Chronicle*, in which the Scots lament, ‘He salle þe ken . our lond to bren . & werre bigynne; / þou getes no þing . bot þi riuelyng . to hang þer inne; / þe sete of þe Scone . is driuen ouer Done . to London led’.⁸²

⁷⁹ *Chronicle*, 958-60.

⁸⁰ Arundel 58, f.17^v.

⁸¹ See especially, amongst a vast literature on the two topics, R. Goldstein, *The Matter of Scotland*; R.S. Loomis, ‘Edward I, Arthurian Enthusiast’, 114-127; and J.P. Carley, ‘Arthur in English History’, in ed. W.R.J. Barron, *The Arthur of the English* (Cardiff, 2001), 47-58.

⁸² Mannyng, *Chronicle* II.6823-25. Note that Mannyng resumes his narrative, crediting Pierre Langtoft as his source, and turning to the prophecies of Merlin regarding Scotland and Wales, before reiterating the etiological crux that prompts the Arundel *Chronicle* expansion in the first place, ‘He sais Merlyn . in his deuyng . of him has said / þat þre regions . in his bandons . salle be laid, / Scotland & Wales . þise er his tales . þis lond al on / was Brutus wayn. & cald Bretayn . first Albion’ (II.6837-40). Regarding Mannyng’s adaptation of Langtoft’s English verses, see Chapter 2, above.

The interpolation of these three original couplets in the Arundel *Chronicle* raises many questions, not least of which is their relevance in the fifteenth century. However, what can be deduced from their presence in MS Arundel 58 is the scribe/author's familiarity with other texts beyond his most obvious source in the *Chronicle*. This knowledge here surfaces not as a direct quotation of a particular source, but instead as a detailed knowledge of the histories of a century or more before. Moreover, there are in fact two distinct and yet interconnected topics introduced in these lines: the foundation of Scotland by Scota, and the removal of the Stone of Scone by Edward I. Both topics are worked and re-worked in numerous chronicles, though neither appears in the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester. The interrelation of the two topics formed a crux at the end of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, as historiographical texts negotiated the conquests of Wales and Scotland and sought to encompass the possibilities of the tripartite division of the island resolved under a single ruler. The Albina story, found just twelve folios before in MS Arundel 58, participated in this textual crisis in the early fourteenth century, before becoming part of the dominant strand of English historiography joined to the Anglo-Norman, and later the Middle English, *Brut*. Their presence in MS Arundel 58 marks not only a familiarity with the texts and topics of the scribe/author's historiographical forbears, but reflects an understanding of the significance and consequences of their subject matters.

Translated Interpolations: Arthur's Deaths

The most obvious, and perhaps most convoluted, example of a translated interpolation into the text of the Arundel *Chronicle* is actually largely physically lacking from the codex. There is a stub visible between folios 75 and 76, which must have contained the death of

Arthur and the beginning of a version of the *Prophecies of Merlin*.⁸³ Hudson's description of the codex states of the quire, '12⁸ leaves 1-2 cut away and material missing', an assessment which will be considered more fully below.⁸⁴ Turning back to f.75^r momentarily, the leaf begins with the death of Gawain, 'And ther by suryte a bataille and dude such might and mayn / that ther was slawe mordredes brothur the curteys kyng Waweyn', to which a marginal gloss attests, '¶the deth of wawayn'; the text of the Arundel manuscript aligns closely with that of the *Chronicle* – including the marginal annotation, found in MS Cotton Caligula A.xi, 'Occisio waweyn'.⁸⁵ The remainder of the 36 lines on f. 75^r correspond to the text of the *Chronicle* 4533-4566, describing the preparations for the final battle between Arthur and Mordred, the arrangements and numbers of their armies, and the deaths of some of Arthur's allies. Folio 75^v continues the close reliance on the *Chronicle*, beginning at line 4567, and the first six lines of f. 75^v correspond to the *Chronicle* lines 4567-72. At this point, the *Chronicle* describes, briefly, the single combat between Arthur and Mordred, in which Arthur cuts off Mordred's head, and is then surrounded by a press of enemies, from whom he receives 'deþes wounde'.⁸⁶ The Arundel *Chronicle*, however, omits these lines, and instead narrates over 30 lines a series of encounters certainly without parallel in the *Chronicle*:

So after Ywan afterward he gan to chace aboute
that was is cosyn germayn and forto sle hym there
couertede wel the more for armes that he ber
such a stroke he hym yaf euene uppon the sheld
that the bokeles of gold flogh in to the feld
Iwayn smot hym ayen in that ilke stounde
that he fel of his hors down to the grounde
thanne com ther on renne of Arthures menne
7 as he was upwarde with a sper gurde hym thurgh thenne
natheles yut up he ros and venged hym self tho
that his hed fro the body he gurde ther a two
Mordred fel down ayen to deye on the grounde

⁸³ Matheson observes, 'A leaf is missing between fols. 75 and 76 that would have contained the end of the Arthur narrative and the beginning of the prophecies of Merlin', 330.

⁸⁴ Hudson, I. 16.

⁸⁵ Arundel 58, f. 75^r. See the *Chronicle*, 'Atte hauene an batayle ; hii smite wiþ gret mayn / þer was aslawe þe hende knigt ; þe noble sire waweyn' (4531-2).

⁸⁶ *Chronicle*, 4573-82.

Alas sayde sire Iwayn cosyn this ilke stounde
that euer the shape was to do that ilke foule synne
thurgh which so many man is lost 7 destruyd is our kynne
much sorwe 7 sorynesse is ther thurgh falle
the knyghts of the table thurgh the undo buth alle
Mordred thenne for sor 7 sorwe deide in the stede
Iwayn rod to Arthur sone 7 this tydyng hym sede
Arthur let smyte of his hed 7 let bere hit aboute
7 shewe hit that hure enemyes hadde the more doute
But for al that the saxones stifly gonne with stonde
Arthur euer leide on faste with Caliborne an honde
Certik Saxones kyng dude end his power
to have a do with Arthur 7 drough hym ner 7 ner
so that Certik his sper so to hym bar
that uppon Arthures body hit also brak thar⁸⁷

The material is seemingly unique to the *Arundel Chronicle*. Although there are numerous versions of the final encounter between Arthur and Mordred, and still more versions of Arthur's death/removal, there are no other known surviving instances of Ywain killing Mordred.⁸⁸ Geoffrey of Monmouth, in the *Historia regum*, is quite vague about precisely who kills Mordred, and who wounds Arthur, 'uiam gladiis aperiendo eam penetrauit atque horribilem cedem ingessit. Conditit namque nefandus ille proditor. & multa milia secum...set et inclitus ille rex arturus letaliter uulneratus est'.⁸⁹ Following Geoffrey, both Wace and Lagamon veil the deaths of Arthur and Mordred in uncertainty, 'þer wes Modred of-slage; and idon of lif-dage. / in þan fihte...And Arður forwunded; mid wal-spere brade. / fiftene he hafde; feondliche wunden'.⁹⁰ In later texts, a number of differing traditions arise, although the original uncertainty is retained in the Middle English prose *Brut*, 'But so hit bifelle at the laste, þat Mordrede was slayn...and Arthure himself was woundede to þe

⁸⁷ Arundel MS, f. 75^v. There is a leading and tantalising catchword just below 'brak thar' at the foot of f.75^v, 'Arthur smot'.

⁸⁸ I am grateful to Professor Helen Cooper, Professor Anne Hudson, Professor Jennifer Miller, and Dr Andrea Williams for their assistance and discussion on this question. There does survive an account of single combat between Mordred and Ywain in *La Mort le Roi Artu*, in which, however, Ywain is killed. See J. Frappier, ed., *La Mort le Roi Artu* (Paris, 1964), 274.

⁸⁹ *Historia regum*, XI.ii, 500-1, 'They hacked a way through with their swords and Arthur continued to advance, inflicting terrible slaughter as he went. It was as this point that the accursed traitor was killed and many thousands of his men...Arthur himself, our renowned king, was mortally wounded' (Thorpe, 261).

⁹⁰ Lagamon, *Brut*, 14254-5, 14260-1. The tradition of the number of Arthur's wounds, variously numbered and located by Wace, Lagamon, Gerald of Wales, and others, need not enter here.

deth'.⁹¹ In the *Alliterative Morte Arthure* and the *Stanzaic Morte Arthur*, and in Malory's *Morte Arthur*, Arthur and Mordred meet in single combat, and Arthur kills Mordred⁹²; in the *Stanzaic Morte* and in Malory's text, Mordred reciprocates the death blow he receives, and wounds Arthur. In the historiographical tradition, Langtoft's *Chronicle* also features a single combat between Arthur and Mordred, resulting in Mordred's death and Arthur's ambiguous wound, 'Pur veyr ne say counter si mort sayt u noun, / Mès unkore est vifs, ceo dyent ly Brettoun'.⁹³

Although there is no parallel for this scene that survives, there is a description of such a text, in which Ywain kills Mordred.⁹⁴ Although the manuscript containing Thomas Gray's mid-fourteenth century *Scalacronica* is incomplete, there survives a description by Leland that summarises parts of the text, including those missing, entitled 'Notable thinges translated in to Englisch by John Leylande oute of a booke, caullid Scala Chronica'.⁹⁵ Leland describes the final battle as related in the *Scalacronica* sparingly:

Mordred taried the cumming of Arthure by the water of Tamar, wher Hywain (to whom Arthure had gyven Scotland after the deth of Angusel as next heire) did kille Mordrede, in the which bataile Arthure was after deadely woundid, and cam to Avalon with Hiwayne.⁹⁶

⁹¹ *Brut*, 90.15.

⁹² See L.Benson and E.E. Foster, eds., *King Arthur's Death: The Middle English Stanzaic Morte Arthur and Alliterative Morte Arthure* (Kalamazoo, 1994), ll. 3392-99 and ll. 4224-54. See also M. Fries, 'The Poem in the Tradition of Arthurian Literature', in ed. K.H. Göller, *The Alliterative Morte Arthur: A Reassessment of the Poem* (Woodbridge, 1981), 30-43, 'As nowhere else in previous Arthurian story, Arthur's battle with Mordred is a single combat' (39). Note that Ywain dies of thirst shortly before Arthur's death in the *Alliterative Morte*.

⁹³ Langtoft, *Chronicle*, I.224, 'For truth, I cannot say if he be dead or not / But the Britons say he is still alive' (225).

⁹⁴ I am grateful to Dr. Richard Moll at Kalamazoo, 2004, for confirming my suspicions that such a text existed, and for his generous conversation and wide knowledge of the matter.

⁹⁵ See J. Stevenson, ed., *Scalacronica: by Sir Thomas Gray of Heton, Knight*. The *Scalacronica* still awaits a proper and complete edition of the manuscript, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 133, although Andy King, of the Univeristy of Durham, has announced a forthcoming edition for the Surtees Society. The lack of a modern edition has led to the widespread neglect of Gray's text. *Scalacronica*, 259.

⁹⁶ *Scalacronica*, 260. Leland notes, amusingly, of the subsequent chapter that it is, 'a whole chapitre speking agayne them that beleve not Arthure to have beene King of Britaine, bicause that Bede spekith nothing of hym' (260).

Gray's *Scalacronica*, then, provides the only other instance in which Ywain kills Mordred.⁹⁷ Unfortunately, Leland's summary leaves the question of Arthur's death as unresolved as the missing conclusion to the episode in Arundel 58, noting only the deadly wound at the retirement to Avalon.

In the Arundel *Chronicle*, 'Certik saxones king' is possibly 'Chelrik king of saxones', an ally of Mordred and successor of Hengist, who brings 800 ships of 'saracen' Saxons to Britain: scribal variation in the manuscripts of the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester preserve the name as 'Chesrik', 'Chesryke', and 'Chesrik'.⁹⁸ 'Certik' is also possibly a substitution, confusion or conflation of the Certik, king of Wessex, who occurs within 100 lines of this passage in the *Chronicle*; this Certik succeeds Hengist and arrives with five 'ssipuol of Saxons'.⁹⁹ Although personal names are frequently a locus of scribal alteration and confusion (recall the multiple Athelstons in the Auchinleck version of the *Short Chronicle*), given the purposive engagement with source texts by the scribe/author of the Arundel *Chronicle*, and his visible access and recourse to supplementary texts, straightforward 'confusion' seems an unlikely explanation. There is no identifiable source for this combat between Arthur and Chelrik/Certik, although the Middle English prose *Brut* does narrate a more generalized series of encounters between the two, in which 'Cheldrik' repeatedly flees from Arthur, and is eventually captured by Cador, Earl of Cornwall.¹⁰⁰ Interestingly, in the Middle English prose *Brut*, the chapter narrating Cheldrik's capture, 'How Arthure gaf bataile to þe Saxones when þai comen agene', is followed immediately by the prophecies of Merlin: a sequence paralleled by the Arundel *Chronicle*. The 'donation of

⁹⁷ See Moll, 56-66, for his account of this passage, and the elevated role of Ywain throughout the *Scalacronica*.

⁹⁸ *Chronicle*, 4516-22. The variants to the name 'Chelrik' all occur in manuscripts of the shorter recension – not the recension of the *Chronicle* that appears to be the source for the Arundel *Chronicle*.

⁹⁹ *Chronicle*, 4671. The name of Certik, king of Wessex appears in the *Chronicle* at lines 3428, 3432, 4672, and 4680. Note the context of the last occurrence, 'Certik....Westsex hii clupede is kinedom ; as ge abbeþ yhurd ylome / þis was a lute biuore ; ar þe king arthure come' (4680-2).

¹⁰⁰ *Brut*, 70-1 (Chapter 72). See also Langtoft's *Chronicle*, where 'Cordik' is captured and killed by Cador at this point in the narrative.

Mordred', in which Certik receives lands from Mordred, is a romance tradition inflection of the narrative of the transfer of power that is also found in Leland's summary of the missing portions of the *Scalacronica*. Leland may be capturing the uncertainty in tone of the *Scalacronica*, or it may be his own skepticism that marks his description, 'Sum say that Mordred lefte Wilshire, Somersetshire, and Dorset to Cerdik the Saxon that began the kingdom of Westsax'.¹⁰¹ If the *Scalacronica* did preserve the death of Arthur at the hands of Certik the Saxon, the donation of Mordred then completes the unification of the fictitious and the (nominally) factual, of Chelrik and Certik.¹⁰² The importance of Certik's identity as a Saxon, however, should not be underestimated: Arthur's death and the inevitable *translatio imperii* from the British to the Saxons is a vexed question in essentially all of the historiographical texts and traditions.¹⁰³ Reframing Arthur's final combat from a romantically inflected meeting with Mordred to a direct conflict with Certik the Saxon fundamentally alters the terms of the *translatio*.

In comparison to the complicated and subtle 'resolutions' to the moment of the transfer of power found in Gaimar's *Estoire*, or the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester, the text in Arundel 58 simplifies matters significantly.¹⁰⁴ By attributing Arthur's death directly to Certik the Saxon, the Arundel *Chronicle* effectively removes any doubt about the moment, or the emphatically definitive nature, of the transfer of power to the Saxons from the

¹⁰¹ *Scalacronica*, 251.

¹⁰² Note that a similar conflation occurs in Gaimar's *L'Estoire des Engleis*, where 'Certiz' receives the donation of Mordred, and then some 800 lines later, Certiz the Saxon, 'l'autre Certiz' (*Estoire*, 820) appears; the two become a single figure when Gaimar narrates the meeting between Cnut and Edward Ironside (4312-18). See also Bell's note to his edition, 211 n.820, and his article, A. Bell, 'The West Saxon Genealogy in Gaimar', *Philosophical Quarterly* 2 (1923), 173-86.

¹⁰³ It is worth recalling the assessment in the prose *Brut* of the causes of the civil wars of 1322, 'hit was no wonder, for þe grete lordes of Engeland were nougt alle of o nacioun, but were mellede wip opere naciouns, þat is forto seyn, somme Britons, somme Saxones, somme Danois, some Peghtes, somme Frenchemen, somme Normans, somme Spaignardes, some Romainys, some Henaudes, some Flemyngus, and of opere diuerse naciouns, þe whiche naciouns acorded nougt to þe kynde bloode of Engeland' (*Brut*, i.220). To borrow a chapter title from the forthcoming book of Philip Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism, and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales* (Cambridge, forthcoming), 'Racial Politics are Ancient History'.

¹⁰⁴ The *translatio* is technically lacking from Gaimar's *Estoire*, found instead in the supposedly lost *Estoire des Bretons*, yet the opening of the *Estoire* seems to navigate the ideological aspects of the transition from British to Saxon history quite richly.

British, undoing in the process Geoffrey of Monmouth's work in the *Historia* to relocate the issue in the first place. Although the *Arundel Chronicle* continues to narrate portions of the *Chronicle* through the muddle that marks the end of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*, it also turns directly to other sources to mark the end of British history, including a generic condemnation of British 'vice' attributed to Gildas, and most significantly, offering a translation of the epilogue of Geoffrey's *Historia*, citing in the process the quintessentially English texts of William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon.¹⁰⁵ The fraught question of locating precisely the *translatio imperii* to the Saxons, then, is conclusively resolved in the *Arundel Chronicle*, and set at the death of Arthur at the hands of Certik the Saxon, at once recipient of a donation of lands from Mordred, and King of Wessex in the post-Arthurian fog of Saxon and British rulers.

Although the account of Ywain's killing of Mordred and Arthur's death in Arundel 58 clearly has some parallels with the lost account narrated in Gray's *Scalacronica*, the codex is not directly dependent upon Gray's text.¹⁰⁶ However, the existence of a more direct source text for this passage – hence its identification as a 'translated' interpolation – is likely. Undoubtedly, there were more Middle English accounts of Arthur's death circulating in the mid-fifteenth century than now survive. Moreover, the sophistication of the couplets in the passage, and the common, if erratic, use of alliteration throughout the passage, in conjunction with the markedly archaic syntactic construction, and formulaic repetitions, all suggest a lost Middle English poem narrating Arthur's death at the hands of Certik the Saxon.¹⁰⁷ I reach the conclusion of a 'lost source' for this passage most reluctantly. The proliferation of 'lost

¹⁰⁵ The translated interpolation is discussed below, in 'Epilogue(s)'. See also Chapter 1, above, for the Gildasian model of providential history.

¹⁰⁶ See Moll's conclusion, 'The scene is much more detailed in the Arundel manuscript than in Gray's version, and is unlikely to be dependent on the *Scalacronica*... Rather, it seems likely that both Chronicles rely on an unknown source for this, and possibly other, similarities' (59-60).

¹⁰⁷ The alliteration and rhyme in the passage both provide further evidence that Arundel 58 is not drawing directly from the Anglo-Norman *Scalacronica*. Gray began his work in 1355, thus providing a *terminus ante quem* for the lost Arthurian text, suggesting it perhaps was part of the large number of romances written in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

sources' and 'lost copies' to account for challenging questions of derivation and manuscript transmission all too frequently eliminate the possibilities of higher levels of scribal competence, ability, and creativity. It is precisely these types of assumptions my work here attempts to challenge, by exposing the sophistication of the creations of the scribe/author of Arundel 58. Nonetheless, I am unwilling in the face of the textual evidence, in comparison with the identifiable body of his work, to attribute this passage to the scribe/author. It is intriguing to recall that the *Scalacronica*, itself very much a derivative text, was composed whilst Gray was imprisoned, and yet somehow had access to a surprisingly well-stocked library, including many of the same texts upon which Arundel 58 relies. The textual vocabulary of these two authors, separated by a century, is remarkably similar, yet difficult to explain even when the historical circumstances of production are known. Regardless, this translated interpolation in the Arundel *Chronicle* marks a fundamental re-orientation of the intersection of fantastic and more factual history, and an elegant resolution to the conflict between the Bedan and Galfridian historiographical trends.

Translated Interpolations: The Merlin of the Prophecies

Turning to the prophecies of Merlin on f.76^r of Arundel 58, which follow immediately the missing folios containing Arthur's death, approximately half the folio is written in double columns of continuous prose in 18 lines, and the bottom half is written in 18 long lines of verse, with two two-line blue ink capitals and two text ink one-line capitals further setting off the verse section. The passage is also found in London, British Library, MS Harley 4690, the so-called 'Mandeville translation' of the Anglo-Norman prose-*Brut*:

Arundel 58
and shal the dragon 7 he bynde hure
tailes togedre . and than shal come a
lyon out of Irlond and shal falle in

Harley 4690
And the dragon and he schalle binde her
tailes togeder and þenne schall come
a lyonne oute of Irelende and schal fal

companye with hem . than shal the
land that shal be cleped Engeland
tremble as a leef of aspe.¹⁰⁸

in company wt ham þenne schall þe lond
þat schall be cleped Engeland tremble as
a lefe of aspe¹⁰⁹

Compare the text of the prose *Brut* as printed by Brie:

& so shal þe dragoun and he bynde here tailes to-geder.
¶ þan shal come a lyon oute of Irland, þat shal fal in company with ham ;
and þan shal tremble þe lande, þat þan shal bene callede Engeland, as an aspe lef¹¹⁰

Although the Arundel text is closer to the Harley text than Brie's composite edition, the differences are quite minute. Matheson attributes the variations between the Arundel *Chronicle* and Brie's edition of the prose *Brut* to separate textual lineages, remarking of the Arundel *Chronicle*, 'the prophecies of Merlin [are] taken from the Mandeville translation'.¹¹¹ The so-called Mandeville translation of the *Brut*, attributed by Brie to John Mandeville, rector of Burnham Thorpe in Norfolk, is supposedly a complete re-translation of the Anglo-Norman *Brut* into Middle English composed c. 1435.¹¹² The Mandeville translation as a wholly independent translation, differing 'considerably' from the Middle English *Brut* seems, despite the evidence presented by Brie and reiterated by Matheson, wholly unlikely. The closeness between the passages quoted above – the texts of Arundel 58 and Harley 4690, and Brie's edition, which employs Oxford, Bodleian MS Rawlinson B.171 as a base text – argues for a much closer relationship between the two *Bruts* than wholly independent translations of the same source.¹¹³

¹⁰⁸ Arundel 58, f. 76^{ra}. Lineation is retained.

¹⁰⁹ London, British Library, MS Harley 4690, f.26^{va}. Lineation is retained.

¹¹⁰ Prose *Brut*, i.75.

¹¹¹ Matheson, *The Prose Brut*, 330. Matheson does not comment upon the discrepancies between the closing lines of f. 75^v and any known text of the *Chronicle*.

¹¹² See Brie, *passim*. The Mandeville *Brut* survives only in London, British Library MS Harley 4690, and in brief sections of MS Arundel 58. Matheson states of the Mandeville *Brut*, following Brie, 'In content the full text of BL Harley 4690 resembles...[the 1333 Common Version of the *Brut*], as might be expected... Stylistically and verbally, however, the versions differ considerably, and it appears that the translation exemplified by BL Harley 4690 must have been based on an Anglo-Norman text similar to that of Bibliothèque Mazarine 1860, a text as far removed as possible from that used for the first translation' (332).

¹¹³ The texts of *Richard Coeur de Lyon* in both manuscripts require further study, especially if, as Brunner's stemma suggests, the two are textually descended from a common ancestor.

Brie presents as evidence for the Mandeville *Brut* as a distinct text from the *Brut* a parallel text of Harley 4690 (with variants from Arundel 58) and Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 1860, covering from ‘der Belagerun von Leeds unter Edward II’.¹¹⁴ An interesting pattern emerges from the minor variations between the English texts of Harley 4690 and Arundel 58: the Arundel text is rather closer in places to the Anglo-Norman text of Mazarine 1860 than is Harley 4690.¹¹⁵ The three passages shared between Harley 4690, Arundel 58, and considered by Matheson, also vary somewhat. The introductory redaction of the Albina story in Harley 4690, ff.4^r-5^r, and Arundel 58, ff. 5^r-6^r, are identical save for spelling variants. The two versions of the prophecies of Merlin, the beginning of which is quoted above, vary only in minor details.¹¹⁶ The third passage, the poem on Halidon Hill which concludes both texts, exhibits rather more numerous and substantive differences, including the fact that the Harley version continues on for 40 lines after the end of the Arundel version.¹¹⁷

As the verses on Halidon Hill, or the ‘romance’, as Harley 4690 refers to them, occur only in Harley 4690, and partially in Arundel 58, that there is some close connection between the two codices seems incontestable.¹¹⁸ Yet the evidence for attributing the *Brut* of Harley

¹¹⁴ Brie, *Geschichte*, 75. It should be noted that Matheson’s criteria for organising and identifying versions of the Middle English *Brut* do not take this passage into account.

¹¹⁵ *Geschichte*, 76-7: Harley, ‘his compaignonen’, Arundel, ‘his heretauncys’, Mazarin ‘ces aheredantz’; Harley, ‘yaffe to his pees’, Arundel, ‘reconsiled to his pees’, Mazarine, ‘reconcilla a sa pees’; Harley, ‘Sir hughe Spencer þe ffader & þe sone’, Arundel, ‘sir hughe spencer þe fader & sure hugh his sone’, Mazarine, ‘sire Hugh ledespencer le pere & sire Hughe ledespencer le filz’; Harley, ‘þere þe Erle’, Arundel, ‘þere Thomas þe Erle’, Mazarine, ‘ou le comte Thomas’.

¹¹⁶ Harley, ‘And the dragon and he schalle binde her tales’, Arundel, ‘And shal the dragon 7 he bynde hure tales’; Harley, ‘itte schall seme þat seuerne schal be drye’, Arundel, ‘hit seme that Severne shal be drye’; Harley, ‘go uppe to þe londe and with drawyng of the see’, Arundel, ‘go up to the lond of the white dragon of the see’; Harley, ‘he schall yeve þe þridde party in pees and þen he schall lyue in grete sorow alle his lyfe’, Arundel, ‘he schal yuve the thridde party to have the ferthe party in pees . And thane he shal lyue in gret sorwe al his lyf’; Harley, ‘full faderless’, Arundel, ‘right faderlys’.

¹¹⁷ Printed in Brie, *Brut*, 287-9. Harley, ‘many a skotte lightly flee’, Arundel, ‘Many a Scott swiftly flee’; Harley, ‘Alle displayedde on the grounde’, Arundel, ‘al displayed, lyeng on ground’; Harley, ‘And layne starkly on Blode’, Arundel, ‘and þay lay sprad on blood’, etc. See also above, n. 46, for observations on the verses.

¹¹⁸ Matheson, ‘Textual comparison shows that neither of the surviving manuscripts is the original text of the translation, which must, in addition, have ended with the verses of ascription that were copied later into British Library Harley 2279. Nor can either manuscript be a copy of the other’ (334). Moll concludes, on the basis of an extra half-line present in the Arundel prophecies without parallel in Harley 4690 (the penultimate example in n. 116, above) that, ‘If the Arundel [text]...does rely on Mandeville’s *Brut* it is not using the Harley manuscript’ (314 n.21). The possibility must be considered, I believe, that the scribe/author of Arundel may have had access to more than one copy of the *Brut*, potentially both in Middle English and in Anglo-Norman; its extreme

4690 and the three sections of Arundel 58 to a new translation by John Mandeville from the Anglo-Norman is rather more complicated than Brie and Matheson concede. Although the texts vary from those groupings of the Middle English *Brut* proposed and refined by Brie and Matheson, it seems strikingly unlikely that the Mandeville text is a 'second translation into English of the Anglo-Norman *Brut*'¹¹⁹, written without reference or recourse to those Middle English versions of the *Brut* circulating in the first half of the fifteenth century.¹²⁰ Positing a common textual ancestor for the texts of Harley 4690 and Arundel 58, the near-verbatim resemblance between the prophecy as found in the two codices, and that printed by Brie, based on Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B.171, is, given the very nature of translation, inexplicable without conceding some form of textual indebtedness between the John Mandeville *Brut* and the CV-*Brut*. The Mandeville *Brut* is, certainly, original and distinctive in places, and, as Matheson comments, 'stylistically and verbally' different from the CV. Rather than framing the Mandeville *Brut* of Harley 4690 as an original re-translation from the Anglo-Norman *Brut*, however, it is preferable to view the text as another derivative text: not as ambitious in its compilative scope as the Arundel *Chronicle*, but nonetheless drawing on multiple variants of the numerous Anglo-Norman and Middle English *Bruts*, as well as containing original textual elements.

The prophecy found on f.76^{ra} of the Arundel *Chronicle*, and common to the Mandeville *Brut*, is recognisably a version of the prophecy known – somewhat confusingly – as the Anglo-Norman 'Prophecies of Merlin (Prose Version)', and the Middle English 'The Prophecy of the Six Kings to Follow John', or 'The Last Kings of the English'.¹²¹ Surviving

popularity, and the evidence from various library catalogues, would suggest such a possibility would not be unusual, although the sophistication implied by using multiple manuscripts of the same text certainly is.

¹¹⁹ Matheson, 328.

¹²⁰ That is, written without reference to the *Brut* versions categorized by Matheson as CV-1333, CV-1377, CV-1419, EV-1419, and AV-1419.

¹²¹ See T.M. Smallwood, 'The Prophecy of the Six Kings', *Speculum* 60 (1985), 571-92. A text of the late (couplet) version of the prophecy is printed in J. Hall, ed., *The Poems of Laurence Minot*, third edition (Oxford,

in multiple versions in Anglo-Norman, Middle English, and Latin, Smallwood dates the 'original' Anglo-Norman prose version of the prophecy to c. 1312¹²²; it is subsequently incorporated into the longer version of the Anglo-Norman prose-*Brut*, traditionally dated to the 1330s. The section preserved in Arundel 58 refers to the sixth and final king of the prophecy, the Mole, and ends complete. Assuming that the prophecy was, before the loss of the two leaves postulated by Hudson (*pace* Matheson, although only one stub is visible), complete, the 223 lines of the prophecies missing from the Arundel manuscript would correspond to just over six columns of 36 lines. These six columns would fill more than one folio: both sides of the folio immediately preceding the current f. 76, and the verso of the first folio of the quire, leaving the recto for the battle between Arthur and Certik, and Arthur's end – whether his death or his removal to Avalon.¹²³ This would seem to be confirmed by Scribe I's foliation of the current f. 75 and f. 76 as 'lxxx' and 'lxxxiii', and entries in the table of contents on f. 3^v, 'death of wawayn....lxxx f°' and 'constantyne kyng afftyr Arthur....ff° lxxxiii'.

What was understood to be the *Prophecies of Merlin* changed dramatically from the twelfth century to the fifteenth century. Originally composed by Geoffrey of Monmouth as a separate text with a separate dedication to Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, the *Prophetiae Merlini* circulated as part of the *Historia regum*.¹²⁴ Wace, Geoffrey's translator, famously

1914), 103-11. See also Dean, *Catalogue*, 16-17. See also the discussion in L. Coote, *Prophecy and Public Affairs in Later Medieval England* (York, 2000), 101-111.

¹²² The prophecy appears in five manuscripts of the *Chronicle* of Pierre Langtoft as well, London, British Library MS Cotton Julius A.v, MS Royal 20 A.xi, Cambridge, Cambridge University Library MS Gg.i.1, Sidney Sussex College MS 43, and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français MS 12154. See also J.C. Thiolier, *Édition Critique et Commentée de Pierre de Langtoft*, 32-33. Note that the Latin *Prophetie Merlini* are also interpolated into Langtoft's *Chronicle* in British Library, MS Cotton Julius A.v, f.54-57, and are printed in Wright's edition, I. 266-77. See Crick III.332.

¹²³ Comparing the 35 surviving lines of the Arundel prophecy (f. 76^{ra} is 18 lines, f.76^{rb} 17 lines) with the 35 lines of the prophecies in Harley 4690 on f.26^{va}-26^{vb}, a very close correspondence in textual extent between the two codices is suggested. Subtracting the 35 lines present on f.76^r, the remaining 223 lines would fill six columns of 36 lines each, and seven extra lines.

¹²⁴ See Crick, IV.8. See especially C. Eckhardt, 'The *Prophetia Merlini* of Geoffrey of Monmouth: Latin Manuscript Copies', *Manuscripta* 26 (1982), 167-76. See also Eckhardt, 'The First English Translations of the

declines to translate the prophecies: a decision compromised by the insertion or interpolation of versions of the prophecies into Wace's text in a number of manuscripts.¹²⁵ By the thirteenth century, however, and Langtoft's revision of Wace's *Brut* and the *Historia regum*, the 'Prophecies of Merlin' inserted into manuscripts of his *Chronicle* are the prose prophecies circulating with the Anglo-Norman *Brut* – that is, 'The Prophecy of the Six Kings to Follow John', prophecies only very loosely connected to the 'original' prophecies of Merlin in *Historia regum*. This substitution of one set of prophecies for another, both under Merlin's name, is not a wholly remarkable occurrence. It is important to recall, however, the access to, and knowledge of, the *Historia regum* by the scribe of Arundel 58. This knowledge in turn implies a knowledge of the multiple prophecies circulating as prophecies of Merlin – a knowledge that parallels the visible awareness of multiple historiographical texts and traditions.¹²⁶

The prophecies lacking from the two missing folios are not the only materials missing from Arundel 58. The table of contents notes on f. 3^r, 'Proficia Merlyn ... fo xli + vij sequent'. This entry is unusual inasmuch as it indicates the extent of the text marked by the entry, rather than simply the beginning folio, something no other entries in the table do. The prophecies, then, occupied the missing quire of 8 between f. 43 and f. 44.¹²⁷ F. 44^r begins not with material translated from a source text, but with an original interpolation:

And translatyd in to Latyn out of Bretoun
Thurgh Geffrey of monemouth clerk of renoun
At byddyng of a bysshop of Lincoln Alisaunder
7 after by Stephyne the kynge hadde moch sclaunder
But in bokes of Brut a Frenshe þat beth wryte
Of merlynes prophecies more may me wyte

"Prophetia Merlini", *The Library* 6 (1982), 25-34, regarding the translation into English of Geoffrey's original prophecies in *Castleford's Chronicle* after 1327.

¹²⁵ See Dean, 17-19. See Wace, *Roman de Brut*, 7535-42.

¹²⁶ Merlin's 'status', of course, was deployed as an authenticating device throughout the period; I am referring here specifically to those prophecies primarily identified as prophecies of Merlin, not merely in the Merlinic or prophetic tradition. Coote's study of political prophecy is, perhaps, chiefly useful for its consolidated lists of the prophecies circulating in later medieval England, and the known interrelations of the manuscripts.

¹²⁷ See n. 13, above, for the quiring.

Of the last fyue kynges þat sholde in londe be
7 who so wylneþ to wyte ther he may se
much of this fell afterward as ye mowe hure.¹²⁸

The 'Prophecy of the Six Kings to Follow John', as has been seen, in fact occurs some 30 folios later in the *Arundel Chronicle*. Instead, the prophecies referred to are those found at this point in the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester - the Merlinic prophecies of the *Historia regum*, although the *Chronicle* heavily abbreviates and redacts them. Moll concludes of the missing materials, 'It is likely, therefore, that the eight missing folios, or 576 lines of verse, contained a lengthy set of prophecies...we may speculate that the scribe turned to the original Latin source to supplement what he saw as the deficiencies of Robert's text'.¹²⁹

Thus, quite unusually, the *Arundel Chronicle* possessed at one point a substantial proportion of the Merlinic *oeuvre* – both the original prophecies as found in the *Historia regum*, and the 'The Prophecies of the Six Kings to Follow John' as found in the Middle English prose *Brut* and the Mandeville *Brut*. What is compelling about these additions and expansions to the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester goes beyond the scribe/author's access to other texts in the historiographical and prophetic traditions. It is precisely the scribe/author's knowledge of tradition as such, and the impulse to create a text that navigates the complexity of both the historiographical and the prophetic that is remarkable. Rather than following the examples of Wace and Robert of Gloucester, who omit the prophecies virtually entirely, the scribe/author of Arundel 59 instead finds ways and means to incorporate both the traditional and the derivative strands of Merlinic prophecy. The historical and textual frameworks provided by the Geoffrey of Monmouth epilogue and the dedication to Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln¹³⁰, and the pointedly contrasted other source, 'But in bokes of Brut a Frenshe þat beth wryte ...more may me wyte', enable the reader to comprehend the

¹²⁸ Arundel 58, f. 44^r.

¹²⁹ Moll, 202.

¹³⁰ See 'Epilogue(s)', below.

origins of the text at hand, and, in fact, to pursue the matter and consider how the scribe/author deploys his source texts.¹³¹ This overarching grasp of the material at hand demonstrated by the scribe/author also provides some insight into the problematic processes of composition: before turning to the *Historia regum* to expand Robert of Gloucester's account, or turning to the prose *Brut* to conclude the Arthurian section, he must necessarily have known, and understood, the relationships amongst these texts. That is, the development of the Arundel *Chronicle* at this point requires *a priori* knowledge about, and of, a large number of texts that are then available at hand during the compilative process that takes place after the (imaginative) compositional process.

¹³¹ Moreover, prophecy here serves a textual, and textually fulfillable (and verifiable) role, rather than appearing as historical prognostication. This isn't an unusual mode for prophecy, as the original Prophecies of Merlin in the *Historia regum* can certainly be read at least partially as 'textual' in this sense, but the historical position of Arundel 58 enables the scribe/author to ensure conformity between a prediction and its textual fulfillment.

Translated Interpolations: Epilogue(s)

Next to the six-line initial capital on f. 6^v of Arundel MS 58 that introduces the Arundel *Chronicle*, in the inside margin of the manuscript, Scribe 1 has added a marginal annotation that provides the first instance of a remarkable facet of this text of the *Chronicle*: Scribe 1 has marginally noted, 'Britannia insularum optima'.¹³² This, of course, quotes precisely the opening words of Geoffrey of Monmouth's twelfth century *Historia regum Britanniae*. The *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester itself echoes or translates this line in its opening line, 'Engelond his a wel god lond ; ich wene ech londe best'.¹³³ But the rendering of the line back into Latin by the scribe of Arundel 58, into precisely the words of the *Historia regum*, immediately suggests the scribe's direct access to the *Historia regum*. Indeed, the evidence recently assembled by Richard Moll for the Arthurian sections of the Arundel *Chronicle* provides numerous examples of narrative and substantive reliance on the *Historia regum*, as against the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester or the prose *Brut*¹³⁴; the scribe/author's continual access, and recourse, to, the *Historia* in the first part of the Arundel *Chronicle* is incontestable.

The transition in Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle* from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum* to the *Gesta Regum* of William of Malmesbury is, textually, extremely complicated, while at the same time entirely unmarked and unremarked. In MS Arundel 58, the epilogue of Geoffrey's *Historia* is restored, interpolated appropriately into the Arundel *Chronicle*, and, moreover, thus overtly marks the otherwise invisible transition in the *Chronicle* and the Arundel *Chronicle* to the reliance on William of Malmesbury's text.

Folio 87^r begins with 19 lines in single columns, but approximately one third of the way

¹³² The peculiarity of the four-stroke 'n' employed by the scribe, in both line 1 of the text on f. 6^v, and in the annotation, confirm the hand of the annotation is that of Scribe 1.

¹³³ I am grateful to Professor Hudson for her observation that a literal translation (back) into Latin from the text of Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle* is more likely to be rendered 'Anglia insula optima'.

¹³⁴ See Moll, *Before Malory*, Chapter 5.

down the folio introduces 20 lines in double columns, before concluding the folio with 7 single column long lines. There, in the double columns, the scribe translates and interpolates the epilogue to the *Historia regum*:

...as men may in hure stories more plenerly rede after the crol [f.87^{rb}]nicles that William Malmesburiensis and Henry of Huntynghdon ~~eroneles~~ made of the Englissh kynges. ffor of the Britones kynges myght they noght make sutthe they hadde noght the bok of Briton langage þat Water Erchedekne of Oxenforde broghte out of Brutayne Which bok Geffrey monemouthe knowynge the langage of Brutones have busyed me to translate hit out of Bruton langage into Latyn ; And also the prophecies of merlyn atte the instaunce of Alisaundre bisshop of Lyncolne. The gestes of the kynges of Walys aftur yvor and yini ; to Caradok Lancarbanouse that was in my tyme y leve to write to after comene understondynge.¹³⁵

This passage is marginally annotated with three blue paraph marks and three names,

‘¶William malmesbury’, ‘¶Henry huntynghdon’, and ‘¶Walter erchedekne of oxonfforde’.

The text then resumes, in a single column, with a small two-line text capital, the text of the *Chronicle*, ‘Whan Brutayne was þus lore . and the londes name / that was do so to Briton as for the more shame’.¹³⁶

The translation of Geoffrey’s epilogue is, of course, rather more than a verbatim transcription and translation of the original. Most obvious are the shifts between the third person and the (original) of Geoffrey’s first person, ‘which bok Geffrey monemouthe...have busyed me to translate hit...in my tyme y leve to write’. Moreover, Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln does not appear in the epilogue to the *Historia regum*.¹³⁷ Instead, he appears as the dedicatee, and insitigator, of the inclusion of the Prophecies of Merlin in the midst of the

¹³⁵ Arundel 58, f. 87^{ra-rb}.

¹³⁶ Arundel 58, f. 87^r, equivalent to *Chronicle*, 5144-5, ‘þo brutayne was þus ylore ; & þe londes name / To þe name of engelond ; yturnd hom to gret ssame’.

¹³⁷ On the dedication, see Tatlock, *Legendary History*, Griscom’s edition, and N. Wright, *The Historia Regum, I: Bern, Burger Bibliothek, MS. 568* (Cambridge, 1984). See also J.J. Parry, *Vita Merlini* (Urbana, 1925). Concerning the separate circulation of the prophecies, much of the evidence stems from Ordericus Vitalis’s description of the prophecies as ‘opusculus’ and ‘libellus’ in *Historia Ecclesiastica*, XII. See Eckhardt, ‘The Date of the *Prophetia Merlini* Commentary in MSS. Cotton Claudius B.VII and Bibliotheque Nationale Fonds latin 6233’, *Notes & Queries* 221 (1976), 146. See also M.J. Curley, ‘A New Edition of John of Cornwall’s *Prophetia Merlini*’, *Speculum* 57 (1982), 217-49. Curley dates the Prophecies to c. 1135, and their incorporation into the *Historia regum* after 1139.

Historia regum, 'Cogit me Alexander lincolniensis episcopus nobilitatis tue dilectio prophetias Merlini de britannico in latinum transferre antequam historiam perarassem quam de gestis regum britannorum inceperam'.¹³⁸ Thus the dedication to the prophecies has been, in a quite limited manner, transposed from the middle to the end of Geoffrey's text.¹³⁹ Yet the fragment that has survived, following the missing Prophecies of Merlin, indicates that even in the process of adding translated interpolations to his source text, the scribe/author is simultaneously engaging in structural intervention – re-ordering and transposing sections of the source texts, both minute and substantive.

This structural re-ordering can be seen quite clearly, moreover, when the translated epilogue is compared to the full original in the *Historia regum*:

Degenerati autem a Britannica nobilitate gualenses . numquam postea monarchiam insulae recuperauerunt . immo nunc sibi interdum Saxonibus ingrati consurgentes externas ac domesticas clades incessanter agebant . Reges autem eorum qui ab illo tempore in gualiis successerunt . Karadoco lancarbanensi contemporaneo meo in materia scribendi permitto. Reges uero Saxonum Willelmo Malmesberiensis & Henrico Huntendonensi quos de regibus brittonum tacere iubeo. Cum non habeant librum istum britannici sermonis. quem Gualterus oxenefordensis archidiaconus ex Britannia aduexit. quem de hystoria eorum ueraciter editum in honore predictorum principum hoc modo in latinum sermonem transferre.¹⁴⁰

The minute re-ordering of the original is immediately evident, wherein Caradoc of Llancarfon is shifted from preceding Henry of Huntingdon and William of Malmesbury, to

¹³⁸ *Historia regum*, vii.2, 384; 'Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, my admiration for your noble behaviour leaves me no other choice but to translate the "Prophecies of Merlin" from the British tongue into Latin, before I have finished the history which I had already begun of the deeds of the kings of Britain' (Thorpe, 170). Curiously, Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, was also the dedicatee of both Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* and William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*, as well as a patron to Giraldus Cambrensis. Julia Marvin's recent work on the Anglo-Norman prose *Brut* suggests that it, too, originated in Lincolnshire – a somewhat improbable place, it must be admitted, to serve as a locus of historiographical activity in England.

¹³⁹ Recall, too, that the prophecies themselves are missing from the codex, and thus there is no way of knowing whether the full panegyric of the dedication itself was copied.

¹⁴⁰ *Historia regum*, xii.20, 535-6; 'The Welsh, once they had degenerated from the noble state enjoyed by the Britons, never afterwards recovered the overlordship of the island. On the contrary, they went on quarrelling with the Saxons and among themselves and remained in a perpetual state of either civil or external warfare. The task of describing their kings, who succeeded from that moment onwards in Wales, I leave to my contemporary Caradoc of Llancarfan. The kings of the Saxons I leave to William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon. I recommend these last to say nothing at all about the kings of the Britons, seeing that they do not have in their possession the book in the British language which Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, brought from Wales. It is this book which I have been at such pains to translate into Latin in this way, for it was composed with great accuracy about the doings of these princes and in their honour' (Thorpe, 284).

instead concluding the passage, the prophecies are introduced, 'Bruton langage' is doubly emphasised in making an additional appearance, and Geoffrey himself appears by name. Note, too, the change in tense and tone from Geoffrey of Monmouth's admonitory challenge in leaving Saxon history to Henry of Huntingdon and William of Malmesbury, to the scribe/author's awareness of those texts, 'the cronicles...made of the Englissh kynges', and the consequent understanding of why nothing of legendary British history occurs in their work, 'ffor of Britons kynges myght they noght'. The scribe/author's knowledge of the texts addressed in the epilogue as historical productions, written contemporaneously with the *Historia regum* some 300 years before, reveals an engagement not only with the historiographical texts with which he has (literally) surrounded himself, but their historical circumstances of production, and textual and ideological interconnections and disjunctions.

Translated Interpolations: Glastonbury/Foundations

The presence of another identifiable translated interpolation raises interesting questions about the Arundel scribe/author's access to texts. Following the Saxon *translatio*, the arrival of Augustine in England and the preaching of Christianity in England, the scribe/author introduces a substantial aside, 'And for as muche as we speketh her of Cristendom / a litel in prose y wole rehearse hogh al þat furst hit com'.¹⁴¹ The text continues in prose in two columns, describing how Joseph of Arimathea was chosen by Philip the Apostle to proselytize in England, thereby founding Glastonbury Abbey.¹⁴² This was not an invention of the scribe of the Arundel *Chronicle*, but rather a response to an increasingly

¹⁴¹ Arundel 58, f. 90^r. There is, as noted above, a later reference in Arundel 58, f. 118^v, to 'the boke of antiquite of Glastenbery' as a marginal annotation to 'the book of olde dooyngs which William monek of Malmesbury made'.

¹⁴² The literature on Glastonbury Abbey and its foundation is extensive. See especially V. Lagorio, 'The Evolving Legend of St. Joseph of Glastonbury', *Speculum* 46 (1971), 209-231, and the articles reprinted in Carley, *Glastonbury Abbey and the Arthurian Tradition*.

prevalent revision of history. The development of the legend of Joseph of Arimathea's foundation of Glastonbury was largely accomplished by John of Glastonbury's *Cronica sive antiquitates Glastoniensis ecclesie*, composed in c.1342.¹⁴³ The *Cronica* survives in seven manuscripts, written between the late fourteenth and the mid-seventeenth centuries; the majority of the manuscripts date to the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹⁴⁴ The *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester, in narrating the conversion of Britain, relies on the account of Glastonbury provided by William of Malmesbury in the *Gesta regum*.¹⁴⁵ The *Chronicle* relates, in vague terms, 'þe deciples' sent by Eleutherius to convert Britain, noting of the monks sent, '& þere mid hor owe honde . hii rerede verst an chirche / Of herdles & of gerden . as hii coupe wurche / & þat was þe verste chirche . þat in Engeland com / & þe eldost hous al so'.¹⁴⁶ The scribe/author of the Arundel *Chronicle*, with access not only to texts written after the composition of the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester, but writing in a mid-fifteenth century milieu in which the Arthurian and apostolic claims of Glastonbury were at a cultural and literary high-water mark, takes the opportunity to complement his source text. Following line 4782 of the *Chronicle*, the Arundel scribe/author anticipates and interweaves material from the *Cronica* before formally shifting to prose:

Arundel 58, f.90^r

Chronicle, 4782-4786

he was the xiiij pope that after petur com
Phagan and deruian that furst hit gonne brynge
By laste in wilderness after hure prechyng
That men clepeth Glastengbury that desert was tho
and ther by come monekes and toke to hem mo
And for as muche as we speketh her of cristendom
a litel in prose y wole rehers hogh al þat furst hit com

was þe þrettepe pope þat after . seinte peter com
þe deciples þat he hider sende . cristendom to bringe
Biluede in an wilderness . after hor preching
þat me clupeþ nou glastingbury . þat desert was þo
& þere hii bigonne monekes & nome to hom mo

¹⁴³ See J.P. Carley, *The Chronicle of Glastonbury Abbey*, xxv-xxvi.

¹⁴⁴ Lagorio observes, 'One notes a burgeoning interest in the Glastonbury story in English writings of the fifteenth century', 72.

¹⁴⁵ Note also William's *De Antiquitate Glastonie ecclesie*, written c.1129 for, and at, Glastonbury. See W.W. Newell, 'William of Malmesbury on the Antiquity of Glastonbury' and J.A. Robinson, 'William of Malmesbury On the Antiquity of Glastonbury' in his *Somerset Historical Entries* (London, 1921).

¹⁴⁶ *Chronicle*, 4787-4790.

The Arundel *Chronicle* then turns to John of Glastonbury's *Cronica*, compiling and combining various sections of the text into a new, abbreviated whole, running from f.90r to the top of f. 91^v, before resuming the rhymed couplets of the *Chronicle*.

The translated interpolation, at least in part a gesture towards historical and narrative comprehensiveness, includes several interesting wrinkles in an otherwise largely smooth transition. The prose interpolation begins not with the opening prologue of the *Cronica*, 'De antiquitate vetuste ecclesie beate marie Glastonie', but rather midway through Chapter 18 of the *Cronica*, which begins with the heavily self-authenticating heading 'Incipit tractatus de sancto Ioseph ab Arimathia, extractus de libro quodam quem invenit Theodosius Imperator in Ierusalem in Pretorio Pilati'.¹⁴⁷ In the *Cronica*, John of Glastonbury introduces the historically authorising section, 'Et, ut ad rerum gestarum ordinem facilius perueniam, Paulo alcius sermonem repetam'.¹⁴⁸ Initially, the translation by the Arundel scribe/author remains reasonably close to the narrative related in the latter part of Chapter 18, Chapter 19, and the first part of Chapter 20 of the *Cronica*. The Arundel *Chronicle* then skips over the more remarkable portions of the *Cronica* – those on Lancelot, derived from the Vulgate Grail cycle and the prophecies of the obscure Melkin – to resume translating on f.90^{rb} Chapter 22 of the *Cronica*, 'Quomodo Sancti Phaganus et Deruuianus Britannos ad fidem conuerterunt et in insulam Avallonie venerunt'.¹⁴⁹ Here, however, the Arundel scribe/author moves from Chapter 22 of John of Glastonbury's retelling, in detail, of Phagan and Deruvian, to the very opening matter of the *Cronica* and its overview of Glastonbury's history, 'hogh seynt phelipp 7 / his felawes come in to ffrance 7 of / Ioseph of Aramathie as is seid to fo-/ re'.¹⁵⁰ The closeness of the transition from Chapter 22 to the prologue of the *Cronica* can be seen in the

¹⁴⁷ *Cronica*, 46; 'Here begins the treatise of St. Joseph of Arimathea, taken from a book which the Emperor Theodosius found in Pilate's Council-Chamber in Jerusalem', Carley, 47.

¹⁴⁸ *Cronica*, 46; 'But in order to approximate better the order in which events occurred, for a little while I shall have to repeat in more depth what I have already said', Carley, 47.

¹⁴⁹ *Cronica*, 56; 'How Sts Phagan and Deruvian converted the Britons to the faith and came to the Island of Avalon', Carley, 57.

¹⁵⁰ Arundel 58, f.90^{va}.

mistaken mention, in relation to the narrative of the *Arundel Chronicle*, of ‘the xii hydes forseide’ (f. 90^{va}), regarding the initial grant of lands to Glastonbury Abbey and Joseph of Arimathea, identically (and there, accurately) worded in the *Cronica*’s prologue, ‘predictas hidas’.¹⁵¹

The *Arundel Chronicle*, after this brief exercise in structural intervention and the meticulous re-ordering of a source text, then provides a generic and summative transition to its new matter, ‘And thus long tyme anon to the co-/ myng of seynt patric the prechor of / Irlond . They dwelt in that Ile and / of his comynge this euydence ys / founde that is wryte a latyn trans- / lated in to Englissh thus’.¹⁵² The *Arundel Chronicle* thereby skips ahead to Chapter 25 of the *Cronica*, ‘Carta Sancti Patricii’.¹⁵³ The near verbatim translation of the *Cronica*, including the use of the first person, extends from f. 90^{va} – 91^{ra}, before omitting a moment of repetition in the *Cronica*, wherein the founding mission of Phagan and Deruvian is reiterated, stating simply, ‘thulke olde church / makede as is aboue in the furst storie here of’.¹⁵⁴ Despite the authorial aside, the *Arundel Chronicle* immediately resumes the first person tone of its source in the *Cronica*, ‘And also in more newer / wrytynges y fonde hogh phagan 7 / deruvan prechared’.¹⁵⁵ The remainder of f. 91^{ra}-91^{vb} again is a near verbatim translation of the *Cronica* and the remainder of the Charter of St Patrick. The *Arundel Chronicle* then, after providing a transitional couplet, demarcated with a 2-line red and blue capital ‘O’, resumes copying the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester, 4791ff, having omitted the brief account of Glastonbury found in the *Chronicle* at 4887-90.

It is, it must be admitted, at some level quite puzzling how detailed the engagement is between the scribe/author and the source texts. Beyond the translation and interpolation of a

¹⁵¹ *Cronica*, 2.

¹⁵² Arundel 58, f.90^{va}.

¹⁵³ *Cronica*, 60; ‘The Charter of St Patrick’ (Carley, 61). The materials in the *Cronica* on St Patrick are, suggests Carley, ‘almost undoubtedly taken piecemeal from a lost *Life of St Patrick* written by William of Malmesbury’ (xxxvii).

¹⁵⁴ Arundel 58, f. 91^{ra}.

¹⁵⁵ Arundel 58, f.91^{ra}; Carley, 63.

full six columns (some 216 lines) from John of Glastonbury's *Cronica* in the stead of a few brief lines found in the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester, he has, in effect, produced a derivative text in miniature. The transformations and transpositions found throughout the codex in its treatment of the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester are applied equally to the *Cronica*, which is, moreover, translated into Middle English in the process.¹⁵⁶ Yet it is difficult to perceive how the minute changes to Chapters 18-22 and 25 of the *Cronica*, and the re-ordering and restructuring, affect not only the trajectory of the translated interpolation, but of the Arundel *Chronicle* as a whole.

The inclusion of the Glastonbury materials, and the access to a copy of the *Cronica*, does, of course, potentially reveal some interest in Glastonbury Abbey by the scribe/author of Arundel 58. Yet before declaring this a question of markedly 'local interest', and thereby leaping to localising conclusions, consider the inclusion in the Arundel *Chronicle* of a rather strikingly local history, but one surprisingly untouched by the minute process of revision visible in the Glastonbury materials:

¶Hit is to remembre the latyn
story telleth . that bemes and ref-
tours of the bowe churche were
bore so farre . That grete truvail
was . and also ij couple raftors
of xxvi fote long were pight dow-
ne so harde in to the grounde
that unnethe me myght see
iiij fote of lenththe aboue the
grounde . a grete wonder to men
how the harde pauement of the
strete was throw pight . 7
then and ther the raftors set right
as they stode ate churche and
as carpenters hadde sette hem

¹⁵⁶ The processes by which the Arundel *Chronicle* were created are essentially identical to those by which the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester itself was first produced. The second folio of the Arundel *Chronicle* exhibits the same sort of detailed interventionism, wherein 140 lines of the *Chronicle* are omitted – the so-called 'Shiring' of England – and the text continued at some length before then including 12 lines from the material skipped over. Although the close examination of several instances of this form of structural intervention can be theoretically productive, there are undoubtedly at times stylistic prompts, or unrecoverable reasons, for this sort of textual alteration.

Whiche raftors for lettyng of
men in the way wer cut of by
the erthe . for other wyse myght
no man haue hem a way.¹⁵⁷

The change in tone to the annalistic and the overwhelming sense of the local interest is immediately perceptible. The material – admittedly quite dramatic – is, nonetheless, a verbatim translation from William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*, without any of the types of re-ordering and restructuring found elsewhere.¹⁵⁸ Therefore, the strikingly local tone of the passage is, of course, wholly deceptive, indicating that the Glastonbury interest evinced earlier in the work, whilst interesting, is certainly insufficient evidence from which to draw any conclusions. Yet the connection to the works of William of Malmesbury, and texts such as the *Cronica*, closely connected to William of Malmesbury's Glastonbury histories, is intriguing.

It is important to consider the process of derivative composition, and to complexify slightly the ideas presented here about the role of historiographical comprehensiveness in the *Arundel Chronicle*.¹⁵⁹ Although I have not been able to discover any specific evidence to the effect, it does not seem unreasonable to propose that the scribe/author not only knew, and translated, the *Gesta Regum* of William of Malmesbury, but that he was aware of some connection between the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester and its source in the *Gesta Regum*.¹⁶⁰ The scribe/author has a verse account in English of a Latin prose text, and the

¹⁵⁷ Arundel 58, f. 200^{rb}.

¹⁵⁸ The material on St. Mary le Bow also appears in the *Chronicle* of John of Worcester under 1091, and is copied from the *Gesta Regum* in the Margam and Bermondsey Annals. See *Annales Monastici*, i.5, iii.427. *Gesta Regum*, iv.324, 568, 'Maius quoque scelus furor uentorum ausus tectum aecclisiae sanctae Mariae quae ad Arcus dicitur pariter selleuquit, et duos ibi homines obruit; ferebanturque tigna cum trabibus per inane, spectaculo a longe visentibus, timori prope stantibus ne obruerentur. Quattuor tigna, sex et uiginti pedes longa, tanta vi in humum impacta sunt ut uix quattuor pedes extarent; notabili uisu, quomodo duritiem stratae publicae perruperint, eo ibi ordine posita quo in tecto manu artificis fuerant locata, quoad ob impedimenta transeuntium ad planitiem terrae sunt desecta, quod aliter erui nequirent'.

¹⁵⁹ See 'More pleine of the same mater', above.

¹⁶⁰ The account in the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester, whilst much briefer, is clearly drawing on the *Gesta Regum* here, '& a wind a sein lukes eue . at londone in þe toun / So gret it com þat it fulde . moni hous adoun / ge mo þan six hondred & chirchen þerto / & seinte Marie chirche of þe arches . gret arm it dude also / Vor þe rof it ber al awei & tueie men it slou' (8584-88).

Latin prose itself simultaneously, or at the very least in close succession, at hand. The decision to turn from one to the other – involving, as it does, the added work of translation – should be regarded as a substantive choice, made for a number of reasons relating to his conception, and thus the execution, of the *Arundel Chronicle*. Whilst the inclusion and expansion of the legend of Glastonbury's foundations can be quite easily read as an ideological statement about apostolic primacy and ecclesiastical reputations in the mid-fifteenth century, it is rather more difficult to argue for the fuller account of the wind-damage suffered by St Mary le Bow in 1091 as being anything except a literary choice.

Yet ascribing 'literary' ambitions to the scribe/author of Arundel 58 may not sit comfortably with the composite, even disjointed structure of the narrative, in which material 'original' to the text is a small fraction of the whole. The elaborate and complicated nature of the scribe/author's project is not in question; the number of source texts involved, and the simple act of copying and translating some 350 folios of verse and prose, and attempting to transform them into a unified work testify to the magnitude of the endeavour. Even without final answers to the questions of how and where the codex was written, let alone why, it stands as a *sui generis* product of derivative textuality. Its literary merits, in a conventional sense, may be subtle, but the scribe/author has assembled a very particular narrative of British history, amalgamating the plurality of foundation myths (Albina, Brutus), navigating the complexities of the transition from British to Saxon history and historiography, and arranging post-Conquest history through the various moments of English and Scottish conflict. He has done so not only with an eye to historical accuracy, supplementing his primary source text with others, and correcting dates and burial locations through an aggregation of his sources, but with an eye to the 'comfort' of his audience and their tastes for prose and verse, for lengthy digressions and 'names of gentiles of auncestreys'. The *Arundel Chronicle* resembles, in some ways, a modern day history textbook, aspiring to some objectively

defined historical accuracy, but it reads, and was carefully constructed to do so, as literature.

This magnificent academic project lies just beneath a text with no less ‘popular’ or literary appeal than the contemporary prose-*Bruts*, clearly adjudged by the scribe/author as lacking, and requiring a new text to set the history – and story – of Britain straight.

CONCLUSION

The term 'derivative text' is used throughout this thesis not only to identify a category of medieval texts, but to encompass a number of ideas. The expansion and ambiguation of the concept of medieval translation to include inter- and intra-lingual translation and contextual transposition are key to the overall rehabilitation of the reputation of derivative historiography. The originality of these texts ideologically, narratively, and linguistically, must be recognised as equal to that of the source texts upon which they draw. Accompanying the sophistication involved in the ideological and textual refiguration inherent in the process of composing derivative texts are the sophistication of the linguistic transformations of sources in Latin, Anglo-Norman, and Middle English, and the breadth and diversity of the texts employed. The vernacular historiographical texts considered here are extreme examples of derivative textuality, scribal authorship, and textual variation. The sophisticated engagement of the *Short Chronicle* with Latin and Anglo-Norman historiographical traditions challenges our ideas of 'popular' works; the populist, self-effacing 'not for the leirid but for the lewed' rhetoric deployed by Robert Mannyng in his *Chronicle* belies a carefully constructed derivative text, artfully reshaping the inherited ideological and political agendas of its source texts to new ends. Yet the texts considered in this thesis are emphatically not without parallel amongst other medieval texts, and the questions herein asked of historiography can be readily applied to other genres.

The investigation into how these books were physically written draws attention to how little we actually know about the authoring of medieval texts. How the scribes/authors of medieval historiography managed to access the large number of source texts required, to read and identify passages for translation, and to assemble translations into coherent wholes remains difficult to explain within the confines of the current state of knowledge. The likely

peripateticism of individuals, and of books themselves, left few records, but must be connected to how textual reputation – the knowledge of texts and authors – spread. How Robert of Gloucester managed to consult a copy of Layamon's *Brut* cannot be separated from how he knew of the text at all; Mannyng's rejection of Langtoft's *Chronicle* as a source for British history also shows the dissemination of textual reputation to be a critical phenomenon, as estimations of quality, accuracy, and utility circulated alongside texts themselves. As erroneous as L.H. Loomis's 'London bookshop' theory may be, it nonetheless permits a large number of uncatalogued, often otherwise unknown texts, to co-exist physically, and thus for her 'hack writers' and their customers, mentally. The shift from primarily ecclesiastical to secular milieux for book production over the course of the fourteenth century remains little understood. The texts examined in this thesis occupy the cusp of that transition, and suggest that the two modes of production may well have not only co-existed, but had interconnections that are not yet fully explored. College of Arms, MS Arundel 58, in particular, implies either an exceedingly well stocked, and wholly unattested, secular library, or some form of hybrid origin. Only the further study of medieval texts in their fullest codicological contexts, and of accompanying and interconnected texts, can shed light on the matter.

The idea of derivative textuality also provides insights into re-conceptualising what, precisely, is preserved in medieval manuscripts. This is not simply an attempt to valorise the texts of individual manuscripts at the expense of critical texts produced by stemmatic editing. Rather, in recognising the substantive differences that occur at all levels of texts such as the *Short Chronicle*, from the dialectal to the dialectical, it is an argument for the productive and irreducible diversity of variation. The demonstration of the sophisticated re-writings of texts by individual scribes, and their independent knowledge of texts, ideologies, and competing traditions, precisely complements this argument. The almost innate preference for 'named'

authors as against anonymous compositions too readily extends to the typically anonymous scribes/authors deriving new works from authorial, authoritative texts. The line separating author and scribe is not, I believe, anywhere near as well defined as we might like it to be. Yet this uncomfortable conflation, and a move away from a medieval 'cult of the identified', enables us to recognise in medieval texts the learning, and learned audiences, that are their origins. Too often vernacular texts such as the *South English Legendary* and the *Short Chronicle* are dismissed for their lack of literary sophistication or artistry, the implication being any 'hack' writer could compose *ad nauseam* the five- and six-stress rhymed couplets typical of these texts. While this is, to some extent, a truism – one finds one's self thinking in rhymed couplets after over-exposure to these texts – it also rather precisely misses the point. There has always been, and will always be, wide variation in the talents of authors. Yet this does not detract from those moments in which the scribes/authors of these texts exhibit their learning, poetic and literary sensibilities, and authorial abilities. The works considered in this thesis are not valuable solely for their antiquity, but for the labours involved in the production of the works valued by their authors, and by generations of readers.

Vernacular historiography, although providing an extremely useful corpus for the beginnings of the study of derivative textuality and scribal authorship, is by no means the only genre of medieval texts to which the methodologies and arguments of this thesis can be applied. Moreover, the limited period addressed here does not reflect the period during which derivative texts were composed. Looking earlier, both the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and Ælfric's homilies exhibit precisely the textual complexity and intricate textual interrelationships with source texts as the *Short Chronicle* and the chronicles of Mannyng and Robert of Gloucester. More closely contemporary religious literature, too, can be productively interrogated as derivative texts – amongst many possibilities, *Ancrene Riwe* comes readily to mind. Nor should more conventionally literary texts be excluded from the

list of texts for which the arguments of this thesis may have consequences. In addition to the many romances that demonstrate aspects of textual fluidity, the ‘great’ Middle English canon of the later fourteenth century – Chaucer’s works, Gower’s *Confessio Amantis*, and *Piers Plowman* – survives in manuscript contexts such that, when the ‘named author/genius’ is overlooked for the scribe/author and the derivative text, new insights may be had. Moreover, the fluent and fluid multilingualism of the scribes/authors responsible for vernacular historiography, and their familiarity with texts across a number of genres, indicate considering a broader context of texts and textual knowledge may prove fruitful for even the most seemingly provincial of medieval texts.

Ultimately, it is not a radical re-conceptualisation of medieval texts that is proposed by this thesis. Rather, the implications of even minor evidence revealing the independent knowledge of medieval readers, simultaneously authors and copyists, indicate it is the subtlety and complexity of medieval writings that has, at times, been underestimated. Late thirteenth and early fourteenth century vernacular history writing demonstrates a sophisticated engagement with Latin textual traditions, and visibly expects of its audiences a level of learning far beyond that typically conceded to them. It is precisely the inversions of conventional expectations – the scribe/author of MS Arundel 58 turning to the *Historia regum* to supplement his text of Robert of Gloucester’s *Chronicle*, the scribe of Lambeth Palace Library, MS 131 correcting Robert Mannyng’s citation of Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica* – that are the most telling. The extended range of derivative texts, and the scribes/authors responsible for their creation, invite a project of closer scrutiny that will lead to revised understandings of medieval authorship, texts, and manuscripts.

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