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THE ANGLO-NORMAN CORONATION ORDER OF EDWARD II

Anybody viewing the footage of the 1953 Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II broadcast in the recent context of her Diamond Jubilee could not have failed to be struck by the archaisms of the ceremony. Indeed, a number of inevitable differences notwithstanding, the format of her coronation was in many respects similar to that prescribed in the Sixth Recension of the Coronation Order, compiled for James II in 1689. There was, however, a significant difference in respect of the regalia delivered to Elizabeth II. After the sword, James II had received: 'Ye Armill (made of Cloth of Tissu, in Modum Stolæ) … deliver'd to ye Dean of Westminster; Who puts it about ye Kings Neck and ties it to ye Bowings of both his Arms above and below ye Elbows wth silk strings: and ye Archbishop saith: "Receive this Armill, as a Token of ye divine Mercy."'[1] At the equivalent point in her coronation, however, Elizabeth II received not an armill in the form of a stole, but rather armills in the form of a pair of golden bracelets, gifted by the countries of the Commonwealth, which were handed over with the formula: 'Receive the bracelets of sincerity and wisdom.' Why this peculiar change in regalia?

The tradition according to which the armills took the form of a stole can be traced back to the third and final form of the Fourth Recension of the Coronation Order, as contained in the *Liber regalis*, compiled for the coronation of Richard II in 1377. Initially, this Order introduces the armills by reproducing a rubric which had appeared in Coronation Orders since the compilation of the Third Recension nearly 300 years earlier: 'Accinctus autem ense similiter armillas accipiat, dicente metropolitano uel episcopo: "Accipe armillas sinceritatis et sapiencie."'[2] Then, however, the *Liber regalis* departs from its antecedents by including a new instruction regarding what was to be done with these armills: 'Iste quidem armille in modum stole circa collum et ab utraque scapula usque ad compages brachiorum erunt dependentes. In ipsis brachiorum compagibus laqueis sericis connexe prout plenius per ipsarum poterit discerni composicionem.'[3] If it is in this new prescription that we recognize the explanation for the stole-armill of James II, in the bracelet-armills of Elizabeth II we find not a wilful innovation, but the restoration of a venerable tradition.[4] For while the compilers of the

Liber regalis may have been perplexed by the armills,[5] no such confusion had been experienced some fifty years earlier by the author of the Anglo-Norman Coronation Order: 'Et puis quant il serra ceynt de l'espee, il rescevera les bracers d'or sur les deux braz, et lui dirra l'ercevesqe: "Rescevez les bracers de clerté"' (lines 245f.). It is not, however, solely by virtue of such valuable insights into the evolution of coronation regalia that this text merits our attention.[6]

Text, source, and previous editions

The Anglo-Norman Coronation Order is a prose translation, around 4,300 words in length and probably written around the time of the coronation of Edward III (1327), of the first form of the Fourth Recension of the Coronation Order, presumably compiled shortly before its use in the coronation of Edward II (1308).[7] Closely following its Latin source, the Anglo-Norman text prescribes in rich detail all aspects of the ceremony to crown *cesti Edward nostre roi*, including the people to be involved, the clothes to be worn, the insignia to be conferred, the prayers to be said, and the antiphons to be sung.

The Anglo-Norman text is best known to scholarship as one of the documents which records the coronation oath of Edward II.[8] Doubtless sworn in French, this oath, presumably upon the insistence of magnates concerned by the prospect of Edward II's reign, introduced a new clause, the so-called 'fourth clause', in which the king had to grant and promise to keep and defend the laws and customs that the people of his realm would choose, as well as anything else reasonable that the people might wish to add (lines 68–74 of the present edition). That this new clause was not merely an empty formula was soon demonstrated at the Easter Parliament of 1308, when Edward II was compelled to exile his favourite, Peter Gaveston, and it underpinned the Declaration of 1308 which validated the reform movement against the king. It likewise legitimized the ordaining movement initiated in 1310, the Ordinances of 1311, and the barons' successful petitioning for the exile of the Despensers in 1321.[9] While the oath was not subsequently exploited to such radical effect, it remained in the following developments of the Order as a limitation on the extent of royal power.

While the principal interest of the Anglo-Norman Coronation Order may therefore lie in the domain of constitutional history, the focus of the present article is philological. The Order has been edited twice by historians, both times as a semi-diplomatic complement to materials in other languages, with the barest minimum of editorial intervention and accompanying notes. The first edition was by John Wickham Legg in 1900,[10] and by virtue of being the only version in print it has remained a standard point of reference, even though some sense of its reliability can be discerned from Legg's own introductory comments:

> It has been said by Dr Stubbs, the present Bishop of Oxford, that 'the Norman-French of Westminster is unintelligible beyond the Channel and beyond the border'; so that it needs courage, or a lower quality of the mind, for an attempt to edit an Order written in this strange tongue without special qualifications for the task. Indeed had I not had the assistance of Mr Francis B. Bickley in my efforts to reproduce the text, I could not have hoped, single-handed, to be able to deal with the Norman-French. But a Norman-French version of *Liber regalis* is sufficiently curious to be printed, even in an edition for which apology must of necessity be made. By it, light is thrown upon points which are left obscure in the Latin, and it is thus useful to the student, even if, as I fear, the editing leaves something to be desired.[11]

This is not, it transpires, a mere modesty topos: Legg's transcription, with errors running into the hundreds, demonstrates overwhelmingly that he was not afflicted by that 'lower quality of the mind' required by editors of Anglo-Norman.[12] The second edition, by John Brückmann in 1964, is considerably more reliable and includes a manuscript of which Legg had been unaware, but is affected by two major problems: first, it is relatively inaccessible, as it is confined to an unpublished Ph.D. thesis; and second, it still contains more than a hundred transcription errors.[13] The aim of the present article is therefore to place at scholars' disposal a reliable edition of this fascinating text.[14]

Manuscripts

The Anglo-Norman Coronation Order survives in three manuscripts, each quite different and with its own particular interest:

A: London, British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius C. XII (fols 232ra–234va)
This is a miscellaneous collection originating from St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury.[15] Currently bound in two parts (fols 1^{r}–156^{r} and 157^{r}–291^{r}), with damage to some leaves from a fire in 1731, it comprises a range of materials copied by numerous hands over several centuries. The oldest material is a late eleventh-century/early twelfth-century copy of Usuard's *Martyrologium* and the *Conventiones* of St Augustine's (fols 114^{r}–156^{v}), while the longest text is an early fourteenth-century copy of the *Historia tripartita* (fols 1^{r}–113^{v}).

The quire which preserves the Anglo-Norman Coronation Order is preceded by an early thirteenth-century copy of William of Canterbury's Life of Thomas Becket (fols 158^{r}–228^{v}), and followed by Aelred of Rievaulx's Life of Edward the Confessor (fols 236^{r}–254^{v}), Edward Grim's Life of Thomas Becket (fols 254^{v}–280^{r}), and a Life of Edmund Rich (fols 280^{v}–290^{r}),[16] all in Latin. The quire which preserves the copy of the Coronation Order has been written by a single scribe in an unremarkable mid-fourteenth-century Anglicana, with

typical abbreviations and punctuation; with its cursive script, single ink colour, and absence of decoration, the quire is aesthetically quite different from the rest of the manuscript (with the exception of the letter from Innocent III on fol. 157[r]). The average page size is 345 × 255 mm, with fifty lines per page. The quire contains four texts, the first two written in one column per page, and the second two in two columns per page, bearing the following *tituli*:

1. Fols 229[r]–230[v]: *De indulgencia apud Assisium*;[17]
2. Fols 231[r]–231[v]: *Coronatio Edwardi secundi post conquestum*;
3. Fols 232[ra]–234[va]: *La manere coment Roy serra corounez*;
4. Fols 234[vb]–235[va]: *Qualiter rex debet coronari*.

The theme relating the last three of these texts is clearly the coronation of Edward II. The first of this trio is a Latin directory, providing an account of the 1308 coronation, replete with oaths in Anglo-Norman;[18] the second is our Anglo-Norman Order; and the third is an abbreviated Latin version of the same Order, containing rubrics, including for the coronation of the queen absent from the Anglo-Norman Order, but with prayers reduced to incipits.

The text which precedes these in the quire, however, has a quite different focus. *De indulgencia apud Assisium* begins with a narrative relating St Francis's establishment of the Porziuncula Indulgence, running from the initial granting of the indulgence by Christ and His Mother, through two meetings with Honorius III, to the miraculous failure of the bishops to limit the indulgence to ten years: in other words, the content of chapters 5–11 of Francis Bartholi of Assisi's *Tractatus de indulgentia* (*BHL* 31360), but without rubrics, which is nearly identical to the letter of Bishop Conrad of Assisi (*BHL* 3136n), albeit without the introductory and concluding paragraphs identifying Conrad's agency. The narrative is followed by a specific attribution to Bartholi, a list of witnesses to the events, with brief biographies, and then by chapter 41 of Bartholi's *Tractatus*, the content of which is encapsulated by a title contained within the line: *Confirmatio indulgencie per papam Martinum*.[19]

While this text itself has an interest which exceeds the bounds of the present article,[20] in the context of the Coronation Order, it answers some questions whilst raising others. On the one hand, we obtain a *terminus post quem* for the quire, since *De indulgencia* most likely dates from the period *c*.1325–35.[21] On the other hand, if there is a connection between the Coronation Order and a text designed to demonstrate the contested authenticity of the Porziuncula Indulgence, it is not obvious, since history provides few indications that this Indulgence in particular, or indeed the Franciscans in general, held a special relevance for the coronation or reign of either Edward II or his successor. Also uncertain is the relationship of this quire to the rest of the manuscript, if it is even appropriate to seek logical coherence in a miscellany of this kind.

B: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 20

The manuscript contains three texts, all copied by a single scribe:

1. Fols 1ra: an Apocalypse, featuring sections of Latin prose, Anglo-Norman verse translation, and Anglo-Norman prose commentary (non-Berengaudus);
2. Fols 61ra–68^{rb}: Anglo-Norman verse version of the *Visio sancti Pauli*, followed by a Latin prose copy of a different redaction of the *Visio*;
3. Fols 68va–72^{vb}: Anglo-Norman Coronation Order.

This copy differs markedly from the others through its sumptuous appearance.[22] The manuscript is renowned for its artwork: the Apocalypse features one hundred and three splendid illustrations, and the *Visio* fourteen, but the largest image of all, occupying nearly an entire page, precedes the copy of the Coronation Order, and with its depiction of the king on the coronation chair, replete with regalia (albeit, alas, without armills) and surrounded by an array of ecclesiastical and secular figures, it constitutes 'The most detailed picture of an English Coronation to survive from medieval England'.[23] The inclusion of the Order may be explained by the likelihood that the manuscript's patron, as Lord of Cobham and thus one of the barons of the Cinque Ports, served as a canopy bearer during a coronation, be it Henry for Edward II, or his son John for Edward III.[24] The prestige of ownership of such a *Prachthandschrift* would therefore have been enhanced by the presence of a text commemorating a triumphant moment in the family's history.

The average page size is 370 mm × 266 mm, with the text, as for all the preceding material, presented in two columns of thirty-two lines. The copy features twenty-six two-line initials, all in blue ink and with pen-flourishing, mostly in red but occasionally in a brown ink resembling that used for the main text; most of these introduce new sections following rubrics, although four stand at the beginning of rubrics.[25] While the two-line initials have appeared frequently in the manuscript to this juncture, a difference is the introduction of blue one-line initials – forty-eight in total – to mark the beginning of subsections within the main text or of rubrics.[26] Another innovation is the use of red ink for writing text; as these rubrics – twenty-nine in total – become gradually more frequent and longer, and since a number of passages of similar content are written in brown ink earlier in the text, there is an impression that the strategy for using red ink evolved during the copying of the Coronation Order. The Order is written in a contemporary gothic Textualis, using unremarkable abbreviations and punctuation, with a care for appearance which is not reflected in the accuracy of the text.[27]

C: London, Westminster Abbey, Muniments 5667

This fragmentary copy is the sole text in a parchment roll measuring *c.*260 mm at its widest point, and *c.*740 mm in length.[28] Brückmann states: 'Since the

beginning of the roll has been torn off, the beginning of the order is missing',[29] but this assessment does not seem entirely accurate. It is true that a roughly triangular section has been torn from the top of the parchment; at the top, this is nearly two-thirds of the width, and it extends eight lines down into the text. Nonetheless, enough of the top remains for one to see that the copyist has left an upper margin equivalent to three lines above the writing area and that the top edge has been properly finished; in other words, all that is missing from this piece of parchment is the triangular section, and if the text was ever complete, it must have begun on a separate roll. Further support for this conjecture lies in the fact that rough calculations would indicate that the missing initial section of the Order, to judge by *A* and *B*, would have filled a roll of approximately the same size as that containing the extant text of *C*.

Including the torn section, the fragment contains 105 lines, written in a single column. The writing area is marked out in plummet, but other ruling is not visible. The text of the fragment begins in the middle of section 16 of our edition, with the first line which is unaffected by the top tear (beginning: *desblemie soit en soun realme*) appearing approximately a third of the way into section 18. While reading of these first eight lines is further hampered by considerable fading, the rest of the text is mostly quite legible, despite tearing of the right edge of the parchment. The copy breaks off at the beginning of our section 54, with the final line finishing: *E pus serra la messe solempnement chaunté. E quant le. …* The same hand has written beneath this, centred below the baseline: *Respice in tergo*, but no text is to be found on the back. The copy is written in a relatively careful mid-fourteenth-century Anglicana, with unexceptional punctuation and abbreviation.

Choice of base manuscript

From twenty-one extant witnesses of the first version of the Fourth Recension of the Coronation Order, Brückmann chose London, British Library, Harley MS 2901 as the base manuscript for his edition of the Latin text.[30] Since each of the three extant copies of the Anglo-Norman Order presents a number of significant readings not found in the other two, Brückmann quite justifiably discounted the possibility of direct affiliation between them. Instead, he hypothesized the existence of a lost original translation from which they derive, itself based on a lost Latin exemplar containing a version of the text best represented in the extant material by the *ordo* preserved in London, British Library, Cotton MS Cleopatra D.VIII. While Legg, unaware of the existence of MS *A* of the Anglo-Norman Order, was obliged to base his edition of the text on *B* as the only complete copy,[31] Brückmann opted for *A* as his base manuscript for the Anglo-Norman text in the belief that it was most faithful to what he assumed the form of the lost Latin source to have been. Whether one is entirely

persuaded by his reconstructed chain of transmission or not, when faced with a choice between two complete and roughly contemporaneous copies of the Anglo-Norman Order, one has no hesitation in following him in preferring *A*, albeit on the grounds that it offers a more linguistically comprehensible and defensible text than *B*.

Language

The spelling in *A* presents fewer typically Anglo-Norman traits than *B* and *C*.[32] Reduction of *ie* to *e* is consistent only in *manere*, so that words such as *chevaler* 126, *soudlers* 217, *perre* 10 are isolated beside *autier*, *chier*, *bien*, etc.;[33] note also the reverse graphies in *Piere* 113, 194, 353, 367 and *doutier* 116 (*MAN* § 9.1). Although one finds examples such as *teille* 215, *coveitise* 148, *creie* 207, Continental *oi* is clearly preferred to *ei* other than in *lei*, as exemplified by the predominance of *droit-*, *foi*, *roi*, *soit*, *savoir*; note also the preference for *palois* over *palais* 2, *paleis* 180, and *verroi* 111 (*MAN* § 12.1). Continental *ou* is preferred to *u* other than in *honur* and *seignur*, as seen in the consistency of *nous*, *vous*, *lour*, and *jour*; other than *donur* 280, -ATOREM always yields *-our*, and -OSUM always *-ous*, while *tut* 74, 174, 182, 363 is much less frequent than *tout*; note also the consistency of *deux* < DUOS (*MAN* § 6). Reduction of *ui* to *u* is relatively isolated in *hus* 323, *busso(u)n* 141, 374, *peus* 73, *peusantement* 237, 238, although reduction to *i* is constant in *cesti*, *celi* (*MAN* § 15). *Deux* 48 is anomalous beside forty-four instances of *Dieux*, although MELIUS twice appears as *meuz* 86 (*MAN* § 18). Instances of graphical indication of synaeresis such as *benessoun* 195 are isolated beside *beneissoun*, *beneit*, *feistes* (*MAN* § 19.1f.); note also the marking of hiatus in *ahourent* 130 (*MAN* § 19.3). Instances of adventitious *s* are relatively limited: *apparust* 374, *conust* 205, *esvesqe* 9, 32, 232, *profist* 132, 312, *vist* 352, *nasquist* 83 (*MAN* § 23.9).

There are, however, more than enough orthographical traits to confirm the scribe's Anglo-Norman credentials. Although *an* is clearly preferred in words such as *devant*, *quant*, *sanz*, the graphy *aun* appears more than thirty times, notably in *chaunter* (*MAN* § 1.6f.), while *oun* is used almost as often as *on*, most conspicuously in *counte*, *countre*, *coroune*, *doun*, and the products of -TIONEM such as *benei(s)soun*, *oreisoun* (*MAN* § 6.7). The distinction between *an* and *en* is maintained, with the standard exception of *serja(u)nt* < SERVIENTEM (*MAN* § 1.4).[34] While etymology is often respected, the levelling of *ai* and *ei* is amply attested by forms such as *poair* 39, 61, 65, 253, *saint* 237 < CINCTUM, *solail* 371, *eit* 19, 105, 115 etc., *oreiso(u)n* 47, 80, 95, etc., *clere* 174, *reigne* 113, 135, 137 etc., beside *regne* 303, 308, 309; the overwhelming preference for *seint* is also typically Anglo-Norman (*MAN* § 11.5–9, 11.12, 12.2). Raising after a palatal is suggested by *sugitz* 126, *sugiet* 252 beside *suget* 112 (*MAN* § 4.5). The reflex of -ORIA is always *-orie*, as in *victorie*, *glorie* (*MAN* § 13.4) The Anglo-Norman

graphy *ee* for /e/ is well represented by *blee*, *equitee*, *rosee*, *see*; we also note its appearance in *feez* 238 < FASCEM, *pees* 60, 89, 101, etc. < PACEM, *pees* 5, 217 < PEDEM, *seet* 91, 216 < SEPTEM, *veet* 335 < VOLET, and *veeves* 228, 241 (*MAN* § 3.5). Uncertainty over final *-e* is reflected by the eight instances of *vertue* beside *vertuz* 268, and by forms such as *crem* 193 (*MAN* § 19.8). Although Continental palatal *n* is usually indicated by *gn*, instances such as *companies* 131, *fontayne* 311, *mountaines* 364, 372, and the reverse graphy in *ordignez* 32, *humeigne* 200, 280 are sufficiently numerous to suggest depalatalization (*MAN* § 20.4). We find the characteristic Insular *k* a dozen times in word-final position (*dek* 6, *dalmatik* 12, *Cink* 16, *patriark* 138, etc.), but only once in other positions (*baudekins* 46) (*MAN* § 27.1). The letter *w* appears not only in proper names, but also *ewe* 260, *dowez* 289, *Ewangelie* 355 (*MAN* § 28.1f.). Uncertainty over final *-s*/*-z* yields spellings such as *voz* 139, 248, 256, *noz* 367, and in particular a proliferation of final *-tz* for plurals of words ending in *-t*: *comandementz*, *gentz*, *mescreantz*, *prelatz*, etc. (*MAN* § 25.1f.). Consonantal doubling is consistent in the future stems *dirr-*, *irr-*, *serr-* (but note *ferai* 67 beside *ferra* 75, 356), and in *abbé* 33, *abbeies* 183, *appent* 34, 158, 218, *appellé* 14, *apparust* 374, although alternation is otherwise common: *tere* beside *terre*, *metez* beside *mettez*, *comunalté* beside *communalté*, *beneisoun* beside *beneisso(u)n* (*MAN* § 30.2). 'Learned' spellings and inserted etymological consonants are frequent: in addition to the consistency of *Espirit* and Latin initial *h* (*heritage* 347, *home*, *honur*, etc.), note *sancteté* 94, *auctorité* 347 (beside *autorité* 235), *Escripture* 291, *psalmes* 92, *psaltier* 144, *draps*, *corps*, *temps*, *solempnement*, *antephne*, *enfern*, etc.

In terms of morphology, there are few remnants of the earlier case system. The definite article *li* does not appear. Flexional *-s*/*-z* is not added to masc.nom.sg. substantives (*Dieux* is invariable), but occasionally appears on adjectives (*larges, amyables, et debonaire* 187); masc.nom.sg. past participles more often feature *-z* (*corounez* 1, *baigneez et vestuz* 30), but also often lack it (*revestu* 11, *affermé* 39, 104), and the appearance of *-z* on participles qualifying the obl.sg. (*demandez* 58, *grantez* 75) and also fem.sg. (see below) confirms the impression that *-z* may be used more to identify a participle than to mark its case. Flexional *-s*/*-z* likewise appears on masc.nom.pl. substantives (*ercevesqes, evesqes et altres prelatz* 26) and adjectives (*portantz, procheins* 13) with sufficient frequency to suggest that its occasional absence (*oint* 192) is due more to the instability of the final consonant than to any grammatical concern. The alternation of imparisyllabics has fully lapsed, as seen in masc.nom.sg. *le seignur* 4, 8, *le counte* 14, 15, 301, *home* 253, 275, 325, *Creour* 96, *Emperour* 96, *Fesour* 136 etc.; masc.nom.sg. *sire* is used in the apostrophe *Sire Dieux* 93, 121, 182, etc., but note *Sire des Sires* 97, 220, 352. We find inflection for the oblique in *Moisen* 141, 374 beside *Moises* 98, 105. Numerals are not inflected for case (*deux countes* 12, *trois countes* 13) (*MAN* § 31.1).

Concord of feminine adjectives is particularly liable to be lacking before substantives presenting conditions of potential elision (e.g. *cest oreisoun* 47, 95, 164, etc., *seint oille* 165, *ferm estableté* 140f., 315); it is somewhat more frequent before a consonant (cf. *chescun ordure … chescune malveisté* 286), but readings such as *ceux deux oreisons* 359, *chescun manere* 370, *aunciens mountaines* 372 are hardly isolated. Feminine agreements are occasionally seen in past participles (*arosee*, *encensee* 260, *mise* 266), but more often there is either no agreement (*enhauncé* 39, *chaunté* 41, 91, 169) or a simple *-z* (fem.sg. *ordignez* 32, *chantez* 38, *contenuz* 202; fem.pl. *covertz* 17, *surdorrez* 18, *oyntz* 163, 165). It is more likely this instability rather than etymological awareness which accounts for apparent epicene forms such as *grant pitee* 183 and *real largesce* 184 beside *quele chose* 58, *tiele beneisoun* 122, *espiritele grace* 176, 280, etc. In such circumstances, it is very doubtful that readings such as *prestes … segnurs* 2f., *longe siecle* 178, *a la regne* 308, *le Ewangelie* 355, *les malvoises* 306, 320 have any significance in terms of gender (*MAN* § 31.2). Final *-s* occasionally drops from adjectives preceding a consonant (*de toute partz* 88, *de toute gentz* 181, *des pardurable valeies* 372f.).

The first person singular nominative pronoun is always *je*, whereas *B* prefers the typically Anglo-Norman *jeo* (*MAN* § 6.4). The second person is represented exclusively by *vous*; *vostre face* 41 appears as *ta face* in *B*. *Le* appears infrequently for the third person singular masculine accusative pronoun, with *li* and more frequently *lui* preferred even in unstressed positions (e.g. *lui deivent mener* 3f., *li meneront* 36); *li* and *lui* also interchange for the oblique indirect. For the third person plural, *il* appears only once (35) beside *ils* 21, 35, 307, 336. The nominative relative pronoun appears only once as *qi* (235), and otherwise always as *qe*. *Qi* appears twice with the sense of CUIUS (*desouz qi jugement* 202, *qi figure vous portez* 244), and once as a conjunction (349). The forms *tuit*, *cist*, *cil* are not used. In connection with human referents (other than *poeple*), *cesti* and *celi* (the former both adjectivally and pronominally, the latter only pronominally) are found. The typical Anglo-Norman form *ceo* appears only as an adjective (*ceo poeple* 149, *ceo chaunt* 274, *ceo temporel regne* 307) except for one pronominal use in the rubric: *Ceo est la manere* 24. The pronoun *ascun* 29 and the preposition *forqe* 253 are decidedly Insular (*MAN* § 32).

Ind.pr.3 of *avoir* is always *ad* 57, 167, 312, 330. The termination of *sacromes* 103 (*sacromus* in *B*) is anomalous besides the prevalence of *-oms*, just as the endings of *soietz* 145, *puissetz* 243, *gardés* 276 are isolated amidst a preference for *-ez* (*MAN* § 34.4) The Western *-ge-* in sbj.pr. *demeorge* 155, *demeorgent* 150 is typically Anglo-Norman (*MAN* § 34.5). A shift to the first conjugation is noted in pret.5 *oignastes* 211 (*oyntez* in *B*) (*MAN* § 34.1). Pret.6 *oyndront* 170 and *vindront* 171 attest not confusion with the future but rather typical Anglo-Norman variation in representation of schwa.[35] Contracted future stems are less frequent than in the other copies (*dorra* 8, *jurra* 58, *fra* 5, *frez* 64 beside *ferra* 75, 356, *ferai* 67, *ferrount*

20; *offra* 300, 357 beside *offera* 44), as are stems featuring epenthetic *e* (*respo(u) ndera* 62, 66, 71), although *aver-* and *rescever-* are constant (*MAN* § 34.8).

In respect of syntax, the genitive construction involving a juxtaposed oblique is very frequent, especially with the determiners *Dieux* and *le roi* (*savoir Dieux* 247f., *le doi Dieux* 283, *l'aide Dieux* 308, *le chalis seint Edward* 10; *les meyns le roy* 163f., *la vesture le roi* 219, *l'espee le roi* 225, *du ventre vostre leal amy* 137; note also *la mayn l'ercevesqe et touz les evesqes* 231f.) (*MAN* § 31.3).[36] Typically Anglo-Norman is the absence of enclisis in *a les* 187, 196f., 217, 337 beside *as* 119, 199, although *de les* 28, 114, 365, 372 is far less frequent than *des*. Before a consonant, *du* appears more than twice as often as *del*, and *au* more than six times as often as *al* (*MAN* § 33). An interesting feature is the use of *des* before *touz*, both adjectival and pronominal, as in *des touz realmes* 202, *des touz maneres* 259, *des touz enemys* 268f., *des touz* 342f.; this appears only in *A* of the present text, but is found more widely amongst later Anglo-Norman scribes.[37] We find characteristically Insular protases in which *si* is followed by the present subjunctive (*si le chaunceler d'Engletere soit esvesqe, il irra* … 8f.)[38] and the future (*s'il voudra promettre* … 57). *Nul* is negative in the absence of *ne* in *nul home put* 252f., *nul home clost / ovre* 324f., *nul adversité eient* 337 (*MAN* § 35). That multiple subjects may take a singular or plural verb, as in the sequence *Droiture et jugement soit* … *merci et verité veignount* 40f., is standard.[39] Calques on the Latin source account for the unusual gerund in *et la Seinte Eglise Dieux et ses leaux pur eux combatant defendez* 239f. (= '[eos] propugnando protegas'), and for the accusative with infinitive construction *il vous velt estre roi sur son people* 332f. (= 'te voluit super populum suum esse Regem').[40]

Lexically, the text is naturally rich in terms relating to costume, regalia, social status, liturgical ceremony, exercise of power, and the like.[41] We signal the following forms which, at the time of writing, do not appear to feature in the online *Anglo-Norman Dictionary*:

> unattested spellings (mostly of minor significance): *B sextein* 7 'sexton', *patene*, *B pataynne* 11 'paten', *dalmatik* 12 'dalmatic', *antephne*, *B amptene* 37 'antiphon', *B enautee* 39 'strengthened', *sugitz* 126, *sugiet* 252 'subject', *patriark* 138 'patriarch', *confertour* 183 'supporter' (= *consolator*), *saracineis* 185 'pagan', *crem* 193 'chrism', *Salvetoeur* 244 'saviour';
>
> unattested spelling and sense: *pulput* 6 'raised stage';
>
> absent lemmas: *surdorrez*, *B suthorretz* 18 'covered in gold' (= *deauratus*), *huveit* 'cowl, hood' 215 (= *amictus*; cf. *hovel*[1]); see also the note on *sendauz ove l'atir* 217.

Translation technique

The Anglo-Norman text remains remarkably close to its Latin source, with the translator's zealous fidelity being most readily identifiable in the occasional

instances of odd or infelicitous expression, such as *a la verroi foi et bone pees* 110f. ('ad vere fidei pacisque concordiam'), *grant siecle, longe vie* 133 ('prolixitatem vite per tempora'), and *roy qe fust profitable au siecle* 138 ('regem seculis profuturum'). Instances of possible erroneous translation, such as discussed in the notes to lines 43, 103, and 116f., are rare. It would, however, be inaccurate to characterize the translation as slavishly literal. Minor omissions from the source are not infrequent, such as the qualification of the *enemis* 249 as 'visibles et invisibiles' or the detail that the when the king defends widows and orphans, he should do so 'clementer' (241). Conversely, there are also occasional additions, some of which seem to reflect a desire for clarification, such as the explanations that prayers are said *pur l'oille seintefier* 160, that Melchizedek was *roi de Salem* 357, or that the apparition in the burning bush was *a Moisen* 374; note likewise the rendering of 'psalmista' as *David* 237. On occasion, there are minor rhetorical embellishments, such as the introduction of a metaphor in *la coroune de victorie* 115 ('optabilis victorie triumphum'). More common are devices involving repetition, such as the polyptoton of *donez … doun … donastes* 123–5 ('da … tuo inspiramine … fecisti'), *vostre riche mayn destre lui enricheisse* ('locupletet eum tua predives dextera'), and *Fesour de tout le mound et qe feistes hom* 136 ('Ineffabilis auctor mundi, conditor generis humani'), or the modest paronomasia in *Revilez les orgoillous et relevez les humbles* 321f. ('disperdasque superbos et releves humiles').

Establishment of the text

The critical text is based on *A*. The apparatus records for *A* all rejected readings, with corrections explained in the textual notes where necessary; the apparatus also lists from *B* and *C* potentially significant variants (e.g. sense, unusual spellings), but excludes obvious errors, unexceptional orthographical and morpho-syntactical forms, insignificant differences in conjunctions and prepositions, and similar. Scribal abbreviations have been silently expanded, word division has been standardized, *del* and *al* before a vowel have been deglutinated, initial *ff* has been resolved to *F*, and conventional practice has been followed in regularizing *i*/*j* and *u*/*v*, with *ç* and *é* introduced where appropriate. Given the uncertainties, diaeresis has not been indicated. All punctuation and capitalization are editorial, and for clarity and ease of reference the system of paragraph numbering and organization that Brückmann introduced in order to facilitate comparison between his edition of the Latin source and its translation has been retained. Allusions to the Latin source are on the basis of Brückmann's critical edition of the first form of the Fourth Recension.

St Peter's College DARON BURROWS
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[*fol. 232*^{ra}] La manere coment roy serra corounez

Le jour qe novel roi doit estre corouné serrount prestes au palais le roy de Westmuster quatre des plus grantz segnurs d'Engleterre, qe lui deivent mener a Westmuster. Et le seignur de Beauchamp, qe avera cel jour l'office de l'aumonerie, fra mettre draps raiez desouz les pees le roy sicome il irra du palois dek'au pulput qe serra ordinez a Westmuster. Et quanqe demora en l'eglise avera le secreteyn de Westmuster, et le remenaunt dorra l'avantdit seignur a poveres. Et si le chaunceler d'Engletere soit esvesqe, il irra devant le roy en son atir pontifical et portera le chalis seint Edward de perre. Et le tresorer d'Engletere portera la patene d'or devant lui, et serra revestu d'aube et dalmatik. Et deux countes, qe le roi assignera, porterunt ses deux ceptres. Et trois countes portantz trois espees irrount procheins devant le roi; et le counte de Cestre portera l'espee q'est appellé Curtane; et l'autre, le counte de Huntyngdoun; et le tierz, le counte de Warewik. Et les barouns des Cink Portz, quel part qe le roy irra, porterunt un drap quarré de purpre sur quatre launces covertz d'argent, ove quatre campernoles d'argent surdorrez. Et a chescune launce serrount assignetz quatre des barouns des Portz, qe nul n'eit plus de meistrie qe autre. En meisme la manere ferrount quant novele royne serra corounee. Et meismes ceux barouns averount les draps q'ils porteront, qe c'est lour droit, et le secrestein de Westmuster avera les launces ove les campernoles.

Ceo est la manere de corouner novel roi

[1] Le jour qe novel roi serra corounez, bien matin vendront ercevesqes, evesqes et altres prelatz et les grantz d'Engletere au palois le roi [de] Westmuster. Et treteront del corounement de lour roi et de les leis et les custumes de la terre a confermer et fermement establir, issint qe purveu soit ascun lieu haut et honeste au palois sur quel celi qe regnera soit a grant honur levez. Et primes serra baigneez et vestuz des novelz draps, et chaucez sanz plus des chauces. Et quant ce serra fait, soit ordignez une processioun des ercevesqes, esvesqes et de l'abbé et covent de Westmuster et autre poeple en les plus riches chapes de Westmuster [*fol. 232*^{rb}] ove quanqe appent a la processioun. Et quant ils serront touz attirez, il irrount quere le novel roi qe regnera, et li meneront en l'eglise de Westmuster solempnement. Et quant il serra mys en son see, ceste antephne qe suyra serra devoutement chantez de touz:

[2] 'Vostre poair soit affermé, et vostre destre soit enhauncé. Droiture et jugement soit l'aparaillement de vostre see; merci et verité

veignount devant vostre face.' Et ceste antephne serra chaunté deux foiz.

[3] Puis irra l'ercevesqe ove les evesqes, et lui et les autres prelatz meneront le prince al haut autier de Westmuster, sur le quel il offera un drap d'or et une livre d'or. Et meintenant le prince girra en croiz sur le pavement, qe serra covert des tapetz [et] des baudekins, et l'ercevesqe dirra cest oreisoun:

[4] 'Deux, q'estes visitour des humbles, qe nous confortez par la grace del Seint Espirit, metez sur cesti vostre servaunt vostre grace qe par lui en nous sentoms vostre venue.'

[5] Et puis aprés prechera l'ercevesqe. Et quant il avera preché, si demaundera de celi q'est a corouner s'il voudra granter et garder et par serment confermer a Seinte Eglice et son poeple les leys et les custumes qe grantez furent des anxienes rois et qe a Dieux furent devout, et nomement les leis et les custumes et les franchises qe furent grantez a la clergie et au poeple de par seint Edward.

[6] Et s'il voudra promettre et s'assent a tout ce qe l'ercevesqe lui ad demandez, donqe lui dirra l'ercevesqe sur quele chose il jurra, et dirra en ceste manere:

'Garderez vous a Seinte Eglise et a la clergie et au poeple la pees entierment et l'amur en Dieux, solom vostre poair?'

Et le roi respondera:

'Je le garderay.'

'Frez faire en touz vos jugementz ouele et droiturele jouyse et descrescioun ove verité et merci, solom vostre poair?'

Et il respoundera:

'Je le ferai.'

'Grauntez vous les leis et les custumes et prometez a tenir les et defendre a l'honur de Dieux qe la communalté de vostre reaume eslirra?'

Et il respondera:

'Je granterai et le promet.'

[7] Et peus a ce serra ajusté ce qe la comunalté voudra ordiner, solom ce qe hom entendra qe bon soit. Et quant tut ce serra fait, et le roi qe serra a corouner avera tout [*fol. 232*^{va}] ce grantez, il ferra le serment a la manere qe l'ercevesqe lui chargera.

Aprés ce, l'ercevesqe comencera devotement:

'Veni Creator.'

Et le roi girra en croiz devant l'autier, et l'ercevesqe et touz les evesqes revestuz dirront ceste oreisoun:

[8] 'Te invocamus'
'Dieux tout puissaunt, nous vous prioms qe cesti vostre serjant Edward, qe par la purveance [de] vous meismes puis q'il nasquist jesqes ore ove la flour de sa juvente feistes creistre, celi qe si avez repleni del doun de vostre pitee et repleni de la grace de vostre verité de jour en autre devant Dieux et homes de meuz en meuz facez profiter q'il resceive a joie et par la largesse de vostre grace le see de ce grant governement, et q'il ensi garni de toute partz pur le mur de vostre merci puisse governer le poeple qe baillé lui est, ove l'aide de vostre pees et ove la vertue de victorie.'

[9] Et puis serra chaunté des deux evesqes la letanie, et primes les seet psalmes des ercevesqes et des autres:
'Sire Dieux, nous vous prioms qe cesti vostre serjant ove vostre pité, droiture, et sancteté vueillez confermer et garder.'

[10] Et puis dirra cest oreisoun:
'Dieux tout puissant – Creour de totes choses, Emperour des Aungeles, Roi des Rois, Sire des Sires; qe Abraham, vostre leal serjant, feistes avoir victorie de ses enemis; et a Moises et Josué, prelatz del poeple, donastes mout de victorie; et hausastes David, vostre humble enfant, a la hautesse de realté; Salamon feistes riche par le noble doun de savoir et de pees – regardez les prieres de nostre humilité et multepliez le doun de vostre beneisoun sur cesti vostre serjaunt, qe ove bone devocioun sacromes roi. Et lui aournez de toutes partz par la puissaunce de vostre mayn q'il soit affermé par la lealté de l'avantdit Abraham, et q'il eit la deboneirté de Moises, la force de Josué, la humbleté de David, et le savoir de Salamon. Et q'il pleise a vous en toutes choses; et q'il puisse aler par la voie de droiture sanz offens; et q'il apreigne defendre et salver desorenavant vostre Eglise et vostre poeple qe baillé lui est; et q'il le governe puissantement et realment countre touz enemis conuz et desconuz, et refourme lour corages a la verroi foi [*fol. 232*^{vb}] et bone pees ove vostre aide, qe par le poeple qe lui est suget ove bon amur soit glorefié et puisse venir avenauntement al reigne son Piere pur vostre merci. Et q'il soit garni par heaume de vostre defens, et de l'escu de victorie defendu, et envirouné de les armes de ciel; et q'il eit la coroune de victorie; et qe sa puissaunce face doutier les mescreantz et a la chevalerie de Cristieneté foi et pees reporte, par Nostre Seignur Jhesu Crist, qe par la vertue de la croyz destruit enfern, et quant venqi le Deable, ove la mestrie mounta en ciel, en qi chescune poesté demoert et victorie et chescun realme, q'est la glorie des humbles et vie et saunté du poeple.'

[11] 'Sire Dieux, benefiez cesti Edward nostre roi, qe guiez touz realmes, et de tiele beneisoun lui glorefiez q'il tiegne le ceptre del hautesse de David et vous serve sicome il vous servy, et donez li par vostre doun ensi ove deboneirté le poeple governer, sicome vous donastes a Salomon avoir peisible realme. Et a vous soit a touz jours sugitz en doute de vous, et vostre chevaler soit en quiete, et soit defendu de vostre escu ove les nobles gentz de son realme, et partout [eit] la victorie de vostre grace. Honurez le devaunt touz rois et gentz. Et q'il soit deboner seignur au poeple, et qe les naciouns deboneremẽt lui ahourent, et q'il vive noble et hardi entre les companies des gentz, et q'il eit en jouyse equitee, et vostre riche mayn destre lui enricheisse q'il pais ait plein de blee, et donez profist a ceux qe de lui isterount. Donez li grant siecle, longe vie, q'en ses jours nesce droiture. De vous tiegne le fort see de governement, et ove joie et droiture soit glorefié en vostre reigne!'

[12] 'Dieux, Fesour de tout le mound et qe feistes hom, Governer d'empire, Confermour de reigne, qe du ventre vostre leal amy Abraham le patriark eslustes roy qe fust profitable au siecle, vous cesti nostre roi od tout son host par la priere de touz voz seintz li enrichez de vostre plentivouse beneisoun, et li aliez en son realme par ferm estableté. Visitez le sicome vous feistes Moisen au bussoun, Josué en bataille, Gedeon en champ, Samuel en temple, et de cele beneisoun du ciel et de la rosee de vostre savoir lui environez, qe David resceut de vostre doun en le psaltier, et Salomon, [*fol. 233*^{ra}] son fitz, de ciel. Lui soietz hauberk countre ses enemis; en ses adversités, heaume; en ses prosperités, pacience; en defens, pardurable escu. Et grantez qe ses gentz lui portent foi, ses nobles gentz eient pees et se entreaiment par charité, se retraient de coveitise, parlent dreiture, gardent verité. Et issint ceo poeple soit nurri de vostre beneissoun qe a touz jours demeorgent ove vous en victorie.'

[13] 'Dieux, qe counsaillez vostre poeple par vertue, et par amour avez la seig[n]urie, donez a cesti vostre sergant Edward l'espirit de savoir et governeme[n]t de discipline qe a vous soit devout de tout son cuer, covenable soit en le governement de son realme, et suerté soit a Seinte Eglise en son temps de vostre doun. Et en grant peisibleté demeorge la devocioun des Cristiens, e demurant en bon overaigne al pardurable realme du ciel puisse venir.'

[14] Et puis dirra l'ercevesqe le prefaz q'appent:
'Per omnia secula et cetera.'

[15] Et quant ce serra fait pur l'oille seintefier de qi le roi serra enoynt,

le roy serra en une chaiere qe serra covert d'un drap d'or. Et quant l'ercevesqe vendra pur lui oyndre, le roy severa ses draps de ses meyns demene du coler jesqes a la ceynture. Et puis serront oyntz les meyns le roy de l'oille seintefié, et l'ercevesqe dirra cest oreisoun:

[16] 'Cestes meyns soyent oyntz de seint oille dount les rois et les prophetes furent oyntz, et sicome Samuel oynt David en roi, qe vous soiez beneit [et] establi en vostre reigne sur ce poeple qe Dieux vous ad doné a governer.'

[17] Et puis aprés serra chaunté ceste antephne:
'Sadok le prestre et Natan le prophete oyndront Salomon roi, et vindront avant et disoient a joie: "Vive le roi! Vive le roi! Vive le roi sanz fin!"'

[18] Et puis dirra l'ercevesqe cest oreisoun:
'Regardez, Dieux tut puissant, de clere veue cesti glorious roi Edward, et sicome vous benefiastes Abraham, Isaak, et Jacob, issint de la large beneisoun de vostre espiritele grace lui arosez. Et lui donez de la rosee du ciel et de la gresse de terre plentee de furment, de vin, et d'oille, et richesse de touz blees, longe siecle de la largesse de vostre doun qe tant come il reigne, saunté de corps soit en pais. Et la pees desblemye soit en son realme, et la gloriouse digneté de real paleis devant les eus de toute gentz res[*fol. 233^{rb}*]plendise par la grant clarté de real poer. Et, Sire Dieux tut puissant, lui grantez estre le fort defendour du pais et confertour des eglises [et] des seintes abbeies ove la grant pitee de real largesse, et q'il soit le plus fort des rois, et q'il eit victorie de ses enemys a daunter les rebels et les saracineis naciouns. Et q'il soit assez doutez de ses enemis pur la grant force de real puissaunce, et q'il soit larges, amyables, et debonaire a touz les hauz gentz de sa terre et a les leaux gentz de son reigne qe de touz soit doutez et amez. Et de lui issent rois par successioun de temps qe ce realme puissent bien governer, et aprés le glorious temps de ceste vie eit la joie pardurable.'

[19] Et meintenant le pis le roy et les espaules et les joyntz de ses braz serront oint de l'avantdit oille, et de meisme cest oille serra fait une croiz sur sa teste, et puis de crem seintefié, ove ses oreisons:

[20] 'Jhesu Crist, le Fitz Dieux, Nostre Seignur, qe de son Piere est oynt de l'oille de joie devant touz ses piers, il doint sa benessoun sur vostre teste par cest oille qe nous y mettoms [et] le face entrer jesqe a les privetees de vostre cuer qe vous puissez regner sanz fin ove li q'est Roi de Rois et guier ce realme en droiture.'

[21] 'Dieux, q'estes la glorie des dreitureus et merci faites as

pecheours, qe mandastes vostre chier Fitz rechater humeigne lignee, qe dereynez bataille et estes defens a ceux q'en vous ount esperaunce, desouz qi jugement la poesté des touz realmes est contenuz, humblement vous prioms qe cesti vostre serjant Edward, qe s'affie de vostre merci, lui benefiez en son see real et lui soiez aidant qe celi qe par vous se conust estre [defendu] plus fort soit de touz ses enemis. Et facez l'estre debonaire, et q'il puisse veincre ses enemys. Lui corounez de la coroune de droiture et de pité q'en vous creie et a vous serve de tout son cuer et de toute sa pensee, et vostre Seinte Eglise defende et avance, ove droiture guie le poeple qe baillé lui est. Alumez son cuer de l'amour de vostre grace par l'enoignement de cest oille, dont vous oignastes les prestres, rois, et prophetes, q'il eyme droiture et par [*fol. 233*^{va}] cele voie meyne le poeple issint qe, quant il avera regnez a vostre ordenement, puisse resceivre la joie pardurable.'

[22] Et puis serra le roi vestu d'un garnement de cendal, et la teste lui serra coverte d'un huveit de linge teille pur la seinteté de l'oille, et en la manere demora vestu, et la teste coverte, par seet jours. Et puis lui serront mis a les pees les soudlers, sendauz ove l'atir, et les esporons, et puis serra vestu de tout le regal qe a cel journé appent.

[23] C'est la beneissoun sur la vesture le roi:
'Sire Dieux, Roi des Rois et Sire des Sires, par qi les rois regnent, et les fesours des leis ordinent droiture, vueillez benefier cest real ournement, et grantez qe cesti nostre roi, qe ceste vesture portera, resplendisse devant vous par l'ournement des bons mours, et aprés ceste vie eit la vie pardurable.'

[24] C'est la beneisson de l'espee le roi:
'Sire Dieux, oiez nostre priere, et cest espee, de qi [cesti] vostre sergant Edward se desire estre ceynt de vostre seinte mayn, deignez benefier et seintefier q'il puisse estre defens as veeves et orfanyns et a touz qe Dieux servent countre la cruelté des paens, et soit doutez de touz yceux qe li gaitent mal.'

[25] Et puis rescevera le roi l'espee par la mayn l'ercevesqe et touz les esvesqes, et par cel bail rescevera suerment et entierment la garde du realme. Et donqe lui dirra l'ercevesqe:

[26] 'Rescevez l'espee qe realment vous est baillé par les meyns des evesqes, sacrez de l'autorité des seintz apostles, et qi ordeiné est de la grace de Dieux a defendre sa Seinte Eglise. Et remembrez vous de qi David prophetiza: "Soiez saint peusantement de vostre espee," qe parmi ce eiez la force d'equitee et destruez peusantement les feez de malveiseté, et la Seinte Eglise Dieux et ses leaux pur eux combatant

defendez, et destruez ceux qe sont faux a la foi, sicome les enemis de la Cristieneté. Aidez et defendez lez veeves et les orfanyns, confortez les desconfortez, et restorez et gardez les choses qe sont restorez. Le tort vengez, et confermez ce q'est bien ordeinez qe vous puissetz avoir ove le Salvetoeur del mound, qi figure vous portez, la vie pardurable.'

[27] Et puis quant il serra [*fol. 233^{vb}*] ceynt de l'espee, il rescevera les bracers d'or sur les deux braz, et lui dirra l'ercevesqe:

[28] 'Rescevez les bracers de clerté et de l'avirounement de savoir Dieux, par les queux vous devez entendre touz voz ovres garniz countre touz vos enemis.'

[29] Et puis quant il rescevera le mantel, l'ercevesqe dirra:
'Rescevez le mantel ove les quatre corners, par qi devez entendre les quatre parties del mound estre sugiet a la poesté de Dieux, et qe nul home put en terre regner forqe celi a qi le poair de regner est doné de ciel.'

[30] C'est la beneissoun sur la coroune le roi:
'Dieux, q'estes la coroune de voz leaux gentz et qe a lour teste mettez la coroune de piere preciouse, benefiez et seintefiez ceste coroune qe sicome ele est aourné de diverses pieres preciouses, issint vostre sergant qe la portera soit replein des touz maneres [de] vertues.'

[31] Et puis serra la coroune arosee d'ewe beneite et encensee, et quant la coroune lui serra doné, si dirra l'ercevesqe:

[32] 'Dieux vous coroune de la coroune de glorie et de droiture, de honur et de oevre de force, issint qe par nostre beneisoun ove droite foi et fruit des bones oeveres puissez venir a la coroune pardurable ove le doun de Dieux, qe regnera sanz fin.'

[33] Et quant la coroune lui serra mise, si dirra l'ercevesqe ceste oreison:
'Sire Dieux de pardurableté, duk des vertuz e vencour des touz enemys, benefiez cesti vostre sergant qe a vous encline sa teste, et li gardez ove longe sauntee et ove bone vie, et quant et quele houre vostre aide priera, tost a lui viegnez et lui defendez. Et li donez les richesses de vostre grace, otreiez a son desir en bien, li corounez de vostre merci qe a vous puisse servir ove bone devocioun.'

[34] Et donk soit chantez outre li ceo chaunt:
'Confortez vous et soiez home, et gardez les comandementz Dieux, et qe vous alez en ses voies et gardés ses leis et ses comandementz, et quel part qe vous turnez, Dieux vous conferme.'

[35] C'est la beneissoun de l'anel le roi:

'Dieux, qe feistes ciel et terre et toutes creatures, et le debonaire reparaillour de humeigne ligné, le donur d'espiritale grace, de toute manere de beneisson, qe la droiture de vostre lei escrivez du doi de vostre chier Fiz, a qi touz les sorceours de Egipt ne po[*fol. 234ra*]ent countredire, mes disoient: "C'est le doi Dieux," envoiez vostre Seint Espirit du ciel sur cest anel enbeli par orfaverie, et de la grace de vostre hautesce issint li purifiez qe le metal qe de vous est fourmé soit moundé de chescun ordure de l'Enemy, et chescune malveisté del venimous serpent de li soit forclos.'

[36] 'Dieux, benefiez et seintefiez cest anel et sur li mandez vostre Seint Espirit qe vostre sergant qe l'usera soit dowez et arrez de l'anel de la foi et soit gardé sanz peché par la vertue de vous memes. Et toutes les beneissons qe trovez sount en Seint Escripture sur cest anel plentivousement descendent, et quanqe il seintefiera soit seintefiez, et quanqe il benefiera soit beneit de vostre seinte beneissoun.'

[37] Et quant l'anel lui serra donez, l'ercevesqe dirra: 'Rescevez l'anel de la digneté du roi et la signefiance de la seinte foi qe sicome vous estes fait huy chief et prince du realme et du poeple, issint puissez vous demorer ordeinour et defendour de la cristiene foi, debonaire en ovre, riches en foi, glorefié ove le Roi des Rois, a qi est glorie et honur sanz fin.'

[39] Et puis offra le roi l'espee dount il est ceynt sur l'autier, qe le plus haut counte rechatera et portera devant lui.

[40] Et quant le ceptre lui serra donez, donqe lui dirra l'ercevesqe: 'Rescevez le ceptre de real poesté, la droiturele verge du regne, la verge de vertue, de quei vous meismes bien guiez, et Seinte Eglise et le poeple cristien qe de Dieux baillez vous est par real vertue defendez de malvoise gent; les malvoises amendez, les droiturels peesez, et les drescez de vostre aide q'ils puissent tenir la droite voie, qe de ceo temporel regne puissez venir a la regne pardurable ove l'aide Dieux, le regne de qi demoert sanz fin.'

[41] Et puis, le ceptre baillez, l'ercevesqe lui dirra cest oreison: 'Dieux, qe estes fontayne de touz biens et l'ordeynour de chescun profist, grantez a Edward vostre sergant bien guier la digneté q'il ad resceu, et afforcez la digneté qe par vous lui est baillez. Li honurez devant touz autres rois, li enrichez de vostre plentivouse beneissoun, et li afforcez en son realme par ferm estableté. Lui vi[*fol. 234rb*]sitez de noble engendrure [e lui grantetz bone vie et longe. En ces jours soit droiture] tenue qe ove joie soit glorefié en le pardurable regne.'

[42] Donqes lui serra doné la verge ove ceste oreisoun:
'Rescevez la verge de vertue et d'equitee, par qi vous entendrez honurer les debonaires et espounter les malveises. Apernez la voie a ceux qe forveient, a ceux qe sont cheuz tendez les meyns. Revilez les orgoillous et relevez les humbles qe Nostre Seignur Jhesu Crist vous ovre son hus, qe dit de li meismes: "Je sui hus. Qe par moi entre, il serra sauvé." Et il est la clief David et le ceptre de Israel, qe ovre et nul home clost, clost et nul home ovre. Celi vous soit en aide qe meyne cesti q'est en prisoun en oscurtee et umbre de la mort hors de prisoun qe lui puissez vous suyre en toutes choses de qi David le prophete chaunta: "Sire Dieux, vostre see soit sanz fin. La verge de vostre regne est droiturele." Et suyez celi qe dit: "Amez droiture et heez malvoiseté, pur ce vous ad Dieu oynt de oille de joye."'

[43] Et puis soit doné sur le roi ceste beneissoun:
'Nostre Seignur vous benefie et vous gard, et sicome il vous velt estre roi sur son poeple, issint vous face en ce siecle bon et debonaire, et parcener de la joie pardurable. La clergie et le poeple, qe de l'aide de li veet ore ci estre assemblé, par la sue seinte grace et vostre administracioun par long temps face estre governez. Q'ils soient obeisantz a les comandementz Dieux et nul adversité eient, mes de touz biens eient plenté, et vostre comandement servent par loial amur, en ce siecle eient pees, et ove vous puissent avoir la compaignie du ciel.'

[44] Et puis aprés quant il serra corounez, touz les evesqes lui beiseront, des queux il serra mys e mené noblement en son see, et des touz soit chauntez solempnement:
'Te deum laudamus.'
Et quant ce serra chauntez, lui dirra l'ercevesqe:

[45] 'Esteez et rescevez des ore en avant le lieu qe vous tenez par succession de heritage, par auctorité de Dieux et [nostre baill e de tuz evesqes e autres ministres Dieu]. Tant come voiez la clergie plus prochein le seint altier, de tant les facez le plus de honur, qi Jhesu Crist, q'est [meen] de Dieux et des homes, vous q'estes meen entre la clergie et le poeple, en ce roialme [*fol. 234*^{va}] vous conferme. Et celi vous face regner au ciel q'est Roi des Rois et Sire des Sires, qe vist et regne ove son Piere et le Seint Espirit sanz fin.'

[46] Et puis serra la messe solempnement chantez.

[54] Et quant le Ewangelie serra lue, le roi vendra a l'autier et a la mayn l'ercevesqe ferra oblacioun du payn et de vyn ove le chaliz saint Edward en la fourme qe fist Melchisedek, roi de Salem. Et puis offra le

roi .i. marc d'or et ce serra a genuz devant l'autier, et l'ercevesqe dirra outre lui ceux deux oreisons:

[55] 'Dieux tout puissant vous doint plenté, de la rosee de ciel et de la gresse de la terre, de furment et de vin. Et le poeple serve a vous, les nacions vous aourent, et celi qe vous benefiera de beneisson soit replein, et Dieux vous soit en aide. Dieux tut puissant vous benefie de la beneisson de ciel et en mountaynes et en valeies, et la beneisson de quanqe bon est par amont et par aval, et de les beneissons des mameles, de furment et de grapes et de poumes. Et les beneissons de noz anxienes pieres Abraham, Ysaak, et Jacob vieignent sur vous.'

[56] 'Sire Dieux, benefiez la force de cesti prince Edward et rescevez les overaignes de ses mayns. Et la terre de lui soit repleine de vostre beneisson, et de touz biens des poumes et de chescun manere de fruyt, et de la rosee de ciel, et de la rosee par aval, du solail et de la lune et de les hautesces des aunciens mountaines, de les fruytz des pardurable valeies, de blee e [de la gresce] de la terre. La beneisson de lui qe apparust a Moisen au busson veigne sur cesti roi, et la pleine beneisson de Dieux veigne sur sa engendrure, et Dieux, qe au ciel mounta, lui soit a touz jours en aide. Amen.'

[57] Et puis serra la messe chauntez, et le roi a honur remené au palois.

Rejected readings and variants

Readings not preceded by a siglum (*B* or *C*) stem from the base manuscript (*A*) 1 La … corounez] *B om.* 6 pulput] *B* pulpit 7 secreteyn] *B* sextein 10 portera] porterea 11 patene] patente *B* pataynne 14 Curtane] *B* curtain 18 surdorrez] *B* suthorretz 20 En] *B* e ; ferrount] *B* serrunt 21 meismes] i *interlinear addition* 22 porterount] *B* portent ; secrestein] *B* sextain 24 roi] *B* r. etc. 27 [de]] *B* de 29 qe … soit] *B* qe s. p. ; ascun] a sun *B* ascun ; lieu haut] *B* h. l. 31 des[1] … draps] *B* de d. n. 32 esvesqes et] *B om.* 33 et covent] *B* et del c. 37 antephne] *B* amptene *[passim]* 39 enhauncé] *B* enautee 40 vostre] *B* ta 45 girra] *B* se genulera 46 [et]] *B* e 48 q'estes] *B* qest 53 et son] *B* e a s. 55 leis … et[3]] *B* leys coustimus e 57 Et s'il] *B* et il 58f. et … manere] *B om.* 63 le] *B* les 72 Je … promet] *B* Jeo les grant e les p. 73 comunalté] *B* comune 76 chargera] *first* a *interlinear addition* 79 girra] *B* irra ; et[2]] a *B* e 83 [de]] *B* de 83f. jesqes … flour] *B* j. a ore la f. 85 vostre verité] *B* v. merci de iour e altre de vostre merite 88 q'il … garni] *B* qil soit g. ; le mur] lamur *B* la mur 90 vertue] *B* verite 94 et sancteté] *B om.* 98f. del poeple] *B* de vostre p. 99 et hausastes] et haunsastes *B* enhausastes 107 par] *B om.* 108f. et[2] …

poeple] *B* e le p. 109 le] *B om.* 116 de … pees] *B* de la crestiene f. p. 120 du] deu *with* e *expuncted* 121 guiez] amez *B* guie 124 ove deboneirté] ove le d. *B* eve d 126 et vostre] et de v. *B* e v. 131 jouyse] *B* tute guisse 132 plein] plente *B* plain 133 nesce] ne cesse *B* nesce 135 reigne] *B* realme amen 136 Dieux] i *interlinear addition* 139 li] *B om.* 140 realme] *B* regne 141 au bussoun] *B* en busoigne 143 environez] *B* avironet 146 pacience] paciente *B pacience* 147 se] de *B* s[e] 148 charité] clarite *B* charite 151 vertue] *B* verite 152 et] *B* od 154 son] *B om.* 158 le prefaz] *B* les prouesces 159 et cetera] *B* seculorum. Vere dignum est justum est etc. 160 seintefier] *B* seinttefie 161 qe] *B* e 162 oyndre] *B* enoyndre 167 [et]] *B* e *C om.* 170 Salomon roi] *B* s. au r. 171 joie] *B* iosue 173 puis dirra] *B* p. apres d. 177 ciel] i *interlinear addition* ; gresse] *B* grace 183 [et]] *BC* e 187 sa] *B* la ; les[2]] *B* ses 188 leaux] beaux *B* loiaux *C* leau 189 issent] issint *B* isseont *C* issient *(?)* ; puissent bien] *BC* b. p. 190 pardurable] *B* p. amen 192 cest oille] *B* loille *C illegible* 193 sa] *B* la 195 de joie] *interlinear addition* ; doint] *C* donast 196 teste par] t. qe p. *BC* t. p. ; [et]] *BC* e ; face] facez *BC* face 198 en] *BC* oue 200 qe] *B* e 201 bataille] *C* bataillez 202 des] *BC* de 205 [defendu]] *BC* d. 206 facez] *B* fetes *C* festes 209 Alumez] *C* aluminez 210 l'enoignement] *B* le uynement *C* le oynnement 211 oignastes] *B* oyntez 213 resceivre] *C* perceyuere ; pardurable] *B* p. amen 215 huveit de] *B* huuel e de 217 soudlers sendauz] *B* soullers sendeux *C* soulers sendaus ; l'atir] *AC* la tir *B* la tere ; esporons] *C* esperom 218 cel] *B* tele 220 par qi] *C* qi par 222 nostre] *C* vostre 224 eit] *B om.* 226 de] *C om.* ; [cesti]] *BC* c. 228 defens] *B* defeissur 231 et touz] *BC* e de tuz 232 garde] *B* grace 235 est] *B om.* 236 sa] *B* la 243 bien] *B* dieu 244 ove le] *B* ove vus le ; Salvetoeur] salv et oeur *B* saueor *C* salueor 246 d'or sur] desu *BC* dor sur ; deux] *B om.* 250 Et … dirra] *B* Ceo d. le. q. le roy r. m. ; l'ercevesqe dirra] *C* d. le. 253 forqe] *B* fors ; de regner] *B* du regne 255 le roi] *B* du roys ou de reyne *C* de roi ou de reigne 256 teste] *B* testez *C* testes 259 des] *BC* de ; [de]] *BC* de 260 beneite] benente *B* benete *C* beneyte 263 issint] *B* ensi ; nostre] *C* vostre 264 a … coroune] *B* al regne 268 pardurableté] pardurable *BC* pardurablate ; duk] *B* deus ; e[1]] *B* le ; des[2]] *BC* de 269 vous] *B* eux 271 viegnez] *B* venetz *C* venez 272 bien] *C* bon 279 Dieux] i *interlinear addition* 280 d'espiritale grace] *B* de g. e. 281f. toute … beneisson] *B* totes m.s de b.s 285 issint li] issint qe li *BC* i. l. ; le] del *BC* le 293 beneit] *B* benefie 294 l'ercevesqe dirra] *BC* li d. le. 295 digneté] *B* dignesce ; et] en *BC* e 296 fait huy] *C* h. f. 297 puissez] *BC* pensetz 298 a] *B om.* 300 offra] offera *with* e *expuncted* ; est] *BC* fust 302 Et … l'ercevesqe] *B* Ceo d. le. q. le c. s. d. al roy 305 par real] *B* p. la r. 306 de … gent] *B* des m.s g.z 308f. le … qi] qe regne et *BC* le r. de qi 310 lui] *BC om.* 313 vous] *B om.* 316f. [e … droiture]] *BC from BC* 317 regne] *B* gloire 321 forveient a] *B* f. e a ; les meyns] *BC* la main 323 de] *C om.* 325 ovre] ouse *BC* oure 328 soit] *B*

om. 330 oille de] *C* o. e de 331 beneissoun] *B* b. par lerceuesqe 335 li] *BC* l. mesmes ; assemblé] *B* ensemble 336 temps] tepms 337 adversité eient] *BC* a. ne. 338 et vostre] *BC* e a v. 342 mys … mené] *B* amene e mis *C* mene e mis ; des[2]] *BC* de 347f. [nostre … Dieu]] *BC from BC but C with* baillif 350 [meen]] *BC* m. ; de … meen] *B om.* 353 fin] *B* fin amen amen *C* fin amen 357 offra] offera *with* e *expuncted* 362 beneisson soit] *B* b. de ciel s. 365 quanqe] quantz *B* quanqe 368 Dieux] *B om.* 373 [de … gresce]] *B from B* ; La] *B* de la 375 engendrure] *B* gendrure 377f. remené … palois] *B* au p. r.

Textual and explanatory notes

5 *draps raiez*: 'pannum virgulatum sine burellum'.

6f. *pulput … Westmuster*: i.e. a stage which is raised in order to permit easier viewing. For the spelling *pulput* (*pulpit* in *B*), cf. *Anglo-Norman Letters and Petitions from All Souls MS 182*, ed. M. Dominica Legge, ANTS 3 (Oxford, 1941), letter 52, l. 20, p. 100.

8 *le remenaunt*: i.e. 'reliqua pars tota que est extra ecclesiam'.

14 *l'espee q'est appellé Curtane*: 'Gladium qui appellatur Curtana'. While the Curtana currently used in the Coronation ceremony – so called because of its shortness, first explicitly identified as a sign of mercy in 1483 – is the one made for the coronation of Charles II in 1661, the first mention of the sword by name is found in two accounts of the coronation of Eleanor of Provence in 1236 (cf. Edith M. R. Ditmas, 'The curtana, or sword of mercy', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, Ser. 3, 29 (1966), 122–33). In the more interesting of these (the other being in *English Coronation Records*, ed. Legg, p. 58), we find that Matthew Paris uses a vernacular name – not the Latinate *Curtane* of our Order (which appears again as *Courtane* in a list of the regalia of Edward III in 1356; cf. *English Coronation Records*, ed. Legg, p. 80), but rather *Curtein* (*Matthæi Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica majora*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores 57, i–vii, 7 vols (London, 1872–84), II, 755f.). While Paris relates the sword back to St Edward, students of medieval French literature will associate this name with a different heritage. If in Anglo-Norman the earliest reference to it is found in the *Romance of Horn c.*1170 ('Unkes meuz ne trencha Curtein ne Durendal': cf. *The Romance of Horn, by Thomas*, ed. Mildred Katharine Pope and Thomas Bertram Wallace Reid, ANTS 12f. (Oxford, 1964), v. 1995), the association of the sword with Ogier the Dane can be traced back to the mid-eleventh century in the mention of Oggero Spatacurta in the *Nota Emilianense*, and subsequent allusions to it abound in epic literature (cf. Gustav Adolf Beckmann, 'Oggero Spatacurta und *Ogier le Danois*. Zur Komplexität einer epischen Tradition', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 120 (2004), 421–56; note also idem, *Die Karlamagnús-Saga I und*

ihre altfranzösische Vorlage, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie 344 (Tübingen, 2008), p. 160). One of the explanations for the sword's shape associated it with the Tristan legend (cf. Roger Sherman Loomis, 'Tristram and the House of Anjou', *Modern Language Review*, 17 (1922), 24–30), as we see in *Le Roman de Tristan en prose (version du manuscrit fr. 757 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris)*, ed. Monique Léonard and Francine Mora-Lebrun, Classiques français du Moyen Âge 144 (Paris, 2003), IV, 312, episode 331, lines 61–74: 'Et encore dist il une autre chose, car il dit qe Charlemaine aporta d'Engleterre l'espee de Tristan et l'espee de Palamedés et trova les .II. espees en une abaïe; et furent esprovees les .II. espees a l'espee de Rolant, et trova l'om qe la meillor de ces .II. espees fu cele de Palamedés et l'autre aprés cele de Rolant; et puis cele de Tristan fu la peor a l'esprover, et estoit la plus tranchant des .III. Il retint celle de Palamedés por soi et dona celle de Tristan a Ogier le Danoys, et c'estoit celle meesmes dont li Morholz avoit esté ocis. Et por l'oche qi i estoit la fist il Ogier acorcier, car elle li sembloit un pou trop longue et trop pesant, dont i la trova trop corte aprés cele ovraige, q'elle en fu puis Cortaine apellee'. On this basis, it has been conjectured that the allusion to an *ensem Tristrami* amongst the regalia of John (*Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati. Vol. 1, Pars 1: Ab anno MCCI ad annum MCCXVI*, ed. Thomas Duffus Hardy (London, 1835), 77b) may have signalled an ancestor of the Curtana.

19f. *qe nul … autre*: i.e. 'ne videatur portus portui preferri'.

24 *Ceo est … roi*: 'Ordo novum Regem in regno constituendi'.

26 *ercevesqes … prelatz*: The Latin speaks only of 'prelati'.

31 *chaucez sanz plus des chauces*: 'caligis tantummodo calciato'. Both *chauce* and *caliga* can mean either 'buskin' (in the sense of 'stocking') or 'shoe'; for the correct description of the monarch as being shoeless but clad in buskins, we must read *chauce* as 'shoe' (i.e. 'wearing stockings without any shoes'), and *caliga* as 'stocking' (i.e. 'wearing on his feet only stockings').

39–41 *Vostre poair … face*: cf. Psalms lxxxvii.14f. (lxxxviii.14f.).

43 *Puis irra l'ercevesqe ove les evesqes*: The Latin reads: 'Postea revestiatur archiepiscopus vel episcopus qui missam celebraturus est'. While the omission in the A-N of the allusion to Mass could be a simple abridgement, it seems possible that the multiplication of bishops and the introduction of a verb of motion stems from a (mis)reading involving *revert-*.

45 *girra*: A more accurate rendering of 'se prosternat' than *B se genulera*.

53 *a Seinte Eglice et son poeple*: The Latin does not mention Holy Church here, much less with a possessive which might be read as suggesting that the *poeple* belongs to the Church rather than the king.

54f. *qe grantez furent … devout*: The antecedent of the second *qe* is *rois*; 'ab antiquis iustis et Deo devotis Regibus'.

58f. *et dirra … maniere*: While *B* omits this clause, it corresponds to 'ita dicendo'.

61 *l'amur en Dieux*: Not love for God, but rather a synonymic complement to *pees*: cf. 'pacem ex integro et concordiam in Deo'.
68 *les leis et les custumes*: The A-N omits 'iustas'.
69 *la communalté de vostre reaume*: 'vulgus'.
72 *granterai*: The future has no parallel in *B* or the Latin.
73f. *Et peus … bon soit*: In comparison with 'Adiciaturque predictis interrogacionibus que iusta fuerint', the A-N's provision that the *communalté* should decide what else might be added to the oath sworn by the king is conspicuous.
74–6 *Et quant … chargera*: Relative to 'Pronunciatis omnibus confirmet se omnia esse servaturum sacramento super altare protinus coram cunctis', we note the added mention of the king to be crowned, the insistence on the granting by the king, and the replacement of the allusion to the altar with the declaration that the archbishop is to issue instructions for how the oath is to be sworn.
77 *l'ercevesque*: Here and following, the Latin specifies that the minister may be 'metropolitanus vel episcopus', an extraordinary qualification necessitated by the ongoing uncertainty regarding whether Archbishop Winchelsea would officiate at the coronation of Edward II, or would nominate a bishop in his stead; cf. Richardson, 'Coronation in medieval England', p. 139.
82 *cesti vostre serjant Edward*: Here and following, the Latin formula is usually 'hunc famulum tuum'.
88 *le mur*: For clarity, I correct *A lamur* and *B la mur* on the basis of 'misericordie tue muro'.
89 *ove l'aide de vostre pees*: This appears to be a misreading of 'cum pace propiciacionis'.
90 *vertue de victorie*: *B verité* is contradicted by 'virtute victorie'.
91f. *et primes … autres*: The Latin specifies that the officiants are prostrate and singing 'ex corde', whereas the information that those singing are archbishops and that they do so *primes* is unique to the A-N.
99 *hausastes*: Although *AND*, s.v. *halcer* records the form *hauncer* (as there are no attestations offered, this is perhaps on the basis of the lemma in Robert Kelham, *A Dictionary of the Norman or Old French Language* (London, 1779), p. 120), we prefer to emend MS *haunsastes* for clarity.
103 *aournez*: Although this reading is shared by *A* and *B*, it could well be an error for *avironez*, rendering 'circumda': cf. *environez* 143 (*B avironet*).
108 *q'il apreigne defendre et salver*: While the A-N is potentially ambiguous regarding whether the king is to teach or learn, the Latin clarifies that it is the former: '[Ecclesiam cum plebibus] enutriat ac doceat, muniat et instruat'.
116f. *et a la chevalerie … reporte*: Very dubious. The Latin reads 'et pacem tibi militantibus letanter reportet'. The A-N seems to reflect a misreading of ablative *militantibus* as dative, unless the preposition *a* has replaced *par* in transmission. One also wonders, given the loss of *tibi* and the introduction of *foi*, whether an

original *toi* has become *foi*: e.g. *par la chevalerie … [a] toi pees reporte*.
121 *guiez*: *A amez* and *B guie* are both questionable renderings of 'moderaris'. Since the former has the right person and the latter an appropriate infinitive, I correct on the suspicion that *amez*, with the three minims of *m*, is a scribal misreading of *guiez*.
126 *quiete*: In the absence of rhyme, the choice between *quiete* and *quieté* is open; cf. *AND*, s.v. *quiete*. The source reads: 'cum quiete'.
128 *[eit] la victorie*: Although *A* and *B* agree, their rendering of 'victor existat' clearly requires correction, either by replacing *victorie* with a reflex of VICTOR (understood to be governed by the preceding *soit*), or, as adopted in our edition, by supplying an appropriate verb to accompany *victorie* (cf. *eit victorie de ses enemys* 184f.).
128 *rois et gentz*: Given that the Latin is 'regibus gencium', does *et* stem from an error in transmission (in *B e*, we may see the easy passage of an original *de* to *e*), or does the translation deliberately extend the king's superiority?
131 *eit … equitee*: The reading can stand ('may he show equity in judgement'), although *B*, with *tute guisse* in place of *jouyse* and therefore the sense 'may he demonstrate equity in all respects', may be closer to 'sit … equitatis singularis'.
132 *pais ait plein de blee*: While *A plenté de* does appear later (*plentee de furment*, *de touz biens eient plenté*, etc.), here the syntax requires, as one finds in *B*, an adjective to qualify the noun, as in 'frugiferam obtineat patriam'.
133f. *nesce droiture*: While *A ne cesse droiture* is possible, we adopt *B nesce* as it more accurately renders 'oriatur iusticia', and thereby the allusion to Psalms lxxii.7 (lxxi.7).
141 *au bussoun*: *B en busoigne* is not supported by 'in rubo'.
143 *environez*: Otherwise used to render *circumdare*, the verb here corresponds to 'perfunde'.
148 *charité*: We adopt *B charité* on the basis of 'diligant caritatem'.
151 *vertue*: While *B verité* is possible, the *A* reading is retained on the basis of 'qui populis tuis virtute consulis'.
156 *e*: Although *A* and *B* read *e*, it would be very tempting here to emend to *qe* on the basis of the source's 'ut'.
158 *le prefaz q'appent*: The standard instruction at this point in the Latin copies is that the officiant should change his voice.
159 *Per omnia secula*: The A-N here omits two prayers, the incipit for the second of which is presented only by *B*. *B*'s abbreviation of the prayers is the same as in the Latin *ordo* which follows the A-N text in *A*.
161 *qe serra covert d'un drap d'or*: While the nearest preceding substantive is *chaiere*, the concord for gender of *covert* is not an A-N idiosyncrasy, for the antecedent of *qe* is *roy*; *B*, with *e* instead of *qe*, prevents confusion.
172 The Latin MSS here indicate the Psalms to be sung.

188 *leaux*: As *B loiaux* and *C leau* demonstrate, *A beaux* is a clear copy error for the rendering of 'fidelibus'; for the proposed orthography, cf. *ses leaux* 239, *leaux gentz* 188, 256.

189 *issent*: As *A issint* looks more like a scribal error (cf. the nine instances of adverbial *issint* in *A*) than an intended form of the sbj.pr.6 of *issir*, rendering 'egrediantur', I have emended for clarity. *B isseont*, although more clearly verbal, is itself too alien to *A*'s spelling habits to adopt as a direct emendation; *C*'s reading is considerably faded, and while it is clear that the scribe has corrected himself by inserting an interlinear *e* above *issint*, it is uncertain whether it is an addition (*issient*) or a replacement for an expuncted second *i* (*issent*).

193 *ses* = *ces*.

195 *oille de joie*: Cf. Psalms xlv.7 (xliv.8).

195–7 *il doint … vostre cuer*: We adopt the slightly different reading of *BC* as they produce more likely syntax, which furthermore accurately renders 'ipse super capud tuum infundat benediccionem, eandemque penetrare faciat'.

198 *guier … droiture*: By placing the allusion to ruling the kingdom justly at the end of the prayer, the A-N diverges from the Latin, in which 'et temporali regno iustis moderaminibus executo' more logically appears before the wish that an eternal reign in heaven should be the resulting reward.

202 *qi* = *cuius*.

205 *se conust estre [defendu]*: The addition is justified both by *BC* and by the Latin: ' … ut qui tua expetit proteccione defendi'.

214 *garnement de cendal*: i.e. the *colobium sindonis*, a simple sleeveless tunic of fine cloth.

215 *huveit*: While Brückmann here offers the meaningless *huneit*, the word *huvet*, denoting a bonnet or hood, derived from *huve*, is well attested (Walther von Wartburg, *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch: eine Darstellung des galloromanischen Sprachschatzes*, 25 vols (Bonn, 1922–), XVI, 255b–256b; Adolf Tobler and Erhard Lommatzsch, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*, 11 vols (Berlin, Stuttgart, and Wiesbaden, 1915–2002), IV, 1256f.; Frédéric Eugène Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IXe au XVe siècle*, 10 vols (Paris, 1881–1902), IV, 535a). The same Germanic etymon underlies *B huvel*, misread by Brückmann and Legg as *hunel*; cf. *AND*, s.v. *hovel*[1], with the sense 'cowl, hooded garment (worn by monks)'. The entire description of the covering of the head is both more detailed (*huveit de linge teille*) and more laboured (*la teste lui serra coverte … la teste coverte*) than the Latin's economical 'capite amictu … operto'.

217 *les soudlers, sendauz ove l'atir, et les esporons*: The Latin refers simply to the *sandaria* and the *calcaria*; since the latter unproblematically denote the *esporons*, it is apparent that the A-N contains additional material relating to the footwear. Clarification is offered by the later *Liber regalis*, in which we find that the king, by

this juncture, is in this state: 'caligis, sandariis, et calcaribus tibiis eius et pedibus coaptatis' (*English Coronation Records*, ed. Legg, p. 94), wherein the *caligae* are knee-high stockings or buskins (cf. Charles Du Fresne sieur Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, 10 vols, 5th edn (Niort, 1883–7), II, 30b, in relation to bishops: 'Priusquam sandalia induant, caligis ad genua usque protensis crura revinciunt'). The translation of *caliga* in this sense by *soudler* is confirmed by the description of the coronation of Richard II in the *Anonimalle Chronicle*, which draws on the *Liber regalis*: 'Et fuist chauce od sandales ove solers queux furount a seint Edmond et esperouns mys sur ses pees' (ed. Galbraith, p. 111; on p. 114, we learn that in the feast hall afterwards, 'perdist une des ses sandals ou solers a cause qil fuist trop graunt et rude'). For the use of the etymon of *soudler* in the sense of 'buskin', cf. the list of the coronation regalia of Henry III: 'Unum par sandalium novorum et sotularium de rubeo samit cum aurifragio' (*English Coronation Records*, ed. Legg, p. 55). Given that all the copies otherwise maintain the typical A-N distinction between *an* and *en*, the fact that all feature a form beginning with *send-* (*sendeux*, *sendauz*, *sendaus*), especially given the closely preceding reference to a *garnement de cendal*, makes one wonder whether the extant readings have been influenced by *sindonem* rather than *sandalium*. More problematic is *AC ove la tir* (*B la tere* seems irredeemable). While the *Liber regalis* says nothing about the nature of the sandals, we find in Hoveden's account of the coronation of Richard I that he was shod with 'sandaliis auro contextis' (*English Coronation Records*, ed. Legg, p. 49), while in the list of the regalia of Henry III, mention is made of 'duo freselli de aurifragio ad fratandam sandalia regis' (*English Coronation Records*, ed. Legg, p. 55). If one therefore reads *l'atir*, there may be reason to assume a specific allusion to the trappings or decoration of the sandals.

226 *[cesti]*: The addition is not grammatically essential, but is justified both by its presence in *BC* and by its formulaic use elsewhere in the copy.

232f. *la garde du realme*: *B grace* is not impossible, but *AC garde* is more likely: cf. 'totum regnum sibi fideliter ad regendum … sciat esse commendatum'.

235 *sacrez* qualifies the *meyns des evesqes*: cf. 'manus … auctoritate sanctorum apostolorum consecratas'.

237 *Soiez saint … espee*: Psalms xlv.3 (xliv.4), omitting 'super femur tuum'.

238f. *les feez de malveiseté*: < FASCEM; cf. 'molem iniquitatis'.

244 *Salvetoeur*: Although this spelling is not listed in *AND*, and although the word appears as *salv et oeur* in *A*, it is sufficiently plausible as a form to justify retention; Wartburg, *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, XI, 131b records the Middle French *salvateur*.

244 *qi* = *cuius*.

245f. *les bracers d'or*: 'armillas'; see Introduction.

255 *le roi*: *BC* follow the Latin here in adding the possibility of crowning a queen.

256 *teste*: *BC* resemble the Latin by providing a plural.

259 *des touz maneres [de] vertues*: I add *de* on the basis of *BC*, but note the same construction without *de* in *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, ed. Strachey, II, 311a: 'des touz maners trespases, mesprisons, necligences, et ignorances'.
262 *coroune* = sbj.pr.3 (cf. 'coronet').
264 *a la coroune pardurable*: Together, this and *B al regne pardurable* render the whole of the Latin 'ad coronam … regni perpetui'.
275–7 *Confortez vous … conferme*: Cf. III Kings ii.2–4.
281f. *du doi de vostre chier Fiz*: The sense of *de* here is 'which is'; cf. 'digito tuo, id est Unigenito tuo'.
283 *C'est le doi Dieux*: Exodus viii.19.
291 *sur cest anel*: This appears to be an attempt to clarify the referent of 'super eum'; as suggested by the continuation of the sentence and e.g. the vernacular Coronation Order of Charles I (*English Coronation Records*, ed. Legg, p. 262), *eum* in fact refers to the king.
297 *puissez vous demorer*: Despite *BC pensetz*, *A puissez* is tenable, nor does the source ('perseveres') support intervention.
299 An entire prayer is omitted here.
307 *drescez*: The sense here is simply 'guide'; cf. 'dirigas'.
308f. *le regne de qi*: *A qe regne et*, with *Dieux* as antecedent, is grammatically possible, but very unlikely against the testimony of *BC* in conjunction with 'cuius regnum'.
316f. *[e lui … droiture]*: A clear case of line-skipping, resolved courtesy of *BC*.
316 *ces* = *ses*.
321 *les meyns*: The singular found in *BC* is supported by 'manum'.
323f. *Je sui … sauvé*: John x.9.
324f. *Et il est … home ovre*: Cf. Isaiah xxii.22, Apocalypse iii.7.
325f. *qe meyne cesti … prisoun*: Cf. Isaiah xlii.7, Psalms cvii.10 (cvi.10), Luke i.79.
328f. *Sire Dieux … droiturele*: Psalms xlv.6 (xliv.7).
329f. *Amez droiture … joye*: Cf. Psalms xlv.7 (xliv.8).
335 *ci*: Appears to be in place of 'tua sanccione'.
337 *nul adversité eient*: *BC* here include negating *ne*, but not elsewhere.
347f. *[nostre baill … Dieu]*: Another instance of apparent line-skipping.
349 *qi* = conjunction *qe* ('quatinus').
349f. *Jhesu Crist, q'est*: Presumably for clarity, this element has been moved to a point earlier in the sentence than in the Latin. Cf. I Timothy ii.5.
354 The A-N omits the Mass.
358 *ce serra a genuz*: The Latin speaks only of bowing the head at this juncture, and the Anglo-Norman Directory likewise indicates that the King 's'enclenera devant l'auter' (Brückmann, 'English coronations', p. 586). In the Coronation Order of Charles I, however, the instruction is that the king should kneel (cf. *English Coronation Records*, ed. Legg, p. 270).

360f. *plenté … vin*: My punctuation attempts to show that *plenté* should be taken with *de furment et de vin*, as in line 177 and in 'habundanciam frumenti et vini'; cf. Genesis xxvii.28.
361–3 *Et le poeple … replein*: Cf. Genesis xxvii.29.
362 *beneisson*: *B de ciel* has no basis at this point in the Latin, belonging rather to the next sentence.
365f. *des mameles, de furment*: The source of what might at first appear a rather odd reading is 'uberum frumentorum et uvarum pomorumque'. As is the case for the preceding section of prayer, 'uberum' stems from Genesis xlix.25, which reads: 'benedictionibus uberum et vulvae'. While 'uberum et vulvae' appears in the Leofric Missal (*English Coronation Records*, ed. Legg, p. 7 var. 10; cf. the correction noted in *The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, ed. Henry Austin Wilson, Henry Bradshaw Society Publications 24 (London, 1903), p. 147 n. 1), the formula 'uberum et uvarum' is found in the First and Second Recension of the English Coronation Order (cf. *English Coronation Records*, ed. Legg, pp. 7 and 21), and likewise in the French coronation tradition (cf. *Ordines coronationis Franciae*, ed. Jackson, I, 191 and II, 404f.). In the Fourth Recension of the English Coronation Order, however, the new formulation of 'uberum frumentorum et uvarum' is introduced, and appears, to judge by Brückmann's edition, to be stable in the transmission of the first family of this Recension, and to remain so in the *Liber regalis* (we note, however, 'benedictionibus uberum et frumentorum, benedictionibus uvarum pomorumque' in *Monumenta ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, ed. Maskell, III, 38; Brückmann classifies this text as belonging to the second family of the Fourth Recension). The juxtaposition of 'uberum frumentorum' may constitute an attempt to remove 'breasts' from the prayer, as it seems to echo the preceding 'habundanciam frumenti', and thus encourages a reading of 'uberum' either as an adjective ('plentiful') qualifying the following substantives, or as a substantive in its own right ('of abundances'). Certainly all trace of anatomical reference had disappeared in the Coronation Order of Charles I ('blessing of Corne, and Wine, and Fruite': *English Coronation Records*, ed. Legg, p. 270); whether our Anglo-Norman translator thwarted the possible bowdlerizing intention of the new formulation in the Fourth Recension by including *mameles* remains open to question. It is interesting to note that this very issue is reflected in the two traditions of the Continental French translation of the Last Capetian *ordo*, which contains the same prayer in very similar form, with one text including breasts, and the other omitting: compare 'de la beneiçon de lignie de grapez et de fruiz' with 'benedictions des mamelles, raisins et pommes' (*Ordines coronationis Franciae*, ed. Jackson, II, 445).
366f. *Et les beneissons … vous*: Cf. Genesis xlix.26.
368f. *Sire Dieux … mayns*: Cf. Deut. xxxiii.11.
369–73 *Et la terre … de la terre*: Cf. Deut. xxxiii.13–15.

374 *sur cesti roi*: 'super capud istius' (cf. Deut. xxxiii.16).
374f. *la pleine … engendrure*: cf. Deut. xxxiii.24.
375f. *Dieux … aide*: cf. Deut. xxxiii.26.

NOTES

[1] *English Coronation Records*, ed. Leopold George Wickham Legg (Westminster, 1901), p. 302.

[2] Ibid., p. 95. For the equivalent in the Third Recension, see ibid., p. 34, and John F. Brückmann, 'English Coronations, 1216–1308: the edition of the coronation *ordines*' (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1964), pp. 419, 440, with discussion of the appearance of this formula in the Third Recension on pp. 257f.

[3] *English Coronation Records*, ed. Legg, p. 95.

[4] When the Earl Marshall, the Duke of Norfolk, announced the gift of the bracelet-armills on 15 April 1953, he was widely reported to have said that it would probably be the first time that armills had been presented in a Coronation ceremony since the crowning of Edward VI in 1547 (cf. e.g. *The Advocate*, Friday 17 April 1953, p. 2; *The Sydney Morning Herald*, Thursday 16 April 1953, p. 1; *The Montreal Gazette*, Thursday 16 April 1953, p. 2). It is generally believed that the enamelled bracelet-armills made for the coronation of Charles II in 1661, still held amongst the Crown Jewels, were not used in the actual ceremony. On the basis of occasional lists of regalia, Henry Gerald Richardson, 'The coronation in medieval England: the evolution of the Office and the Oath', *Traditio*, 16 (1960), 111–202 (pp. 119f.) opines that the bracelet-armills were probably introduced during the twelfth century, perhaps only for Richard I, and then omitted until being reintroduced in 1274.

[5] On the possibility that the innovation in the *Liber regalis* stemmed from confusion regarding the stole used in previous coronations and the appearance of armills in inventories of regalia, see Percy Ernst Schramm, 'Ordines-Studien. 3. Die Krönung in England', *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, 15 (1938), 305–91 (pp. 354–6). Some sense of the historical persistence of the confusion regarding the nature of the armills can be gained by reading *Monumenta ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, ed. William Maskell, 3 vols (London, 1846–7), III, 28f. n. 41.

[6] Not all Anglo-Norman material, alas, proves to be so perspicacious in respect of the armills. The author of the late fourteenth-century *Anonimalle Chronicle*, describing the coronation of Richard II, remains non-committal: 'Et mesme la manere [i.e. as the sword had been given] armilles od cest orisoun: "Accipe armillas sinceritatis"' (*The Anonimalle Chronicle 1333 to 1381, from a ms. written at St. Mary's abbey, York, and now in the possession of Lieut.-Col. Sir William Ingilby, bart.*, ed. Vivian Hunter Galbraith, Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series 45 (Manchester, London, and New York, 1927), p. 111); whether he was, for the details of the ceremony, drawing on the *Liber regalis* or an earlier form of the Fourth Recension remains unclear (cf. Percy Ernst Schramm and Leopold George Wickham Legg, *A History of the English Coronation* (Oxford, 1937); Jean- Philippe Genet, 'Historiographie et documentation dans la tradition anglaise', in *Le forme della propaganda politica nel Due e nel Trecento. Relazioni tenute al convegno internazionale di Trieste (2–5 marzo 1993)*, Publications de l'École française

de Rome 201 (Rome, 1994), pp. 227–50 (p. 244 n. 64)). More striking is the reading provided in the Anglo-Norman Directory – that is, an abbreviated list of directions for a coronation rather than the full description found in an order – which is generally assumed to date from around the time of the coronation of Edward III, and is extant in two manuscripts (London, BL, Cotton MS Julius A.1, fols 59^{r}–61^{r}, and *PROME* C 49/83, formerly C 49/Roll 11) usually dated to the first half of the fourteenth century (cf. e.g. Henry Gerald Richardson and George Osborne Sayles, 'Early coronation records: supplementary notes', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 14 (1936–7), pp. 145–8; *Rotuli Parliamentorum Anglie hactenus inediti, MCCLXXIX–MCCCLXXIII*, ed. Henry Gerald Richardson and George Osborne Sayles, Camden Society, 3rd Ser. 51 (London, 1935); Schramm, 'Ordines-Studien. 3', p. 344; specifically on the dating of Julius A.1, in which a *Brut* fragment precedes the Directory, see Helen Richardson, 'The affair of the lepers', *MÆ*, 10 (1941), 15–25 (p. 15)). The Directory reads: 'Aprés serra seynt de l'espee et prendra l'estole de la tresorie de Westmuster, et dirra l'ercevesqe: "Accipe armillas etc."' (Brückmann, 'English coronations', p. 585; editorial conventions applied. This is the text of Julius A.1; the Roll is transcribed in *Three Coronation Orders*, ed. John Wickham Legg, Henry Bradshaw Society 19 (London, 1900), pp. 121–4 (p. 123), which presents *le cole* for *l'estole*, highlighted as dubious, and offers singular *armillam*, but this transcription is not trustworthy). The Directory seems to assume a stole-armill in its instruction; I have not found any comment on this difference, but it would potentially signal, if the accepted dating is accurate, that the confusion between bracelets and stole already existed half a century before the *Liber regalis*.

[7] The Fourth Recension draws heavily on the previous recensions, on the complicated history of which see, amongst others: Henry Gerald Richardson and George Osborne Sayles, 'Early coronation records', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 13 (1935–6), 129–45; Henry Gerald Richardson and George Osborne Sayles, 'Early coronation records', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 14 (1936–7), 1–9; Schramm, 'Ordines-Studien. 3'; Henry Gerald Richardson, 'Early coronation records: the coronation of Edward II', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 16 (1938–9), 1–11; Paul Langdon Ward, 'The coronation ceremony in mediaeval England', *Speculum*, 14 (1939), 160–78; Bertie Wilkinson, 'Notes on the coronation records of the fourteenth century', *English Historical Review*, 70 (1955), 581–600; Brückmann, 'English coronations'; John F. Brückmann, 'The ordines of the Third Recension of the medieval English Coronation Order', in *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Bertie Wilkinson*, ed. T. A. Sandquist and Michael R. Powicke (Toronto, 1969), pp. 99–115; Andrew Hughes, 'The origins and descent of the Fourth Recension of the English coronation', in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. János M. Bak (Berkeley, Calif., 1990), pp. 197–216; George Garnett, 'The Third Recension of the English coronation *ordo*: the manuscripts', *Haskins Society Journal*, 11 (2003), 43–72; Janet L. Nelson, 'The first use of the second Anglo-Saxon *ordo*', in *Myth, Rulership, Church and Charters: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Brooks*, ed. Julia Barrow and Andrew Wareham (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 117–26.

[8] For an overview, see David J. Sturdy, '"Continuity" versus "change": historians and English coronations of the medieval and early modern periods', in *Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. János M. Bak (Berkeley and Los Angeles, Calif., and Oxford, 1990), pp. 228–44 (pp. 234–8). For more detailed discussion, see, amongst others: Bertie

Wilkinson, 'The coronation oath of Edward II', in *Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait* (Manchester, 1933), pp. 405–16; Henry Gerald Richardson, 'The English coronation oath', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, ser. 4*, 23 (1941), 129–58; Henry Gerald Richardson, 'The English coronation oath', *Speculum*, 24 (1949), 44–75; Ernst Hartwig Kantorowicz, 'Inalienability: a note on canonical practice and the English coronation oath in the 13th century', *Speculum*, 29 (1954), 488–502; Robert S. Hoyt, 'The coronation oath of 1308: the background of *Les leys et les custumes*', *Traditio*, 11 (1955), 235–57; Robert S. Hoyt, 'The coronation oath of 1308', *English Historical Review*, 71 (1956), 353–83; Richardson, 'Coronation in medieval England'; Brückmann, 'English coronations', pp. 161–95.

[9] For an introduction to which events, see John Robert Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster, 1307–1322: A Study in the Reign of Edward II*, Oxford Historical Monographs (London, 1970); Natalie Fryde, *The Tyranny and Fall of Edward II, 1321–1326* (Cambridge, 1979).

[10] *Three Coronation Orders*, ed. Legg, pp. 37–49.

[11] Ibid., p. xxxi.

[12] While Legg does not emend, he does place a symbol to highlight readings that he deems dubious, and a random sample of these gives some idea of his confusion: on p. 40, 'chautee' is *chaucee*, 'seriant' is fine as *serjant*, and 'solompk' and 'solont' are unexceptionable spellings, while on p. 41, 'iuuente' is fine as *juvente*, 'de menz en mentz' is *de meuz en meutz*, and 'aprenge' is a common form. Such examples confirm that the patterns of misreading are of the kind commonly found in the transcription of Anglo-Norman documentary material described by William Rothwell, 'The French text of the medieval *Rotuli Parliamentorum*: some corrections', *Bulletin of the John Ryland Library*, 65 (1983), 230–58.

[13] Brückmann, 'English coronations', pp. 545–63. While the thesis achieves exceptionally well its goal of providing an edition of Latin texts of the Third Recension and the first form of the Fourth Recension of the Coronation Order, leaving one to lament all the more the untimely death which prevented its author from publishing it, a random sample of transcription errors reveals that the treatment of the Anglo-Norman was less compelling: 'lun' for *lui* (p. 547), 'people' for *poeple*, (pp. 547, 549, 550, etc.), 'rescent' for *resceut* (p. 551), 'servant' for *serjant* (p. 549), 'bleos' for *blees* (p. 553), 'pecheoirrs' for *pecheours* (p. 554), 'gen' for *q'en* (p. 554), 'chief' for *chier* (p. 558), 'plentinouse(ment' for *plentivouse(ment* (pp. 558, 560), 'forneient' for *forveient* (p. 560), 'orgoillons' for *orgoillous* (p. 560), 'oreci' (= *ore ci*) marked as incomprehensible (p. 561), etc.

[14] The Order is far less well known to students of language and literature than to historians. It does not appear in Ruth J. Dean and Maureen Barry McCann Boulton, *Anglo-Norman Literature: A Guide to Texts and Manuscripts*, OPS 3 (London, 1999), although as a translation of a liturgical document it contains numerous prayers of the kind which are included as devotional material (pp. 392–492), nor in the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* (*AND*) (http://www.anglo-norman.net/), although Legg's edition is recorded in the bibliography of the *Dictionnaire étymologique d'ancien français* (http://www.deafpage.de/). For editions of Continental translations of French *ordines*, see *Ordines coronationis Franciae: Texts and Ordines for the Coronation of Frankish and French Kings and Queens in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard A. Jackson, Middle Ages Series, 2 vols (Philadelphia, Pa, 1995–2000), II, 306–40, 419–53.

[15] On the manuscript, with a focus on the *Martyrologium*, see Claus Michael Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts, 1066–1190*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British

Isles 3 (London, 1975), pp. 61f., no. 18; Richard Gameson, *The Earliest Books of Canterbury Cathedral: Manuscripts and Fragments to c.1200* (London, 2008), no. 21, pp. 220–5; Bruce C. Barker-Benfield, *St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury*, Corpus of British medieval library catalogues 13, 3 vols (London, 2008), III, 1619–22; Helmut Gneuss and Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100*, Toronto Anglo-Saxon series 15 (Toronto and London, 2014), pp. 330f., no. 405.

[16] The so-called 'Anonymous A' version, said to quote Edmund's last words in English: cf. Clifford Hugh Lawrence, *St Edmund of Abingdon: A Study in Hagiography and History* (Oxford, 1960), p. 50; Margaret Laing, *Catalogue of Sources for a Linguistic Atlas of Early Medieval English* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 84.

[17] This is preceded by eleven lines of extremely faded and essentially illegible text, the few discernible words of which may point towards philosophical writing.

[18] Edition and discussion in Richardson, 'Early coronation records'.

[19] For *BHL* 3136n and 31360, see *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis: Supplementum*, Subsidia hagiographica 12 (Brussels, 1911), p. 1351, and Henricus Fros, *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis: Novum supplementum*, Subsidia hagiographica 70 (Brussels, 1986), p. 358. Conrad's letter is printed in *Fratris Francisci Bartholi de Assisio Tractatus de indulgentia S. Mariae de Portiuncula*, ed. Paul Sabatier, Collection d'études et de documents sur l'histoire religieuse et littéraire du Moyen Âge 2 (Paris, 1900), pp. lxxxix–xcvi, while chapters 5–11 of Bartholi's *Tractatus de indulgentia* appear on pp. 13–26 of the same edition, and chapter 41 on pp. 87f.

[20] Sabatier, *Tractatus de indulgentia*, pp. cvii, cxxii, clix–clx, notes the existence of three copies of extracts from the Bartholi extract which feature chapters 5–11 and 41, but they differ from the Cotton Vitellius C.XII copy in that they include other chapters, and our text moreover features quite different wording at some points from the editions and variants printed by Sabatier. That the Vitellius text represents a circulating Latin archetype is, however, suggested by an unedited Occitan translation, extant on fols 58^{r}–61^{r} of MS Assisi, Biblioteca Storico-Francescana della Chiesa Nuova, 9, whose explicit '… per man de Fraire Frances Bartholui d'Ascis, lo qual fo sobrediligent d'encercar motas cauzas las quals tocan la davantdita endulgentia' (cf. *La vida del glorios Sant Frances*, ed. Ingrid Arthur (Uppsala, 1955), p. 4), is clearly based on the Latin tradition represented by our text: '… per fratrem Ffranciscum Bartoli de Assisio, qui diligentissimus [fuit] in inquirendo veritatem de multis que tangunt indulgenciam illam'. Further investigation is clearly needed.

[21] Bartholi's *Tractatus* is usually dated to 1334, and Conrad's letter to 1335, although earlier drafts of Bartholi may have circulated before then. For an evaluation of this complex question, see Marvyn Roy Harris, *The Occitan Translations of John XII and XIII–XVII from a Fourteenth-Century Franciscan Codex (Assisi, Chiesa Nuova MS. 9)*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 75, pt 4 (Philadelphia, Pa, 1985), pp. 4–11.

[22] A facsimile of the manuscript has been published as *Die Corpus-Christi-Apokalypse* (Lucerne, 2012); for editions and translations of its texts, with analysis of the illustrations, see Daron Lee Burrows, Christopher F. R. de Hamel, Peter K. Klein, and Nigel J. Morgan, *Die Corpus-Christi-Apokalypse: Kommentar zur Faksimile-Edition* (Lucerne, 2012).

[23] Morgan, in *Corpus-Christi-Apokalypse: Kommentar*, p. 411; see pp. 411–15 for a detailed discussion of the image and its implications for patronage.

[24] The other manuscript which preserves the same hybrid of verse Apocalypse and prose commentary followed by the verse Vision of St Paul, Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale, 815, does not include the Coronation Order. The only other copy of this hybrid Apocalypse survives as the sole text in London, British Library, Add. MS 18633.

[25] The same two-line blue initials are regularly used throughout the copy of the Apocalypse to introduce the alternating sections of Latin prose, Anglo-Norman verse translation, and Anglo-Norman prose commentary, although they are briefly replaced by dentelle initials (gold on red or blue background) on fols 37^{ra}–48^{vb}. Only four two-line blue initials appear in the whole of the *Visio*, with two in the Anglo-Norman and two in the Latin sections.

[26] Until this point, there have only been a handful of blue one-line initials, all but one appearing on the last line of a column. In the Apocalypse, sub-sections of the Latin and vernacular prose have been indicated – and only infrequently – by blue paragraph marks. In the Coronation Order, a few of the small red guide letters introducing rubrics have failed to secure the desired blue one-line initial.

[27] On the scribe's susceptibility to errors, see Burrows, de Hamel, Klein, and Morgan, *Corpus-Christi-Apokalypse: Kommentar*, p. 423.

[28] My thanks are due to Christine Reynolds of The Library at Westminster Abbey for confirming these measurements. There is a brief comment on the content of the roll in Laurence E. Tanner, 'The nature and use of the Westminster Abbey muniments', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fourth Series*, 19 (1936), 43–80 (61).

[29] Brückmann, 'English coronations', p. 360.

[30] For descriptions of the sixteen full and five abridged *ordines*, see Brückmann, 'English coronations', pp. 335–59; for discussion of their affiliations, summarized in the stemma in table XIV, see pp. 362–89.

[31] Selective variants culled from a transcription of *C* produced by Edward John Long Scott, then Keeper of the Muniments of the Abbey, for Dr Bradley, the Dean of Westminster, are included; cf. *Three Coronation Orders*, ed. Legg, p. xxxvii.

[32] Unless otherwise indicated, the linguistic comments apply to *A*. For concision, references are restricted as far as possible to Ian Short, *Manual of Anglo-Norman*, 2nd edn, ANTS OPS 8 (Oxford, 2013) (henceforth *MAN*), which provides further bibliographical information.

[33] Given the general demise of imparisyllabics, it is uncertain whether *chaunceler* 9 and *tresorer* 10 should be analysed as reductions of *ie* to *e*.

[34] On *sendauz* 217, see note to line.

[35] Cf. Frédéric Joseph Tanquerey, *L'Évolution du verbe en anglo-français (XIIe–XIVe siècles)* (Paris, 1915), pp. 242–53.

[36] See also Leena Löfstedt, 'La Construction "li fils le rei" et sa survie dans les textes juridiques d'Angleterre', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 108 (2007), 497–511.

[37] In *Fouke le Fitz Waryn*, ed. Ernest Jackson Hathaway, Peter T. Ricketts, Charles Alan Robson, and Alan D. Wilshere, ANTS 26–8 (Oxford, 1975), 'as ces chevalers' (p. 4.5) is described as a 'back-spelling' (p. lvii), and equivalent scribal hypercorrection resulting from the effacement of pre-consonantal *s* in Anglo-Norman probably accounts for *des touz*. For further examples, cf. the B-text of *Mirour de seinte Eglyse (St. Edmund of Abingdon's Speculum ecclesiae)*, ed. Alan D. Wilshere, ANTS 40 (London, 1982), based on MS Arundel 288: 'des trestotes cestes meseyes' 4.43 (p. 11), 'des tous tels mals' 5.68 (p. 15), 'des totes pars' 5.72 (p. 15); cf. 5.79 (p. 15), 17.48 (p. 49), 17.65 (p. 51), 19.4 (p. 57), 31.10 (p. 75);

note also 'as totes choses' 31.5 (p. 75). There are more than thirty examples, as many of *des* as of *as*, in the *Liber Albus* in London, British Library, Cotton MS Claudius D. II, in *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis: Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum, et Liber Horn*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley, Rerum britannicarum medii aevi scriptores 12, 4 vols (London, 1859–62), I: 'des toutz offices' (p. 45), 'des toutz autres offices' (p. 46), 'des toutz autres acciouns' (p. 199) (cf. pp. 207, 208, 216, etc.); 'as toutz jours' (pp. 186, 269, 276, etc.), 'as touz ses baillifs' (p. 290), 'as toutz maneres' (p. 308) (cf. pp. 310, 311, 315, etc.) Cf. likewise *Rotuli Parliamentorum, ut et petitiones et placita in Parliamento*, ed. John Strachey, 6 vols (London, 1767–77), II: 'des touz lour Beneficz' (p. 147a), 'des toutz autres petites Marchaundises' (p. 358b), 'des touz noz biens' (p. 362a), etc.; 'as touz Marchantz' (p. 258b), 'as touz Servantz' (p. 340a); *Anonimalle Chronicle 1333 to 1381*, ed. Galbraith: 'une des touz yceaux niefs' (p. 5), 'des touz ses bien voillaunz' (p. 38). A similar appearance of the definite article also before demonstrative and possessive adjectives is noted, without explanation, by Alfred Thomas Baker, 'An Anglo-French Life of St Osith', *Modern Language Review*, 6–7 (1911–12), 476–502, 74–93, 157–92 (p. 161) and in *Recueil de lettres anglo-françaises*, ed. Frédéric Joseph Tanquerey (Paris, 1916), p. lvi.

[38] Cf. Claude Buridant, *Grammaire nouvelle de l'ancien français* (Paris, 2000), § 532; Gérard Moignet, *Grammaire de l'ancien français: morphologie, syntaxe*, Initiation à la linguistique, série B: problèmes et méthodes 2 (Paris, 1976), p. 245.

[39] Cf. Buridant, *Grammaire nouvelle*, § 311.

[40] On the frequency of this construction in Old French translations from Latin, and its subsequent proliferation in Middle French, see Erwin Stimming, *Der Accusativus cum Infinitivo im Französischen*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie 59 (Halle, 1915), pp. 117–20, 140–2; cf. also Buridant, *Grammaire nouvelle*, § 247.

[41] In lieu of a glossary, one may consult the English translation of the text of *B* in Burrows, de Hamel, Klein, and Morgan, *Corpus-Christi-Apokalypse: Kommentar*, pp. 509–23; these pages also provide a full record of all the variant readings of *B*.