

John Hardyng  
CHRONICLE  
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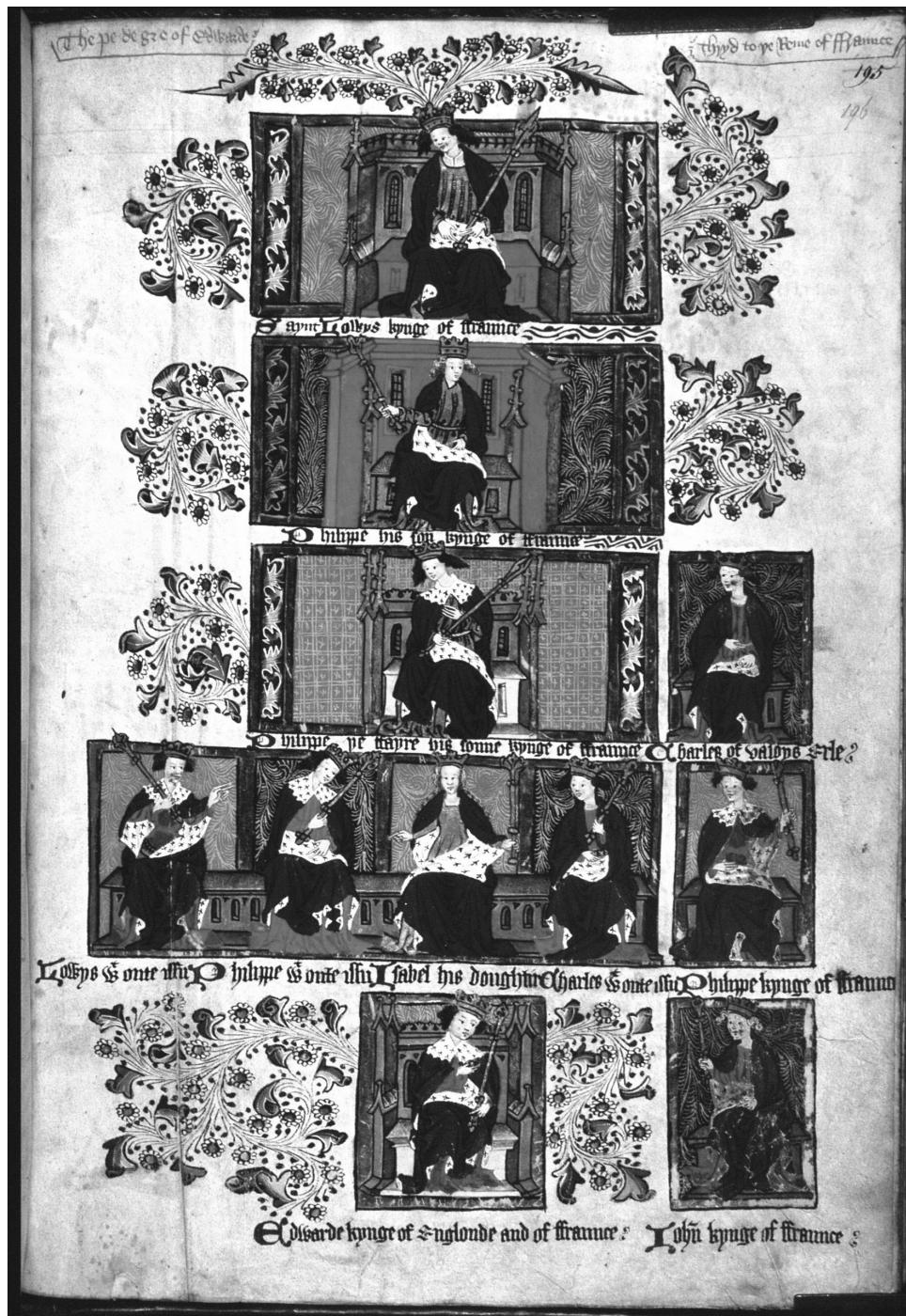


Figure 1. Folio 196r. Pedigree of France. Photo courtesy of The British Library.

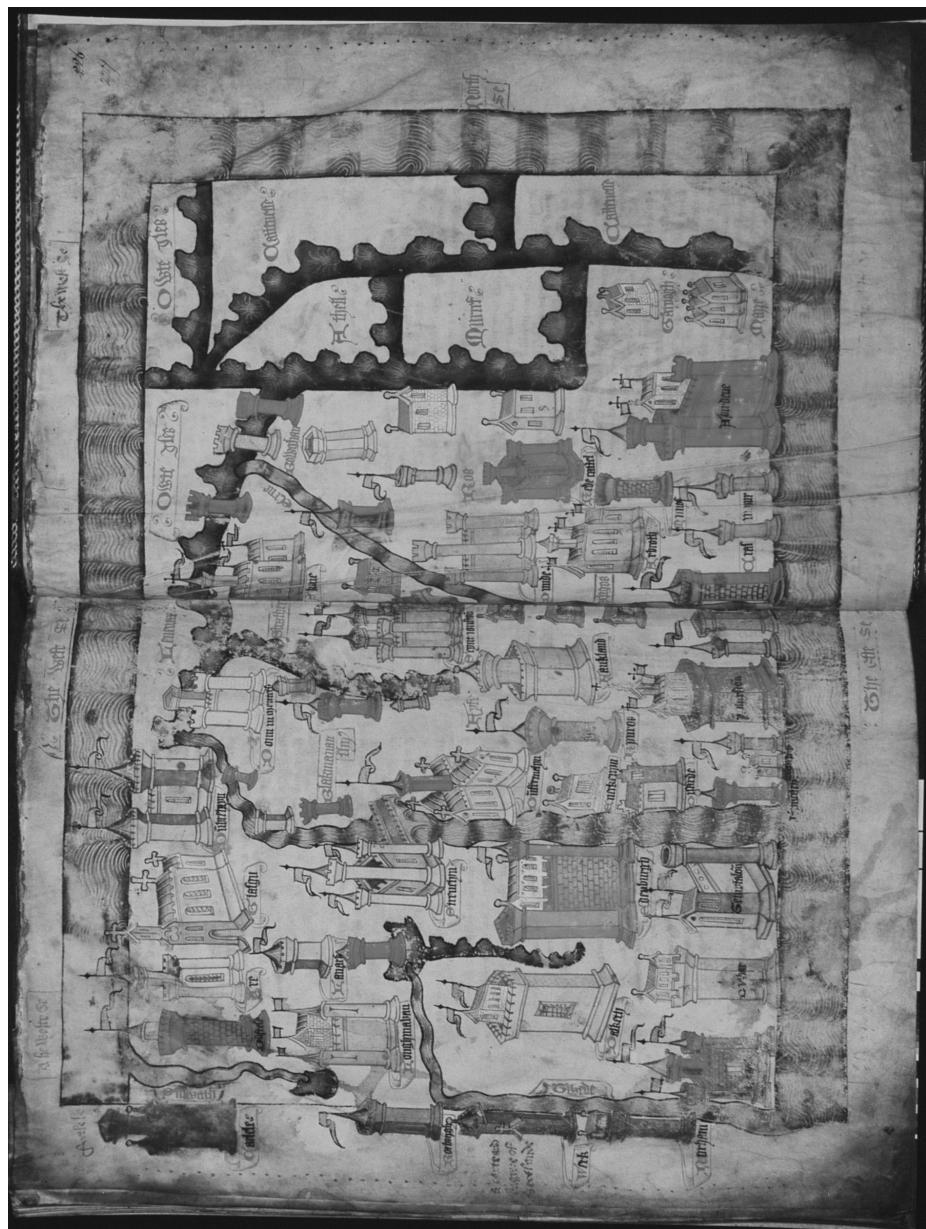


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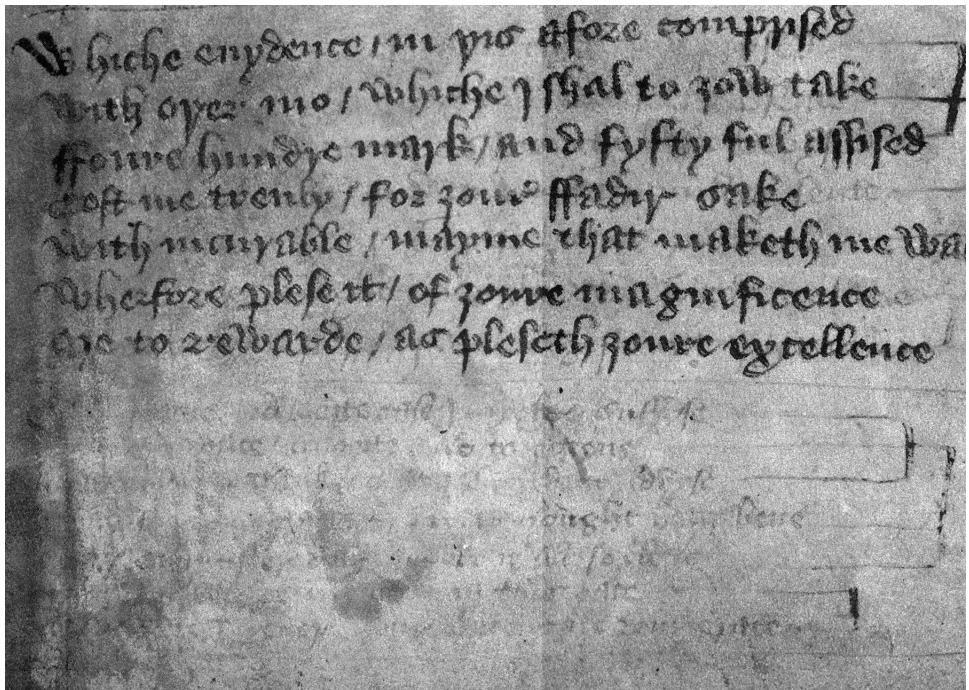


Figure 3. Folio 4r. Evidence of an additional stanza at the end of Hardyngh's Prologue. Data captured at 420 nm on the electromagnetic spectrum in two datasets and images montaged in post-processing. Photo courtesy of Dr. Christina Duffy, Conservation Science Team, The British Library and The British Library.

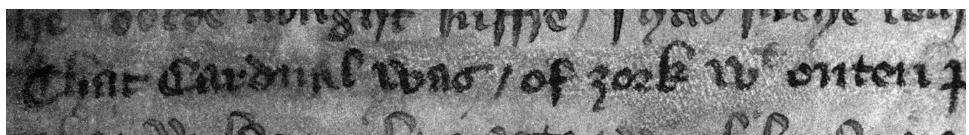


Figure 4. Folio 4r, stanza 2. The third line of the stanza shows evidence of some alteration to the text. The parchment has been scraped away, but partial letters are observed. Image captured at 420 nm on the electromagnetic spectrum. Photo courtesy of Dr. Christina Duffy, Conservation Science Team, The British Library and The British Library.



## INTRODUCTION

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### JOHN HARDYNG'S LIFE

Born *circa* 1378, John Hardyng appears to have been the son of a Northumbrian gentleman.<sup>1</sup> At the age of twelve he was placed in the household of Sir Henry Percy (1364–1403), son of Henry Percy, first earl of Northumberland (1342–1408), where he was brought up and educated as a squire.<sup>2</sup> For the thirteen years he was with Percy, Hardyng's activities were centered on the English Marches, defending the Anglo-Scottish border, and fighting in numerous campaigns against the Scots, most notably at Homildon Hill (1402) and the Siege of Cocklawes Tower (1403).<sup>3</sup> When his patron died rebelling against Henry IV at the Battle of Shrewsbury (1403), Hardyng, now twenty-five, was one of those lucky enough to survive and receive a pardon for fighting on the wrong side.<sup>4</sup>

Shortly after Percy's demise, Hardyng secured a place in the service of Sir Robert Umfraville, whom he would serve until 1437, first at Warkworth, Northumberland (c. 1406), as sub-constable of the castle, and later, after 1421, at South Kyme, Lincolnshire, presumably

<sup>1</sup> Notable accounts of Hardyng's life and work include Kingsford, "First Version of Hardyng's Chronicle"; Gransden, *Historical Writing in England II*; Kennedy, *Chronicles and Other Historical Writing*, pp. 2644–47; Peverley, "John Hardyng's *Chronicle*" and "Hardyng, John"; Summerson, "Hardyng, John (b. 1377/8, d. in or after 1464)." Hardyng is referred to as a Northumbrian esquire and soldier in 1416 (*Calendar of Close Rolls: Henry V, 1413–19*, pp. 321–22, m. 13, 16 September 1416). In The National Archives of the UK (hereafter TNA): Public Record Office (hereafter PRO) E 101/330/9, he is referred to as a "gentilman." Peverley discusses Hardyng's possible association with the Hardynghs of Beadnell, Northumberland, particularly Sampson Hardyng, a prominent Northumbrian gentleman and Member of Parliament who had long-standing connections with the Percy and Umfraville families (see "John Hardyng's *Chronicle*," pp. 10–12). King has also identified a "John son of John Hardyng" who held land in Trickley, near Chillingham, who may have been a relation ("They Have the Hertes of the People by North," p. 148n50).

<sup>2</sup> Hardyng provides this information in the prose passages of the second version of his *Chronicle*. See Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Arch. Selden B. 10, fols. 190r and 192r (which is currently being edited by Peverley), and *Chronicle of Iohn Hardyng*, ed. Ellis, p. 353. For Henry Percy, nicknamed "Hotspur," see Walker, "Percy, Sir Henry (1364–1403)."

<sup>3</sup> Neville explores life on the Anglo-Scottish Marches in this period in *Violence, Custom and Law*. Hardyng provides information about the campaigns in the second version of the *Chronicle* (Arch. Selden B. 10 fol. 192r, and *Chronicle of Iohn Hardyng*, ed. Ellis, p. 351).

<sup>4</sup> An instruction from Westminster telling the sheriffs of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Yorkshire to proclaim that all adherents of the Percies could sue for pardon before the Epiphany can be found in Thomas Rymer's *Foedera, conventiones, literæ*, (8:338, dated 22 November 1403).

as constable of Kyme Castle.<sup>5</sup> In addition to performing the administrative duties associated with his constableship(s), Hardynge continued to serve in a martial capacity, participating in further raids across the border, defending against Scottish incursions, and fighting abroad for Henry V's French inheritance.<sup>6</sup>

Sometime around 1418, Hardynge was commissioned to spy for Henry V. He spent "Thre yere and halfe amoneg the enmyté" in Scotland (Prol.44), gathering topographical information in anticipation of an invasion and acquiring documents pertaining to English sovereignty over the smaller realm (the majority of which he forged himself).<sup>7</sup> By his own account, he presented the fruits of his labor to the treasurer at Bois de Vincennes, France, and the king promised him the Manor of Geddington in Northamptonshire as recompense for the "peryle" and "costages grete" that he had incurred (Prol.45–46).<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately, Henry V's premature death in August 1422 devastated Hardynge's prospects, and he received nothing.

Between 1421, when Umfraville inherited the estates of his nephew Gilbert Umfraville, and 1428, Hardynge left Northumberland to take charge of Umfraville's castle at Kyme in Lincolnshire, where he appears to have been based until his master's death in January 1437.<sup>9</sup> According to the *Chronicle*, Hardynge was actively pursuing his interest in history in 1424 when Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, arranged for Julian Cesarini to instruct him in Justin's *Epitome* of Pompeius Trogus's *Philippic History*.<sup>10</sup> Several years later, on 22 June 1429, Hardynge was granted a portable altar, which may indicate that he was preparing

<sup>5</sup> Details of Umfraville's career can be found in Summerson, "Umfraville, Sir Robert (d. 1437)." For Hardynge's claim to have been constable of Warkworth, see Arch. Selden B. 10, fol. 158v, and *Chronicle of Iohn Hardynge*, ed. Ellis, p. 361.

<sup>6</sup> Hardynge claims to have fought with Umfraville at Harfleur (1415), Agincourt (1415), and on the Seine (1416); though plausible, extant muster rolls fail to verify his presence in the 1415 campaign. James Hamilton Wylie and William Templeton Waugh note that Hardynge's "name occurs among others not bound by indentures" in Hunter's study of Agincourt (*Reign of Henry the Fifth*, 2:192), and Robert Umfraville's retinue of twenty men-at-arms and forty archers is recorded in Nicolas, *History of the Battle of Agincourt*, p. 385. An indenture between the king and Umfraville for the relief of Harfleur survives in TNA: PRO E 101/69/8/540. The Close Rolls confirm that Umfraville and Hardynge were back in England by September 1416 following the battle on the Seine; Umfraville had to act as mainpernor for his esquires, Hardynge and Nicholas Rothdone, until he could prove that they had all returned with the sanction of John, duke of Bedford (see *Calendar of Close Rolls: Henry V, 1413–19*, pp. 321–22, m. 13, 16 September 1416).

<sup>7</sup> The most recent study of Hardynge's forgeries is Hiatt, *Medieval Forgeries*.

<sup>8</sup> Reference to the presentation at Bois Vincennes is made in the second version of the *Chronicle*, see Arch. Selden B. 10, fols. 129r, 129v, and 135r, and *Chronicle of Iohn Hardynge*, ed. Ellis, pp. 292, 293, 306.

<sup>9</sup> Hardynge is styled as "of Kyme," or associated with the county of Lincolnshire, in a number of documents dating between 1428 and 1467/68: see, for example, TNA: PRO C 241/225/6 (dated 14 November 1433, but referring to 22 January 1428); *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers: Papal Letters, 1427–47*, p. 131 (22 June 1429); and *Calendar of Patent Rolls: Henry VI, 1429–36*, p. 382, m. 25 (1434).

<sup>10</sup> Henry Ellis believes that Hardynge traveled to Rome for his instruction (*Chronicle of Iohn Hardynge*, p. vii), but Kingsford proposes that Cesarini tutored him during his visit to England as a papal envoy in 1426–27 ("First Version of Hardynge's *Chronicle*," p. 464).

to travel on military or other business,<sup>11</sup> and in the summer of 1434, pursuant to an act of the 1433 parliament, he was one of seventy-three members of the Lincolnshire gentry required to take an oath “not to maintain peacebreakers.”<sup>12</sup>

In the years that followed, Hardyngh sporadically delivered additional Scottish documents to Henry VI, petitioning him to honor the reward his father had pledged.<sup>13</sup> He claims to have visited Scotland again in 1435, offering the king a forged safe conduct from James I as evidence of his trip, but the new items that he deposited in the treasury in July 1440 and November 1457 were counterfeit and it is unlikely that he left England.<sup>14</sup> Hardyngh was never gifted Geddington Manor, but after his submission of 1440 he secured an annuity of ten pounds from the Manor of Willoughton, Lincolnshire, which he appears to have received until the mid 1450s.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers: Papal Letters, 1427–47*, p. 131 (22 June 1429). Interestingly, the prior of the Augustinian priory at Kyme, Robert Ludburgh, and another John Hardyngh, “donsel, of the diocese of Lincoln” were also granted portable altars in June 1429; though this may be a coincidence, the entries could indicate that all three men planned to travel together and that Hardyngh’s namesake was related to him in some way.

<sup>12</sup> *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, IV:421–22, and *Calendar of Patent Rolls: Henry VI, 1429–36*, p. 382, m. 25 (1434).

<sup>13</sup> Submissions mentioned in the first version of the *Chronicle* include a batch of documents presented to the king at Easthamptstead Manor in 1440 (Prol.48–49), which is corroborated by *Calendar of Patent Rolls: Henry VI, 1436–1441*, p. 431, m. 15, (15 July 1440), and a petition made to the king in 1451, which was thwarted by Cardinal John Kemp (Prol.113–33); there are no governmental records relating to the alleged petition of 1451, but it coincides with the fact that Hardyngh’s annuity from Willoughton was resumed under the 1449 Resumption Act. The pending delivery of the documents Hardyngh gave to the treasury in November 1457 is alluded to at Prol.149 and corroborated by TNA: PRO E 39/96/3 (15 November 1457) and *Calendar of Patent Rolls: Henry VI, 1452–61*, p. 393 m. 8, (18 Nov 1457).

<sup>14</sup> The forged safe conduct is extant in TNA: PRO E 39/2/9 (dated 10 March 1435). Summerson also agrees that Hardyngh probably did not cross the border (see “Hardyngh, John”).

<sup>15</sup> The pipe rolls for the period 1440/1 to 1467/8 (TNA: PRO E 372/286 to E 372/313) contain detailed references to Hardyngh’s annuity and the administrative processes associated with it. Despite some confusion with the original grant — the manor had already been issued to John Middleton in 1438 at a rent of ten pounds and on 12 September 1449, it was granted again to Henry, archbishop of Canterbury, and others — Hardyngh appears to have received the award without difficulty until the manor was resumed in 1449. On 31 July 1441 the reversion of the manor was granted to the provost and scholars of King’s College, Cambridge, and the college was later granted exemption from the Resumption Acts of 1449 and 1450. Though investigations into the true value of Willoughton Manor were undertaken in the early 1450s, Hardyngh appears to have continued claiming his annuity and paying his two-shilling rent until c. 1454, but annotations and additional entries in the pipe rolls concerning Richard Hansard and Richard Wenslow, escheators for Lincolnshire, suggest that he did not receive the income after that. The pipe rolls for the period 1454 to 1464 (TNA: PRO E 372/300 to E 372/309) and 1466 to 1468 (TNA: PRO E 372/312 to E 372/313) show an accrual of debt where Hardyngh’s annual two-shilling rent is in arrears, though the exchequer annotations suggest that the copying of the terms of Hardyngh’s grant up to 1468 had continued in error. On TNA: PRO E 372/309 the debt is paid off; on E 372/313 it is discharged. A petition from Hardyngh to Henry VI (in French) and a grant under the sign manual relating to the annuity survive in TNA: PRO C 81/1432/53 and C 81/1432/54; see also *Calendar of Patent Rolls: Henry VI, 1436–1441*, p. 431, m. 15 (15 July 1440). For

By October 1440 Hardynge, now in his sixties, was ensconced at the Augustinian Priory of South Kyme as a corrodinary, paying twelve pence a week for his upkeep. As a long-term resident of Kyme, he was already familiar with the canons and regularly sat and ate with them in the frater, a liberty that gave Brother Thomas Durham, warden of the chapel of St. Thomas of Northolme (a cell of Kyme), grounds for complaint during Bishop Alnwick's visitation to the house.<sup>16</sup>

We do not know the precise year that Hardynge began composing the first version of his history of Britain, but at 18,782 lines of verse and seven folios of prose, he undoubtedly spent the much of the 1450s, perhaps even some of the 1440s, working on it.<sup>17</sup> The prologue indicates that it was completed in 1457, probably just before November, when it was apparently presented to Henry VI with six articles relating to English suzerainty in Scotland. Hardynge was rewarded with a yearly rent of twenty pounds out of the revenues of the county of Lincolnshire.<sup>18</sup> Yet, whether the new award enriched or frustrated Hardynge is difficult to determine; while the Willoughton annuity is recorded repeatedly on the pipe rolls (sometimes even in error), the extant accounts of the county farm from which the 1457 grant was to be paid are so poor that it is impossible to tell whether Hardynge received the new income. Like others with similar grants in this period, it is feasible that the chronicler

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the problems associated with the original grant of Willoughton Manor, see *Calendar of Patent Rolls: Henry VI, 1436–1441*, p. 490, m. 14 (1 December 1440), p. 484, m. 19 (22 December 1440), and p. 557, m. 18 (31 July 1441); Cambridge University, King's College Archive Centre KCE/11 and KCE/136 (reversion of Willoughton, 1441); and TNA: PRO E 159/217 (King's Remembrancer Memoranda Rolls, Hilary Term "Brevia Directa Baronibus"). Additional documents relating to the resumption of the manor and its value can be found in TNA: PRO E 101/330/9 and Cambridge University, King's College Archive Centre KCE/20. Other documents relating to the manor in this period include Cambridge University, King's College Archive Centre WIL/47 (accounts from 1450–54); WIL/48 (account of John Kydwell, bailiff, 29 September 1455); KCE/106 (accounts 1459–60); KCE/110 (accounts 1460–61); WIL/34 (two indentures for the lease of Willoughton by King's College to Richard Langton, 1463).

<sup>16</sup> Thompson, ed., *Visitations in the Diocese of Lincoln*, 2:168–170.

<sup>17</sup> Kingsford suggests that parts of the text were written between 1447 and 1450, though the evidence he cites could also be interpreted in favor of a slightly later date, see "First Version of Hardynge's Chronicle," pp. 473–75. Riddy also speculates that Hardynge began writing in the mid 1440s, prompted by increased financial demands for his upkeep at the priory, but there is no evidence for this. Despite a complaint from Brother Durham about Hardynge only paying twelve pence a week for his coroddy, there is no reference to Bishop Alnwick addressing the issue in the record of his visitation (see Riddy, "Wars of the Roses," pp. 94–95). At any rate, Hardynge probably had sufficient surplus from his Willoughton annuity to cover additional expenses. If financial instability compelled Hardynge to begin writing, or to finish a work he had already begun, the resumption of his annuity in 1449 seems to provide a more likely stimulus.

<sup>18</sup> See *Calendar of Patent Rolls: Henry VI, 1452–61*, p. 393, m. 8 (18 November 1457); *Calendar of Close Rolls: Henry VI, 1454–61*, p. 235, m. 28 (18 November 1457); and TNA: PRO E 159/234, the King's Remembrancer Memoranda Rolls for Michaelmas 1457 ("Recorda" and "Brevia directa baronibus" sections). An indenture bearing Hardynge's seal, dated 15 November 1457, records the delivery of several Scottish documents to the treasury (TNA: PRO E 39/96/3); see also Palgrave, *Documents and Records*, pp. 373–78 and Peverley, "John Hardynge's *Chronicle*," pp. 659–60 (with image). A transcript of a memorandum relating to the delivery occurs in Palgrave, *Antient Kalendars and Inventories*, II:234–35.

encountered difficulties because the annuity had been issued out of the overstretched Lincolnshire revenues.<sup>19</sup>

Equally opaque is the moment that Hardyngh decided to rewrite the *Chronicle* for Richard, Duke of York. Having not long finished the first version, over which he had labored so long, he set about revising and condensing his history of Britain to promote York's claim to the throne. Parts of the new text could only have been written between York's election as Henry VI's heir on 8 November 1460 and his death at the battle of Wakefield on 31 December 1460, but it is impossible to tell whether Hardyngh commenced work before this. It is likely that he only started his second text after York's election, yet anytime between November 1457 and December 1460 is feasible, especially when the *Chronicle* is considered alongside other items circulating in the late 1450s which explained and celebrated York's genealogy.<sup>20</sup>

Undeterred by York's death, and perhaps in hope of a new grant or the prolongation of his 1457 annuity (if he had been receiving it from the Lincolnshire revenues), Hardyngh continued revising the work for York's son and heir, Edward IV.<sup>21</sup> Now in his eighties, he also submitted two Scottish documents to the king at Leicester.<sup>22</sup> Ever persistent in his literary endeavors, he came close to completing over 12,400 lines of the new *Chronicle* before he died, presumably sometime around 1465.<sup>23</sup>

It was the second, unfinished version of Hardyngh's *Chronicle* that went on to enjoy a degree of popularity under the Yorkist and Tudor dynasties, surviving today in twelve

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<sup>19</sup> Only three accounts for the county farm for Lincolnshire are extant for this period: TNA: PRO E 199/23/37 (covering 1454–56), E 199/24/3 (covering 1464–66), and E 199/24/4 (1465–67). Of these, the first is irrelevant because Hardyngh's annuity had not been awarded. The second and third, dating from around the time of Hardyngh's death, are similarly unhelpful and do not contain any information pertinent to Hardyngh, but he may have already passed away, or lost his second annuity when Edward acceded to the throne. Two of the pipe rolls concerning Hardyngh's 1440 annuity are, nevertheless, important to our understanding of the 1457 grant. The accounts for the sheriff's farm in TNA: PRO E 372/307 (1461–62) and E 372/308 (1462–63) are incomplete, but at the top of the relevant section of E 372/307, there is a memorandum noting that the sheriff, Thomas Blount, had been pardoned for not returning a complete account. Although the documents relate to the reign of Edward IV, they raise the question of how well the Lincolnshire accounts were being kept and recorded. Griffiths has commented on the problems facing sheriffs in the mid-1450s, noting that problems with revenues seem "to have been most serious in Lincs" (*Reign of Henry VI*, p. 769n195).

<sup>20</sup> The issue of Hardyngh's revision for York is discussed in Peverley, "Genealogy and John Hardyngh's Verse *Chronicle*" and "John Hardyngh's *Chronicle*." For contemporary examples of Yorkist genealogical rolls see Allan, "Political Propaganda Employed by the House of York" and "Yorkist Propaganda."

<sup>21</sup> We have been unable to locate any records re-confirming Hardyngh's grant under Edward IV.

<sup>22</sup> Arch. Selden B. 10, fol. 139v, and *Chronicle of Iohn Hardyngh*, ed. Ellis, p. 317. The documents appear to be copies of items previously given to Henry VI.

<sup>23</sup> The last datable entry in the second version of the *Chronicle* — a reference to Edward IV's queen Elizabeth Woodville — could not have been added before September 1464. The pipe roll entries concerning Hardyngh's Willoughton grant continue to mention the annuity until 1468, but they seem to have been copied in error and, unfortunately, cannot be taken as a reliable indicator that Hardyngh was alive (or dead).

manuscripts, several fragments, and two printed editions of 1543.<sup>24</sup> The first version, arguably Hardyng's greater achievement, remained relatively unknown, despite the fact that the Tudor historiographer and antiquarian John Stow drew upon it for his own works. Extant only in London, British Library MS Lansdowne 204, almost certainly Hardyng's presentation copy, it is edited here in its entirety for the first time.

#### THE CHRONICLE: IMPORTANCE, THEMES, STYLE

As one of only a handful of texts written in the twilight years of Henry VI's reign, Hardyng's first *Chronicle* offers a compelling insight into the tastes, hopes, and anxieties of a late fifteenth-century gentleman who had witnessed, and all too often participated in, each of the key events that defined his era. Hardyng's interest in the kingdom's past is typical of the gentry's enthusiasm for works of an historical nature, while his ubiquitous concern with war, duty, and the restoration of "lawe and pese" (4.1676) reflects the importance of such matters to men of his rank, who served the nobility in martial and administrative roles and who were frequently relied upon to "dispense justice" for the crown.<sup>25</sup> In lamenting the disorder in "every shire" (7.1009), the problems arising from maintenance (7.1044–50), the widespread neglect of the "pore mennes cause" (7.1013), the loss of territories abroad, and the threat of invasion, Hardyng's work also captures the sense of exasperation at the aristocratic feuds and ineffectual governance that dominated the 1450s and that led, as the *Chronicle* forewarns, to Henry VI's deposition (7.1030–36, 7.1058–64).

Yet for all this, the political immediacy of the *Chronicle* and its relationship with other fifteenth-century literature has been largely overshadowed by Hardyng's decision to submit the work to his sovereign with six forged documents pertaining to Scotland's vassal status. Many critics have claimed that the text's association with the documents and its repeated engagement with the "Scottish issue" indicate that it was composed to provide a context for the forgeries and to strengthen Hardyng's plea for remuneration for the services rendered to Henry V across the border.<sup>26</sup> While there is no doubt that the *Chronicle* and the paratextual materials annexed to it, such as the map of Scotland, invasion plan, and Latin letters to Boniface VIII, are designed to justify England's sovereignty over Scotland and equip Henry VI with everything he needs to assert his title as overlord, diplomatically or militarily,

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<sup>24</sup> For the manuscripts see Edwards, "Manuscripts and Texts"; and Peverley, "John Hardyng's *Chronicle*," pp. 47–118; and "Adapting to Readoption in 1470–1471."

<sup>25</sup> For recent studies of the gentry see Mercer, *Medieval Gentry*, p. 4; and Radulescu and Truelove, eds., *Gentry Culture in Late Medieval England*.

<sup>26</sup> Kingsford was the first to suggest this in "First Version of Hardyng's *Chronicle*," pp. 466, 468. Critics repeating Kingsford's opinion include Gransden, *Historical Writing in England II*, pp. 276–77 (though Gransden does acknowledge the other dimensions of Hardyng's work); Kennedy, "John Hardyng and the Holy Grail," p. 190; Riddy, "Wars of the Roses," p. 94; and MacDonald, "John Hardyng, Northumbrian Identity and the Scots," p. 30. For an alternative view see Peverley, "Anglo-Scottish Relations."

Hardyng's disquiet at the unrest in England is too prominent for the text to have been written solely to endorse the conquest of Scotland and elicit a reward.<sup>27</sup>

Throughout the history, Scotland is representative of a much larger inheritance, portions of which are portrayed as lost or endangered. Drawing on Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, Robert Mannyng's *Chronicle*, and a version of the Latin Prose *Brut* as his principal sources, Hardyng incorporates his knowledge of Scotland's history, geography, and people alongside material from romance, hagiography, instructional and chivalric literature, polemic, occasional poetry, and Boethian tragedy to tell the story of Britain's past and define the extent of the king's dominion and obligations.<sup>28</sup> Henry VI is heir to the thrones of England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, France, and Jerusalem, heir to an ancient system of law that he is obliged to uphold, heir to a great nation of Christian souls that he is sworn to protect, and heir to a body of knights whose duty it is to help preserve peace and govern.

Each aspect of the king's birthright has its own history woven into the more familiar account of Britain's past or underlined in the marginalia accompanying the text. The basis of fifteenth-century law, for example, is said to date back to ancient Greece, the home of Albion's founder, Albine, who invokes "the law and consuetude" of Greece with regards to the inheritance of property when claiming the island as her own. By plotting the evolution of British and, later, English law through the enhancements made to it by Brutus (2.667m–678, 2.807–834), Dunwallo (2.1521m), Marcian (2.1850m–1858), Constantine I (3.526m), Aurilius Ambrosius (3.1857–70), Uther Pendragon (3.2045–49), Arthur (3.2477–78, 3.2601–10, 3.2730–33, 3.3290m–3324), Galahad (3.3115–26), Edwin (4.754–81), Elfride (4.2395–2406), Edgar (4.2880–2889), Edward the Martyr (4.2916–20), Edmund Ironside (4.3184–90), William the Conqueror (5.242–52), William Rufus (5.388–92), Edward I (6.99–112, 127–61, 546–52), Edward II (6.1372–85), and Henry V (7.589–651), Hardyng is able to emphasize the seriousness of Henry VI's role as "chefe justyse" of the realm (7.631) and encourage the king to prioritize a fair judicial system like his greatest ancestors did. Time and again, the *Chronicle* shows that rulers who fail to maintain "lawe and pese" (4.1676), like the last British king Cadwallader, court civil war, which ultimately results in the loss of their kingdom and invasion by foreign enemies.

Lest the immediacy of such episodes escapes his audience, Hardyng uses various rhetorical techniques, such as parallelism and exclamation, to highlight the similarities between episodes of lawlessness and accentuate the relevance of past losses to contemporary disturbances. The "compleynte and lamentacioun" of Cadwallader "at his departyng oute

<sup>27</sup> Hardyng's decision to include the Latin letters to Pope Boniface is in keeping with other chroniclers' use of, and response to, materials associated with Edward I's "Great Cause." *The Chronicon de Lanercost*, for example, uses Edward's correspondence "almost verbatim" to describe the destruction of Hexham in 1296; Pierre de Langtoft, likewise bases his *Political Letters* on the documents and later includes them in his Anglo-Norman verse *Chronicle*; and Scottish chroniclers, like John of Fordun, incorporate articles issued in defence of the Scottish cause in their works. See the following entries in Dunphy, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, Ruddick, "Chronicon de Lanercost," 1:357–58; Summerfield, "Pierre de Langtoft," 2:1216–17; and Kennedy, "John of Fordun," 2:931–32.

<sup>28</sup> Further discussion of, and information about, individual sources is provided in the Explanatory Notes. Peverley discusses the influence of late fifteenth-century polemic on the *Chronicle* in "Political Consciousness." Hardyng's use of Boethian works and occasional poetry is explored in her "Chronicling the Fortunes of Kings."

of Bretayne into his shyppe" (4.1657m), is a case in point. Hardyng alters his sources' account of the king's speech, allowing him to proclaim:

In blaming the ruin of Britain on Cadwallader's failure to chastise "the friste rebelloun" that arose during his reign, Hardynge creates a marked correspondence with periods of civil strife in other epochs. Looking backwards, we are reminded of Albine and her sisters, who are exiled in a ship by the "right excellent" king of Greece as punishment for their rebellion against their husbands (1.2); soon after, the sisters lose control of their new home, Albion, as a result of their failure to imitate their father's good rule and castigate the strife among their giant progeny. Looking forwards, Hardynge echoes Cadwallader's lament when he advises Henry VI to reprimand "the firste mysreule and violence" occurring in his realm, because the earliest, unpunished violations of a monarch's laws will develop into larger, unmanageable problems:

**Principiis obsta ne deterius contingat**  
[Resist the first encroachments, lest worse should befall you]

Bot thus I drede fulle sore, withouten gabbe,  
Of such riottes shalle ryse a more mescheve  
And thrugh the sores unheled wylle brede a skabbe  
So grete that may noght bene restreynt in breve.  
Wharfore, gode lorde, iff ye wylle gyffe me leve,  
I wolde say thus unto youre excellencie:  
Withstonde the firste mysreule and violence.

*idle talk*  
*greater harm*  
*quickly*

## Nota

Wythstonde, gode lorde, begynnynge of debate  
And chastyse welle also the ryotours  
That in eche shire bene now consociate  
Agayn youre pese, and alle thaire maynetenours.  
For treuly els wylle falle the fayrest flours  
Of youre coroune and noble monarchy  
Whiche God defende and kepe thrugh his mercy. (7.1023m-1036)

While Hardynge takes care to emphasize the destructive nature of disobedience and conflict, he also tempers the miserable periods of British history with positive portrayals of concord, or “pese.” Junctures where justice is privileged and administered impartially are depicted as supremely beneficial to the nation, for the peace that ensues from a contented people provides the foundation on which a monarch can build a more prosperous kingdom and expand his territories abroad. Cultivating stability at home, Hardynge suggests, will allow Henry VI to reclaim the lost parts of his territorial inheritance because, as is evidenced by Henry V’s

successes in France, “The pese at home and law so wele conserved” are “rote and hede of alle grete conqueste” (7.603–04). As the *Chronicle* draws to a close, it promises that if the king takes care of England — his principal charge — the realm will unite behind him in his pursuit of former vassals, like Scotland, and none will withstand his “noble monarchy” (7.1078).

Read in this context, the two petitions for reward that frame the *Chronicle*, and encourage Henry VI to honor Hardynge’s outstanding remuneration, take on new meaning; Hardynge becomes an “Everyman” figure who has suffered great misfortune that only the king can assuage. Operating on a microcosmic and macrocosmic level, he represents both the individual plight of the loyal, long-suffering subject and all distressed Englishmen who desire justice. Just as it is in Henry VI’s power to alleviate the chronicler’s financial hardship by fulfilling his father’s promise of a reward, so it is in his power to alleviate England’s suffering by maintaining his father’s legacy and restoring justice and peace to the realm.<sup>29</sup>

Though Hardynge outlines his grievances to the king in the Prologue and Book 7, he does not explicitly lay the blame for existing wrongs with him. Instead, he censures the “lordes that suffre the law and pese mysledde” (3.253) for abusing their power and failing to assist the king in maintaining the realm.<sup>30</sup> Communicating the rest of his grievances and advice to “princes and lordes of hye estate” (2.1486) and “the lordes that have reule of kynges counsaylle” (5.505m), Hardynge underlines the importance of the nobility to the body politic and makes the aristocracy’s customary role as protectors of the common weal one of the *Chronicle*’s most prominent narrative threads.<sup>31</sup> The hopes of the realm depend not only on Henry asserting his royal prerogative and punishing those who shape the law to meet their own needs, but also on all those in positions of power who put duty before personal gain.

The concept of a symbiotic relationship between king and aristocracy is introduced at the start of the Prologue, when Hardynge claims to be writing so that Henry VI, his wife, Margaret of Anjou, and his son, Prince Edward, will know the extent of Henry’s dominion and appreciate how the land has been “kept alway of greet pushance, / With baronage and lordes of dignyté” (Prol.10–11). From here in, readers can trace the illustrious history of the island’s nobility and its service to successive kings, beginning with the Trojan exiles who help Brutus to build “New Troy,” right down to the late fifteenth-century marcher lords protecting the Anglo-Scottish borders for Henry VI. Just as Hardynge uses historical exemplarity to highlight the best and worst characteristics of former sovereigns for his king, so he offers models of good and bad conduct for England’s lords. Members of contemporary chivalric orders, such as the Order of the Garter, are encouraged to see their own fraternities as the natural successors of earlier organizations like King Arthur’s Knights of the Round Table or Galahad’s “ordour of Saynte Grale” (3.3038m), and all men of status

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<sup>29</sup> For a more detailed discussion of Hardynge’s petitionary stance see Peverley, “Dynasty and Division,” and “Chronicling the Fortunes of Kings.” However, Peverley herewith revises the comments made in these articles about the pipe rolls testifying to Hardynge’s financial security; since the publication of these articles Peverley has identified additional entries in the rolls and located several other documents relating to the manor, which appear to indicate that Hardynge’s annuity was affected by the Resumption Act of 1449, and that he was not receiving an income from Willoughton by the mid to late 1450s, when the *Chronicle* was nearing completion and the petitionary prologue was being composed.

<sup>30</sup> There are obvious connections with other writers’ use of the “wicked advisers” trope; for more on this see Rosenthal, “King’s ‘Wicked Advisers,’” and Peverley, “Political Consciousness,” p. 3.

<sup>31</sup> See, for example, 2.1486–1492, 3.246m–280, 3.3962–68, 5.505m–518, 5.2344–64, 6.1575–88.

are encouraged to imitate the chivalric conduct of Hardyng's late patron, Sir Robert Umfraville, whom the *Chronicle* depicts as the best of knights.

Although the *Chronicle* draws on traditional representations of kingship and nobility, and is particularly indebted to "Mirrors for Princes" literature, Hardyng's concern with the influence of overmighty magnates, his request that they refrain from avenging personal slights and cooperate peacefully, and his appeal to the king to take action against corruption reflect the unique circumstances of Henry VI's reign and the root of the social and political unrest in the 1450s. As Hardyng notes, members of the Privy Council had wielded unprecedented power during the king's long minority, but some council members were more dominant than others and friction had developed between them. When Henry began ruling independently, the authority of his councillors should have lessened, but he remained dependent on favorites, who retained immense power and often abused their influence for personal gain. Thrown into that mix was Richard, Duke of York, who, as the next in line for the throne until Henry produced an heir, became increasingly discontent with the roles assigned to him.<sup>32</sup> The situation was exacerbated when the king suffered a mental collapse and was unable to govern; rivalry amongst the governing elite deepened under York's protectorate and later erupted into open warfare at the battle of St. Albans (1455), the conflict commonly held to mark the start of The Wars of the Roses.

In reminding the Privy Council that the king has merely "lente" (5.514) the rule to them and that he has the power to bring them down if he discovers that they have abused their position, Hardyng appears to have penned at least part of Book 5 during such a moment of crisis, when the king was either too young or too sick to exercise his will unaided and the council had responsibility for the governance "everiche a dele," or in every particular (5.514). Though this precise interjection could have been composed any time before Henry's minority ended in 1437, its correspondence with other interjections bemoaning increased violence in the localities suggests that it was most likely written during one of Henry's bouts of illness in 1453–54, or 1455–56, when the council officially oversaw matters for the king once again under York's second protectorate.

The "historical mythology" that Hardyng creates for England's lords teaches that the best periods in the country's history occur when the body politic is healthy and harmonious: when the lower ranks are protected by those of higher status, and given fair recourse to justice, and when those of higher status work with the king for the greater good of the realm.<sup>33</sup> On occasions when the body politic sickens on account of a deficient king or a self-serving noble, Hardyng often introduces snippets of Boethian philosophy from the works of English poets, such as Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, to accentuate the tragic nature of the situation and offer

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<sup>32</sup> An overview of the period can be found in Wolffe, *Henry VI*; Griffiths, *Reign of Henry VI*; and Watts, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship*. York's career is discussed in P. Johnson's *Duke Richard of York 1411–1460* and Watts, "Richard of York, third duke of York (1411–1460)."

<sup>33</sup> For the concept of an "historical mythology of chivalry" in medieval texts see Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 102–24. Part of the value of Hardyng's *Chronicle* also lies in the insight it offers into the exploits of those Hardyng served. Offering information about fourteenth- and fifteenth-century affairs that is not available anywhere else, Hardyng presents the families of his former patrons as paragons of good conduct.

readers their own “Consolation of Philosophy.”<sup>34</sup> Despite the fact that the *Chronicle* ends with England’s fortunes at an all time low — invoking images of the “world-turned-upside down” with murderers roaming free in the localities, barons maintaining malefactors, justices of the peace acting neither justly or peacefully, and wars being fought between Englishmen rather than against enemies abroad — the pattern established by the history, whereupon disaster follows prosperity and prosperity follows disaster, offers hope for the future: it suggests that Fortune’s wheel will turn upwards again once those in power champion the common weal. In reality, things only got worse for Henry VI, who was overthrown within a few years of Hardyng’s poignant appeal for action, but the *Chronicle* stands as a testament to the hope entertained by men like Hardyng that, despite all of the difficulties of his rule, the king could still restore order and be the figurehead the nation needed.

We cannot know for certain how Henry VI reacted to the *Chronicle*; the fact that Hardyng was rewarded with a second annuity after submitting the text and forged documents does not, unfortunately, prove that the king was delighted with the work, or that he even read it, merely that Hardyng’s earlier service to the crown in Scotland was acknowledged and compensated. Nevertheless, the timing of Hardyng’s presentation is crucial to our understanding of how topical the text was and how it *might* have been received. In November 1457, the same month that Hardyng was in London to put his seal to the indenture recording the Treasury’s receipt of his forgeries, the king’s Great Council convened at Westminster “to tackle the pressing political problems of the kingdom,” particularly, it seems, the on-going hostilities between the Yorkist lords and the heirs of those killed at St. Albans, and the threat of foreign invasion.<sup>35</sup> When discussions could not be “fully concluded,” Henry VI arranged for the meeting to reconvene in January because the “wele” of the land and people remained “in greet juparte.”<sup>36</sup> According to John Whethamstede, the king was inspired to seek peace between his magnates after reading several books of advice and Scripture. The theme of his address to the lords when the council assembled once again was based on the gospels’ warning that “Every kingdom divided amongst itself shall be made desolate.”<sup>37</sup> In his speech Henry aligned his own desire for peace with that of God, citing examples of historic and recent kingdoms ruined through civil division, and emphasizing the susceptibility of war-torn realms to invasion.<sup>38</sup> The reconciliation, or “Love Day” that followed on 25 March, once a settlement had been agreed

<sup>34</sup> On this topic see Peverley, “Chronicling the Fortunes of Kings,” who discusses Hardyng’s use of poetry by Geoffrey Chaucer, John Lydgate, and John Walton. Hardyng’s borrowings from Chaucer were first identified by Edwards in “Hardyng’s *Chronicle* and *Troilus and Criseyde*,” p. 156, and “*Troilus and Criseyde* and the First Version of Hardyng’s *Chronicle*,” pp. 12–13. For Hardyng’s use of Gower’s *Cronica Tripertita* see Moll, “Gower’s *Cronica Tripertita* and the Latin Glosses to Hardyng’s *Chronicle*,” and Peverley, “Dynasty and Division.”

<sup>35</sup> Griffiths, *Reign of Henry VI*, p. 805.

<sup>36</sup> Nicolas, ed., *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, 6:290–91.

<sup>37</sup> Riley, ed., *Registrum Abbatiae Johannis Whethamstede*, 1:295–96 [“sacro Evangelio teste, haberet omne regnum in se divisum, si non statim susciperet unionem, in desolationem ire”: “according to the sacred gospel, every kingdom divided against itself shall pass into desolation if it does not assume unity at once”]. Compare Matthew 12:25, Mark 3:25, and Luke 11:17.

<sup>38</sup> Riley, ed., *Registrum Abbatiae Johannis Whethamstede*, 1:296–97.

between the lords, saw the Yorkist magnates and the heirs of the Lancastrians slain at St. Albans process hand in hand around London in a public display of unity.

Though historians have noted the shallowness of York's reunion with the court faction, which, according to another English writer, "endured nat long,"<sup>39</sup> and though Whethamstede was no doubt indulging his poetic licence by claiming that the king was inspired to seek accord by books of advice and scripture, the events of November 1457 and the following four months highlight the social and political currency of Hardyng's *Chronicle* and the significance that Hardyng's contemporaries attached to the notion of supplying "good advice" to a sovereign. Embodying all of the topics touched upon in Henry VI's alleged speech to his council, Hardyng's first work, for all its reliance on traditional models of British history, could only have been borne out of the crises that troubled Henry's reign. It is precisely the sort of book that Whetehamstede had in mind when he imagined Henry contemplating the troubles of his kingdom, and it is precisely the sort of book that Henry might have drawn examples from in his speech to reiterate the perils of civil war.

Instructional, inspiring, and anchored by the same rhetorical tropes, Boethian frame of reference, and rhyme-royal or "Chaucerian" stanza underpinning other fifteenth-century vernacular "public poetry," the *Chronicle* uses historical exemplarity to highlight the transience of divided nations and the susceptibility of kings and highborn men to the vicissitudes of Fortune.<sup>40</sup> Engaging with traditional, yet historically specific themes, such as war, lawlessness, justice, ineffectual leadership, and self-governance, it is far from being the product of a "self-serving" old man.<sup>41</sup> More accurately, the first version of the *Chronicle* is the invention of a remarkable individual, who had lived through the reigns of four very different kings, witnessed the rise and fall of England's fortunes at home and abroad, and felt the impact of peace degenerating into civil war. When he gifted the text to Henry, Hardyng could not have known that he would go on to revise his work for Henry VI's political rival; instead he must have believed that his legacy would be that he advised "princes and lordes of hye estate" (2.1486) how to reinvoke the country's "fayrest floures" of law and peace (7.1056).

#### MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION

London, British Library MS Lansdowne 204 is a mid-fifteenth-century manuscript consisting of 230 parchment folios, measuring 430 mm by 300 mm, and four unfoliated paper flyleaves (ii + 230 + ii).<sup>42</sup> It was produced in Lincolnshire or the East Midlands in the

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<sup>39</sup> *An English Chronicle 1377–1461*, p. 77.

<sup>40</sup> Hardyng's use of autobiographical material is comparable with that of Hoccleve in *The Regiment of Princes*.

<sup>41</sup> Riddy, "Wars of the Roses," p. 94.

<sup>42</sup> Other descriptions of Lansdowne 204 have been published in Ellis and Douce, *Catalogue of the Lansdowne Manuscripts*, II:73; and the British Library's Online *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*. We are particularly grateful to the staff of the Manuscripts Reading Room at the British Library for their kind assistance during our visits and for allowing Lansdowne 204 to be photographed. Special thanks go to Sarah J. Biggs and Christina Duffy for their assistance with, and execution of, the multispectral imaging.

1450s and was probably commissioned by Hardyng as a presentation copy for Henry VI.<sup>43</sup> The text of John Hardyng's *Chronicle*, the only item in the manuscript, is written in single columns of verse with a height of approximately 320 mm; each column generally comprises six stanzas per folio, normally of seven lines each.<sup>44</sup>

Foliation occurs in the top right-hand corner of each leaf, written in ink by an early hand; it contains two leaves marked "25" in error. From folio 26 onwards a second, modern foliation occurs in pencil, correcting the earlier foliation. This edition follows the modern foliation. With the exception of folio 2v, each folio has frame ruling in red; prick marks can be seen on many leaves.

#### *Collation*

Two unfoliated paper flyleaves; one parchment leaf inserted in the seventeenth century containing the arms of Gerards, earls of Macclesfield (marked as fol. 1); quire 1<sup>4-1</sup> (fol. 2-4, one leaf excised, probably iv);<sup>45</sup> quire 2<sup>12-1</sup> (fol. 5-15, i excised);<sup>46</sup> quire 3<sup>8</sup> (fol. 16-23); quire

<sup>43</sup> The belief that Lansdowne 204 is Hardyng's presentation copy is widely accepted among scholars; while we cannot be absolutely certain that Henry VI received, or even read, the manuscript, we are confident that it was made for the king and that Hardyng submitted it to him, or one of his officials, at the same time that he submitted his forgeries to the Treasury in 1457 (see "John Hardyng's Life" above). The wording used to describe Hardyng's activities in Scotland in the government records relating to the annuity granted to Hardyng in November 1457 appears to have been taken directly from the prologue and/or epilogue of the *Chronicle* (See *Calendar of Patent Rolls: Henry VI, 1452-61*, p. 393, m. 8, 18 November 1457; *Calendar of Close Rolls: Henry VI, 1454-61*, p. 235, m. 28, 18 November 1457); and TNA: PRO E 159/234, the King's Remembrancer Memoranda Rolls for Michaelmas 1457 ("Recorda" and "Brevia directa baronibus" sections).

<sup>44</sup> Hardyng occasionally produces six- and eight-line stanzas, with one stanza comprising nine lines; see Textual Notes 2.1-512, 2.513-21, 2.522-617, 3.883-90, 3.2004-09, and 3.2528-33. The six-line stanzas may indicate that Hardyng left several stanzas with blank lines, which he intended to complete later. Hand Two's insertion of a seventh line into several six-line stanzas written by Hand One shows that Hardyng provided the missing lines for some verses, but failed to complete others. This practice matches what we know of the methods he employed when composing the second version of the *Chronicle*. Extant manuscripts of this version include blank lines that are "not necessary for sense, but essential to stanza form" and "most tricky in terms of rhyme," suggesting that Hardyng left them for completion at a later stage (Edwards, "Manuscripts and Texts," p. 83). The eight- and nine-line stanzas generally occur at the start of Book 2, with one occurring in Book 3, which could point to Hardyng's drawing on a source using eight-line stanzas for this section of the text; see the Explanatory Notes covering the start of Book 2 for further discussion of possible sources and influences.

<sup>45</sup> The current binding is too tight to confirm which leaf was excised, but iv seems likely. The parchment of this gathering is different from the parchment used for the rest of the manuscript; it is much thicker and coarser, but it is still a contemporary addition. The editors thank Dr. Laura Nuvoloni for her advice about the unusual construction of the first two quires and the binding of Lansdowne 204. It is our opinion that this quire was added to accommodate Hardyng's prologue after the main text had been written. The incomplete nature of the contents page on fol. 4v suggests that the missing folio was the final leaf of the gathering.

<sup>46</sup> The presence of quire signatures on fol. 6-9 (numbered iii-vi) and the sewing of the gathering between fol. 9 and fol. 10, with six leaves extant on the second half of the gathering (fol. 10-15) shows that this was once a quire of twelve leaves. Since there are no apparent gaps in the text of this

<sup>4</sup><sup>8</sup> (fols. 24–31); quire 5<sup>8</sup> (fols. 32–39); quire 6<sup>8</sup> (fols. 40–47); quire 7<sup>8</sup> (fols. 48–55); quire 8<sup>8</sup> (fols. 56–63); quire 9<sup>8</sup> (fols. 64–71); quire 10<sup>8</sup> (fols. 72–79); quire 11<sup>8</sup> (fols. 80–87); quire 12<sup>8</sup> (fols. 88–95); quire 13<sup>8</sup> (fols. 96–103); quire 14<sup>8</sup> (fols. 104–111); quire 15<sup>8</sup> (fols. 112–119); quire 16<sup>8</sup> (fols. 120–127); quire 17<sup>8</sup> (fols. 128–135); quire 18<sup>8</sup> (fols. 136–143); quire 19<sup>8</sup> (fols. 144–151); quire 20<sup>8</sup> (fols. 152–159); quire 21<sup>8</sup> (fols. 160–167); quire 22<sup>8</sup> (fols. 168–175); quire 23<sup>8</sup> (fols. 176–183); quire 24<sup>8</sup> (fols. 184–191); quire 25<sup>8</sup> (fols. 192–199); quire 26<sup>8</sup> (fols. 200–207); quire 27<sup>8</sup> (fols. 208–215); quire 28<sup>8</sup> (fols. 216–223); quire 29<sup>8–1</sup> (fols. 224–230, one leaf excised, probably viii).

Quires 2 to 29 are numbered on the first folio of each quire (i–xxviii respectively). In addition to this, quire 2 has quire signatures on folios 6–9 (numbered iii–vi). Signatures in the first half of each gathering from quires 3 to 25 comprise an Arabic latter (*a–i, k–l, w–z* respectively) and a Roman numeral (i–iv).<sup>47</sup> Signatures in quires 26 to 29 comprise *et, con, yogh, and est* respectively, and a Roman numeral (i–iv).<sup>48</sup> Regular catchwords occur at the end of each quire in decorative scrolls.

### *Binding*

The manuscript is bound in restored eighteenth-century brown calf, decorated with a frame of thin gilt-roll.

### *Handwriting*

Two distinct hands are responsible for the text. Hand One, perhaps a legal scrivener, writes in a professional Common Law anglicana script and Hand Two in anglicana formata, with the occasional secretary form. It is difficult to state with absolute certainty whether the two hands belong to one scribe writing with varying degrees of care, or to two scribes sharing some similarities of script. On balance, it seems more likely that two individuals were involved, but both hands are inconsistent enough in their use of specific letter forms to belong to the same scribe working at different times, using different scripts, pens, and ink.

If there are two hands present, the principal hand (Hand One) is responsible for fols. 5r–225v (Books 1.1 to 7.1358, the main body of the *Chronicle*) and many of the marginalia that accompany the verse in thicker, red ink.<sup>49</sup> This hand is distinguished by a preference for a two-compartment *a*, anglicana *w* (with ascenders curling towards the right), anglicana *d* (with looped ascender), and the reversed, ovoid form of *e* (both open and closed). Lowercase

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gathering (or indeed any of the other quires), we conclude that the first leaf of the quire has been excised. It is not clear when the leaf was removed or what, if anything, it contained; if blank, it may have been removed when the previous quire was added to avoid having a blank folio between the contents page and main text.

<sup>47</sup> Quire three, for example, is labelled “ii” on the first folio and contains quire signatures ai–aiv on the first four folios.

<sup>48</sup> The form of the alphabet established by the late medieval period normally ended with the abbreviations for *et, con, tres tittles, and the words est amen*. For forms and examples of medieval alphabets in manuscripts see Wolpe, “Florilegium Alphabeticum,” pp. 69–74; Orme, *English Schools*, p. 61, and “Children and Literature in Medieval England,” p. 226.

<sup>49</sup> We would like to thank Dr. Ian Doyle for his help with our analysis of the Lansdowne scribe(s).

graphs *b*, *h*, *k*, and *l* generally have looped ascenders; and lower case *h* has a limb that usually flicks to the right. However, the scribe intermittently uses a simpler secretary form of *w* (which leans to the left), secretary *e*, hooked, rather than looped, ascenders on *b*, *h*, *k*, and *l* (more common to anglicana formata script), and *h* with a limb that curls to the left. The size of the hand in question is similarly inconsistent, but always neater than Hand Two; at first it is very compact and formal, but as the work progresses it becomes more loose and cursive.

The copyist provides large calligraphic initials at the start of each of his folios, unless an illuminated initial occurs at the top of the page. The decorative initials have elaborate strap- and cadel-work and small, red guide letters included in the design for clarity. In addition, the scribe exaggerates the ascenders on the top line of each folio and extends them into the top margin; descenders on the bottom line similarly protrude deep into the lower margin and often end with an elaborate flourish and decorative pen-work.

Hand Two — if not Hand One writing at a later stage — appears to be responsible for those parts of the *Chronicle* that were added towards the end of production, possibly in haste, after Hand One had completed the main text.<sup>50</sup> His contribution includes: fol. 2v (Prol.1–28, Hardyngh’s dedication, with black rhyme bands and no discernible frame ruling); fol. 3r–4r (Prol.29–161, Hardyngh’s prologue, with red rhyme bands);<sup>51</sup> fol. 4v (an incomplete contents page in red ink); fol. 226r–230v (7.1359–1720, part of the itinerary, prose passages, and closing stanzas); the book and chapter divisions; the running heads at the top of each folio giving the name of the king(s) being discussed; and a considerable number of the marginalia (including some later additions to existing glosses by Hand One), all of which are written in red ink, some in red over black ink.<sup>52</sup> Throughout the manuscript, Hand Two also appears to add to, erase, and alter occasional stanzas, words, lines, and marginalia written by Hand One, perhaps indicating that Hardyngh was working closely with the scribe(s), supplying additional material, corrections, and lines for unfinished stanzas as production was underway.<sup>53</sup> It looks as though aspects of the text, such as the prologue and book divisions had not been planned, or finalized, when Hand One commenced his contribution, which may explain why the first and final folios of the manuscript look less polished and more impromptu in terms of layout than the rest of the work and why some

<sup>50</sup> The absence of decorative ink initials on the folios copied by Hand Two, the lack of pen flourishes stemming from the first and last lines of his text, the ad hoc appearance of the prefatory matter, and the presence of ink smudges resulting from folios having been turned over before freshly written marginalia and chapter headings had dried, suggest that Hand Two took less care completing his contribution or that time or money for the project had expired and he finished in a hurry. The inferior appearance of the illuminated initial on folio 3r and the incomplete nature of several illuminated initials in the final quire may be indicative of the latter.

<sup>51</sup> The final stanza of the prologue, which is now only visible under ultraviolet light, was squeezed into the bottom margin of fol. 4r; like the incomplete contents page, this may indicate that the space this hand had available to write in was limited when the prologue was added.

<sup>52</sup> See, for example, Textual Notes 1.1m, 1.176m, and 2.1234m.

<sup>53</sup> See, for example, Textual Notes 1.1m, 2.639m, 7.421–22, 7.449–55, 7.1331–37, and 7.1352–1414. Distinctions between the two hands are less clear in the following examples: 4.1817–19, 6.3365–66, 6.3372, and 6.3373. Multispectral imaging similarly reveals that both hands made corrections to the text, erasing and rewriting occasional lines, stanzas, and marginalia; see, for example, Figures 4–7 and 11.

of the text written by Hand Two (including book and chapter divisions) had to be squeezed into the limited space available.<sup>54</sup>

At first glance, Hand Two prefers the simpler secretary forms of *e*, *d* (with unlooped ascender), and *w* (leaning to the left); in the dedication and prologue a preference for single-compartment *a* can also be seen. The scribe frequently uses thorns and the ascenders of his *b*, *h*, *k*, and *l* are regularly hooked rather than looped. The limb of lower case *h* often hooks round to the left. Nonetheless, closer inspection reveals that this hand also employs anglicana forms of *e* (reversed ovoid form), *d*, and *w*; two-compartment *a*; lowercase *b*, *h*, *k*, and *l* with looped ascenders; and *h* with a limb that flicks to the right.

#### *Annotations, Graffiti, and Ownership Marks*

There are numerous contemporary and post-medieval jottings present in the manuscript. The first flyleaf bears the following markings: “No. 200 204,” “\$1510B,” “2511e,” “74t,” and “LXXIV.I”; the first number, occurring at the top of the folio, relates to the manuscript’s current shelfmark. On fol. 2r the hand of Sir Robert Cotton (1571–1631), a previous owner of Lansdowne 204, writes “A Chronicel of Britane gathered out of diuers auters the auter vnknown.” Below this, his librarian, Richard James, provides a brief description of the manuscript’s contents (in Latin) and names Hardyng as the author.<sup>55</sup>

Several other hands have added intermittent marginal notes beside the verse, usually consisting of a single word or phrase concerning a famous king, event, battle, or source.<sup>56</sup> The first of the hands belongs to the famous antiquarian John Stow (c. 1525–1605).<sup>57</sup> Stow makes notes about the sources of Hardyng’s early history, religious artifacts, places, miracles, and events affecting the succession of the crown. His annotations demonstrate the nature of his interests and often emphasize the differences between the two versions of the *Chronicle*, which undoubtedly led to his criticism of Richard Grafton’s edition of the second version.<sup>58</sup>

The second hand, writing in a large secretary script belonging to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, is responsible for five annotations on fols. 7r, 88v, 89r, 166v, 170r, and 170v.<sup>59</sup> The third hand, a late fifteenth-century secretary, smaller and narrower than

<sup>54</sup> The four-stanza dedication on fol. 2v was evidently an after-thought. Written by Hand Two on the reverse of the first leaf of quire one, no space has been left for a decorated or illuminated initial, which one would expect at the opening of a manuscript containing decorated initials at the start of every other section. Unlike the prologue that follows on fol. 3r, the dedication has black rhyme bands and no discernible frame ruling, indicating that it was added after the completion of the prologue. Several of the marginalia added by this hand also seem to have been inserted into the gutters of the inner margins after the manuscript had been bound.

<sup>55</sup> Tite has noted that it is logical to assume that James added his note after Cotton’s because he names the “auter vnknown” as Hardyng. See “Lost or Stolen or Strayed,” p. 281.

<sup>56</sup> All of these are recorded in the Textual Notes beside the lines or stanzas against which they occur.

<sup>57</sup> For the identification of Stow’s hand see Tite, “Lost or Stolen or Strayed,” p. 303n127.

<sup>58</sup> See Textual Notes 2.1128, 2.1185, 2.1689m, 2.2574, 3.39, 3.84, 3.86, 3.680–81, 3.2164, 3.2197, 3.3115m, 4.2651, 4.2670, 4.2702, 4.2755, 5.2312, and 6.1160–61. Other annotations that may belong to Stow include 4.3359–65, 6.2188–90, and 6.2325.

<sup>59</sup> See Textual Notes 1.197–203, 3.4004, 4.42, 6.1, 6.295, 6.332, and 6.346.

the previous hand, writes six notes on fols. 120r, 121r, 128v, 161v, 180r, and 192v.<sup>60</sup> On fol. 134r, a sixteenth-century hand makes a note on the foundation of Battle Abbey and later writes “Italia” on fol. 194v.<sup>61</sup> Another reader has drawn a manicule pointing to one of the stanzas on fol. 171r and added a note in the right-hand margin about the king’s sovereignty over Wales and Scotland.<sup>62</sup> On fols. 203r and 223r an early hand, possibly of the sixteenth century, copies phrases from the text in an attempt to mimic the scribe.<sup>63</sup>

Several names occur in the manuscript: “John Clapsshaw born the fourth day of [Januarie?] 1555,” and “London” are mentioned on fol. 2r; the name William Bowyer 1566 (“Sum Guiliel Bowyer 1566”) occurs at the top of fols. 3r and 5r, presumably added by William Bowyer (d. 1569/70), Keeper of the Records in the Tower;<sup>64</sup> and “Edward Colwell” appears on fol. 166v.<sup>65</sup> The first of the end flyleaves has “230 folios W. Lo Fran (?). G. C. T” written in pencil, doubtless added when the manuscript was acquired by the British Library.

#### *Decoration*

The illumination of Lansdowne 204 has been linked stylistically and decoratively to a group of fifteenth-century manuscripts originating from Eastern England, most likely Lincolnshire or East Anglia: New York Library MS Spencer 19;<sup>66</sup> London, British Library MSS Egerton 615;<sup>67</sup> London, Wellcome Medical Library MS 8004;<sup>68</sup> Oxford, Bodleian

<sup>60</sup> See Textual Notes 4.3359–65, 5.2312, 6.1160–61, and 6.2188–90.

<sup>61</sup> See Textual Notes 5.8 and 6.2345 respectively.

<sup>62</sup> See Textual Notes 6.386.

<sup>63</sup> See Textual Notes 6.3010m and 7.1107–1127.

<sup>64</sup> Bowyer owned a number of manuscripts, including British Library Cotton Faustina A. ix, Harley 3776, Harley 4565, Cambridge Trinity College R.5.33 (724), and eleven manuscripts in the College of Arms. Several contain notes of ownership similar to that in Lansdowne 204; see, for example, Wright, *Fontes Harleiani*, p. 79, and Campbell and Steer, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, pp. 196–217, 417. For a succinct account of Bowyer’s life and collection see Alsop, “Bowyer, William (d. 1569/70).”

<sup>65</sup> See Textual Note 5.2716. It is also possible that this “name” is in fact related to the text, as it occurs beside a stanza dealing with Prince Edward, son of Henry III, later Edward I.

<sup>66</sup> See Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 2:217–19. Spencer 19 contains a copy of Guillaume Deguileville’s *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, produced between 1413 and 1450, probably c. 1430. It was “in the hands of Sir Thomas Cumberworth of Somerby, Lincolnshire, sometime before February 1450” (Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 2:218; see also McGerr, ed., *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, pp. lxxx–lxxxiv).

<sup>67</sup> Egerton 615 contains Guillaume Deguileville’s *Pilgrimage of the Soul*. It was produced c. 1450, slightly later than Spencer 19, but, like Lansdowne 204, comes from the “same shop, or at least from the same geographical area” as Spencer 19 (Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 2:218).

<sup>68</sup> Wellcome 8004 is a medical and astrological compendium produced c. 1454. It contains “borders and a miniature by the artist of Spencer 19” (Kathleen Scott, private communication, 8 September 2003). The manuscript also has “internal and linguistic evidence [suggesting] that the writer came from the East Midlands, possibly from Lincolnshire”; see the *Physician’s Handbook*, a digital facsimile available online. The editors are grateful to Kathleen Scott for drawing our attention to Wellcome 8004 and for her comments about the Spencer group.

Library MS Laud Misc. 740;<sup>69</sup> London, British Library MS Harley 2885;<sup>70</sup> Arundel Castle, John Lydgate's *Lives of Saints Edmund and Fremund*;<sup>71</sup> and, less directly, Nottingham, University Library MS 250.<sup>72</sup> Decorative features distinguishing the group include: daisy flowers, green sprays, twisted acanthus leaves, and foliate columns.<sup>73</sup> The illuminations in Lansdowne 204, Spencer 19, Egerton 615, Wellcome 8004, and Laud Misc. 740 also feature

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<sup>69</sup> Laud Misc. 740 is a mid-fifteenth-century copy of Deguileville's *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*. According to Scott, the decoration in this manuscript is "distantly related to the preceding group," but may have been executed by a second "trainee or associate of the Spencer Master" (*Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 2:218). It has a linguistic profile belonging to north-west Lincolnshire or north-east Nottingham (McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin, *Linguistic Atlas*, 1:150). Like Spencer 19, it may have belonged to Sir Thomas Cumberworth; see McGerr, ed., *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, p. xxiv, and Clark, *Lincoln Diocese Documents 1450–1544*, p. 48.

<sup>70</sup> Harley 2885, produced in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, contains a Breviary (York use). In 1996 Scott suggested that the border artist of Egerton 615 was responsible for "most of the borders (except fol. 27)" in this manuscript (*Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 2:218). However, in a private communication dated 8 September 2003, she revised her opinion, concluding that the decoration of Harley 2885 "appears to be from the same milieu or shop, if not precisely by the same limner." For images see The British Library's *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*, available online.

<sup>71</sup> This manuscript was probably produced in Suffolk after 1461; it contains a pasted-down border on fol. 56 (c. 1450), which Scott believes is evidence of "another book from the Egerton-Lansdowne shop" (*Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 2:218, and "Lydgate's Lives of Saints Edmund and Fremund," p. 347).

<sup>72</sup> More famously known as The Wollaton Antiphonal, the manuscript was compiled c. 1430 in eastern England and owned by Sir Thomas Chaworth; see Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 2: 204–206; Cole and Turville-Petre, "Sir Thomas Chaworth's Books," pp. 26–27; and Hanna and Turville-Petre, "The Catalogue," p. 107a. Two other books owned by Chaworth — London, British Library MS Cotton Augustus Aiv (John Lydgate's *Troy Book*, c. 1430) and New York, Columbia University Library, MS Plimpton 263 (John Trevisa's *On the Properties of Things*, c. 1425–50) — have been linked to the Wollaton Antiphonal through decoration, though neither manuscript is directly related to Lansdowne 204 (see Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 2:205–06). In *Later Gothic Manuscripts* (2:218), Scott highlights the possibility that the *Mirror for Devote People*, once owned by William Foyle (now Notre Dame, IN, University of Notre Dame MS 67), might also be related to the Spencer 19 group. However, since the publication, Scott has examined the manuscript and revised her opinion. In a private correspondence dated 31 March 2013, she confirms that the manuscript "does not belong to that group." The manuscript, which also contains *O Intemerata* and *The Craft of Dying*, was originally owned by John Scrope (d. 1455), fourth baron of Masham, and his wife Elizabeth Chaworth. For more information see Edwards, "Contexts of Notre Dame 67."

<sup>73</sup> Borders with gold balls made into daisies have also been found in other East Anglian manuscripts: Harley 2278 (Lydgate's *Lives of Saints Edmund and Fremund*, c.1434, Suffolk; Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 2:225–29); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Duke Humphrey b. 1 (John Capgrave's *Commentarius in Exodum*, compiled c. 1440–44, possibly at King's Lynn and presented to Humphrey, duke of Gloucester; Scott, *Dated and Datable English Manuscript Borders*, pp. 60–63); and San Marino, Huntingdon HM55 (Capgrave's *Life of St Norbert*, 1440, Norfolk; Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 2:219). Hatfield House, Marquis of Salisbury, Cecil Papers 270 (Deguileville's *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, probably produced in London), also contains "gold balls made to resemble daisies," which suggests contact "possibly through the exemplar" with the Spencer group "or the geographical area in which the motif was used" (Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 2:221).

the same child-like figures; and Egerton 615 and Lansdowne include gold filigree sprays in the background of their scenes (see below).<sup>74</sup>

On fol. 5r of Lansdowne 204, there is a fine champ initial of five lines in height, in gold, with a pink, burgundy, and white foliated leaf at the center, on a blue and white ground. The initial has extended feathered sprays that fill the top and left-hand margins to form a partial border around the text; the sprays consist of green ball motifs, daisies with gold centers, squiggles, and twisted acanthus leaves, outlined in black, and colored either blue and white, red and white, or burgundy, red, and white; a small line of white dots embellishes the inside of the stems.<sup>75</sup>

Elsewhere champ initials of three lines in height are used to mark the beginning of each new chapter and a change of sovereign. The initials consist of a gold letter on a burgundy and blue quartered ground with white filigree work; they are decorated with small feathered sprays and daisies, with gold ball motifs, circular lobes tinted green, and squiggles. Several folios at the end of the manuscript contain unfinished champ initials, where only the burgundy quarters have been completed or spaces for champ initials that have been filled with large ink letters.<sup>76</sup>

A spectacular full-page illuminated pedigree of Edward III occurs on fol. 196r detailing the king's entitlement to the French throne.<sup>77</sup> The pedigree comprises eleven seated figures, each having a gold crown and scepter (except "Charles of Valoys, erle," who has only a crown); they have simple faces, with eyes, noses, and lips highlighted in black, and other features, such as cheeks and hands, rendered in white and pink.<sup>78</sup> Three of the figures (labelled "Philippe," "Isabel," and "Iohn") have yellow curly hair; the rest have brown curly hair.<sup>79</sup> All the figures are clothed in either red and blue or gold and blue, with ermine trim on their robes. The figures in gold and blue highlight the pure line of descent from "Saynt

<sup>74</sup> For a discussion of motifs particular to the Lincolnshire and East Anglia region, and the production of manuscripts outside of the capital at this time, see Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 1:33–34; and *Dated and Datable English Manuscript Borders*, p. 62. For an analysis of pigments used in this region and associated with the group see Porter, "Meaning of Colour and Why Analyse?" noted in Hanna and Turville-Petre, "The Catalogue," p. 107a. Digital images of Spencer 19, Egerton 615, Wellcome 8004 and Laud Misc. 740 are available online at *The New York Public Library Digital Gallery*, *The Digital Scriptorium*, The British Library's *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*, The Wellcome Library, and the Bodleian image collections.

<sup>75</sup> The daisy sprays in Lansdowne 204 are closer to those in Spencer 19 and Laud Misc. 740.

<sup>76</sup> The plain ink initials occur on fol. 223v, 225r, 225v, 226r, and 227v. The unfinished champs occur on fol. 227v and 230r. All occurrences of champ initials (finished or unfinished) are recorded in the Textual Notes.

<sup>77</sup> Scott believes that "The Egerton Master," the illustrator of Egerton 615, was "almost certainly" responsible for the seated monarchs in Lansdowne 204. The daisy borders were illuminated by a different individual, whose style is closer to the daisy sprays in Spencer 19 and Laud 740 rather than the "densely black, unattractive work in Egerton 615" (Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 2:218).

<sup>78</sup> Images of the Pedigree taken at a wavelength of 420 nanometers (nm) on the electromagnetic spectrum reveal lines on the upper lip of the figures and white 'skeletal' detail on the hands. See Figures 8 and 9.

<sup>79</sup> Details of the curls are most evident in a false color image and at a wavelength of 860 nm on the electromagnetic spectrum. Guide letters are visible beneath most of the blue initial letters of the royal names. See Figure 9.

Lowys" through to his great-granddaughter "Isabel," or Isabella of France (1295–1348), mother of Edward III. The remaining figures are depicted in stripy red garments and blue robes.<sup>80</sup> Additional emphasis is given to the importance of Isabella, as she is the only figure to gaze directly forward; all of the other figures look towards her, with the exception of Edward III, who gestures towards King John of France, the usurper. Each figure is seated on a throne colored red, yellow, or purple; the thrones belonging to the "pure" line of descent have blue and/or gold ornamentation, and some seats are decorated with filigree sprays.<sup>81</sup> The backgrounds behind the figures alternate between red and black and are filled with long gold filigree sprays or gold cross-hatching. Twisted foliate columns of leaves, in blue and white or two-tone green, decorate the golden bar frames around the figures in the top half of the folio, and clusters of feathered sprays consisting of daisies made from gold balls, circular green lobes, and twisted colored acanthus leaves (in red, blue, pink, and green) adorn the space around the pedigree.

A unique colored map of Scotland — the earliest independent cartographic representation of the realm — occurs on fols. 226v–227r. Oriented with west at the top, it is illuminated in gold, blue, pink, yellow, green, red, purple, and white, and it depicts the main fortifications and towns with an intriguing array of castles, walled towns, gatehouses, churches, and bridges.<sup>82</sup> Forests and rivers are included and a blue and white ocean surrounds the land, giving Scotland an island-like appearance, separate from England.<sup>83</sup> Many of the castles and churches bear an odd but fascinating resemblance to the real buildings, particularly those representing Glasgow, Tantallon, and Dunfermline.<sup>84</sup> Geographically speaking, the layout is compellingly accurate; it was clearly informed by someone with detailed knowledge of Scotland's topography, and there is no reason to doubt Hardyng's claim to have compiled it. It was drawn and illuminated by the same artist responsible for the Pedigree of France, and since there are no instructions to the limner beneath the painting, indicating where the toponyms, rivers, and forests should appear, the artist may have been working from a separate diagram provided by Hardyng.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Stripes in the red garments are faintly visible with the naked eye, but best observed at a wavelength of 560–580 nm on the electromagnetic spectrum. The elaborate folds on the robes are observed most clearly at a wavelength of 460 nm. See Figure 8.

<sup>81</sup> The filigree pattern is observed best at a wavelength of 420 nm on the electromagnetic spectrum.

<sup>82</sup> For scholarship on Hardyng's map and its political significance, see Harvey, *Medieval Maps*, pp. 71 and 73; Delano-Smith and Kain, *English Maps*, p. 23; Hiatt, *Medieval Forgeries*, pp. 119–21 and "Beyond a Border," pp. 87–88; and Peverley, "Anglo-Scottish Relations."

<sup>83</sup> This aspect of the map makes for an interesting comparison with the images of Scotland in Matthew Paris's maps.

<sup>84</sup> The buildings on the map are of the same design and coloring as those depicted in Spencer 19 and Laud Misc. 740. Multispectral imaging of the Lansdowne map reveals the original guidelines for the building structures. Viewing the map at a wavelength of 1000 nm reveals that the bottom of the towers at Stirling and Falkland were initially drawn straight; ridges and flared bases were added over the top (see Figure 12). The tower at Tantallon was originally drawn with a closed, rather than open, top, which was altered when the tower was painted.

<sup>85</sup> No limners' marks or instructions were observed during the multispectral imaging undertaken on Lansdowne 204.

Small colored coats of arms occur infrequently in the margins beside the main text: on fol. 46v, the arms of Constantine (incorrectly painted gules, a cross argent instead of argent, a cross gules); on fol. 67v, the arms of King Arthur (gules, three crowns or); on fol. 129v, the arms of Edward the Confessor (azure, a cross or, four martlets or); and, on fol. 220r, the arms of Sir Robert Umfraville (gules, a cinquefoil, an orle of crosslets or). On fol. 217v, the arms of Margaret of Anjou, entitled “The Quene,” have been erased, but the outline can still be seen (quarterly of six: i barry of eight argent and gules; ii azure, semy fleurs-de-lis or, a label of three points gules; iii argent a cross potent between four crosses crosslet potent or; iv azure, semy fleurs-de-lis or, a bordure gules; v azure, semy of crosses crosslet fitchy, two barbels haurient addorsed or; vi or, on a bend gules, three alerions displayed argent). Quarters i, iv, v, and vi still have traces of the original design and colors (gules and azure).<sup>86</sup> A second coat of arms, presumably belonging to Henry VI, may also have existed on fol. 217v in the small section that has been cut away from the margin.

There is one final decoration in Lansdowne 204 which is much later than the medieval illumination. On fol. 1v, the emblazoned arms of one of the previous owners, the earl of Macclesfield, occur, quarterly of six: i argent, on a saltire gules an imperial crown or; ii or, a mullet sable, on a broad fesse-wise a bordure componée argent and azure, quarterly France modern (azure, three fleur de lys or) and England (gules, three lions passant guardant or); iii per pale azure and gules, three lions rampant or; iv per fesse gules and argent, a canton argent; v argent, on a bend azure, three garbs or, a canton gules; vi argent, two chevrons gules, a canton gules; supporters, sinister and dexter a lion rampant crowned.

### *Contents*

1. fol. 1r: Blank.
2. fol. 1v: The arms of the Gerard family, earls of Macclesfield.
3. fol. 2r: Originally blank, now contains notes by Robert Cotton and Richard James.
4. fol. 2v: Hardyn's dedication to King Henry VI. Begins “O soverayne lord, be it to youre plesance” and ends “To byde forevere undir his hool proteccioun.”
5. fols. 3r–4r: Prologue addressing Hardyn's grievance and the king's sovereignty over Scotland. Begins “Who hath an hurte and wille it nought diskure” and ends “Me to rewarde as pleseth youre excellency.”<sup>87</sup>
6. fol. 4v: An incomplete table of contents. Begins “Of the sustirs of Grece how thai came to this londe and called it Albion” and ends “Of Seynt Edward Confessor and Harolde, son of Godwyn.”
7. fols. 5r–230v: Books 1–7 of the *Chronicle*, from Albyne to Henry VI, including a commendation of Sir Robert Umfraville, an account of Hardyn's grievance, advice on conquering Scotland, and evidence of the king's entitlement to the Scottish throne. Begins “The while that Troy was regnyng in his myghte” and ends “Ne chaungen hew for thayre inequyté.”
8. fol. 196r: A full page illuminated pedigree of Edward III's claim to France.
9. fols. 226v–227r: A double-page colored map of Scotland.

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<sup>86</sup> Multispectral imaging enhances the faded design at an electromagnetic wavelength of 420 nm. See Figure 10.

<sup>87</sup> An erased stanza occurs after this. See Textual Note Prol.155–61. See Figure 3.

10. fols. 227v–230r: A Latin prose letter sent from Edward I to Pope Boniface VIII detailing his right to the sovereignty of Scotland. Begins “Sanctissimo in Christo patri domino Bonifacio” and ends “datur apud Westminster septimo die Maii anno domini M<sup>l</sup>CCCI et regni nostri vicesimo nono.”

11. fols. 230r–230v: A Latin prose letter from the lords and barons to Pope Boniface VIII regarding English sovereignty over Scotland. Begins “Sanctissimo in Christo Patri, domino Bonifacio” and ends “inquietudine pacifice possidere ac illibata percipere benignius permittatis.”

#### *Provenance*

Aside from the few jottings mentioned above, there are no marks of medieval ownership. The quality of the volume, its lavish decoration, its association with Hardynge's locale, and its dedication suggest that Hardynge commissioned the manuscript as a presentation copy for Henry VI, but whether the king ever saw, read, or retained it is unclear.

The presence of William Bowyer's name on fols. 3r and 5r seems to indicate that he was in possession of Lansdowne 204 in 1566, while annotations by the antiquarian John Stow confirm that he read, and perhaps owned, it in the sixteenth century.<sup>88</sup> Later, the manuscript found its way into the collection of Sir Robert Cotton, whose hand, along with that of his librarian Richard James, occurs on fol. 2r.<sup>89</sup>

It is unclear when Lansdowne 204 left the Cotton collection, but by the late seventeenth century it was in the possession of the Gerards, earls of Macclesfield, whose arms occur on fol. 1v.<sup>90</sup> The manuscript was presumably owned by at least one other individual before it was acquired by William Petty, formerly Fitzmaurice (1737–1805), second earl of Shelburne and first marquess of Lansdowne. Petty was the last private owner of Lansdowne 204, and it is from his collection that the manuscript was purchased by the British Library (then the British Museum) in 1807.<sup>91</sup>

#### EDITORIAL PROCEDURES

The aim of this edition of the longer version of John Hardynge's *Chronicle* is twofold: (1) to reproduce the linguistic state of the text as accurately as we could; (2) to supply a text that is accessible to readers who might not have the highest level of expertise in Middle English.

The results of these two aims are by no means always consonant.

<sup>88</sup> Stow later cites Hardynge as a source for his own historical works. For an overview of his life and interests see Beer, “Stow, John (1524/5–1605).”

<sup>89</sup> Although there is “no record of the manuscript in any of the Cotton catalogues or loans lists to clinch the question of ownership or to indicate when it may have been lost,” the summaries provided by Cotton and James on fol. 2r suggest that the manuscript was with Cotton sometime before 1625, or at least between 1625, when Richard James was appointed as Cotton's librarian, and 1631, when Cotton died (Tite, “Lost or Stolen or Strayed,” p. 281).

<sup>90</sup> Charles Gerard (c.1618–94) was promoted to the earldom of Macclesfield in 1679 by Charles II. Upon his death, his son, another Charles (c.1659–1701), became the second earl of Macclesfield.

<sup>91</sup> For notice of the purchase see Burke, *Annual Register*, p. 321.

The following decisions derive from the desire for accurate linguistic representation of the text.

The spelling of the text is almost entirely the spelling of the manuscript, with minor adjustments noted below.

Punctuation is minimal. Commas are not inserted following modern practice. The large majority of Hardynge's lines are end-stopped; we allow end-stopping to do the work of a comma. This seemed preferable to clogging up the text with punctuation marks when the meter is doing the work of visually supplying comma-level pauses in any case. Of course this occasionally means that an enjambed line needs to be understood differently, but that relatively rare inconsistency is preferable to consistency achieved at the cost of a clogged text. There is no need to punctuate this poetic text as if it were prose.

Hardynge's syntax is loose; he characteristically creates long sentences made up of line-length strings of relative or adverbial clauses. Often it is unclear where one sentence precisely stops and another begins. This is not to say that the overall sense is often unclear. Our practice has been to insert full stops either when a syntactic unit of a sentence has clearly been achieved, or when a sentence has done quite enough work as it is. The result of this practice is a lack of complete conformity with modern standards of syntactic punctuation, since we occasionally begin a sentence with a relative clause.

The interests of accessibility have been served by the following decisions.

Caesural virgules, found consistently across the entire text, have been removed. All contractions have been silently expanded. Whether or not a mark constitutes an expansion has been decided on philological and metrical grounds, as well as by reference to the scribe's standard practice. Capitalization conforms to modern usage. Speech markers have been introduced. Modern word division has been observed. The Tironian “and” has been expanded. Obsolete letter forms, just as letter forms for *u/v/j*, have been rendered by their modern equivalents. Where a final *e* is sounded as to rhyme with “hay,” the letter is given an acute accent. In the very rare cases where emendation is necessary, the emended word is silently corrected and an explanation is provided in the Textual Notes. The rare instances of scribal correction have been silently followed in the main body of the text, but recorded in the Textual Notes. The text has been glossed. We have tried to address the reader whose familiarity with Middle English vocabulary may be relatively new. Complete consistency in glossing is impossible and undesirable: parts of the text would, for example, require constant and consistent repetition of a single gloss.

Prose marginalia are for the most part presented in bold, between stanzas, in the vertical run of the text. We have attempted to show which stanza the marginalia occur beside by presenting them in the text before the stanza they accompany; in instances where more than one gloss occurs beside a stanza, we have endeavored to present them in the order that will make the most sense to our readers. In a few instances where a marginal “Nota” is located within the bounds of a stanza, it is placed before the stanza it accompanies and a record of the line number it occurs beside is given in the Textual Notes. Marginalia have been lightly punctuated according to modern standards. All marginal notation has been registered except for the very rare instances of sixteenth-century or later notations, which are recorded in the Textual Notes.

Original book and chapter numbering is preserved; line numbers are editorial. At the top of each folio of the manuscript, the book number and name of the monarch under consideration are provided as page headers in inconsistent forms. We have omitted the medieval page headers, but provided the names of the kings in our own headers to aid navigation.





## **DEDICATION AND PROLOGUE**

- |         |   |   |
|---------|---|---|
| fol. 2v | O soverayne lord, be it to youre plesance<br>This book to take of my symplité<br>Thus newly made for rememorance,<br>Whiche no man hath in worlde bot oonly ye.<br>Whiche I compiled unto youre rialté<br>And to the quenes hertes consolacioun<br>To know the state of youre domynacioun.                                    |   |
| 5       |   |   |
| 10      | And for the prynce to have playne conyshance<br>Of this regioun, in what nobilité<br>It hath been kept alway of greet pushance,<br>With baronage and lordes of dignyté<br>The whiche alway God graunte that ye and he<br>May so kepe forth undir youre governance<br>To Goddes plesire withouten variance.                    | <i>understanding</i><br><i>power</i><br><i>maintain</i>                   |
| 15      | Thus to yow thre rials in unyté<br>This book with hert and lowly obeishance<br>I present now with al benygnyté<br>To been evermore within youre governance<br>For soveraynté and youre inherytance<br>Of Scotland hool, whiche shuld your reule obaye<br>As sovereyn lorde, fro whiche thay proudly straye.                   | <i>royals together</i><br><i>deference</i><br><i>good will</i>            |
| 20      |   |   |
| 25      | Wythin thre yere thaire grete rebellioun<br>Ye myght oppresse and uttirly restrayne<br>And have it alle in youre possessioun<br>And to obeye youre myght make thaym ful fayne<br>As Kynge Edward the first with hungir and payne<br>Thaym conquererde hool to hys subjeccioun<br>To byde forevere undir his hool proteccioun. | <i>eager</i><br><i>completely</i><br><i>dwell; comprehensive (total)</i>  |
| 30      |   |   |
| fol. 3r | Who hath an hurte and wille it nought diskure<br>And to his leche can nought his sore compleyne<br>In wo evermore withouten any cure<br>Alle helples forth he muste comporte his peyne.<br>And who his own erande forgatte to seyne   | <i>sickness; uncover</i><br><i>doctor</i><br><i>endure</i><br><i>tell</i> |

- As alle thise wise men say alway and wote  
35 Men calle a fool or elles an idyote. *know*
- Wherfore to yow, as prince moste excellent  
I me compleyne, as resoun techeth me  
That youre fadir gafe me in commaundement  
In Scotlonde ryde for his regalyté  
40 To seke his ryght thare of hys sovereynté  
And evydence to gette and to espy  
Appurtenant unto hys monarchy. *myself*  
*sovereignty*  
*Pertaining*
- Whiche evydence, by labour and processe  
Thre yere and halfe amonge the enmyté  
45 On lyfes peryle, maymed in grete distresse  
With costages grete, as was nécessité  
I boughte and gatte of grete autorité.  
Of whiche I gafe unto youre excellencie  
At Esthamstede, parte of that evydence. *passing of time*  
*enemy*  
*injured*  
*At great expense*  
*Easthampstead*
- I gafe yow there a lettre of rialté  
50 By whiche ten men claymyng the croun  
Of Scotlond than boonde thaym by thaire agré  
The juggement to bide and constitucioun  
Of Kynge Edward, with Long Shankes by surnoun  
55 Whiche of thaym shulde of Scotlonde been the kynge  
Undre thaire seels hys sovereynté expressyng. *royal power*  
*bound; agreement*  
*surname*  
*declaring*
- I gafe yow als other two patents rial  
56 By whiche David and Robert the Scots kynges  
Boonde thaym and al thaire haires in general  
To holde Scotlond of Kyng Edward, expressyng  
His soveraynté by clere and playn writynge  
Undre thaire seels to bide perpetualy  
As playnly is in thaym made memory. *Letters Patent*  
*heirs*  
*declaring*
- I gafe yow als the relees that Edwarde  
65 The thrid to Kyng Robert of Scotlond made  
In tendre age, whiche whille it was in warde  
Of Umfreveile was dreynt in oyl and defade  
Sex woukes liggyng in it, as it abade.  
But noght forthy it may hurte yow right noght  
70 For it is alle agayn youre hieghness wroght. *document of release*  
*custody*  
*immersed; faded*  
*Six weeks remaining*  
*nevertheless*
- In tho lettres is graunt Yorkes primacy  
fol. 3v Thruh alle Scotlonde, and to hys successours  
To have and use above the prelacy  
As dyd afore of olde hys predecessours *authority of a prelate*

- |         |  |   |
|---------|--|---|
| 75      | And also the hows of Durham of honours<br>And Cuthbertes ryght with alle the liberté<br>Through all Scotlond withoute difficulté.  |   |
| 80      | Also that prynce of grete magnificence<br>Your fadir, so gafe me in commaundement<br>Scotlond to espy with alkyns diligence<br>How that it myght bene hostayde thurgh and brent<br>[ . . . ] wele to hys wille and intent<br>What kyns passage were for ane hoste to ryde<br>What toures ande towns stode on the este see-syde | <i>all kinds of<br/>plundered; burnt</i><br><i>What kind of: army</i>   |
| 85      | Where that hys flete myght londe and with hym mete<br>With hys vitayle, gunnes and ordenance<br>Hys hoste to fresshe, and lygge in alle quyete<br>From stormes grete and wethyrs variance.<br>Whiche alle I dydde and putte in remembrance   | <i>food; military supplies</i><br><i>army to restore; encamp</i>  |
| 90      | At hys biddynge and rialle commaundement<br>Bot was nought rewarded aftyr hys intent.  |   |
| 95      | Whiche remembrance now to youre sapience<br>Upon the ende of this boke in figure<br>Illumynde is for youre intelligence<br>Declared hool by wrytyng and letrure<br>How lyghte were now unto your hiegh nature<br>For to conquerre by rial assistance<br>And kepe it ever undir youre hiegh regence.                            | <i>Illuminated<br/>text<br/>easy</i><br><i>sovereignty</i>  |
| 100     | Now seth that prynce is gone, of excellence<br>In whom my helpe and makyng shulde have bene<br>I vouche it sauf, wyth alle benyvolence<br>On yow, gode lorde, hys sonne and hayre that bene<br>For to none other my complaynte can I mene<br>So lynyalle of hys generacioun<br>Ye bene discent by verry demonstracioun.        | <i>since</i><br><i>bestow it</i><br><i>heir</i><br><i>express</i><br><i>in direct ancestral line</i><br><i>descended; proof</i> |
| 105     | For other none wille favoure hys promyse<br>Ne none that wylle ought forther myne intente<br>Bot if it lyke unto youre owne avyse<br>Alle oonly of youre rial regymente<br>To comforthe now withoute impedymemente<br>Your pore subgite, maymed in hys servyse<br>Withoute rewarde or lyfelode any wyse.                       | <i>judgment</i><br><i>soverignty</i><br><i>sustenance</i>   |
| fol. 4r | Sex yere now go I pursewed to youre grace<br>And undirnethe youre lettres secretary<br>And pryy seel that longeth in that cace   | <i>passed; made a formal plea (see note)</i>  |
| 115     |  |   |

- Ye graunted me to have perpetualy  
 The manere hool of Gedynghoun treuly  
 To me and to myne hayres in heritage  
 With membres hool and other alle avauntage. *Geddington Manor*  
*all rights*
- 120 Bot so was sette youre noble chauncellere  
 He wolde nought suffre I had such warysoun  
 That cardinalle was of York withouten pere  
 That wolde noght parte with londe ne yit with toun  
 Bot rather wolde, ere I had Gedynghoun,  
 125 Ye shulde forgo youre ryalle soveraynté  
 Of Scotlonde, whiche longe to youre rialté.
- Youre patent cowthe I have in nokyns wyse  
 But if I sewed to alle youre grete counsayle  
 To whiche my purs no lengar myght suffyse.  
 So wente I home withoute any avayle.  
 130 Thus sette he me alle bakhalfе on the tayle  
 And alle youre grace fro me he dyd repelle.  
 Youre lettres bothe fro me he dyd cancellē.
- Bot undirnethе youre fadirs magnifisence  
 He durste nought so have lette hys righte falle doun  
 Ne layde o syde so rialle eydence  
 Appurtenant unto hys rialle croun  
 Who sonner wolde suche thre as Gedynghoun  
 Hafe yove than so forgone that eydence  
 135 By whiche the Scottes obey shoulde hys regence.
- For whiche Kynge James unto my warysoun  
 A thowsond marke me highte of Englysshe golde  
 Whiche I forsoke in myne oppynyoun  
 As natyfe birth and alkyns resoun wolde.  
 140 Sex and thretty yere I have it kepte, and holde  
 In truste ye wolde of youre haboundant grace  
 Youre fadirs promyse so favoure in thyс cace.
- Whiche eydence in this afore comprised  
 With other mo whiche I shal to yow take  
 150 Foure hundre mark and fyfty ful assised  
 Cost me treuly for youre fadir sake  
 With incurable mayme that maketh me wake.  
 Wherfore plese it of youre magnificencē  
 Me to rewarde as pleseth youre excellēnce.
- O soverayne lorde sette case I myghte suffyse  
 Myne eydence to get and to obtene. (see t-note)

---

	How wold ye thenke that I should it advyse [. . .] for your [. . .] it [. . .] nought bothe bene? Your chaunsler doth revoke it alle so clene	<i>resolve</i>
160	That here me compleyne in this cace Or els gette I never your intent, ne youre grace.	

fol. 4v    **The First Book**

.i. <sup>m</sup> capitulum	Of the sustirs of Grece how thai came to this londe and called it Albion.	
ii capitulum	How Dame Albyne eldest sustir had the sovereynté of alle hir sustirs by the law and consuetude of Grece.	<i>custom</i>
iii capitulum	How the ladise replete than felle in syn and lechery with spirites whiche gat geants on thaym that inhabyte this londe.	<i>imbued with potent desire</i> <i>giants</i>

**The Second Book**

.i. <sup>m</sup> capitulum	How Brutus discomfyt the kynge of Grece, wed his doghtir, and gat this londe and called it Bretayne.	<i>overthrew</i>
ii capitulum	Of Locryne, Camber, and Albanacte.	
iii capitulum	Of Quene Guendolyne.	
iii capitulum	Of Kynge Maddan.	
v capitulum	Of Manlyn and Membrice kynges.	
vi capitulum	Of Kynge Ebrauc and of his gude reule.	
vii capitulum	Of Brutus Grenesheelde kynge.	
viii capitulum	Of Kynge Leyle that made Carlele.	
ix capitulum	Of Kynge Rudhudibrace.	
x capitulum	Of Kynge Bladud.	
xi capitulum	Of Kynge Leyre and his doghtirs.	
xii capitulum	Of Kynge Margan and Kyng Condage.	
xiii capitulum	Of Ryval, Gurgust, Sisilius, Iago, Kymar, Gorbodian, Cloten, Pynhere Ruddan and Scatere, with conceyte of the maker for gude reule.	
xiv capitulum	Of Dunwallo, kynge of Bretayne.	
xv capitulum	Of Kynge Belyne, kynge of Bretayne.	
xvi capitulum	Of Gurgwyn, kynge of Bretayne.	
xvii capitulum	Of Guytelyne, Sisilyus, Kymar, and Danyus.	
xviii capitulum	Of Morvide, kynge of Bretayne.	
xix capitulum	Of Gordonyan, Argal, Elydoure, Ingen, and Peridoure.	
xx capitulum	Of Gordonyan the seconde and xxxii <sup>t</sup> other kynges nexte aftir hym folowynge.	

- xxi capitulum Of Kynge Lud that called Trynovant Londoun.  
 xxii capitulum Of Kyng Cassibalan and Julius Cesar.  
 xxiii capitulum Of Thennancius.  
 xxiiii capitulum Of Kyng Kymbelyne.  
 xxv capitulum Of Guyder.  
 xxvi capitulum Of Arvyragus.  
 xxvii capitulum Of Maryus and Coyle the seconde.

**The .iii. Book**

- .i.<sup>m</sup> capitulum How Kynge Lucius bicam Cristen.  
 ii capitulum Of Kynge Severe.  
 iii capitulum Of Getan, Bassian, and Carauce  
     with the conceyt of the maker for gude reule.  
 iv capitulum Of Kynge Allecte.  
 v capitulum Of Kynge Asclepiadote.  
 vi capitulum Of Kynge Coyle the third, fadir of Seint Elene.  
 vii capitulum Of Constance, husband to Seynt Elene.  
 viii capitulum Of Constantine, son of Seint Elene.  
 ix capitulum Of Octave and Trayherne.  
 x capitulum Of Maximyan and Gracian.  
 xi capitulum Of Constantyne of Lesse Bretayne.  
 xii capitulum Of Constance, son of Constantyne.  
 xiii capitulum Of Vortigere and Vortymer.  
 xiii capitulum Of Aurilius Ambrosius.  
 xv capitulum Of Uther Pendragoun.  
 xvi capitulum Of Kynge Arthure and his court  
     with the compleynt of the maker.  
 xvii capitulum Of Constantyne, the son of Cadur.  
 xviii capitulum Of Aurilyus Conan.  
 xix capitulum Of Vortipore and Margo and Careys.

**The .iiii. Book**

- .i.<sup>m</sup> capitulum How Kyng Gurmonde wan this  
     londe and divydid it to iiiii kyngis  
     Saxons and iii kynges Englishe.  
 ii capitulum Of the reme of Kent.  
 iii capitulum Of the reme of Sussexe.  
 iiiii capitulum Of the reme of Essexe.  
 v capitulum Of Est Angle reme.  
 vi capitulum Of the Merse reme.  
 vii capitulum Of Northumbirlonde.  
 viii capitulum Of the reme of Westsex.  
 ix capitulum How Seint Austyn broght baptym  
     into Kent and was made primate
- kingdom*
- |             |   |
|-------------|---|
| } Saxons    | } |
| } Englysshe |   |
- Saxons

x capitulum	of Englonde and had the palle bot the Bretons wolde noght obeye hym. How Ingils and Ive brether kynges of Westsex had the sovereynté above alle the kynges and were made protectours.	<i>pallium</i>
xi capitulum	Of Athelarde, kyng of Westsex sovereyn.	
xii capitulum	Of Cuthred, kyng of Westsexovereyn.	
xiii capitulum	Of Sigburt, kyng of Westsex soverein.	
xiv capitulum	Of Kynulphe, kyng of Westsex soverein.	
xv capitulum	Of Brytryk of Westsex sovereyn.	
xvi capitulum	Of Egbert of Wesysex sovereyn.	
xvii capitulum	Of Athilwolf of Westsex sovereyn.	
xviii capitulum	Of Ethilbalde of Westsex sovereyn.	
xix capitulum	Of Ethilbert of Westsex sovereyn.	
xx capitulum	Of Elfride of Westsex sovereyn.	
xxi capitulum	Of Alverede of Westsex sovereyn.	
xxii capitulum	Of Edward, sovereyn kynge of Englond with a commendacioun of hym.	
xxiii capitulum	Of Athilstane, kyng of Englonde.	
xxiv capitulum	Of Edmonde, Edrede, and Edwy.	
xxv capitulum	Of Kyng Edgare.	
xxvi capitulum	Of Edwarde martir and Ethilrede.	
xxvii capitulum	Of Edmonde Irneside and Knoute.	
xxviii capitulum	Of Harolde and Hardknout.	
xxix capitulum	Of Seynt Edward Confessour and Harolde, son of Godwyn.	

[The contents page is incomplete.]

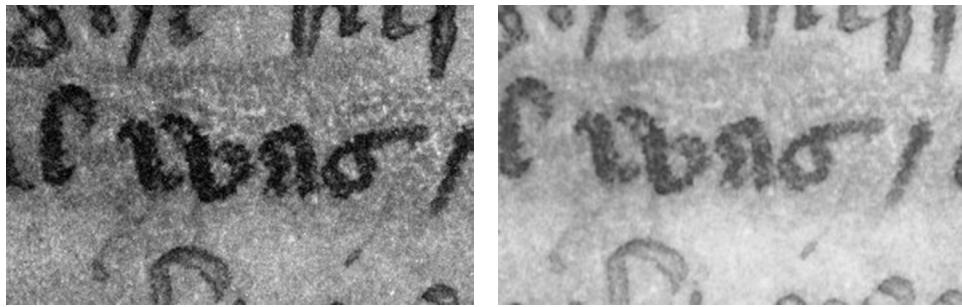


Figure 5. Folio 4r, stanza 2. Evidence of underwriting. Remnants of erased text observed, but main original is unrecoverable. Image captured at 420 nm on the electromagnetic spectrum and RGB. Photos courtesy of Dr. Christina Duffy, Conservation Science Team, The British Library and The British Library.

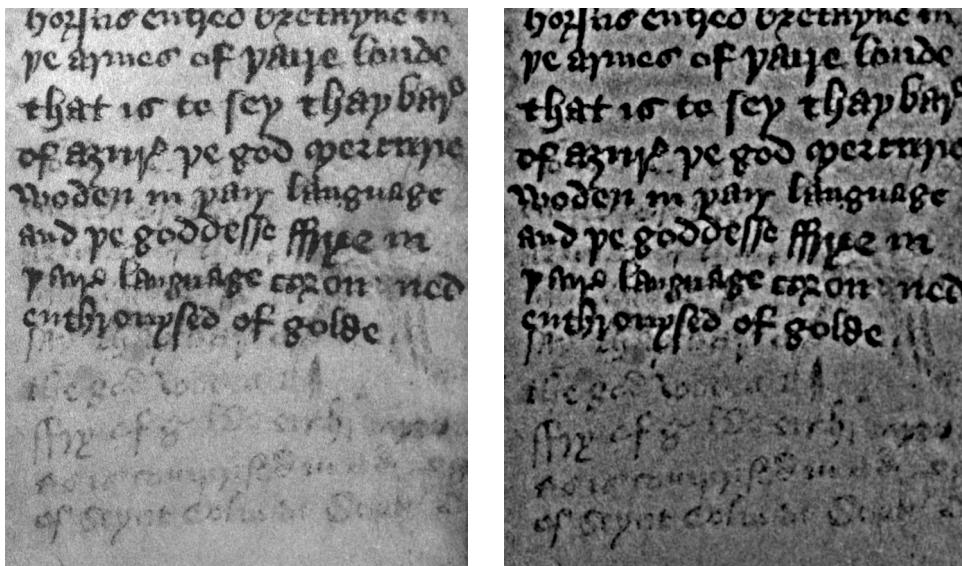


Figure 6. Folio 56r, marginalia. The bottom half of the first image shows the orginal, erased marginalia captured at 420 nm on the electromagnetic spectrum; the second image reflects enhanced brightness and contrast. Photos courtesy of Dr. Christina Duffy, Conservation Science Team, The British Library and The British Library.



## BOOK ONE

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fol. 5r      **The First Book**

### **The First Chapitle.**

**How thay came into this londe and named it Albion of Dame Albyne the eldest sustire (*sister*), as Seynt Colman, doctour Bisshop of Lyndisfarn, specifieth in hys *Dialoge*, and as the grete cronyclere, Trogus Pompeyus, in hys book of storyes of alle the worlde hath wryten; the whiche book hys disciple Justynus hathe drawe into xlivi books that bene at Rome in the kepynge of the pope, alle compiled agayn in til (*into*) oon, so that the stories of alle the worlde in it may be clierlyche sene; the whiche Julyus Cesaryne, auditour of the pope Martynes chaumbre, the fyfte, in hys sevent yer, gafe the maker of this book, John Hardynge, dayly inspection and discripcion at instance and wrytyng of the cardynal of Wynchester.**

	The while that Troy was regnyng in his myghte There was in Grece a kinge right excellent That doughtirs had thretty, right faire and brighte Echone weddid to kinges of regyment.	<i>its</i> <i>thirty; beautiful</i> <i>great power</i> <i>consideration</i>
5	Whiche astyr longe by ful avisement Right of thaym alle dyd mete by fulle acorde For thaire gladnesse and susters fulle concorde.	<i>of their own initiative</i> <i>agreement</i>
	Whiche felle in pride and hiegh elacioun Thinkyne to ben in no subjeccioun Of hosbonde more, ne domynacioun	<i>arrogance</i>
10	But oonly by a foul conjeccioun Thay caste so than by alle inspecciooun To sla anone thaire husbondes sodenly Sovereynes to bene and regne alle severaly.	<i>conspiracy</i> <i>planned; scrutiny</i> <i>slay immediately</i> <i>separately</i>
15	Bot what thay hight I can nought fynde ne se. Bot Albyne hight the eldest of echone That set thaym alle of that inyquyte Whanne thaire hosbondes were slepyng by thaym one To sla thaym alle and severally anone	<i>were called</i> <i>slay</i>

- |         |   |   |  |
|---------|---|---|--|
| 20      | Save only than the yongest in hire mynde<br>Wolde nought assent, that was so trewe and kynde.   | <i>Except; her</i>  |  |
| 25      | Bot nought forthy she graunted with hire mouthe<br>For drede of deth that elles thay had hire slayne.<br>Bot whan she myght or first diskever it couthe<br>Unto hire lorde she telde and wolde noght layne.<br>But for hire sistres she had alway grete Payne<br>Prayng hire lorde to staunche thaym of thaire thought<br>Of thaire ymaginacioun that it were nought so wrought | <i>nonetheless</i><br><i>reveal; could</i><br><i>conceal</i><br><i>assuage</i><br><i>carried out</i>  |  |
| 30      | For pyté that she had of tho gode lordes<br>That sakelesly in perile stode to de<br>Thurgh hire sisters covenants and concordes.<br>Bot if it myght or couthe distourebed be<br>She thought it shame to thayr paternyté<br>So foule a werke be done thurgh trechery<br>Was nought semyng unto thaire auncetry.  | <i>without cause; die</i><br><i>agreements</i><br><i>Unless; stopped</i><br><i>fitting</i>  |  |
| 35      | It was a poynt so of alligory<br>Thaire husbondes so to plese in alle semblaunce<br>Accordant als with pride and tirany<br>And undyr it to do thaym suche meschaunce<br>Of alle falshode it was a consonaunce<br>And to alle tretethe alway a fulle party<br>To shew one thynge and do annother in hy.  | <i>deceit (oblique language)</i><br><i>appearance</i><br><i>also</i><br><i>injury</i><br><i>in keeping</i><br><i>wicked</i><br><i>straight away</i>   |  |
| 40      | 45  | Thus in this muse for sorow and for thought<br>Thay rode bothe forthe thaire fadir forto se<br>To lete hym witte afore that it were wrought<br>It forto staunche by his paternyté<br>In alle suche wise as thaire fraternyté<br>Might holpen be and saufe fro alle meschaunce<br>Thaire sisters als be sette in governaunce.      | <i>this musing; anxiety; reflection</i><br><i>know before</i><br><i>stop</i><br><i>brotherhood</i><br><i>to be</i> |
| fol. 5v | 50  | Thay tolde hym alle how as it was devysed<br>Amonge his doughtirs by fulle and hool sentence<br>And bot it were sone holpen and avyded<br>Elles were thay like be slayne withoute offence.<br>The kinge byhelde his doughtirs innocence<br>How that for care hire sorows multipliyed<br>That like she was afore hym to have dyed. | <i>judgment</i><br><i>unless; amended; recognized</i><br><i>grief</i><br><i>likely</i>                             |
| 55      | 60  | She quoke, she felle, she cried fulle ofte "allase"<br>Forthought the tyme that she was bred or borne.<br>So mekel shame she had for thaire trespass<br>She liste nought leve, she thought hireself forlorne.   | <i>trembled</i><br><i>Regretted</i><br><i>much</i><br><i>desired; to live; lost</i>                                |

- |               |   |                                |
|---------------|---|--------------------------------|
|               | She scrat hire face, hire hede was alle fortorne<br>And fro that she myght speke hire fadir tille<br>She seyde "Fadir I am here at youre wille  | scratched<br>as soon as; to    |
| 65            | "I pray you lorde for mercy and for grace<br>And yow my lorde, my dere hosbonde also<br>That whiles I leve in worlde and may have space<br>I wille amende whare ever I ride or go.<br>My systirs alle have wrought me alle this wo<br>By thaym compelde to swere my husbonde dede.<br>Allas what shalle I do, what is youre rede?"  | live<br><br>dead<br>counsel    |
| 70            | "For drede of dethe I durste it nought forsake<br>For thay there swore of thaires right so to do.<br>But nought forthy that thyng on honde to take<br>I thought it never indede to do hym to.<br>The tenth day now comynge shulde it be do.<br>Thus were we alle accordet and consente<br>Bot in myn herte til it I never assente." | dared; deny<br><br>therefore   |
| 75            | This mater sanke in tille hir fadirs witte<br>So sore and depe he myght no lengar bere.<br>Bot forthe anone his lettres made by wrytte<br>Whiche to his sonnes he sende whereso thay were<br>And also to his doughtirs for that affere<br>To come hym to withoute any dilay<br>And that in alle the godely haste thay may.          | mind<br><br>matter             |
| 80            | With that thay came als sone as ever thay myghte<br>Forto fulfille what was his comaundemente.<br>And whan thay were alle come into his sighte<br>Anone he sayde to thaym alle his entente:<br>"O doughtirs myne whi did ye so consente<br>Youre husbondes deth so cruelly diffyne?<br>O cursed be the day that ye were myne!"      | Straight away<br><br>plan      |
| fol. 6r<br>86 | "What was youre cause to wyrke that felony<br>Agayne my lawe and als my rialté<br>To shame youre blode by suche a vileny<br>That comen bene alle of hiegheste regalté<br>And maride wele unto youre egalté<br>With kinges alle and grete of excellencē?<br>Whi did ye thaym and me this grete offence?"                             | perform<br><br>married; equals |
| 95            | Here is youre sistir that alle this case me tolde."<br>Thay couthe it nought by ordal than defende<br>As was thaire lawe hote irne in honde to holde  | could; ordeal<br>hot iron      |
| 100           |   |                                |

- And bere aboute in places that were kende  
 Bot with thaire othe thay profred to defende  
 The whiche he wolde in no wise lete thaym done  
 Trowynge thay wolde of it forsworne thaym sone.
- The kinge than swore by alle his hiegh parayle  
 So irouse was that thay hote irne shulde bere  
 “And which of yow of it that doth so faile  
 Shalle de foule deth, or exilde for that feere.”  
 Thay saide echone “What so youre willes ere  
 Do with us than, for we wille never it done.  
 We swere yow here by sonne and als by mone.”
- Thus were thay alle right dampned and attaynte  
 Sauf she that was the yongeste of thaym alle  
 That tille hire fadir of it had made complaynte.  
 So dyd she to hire lorde, fair mot hire falle  
 Whose fame therfore in no-wise may appalle  
 For recomende she stode in alkyn grace  
 Amonge the folke that herde ought of that case.
- Thensforthe hire lorde hire helde in grete noblesse  
 And love evermore above alle creature.  
 And she hym als in alkyns gentillesse  
 With alle constance whils she on lyfe myght dure  
 Above alle thyngē, as come hire of nature  
 For his noblay and als his worthynesse  
 She plesed hym ever with alle hire bisynesse.
- Bot so the kinge anon gafe jugyment  
 Of his droughtirs that nyne and twenty were  
 Bycause thay cam doun of so hiegh descent  
 Of blode rial and also maride ere  
 To kinges of myght that corons did alle bere,  
 No foule done deth he wolde nought lete thaym have  
 Bot in a ship be putte to spille or save.
- So in a ship he dyd thaym putte anone  
 Withouten men to be thaire governoure  
 Bot with the flode whareas the ship wold gone  
 Forthe in the se with tempest and with showre.  
 To se that sight it was ful grete doloure  
 Bot that no wight than had of thaym pité  
 For thaire treson and thaire inyquyté.
- Within the se the flode so did thaym dryve  
 Ay forth right as the se his course had ronne.

*known  
oath; offered  
permit  
Believing; forswear*

*character  
angry; iron*

*die; fearful action  
desires; are*

*sun; moon*

*judged; convicted  
Except*

*to*

*may good fortune befall her  
diminish  
praised; all manner of  
anything*

*also in all manner of kindness  
endure*

*nobility; also  
activity*

*married are*

*allow  
to be killed or saved*

*directly*

*current*

*grief*

- |                |  |   |
|----------------|--|---|
|                | The wynde thaym drofe, now here, now thare, bylyve<br>That unnethe myght thay in thaire wittes wonne<br>In grete perile thay were and litille konne<br>To helpe thaym self, so were thay superate<br>And seke thurgh stormes, and als infortunate.   | <i>rapidly</i><br><i>hardly; remain</i><br><i>knew</i><br><i>overcome</i><br><i>ill; unlucky</i>                    |
| 145            | Thus in sorow thay ere ful sore bystadde<br>Exilde forever away oute of thaire lande<br>Whiche were alle quenes richely arayd and cladde<br>With servants feel to knele at fote and hande<br>That now in se and flodes ben wayfande.<br>And to what parte that thay shalle draw or wynne<br>Thay know nothyng bot hungre that thay were ynne.                          | <i>are; badly situated</i><br><br><i>dressed</i><br><i>many</i><br><i>tossing</i><br><i>arrive</i>                  |
| 150            | 155 Thay wote no thinge if ever thay come to lande<br>Ne whether the dethe or life that thay shalle have<br>So feble were thay, myght no fote on stande.<br>Thaire braynes febled, thaire mouthes did bot rave<br>Thare was grete reuthe to se how that thay drove.<br>Was never that wight that bare suche herte on lyve<br>Bot it wold rew to se thaym sogates dryve | <i>know</i><br><br><i>enfeebled</i><br><i>pity; traveled</i><br><i>person; alive</i><br><i>grieve; thus journey</i> |
| 160            | 165 In stormes grete forhungred and forwake<br>Thaire hertes sore with sekenesse closed aboute<br>Swownyng ful sore, suche wayknesse dyd thaym take.<br>Lo thay that were byfore so proude and stoute<br>How thay ere tame for care within and oute<br>And how afore thaire hosbondes wold have slayne<br>To whom subgets thay wold now bene right fayne.              | <i>utterly sleepless</i><br><br><i>Fainting</i><br><i>strong</i><br><i>are meek</i><br><br><i>subjects; eagerly</i> |
| fol. 7r<br>170 | So longe thay drofe and sailde upon the se<br>That at the laste thay cam unto a lande<br>And landed sone tharein as it myght be.<br>Bot Albyne first sette fote on grounde to stande<br>And seysyne firste she toke there with hire hande<br>As hire conqueste by ful possessioun<br>As eldeste sister by trew successioun.  | <i>travelled</i><br><br><i>legal possession</i>   |
| 175            |  |   |

**Nota that hir fadyr hight Dioclician and hyr modir Albyne payens (*pagans*).  
And as some cronicle sayth he was Kynge of Syry, in qua sunt iste provincie:  
Palestina, Judea, Chanaan, Idumya, Samaria, Galilea, Cichen, et Fenycia.<sup>1</sup>**

**Bot Martyne in his cronycle sayth thaire fadir was Danaus, Kyng of Argyves,  
and thaire husbondes fadir was his brother Egistus that had fyfty sonnes wed  
to .l. doughtirs, which thaire wifes slew alle but oone, fore whiche Danaus and  
Egistus exiled thaym as Trogus Pompeius sayth in his cronicles of al stories  
of the worlde, whiche Justyne his disciple abregid in xlivi booke.**

	As in Grece than from whyne that they were sente The rite so was the law and consuetude Whare brether failde theldeste sistir by judgement Shuld have the londe by right and rectitude.	<i>whence</i> <i>custom</i> <i>the eldest</i> <i>justice</i>
180	So thinke me wele I may right wele conclude Of hire conqueste she shulde have regency By alle reson and alle gode policy.	<i>governance</i>
	But hir sistirs come aftir as thay myght Unnethe thay myght ought gone for febillesse.	<i>Hardly; at all</i>
185	Thay felle to grounde with deth as thay were dight Forhungred sore and sette in suche distresse.	<i>agony; doomed</i>
	Thay had foryette fro whyne thay come I gesse And also alle the tempests of the se	<i>forgotten; whence</i>
	In whiche thay felte ful grete adversité.	
190	Thaire hungre was so grete withoute mesure Thay had foryette alle harme thay felte afore.	
	Save oonly mete thay had non othyr cure Of whiche thay brought with thaym but lytille store.	<i>Except; food; restorative</i>
	Yit thay ne wiste whither to go therfore	<i>did not know</i>
195	Bot erbes thay founde whiche of nécessité Thay ete, of whiche thay fonde gude quantité.	<i>herbs</i>

<sup>1</sup> And as some chronicles say he was King of Syria, in which these provinces are to be found: Palestine, Judea, Canaan, Idumea, Samaria, Galilee, Shechem, and Phoenicia

**The .ii. chapitle**

**Nota whan Dame Albyne and hir sisterys cam into thys ile whiche they named than Albyon, for Albynes name, how they bicame hire sugis of whom she had sovereynté aftyr the lawe of Grece, fro whyne they came, so that the eldest sister had the sovereynté that dwells in that party that now is called Englonde, as Seint Colman sayth in his sayde (*aforesaid*) Dialoge.**

- This was the yere afore the incarnacioun *incarnation of Christ*  
 A thousand and four hundre als and fyve  
 Whan they come in this londe by al relacioun *accounts*  
 200 Ful sore anoyed and dredinge of thaire lyve *distressed; fearing for*  
 Oute of the se whan that they dyd arryve  
 As Omer whiche was poet sapient *Homer; wise*  
 To Agrippe wrote from Grece by his entent.

- Bot of these systirs now forther forto say  
 How that they dyd I wille me now enforce *direct my energies*  
 That wente aboute this londe forto assay *find out*  
 Who dwelte therein, bot they no mannysshe corse *male body*  
 In it couthe fynde, so nede thaym no dyvorse  
 Ne women none, bot right thaymselff allone.  
 210 So sovereyns were they of thys londe anone.

fol. 7v **Nota how Fortune foloweth a mannes devyse**

- Thus Fortune than folowed aftir thaire devise *plan*  
 As they afore desired soveraynté  
 The whiche they had so thus at thaire avise  
 Thurgh Fortunes stroke and mutabilité *according to their wish*  
 215 That brought were thus from thaire priorité  
 The sovereynté to have and governance  
 Of alle this londe withoute disobeyshance.

- Bot Albyne than sayde to hire sistirs bright  
 “This lande shalle hatte Albyon after me *be called*  
 220 It awe to bere the name of me by right *ought*  
 I am first borne to have the sovereynté  
 And first toke lande by my fortuyté *chance*  
 Wherfore ye alle owe me obedience  
 And service als by right and consequence.

- 225 “Fortune it gafe to us by desteny  
 Seynge afore oure cruelle aventure  
 At natife birthe sette oure predesteny  
 This londe to have whils we may leve and dure *live; endure*  
 To us and to alle oure hool engendrure *lineage*

- 230 Wherfore sethe we have it so sovereynly  
Lete us go bigge and dwelle here fynaly." *build*

### The .iii. chapitle

**How the ladise felle in syn and lychery had geants (*giants*) to sonne that leved agayne (*against*) the law of God and kepte no pese amonge thaymselfe, bot grete stryfe and wronge sustened, for whiche God toke vengeance on thaym whan Brute destroyed hem.**

- The ladise so with mete and drinke replete *satisfied*  
And of nature revigourde corporaly  
And alle thaire care foryete and undrefet *forgot; subdued*  
235 Thay felte desire to play thaym womanly  
As women yit wille do fulle lovyngly  
To have fulfilde the werke of womanhede  
And frute to have the londe to reule and lede. *offspring; govern*
- So were thay tempte and felle in vaynglory *imbued with*  
240 That nyght and day thaire hertes were implyde *intent*  
To have at do with men in lichory *lechery*  
And how thay myght of men bene beste provyde  
So inwardly in it thay glorifyde *obsessed*  
That spirits than on thaym toke mannysshe fourme  
245 Liggyng by thaym thaire lustes to refourme. *Lying; satisfy*
- So dwellynge forthe in that luste and delyte *production of semen*  
With nature of thaymself and semynacioun *soon*  
Tho spirits gat childre that were geants tyte  
On thaym and thurgh thaire owne ymagynacioun  
250 By fervent hete moved with temptacioun.  
Thus gat thay than grete geants fulle of myght  
Within short tyme that were bothe hieghe and wight. *powerful*
- fol. 8r So usualy echone by other lay  
Modir ne sistir agayn it nought replyde. *objected*  
255 Of children feel sonnes and doughtirs ay *many*  
Thay gate eche day and strongly multiplyde. *begot*  
Of peple so this londe was fortyfyde  
That in it was so grete generacioun  
Non durste it noye for drede of supplantacioun. *trouble; usurpation*
- 260 Thay were so stronge by thaire fortunacioun *chance*  
Bothe myche and large and of thaire personnes wight *great; powerful*  
Men were adred of thaire malignacioun *malignancy*  
There was no wight durste come in to thaire sight *person; dared*  
Ought thaym to greve so were thay prest to fyght *In any way; ready*

- |                |  |  |
|----------------|--|--|
| 265            | Cruel and stern and hideuse onto se<br>So that oon of thaym a thousandd wold nought fle.   | <i>flee from</i>   |
| 270            | Thay dwelte on heghtes on helles and hiegh montayns<br>In whiche thay made grete edificaciouns<br>And wondirfulle, withoute water or fountayns<br>Bot castels grete whare were thaire habitaciouns.<br>Yit men may se in crags thaire operaciouns<br>Of holes and house and kaves alle destitute<br>Bot whan werre is, yit do thay grete refute. | <i>hills</i><br><i>dwellings</i><br><i>works</i><br><i>still; serve as; refuge</i>   |
| 275            | Comons for feere of enmyse and of were<br>Yit bere thaire gudes this day into suche kaves<br>With strength of men ful seure abyde thay there<br>Fro spoylinge of ennemyse, boyes and knaves<br>In whiche ful ofte the peple thaire godes saves.<br>Bot alle tho werkes that were on hilles mast<br>Bene now alle doun by tempest and by waste.   | <i>Commoners; war</i><br><i>protected</i><br><i>Against plundering by; russians</i><br><i>highest hills</i>                      |
| 280            | These geants thus this londe did so obtene<br>Thay no wight durste ourwhare thaym ought offend<br>From Dame Albyne cam to this londe I mene<br>Whils that tho wightes it had and comprehendē.<br>So regned thay and strongly it defendē<br>Two hundre yere fully also and fyve<br>To tyme that Brute with thaym dyd aftir stryve.                | <i>take possession of</i><br><i>person; dared; anywhere</i><br><i>From [the time]</i><br><i>possessed</i><br><i>Until; fight</i> |
| 285            | Thaire custome eke and thaire consuetude<br>Thaire glory and mesgoverned appetye<br>So curste were ay in yowthe and senectude<br>That longe thay myght not dure in thaire delyte.<br>Of alle levynge thay were so imperfyte<br>That God right by his reule and regymtent<br>Of thayre regnyngē wolde putte impediment.                           | <i>also; usage</i><br><i>old age</i><br><i>endure</i><br><i>corrupt</i><br><i>wished to</i>                                      |
| fol. 8v<br>296 | As God it wolde of his hiegh provydence<br>At laste dyd sette amonge thaym grete dissenciooun<br>That who maistry myght gete by violence<br>Distroed othyr by batayle and contenciooun.<br>Amonge thaym felle thanne so grete succensioun<br>Of ire and wrathe thrugh thaire mesgovernaunce<br>That eche of thaym of other toke vengeance.       | <i>civil strife</i><br><i>control</i><br><i>fighting</i><br><i>violence</i><br><i>anger</i>                                      |
| 300            | For echone other slew and brought to nought<br>Within few yeres, sauf threty bode in alle<br>Of thousandes twelfe so were thay dede forfought<br>Thaire mysreulde pride and boste so doun was falle.   | <i>except; remained</i><br><i>dead through battle</i>  |

- Than were thay few, thaire power did appalle,  
Whose regne thus felle afore the incarnacioun  
Twelfe hundre yere by very computacioun. *diminish*
- 310 Of these now wille I cese and speke no more  
Til tyme come este that Brutus have thaym slayne *afterwards*  
Of whom I wille telle forthe how he was bore *born*  
And of what kynde and blode he came sertayne  
And how he wan and named it Bretayne  
This londe mysled thurgh cruelle tyrany *destroyed*  
315 Of geants felle that leved cursidly. *fierce; lived*
- 320 And whare he firste arryved in this ile  
Of Albyon that hight afore that day *was called*  
And as my tonge can langage it and file *express; record*  
At Adam nowe I wille bygynne and say  
Of whom he came and clerly doun I may  
Convay his blode as I fynde it writen.  
In olde storise it is wele know and wytyn. *understood*



## BOOK TWO

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### Secundus Liber

#### .i. capitulum

How Brutus discomfyte (*defeated*) the Kynghe of Grece and Albion had, and called it than Bretayne after hym and of his aunctry and his successors, the genology as is comprised in the grete Brute and in the cronicles of Itaylle, as Pli(?) saith in his book *De Gestis Enee Regis Latinorum*.<sup>1</sup>

Cronica Bruti per Galfridum Monmentensem extracta de quodam libro britannico sibi tradito per Walterum Oxoniensem archdiaconum et translata in latinum ad rogatum Roberti ducis Gloucestrie filii Regis Henrici primi Anglie.<sup>2</sup>

As cronycles say and make notificacioun  
Who loke thaym wele schal know and undirstonde  
Of watkyns blode and generacioun what kind  
Brutus first came that conquerde alle this londe.  
5 It to remembre I shal now take on honde  
Thurgh olde storise by philofres compiled learned men  
In olde bokes as I have sene and fonde  
In Englisshe tonge it shal be made and fyled. recorded

At the Bible therfore I wille begynne  
10 At Adam whiche was so firste creature  
Convaynge doun lynaly in kynne  
As thay descent in birth and engendrure  
Next unto Brute as mencionde hath scripture  
I shalle reporte as God wille deyne to lede  
fol. 9r My symple geste unkunnyng in lettrure spirit; unskillful  
16 As liketh hym with language me to fede. it pleases him; provide

To whom I pray for spedē unto the ende success  
My wytte enforce in myght and sapience. strengthen

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<sup>1</sup> Concerning the Deeds of Aeneas, the King of the Latins

<sup>2</sup> The Chronicle concerning Brute, extracted by Geoffrey of Monmouth from a certain British book given to him by Walter Archdeacon of Oxford and translated into Latin at the request of Robert Duke of Gloucester, the son of King Henry I of England

- |         |   |   |
|---------|---|---|
|         | Of other goddis whiche poetes used and kende<br>In olde poeses I lak intelligence<br>Ne nought I wille so hurte my conscience<br>On thaym to muse whiche God defendeth me<br>And als for sothe for any eloquence<br>I tasted never the welles of Caliope. | <i>knew poems; knowledge prohibits</i>                              |
| 25      | Yit wille I nought pray helpe of Saturnus<br>Of Jubiter, ne Mars or Mercury<br>Venus, Ceres, Phebus or Seneus<br>Of Pallas, ne Alecte or Megary<br>Of Genyus or yit Thesiphony<br>Of Cupido ne of Ymeneus   |   |
| 30      | Mynerve, Diane, Bachus or Cerbery<br>Manes, Glaucus, Vulcane or Protheus.   |   |
| 35      | Tho goddis olde and fals I alle refuse<br>And pray to God that sitte in Trynyté<br>My geste to guy on thaym that it nought muse<br>Enspirynge it in alle sufficienté<br>Of suche language as is necessité<br>This boke to ende in balade and translate    | <i>Those spirit; guide; become lost poetry</i>                      |
| 40      | Thus newe bygunne of my symplicité<br>Amonges makers it be unreprobate.   | <i>poets; unreproved</i>  |
| 45      | For wele I wote withoute his supportacion<br>For to reporte alle his genology<br>How he descent by alkyn generacion<br>From Adam doun to Troiane auncetry<br>Goten and borne certayne in Italy<br>Who Grece conquerde, Guyen, Fraunce and Spayne          | <i>know; help all kinds Begotten</i>                                |
|         | Makers can I none counterfete ne revy<br>So symple ere my spirits and my brayne.  | <i>imitate; rival are my mental faculties</i>                       |
| 50      | Bot to thaym alle this boke forto corecte<br>Whare as thay thynke my wytte in ought hath merred<br>Mekely I wylle submytte now and directe<br>Bysekinge thaym amende whare I have erred.<br>Allethoughe I am unworthy be preferred                        | <i>gone astray</i>  |
| 55      | Amonges makers, yit I wolde I fayne bene one<br>Of thaire servants accounted and referred<br>Thurgh thaire mercy, that thay were noght my fone.   | <i>to be raised up poets; desire; to be reckoned; numbered foes</i> |
| fol. 9v | <b>The genlogie fro Adam to Brutus</b>  |   |
|         | Bot of Adam that was firste creature<br>That ever had life and alther wisest man  | <i>of all</i>   |

- Cam Seth his son so holy clene and pure.  
 60 And Seth for sothe Enos his son gatte than  
     And of Enos cam his son Caynaan  
     Of whom cam doun his son Malaleel  
     Of whom so forthe descended Jareth than  
     Of whom Enoch that gatte Matussaleel.
- truly; begot
- 65 Of whom Lameke, noght he was weddid twyse  
     Whiche was that tyme agayn the law of man  
     Bot he of whom Noe cam so gude and wise  
     Of whom Japhet cam the whiche gatte so Javan  
     Of whom so doun descended Cythym than
- the one who  
 against  
 begot
- 70 Who Cypre gatte that Cypres first dyd name  
     Of whom cam Crete that the Ile of Grece bygan  
     And dyd it name ay forth after hym the same.
- forever
- Of Crete than cam his son hight Celi  
 75 Of whom Saturne that taught men firste to bygge  
     Nerwhare that Rome now ys in Italy  
     And edyfy thaire houses into lygg  
     Vynes to plante the londe to tele and dygg  
     So with thaire swynke and bodily laboure  
     For than was thare nayther hen, gose, ne pygge  
 80 Ne other flesshe for thaire lyves socoure.
- called  
 build  
 Near  
 build; dwell  
 till  
 work  
 goose  
 sustenance
- Of whom cam than Jubyster of Frygy  
 Whiche Turky hight in whiche Troy cyté  
 In honoure stode and in grete victory  
 That chief cyté was so of alle Turké.  
 85 Dardanus cam of his paternyté  
     His sonne he was and gretly magnifyed  
     That regned firste as kinge of alle Frygé  
     And as a god amonges thaym glorified.
- Phrygia  
 is called
- Of whom cam than his son Eryctonius  
 90 Who gatte a son that Troy first edifyde  
     Who Troyus hight of whom came Kynge Ilus  
     That Ilyon made a palays of grete pryd  
     Whiche forpassinge other was longe and wyde  
     Rychely within wrought with stones precyus.
- begot; built  
 was called
- surpassed
- 95 Whiche Ilus gatte Leamedon that tyde  
     That aftyr was kinge of Troy so gloryus.
- begot; time
- Whom Ercules at Troys firste eversion  
 fol. 10r In bataylle slew whan Jason with his hoste  
 100 Destroyed Troy and wasted by subversioun  
     The rialle blode and led away with boste
- destruction

Conceyte of the maker how Troy for litil myght hafe bene undestroyed, by  
whiche is to consider favoure, whare none hurte may be, whan aliens com in to  
a reme by distresse of tempest or wynde.

- |     |  |  |
|-----|--|--|
| 105 | Whiche sorowes so for lyttle thyng dyd falle<br>Bycause thay lette Jason whan that he wolde<br>Have vytayld hym thare and his navy alle<br>Whom nayther for money ne for golde<br>Thay wolde refresshe, bot whether he wolde or nolde<br>Thay bad hym voyde on Payne of forfeiture<br>The londe anone, in story as it is tolde<br>And iff he bode upon hys aventure. | <i>hindred</i><br><i>provisioned</i><br><i>wished to or not</i><br><i>leave</i><br><i>remained; chance</i>   |
| 110 | O thou gude lorde that was Leamedoun<br>What fortune drofe thee do thaym unkyndenesse<br>Whare thay to pay for it were redy boun<br>Considerynge how he cam in by distresse<br>Whiche aftyr was cause of thy hevynesse<br>Whan he thee slew distroynge Troys cyté<br>And caste doun alle thy myght and grete noblesse<br>Withouten hurte that saved myght have be?   | <i>prepared</i>  |
| 115 | Leamedon gat than Kinge Priamus<br>And Anchises that worthy duke and wyse.<br>Whiche Priamus gat Ector and Troylus<br>And Dephebus, Helenus, and Paryse<br>Whiche were alle dukes in Troy of grete emprise<br>Of ryalle blode and of most excellencye<br>And alle were slayne thurgh Fortunes excercyse<br>At sege of Troy knyghtly in thaire defence                | <i>begot</i><br><i>grandeur</i>  |
| 120 | Sauf Helenus and his sistir Exiona<br>Were holde in Grece in thraldom and servage<br>Unsemyngly for Priams childer and Eccuba<br>Whiche kinge and quene so were of heritage<br>And made Troy new agayn in his yonge age<br>Aftyr the firste sege and subversioun<br>And Ilion als rialle to his parage<br>That wasted was by that same eversioune.                   | <i>Except</i><br><i>Unfittingly; children</i><br><i>destruction</i><br><i>heritage</i><br><i>destruction</i> |
| 125 |  |  |
| 130 |  |  |
| 135 |  |  |

**The largesse of Troye cyté**

So brode he made Troy and in longitude  
 Thre days jornays it was on horse to ryde  
 With walles stronge and toures grete multitude  
 140 And Yates thereto ful strongly fortyfyde.  
 fol. 10v Never cyté was so gretly edyfiede  
 Of marble clere, fresshe of dyverse coloure  
 Of whiche the walles were murifyde  
 Two hundre cubits with many rial toure.

*gates  
constructed  
marble; bright  
encased  
splendid tower*

145 This longeth nougnt I say to my matere  
 It is so ferre and longe degrecioum  
 Wherfore fro it I wille agayn refere  
 To Anchises, fro whom I made egreacioun  
 That fadyr was by alle repetycioun  
 150 To Eneas as cronyclers expreme  
 Who gat Ascanius by disposicioun  
 Of God above by ought that men can deme.

*pertains  
digression  
return  
divagation  
express  
begot  
judge*

**How Eneas regned in Itayly and was Kyng of Latyne and of Tuskayne by hys wife Lavynyane.**

Whiche thre cam doun playnlly by discent  
 Of rialle blode of Troy next Priamus  
 155 And worthi dukes were in werres and excellent  
 Tyl Troy was take, in bokes I fynde it thus  
 The Grekes exilde Eneas and Ascanius  
 And Anchises by se that dyd forth passe  
 Thurgh many stoure and tempest aventrus  
 160 Tylle in Sisilé thaire ship arryven wasse

*taken  
battle; dangerous  
Sicily*

Whare Anchises dyd dye and was dispent.  
 Eneas and his son toke than the se  
 With alle thaire shippes to Itaylle had thay ment  
 Bot wynde thaym drofe in Aufrike withoute lee  
 165 From whyne thay myght so nayther sayle ne fle  
 Bot welcome were for Duke Eneas sake  
 For Quene Didone hym had in speciale  
 And thought of hym hire husbonde forto make.

*exhausted by death  
intended  
Africa; shelter  
whence  
special favor*

He stale fro hire and toke the see agayne  
 170 And rose on londe whare now is Italy  
 In Tyber mouthe with travaylle and with payne  
 Whare Ostia the porte ys fynaly.  
 Whare hym was tolde in vision privaly  
 That he shuld helpe Kynge Evandre that reynd

*arrived  
Tiber; difficulty*

- |          |  |                   |
|----------|--|-------------------|
| 175      | In seven mountaynes whare Rome is now oonly<br>Whiche londe on hym he vouched sauf and deynd   | granted           |
| 180      | For by thaire god it was so prophecyde<br>That he shuld have grete parte of Italy<br>And regne tharein of peple magnyfyde<br>Thurgh his wisdome and dedes of chyvalry.<br>Wharefore he cam to hym fulle worthyly<br>To do hym bothe his servyce and plesance<br>Bryngand a braunche of olyfe pesibly<br>In honde for signe of pese and concordance.            | exalted           |
| fol. 11r | Of whom the kyng Evandre gan glorify<br>And of his come was wele rejoysed and gladde<br>For his worshyp and for his aunctery<br>And gaffe hym londe and reule of alle he hadde.<br>And for he was so exilde and bystadde<br>He gaffe hym thare bothe castels and rychesse<br>To leve upon, and rialy hym cladde<br>And golde ynewgh, right of his worthynesse. | coming            |
| 190      | This kinge Evandre made werre on Kynge Latyne<br>In whose socoure Turnus kinge of Tuskeyne<br>Cam with his hoste of Tuskalayns so fyne<br>Agayn Evandre and faught til he was slayne.<br>Eneas dyd that dede and that derayne<br>With myghty strokes and corage chyvalrouse<br>Of whiche so was Evandre glad and fayne<br>Whan that he saw hym so victoriouse. | ill-situated      |
| 195      | Bytuix Evandre than so and Kynge Latyne<br>The pese he made, reste and ful concordance<br>And Kynge Latyns doughtir that hight Lavyne<br>Weddyd to wyfe by trew and gode accordancce<br>Bytwyx thaym forthe was no more discordance.   | support           |
| 200      | Bot ful posseste kynge was of alle Tuscayne<br>Syr Eneas, and had the governance<br>And Lavyne quene in grete plesance certayne.   | combat            |
| 205      | Sone after that dyd the kyng Latyne<br>So Eneas had bothe remes in pese<br>And reuled thaym by reson wele and fyne<br>Tyl he dyd dye withouten werre or prese<br>Of enmyse ought. By lawe it was no lese<br>So rightewysly he kepte the regyment<br>That fame of hym went wyde at his decese<br>Of honoure hiegh deserved in hys entente.                      | delighted         |
| 210      |  | Between           |
| 215      |  | was called        |
|          |  | Tuscany           |
|          |  | realms            |
|          |  | fine              |
|          |  | external pressure |
|          |  | lie               |
|          |  | rule              |

	This Eneas dyd byg and edify Within his reame a castel passyng fayre Lavynyon by name specialy	<i>build; construct exceptionally</i>
220	Aftir his wife Lavyne thareof was hayre Of whom he gat a son, bot in despayre Therof he dyed wenynge have had son none Who borne so was of beuté nought unfayre Aftyr he was dede, to hayre his londes echone.	<i>heir begot thinking inherit</i>
225	The fourth yere after that Troy was desolate Whiche was afore that Rome was edifyde Or had the name of Rome denomynate Thre hundre yere and thretty specifyde	<i>constructed</i>
fol. 11v	Whan Abdon was in Isrelle magnyfyde	<i>thirty</i>
230	And reuled alle thynges aftyr his jugement As Omer sayde and hath it notyfyde That poete was, and wyse of sentement.	<i>told</i>
235	This worthy prynce Kynge Eneas mortaly Endyd his lyfe that was of hyegh prowesse Whare that God wylle to regne eternaly Withyn the House of Fame, whare as I gesse Ere knygthes fele of grete worthyness	<i>Are; many</i>
240	That more desire had ay to bere grete fame Of doughty dedes alle of thare own prowesse Than beste knyght be and bere therof no name.	
245	Bot than his sonne Sylvyus Postumus New borne was than and yonge of tendre age. Kynge of his londes was made Ascanus His brothur dere that reuled his heritage Ful pesybly kepte oute of alle servage	<i>subjection (see note)</i>
	Twenty wynter and eght corporalys Wythin whiche tyme he gate a sonne so sage	<i>begot</i>
	Hight Sylvyus and Julius nomynaly.	<i>Called</i>
250	Whiche Sylvyus dyd gette and generate His sonne Brutus on Creusa, Lavynes nese Alle pryvely by hym devirgynate And sore bisoughte with his subtilitese And nought forthy some parte by hire pitese	<i>beget neice deflowered</i>
	That tendred hym of hire femynyté As womanhode wolde of gode humylitese	<i>fervently entreated; trickery</i>
255	Have reuthe on alle men in adversité.	<i>grew compassionate towards pity</i>
	Askanyus whan he knew that it was so Amonge hys clerkys he dyd anone enquere	

- What shuld become of Brutus, welle or wo  
 Alle answerde hym as ye shalle after here  
 That he shuld sla Creusa his moder dere  
 His fadir als thurgh grete fortuyté  
 And afterwardes to grete estate affere  
 And reames wyn thurgh his humanyté.
- slay  
ill chance  
befit  
courtesy
- So after sone the fate of deth wolde so  
 That passe away shuld than Ascanius  
 He gaffe his brother Sylvus Postumus tho  
 His heritage of richesse plentyus  
 In whiche he made a cyté merveylus  
 On Tyber, so hight Aube and yit hatte so.  
 A dignyté it is to Rome famus  
 A cardynalle it hath ay and no mo.
- then  
called; named  
always
- Dame Creusa than that tyme lay in gisée  
 Afore hire tyme by right dispositioun  
 Of Brute hire sonne in whose natyvyté  
 She dyed right thurgh thayr dyvysioun.  
 Thus was he cause of hire occisioun  
 Fro his modir whan he was seperate  
 As clerkes seyde by thaire prevysiou  
 It felle right so and lyke predestinate.
- preparation for delivery  
death  
foresight
- His fadir than that hight Syr Sylvus  
 Dyd bryng hym up as he up grew in age  
 In alle nurture that myght be fructuus  
 And vertu als semynge for his parage.  
 So was he grounde and taught in alle language  
 Within fewe yeris and in his juventude  
 That by the tyme he was fiftene yere age  
 In eloquence he had the plenytude.
- edifying  
lineage  
youth
- How lordes sonnes shuld bene lerned in tendre age, aftyr the consayte of the makere of this boke, to induce hem to take vertu and eschewe vices.**
- Nota** And as lordes sonnes bene sette at foure yere age  
 To scole at lerne the doctryne of lettrur  
 And after at sex to have thaym in language  
 And sitte at mete semely in alle nurture.  
 At ten ande twelve to revelle is thaire cure  
 To daunse and synge and speke of gentelnesse.  
 At fourtene yere thay shalle to felde isure  
 At hunte the dere and catche an hardynesse
- to  
good breeding  
engage in merrymaking  
sally forth  
To; master a fearless boldness

<b>Nota</b>	For dere to hunte and sla and se thaym blede Ane hardyment gyffith to his corage And also in his wytte he takyth hede	<i>courage; heart</i>
300	Ymagynnge to take thaym at avauntage. At sextene yere to werray and to wage, To juste and ryde and castels to assayle,	<i>do battle; fight</i>
	To scarmyse als and make sykyr scurage <sup>1</sup> And sette his wache for perile nocturnayle.	
<b>Nota</b>	And every day his armure to assay In fete of armes with some of his meyné	<i>assault</i>
306	His might to preve and what that he do may Iff that he were in suche a jupartee	<i>household</i>
	Of werre byfalle that by necessité	<i>danger</i>
310	He muste algates with wapyns hym defend. Thus shuld he lerne in his priorité	<i>in any case</i>
	His wapyns alle in armes to dispende.	<i>use</i>
315	So was Brutus after other lessons hadde Upon a day at age of fiftene yere	
fol. 12v	Nurtured fully right faire, wyse and gladde, Gentile and god and of right humble chere	<i>good</i>
	And of his age that tyme he had no pere.	
	So was he sette in alle nobilité And trew in alle by ought that couthe appere,	
320	Stedfast also withoute mutabilité.	
	His fadir so for joy he of hym hadde As Fortune wolde, executrice of weerdes	<i>mistress of fate</i>
	Led hym to wode apon a day fulle gladde	
	Of hertes and hyndes to hunte right at the heerdes.	
325	Thay slew thaym doun with houndes and som with swerde	
	With that Brutus as he an herte dyd shete	<i>shoot</i>
	His fadyr slew as was afore his weerdes	<i>destiny</i>
	Wharefore his herte was oute of alle quyete.	
330	Thus were his werdes at that tyme execute By Fortunes fals and fallible execucioun	<i>untrustworthy</i>
	By clerkes aforne spoken and prelocute.	<i>predicted</i>
	How myght it be bot verry constitucioun	
	Of God above and by his institucioun	
	Whiche myght noght be in no wise dissolute	<i>relaxed</i>
335	Withouten hym to whom alle retribucioun	
	Fully longeth and may alle retribute?	<i>repay</i>

<sup>1</sup> To fight in small parties and become a careful scout

**How Brute, after the dethe of his fadir, fled fro Itaylle into Grece whare that he discomfide (defeated) the kynge and his Grekes.**

- |          |   |   |
|----------|---|---|
|          | Brutus seand thys fals fortunyté<br>The sorows grete in hym so multiplyde<br>That thare for shame of that fortuyté<br>In no wyse wolde he lengar dwelle ne byde<br>Bot into Grece his sorows forto hyde<br>He wente anone whare exils were of Troy<br>Of whom thay were right glad and medifyd<br>Thaire double sorowe he leched alle with joy.                                     | wicked destiny<br>accident<br>cured<br>healed |
| 340      | Syr Helenus was Priams son of Troy<br>And Anchises an olde worthy knyght<br>And sex thousandd that of hym had gret joy<br>Of gentilmen fro Troy exiled ryght<br>Hym thare besought with instance day and nyght<br>To helpe thaym oute right of thare heped sorow<br>In whiche thay lay opressed agayns myght<br>In servyture and thraldome even and morow.                          | evening; morning                              |
| 350      | For pyté of thaym he made than his avowe<br>What whils that he myght armes bere and ryde<br>He shuld never lete no Troyan to Greke bowe<br>Ne in servage thare langer to abyde.<br>For whiche he wrote his letturie in that tyde<br>To Pandrase that the kynge was of that londe<br>Requyryng hym to late thaym passe and ryde<br>With fredom whare thaym lyste to sytte or stonde. |   |
| 360      | <b>How the Grekes segid Brute, and by a wile of werre he putte the Grekes to flyght and toke the kyng.</b>  |   |
| fol. 13r | For whiche the kyng had scorne and grete derisioun<br>Sendinge aboute for alle his barons stoute<br>Tellynge thaym alle of Brutus dispositioune<br>How he was sette the Troyans to have oute<br>Of Grece alle fre, right in a rialle route<br>Whiche was grete harme unto his regioune<br>Iff thay shuld fre with myght departen oute<br>And to his lawe a foul abbregioune.        | illegality                                    |
| 365      | With that the Grekes cam on with alle thaire hoste<br>Thaym purposyng with Brutus forto fight.<br>So dyd also Brutus withouten boste<br>And sodenly he felle on thaym that nyght<br>And slew thaym doun the tyme while he had light.  |   |
| 370      |   |   |

- |          |  |  |
|----------|--|--|
|          | The Grekes gafe bak and fled to Askalone<br>The kynge also thare fled at alle his myght<br>In whiche water ware drowned mony one.  | turned and ran   |
| 375      | And in that chase were take Antigonus<br>The kynges brothur and Syr Anacletoun<br>That pryyv was with Kynge Pandrasius<br>Whiche Brutus had and sette in his prisoun.  |  |
| 380      | For whiche the kynge agayn dyd make hym boun<br>And sought Brutus whare he in castel lay<br>Makynge a dyke aboute it up and doun<br>So stronge he myght nought owt bot by o way.   | ready<br>trench<br>one way                                     |
| 385      | Wherefore Brutus seyng alle this meschefe<br>That seged was his castel in suche wyse<br>He sente so than Anacletus in briefe<br>Unto the hoste to say thaym on this gyse   | beseiged   |
| 390      | How he had stolne fro Brute Antigonyse<br>And in the wode hym hyd withouten fayle<br>From whyne withoute grete helpe he durste not ryse<br>And byd thaym helpe “ere eny you assayle.”  | manner<br>whence   |
| 395      | To whiche disceytle graunted Anacletus<br>So he alle fre delyverd myght so be<br>Withoute raunson fully consentyng thus<br>And to the Grekes he made this propre le  | lie  |
| 400      | Ledyng thaym forthe unto the wod he se<br>Levyng thaire warde open withouten wache<br>By whiche way Brute wente forthe with his meyné<br>Embusshyng hym in it the Grekes to cache.   | until he saw the forest<br>gate; guard<br>company<br>ambushing |
| fol. 13v | The Grekes ful glad came to that wode anone<br>Trustynge in alle his wordes that he were trewe<br>Bot Brute brake oute and slew thaym everychone<br>At spryne of day whan nyght had chaunged hewe  |  |
| 405      | From whyne he wente that Grekes aftir knewe<br>Forth whare the kinge of Grece in tente dyd lye<br>Undiskevred with alle his Troians newe<br>So had he slayne thaire scurage sutlye.  | whence<br>scouts skillfully                                    |
| 410      | And toke the kynge and slew his men right faste<br>So that thay fled forbeten on every syde<br>And some were drownde ere thay the water paste<br>Som in tentes slayne, som fled and wold not byde<br>And Troians ever after thaym chace and ryde<br>And wan the feeld with honoure and victory | severely beaten  |

- |                 |   |   |
|-----------------|---|---|
| 415             | Rejoydes gretely of alle thaire dedes that tyde<br>As wryten is and put in memory.  | time  |
|                 | <b>How Brute wedde the kynges daughter of Grece and came to Leogice with his flete whare Diane sayde he shuld have Albion.</b>  |   |
| 420             | Brutus thynkyng no langar thare abyde<br>So that he myght have Innogene to wyfe<br>And shippes ynew fulle vytaylde in to ryde<br>By se to seke hym londe upon to thryfē<br>His purpose was with Troians to arrife<br>Thaym forto holde in alle fulle libertē<br>As natife byrthe of his prerogatifē<br>Had ordayne thaym of olde antiquitē.                             | <i>aplenty stocked; travel<br/>thrive</i>           |
| 425             | The kynge he sette in alle fulle libertē<br>Anacletus also and Antigone<br>And lordes alle with alle tranquylité<br>With thy he myght alle fre with Troyans gone<br>Saufly to passe oute of the londe anone   | <i>(royal) prerogative<br/>these [men]</i>          |
| 430             | With alle suche thynge as longe to thaire dispense<br>To whiche the kynge with gode wille graunte anone<br>Sendynge for shippes that were of grete defence  |   |
| 435             | Thre hundred shypes wel stuffed of vytaylle<br>With alle tresoure and golde grete quantytē<br>And riche aray for thaire two apparayle<br>Accordant wele unto thaire parentē<br>And armours als in oportunytē  | <i>provisioned with<br/>lineage</i>                 |
| 440             | Thaym to socoure from alkyns violence<br>And wedded thaym with grete felicityē<br>And gaffe thaym gyftes of his magnyfiscence.  | <i>protect</i>                                      |
| fol. 14r<br>446 | So saylynge forthe by two days and two nyghtes<br>With sex thousand of Troyans in his flete<br>Right welle arayed for werre on alkyn rightes<br>His wyfe swownynge he confortē and rehet<br>Hyre kyssynge ofte with wordes kynde and swete<br>Tyl at the laste in Leogice thay cam<br>An ile it was forwasted and forlete<br>By outlawde men that it conquerde and nam. | <i>in all manner<br/>comforted; cheered</i>         |
| 450             | So on thrid day thare in a cytē fayre<br>Alle waste, no man ne woman dyd thay se<br>Bot o goddesse to whom right grete repaire<br>Of olde had bene and of prioritē<br>Dyane she hight and couth of destenē  | <i>abandoned<br/>seized<br/>one; dwelling place</i> |

- And telle the werdes of men what shulde byfalle.  
 455 Bothe hert and hynde grete sufficienté  
 Within that ile were spred and sene overalle.
- His men thaym slew and to the shippes dyd lede  
 For thaire vitayle and for thaire sustynance  
 To leve upon if that thay stode in nede.  
 460 But Brutus went Dyane to do plesance  
 Made his prayers to hyre with exspectaunce  
 Offrynge bothe blude and mylke of a white hynde  
 And wyne also for his observaunce  
 Whiche was the use of Troyans as I fynde.
- 465 He lay alle nyght upon a hynde skyn white  
 Bysekynge hire to lete hym wytte what place  
 He shuld byde in with his Troyans grete and lyte  
 And slepyng so Dyane hym shewed hire grace  
 And sayde “Byyonde alle Gaule a se grete space  
 470 Ane ile thou shalt fynde gode and fructuouse  
 Toward the weste which se doth alle embrace  
 That geants now holden ful maliciouse
- “That londe shalbe to thee and thy posterité  
 Evermore lastynge whare thou shalt edyfy  
 475 New Troy forsooth with grete felicité  
 A cyté grete thy name to magnify.  
 Thou and thyne heyres thare shalle so multiply  
 That alle the worlde shalle drede and doute youre name  
 So shalle ye growe in welthe and vyctory  
 480 That over alle londes wyde whare shalle sprede youre fame.”
- And whan he woke of slepe he tolde his dreme  
 Unto his men for welche thay were ful fayne  
 That thay shuld wyn and have so gude a reme  
 Unto thaire shippis thay went ful faste agayne  
 Saylynge so forthe by se in storme and Payne.  
 485 In thretty days into Aufrike thay cam  
 And so forthe sayled towardes the se of Spayne  
 And richesse grete he gette aywhare and nam.
- fol. 14v So saylynge by the Columpnes of Ercules  
 490 That men do calle in oure Englisshe language  
 Ercules Pylers of Bras it is no les  
 Who wan alle theder and had therof truage  
 And sette thaym so to stonde by that ryvag  
 In signe that he was thedir conqueroure
- live*  
*propitiate*  
*(see note)*
- custom*
- know*
- fruitful*
- build*
- eager*  
*realm*
- everywhere; seized*
- lie*  
*tribute*  
*shore*  
*thither*

- 495 And wan it alle only of his corage  
Evermore to dure in signe of his honoure. *remain*
- How Brute bylaste (*bound*) Coryneus to ben with hym, and how thay faughte with Kynge Goffore of Aquytayne and discomfyd.**
- Fro thens thay came in tille the se of Spayne  
Whare that thay founde Troianes of thare lynage  
That fled fro Troy with sorow grete and Payne  
Whan Troy was loste that was thaire heritage *necessities*  
500 Whiche wan by se thare lifelode thurgh outrage  
Robbynge also and takyng what thay fonde  
Of grete rychesse thay made alle thayre lastage *piracy*  
Thare shippes so to charge thay toke on honde. *ballast*  
*load*
- 505 Coryneus than hight thaire capitayne *was called*  
A mykylle man and thereto ful of myghte *great*  
A geant like of Brute he was ful fayne  
Bycause thay were of Troy and Troyans hight.  
Wherfore with Brute he dyd passe forth ful right  
510 Bycam his men he and his company  
Whare so he wolde in any place to fight  
Sayand it was thayre werdes of desteny.
- Thay sayled so forthe by se to Aquitayne  
That Guyen now is, whare thay rose to londe *Guyenne; landed*  
515 And thare thay slew of whiche thay were ful fayne  
Both buk and do, bothe herte and hynde thay fande  
Of no wight had thay leve ne yit warrande.  
Wharfore Goffore and alle his meynys felle *fierce band*  
That thare was kynge faught with thaym hande by hande  
520 So at that tymey Coryneus bare the belle *won the field*  
Discomfyte thaym thai durste not byde ne stande. *Routed*
- With that Goffore wente into Gaule agaste  
That now is Fraunce and so denomynate *named*  
Prayande ful fayre the Dusze Piers right faste *Entreating; Twelve Peers*  
525 To socoure hym that was extermynate *driven out*  
And putte out of his londe and superate *overcome*  
With enmyse felle and of grete multitude  
As he that oon of thaym was ordynate *appointed*  
To reule the londe oute of alle servitude.
- 530 In this mene tymey whils he gatte his socoure  
For Turnus sake that was his cosyn dere  
Was slayn so thare, Brutus dyd make a toure  
Whiche yit thys day hatte Toures who wille enquere *is called*

- fol. 15r For cause Turnus was layde thare in his bere  
535 And byried thare for whose rememorance  
Aftir his name Turnus as myght affere  
Brutus so made in signe and conyshance. bier  
*be suitable  
recognition*

540 That castelle made and fully edifyde  
The Dusze Piers alle with thare power rialle  
Faught with Brutus and Coryneus defyde.  
Yit never the les the Dusze Piers had a falle  
The Troyans dyd that tyme so welle over alle  
And so dyd Brute and als Coryneus.  
Gret multitude of thaym that were of Galle  
Was slayne and fled — Ovyde hath wryten thus.

At Toures thay helde after that gret bataylle  
Thaire counselle wyse to se what governance  
Were to thaym beste and moste myght thaym avaylle  
And to thaym als that myght be leste hyndrance.  
In whiche by oon assent and concordance  
Thay toke to rede whare that thay were assigned  
By the goddesse to passe with alle plesance  
Lesse she be wrothe thurgh which it be repigned

## How Brute londed at Tottenes and conquerde Albyon upon the geantes.

Nota how Brutus entred at Totnesse in Grete Bretayne in the armes of Troye as heire to Eneas; he bare of goules (*red*) two lyouns golde rawmpants, a contrarie (*opposite each other*), also he bare a banere of vert (*green*) a Diane of golde dischevelly (*with hair hanging loose*) corouned and enthronysed, that were Eneas armes whan he entryed the reme of Latyne that now is Romanye, as it is specified in the cronycles of Romanye, as Giraldus Cambrensis wryteth in his Topographie of Brutes armes of Troye aforsayde, and as Trogus Pompeyus wryteth in his book of al storyes touchant (*concerning*) the forsaide armes of Eneas.

555	Wharefore thay wente anone to shyp and sayle Restynge no thyng tille that thay were anente The coste thay sought, and myght nought of it faile. Enhabite so with geants of defence Albyon it hight by alkyns evydence As ye have herde in this before expreste Whiche by malyce and grete malyvolence The poraylle ever devourde sore and oppreste	<i>facing</i>  <i>warlike giants</i> <i>was called; every kind of</i>  <i>poor</i>
560		

At Totteney so this Brutus dyd arrive  
Coryneus als and alle thayre company  
Whiche name no wight that tyme that bare the lyve  
  *was alive*  
565      Couthe telle of it or say specialy.

Bot alle this londe that tyme hight certanly  
 Albyon as ye have herde afore  
 Only protekte and kepte by tyrany  
 Of geants whiche mysgoten were and bore. *misbegotten; born*

- 570      Into this londe he came so fortunate  
           A thousandd fulle right and two hundre yere  
           Afore Cryste was of Mary incarnate  
           In whiche he thought to make his dwellynge here  
           By alle wrytyngs that I can ought enquere.
- 575      Thus Brutus wan thys londe and it conquerde  
           And slew alle way whare as thay durste appere  
           The geants alle that were of hym ful ferde. *afraid*
- fol. 15v   So felle it than a geant of grete myght  
           That Gogmagog was callyd by his name
- 580      With other geants right grete and longe of highte  
           Nynetene thay were that with hym came fro hame *home*  
           Assaylynge sore the Troyans with grete grame *anger*  
           Whan thay were beste at ese and gode quyete  
           Affrayand thaym of whiche thay felte no game
- 585      With strokes stronge at mete thay dyd rehete. *Startling* *attack*

### How Brute slew alle the geantes excepte Gogmagog that wrastyld with Coryneus

- Bot aftyr thys Brutus with his Troyans  
 Sought tho geants that hiegh upon the hillies  
 Were dwellynge than sothely for the nanes *truly at that moment*  
 For drede of Brute, for thay knew noght his wylles. *stratagem*
- 590      He slew thaym doun with axe swerde and bylles *pikes*  
           And made of thaym a felle occisioun *fierce slaughter*  
           And lefte bot oon levyng than by his willes *deliberately*  
           Was Gogmagog by his previsioun *foresight*
- Who sesed was for alle his resistence  
 To wrastille with the duke Coryneus  
 That Brute myght se who was of moste defence *most skillful in fighting*  
 And strongar als in case aventerus. *perilous*
- 600      Twelf cubit longe he was I say you thus  
           Bothe royde and brode and ugly fortso se. *boorish*  
           On the se banke thay mette afore Brutus  
           Whare thaire wrastlyng was ordeynde fortso be.
- This Gogmagog so thraste Coryneus *crushed*  
 That ribbes thre he brake than in his syde  
 Bot than for shame he luked on Brutus *rushed*  
 And thought he wold revengen hym that tyde.

With that he stode and sette his legges wyde  
And gatte hym up bytwene his armes faste  
And to the roche hym bare that was besyde  
And with alle myght he had thare doun hym caste. rock



fol. 16r      **Brute Kynge of Bretayne inhabyte it and called it Bretayne and his men named Bretons**

- 620 Thus Brutus than was kynge in regalté  
 And after his name he called this londe Bretayne  
 And alle his men by that same egalté      *equanimity*  
 He called Bretouns of Brutus noght to layne.      *in truth*  
 So were thay alle of that name glad and fayne.  
 Than rode he forthe departyng as he wolde      *distributing*  
 Thurghoute the reme the londe to yonge and olde      *realm*

- 625 Rewardyng ever his men so juste and trewe  
In dyverse londes that with hym had grete payne.  
Gafe thaym londes upon to dygge and plewe      *plow*  
Of whiche for sothe they were right glad and fayne.  
And to Coryneus he gafe the sothe to sayne  
The londe that nowe is called so Cornewayle  
Coryneus named withouten fayle.

- |     |  |  |
|-----|--|--|
| 635 | <p>So was the name right of Albyon<br/>       Alle sette besyde in kalendes of a chaunge<br/>       And putte away with grete confusion<br/>       And Bretayne hight it than by new eschaunge<br/>       Right after Brute that slew thise geants straunge<br/>       And wan this londe by his magnificencie<br/>       In whiche he dwelte longe tyme in excellencie.</p> | <i>as the beginning<br/>shame<br/>substitution</i> |
|-----|--|--|

**How the maker of this sayth his conceyete of evyl levyng and wrongful governance of peple, as of thise geants that cursidly were goten and wrongfully and tirantly levyd for the whiche God sette Brute to distroye thaym as Salomon sayth: “In malicia sua expelletur impius et adversio parvulorum enim interficiet et prosperitas stultorum perdet eos.”<sup>1</sup>**

- Nota** O ye yonge fresshe and lusty creatures  
640 In whiche the pride upgrowtheth with youre age  
Take hede of thise unseynly aventures  
Of thise ladise and of alle thaire lynage  
And thynke on God that after his ymage  
Yow made and thynke this world shalle passe away  
645 As sone as done the floures fresshe and gay.
- ill-favored*
- Nota** Suche fyne lo hath Dame Albyne and hir sisters  
That groundyd were to sla thaire husbondes alle  
Suche fyne lo hath thaire cursed werkes and mysteris  
Suche fyne lo hath upon thaire isshue falle  
650 Such fyne lo hath thaire generacion alle  
That bene dystroyde so sone and slayne away  
For pryd and synne and for thaire fals array.
- end*  
*projects*  
*progeny*  
*behavior*
- Nota** Thus after prydeth thare commeth alleway grete shame  
And after synne so commeth grete vengeance  
655 Aftyr wyke lyfe commeth a wykyd name  
And after wronge lawes come shorte perseveraunce  
After olde synnes come new shames and meschaunce.  
Thus may ye se right by the ende and fate  
Thare cometh no gode of lyfe inordynate.
- ill-governed*
- fol. 16v Of this matere now ys sufficienté  
661 Reported here through my symplicyté  
That lyttle have of konnyng or sapience  
To ende this boke of my synglarité  
So farre passith it myne abilité  
665 But thus of Brute I wylle now forth procede  
As lyketh God with language me to fede.
- [it] pleases; provide*

**How Kynge Brute bygged (*established*) Trynovant that now is Londoun and made Troian law in Bretayn.**

Thus Kynge Brutus of whom I spake afore  
Fully provyded in wytte and sapience

*endowed*

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<sup>1</sup> *The evil doer is overthrown by his malice* (Proverbs 14:32), *for the turning away of the children shall slay them, and the prosperity of fools shall destroy them* (Proverbs 1:32)

- |          |  |  |
|----------|--|--|
|          | His reame thurghoute in contrese lesse and more<br>Departed so that by his diligence<br>Eche shire was know from other by difference<br>And every town also thurgh alle Bretayne<br>Whiche Englond now Wales and Scotlond ere certayne.  | <i>regions<br/>distinguished</i>                                 |
| 670      |  |  |
| 675      | Whiche with the se ere closed alle aboute<br>And Albyon was called so afore<br>In whiche he made his rytes and lawes thurghoute<br>Grounded after lawe Troyane lesse and more<br>Of whiche he was descended doun and bore.<br>The pese he made saufly to go and ryde<br>And thurgh the londe the townes edifyde.                           |  |
| 680      |  | <i>founded</i>   |
| 685      | He made men tele the londe and sawe with sede<br>Of cornes whiche that myght be gette ourewhare<br>Controvynge so with hosbondry to brede<br>And brynge forthe corne whare before none ware<br>The feldes that were barayne and alle bare<br>With muk he dyd becomposte and bespred<br>Thurgh whiche the londe with corne ynewth was bred. | <i>till; sow<br/>grain; everywhere<br/>Devising; cultivation</i> |
| 690      |  | <i>manure<br/>plenty</i>   |
| 695      | He sought a place thurghoute his regiou<br>Whare he myght have a wonnyng delytable<br>Of alle dysport and for dygestyoun<br>And for his helthe were moste comfortable<br>Moste plentyouse and als moste profytalbe<br>Thare to abyde and have his habitacioun<br>Right after his own hertes delectacioun.                                  | <i>dwelling</i>  |
| 700      | So came he by a ryver fresshe and fayre<br>Rennynge his course ay fresshe unto the se<br>On whiche he chese to bygge and to repayre<br>For love of Troy was his priorité<br>A cyté fayre and of grete dynynté<br>Above alle othyr to ben incomperable<br>Within Brytayne and als moste profytalbe.   | <i>build</i>   |
| fol. 17r | Thamyse he gafe that ryver so to name<br>On his language hym liked to do so<br>On whiche he sette his cyté of grete fame<br>Of Novel Troy to kepe in wele and wo<br>In remembrance of Troy his kyn cam fro.<br>Som say to name he gaffe it Trynovaunt<br>Of his language natyfe so consonaunt  | <i>Thames</i>  |
| 705      |  | <i>New Troy</i>  |

- Bot Troynovant som boke sayth so it hight  
 710 Of Troyane speche to sounde it oute alle playne  
 Whiche language yit the Turkes speke ful right  
 Alle Turky thurgh of modre tonge certayne.  
 For Troy ys yit in Turky sothe to sayne  
 Thof it be waste yit ys the grounde thare stille  
 715 The language als upholde that longe there tylle.
- Although  
remains; pertains*
- So thynke me wele it shuld hight Troynovaunte  
 Or els I say that Trynovaunt itte hight  
 Of Troys language as Turkes yit use and haunte  
 Rather than to calle it Novel Troy by right.  
 720 That Frenshe language was nought to thaym so light  
 Whare Brute and his no tendyrnesse couthe fynde  
 Bot emnyté, grete bataylle, and unkynde.
- be called  
speak  
comprehensible*
- Whan Brute his werke had made and brought til ende  
 Of Troynovant that now ys London named  
 725 He led his lyfe, his reame to kepe and mende  
 In every londe his name so wele was famed.  
 Of pese and reste alle wykednesse he blamed  
 Levynge so forthe in myrth and rialté  
 With Innogen his wyfe ful of beuté.
- rebuked  
Living*
- Nota quod quidam Hely iudicavit in Judea; Silvus Postumus filius Enee et Lavyne regnavit in Ytalia, et Brutus filius Silvii Iuli in Britania nunc Anglia regnavit.<sup>1</sup>**
- 730 That tyme Hely so regned in Judé  
 The Arke of God eke take by Philistiens  
 Than regned als in Troy of novelté  
 The sonne of Ector with helpe of Troggens  
 And put away Anthenores Posterius  
 735 And Sylvius as Gildas seyth in story.  
 Eneas sonne regned in Italy
- Eli; Judea*
- Grete justes he helde with grete felicityté  
 In gyftes also he was right liberalle  
 Glad and mery festes with grete solempnyté  
 740 He made fulle ofte to his peple and lordes alle  
 Huntynge hawkynge and revelynge in halle  
 And by his wye he gat so sonnes thre  
 Benygne of porte and godeley onto se.
- (i.e., Brutus)  
conduct*

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<sup>1</sup> Note that a certain Eli judged in Judea; Silvius Posthumous the son of Aeneas and Lavinia ruled in Italy, and Brute, the son of Silvius Julius ruled in Britain (now England)

fol. 17v And at his ende he made by his previsioun  
 745 Of alle Bretayne certayne until the se  
 After his decese a playne dyvysioun  
 To bene departe amonge his sonnes thre  
 The quene hire thrid of ful sufficienté  
 That worthy was of alkyn womanhede  
 750 In so ferre forthe she passed other and excede.

*clear*

**But Giraldus Cambrensis sayth in his Topographie of Wales and Cornwail that he regned in Bretayne ix yere, that is more lyke to bene for he might have made Londoun in xxiiii yere, as it is specifyed in this balade.**

Whan he had so in fulle prosperité  
 Fully regned by foure and twenty yere  
 In his cyté of Troynovant dyd de  
 And byried thare with alle that myght affere  
 755 To suche a prynce who that tyme had no pere  
 That knownen was in any reame aboute  
 So was he dred that every londe hym doute.  
*die*  
*pertain*  
*feared*

And in the yere afore the incarnacioun  
 A thousandd hole eght score and sextene  
 760 Aproved welle by calculacioun  
 Amonges these clerkes as wele it may ben sene  
 Whan deth his soule refte fro his body clene  
 And led away withoutte impedymēnt  
 Whare God ordeyned right by his jugyment

765 In the temple that tyme of Appolyne  
 Whiche now ys Paules in vulgar tungē so hight  
 Before Diane that was his goddes fyne  
 Whiche thare he made in name of Dyane right  
 In Leogyce that Albyon hym hight  
 770 He byred was and layde in sepulture  
 In rialle wyse as come hym of nature.  
*Apollo*  
*St. Paul's*  
*pure*  
*promised*  
*was becoming*

**Lamentacioun of the makere why God suffred so rightwis a prynce to bene dampned**

O gude lorde God what dole it ys to here  
 Of suche a prynce so rialle and benygne  
 Ful of vertu by sight as dyd appere  
 775 Nothyngē wyllynge to mysdone ne maligne  
 Why was so gode a person and so dygne  
 In godenesse sette and alle humylité  
 To dye and noght his soule to saved be?  
*grief*  
*worthy*

- Bot thus thou myght whan that thou heried helle  
 780 Knowynge his trouthe and rightwis governaunce  
 Of thy mercy from peyne perpetuelle  
 His soule within some restfulle place avaunce  
 Consideringe welle unto the olde creaunce  
 Whiche only was that in grete God above  
 785 How myght thou Lorde foryette that hym dyd love?
- harrowed*  
*belief*  
*forget*

fol. 18r .ii. capitulum of Kynge Locryne and hys two brether

**Nota for homage of Scotlond. How Kynge Brute devydyd Bretayne in thre remes:  
 Logres, Cambre and Albany.**

- Of Brutus sonnes now wille I thus bygynne  
 Locryne than hight the eldest sonne of alle  
 Whiche Loegres had that Englond is with wynne  
 Unto his parte men did it Loegres calle  
 790 The beste it was also moste pryncipalle.  
 Locryne Loegres dyd calle after his name  
 Whiche was that tyme as yit ys of grete fame.
- was called*  
*possessions*

**Kynge Camber**

- The seconde sonne Syr Camber so he hight  
 Who Camber had that cald is now Wales  
 795 So after his name it hight Camber right  
 And now in Frensshe so is it calde Gales.  
 Ful ofte it hath sen that tyme done us bales  
 For servyce dew we claymed of it to have  
 Whiche ys now sure us nede no more to crave.
- since; tribulations*

**Kynge Albanacte**

- 800 Syr Albanacte the thrid sonne than so hight  
 Had to his parte the londe of Albanye  
 After his name so cald he it be right  
 Whiche Scotlond now ys named sertanly  
 The whiche he helde of Locryne soveraynly  
 805 As Camber dyd than for his parte the same  
 Yit sen that tyme for it hath risen grame.
- strife*

**Nota how Kynge Locryne had the sovereynté and servyce of Camber and  
 Albanacte for thaire londes that now ere called Wales and Scotland.**

Thus Locryne had, as come hym welle of right  
 Of Troyans lawe of grete antiquyté  
 In Troy so made whan thay were in thaire myght

- |                    |  |                                |
|--------------------|--|--------------------------------|
| 810                | The eldest sonne shuld have the soveraynté<br>His brether alle of his pryorité<br>Shuld hold thaire londe withouten variance<br>So was that tyme thaire lawe and ordynance.  |                                |
| <b>Nota</b><br>815 | And alle resorte so shuld ever apperteyne<br>To the elder by superyorité<br>If the yongar non issu have to reyne<br>The elder shuld by alle priorité<br>Have alle his parte to his posteriorité.<br>Thus Brute by lawe of Troy and consuetude<br>Thurgh Bretayne made the same by rectitude.                                 | <i>custom</i>                  |
| 820                |  |                                |
| <b>Nota</b><br>825 | At Mewytryne some tyme a place of fame<br>In Bretons tyme in whiche was oon Mewyne<br>So wyse poete that tyme was non of name<br>That florish so ful longe afore Merlyne<br>Who in his boke so wrote for dissiplyne<br>The lawes of Troy to this day unreversed<br>Amonges the whiche is that I have rehersed                | <i>Glastonbury</i>             |
| fol. 18v           |  |                                |
| <b>Nota</b><br>830 | How Brutus made in Bretayne Troyans lawe<br>Thaire sacrifysce, thayre customes and thayre rytes<br>And in his boke he sette thaym hye and lawe<br>Whiche tretise so was called Infynites<br>Evermore to dure and byde as fulle perfytes<br>As poyntes whiche longe to the monarchy<br>Of Bretayne so and to his successory.  | <i>low</i>                     |
| 835                |  |                                |
| 840                | Bot as these brether sette beste in pese and reste<br>Thaire servyce done that dewe was of thayre londe<br>The kynge Humber of Hunneslonde fulle preste<br>Wyth shypes arrofe whare now ys Hembre sonde<br>In Albany was than I undyrstonde<br>With whom the kynge was than of Albany<br>Syr Albanacte dyd fyghten manfully. | <i>ready<br/>landed; water</i> |
| 845                | In whiche bataylle was Albanactus slayne<br>His men that fled, fro he was dede away,<br>To Locryne came thare sores to complayne<br>Tellynge hym of Hembre and his aray<br>And prayd hym fayre to helpe iff that he may<br>Thaire londe to voyde of ennemyse and to clenge<br>His brothyrs dethe also for to revenge.        | <i>after<br/>purify</i>        |

**How afir the decese of Albanacte, Kynge Locrine dyd seyse Albany in his honde  
by eschete (*escheat*) and resort (*right*) as soverayne lord and hayre.**

- The kynge Locryne to Cambre than forthe sente  
 850 His lettres sone, fulle wofully endyte  
     Hym chargynge sore with alle his hole entente  
     To come anone his brothyr deth to quyte.                                  *avenge*  
     Who come anone and taryde bot a lyte    *tarried*  
     With bothe thayre hostes with Hambre forto fyght  
 855 Besyde a water agayne hym dyd thay lyght.    *come*
- And wyth hym faught amoved in thare herte  
 For thayr brothyr dethe whiche sette thaym wondir sore  
     Thay slew thaym sore with strokes grete and smerte.                          *strong*  
 860 Bot Humber fled in that ryver therefore  
     Whare he was draynte, that sene he was no more,    *drowned*  
     For whiche Locryne so dyd that ryver calle  
     Hambre of hym that dyd so in it falle.
- Wythin tho shypes Locryne hadmekyl gode    *great*  
 865 That made hym stronge so forth of alle rychesse.  
     His brother als thaire men that with thaym stode  
     In bataylle sore bysette in grete dystresse    *beset*  
     He delte it welle and with grete bysynesse  
     Amonge thaym alle as ferre as myght sustene  
     Thayre pore estates to menden and to meyntene.
- fol. 19r Whan seyzed he Albany sothe to sayne  
 871 Into his honde to byde for evermore  
     As itte that owe of right resorte agayne  
     To hym that was sovereyne eldeste bore  
     Who kepte itte wele fro ennemyse and alle sore  
 875 As longe as he dyd leve and bare the crowne  
     His men thay were and at his byddynge bowne.    *obedient*
- Bot in tho shippes thre maydens there he fonde  
     Of beuté faire and of gode auncetry  
     Of whiche oon was on whom his love he bonde  
 880 The daughter of a kynge of Germany  
     Estrilde that hight wham he thought womanly  
     And for his wyfe hire helde at his plesaunce  
     The whiche he thought to wed by ordynaunce.
- Coryneus than for that with hym was wrothe  
 885 And to hym sayde "Why art thou so untrewe  
     My daughter so to falsen and to lothe  
     Thy wyfe shulde ben if that thou were ought trewe    *deceive*

- |          |   |  |
|----------|---|--|
|          | For whence I shalle thy bales bake and brewe.<br>Bot thou hire wed I shalle now be thy deth<br>Testment othur shalt thou never make ne quethe." <sup>1</sup>  | <i>troubles</i><br><i>Unless</i>                               |
| 890      | Wyth that for fere and som dele by avyse<br>Of alle his lordes that were to it acorde<br>He wed his daughter that was bothe gode and wyse<br>Anone forthwith by trety and concorde.<br>Bot ever he thought Estrilde shuld bene restorde.<br>Bot with his wyfe that hight Quene Guendolyne<br>A son he gatte by wedlayke and right lyne. | <i>partly; judgment</i><br><i>agreement</i><br><i>regained</i> |
| 895      |   |  |
| 900      | Whiche Maddan hight right by his propre name<br>And in mene while this Estrylde was with childe<br>Kepte undir erthe for drede of speche and blame<br>And whan he wold ought gon to this Estrilde<br>He sayd his wyfe with tonge as he couth fylde<br>He yede sogates to do his sacryfise<br>Unto his god in his moste pryvy wyse.      | <i>meanwhile</i><br><i>deceive</i><br><i>in this way</i>       |
| 905      | And undyr this this lady Dame Estrylde<br>So kepte in mewe with alle grete pryyté<br>Whan tyme so cam delyverd was of chylde.<br>A daughter it was of ful femynyté<br>Of womanhede and alle abilité   | <i>kept concealed; secrecy</i>                                 |
| 910      | Whiche Sabren hight as cronycles done recorde,<br>I can se non that fro itte dothe discorde.  |  |
| fol. 19v | Coryneus as whan the day of deth<br>Was come hym to and nedes muste he de<br>Passed so forthe to Jubyter bequethe<br>His woful geste to sitte with hym and be<br>Perpetually so undur his deyté.  | <i>die</i>   |
| 915      | Than Guendolene Maddan sente to Cornewayle<br>Thare to be kepte within hire londe and baylé.  | <i>power</i><br><i>protection</i>                              |
|          | <b>.iii. capitulum of the Quene Guendelyne that regned aftyr Locryne</b>  |  |
| 920      | After the deth of Coryneus so<br>Locryne toke Dame Estrilde and hire wedde<br>And put away the quene with mekyl wo.<br>And she anone so in tille Cornewayle fledde<br>And raysed thare the power that she hedde   | <i>great</i>   |

<sup>1</sup> You will never make, or promise, another declaration of marriage

925 And in the felde she faught with Kyng Locryne  
 Whare he was slayne: he had none other fyne. *end*

930 Anone she toke that lady Dame Estrilde  
 And Sabren als hire doughter fayre and dere  
 And drowned thaym bothe two, hire and hire childe,  
 In a ryver grete rennyng faire and clere  
 Whiche Severne now is cald ferre and nere.  
 For Sabren sake she dyd it so forth calle  
 After hire name and quene she was overalle.

**Nota** For ten yere than had regnyd Kynge Locryne  
 And fiftene yere after she regned quene  
 935 And had the reule and governd wele and fyne.  
 Than Maddan so that was hire sonne I mene  
 She made than kynge and crouned hym I wene  
 And to Cornewayle she went agayn so este  
 To kepe that londe the whiche hire fadry lefte. *pleasant*

941 **Nota** This tyme than was the prophete Samuel  
 Of grete wysdome and of high sapience  
 Governyng than the childer of Israelle  
 From alkyns evel thurgh his intelligence  
 That was so wyse in al experience  
 945 To lerne the folke to love God over alle thyng  
 Thus dyd he longe afore his laste endyng. *teach*

950 **Nota** And Sylvyus the son of Eneas  
 Yit regnyng than and kynge in Italy  
 Of Tuskayne hole and of Latyne so was  
 By heritage and right of auncetry  
 As Omer sayth that florissht in poetry  
 In rethoryke forpassyng other famouse  
 That philosofre was clere and curiose. *Tuscany; Rome*  
*Homer; who was famous*  
*skillful*

fol. 20r .**iv. capitulum of the Kynge Maddan**

**Nota of gude reule in this kynges tyme and therfor he regned .xl. yeres**

955 This Maddan so was kynge of Loegres than  
 And also of the londe of Albany  
 Ful fourty yere he regned as a man  
 And kepte his landes in pese fro tyranny.  
 In wisdome was he grete to magnyfy,  
 Manly and wise, of knyghthode corageouse,  
 960 Hardy and stronge like to Coryneus.

In pese he was his tyme and so he ende  
 Bot sonnes two he gat right of his wyfe,  
 Manlyn also and Membrice, to defende  
 His remes bothe from alkyn werre and strife  
 965 And dyed so and byried by his wife  
 With grete praysynge and ful comendacioun  
 Of alle his reames thurgh his dominacioun.

Fulle of vertu he regned fourty yere  
 That no man durste his neyghbur oughte dispiese  
 970 So wele the lawe he kepte while he myght stere  
 That every wight was glad hym forto plese  
 And every man eche othur for to ese  
 So dred thay hym alle for his rightwysnesse  
 Kepynge his lawe and pese in sykernessee. *security*

#### .v. capitulum of the Kynge Manlyn and Membrice

975 Manlyn his sonne whiche of priorit   
 Have regned shuld and fully have bene crounde  
 With treson fals and grete iniquyt   
 By his brother Membrice falsly founde  
 A day was sette to se who shuld that stounde *time*  
 980 Bene kynge and regne in pese by ful concorde  
 To cese alle strife amonge thaym and discorde.

Upon whiche day Membrice his brothyrs wounde  
 And slew hym thare by his imagynacioun *devising*  
 For he wold regne oonly and be crounde  
 985 And upon that he made his coronacioun  
 Thurgh falshode foule and hiegh conspiracioun. *conspiracy*  
 Kynge was he made and had the londes two  
 And led thaym so in wykednesse and wo.

#### Kynge Membrice

990 Membrice this kynge destroyed his men thurghoute  
 Thaire londes, thaire godes or els thaire life sertayne  
 He toke fro thaym and held thaym ever in doute  
 So wyk he was and fulle of grete dedayne. *fear*  
 His comons sore dyd vexen and distractyne *wicked; arrogance*  
 995 To plese and pay in alle that he wold have *distress*  
 Or dye he shule foule deth so God me save.

fol. 20v His wedded wife he dyd falsly forsake  
 Hauntynge the synne so foule of sodomyte *Practicing; sodomy*  
 With bestes ofte instede right of his make *partner*

- To thaym he had suche luste and appetye  
And of his wife havyng right no delyte  
Bot hire avoyde out of his companye  
Withouten cause bot of his trecharie.

## How this cursed kynge was dede thurgh vengens

- |      |  |   |
|------|--|---|
|      | Whan he had so fulle regned twenty yere<br>As God wold he shuld have he had deserved<br>To wod he went folowynge upon a dere<br>Right by hym oon with wolfes feel overswerved<br>He was anone thare slayne and alle forterved<br>That lym fro lym was fro hym draw and rente<br>He myght never have gode ende that falsly mente. | wished<br><br>alone; savage overcome<br>thrown down<br>limb; torn |
| 1005 | He had a sonne, Syr Ebrouke was his name,<br>To have hys reames astyr his cursed ende.<br>Thus was Membryce than dede and made fulle tame<br>His body eten with wolfes and alle torend<br>Whose soule Mynerva with bales al tobrende.  | torn apart<br><br>Minerva; torments; burned                       |
| 1010 | And in his tyme Saul regned in Judea<br>Eristens in Lacedemonya.   | Lacedaemon (Sparta)   |

.vi. capitulum of the Kynge Ebrauke

- 1020 Ebrauke his sonne crowned so was anone  
Whiche made grete shippes upon the se to saile  
With helde his knyghtes with hym so forth to gone  
And als his men than waged of Cornewayle  
And into Gaule he sayled withouten fayle  
In whiche he wan richesse innumerable  
To holde estate rialle and honorable.

- 1025 And twenty wifes had, as cronycle sayth,  
And alle wedded by maner as was than  
Trouthed fully right with his honde and fayth  
With other rytes the whiche that I ne kan  
At this tyme telle, ne say unto no man,  
Bot twenty sonnes had by generacioun  
1030 Thretty doughters als by alle relacioun.accounts

**How Ebrauke (York), Maiden Castel, Mounte Dolorous and Alclude this Kinge  
Ebrauke did make**

- |          |  |  |
|----------|--|--|
|          | Whiche he dyd calle Mounte Dolorouse so wighte<br>That now Bamburgh ys castelle of grete myght<br>In which there ys a toure hatte Dolorouse Garde<br>Bot by what cause I can nought wele awarde.   | <i>strong</i>  |
| fol. 21r | Bot thus I have in olde bokes red and sene<br>That Ebrauke whan he was put to the flight<br>For his socoure than thydryr came I mene.<br>By other bokes I have eke sene be sight<br>For Launcelot love a lady dyed fulle bright<br>Whiche in a bote enchaunted for the nones<br>Arofe up thare: so named he tho wones.                 | <i>discern</i>   |
| 1040     |  | <i>Arrived; dwellings</i>  |
| 1045     | And in the londe for sothe of Albany<br>The Mayden Castelle strongly than dyd he make<br>Callynge it so on his language forthy<br>That he had thare his luste with maydens take<br>In yowth whan that hym lyste with thaym to wake<br>Whiche now so hatte Edynburgh ryghte by name.<br>Alle Scotlond thurgh it hath now alle the fame. |  |
| 1050     |  |  |
| 1055     | High on the Mounte Agneth so was it sette<br>A castelle stronge and of grete altitude<br>To whiche thare were thre score maydens sette<br>By a geant for his solycitude<br>Agayn thaire wille for thaire grete pulcritude<br>And bewté als that hym liste with thaym play<br>Whom for thaire sake Syr Ewayn slew men say.              | <i>special attention</i><br><i>fairness</i><br><i>it pleased him</i> |
| 1060     | And thaym he dyd delyver of that servage<br>And put that place so fulle in obeyssance<br>Of Kynge Arthure, it was his heritage<br>As sovereyn lorde. And so for that myschaunce,<br>That maydens were there kepte to ther grevaunce,<br>So was it calde Mayden Castelle aftirwarde<br>Many a day ful longe by that awarde.             | <i>obedience</i><br><i>wrongdoing</i>                                |
| 1065     |  |  |

Nota quod Pollicronica dicit Alclude esse iuxta Caerleyle prope Sulwath tunc in Albania et nunc in Anglia, vastata per Danos ita quod nichil inde videtur hiis diebus sed omnis apud omnes incognita. Tamen Scotti dicent Alclude esse illam villam quae nunc vocatur Dunbretayne.<sup>1</sup>

- The cyté als he made than of Alclude  
Whiche bare that tyme the fame of Albany.  
A castelle by was of grete fortitude  
Whiche Dunbretayne now hight ful notably      *is called*  
Whare Seynt Patrike bycame man natifly      *born*  
For whiche in itte never seth was sene vermyne      *afterwards*  
Ne yit non horse that ought myght donge therein.      *void excrement*

**Nota how Ebrauk maryed alle his daughters in Itaylle and alle his sonnes saufe his hayre he sent in Germany**

- |                  |   |                                      |
|------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| <b>Nota</b>      | He sent his daughters so unto Italy<br>Thare to be wedde to lordes of Troyans kynde<br>At grete requeste of Brutus cosyn Silvy<br>Who kynge was than of Latyn as I fynde.<br>For ladise thare had neyther wylle ne mynde<br>To Troyans blode be wed ne yit maryde<br>So lothe thay were with thaym to ben allyde. | <i>Rome</i>                          |
| 1075             |   |                                      |
| fol. 21v<br>1081 | Whare thay were wed echon to thaire degré<br>To Trojans grete and of the beste estate<br>Thurgh Kynge Sylvy of whose consanguynyté<br>Thay were echone descende and generate.<br>And alle his sonnes that were so procreate<br>To Germany he send thaym forth anone<br>Savande only his eldeste sonne alone.      | <i>kinship</i><br><i>(Ebrauke's)</i> |
| 1085             |   |                                      |

**Nota how wisely this gode Kynge Ebrauke reuled his londe**

- Thus was his wytte and als his policy  
That thay shuld wyn in other cuntré lande  
To leve upon oute of alle myserie  
With navy grete by se and eke by sande      shore  
For he nolde payre ne harme no lorde he fande      damage  
For love of thaym, ne in no wyse wold spille      slay  
So was he trew his lordes alle to styllie.      pacify

<sup>1</sup> Note that the Polychronicon says that Alclude is next to Carlisle, near to Sulwath, then in Albany and now in England, destroyed by the Danes. For which reason nothing is seen in these days, but is entirely, by everyone's account, unknown. The Scots, however, say that Alclude is that town that is now called Dumbarton

- 1095 Undyr the reule and by the regyment  
Of thaire brother that hight Syr Assarak  
Alle Germany thay had at thaire entente  
And lordes were thare ay forth withouten lak.  
Thus were thay lordes and holpen alle the pak  
Outwarde fro home by wytte and governaunce  
Tylle his barons and reme fulle grete plesaunce.
- desire  
deficiency  
army  
*Unto; realm*
- 1105 Than Kynge Davyd so regned in Judé  
Undyr whom than prophecyed in Israelle  
Gad, Nathan and Asaph of the deyté.  
And Sylvyus also regned fulle welle  
In Italy as dyverse cronycles telle  
Who was the sonne right of Kynge Eneas  
That Brutus cosyn and nere of blode than was.
- power of God*  
*kindred*
- 1110 And sixty yere Kynge Ebrauc bare the croune  
Regnyng fully with alle prosperyté  
With honoures high and myghty of renoune  
Redouted bothe in age and juventé  
Of alle ennemyse for his humanyté  
And at Ebrauke was made his byrialle  
Whiche was so than his cyté pryncipalle.
- youth  
courtesy

#### .vii. capitulum of the Kynge Brute Grenesheelde

- 1115 Hys sonne Brutus Grenesheeld by name so hight  
Bothe gode and trew and esy of alle porte  
Wyse and manly and feyre to alle mennys sight.  
In alle desese he wold his men comforde  
To ryde his londe thurghout was his dysporte  
Nota Alle wronge to mende and fully to redresse  
1121 Thus was his life as bokes done expresse.
- was called  
manner  
tribulation  
custom

- fol. 22r He regned fulle in pese and reste twelve yere  
And dyed than and by his fadyr syde  
Beryed was right as I can enquere  
1125 With grete honoure aboute hym in that tyde.  
Of alle Bretayne the barons dyd hym guyde  
Tylle tyme he was layd in his sepulture  
As Gyldas sayth for sothe in his scripture.
- guide

#### .viii. capitulum of Kynge Leyle

- 1130 So Leyl his sonne was kynge than after so  
That made anents the londe of Albany  
A cyté fayre whiche that Caerleyl highte tho
- near to

- That now Carlele men callen fynaly.  
 In whose tyme so regned than corporaly  
 Kynge Salomon so wyse in alle Judé  
 1135 Begynnynge thurgh his noble dygnyté
- To bygge and make the temple of Jerusaleme  
 And Saba quene that same tyme came to here  
 His hiegh wysdome spoken of mony reme.  
 And in the tyme of Leyl were prophetes sere  
 1140 Prechynge of God the peple forto lere  
 Amos, Aggeos, Joel, Azarias also  
 With othur als bot I canne telle no mo.
- He in his tyme held welle the londe in pese  
 Bot in his age it was sette alle on stryve.  
 1145 Whan he had bene so kynge withouten lese  
 And regned had fulle twenty yere and fyve  
 The deth his goste oute of his corse gan dryve  
 And unbody so fro his erthely place  
 That tylle another he yede withouten grace.
- .ix. capitulum of the Kynge Rudhudibrace**
- 1150 At his cyté of Caerleyl there he lythe  
 Buried right fayre and of grete honesté.  
 That he was gone the barons alle were blythe.  
 Hys son anone of grete nobilité  
 So regned than with alle habilité
- 1155 Rudhudibrace by propre name that hyghte  
 His barons alle he sette in pese fulle ryghte.
- Caerkent he made that now ys Cauntyrbyry  
 Caergwent also that now hatte Wynchestre  
 Caerpaladoure whiche hatte Shafftesbyry  
 1160 He made amonge his werkes terrestre  
 Whare that tyme sette an egle on the cestre  
 Whiche in Englisse we calle a castelle right  
 And spake bot what I saw it never in sight.
- fol. 22v 1165 So regned he oute thretty yere and nyne  
 And buried is besyde his fadir Leyle.  
 In whose tyme so Amos, Joelle prophetes fyne  
 Azarias als prophecyed wythouten faille  
 Ful treuly so thay taught and toke no vayle
- 1170 Bot only dyd of gode perfeccioun  
 The folke to lerne by gode affeccioun.

*build**Sheba**various**teach**maturity; strife**lie**went**lies**worthiness**terrestrial**eagle**profit**teach*

**.x. capitulum of the Kynge Bladud**

- Bladud his sonne so astyr hym succede  
 And regned so fully than twenty yere  
 Caerbladon that now ys Bathe I rede. *ruled*  
 1175 He made anone the hote bathes alle in fere  
 Whiche to thys day in that place yit appere *together*  
 Made so by crafte that ever thay have grete hete  
 In whiche men have grete ese and grete quyete. *rest*
- Helyas than so prayd it shuld not rayne  
 At whose prayer it rayned noght thre yere  
 1180 And sex monethes upon the erthe sertayne.  
 And in his tyme Amos, Hien, Joel in fere  
 Azarias as prophetes to God fulle dere  
 Preched and taught and also prophetysed  
 As the Byble it hath autorysed.
- 1185 Thys Bladud was, as Gyldas seyth the clerke,  
 Fully instructe and lerned in nygromancy *necromancy*  
 And by his crafte he dyd devyse a werke *object*  
 A fedyr-hame with whiche that he wold fly *plumage*  
 And so he dyd, as Waltier sykyrly *certainly*  
 1190 The archedeken of Oxenford ful graythe *fully in possession of (the story)*  
 In story whiche he drewe sogates saythe. *thus*
- He flaw on high to temple Appolyne  
 Whiche now ys Poulys with worschip eedifyde  
 Whare on he felle and made his ende and fyne  
 1195 So was he cause of his own homysyde.  
 Thus slayne he was I say and mortyfyde  
 Thurgh his own wytte and thurgh his fals atyre *equipment*  
 He whom he served so quyte hym than his hire. *repaid; reward*

**.xi. capitulum of the Kynge Leyre**

- Aftyr hym than regned Leyre his sonne  
 1200 Who that dyd make a cyté upon Sore *(the River) Soar*  
 Caerleyre in whiche he dyd most dwelle and wonne  
 Leycestre ys now callyd but wherefore  
 I wote not why but Leyrecestre afore  
 I trow it hight. We leve out R this lettre  
 1205 For lyghter speche to make the language swettre.

fol. 23r **How this Leyre proved his doughters which of hem loved hym moste and beste**

This Leyre had to his heyres bot doughters thre  
 So aftyr tyme that he had regned longe  
 In alle honoure and high prosperyté  
 And falle in age, he sette hym thaym amonge.  
 1210 To the eldeste with voys he spake and ronge  
 Imagynnge how that they myght be proved  
 Whiche of thaym thre that best and moste hym loved.

*proclaimed*

He asked so the eldeste Goneryle  
 How welle she dyd hym love he prayd hyr say  
 1215 She aunswerde hym agayne than with a wyle  
 Wele better than hir own lyfe in gode fay  
 Off whiche he was so plesed to his pay  
 That he hyre graunte fully forto avaunce  
 With suffysaunt parte of his enheritaunce.

*deceptive strategy*

*faith*

*satisfaction*

*full portion*

1220 The secunde than that cald was Ragawe  
 He askyd so, to whom she sayd anone  
 “Fadry I love yow right so as I awe  
 More than al thys hole erthly world alone.”  
 1225 “Doughter” he sayd “as trewe as eny stone  
 The thyrde parte of my reame so shalt thou have  
 Thou sayste so welle I may no more thee crave.”

*ought*

To Cordele than the yongeste of thaym thre  
 He asked than right on that same avyse.  
 Who answerde hym with alle benygnyté  
 1230 Right in thys fourme and as she couthe devise  
 “Yow as my fadry I love withoute queyntise  
 And as myche as ye bene worthe of rychesse  
 So myche I love yow fadry and shalle doutlesse.”

*trickery*

**Nota, for homage of Scotland. How Maglane Duke of Albany and Ewayn Duke of Cornwail did homage to Kyng Leyre for Cornwail and Albany, and afterward they wed his doughtirs and put hym out of the reme by unkyndenes.**

To hyre he sayd “Why louest me no more?  
 1235 Now treuly thou shalt never have gode of me  
 Bot helpe thyself fro thys day forth therefore.”  
 With that the duke of Albany wete ye  
 Wed Goneryle his wyfe for to be  
 Syr Maglayne than hight withouten fayle  
 1240 And Ragawe had Ewayne duke of Cornewayle.

*know*

*was called*

- Aftyr alle this the kynge of Fraunce Aganypé  
 For gode love wed withoute any rychesse  
 Cordeyle to whom hyre fadyr no quantyté  
 Of godes gaffe that I can ought expresse  
 Bot alle his londes departed by processe  
 Betwyx Maglayne and Ewayne so in fere  
 With his doughters two that to hym were ful dere.
- 1245 *together*
- fol. 23v And in his age the prynces two toke governaunce  
 Of alle his londe and lete hym have no myghte  
 For whiche thay graunte hym than by ordynaunce  
 To fynde hym so with fourety knyghtes right  
 Whils he myght leve, so layde thay doune his hight,  
 For whiche he wente to his daughter Gonerile  
 Of whom certayne she irked in shorte while.
- 1250 *provide for himself  
honorable position*
- (i.e., Leyre); *wearied*
- Than wente he forthe unto his doughter Ragawe.  
 She dyd right as hyre syster with hym had done.  
 Wythin a yere she wolde have made hym lawe  
 His knyghtes voyde and halden bot a whone  
 So wente he thens he wiste nought what to done  
 For sorow he wold have liggen on his bere  
 Suche thought he had and made right hevy chere.
- 1255 *low  
discharge; while  
lain on his bier*
- Than toke he fulle to counsaylle and to rede  
 By frendes he had tille Cordeyle forto gone  
 To fele hyre helpe thedyr thay dyd hym lede.  
 He sent to hyr his messengere anone  
 For whom she was anoyed and made grete mone.  
 Both golde and gode she sente hym and array  
 Right sufficient and ryche unto his pay.
- 1260 *advice  
to  
obtain  
troubled*
- Thay brought hym so to hyre with grete honoure  
 Whare he had chere ful fayre and alle dysporte  
 And welcome was and hight him hool socoure  
 To wyn agayne his londe with grete conforte.  
 The kynge of Fraunce, his hoste assembled and resorte  
 To passe with hym to wyn his londe agayne,  
 Dyd sende his wyfe to helpe hym in his Payne.
- 1265 *pleasure  
promised  
recalled*
- So wan he than his londe with myght agayne  
 In whiche he stode the sovereyne kynge thre yere  
 And than he dyed and byried is nought to layne  
 At his cyté of Caerleyre as dyd affere  
 With alle worshyp within a temple clere  
 Of Janus god, and than Aganypé  
 Hyre lorde at home dyd passe away and de.
- 1270 *won  
lie  
was appropriate*
- 1275 *(i.e., Cordele's)*

So stode she forthe wydew regnyng fye yere  
 Wythoute issu and helde the monarchy  
 Of alle Bretayne after hyre fadys dere.  
 1285 The quene she was and helde the regency  
 Tylle on a day hire syster sonnes forthy  
 That thay were come and also generate  
 Of hyre elder sistys and procreate. *begotten*

fol. 24r .xii. capitulum of Kynge Margan and Kynge Condage

**Nota for servyse of Scotland.**

**How Margan regned from Hembre north and Albany, for whiche he did homage to Cundage and helde of hym.**

1290 Margan that was than duke of Albany  
 Condage that was so duke of Cornewayle  
 With hostes grete thurgh right of aunctery  
 Forto be kynes and have the governayle  
 Than faught with hire and gafe hire stronge batayle.  
 1295 So atte the laste overcome she was and take  
 Emprisounde sore hire own deth sought to make.

She slew hireself for wo she loste the reme  
 And buried was besyde hire fadys right  
 Within a tombe undyr the water streme  
 1300 Of Sore, that she had wrought for hym and dyght  
 Within Caerleyre that now Leycester hight.  
 Hyre soule so wente to Janus whom she served  
 And to Mynerve whose love she had deserved.

1305 Syr Margan than the eldest syster sonne  
 From Hembre northe alle oute had regency  
 Condage that was so borne by south to wonne  
 From Hembre south had to his persenary. *dwell portion*  
 Bot after that thurgh falshed and envy  
 The northen folke sente Margan so on strife  
 1310 With hoste to ryde on Condage than ful ryfe. *mighty*

He brente he slew and toke alle that he fande  
 As he that claymed alle Bretayn hole aboute  
 For his modyr was eldeste sister in lande  
 To have the chefe he thought withouten doute.  
 1315 Syr Condage than with hoste hym mette ful stout  
 And made hym flye whare now is so Glamorgan  
 In whiche Margan was slayne and dede was than. *priority*

**Nota for resort of Scotland.**

**How Kynge Condage seyzed Albany by deth of Margan by resort (*right*) and eschete (*escheat*), in default of heire of his body.**

- And for his name it hight so Glamorgan  
 Whiche now men calle Glamorgan uttyrly  
 1320 In Wales it stant, thurgh whiche Syr Condage than  
 Sesed alle his londe and helde it sykyrly *securely*  
 In pese and reste out of alle mysery.  
 Ful gloriously by thre and thretty yere  
 The monarchy of Bretayne kepte he clere.
- 1325 In whose tyme was the prophete Isaye *Isaiah*  
 Ful of wysdome enformed and instructe  
 So was also the prophete Osee *Hosea*  
 In sapience gloriously inducet. *endowed*  
 And Rome byggid was than and fulle constructe *built*  
 1330 By Remus and his brother Romulus  
 Whiche cyté was above alle other moste famus.
- fol. 24v By ought that I can undurstonde and know  
 Kynge Brutus had so conquerde alle this londe  
 Afore that Rome was byggyd as I trow *believe*  
 1335 Fyve hundre yere who wille it undurstande  
 Foure score and als nynetene I darre warrande.  
 Thus had this lande of longe grete soveraynté *dare say*  
 Afore that Rome ought was of dignyté.

**.xiii. capitulum of Kynge Ryval and other kynges folowynge**

- Ryval his sonne whiche was pacificalle  
 1340 And esy in alle thynge of governaylle  
 After his fadyr succede in speciale  
 Havyng the croune in pese withouten faylle  
 Undestourbed durynge with grete avaylle *prosperity*  
 1345 In pese and reste and alle fulle charité  
 So was he sette in alle tranquylté.

**In his tyme it rayned blode and men venymde (*infected*) with flyes to the dethe**

- In whose tyme so thre days it reyned blode  
 And flyes als thare were suche multitude  
 That peple were so venymde as they stode  
 Thurgh that tempest and foule amaritude *bitterness*  
 1350 Dyed right doun so in thaire juventude *youth*

As alle shuld waste with fulle paralit   
Suche pestelence was and mortalyt .

*paralysis*

### Kynge Gurgustius

#### Nota of drunkenes

- 1355      Gurgustius his son so regned than  
               With mykyl joy and wordly celynesse  
               That kepte his londe right strongly as a man  
               In mekyl welthe and ful of worthynesse.  
               Bot oon defaute he had yit neverthelesse  
               As writen ys that he wolde drounken be  
               Unacordant with his hie dignyt .
- great; blessedness*  
*great*  
*Inappropriate to*
- 1360      To drounkenesse succedyth every vyce  
               Wherfore it is for to eschew alway  
               Namely in grete estate iff he be wyse  
               That regneth overe his peple every day  
               That other vyce thurgh it make none aray  
               Agayne His wylle that made alle thinge of nought  
               Or yit his reame to noye in dede or thought.
- avoid*  
*Especially*  
*showing*

### Kynge Sisilius

#### Nota how he was overe paciente, for law and pese was unexecut .

- 1370      Sisilius his son so dyd succede  
               And bare the crowne so wele many a day  
               Savynge his men that grete wronge wrought in dede  
               He punyshte nought but suffred his barons ay  
               To sustene wronges and quareles as I say.  
               Thay dred hym nought so was he meke of porte  
               Whiche was more vyce than vertu to reporte.
- ever*  
*manner*
- fol. 25r  
1375      Thurgh whiche thay toke on thaym so grete boldnesse  
               That thay distroyd his pore comonalt   
               Thurghoute the londe and thaym dyd sore opresse  
               That every man of myght in his contr   
               Dyd other over renne with grete crudelit   
               So that oure Lorde for his mysreuled regence  
               In litargy hym smote and epilence.
- populace*  
*cruelty*  
*lethargy; epilepsy*

### Kynge Iago

Iago than was kynge in londe certayne  
               As it is so writen and notified.

- 1385      Newfangle was at alle tyme sothe to sayne  
                 Now this, now that, to do he glorified  
                 For of his wille he wold nought be replied  
                 Ful lyte he dyd that was to autorise  
                 Bot mekylle wronge withouten gode advise.

*Fond of novelty**resisted*

**How he wolde noght be replied of his wylle thurgh whiche the reme was gretely  
        noyed**

- 1390      For whiche God toke on hym so hiegh vengeance  
                 That he hym smote in suche a frenesy  
                 Growynge dayly with fervent affluence  
                 Of color rede as made ys memory  
                 Descendynge in his braynes so myghtly  
                 That slepe he myght none have ne yit ought reste  
                 Tyl he was dede so sore it hym oppreste.

*fit of madness*

**Kynge Kymar**

- 1395      Kymar his son had than the diademe  
                 And crouned was with alkyn rialté  
                 He kepte his londe right pesibly and queme  
                 Also his law as was necessité  
                 Withoute favoure or mutabilité  
                 Unto alle men ever in unyversalle  
                 Whiche to a prynce ys vertu pryncipalle.

*sovereignty**pleasingly*

**Conceyte of the makere of this in defaute of conservacioun of pese and lawe**

- 1405      For iff he kepe no pese, no lawe certayne  
                 Amonge his folke in every shire aboute  
                 In moste perile he stonte forto be slayne  
                 Or els put doun right by his undirloute.  
                 For unrestreynte by law, it ys no doute  
                 The porest man of alle his reame to fight  
                 Durste hym supprise conffedred with grete myght.

*subordinates**allied*

**Kynge Gorbodian**

- 1410      Gorbodian that was his sonne and hayre  
                 So regned than the whiles his sonnes grewe  
                 Tylle age hym made to feble and appayre  
                 That he was dede for whiche this reame dyd rewé.  
                 In whose tyme so was reule and alle vertewe  
                 Bot sonnes two he had couth never acorde  
                 Ferrex and als Porrex that ever discorde.

*heir**decline*

- fol. 25v Thaire fadry levynge Ferrex the elder brother  
For his discorde to Sywarde kynge of Fraunce  
Wente so and dwelte with hym and with non other  
For borne he was of his kyn and aliaunce. *living*
- 1420 And whan he knew of his fadry deth the chaunse  
With power grete so came he than agayne  
And with his brother faught whare that he was slayne.
- Thayre modyr than Quene Judon was fulle wrothe  
And in hire mynde she thought to take vengeaunce.  
1425 The next nyght after she dyd a thynge ful lothe  
That Porrex throte she cutte for that distaunce  
While that he slepte and trusted no grevaunce.  
The whiche vengeaunce was after many yere  
So spoken of that wondur was to here. *terrible  
strife  
hear*
- 1430 She cutte hym alle in peces smalle for ire  
Whiche forpassyng was modyrs cruelté  
So fervently with rancoure sette on fyre  
She couthe nought cese of hire malicioousté  
Byfore she had fulfild so hire degré.
- 1435 Whiche vengeance was over felly arbytrate  
For oon lese bothe hire sonnes so generate. *too severely judged  
loss*
- Cloten, Pynhere, Ruddan, Scatere: kynges of Bretayne devyded by barons werres  
in defaute of lawe and pese.**
- Cloten the duke that than was of Cornewayle  
Right haire he was by alle successioune *heir*  
1440 And next of blode by lyne withouten faile  
To have the reame hool in his possessioune  
Whiche Pynher than had gote by wronge ingressioune  
Ruddan also that tyme dyd Cambre holde  
And Albany had Scater that was bolde. *usurpation*
- 1445 Thus was Bretayne to kynges foure devyded  
Echone of thaym werryng so upon other  
And undur thaym the barons were provyded  
To dystroy other alle, were thay kyn or brother.  
The yonger brother dyd than overrenne the tother  
The sonne his fadry dyd often tymes dyssesse  
1450 Of his lyfelode and put hym fro his ese. *intend  
deprive  
livelihood*
- Nota** Every cyté and walled toune and toure  
Other werryde and brought thaym unto nought.  
Every tirant than was a conqueroure  
And lordes fayne subgysts bycome forfought *utterly defeated*

- 1455 So were thay lowe unto meschefe than brought.  
Thus worthy blude of honoure and estate  
Was brought to nought and foully alterate. *changed*
- fol. 26r  
**Nota** The pore men that afore were desolate  
Of none honoure ne yit of worthynesse
- 1460 Thurgh thayre manhode with peple congregate  
Lordships conquerde and rose to lie noblesse  
And ladyse wedde that were of grete rychesse.  
Thayre kynne afore had neyther londe ne house  
Defaute of pese made thaym victoriouse. *assembled*
- Nota** Fourty wyntyr durynge the barons werre  
The londe so stode in sorow and in strife  
In fawte of myght the waykere had the werre  
And suffryde wronge that wo was thaym the lyfe  
For who that myght ought wyn with spere or knyfe *lack; weaker; worse*
- 1470 He helde it forthe as for his heritage  
And grew a lorde byfore that was a page. *anything*
- How the makere of this moveth his conceyte for the gode sureté of the kyngé and of hys reme of Englund for to kepe and conserve law and pees in his lond amonge his peple.**
- Nota** Defaute of lawe was cause of this myschefe  
Wronges sustened by maystry and by myght  
And pese layde doun that shuld have be the chefe *Lack*
- 1475 For whiche debate folowed alle unright.  
Wharefore unto a prynce acordyth right  
To kepe the pese with alle tranquylté  
Within his reame to save his dygnyté. *violence; force*
- Nota** What is a kyngé withouten lawe or pese  
Within his reame suffyciently conserved?  
The porost of his reame may so increse  
By injury and force to bene preserved  
Tylle he his kyngé with strenght have so overterved *overturned*
- 1480 And sette hymself in rialle magesté  
If that it be in suche a juparté. *turmoil*
- Nota** O ye prynces and lordes of hye estate  
Kepe welle the lawe and pese with governance  
Lesse youre suglettes you foule and depreciate  
Whiche bene as able with wrongfullie ordenaunce *mistreat; devalue*
- 1490 To regne as ye and have als grete pussaunce.  
Iff pese and lawe be layde and unyté,  
The floures ere loste of alle youre sovereynté. *power*
- put aside; public order*

**.xiiii. capitulum of Kyngे Dunwallo**

- And whils thise foure so chefly in thayre floures  
 Regned so moste, and had the soveraynté  
 Of alle Bretayne as verry conquerous,  
 As God it wold, that nede it muste so be  
 Of alkyns right and oportunyté,  
 Cloten was dede oute of this world expyred.  
 Dunwallo than right with his men conspyred
- fol. 26v      As son and heyre to Kyngē Cloten discrete                                  *intelligent*  
 1501      His heritage to wynnen and conquerre  
               Of alle Loegres that stode fulle unquyete  
               In neygburres stryfe and also barons werre                                  *war*  
               That longe had laste and of it spokyn ferre.                                  *far*  
 1505      His name was than Dunwallo Molmucyus  
               A lusty knyght in armes and corageus.    *energetic*
- Whiche Dunwallo grete hoste assembled right.  
 On Kynge Pynhere he came fulle vygrouslly  
 And in batayle hym slow throw strokes wight.    *powerful*  
 1510      This Scater herde and Ruddan for envy  
               Thaire hostes brought upon hym spytuysly  
               And faught with hym ful sore withoute fayntyse                                  *cruelly*  
               Tylle Dunwallo bethought of his quantyse    *faint-heartedness*  
                  *cunning*
- He made his men to arme thaym efté anone  
 In armure of his ennemyse that were slayne —  
 Thaire armes and sygnes and clothynges everychone                                  *heraldic badges*  
 Lyke as thay were thayre frendes cam new agayne —  
 Thurgh whiche coloure thay donge thaym doun with mayne.<sup>1</sup>  
 The kynges thay toke bothe two, the whiche thay slew,  
 1520      Dunwallo thus in conqueste wexe and grew.    *prospered*
- How this Dunwallo made his lawes called Lawes Molmutynes and graunted pese and fraunchise (*privilege*) to alle temples, plowes (*plowland*), markets and comon wayes that was the seconde lawe.**
- So whan he had overcome alle his ennemyse  
 With trihumphe and with joy and victory  
 He sette his lawes and pese at his avyse    *judgement*  
 And ordeyned than and graunted fraunchesey    *liberties*  
 1525      And also gyrth for alkyns felony    *protection against*

<sup>1</sup> *With which stratagem they overcame them with strength*

- |          |  |   |
|----------|--|---|
|          | In temple, market and alle comon wayse<br>And at the plewgh, so loved he it his dayse.   | <i>plow; during his reign</i>   |
| 1530     | At plough who yede, or to the marketwardre,<br>Or in hieghway that was the comyn strete<br>Iff any dyd hym harme or hym forbarde<br>He shulde be dede and hanged by the fete.<br>In temple als who so dyd harme or lete<br>The deth shuld bene his fulle punyssoun<br>Of whiche peyne so he shuld have no remyssioun.                                  | <i>went<br/>blocked<br/>hindrance<br/>punishment</i>                                    |
| 1535     | He was friste kynge that ever bare croune of golde<br>In alle Bretayne afore that day I fynde<br>And kepte the pese evermore till yonge and olde.<br>What so a wyght, as cronycle makyth mynde,<br>Had done, iff he the plough in hande myght wynde,<br>Hieghway, or yit market myght gete for fere,<br>Suche gyrthe shulde have as he in temple were. | <i>first<br/>towards<br/>Whatever; person; recalls<br/>manage<br/>protection; as if</i> |
| 1540     | He made a temple of pese and of concorde<br>In his cyté so grete of Trynovaunte<br>Whare he was layde in grave as is recordre.<br>Aftyre that he this londe had kepte and haunte<br>Fourty wynter as Gyldas dothe avaunte<br>In alle honoure myght and prosperyté<br>Wythoute suprise or any adversyté.  | <i>inhabited<br/>declare<br/>oppression</i>   |
| fol. 27r | O noble prynce take hede how that this kynge<br>In lawes made called Molmutynes<br>How rightwysly he kepte thaym in alle thynges<br>And sette his pese fro whiche none durste declyne<br>Ne thaym attempte in ought or countremyne.<br>And if thay dyd he wolde thaym seke at home<br>Bot iff that thay the sonner to hym come.                        | <i>dared divagate<br/>challenge; undermine<br/>Unless</i>                               |
| 1545     |  |   |
| 1550     |  |   |
| 1555     |  |   |
|          | <b>.xv. capitulum of Kynge Belyn</b>   |   |
| 1560     | Than felle discorde betwyx his sonnes two<br>Whiche of thaym than shuld have alle hole Bretayne<br>Bot happely thay were acordyd so<br>By frendes helpe of whiche men were fulle fayne<br>That Belyne so that elder was shuld rayne<br>In Loegres fulle and Cambre als eche dele<br>As Trojan lawe and custome wold it wele.                           | <i>by good chance<br/>glad<br/>part</i>   |

**Nota for homage of Scotland**

**Nota how Belyn graunted to Brenny his brother Albany to holde of hym and dyd homage for it to Kynge Belyne**

- Nota** And Brenny so, who was the latter borne,  
Shuld have in pese the reame of Albany  
1565 And also alle Northumbreland aforne  
From Humber north to mende his parte forthy  
That he shuld holde of Belyne alle his parcreny  
As Troyans lawe and fulle consuetude  
Afore was ever by subgitts servytude.
- Nota** Homage he made therefore unto Belyn  
1571 His man to be and to his parlemente  
By semons made to come and be therein  
Olesse that he had cause of gode entente  
Escuse hym, by that he were so absente.  
1575 And fyve yere so thay regned wele in pese  
With honoure grete and vertu dyd encrese.

*regulate  
portion  
custom  
subjects'*

*summons  
Unless  
if*

**The conceyte of the makere compleynyng of Fortune for dissencioun bituix the two brether Belyn and Brenne**

- Nota** Bot O Fortune with alle thy feyned chere  
So fayre showynge afore in alle semblance  
1580 And undyrneth thou can right welle refere  
Thaym that he truste to do contrariance.  
Whare is thy fayth that maketh suche distaunce  
Amonges prynces to sette impedymant  
Whan thy truste beste to bene in stablysement?
- Nota** Thurgh thy faynte chere and fals felycité  
1585 Thou deceveste that trusteth on the wele  
So chaungeable ys evermore thy sertaynté  
The sweigh also so light ys of thy whele  
It casteth doun from alkyn welth and sele  
1590 Whiche now with thee above alle men is chefe  
Als faste with thee shalle undyr bene unlef.<sup>1</sup>

*feigned  
place  
the contrary  
strife  
stability*

*prosperity  
motion  
happiness*

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<sup>1</sup> All associated with you shall be brought down unwillingly

**How Brenny went into Norway for helpe again his brother and wed the kynges daughter**

	<b>Nota</b>	The forgers so of lese and mendacité	<i>lies; falsity</i>
		Thou sette above so fully fortunate	
		Upon thy whele thurgh mutabilité	
		Betwex tho brether that made a grete debate	
1595		Whiche made Brenny to breke and alterate	<i>change</i>
		His covenants alle anents his brother dere	<i>with regard to</i>
		Who trusted hym in alle that myght affere.	<i>was pertinent</i>
		Thay counsayld hym tille passe into Northway	<i>to</i>
1600		Kynge Alsinges daughter to have unto his wyfe	
		Thurgh helpe of whom he shuld conquere som day	
		Alle Loegres hool whiche was his grounde natyfe.	<i>native country</i>
		For better it was to make with Belyne stryfe	
		Than holde thay sayde of hym by suche servage	
		The londe whiche that shulde bene his heritance.	
1605		So ful counsayde he wente into Norway	
		Declarynge to the kynge alle his entent	
		To whom he gaffe his daughter gent and gay	<i>noble</i>
		To bene his wyffe with fulle and hoel assente	<i>whole</i>
		And hight hym helpe to conquere Loegres gente	<i>promised; noble</i>
1610		And as he came homward with hyre anone	<i>her</i>
		Upon the se he mette than with his fone.	<i>foes</i>
		<b>How Kynge Guthlake of Danmarke toke Brennys wife on the se fro hym and were brought to the Kynge Belyn, wharfore Brenny faught with Kynge Belyn and, discomfyte, he fled to Burgoyne.</b>	
		Guthlake that kynge of Denmarke was so stronge	
		Who had hyre loved in alle his wytte and myght	
		Ful many day so had she hym of longe	
1615		Upon the se for hire dyd with hym fight	
		Toke hyre fro hym and put hym to the flighe	
		And that same nyght was Guthlake than and she	
		By tempeste dryve within Loegres cuntré.	
1620		He was so brought and she to Kynge Belyn	
		To whom he hight his kyngdome of hym holde	<i>promised</i>
		And eche yere pay truage to hym and fyne	<i>tribute; payment</i>
		With-thy hym and his wife he fre then wolde	<i>As long as</i>
		Whiche to fulfylle he bonde hym monyfolde	
		Whom Kynge Belyn lete passe than home agayne	
1625		With hyre in fere of whiche thay were ful fayne.	<i>together; happy</i>

- |          |  |  |
|----------|--|--|
| fol. 28r | With that Brenny with hoste and grete envy<br>Agayne Belyne came than in grete aray<br>And bade hym sende his wife to hym in hye<br>Iff that he wolde so cese alle tene and tray<br>Or els he shuld hym make many affray<br>And waste his londe with mekylle werre and strife<br>That he shulde irke fulle gretly of his life.   | hatred<br>battle formation<br>quickly<br>grief; affliction<br>attack<br>much<br>be grieved |
| 1630     | Of whiche manace Kynge Belyn nothyng rought<br>Bot sende hym worde and bade hym do his beste<br>For at his wille so wold he do right nought<br>He shuld it fele and fynde whan so hym leste.<br>For whiche anone and that withouten reste<br>Right in the wod of Calathere thay mette<br>In Albany with strokes sore thay bette. | threat; cared<br>wanted<br>struck  |
| 1635     | At whiche batayle Kynge Brenny had the werre<br>And putte to flight unneth myght gon away<br>For bought he never afore no bargayne derre.<br>Out of his own was bette in foule aray<br>And fayne to fle the londe forever and ay<br>Bot unto Fraunce he wan to Duke Segwyne<br>Of Burgoyne so was lorde by verry lyne.           | worse<br>hardly<br>more dearly<br>state<br>came<br>inheritance                             |
| 1640     | To whom he was so plesand to his pay<br>So manly als and in his wytte so wyse<br>That every wight hym loved nyght and day.<br>And what was done it was by his avyse<br>In so ferre forthe the duke dyd so devyse<br>To hym anone his doughter in sposusage<br>With alle Burgoyne to holde in heritage.                           | satisfaction<br>person<br>counsel<br>marriage  |
| 1645     | <b>How Kynge Brenny was made Duke of Burgoyne by the dukes doughter that he wed to his wife, and brought grete hoste on Belyn, whare thaire modir made thaym accorded and kysse.</b>   |  |
| 1650     | Sone after whiche the duke than dyd decese<br>And Brenny duke was of that grete duché<br>A myghty pryncie that tyme withouten lese.<br>Bythought hym off his grete adversyté<br>How Belyn putte hym fro his ryalté<br>And drove hym oute from alle his hye puissaunce<br>For whiche he thought on hym to take vengeance.         | die<br>lie<br>power  |
| 1655     | Wyth that anone grete hoste upon hym brought<br>Of whom Belyne fulle knowlage had and wytte<br>And redy was to do that he had sought   |  |
| 1660     |  |  |

- |          |   |   |
|----------|---|---|
|          | In felde with hym to fyght his way to dytte<br>Thynkyng to make hym so a sory fytte<br>For whiche than came thayre modyr Quene Conwen<br>To cese thayre strife displayd hire pappes then.   | rule<br>episode<br>breasts  |
| fol. 28v | Tylle oon she wente and seth unto the tother<br>Saynge right thus “Lo here the pappes thou soke<br>I bought thee son fulle dere, I am thy modyr.<br>Whan that thy fete lay to, my herte fast stroke.<br>For love of me lete alle this stryfe be broke<br>And cedes so that pese and charité<br>Betwyx you forthe alway may dure and be.   | To; afterwards<br>sucked<br>dearly<br>kicked; beat fast<br>endure |
| 1670     |   |   |
| 1675     | “Lo here the wombe that to this world yow brought<br>In erthe to regne and conquerours to bene<br>Of other londes by menes that may be wrought<br>And lete me nought this sorow betwyx you sene.<br>Do of thyne armes and come with me I mene.”   | be<br>means   |
| 1680     | To Brenny sayde she “Thus for love of me<br>Elles treuly son anone right wille I de.”   | Put off<br>die  |
| 1685     | For pyté so he cam forth with his modyr dere<br>Unto Belyne and saughtylde with mekylle blysse<br>And thus was than so staunched alle thaire stere<br>In love and pese togedyr bounde iwyssse<br>For evermore and thareto dyd thay kysse<br>And so to Fraunce thay purposed forto gone<br>To wyn that londe and conquer it anone.         | made peace; happiness<br>ceased; strife<br>certainly              |
|          | <b>How Kynge Belyn and Duke Brenny conquerd Fraunce, Almayne and Itaylle, with Rome and the hool empire secundum Alfridum Beverlaicensem et Galfridum Monemutensem.<sup>1</sup></b>   |   |
| 1690     | Whiche after so by processe thay conquerde<br>And so forth in the londe of hiegh Almayne<br>Whare alle the folke were of thaym dred and ferde<br>Obeysyng thaym with servyce wondir fayne<br>Of whiche thay chese oute men, is nought to layne,<br>Right of the beste and that grete multitude<br>And Almayne so thay wan with fortitude. | afraid<br>Obeying; ready<br>lie                                   |
| 1695     |   | Germany   |
|          | Alle Savoy thurgh thay rode and Lombardy<br>And had it hole in thare subjeccioun<br>And so forthe over mountayns of Italy   | Savoy; Lombardy   |

<sup>1</sup> According to Alfred of Beverley and Geoffrey of Monmouth

- 1700 Thay had it alle withoute objeccioun.  
 Alle Tuskeyne so at thayre elecciou  
 The londe of Gene and also Romany  
 Calbre and Puyle and also Campany.
- resistance  
*Tuscany; will*  
*Genoa; Rome*  
*Calabria; Apulia; Campania*
- 1705 To Rome thay came with hoste besegyng ytte  
 In whiche were so that tyme two counsellours  
 Syr Gabas and Porcenna fulle of wytte  
 And of manhode appreveed in many stours  
 By whose counsaylle and of the senatours  
 The Romayns so to Belyne and Syr Bren  
 Sende oute hostage and heght to ben thayre men.
- skill  
*conflicts*  
*promised*
- fol. 29r 1711 The whiche hostage because Romayns were false  
 And lefte thaire hight and promyse that thay made  
 Afore Rome yates were honged by the halse  
 Whan Belyn and Brenne thaym new aseged hade  
 To thayre falshode that knowyn was fulle brade  
 As Romayns ere ay perilouse with to dele  
 What so thay hight thay wille ful sone repele.
- oath  
*gates; neck*  
*besieged*  
*widely*  
*are; dangerous*  
*promise; repudiate*
- 1720 1725 The Romayns sente unto thaire councellours  
 And ofte to reyse the cyt  to reskowe  
 With whiche so came the forsayde governours  
 Syr Gabas and Persenna I trowe  
 To breke the sege so made thay there avowe  
 Upon Awbe flode with Belyne and Syr Brenne  
 Thay faughte ful sore as men myght after kenne.
- lift (the siege)  
*believe*  
*promise*  
*River Allia*  
*know*
- 1730 Suche multitude of folke was never are sene  
 As thare dyd fight with strokes sore and felle  
 On ayther parte were slayne that wold not flene.  
 Bot at the laste the Bretons bare the belle  
 And wan the felde thare was no more to telle.  
 Syr Gabas was slain in that batayle  
 And Porsenna was take withouten sayle.
- before  
*fierce*  
*flee*  
*had the victory*
- 1735 The cyt  so was wonne with strength and take  
 Whare Belyn had and Brenny alle thaire wylle  
 Of grete rychesse whare with here men to make  
 Thurgh alle the londe thayre byddynge to fulfylle.  
 So Itaylle alle obeyd thaym untylle  
 Of whiche thay had fulle domynacioun  
 Withoute more stryfe or yit malignacioun.
- taken  
*their*  
*with respect to*  
*foul play*

**Secundum computacionem Orosii ad Augustinum<sup>1</sup>**

- This was after that Adam was create  
 Foure thousand yere seve hundre foure score and eighte                      *seven*  
 1740 And als byfore Criste was associate  
 To mankynde, so whan that thay dyd so feght                      *fight*  
 Thre hundre yere and oon that tyme it neght                      *approached*  
 Whan Rome was reuled hool by two councilours  
 Whiche stode for juges and were the governours.
- 1745 And after Rome was fully edfyed                      *built*  
 Thre hundre yere, as Martyne cronyclere  
 In his cronycles hath clerly specified,  
 In whiche tyme so regned Kynge Assuere  
 In Perse alle hool. Socrates with gode chere  
 1750 The venym dranke in prison whare he lay                      *poison*  
 And pusound was by his own wille that day.                      *poisoned*

fol. 29v **How Kynge Belyn gave to Brenny the empire and cam into Bretayne and made the cité called Caeruske, now Caerlioun, and seysed Albany in his hande by resort and by eschete, in defaute of heire of Brenny after his deeth.**

- Kynge Belyn thare so graunted to Brenny than  
 That londe alle hole and wold thare byde nomore                      *remain*  
 And to Bretayne agayne remove bygan.  
 1755 And Brenne his lyfe alle Itale held evermore  
 Holdyng alleway Romayns in awe ful sore  
 Thay durste not route for fere of hym ne stere                      *assemble; resist*  
 So was he dred in Itayl fere and nere.                      *far and near*

**Nota of resort and eschete of Albany**

- So in mene while Kynge Belyn was come home                      *meanwhile*  
 1760 With mekyl joy to alle his baronage  
 And Albany he seysid at his come                      *took possession of; arrival*  
 From thens forthe as for his heritage  
 Kepynge the pese and put away outrage.                      *illegality*  
 The lawes whiche his fadyr dyd so make  
 1765 Were kepte so welle that none that tyme thaym brake.

Than made he up his castels that were doun  
 And thare with made a cyté of grete myghte  
 On Uske water that now ys Carlyoun  
 That called than was Caeruske fulle righte

---

<sup>1</sup> According to the computation of Orosius to Augustine

- 1770 In Glamorgan bycause of Uske it highte.  
In Breton tonge a cyté men calle “Cayre”  
Caeruske so called on Uske for it stode fayre. *was called  
beautifully*
- How he made Bilyngate in London, than callede Belyngate, and sette a barelle of golde in whiche he was biryed at his deth.**
- 1775 Than made he so a toure at Troynovaunte  
Stronge and rialle and of grete worthynesse  
Upon Thamyse whare shippes most dyd haunte *remain*  
In signe of his trihumphe and hyegh prowesse  
That straungers alle of outen londes I gesse  
His victory myght thare remembre wele  
His honoure als and knowe it every dele. *foreign  
part*
- 1780 Upon the heght above upon that toure  
He sette right than a barelle made of golde  
His batayls alle and trihumphes wrought there oure *over*  
That every man myght se thaym and byholde  
In what honoure he stode and never dyd folde  
For whose name so than hight it Belyngate *give in  
it was called*  
Whiche at London is knownen arely and late. *early*
- 1790 In whiche barelle was fully his entente  
Oute of this worlde whan he were dede and paste *past*  
Hys body alle to poudre shuld be brente *powder; burned*  
Faste loken in evermore to dure and laste. *locked; endure*  
Thus was his wylle and als his grete forcaste *plan*  
Bycause he wolde nevermore foryeten be *forgotten*  
And rayse his fame ever upward in degré.
- fol. 30r 1795 So ende he than, his body sogates brente *thus; burned*  
In poudere alle and putte tharein to kepe. *cease*  
The peple alle of sorow couthe not stynte  
For hym so faste thay gan to crye and wepe.  
Thare sorows grete with teres did thay stepe *soak*  
Whiche from thaire eyen in stremes ran ful faste *eyes*  
Thaire heped sorow so multiplyed and laste.

#### .xvi. capitulum of Kynge Gurguyn

**Nota that this kynge had homage of Danmark and gafe Ireponde to certeyn folke of Spayne to holde it of hym and his heyres as it is contened in Pollicronica Radulphi Cestrensis.**

Gurguyn his son so crouned after hym  
Of Bretayne bare so than the diademē

- 1805 Semely and faire rightwyse and large of lym  
 Right meke and juste what so that he shuld deme. *judge*  
*it seems to me*
- By gode avyse he dyd alle thynge me seme.  
 Gode pese and reste with alle tranquylité  
 He loved welle and no malignyté.
- 1810 Who dyd agayne hym any rebellioun  
 He wolde hym bryng unto his friste degré *first warrant of decree*  
 And make hym know in his opynyon  
 That wronge he dyd agayn his dygnyté.  
 That poynte so come of his paternyté  
 Of nature so he muste do so algates *in any case*  
 For so his fadyr dyd ever to alle estates.
- 1815 So felle it than the kynge of Denmarke nolde *did not wish*  
 His tribute pay bot yt withhelde by force  
 Whiche to his fadyr was graunted many folde  
 And payd alway unto his rialle corse.  
 To Dannemarke wente to menden that deforce *person*  
*default*
- 1820 Whare he the Danes than slew in grete batayle  
 Thare kynge also withouten eny fayle.
- 1825 He made the londe to bowe and to enclyne  
 To his lordshyppe and to his soveraynté  
 In paynge of tribute and thayre fyne *fine*  
 As it dyd friste to his paternyté *first*  
 Thus sette he it agayn in friste degré. *condition*  
 And as he came by Iles of Orkenay  
 Homwarde he founde whare thretty shippes lay. *thirty*
- 1830 Alle were thay fulle of men and women fayre  
 Besekynge hym of mercy and of grace  
 To have some grounde whither thay myght repaire *take refuge*  
 To dwelle upon and make there wonyng place. *dwelling*  
 Thaire governoure that was so in that case  
 Partholoym hight that came of gode lynage *was called*  
 From Spayne exilde of youthe and tendre age. *young*
- fol. 30v 1840 To whom Gurguyne graunted and gafe Irelande  
 And sente two shippes to gyde and bryng thaym thare *guide*  
 Whiche was alle waste, nor houses non thay fande,  
 Than gan thay tele and howses made aywhare *till; everywhere*  
 The londe to holde of Bretayn everemare  
 By homage so and servyce sovereyne  
 And to Bretayne perpetualy obeyne. *pay homage*

- 1845 Gurguyne Batrus this kynge hight of Bretayne  
 Come home agayne after his vyage sore  
 And sone thereafter he felte suche sore and Payne  
 That fro his corse his goste departed thore  
 Regnynge fully thretty wynter afore  
 In Caerlyoun so after his hiegh estate  
 Was buried than as usage was Gode wate.
- was called*  
*body; spirit; there*  
*thirty*  
*custom; knows*

**.xvii. capitulum of Kyng Guytelyn and iii kynges next aftir hym.**

**How Quene Marcyan made the lawes called Lawes Marciane that was the thrid lawe.**

- 1850 Guytelyn than his son dyd regne as hayre  
 Of alle Bretayne thurghout unto the se  
 Who wedded was and had a wyfe ful fayre  
 That Marcian hight so was hyre name pardé  
 Bothe wyse and gode whiche of hyre synglerté  
 So lerned was made the lawes Marcyane  
 In Bretoun tongue of hyre own wytte alone.
- was called; indeed*  
*uniqueness*  
*alone*
- 1855 Whiche Kinge Alverede in Saxon tonge translate  
 And Marchen lage did calle in his language.  
 This Guytelyne was gode of his estate  
 And meke also and manly of corage  
 Right juste and wyse and fayre of his vysage  
 And regned fulle and peseably ten yere  
 And to his wyfe he lafte his reame ful clere.
- Alfred*  
*laws*

**Kyng Sisilyus**

- 1865 Sysilius his sonn so than of seven yere age  
 Undre the reule and wytti governaunce  
 Of Marcian his modyr so gode and sage  
 She was so wyse in alle hyre ordynaunce  
 Who kepte the londe from alle mysgovernaunce.  
 At hyre decese she crouned Sisilius  
 That was hyre soune as cronycles tellen us.
- intelligent*  
*management*
- 1870 He dyed yonge and als in tendre age  
 And yit he gatte a son to bene his hayre  
 Upon his wyfe in wedloke and in spousage  
 Afore his deth, and byried was ful fayre.  
 To whose son so the barons dyd repayre  
 And brought hym than with grete and hyegh reverence  
 To Caerlyoun with alle obeydience.
- come*

fol. 31r **Kyng Kymar**

**Nota how he was wyse piteuse for ther is grete difference bituix wise piteuse and fool piteuse. That first is vertu, the seconde is vice and foly.**

1880      Kymar his sonne the barons dyd corowne  
                 With honoure suche as felle for his degré  
                 Who twenty yere and oon so bare the corowne  
                 And kepte the londe in alle tranquylité.  
                 Pyteuse he was right as a kynge shulde be  
                 In rightfulness accordant with his lawe  
                 Agayn his pese that dyd, he made thaym lawe.<sup>1</sup>

*befitted*

**Kynge Danyus**

1885      Danyus than his brother so succede  
                 Durynge ten yere in werre and als in payne  
                 Withouten reste in cronycles as I rede.  
                 Bot how it was or why cronycles layne  
                 And of his dedes me liste nought forto fayne  
                 Bot as myne autor seyth and doth expreme  
                 Now in my wytte I can non othur deme.

*war*

*remain silent*

*I did not wish; lie*

*express*

*judge*

**.xviii. capitulum off Kynge Morvyde**

**How this kynge was so immoderately irouse (*wrathful*) that nayther he ne none other myght staunche it. Who was slayne feghtyng with a monstre that cam oute of the se and stroyed (*destroyed*) men.**

1895      Morvyde his sonne whom that he gatte of baste  
                 On oon that hight Tanguste his paramoure  
                 Stronge and myghty and irouse ful of haste  
                 Hardy and kynde and fre as conqueroure  
                 Of alle largesse forpassyng emperoure  
                 Or any kynge that in his tyme dyd reyne  
                 So was he kynde whan ire was paste and deyne.

*bastardy*

*wrathful; violence (impatience)*

*generous*

*generosity; surpassing*

*wrath; anger*

1900      Bot in hys ire there myght none with hym speke  
                 He was so hote and fulle of cruelté.  
                 He rought nothyng of whom he dyd hym wreke  
                 Hys yre excede his wytte in alle degré  
                 In so ferre forthe his sensybilité  
                 Couth nought in wrath his cruelté restrayne  
                 So fulle he was of fury and disdayne.

*anger*

*cared; violence*

<sup>1</sup> *He dishonored those who went against the peace*

**Nota for sovereynté of Scotlond and resort of it**

In whose tyme so the kynge than of Murreve  
 With hoste fulle grete distroyd Northumbrelonde  
 Bothe brente and slew and alle the lande dyd reve.  
 With hys lege lorde that werre he toke on honde  
 Whom Kynge Morvyde with hoste mette to withstande  
 And slew hym than for his rebellyoun  
 And sette the londe in pese and unyoun.

*Moray (Scotland)*  
*army*  
*rob*

1910

**Nota of vengeance immoderate without mesure which is vice and no vertu**

Bot so irouse and fulle of wrath was he  
 He myght not cese afore the dede were brente  
 That thare ware slayne of his grete craulté  
 The bodyse alle, afore that he couth stente,  
 In fyre be caste and into poudre spente.  
 To it was done his ire myght not appese  
 His vengeaunce than thus sette his herte in ese.

*burned*

*cease*

*to be reduced to ash*

*until*

fol. 31v

Sone after that cam fro the Irisshe se  
 A wonder beste or fysshe, whiche men do calle  
 A monstre grete, of whiche the comonté  
 Were alle affrayed thurghoute the londe over alle  
 For it dovorde the folke bothe grete and smalle.  
 For whiche thay fled the londe as exulate  
 That waste it stode and also desolate.

*community*

*devoured*

*exiles*

1921

The kynge seynge his londe in poynete bewaste  
 His corage was so stronge and craulté  
 Hym thought he wold alone fight with that gaste  
 And destroy hym so than in pryyté  
 Trustyng oonly in his synglarité.  
 He faughte with hym that no man wiste ne knewe  
 Whiche hym deourde right sodenly and slewe.

*wicked creature*

*singular ability*

*understood*

1930

**Nota how the maker sayth by this cruelle kynge**

So were bothe dede withoute any delay  
 With craulté of thaymselff inordynate  
 By rightfulle dome of God seand alway  
 His craulté so foule intemperate  
 To fyghte with suche a monstre and debate.  
 I can nought se bot of his rightfulnessse  
 That reuleth alle it came right as I gesse.

*excessive*

*judgment; seeing*

*intemperate*

*oppose*

1940

.xix. capitulum of Kynge Gorbonyan first and iiiii kynges next

## Nota how this kynge helde pees and lawe in hys tyme

1945	<p>Gorbonyan his eldest sonne of fyve      Was after kynge and helde the magesté      Rightfulle and trew to every man of lyve      His reame in pese and fulle prosperité.        And to his peple he helde fulle equyté      Tele men of londe with godes he dyd comforde      Sowdyours als from wronge hym to supporte.</p>	<i>upheld; justice</i> <i>To</i> <i>soldiers</i>
------	---	--

1950 Ten yere he stode so kynge in pese an reste  
     With moste plenté that any reame myght have  
     And as nature of lyfe may noght ay leste  
     The deth his soule oute fro his body drave.  
     So byried was he than and layde in grave  
     At Trynovaunt that was his grete cyté  
     With alle honoure and alle regalité.

Kynge Argalle

Nota of this kynge how he was put doun for wronge sustened by hym

1955	Argalle his brothyr sygnd with dyademe The kynge was tho with alle solempnyté By natyff byrthe next brother he was men deme. Alle gode men ever he hate at his powsté Oppressyngē thaym by his subtilité	<i>appointed; crown</i> <i>then</i> <i>agree</i> <i>hated under his power</i> <i>guile</i>
1960	And alle fals folke fulle ofte he dyd avaunse The baronnage hym putte doun for that chaunse.	<i>advance</i> <i>situation</i>

fol. 32r **Kynge Elydoure**

This kyng deposed hymself and made his brother Argalle kyng eftre sone agayne

1965 Elydoure who brother thrid ful generate  
Was than the nexte by alle successioune  
And bare the croune with alle rialle estate  
By lordes wille and thaire concessioune.  
Who regned wele withoutte oppressioune  
Unto his folke ought done in any wise  
So reuled he wele his own dyd hym suffise. *own (income)*

1970 Whan he had fulle regned so by fyve yere  
As he was gone a day for his disperte *pleasure*

	Tille a foreste the wode of Calathere He mette Argalle his brothyr of symple porte Fully despayrde and oute of alle conforte Besekyng hym that he wolde hym socoure For his brothir and bene his govenoure.	To manner lacking hope aid
1975	Kynge Elidoure for pité that he se Toke hym so than betwyxe his armes two And conforte hym so in his poverté. And to Alclude his cyté gan he go Of Albany moste famouse cyté tho	then know certainly
1980	Whiche now but fewe wote in what place it is So is it now that name unknowe iwys.	
1985	And made hym seke and for his barons alle So sende he than in haste to come hym tylle. Whiche came anone in haste so at hys calle His comaundement in allethyng to fullfylle. He toke thaym in and told thaym alle his wille Ever on by on and made thaym swere the othe To Argalle so whether thay were lefe or lothe.	seek to  <i>one by one desirous; loathe</i>
1990	And after this anone right so he yede To Ebrauke than and helde his parlement Whare he right than of tendre brotherhede Toke of his croune right by his own intente And on his brothers heved it sette and spente	went York
1995	By fulle décré and jugement of his mouthe And made hym kynge agayn by northe and southe.	off head; gave

### Kynge Argalle the second tyme

	Argalle so kynge crouned new agayne Fulle welle his lordes dyd after love and plesse And lefte his vyce and toke vertu to sayne.
2000	So sette he alle his peple in gode pese Regnyng ten yere and then felle hym diseese Thurgh malady and dyverse grete sekenesse He dyed and lyeth at Carlele as I gesse.

### fol. 32v Kynge Elydoure twyse made kynge and ever mercyfull

2005	The barons alle than made Syr Elidoure The kynge agayne with alle the rialté So wele thaym payed to have hym governoure For his godenesse and his benygnyté. And for he was so fulle of alle pyté	<i>it pleased them</i>
------	---	------------------------

That in alle thyng mercy he dyd preserve  
 2010 To every man beter than thay couthe deserve. *did*

### **Ingen and Perydoure kynges**

But Ingen than and als Syr Peridoure  
 His brether two rose thurgh grete trechery  
 And hym put doun oute of his hiegh honoure  
 Emprisounyng hym than corporally  
 2015 Within the Toure of Trynovaunt forthy  
 That thay departe the reams amoneg thaym two  
 Bot nought forthy it dured nought longe so *Such that; divided; realms nevertheless; endured*

For Ingen tho so leved bot seven yere  
 Whan deth hym toke and ravyshit hym away  
 2020 His issu yonge of his own body here.  
 And byried was as usage was that day  
 With alle honoure that the barons may  
 For wele he dyd his parte alway governe  
 As ferre as men couthe knowe or yit discerne. *lived custom*

### **Kynge Perydoure**

Peridoure had than alle the londe fulle clere  
 Who kynge was than as alle cronycles telle.  
 Fulle pesybly the reaume he reuled here  
 Tylle sudeyn deth hym toke, so it byfelle  
 2030 And byried was as kynge bothe fayre and welle  
 After thaire rytes and als thaire olde usage  
 With hiegh honoure by alle his baronage.

### **Kynge Elydoure thryse made kynge**

Elydoure whiche in prison so foryette  
 Alle this mene while so lay in hevynesse  
 The barons alle oute of the Toure dyd fette  
 2035 And crouned hym with alkyn worthynesse  
 Thus was he thryse so crouned as I gesse  
 And every tym he kepte his olde condiciouns  
 Withouten wronge or any evelle addiciouns. *forgotten sorrow fetch all kind of*

And whan the tym that deth hym had exspyred  
 2040 Oute of this world that dede he was away  
 Thay layd hym than as he had theym requyred  
 In Alclude whiche his cité was that day.  
 Bot nevertheless som cronycles otherwyse say

- That he was layd at Elud so and buryed  
 That now Aldburgh is called and specyfyed.

fol. 33r .xx. capitulum of the Kynge Gorbonyan, the sone of Gorbonyan, the second of  
 that name, and xxxii other kynges next folowynge.

Gorbonyan whiche was Gorbonyan sonne  
 The croune had so and after his eme alle thyngē  
 Dyd kepe and reule in alle as he was wonne  
 And welle was loved with olde and als wyth yngē.  
 And at his dethe was byried lyke a kynge  
 In alle honoure and worship hool entered  
 As to suche pryncie of right shulde be requerid.

## **Kynge Margan the son of Argalle**

- |      |   |                                   |
|------|---|-----------------------------------|
| 2055 | <p>Margan that was the sonne of Kynge Argalle<br/>     Was corouned than and helde the ryalté<br/>     With mekylle blys his reame he rewled alle<br/>     And kepte it ever in alle tranquylité.<br/>     He ended wele with alle benygnyté<br/>     For whiche he was fulle gretely magnyfyde<br/>     Thurghoute his reame and highly lawdyfyde.</p> | <i>kindness</i><br><i>praised</i> |
|------|---|-----------------------------------|

## **Kynge Enniaunus son of Argalle**

Nota how this kynge was ended sone for his cursed lyfe and his tirantrye

- 2060 Enniaunus his brother so was kyng  
 Seven yere than in tyrantry he bare  
 The croune alway in cursidnesse regnyng.  
 For whiche he was put doun with sorow and care  
 The sexte yere so that no man knew ourwhare  
 That he become; so secretly his ende  
 Was kepte counsaylle that never man after kende.

## Ivalle kynge son of Ingen.

## **Nota of the gudenes of this kynge and of his vertue**

- Ivalle the sonne of Kynge Ingen dyd rayne  
Who loved ever to kepe alle rightwisnesse  
And hated vyce the sothe of hym to sayne.  
Amonge his men he loved ever alle clennesse  
Pore men to helpe fallyn in febylnesse  
Was his desyre and shrewes forto chastyse  
And sone he dyed and biried as myght suffyse.

**Kynge Rymo the sone of Perydoure****Nota of the gudenes of this kynge and of his vertue**

- 2075 Rymo the sonne than of Kynge Peridoure  
 Corounde was than and loved alle gentyllesse  
 None evelle wold here bot vertu and honoure  
 Of lyfe fulle clene and lovyng alle clennesse.  
 In his tyme was alle plenté and largesse  
 Pese and reste and hool felycyté *generosity*  
 2080 Of worldly welthe and grete prosperyté.

**Kynge Geyennes the son of Elydoure****Nota of this kynges gode reule and governance**

- Geyennes than the son of Elydoure  
 To regne began and reuled welle his day  
 In grete vertu as noble governoure  
 And kepte his reame unto the peples pay *satisfaction*  
 2085 And dyed sone and biried on gode aray *state*  
 As noble prynce of deuté ought to be *duty*  
 In ryalle wyse as men couthe for hym se.

- fol. 33v **Kynge Katellus**

**Nota of punysement of trespassours**

- Katellus so his sonne dyd than succede  
 And regned welle and helde up lawe and right  
 2090 Oppressours alle that pore men dyd overlede  
 He hanged ever on trese fulle hiegh to sight. *oppress*  
 He spared thaym nougnt forsothe by day ne nyght *trees*  
 Bot ever forthwith he gaffe thaym jugement  
 Whiche execute was aftyr his entent. *was carried out*

**Kynge Coyle**

- 2095 Coyle his sonne than aftyr hym dyd succede  
 Corownde for kynge regnynge mony a day  
 In grete welfare withouten eny drede  
 And lefte the londe in riche and gode aray. *state*  
 Whan he dyd de and passed hens away *die; hence*  
 2100 Byried and layd as came hym of degré *befitted*  
 Right ryally and of grete honesté. *splendor*

### Kynge Porrex

Porrex was than his sonne ful generate  
 Made kynge and had than forthe the rialté  
 And reuled welle by law preordynate  
 2105 His reme thurghoute and alle his comynté *citizentry*  
 In grete quyete and gode stabilité  
 Withouten grevaunce or noy of any wight  
 So gode he was and plesand to mennes sight. *molestation; person*

### Kynge Cheryn

#### Nota of drunkenes

Cheryn was kynge replete of drunkenesse  
 2110 In whiche vyce so he wox a fole unwyse *became; fool*  
 And couthe discerne no reson doutlesse  
 Bot bete his men and foully thaym dyspyse  
 And voyde thaym ofte so oute of his servyse  
 Whiche in a prynce was nothyng to comende *exiled*  
 2115 For in vertu he shulde al folke transcendre.

### Kynge Fulgyn, Kynge Eldrade, Kynge Andragius.

His sonnes thre, Fulgyn was eldest bore *born*  
 The secunde hight Eldrade, the thrid Andragyus. *was called*  
 But Fulgyn was so crouned than byfore  
 And dyed sone and Eldrade crouned thus  
 2120 And dyed anone as bokes tellen us.  
 After whom so Andragyus was kynge  
 Who in shorte tyme after made his endynge.

#### Nota how the maker off this moveth his resoun touchant drunknesse

Thof thay dyed sone no meruelle soth to say  
 That so were gote in drunkenesse and generate *although*  
 2125 For drunkenesse cometh of fume of drynke alleaway *begotten*  
 That undygeste ascendyth the brayne algate *vapor*  
 With quantité taken untemperate *undigested; in any case*  
 And coverth it as clowde above the sonne *intemperate*  
 Whare thurgh his wytte and mynde away is ronne. *cloud; sun* *fled*

fol. 34r Wharfore I truste right by myne estymate  
 2131 Thay myght not dure so wayke was thayre nature. *weak*  
 For whan the hede is seke and intemporete  
 Alle other membres in wyrkyng fayle thayre cure *care*  
 And febled ere and wayke withoute mesure. *are; debilitated*

- 2135 How shuld thay than that were so procreate  
 Endure ought longe, by reson approbate? *approved*

### Kynge Urian

#### **Nota how viciousse this kynge was of lyfe**

- Urian his sonne was kynge in magesté  
 And kepte his londe bot he was licherouse *lecherousness*  
 Eche woman so that was of grete bewté  
 He wolde thaym have, he was so vyciouuse.  
 Bot nevertheless he was right bountynouse *generous*  
 To every wyght that had necessité  
 He gafe grete gode and richesse of suffishenté. *sufficiency*

### Kynge Elyud

#### **Nota of gode reule of thise two kynges**

- Elyud was kynge and than dyd bere the croune  
 And dyed sone that wyse was in alle thynge.  
 Detonus than who ever to werre was boune *intent*  
 Was crounede than in tendre age and yngue.  
 Thayre ennemyse ever to deth thay dyd doun dynge *beat*  
 And gode reule helde thurgh alle the reame fulle wele  
 So happy were thay and so fulle of sele. *bliss*

**Kynge Detonus, Kynge Gurgucius, Kynge Meryan, Kynge Bledudo, Kynge Cappe, Kynge Oenus, Kynge Sisilius, Kynge Bledud Gabred.**

- Detonus than was kynge of alle Bretayne  
 And aftyr hym Gurgucyus bare the croune  
 And Meryan than aftyr hym sertayne.  
 Bledudo than after hym was redy boune *set*  
 To regne in londe as kynge of grete renoune.  
 Aftyr hym Kynge Cappe and than Kynge Oenus  
 Eche after other regned and Sisilyus.

- Bledud Gabred, who in alle note and songe  
 Forpassynge was and in alle instruments  
 Of musyke so excede alle other amonge  
 In whiche he had for passynge sentements  
 That for a god in alle the folkes intents  
 Of myrthe and joy and als in alle musyke  
 Above alle other holden and none hym lyke.

**Kynge Archyvalle, Kynge Eldolle, Kynge Redyon, Kynge Redryke, Kynge Samuel, Kynge Pyrre, Kynge Penyssel, Kynge Capoyre.**

- 2165 Than regned so his brother Archyvalle  
And than his sonne Syr Eldolle wytterly. *certainly*  
To whom his sonne whom Redyon men calle  
After whom his sonne Redrike was kynge in hy. *haste*  
Samuel than was kynge made sykyrly *surely*  
2170 So than succede Kynge Pyrre and Penysselle  
After hym Capoyre and than Kynge Elyguelle.

fol. 34v **Kynge Elyguelle**

**Nota how this kynge ded punysshe trespassours**

- Bot Eliguelle, the whiche was Capoyres sonne,  
Bothe wyse and sad and in his reame helde righte *solemn; steady*  
To alle his folke that in his reame dyd wonne *dwell*  
2175 Fulle stedfastly certayne at alle his myght.  
And thaym that dyd eny wronge or unright  
**Nota** He prisounde thaym with sore and grete duresse  
And helde thaym longe so after in greteste distresse.

**Kynge Ely**

- Hely his son aftyr this Elyguelle  
2180 Right debonayre in alle thynge gode and wyse *even-tempered*  
So dyd succede as cronycles us do telle  
Who made so firste by his wytte and devyse *planning*  
The Ile of Ely that ys of grete emprise. *renown*  
And whan he had regned fully sixty yere  
2185 Thare biried was by ought I can enquere.
- Some sayth he lyeth at Castre nougth forthy  
The whiche I can nougth trusten was aforne *nonetheless*  
Nayther byggid, ne gun to edfy. *prior*  
For Hengest who it made was than unborne *constructed; begun to be built*  
2190 And Horsus als that some men callen Horne.  
Wharefore me thynke it was to hym condygne  
At Ely lygge how shuld men it repygne. *fitting*  
*to lie; however; deny*

**.xxi. capitulum of Kynge Lud that chaunged the name of Trynovant and called it Carlud after whom it was called after (afterwards) Londoun**

- Than Lud his sonne his heyre was so of myght  
For wysdome so and als grete worthynesse  
2195 With honoure hole as came hym wele of right

Was crouned kynge by hole and dewe processe.  
 His citese alle and castels dyd redresse  
 Of mete and drynke alleway right plentyuouse  
 Rightwyse manly and also chyvalrouse.

*due*

### How he called Trynovaunt Caerlud and made Ludgate

- 2200 With walles fayre and toures fresshe aboute  
 His cyté grete of Trynovaunt so fayre  
 Fulle wele he made and bataylde alle thurghouthe  
 And palays fele for lordes and grete repaire  
 And mended fresshe alle places that were unfayre. *fortified*  
*many; spaces*
- 2205 He made a yate that now men calle Ludgate *gate*  
 Whareby he made hys palays of estate
- For love of whom Caerlud men dyd it calle  
 In Bretoun tonge fulle longe and many a day  
 Tylle Saxons came with language chaunged alle.  
 2210 Thys gode Kynge Lud whan he shuld passe away  
 Byrid so was right in a temple gay  
 Besyde Ludgate nere whare his palays stode *near*  
 In tombe rialle accordant to his blode.
- fol. 35r Two sonnes he had whiche were of tendre age  
 2215 The reame to reule by gode discreciooun.  
 Thay were to yonge to kepe thayre heritage  
 Bot hayres thay were by alle successioun.  
 Wharfore thare eme toke fulle possessioun *uncle*  
 In alle the reame by northe and als by southe  
 2220 And helde it wele in honoure as he couthe. *knew how to*

### .xxii. capitulum offe Kynge Cassibalan

- Cassibalan thaire uncle than was kynge  
 And foonde thaym bothe right honestly and wele  
 Dyd nurture thaym whils thay were childre yngel. *tended*
- 2225 And whan thay came to age that thay couthe fele  
 To reule thaymselff the duché every dele  
 Of Trynovaunt and Kent gafe Andragyus *manage*  
 And of Cornewayle to Tenvancyus. *part*
- Andragyus the elder brothyr wase  
 The yonger was so Tenvancyus  
 2230 Whiche were bothe two manly in every case  
 And wyse and tylle thaire eme fulle bounteus. *uncle*  
 So felle a day that Cesar Julyus

After whan he alle londes had conquerde  
At Bolyne of this londe he faste enquerde

## **How Julius Cesar came into Bretayne firste pretendynge title to conquere Grete Bretayne**

- |          |   |  |
|----------|---|--|
| 2235     | That it dyd hight and what folke were tharein<br>Thay tolde hym how that Bretayne was the name.<br>“O” sayde he than “me thynke it light to wyn.<br>Belyne and Brenne it aught of noble fame<br>Whiche Rome so wan and helde it for thayre hame<br>Whose successoure I am in dignyté<br>Wharefore I wylle of it have soveraynté.                        | <i>what; called<br/>easy<br/>possessed<br/>home</i>                |
| 2240     | “Brutus also that friste it had in walde<br>Come of Troyans and so was Romulus<br>Whose successoure I am now fully calde.<br>Bot for as muche as bastard was Brutus<br>The right to me of it shuld longen thus<br>As we that cam of Eneas so gode<br>Descended doun by verry lyne of blode.”  | <i>control</i>   |
| 2245     | By thys tytle he came into this lande<br>And it claymed as for his heritage<br>And faught with Kynge Cassibalan with honde<br>With hostes grete of thaire bothers lynage<br>Bot Bretons yit fully had avauntage<br>And put Romayns alle utterly to flyght<br>That thay were glad to sayle agayn forth ryght.  | <i>due right</i>   |
| 2250     |   |  |
| 2255     |   |  |
| fol. 35v | <b>How Julius Cesar came to Bretayne the seconde tyme</b>   |  |
| 2260     | The Frensshe were prowde off that discomfytur<br>By whiche thay thought right so to do the same<br>Oute of thaire londe to chase thaym in some ure.<br>For drede of whiche Julyus fulle of fame<br>In Flaunders was with mekyl tene and grame<br>And sente for Frenshe, Normayns and als Gascoyns<br>Flemyngs, Brabans, Henaldes, Gellers and Burgoyns. | <i>defeat<br/>propitious moment<br/>much difficulty; suffering</i> |
| 2265     | The pore that were of corage and manhede<br>He gaffe lordshyp and landes sufficiaunte.<br>The grete he gafe fraanchise off worthyhede.<br>The exilde men that ferre were conversaunte<br>He gaffe thaym grace evermore of ful covenante<br>Come home agayn and have thaire heritage<br>Fully restored agayn with alle damage.                           | <i>dominions<br/>far; in touch<br/>agreement<br/>damages</i>       |

- 2270     The bonde he made alle fre out of servage  
           For joy of whiche the peple came so faste  
           That men inow he had withouten wage  
           To fighthen with the Bretons to the laste.  
           To conquer thaym he was nothyng agaste  
           With alle his shippes and many under sayle  
           In Thamyse came certayn withouten fayle.
- enough  
afraid
- 2275     Upon grete piles with irne poynted wele  
           Agayne thayre come were sette by ordynaunce  
           Of Bretouns wyse to droune the flete eche dele  
           And perse thayre shippes to sette thaym in balance.  
           Thus were thaire shippes dystroyd by that chaunce.  
           Thaymselff on londe fulle fayne were forto ryve  
           And to the felde in bataylle gan to dryve.
- spikes  
coming; in preparedness  
part  
pierce  
eager; land  
move
- 2280     Cassibalan so wyse and reuled wele  
           By alkyns wytte and knyghtly provydence  
           With his neveus so kynde and naturele  
           That manly were and fulle of alle prudence  
           In wham there wante nougnt of benyvolence  
           To helpe thaire eme thay were fulle corageus  
           With barons alle fulle bolde and batailous.
- all manner of  
nephews  
was lacking  
uncle  
martial
- 2285     And so thay mette with Romayns fresshe and stronge  
           And saught ful sore with corage odiousse  
           And mony one thare slayne were thaym amonge  
           With strokes grete and woundes tediouse.  
           So aither parte on othur were dispytouse  
           That alle the felde was colourde of the blode  
           Suche quantité of it there was and flode.
- full of hatred  
grievous  
pitiless  
abundance
- fol. 36r   Julyus thare so myghtly hym bare  
           That whom he stroke to deth he muste enclyne  
           His sworde was of suche myght and ege ware  
           That Crocea Mors it hight so was it fyne.  
           Syr Nemynus thought longe to undyrmyne  
           The batayle, so that he Julyus myghte  
           In batayle mete and with so worthy fighte.
- cede  
edge; prepared  
Yellow Death; called
- 2300     Tylle at the laste thay mette togedyr same  
           With strokes sore ayther on othyre layde  
           Thof Nemynus were hurte he thought gode game  
           To dele with hym that never yit was afrayde.  
           Julyus sworde within his shelde men sayde  
           He brought away and als his dethes wounde  
           So manly wele he bare hym in that stounde.
- attacked  
even though  
encounter

- His neveus two with Kent and Trynovaunt  
 And Cornyssh folke so chyftenly thaym beere  
 That thurgh thayre myght and power habundaunt  
 Put the Romayns in perele and in grete feere.  
 With that Bretons cam fresshly on thaym there  
 And slew thaym sore and putte thaym to the flyght  
 To Normandy thay fled agayn fulle right.
- great  
peril
- 2315
- Thare in a place Odnea that so hight  
 Julyus than for grete mystruste of Fraunce  
 Dyd make a toure right grete and stronge of myght  
 Hym and his godes to kepe in alle suraunce  
 Thydyr to brynghe his rentes by ordynaunce  
 And trewage als of diverse regiouuns  
 Agayne Bretayne to wage his legiouuns.
- was called*  
*safety*  
*There*  
*tribute*  
*pay*
- 2320
- How Kynge Cassibalan somonde all lordes of Bretayn to his feste whare grete  
wrath and were arose bituix the kynge and Andragius**
- So than the kynge Cassibalan rialle  
 Admynystred so fulle in alle plesance  
 With alle honoure and glory triumphalle  
 For joy dyd make his rite and observaunce  
 His goddes only with alle his suffisaunce  
 For to honoure and do thaym sacryfyse  
 As that tyme was the manere and the gyse.
- majestic*  
*custom*
- 2330
- His feste dyd crye thurghoute alle hole Bretayne  
 In Cambre, Loegres and als in Albany  
 And in Ireland with iles alle that pertayne  
 To his lorshyp and noble monarchy  
 That servyce dyd untyl his auncetry  
 Praynge thaym alle that were of gode estate  
 Wyth hym to be at his feste ordynate.
- (he) had announced*  
*ancestry*  
*appointed*
- 2335
- fol. 36v
- And forto drawe the knyghtes chyvalrouse  
 To it he sette grete justes and turnement.  
 And forto make the knyghtes more corageuse  
 He ordeyned than at that feste excellente  
 Afore eche knyght ben sette a lady gente  
 Fulle of beuté and alle fresshe juventé  
 To chere thaym wele as wold femynyté.
- jousts*  
*youthfulness*  
*womankind*
- 2341
- 2345

## **How the makere commendes the joysement of the peple for his triumphe and victory agayns Julius Cesar**

- |          |   |  |
|----------|---|--|
|          | Suche joy was nought I say in Romany<br>Made for tryhumphe and the gloriousté<br>Whan Julyus came home with victory<br>Ne for conqueste of Sipions pousté<br>Whan he so at Cartage had alle degré<br>As was than at Cassibalaynes feste<br>Amonge the folke assembled moste and leste.                                      | <i>Scipio Africanus's power</i>                                    |
| 2350     |   |  |
|          | <b>Bot than Erle Andragius sent after Julius Cesar to helpe hym agayn the kynge</b>   |  |
|          |   |  |
| 2355     | Bot ever as nexte the valey ys the hill<br>So after joy comyth ay adversité.<br>So thare byfelle thurgh strife and evelle wille<br>Debate fulle foule of grete dyversité<br>Bytwene Syr Irenglas of hyegh degré   | <i>Quarrel; differences</i>  |
|          | That cosyn was unto the kynge so nere<br>And Syr Hewlyn, Erle Andrage neven dere.   | <i>nephew</i>  |
| 2360     |   |  |
| 2365     | Thurgh whiche debate Hewlyn slew Syr Irenglass<br>For whiche the kynge Syr Hewlyn wold have slayne<br>Whom Androgus withdrew right for that case<br>For drede right of his eme Cassibalayne.<br>Wherefore the kinge to venge it dyd his Payne<br>And hastily he thought hym to anoye<br>Hym to werray utterly and dystroye. | <i>uncle</i><br><i>harass</i><br><i>attack</i>                     |
|          |   |  |
| 2370     | Wharefore Androge had in his wytte provyde<br>That he nede muste of alle necessité<br>Bene slayne hymselff and wrongely mortyfyde<br>Or his neveu withouten equyté<br>Slayne shulde be so only by cruelté<br>Or els to fle the londe as exilate<br>And leve his frendes hevy and desolate.                                  | <i>foreseen</i><br><i>killed</i><br><i>justice</i><br><i>exile</i> |
| 2375     | For grace and pese whan he the kynge had prayde<br>And none couthe gette, bot fully trusted warre,<br>He wrote than to Julyus alle affrayde<br>Who cald hymselff in his writynge Cesare<br>Besekynge hym to come agayn so farre   | <i>expected the worst</i>  |
| 2380     | With alle his hoste to helpe hym in his right<br>Agayn the kynge in bataylle forto fight.   |  |
| fol. 37r | And hool trewage he of the reame shuld have<br>For he of right therof the kynge shuld bene  | <i>tribute</i>   |

- As verrey heyre he myght it clayme and crave  
 Unto Kynge Lud as alle the reame may mene.  
 Wharfore hym thought the more he myght hym tene  
 And of the londe to graunte hym ful truage  
 And wele the more it was his heritage.
- true; desire  
realm; direct  
trouble  
tribute*
- Than, at instance of Andragius, Julius cam into Bretayne thryd tyme whare, after sore bataile, the kynge graunted truage till Rome and tribute.**
- Syr Julyus than so humbely requerde  
 By Androgus to whom he gaff credence  
 As doughty pryncie that was nothing aferde  
 With alle his myght and his magnificencie.  
 To have his wille dyd alle his diligence  
 Arrifynge up at Dovere certanly  
 Whither the kynge than came fulle spedely.
- petitioned*
- And thare thay faught so with Cassibalan.  
 The kynge was fayne to fle unto an hille  
 Whare Julyus with warde dyd sege hym than  
 By counsaylle of Androgus and his wille  
 His hoste to hurte to famysshe and to spille.  
 Whare he for hungre sente to Androgus  
 Besekynge hym of helpe and socoure thus.
- guard; besiege  
determination  
starve; destroy  
(i.e., Cassibalan)*
- And alle defaute shuld ben amended wele  
 And alle rancoure utturly appesed  
 At his owne wille as he wole have eche dele  
 So shuld his herte in alle thynge bene wele esed.  
 A man, he sayde, to se his kyn disesed  
 It shuld his herte agrege and greve fulle sore.  
 Thus sende he worde to Androgus thore.
- resolved  
part  
harmed  
weigh down  
there*
- Who for pyté myght than no lenger byde  
 Bot to Cesare he wente anone forth right  
 Tretynge hym so that pese was made that tyde  
 Betwyx thaym and trewage redy dight  
 To pay by yere to Rome so hath he hight  
 Thre thousandd pounde of sylver fyne in plate  
 Thus endyd was thaire werre and grete debate.
- continue  
time  
tribute; prepared  
promised  
pure*
- Thys was the yere afore thyncarnacioun  
 As Seynt Bede in his *Gestes of Englond*  
 Affermed hath right in his compylacioun  
 Fulle sixty yere as he had red and fonde  
 Who can his boke wele se and undyrstonde.
- incarnation  
read*

- Bot Martyne sayth nothyng of this matere  
In his cronicle that Cesare ought was here *at all*
- fol. 37v Who Romayne was and borne in Romany  
2425 For honoure of his londe an reverence *and*  
If it so were shuld it in memory  
Have made me thynke for Romayns excellence  
Seth he Romayne was borne of grete science *Since; learning*  
And in cronycle alle Romes worthynesse  
2430 Remembred hath how lefte he that prowesse.
- Bot as a *Boke of Brute* it hath comprised  
He wyntred here in Bretayne for grete love  
Tylle somer came as he afore devysed *Until*  
At whiche tyme so he wente for his byhove. *necessity*
- 2435 To Fraunce agayne he gan forto remove  
Upon Pompey to werray at his myght *Pompey (the Great); make war*  
Of every londe he had men with hym right.
- With hym wente than Androgus and his sonne  
For love and truse betwyxe thaym was so fyxt  
That none of thaym than couthe from othur wonne  
2440 So were thaire hertes lovyng and entermyxte. *apart from; dwell*  
And Tenvaunce his brother that heyre was nyxte  
He lefte at home the coroune forto bere *next*  
After the tyme thayre uncle so dede were.
- 2445 Cassibalan so kynge stode forth seven yere  
Paynge tribute with alle humylité  
To Rome alway and was thayre truagere *subject king*  
Unto the day of his mortalité
- 2450 That deth hym toke oute of his dignyté  
And biried was with laude and reverence *praise*  
At Ebrauke than unto his excelence.
- .xxiii. capitulum of the Kynge Tenvancius**
- Tenvancius that duke was of Cornewayle  
Unto the heghte of alle the regymence  
Was raysed up and had the governaile  
2455 Of Bretayne hole, who with fulle hiegh prudence  
Governed right wele with alle his diligence.  
Bot longe he stode nought kynge to deth hym toke *until*  
As cronyclers have writton in thare boke.

**.xxiiii capitulum ofe Kymbelyn Kyng of Bretayne in whose tyme Criste was borne**

- Kymbelyne so that was his sonne and hayre  
 2460 Noryssh at Rome instructe of chyvallry *Brought up*  
 And knyght was made with honoure grete and fayre  
 By Cesare Auguste regned than enterly  
 Thurghoute the world that helde the monarchy.  
 In whose tyme so was pese and alle concorde  
 2465 And every reme to Rome was wele acorde.
- fol. 38r Whiche Cesare so was called Octovian  
 By propre name who dyed the fiftene yere  
 Aftyr that Criste was so incarnate than  
 To whom succede Tyberyus in the emperé  
 2470 Fro that tyme forth as clerly doth appere  
 Unto the yere after Cristes natyvyté *thirty; die*  
 Eght and thretty in whiche that he dyd de.

**Nota how Criste was borne the tenth yere of this kynge**

- Ten yere forth this Kymbelyn was kynge  
 And dyed so the same yere Criste was bore. *born*  
 2475 And aftyr Brute had made his arryvynge  
 In Albyon a thousandd yere there wore *were*  
 Two hundredth als I say so mykylle more  
 Unto the tyme Kynge Kymbelyn dyd de  
 Whiche was the ferste yere of Cristes natyvyté.
- 2480 The tyme whan Criste was so of Mary borne  
 In Bretayne was a clerke hight Thelofyne *was called*  
 Who propheciend and preached even and morne.  
 Of Cristes byrthe thus gan he to devyne  
 2485 And sayde thaym than he foound by his doctryne  
 How that a mayde had borne that tyme a childe  
 Hyre maydenhede preserved and unfylde. *undefiled*

**.xxv. capitulum of Kyng Guydere**

**Nota how this Kyng Guydere gan to regne in the first yere of the incarnacioun of Criste**

- Guydere his sonne and hayre fulle corageus  
 Up raysed sone and crouned with excelence  
 The tribute whiche the Romayns had of us  
 2490 Denyed fully and made grete resistance  
 And none wold pay but thought by fulle defence

- To voyde Romayns and alle thaire seyniory  
Who nought had here bot of thaire tyranny. *expel; authority had business*
- 2495 This kynge Guydere to regne friste bygan *first*  
In the friste yere of Cristes natyvyté  
Right after his fadyr so dede was than  
Withouthe delay or more prolyxité *verbosity*  
Crouned than was with alle solempnyté  
And Romayns wolde he nought obeye ne loute  
Bot thaym withstode with bataylle grete and stoute. *bow to valiant*
- 2505 For whiche cam than Claudyus themperoure  
To Caerperis that Porchestere now hight *is called*  
Whyche hym withstode and helde it with honoure.  
And Claudyus made a walle afore it right  
To famysshe thaym tharein so hath he hight. *starve; promised*  
Bot Kynge Guydere and Syr Arvyragere  
It reskowed than, that was his brother dere.
- fol. 38v Thay faught thare with the emperoure of myght  
And slew his men on every syde aboute  
2510 That he was fayne to ship and take his flight *embark*  
Kynge Guydere and his Bretons were so stoute.  
And so byfelle a Romayn spied whare oute  
A Breton dyed bysyde lay in a slake *ditch*  
Whos armes he toke and caste upon his bake. *back*
- 2515 As Guyders man he rode with hym fulle nere  
Waytynge his tyme and with his swerde hym slew. *Looking out for*  
Whom Aryragus that was his brother dere  
Espyed friste and caste on hym alle new *first*  
His brother armes, and fresshly dyd hym sew, *follow*  
2520 And hym ovretoke whare now ys Southampton  
Whare he hym slew and in the haven dyd droun. *harbor*
- .xxvi. capitulum of Kynge Arviragus
- This Romayne hight by propre name Hamoun  
For whom the toune whan it was edifyde *built*  
First Hamon Haven and after Hamontoun  
2525 Men dyd it calle wyde whare on every syde. *far and wide*  
Arviragus to Wynchestre than gan ryde  
And Claudius aftir the towne to wynne  
Bot he it had he wold not cese ne blynne. *Until; stop*
- 2530 Wyth that foresoth Arvyragus with hoste  
Right in the felde withoute the toun hym mette

In bataylle hole to fight and felle the boste  
 Of Romayns alle hym thought it was his dette.  
 And as thay shuld eyther on other have sette  
 Thurgh counsaylle of there bothers councilloours  
 2535 Thay were acorde of pese with grete honours.

*destroy  
duty*

*of each of their*

And to this fyne that Syr Arviragus  
 Shuld reigne and wed his doughter Genvyse  
 And bere the croune of Bretayne so famus  
 And pay tribute unto Romayns wyse.  
 2540 For whiche accorde he sente as dyd suffyse  
 To brynge hyre to his noble hiegh presence  
 Thare to be wed with joy and sufficence.

*end  
(i.e., Claudius's)*

*contentment*

### How Claudius sent for his doughtir and wed hir to this kynge

Whan Claudyus sente for his doughter dere  
 So after was that Criste was incarnate  
 2545 As cronycle sayth the sexte and fourty yere  
 Oute of Latyne as I can hit translate  
 In balade thus and sense nought alterate  
 Iff myne auctore ought wronge hath sayde of ytte  
 To correccioun fully I me submytte.

*distorted  
author*

### fol. 39 Coronacion of Arviragus and his wife Genvyse

At certayne day accordyd and assygned  
 She was brought in a valey fresshe and fayre  
 On Severne syde by merkes and boundes signed  
 Whare Gloucestre is now of grete repaire  
 Whare bot a mede was than of floures fayre  
 2555 Whan thay were wed with grete solempnyté  
 And crouned bothe with alkyns rialté.

*boundary markers identified  
well-situated  
meadow*

*every kind of*

### How Claudius Emperour made Gloucestre

The emperoure thare callyd Syr Claudyus  
 A cyté made Caerglou he called it right  
 After his name some cronycles sayen thus.  
 2560 Bot othur cronycles sayne Caergloy it hight  
 Bycause he gate a sonne tharein fulle wight  
 Whiche Gloy so hight and lorde thereof was made  
 Whare alle his tyme he dwelled and abade.

*was called  
energetic*

*remained*

After the weddynge so wente he home agayne.  
 2565 Arviragus in Bretayne dyd abyde  
 And lorde he was thurghoute alle hole Bretayne

With alle the iles aboute on every syde  
 Who felle in suche presumpsioun and grete pride  
 To Rome he wolde no trewage forward pay  
 So was he stronge he dred thaym nought that day.

2570 *tribute; in advance*

**How Vaspasyan cam to Bretayne and had trewage, in whose tyme Seynt Petir preached at Antioche.**

Than sente thay hyder worthy Vaspasien  
 To sette this londe in humble obeyshance  
 To Rome agayne, as sayth the historien  
 Gyldas in his storyese and remembrance,  
 Or els dystroy his dyssobeyssance  
 Thurgh his worthy conqueste and chyvalry  
 By whiche Bretons shuld falle in mysery.

2575 *here*

In his tyme was Seynte Petre than prechynge  
 Att Antyoche and came so forth to Rome  
 The peple hool to Crysten fayth techynge  
 That was his werke whan he so thyder come  
 On whiche stode alle his sentence and his dome  
 With benygne chere and verry humble herte  
 The folke aywhere to prechen and converte.

2580 *there*  
*determination; judgment*  
*everywhere*

2585 To Dovere than, that called was Rutupewe,  
 Vaspasien came there forto arryve.  
 On whom the kynge so fersely gan to shewe  
 That to Totneys he gan with sayle to dryve  
 Whare he founde none with sworde, ne yit with knyve,  
 His londynge ought to letten or to conturbe  
 Whare he arrove and no wight hym disturb.

*appear*  
*hind; distract*

fol. 39v 2595 So went he forth to Excestere his way  
 Caerpenelgorte so hight and hit assayled.  
 On whom the kynge came than the sevent day  
 With bataylle stronge that ayther party wayled  
 So wery were that bothe here hostes fayled.  
 For whiche by hyre tretyse Quene Genyse  
 Acordyd thaym by gode concorde and wyse

*was called*  
*seventh*  
*suffered*  
*treaty*

**Quia mulier desiderat nisi superioritatem<sup>1</sup>**

2600 To pay to Rome so forthwarde his tribute  
 With love and pese as was afore conquerde

<sup>1</sup> Because a woman desires nothing but governance

- And nayther parte to suffere more rebute.  
Thus hath she thaym fully counsailde and sterde.  
Vaspasian als tendyrly she requyred  
To wynter here and byde unto the somyr  
2605 And graunte hyre alle; he myght no better ourcom hyr.
- repulse*  
*managed*
- From thens forwarde he worshipht eche Romayne  
Paynge treuly eche yere his hoel truage  
With wisdome so reduced was agayne  
That welle he kepte his lond and heritage  
2610 Oute of alle werre and stryfe and alle outrage  
In whose tyme so, as some cronycle expresse,  
Josep Aramathy in Bretayn came I gesse.
- entire; tribute*  
*guided*
- illegality*
- Nota how Joseph of Arymathy cam into Bretayn, to whom Kynge Arvyragus gafe the Ile of Avalon and gafe hym leve to teche the Cristen fayth, whare he converte grete peple and made the rode of the north dore, whiche Agrestes caste in the west se bisyde Caerlyoun, for vengeance of whiche he brent hymself in an oven, as it is contened in the book of Joseph of Arymathi lyfe and of his governance.**
- Unde in Jeromia: “Et factus est sudor eius sicut gutte sanguinis decurrentes in terram.”<sup>1</sup>**
- The yere of Cryste so was syxty and thre  
Whan he came with his frendes in Grete Bretayne  
2615 Whare he byred is withouten le.  
And two fyols fulle of the swete to sayne  
Of Jhesu Cryste as rede as blode of vayne  
Whiche he gadered and brought with hym away  
And layd in erth with hym at his laste day.
- (Joseph of Arimathea)*  
*lie*
- vials; sweat*
- vein*
- 2620 By lycense of the kynge, Josep gan teche  
Within Bretayn the fayth in dyverse place  
And parte converte whare so that he dyd preche  
Thurgh wille of God graunted to hym by grace.  
To whom the kynge than gaffe a dwellyng place
- 2625 Mewytryne than it hight and had to name  
Of Breton tonge that tymne it had no fame.
- was called*
- Twelve hydes of londe to hym he gaffe therewyth  
To leve upon and gete his sustynaunce  
Whiche byggyd ys and wele reparailde syth  
2630 To Goddes worshyp and his holy plesaunce.  
Whiche is a place of worthi suffishaunce
- built; equipped since*  
*abundance*

<sup>1</sup> Whence in Jerome: “And his sweat was as drops of blood falling to the ground” (Luke 22:44)

- That men calle nowe the house of Glassynbyry  
Whare that he lyeth men say and hath his byry. *Glastonbury burial place*
- fol. 40r At Caerlegion, the whiche he had converte,  
2635 Of Cambre hool that had the dignyté  
A crucifyxe he made thrilde thurgh the herte  
Fulle lyke to Cryste as whan he saw hym de  
In alle fygure to hys symylité  
Whiche in the chyrche was metropolitane  
2640 He sette thare up to worshyp for Cryste alone.
- Whyche by processe and turnyng of the fayth  
Agrestes fals dyd caste therein the se  
That no wyght knew aftyr of it no graythe  
So was it loste thurgh his iniquyté.  
2645 For whiche, and for his instabilité,  
Thare felle on hym suche fury and vengeance  
That in an oven he brente was thurgh meschaunce. *protection (sanctuary)*  
*burned*
- Kynge Advyragus in sekenesse grete dyd falle  
Whose worthyhed alle Europe gretely dredde  
Who in the pese was ever pacificalle  
2650 And in the werres alle vyctory he hedde.  
And at his deth to Gloucester was ledde  
And buried thare in a temple edifyed  
In honoure of Claudyus and defyded.
- Nota how our lady died, or was assumed, in the tyme of Kynge Arviragus.**
- 2655 In whose tyme so of Kynge Advyragus  
Our lady dyed or els she was assumed  
In body hole and soule fulle gloriouse. *taken up*  
Lesse clerkes sayne I have to myche presumed  
To thaym I wylle that matere be transumed  
2660 To argew on unto the Day of Dome  
For it assoyle my braynes bene fulle tome. *Lest*  
*entrusted*  
*Judgment*  
*resolve; dull*
- .xxvii. capitulum of Kynge Marius and Coile secund**
- How Roderyke and the Peightes (*Picts*) faught with the kynge and, fro thay were discomfyte, he gafe thaym Cattenesse to dwel in and inhabyte.**
- Maryus his sonne gotten and propagate  
Right of his wyfe that was Quene Genvyse  
Was crouned kynge of Bretayne and create  
2665 By alle his lordes in thaire moste solempne wyse.  
Who was at Rome so noryshed on thaire gyse *begotten*  
*brought up; manner*

- Wyth his modyr kyn, the beste of that empyre,  
With Claudyus als, who was his own graunsyre. *grandfather*
- And in his tyme a Peght that hyght Rodryke *Pict*  
2670 With powere grete by se cam fro Sythy *Scythia*  
Als proude and breme as lyoun Marmoryke *fierce*  
Arryued up so than in Albany  
Dystroynge hool the londe alle sodenly.  
For whiche the kynge hym mette with hole bataylle  
2675 And slew hym thare that day withouten faylle.
- fol. 40v In signe of his honoure and victory  
In that same place he sette a stone up right  
On whiche was sette and tytled that same story  
A bounde it ys of Westmerland by sight *frontier marker*  
2680 Whiche the Rercrosse of Staynemore now so hight.  
And Westmerlond the contré he dyd calle *is called*  
Than after his name and boundyd it over alle.
- To alle the Peghtes that bode he gaffe Cattenesse *remained*  
In Albany to have in heritage  
2685 Whiche toke thaym wifes in Irelonde more and lesse  
For Bretons nolde mary in thaire lynage.  
Thay were of suche mysreule and grete outrage  
That he thaym putte so ferre away I gesse  
From his Bretons for dredre of thayre wyldenesse. *did not wish to immoderation*
- 2690 Kynge Maryus so dyed than anone  
And buried was at Salysbyry cyté  
Who regned nyne and fourty yere echone  
Paynge tribute as dyd his parenté *ancestors*  
Levynghe the londe in richesse and plenté  
2695 With lawes wele kepte in pese and fulle concorde  
As cronyclers bere wyttenesse and recorde.
- Kynge Coule the secunde**
- Coyle than his sonne was kynge right corounde so  
Who nurtured was at Rome with grete vertewe  
2700 Helde welle his lawes egalle to frende and fo  
And in his domes constant he was and trewe.  
Amonge alle men his reule in werke up grewe  
So vertuouse that he had grete honours  
Welle more than other of his antecessours. *impartial judgments* *ancestors*
- And at Norwyche as cronycles do telle  
2705 He buryd was with grete solempnyté

After that he ten yere had regned welle  
In alle gode reule and fulle felicityé.  
Alle other kynges nere his extremyté  
Aboute ourewhare he suffred to sytte in pese  
2710      Or els gafe thaym of his withouten lese.

*frontier*  
*In each direction*  
*his [goods]; lie*

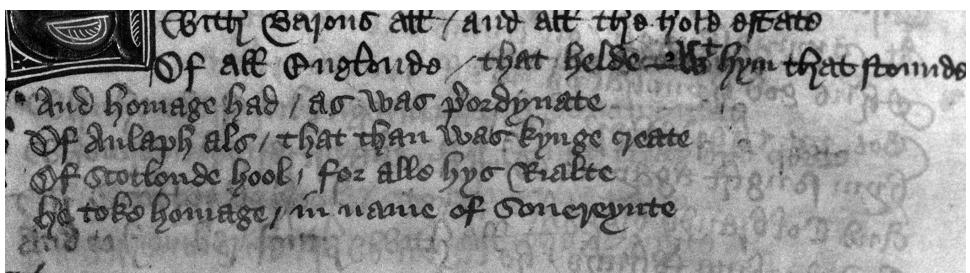


Figure 7. Folio 121v, stanza 3. This stanza was checked for possible underwriting. The background ink could be burn from previous iron gall ink, or the remnants of ink that has been scraped away. There appears to be some underwriting of this stanza, but it is unrecoverable and obscured by ink from the folio overleaf. Image captured at 420 nm on the electromagnetic spectrum. Photo courtesy of Dr. Christina Duffy, Conservation Science Team, The British Library and The British Library.



Figure 8. Folio 196r. The illumination was checked for any instructions or changes beneath the image. A single character inscription was observed behind the initial letters on the border titles. Elaborate folds and robe detail were observed at 460 nm on the electromagnetic spectrum (left). At 420 nm skeletal hand detail is observed (center). Striped detail in the central garment of the King is evident at 580 nm (right). Photos courtesy of Dr. Christina Duffy, Conservation Science Team, The British Library and The British Library.



## BOOK THREE

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**Here bigynneth the thryd book**

**Primum capitulum (*First Chapter*) of Kynge Lucius, fyrst Cristen kynge of alle Bretayne.**

Aftyr Kynge Coyle his sonne Syr Lucyus  
So crouned was with rialle dyademe  
In alle vertu pursewed his fadyr Coylus  
Hym to bene lyke in al that myght beseme.  
5 He dyd his myght to shew it and expreme  
In so fer forth that of the Crysten fayth  
He herde welle telle and of thayre werkes grayth.

*followed*  
*be fitting*  
*express*  
*provided for*

fol. 41r **Nota how Kynge Lucyus sent to Pape (*Pope*) Eleuthery to have baptyme, who sent him Faggan and Duvian, that converte all Bretayne that Josep of Arymathy dyd noght, as Martyn in his cronicle hath wele remembred.**

In the yere so aftyr the incarnacioun  
An hundre fulle foure score and foure also  
10 He crouned was by verry computacioun  
Desiringe sore baptysed to bene tho.  
Suche appetyte his herte had taken so  
He myght not staunche, ne cese, his gredy wille  
Tylle he had sente therfore the pope untylle.

*true reckoning*  
*then*  
*stop*  
*unto*

15 For whiche he sente to Pope Eleuthery  
Bysekynge hym to sende hym clerkes wyse  
To techyn hym the lawes faythfully  
Of Criste Goddes sonne, and aftyr hym baptyse.  
For whiche the pape by alle his hool avyse  
20 Thankynge so God than of his grete godenesse  
That Bretayne so converte withoute dystresse.

*judgment*  
*obstruction*

25 And sente than forthe two doctors fulle approved  
In law dyvyne rightwyse and fulle discrete.  
Oon hight Faggan with God fulle welle beloved  
Another Duvyan with Goddes lawe fulle implete.

*teachers*  
*righteous*  
*was called; by*  
*imbued*

Whiche were fulle fayne with Lucyus forto mete  
And so thay dyd and sone dyd hym baptyse  
And alle his reame astyr hym by hole avyse. *eager*  
*realm*

Nota of the date when Lucius and his londe were baptizied; he bare of sylver a crosse of goules (*red*) in fourme of Seynt Georges armes in tokne of clennesse by silver, and in tokne of Cristes blode and passioun by the crosse of goules.

By processe so thay taught the lawe right thare That thousandes than on Criste so dyd beleve And so to faith converted fully ware Baptysed fully as Gildas doth it breve. Idolatry so than thay dyd repreve And payens rytes and alle thaire consuetude Up raysynge ever Crystes beatitude.	<i>orderly manner</i> <i>compile</i> <i>reprove</i> <i>pagans; former practice</i>
40	

Nota how the Bretons payens had xxviii temples of flamyns (*pagan temples*) of dignité in thair lawe, the whiche Lucius made cathedral mynstirs halowed for bisshops and thre archebissops at Londoun, Yorke and Carlyoun.

45	Eght and tweynty temples of priorité In Bretayn were of old and grete estate. Temple Flamyus that were of dysgnyté Of payen lawe above other exaltate By thaym halowed and fully confyrmate For bysshop sees, and bysshops in thaym sette To kepe Goddes law and fals lawe to oversette.	<i>Eight; honor</i> <i>pagan; given priority</i> <i>dioceses</i> <i>repulse</i>
----	--	--

Thay halowed als, and made archebishoprikes.  
And archebysshops in thaym thay sette so wyse  
For to distroy and waste alle heritykes *expel*

- |   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| 60  | And over alle other to holden alle justyse<br>And thaym correcte as nede by excercyse<br>The faith to kepe and fully to mayntene<br>That errysy none holde, ne yit sustene.  | <i>heresy</i>                                       |
| <b>Nota of iii archebisshops of Trynovaunte, of Ebrauk and of Carlyoun.</b> |  |   |
| 65  | Oon was that tyme at Trynovaunt<br>Undyr whiche than were Loegres and Cornewayle.<br>And at Ebrauke, that was fulle avenaunt,<br>The tother was then sette withouten fayle<br>Whiche had that tyme assigned to his bayle<br>From Hembre north and also Albany.<br>And at Caerlegioun the thrid whiche had Cambry.                                    | <i>well-favored</i><br><i>jurisdiction</i>          |
| 70  | And whan this londe was thus to Criste converte<br>Kynge Lucyus rejoysed with alle his myghte<br>Thankynge Jhesu of it with alle his herte.<br>Than wente tho two legates to Rome fulle righte<br>Thaire actes to bene confermed to folkes sight<br>The whiche thay dyd and with thaym came agayne<br>With other mo to preche the folke fulle fayne. |   |
| 75  | Wyth mo thay cam from Rome accompanye<br>Of worthy clerkes and techers of the lawe<br>Of Cristes byrthe so fully glorifyde<br>To teche Bretons in herte thay were fulle fawe<br>His lyfe, his dethe in bokes as thay sawe.<br>Whose names alle also and alle thaire werkes<br>Gyldas dyd wryte as knownen wele these clerkes.                        | <i>more</i><br><i>eager</i>                         |
| 80  | Ryght in his boke titled and so hight<br><i>De Victoria Aurelii Ambrosii</i><br>In whiche men may se alle thare werkes right<br>Thare names als in scripture for memory.<br>And Mewytryne a place fulle solitary<br>The kynge thaym gafe thay thought it sufficience<br>The lyfelode whiche Josep had to his dyspence.                               | <i>was called</i><br><i>sustenance; expenditure</i> |
| 85  | And to tho kyrkes and mynstirs cathedralle<br>Alle that the temples flamynes had afore<br>Lucyus gaffe and fully confermed alle<br>And of his own dyd gyff thaym mykylle more.<br>Bot now to speke of Josep forthermore<br>Remembred now by open evydence.<br>The case felle so while Lucyus had regence   | <i>churches; monasteries</i><br><i>much</i>         |
| 90  |  |   |
| fol. 42r  |  |   |
| 95  |  |   |

How the rode (cross) at north dore, which Agrestes caste in the se in Wales,  
came up fletynge in Themse at Caerlud, now called Londoun in Lucius tyme  
Kynge of Bretayne, as is comprised in a table afore the rode at north dore and  
in a story in a wyndow byhynde the sayd rode.

- |     |   |                                       |
|-----|---|---------------------------------------|
| 100 | The crucfyxe that was at Caerlegyoun<br>By Agrestes a lorde was thare aboue<br>Caste in the se for that he wolde it droun<br>As mencyon ys afore withouten doute<br>In Lucyus tyme thurgh grace so came it oute<br>Right of the see in Themmys Ryvere righte<br>To Poules Querfe fletynge so than on highte.  | <i>Wharf floating; at the surface</i> |
| 110 | Of whiche the kynge Lucyus so be name<br>Rejoysed was and with solempnyté<br>Of Trynovaunt, his cyté of grete fame,<br>With alle the Kyrke thurgh grete humylité<br>From thens it sette in université<br>With songe fulle swete by hool processioune<br>And prayers als in fulle devocyon.  | <i>by Church</i>                      |
| 115 | Whiche at Poules thay sette with reverence<br>At Northedore thurgh inspiracion<br>That I can fynde by any evydence.<br>It was so after the incarnacioun<br>As cronicles make notificacioun<br>An hundred fulle foure score and sextene yere<br>That rode was founde and sogate dyd apere.   | <i>cross; thus</i>                    |
| 120 | <b>Nota of the date what Kynge Lucyus decesed and dyed</b><br>And after so this gode Kynge Lucyus<br>So regned than with mekylle joy and grace<br>Of levynge ever holy and religious<br>The Cristen fayth uphelde in every place.<br>In his tyme stode Bretayne in grete solace<br>Tyll tyme that deth of hym had made an ende<br>And fro his corse his soule to heven had sende. | <i>much living</i>                    |
| 125 | Whiche than so was after the incarnacioun<br>Two hundred ful also and eghtene yere<br>As written ys by alkyn informacioun<br>Of thaym that were so wyse and syngulere<br>Ful farre above my wytte can now appere.<br>Whose wrytyng so by me that was not fayred<br>By my symplexesse I wolde noughe were appayred.  | <i>body</i>                           |
| 130 | all kinds of<br>exceptional<br>embellished<br>not damaged   |                                       |

- fol. 42v So in Caerglou that now Gloucester highte *is called*  
 135 Right in the chefe mynsterie of dignyté  
     That firste was founde in that same cyté righte  
     Buried he was with hiegh solempnyté  
     And mournyngre grete for his mortalité  
     For Bretons knew nought who shuld bene his heyre  
 140 Who shuld be kynge thay had fulle grete dyspayre.

**.ii. capitulum of the Kynge Severe, Emperour of Rome and Kynge of Bretayne, but Scottes, Peghtes and som Bretons chese Fulgen to thaire kynge of Albanye.**

- The Bretons than amonge theymselff dyd stryve  
 Thurghoute the londe and couthe nothyngre acorde *were able*  
 Tylle worde thereof came than to Rome ful ryve. *quickly*  
 For whiche so than the senate by concorde  
 145 Sent Severe forth to pesen that dyscorde *settle*  
 In Bretayne forth that alle the soveraynté  
 Might saved be to Romes dygnyté.
- Whiche senator that hight so Syr Severe *was called*  
 With legyons two than londed in Bretayne  
 150 With whom oon parte of Bretons halde fulle clere  
 Another parte sore werrayd hym agayne. *fought against him*  
 Bot with batayle to Albany and Payne  
 He drofe thaym than whare thay a kynge thaym chese  
 Who Fulgen hight that was fulle proude in prese. *brave in battle*

**How Kynge Severe made a dyke (*wall*) bituix Bretons and Peghtes of soddes and turfes to kepe thaym from Bretayne**

- 155 Wyth whom the Peghtes and some Bretons also *Picts*  
 That were futes and men unresounable *fugitives*  
 Ever rode Bretayne and dyd it mekylle wo *much*  
 Whiche to Severe than was ful lamentable  
 And forto kepe it wele inviolable
- 160 A dyke he made ful high from se to se *sea*  
 The enmyse oute to holde fro his contré.
- The whiche longe tyme from thayre iniquité  
 Dyd save thaym welle in mykylle reste and pese  
 Bot only whan thay myght be grete pousté *Except when; by; force*  
 165 Breke it and so override it ere thay cese. *before*  
 So was it longe betwyx thaym is no lese *lie*  
 Ever as thay myght do any harme or werre  
 Thay bode no while, so cursed ay thay werre. *were*

**How Severe in reskows of the cité of Yorke in batayl was slayne and Fulgen,  
Kynge of Peghtes, had his dethes wounde.**

- Bot after that to Ebrouke yit thay sought  
 170 Assegynge there the cyté alle aboute *besieging*  
 Whiche to reskowe Severe powere brought  
 And faught with thaym in bataylle stronge and stoute  
 Whare he was slayne and dede withouten doute *dead*  
 And Fulgen als thare had his dethes wounde  
 175 Thus in that warre so were thay bothe confounde. *destroyed*

fol. 43r **Nota the date of this kynges deth after Saynt Bede**

- Whan he had bene so kynge by seventene yere  
 And sogate slayne as I have sayde afore *thus*  
 As Seynte Bede sayth and wrote as dothe appere  
 The yere of Criste was than fully nyne score  
 180 So shalle I wryte at this tyme and no more  
 And nyne thereto by his calculacioun  
 As his story sayth and compylacioun.

**Nota the date of this same kynge aftir Martyne cronyclere of Romany**

- Bot Martyne sayth, the Romayne cronyclere,  
 It was the yere after Cristes natyyté  
 185 Two hundred hole and fyve and thretty clere  
 Whiche ys more lyke the verrey treuth to be.  
 For he knew more of Romes dygnyté  
 That alle his lyfe thare helde his resydence  
 Than Bede myght know by seldome affluence. *frequenting*
- 190 Whiche Severe so his Romayns layde in grave  
 At Ebrouke than with sorowe multyplied  
 With alle honoure right as a kynge shuld have  
 With gloriousté as myght bene artyfyed *crafted*  
 Abowte his tombe so was he magnyfyed
- 195 For his honours and als his vyctoryse  
 So rially thay made his exequyse. *funeral*

**.iii. capitulum of Getan, Bassian and Carouce.**

- Getan his sonne, whiche Romayne procreate  
 Of alle syde was and gotten in Romany,  
 Romayns hym made thare kynge in alle estate  
 And helde hym up to kepe the regency.  
 200 Bot Bretons than Bassyan chese in hy *chose rapidly*

Hys brother borne of the femynyté  
Of Bretayne blode withoute diffyulté.

**Bassyan kynge**

205 This Bassian faught with Getan myghtly  
In bataylle stronge whare Getan was than slayne.  
So Bassyan had the reme alle plenerly  
Of whom forsoth the Bretons were fulle fayne  
And crounede hym anone so than agayne  
And welle he helde the reame longe while in pese  
Tyl oon Karause fulle began his wo increse.

*entirely*

**How this Carause robbour on the se, of pouer (*poor*) blode and kyn destroyed  
the Kynge Bassian in defaute of law and pese and coronde hymselfe, wharfor  
is moste necessary to a kynge to kepe lawe and pese in hys reme.**

210 This Karauce fulle of covetyse alle blente  
Ymagynyng the kynge forto consume  
To have Bretayne by Bretons hole consente  
And Peghtes als that evermore dyd presume  
This londe to have, to spoyle and to deplume  
Of alle rychesse and alle prosperyté  
For olde hatred of thare maliciousté.

*blinded*  
*destroy*  
*waste; rob*

fol. 43v  
**Nota** He drew to hym the Peghtes fulle wyse of werre  
And Bretons fele he hight grete waryson.  
220 Outlondysshe men was nothyng to hym derre  
And outelawed men withoute comparison  
Thurghoute the reame he stuffed every garisoun  
With mysdoers and mysreuled meyny  
Robbers, revers that had done felony.

*promised; reward*  
*Foreign; dear*  
*bands*  
*thieves*

226 **Nota** For he was longe a robber on the se  
Spylyng marchantes of every londe aboute  
Thurgh whiche he was more ryche in quantyté  
Than any pryncie and for his myghte more doute.  
Yit was he come of kyn both in and oute

*feared*

231 **Nota** Of pore degré and als of lawe estate  
Thus sette on high thurgh robry and debate.

*low*  
*strife*

235 **Nota** To whom for giftes Bretons and Peghtes than highte  
The kynge Bassyan in batayle to betrayse  
To bryng hym to the felde at alle there myght  
And turne agayne hym whan his banere rayse.  
Tho traytours fals thus thought thaire kynge to trayse

*promised*  
*betray*  
*Those; betray*

And plese in worde and in the felde to holde  
With his ennemy for lyfelode grete and golde. goods

- Nota** So on a day Karauce made hym to stryve  
240 With Kynge Bassyan right for the comonté  
Thurgh whiche he gan the kynge dispysse bilyve rapidly  
Departynge so thurgh that subtylité  
That sone thereafter his hoste with craulté  
He brought on hym, and with hym so dyd fight  
245 Thay slew the kynge and turned as thay hight. promised

**How the maker of this moveth the lordes to kepe lawe and pese, lesse thay  
bene depryved and unworthy blode in thair stede regne.**

**Nota of kepyng of pese and of lawe**

- Bot o ye lordes consydre what myschefe  
Rose in defaute of gode conservacioun  
Of law and pese and what harme and reprefe shame  
250 Thurgh mayntenaunce of foly and instigacioun  
That trespassours had no castigacioun punishment  
But sustende wele, whare thurgh the kynge was slayne  
And beggars blode made kynge of alle Bretayne.

- Nota** Ye lordes that suffre the law and pese mysledde misgoverned  
In every shire whare so ye dwellynge bene  
255 Whare ye pore men oversette se or mysbedde you see; oppressed or mistreated  
Ye shuld thaym helpe and socoure and sustene  
**Nota** And chastyse thaym that trespassours so bene. are  
Why ys a lorde sette in so hiegh degré  
Bot to mayntene undyr hym the comonté? common people
- fol. 44r
- Nota** Bot o ye lordes fro this ful foule ye erre grievously; go astray  
261 From youre ordyre in tille apostacy into  
Whan ryotours punysshē ye ne derre dare  
For mayntenaunce of gretter seigniory. (see note)  
The pore men may seke law in Lumbardy
- 265 As welle as right of a riotouse man lawless  
Whose mayntenours the comons may sore ban. curse

- Nota** Than sewyth this of whiche ye take non hede follows; heed  
That who may gete moste myght and sovereinté  
Wylle eche of yow suprisen and overlede take by surprise; overpower  
270 By that same way of lawe and equyté. justice  
And who of men may make moste assemble gathering (of people)  
His lower to overrenne and oversette take control of and subdue  
By alle reson wylle thynke it is his dette.

**Principio obsta et qui stas videas ne cadas<sup>1</sup>**

- Nota** Than seweth more, thus ryseth barons were  
 275 That ofte hath bene in grete defaute of lawe.  
 He that noght hath acounteth nothyng derre  
 For havelesse than the prynces wold overthrawe.  
 The ryalle blode above thay wolde make lawe.  
 Wharefore ye lordes the prynciple ay withstande  
 280 Lesse beggars blode dryve you out of youre londe.
- follows; war*  
*considers; precious*  
*the propertyless; overthrow*  
*Lest*

**Carause kynge**

- Thurgh treson of this Karause and the Peghthes  
 Assented so by grete confederacy  
 Thurgh his gyftes and his subtile sleghtes  
 285 Betwyx thaym wrought with grete falsode whareby  
 He was made kynge of alle the monarchy.  
 For whiche the Peghthes in Albany he sette  
 With grete lyfelode as he afore them hette.
- deceptions*  
*sustenance; promised*

**Nota de alienigenis non receptandis in regno quia semper optant super indigenas regnare et eos expellere<sup>2</sup>**

- Nota** A prynce wote nought what harme he doth his londe  
 290 Whan alyens in it he doth resette  
 Whose blode by alle nature shalle ay withstande  
 Comon profyte of alle his reme and lette  
 As to the kyng Maryus now may be rette  
 Who sette the Peghthes in Albany afore  
 295 Whiche seth that tyme have batayld Bretayn sore.
- knows*  
*welcome*  
*resist*  
*hinder*  
*referred*  
*since*
- Nota** Thus now bene Peghthes and Bretons playnly  
 296 In Albany with blode so intermyxte  
 That now in alle that londe of Albany  
 Whiche Scotlond nowe knownen ys in tyxte  
 Can no wight knowe a Peghte fro Bretoun fyxte.
- text*  
*person; firmly*
- 300 So hool thay bene now alle of Peghthes kynde  
 That thay shalle never love Breton in thaire mynde.
- fol. 44v The Bretons blode ys now thare waste alway  
 With Scottes and Peghthes so ys it devolute  
 Whiche have the reule and governans this day
- mixed*

<sup>1</sup> *You who rule, resist at the beginning and you may be certain that you do not fall*

<sup>2</sup> *Note this point concerning foreigners in a realm, since they always wish to rule over the indigenous and to expel them*

#### .iii. capitulum of Kynge Allecte

- |     |   |   |
|-----|---|---|
| 310 | But whan to Rome was know the foule consayte<br>Of Karauce that had made intrusioun<br>In Bretayne so by covyne and dissayte<br>And wonne that reme by grete colusioun<br>And slayne the kyng by suche delusioun<br>His peple als had slayne for covetyse<br>To have the reme and holde by suche quantyse | <i>plan</i><br><i>conspiracy; deceit</i><br><i>deception</i><br><i>trickery</i> |
| 315 |   |   |

## How this Kynge Allecte slew that fals Carause



- And alle that helde with Karause than he slew  
That he myght take or reche in any wyse reach  
325 To venge the kynge Bassian was so trewe  
Whom thay betrayed falsly for covetyse  
Agayn comon profyte and alle justyse  
Whiche was oonly by Goddes own ordynaunce  
For thaire tresoun to have so foule meschaunce.

## How the maker moveth of the ende and fyne of tresoun and falshode

- |             |   |                |
|-------------|---|----------------|
| <b>Nota</b> | Suche fyne comyth evermore of foule tresoun       | <i>end</i>     |
| 331         | It hath foule ende alle if it regne a while       | <i>even if</i> |
|             | And at the laste it is dystroyed by reson         |                |
|             | And shamed foule for his dyssayte and gyle        | <i>deceit</i>  |
|             | Whan God chastyse thare helpeth than no wyle.     |                |
| 335         | And after olde synne so commyth ay new shame      |                |
|             | And wronge lawes make lordes forsake thayre hame. | <i>home</i>    |

## .v. capitulum of Kynge Asclepiadote

- The Bretons than dyd sette a parlement  
At whiche for ire to Romayns that thay hadde *anger*

340      Dyd chese a kynge by alle thaire hole consent  
           Wham thay corounde with hertes blythe and gladde                  *happy*  
           Who duke than was of Cornewayle wyse and sadde                  *stable*  
           Asclepiadote so hight he by his name                                  *was called*  
           Whiche that tyme was a worthy lorde of fame.

fol. 45r    With Cambre hool and also Albany  
 345      With alle Loegres holy at his devyse                                  *under his control*  
           To Trynovant he came ful openly  
           Whils Romayns were thare at thare sacrificise  
           Of whiche thay harde grete crye and noyse arise  
           And to the felde thay wente anone forth right  
 350      And with Bretons right manly dyd thay fighte.

**How the kynge was slayne and how Gallus Romayn helde London and was slayne at Walbroke in the cyté of Londoun**

355      Whare Allecte syde was nere so slayne away  
           Hymselff was dede right in the felde and slayne.  
           Wharefore Gallus that was his felow ay  
           Drew alle Romayns in the cyté agayne  
           Kepynge the walles with mykylle care and Payne.                  *much*  
           For whiche so than Syr Asclepiadote  
           Assege gan lay abouthe the town God wote                                  *Siege; knows*

360      Assaylynge ever abouthe with feel assautes  
           With engynes als and magnels grete thay caste                  *many*  
           Thurgh whiche thay made so mony grete defautes                  *military engines*  
           The walles abouthe thay myghtt nought longe so laste.                  *damage*  
           Wharfore Gallus and Romayns were agaste                                  *afraid*  
           And putte thaym hool in mercy and in grace  
           Right of the kynge to stonden in that case.

365      Wyth that Walshemen so prvely went yn  
           And Gallus slewe upon a lytil broke    *stream*  
           In the cyté that in to Themse dyd ryn.  
           And Romayns alle thay slew so faste and toke                                  *captured*  
 370      Whiche broke after longe was called Galbroke  
           For Gallus that was slayne so in that place  
           And Walbroke now it hight; thus ys the case.                                  *is called*

**How justfully this kynge helde his lawes and pese to tyme Maximyan the payen tirant transverte (*overturned*) the Cristen fayth therin.**

**Nota**      The kynge so was than crouned new agayn  
           In ryalle wyse with ful solempnyté  
           The lawes alle he helde and putte grete payn

- |          |  |   |
|----------|--|---|
| 375      | On trespassours for thaire iniquyté<br>Thefes and robbours with sworde he dyd thaym dye.<br>Bot in his tyme was grete persecucioun<br>Of Cristen fayth and sore prosecucioun.  | <i>made</i>   |
|          | <b>How Dioclician the Emperoure sente Maxymyan into Bretayne, who slew Seint Albane and made grete persecucioun of Cristen fayth in Bretayne.</b>  |   |
| 380      | For Dioclycian than beyng emperoure<br>Maxymyan that hight Herculyus<br>By his surname that was the governoure<br>Of alle his werres sente into Bretayn thus<br>The Cristen to distroy so malicyus.<br>That tyme was so that he put alle to dede   |   |
| 385      | Thurgh alle Bretayne that truste on Cristes Godhede.   | <i>death</i>  |
| fol. 45v | Who than undyr this Dioclicyen<br>Seynt Albane slewe, Julyus and Aarone<br>With mony other this idoladrien<br>Maliciouse so in his werkes echone   | <i>idolater</i>   |
| 390      | Thousandes of seyntes in Bretayne so anone<br>Fulle cruelly thare martyred to the dethe<br>Whose soules were safe bypassed was the brethe.   | <i>when life had ended</i>  |
| 395      | Seynt Amphibale the whiche was confessoure<br>To Seynt Albane ascaped nought that tyde<br>Bot wylfully to that curst turmentoure<br>Offred hymselff the martyrdome to byde<br>For Cristes love he wolde hym nothyng hyde<br>With thousanddes fele so slayne withouten grave<br>Whose soules with God ere sette his blisse to have. | <i>time</i><br><i>endure</i><br><i>many</i><br><i>are</i>                               |
| 400      | He brente chyrches and bokes of holy writte<br>The lawes also that were ought temporele<br>Alle scriptures als of seyntes lyfes comytte<br>Unto the fyre and brente thaym every dele<br>In playne markett alle openly I fele   | <i>burned</i><br><i>in any way</i><br><i>he put</i><br><i>part</i><br><i>understand</i> |
| 405      | So that whare seyntes of Bretons were honoured<br>Unnethe this day is oon of thaym adoured.  | <i>Hardly</i>   |
| 410      | He reynged so in Bretayne cursydly<br>Thurgh suffraunce of Kynge Asclepiadote<br>Who wold nothyng withstonde his tyranny<br>Whils he distroyed the Cristen fayth God wote.<br>Were never mo seyntes undyr a prynce men lotे  | <i>knows</i><br><i>believe</i><br><i>knowledge</i>                                      |
|          | Martyrde as thare were than by alkyn wytte<br>That men can fynde in romans or in wrytte  | <i>historical record; treatise</i>  |

- |     |  |  |
|-----|--|--|
| 415 | Of every kynde bothe of men and women<br>Of chyldre als of eche estate and age<br>That pyté was and reuthe to se and ken.<br>Chyldre sowkyngē whose mylke thare blode dyd swage<br>So ware thay slayne in alle thare tendre age<br>Cripils and blynde the dum als and the defe<br>The prestes and clerkes the lyfe he fro them refe. | <i>know</i><br><i>mix with</i><br><i>Handicapped</i><br><i>refit</i> |
| 420 |  |  |

Nota the date whan Maximyan made this persecucioun of Cristen fayth

- Two hundre yere foure score fro Criste was borne  
Of his modyr and fully incarnate  
Persecucioun, whiche I have seyde aforene,  
Of Cristen fayth was than the verry date  
By cruenta of thise two adonate.  
Whiche Cristen soules in blisse forever remayne  
The tyrant soules in evermore lastynge Payne.

- |                 |   |  |
|-----------------|---|--|
| fol. 46r<br>430 | <p>Kynge Asclepiadote regned fully bot ten yere<br/>     After cronycles, who suffride alle this Payne<br/>     And nothyng durste agayn that tyrant stere<br/>     And hym withdrawe in hydils was fulle fayne.<br/>     And some cronycles otherwyse speke and sayne<br/>     That he was hool consent to thare malyse<br/>     The whiche I can nought trusten in no wyse.</p> | <i>According to; allowed<br/>dared; move<br/>hiding places; eager<br/>malice</i> |
|-----------------|---|--|

.vi. capitulum of Coyle fadir of Seynte Elene Kynge of Bretayne

- 435 Than rose on hym the duke with grete powere  
Of Caercolim that Colchester hath to name  
Who hight Syr Coyle by wrytynge as I here  
With strenght of lordes in hoste that with hym came *was called*  
*strength*  
A worthy lorde in Bretayn of grete fame  
Fro Maxymyan was homward gon agayne  
Hym werrayde sore to tyme he had hym slayne.

440

- Who crouned was and sette in magesté  
Of whiche Bretons and Romayns were fulle fayne      eager  
And specyaly of that fortuyté      good chance  
That Asclepiadote was dede and slayne  
Bycause he was the comon wele agayne  
Of Rome and of Bretayne whiche were anoyed      troubled  
Thurgh his suffrance and Cristen fayth destroyed.      affliction

- 450 Bot this kynge Coyle than reuled this londe so wele  
That for his wytte and vyrtuosyté  
In alle thynge that I can ought se or fele *understand*

- |     |  |  |
|-----|--|--|
| 455 | <p>Of rightwysnesse and gode moralité<br/>     Comende he was thurgh alle his regalté<br/>     Forpassyngly alle other in his day<br/>     So trew he was and vertuouse always.</p>  |  |
| 460 | <p>Whose hayre was than his daughter hight Eleyne<br/>     Who lerned was in kunnynge and science<br/>     Forpassyne other that tyme of alle Breteyne<br/>     To reule a reme thurgh wytte and sapience<br/>     Endowed so in alle intelligence<br/>     That hens to Rome knew no man hyre pere<br/>     So was she wyse of wytte and syngulere.</p> | <i>heir; was called</i><br><i>doctrine</i><br><i>surpassing</i><br><i>wisdom</i><br><i>equal</i><br><i>exceptional</i> |

## The Romayns sente Constance to reule Bretayne fro Rome

- in part

465      Bot Romayns so som parte at his requeste  
           And sumwhat of thaire own desyre and wylle  
           Constance than sente, who Spayne hadde by conqueste  
           Subjecte to Rome obeyand evere it tylle  
           Paynge tribute everemore for gude or ille  
           Who over alle thynge ay the comon publyke  
           For Rome labourde that Romayns did hym lyke.

fol. 46v    Whom Romayns sente to werre upon Bretayne  
           471      To whom Kynge Coyle anone his message sente  
                  Offryng trewage to Rome so forto payne  
                  Of whiche Constans was glad in his entent  
                  So forto have the pese he was contente.  
                  tribute

475      Within fyve woukes after Kynge Coyle dyd de  
                  weeks; die  
                  And none to heyre save Elyne than had he.

.vii. capitulum of Kynge Constance Emperour of Rome, Kyng of Bretayne.

- Constance so than hymself dyd signfy  
With dyademe and wed Elyne to wyfe  
And made hyre quene of Bretayne so forthy      *accordingly*  
480 That Bretons shuld love hym and cese alle stryfe  
And for grete love he wold not hyre deprife.  
Hyre bewté so alle other dyd excelle  
Within Bretayne that borne was or dyd dwelle.

Who in musyke instruments was so wyse  
And in dyverse science so fulle instructe  
That eny reme to reule she dyd suffysse  
So fulle she was with sapience producte      *endowed*  
485 Whiche from hyre myght nought refete bene, ne deducte,

- |             |   |  |
|-------------|---|--|
| 490         | So was she sad and constant in alle degree<br>That none in hyre newfangilnesse couthe se.   | <i>steady; sober<br/>fickleness</i>                  |
| 495         | On hyre he gatte a sonne hight Constantyne<br>Regnynge after fully elleven yere<br>And than to deth anone he gan inclyne<br>And at Ebrauke than was he leyd on bere.<br>And certanly as seyth the cronyclere<br>He byried was with worthy exequyse<br>And other servyce right at his own devyse.                          | <i>noble funeral<br/>plan</i>                        |
| 500         | The yere of Criste thre hundre was and sexe<br>Whan Constance dyed who with Galeryus<br>The Empyre hool dyd governe and amplexe<br>Agayne Maxcence of porte malicyus<br>And alle the weste myne authore writeth thus<br>Thys Constans had and with grete manhode helde<br>Whiche to hym evere were subjetts in the felde. | <i>embrace<br/>conduct</i>                           |
|             | <b>.viii. capitulum of Constantyne kyng and aftir emperoure</b>   |  |
|             | <b>Constantynes armes whiche he bare aftir he had sene the crosse in the aire</b>   |  |
| 505         | Constantyne that was his sonne and hayre<br>So crouned was by alle the baronage<br>Who lykely was, semely als and fayre,<br>In chyldishh yeres and in his tendre age<br>Grete manhode had to reule his heritance<br>In wysdome als grete profe of sapience<br>To reule alle thynge by gode intelligence.                  | <i>handsome</i>                                      |
| 510         |   | <i>wisdom</i>  |
| fol. 47r    | He had so thanne a lambysshe pacyence<br>To here alle thynge softly with sobrenesse<br>A lyons chere and loke in alle regence<br>Amonge his folke to chastye wykednesse<br>The welefare of his reme with bysynesse<br>Preserved ever and kepte in regement<br>And in alle nede he sette suppowailement.                   | <i>gentle</i>  |
| 515         |   | <i>sovereignty</i>                                   |
|             |   | <i>diligence</i>                                     |
|             |   | <i>support</i>                                       |
| 520         | He helde his lawes withouten violence<br>His pese also in grete establisement<br>And on his owne by alle experience<br>He leved ever and thereof was content<br>As lawfullle pryncie fully in his intent.<br>Whiche poynte untylle a pryncie shuld ay appende<br>Upon hys owne to leve and nougnt transconde.             | <i>steadiness<br/>on his own resources<br/>lived</i> |
| <b>Nota</b> |   | <i>with regard to; pertain</i>                       |

**How the Romayns sente to Constantyne to bene Emperour of Rome relesyng alle  
truage aughte (owed) to Rome, the whiche he admytte and was made Emperour,  
by whiche the tribute and service and truage was extyncte in lawe for it is  
inconvenyent that he shulde bene bothe lorde and tenant or lorde and subgyte  
togedir at oons by Grekes law, Troian law, or any other lawe that now is.**

- 526 And so byfelle that tyme there was at Rome  
An emperoure that called was Maxence  
Whiche was so fals malicioouse in his dome  
That Cristen folke with alle his diligence *judgment*  
530 Destroyed sore thurgh his malivolence  
Whome to distroy the Senate sente forth right  
To Constantyne to come at alle his myght. *energy*
- Thay hight to stonde with hym at alle thare myght *promised*  
With strength of men and alle sufficianté
- 535 That tyrant so malicioouse and so wight *strong*  
To waste and sla for his fals cruelté *slay*  
And for they herde of his abilité  
Thay graunted hym to be thayre emperoure  
Thaym to delyvere of that turmentoure.
- 540 Thay graunte hym als the trewage to aquyte *tribute; free from*  
Of Bretayne ever and never to aske tribute  
Saynge these wordes to hym withoute respyte  
“O Constantyne, O Romayns hool refute *delay*  
Byholde the right of Rome so foule rebute *refuge*  
545 Whiche thou may helpe and fully restitewe *rejected*  
Oure natyfe grounde to us that ys fulle dewe.
- “Thy fadyr was a Romayne of grete myght  
Bothe gote and borne so was in Romany *begotten*  
For kyndely were to thee by alkyns right *all manner of*  
550 The empyre holde and hool the monarchy  
Of alle the worlde as dyd thyne auncetry.  
Lete no sleuthe nowe thy corage so desteyne *sloth; defile*  
That what we lese alle thyne elders wan fulle pleyne.” *release*
- fol. 47v 555 So purposed fulle this noble Constantyne *resolved*  
Of Rome to helpe the wytty senatours. *intelligent*  
He wente anone and to thaym dyd enclyne *immediately*  
With powere grete and als gode governours  
Of his Bretons to make hym stronge socours  
And with hym toke his modyrs uncles thre *support*  
560 In whom he truste for consanguynyté. *kinship*

- Loeline was oon, the seconde was Traherne  
 The thirde Maryn thus were thare names right.  
 He had his modyr with hym who dyd hym lerne  
 Fulle perfyly to reule hym lyke a knyght  
 By whose counsaylle he wrought bothe day and nyght  
 And emperoure was made in dignyté  
 Of alle the worlde to have imperialté.
- To his moderseme Loeline he gaff a wyfe  
 A lady was in Rome of grete estate  
 On wham he gatte a sonne and that bylyfe  
 Maxymyan that hight in the Senate  
 A myghty man and als a fortunate  
 So after was in werre fulle wele approved  
 And with Romans evermore right wele biloved.
- How Kynge Constantyne fyrste bare the armes that men calle Seynt George armes, after whom Breton kynges used to bere thaym for his sake many yeris afore Seynt George was ayther gotten or borne.**
- The yere of Criste thre hundre hole and ten  
 This Constantyne to batayle as he went  
 To fyghten so with Dioclycien  
 Maximyan and Maxcence of assent  
 Assembled stronge agayne hym felonment.  
 Whan he thaym sawe, he loked to the heven  
 In whiche he sawe a crosse than marked even
- As in the legende of Seinte Elene is contened and Constantine “in hoc vinces.”<sup>1</sup>
- Wyth letters bright as golde thusgates wryten  
 “O Constantyne in thyss thou shalt overcome.”  
 Who thurgh conforte as after welle was wyten  
 Of that devyne vysioun victore bycome  
 The signe of whiche afore hym made he come  
 Thurgh whiche his fose he putte unto the flight  
 Grete multitude also he slew in fight.
- Thensforthe the crosse he bare in his banere  
 Afore his hoste whare he to batayle went.  
 In his right hande a crosse agold he bere  
 Praynge to God with alle his hole entente  
 That never that hande shuld fouled be ne shente

<sup>1</sup> As in the legend of Saint Helen and Constantine (it) occurs and “in this [sign] you will gain victory”

- |   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| 595   | Of Romayns blode by none effusioun<br>Bot of tyrants for thare abusioun.  | <i>bloodshed<br/>abuse of power</i>                                |
| fol. 48r  | From that tyme forth in Criste he fully trewed<br>Bot noght forthy unbaptysed wold he be<br>Wharfore he was in lepre so endowed<br>Deserved wele right by his owne decré<br>His soule to putte so longe in juparté.<br>Bot nevertheless thof he baptym dyd delay<br>His werkes were gode and als his menyng ay.                                 | <i>believed<br/>nonetheless<br/>leprosy</i>                        |
| 600   |   | <i>although<br/>intention always</i>                               |
| 605   | This Constantyne as bokes specyfyed<br>Uncristen was his baptyme so deferred<br>Unto his days were wele forth occupied<br>Bycause he thought it shuld have bene preferred<br>In Flum Jordan after he had conquerred<br>The Jewry hool and wonne the crosse rialle<br>On whiche Cryste dyed in manhode corporalle.                               | <i>postponed<br/>River</i>   |
| 610   | At whiche tyme so sore leprous squames he hadde<br>Hys leches counsaylde in blode of innocents<br>Bene bathed ofte whiche shulde hym moste so gladde.<br>Bot Petyre and Poule that knew his gode ententes<br>To hym appered that nyght fulle excellentes<br>And bade hym go to Sylvestre the pape<br>Who shuld hym hele withouten gyle or jape. | <i>seabs<br/>doctors<br/>ease</i>                                  |
| 615   |   | <i>pope<br/>cure; deception</i>                                    |
| <b>How leches counsailde Constantyne to bene wasshen in blode of innocents for his lepre, of whom whan he herd the cry he had suche pité that he had lever dye a lepre than bene heled with innocent blode.</b> |   |  |
| 620   | And on the morow he herde a pyteuse noyse<br>Of men women and childre alle at ones<br>So pytusly that thrugh his herte thare voyse<br>Dyd perse and thrille so sore thay made there mones<br>To se thaire chyldre be slayne so in tho wones.<br>The chyldre als for colde dyd wepe and crye<br>Naked alle bare forto be slayne in hy.           | <i>piteously<br/>pierce; penetrate; cries<br/>those; dwellings</i> |
| 625   |   | <i>very soon</i>   |
| 630   | Bot fro he wiste how thay for hym shuld dye<br>He bade thaym alle "Take home youre chyldre quyte.<br>In werre whare oure imperialle dygnyté<br>Hath constytute no chyldre sla ne smytle<br>It were to foule a werke and imperfyte<br>To sla oure owne that we in werre forbade<br>To alyens be done for any nede.                               | <i>once<br/>freely<br/>prescribed; slay<br/>forbid</i>             |

And better is to me with pyté de  
 Than thurgh the deth of alle thise innocents  
 My cruelle lyfe recovere withoute pyté.  
 For who that hath pyté in his entents  
 635      Approveth hymselff a prynce in regiments.”  
 Therefore ye lordes in alle youre sovereynté  
 Whare is dystresse loke that ye have pyté.

fol. 48v **Nota of fole (*foolish*) pité whiche is a vice and no vertue**

I say not this that lordes in generalle  
 To fole pyté the rather shulde inclyne  
 640      Whiche ys a vyce and colore idialle  
 Destenyng foule the pyté so devyne.  
 Therfore ye lordes in herte this enterlyne  
 To do pyté whare ys nécessité  
 Of whiche friste grew imperialle dgnyté.

**How Seynt Silvestre heled hym by baptyme of hys leprouse squames, whiche watir is yit kepte incorrupte and swete of savour as I haue sene it and savourede, secundum cronicas Martini.<sup>1</sup>**

645      Than sente he for Sylvestre so anone  
 Hym forto hele with alle expedience.  
 Who baptysed hym in watere than alone  
 In whiche grete light dyd shyne of excelence  
 And clene wente out in alle experiance  
 650      Of his leprouse squames white and rede  
 Sayinge he sawe thare Criste in his manhode.

Thus was he than to Cristene fayth converte  
 His modyr als and all the comonté  
 And bysshops als that were afore perverte  
 655      To Cristen fayth in all tranquilyté.  
 And to the Chyrche with alle the soveraynté  
 Hys paleys grete and se imperialle  
 He gafe anone in almouse eternalle.

**How this Constantyne and Seint Silvestre holde a seyne (*synod*) of ccc bisshops agayne the Arriens erresyes (*Arian heresy*), in whiche counsele and seyne Seynt Nicholas was present with Constantyne, secundum cronicas Martini.**

660      Who helde a seyne of bysshops fully counted  
 Thre hundre and eghtene, as Martyn sayth

<sup>1</sup> according to the chronicles of Martin

For to dystroy Arriens that surmounted  
 With herisyes agayne the Cristen fayth.  
 In whiche counsayl Seynt Nicholas ful grayth                          *prepared*  
 Was oon present the Arrians to condempne  
 665 By Constantynes wisdome that was solempne.                          *sound*

He sent his modyr unto Jerusaleme  
 The holy crosse to gete on which Criste dyed  
 With powere grete of every londe and reme                          *realm*  
 And for his ese Besaunse edyfyed  
 670 Whiche Constantyne to name he notified                          *built Byzantium*  
 Aftir his name whare throne imperiale  
 Thensforth he helde and se judicalle.                          *in name; he called seat*

**How Seynt Elene his modir brought home the holy crosse secundum cronicas Martini.<sup>1</sup>**

Whose modyr than the crosse of Criste home brought  
 With relykes fele whiche I cannot telle                          *many*  
 675 And dyed at Rome fulle holy in werke and thought  
 Levyng the crosse of Criste that heried helle                          *harrowed*  
 In sure kepynge for payens that were felle.                          *safe keeping from; fierce*  
 She dyed in Rome byried at Ara Cely                          *Ara Coeli (Rome)*  
 Whose soule to God fulle happy is and sely.                          *blessed*

fol. 49r But now to speke more of this Constantyne  
 681 Of whom Gyldas, ne Henry Huntyngdoun,  
 In thaire cronycles lyste not to inclyne  
 His lyfe fully to putte in mencioune.  
 I wote not what was thaire intencioune                          *know*  
 685 Seth he and thay were alle of Bretons kynde                          *race*  
 To hyde his actes me thynke thay were unkynde.

**How this Constantyne gave to Silvestre and to the cherche his palays and temporalté of Romany and made the cherche of his chambre atte Seint John Laterense secundum cronicas Martini<sup>2</sup>**

Whan he had graunte the Chyrche his regaly                          *dominion*  
 And his palays chief and pryncipalle  
 Of his chambre the Chyrche dyd edyfy                          *build*  
 690 To whiche he bare on his shuldres corporalle  
 Bothe erthe and stones with herte fulle spyrtaulle

<sup>1</sup> How Saint Helen his mother brought home the holy cross according to the chronicles of Martin

<sup>2</sup> How this Constantine gave to Silvester and the church his palace and temporality of Rome and made the church of his chamber at Saint John Lateran according to the chronicles of Martin

And with grete golde the chyrches dyd renewe  
 With tempraltese he dyd it welle endewe. *worldly goods; endow*

**And than aftir his baptisme he bare of silver in tokne of clennesse, white as the ayre is, a crosse of goules in tokne of the blode of Cristes passioun in fourme of Seynt Georges armes.**

695 And als this noble manly conqueroure  
 Unto the Chyrche gafe many dignytese  
 And to it was defense and protectoure  
 Conservynge it in alle hool libertese  
 By his godenesse and grete benygnytese  
 With relikes grete and hiegh adournements  
 700 Of Romany also hole regyments. *full power*

Bot Martyne sayth, the Romayne cronyclere  
 That in the yere thre hundred thretty and nyne  
 After that Criste was borne of Mary clere *thirty*  
 The famouse sonne fulle bright bigan to shyne *pure*  
 705 And spred his bemes upon this Constantyne  
 That thurgh the worlde alle odyr he dyd excelle  
 Whan his leprouse squames felle of in the welle. *others*

710 Wyth wasshyng than of the holy baptymme  
 With whiche his lepre was than purifysd  
 Of squames white and rede in every lymme. *leprosy*  
 With mercy than so was he magnifyed  
 That levere he had hymselff be mortifyed *scabs*  
 Than Cristen blode have spylte by his regence  
 Of any folke that stode in innocence. *rather; dead*

**How this Constantyne is a seynte whose day is halowed the xxi day of May  
 yerely amonge the Grekes, as is specifyd in the cronycles of Martyne Romayn.**

715 Who after he had regned fulle thretty yere *thirty*  
 In the Empire dyed at Nychomede. *Nicomedia*  
 A saynt he ys anombred hool and clere  
 Amonge the Grekes in cronycle as I rede.  
 Isydorus and Martyn, who takyth hede  
 720 In cronycles sayn that Grekes hym have nombred  
 In cathologe of sayntes and obombred. *catalogue; (?)numbered*

fol. 49v Whose day and feste with grete solempnyté  
 Thay holde ech yere in the moneth of May  
 Fulle certanly with grete humylit   
 725 And alle honoure the oon and twenty day.  
 No wondre ys if he be worshypte ay

Seth he was fyrsse that made devocyoun  
Of emperours and gaff the Chyrche promocioun.

*advancement*

### .ix. capitulum of Kyng Octave and Traherne

730 But in his tyme came on Octavyus  
Upon wardayns whiche Constantyne dyd make  
And slew thaym alle as cronycle telleth us.  
Of whiche whan worde to Constantyne was take  
So moved he was for ire began to qwake  
And Traherne sent who was his modyr eme  
Bretayne to kepe and seurly to hym yeme.

*guardians*

735 Whiche Octavyus crouned was than for kynge  
And had this reame to Traherne cam fro Rome  
With grete powere with hym that he dyd brynge.  
Who worthy was and rightwyse in his dome  
Thurgh Italy was neyther yoman ne grome  
Of alle his hoste dyd any violence  
So myche thay dred his noble excellence.

*realm; until*

740 Wyth legyons thre Traherne in Bretayne londe  
At Kaereperis that Porchestere now hight  
And wan the toune it myght hym not withstande.  
And forth he wente to Caergwent than so right  
Whare in the felde with bataylle dyd thay fight  
Besyde Caergwent that Wynchestere now so hatte  
Whare Traherne fled and to his shippes gatte.

*judgment*

*yeoman; groom*

745 So saylynge forth and londe in Albany  
And Octave than anone agayne hym went  
On Staynesmore thay mette and faught in hy.  
Wham Traherne thare chased and alle to shente  
Fro day to day tylle he the coroun hente  
And crouned was for kyng in dignyté  
Of Bretayne so had he the sovereynté.

*is called*

*is called*

*arrived*

### Kyng Traherne of Bretayne

750 So saylynge forth and londe in Albany  
And Octave than anone agayne hym went  
On Staynesmore thay mette and faught in hy.  
Wham Traherne thare chased and alle to shente  
Fro day to day tylle he the coroun hente  
And crouned was for kyng in dignyté  
Of Bretayne so had he the sovereynté.

*against*

*directly*

*destroyed*

*seized*

755 And reulde hys reme with grete nobilité  
His lawes and pese fulle welle he dyd conserve.  
And welle was loved for his gode parenté  
Whiche so afore this londe dyd ofte preserve  
From tyrants felle that cam it to overterve.  
He regned so that alle his reme hym loved  
And honourde hym so wyse his wytte was proved.

*realm*

*ancestors*

*fierce; overturn*

*realm*

- fol. 50r For whiche Octave than saylde into Norway  
 765 For to have helpe alle of the kynge Gunberte  
 Who counsaylde hym to gete a frende som day  
 Within Bretayne to sla hym in a sterte  
 Thurgh whiche he myght hym sonnesto so subverte.  
 By whose counsayle and imagynacioun  
 770 Thraerne was slayne so through his procuracioun.

*slay; rush**instigation*

**How the makere of this moveth, touchant princes, to bene in company of heere  
 men that love hem for drede of tresoun.**

**Unde Seneca dicit principis potestas numquam sine periculo est.<sup>1</sup>**

- Nota** O gode lorde God what peryle a prynce ys yn  
 Regnyng in his moste rialle magesté  
 And welle beloved with fremmyd and with kyn  
 775 And eche day stonte his lyfe in juparté  
 Of suche traytours thurgh fals iniquyté  
 As ofte ys sene in remes mony one  
 Whare kynges were slayne thurgh tresoun alle allone.

*danger**strangers**jeopardy**realms*

- Nota** Wharefore a prynce shuld never bene hym allone  
 In any place for drede of felonye  
 780 For falshode ay wylle wyrke upon his fone.  
 In pryvyté withouten company  
 To imagyne is alle his victory  
 How that he may his purpose brynghe aboute  
 And save hymselff to stonden oute of doute.

*foes*

### Kynge Octave

- 785 This Octave so than came into Bretayne  
 And sesed alle agayne into his honde  
 And sone thereafter for age he woxe unbayne  
 And hayre had non that mayntene myght his londe  
 Saufe a daughter that couth nothyngewithstonde  
 790 The grete malice of cruelle conquerourrs.  
 Wharefore he toke rede at his councellours.

*incapacitated**heir**counsel*

- Som counsayld hym to Conan hire to geve  
 Hys own cosyn a man of hyegh corage  
 By surname that hight Mariadoch, I leve.  
 795 And som counsayld to graunte hyre mariage  
 Unto som lorde of Rome of hiegh parage

*give**believe**noble family*

<sup>1</sup> Whence Seneca says that the power of the prince is never without danger

- To cesen werre and dwelle in fulle quyete  
With Romayns; so this counsayld som discrete. *wise*
- Bot Carodoch that duke was of Cornewayle  
Counselde the kynge to sende to Rome message  
Maximyan to bryng for grete avayle  
His daughter to have in mariage. *advantage*  
For bothe he was right heyre by alle lynage  
To Constantyne and als a senatoure  
Forpassynge other a lorde of grete honoure. *heir*
- fol. 50v Whiche counsaylle so was holden for the beste  
And fulle exployte was done and execute  
In so fere forthe Maximyane hym adreste  
To Bretayne come welle sped withoute rebute. *speedily*  
To whom the kynge than offred grete refute  
Hys heyre to wedde and after hym prevayle  
The coroune hool to have withouten fayle. *prepared*  
*prospering; resistance*  
*succor*  
*heir; rule*  
*entirely*
- .x. capitulum of Maxymyan kynge, and Gracyan kyng, and Emperours of Rome.**
- The kynge Octave decessed than anone  
After whom Maximyan succede  
And corounde was maugré of alle his fone *despite; foes*  
For ire of whiche Conan departe indede  
And spoylede the londe to Hembre as I rede. *anger*  
Wharefore this kynge Maxymyan so wyse  
Encountred hym with hoste of grete assyse. *magnitude*
- And ofte tymes so thay faught in grete batayle.  
Some tyme the kynge by batayl had his wylle  
Some tyme Conan at bataylle dyd prevayle  
And thus it felle tyl both thay had thaire fylle.  
Thus was the londe thurgh thaym fulle lyke to spylle *be destroyed*  
Wharefore thare frendes by fulle and hole assente *their*  
Accorded thaym and trete incontynent. *Reconciled; mediated immediately*
- So stode he than fyve yere in reste and pese  
That of rychesse he was so multyplyde.  
He irked sore he was so longe in ese *was displeased*  
Thus in his herte bygan to ryse a pryd  
And longe hym thought in Bretayne more to byde  
Wharefore his hoste of feghters ferre and nere  
Assembled faste and gatte hym grete powere. *remain*

**How Maxymyan conquerde Armoryke and named it Litel Bretayne and than he conquerde Fraunce, Almayne, and Romany and was than Emperoure of Rome.**

- |     |  |   |
|-----|--|---|
|     | He londed than I say in Armoryke<br>Whiche now so hight by name Lesse Bretayne<br>He wan it alle so welle he gan it lyke<br>So fulle it was of gode he was fulle fayne.<br>And to Conan than gan he thus to sayne<br>“For love of me Grete Bretayne thou foryede.<br>This londe I geve thee now and graunte by dede.”        | <i>is called</i>  |
| 840 |  | <i>surrendered</i>  |
|     | He sente so than anone to Grete Bretayne<br>For ten thousanddes hosbandes wyse and gode<br>To tele the londe with carte, plowgh and wayne<br>And knyghtes feel and squyers of hygh blode<br>Yomen also myghty of mayne and mode<br>That londe to kepe and to defende fro shame.<br>Lytelle Bretayne he gaff it than to name. | <i>farmers</i><br><i>till; wagon</i><br><i>many; noble</i><br><i>Yeomen; strength; spirit</i> |
| 845 |  |   |

## **Kynge Conan of Lesse Bretayne**

- fol. 51r    Conan than kynge of Lesse Bretayn so bolde  
              Graunted forever it of his sovereyne lorde  
850        Kynge of Bretayne the more than forto holde  
              And bene his man withoute eny discorde  
              And plenysht it with Bretons by concorde                  *replenished*  
              Of alle estates with joy and grete plesance  
              Avoydynge Frensshe for drede of more distance.              *discord*

**How Kynge Conan of Litille Bretayne sent into Grete Bretayne for Ursula and xi maydens of lordes doughters with xi thousand virgyns with hem, to bene maryed to hym and to his men.**

With hyre to come to ben hys mennes wifes  
For Frenshe thay wolde none wedde in alle thare lyfes.

- 870 This Dyonote by gode deliberacioun  
His doughter so to mary in that place  
Elleve thousandd vyrgyns of hire nacioun  
He sente also to passe with hyre that race  
For hyre conforte to serve hyre in that cace  
The kynge Conan to gladden and to plese  
And for to sette hym and his londe in ese.  
sea

875

## **How Melga and Gways martyred the xi thousand virgyns with Seint Ursula**

- |          |   |  |
|----------|---|--|
|          | In Themse that tyme, at Trynovant cyté<br>Thay shyppe were to passe by governayle<br>Towarde Bretayne the Lesse to maried be<br>With grete worshyp and to thare grete avayle.<br>Bot tempeste sore stroke than so in thare sayle<br>That thay dyd londe in iles of Germany<br>Whom Gwaynes kynge of Hunlonde gan espy                           | <i>good management</i><br><i>advantage</i>   |
| 880      |   |  |
| 885      | And Melga kynge of Peghtes in company.<br>Tho two tyraunts togedyre associate<br>Fulfulled hole of cursed tyrany.<br>For thare bewté that was so fayre create<br>Desyred thaym by way of lechery<br>And for thay wold nought graunte to suche foly<br>Seand thay were endowed in Cristen fayth<br>And of Bretayne whiche was to thaym ful layth |  |
| 890      |   | <i>Seeing hateful</i>  |
| fol. 51v | Thay gan thaym hate and had in odious té<br>For whiche the folke thaym slew on every syde<br>And martred thaym by grete crudelité.<br>For Cristes lawe in which thay glorifyde<br>So hieghly than in God thay dyd confyde<br>That thay had lever the Sarsens cruelté<br>Suffre and dye, than lese thare chastyté.                               | <i>regarded with animosity</i><br><i>cruelly</i><br><i>rather their</i>  |
| 895      |   |  |
| 900      | So were thay alle ended by martyrment<br>Whose bones lyge at Colayn cyté fayre<br>In a mynstere of nunnes convenient.<br>Men may theym se that thydere wille repayre.<br>Wharein the quere Ursula hath hyre layre<br>To hyde hyre corse in erthe thare fynaly<br>Whose soule in blisse shalle byde eternaly.                                    | <i>lie; Cologne</i><br><i>monastery; appropriately</i><br><i>go</i><br><i>choir; protected place</i><br><i>body</i><br><i>remain</i> |

905      Whiche ere alle seyntes and fully canonysed  
           Ellen thousandd vyrgyns undeflorate  
           In dede or wylle so wele they were avyzed  
           So trew thare hertes to God were fortunate.  
           Thay had levere dye thanne bene devyrgynate  
           Or God dysplese or yit his law offendē  
           In anythyng thare wyttes couth comprehendē.

*are  
pure  
deed; thought; determined*

910      910      In anythyng thare wyttes couth comprehendē.

*rather; raped*

In this mene while the kynge Maximyan  
           Alle Fraunce had wonne and Almayne hole conquerde  
           Itaille and Rome fully he had wonne than.  
           Alle the Senate of his manhode were ferde  
           For in batayle had he than slayne with swerde  
           Valentynyan the emperoure of myght  
           And Gracyane his brother put to flyght

*entirely*

915      915      And Gracyane his brother put to flyght

*afraid*

And emperoure was than in dignyté  
           To Cristen folke havyng fulle grete envy.  
           Who slayne was after thurgh grete malicousté  
           By Gracyans frendes that hated hym forthy  
           That he afore had made hym forto flye  
           From the empyre of whiche he had estate  
           With Valentynyan fully assocyate.

*malice*

*on account of the fact*

920      920      With Valentynyan fully assocyate.

### Kynge Gracyan

Gracyan, whan Maximyan was slayne  
           To Bretayne sente than by the senatours  
           In whose tyme so Kynge Melga and Kynge Gwayne  
           This londe overrode fulfyllē of alle errours  
           Whiche mortallē fone and cruelle tormentours  
           To Cristes fayth were and malicyus  
           Alle mercyles and passyngē rigorūs.

*foes*

*exceedingly; severe*

fol. 52r      930      Whiche kynges two, rote of alle craulté  
           And payens fals fulle of grete felonye,  
           Afore had made thurgh martyrdome to de  
           Elleven thousandd vyrgyns right cursydly  
           For envy that thay had alle utterly  
           To Cristes fayth and to Maximyan  
           For the rebute he dyd to Gracyan.

*root*

*pagans*

*die*

*repulse*

940      Wenynge fully Maximyan had be kynge  
           Of Bretayne than thay spoylde the londe and brent  
           The peple slewe an every syde and hyngē  
           The chyrches als ay robbed as thay went  
           Wyfes and chyldre and clerkes or thay stent

*Thinking*

*burned*

*hanged*

*also*

*before; stopped*

945 Thay slew doun right and harmelesse home agayne  
 Thrughout the Northe thay wrought fulle mekylle Payne. *much*

**How whan Melga and Gwayns had destroyed the londe, how Kynge Gracian was slayne with his comons for grete outrage of talliage (*tax*) that he had take of thaym withoute mercy.**

Bot Gracyan kynge of this londe was than  
 Crouned fully by alle the baronage  
 Who in his domes injuste was to every man *judgments*  
 950 Right dispytouse, and toke grete talliage *pitiless; tax*  
 Of lordes and folke to passyngre grete outrage *excessive*  
 So mercylesse and voyde of alle pyté  
 He was that none hym loved that hym se. *saw*

For whiche anone the hool comonalté *populace*  
 955 Of alle Bretayne by lordes hool assent  
 Upon hym rose to cese his cruelté  
 Thay slew hym so adnullynge his entent. *quashing*  
 Thus that tyrant fro his estate was rente *torn*  
 And plukked doun fro dygnyté rialle *royal*  
 960 As menstioun ys in cronycle historialle.

**Gwaynes and Melga payens the seconde tyme destroyed this londe of Bretayne**

Gwaynes and als Melga tho kynges two *those*  
 Herynge welle how Bretayne was undemeyned *without a ruler*  
 And Gracyan so slayne with mekylle wo *much*  
 Bretayne lafte bare withoute kyng unchifteynde *without a ruler*  
 965 And Maximyan with deth so felle desteynde *extinguished*  
 Who grete powere led into Romany  
 And Lesse Bretayne to strength and multiplye

Than came agayne with mekel greter hoste *[Gwayns and Melga]; much*  
 Wastyngre the londe with fyre fro se to se  
 970 And slew the folke aboute in every coste *place*  
 That pyté was with swerde so sore thay de. *died*  
 Thus Bretayne was thrugh thare crudelyté  
 Subverte and brente by tho cursed tyrantes  
 That payens were and cruelle mescreantes. *pagans; misbelievers*

- |          |  |   |
|----------|--|---|
| fol. 52v | <b>How Bretons sente to Rome for helpe to whom thai sente a legyon of knyghtes that made the Bretons to make a wall of lyme and stone bituix thaym and Peghtes, whare Severe afore had made a dyke, whiche wall Melga and Gwayns wan and rode all Bretayne londe secundum Bedam <i>De Gestis Anglorum.</i></b> <sup>1</sup>        |   |
| 975      | Than Bretons sent to Rome message agayne<br>Prayne Romayns to sende thaym more socours<br>Promysynge thaym alway for to be bayne<br>At thare byddynge and alle thare successours<br>And tribute pay unto the senatours<br>Withoute dylay or eny excusacioun<br>For everemore withoute derogacioun.                                 | <i>help</i><br><i>prompt</i><br><i>exception</i>                                  |
| 980      | For whose socoure the Senate sente a legioum<br>Of noble knyghtes that were fulle corageus<br>So chosen oute of every regioum<br>For moste worthy and als vctorious<br>Whiche Gwaynes and Melga so noyouse<br>Out of this londe drofe into Albany<br>Whare thay dyd ship than into Germany.  | <i>help</i><br><i>troublesome</i>   |
| 985      | These Romayns than and Bretons fulle assembled<br>By thaire hole wyttes and also fulle advyse<br>Dyd make a walle of lyme and stones sembled<br>Fro the este se unto the weste that lyse<br>The Peghtes to withstonde and alle ennemyse<br>With castels hyegh and toures at every myle<br>Endlonge that walle with many other pyle | <i>gathered</i><br><i>lies</i><br><i>Along; support</i>                           |
| 990      | Whare Severe so afore had made a dyke<br>Of turfe and sodde that tyme of grete defence<br>To kepe out Peghtes from Loegres in case lyke<br>That noyouse were and of felle insolence.<br>Bot Romayns than no lengere residence<br>Wolde holden here in Bretayne more to byde<br>Bot with alle haste than homward dyd thay ryde.     | <i>earth</i><br><i>troublesome</i><br><i>remain</i>                               |
| 995      | Thay went thare way to Rome so than agayne<br>Forsakynge ever alle tribute and trewage<br>After whose gate Kinge Melga and Kynge Gwayne<br>Had gode awayte and sekyre gode message<br>Whan Romayns wente and after thare passage<br>Came sone agayne with mekylle grettere hoste<br>Rydynge Bretayne unto the south se coste.      | <i>taxation</i><br><i>departure</i><br><i>watchfulness; secure</i><br><i>much</i> |
| 1000     |  |   |
| 1005     |  |   |

<sup>1</sup> *Concerning the Deeds of the English*

- 1010    Whiche tyme the kinges Melga and Gwaynus  
        Cursed tyrants and paynyns notyfyde  
        The walle betwyx thaym made and Loegres thus  
        The Peghtes walle to name was signifyde  
        Dyd bete alle doun with hostes tripartyde  
        In sondry place thay it so undyrmyned  
        That lyke the way alle playne it was declyned.
- notorious pagans*  
*divided in three*  
*destroyed*  
*level*
- fol. 53r    And thanne thay slew the Bretons manyfolde  
        In so ferre forthe thay lay on hepes dede  
        So myghtily the Bretons knygthes bolde  
        Thare faught with Pygghtes and bare them in that sted.  
        But Peghtes what with wyle and what manhede  
        The walle overe wan and slew suche multitude  
        That Bretons were overcome by fortitude.
- heaps*  
*place*  
*cunning strategy*
- How Bretons sent to Egicio senatour of Rome for more helpe, who sente none  
   bot refused thaire tribute for evere more secundum Bedam *De Gestis Anglorum*.<sup>1</sup>**
- 1025    Wherfore to Rome the Bretons sente anone  
        To Egicio the senatoure so wise  
        For socoure more as thay that strength had none  
        Thare enmyse to withstonde that myght suffise  
        Offrynge trewage forever withowte fayntyse  
        To pay with thy that fro the enmyté  
        Thay wolde thaym kepe in constabilité.
- support*  
*tribute; slacking*  
*as long as*  
*security*
- 1030    Whiche trewage so the Romayns than forsoke  
        Relesyng it forever, I say yow why  
        Thay were so stad with werres that thaym woke  
        Aboute thaymselff right nere to Romany  
        And Bretayne was so ferre fro that party  
        And als a se betwyxe fulle daungerouse  
        And myght not passe for wyndes contrariouse.
- preoccupied; arose*
- 1035    Thay wold no more thaym socoure in thare nede  
        Bot bade hem helpe thaymself for evermore.  
        For thay no more wolde hostes thydere lede  
        So were thare men mescheved there afore  
        Thurgh chaunse of werre and som by treson sore  
        Of Bretons fals thurgh thayre imagynacioun  
        At thayre above and domynacioun.
- there*  
*undone*  
*On account of their superiority*

---

<sup>1</sup> according to Bede in his book Concerning the Deeds of the English

- |      |   |              |
|------|---|--------------|
| 1045 | The tyme Romayns the tribute so forsoke<br>Was in the yere of Cristes incarnacioun<br>Foure hundre ful and nyne as Bede gan loke<br>In his cronycles and compilacioun<br>This londe distroyed als by paynym nacioun | <i>pagan</i> |
| 1050 | For whiche Bretons dyd sette a parlement<br>At Trynovant that tyme by hole assent.  |              |

How the Archebisshope of Londoun went than to Litil Bretayne for socoure, and brought home Constantyne brother of the Kyng of Lasse Bretayne to bene kyng of this londe.

- |      |   |  |
|------|---|--|
| 1055 | At whiche thay dyd conclude by hole assent<br>Brevely to sende forth Bysshop Gunthelyne<br>Who Archebysshop of Trynovant present<br>Was redy thare that message to enclyne<br>And doctore was approved in law dyvyne<br>With thaire intent to Lasse Bretayne instructe<br>Thaire socoure home to bryngē with hym reducte. | <i>quickly</i><br><i>teacher</i><br><i>support; brought back</i> |
|------|---|--|

fol. 53v Nota how bissop Gunthelyne made compleynt of the grete distresse in whiche Bretayn stode

- So forthe he wente and sayled undyr sayle  
To Bretayne Lesse unto the Kynge Aldroene  
Who kynge was thare and had the governayle  
The fourth after Kynge Conan, so I wene,  
Whom he admytte with honoure, as was sene,  
Askynge the cause of his thydyre come  
And why it was he came so ferre fro home.

- |      |  |  |
|------|--|--|
| 1070 | To whom thus sayde the bysshop Gunthelyne<br>“Enewgh apperth to yowre nobilité<br>Oure heped wo and endelesse lastyng pyne<br>Whiche shuld yow move by alle gode parenté<br>Youre con-Bretons of consanguynyté<br>To socoure now stondyng in grete dystresse<br>Thurgh paynyme werre the whiche ye may redresse. | <i>Manifestly<br/>piled; pain<br/>familial relation<br/>fellow Bretons; kinship<br/>pagans</i> |
|------|--|--|

- 1080 "Wharethurgh paynyme cruelle as ye have herde  
 Have us overronne and done fro day to day.  
 The Cristen fayth grete parte thay have conquerde  
 And lyke ere to dystroy it alle away.  
 Wharefore of helpe we humblye yow pray  
 That ye oure reme and us wille now defende  
 Seth ye and we of oon blode bene descende."
- Kynge Aldroene hym thankyd with hole herte  
 Refusyng than that noble dognyté.  
 It for to have he lyste noght to adverte  
 Suche drede he had of mutabilité  
 Thurgh Romayns myght and grete subtylité  
 That levere he were his own in pese to have  
 Than More Bretayne iff Romayns trewage crave.

*pagans**are**realm**desired; accede**changefulness**power**he preferred**tribute; should require*

**.xi. capitulum. How the Kynge of Lasse Bretayne sent Constantyne his brother  
 to bene of Grete Bretayne the kynge and governoure**

- Bot Constantyne his brother fresshe and fayre  
 He than bytoke to Bysshopt Guntelyne  
 To ben thare kynge with hym home to repaire  
 With power suche right as he couth diffyne.  
 To Tottenesse so the se thay dyd thurgh myne  
 Arrifynge thare with mekylle joy and blysse  
 Of whom the reme was glad and blythe iwyssse.
- To whom anone assembled alle the floure  
 Of juventé and of the lusty eelde  
 And toke hym for thare kinge and governoure  
 Agayne thare fose to feghten in the felde  
 Whoso wele dyd with bowe, spere, and shelde  
 That of Melga and Gwains the victory  
 Thay had forthwith, as made is memory.

*entrusted**go**control**travel**much**realm; happy certainly**youth; energetic; aged**accepted; as**foes**immediately*

**Constantine of Litil Bretayne Kynge of Grete Bretayne**

- This Constantyne by Bretons hole advyse  
 Was crouned than with rialle dyademe  
 At Cyrcester, Caersyry on thayre wyse  
 In Breton tonge hight as thay couthe expreme,  
 In se rialle than sette whiche hym byseme  
 As prynce pierlesse thurghout the Occydent  
 On every syde unto the Orient.
- This archebyssop this gode man Guntelyne  
 The croune upon his hede on heigh he sette

*agreement**called; were able to express**seat; befitted**peerless; West**East**high*

With alle honoure as he couthe determine  
 He dyd to hym, for nothyng wold he lette.  
 A lady fayre and fresshe he dyd forth sette  
 1120 And wedded thaym with grete solempnyté  
 Of Gunthelyns and Romayns blode was she.

*could  
obstruct*

**How this kynge had thre sonnes of whyche he made the eldest a munke for he  
 was noght wyse to governe**

Of whom he gatte thre sonnes that were echone  
 Kynges crouned of Bretayne to the se:  
 Oon Constance hight the eldest of echone;  
 1125 The seconde was Aurilyus hight he  
 Whose surname was Ambrosius wete ye;  
 The thrid Utore Pendragon was his name  
 Of whom after in honoure rose grete fame.

*was called; them all*

*you know*

This kynge so than his eldeste sonne Constance  
 1130 In Wynchestere dyd put a monke to be.  
 The other two he putte by ordynaunce  
 To Gunthelyne of thaire consanguynyté  
 To nurture thaym in alle nobilité  
 As he that was rightwyse and ful dyscrete  
 1135 Of alle nurture als was he fulle implete.

*kinship*

*righteous; wise*

*good training; informed*

**How a Peghte (*Pict*) of this kynges hows (*house*) slewe hym by counsail of the  
 Duke Vortygere**

Whan he had bene the kynge so ful ten yere  
 Upon a day as he in gardyn wase  
 A Peghte that in his house was hym ful nere  
 In that gardyne hym slew, so felle the case.  
 1140 Thurgh counsaylle of oon Vortygerne it wase  
 To have the croune, whiche longe he had desyred,  
 For whiche his dethe men sayd he had conspyred.

fol. 54v **.xii. capitulum Kynge Constance, the monke of Wynchestre, son of Constantyne.**

Constans than so that monke was in Caergwent  
 That Wynchestere hatte now so this day  
 1145 In the mynstere of Seynte Amphibale spent  
 In cloyster thare that shulde have ben for ay  
 This Vortigerne toke oute and led away  
 And sette the croune upon his hede fulle he  
 With alle honoure and als regalyté.

*is called*

*monastery*

*permanently*

*high*

- 1150 For love of whiche that he hym so preferred  
He made hym than alle hole his governoure.  
Fro alle wysdome the kynge was so deferred  
He knew not what appent to his honoure  
So symple was his wytte in alle laboure  
1155 He toke no hede of reule, ne governaunce,  
So he were kepte in joy and hiegh plesaunce.

*raised up**From; distant  
pertained**heed*

**How Vortiger by grete subtilité made the Peghtes to sla Kynge Constance and  
after he slew thaym for to excuse hym selfe**

- This Vortygerne fulle sette in sapience  
Of Kambre kynde that now so Wales hight  
A duke was than of high grete excelence.  
1160 Of rhetorike wytte, forpassynge every wyght  
In eloquence excedynge alle men right  
Whare myght avayle he couthe of adulacioun  
To fage and plesse thurgh softe dissymylacioun.

*cleverness  
is called**elegant**[it]; gain an advantage; flattery  
flatter*

- 1165 So castynge yn his mynde and alle his wytte  
How to the croune he myght moste sone aspyre  
To kepe the kynge, whethyre he wente or sytte  
An hundredth knyghtes he dyd withholde and hyre  
Of Peghtes alle with whom he dyd conspyre  
The kynges dethe by processe after so  
1170 In subtile wyse that no wyght knew it mo.

*rise**knights; retain; hire*

- Thare wage he payd thaym welle fro day to day  
Doynge the kyng to know and to consayve  
That Peghtes wolde ryse and distroy hym away.  
Wharefore the Pygthes thare londe forto dyssayve  
1175 And thare consaylle to spy and to persayve  
He waged had to warne hym of alle drede  
Through whiche he myght withstande thayre grete falshede.

*Making; think**deceive**hired*

- So after that upon a day he sayde  
Unto hys Peghtes that so were with hym holde  
“For youre wages the kyng hath me upbrayde  
And blamed me, right for that I ne wolde  
Yow voyde oute of his servyce and howseholde.  
Bot not forthy iff I were kynge indede:  
1180 Youre wages shuld ben payed fulle well in nede.”

*taken me to task**expel**nevertheless*

- fol. 55r Thus sayde he than by grete subtilité  
1186 To make thaym truste his gode domynacioun  
For welle he knew thare mutabilité  
Or thay were voyde so fro thare prosperacioun  
Before; expelled; prosperity

- |      |   |   |
|------|---|---|
|      | Wold sla the kynge for his contemplacioun<br>To croune hym kynge with alle the helpe thay may<br>Thaire lyvelode forthe to have of hym alway.   | <i>slay; thoughts<br/>(i.e., Vortigern)<br/>wages</i>                           |
| 1190 | Thurgh whiche conforte and subtylle intisement<br>Thay trustyng in his domynacioun<br>Iff he were kynge and had the regyment<br>He wold thaym pay withoute refreynacioun<br>Thaire wages hole withoute defalcacioun<br>Seynge the kynge was bot an idiote<br>And couth not kepe his heghte that he behote   | <i>temptation<br/>obstacle<br/>withholding<br/>seeing<br/>promise; promised</i> |
| 1195 | By oon advyse thay slew hym than anone<br>And gaff his hede unto Syr Vortygere<br>Of whiche his herte was glad, but styll as stone<br>He stode mornynge and hevy of his chere.<br>To blynde the folke he dyd crye fere and nere<br>That none shulde spare the Pightes by day ne nyght<br>Bot sla thaym doune whare thay mete with hem myght.          | <i>deceive<br/>slay</i>   |
| 1200 | So were thay slayne thurgh his subtile quantyse<br>The kynge also, of whiche his herte rejoysed.<br>And knowyng wele amonge the lordes fayntyse<br>And how he was with comons welle anoysed<br>The Peghtes hym had afore so wele avoysed<br>Consydrynge als the kynges castels alle<br>Were in his honde thurghoute bothe grete and smalle            | <i>trickery<br/>cowardice<br/>considered<br/>reputed him</i>                    |
| 1205 | And of grete gode he was so stronge of myght<br>The peple hole obeyant to his wille<br>The olde lordes dede, thare hayres bot yonge to fight,<br>The kynges brether fled Bretayne Lasse untylle<br>For fere of hym lesse that he wolde hem kylle<br>To Kynge Budyce who nurrisht thaym fulle clene<br>Who sybbe thaym was, as may in bokes bene sene. | <i>obedient<br/>dead; heirs<br/>to<br/>lest<br/>raised; faultlessly<br/>kin</i> |
| 1210 | <b>.xiii. capitulum of Kynge Vortigere and Vortymere his son</b>  |   |
| 1215 | This Vortygere thus seyng wele he myght<br>Unto the croune ben lyste at alle his wille<br>He dyd the croune upon his hede forth right<br>And helde estate rialle for gode or ille.<br>The Peghtes and Scottes put sklaundire than hym tille<br>Of thare frendes dethe and also of the kynges<br>Whiche thurgh hys wille was wrought in alkyn thynges. | <i>chosen<br/>royal<br/>slander; on him<br/>all manner of</i>                   |
| 1220 |   |   |
| 1225 |   |   |

- |          |  |   |
|----------|--|---|
| fol. 55v | For whiche thay thought on hym to be revenged<br>For his falshode and his subtylle tresoun<br>Of whiche he myght in nowyse ben ought clenged<br>So know it was that it was by enchesoun<br>He wolde ben kynge and for non other resoun.<br>Wharfore with alle the myght thay can or may<br>Thay thought revenge that deth ful sore aday. |   |
| 1230     |  | <i>cleansed</i><br><i>cause</i><br><i>wished to be</i><br><i>each day</i> |

**How Engiste and Horne of Saxonye londed in Kente and bicame Kyng  
Vortygers men, which inhabite first in Lyndsay.**

- |      |   |  |
|------|---|--|
|      | In this mene while the kynge as he dyd ly<br>At Caunterbyry, whiche than so hight Caerkent<br>And as som say it hight Doroberny,<br>But than arrofe thre shyppe fulle in Kent<br>Of men of werre, at Sandwyche were they lent,<br>For whom the kynge sente after sone anone<br>To whom thay came as faste as thay myght gone. | <i>stay<br/>was called</i>                                       |
| 1240 | He asked what thay were and whyne thay came<br>And what was cause thay came upon his londe.<br>To whom Engeste answerde, as meke as lame,<br>And sayde "Gode lorde ye shalle wele undyrstonde<br>Saxons we bene and Saxonay oure londe<br>Whiche stondeth so ful fayre in Germany<br>And hydry come for servyce onaly.        | <i>whence<br/>lamb<br/>here; only</i>                            |
| 1245 | "The case was thus: oure prynce by his regence<br>Fonde that oure londe gretly was overcharged<br>With habundance of folke and affluence<br>By generacioun excedyngly enlarged.<br>As custome was the londe muste be dyscharged<br>For whiche he sette amonge the juventé<br>A lotte who shulde passe forth over the see.     | <i>crowded<br/>abundance<br/>relieved<br/>youth</i>              |
| 1250 | "With oure manhode to gete us som lyvelode<br>The sorte on us felle, so we muste departe<br>Oute of the londe as of his hye godhode<br>Mercury hath us brought into this arte.<br>Thay vytaylde us and shypped for thare parte.<br>On us thay made thensforth no more dyspence.<br>Thus ere we voyde to seke oure residence.  | <i>livelihood<br/>lot<br/>district<br/>supplied<br/>expelled</i> |
| 1255 | "My brother here hatte Horse and I Engiste<br>Of dukes blode we bene so procreate<br>Leders to bene right by oure prynces liste.<br>Of this meyne we bene now ordynate  | <i>is called<br/>desire<br/>band; in charge</i>                  |
| 1260 |   |  |
| 1265 |   |  |

- And dukes bene so called in oure estate.  
 Oure prynce us gaffe of armoure suffycence  
 To helpe us wyth atte alle oure indygence. *need*
- fol. 56r “Wharfore we muste to youre servyce intende  
 1270 To wynne us londe with laboure and manhede  
 Or to som other prynce we muste attende  
 Of oure servyce that mystere hath and nede.  
 Now have I tolde yow alle why thus indede  
 We come upon youre londe by youre suffrance  
 1275 To do servyce unto youre hye plesance.” *requirement*  
*permission*  
*utmost satisfaction*
- The kynge saw wele of suche men he had nede  
 That lykely were and also corageuse  
 In armes proved as longeth to knyghthede. *impressive*  
*pertains; knighthood*  
 1280 Withhelde thaym alle at wages plentyuouse  
 For to wylstonde the Peghtes perilouse *dangerous*  
 And als the hayres and brether of Constance  
 Of whom he truste ay grete contrariance. *heirs*  
*resistance*
- And how this Engiste and Horne were payens levyng (believing) on Mercury and Venus, and how Wednesday and Fryday had thaire names first of Mercury and of Venus.**
- The kynge hym askte what was that Mercury  
 That sente hym hydry, to whom he answerd than *here*  
 1285 “A god he ys that oure olde auncetry *ancestors*  
 Worshipt evermore in world whan thay began.  
 And we also do so, right as we can.  
 This Mercury we calle a god of fame  
 The fourth day ever we honoure in his name.
- Nota also how Engist and Horsus entred Bretayne in the armes of thaire londe, that is to sey thay bare of azure (blue) the god Mercure, Woden in thair language, and the goddesse Frye in thaire language, corouned, enthronysed of golde.**
- 1290 “His name with us Woden so is called  
 On oure language whom we honoure moste  
 For every woke alway it so be falled *week*  
 The fourth day so we halowed alle oure coste *sanctified; country*  
 1295 That Wodensday we calle and worshyp moste  
 For love of hym. And so ys oure usage  
 And ever hath bene amonge alle oure lynage.
- “A goddesse als we have of grete powere  
 Venus men calle in whose name we adoure  
 The sexte day ever of every woke ay sere *sixth; week; different*

- 1300 Wham in oure tonge Fry we calle and honoure  
 For wham the sexte day in laboure and sorore  
 We worshyp nexte, whiche we calle so Friday  
 The sonne, the mone, with other of oure lay.” sorrow  
belief
- 1305 Sone after that the Scottes and Peghtes hoste  
 In Bretayne brent andmekylle peple slewe  
 For whiche the kynge came northe to felle thare boste army  
burned; many  
 With Engyste als and Horsus soudyours newe  
 That manly faught and on the fose dyd hewe diminish their pride  
soldiers  
 In so ferre forthe thay made the vyctory  
 And drofe thaym out agayne in Albany. foes; cut
- 1310 fol. 56v Off whose manhode and worthy vyctory  
 The kynge was glad and gaffe thaym londes fele many  
 And als thare wages he dyd thaym multyplye  
 And loved wele with thaym to speke and dele deal  
 1315 And conforte thaym in sekenesse and in hele health  
 Above alle other with myrthes that myght be made  
 Thare commynge so dyd conforte hym and glade.

### How Engiste bigged (*built*) Thwongcastre

- 1320 Bot on day Engiste the kynge dyd plese  
 And sayde “My lorde ye stonde in juparté danger  
 Bothe of youre lyfe and of alle hertes ese  
 And lyke to falle in grete adversité  
 Unto myschefe and alle paralité disease  
 For wele I here by worde and by language  
 Es non yow loveth of alle youre baronage.
- 1325 “Thay say there bene of Constance brether two  
 Thare lege lordes of right that aw to be ought  
 With whiche thay shalle hereafter ryde and go  
 And venged bene that tyme of yow and me.  
 Thay love us nougħt by ought that I can se
- 1330 Wharfore I wolde sende into Germany  
 To wage yonge men and strength youre chyvalry. hire; reinforce
- 1335 “And of a thynge, my lorde, I wolde you pray  
 A walled town or castelle I may have  
 Or som cyté for seurté nyght and day security  
 In whiche I may my body kepe and save  
 For I am hate for yow with knyght and knave  
 Whiche may by nyght dystroy me as they wylle  
 And whan thaym lyste to sla me and to kyllie.” hated on account of; by  
want; slay

- To whom the kynge than sodenly answerde  
 1340 "That thyng to graunte I dare not so forthy  
 That ye so ben alieyens I am aferde.  
 My barons wolde it sone gaynesay in hy  
 And als ye ben paynyme so openly  
 Thay wolde the more with me greve and gregge  
 1345 Agayne my fayth it were thay myghte allegge."
- foreigners  
contradict immediately  
pagans  
annoy; aggravate  
against
- "Now seth ye darre nought graunte me so for drede  
 Yit may ye graunte me than als mekylle grounde  
 As with a thwange I may overlay and sprede  
 In brede and length or els in cyrcuite rounde  
 1350 More than I have now so with in my bounde  
 Seand there was thareby a stony place  
 Whiche nomore was bot even a castelle space."
- since  
much  
thong (*strip of leather*)
- fol. 57r The whiche the kynge hym gaff fully and graunte  
 Wharefore he kutte a boles skyn so grete  
 1355 Alle in a thwonge so rounde and hole curraunte  
 With whiche that grounde so stony he dyd mete  
 Of length and brede he toke his castelle sete.  
 And thereupon dyd proppe his mete and bounde  
 Whare that he thought his castelle sette and founde.
- bull's  
strip; running  
measure  
foundation  
set; limit
- How Engiste sent for his doughter, who came to hym with xviii shippes full of Saxons and Englysshe men.**
- 1360 So than he sente anone to Germany  
 To brynge his doughter that was bothe fresshe and fayre  
 And soudyours als to strength hyre company.  
 In whiche mene tyme his castelle to repaire  
 He labourde so that it was for his hayre.  
 1365 So stronge it was and myghty for to wynne  
 None enmyse myght it wynne, ne hym over rynne.
- soldiers; reinforce  
heir  
defeat
- Sone after than his doughter Dame Rowen  
 With egheten shippes came out of Saxony  
 Alle fulle of knyghtes that were alle myghty men  
 1370 Chosen for beste thurghout alle Germany  
 For whiche he thanke his god so Mercury  
 Woden that hight in his moder language  
 Dame Frie also, Venus called by clerkes sage.
- was called
- He prayed the kynge to se his castelle then  
 1375 And dyne with hym right at his owne devyse  
 His doughter als to welcome and his men  
 That knyghtes were fulle fayre, manly and wyse
- planning

- Out of his londe that came by hole advyse  
 To helpe the kynge in his necessité  
 His enmyse to distroy by thare powsté. *power*  
 1380
- Of whiche the kynge was glad and graunted so  
 And ete with hym and made gode chere and gladde  
 Bot for tho knyghtes his herte was wondere wo  
 That thay so than the paynmys creance hadde *pagans' belief*  
 1385 Whiche stode agayne his herte fulle sore and sadde.  
 Bot nevertheless his enmyse to dystroye *steadily*  
 He plesed thaym foryetynge alle his noye. *forgetting; anxiety*
- Of the castelle in herte he was ful fayne *pleased*  
 And of Rowene to wham there was none lyke  
 1390 In bewté so perlesse she was sertayne  
 Hym lyked beste and gan therewith to syke *sigh*  
 With that she brought a coupe of golde fulle ryke *when; splendid*  
 Unto the kynge and sayde to hym "Wassayle"  
 To whom the kynge so lerned sayd "Drynke hayle." *Good Health*
- fol. 57v **How Vortygere wed Engyste doughtir**
- With that hire kiste as he was taught by men *kissed*  
 That knew the gyse and manere of thare londe *custom*  
 Thurgh whiche he sette his herte so on hyre then  
 He wolde hyre wed anone and made hyre bonde  
 And quene she was right as I endyrstonde  
 1400 Of Bretayne hole by fulle and hole sentence. *authority*  
 He gaff hyre Kent to dowere and dispence. *as a dowry; source of income*
- Now called Castre on the Walde in Lincolnshire**
- Sapiencia attingit a fine ad finem et disponit omnia suaviter<sup>1</sup>**
- Bot Engiste than his castelle named and calde  
 Thwongcastre forth bycause so of that thwonge. *thong*  
 For it shuld bene in memory, he walde *wished*  
 1405 How he it gatte and by what wyle it fonge. *stratagem; took*  
 So had he joy, his wytte be mynded longe, *astuteness; remembered*  
 For wysdome so he thought shulde ben comende *commended*  
 Whiche reuleth alle thynge mekely unto the ende.
- The reme so hate the kynge by alle thare wytte *realm; hated*  
 1410 Bycause he wedde in payens law and ryte *pagans'*

<sup>1</sup> *Wisdom reaches from one end (of the earth) to the other, and disposes everything peacefully* (Wisdom 8:1)

- And favourde more payenis for love of ytte  
 Than Cristen men, for whiche thay had dyspyte. *resentment*  
*greater and less powerful*
- 1415 To hym his frendes and other more and lite  
 His sonnes moste of alle hym dyd dispysse  
 For his weddynge so on the payenis wyse.
- His eldeste sonne that hight Syr Vortymere  
 The seconde als was callyd Categerne  
 The thyrde Passhent whiche that fulle manly were  
 Of his friste wyfe by bokes who can dyscerne *first*  
 The sothe he may of it wele se and lerne. *truth*
- 1420 Thare fadyr thay lafte by alle the lordes assent  
 Who thurgh his wyfe to payenis was consent. *pagans; in league*
- How the Bretons were infecte in diverse cuntreys with payenis and errisyes**  
**Pelagien (Pelagian heresy), wharfore the lordes sent for Seynt Germayn and**  
**Seint Lupe bishops, who with thaire precchyng brought the peple out fro thaire**  
**errour and errisyes.**
- Whare thurgh the reme fulle of idolatry *on account of which*  
 Was so, what with the payenis cursed usage *pagans'*  
 1425 And what so with Pelagiens errisy *Pelagian heresy*  
 Whiche regned than in londes fele and lynage *many*  
 The Cristene were so myxt with mariage  
 Of payenis blode that neigh the Cristynté *almost*  
 Was brought unto payenis credulyté. *belief*
- 1430 In this tyme came two doctours approbate *teachers; approved*  
 In law dyvynne of whiche on Seynt Germayne *one*  
 Lupus also the tother that consecrate *the other*
- 1435 Were bothe bysshops, and sent by Seynt Romayne *Great Britain*  
 To preche the folke thurghout this More Bretayne  
 At the prayer of alle the baronage  
 By Vortymers assente and his message.
- fol. 58r By whose prechyng the peple were converte  
 And came unto the fayth ay more and more  
 That were afore oute of the fayth perverte
- 1440 Thurgh comonynge instructe of paynmys lore *verbal instruction; teaching*  
 By this Engyste and thay that his folke wore *were*  
 Who Kent had so in domynacioun  
 By kynges strength and quenes supportacioun.
- 1445 This Engiste so for plesaunce of the kyng  
 By hole assent bytwyx thaym two agrede *between*  
 Sent after his sonne Octa, a knyght fulle yngye, *young*  
 His cosyn als Ebissa, gode in nede, *also*

- And Cherdyke with thre hundre shypes dyd lede  
 Als many men as tho shypes myght contene  
 1450 Thay brought with thaym of armed men ful clene.
- The barons than distracte were and afrayde  
 Of hethen folke so grete in multytude  
 For whiche unto the kynge thay playnde and sayde  
 And no redresse couth have it to exclude  
 1455 Bot ever thay dyd encrese of fortitude  
 In so ferre forthe the barons were consente  
 Vortymere to corown by hole assent.
- Kynge Vortymere of Bretayne, son of Vortygere.**
- Syr Vortymere thay crounde anone forth ryght  
 With rialle honoure that myght to hym appende  
 1460 Who was fulle wyse aproved lyke a knyght  
 In alle corage that to a knyght extende  
 Forto assayle or els forto defende  
 Who hated sore his fadrys governance  
 And by hys wytte distroyed the mescreance.
- 1465 He faught with thaym anone upon Derwent  
 And other tyme at Abyrford dyd mete  
 Whare he on thaym with batayle strongly went  
 The felde he had and caste thaym undyrfete.  
 1470 Whare Katygerne his brothur, wylle ye wete,  
 And Horsus als, eyther other on the playne  
 So felly stroke that bothe thay were there slayne.
- Upon a felde bysyde the north se banke  
 He faught eft sones and put thaym to the flight  
 Unto the Ile Tenette thaire unthanke  
 1475 In truste of Engystes powere and his myght.  
 Whither he wente than with his powere ryght.  
 The barons als fulle hole with hym assembled  
 For whiche Saxons for fere quoke and trembled.
- fol. 58v  
 1480 He helde thaym there by se right many a day  
 With shypes and botes thaym every day assayled  
 With batayle stronge fulle thik there slayne thay lay  
 So sore that thayre grete powere was than fayled.  
 Thay were so sore forfoughten and bataylde  
 1485 Thay prayd the kynge thay myght have his lycense  
 To Germany to make there revertence
- distressed*
- complained*
- remedy; stop*
- pertain*
- suited*
- paganism*
- straight away*
- if you should wish to know*
- cruelly*
- again soon*
- Isle of Thanet; unwillingly*
- also*
- defeated; overcome*
- permission*
- return*

- And leve bothe wylfe and childe, and godes fayre,  
 And alle thare londes, castels, toures and places,  
 And never to come agayne thare to repayre.  
 And so thay dyd by license and his grace  
 Thus fro Britayne he dyd thaym alle out chase  
 That were so hole of payenis mescreance  
 And by advyse amendyd alle noysance
- 1490
- homes  
return  
*pagans' disbelief*  
*trouble*
- Restored agayn the cytese and the townes  
 To barons als and Bretons alle there londes  
 With fraunchyse als and rightes by dales and downes  
 And wele mayntened the fayth with lawes and bondes  
 That with the Chyrche and Cristen fayth wele stondes  
 Praynge mekely Lupus and Seynt Germayne  
 The Cristen faythe to techen and sustayne.
- 1495
- liberties; valleys; hills*  
*restraints*  
*suits*
- The Kyrke he dyd honoure at alle his myght  
 And it restored to alle was fro it refte  
 In every place he helde justyce and right  
 So vertuose he was he made be lefte  
 Alle vices foule and vertu take up eftē.
- 1500
- seized*  
*to be adopted afterwards*
- Fulle wele he dyd his barons governe alle  
 That peple alle hym loved grete and smalle.
- 1505
- Bot to his high vertu and grete godenesse  
 Envyed so the fende who was impreste  
 In Rowens herte so fulle of wykydnesse  
 That by his man, whom she had so adreste  
 With gyftes grete whiche she had hym promeste,
- 1510
- the devil; inscribed*  
*treated*  
*to be poisoned*  
*much*
- Kynge Vortymere she made bene pousond so  
 For whom his men than had fullemekylle wo.
- Yit at his deth he dyd his men rewarde  
 And bade thaym than thare londe thay shuld defende  
 And lay hym at the porte whare hyderwarde  
 Saxons dyd londe whan Engyste for thaym sende.  
 On high he myght ben sene and fully kende  
 Trustynge thay durste non nerre so come for fere
- 1515
- here*  
*known*  
*dared; nearer*
- 1520
- Of his body as longe as it were there.
- fol. 59r Bot than he dyed as fate of dethe it wolde  
 And byried was so than at Trynovaunte  
 By alle assent right of his Bretons bolde  
 Agayne his owne presumptiouse avaunte.
- 1525
- vainglory*  
*knew about*  
*seize; eagerly*
- This Rowen fals, with poysouns that she haunte,  
 Thys gode kynge slewe, whare thurgh Kynge Vortigerne  
 The reame dyd seyse into his honde fulle yerne.

**How the makere moveth his conceyte touchant his hardyment and presumptuous avawnte (*vain glory*)**

O hardynesse of man so hiegh presumed  
 Agayne the wylle of hym that sitte above  
 1530 Whiche erthely men hath sette to be consumed  
 Right by his reule as clerkes wele can prove  
 How durstow so, lesse he thy witte reprove,  
 To presume thynge men shulde thy bones drede  
 Whan alle thy myght is gone and waste indede?  
dare you; lest

**Kynge Vortigere**

1535 This Vortygerne was crouned than agayne  
 And regned so right in his fyrste estate  
 Rowen his wyfe began hym trete and prayne  
 To sende than for hir fadry arly and late  
 To dwelle with hym and helpe hym fro the hate  
 1540 That Bretons had to hym for Vortymere  
 With whom thay helde as fully dyd appere.

*pray  
early (i.e., continuously)  
against*

**How Engiste cam into Bretayne with grete powere by the kynges wylle**

For whom sent forth the kynge Syr Vortygere  
 His letters so and prayd hym come anone  
 Hym sertifiant how dede was Vortymere  
 1545 And in his come he seyde was perile none.  
 For whiche he thought ben venged on his sone  
 Rejoysed highly with alle the haste he may  
 And thowsondes feel of men he brought ful gay.

*certified  
coming*

*many*

For whiche Bretons with hym were greved sore  
 1550 And thought have fought with hym whan he shuld londe.  
 Whiche whan Rowen it knew she sent therefore  
 To warne hym so right by hyre pryvey sonde  
 For whiche he thought he might more surely stonde  
 Undyr hope of pese, a trety forto make  
 1555 With Bretons so than batayle with hem take.

*secret message*

And to the kynge he sente, as bokes telles,  
 His message than enformed on this wyse  
 That his powere he brought for nothyng elles  
 Bot hym to kepe, lesse Vortymere wold ryse  
 1560 At his londynge and fowly hym dispiese.  
 And if it to the lordes ought dispiese  
 He wold sende home thaym alle than for thaire ese.

*(i.e., Hengist)  
shaped*

*preserve, lest*

- fol. 59v Bot more he thought hit were to thaire profyte  
To lete thaym londe, seth they ere now so nere *since*  
1565 To chese of thaym the knyghtes moste perfyte  
Of werres wyest, as may by sight appere,  
To strength the londe agayn outwardre powere *perfect*  
“For I am he,” quod he, “and say thaym so  
My doughter is quene how shulde I be thaire fo?” *strengthen; against foreign foe*
- 1570 The messengers unto the kynge sone come  
And told hym alle as is afore devysed  
Byfore the barons, who it wele undyr nomme *received*  
And thought his witte thereof was wele advysed,  
By hole counsaylle he came, as is comprised,  
1575 In with his flete to reste thaym and disperte  
After thare laboure to glad thaym and conforte. *entertain*

**How Engiste treted accorde bituixe hym and the Bretons on the plane of Salesbury whare by tresoun he and his Saxons and Englisshe slew all the barons and lordes of Bretons, and putte the kynge in prisoun.**

- Bot undyr this thay sette a day to mete *meet*  
Upon the playne after of Salisbyry  
Whiche that tyme so Caercaredot dyd hete *was called*  
1580 Bysyde the nunry ys now of Awmesbyry  
Whare Ambrius abbot founde his cenoby *monastic community*  
Who dwelte therelyn unto his endyng day  
In holynesse and contemplacioun ay.
- The day thay sette, thay mette to trete a trewe *discuss; truce*  
1585 At that same place, the friste day so of May, *first*  
Foure hundred of the Bretons beste thay drewe  
To that trety als fele of paynynms lay. *many; pagans' belief*  
Bot fals Engiste unto his men gan say  
“Loke every man of us now have his knyfe  
1590 Within his hose to refe his felaw lyfe *stockings; take*
- “For oon of us by on of thaym shalle stonde  
So shalle I reule whan we togedyr mete.  
And whan I say “Nyme oure saxes,” lay honde *Take our knives*  
1595 His fo to styke and caste hym undyrfete. *stab*  
Thus shalle we sla thaym alle with moste quiete  
And wyn this londe alle hole in governance  
And on oure fose we shalle so take vengeance.” *foes*
- At day assygned so were thay come and mette  
On eyther parte afore as was devysed.  
1600 A Bretoun ever afore a payen sette

- Right as Engiste afore it had avyed.  
 So whan he saw thay were so enteremysed  
 He sayde "Nyme oure saxes" and than anone  
 Eche payen slewe his make there by hym oone.
- mixed  
*Take our knives*  
*pagan; partner*
- fol. 60r Foure hundre als and sixty of barons  
 1606 And erles with other whiche had the governaunce  
 Of Bretayne thanne were slayne by tho larouns  
 Whose corses alle, after that foule vengeance,  
 Seynt Eldane so byried by Cristen ordynaunce
- thugs  
*bodies*
- 1610 In a kyrkeyerde bysyde the cenoby  
 And mansioun of Abbot Ambrii.
- church yard; monastery*
- No wondere thof thay that no treson knewe  
 Nor wapyns had thaymselff forto defende  
 The parte adverse of wapens purvayed newe<sup>1</sup>  
 1615 Were lyghtly slayne and brought unto ane ende.  
 Yit Erle Eldolle of Gloucesterre so kende  
 The tresoun foule, and fro thaym went away  
 And with a pale seventy he slew that day.
- though  
*weapons*  
*knew*  
*stake*
- How Kynge Vortygere imprisoned gafe to the Saxons and Englisshe grete parte  
 of Bretayne for his delyverance fro prisoun and went into Wales**
- With that more folke of payens come fulle faste  
 1620 And toke the kynge and led to Trynovaunte.  
 For fere of whiche so was he than agaste  
 He graunte thaym alle that thay wold have and haunte  
 Castels, cytese, and forseletts evenaunte,
- advantageous little forts
- To lette hym passe alle quyke withoute trublaunce  
 1625 Whiche Engiste graunte bycause of thaire liance.
- difficulty  
*alliance*
- Nota that Engiste than did call this londe Engistlonde for his name, whiche  
 aftir sone for shortnesse of langage men called Englonde, bot it dured noght  
 longe for Aurilius, Uther and Arthure put doun the name of Englond and called  
 it Bretayne ayeyn (again), to (until) the commynge of Gurmund, Kynge of Afrike.**
- Thay toke Ebrauke that Yorke ys called nowe  
 Lyncolne that than Caerludcourte had to name  
 Caergwent also unto thaym gan to bowe  
 That Wynchestere is now of fulle grete fame.
- 1630 Engiste had alle the reme as for his hame  
 And dalte it forthe amonge his knyghtes wyse  
 By parcelmele as ferre as myght suffise.
- realm; home  
*divided*  
*piece by piece*

<sup>1</sup> *The enemy, being newly supplied with weapons*

- Wharfore so whan the kynge saw that myschefe  
 That payens hole distroyd the londe aboute  
 1635 To Cambre went so, for socoure and relefe  
 Whare he bygan to bygge a castelle stoute  
 To kepe hym fro the cruelle payens route  
 Whiche as was made the day afore certayne  
 Upon the nyght forthe right felle doune agayne.
- pagans*  
*support*  
*build*  
*force*
- 1640 Wharefore his clerkes he asked why was so  
 Who answerd hym that he the blode shuld seke  
 Of a yonge chylde that never had fadyr tho  
 With the mortere to tempre and to eke.  
 The whiche thay sayde wold make the mortere steke
- then*  
*mortar; mix; strengthen*  
*stick*
- 1645 And with the stone to byde for evermore  
 Alle suche cymtent thay sayde was beste therefore.
- remain*  
*cement*
- fol. 60v Withoute dilay he sente to seke suche oone  
 Whare that he myght bene founde in any wyse.  
 At Caermardyn his men saw children gone
- 1650 Merlyne was one, who was of grete quantyse,  
 Dynabucyus the tother, of hiegh gentrise,  
 Chidynge togedur seyd Dynabucyus  
 "Who was thy fadyr wiste never man yit of us."
- skill*  
*birth*  
*Disputing*  
*knew*
- 1655 The kynges men whiche yede forto enquere  
 For suche a childe that fadyrlesse shuld bene  
 Layd honde on hym and led hym forth in fere  
 And aske of men if thay his fadyr had sene.  
 Whiche answerde thus of his fadyr "We can noght mene
- went*  
*together*  
*determine*
- 1660 We have herde telle that fadyr had he none  
 Bot iff it were men say the fende allone."
- Unless; the devil*
- His moder was kynges daughter of Demecy  
 In Cambre so is now called South Wales.  
 A nunne profeste was she in the nunry  
 Of Seynte Petirs, as we have herde by tales.
- 1665 Goten and borne she was in South Gales  
 Wham than sent forthe the mayre of Caermardyne  
 Unto the kynge and als hire sonne Merlyne.
- begotten; Wales*  
*mayor; Carmarthen*
- 1670 Whan Merlyne and his modyr so were come  
 To Vortygerne, he axed hyre anone  
 How that hyre sonne was gote and als by whome.  
 She answerde hym that fadyr had he none  
 That she couth know that ever synde with hire alone  
 Sauf only thus "That in lykenesse of man  
 A spryte fayre, as white as any swan,
- asked; immediately*  
*begotten; also*  
*sinned*

- |          |  |  |
|----------|--|--|
| 1675     | “Whan I satte with my systers and oure dores close<br>Wolde halse and kysse me in grete dulcitude<br>No wyght seynge oure doores ought dysclose<br>Ne hym myght se for alle his consuetude<br>So pryvey was his nyghtes solicytude.  | <i>embrace; sweetness</i><br><i>person; open</i><br><i>custom</i>            |
| 1680     | Amonge my systers ofte tymes he lay me by<br>And gatte this chylde that none hym couthe aspy.  | <i>see</i>   |
| 1685     | “Ne how he came, ner yede, I couthe never se<br>So sodenly he vanyshit fro me away.<br>Wharefore I knew it most a spryit be<br>By alle resoun that I can thynke or say.”<br>Maugancyus, a philosofre that day,<br>Affermed wele how he had redde and sene<br>How sprytes had with women sogates bene.            | <i>went</i><br><i>in this manner</i>   |
| fol. 61r | And to the kynge he seyde right thus that stounde  | <i>time</i>  |
| 1690     | “In bokes of oure philosofres olde<br>And in storise many I have welle founde<br>Suche chyldre gote and borne monyfolde.<br>For Ampuleyus in his bokes tolde<br>How that bytwix the mone and erthe er falle<br>Spirits, incubyse that clerkes so do calle.   | <i>begotten</i><br><i>between; moon; are</i><br><i>Demons; incubi</i>        |
| 1695     | “Whiche parte of man and parte of angel als<br>In nature so ere fully constytute<br>That whan thay wylle thay take a fygure fals<br>Of mannysshe fourme and women done pollute.<br>Suche myght thay have that tyme to execute<br>Thare nature so with woman subtyly<br>That chyldre than thay gete alle verraly. | <i>made</i><br><i>desire</i>   |
| 1700     | “And happily of hyre so myght befalle<br>That on of thaym hath lyggen so her by<br>Hyre holynesse to dystayne and appalle<br>The rather for she was in sacrary<br>More highly sette thanne other to glorify<br>The God above who alle thynges can unfetter<br>That suffred hyre to falle so for the better.”     | <i>lain</i><br><i>defoul; destroy</i><br><i>holy place</i><br><i>release</i> |
| 1705     | <b>How Merlyn, prophete of Cambre, came to Kynge Vortygere.</b>  |  |
| 1710     | Merlyn than sayde with wordes sad and wyse<br>“My lorde, why sende ye for my modyr and me?”<br>The kynge answerde “My clerkes say by thare advyse<br>My castelle moste be made with blode of thee<br>The cymtent nedes with it moste tempred be.   | <i>sober</i>   |

- |          |   |  |
|----------|---|--|
| 1715     | So say thay alle his blode that no fadyr hadde<br>Made in mortere my werke wold make right sadde."  | <i>steady</i>  |
| 1720     | Merlyne than sayde "My lorde, it is not so.<br>Thay yow dyssayve with subtile fals intente.<br>Do thaym come forthe and prove it ere I go.<br>I shalle afore yow now beyng present<br>Thay bene lyers of that incontynent."<br>With that he dyd thaym sone right thare appere<br>Afore Merlyne, as now ye shalle wele here.   | <i>deceive</i><br><i>Make; before</i><br><i>liars; immediately</i>   |
| 1725     | To whiche Merlyne than sayde on his manere<br>"My blode ye sayde moste nede attempred be<br>With cyment of thys castelle shuld be here.<br>Thynke ye no shame so openly to lee?<br>Es there ought elles bot only blode of me<br>That lette thys werke to stonde and upwarde ryse?"<br>Thay answarde hym "Thy blode may it suffye."  | <i>blended</i><br><i>lie</i><br><i>prevents</i>  |
| 1730     | "Now lorde," he sayde "lete now youre mynours grave.<br>Undyr this werke ye shalle so fynde a water<br>For whiche youre werke may nougnt stonde sure, ne save.<br>Than shalle ye se how thay yow fage and flater<br>Thay ben so wyse that sum what muste thay clater<br>And els thay trowe men counte not by thare wytte.<br>Bot now ye shalle wele se how fals is ytte." | <i>miners; dig</i><br><i>pool</i><br><i>safe</i><br><i>deceive</i><br><i>talk nonsense</i><br><i>otherwise; believe; don't respect</i> |
| fol. 61v | Thay grofe there doune and founde the water clere<br>In manere of a staunke fulle wyde and large<br>Whiche made the warke to falle as dyd appere<br>And myght not ryse on high, ne yit enlarge.<br>The grounde was fals, unstable withouten targe.<br>The kynge saw wele his wordes were alle trewe<br>And prayd hym so to telle hym that he knewe.                       | <i>dug; pool</i><br><i>pond</i><br><i>be extended</i><br><i>protection</i><br><i>what</i>  |
| 1740     | Merlyn thaym askte what thynge was undyr more<br>That hurte som parte the werke and made it fayle.<br>Thay stode confuse for alle thaire clerlyk lore<br>None answere had that myght his worde prevayle.<br>Than sayde he thus "Wele owe ye to bewayle<br>The fals counsaylle and imagynacioun<br>Ye gaffe the kynge thurgh youre dyssymylacioun."                        | <i>learning</i><br><i>overcome</i><br><i>ought; regret</i><br><i>conception</i><br><i>deceit</i>                                       |
| 1745     | Than sayde he to the kynge "Have oute alle clene<br>This water fayre by stremes as may renne<br>And ye shalle fynde two caves large, I wene<br>With dragons two that fight and can nougnt blynne  |  |
| 1750     |   | <i>believe</i><br><i>cease</i>   |
| 1755     |   |  |

	Whiche strubled have youre werke whare ye begynne.” The water had oute thay founde right as he sayde Two dragons grete of whiche thay were afayde.	<i>disturbed</i>
1760	The kynge gretly amervelde of his wytte Hym prayd so to say how he shulde ende. Who answerde thus “Fle fro the fyre and flytte Of Constantynes sonnes and defende. For now thay come with sayles alle on ende Whiche shalle thee brenne within thy castelle closed. Thurgh me thou shalt nought faged ben, ne closed.”	<i>marveled</i> <i>keep away</i> <i>From; protect yourself against</i> <i>burn</i> <i>flattered; deceived</i>
1765	Thayre fadyr right falsly thou betrayed The Saxons als to Bretayne for thy spedē. Thou sente so for that have thee now afayde. Thay waste thy reme thurghoute in lenghe and brede Whose sonnes two shalle pay thee now thy mede Whiche thare fadyrs dethe on thee shalle revenge At Totteneys shalle thay londe thaym to avenge.”	<i>profit</i> <i>frightened</i> <i>length and breadth</i> <i>reward</i>
1770	fol. 62r Whare on the morne thay londed with grete myghte And conquerde alle whareso thay rode or yede Tylle thay came to the kynge whare he was right And brente hym in his castelle as I rede. Whiche castelle hight Genareu so indede. Whiche castelle stode upon the Mounte Cloarke In Hergyge londe on Gway that renneth starke.	<i>wherever; went</i> <i>burned</i> <i>is called</i> <i>Ercing; Wye; powerfully</i>
1775	The duke Eldolle of Gloucestere so bolde With Bretons alle and alle the baronage A parlement sette and in the felde dyd holde Aurelyus to croune in that viage And to restore hym to his heritage	<i>military expedition</i>
1780	Was thayre entent and alle thare hole desyre The Saxons after to waste with swerd and fyre.	<i>destroy</i>
1785	<b>.xiiii. capitulum of Aurilius Ambrosius, Kynge of Bretayne.</b>	
1790	Thay crouned thare Aurelyus Ambrosii With legeance hole and fulle submysiou By hole consente of comons and clergy. So forth he yede after that deposessioun Of Vortygerne, so brente for his prodyssioun And for falshode he dyd to Kynge Constance Who putte in hym alle hole hys governance.	<i>allegiance</i> <i>went; dispossession</i> <i>burned; treachery</i> <i>wholly</i>

- Than went he forthe the Saxons forto seke  
 1795 Whiche fled over Hembre with alle thare myght and payne  
 Trustynge to have refute and socoure eke  
 Of Scottes and Peghtes and Danes also to seyne. *refuge*  
 The kynge pursewed with alle his hoste certayne  
 So hastily thay myght nougħt wele eschewe *escape*  
 1800 So mette thay on a felde and togedyr drewe.

**How Engiste was take and slayne, and Saxons and Englisshe discomfyte by Kynge Aurilius Ambros.**

- Thay faught fulle sore with strokes grete and grym  
 Bot at the laste the Bretons had the bettyr.  
 The Saxons fled byfore that were fulle brym *fierce*  
 Duke Eldol toke Engyste and gan to fettyr *chain*  
 1805 Anone, and to the kynge he sente his letter  
 How he had take Engyste his cruelle fo  
 And shuld hym bryngē to hym for wele or wo.
- And so he dyd, he brought hym to Conan  
 That Connesburgh now hatte so in thise dayse *was called*  
 1810 Whare that the kynge after his bataylle than  
 So rested hym his woundyd men to ayse *ease*  
 And with medycyne thare hurtes to appayse. *cure*  
 Duke Eldolle asket the kynge what shuld betide *happen*  
 Of fals Engiste who stode so by his syde.

fol. 62v **How Bisshop Eldade counsaylde the kynge touchant (touching) Engiste**

- Bysshop Eldade that was Duke Eldol brother  
 Sayde "Ye shalle do with hym as Samuelle  
 Gaffe dome of oon Agag and none other *judgment*  
 Who taken was, the Bybelle doth it telle,  
 That in his werkes was fressh and cruelle felle  
 1820 And chyldre had made many so fadyrlesse *fierce; villainous*  
 Withoute pyté and women hosbondelesse.
- Whiche Agage so Samuelle the prophete  
 Demed to beheded and decollate  
 For the grete wronges and mekylle unquyete *Judged; decapitated*  
 1825 Whiche he had made in places seperate. *considerable*  
 His flesshe also cutte in morcels alterate  
 And sende aboute to townes whare he dyd wronge  
 To make the folke remembre his dedes longe." *pieces different*  
*for a long time*
- Wyth that the duke Eldol in his mynde thought  
 1830 "Sethe the Byble thus sayth, I may the betterre

This payen curste that mekylle wronge hath wrought  
 Now sla," and led hym forth and dyd unfettere  
 And with his sworde, by strength of Byble lettere,  
 And hedyd hym by that autorité  
 1835 Whose corse byried was after use of his countré. *pagan; much slay; unshackle body; custom*

**How the same bisshop counsailde the kyngé touchant Octa and his Saxons and English**

In this mene tyme Syr Octa, Engestes sonne,  
 His cosyn als Ebissa with in fere *together accustomed together*  
 With many grete lordes that were wonne  
 To be wyth hym to Yorke they fled alle fere.  
 1840 The kyngé with hoste layde sege to it fulle nere  
 For fere of whiche Octa and his company  
 Came to the kyngé bysekynge his mercy *beseeching*

Wyth ropes aboute thare nekkes in pytouse wyse *piteous manner*  
 To have his grace or turmente at his wille.

1845 The kyngé so fulle of pyté asked advyse.  
 Bysshop Eldade was friste that spake hym tille *first; to*  
 "The Gabanytes whan Israelles wold thaym kylle  
 Mercy asked and had, and we may bene  
 No worse than Jewes seth we be Cristen clene." *since*

1850 The kyngé thaym gafe his mercy and his grace *offered expresion*  
 With pyteuse herte and humble yolden chere. *wasteland; for*  
 A grete deserfe unto thare dwellynge place  
 Nere Scotlonde so he gaffe thaym in powere  
 To his lordship ever to be famulere. *subject*

1855 So plentious he was alway of grace *person*  
 Eche wight it had to aske it that had space.

fol. 63r **Nota how rightfully thys Kyngé Aurilyus governed**

So after his were, with holy herte and clene *war*  
 To God alle sette and wronges to refourme  
 The lawes profyte made jugges to sustene  
 1860 The kyrkes als whiche payenis dyd disforme *uphold churches; pagans; damage*  
 And cytese waste whare men wold hym enforme  
 He dyd amende aywhare and reparayle  
 Thurgh alle his reme and alle his governayle. *everywhere; repair dominion*

Alle heyres right and wydews to dewry *heirs; widows; dowry*  
 1865 Cyteyns burges to have thare olde fraanchise. *Urban freemen; liberties*  
 Prelates also unto thare prelacy  
 Agayn restored in alle that myght suffyse. *befit*

And alle that were exilde by thare enmyse  
 Or wrongfully fro thayre lifelode exiled  
 1870 He dyd thaym calle agayn and recounisled.

*source of livelihood  
restored*

**How Merlyn brought to Bretayn the carolle (*ring of stones*) that ere called now the Stonehengles**

Than sente he for the prophete hight Merlyne  
 To have his wytte fully and his counsayle  
 A towmbe to make for Bretons whare thay lyne  
 Whiche Engiste slewe thurgh treson and assayle.  
 1875 For whiche Bretons alway may sore bywayle  
 So was thare blode rialle there slayne that day  
 In truste of pese and wasted alle away.

*called  
lie  
attack  
bemoan*

This Merlyne founde and brought unto the kyng  
 And how that tombe myght beste so be provyde  
 1880 For remembrance and perpetuelle durynge.  
 He sayde right thus “In Irelonde artifyde  
 Es suche a werke of stones fortyfyde  
 Whiche ever wille laste and dure eternaly  
 Youre tombe to make and evermore magnify.

*planned  
enduring  
constructed  
Is*

1885 “Sende forthe Utere youre brother with an hoste  
 And lete me with hym thedur sone forth fonde  
 And we shalle brynghe thaym home withouten boste  
 And set thaym up whare ye wille that thay stonde.  
 With wytte I darre and sleght it take on honde.”  
 1890 The kyng anone sente forth fistene thousande  
 With his brother and Merlyne to Irelonde.

*dare; cunning; manage  
immediately*

Whan thay were londe the kyng Syr Guyllamare  
 Of Irelond so dyd than assemble his hoste  
 And faught anone with Utere fersly thare.  
 1895 Bot Bretons than withouten eny boste  
 The better had and victory with moste  
 And so thay wente to Mount Kyllormare  
 Whare the Carolle of Geants stondynge ware.

*landed  
fiercely*

*Ring*

fol. 63v The whiche with strenghe that hoste couth nothyngere stere.  
 1900 Yit Merlyn so with crafte sotyle dyd shippe  
 The whiche with wynde fulle prosperouse and clere  
 Into Britayne esely gan thay shyppe  
 Over these the wawes thay dyd over hype.  
 Whiche Merlyn than with crafte so forth dyd brynghe  
 1905 To Mounte Ambry whare that thay founde the kyng.

*move  
take on board*

*cross*

- |      |  |   |
|------|--|---|
|      | Whare in presence of alle rialle estate<br>And clergy hole assembled in that place<br>Unto the kynges feste solempnyyate<br>This Merlyn than right in suche forme and space<br>As at Kyllormare thay stode whan he thaym race<br>Thaym sette, the whiche geants fro Aufrike brought<br>Into Irelonde for vertu that thay wrought.                    | <i>feast; solemn</i><br><i>extracted</i><br><i>power; produced</i>                          |
| 1910 | Thus were thay sette abouthe the sepulture<br>Of blode rialle that were bytraysed there<br>Whiche now so hight the Stonehengles fulle sure<br>Bycause thay henge and somewhat bowand ere.<br>In wondre wyse men meruelle how thay bere.<br>The kynge than made archebysshops two that day<br>Whiche vacant were in Bretayne than I say.              | <i>betrayed</i><br><i>are called</i><br><i>hang; are bowing</i><br><i>keep from falling</i> |
| 1915 | Sampson he made at Yorke religiouse<br>Of lyfe was ever there with a famouse clerke<br>Dubricyus at Caerlyoun famouse.<br>Whiche holy men were ever in thare werke<br>And seyntes ere by ought that men can merke.<br>In whiche tyme so Pascence, Vortigerne sonne,<br>In Bretayne londe and grete werre had begonne.                                | <i>are; whatever; descry</i>  |
| 1920 | Agaynes whom the kynge his powere brought<br>Upon hym northe and with hym faught fulle sore<br>And made hym fle that he to Irelonde sought<br>To Guyllomare that prynce and kynge was thore.<br>Who hym resette with right gode chere therfore<br>And than thay bothe with hostes styffe and stronge<br>To Menevue came, Seynt Davyd hath ben longe, | <i>went</i><br><i>there</i><br><i>protected</i><br><i>powerful</i>                          |
| 1925 | <b>Nota how Eopa in munkes habite feyned hym a leche and poysond the kynge wharof he dyed anone</b>  |   |
| 1930 | Dystroyed the toune and countrey alle aboute.<br>For whiche the kynge sente Uter forth with hoste<br>For he myght nought for sekenes travayle oute<br>He loked whan that he shuld yelde the goste.<br>In this mene while Eopa, traytoure moste<br>That Saxon was, so spake than with Paschence<br>That he the kynge shuld sla with poysontment.      | <i>[They]</i><br><i>illness travel</i><br><i>die</i><br><i>slay</i>                         |
| 1935 |  |   |
| 1940 |  |   |

fol. 64r **Nota, make nevere unknowen man ne your executour or your haire, to bene your phisisten (physician), for it is presumed that thise thre wolde purvey for youre deth.**

So to the kynge he come in monkes araye  
As he a leche had bene with alle medecyne.  
Of whom he was fulle glad and gan hym pray  
Hym for to hele by his crafte and doctryne.  
1945 A drynke ful of venom gan imagyne  
The whiche fro he had drunke and lay to slepe  
Afore he woke away the traytoure crepe.

clothing  
*as if; doctor*  
  
learning  
*poison; concoct*  
*as soon as*

This traytoure so awy whare no man wyste  
Was gone his gate and whan the kynge awoke  
1950 He felte hymselff but dede in poynte to bryste.  
His counsaylle than anone til hym he toke  
Chargynge thaym alle, for sorow of whom they quoke,  
To byry hym in the Geants Carolle  
Whan deth his soule hath fro his body stolle.

knew  
*way*  
*burst*  
*to*  
*trembled*

1955 Thus was he dede and byried so anone  
At Stonehengles that alle men calle so now.  
With that a sterre so bemouse by hym oone  
Appered grete and clere, that wondere howe  
And why that it forpassyng other dyd bowe  
1960 His bemes bright, as was not sene afore,  
For whiche men dred and mervelde wondre sore.

*immediately*  
  
*star; bright*  
*[it was a]*  
*surpassing; send forth*

**How Stella comata (comet) appered agayn the deth of Kynge Aurilyus and how Merlyn tolde Uther what it signyfied in alle thynges, and that he shuld bene Kynge of Grete Bretayne.**

With that Utere Merlyne tille hym toke  
And shewde hym thare the bemy sterre so bright  
And askte hym what it mente, for whiche he quoke,  
1965 Wepynge fulle sore astonyd of that sight,  
And sayde “The kynge is gone to God fulle right.  
Loke up Utere and haste thee to thy foo  
The tryumphhe now is thyne whare so thow go.

to  
*trembled*  
*bewildered*  
*foe*  
*wherever*

1970 “Kynge of Bretayne now certanly thou arte  
Go to thy foose and make no more dylay.  
Yone sterre berynge the beme so southwarte  
Over Fraunce thy sonne it signyfith, I say.  
Who shalle over regne to Rome withouten nay  
Alle londes for hym shalle loute, tremble and quake  
1975 Who in his tyme levynge shalle have no make.

*foes*  
  
*doubt*  
*bow*  
*lifetime; peer*

- |          |   |  |
|----------|---|--|
|          | Bot issue shalle he certanly have none<br>Of his body that worthy conqueroure.<br>Bot yone fyry dragoun that stonte allone<br>Undyr the sterre fro whose mouth doth poure<br>A beme bemy that dothe to Irelonde loure<br>So signyfyeth thy daughters thou shalle have<br>Whose sonnes thy reme shalle after crepe and crave." | stands<br><i>resplendent beam; scowl</i><br><i>come to</i> |
| 1980     |   |  |
| fol. 64v | With that unto Menevue he wente als faste<br>With Guyllomare to fight and with Pascence   |  |
| 1985     | And thay hym mette and nothyng were agaste<br>Bot sore thay faught and made fulle grete defencce.<br>Bot nevertheless by knyghtly diligence<br>This ilke Pascence and als this kynge Guyllamare<br>In that batayle were slayne and dede right thare.  | <i>same; also</i><br><i>dead</i>                           |
| 1990     | What shulde a man of this matere say more?<br>The Saxons parte were slayne on every syde<br>Safe tho that fled to shyppe whiche hasted sore.<br>This Utere than tho Saxons justifyde.<br>Fro thenis he rode to Wynchestere that tyde  | <i>Except</i><br><i>rendered justice</i><br><i>time</i>    |
| 1995     | In whiche way so the messengers hym sayde<br>The kynge was dede and in the Carolle layde.   | <i>Ring (i.e., Stonehenge)</i>                             |
|          | <b>.xv. capitulum offe Kynge Uter Pendragoun, brother of Auril Ambros.</b>  |  |
| 2000     | Syr Utere came to Wynchester anone<br>And crounde was and kynge fully admynnte<br>In se rialle sette up as kynge allone<br>Remembryng hym with croune as he sytte<br>Of Merlynes speche his prophecy and wytte<br>Of the dragons wondere exposiciooun<br>Two dragons made of golde by artificioune.                           | <i>recognized</i><br><i>throne</i><br><i>artifice</i>      |
| 2005     | And one of hem right in the mynstere thore<br>Of Seynte Petyr with grete solempnyté<br>He offerd than to byde for evermore<br>In remembrance to his posterit .<br>The tother dragoun for his hiegh rialt <br>In bataylle ay aforne hym borne shuld be.  | <i>monastery; there</i><br><i>endure</i>                   |
| 2010     | For whiche thensforthe the pepyl dyd hym calle<br>To surname so Pendragon comonly<br>In Breton tonge thurghout the reme overalle.<br>In Engliss tongue it is to signify<br>“The dragon hede” as made is memory  | <i>realm</i>   |

- |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|
| 2015   | Bycause Merlyne had hym so signyfyde<br>To a dragon and for kynge prophecyde.  | <i>compared<br/>as</i>                               |
| <b>How Octa and Oysa made werre (<i>war</i>) on Kynge Uter and how thay were discomfite in bataill</b> |  |  |
| 2020   | And than anone Syr Octa Engiste sonne<br>Oysa his sonne that was to hym ful nere<br>By ridynge men that in the South dyd wonne<br>Fulle certyfyed that kynge was so Utene<br>Aurelyus dede and layde upon his bere.<br>For whiche thay rode thurghoute the north contré<br>And brente and slewe with grete iniquyté.                           | <i>dwell<br/>bier<br/>burned</i>                     |
| fol. 65r   | And as thay shulde the cyté so aseged  |  |
| 2025   | Of Ebrauke so, that Yorke now hath to name.<br>The kynge with hoste thaym lette, it was unsegéd,<br>And with thaym faught and fersely on thaym came.<br>Bot dyscomfytte he fled with mekylle grame<br>To Danen Hylle with alle his hoste in route<br>Whare Octa than hym seged alle aboute.  | <i>obstructed<br/>defeated; suffering<br/>troop</i>  |
| 2030   | Syr Gorloys duke that than was of Cornewayle<br>Sayed "Arme us faste for now it ys at nyght<br>We shalle thaym sla slepyng and thaym assayle.<br>Thay faught fulle sore thys day and with suche myght<br>Thay wylle take reste and truse to morow right<br>To wynne us sone for hungre and penury<br>Sette on thaym now and have the victory." | <i>slay<br/>defeat; lack of resources<br/>attack</i> |
| 2035   | By nyght thay cam upon the Saxons thare<br>Alle sodenly and slew thaym doune that bode<br>And Octa toke his cosyn fulle of care<br>Oysa also, and alle thare payenhode<br>Was slain and fled for alle thare foule falshode.<br>Wherefore the kynge to Scotlondे dyd than ryde<br>Unto Alclude whare that his pese he cryde                     | <i>remained<br/>fellow pagans<br/>proclaimed</i>     |
| 2040   | Thurghout Scotlondе his lawes welle provyde<br>In pese and reste and voydyd tyrany.<br>Who rob or stale or made ought homycyde<br>Withoute mercy thrughoute his monarchy<br>Shuld dye therefore withouten remedy.  | <i>ordained<br/>expelled<br/>any</i>                 |
| 2045   | The North in pese, to Londoun came fulle light.<br>Octa and Oysa there he than prisonde right.   | <i>readily</i>                                       |
| 2050   |  |  |

**How Kynge Uter made his feest rial at whiche he was take with lovynghe of Duke Gorloys wife, on wham he gatte Arthure.**

- He comaunde than thurghout alle hole Bretayne  
 That every lorde shulde bene with hym at Passhe  
 That solempne feste to worship and obayne  
 Lyke Cristene folke with joy and alle solace  
 In Londoun than, that was his hiegh palace,  
 And every lorde to brynghe with hym his wyfe.  
 This was his charge and wille infynytife. *Easter respect*
- 2055
- Amonges other Gorleys, duke of Cornewayle,  
 His wyfe dyd brynghe, Dame Igerne fressh and pure.  
 Whose beuté thare alle others made to fayle  
 So fulle and hole avysed was Nature.  
 Hyre shappe and forme excede alle creature  
 In so ferre forthe thof Nature wold have wrought  
 The bewté more, hyre kunnynge stretched nought. *even if; wished; to create skill*
- 2060
- 2065
- fol. 65v
- 2070
- 2075
- 2080
- 2085
- 2090
- Of whose bewté and hyre godelyhode  
 The kynge so foule overcome was and oversette  
 That it dyd chaunge his myght and his manhode  
 And made hym seke for whiche withouten lette  
 The duke hyre had away sodenly than fette  
 Parsevynge wele the kynges chyldelynesse  
 Was sette for love of hyre and wantonesse. *shamefully; smitten delay fetched Perceiving; foolishness*
- And put hyre in a castelle stronge and wight  
 Tyntagelle hight upon the sees coste.  
 For whiche the kynge was irefull day and nyght  
 And hight to fette hyre thens away with hoste.  
 Wharfore he came with powere and with boste  
 To Dymyoke whare that the duke than lay  
 And seged it with stregh bothe nyght and day. *powerful named; coast angry vowed; fetch; army military force*
- So segynge thare he dyd hymself dyskure  
 To oon Ulfyn and Merlyne pryvaly  
 How bot he had the love of Igerne pure  
 He myght not leve withoute hyre company.  
 Wharfore Merlyne by crafte and juglary  
 The kynge and hym and also Syr Ulfyne  
 Dyssymylde than in other lykenesse to enclyne. *besiegging; discover secretly unless live conjuring Disguised; shift*
- He made the kynge unto Duke Gorloys lyke  
 And hymselffe lyke in alle symylité  
 To Bretelle was the dukes pryvey myke  
 And Ulfyne lyke withouten diversité *likeness [who]; personal friend*

- Unto Jordan that knew the dukes prvyté.  
Thus were thay thurgh his dissymylacioun  
Lyke to the duke and his in symylacioun. *private affairs*  
*his [intimates]*
- 2095 This done thay sette a reule the sege to holde  
And prvaly thise thre togedyr wente  
To Tyntagelle the lady to byholde  
Whom at the yate the portere in dyd hente.  
The kepers alle and als the lady gente  
Ful fayne were of his come and hys presence  
To plese hym thare with alle thare diligence. *arranged*  
*take (i.e., he allowed them in)*
- 2100 So than to bed he and that lady fayre  
Were brought to reste, bot he with besy cure  
No lenger wold of hyre be in dispayre  
Bot toke anone his cely aventurē  
In armes with that womannysshē creature  
Whiche of nature tendre was of corage  
Trustynge it was so done in clene sposage. *obsessiveness*  
*immediately; fortunate chance*  
*heart*  
*marriage*
- fol. 66r That nyght he gatte on hyre the kynge Arthurē  
Who after his deceſe thurgh worthynesse  
2110 Redouted was above alle creature  
That tyme levinge in honoure and noblyſſe.  
Bot than the kynge after this besynesse  
Gan take his leve and right so came message  
That Gorloys dede was and his vassalage. *Honored*  
*living*  
*enterprise*  
*leave*  
*followers*
- 2115 The lady couth nought so truse that message  
For wele she sawe hym thare so corporalȳ.  
His two servants brought up of tendre age  
Thare were with hym and came in company  
By alle lykenesse and alle gode polcy. *could*
- 2120 Thare couthe no man fully have trusted other  
So lyke thay were echone of thaym the tother. *counsel*
- 2125 The kynge herynge thus leugh and made gode chere  
And in his armes hyre kyste embrasyngē faste  
Thus sayand than “Gode wyfe I am yit here  
Thof I be dede, be ye nothyngē agaste.  
For alle the harme overgone is and overpastē  
That ye of me fro thys day forth shalle have  
And fare welle nowe, I pray to God yow save. *laughed*  
*kissed*  
*saying*  
*Even if; afraid*
- 2130 “My castelle loste and als my men so slayne  
I drede me sore the kynge wille hyder preſe.  
I wylle hym mete and trete to turne agayne *advance*  
*parley*

And by som way to trete and gete his pese.  
And if I may hys ire and wrath not cese  
I shalle submytte me lowly to his grace  
2135 And so I truse I shalle his love purchase.”

With that unto his hoste he came fulle fayne *eagerly*  
Ulfyn and als thys wyse Merlyne prophete  
Befygurde newe in thare likenesse agayne *Refigured*  
As thay were firste, and spake with wordes swete  
Unto his men in that skarmyse and hete *encounter; heat of battle*

2140 Unto his men in that skarlyse and mete  
And wan that place as made is remembrance  
And slew the duke to have his wyfe perchance.

With alle hys hoste so cam he to that place  
Of Tyntagelle whare Igerne dyd abyde  
And bade hyre thare with joy and grete solace  
Hyre womannyshe sorows to layne and hyde  
Whiche by processe was so wele modifyde  
That nought in haste it dried up at ones  
Bot lyte and lyte as it were for the nones.

fol. 66v How the kynge bigan the Rounde Table in figure of the ordour of the Saint  
Grale that Josep made at Avalon in Bretayne

2160	For right as Criste in Symonde leproous house His soupere made amonge apostels twelve At his table that was so plentyouse  At whiche he had the maystere sege hymselfe In fygure so of it Josep gan delve Thurghoute his wytte of his fraternyté To rayse a borde of the Saynte Grale shuld be.	<i>Simon the Leper's supper</i>  <i>principal seat</i>  <i>brotherhood</i> <i>construct; table; Holy Grail</i>
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2165	The dysshe in whiche that Criste dyd putte his honde The Saynte Grale he cald of his language In whiche he kepte of Cristes blode he fonde A parte alaway and to his hermytage In Bretayne Grete it brought in his viage. The whiche was thare to tyme of Kynge Arthure That Galaad escheved his aventurē.	<i>Of which</i>
2170		<i>achieved</i>

- For fygure so and hole remenbrance  
 Of that table of hole fraternyté *brotherhood*  
 The Table Rounde the kynge dyd so enhaunse  
 Of nobleste knyghtes rialle his regalté *royalty*  
 2175 In knyghthode beste and alle fortuyté *good chance*  
 Approved ofte in werre and turnament  
 In batayls als that had grete regymtent. *domination*
- Syr Octa than and Oysa bothe in fere  
 Thare kepers als, dyd breke oute of the toure *together*  
 2180 Of London so and home thay yede fulle clere *guardians*  
 In Germany to gete thaym there socoure *went directly*  
 And toke on thaym agayne a new laboure  
 With powere grete this londe to have and wynne  
 And Albany distroyed ere that thay blynne. *before; ceased*
- 2185 The kynge was seke and nothyng myght he ryde *not at all*  
 For whiche he made Syr Loth of Louthianne *Lothian*  
 With hoste to fyghte with thaym and felle there prydé *bring low*  
 Who wedded had his daughter hight Dame Anne *called*  
 That duke was of alle Louthianne called than
- 2190 A myghty prynce, hardy and corageouse, *in addition generous*  
 Rightwyse and fayre, and thereto bountyuouse.
- fol. 67r Who with thaym faught by dyverse tymes sere *many*  
 Some tyme the bettere and some tyme had the worse.  
 For whiche the kynge dyd ordeyne hym a bere *litter*  
 2195 On whiche he was caried so as a corse *corpse*  
 With alle his hoste aboute hym with grete forse  
 And founde thaym than lyggynge in Verolame *situated*  
 A walled toune was that tyme of grete fame.
- Now heght it so Seynte Albans verryly *it is called; truly*  
 2200 Whare that the kynge thaym seged with his hoste  
 And dange right down the walles myghtyly. *knocked*  
 For whiche anone thay toke the felde with boste  
 And faught hym by halfe a day almoste.  
 Bot at the laste Octa and Oysa right
- 2205 Were slayne bothe two, thare party put to flight.

**How the Kyng Uter was poysond of the water of a well that he used to drynk  
 medled with wyne and other licours**

Bot sertayne men there were in this mene while  
 Saw whare the kynge had water to hym brought  
 Right of a welle bysyde his halle som while  
 To drynke with other licours for hym wrought *drinks; made*

- 2210 For hys sekenesse to helpe and brynge to nought  
It envenymde with poysoun and corupre  
Thurgh whiche his lyfe was waste and interrupte. *stopped*
- 2215 And dyed so in grete and sore distresse  
And byried was in the Karolle besyde *Ring (i.e., Stonehenge)*  
His brother than with honoure and noblesse  
As conquerroure so fully glorifyde  
In rialle wyse wele wrought and artyfyde  
That wondyr was the werke aboute to se  
So was it wrought with alle nobilité. *constructed*
- 2220 Afore his deth a castelle yit he made  
Upon the marche of Scotlond stronge and fayre  
Pendragoun hight in whiche he dwelte and bade *border*  
In that contré whan that he wolde repayre. *called; stayed*  
Of whiche place now the Clifford is his hayre *go*  
2225 And lorde in fe of alle the shyre aboute *heir*  
And shiriff als of Westmerlonde thurghoute. *possession* *sheriff*

**How the makere of this comendeth this Kyng Uter Pendragoun of worthynesse  
for to bene myour and remembrance to other kynges and prynces**

- 2230 Allas for reuthe so gode a prynce shulde de  
That in sekenesse nought letted for distresse *sorrow; die*  
Upon his fose on bere to caried be *ceased*  
Thaym to distroy he fonde non idelnesse.  
Whiche to acounte was suche a worthynesse  
As in my dome he aught of right be shryned *litter*  
That fro his fose in werres never declyned. *judgment; enshrined*
- fol. 67v He myght be shryned als for worthynesse  
2235 Amonges alle these noble conquerours  
For his laboure loved none idelnesse  
To helpe his londe and men with alle socours  
In tyme of nede agaynestonde turmentours *support*  
The comyn profyte that wasted and destroyed *withstand*  
2240 Or his comons vexed or yit annoyed.
- 2245 O soverayne lorde, to whom God hath so dyned *invested*  
The govornaylle with alle the regalté  
Of Englonde hole to you and youres assigned *your heirs*  
Thynke on this poynte in alle youre dysnyté  
And lette no sleuthe disteyne youre soveraynté *sloth besmirch*  
Bot ever be fresshe and grene forto defende  
The peple hole whiche God hath to you sende.

xvi chapitle of Arthure Kynge of Bretayne

## Arthurs armes

- |          |   |  |
|----------|---|--|
|          | Arthure his son upgrowynge than pierlesse<br>Thurghoute the worlde approved of his age<br>In wytte and strength, bewté and als largesse,<br>Of person hiegh and fayre of his visage<br>And able in alle to holde his heritage<br>At Cyrcestre than called Caercyry<br>And Caersegent som called it wytterly           | peerless<br>regarded<br>generosity<br>tall<br><br><i>certainly</i>           |
| 2255     | Who was that tyme bot fyftene yere of age<br>Whanne Dubrike so, Archebysshop of Caerlyoun,<br>With alle estates of alle his hole homage<br>Assembled thare duke, erle, lorde and baroun<br>By hole advise of alle the regioun   | <br><br><i>consent</i>   |
| 2260     | Upon his hede dyd sette the dyademe<br>In rialle wyse as dyd hym wele byseme.   | <br><br><i>be fit</i>  |
|          | Fortune was so frendly at his byrthe<br>That of alle folke he was ever wele beloved.<br>And rychesse als so conforte ever his myrrh<br>That with poverte he was never sore amoved<br>And through corage his herte was ay commoved<br>To sette the londe in dewe obedience<br>By alle his wytte and hole intelligence. | <br><br><i>distressed</i><br><i>stirred</i>                                  |
| 2265     | And sodenly the youth of alle knyghthode<br>For his largesse and his liberalité<br>Approched so, and came to his manhode<br>To bene subgyttes unto his soveraynté,<br>So hole Fortune hyre werdes in propreté<br>Unto his helpe and honoure execute   | <br><br><i>generosity</i><br><br><i>subjects</i><br><i>fate; specificity</i> |
| 2270     | That alle his wille was sped and insecute.  | <br><br><i>performed; executed</i>   |
| fol. 68r | <b>How Kynge Arthure avowed to werray (<i>harry</i>) the Saxons oute of Bretayne and on the water of Dougles discomfyte thaym</b>   |  |
|          | He made a vowe atte his coronacioun<br>That Saxons never his londe shulde enhabyte<br>Whiche slew hys eme by poysoun and toxicacioun<br>His fadyr als, that knyghtes were perfyte.  | <br><br><i>uncle</i>   |
| 2280     | Whose dethes so he thought revenge and quyte.<br>To Scotlonde than with alle his hole powere<br>He sped hym faste, as seyth the cronyclere.   | <br><br><i>repay</i>   |

- Whan Colgrym knew, that was the capitayne  
 Of alle Saxons, he gatte hym Scottes and Peghtes  
 2285 With his Saxons and mette the kynge to sayne *say the truth*  
 Upon the water of Douglas with grete feghtes.  
 Whare the Saxons were slayne anone dounreghthes *down directly*  
 And Colgrym fled away in pryytē  
 Tylle that he cam to Yorke the stronge cytē.
- 2290 Whither the kynge cam than and seged itte.  
 Bot Baldulf thanne his brother nereby was londe *landed*  
 With sex thousonde of men of armes fytle. *adapted*  
 Upon the kynge to falle he toke on honde  
 Of whiche the kynge was done to undurstonde. *made to understand*  
 2295 Wharfore he sente Cadore, duke of Cornewayle,  
 To feght with hym who vencoust his batayle. *vanquished*
- Wharfore Baldulf his berde and hede dyd shave  
 Feynyng hym than to bene a bordioure *Pretending himself; jester*  
 Arayed fulle lyke a fole or els a knave *dressed; fool*  
 2300 With harpe in honde fulle lyke a losengeoure *mimic*  
 Amonges the hoste he yede as fals faytoure *went; deceiver*  
 And with his japes so nere the walles went *tricks*  
 That thay within hym knew and up hym hent. *hailed*
- How Cheldryke with multitude of Saxons londed in Albany whare Arthure  
 discomfyte them, and afterwarde sone discomfyte thaym agayne.**
- So cam worde to the kynge by his espy  
 2305 How Duke Cheldrike with payens multitude *pagans*  
 Was comen oute than new fro Germany  
 With sexe hundre shyppes ful of juventude *youth*  
 Of armed men and archers multitude  
 And londed was that tyme in Albany  
 2310 And brente the londe there thurgh his tyranny. *burned*
- For whiche the kynge by alle his hole counsayle  
 To Londoun wente and to Kynge Howel sente  
 His syster sonne that was withouten fayle  
 Kynge of Lytelle Bretayne so fayre and gente. *noble*  
 2315 And prayd hym of helpe and socourement *requested; reinforcement*  
 For whiche he came with fiftene thousandd knyghtes  
 To helpe his eme with alle his force and myghtes. *uncle*
- fol. 68v At Hamtoun londe he than with his meyné *troop*  
 Ressaved fayre as dyd hym wele beseme *befit*  
 2320 Like his degré in alkyn rialté  
 That men couthe wytte or els by reson deme. *judge*

- With that anone assembled thare hostes breme. *fierce*  
 In days few thay cam to Caerludcourte  
 That Lyncolne now ys called in every courte.
- 2325 And Lindcolyne dyd some men than it calle  
 In cronycles as made is menciou  
 Whare Coligrym and Baldulf his brother withalle  
 Seged the toun with alle intencyoun  
 Brennynge the londe with strength and subvencioun *destructive force*  
 2330 Unto the tyme the kynges two ryght thore  
 Dyd with thaym fecht in batayle stronge and sore
- And venquyste thaym with grete humanyté. *courage*  
 Levyng the sege thay fled at alle thare myght  
 Untyl a wode nereby that same cyté  
 2335 Hight Calidoun with grete defence to fight. *Called*  
 Whare than the kynges two thay came fulle right  
 And seged thaym by alle the wode aboute  
 That on no syde thay myght nowrewhare breke oute. *nowhere*
- Whare thay so ware hungred and sore famysht  
 2340 Tylle thay dyd graunte oute of thare londe trewage *payment of tribute*  
 Unto the kynge so were thay almost ramyssht  
 And prayed hym so that he wolde take hostage  
 And lete thaym passe so home to thare lynage  
 And never more agayn hym ought offende  
 2345 To whiche Arthure consent and made an ende. *made wild with hunger*
- How Cheldryke, Baldulfe and Colgrym bicam Kynge Arthurs men and aftir werred on hym agayn at Bathe whare he discomfyte thaym in bataille.**
- So than Cheldrike, Baldulf and Colgrym  
 Who capteyns were to alle the Saxons hoste  
 By thayre letters and seles assured hym  
 Hys men to bene evermore withouten boste  
 2350 And Germany also thrugh alle thare coste  
 To bene his men and yelde hym hole trewage *country tribute*  
 And there upon delyverd hym hostage.
- And whan thay were upon the se with sayle  
 As fals men shulde at Toteneys londe agayne  
 2355 And to Severne the countrey dyd assayle  
 And so to Bathe and seged it certayne.  
 Whan it was tolde the kynge he was not fayne.  
 Thare hostage than with hym he led anone  
 To the cyté of Bathe fulle faste gan gone. *pleased*

- |   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| fol. 69r<br>2361  | He hanged thare the hostage for disperte<br>Right in thaire sight and than to batayle wente<br>And many slew that day withoute resperte<br>Tylle Saxons alle were sore forhurte and shente.<br>Wherefore an hylle that toke for strenght and hente<br>The whiche the kynge with myght upon thaym wan<br>And slew thaym doun by many thousand than. | <i>contempt</i><br><i>destroyed</i><br><i>seized</i>                |
| 2365  | Wherefore thay fled away in multitude<br>Unto thare shypes, Colgryme and Baldulf slayne<br>By Arthurs myght and by his fortitude.  |   |
| 2370  | So with his swerde he dalte his strokes gayne<br>That foure hundred he felled on the playne<br>That never seth on grounde myght stonde ne ryse<br>His own persone so gretely dyd suffye.   | <i>skillful</i><br><i>afterwards</i>                                |
| 2375  | Than sente he forth Cadore, that duke worthy,<br>To folow on the chace who with thaym mette<br>And slew Cheldrike and alle his Saxony<br>Who brente and waste and strongly had oversette<br>Deveshyre, Dorset and also Somerset.   |   |
| 2380  | For whiche he quytte thaym than so fulle thayre mede<br>That fro thens forthe to ryde thay had no nede.  |   |
| <b>How whare Scottes and Peghtes biseged Howelle kynge of Lasse Bretayne in Alclude. Kynge Arthure hym reskowed with hoste and drove thaym in to the Oute Iles.</b> |  |   |
| 2385  | In this mene tyme Arthure herde how Howelle<br>His nevew was beseged in Alclude<br>By Scottes and Peghtes that ever were fals and felle<br>But whils thay were holde lowe in servytude.<br>Wherefore he wente with myght of multitude<br>To Alclude so his cosyn to reskowe<br>Delyverde hym as he had made a vowe.                                | <i>fierce</i><br><i>Except</i>                                      |
| 2390  | He drofe thaym oute into a loughe so grete<br>That fourty iles within it dyd contene.<br>From ile to ile thay fled and had no mete<br>And sexty flobes partyng tho yles betwene<br>And every ile a roche so had fulle clene<br>Of whiche watyrs went none than to the se<br>Bot oon alone in boke that I can se.                                   | <i>loch</i><br><i>food</i><br><i>isles</i><br><i>rock formation</i> |

## **How the kynge of Irelonde with Saxons cam into Scotland wham Arthure discomfyte**

- 2395 In which tyme than Syr Guyllomore the kynge  
Of Irelonde so with grete powere dyd londe  
In Scotlonde hole the Saxons into brynge.  
Whom Arthure than so fully gan withstonde  
With batayle grete that thay were fayne to fonde      *happy: go*  
2400 To Irelonde than agayne and forto fle  
For alle thaire pryd and contumacyté.      *rebelliousness*

- fol. 69v Than came the lordes and alle the hiegh estates  
Bysshops, prelates and alle the comonté  
With relykes and with cros fulle desolates  
2405 Besekynge hym of his humylité  
On thaym so sore oppreste to have pyté.  
Whom whan he sawe for mercy crie and knele  
Pyté hym made to graunte thaym every dele.

## **How the Archebisshop of Yorke shulde bene primate and metropolitane of Scotland**

- |      |   |                 |
|------|---|-----------------|
| 2410 | To Yorke he wente and helde his Cristenmesse<br>Sorowynge for the Chyrches desolacioun<br>Whiche Saxons had distroyd thurgh cursydnesse<br>Whan Seynt Sampson by malignacioun<br>The archebeysshop was put fro mynistracioun<br>Out of the se was metropolitane | <i>diocese</i>  |
| 2415 | From Hembre northe alle Albany in tane.   | <i>included</i> |

- In which he sette Pyrame his chapelayne  
To reule the Chyrche in alkyn holynesse  
With alle the rightes of metropolitane  
And kyrkes waste agayne he gan redresse      *churches*  
2420 Religeouse place amendyd was I gesse  
Alle folke exilde and fro thare right expelled  
Agayne restored, whiche payenis had doun felled.      *pagans*

## **Nota how Arthure toke of the kynges of Albany homage**

- 2425 Thre persones were that tyme of blode rialle  
In Albany: Syr Loth of Louthione  
That kynge was than of Louthian over alle  
That is be south the Scottishe Se allone;  
Syr Aguselle of Albanactes echone;  
And Urien of Murrefe was that day  
Which of Arthure thare londes had holden ay. *always*

Arthure wed Gaynore and raysed the Rounde Table of knyghtes worthy

- |      |  |   |
|------|--|---|
| 2430 | <p>This kynge Arthure than wedded to his wyfe<br/>     Dame Gwaynore came of worthy blode Romayne<br/>     With Duke Cadore brought up fro byrth natyfe<br/>     Whose bewté so alle others dyd dystayne<br/>     So exelent the sothe of hyre to sayne<br/>     And forpassynghe she was alle creature<br/>     Hyre to amende than stretched noght nature.</p> | <i>exceed</i><br><i>truth</i><br><i>excel</i> |
| 2435 |  |   |
| 2440 | <p>The Table Rounde of knyghtes honorable<br/>     That tyme was voyde by grete defycience.<br/>     So few thay were thurgh werres fortunable<br/>     Thay kepte no reule, ne yit obedience.<br/>     Wherfore the kynge than by his sapience<br/>     The worthieste of every reme aboute<br/>     In it that tyme he put withouten doute.</p>                |   |

fol. 70r **Names of the knyghtes of the Rounde Table and the reule of the same ordour**

- |      |  |   |
|------|--|---|
|      | That tyme was Syr Morvyde Erle of Gloucestre<br>And Mauron, Erle of Worcestre so stoute,<br>Syr Barent, Erle was than of Circestre,<br>Syr Harand, Erle of Shrewsbyry that men doute,<br>Syr Jugence, Erle of Leycestre in route,<br>Syr Argalle, Erle of Warreyke of grete prise,<br>And Erle Curson of Chestere, that was so wyse, | <i>fear<br/>in the gathering</i>        |
| 2450 | Kynmare, that tyme Erle of Caunterbyry,<br>Urgen the Erle was than so of Bathe<br>Galluc the Erle was than of Salesbyry<br>Erle Jonatalle of Dorchestere so rathe<br>Gurgoyne the Erle of Herford dyd no skathe<br>And Syr Bewes, Erle of Oxenforde so wyse,<br>Amorawde, Erle of Excestre of pryse,                                 | <i>quick<br/>damage<br/>great value</i> |
| 2455 | Kynge Aguselle, that was of Albany,<br>Kynge Urian of Murref, with Ewayne<br>His sonne who was than corageouse and manly,<br>Kynge Loth that was than kynge of Louthiayne,<br>Of Demecy the kynge Syr Uriayne<br>That South Wales men now calle and endoce<br>The kynge also of North Wales called Venodoce                          | <i>write</i>                            |
| 2460 | Cadore, the duke of Cornewayle so plentyuous,<br>Donand, Mapcoyl, Peredoure, and Clenuus,<br>Maheridoure, Mapclaude, Griffud harageus,   | <i>stern</i>                            |
| 2465 |  |   |

2470 Gorbonyan, Esidoure, and Heroyus,  
Edlein, Masgoyd, Kymbelyne, and Cathleus,  
Mapcathel, Mapbangan, and Kynkare,  
Colflaut, Makeclauke, Gorbodyan, Kynmare.

These were the knyghtes fully than accounted  
That friste he made of the Table Rounde  
Two and fourty persounes that amounted.  
2475 That tyme no mo was to that ordre bounde  
Bot as oon dyed the kynge another founde.  
**Nota** Thare reule was than alle wronges to represse  
With thare bodyse whare law myght not redresse.

*came to*

**Nota** Than was no knyght acounte of hiegh emprise  
2480 Bot he were thrise in armes wele approved  
Or in bataylle had grete excercyse  
With ladyse els he was no thyng beloved  
With whiche for thay wold not ben unbyloved  
So caused thaym to haunten chyvalry  
2485 To wynne honoure and thanke of thayre lady.

*Unless**practice*

fol. 70v **How Kynge Arthure conquerde Irelonde, Iselonde, Gotlonde, Orcades, Danmark, Freslond, with many other londes and isles.**

The somer nexte he wente into Irelonde  
And with batayle and tryumphe it conquerde  
And made the kynge of hym to holde that londe  
That wan it so wit Caliburne his swerde  
2490 With whiche he made alle londes than so ferde  
That thay were yolde to his subjeccioun  
In his servyce to byde with affecioun.

*with**afraid*

Iselonde, Scotlonde and also Orcadese  
With alle the iles aboute in cyrcuyté  
2495 Danmarke, Freslonde and Norway is no lese  
Alle wanne he so than with his sworde perfyte  
Whare alle his knyghtes and prynces had delyte  
To prove thaymselff in batayles fulle sore smyten  
As memory of thaym is made and writen.

*Iceland; Orkney Isles**ambit**Friesland*

2500 So rose of hym above alle prynces fame  
Of conqueste grete and alle nobilité  
There was no prynce that had so gode a name  
For whiche alle folke obeyed his sovereynté  
Above alle other prynces in Cristynté  
2505 And specialy alle knyghtes of juventude  
Drew to his courte and his excelsitude.

*youth excellence*

Syr Loth he made the Kynge of alle Norway  
 Hys syster Anne had wed in trew sposage  
 And crouned hym with dyademe ful gay  
 To holde of hym as for his heritage  
 As cosyn nexte of Kynge Sychelme lynage  
 That of Norway dyed kynge and to hym gafe  
 His reme alle hole perpetualy to hafe.

*magnificent*

**How knyghtes of the Table Rounde fought and acheved aventures**

Kynge Arthure than helde the gretteste hous of name  
 Of Cristen kynges was none so plentyuouse  
 That thurgh the world of it than rose the fame.  
 Whiche tyme his knyghtes that were fulle corageouse  
 Of the Table Rounde thayre reule so vertuouse  
 To execute thay sought thayre aventure  
 Thurgh londes fele to prove what were thaire ure.

*many; good custom*

Whiche knyghtes so had many aventure  
 Whiche in this boke I may not now compile  
 Whiche by thaymselff in many grete scripture  
 Bene tytled wele and bettere than I thys while  
 Can thaym pronounse, or write thaym with my style.  
 Whose makynge so by me that was not fayred  
 Thurgh my symplexesse I wold noght were empayred.

*chronicled*

*pen*

*embellished*

*impaired*

fol. 71r For alle thare actes I have not herde ne sene  
 Bot wele I wote thay wolde alle comprehende  
 More than the Byble thrise wryten dothe contene  
 Bot who that wylle laboure on itte expende  
 In the grete boke of alle the aeventures  
 Of the Seynte Grale, he may fynde fele scriptures

*many writings*

Whiche specify fulle mony aventure  
 Fulle mervelouse to yonge mennes wytte  
 Of whiche myne age ow now to have no cure.  
 Bot rather thaym to leven and omytte  
 To my masters that can thaym intermytte  
 Of suche thynges thurgh thaire hiegh sapience  
 More godelily than I can make pretence.

*ought; concern*

*present*

**How Arthure made al his knyghtes of the Rounde Table to telle hym al thaire aeventures whiche he putte in writyng for remembrance and for noon avaunt (boast) be accounted**

Bot whan the kynge longe tyme had so sojorned  
 In welthes grete and hiegh prosperité

- |  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
|  | And alle his knyghtes were home agayn retorne<br>To his howshold fulle of alle felicité<br>He made echone to write his fortuyté<br>How hym byfelle in armes in his absence<br>To tyme he came agayne to his presence.   | <i>adventure</i>                           |
| 2550   | And every day afore the kynge at mete<br>Amonge his prynces in open audience<br>An aventure of armes and a fete<br>Reported was so for his reverence<br>That dyd that dede by suche experyence<br>And forto move his yonge knyghtes corages<br>Suche aventurs escheven in thaire viage.                                     | <i>exploit</i><br><i>achieve; errantry</i> |
| <b>How he made new knyghtes of the Rounde Table for cause many were spent in the werre</b> |   |  |
| 2555   | Bycause that in his werres longe contened<br>The Table Rounde bygan aparte to fayle<br>For som were slayne in bataylle mekel mened<br>And som by age whan deth dyd thaym assayle<br>Were dede away, for welche by hole counsayle<br>The kynge dyd make knyghtes new for conforte<br>Of it to kepe the honoure and comporte. | <i>sorely mourned</i><br><i>befit</i>      |
| 2560   | Syr Gawen, sonne to Lothe of Louthian,<br>Who Kynge was than of Louthian throughoute<br>And Syr Launcelot de Lake that noble man<br>And Kynge Pelles of North Wales than was stoute<br>Syr Persyvalle, whom mony men dyd doute,<br>Lybews Dysconus, and Syr Colygrenauntt,<br>Syr Leonelle, Degré, and Degревauntt,         | <i>fear</i>                                |
| 2565   |   |  |
| fol. 71v   | Bors and Estore, Syr Kay and Bedwere,<br>Guytarde, and Bewes of Corbenny, so wyse,<br>Syr Irenglas, and Mordred als in fere,<br>Who Gawayns brother was of ful grete emprise.<br>Bot som bokes sayne Arthure was so unwyse<br>That he hym gatte on his syster Dame Anne<br>Of Louthiane that was the quene so thanne.       | <i>together</i><br><i>action</i>           |
| 2570   |   |  |
| 2575   |   |  |
| <b>Whar Kynge Arthure helde moste usualy his houshalde in Bretayne</b>                     |   |  |
|  | In welche tyme so of reste and grete sojorne<br>The knyghtes alle of the Table Rounde<br>Grete aventurs cheved and dyd perfourne<br>And brought tyl ende thurghout alle Bretayne grounde  | <i>achieved</i>                            |

- 2580 By enchauntements that made were firste and founde.  
 Whiche tyme so than the kynge Arthur iali  
 Hys houshalde helde thurghoute Grete Bretayn alle
- At Edynburgh, Stryvelyn, and Dunbretayne,  
 At Cumbyrnalde, Dundonalde, and at Perte,  
 2585 At Bamburgh als, at Yorke the sothe to sayne,  
 And at Carlele with knyghtes manly and perte. *bold*  
 And open house he kepte ay in aperte *view*  
 The Table Rounde abowte he dyd remewe *transport*  
 In every place whare that he remewed newe. *relocated*
- 2590 At Londoun, als Carnarvan, and Cardyfe,  
 At Herforde, als Wynchestere, and Carlyoun,  
 In Cornewayle ofte, and Dovere als ful ryfe, *often*  
 And ofte within the Ile of Avaloun  
 That Glasenbyry now is of religioun
- 2595 Thise were his places and his habitacions  
 In welche he had his hertes consolacions.

### The reule of the knyghtes of the Rounde Table

- The reule so of that ordoure excellent  
 In londes alle forpassyng moste desyred  
 Was to distroye sorcery and enchauntement *sorcery*  
 2600 And rebellyoun agayne the fayth conspyred.  
 The Kyrke, wedows and maydens that required  
 That wronged were with batayle to redresse  
 Agayn al men that dyd thaym ought oppresse.
- Church; widows*
- Devourours als of the comoun profyte  
 2605 Rebelles agayne the kynges dygnyté  
 Extorsioners that pore men disheryte  
 Of londes or gude by myght or subtylité  
 Whare suche so were within any contré  
 If law myght noght thay shuld make resistence  
 2610 With bataylle and chyvalrouse defence.
- And every yere upon Whisson even *Whit Sunday (Pentecost)*  
 Thay shulde come alle unto the kynges presence  
 And alle that feste in his courte byleven  
 Bot if grete cause that tyme made his absence.  
 2615 And who cam noght his felows with grete fervence  
 That yere shulde seke and helpe hym at thare myght  
 Alle severaly echone by hymselff right. *independently*

- |          |   |  |
|----------|---|--|
|          | And at that feste the reule and ordynance<br>Was so that thay shulde telle thayre aventure<br>What so thaym felle that yere and what kyns chaunce<br>That myght be sette in romance or scripture.<br>And none avaunt accounted bot nurture<br>To cause his felaws to do so eke the same<br>Thaire aventure to seke and gete a name.           | <i>boast; good upbringing</i><br><i>also</i>         |
| 2620     | <b>How Arthure conquererde Fraunce with alle londes longyng to it, and slew Kyng Frolle and Kynge of Fraunce corounde.</b>  |  |
| 2625     | But ever as next the valey is the hille<br>After longe reste so comyth sharpe laboure<br>Kynge Arthure so fermely had sette his wille<br>To conquerre Fraunce as his progenitoure<br>Maximyan had done with grete honoure.  |  |
| 2630     | Wharfore he sente thurghoute his homagers<br>Prynces and lordes tille come with thayre powers.  | <i>vassals</i><br><i>to</i>                          |
| 2635     | And so anone to Fraunce fulle faste he spedde<br>Whiche was that tyme a ful noble provyne<br>By senatours of Rome that powere hedde<br>To Frolle commytle that was a manly prynce<br>Whom Arthure sought oute of this londe from hynce<br>To fyght with hym or els to have alle Fraunce<br>For evermore in his high governaunce.              |  |
| 2640     | Frolle fro hym fled and myght not with hym dele<br>And helde hym in the cyt  of Parise<br>Whom Arthure than dyd sege with folke ful fele<br>And thought he shuld hym hungre and enfamyse.<br>For fere of whiche Kynge Frolle by hole advyse<br>To Arthure sente that he wolde with hym fight<br>With honde for honde to jugen alle the right. | <i>have dealings</i><br><i>many</i><br><i>famish</i> |
| 2645     | Of whiche profre Kynge Arthure was ful light<br>At day assyned right in an ile thay mette<br>Withoutte the toune bothe armed wele and bright<br>And strokes sore ayther on other sette.   |  |
| 2650     | Bot in affecte Kynge Frolle so sore was bette<br>That dede he was, the tale forto abbrevie<br>Arthure hym slew with Caliburnes egge.  | <i>beaten</i><br><i>abbreviate</i><br><i>edge</i>    |
| fol. 72v | So was the toune of Parise to hym yold<br>And entred yn with alle his hole powere   | <i>surrendered</i>                                   |
| 2655     | And kynge was thare and had it as he wolde<br>And gafe Howelle that was his neven dere  | <i>nephew</i>  |

- A grete parte of his hoste with hym in fere  
 To werre upon the duke of Aquytayne  
 Whiche Guyen is and Paytow eke certayne. *together*
- 2660 Kynge Howelle so sore faught with Duke Guytarde  
 Of Guyen so and made it alle obay  
 To Kynge Arthure and stonde at his awarde  
 Servyce to do to his highnesse alway. *grant*  
 And Arthure with his powere every day  
 Hostayed the londe and with knyghthode conquerde  
 Alle Fraunce thurghout with Caliburne his swerde. *Plundered*
- What prynces obeyed to Kynge Arthure and did hym homage and service**
- To whom Howelle, kynge of Lesse Bretayne,  
 And Geryn, erle of Chartres and Orlience, *Orléans*  
 And Duke Guytarde also of Aquytayne  
 And alle the lordes of Fraunce to his presence  
 Came and obeyed his hiegh magnyfiscence.  
 The kynges als of Naverne and Arrogoyne,  
 Of Portyngale, Castele, and Cateloyne, *Navarre; Aragon  
Portugal, Castile; Catalonia*
- 2675 The duke of Savoy and the duke of Burgoyne  
 With alle the prynces in cyrcuyte aboute  
 Of Ostryche eke the duke withoute essoyne  
 Who to hym cam his lordshyp forto loute  
 The duke also of Loreyne withouten doute  
 The dukes alle and prynces of Almayne,  
 Of Saxony, and als of alle Germayne, *Austria; excuse  
bow before  
Lorraine  
Germany  
Saxony (Germany)*
- The dukes als of Braban and Gellerlonde  
 The duke of Bayre with rialle company  
 The erles also of Flaunders and Holande  
 With mekylle folke and grete chyvalry.  
 Of whiche he made knyghtes so than in hy  
 The worthyeste of worship and knyghthode  
 In the Table Rounde than of worthihode. *haste*
- 2690 And festayde thaym by fourty days right  
 In Paryse than with alle grete rialté  
 And coronde was in alle the peples sight.  
 And Quene Gaynore with hiegh nobilité  
 Corounde also was in that same cyté  
 At that same tyme with alle servyce rialle  
 That couthe be done tille estate imperialle. *feasted  
Paris*

- fol. 73r With justes eche day for love of ladyse specialle *jousts*  
 2696 Whiche with the quene were dwellynge in servyse  
 Whose bewté was high in universalle.  
 Some wedowes were fulle womanly and wyse  
 Some wifes were of bewté bare emprise  
 2700 And some virgyns als, fresshe as rose in May,  
 Some deflorate whiche semed maydys gay. *not virgins*
- Bot for to speke of Gaynores grete bewté  
 Whiche forpassynge alle others dyd excelle  
 And fourmed was in alle femynyté  
 2705 Als ferre as couthe Nature wyrke and expelle  
 Of womanhode she was the floure and welle *flower; source*  
 So aungellyke and so celestialle  
 That no bewté myght hirs in ought appalle. *overshadow*
- How Kynge Arthure dwelled nyne yeres in Fraunce, in whiche tyme the knyghtes of the Rounde Table sought andacheved many aventure.**
- Nyne yere he helde his rialle se in Fraunce *seat*  
 2710 And open howse gretly magnfyde  
 Thurghoute the worlde of welth and suffisshaunce  
 Was never pryncie so hieghly gloriifyde.  
 In whiche tyme so the Rounde Table multiplyde  
 And aventurs dyd seke cotydialy *daily*  
 2715 With gretre honoure as made is memory.
- And whan he had so bene in Fraunce nyne yere  
 He toke purpose to passe home to Bretayne  
 At Caerlyoun his cyté fayre and clere  
 At Pentecoste to holde and to contayne  
 2720 His feste rialle thare to be crounde agayne.  
 For whiche he made somouns to every pryncie  
 And lordes alle of every hole provynce
- At it to bene and every worthy knyght  
 He sente his lettore thedyre forto come  
 To his cyté that Carlyoun so hight. *called*  
 To whiche alle men that dwelle of north halfe Rome  
 In Severne myght arrife both alle and some *one and all*  
 So navigalle that ryvere is of streme *navigable*  
 That shypes thare myght londe of every reme. *realm*
- 2730 And in that tyme Arthur helde his counsayle  
 At Parisse than pese and lawes to conferme *peace*  
 And ordynaunce there made and governayle *governance*  
 And alle customes of olde he dyd afferme.

- |          |  |   |
|----------|--|---|
|          | His londes sette for tribute and for ferme<br>By his balifs and shirrifs alle aboute<br>Thurgh his regence that tyl hym than dyd louete.   | <i>control</i><br><i>obey</i>   |
| fol. 73v | He gaffe Bedwere that was his botyler<br>The Duchy so alle hole of Normandy.<br>And Kay he gaff that than was his pantere  | <i>butler</i><br><i>in charge of his pantry</i>   |
| 2740     | Of alle Aungoy the noble riche duchy.<br>And other provynce to men that were manly<br>He gaff fulle faste in alle that myght suffise<br>For whiche his name thurghoute the world gan ryse.   | <i>Anjou</i>  |
|          | <b>How Kynge Arthure came to Bretayn corononde at Carlioun aftir he departe oute of the reme of Fraunce</b>  |   |
| 2745     | This noble kynge to Bretayne gan retorne<br>And at his terme assigned so afore<br>At Carlyoun he cam there to sojorne<br>His feste to holde to prynces lesse and more<br>To lordes also prelates and clerkes of lore<br>Knyghtes and squyers with alle the comonté                       | <i>citzenry</i>   |
| 2750     | As ordeyned was by his hiegh magesté.  |   |
|          | On Whissonday that hight so Pentecoste<br>Kynges and prynces thurgh his domynacioun<br>Compered there of every reme and coste<br>To se that feste and that solempnysacioun<br>And servyce als at his coronacioun.  | <i>Whitsunday; was called</i><br><i>Appeared; area</i><br><i>ceremonial celebration</i> |
| 2755     | And of the quene as for hyre corounement<br>That same day sette togedyr by oon assent.   |   |
| 2760     | Archebysshops thre at that feste dyd apere<br>Two hundred als of philosophres wyse<br>In astronomy approved clerkes were<br>Thurgh whiche of thyng to come thay couth provyse<br>And telle that shulde byfalle and on what wyse.<br>Suche was thayre witte and als thaire grete doctryne | <i>foresee</i>  |
|          | Of thyng to come the certeyne to diffyne.  |   |
| 2765     | Whiche kynges and prynces everychone<br>And erles als with other noble knyghtes<br>Of the Table Rounde were knyghtes made anone<br>Whiche presed were in batayle and in fyghtes<br>Forpassynge other that moste had sene by sightes  | <i>commended</i>  |
| 2770     | Of honoure and travayle of knyghtlyhode<br>Of nurture als worshyp and worthyhode.  |   |

- Whiche prynces so it nede no more reherse  
 For alle that I have named so above  
 Bysyde prynces that were his offycerse  
 That bounden were by homage and by love  
 To serve hym thare orwhare that he remove. *anywhere*  
 2775 Whiche were two kynges of Wales that were manly  
 And kynges thre also of Albany
- fol. 74r Kynge Guyllomare, that kynge was of Irelonde,  
 2780 And Gunvase als, the kynge of Orcadese,  
 Kynge Malvase als that than was of Iselonde  
 And Doldayn kynge of Gothlonde was no lese  
 And Aschille, kynge of Denmarke, proude in prese,  
 And Loth also that kynge was of Norway *battle*  
 2785 And Duke Cadore of Cornewayle redy ay
- The kynge of Man, the Dusze Piers alle of Fraunce, *Twelve Peers*  
 And of Bretayne alle hole the baronage  
 With provostes alle, that cytese governaunce *magistrates*  
 In Bretayn had by auncyen pryvylage  
 To maken joy and also sure plausage *praise*  
 2790 Of his tryumph and coronacioun  
 That than shuld be with grete solempnysacioun.
- Whom Seynte Dubrike the archebishop so wyse  
 Of Caerlyoun that than was hyegh prymate  
 The kynge corounde in alkyns rialle wyse  
 As longed to his hyegh and dygne estate *worthy*  
 And as of olde it was preordynate *ordained*  
 With coroun riche of golde and dyadem *suit*  
 2795 That never prynce it dyd so wele beseme.
- The archebysshop of Londoun helde so than  
 The kynges right arme, that was so his servyce.  
 The archebysshop of Yorke the lefte up wan *sustained*  
 That tyme so was his dette and excercyse. *duty; customary practice*  
 The servyce alle and als the obsequye *dutiful service*  
 2800 Seynt Dubrike dyd so in that mynstere fayre  
 Of Seynte Aron whare than was alle repayre.
- Whiche was the se than metropolitane  
 Foundyd fully of gode religioune  
 Where byried was Seynt Dubrike not to layne *conceal*  
 To whom the folke in thare opynyoun  
 For alle desese had grete devosioun  
 To seke hym ofte and make thaire offerynge *illnesses*  
 2810 So gloryus was he in alle wyrkyng.

**How the kynges of Albany, of Wales, and the Duke of Cornwaille, bare foure  
swerdes at his coronacioun afore hym.**

- Kynge Aguselle of Albanyse provynce  
 2815 The kynge of Demecy that South Wales hight *was called*  
 The kynge of Venodoce that worthy prynce  
 That now North Wales man calle it so fulle right  
 The duke Cadoure of Cornewayle prynce of myght  
 Foure swordes of golde afore Kynge Arthure bare  
 2820 As fore thare londes so holdyn of hym ware.
- fol. 74v It was servyce of thayre londes of right  
 Whiche thayre elders of longe antiquyté  
 Afore had done tille his auncesters of myght  
 At alle suche festes of grete solempnyté *to*  
 2825 Thus fro the chyrche, that was the prymates se,  
 Thay worshyp hym so in that humble wyse  
 Of olde duté hym doyng that servyce.
- Many thousand knyghtes homward so wente  
 Afore hym than to his palays rialle  
 2830 Fresshely arayed in clothes of ryche extente  
 With thousanddes fele of mynstrals pryncipalle  
 The noyse of whiche was so celestiale  
 Thare couthe no wight it fro joy of heven  
 Dyscerne in ought so were thay lyke and even. *Distinguish; similar*
- 2835 And fro the chyrche of Seynt July that tyde *time*  
 The quene Gaynore the godeliest on lyve  
 With kynges led in rialle clothes and syde *ample*  
 Corounde with golde richely as his wyfe  
 With maydens fele to nombire infynytise
- 2840 That no wyght couthe thaym telle, ne yit discryve, *describe*  
 Ne yit in boke no clerke that couth subscryve. *write*
- How the quenes of south Wales, north Wales, and the Duchesse of Cornwaylle,  
bare foure whyte culvers (doves) afore the quene Gaynore.**
- The quenes of Northe Wales and of Albany  
 Of South Wales als than dyd hyre that servyce  
 The duchesse with of Cornewayle certanly  
 2845 The fourth she was whiche dyd that obsequyse *service*  
 Thay bare afore hyre than as was the gyse *custom*  
 Foure doufes white with knyghtes multitude *doves*  
 And mynstralsy so fulle of dulcytude. *sweetness*

- |          |   |  |
|----------|---|--|
|          | The kynge was sette in se imperiale<br>So was the quene with prynces of dygnyté<br>And served wele at that high feste rialle.<br>Duke Kay stewarde was than by hole degré<br>For his wysdome and his habilité   | <i>throne</i>  |
| 2850     | Afore the servyce came with a yerde in honde<br>Of sylvere fyne afore the kynge dyd stonde.   | <i>skill<br/>baton</i>   |
|          | A thousand knyghtes with hym to serve the halle<br>Both he and thay clothed alle in ermyne<br>From the dressoure the mete to bere over alle<br>With squyers, marshals and usshers gode and fyne.  | <i>counter<br/>porters</i>   |
| 2855     | And ay afore a lady femynyne<br>A worthy knyght was sette for grete conforte<br>Hyre forto chere with daliance and disperte.  | <i>polite conversation; flirtation</i>   |
| 2860     | And Duke Bedwere was chefe butelere<br>A thousand knyghtes had clothed in a sute<br>In clothe of golde as fyne as myght affere<br>Whiche served so the drynkes of refute<br>Of dyverse wynes there spente and distribute<br>So plentyouse that wondere was to se<br>The grete foysoun of wynes and dyversité.               | <i>butler<br/>matching garments<br/>befit<br/>excellence<br/>poured out<br/>plenty</i> |
| fol. 75r | Thetys that was of waters chefe goddesse<br>Thare had of thaym that tyme no regyment<br>For Bachus so thare regned with alle fulnesse<br>Of myghty wynes to every mannys intente<br>Shad oute plenté so at that corounemente<br>To alle estates that there were moste and leste<br>For honoure so and worshyp of the feste. | <i>Thetis<br/>sovereignty<br/>Bachus<br/>Poured</i>                                    |
| 2865     | The tyme so of that feste imperialle<br>Everiche a day justes and tournament<br>Thikfolde thay made for ladyse in speciale<br>With alle maystrise provyng in thaire entente<br>That longed so to knyghthode and appente<br>And musycanes songe notes musicalle<br>And poetes shewed thaire muse poeticalle.                 | <i>jousts<br/>Aplenty<br/>feats<br/>pertained<br/>exhibited</i>                        |
| 2870     | The myrth and joy, the richesse and aray,<br>The fare, the feste, the worshyp and servyse,<br>The nurture and the bewté of ladyse gay<br>There couth no wyght with alle his wytte suffise<br>To telle it alle by ought he couth devyse<br>So rialle was it alle in generalle<br>And forpassyng estate imperialle.           |  |
| 2875     |   |  |
| 2880     |   |  |
| 2885     |   |  |
| 2890     |   |  |

And every day the quene yede certanly  
 To that mynstere with many worthy man  
 Of Seynte July who Aarons felaw bodyly  
 Was whan Maxence had sent Maximyan  
 2895 Into this londe whare he dystroyed than  
 The Cristen fayth and slewe than Seynte July  
 And Seynte Aron thurgh his fals tyrany.

*went*

Whiche mynstere than a nuniry was devoute  
 Of vyrgyns clene without any vyce  
 2900 That served God fulle wele bothe in and oute  
 In prayers and in alle devyne servyce  
 Whiche she uphelde alway of hiegh emprise  
 And thought therein to have hyr sepulture  
 Whan that hyre lyfe no lengare myght endure.

*renown**burial*

**fol. 75v Whan Saynt Dubrike dyed Saint David was made Archebisshop of Caerlyoun**

2905 But Seynte Dubrike that than archebysshop stode  
 Cesed mekely and hole forsoke his cure  
 Purposynge than in holy lyfe and gode  
 In ermytage whils that he myght endure  
 Alle solitary for any aventure  
 2910 To plesen God in prayere wache and excuby  
 Fastynge, penaunce and leve his prymacy.

*office**hermitage**nightly prayer; vigil*

In whose stede so Davyd the kyngeseme  
 Was sette whose lyfe ensample of alle godenesse  
 Was after than, as sonne doth sprede his beme  
 2915 After mystes foule and grete derkenesse  
 Who afterwardes Seynt Davyd was doutlesse  
 An holy saynt and canonysed  
 By alle the Chyrche and autorised.

*uncle*

**Elyden was than made Bisshop of Alclude, the whiche som say it is a litil fro Carlele at ende of the Peghte Walle, and som say it is Carlele and other some say it is Dunbretayne, bot aftir (according to) Policronicon it is at ende of the Peght Walle, and aftir Bede also.**

2920 The ile that was of Alclude than I gesse  
 Whiche Dunbretayne hatte now and is named  
 That tyme was voyde and also bysshoplesse.  
 Whiche se for sothe fulle gretely than was famed  
 Whiche at Glaskowe translate ys and hamed  
 The kynge gafe than estate pontificalle  
 2925 To Elidenne of that se cathedralle.

*is called**diocese**Glasgow; has its home*

- And whan that feste rialle was dissolved  
 That every prynce homwarde wolde retorne  
 Within his mynde he thought and faste revolved  
 With plesance howe he myght shorte his sojorne  
 2930 And to his londe agayne forto attorney. *return*  
 For whiche thay sought to his magnyfiscence  
 Alle holyly with alle thaire diligence
- The kynge than dyd the grete estates rewarde  
 As dyd acorde to thaire nobilité.  
 2935 So dyd he other by gode and hole awarde  
 Londes thaym gafe of grete sufficienté  
 Acordynge to thaire oportunyté *As was appropriate to them*  
 So largely that thurgh the world his name  
 Of liberalté than rose and spronge the fame.
- 2940 He thonked thaym of thaire comyng so ferre  
 Prayand thaym alle eche prynce in his estate  
 To se his welfare was nothynge to hym derre.  
 Than thaire persons with hym resociate  
 And hevy was of chere and desolate  
 2945 Whan thay departe so fro his hiegh presence  
 Whiche dyd excede alle prynces regymence. *government*
- fol. 76r **How whan his knyghtes of the Rounde Table were present that Galaad sette and acheived the Sege Perlouse in the Rounde Table as the grete story of the Saynt Graal propordes in the story of the grete aventures of Arthure and his knyghtes contened, aftir Waltier of Oxenford that put in wrytynges in Polycraticon that he made of Cornewail and Wales.**
- And at that feste than next of Whissonday *Whitsunday*  
 His knyghtes alle than of the Table Rounde  
 Within Bretayne that were reseant ay  
 2950 Appered hool afore the kynge that stounde *residing time*  
 As by the reule of it thay were sore bounde  
 At his cyté of Carlyoun so fayre  
 Whare than his courte rialle dyd repayre. *assemble*
- Whare Galaad of fiftene yere of age  
 2955 The godeleyest wyght afore that men had sene *person*  
 Whom Launselot gat by hole and fulle knowlage  
 Of Pelles doughter, that longe the kynge had bene  
 Of Venodoce, after whome she shuld be quene,  
 Came sodenly at mete into the halle
- 2960 Armed fulle clene, obeyed the kynge in alle,

- And afterwarde the quene with hyegh honoure  
 The lordes alle, and knyghtes of worthynesse,  
 And ladyse fayre and fressh of thare coloure.  
 And than he yede unto the sege doutelesse  
 Of the Rounde Table with fulle grete hardynesse  
 And sette hym doune whiche was the Sege Perilouse  
 Whare never none satte bot Arthure redoutouse.
- complexion  
(*i.e.*, Galahad) went; seat
- 2965
- For alle other that it had presumed  
 Alle utterly were shamed and mescheved  
 Or brente therein or otherwyse consumed  
 Saufe he allone that had it wele escheved.  
 For whiche the knyghtes echone hole beleved  
 He was the same persone of whom Merlyne  
 Sayde shulde descende of Nacyan by lyne
- undone  
burned  
achieved
- 2970
- Nacian
- 2975 The tente persone fro hym lynyaly  
 Who shulde achieve and fully brynghe to ende  
 The aventurs, as made is memory,  
 Of the Seynte Graal whiche no man there than kende.
- chronicle  
Holy Grail
- 2980 For whiche thay alle anone to hym attende  
 In alle worshyp to do hym high plesaunce  
 As he in whom thay truste grete governaunce.
- moral discipline
- 2985 At soupere als on Whissonday at even  
 Unto his sege he wente with grete constance  
 And sette hym doun his fortune forto preven  
 Whiche wele he cheved with cherefulle countenance  
 To alle the knyghtes fulle hyegh and grete plesance  
 Trustynge fully he shulde do grete honoure  
 To alle knyghthode that was in that ordoure.
- supper  
seat  
make trial of  
achieved
- fol. 76v **How the Saynt Grale appered in Kynge Arthur hows (*house*) at soupere, and how Galaad made a vowe to seke it to he myght knowe it clerly, to whom his felaws gafe thaire servyce a yere, as is contened in the storie of the Seint Grale writen by Giralde Cambrense in his *Topographie of Wales and Cornwail*.**
- 2990 At whiche souper the wyndows alle dyd sperre  
 And dores als with noyse fulle merveillouse  
 Right by thaymselff of whiche alle men had fere  
 Trustynge there came som case aventurouse.  
 And with that so the Saynte Graalle preciouse  
 Flawe alle aboute within the halle fulle ofte  
 Flyghtrande fulle faste above thaym alle on lofte.
- close  
happening  
Holy Grail  
Flew  
Flying
- 2995
- And sodenly the wyndows gan to opyn  
 The dores also, as sayth the cronyclere,

- And forth it wente and eche man gat his wopen  
Bot more of it thay couth not se ne here. *weapon*
- 3000 Bot on the morowe Galaad dyd appere  
Afore the kynge at mete and made a vowe  
To seke it ever tille that he fynde it mowe. *may (might)*
- Wyth that the knyghtes that were aventerouse  
Of the Rounde Table thare graunted hym that yere
- 3005 Thaire servyce hole his vow so courageouse  
For to achieve and also to conquerre.  
To whiche thay made avowes syngulere *individual*  
Praynge the kynge Galaad to make knyght  
The whiche he dyd and gaffe hym armes right.
- 3010 To whom he sayde "I shalle no shelde me take  
Afore I have it gete by aventure  
Ne two nyght ligge in o place for youre sake *shield*  
Whils I may ryde and with travaylle endure  
Tylle I have founde this thynge in alle fygure
- 3015 And fully know fro whyne it came and howe  
And what it is, here make myne avowe." *whence*

### How Kynge Arthure made his compleynt at thaire departynge

- With that he toke his leve and forth he rode  
And alle the knyghtes of the Table Rounde  
Toke leve echone no lengare there abode. *remained*
- 3020 But forth with hym thay rode as thay were bounde  
By thare avowes whiche thay had made that stounde *time*  
For whiche the kynge morned with dolefull herte  
At thare partynge with wepynge teres and smerte *bitter*
- Saynge "Allas what shalle I do or say  
My knyghtes alle that were my joy and hele  
The membres eke to kepe my body ay *health*  
My soules ese and alle my hertes wele *organs*  
My londes helpe in nede fulle trew and lele *welfare*  
Thus sodenly from me to passe thys stounde *loyal*  
3030 Unto myne herte it is the dethes wounde. *time*
- fol. 77r "O God, seth deth wolde briste myne herte in tweyne  
Who shalle meyntene my coroun and my rightes? *since; two*  
I trow no more to se thaym efte agayne *trust*  
Thus hole togedyr and so godely knyghtes.
- 3035 Wold God I myght make myne avowe and hygthes *promises*  
To folow thaym in what londe so thay go  
And take my parte with thaym in wele and wo." *joy and sorrow*

**How Sir Galaad had hys sheelde, swerde and his speere at Avalon, and how he  
acheved the Saynte Grale and made was Kynge of Sarras and made knyghtes  
of the ordour of Saynt Grale in significacioun of the fraternité that Joseph of  
Arymathy (*Arimathea*) had made afore, as Girald aforsaide specifieth in his  
saide *Topographie of Wales and Cornwail*.**

- With that Galaad rode forthe so with his route *troop*  
 At every way he made a knyght departe  
 3040 To tyme thay alle severally so were gone oute *Until; separately*  
 And none lefte than, so had echone thaire parte.  
 And iff on mette another in any arte *one; place*  
 His reule was so he shuld his felawe telle  
 His aventurs what so that hym befelle.
- 3045 And als sone as thaire way lay sondry wyse  
 Thay shulde departe, and mete no more agayne  
 Bot aventure it made thurgh excercyse *Unless*  
 Of grete laboure that thaym did so constrainye  
 By dyverse stretes whiche togedir layne. *roads*  
 3050 And whan he had his felawes alle convayed *accompanied*  
 He chese his way fulle like a knyght arayed.
- Bot so Galaad than came to Avalone  
 Whare holy men he founde of grete perfeccioun  
 Whiche were fulle glad of hym than everychone  
 3055 And made hym chere with alle affeccioun.  
 Thay shewed hym thare thynges in theyre subjeccioun  
 A shelde, a spere, a sworde, as thare was breved,  
 Whiche never man bare bot he were sone mescheved. *noted  
in trouble*
- 3060 Bot than thay sayde in bokes thay founde it wretton  
 Kynge Evalache the shelde of olde there lefte  
 Whiche is alle white, as ye shalle se and wyten, *know*  
 With crosse of blode fro Josep nose byrefte  
 Who sayde there shulde no wyght than bere it efte *afterwards*  
 Withouten deth, mayme, or adversité,  
 3065 Bot oon that shulde leve in vyrgynyté. *Except one who*
- The spere, the swerde was by Duke Seraphe  
 There lefte that tyme who after hight Nacyen  
 Of whiche thay founde writen of antiquyté  
 The same periles who bare thaym after then  
 3070 Sauf he allone that were amonge alle men *Except*  
 A vyrgyn knowe and in vyrgynyté  
 Shulde de at laste and of his blode laste be. *die*

- fol. 77v And shulde achieve the Seynte Graalle worthyly  
 And kynge so be of Sarras withouten doute  
 3075 Of Orboryke also duke verryly  
 By heritage of aunctery throughe.  
 And cheve he shulde amonges alle the route  
 The Sege Perilouse in the Table Rounde  
 That never myght knyght withouten dethes wounde.
- 3080 What shuld I more say of thys worthy knyght  
 That afterward achieved this prophecy?  
 For as it spake so was he after right  
 And verified fulle hole and openly  
 As writton had Josep off Aramathy
- 3085 That holy knyght with God fulle welle beloved  
 As by his werkes it is welle sene and proved.
- The shelde he hange upon his shuldere than  
 And gyrde hym with that swerde of grete emprise.  
 3090 The spere in honde he toke fulle lyke a man  
 And toke his horse right on a knyghtly wyse.  
 The holy men he prayed withoute fayntyse  
 To pray for hym with besy herte and pure  
 And forthe he rode to seke his aventure.
- That every yere the knyghtes at Whissonday  
 3095 To Arthure came so by his ordynance  
 And tolde hym alle thaire aventures ay  
 Whiche he dyd putte in boke for remembrance.  
 So dured thay and kepte that governance  
 By yeres fele and ay agayn returned
- 3100 At that same feste whare that the kynge sojorned.
- Bot so it felle Galaad was than kynge  
 Of Sarras and of Orberike alle hale  
 Upon his queste bysyly pursuyyng  
 Whare he sette up the Table of Seynte Grale  
 3105 In whiche he made an ordre vyrgynale  
 Of knyghtes noble in whiche he satte as chefe  
 And made suche brether of it as were hym lefe.
- Syr Bors was oon, another Syr Percyvalle,  
 Syr Claudyus a noble knyght of Fraunce  
 3110 And other two nere of his blode with alle  
 Thre knyghtes als withouten variaunce  
 Of Danmarke so of noble governaunce  
 And thre knyghtes als of Irelonde excelente  
 Whiche twelve were alle of noble regymente.

fol. 78r **What the reule of ordour of Saynt Graal was, here is expressed and notifyed, as is contened in the book of Josep of Arymathie and as it is specified in a dialogue that Gildas made, *De Gestis Arthuri*.**

3115 Whose reule was this by Galaad constytute  
To leve evermore in clennesse virginalle *purity*  
Comon profyte alway to execute  
Alle wronges redresse with bataylle corporalle  
Whare law myght noughe have course judicialle  
3120 Alle fals lyvers his londe that had infecte  
Ferto distroy or of thaire vice correcte

The pese to kepe the laws als sustene  
The fayth of Criste, the Kyrke also protecte  
Wydews, maydyns aywhare forto mayntene *everywhere*  
3125 And chyldre yonge unto thare age perfecte  
That thay couthe kepe thaymselfe in alle affecte. *manner*  
Thus sette it was in hole perfeccioune  
By gode advise and fulle cyrcumspeccioun *deliberation*

3130 So enduryng fulle longe and many yere  
To fate of dethe and perturbacioun  
And toke his soule unto the blisse ful clere  
Therein evermore to have his habitacioun  
Eternaly withouten lamentacioun.  
3135 Whiche tyme than so he made Syr Borse there kynge  
That ordre forthe to kepen over alle thynges.

**How Percyvalle broughte Kynge Galaad hert closed in gold to biry at Avalon, and alle the aventures of the Saint Gralle wryten to the Kynge Arthure, whiche he made bene remembred in Bretayn in grete writynges and notable as Giraldus Cambrensis wryteth in hys *Topographie of Cornwail and Wales*.**

So after his deth agayne the Whissonday  
Syre Percyvalle came into Grete Bretayne  
And dyverse knyghtes that were with Galaad ay  
Of that ordoure so cam with hym agayne  
3140 At whiche tyme so the kynge of thaym was fayne *joyful*  
And asked how Kynge Galaad hys compere *companion*  
Dyd fare of hele fulle faste he dyd enquere. *health*

3145 Who tolde hym alle the wondere aventures  
That never man myght achieve bot he alone  
Whiche Kynge Arthure thanne putte in hole scriptures  
Remembred ever to be whan he were gone  
Whiche mervelouse so were and many one

Fro tyme he wente so fro his hiegh presence  
Unto his deth in knyghtly diligence.

- 3150 And to the kynge his herte in golde preserved  
As Galaad had comaunde he than presente  
Besekyne hym for that he had hym served  
It to entere at Avalon anente  
The sepulture and verry monument  
3155 Whare Josep lyeth of Aramathy so gode  
Bysyde Naciens that nere was of his blode.

*near to*

- fol. 78v And there to sette his shelde that Josep made  
Whiche was the armes that we Seynt Georges calle  
That aftir thare fulle many yere abade  
3160 And worshypt were thurghout this reme over alle  
In so ferre forthe that kynges in especialle  
Thaym bare away in batayle whare thay wente  
Afore thaym ever forspede in thare entente.

*succeeded*

- 3165 Whose hole requeste the kynge anone dyd sped  
With alle his knyghtes in honorable wyse  
His herte enterde at Avaloun I rede  
Whare men sayde than that Nacyen so lyse  
With dirige and devoute exequyse  
In alle suche wyse as longed to a kynge  
3170 And als his shelde above hym there he hynghe.

*interred**lies**funeral rites*

**How Templers and Hospitilers were founded in figure and significacoun of the fraternyté and ordoure of the Saynt Grale, and the Table Rounde was made in significacioun of the Saynte Grale.**

- Of whiche ordre of Seynte Graalle so clene  
Were after longe founded than the Templers  
In figure of it writen, as I have sene,  
Oute of the whiche bene now Hospitulers  
3175 Growen up fulle hiegh at Rodes withouten peres.  
Thus eche ordre were founded upon other  
Alle as on and echone others brother.

*Holy Grail**Rhodes; equals**one*

- So was also the Table Rounde araysed  
In remembrance alle of the worthy Table  
Of the Seynte Grale whiche Josep afore had raysed  
In hole fygure of Cristes souvere comendable.  
Thus eche ordoure was grounded resonable  
In grete vertu and condygne worthynesse  
3180 To Goddes plesyre and soules heelfulnesse.

*proper health*

**How Arthure helde hys feest at Carlioun whare the ambassiatours of Rome  
toke hym lettres fro Lucyus Emperoure**

- 3185 At Pentecoste than nexte there after folowynge  
The kynge wyllynge, with hertes sore desyre  
To sene his knyghtes, olde also and yng  
Dukes and erles thurghoute his hole empyre  
And barons alle and knyghtes he dyd requyre  
3190 To ben with hym than at his feste rialle  
At Carlyoun that Camalot some dyd calle
- The kynges and prynces and prelates sprittuall  
Of Wales, Irelonde, and Iles of Orchadese,  
Of Denmarke als, and Norway than withalle,  
3195 Of Albany, and of Gothlonde no lese, *Gotland*  
Of Iselonde als, he loved so wele grete prese,  
The Dusze Piers alle thurghoute the reme of Fraunce  
Of Lesse Bretayne the kynge with alle plesaunce. *Twelve Peers*
- fol. 79r Whiche came alle hole at his high comaundemente  
3200 In grete aray for worshyp of his feste  
At whiche feste than was redde by his comaundente  
Eche day at mete, whanne served were moste and leste,  
Feel aventures of knyghtes whiche had preste *many; fought*  
In batayls sore and had grete worthynesse  
3205 In thaire laboure and knyghtly besynesse.
- This feste so dyd by fourty days endure  
With myrthe and joy with songe and mynstralsy  
Justes every day for ladyse fresshe and pure  
At tournaments his knyghtes to magnyfy  
3210 And entyrludes played fulle coriously  
Revelle, daunsynge, and lovyng paramours,  
Romauns and gestes redynge of grete honours. *Stories; narratives*
- The metes and drynkes were there so plentyuouse  
That alle men were amervelde of the feste *astonished*  
3215 The kynge also of gyftes bountyuouse  
The quene also to able men moste and leste  
Grete gyftes gafe and many men encrest  
So godely was hyre chere and daliance  
To every wight it was a suffisshance.
- 3220 So at that feste whils that he helde the dese *dais*  
Twelve knyghtes came of Romayns gode and wyse *from Rome*  
With olyfe braunche in honde withouten prese  
An esy pase as legates dyd suffise. *olive; unaccompanied* *Slowly*

- |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|
|  | Upon thayre knes, with dew and hole advise<br>Delyverd hym the letters to hym sente<br>By Lucyus emperoure whiche thus mente:  | <i>prudence</i><br><i>read</i>                     |
| <b>The Emperours lettre for truage and tribute</b> |  |  |
| 3225   | “Lucyus of Rome the emperoure<br>And procuratoure for alle the hole Senate<br>Of the publyke profyte chieff governoure<br>By hole Senate made and denomynate<br>To Arthure kynge of Bretayne inordinate<br>Sendyth gretynge as thou haste deserved<br>Now late in Fraunce whiche was to us preserved   | <i>rebellious</i><br><i>retained</i>               |
| 3235   | “Mervelynge myche of wronges whiche thou haste done<br>Within oure londe of Fraunce by grete rigoure<br>Withouten right that bettere had ben undone<br>Bot if thy wytte amende that foule erroure<br>Of whiche seth tyme that thou was govenoure<br>No tribute payed bot as thyne own conqueste<br>Haste holden it ever undre thyne arreste. | <i>unless</i><br><i>custody</i>                    |
| fol. 79v   | “And for thou haste no wylle it to amende<br>Or was so proude to do that cruelle dede<br>Kynge Frolle to sla tille us that dyd apende <sup>1</sup><br>And mekylle more for that thou takes none hede<br>Of the estate imperialle we lede<br>To whiche alle londes tribute pay and trewage<br>Sauf thou allone gaynstondest of thyne outrage  | <i>refuse to cooperate; excessive pride</i>        |
| 3245   | “Wharfore straytely we byd thee and comaunde<br>That from Auguste now next within a yere<br>Thou come to us and pay alle oure demaunde<br>And trewage whiche thou haste of thy powere<br>Of Bretayne longe withholden so in fere<br>And thy defautes amende thou dyd in Fraunce<br>By sentence of thy lordes and ordynaunce.                 | <i>directly</i>                                    |
| 3250   | “And els we shalle approche to thy countré<br>And what so that thy wodenesse hath us refste<br>With swerdes we shalle it make restored be<br>To oure Senate as friste we were enfefted<br>The lyfelode that thy fadyr so thee lefte  | <i>madness; robbed</i><br><i>enfiefed heritage</i> |
| 3255   |  |  |

<sup>1</sup> King Frolle to slay those [who are] subject [to Arthur]

- |  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| 3260   | Thou arte fulle lyke for thyne intrusioun<br>To lese and bryng into confusiou[n].   | <i>ruin</i>  |
| 3265   | "Written at Rome in the Consistory<br>By hole advyse of alle the wyse Senate<br>At Paske laste paste to byde in memory<br>Remembred there and fully approbate<br>Lesse thou foryette oure lett[er]e and the date<br>And lay it so in alle foryetilnesse<br>Trustynge in us the same defaute I gesse." | <i>Council Chamber</i><br><i>Easter</i><br><i>forget</i> |
| 3270   | With that the kynge wente to the Geants Toure<br>With barons that were there of his counsaylle<br>To have advyse how to the emperoure<br>He shulde than wryte agayne for his avaylle.<br>Of whiche so wyse wold not foryet, ne faylle,<br>So were thay made to Lucyus and endyte                      | <i>advantage</i>   |
| 3275   | Whiche spake right thus for answere infenyte:   | <i>final</i>   |
| <b>The lettre and answere of Kynge Arthure to the same Emperoure and how he titled hym of right to be Emperour</b> |   |  |
| 3280   | "Arthure the kynge of alle the Grete Bretayne<br>And emperoure of Rome by alkyns right<br>With wronge deforced by Lucyus Romayne<br>Pretendynge hym for emperoure of myght<br>To the same Syr Lucyus of his unright<br>Usurpoure of the se imperialle<br>Sendyth gretynge as enmy moste mortalle.     | <i>deprived</i>  |
| fol. 80r   | "To the Senate of Rome it is wele knowe<br>How that Cesare Julyus with maystry<br>Had trewage here Bretayne than was so lowe<br>By treson of Androges and trechery<br>That brought hym in by his grete policy<br>Withouten right or tytle of descente<br>Alle fulle agayne the barons hole consente.  |  |
| 3285   |   |  |
| 3290   | <b>Quicquid iniuste ab aliquot rapitur, numquam ab alio iuste possidetur ut in lege civili et imperatoria patet.<sup>1</sup></b>  |  |
|  | "Agayne alle right he had it by maystry<br>And what so he with wronge so dyd possede  | <i>force</i>   |

<sup>1</sup> Whatever is unjustly snatched from someone, will never be justly possessed by someone else, as (it is stated) in civil and imperial law

- 3295      Lefulle to us is to withstande forthy.  
           That lawe wylle so to it who takyth hede  
           What thyng by man with wronge is had indede  
           Fro hym that aught it hole and skyllfully  
           By none other had may be lawfully.
- 3300      “By whiche pretence thy wronge we shalle defende  
           And holde oure reme so in oure friste estate  
           Of servage fre as it to Brute appende  
           Who had it fre afore that Rome bare date  
           Whose right to us is now determinate  
           And by suche right as thou doste now pretende  
           We may clayme Rome and to the Empyre ascende.

*Legal; therefore**Emperorship***The first title by Belyne and Brenny**

- 3305      “For Kynge Belyne that was oure auncestre  
           And Brenny als the kynge of Albany  
           Thay fully wan and hole dyd sequestre  
           The londes hool so unto Romany  
           Whiche after thay had by victory  
           And satte right in the se imperiale  
           Whare no prynce was that tyme to thaym egalle.

*appropriate**equal***The seconde title by Constantyne and Maximian**

**Cui descendebat imperium tam per mortem patris quam per eleccionem Senatoriam quam per eleccionem totius comitatus Romani.<sup>1</sup>**

- 3315      “Whose hole estate is now tille us descende  
           Bot yit we have a bettere tyle of right  
           Tylle the Empyre whiche that we wylle pretende  
           To sette so by alle wronge conqueste and myght.  
           Constantyne, Seynt Elyne sone so wyght,  
           By right of blode of Constance doun descent  
           Emperoure was by Romaynes hole consent.
- 3320      “Maximyan was hole the emperoure  
           Also by ful decré of the Senate  
           Who next heyre was to Constantynes honoure  
           Whose bothe estates by law preordynate  
           We have wherfore of Rome we clayme estate

*to**To; claim**strong*


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<sup>1</sup> *To whom rule descended as much by the death of his father as by senatorial election (and) as by election of the whole Roman people*

Of the Empyre the se imperialle  
By juste tylte of law judicialle.

- fol. 80v “Wharfore we wylle to Rome come and aproche  
3326 By that same day whiche that thou haste prefyxte  
The tribute whiche thou wolde to thee acroche  
Nought forto pay, as thou haste sette and fyxté.  
Bot of thee thare with Senate intermyxte  
3330 To take tribute and holde the sovereyn se  
In alle that longe to the emperialté.
- retain*  
*together*  
*rule of an emperor*

- “And iff thou like me sonner forto seke  
Brynge Romany with thee what day thou wille  
With me I shalle so than brynge Bretayne eke  
3335 And whiche so of us two may other kyllie  
Bere Rome away and Bretayne bothe ful stille.  
Writon at oure cyté of Carlyoun  
By hole advyse of alle oure regiouн.”

- He gafe unto that hiegh ambasshiate  
3340 Fulle riche gyftes and golde ynouth to spende  
And bade thaym bere thare lordes in hool Senate  
His letters so whiche he than to thaym sende.  
And bade thaym say that sonner than they wende  
3345 He shulde thaym se and bade thaym nought thynke longe  
For in shorte tyme he shulde bene thaym amonge.

**How Arthure toke his viage to feght with the Emperoure Lucius Hiberus  
assocayed allied with Emperoure Leo**

- This noble Kynge Arthure than forth prevyde  
For his vyage agayne the emperoure.  
His lettres oute he made and sygnyfyde  
3350 To alle the londes of whiche he was protectoure  
Chargyng thaym alle to come for hys honoure  
On thaire beste wyse hym to acompany  
Of Rome forto conquere the monarchy.
- arranged  
towards*

- Whiche by processe of tyme as thay myght come  
Thay mette Arthure aywhere in place aboute  
To tyme thay were of myght to go to Rome  
So grete hys hoste was sembled and so stoute.  
3355 And at Barbflete in Normandy no doute  
Thay londed alle with wyndes prosperouse  
Whare more powere thaym mette fulle bataylouse.
- assembled; formidable*

- 3360 Thare came the kynges of Spayne and Portyngale  
 Of Naverne als, the Kynge of Aragoyne,  
 The Dusze Piers alle of Fraunce thurghoute fulle hale  
 The dukes also of Guyen and Burgoyne  
 Of Braban, Gelre, Savoy, and Loroyne,  
 3365 The Erles also of Flaunders and Selonde  
 And dukes alle of Almayne and Holonde.
- Twelve Peers; entirely*
- fol. 81r **How Arthur faughte with a geant at Seynte Mighelle Mounte in Bretayne and slew hym in hys viage to Rome**
- Than was it tolde to Kynge Arthur fulle right  
 A geant grete forwaxen and horrible  
 Thanne ravyssh had Elyne his nece so bright  
 3370 Whiche for bewté than was fulle possyble  
 For any prynce have wed and admyttible.  
 Kynge Howelle syster she was to Arthur nere  
 In Lesse Bretayne that tyme she had no pere.
- excessively large  
niece  
acceptable  
equal*
- 3375 Whiche geant so there durste no man assayle  
 Bot he thaym slewen or otherwyse dyd devoure.  
 Halfe quyke he ete thaym so it was mervayle  
 For whiche the folke aboute made grete murmour  
 Who on the heght of Myghel Mount dyd loure  
 Whare he that mayde with in his armes had slayne  
 3380 His luste to do so dyd he hyre constrainye.
- attack  
alive  
complaint  
top; lurk*
- Right so there came Bedwere by Arthur sente  
 Unto the hylle whare he a woman fonde  
 Compleynnge sore that seyde hym hyre entente  
 How Elyne was brought so over the sonde  
 3385 And she also right by a geants honde  
 And how he had so by hyre lady layne  
 That she was dede and by that tyrant slayne.
- shore*
- And so she sayde “He wille do now with me  
 At his comynge als faste, he is so grym  
 Therefore ye byde no lengere here bot fle  
 He is so ferse cruelle als and brym.  
 He wylle yow ete and rife fro lymme to lym  
 3390 So huge he is there may no wyght withstonde  
 His cruelté so hath he stroyed this londe.”
- fierce  
tear*
- 3395 Syr Bedwere than tille Arthur wente agayne  
 And tolde hym alle the case how was befalle  
 For whiche Arthur wolde thedyr soth to sayne  
 To fecht with hym with hande for hande at alle.
- to*

- 3400     Syr Bedwere than and Kay dyd with hym calle  
       And to the mounte thay rode with right gode spedē  
       When that the se was ebbe as it was nede                              *ebbing*
- 3405     Thre men with thaym thare horse to kepe and holde  
       Avoydynge thaym and wente up to the hylle.                              *Dismounting*  
       Whare Bedwere than and Kay that were so bolde  
       He lafte and bad thaym byde hym there fulle stille  
       Tylle with that fende he had done alle his wille.                      *fiend*  
       And to hym wente with alle the ire he myghte                              *vigor*  
       With Caliburne his sworde hym stroke fulle righte.
- fol. 81v     Suche strokes thay gafe that woundere were to here  
 3410     Syr Bedwere and Syr Kay myght here and se  
       And were fulle ferde the geants grete powere                              *afraid that*  
       Overcome shulde than thayre lorde thurgh grete pousté                      *force*  
       So huge he was and horrible on to se  
       That Arthure was bot lyke a childe to hym  
 3415     So large he was and there to stoute and grym.
- 3420     So longe thay faught and sore with strokes hatouse                      *hateful*  
       That Arthure had his wille and victory  
       And slew hym thare that was so vigorouse  
       That wente he to Bedwere and Kay on hy                                      *haste*  
       And bade thaym there for sygne and memory                              *testimony*  
       Of his tryumphe and batayle conquerouse  
       Strike of the hede of that foule fende hydouse.
- 3425     And rode so forthe unto his hoste agayne                                      *Bringing*  
       Bryngand the hede with thaym for grete mervayle  
       Of whiche the hoste were alle fulle glad and fayne  
       And thankynge God gretely for that batayle.  
       Bot Elenes deth fulle sore thay dyd bywayle                              *lament*  
       For whom Howelle over hyre tombe dyd make  
       A chapelle fayre, whiche stonte yit for hire sake.                              *stands*
- 3430     Whiche yit so hight Elene Tombe so named                                      *is called*  
       On Myghel Mount within Lyttille Bretayne  
       Whiche is now thare a streng fulle gretly famed                              *fortress*  
       Envyrounde with the se aboute certayne                                      *surrounded*  
       Marchyng right nere to Normandy unbayne                                      *Adjoining; disobedient*  
 3435     And enmy ever as it may be of myght  
       To take oure shyppes in pese withouten right.

## How Arthurs ambassetours with Romayns in Itaylle did feghte in bataylle

- |          |  |  |
|----------|--|--|
|          | Arthure his hoste assembled and forth wente<br>Tylle that he came tille Awbe a ryvere fayre<br>In Italy whiche fro the Occidente   |  |
| 3440     | Renneth estewarde whare that he wolde repayre.<br>His tentes gan sette whare was fulle holsom ayre<br>With woddes by and medowes fresshe and grene<br>With flowres fayre of dyvers colours sene.   | <i>wholesome air</i>   |
| 3445     | Whare he had worde the emperoure was nere<br>To whom he sent Erle Bews of Oxenforde,<br>Garyn of Chartres, the erle that was hym dere,<br>And Syr Gawayne, his nevew, on whose worde<br>He truste highly whom he at bed and borde<br>Up brought had ay, who kyng of Louthien<br>For sothe was than, as sayth the historien.            |  |
| 3450     |  |  |
| fol. 82r | Whiche messengers and wyse ambasiate<br>Wente so at over that ryvere fresshe and pure<br>Whare themperoure with alle the hole Senate<br>Than logged was nought ferre fro Kynge Arthure.<br>Bade hym remewe to Rome as he myght dure<br>And come none nere unto the reme of Fraunce<br>Elles on the morowe to fight for fulle fynaunce. | <i>deputation</i><br><i>encamped</i><br><i>[They]</i><br><i>settlement</i> |
| 3455     |  |  |
| 3460     | Syr Lucyus than sayde "That were grete shame.<br>To turne agayne I wylle noght in no wyse.<br>It were reprefe and shamynge of my name.<br>To Fraunce I wille now as I may suffyse<br>And have it alle right at myne own devyse."<br>With that his own neveu Quyntylian<br>To Gawayne sayde this scornefulle wordes than:               | <i>dishonour</i><br><i>be able</i><br><i>nephew</i><br><i>these</i>        |
| 3465     | "Ye Bretons alle in bragge and boste ben more<br>Than youre knyghthode ever was or hardymente."<br>Whom Gawayne there right with his swerde therfore<br>Than slew anone, and so homwarde faste he wente<br>With his felaws togedyr by hole consente  |  |
| 3470     | Arthure to warne of bataylle and no reste.<br>The emperoure had made thaym so to treste.   | <i>trust</i>   |
| 3475     | For whiche Romayns folowed upon thaym sore<br>Thaym to have slayne for vengeance of that dede.<br>Bot fleynge so who myghte than come afore<br>Was slayne right doun thurgh wytte and grete manhede.<br>At laste thaym sewed so fele of Romanhede  | <i>followed; many</i>  |

- Thay wiste not how escapen in no wyse  
Bot faught agayne fulle sore on thare enmyse. knew
- Out of a wode faste by sex thousandd men  
3480 Of Bretons bolde upon the Romayns felle  
And slew thaym doun chasyng upon thaym then  
Whiche Gawen and his men recomforte welle.  
Bot Petro than the senatoure fulle felle  
With ten thousandd Romayns of grete valoure  
3485 On Gawen felle fulle proudly in that stoure. exhort  
fierce  
encounter
- And on a playne he gafe hym grete batayle  
That he and his unto a wode gan fle  
Defendynge thaym and whan they saw a vayle  
Came oute aywhare and slew grete quantyté  
3490 Of Romayns ay thrugh manly juparté.  
And at the laste they issched oute fulle light  
And toke Petro and slew his men doun right. (i.e., *Gawain*)  
an advantage  
everywhere  
battle
- fol. 82v Whan in thare way, whare as thay shulde passe hame  
Two senatours with captayns mo in fere more; together
- 3495 Kynges that were, lay busshed as thay came  
With fyftene thousande men of armes clere  
Trustynge thaym have rescowed with grete powere.  
Bot in suche pride withouten reule on brede  
Thay came and of the batayle toke non hede i.e., the Roman prisoners  
in formation
- 3500 Tylle that Bretons thaym slew and toke aywhare  
And discomfyte were putte unto the flight  
And kynges thre with captaynes wyse and ware  
And nombre grete of Romayns party right  
The Bretons slewe and helde the felde that nyght. captured  
defeated  
knowledgeable
- 3505 And on the morow came homward glad and fayne  
Thay had so sped and of thayre syde few slayne. joyful  
prospered
- So with thare pray and alle thare prisoners  
Thay came unto Kynge Arthure home agayne spoils
- 3510 Of whiche that had so faught with smale powere  
Agayne so fele he was fulle glad and fayne  
“Welcome my knyghtes for me ye had grete Payne.” many
- Bot than he sente Petro the senatoure  
Unto Parise there to be holde in toure
- Wyth other kynges and many grete capteyne  
3515 That taken were in these grete batayls sere.  
Of whiche Gawen, Bewes also, and Gereyne,  
Syr Percyvalle, Ewayn, Estore, there were, various

- 3520     Cadore, Guytarde, Irelgas, and Bedwere,  
           That knyghtes were of the Table Rounde  
           And prynces gode that sore were hurte and wounde.                  *wounded*
- 3525     Lucyus so acerteyned of these dedes                                  *informed*  
           Estoyned was if in Augustudoun                                  *Wondering*  
           He shulde abyde for powere that hym nedes  
           Of his felawe that called was Leoun  
           Or to Langres he shulde his hestes boun                          *plans; prepare*  
           Whiche by espies was laten Arthure wete                          *delayed; knew*  
           Wharfore he thought how he shuld with hym mete.
- 3530     Within that nyght he busshed in his way                                  *(i.e., Arthur) ambushed*  
           Whare he shulde come right in a valey fayre  
           That Seysy hight in eght batayls fulle gay.<sup>1</sup>  
           To fecht with hym he made there his repaire  
           The emperoure he putte oute of dyspayre  
           That passe away he shulde than in no wyse  
           Withouten batayle or els a foule surprise.                                  *injury*
- fol. 83r   Kynge Aguselle that was of Albany  
 3536     And Cadore duke that was of Cornewayle  
           The friste batayle togedyr in company                                  *first battalion*  
           Had than al hole of men that myght avayle                          *succeed*  
           That couth right wele defende and eke assayle.                          *also; attack*
- 3540     To Bewes also and Geryn of grete myght  
           Another batayle he toke, bothe stronge and wight.                          *granted; vigorous*
- 3545     Aschille the kynge of Denmarke stronge and wyse  
           And to Kynge Lothe of Norway vgorouse  
           The thrid batayle he gafe of grete emprise.  
           Kynge Howel so and Gawayn fortunouse  
           The fourth bataylle had than fulle corregeouse.  
           Bedwere and Kay the fyfte batayle dyd holde  
           Of myghty men that hardy were and bolde.
- 3550     Syr Holdyne and Guytarde the sexte batayle.                          *[He gave]*  
           Syr Jugens and Jonathas so famouse  
           The sevent batayle than had withouten fayle.  
           Cursale of Chestere and Urgen corageuse  
           The eght batayle had so fulle harageouse.                                  *violent*
- 3555     In ecche batayle a legioun of knyghtes  
           Arrayed were alle redy for the fyghtes.

<sup>1</sup> *That Saussy (or Val-Suzon) was called and in eight battles quite glorious*

Arthure bare a banere of sable, a dragoun of golde, and a baner of oure lady  
and the thrid baner of Seynt George, that were Galaad armes for remembrance  
of Galaad, and the fourt baner of goules (*red*) thre corouns of golde.

- |      |   |  |
|------|---|--|
|      | The nynte bataile the kynge Arthure dyd lede<br>In whiche the erle of Gloucestere so wyse<br>A legioun thay had and dyd possede<br>Of knyghtes gode that were of high emprise.<br>In whiche batayle he bare as myght suffise<br>In a banere a dragoun alle of golde<br>The castelle so to ben for yonge and olde.   | (i.e., Morvyde)  |
| 3560 |   | <i>fortified camp</i>  |
|      | The emperoure with legions fully twelve<br>Come thrugh that bale right as than was his way<br>Of Romayns fele ful stoute right with hymselfe<br>In batayls twelve redy to fight that day.<br>With that eyther parte by skurours herde welle say<br>That bothe partes so nere that tyme were mette<br>That fyght thay muste or els to deth be bette.           | <i>strife</i><br><i>many</i><br><i>scouts</i><br><i>beaten</i> |
| 3565 |   |  |
| 3570 | Kynge Arthure bade his knyghtes to make gode chere<br>Saynge right thus: "My knyghtes ye wete welle alle<br>Youre manhode grete and conqueste syngulere<br>And youre knyghthode that never yit dyd appalle<br>So myghty was in every place over alle<br>Have wonne and gote me thretty remes by myght<br>Whiche with youre honde ye have conquerde ful right. | <i>know</i><br><i>tarnish</i>                                  |
| 3575 |   |  |

fol. 83v **How conforte his knyghtes to the bataylle**

“Stonde now on fete and alle youre right defende  
That ye have wonne so lette it never doun falle.  
Lete not this day thise Romayns us transcende.  
Iff thay overcome us now it wylle befall  
That we muste ever in servytute ben thralle  
And tribute pay to thare domynacioun  
Rather de we, than thaym do mynstracioun.”

**How the Scottes kynges and other knyghtes recomforde (*encourage*) Kyng Arthur thare**

- Than hony so to me shalbe swetter  
3590 And over alle mete and drynke shalle lyke me better. *honey  
please*
- So thruste my soule thare blode byholde and se  
And Germayns als that hath us done offence  
That ofte hath putte us from felicité  
Thurgh thaire cruelle and cursed violence  
3595 For whiche I shalle this day thaym recompense  
With alle myne hertes laboure and besynesse  
Us to revenge of alle thare wykydnesse.” *thirsts*
- “Me thynke fulle longe” than seyde Kynge Urian  
Of Murrefe that was fully lorde and syre  
3600 “Unto that houre whiche day myght sende so than  
My soule dothe brenne right as it were in fyre. *burn*  
I had lever now than have the hole Empyre  
With thaym be mette in felde where I myght fight  
Thayre pride to felle that bene so stronge and wyght.” *rather  
vigorous*

### Howelle Kynge of Litille Bretayne

#### How Kynge Howelle of Lasse Bretayne conforte (*urged*) the kynge to bataylle

- 3605 Kynge Howelle sayde to Kynge Arthure anone  
“This taried tyme me thynke ys fully tynte *delayed; wasted*  
Of yow thay aske no right bot wronge allone.  
Why stonde ye thus? Go to thaym ere ye stynte *cease*  
And for thayre wronge desyre with strokes dynte *blow*  
3610 Dyscomfyt shalle thay be and insuperate *defeated*  
Bothe Lucyus and als his hole Senate.”
- Thus every knyght right of the Table Rounde  
Thaire counsayle gafe to strike sone the batayle  
And severaly made there avowes that stounde. *individually; time*  
3615 Thay shuld never spare thare ennemyse to assayle  
For hurte, nor deth, and thought fulle grete mervayle  
Why that thay were holden so longe in sounder  
So longe thay thought to se who shulde ben undre. *apart*

fol. 84r **How Kynge Arthure and the Emperour Lucyus faughte in grete bataille in Itaylle whare Lucius was slayne and Arthure had the victory**

- 3620 Thanne to that vale whare Kynge Arthure so lay *valley*  
The emperoure came holy with his hoste.  
And thare thay faught whils thousandes dede that day *died*  
On ayther parte were, bot of Romayns moste.  
Many thousonde Romayne thare yelde the goste. *spirit*

- Bot Duke Bedwere and als Duke Kay were slayne  
 3625 In that batayle and suffred dethes payne.
- Whose corses so brought were to the dragoun  
 By Aguselle and Duke Cadore with myght.  
 And of Romayns two kynges that bare the croun  
 And prynces foure that senatours were wight  
 3630 Were slayne that houre that manly were in fight.  
 With thaire fresshe hostes layde on alle new fulle faste  
 Was no wyght there of deth that was agaste.
- Now here, now thare, on every syde aboute  
 Thay stroke men doun to deth ay as thay mette  
 3635 Some tyme Romayns the worse had there thurghoute  
 Some tyme Bretons with Romayns were oversette.  
 On ayther parte so were thay alle wele bette.  
 Than Kynge Howelle and Gawen corageouse  
 With thaire batayle came Bretons to rescouse.
- A sore batayle was than on every syde  
 Whare Holdyne erle of Flaunders than was slayne.  
 The erle also of Boloyne in that tyde  
 Syr Cursale, erle of Chestere, sothe to sayne,  
 3640 Of Salisbyry, erle Gwaluk, nought to layne,  
 Urgen of Bathe, that was fulle bataylouse,  
 Alle slayne were than in that stoure dolorouse.
- And of Romayns were dede foure prynces grete  
 With thousanddes fele of other low estate.  
 So Gawen and Howelle thaym gan rehete  
 3650 And thre knyghtes than thay slewe of the Senate  
 Whiche for manhode myght have ben socyate  
 Tylle kynges degré for noble regymment  
 And ben lyfte up to estate excellent.
- Than came Arthure right with his grete dragoun  
 The emperoure als with his egle of golde  
 Thare myght men se fele knyghtes stryken doun  
 On bothe sydes that were fulle stoute and bolde.  
 Ayther on other that day than fought thykfolde  
 3655 And faught fulle sore whanne they togeder mette  
 And many knyghtes thay bothe to dethe doun bette.
- Bot at the laste to passe unto an ende  
 The Bretons so upon the Romayns hewe  
 With comynge of Morvyde to thaym fulle hende  
 Behynde Romayns and at thare bakkes theym slew
- bodies; i.e., fortified camp*  
*strong person*  
*rescue*  
*time*  
*sorrowful encounter*  
*many attack*  
*raised With*  
*eagle many*  
*in large numbers*  
*attacked noble*

- |          |  |  |
|----------|--|--|
| 3665     | As Kynge Arthure hym bade and layde on newe<br>Tylle Romayns faste began to waxen thynne<br>And Lucyus slayne, and many of his kynne.  |  |
| 3670     | Bot who hym slew there wiste no wyght so than<br>Bot Syr Gawayne of it dyd bere the name<br>For ayther of thaym hurte other ay whan and whan<br>By dyvers tymes as thay togedyr came<br>Whanne thay departe ayther gafe other fame<br>For worthiest that ever he dyd with mete<br>Suche ennemyse love eyther other dyd behete.           | <i>knew</i><br><i>alternately</i><br><i>meet</i><br><i>grant</i>   |
| 3675     | Of whose dethe so the Romayns were dismayed<br>And fled fulle faste on every syde aboute.<br>Some unto tounes and some to wodes strayed<br>And some to toures and castels in grete route<br>Grete multitude there slayne withouten doute.  | <i>bands</i>   |
| 3680     | There was never prynce that dyd so manly fight<br>As Kynge Arthure thare dyd in alle mennes sight.   |  |
| 3685     | So dyd his kynges and prynces for his right<br>His Bretons alle thurghout alle hole his hoste<br>His knyghtes hole also that were fulle wight<br>Right of the Rounde Table withouten boste<br>Ful doughtly thaym bare with myghtes moste<br>His ennemyse so to felle and wyn the felde<br>With alle honoure and vyctory to weelde.       | <i>strong</i><br><i>possess</i>  |
| 3690     | Than sente he forthe the corse of Lucyus<br>To Rome that was emperoure than doutelesse<br>Who called was Lucyus Hiberus<br>Associate with Leo as I gesse<br>To holde hym in imperialle worthynesse<br>Of whiche in youthe and tendre innocence   | <i>body</i>  |
| 3695     | He was putte oute by myghty violence.  |  |
| 3700     | He bade thaym take that corse for thare truage<br>And holde thaym payed and be nought daungerouse<br>And iff thaym wille have alle the supplusage<br>He shulde thaym pay of corses preciouuse<br>Of senatours and princes gloriouse<br>In that same wyse, and prayed thaym it alone<br>For with suche gode he shulde thaym welle endowe. | <i>(i.e., the Senate); body; tribute</i><br><i>satisfied; haughty</i><br><i>extra payment</i><br><i>bodies</i><br><i>recognize</i><br><i>gifts</i> |
| fol. 85r | For fere offe whiche thay dyd hym than relese<br>The trewage alle and servyce every dele<br>Renounsynge it of suche payment to cese.   | <i>tribute; part</i>   |
| 3705     |  |  |

Thay prayed hym so gode lordeship thay myght fele  
 And iff he wolde the publike unyversele  
 With alle thare hertes the hole imperialté  
 Thay wolde hym graunte with alle the dygnyté.

3710 Kynge Arthure than unto thayre graunte consente  
 And Bedwere sente to bery at Bayoun  
 And Kay unto Chynoun his castelle gente  
 Whare beried was his corse with devocioun  
 In an abbay thereby of religioune

*bury; Bayeux  
Chinon; noble  
body*

3715 And every lorde unto thayre sepulture  
 He sente so home whare was thare kynde nature.

*tombs*

Bot he abode in Italy so thane  
 That wynter helde his men in dyverse place  
 Tylle somer came at whiche tyme he beganne  
 3720 To passe to Rome on Leo forto chace  
 The Empire hole unto hymselfe embrace  
 And Leon putte in reule of his regence  
 As myght acorde so with his innocence.

*remained*

**How Kynge Arthure had worde of Modrede that purposed (*intended*) to bene  
 Kynge of Bretayne, wharfore he cam home and slew Modrede and had his  
 dethes wounde.**

3725 Bot tythandes cam than oute of Grete Bretayne  
 To Kynge Arthure how Modrede had aspyred  
 To have the croune of Bretayne for certayne  
 And wedden wold the quene, and had conspyred  
 With Duke Cheldrike fulle bysly requyred  
 To helpe hym so with alle his payenhede  
 3730 And Albany he gafe hym to his mede.

*news*

*pagan troops  
reward*

For whiche to Kynge Howelle his neveu dere  
 His hoste he toke on that syde on the se  
 And bade hym ride the Romayns to conquere  
 And he wolde with his insulans pouste  
 3735 To Bretayne wende to chastyse that contré  
 The fals Modrede whom he had made regent  
 As traytoure honge and draw by jugement.

*nephew*

*insular force*

**Whare Arthure faughte first with Modrede atte Whytsonde**

In this mene while the traytoure Modrede  
 And Cheldrike als who came with grete powere  
 3740 Assembled were with Cristen and payenhede  
 Foure score thousonde of men of armes clere

*armed men*

Whare Kynge Arthure and his hoste londed were  
 At Porte Rupyne whare Whitesonde is fulle ryght  
 Thay faught with hym in batayle stronge and wight.

*Richborough; Wissant, France*  
*vigorous*

- fol. 85v Bot Aguselle the kynge of Albany  
 3746 And Syr Gawayn the kynges neven dere *nephew*  
 Of Louthian kynge than by auncetry  
 With many other were slayne that day in fere.  
 Bot Arthure had the felde with his powere  
 3750 And putte thaym to the flight and made grete chace  
 In whiche he slewe grete peple withouten grace.

**How Arthure faughte with Modrede at Wynchestre and putte Modrede to the flyghe**

- Bot Modrede than to Wynchester so fledde  
 With grete peple to whom Arthure came right  
 With alle his hoste whom Modred bataylle bedde  
 3755 And redy was anone with hym to fight. *offered*  
 Bot there Modrede was putte unto the flight  
 And fled fulle faste to Cornewayle with powere  
 Whom in that chace Kynge Arthure sought so nere

**How Arthure faught with Modred the thryd tyme bysyde Camblayne in Cornewayle**

- That he sawe whare he lay with his powere  
 3760 Upon a water that called is Camblayne  
 With sixty thousandde Cristen and payenis clere *pagans*  
 That with hym were redy to fight agayne  
 With whom Arthure with alle his hoste fulle fayne  
 3765 Thare faught and slewe fulle mekylle multitude  
 Thurgh powere of his hoste and fortitude.

- Bot Arthure was in herte so sore anoyed  
 For Gawayns deth and of Kynge Aguselle  
 Which were afore by Modrede slayne and stroyd  
 3770 And myght not mete with swerdes for to dele  
 His foule tresoun and falsede to cansele  
 And his persone to hangen and to drawe  
 As hyegh traytoure by jugement of his lawe.

- For ire of whiche he faughte so in that stoure  
 3775 That thousanddes fele he slew there and his knyghtes  
 Thare was never kynge, nor prynce, no conqueroure,  
 That dyd so wele as thay in any fightes  
 Bot Arthure thare at laste with alle his myghtes *encounter*  
*many*

- Slew Modrede than with Caliburne his swerde  
And Duke Cheldrike so Fortune made his werde. *fate*
- 3780 Than fled thay faste thaire captayns were alle slayne.  
The Saxons hole and alle the payenhede *pagan troops*  
And Arthure helde the felde and was fulle fayne  
With vycitory of alle his fose I rede *foes*  
So hole Fortune was his frende at nede  
That Mars the god of armes and of batayle  
No better myght have done withouten fayle.
- fol. 86r Bot dethes wounde, as cronycle doth expresse,  
Modrede hym gafe that was his syster sunne  
And as some sayne his owne sonne als doutlesse.
- 3790 Bot certaynté thereof no bokes kunne *can*  
Declare it wele that I have sene or funne.  
Bot lyke it ys by alle estymacioun *found*  
That he cam never of his generacioun.
- 3795 The quene Gaynore whanne she persayved wele  
That Modrede so discomfy was and slayne  
Fro Yorke dyd fle by nyght than every dele  
Tylle that she came to Carlyoun with Payne  
Whare she hyre made a nonne the soth to sayne  
In prvyté thare hyd for fere of deth *secret*  
3800 For shame and sorow almoste she yalde the brethe. *died*
- In the temple of Seynte July Martyre  
Whare she corounde was with solempnyté  
Amonges nunnes fro whom none shulde departe hire  
She toke hyre lyfe with alle stabilité *accepted; steadfastness*  
3805 Thare to abyde and leve in chastyté  
Hyre synne to clenge to God and yelde hyre goste *cleanse; spirit*  
Whiche eternaly ay is of myghtes moste.
- 3810 In whiche batayle the floure of alle knyghhede *flower; knighthood*  
Dede was and slayne on Arthurs syde so dygne *worthy*  
The knyghtes alle that were of worthihede  
To kynges egalle and compars were condygne  
Whiche for Arthure thare lyfe did there resygne *equal; companions; distinguished*  
That knyghtes were right of the Table Rounde  
That were alle slayne echone with dethes wounde. *give up*
- 3815 For whiche Arthure formerred in his thought  
Never after had conforte, ne yit gladnesse,  
To thynke on thaym so dere his love had bought.  
Fulle fayne he wolde so than have be lyfelesse *distraught*  
*joyful*

- Whyche he byried with grete and high noblesse  
 3820 With herte fulle sore his sorows to complayne  
     His dethes woundes fulle sore bygan dystrayne. *oppress*
- He gafe his reme and alle his domynacioun  
     To Constantyne the sonne of Duke Cadore  
     Whiche Cadore slayne was in that adversacioun  
 3825 With Arthure so at Camblayne than afore *battle*  
     Whose brother he was alle of a moder bore *born*  
     Bot Gorloys sonne, that duke was of Cornewayle,  
     He was sertayne and heyre withouten fayle.
- fol. 86v Kynge Arthure than so wounded mortaly  
 3830 Was led forth thanne to Avalon fulle sore  
     To lechen thare his woundes pryvely *tend to; secretly*  
     Whare than he dyed and byried was right thore *there*  
     As yit this day ys sene and shalle evermore  
     Within the chirche and mynsterie of Glastynbyry  
 3835 In tombe rialle made sufficiantly.
- Who dyed so in the yere of Cristes date  
     Fyve hundred was accounted than in fere *together*  
     And fourty more and two associate  
     As cronyclers expressed have fulle clere  
 3840 Fro whiche tyme forth he dyd no more apere  
     Nought wythstondyng Merlyne seyde of hym thus  
     His deth shuld be unknow and ay doutous. *uncertain*
- De quo Merlinus dicit inter prophecias suas exitus eius erit dubius et quidam propheta Britonum fecit pro epitaphio super tumbam suam versum istum: Hic iacet Arthurus rex quondam rexque futurus.<sup>1</sup>**
- Bot of his dethe the story of Seynt Grale *Holy Grail*  
 3845 Sayth that he dyed in Avalon fulle fayre  
     And byried there his body was alle hale *healthy*  
     Within the Blake Chapelle whare was his layre *burial place*  
     Whiche Geryn made whare than was grete repayre *spiritual retreat*  
     For Seynt Davyd, Arthurs uncle dere,  
     It halowed had in name of Mary clere. *pure*

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<sup>1</sup> Concerning which Merlin says, among his prophecies, that his death will be uncertain and a certain prophet of the Britons made as an epitaph on his tomb this verse: "Here lies Arthur, the once and future king"

**Nota how Geryn went with Arthure into Avalon, to whom Sir Launcelot de Lake cam of aventure folowyng on the chace and thay toke ordere of preest and wox (*became*) recluses ther to pray for Arthure time of thaire lyves.**

- 3850 Whare Geryn so abode than alle his lyfe  
Aboute his tombe with devote exequysē  
So was he than ay forth contemplatife  
He lyfte no more the worlde to excercysē  
Bot only there to serve at his advysē
- 3855 Allemyghty God whils he on lyfe myght dure  
Of his erledome he had none other cure. *rites*
- 3860 And as that same story aftyr doth contene  
That Syr Launcelot de Lake the worthy knyght  
Of the Rounde Table fulle longe a knyght had bene  
Folowynge on the Saxons in that flight  
Thare foonde the tombe of Kynge Arthure so wyght *concern*
- 3865 Of Seynt Davyd archebisshop of Carlyoun  
Ordres of preste with gode devocysē  
He toke, and als sone as he myght be boun  
His servyce hole gostely withoute remocioun  
He made his lorde of his owne commocion *vigorous*
- 3870 In that chapelle with Geryn his compere  
In penaunce grete recluses were foure yere. *ready*  
*delay*  
*motivation*  
*companion*
- fol. 87r **The compleynt of the makere for the deth of Kynge Arthure and of hys noble prynces and knyghtes of the Rounde Table**
- 3875 O gode lorde God, suche tresoun and unrightes  
Whi suffred so devyne omnipotence  
Whiche had of it precyence and forsightes  
And myght have lette that cursed violence *prescience*  
*prevented*  
*insolence*
- O noble kynge forpassynge conquerourē  
That noble kyng forpassynge conquerourē  
So to dystroy and waste thurgh his erroure?
- 3880 O thou Fortune, executrice of werdes,  
That evermore so with thy subtilité *arbiter of fate*  
To alle debates so strongly thou enherdes  
That men that wolde ay leve in charité *participate in*  
Thou dooste perturbe with mutabilé *live*  
Why stretched so thy whele upon Modrede  
Agayne his eme to do so cruelle dede? *wheel*  
*uncle*

- 3885 Whare thurgh that hiegh and noble conqueroure  
 Withouten cause shulde sogates perisshit be  
 With so fele kynges and prynces of honoure  
 That alle the worlde myght never thare better se.  
 O fals fallace of Modredes propreté  
 How myght thou so in Gaynore have suche myghtes  
 That she the dethe caused of so fele knyghtes?
- in this manner*  
*many*  
*deceit; nature*  
*power of attractiveness*  
*many*
- 3890 Bot O Modrede that was so gode a knyght  
 In grete manhode and proudly ay approved  
 In whom thyne eme the nobleste prynce of myght  
 Putte alle his truste so gretely he thee loved  
 What unhappe so thy manly goste hath moved  
 Unto so foule and cruelle hardynesse  
 So fele be slayne thurgh thyne unhappynesse?
- uncle*  
*ill-chance; spirit*  
*evil*
- 3900 The highnesse of thyne honoure had a falle  
 Whanne thou beganne to do that injury.  
 That grete falshode thy prowesse dyd apalle  
 Alsone as in thee entred perjury  
 By consequent tresoun and traytory  
 Thy lorde and eme also thy kynge soverayne  
 So to bytrayse thy felaws als sertayne.
- As soon*  
*uncle*
- 3905

#### **.xvii. capitulum of the Kynge Constantyne, the son of Cador of Cornewaylle.**

- Kynge Constantyne his brother son was crounde  
 Duke Cadore sonne a knyght fulle aventurous  
 And chosen was oon of the Table Rounde  
 In Arthure tyme for knyght ful corageouse  
 3910 In trone rialle was sette fulle preciouse  
 With dyademe on his hed signyfyde  
 At Trynovaunt whare no wight it replyde.
- throne*  
*person; objected to*
- fol. 87v Whiche Constantyne with Saxons sore dyd fight  
 Assembled than with Modredes sonnes two  
 3915 By dyverse tymes and putte thaym to the flight  
 Of whiche oon fled to Wynchestere right so  
 Whare Constantyne hym slewe as for his fo  
 Right in the kyrke than of Saynte Amphibale  
 At the awtere withoute lengere tale.
- church*  
*altar*

## Nota de data mortis sancti David Archiepiscopi de Caerlioun<sup>1</sup>

- |      |   |  |
|------|---|--|
| 3920 | The tother hyd than in a chyrch fulle fayre<br>At Trynovant behynde the high autere.<br>He slew anone withoute any dispayre<br>And Saxons putte in subjeccioun clere.<br>In whose tyme so, as sayth the cronyclere,<br>Seynt Davyd dyed archebishop of Carlyoun<br>In his mynstyre at Meneu of religioum          |  |
| 3925 | Whare he ys byried now in fayre sepulture<br>Of whiche the name so for his byriall<br>Es called now with every creature<br>Seynt Davys so by name especialle<br>Whare now is sette the se pontysficalle<br>In name of hym for his solempnysacioun<br>Of his gode lyfe to make comedacioun.                        |  |
| 3930 | At Bangore als bysshop Seynt Danyele<br>That holy was and ful religeouse<br>Decesed than of lyfe had leved wele<br>And honourd thare his body preciouse<br>Amonge the folke for his werkes vertuouse<br>Eternaly muste bene in memory<br>Remembred hole within that cenoby.                                       | <i>Bangor</i><br><i>lived</i><br><i>monastery</i>                    |
| 3935 | Bot Constantyne his reme dyd wele governe<br>In reste and pese so after in grete noblesse<br>By foure yere hole after he couthe deserne<br>Whanne thurgh sentece of devyne myghtynesse<br>He dyd so and byried was doutelesse<br>In the Carolle by Utene Pendragoun<br>As cronyclers have made in mencioum.       |  |
| 3940 | .xviii. capitulum of Aurelius Conan, Rex Britannie <sup>2</sup>   |  |
| 3945 | Aurelyus Conan his cosyn fayre<br>The se rialle than helde and dyd succede<br>To hym as next than of his blode and hayre.<br>His eme and eke his sonnes two indede<br>In prisoun slew which after Constantyne I rede<br>Shulde have bene kynges of alle the Grete Bretayne<br>The dyademe and coroune to obtayne. | <i>royal see (i.e., jurisdiction)</i><br><i>heir</i><br><i>uncle</i> |

<sup>1</sup> Note the date of the death of David Archbishop of Caerleon

<sup>2</sup> *Chapter of Aurelius Conan, King of Britain*

## The makers wordes to lordes for mayntenance of quereles and debates

- Bewarre ye lordes that ben in hygh estates  
And thynke upon this worldes transmutacioun  
And cherisshē not contencions, no debates,  
In youre countresē, lesse it be youre confusioune.  
For fals Fortune with hyre permutacioun  
Fulle lyghtely wille caste doun that ys above  
Whose nature is to chaungen and remoue.

.xix. capitulum of Kynge Vortypore and Malgo kynges, and Kynge Careys.



- Malgo next hym to the croune atteyned  
Fayrest of other that ever were in his day  
Alle tyrany fully he restreyned  
And conquerde hole sex illes, the sothe to say,  
With force of werre Denmarke and eke Norway. *also*  
Irelonde, Iselonde, Gothlonde, and Orkadese,  
With bataylle stronge obeyed his rialtese. *royal authority*

- 3985 Stronge he was and myghty of powere  
Excedyng other of hiegh and large stature  
In alle worshyp and fredome syngulere  
And wele beloved with every creature  
Bot only so by grete mysaventure  
And thurgh his foule acursed appetyte  
He haunted ay the synne of sodomyte. *practiced; sodomy*

- 3990 In whiche synne so at Wynchestere he dyed  
Within a bathe by Goddes own vengeaunce  
And how his soule was in his deth applied

- None wote bot God oonly of his pusaunce.  
The thrid yere of his regne and governaunce  
3995 The cruelle deth hym stale away anone  
Fro his coroune and fro his rialle trone.
- knows; power*  
*throne*

fol. 88v **Kynge Careyse**

- Careys was than corouned kynge anone  
That loved wele in alle cytese debate  
And als bytwyx the cytese everychone  
4000 He suffred werre and ofte it made for hate  
Engendred of his ire imoderate  
So ferre that werre in every grete cyté  
Fulle comoun was thurgh his maliciousté.
- extreme wrath*
- For whiche Bretons than made hym mekylle were  
That whanne Gurmonde of Aufrike payen stronge  
Irelonde had wonne thay sente to hym for fere  
Of Kynge Careys and prayde hym byde not longe  
Bot that in haste he wolde come thaym amonge.  
So dyd Saxons, thay hight hym alle the londe  
4010 Of Bretayne hole if he wolde with theym stonde.
- pagan*  
*promised*



## EXPLANATORY NOTES

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**ABBREVIATIONS:** **Alliterative Morte:** *Alliterative Morte Arthure*, ed. Benson; **Arthur:** *Arthur: A Short Sketch of His Life and History in English Verse*; **Bede:** Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*; **Brut:** *The Brut or The Chronicles of England*, ed. Brie; **CT:** *Canterbury Tales*; **CPL:** Peter Langtoft, *The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft*; **EH:** *Eulogium Historiarum sive Temporis*, ed. Haydon; **FH:** *Flores Historiarum*, ed. Luard; **FP:** John Lydgate, *Fall of Princes*; **HA:** Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*; **HB:** Nennius, *Historia Brittonum*; **HRB:** Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*; **HRBVV:** Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae, Variant Version*; **JG:** John of Glastonbury, *The Chronicle of Glastonbury Abbey*; **LB:** Layamon's *Brut*, trans. Allen; **m:** marginalia; **Mort Artu:** *La Morte Artu*, ed. Lacy; **MED:** *Middle English Dictionary*; **MO:** Martin of Troppau, *Martini Oppaviensis Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum*; **NC:** *Pe New Croniclis Compendiusli Ydrawe of Pe Gestis of Kyngis of Ingelond*; **OED:** *Oxford English Dictionary*; **OV:** *The Oldest Anglo-Norman Prose Brut Chronicle*, ed. Marvin; **P:** Ranulf Higden, *Polychronicon*; **PRO:** Public Record Office; **Queste:** *La Queste del Saint Graal*, trans. Burns; **RB:** Wace, *Roman de Brut*; **RMB:** Robert Mannyng of Brunne, *The Chronicle*; **TB:** John Lydgate, *Troy Book*; **TC:** Geoffrey Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*; **TNA:** The National Archives of the UK; **Whiting:** Whiting, *Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases*.

### PROLOGUE

- 1–14        *O soverayne . . . withouten variance.* The *Chronicle* is dedicated to King Henry VI (1421–71), his wife, Margaret of Anjou (1429–82), and their son, Edward of Lancaster (1453–71), prince of Wales. Hardyng appears to have based the opening line of his prologue on line 531 of John Lydgate's "King Henry VI's Triumphant Entry into London" ("O noble Meir! be yt vnto youre pleasaunce"); this is the first of several borrowings from the poem. For further discussion of Hardyng's use of Middle English poetry in the *Chronicle*, see Introduction and Peverley, "Chronicling the Fortunes of Kings."
- 2            *of my simplicité.* The term "simplicité" can mean "meekness," "plainness of style," or "lack of sophistication" (*MED simplicite* (n.)). Hardyng's affected modesty is a rhetorical topos common to medieval prologues.
- 4            *Whiche no man hath in worlde bot oonly ye.* This reference to the uniqueness of the *Chronicle* may be a rhetorical feature, but it also supports the assumption that Lansdowne 204 was the presentation copy made for Henry VI (see Manuscript Description).

- 11      *With baronage and lordes.* This is the first of many references to the nobility helping the king to govern effectively.
- 20–21    *Of Scotland . . . proudly straye.* The topic of English hegemony over Scotland is raised frequently throughout the *Chronicle* (see Introduction and Peverley, “Anglo-Scottish Relations”). A number of English kings attempted to bring the smaller kingdom under English rule, the most important being Edward I, whom Hardyng mentions in the following stanza. For an overview of Anglo-Scottish relations in the Middle Ages see Stones, *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, Nicholson, *Scotland*, and Brown, *Wars of Scotland*.
- 22–28    *Wythin thre . . . hool proteccioun.* Hardyng’s optimistic estimation that the king could conquer Scotland within three years anticipates his account of how “the kynge may moste esely conquere Scotlonde” at the end of Book 7 (lines 1170–1330). Revised estimates are given at 7.1327 and 7.1711. For the Scottish campaigns waged by Edward I, see Prestwich, *Edward I*.
- 29–35    *Who hath . . . an idyote.* The medical metaphor employed here has its origins in Boethius’ *The Consolation of Philosophy*, where Lady Philosophy advises the narrator to divulge his sorrows to her. It is common in medieval literature (see Whiting L173), but Hardyng probably encountered it in Book 1, Prosa 4 of John Walton’s Middle English translation of Boethius’s work (p. 29), or Chaucer’s TC 1.857–58, two texts that he utilizes elsewhere in the *Chronicle*. In this instance he uses it to heighten his appeal to Henry VI for the reward promised by the king’s father, Henry V. The sovereign is depicted as the only man capable of remunerating Hardyng and curing the metaphorical sickness brought about by his lack of reward. See Peverley, “Chronicling the Fortunes of Kings.”
- 33       *erande.* “Erande” refers to the reconnaissance Hardyng allegedly undertook for Henry V in Scotland between 1418 and 1421. (For further information see Introduction).
- 45       *maymed.* Hardyng is referring to an injury that he received during his Scottish mission.
- 49       *Esthamstede.* The patent rolls confirm that Hardyng presented documents to Henry VI at Easthampstead manor, and that he received an annuity of £10 from the king (*Calendar of Patent Rolls: Henry VI 1436–1441*, p. 431, m. 15).
- 50–56    *a lettre . . . sovereynté expressyng.* The document referred to is the submission of the competitors for the Scottish crown at Norham in 1291, acknowledging their deference to Edward I. For this and other documents supposedly recovered in Scotland by Hardyng, see Stones and Simpson (*Edward I and the Throne*, II:385–87) and Hiatt (*Medieval Forgeries*, pp. 104, 112–13).
- 54       *Long Shankes.* Longshankes (literally “long legs”) was the soubriquet given to Edward I on account of his height.
- 57–63    *two patents rial . . . made memory.* Hardyng refers to two letters patent from David II of Scotland and Robert II of Scotland acknowledging English

- suzerainty. Several forged documents relating to David and Robert are associated with Hardyng: they survive in TNA: PRO E 39/2/5, E 39/96/4, E 39/96/5, E 39/97/4, and E 39/4/3a. For further information see Stones and Simpson (*Edward I and the Throne*, II:385–87) and Hiatt (*Medieval Forgeries*, pp. 103–11).
- 64–70      *the relees . . . hieghness wroght.* This is a reference to the Treaty of Northampton (1328), an Anglo-Scottish peace treaty that recognized Scotland as an independent nation; see Stones, *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, document 41a (pp. 323–27), and Hiatt (*Medieval Forgeries*, p. 105). In the second version of the *Chronicle* Hardyng also claims to have submitted a copy to Edward IV, most probably in 1463 (see Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Arch. Selden B. 10, fol. 139v, and *The Chronicle of John Hardyng*, ed. Ellis, p. 317).
- 67      *Umfrevenile.* Hardyng claims that the treaty was immersed in oil while in the custody of a member of the Umfraville family.
- 71–77      *tho lettres . . . withoute difficulté.* Hardyng refers to the forged letters of David Bruce that he retrieved exemplifying a charter of Alexander of Scotland in which English overlordship is acknowledged and the ecclesiastical rights of York and Durham are reserved. The document in question is preserved in TNA: PRO E 39/2/7 and in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 789, fols. 161r–161v (See Hiatt, “Forgeries of John Hardyng,” p. 9). Another reference to the rights of York occurs in the reign of King Arthur (3.2409m–2415).
- 76      *Cuthberthes ryght.* St. Cuthbert (circa 635–87) was bishop of Lindisfarne in the kingdom of Northumbria. Since Northumbria extended up to the Firth of Forth in Cuthbert’s time, his “ryght” refers to the powers that the episcopal see gave the saint over south-east Scotland. For Cuthbert’s life see Rollason and Dobson, “Cuthbert [St Cuthbert] (c.635–687).”
- 93      *figure.* The word *figure* refers to Hardyng’s map of Scotland occurring on fols. 226v–227r.
- 99–105      *Now seth . . . verry demonstracioun.* By emphasizing Henry VI’s descent from the celebrated Henry V, Hardyng implies that he inherits a responsibility to continue his father’s work, not only in the form of fulfilling his promise to reward Hardyng, but by continuing the successful campaigns of his father and following his example of good leadership (compare also Prol.134–47).
- 113      *Sex yere now go.* The Dedication and Prologue appear to have been composed after the main body of the *Chronicle*, but before the text was presented to Henry VI in 1457; “Sex yere now go” probably refers to 1451. Hardyng’s description of John Kemp seems to corroborate this date (see the Introduction and notes to Prol.120 and Prol.148–49).
- 114–15      *lettres secretary . . . pryvy seal.* Hardyng refers to the royal seals, particularly the king’s personal seal, indicating that his grant was authorized in the correct manner and should not have been canceled. The Privy Seal was originally the king’s personal seal, but over time it was adopted for other government functions, and new “secret” seals, most notably the Signet Seal, took its place

to enable the king to exercise his authority and authenticate correspondence. The Signet Seal was kept by the king's secretary, hence "lettres secretary"; for further information, see Otway-Ruthven, *King's Secretary and the Signet*.

- 117     *Gedyngtoun.* Geddington Manor, Northamptonshire, is no longer extant. In the late medieval period it was a royal hunting lodge and was often granted to the queen of England as dowager land. See the second version of the *Chronicle*, where Hardynge attributes his loss of Geddington to Henry Beaufort and states that he was promised "recompense" (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Arch. Selden B. 10, fol. 129v; *Chronicle of Iohn Hardyng*, ed. Ellis, p. 292). The estimated annual revenue of Geddington at this time was approximately £32 (see *Chronicle of Iohn Hardyng*, ed. Ellis, p. vi, and the Sheriffs' accounts for 1436–41 in TNA: PRO E 199/32/19); it would therefore have been a substantial reward for Hardynge's services.
- 120     *noble chauncellere.* John Kemp (c.1375–1454), cardinal (1439), archbishop of York (1425), archbishop of Canterbury (1452), and chancellor of England (1426–32 and 1450). Hardynge's description of Kemp as "cardinall" of York (Prol. 122) is a conflation of two of his titles. Given that he makes no reference to Kemp's position as archbishop of Canterbury, it is likely that Hardynge is describing events that took place in 1451; at this time Kemp held the office of chancellor, cardinal, and archbishop of York, but was not yet archbishop of Canterbury (Kingsford, "First Version," p. 465). However, see the Textual Notes for evidence that the scribe erased a previous line occupying the space of Prol. 122 before adding the line that identified Kemp as Chancellor.
- 134–47     *Bot undirneth . . . thys cace.* Once again Hardynge compares the rule of Henry VI with that of his father in order to demonstrate that Henry VI has the power to continue his father's good rule.
- 148–49     *Whiche evydence . . . yow take.* Hardynge's reference to the main body of the *Chronicle* being "afore comprised" suggests that the prologue was added after the history had been compiled and before it was presented to the king (other evidence supporting this assumption is discussed in the Manuscript Description).
- These lines also suggest that the *Chronicle* and the documents that Hardynge delivered to the Treasury in November 1457 (the "other mo" mentioned at Prol. 149) were meant to form a package attesting to Henry VI's dominion, and that the *Chronicle* was submitted to the king at, or around, the same time as the forgeries. The Patent Roll entry recording Hardynge's 1457 annuity further supports this: dated three days after Hardynge submitted the documents, it alludes to the content of the prologue, particularly James I's bribery and Hardynge's losses (see Introduction; *Calendar of Patent Rolls: Henry VI, 1452–61*, p. 393, m. 8 [18 November 1457]; *Calendar of Close Rolls: Henry VI, 1454–61*, p. 235, m. 28; Kingsford, "First Version," p. 465; and Riddy, "Wars of the Roses," p. 96). For Hardynge's repeated foregrounding of "the Scottish issue" and the relationship between the *Chronicle* and documents, see the Introduction, Hiatt, *Medieval Forgeries*, and Peverley, "Anglo-Scottish Relations."

- 150      *Foure hundre mark and fyfylly.* It is highly improbable that Hardyngh had this much capital. Rather, he has inflated the cost to demonstrate the documents' financial and figurative value to the English crown. His expenses contrast effectively with the alleged bribe offered to him by James I, which is more than double the amount paid by Hardyngh. The distinction between the expenses and bribe similarly underscores Hardyngh's loyalty, despite a lack of financial recompense from his "natyfe" king, Henry VI (Prol.144).

## BOOK 1

- 1m      *How thay . . . eldest sustire.* The pre-Trojan foundation myth of Albyne and her sisters has a long and complicated textual history, which appears to be linked with the classical tale of the Danaïds and the biblical account of the giants before the deluge in Genesis 6:1–6 (see Cohen, *Of Giants*, pp. 52–54 for the latter). Its first notable appearance in England is in the fourteenth-century Anglo-Norman poem *Des Grantz Geantz*, which survives in a long and short version, a unique prose redaction in Oxford Corpus Christi College MS 78, and a Latin prose adaptation, *De Origine Gigantum*. The story was attached to the Long and Short versions of the Anglo-Norman Prose Brut, FH, *The Short English Metrical Chronicle*, the *Anonimalle Chronicle*, Castleford's *Chronicle*, *Scalacronica*, *Mohun Chronicle*, Thomas Sprott's *Chronicle*, EH, the Latin Brut, the Middle English Prose Brut, NC, the *Liber Monasterii de Hyda*, John Rous's *Historia Regum Anglie*, the *Ynglis Chronicle*, and Jean Waurin's *Chroniques*. The story also occurs in the romance *Guiron le Courtois* and the unique text about Brutus and Albyne in London, College of Arms L6. For further information on the myth and its different forms see *Des Grantz Geantz*, ed. Brereton; Reynolds, "Medieval *Origines Gentium*"; Carley and Crick, "Constructing Albion's Past"; Evans, "Gigantic Origins"; Matheson, *Prose Brut*; and Marvin, "Albine and Isabelle."

Hardyngh's adaptation, which is similar to *Des Grantz Geansz*, contains some interesting and unique embellishments (see 1.20–61, 1.172–82, 1.232m, and 1.257–80). Though the accompanying marginalia demonstrate awareness of other versions of the story (see note 1.176m), Hardyngh only pursues the issue of conflicting sources in his second *Chronicle*.

*Seynt Colman.* Hardyngh appears to be referring to Saint Colman (d. 676), bishop of Lindisfarne; however, the "Dialoge" that he refers to as a source for the foundation myth of Albion does not correspond with any known texts written by the bishop. Since Hardyngh later cites Colman as a source for events that occurred after his death in 676, he may be deliberately misrepresenting him to lend authenticity to his history. On the other hand, he may have encountered a text that erroneously attributed certain information to Colman, or confused him with Saint Columba, who is linked with a number of writings, but not a "Dialoge" including Albyne.

*Trogus Pompeyus.* Pompeius Trogus, an historian and naturalist from Gallia Narbonensis, composed the *Philippic History* during the reign of the emperor Augustus. The history, comprising forty-four books, is now known only from references to it by other writers and an abbreviated version, or *Epitome*, compiled by Marcus Junianus Justinus, or Justin, c. 200 AD. (For further information see Howatson, *Classical Literature*, pp. 308 and 582, and *Justin, Epitome*, ed. Yardley and Heckel). If Hardyngh really had been instructed in Justin's *Epitome*, his recollection of it is very poor; it is not a source for the legend of Albyne and her sisters, or indeed for any of the other passages that Hardyngh attributes to Trogus and Justin (see 1.176m, and 2.554m). Hardyngh may have made an erroneous connection between the proud Grecian princesses and the origin myth of the Amazon women recounted in Book Two of the *Epitome*, but it is more likely that he altered the work to lend authority to the early part of the *Chronicle*. Equally, he may have cited Trogus, like Colman, after seeing him mentioned as a source for ancient history in other chronicles, such as *FH* or *P*.

*Julyus Cesaryne . . . and descripcion.* Cesarini (1398–1444), an eminent scholar and humanist, had a prominent career in the service of the Papal Curia and was created cardinal in 1426. Pope Martin V (c. 1368–1431), whom Cesarini served, was elected on 11 November 1417. For further details on Cesarini and Martin, see Cross and Livingstone (*Christian Church*, pp. 314 and 1045).

*the cardynal of Wynchester.* The “cardynal of Winchester” is Henry Beaufort (c. 1376–1447), bishop of Lincoln (1398–1404), bishop of Winchester (1404–47), and cardinal (from 1426/27). Hardyngh also mentions Beaufort in the second version of his *Chronicle*; see note Prol.117 above. For Beaufort’s life and career see Harriss, *Cardinal Beaufort*.

- 1      *The while that Troy was regnyng in his myghte.* This line appears to be a reworking of the opening of John Walton’s verse translation of Boethius’s *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, which begins “The while þat Rome was reignyng in hir floures” (p. 4). For Hardyngh’s probable knowledge and use of Walton’s text see note 2.14–56 and Peverley, “Chronicling the Fortunes.”
- 3      *thretty.* The number of daughters is usually thirty or thirty-three. The later reference to fifty daughters at 1.176m shows Hardyngh’s awareness of the story’s association with the myth of the Danaïds.
- 20–61    *Save only . . . alle fortorne.* Whilst the presentation of the youngest daughter corresponds with that in *Des Grantz Geanz*, *De Origine Gigantum*, and *NC* (compare her declaration that she agreed to Albyne’s plan with her mouth but not her heart), Hardyngh draws upon the romance tradition to develop her character further. She discloses her sisters’ plan out of “pyté” for the husbands (1.29), a desideratum in romance heroines, and she trembles, faints, cries “allase” (1.57), and scratches her face in the same manner as distressed romance heroines; see, for example, Queen Heroudis in *Sir Orfeo*, lines 78–82, and Chrétien de Troyes’ *Erec and Enide*, lines 4285 ff. and line 4560 ff.

- 62–99     *And fro . . . me tolde.* The dialogue between the king and his daughter is omitted from the second version of Hardyng's *Chronicle*.
- 148–68    *Thus in . . . right fayne.* By comparing the sisters' former and present states during the long sea voyage Hardyng highlights the sisters' shift in status and prepares us for a change in landscape, as we move from the civilization of their father's kingdom to the wilderness of Albion. The detailed description of the sea voyage does not occur in the second version.
- 172–82    *Bot Albyne . . . gode policy.* The succession laws of ancient Greece that Hardyng describes are really those that governed the inheritance of lay property and titles in medieval England. When the male line failed, as it so often did in the late Middle Ages, an "heir general," or daughter, could inherit or pass on a claim over a younger male member of the family. In Hardyng's time there were no explicit laws regulating the descent of the monarchy so, technically, either an "heir male" or an "heir general" could inherit it. However, in practice, the inheritance of the crown followed the rules of primogeniture governing the "heir male" principle, ensuring that the inheritance of titles and lands passed to the oldest male.
- 176m      *Nota that . . . xlivi bookes.* The different names assigned to the king show Hardyng's awareness of alternative versions of the Albyne myth. While he does not pursue the issue in this version, he discusses the conflicting stories in the second version of the *Chronicle*. Diocletian appears most commonly in the Middle English Prose *Brut*, where he is king of Syria, not Greece, and Albyne's mother is Labana, not Albyne. He also appears in some manuscripts of the Anglo-Norman Prose *Brut*, the Latin *Brut*, and in several conflated versions of the Greek and Syrian story prefacing the Middle English Prose *Brut*.
- The association of King Danaus with the Grecian king, who is usually unnamed, connects the sisters with the classical myth of the Danaïds; the same myth is alluded to in *FH* I:15. For further information about the different versions see the items listed at 1.1m above.
- The chronicle Hardyng cites by Martin is *MO*, but this does not include the myth of the Danaïds; neither does Justin's *Epitome* of Pompeius Trogus (see note 1.1m). Although some of the *Chronicle*'s material does correspond with that in *MO* (see, for example, 1.202–03, 2.163–205, 2.229–31), Hardyng probably encountered it via another source that acknowledged its debt to *MO* (and Trogus), and misappropriated its attributions to enhance the authority of his text. For the influence of *MO* in the Middle Ages see Ikas, "Martinus Polonus' Chronicle."
- 197m      *Nota whan . . . sayde Dialoge.* For the "law of Grece" see note 1.172–82; for Colman see note 1.1m.
- 202–03    *As Omer . . . his entent.* We have been unable to find a satisfactory explanation for this remark. It may be an erroneous response to *HRB* §25, which states that "Omerus clarus rhetor et poeta habebatur" ("Homer was considered to be a famous rhetorician and poet") at the end of the reign of Guendolyne,

but, this would not explain Hardyng's correct use of the passage at 2.940–53. Conversely, it could be a serious misreading of the passage in *MO* (p. 399), *FH* (I:42–43), and *EH* (I:304), which states that Homer flourished in Greece during the forty-year reign of Agrippa Silvius.

- 211–17     *Thus Fortune . . . withoute disobeyshance.* This is the first of many references to the “mutabilité” of Fortune. For further discussion of Hardyng’s attitude to Fortune and its importance see Peverley, “Chronicling the Fortunes.” Compare also the reference to Fortune in *Des Grantz Geantz* (pp. 328–40).
- 232m     *How the . . . destroyed hem.* Hardyng’s reference to God taking vengeance on those who embrace evil and fail to keep the “pese amonge thaymselfe” lays the foundation for later warnings about the perils that face the English if contemporary injustices and civil unrest are not resolved. This is further supported by the reference at 1.267–80 to contemporary men retreating to the “kaves” where the giants used to dwell in times of civil unrest (see note 1.257–80). By alluding to Brute’s overthrowing of the giants before we reach that part of the narrative, Hardyng initiates a pattern common in chronicles whereby Providence is consistently shown to punish the wicked. See also note 2.575–659 below.
- 251–52     *Thus gat . . . and wight.* This part of the Albyne legend alludes to Genesis 6:4, where the sons of God beget giants on the daughters of man. For giants in medieval literature, see Cohen, *Of Giants*.
- 257–80     *Of peple . . . by waste.* Hardyng appears to be suggesting that humans lived alongside the giants and were oppressed by them. This is an interesting adjustment to the usual story, because the description that ensues of the wild places where the giants make their “grete edificaciouns” (1.268) invites the audience to see a correlation between the civil unrest in Albion and that in late fifteenth-century England. Whilst other chronicles contain allusions to the giants’ dwelling in caves and on hills, Hardyng’s narrative makes a distinct connection between the “kaves” (1.272, 1.275) that giants once lived in and those where his contemporaries retreat with their goods in times of war. This shifts the theme of oppression and societal strife from the giants’ era to the present, where another type of “giant”—the self-serving lord—oppresses the people and maintains disorder (compare also note 2.560–61).
- 283–308     *From Dame . . . very computacioun.* Compare with *CPL* (I:20), and *RMB* (1.1745–48). See also note 2.570–74 below.
- 310     *Til tyme come este that Brutus have thaym slayne.* These lines anticipate events in Book 2, where Hardyng describes the arrival of Brute in Albion, and he and Coryneus slay the last remaining giants (see note 2.575–659).

**BOOK 2**

- 1m       *the genology as is comprised in the grete Brute.* The “genology” referred to here is the genealogy of the Trojans contained in several manuscripts of *HRB*, in *RMB*, and in a number of the *Prose Bruts* in Latin and English (see note 2.57–96). In all likelihood the “grete Brute” is one of these texts.
- the cronicles of Itaylle.* Possibly a reference to *MO* or a text dealing with the Trojan war (see note 2.97–144 below).
- De Gestis Enee Regis Latinorum.* Hardynge may be referring to a romance dealing with the events surrounding the Trojan war (see note 2.97–144 below). Identification of the illegible “Pli[?]” might shed further light on this matter.
- Cronica Bruti . . . primi Anglie.* This alludes to *HRB* §§1–4.
- 14–56      *I shalle . . . my fone.* Hardynge employs two rhetorical features common to fifteenth-century literature to lend authority to himself, as an author, and his text. His claim to be “symple” and devoid of skill (2.15, 2.48) should not be taken at face value; it is part of a humility *topos* found in many late medieval prologues (on this topic see Lawton, “Dullness,” p. 762). Equally, his call to God for help with completing the *Chronicle* blends affected modesty with the *topos* of invoking classical deities. Like Osbern Bokenham in his *Legendys of Hooly Wummen* and John Walton, whose translation of Boethius’s *De Consolatione Philosophiae* appears to have influenced 2.24–39, Hardynge sets himself apart from previous authors, like Chaucer and Lydgate, whom he imitates elsewhere, but attains a moral victory over them by emphasizing his own piety over their partiality for pagan assistance. At the same time, Hardynge adds unquestionable authority to his text by indicating that it is inspired by God and therefore aligned with truth. Hardynge’s use of poetry by Chaucer, Lydgate and Walton is explored in Peverley, “Chronicling the Fortunes.” For other examples of the *topos* see Chaucer’s *TC* 1.6–14, 4.22–28; *TB*, Prol.36–62; and Bokenham’s *Life of Mary Magdalene* in the *Legendys of Hooly Wummen*, lines 5214–24. For contemporary criticism by preachers on the use of classical authorities see Owst, *Literature and Pulpit*, pp. 178–80.
- 24        *welles of Calliope.* Calliope is the muse of epic poetry. In stating that he has not tasted, or drank, from her wells, Hardynge means that he lacks poetic eloquence. Compare Chaucer’s Franklin, *CTV(F)*716–22, and *TC* III.45. He appears to have based the phrase on Walton’s *Boethius*, p. 3 (“And certayn I haue tasted wonder lyte / As of the welles of calliope”), but other poets similarly called upon Calliope for inspiration; compare, for example, Lydgate, *FP*, 3.8–9.
- 25–32      *Saturnus . . . Protheus.* The gods and goddesses that Hardynge refuses to invoke are as follows: Saturn, Titan god of time and father of Jupiter; Jupiter, king of the gods and sky in Roman mythology; Mars, Roman god of war; Mercury, messenger of the gods in Roman mythology; Venus, Roman goddess of love; Ceres, Roman goddess of the earth; Phoebus, the sun god, also known as

Apollo; Seneus, a god we have been unable to identify positively, though it may, unusually, be Cenaeus, a surname of Zeus derived from Cape Cenaeum in Euboea (see Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, I:663–64); Pallas Athena, the Greek goddess of war and wisdom (her Roman counterpart, Minerva, also occurs in this list); Alecto, one of the three Furies or Erinyes in Greek mythology; Megaera, one of the three Furies or Erinyes in Greek mythology; Genius, the daimon, or spiritual essence, of an individual; Tisiphone, one of the three Furies or Erinyes in Greek mythology; Cupid, Roman god of love and son of Venus; Hymen or Hymenaeus, Greek god of marriage; Minerva, Roman goddess of wisdom (her Greek counterpart Pallas Athena is also listed); Diana, Roman goddess of the moon; Bacchus, Roman god of wine and festivities; Cerberus, three-headed dog of the underworld in Greek and Roman mythology; Manes, spirits of the dead; Glaucus, a Greek sea god; Vulcane, Roman god of fire; and Protheus, Greek prophetic sea god and herdsman of Poseidon's seals.

- 46           *Guyen.* Guyenne was a province in southwest France.
- 49–52       Here Hardyng's modesty topos again echoes Chaucer, *CT X(I)55–60*, among others.
- 57–96       *Bot of . . . so gloryus.* In tracing the lineage of Brute's ancestors back to Adam, Hardyng appears to follow the same genealogy as RMB 1.209–428. However, similar genealogies of the Trojans occur in several manuscripts of *HRB* (see Crick, "Historia," pp. 43–44), and in some manuscripts of the Latin and English *Prose Brut*, making it difficult to ascertain which specific source(s) Hardyng utilized. Selective parts of the lineage also appear in other chronicles, such as *HB*, *MO*, *P*, *EH*, and *NC*.
- 97–144       *Whom Ercules . . . rial toure.* Reference to the first destruction of Troy is also made in RMB 1.339–40, 1.439–50, and *P II:406–07*, which Hardyng may have used; however, given that he goes on to include details not found in these chronicles, such as the width of new Troy and the height of its walls (1.137–44), this part of the text could have been influenced by a non-chronicle source, such as Lydgate's *TB* (2.82–96, 2.571–88), another account of the fall of Troy similar to the *Laud Troy Book* (1825–26), or the alliterative "*Gest hystoriale*" of the *Destruction of Troy* (1007 ff., 1538, 1546–48), all of which are based on Guido delle Colonne's *Historia destructionis Troiae*, pp. 46–47. Crick notes that some manuscripts of the *HRB* contain Guido's Troy story or the *Historia de excidio Troie* attributed to Dares Phrygius (*Historia*, pp. 37–39 and 47–48), so it is possible that a similar manuscript supplied Hardyng with the information for this section. Nevertheless, there is sufficient correspondence between Lydgate's work and the *Chronicle* to recommend *TB* as a potential source for Hardyng's description of Priam's Troy, as well as his "Conceyte" on the fall of Troy (2.105m) and his address to Laomedon ("Leamedon"). Further investigation of the sources used by RMB might help to ascertain whether Hardyng utilized a single text, which combined all of the aforementioned elements, or blended two separate works; for a discussion of RMB's possible sources see RMB, ed. Sullens (pp. 695–96). The temporary

switch to eight-line stanzas at the start of Book 2 may indicate that Hardynge was using a source written in eight-line stanzas for this section of the work, although it is possible that this change was influenced by Walton's translation of Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, which Hardynge knew and used at the start of Book 2 (see note 2.14–56).

- 99      *Destroyed Troy*. The pun is irresistible in implying that Troy, through fate and bad decisions, undoes itself. See 104m, “Troy for litil myght hafe,” and line 118, “distroyng Troys cyté.” Compare Chaucer’s *TC* (1.68), “Troie sholde destroied be.”
- 129     *Exiona*. Possibly an error for Polyxena, Priam’s daughter, or a misreading of Hesione (“Esionam”), daughter of Laomedon, who is taken by the Greeks after the first destruction of Troy. See, for example, *P* II:406; RMB 1.346; *TB*, 1.4343; *Laud Troy Book*, line 1709; and “*Gest hystoriale*” of the *Destruction of Troy*, line 1387.
- 163–205    *With alle . . . more discordance*. Aeneas’s encounter with Dido does not occur in *HRB*, *HRBVV*, *RB*, *RMB*, *Brut*, or *NC*, but Hardynge could have known the story from a number of sources, including *MO* (pp. 398–99) and *P* (II:432–33), which mention Dido’s great love for Aeneas, and from those works dealing with the fall of Troy mentioned above (see notes 2.97–144 and 2.129), or from Chaucer’s *House of Fame*, part 1, which divagates extensively and amusingly on their relationship. Lydgate’s *FP* briefly touches upon Dido’s encounter with Aeneas, but makes no reference, as Hardynge does, to Dido’s desire to make Aeneas her “husbonde” or the fact that he “stale fro hire” (2.168–69). Aeneas’s vision and his helping King Evander are absent in *HRB*, *HRBVV*, *RB*, *RMB*, *Brut*, and *NC*, where only King Latinus and Turnus are mentioned, but Evander is present in *MO*, p. 399, *P* II:434–35, and *EH* I:43. Interestingly, *P* II:434–35 also contains a reference to Pompeius Trogus, whom Hardynge mentions as a source at 1.1m, 1.176m, and 2.554m.
- 217–20    *This Eneas . . . was hayre*. The castle named after Lavinia, “Lavynyon” (2.219), is mentioned in *HRBVV* §6, *RB* lines 70–72, *LB* lines 96–97, *RMB* 1.790–92, and *P* II:434–35, but not *HRB*, *Brut*, and *NC*.
- 221–24    *Of whom . . . londes echone*. The child referred to is Silvius Posthumus, so called because he was born after Aeneas’s death. In *HRB* §6, lines *OV* 17–22, *Brut* p. 5, *NC* fol. 3v, only one Silvius, son of Ascanius, is mentioned, but Hardynge, like *HRBVV* §6, *HA* p. 24–27, *RB* lines 74–117, *LB* lines 99–133, and *RMB* 1.797–834 includes two: one, Silvius Posthumous, the son of Aeneas by Lavinia; the other, Silvius Julius, son of Ascanius and father of Brute. Interestingly, *P* (II:442–43) goes on to discuss the conflicting information about the two Silvii in its sources, and *MO* (p. 399) provides a list of the many Silvii who reigned in Italy. Wright believes that the introduction of two Silvii derives from a lost text of *HRBVV* (see *HRBVV*, pp. xcix–ci).
- 229–32    *Whan Abdon . . . of sentement*. Abdon is also mentioned in *FH* I:19, *MO* p. 398, *P* II:418–19, and *EH* I:43. *FH* and *P* record Abdon as judge in Israel during and after destruction of Troy, but they do not mention Homer in the same

- section; *MO* and *EH* on the other hand do. *MO* is of particular interest here because its dating of Abdon's reign against other events matches Hardyng's reckoning of 330 years before the foundation of Rome (2.228).
- 236     *House of Fame*. The concept of a house of fame was made most famous by Chaucer's work of the same name, which retells the story of Aeneas in part 1. Lydgate also mentions it in his *TB* (3.4254, Envoy 14), and *FP* (3.2352, 4.122, 5.420, 6.109, 6.514, 6.3093, 8.26).
- 246     *corporally*. Hardyng's use of corporally as an adverb is earlier than the first instance recorded in the *OED* by Caxton in 1483 (s.v. *corporally*). He appears to be using it to designate the passing of time in this world, much like one would use the adverb "temporally."
- 250     *Creusa, Lavynes nese*. There is some confusion here, either on Hardyng's part or in a hitherto unidentified source used by him. In classical mythology Lavinia's niece is usually unnamed, and Creusa is the name of Aeneas's first wife, mother of Ascanius and daughter of Priam; she is left behind as Aeneas flees from Troy. See *HRBVV* §6, *RB* lines 84–88, *FH* I:19, *P* II:436–37, *RMB* 1.733–36, and *EH* I:304. Hardyng may also have encountered her in the romances dealing with Troy mentioned in note 2.97–144 above or in Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*, although there is no evidence within the *Chronicle* to suggest that he knew the latter.
- 253     *hire pitese*. Hardyng associates female virtue with the quality of pity once again (see note 1.20–61 above), but this stanza is critical of women's abuse of that quality. Creusa is deflowered because of Silvius's "subtilitese" (2.252) not because she willingly gave herself to him out of pity, as Hardyng implies some women are prone to doing when they encounter a man in adversity; compare, Chaucer's Merchant's Tale, where May decides to take Damian as her lover because she is "fulfilled of pitee" (*CT* IV[E]1995). Hardyng's portrayal of Silvius may have been influenced by a text such as *CPL* I:4, where the words "enchaunta" and "larcenus" are used to describe his seduction of Lavinia's niece.
- 257–64     *Askanyus whan . . . his humanyté*. The prophecies made here about Brute are later linked with destiny, Fortune, and divine providence. See 2.280, 2.321–36 and 2.512.
- 269–72     *In whiche . . . no mo*. Although the syntax is unclear, Hardyng appears to ascribe the foundation of Alba ("Aube") to Silvius Posthumous, not Ascanius, who builds the city in *HRB* §6, *RB* lines 91–92, *LB* line 111, *MO* p. 399, and *RMB* 1.807–08. In these chronicles Alba is mentioned before the prophecies concerning Brute, but Hardyng, or the source he is using, switches the order. Alba is not mentioned in *OV*, *Brut*, or *NC*.
- 280     *predestinate*. The reference to destiny recalls Hardyng's earlier explanation of the prophecies governing Brute's life and Fortune's role in shaping his future. See 2.257–64, 2.321–36, 2.512.

- 281–312     *His fadir . . . to dispende.* The wide range of social, literary, and military skills encompassed in Brute's education corresponds with the sort of curriculum followed by a noble youth in the later Middle Ages. This passage is unique to Hardyng and may reflect the kind of education that he received whilst in the service of the Percy family, since servants of gentle and high rank in noble households often received tuition similar to their young masters. In reality the biennial sequence prescribed by Hardyng would not have been so rigid, but the approximate ages provided for the start of each new activity do correspond with extant examples of medieval instruction and with the recommended ages for similar activities in late medieval educational treatises. Hardyng's suggestion that hunting and military training should commence at fourteen and sixteen respectively echoes the suggestions made in Christine de Pisan's *Book of the Fayttes of Armes* (p. 29) and the earliest English prose translation of Vegetius's *De Re Militari* (p. 52) both of which draw upon Giles of Rome's *De Reginime Principum*, which, in turn, was known in both its Latin form and in a Middle English translation by John Trevisa (see *Governance of Kings and Princes*, pp. 242–43, 399). For the accuracy of ages given by Hardyng, see Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry* (pp. 51–60, 144–56, 182), and Green, *Poets and Princepleasers*, *passim*.
- 287           *fiflene yere age.* Hardyng's source for Brute's age is RMB, which in turn follows RB and HRB. Several other kings and knights are singled out in the *Chronicle* for achieving remarkable feats in their youth: see, for example, Constantine, the first Christian king of Britain, who is said to show "Grete manhode" in his "chyldissh yeres" (3.505–11); King Arthur, who is fifteen when he inherits the throne and expels the Saxons from his land (3.2248–49); Galahad, who is also fifteen when he joins Arthur's court, achieves the Siege Perilous, and embarks on his Grail quest (3.2954–55); Thomas Umfraville, who is sixteen when he defeats the Scots (6.2391–2400); and Gilbert Umfraville, who completes his rite of passage on the Scottish borders and gains a fearsome reputation amongst his enemies (6.3436–49). Hardyng's decision to emphasize the age of such figures may indicate that he wished to make them comparable with the chivalric heroes of medieval romance, who frequently surpass their peers and achieve great things in adolescence. Equally, he may have planned to associate the potential for greatness in young men with Henry VI, who ascended the throne as a child and whose minority ended, not inconsequentially, where Hardyng chose to end this version of the *Chronicle*.
- 313–44       *So was . . . with joy.* Hardyng's presentation of Brute as a constant, virtuous young man "withoutte mutabilité" (2.320) contrasts with the capriciousness of Fortune and introduces one of the principal themes of the *Chronicle*: the notion that no man can eschew the mutability of Fortune, but steadfastness and virtue provide the best defense against her. At 2.326–28 Hardyng puns on the word "herte," as Brute brings "unquyet" to his own heart by shooting at a hart and accidentally killing his father. Of greater interest, however, are 2.322 and 2.344, where Hardyng appropriates phrases from Chaucer's *TC* 1.1, 1.54, and 3.617. His depiction of Brute as physician to the Trojans' "double sorowe" (2.344) recalls the Boethian sickness imagery used in the

prologue to describe Hardyng's twofold distress at being unrewarded and injured from his royal service (see note Prol.29–35 above). This may imply that Hardyng intended to align Henry VI's potential to “leche” his subjects' sorrows (2.344) with Brute's ability to help and emancipate the Trojans. For further discussion of Hardyng's use of *TC* see Peverley, “Chronicling the Fortunes.”

- 321–36     *Hir fadir ... alle retributē.* For other references to Brute's destiny see 2.257–64, 2.280, and 2.512.
- 339         *fortuylé.* The earliest recorded use of the noun *fortuity* in the *OED* dates from circa 1747 (s.v. *fortuity* (n.), meaning “accident, chance, an accidental occurrence”), but Hardyng uses it much earlier here to refer to Brute's accidental killing of his father. Compare also *MED* s.v. *fortunite* (n.), where Hardyng is the only source cited.
- 345–52      *Syr Helenus . . . and morow.* The details here correspond most closely with *CPL* I:6, and *RMB* 1.865–66, although Anchises is not mentioned in *RMB*.
- 353–553     *For pyté . . . be repigned.* Hardyng's version of the story offered by *HRB*, *RB*, *CPL*, and *RMB* is greatly condensed. He omits all reference to Assaracus, the Greek lord who sympathizes with the Trojans and allows Brute to use his castles, and Membritius, the wise Trojan who suggests freeing Pandrasus and leaving Greece to seek a new land; in so doing the narrative loses some of the coherence that the other chronicles have. The fight between Coryneus and Himbert is similarly absent. On balance, a number of features suggest that Hardyng was using a version of *CPL*, *RMB*, or an intermediate source linked to them, rather than the other texts (see notes 2.381–84, 2.441, 2.444–45, and 2.545 below), but his narrative is also distinct from other texts in terms of the additional emphasis that he places on Brute's noble characteristics by presenting him as the sole saviour of the Trojans and the wisest and strongest of leaders (see also note 2.431–32).
- 381–84      *For whiche . . . o way.* Both Hardyng and *RMB* 1.1021 place Brute in his castle as it is besieged by Pandrasus, whereas *HRB* and *RB* do not. *CPL* omits the siege entirely.
- 431–32      *To whiche . . . grete defencē.* Hardyng's Pandrasus grants Brute's requests “with gode wille,” rather than out of fear as in other sources.
- 441         *So saylynge forthe by two days and two nyghtes.* Hardyng, *LB* line 559, and *RMB* 1.1311 give the length of Brute's first sea voyage as two days and two nights, whereas *HRB* §16, *HRBVV* §16, *RB* line 617 and *EH* II:209 specify two days and one night. In lines *OV* 79–80 and *Brut* p. 8, Brute arrives in Leogetia on the third day.
- 444–45      *His wyfe . . . and swete.* These lines echo *HRB* §15, *CPL* I:10, and *EH* II:209, where Brute comforts his distressed wife during the sea voyage.

- 455–56      *Bothe herte . . . sene overalle.* Diana is the goddess of the moon, hunting, and chastity in Roman mythology; the presence of many deer in the island underlines her association with hunting.
- 461      *exspectaunce.* The *MED* does not record the form “*exspectaunce*.” Hardyng appears to have used the adjective “*expectaunt*” as a noun (*MED* s.v. *expectaunt* and *OED* s.v. *expectant*) to rhyme with “*observaunce*,” which would mean that Brute offers his prayers to Diana with “expectation” or “hope” that she will respond. If this is the case, his form of “*expectance*” is earlier than those examples given in the *OED*. Another possibility is that Hardyng’s “*exspectaunce*” is a form of the noun “*aspectaunce*” (see *MED* s.v. *aspectaunce*) meaning “expression (of the face).” This would mean that Brute offers his prayers with expression. The former seems most likely given that Brute goes to Diana to ask for guidance.
- 489      *Columpnes of Ercules.* The Columns, or Pillars, of Hercules is the ancient name for the Straights of Gibraltar.
- 512      *werdes of desteny.* Hardyng refers once again to the role of Fortune and destiny in Brute’s life. Compare 2.257–64, 2.280 and 2.321–36.
- 524      *Dusze Piers.* The “Twelve Peers” is a collective title usually given to the twelve paladins of Charlemagne; it is also used, more generally, as here, to refer to the twelve great peers of France (temporal, and ecclesiastic). See *MED* s.v. *dousse-per* (n.).
- 545      *Ovyde.* Hardyng’s allusion to Ovid may be derived from *CPL* I:10 and *RMB* 1.1363–64, where he is mentioned just before Brute prays to Diana.
- 554m      *Nota how . . . armes of Eneas.* The description of Brute’s arms given here does not occur in Justin’s *Epitome* of Pompeius Trogus or Gerald of Wales’s *Topography of Ireland*, as Hardyng maintains. An identification of the enigmatic *cronycles of Romanye* may shed further light on this matter, but given his penchant for heraldry, Hardyng may have invented the arms himself. It is not unusual for medieval romances and genealogies to provide descriptions of the arms belonging to classical heroes; see, for example, the *Laud Troy Book* 4538–39, 4775–78; *The “Gest Hystoriale” of the Destruction of Troy* 5926–28, 6144–46; and the genealogical roll made for Edward IV extant in Philadelphia Free Library, MS Lewis E201, which includes the banners of Brute and Pandrasus.
- 560–61      *Whiche by . . . and oppreste.* This is Hardyng’s second reference to the giants oppressing the inhabitants of Albion (see note 1.257–80 above).
- 570–74      *Into this . . . ought enquere.* Compare with *CPL* I:20, and *RMB* 1.1745–48.
- 575–659      *Thus Brutus . . . lyfe inordynate.* Hardyng’s account of Coryneus’s victory over Gogmagog and Brute’s establishment of Britain is comparable with, although much shorter than, *HRB* §21, *CPL* I:20–22, *RMB* 1.1757–1919 and *EH* II:218–19. Of greater interest, perhaps, is the way in which Hardyng reflects on the episode to establish what makes a kingdom flourish or fail. A good

strong leader, like Brute, who provides for his people, offers a solid foundation for a successful civilization; Albine's society on the other hand is founded on sin (namely pride, a failed murder plot, and lust) and is therefore destined to fall. Hardynge makes a point of explaining that the destruction of the giants and the foundation of a new civilization was made possible because of God's will. Lines 639–52 are a reworking of Chaucer's *TC* 5.1828–41, but instead of warning his audience to turn their thoughts away from earthly love and look to heaven, Hardynge adapts Chaucer's verse to suit the moral of his narrative by admonishing pride and evil living. His observation that God will take "vengeance" (2.654) on those who sin and embrace misrule — further emphasized by 2.639m and the plethora of proverbial wisdom at 2.653–59 — echoes the earlier notice of the giants' malevolence at 1.301, and prefigures his later allusions to God destroying the wicked (see, for example, 2.1004, 2.1388, 2.1937, 3.335; for more on this topic see Peverley, "Chronicling the Fortunes"). Hardynge may have been struck by the biblical connotations of the name Gogmagog, for in Ezekiel 38–39 God threatens to inflict "Gog, the land of Magog" upon the Israelites as punishment for their sins (see also Ezekiel 38:2; Apocalypse 20:7–9). If so, he would undoubtedly have interpreted the Trojans' journey as a classical parallel of the biblical Exodus and quest for the Promised Land.

Significantly, the interjection at 2.639 is the only one that is not directly addressed to lords and princes; in essence the phrase "fresshe and lusty creatures" is general enough to apply to all levels of the social spectrum, but since it is appropriated from Chaucer's romance, Hardynge may have intended it to apply more specifically to members of the middle to high social strata.

- 625–31      *Rewardynge ever . . . withouten fayle*. Hardynge may have intended to invite a parallel between Brute's gifting of land to his loyal men and his own plea to be rewarded with Geddington Manor for his loyalty.
- 633      *kalendes of a chaunge*. This phrase appears to be taken from Chaucer's *TC* 5.1634 (see note 2.575–659 above).
- 639–45      *O ye . . . abd gay*. Compare *TC* 5.1835–41.
- 646–52      *Suche fyne . . . fals array*. Compare *TC* 5.1828–32.
- 667–743      *Thus Kynge . . . onto se*. This section has more in common with the details given in RMB 1.1845–1940, than *HRB* §22 and *RB* lines 1169–1246, but Hardynge omits RMB's references to Gurmund and Lud, and moves the notice of Coryneus's naming of Cornwall to the end of his fight with Gogmagog. Whilst *RB* and RMB include references to Brute's tending the land, the civilizing effect that Hardynge's Brute has on the realm is more emphatic and offers a striking contrast to fifteenth-century England under Henry VI. Hardynge accentuates the establishment of Trojan law in Britain to a greater degree than other chroniclers, highlighting the peace and stability that this brings to the realm after the iniquities and unrest suffered under the giants of Albion. In so doing, he is able to underscore a greater contrast

- between the Trojans' cultivation of the land and the wilderness that was there "before" (2.684). The depiction of the Trojans participating in chivalric activities, such as jousting, feasting, and hunting, may derive from *TC* (see, for example, 3.1718 and 3.1779–80) or Lydgate's *TB* (2.784–804). Hardyng's justification for disliking the French form "Novel Troy" (2.719) is unique.
- 676–80     *In whiche . . . townes edifyde.* In contrast with Albyne's kingdom, Brute's realm is governed by "rytes and lawes" (2.676). This is the first of many references within the *Chronicle* where the establishment and maintenance of just laws is shown to be conducive to peace, a point strongly emphasized in *HRB* as the mark of kingship.
- 703         *On his language.* That is, his Celtic dialect. Hardyng seems to recognize that *Thamyse* is not a Latin word (it is a Celtic term for river). He knows little of Celtic languages, of course, but explains the peculiarity "Of his language" (2.708) in terms of its descent from "Of Troys language as Turkes yit use and haunte" (2.718).
- 720–22      *That Frenshe . . . and unkynde.* The lack of "tendyrnesse" (2.721) shown to Brute and his men in France would undoubtedly have resonated with Hardyng's audience; following severe territorial losses across the Channel, anti-French sentiment in England was rife in the 1450s.
- 730–36      *That tyme . . . in Italy.* This information ultimately comes from *HB* §11, but Hardyng presumably knew it through another source such as *HRB* §22. The material is also contained in *RB* lines 1247–50, *FH* I:25, and *EH* II:219, but it does not occur in *OV*, *CPL*, *RMB*, *Brut*, or *NC*. The erroneous attribution of information in *HB* to Gildas is common in medieval chronicles.
- 744–71      *And at . . . of nature.* In describing Brute's division of the kingdom between his sons, Hardyng follows the tradition represented by *OV*, *CPL*, *EH*, and *Brut*, not *HRB*, *HRBVV*, *RB*, *RMB*, and *NC*, which have the sons divide the kingdom after their father's death. In giving the length of Brute's reign as twenty-four years, the *Chronicle* provides the same information as *HRB* §23; *HRBVV* §23; *RB* line 1257; *P* II:444–45; *CPL* I:22; *RMB* 1.1933–34; *EH* II:220; and *NC* fol. 6v, but not *OV* and *Brut*.  
 Hardyng makes more of Brute's burial than the aforementioned texts by assigning him a tomb in the temple of Apollo, which he equates with St. Paul's Cathedral, London, and placing Brute's death in the year 1176 BC, a calculation which may help to identify a more specific source for these passages in the future.
- 751m         *But Giraldus . . . this balade.* Gerald of Wales says nothing of the sort, but Hardyng offers a reasonable justification for believing that Brute had a longer reign, even if his own *Chronicle* contradicts this marginalia by giving his reign as twenty-four years.
- 772–85      *O gude . . . dyd love.* Hardyng's interjection emphasizes the fact that Brute's good governance makes him worthy of God's eternal salvation, even though he was a pagan born before Christ.

- 786–834     *Of Brutus . . . his successory.* The order in which Hardynge presents Brute's sons is the same as that in *HRB* §23, *RB* lines 1259–60, Gerald of Wales's *Description of Wales* p. 232, *LB* lines 1054–66, *FH* I:27, *P II*:444–45, *CPL* I:22, *RMB* 1.1942–43, and *NC* fols. 6v–7r, where Locryne is the eldest, then Camber, then Albanacte. This is important because it allows Hardynge to accentuate the additional authority that Locryne has over his younger brothers, particularly Albanacte, the first king of Scotland, who is older than Camber in *HRBVV* §23; *OV* lines 187–88; *EH* II:220; and *Brut* p. 12. Hardynge stresses the sovereignty of Loegria (England) over Albany (Scotland) more than any of the aforementioned chroniclers, because it allows him to stress the theme of English suzerainty that was first introduced in the Prologue and that permeates the entire *Chronicle*.
- Though Brute's establishment of Trojan law in Britain first occurs in *HRB*, Hardynge uses it to parallel his earlier reference to Greek inheritance laws legitimizing Albyne's claim to Albion and reinforce Locryne's supremacy over his brothers. In describing how the poet "Mewyne" later set down "the lawes of Troy" in a work called "Infynetes" (2.822–31), Hardynge establishes the importance of law to society, paves the way for later accounts of rulers who have established new laws and had them written down, such as Dunwallo (2.1521m), Marcyan, and Alfred (2.1855–58), and provides precedents to allude to in later appeals to Henry VI to uphold the law and rectify contemporary injustices.
- We have been unable to identify "Infynetes" (2.831). It could have been invented by Hardynge, especially since the title emphasizes the eternal nature of the law, and thereby England's enduring right to rule Scotland according to Trojan law. However, the title may derive from a lost source, because, as Richard Moll has noted, the enigmatic Mewyn credited with copying his books at Glastonbury ("Mewytryne") probably results from Hardynge's misreading "of a Welsh placename, Inis-witrin, and the associated prophet, Melkin," who appears in *JG* ("Another Reference," p. 298). For further discussion of Melkin, the texts attributed to him by other authors, and the possible influence of *JG*, or a related "florilegium of Glastonbury lore," on Hardynge, see Carley, "Melkin the Bard"; *JG*, pp. lii–lx; and Riddy, "Glastonbury." See also note 2.2611–47 below.
- 835–953     *Bot as . . . and curiose.* Hardynge's account of the death of Albanacte, his brothers' battle against Humber, and Locryne's affair with Estrilde follows *HRB* §§24–25, but omits a number of the details in Geoffrey of Monmouth's story, such as Coryneus brandishing his axe at Locryne and the length of Locryne's affair with Estrilde, which is also omitted in *CPL* I:26. Instead, Hardynge emphasises Locryne's position as overlord of Scotland (2.870–76), names the god that Locryne pretends to worship as Jupiter, and notes that Guendolyne sent Maddan to Cornwall after the death of Coryneus.
- 844         *thare sores to complayne.* This phrase echoes both the prologue, where Hardynge reveals that the king is the only man who can heal his sorrow (Prol.29–30), and 2.343–44, where the Trojans have their "double sorowe" healed by Brute.

- 849m      *eschete*. This term refers to the “reversion of land to the king or lord of a fee;” see *MED* s.v. *eschete* (n.).
- 954–1016    *This Maddan . . . in Lacedemonya*. Hardyng’s version of the reigns of Maddan and Membrice is very similar to RMB 1.2115–2142. Both give the length of the kings’ reigns as forty and twenty years respectively, present Manlyn as the elder brother, mention Membrice’s bestiality, and conclude with reference to “Eristens” (Eurysthenes) reigning in “Lacedemonya” (Sparta). Hardyng’s account is nevertheless exceptional for the striking contrast it creates between Maddan’s peaceful reign and the strife witnessed under Membrice. The observation that under Maddan no man would dare to “displese” (2.969) his neighbor is comparable with the *Chronicle*’s praise of Henry V and Sir Robert Umfraville (7.586–88, 7.592, 7.906–07), and with later criticism of contemporary strife in England, where “In every shire, with jakkes and salades clene / Missereule doth ryse and maketh neyghbours were” (7.1009–10; see also 7.643–44). The suggestion that Maddan’s two sons were born to defend the realm from war and strife likewise parallels Hardyng’s later criticisms of Henry VI and his magnates failing to use their privileged position to serve the common weal and bring an end to civil unrest. Finally, while Hardyng’s reference to God taking vengeance on Membrice for his perversion is consistent with the interpretation of his savage end in *OV* (lines 263–67) and in *Brut* (p. 14), he builds upon the notion of divine retribution by depicting the pagan goddess Minerva (“Mynerve”) as God’s scourge, and describing the hellish torments she inflicts upon Membrice’s soul.
- 1017–1114    *Ebrauke his . . . cyté pryncipalle*. For the most part, the narrative concerning Ebrauke is analogous to *HRB* §27 and RMB 1.2143–2202, although neither source contains all of the details that Hardyng includes here. Like *RB* line 1539; *CPL* I:30; *P* III:14–15; RMB 1.2165; *OV* line 271; and *Brut* p. 15, Hardyng gives the length of the king’s reign as sixty years, but he follows *HRB*, *P*, and *EH* II:226, by explaining the rationale behind Ebrauke’s sending his daughters to Italy and by putting events into a universal context. The account in RMB agrees with the first etymological explanation Hardyng gives concerning Maiden Castle, but the connections he makes between Ebrauke’s foundations and the castles of Arthurian romance are unique, as is his reference to the folklore associated with Saint Patrick at Dumbarton (see notes 2.1033–44, 2.1052–65 and 2.1066–72 below). However, see also *Le Petit Bruit* (p. 6), which makes reference to Ebrauke’s two castles and attributes the information to the testimony of the Saint Grail (“a la testemoinaunce Seint Graal”), presumably an allusion to the Vulgate Cycle, or a similar Arthurian text.
- 1033–44     *A castelle . . . tho wones*. These lines allude to the death of the Lady of Escalot, who falls in love with Sir Lancelot and dies when he rejects her. In the Vulgate *La Mort le Roi Artu* (p. 113), which Hardyng shows familiarity with elsewhere, the boat on which the lady’s dead body is placed sails to Camelot, not Lancelot’s castle, Dolorouse Garde (or Joyous Garde as he later renames it; see *Lancelot*, II:103). For further discussion of Hardyng’s association of Dolorouse Garde with Bamburgh, and related sources, see Moll, “Ebrauke.”

- 1052–65     *High on . . . that awarde.* Hardynge appears to be conflating two episodes from Arthurian romance involving Ywain, a knight of the Round Table, who defeats a giant named Harpin of the Mountain, travels to the town of Dire Adventure (“Pesme Aventure”), and rescues a host of ladies kept in servitude by the king of the Isle of Maidens (“li rois de l’Isle as Puceles”); see Chrétien de Troyes’ *Chevalier au Lion*, 5111 ff. and the Middle English *Ywain and Gawain*, 2931 ff. (it is unlikely that he knew the Welsh analogue *Owain*). Hardynge aligns the Isle of Maidens in the romance with the “Mayden Castelle” (2.1064) he knows as Edinburgh and casts the two demons that Ywain must defeat to free the women as a giant, possibly confusing this episode with Ywain’s earlier encounter with Harpin.
- The Vulgate Grail quest, during which Yvain helps Gawain to liberate the Castle of Maidens from seven wicked knights, could, alternatively, have inspired Hardynge’s anecdote, but, on balance, the presence of a giant makes Chrétien de Troyes’ *Le Chevalier au Lion* a more likely source. Lines 3.3012–16 and 3.3191 may also have been influenced by Chrétien’s works.
- 1066m     *Nota quod . . . vocatur Dunbretayne.* The marginalia alludes to *P* II:64–69. The reference to Sulwath may indicate that Hardynge was using Trevisa’s translation of *P* rather than Higden’s text (see also note 2.1017–1114 above, where other correspondences between Hardynge’s text and *P* in this section are noted).
- 1066–72     *The cylé . . . donge therein.* Saint Patrick was purportedly born in Dumbarton (see MacPhail, *Dumbarton Castle*, p. 4). The miracles that Hardynge attributes to the saint are no doubt derived from folk tradition (compare also 7.1296–97), but we have only been able to locate one other reference to Saint Patrick’s proscription that no horse should dung in Dumbarton Castle in what appears to be a sixteenth-century paraphrase of Hardynge’s itinerary of Scotland. The document, which survives in three copies, provides “An abstracte for Englyschemen to knowe the realme of Scotalnde thorowe oute,” giving the distances between the towns through which an invading army should pass and some notes about local features. One of the features mentioned is that Dumbarton is the strongest castle in Scotland and that at Saint Patrick’s request “there should never horse dung in it.” The document appears to be associated with a memorandum of 1542 made in preparation for Henry VIII’s invasion of Scotland (see Gairdner and Brodie, *Letters and Papers*, 17, pp. 584–85).
- 1115–98     *Hys sonne . . . his hire.* For the reigns of Brute, Grenesheelde, Leyle, Rudhudibrace, and Bladud, Hardynge’s text is comparable with *HRB* §§28–30, RMB 1.2203–2260, and *EH* II:226–27 (which also equates the Temple of Apollo with St. Paul’s). The references to Gildas and Walter of Oxford at 2.1128 and 2.1189–90 appear to be Hardynge’s own; by referring to Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, as a source, Hardynge actually means Geoffrey of Monmouth, who claims to have drawn upon a work given to him by Walter (see 2.1m above). Other chronicles to make this mistake include the *Scalacronica* and Geffrei Gaimar’s *L’Estoire des Engleis*, see Moll, *Before Malory*, (p. 43).

- 1199–1303 *Aftyr hym . . . had deserved.* Hardynge's account of King Leyre omits a number of details found in most other chronicles, particularly *HRB* §31 and RMB 1.2261–2549. It does not remark on Leyre's partiality for Cordele; Leyre's retinue is only downsized once before Ragawe asks him to disband it completely; Leyre does not return to Goneril after Ragawe upsets him; and the king's lengthy lament on Fortune is excluded. There are nevertheless some interesting additions: Hardynge describes the way in which the “r” in the pronunciation of “Leyrecestre” was set aside “to make the language swettre” (2.1203–05); Leyre is advised to seek Cordele's help by his friends; Cordele is touchingly buried next to her father as her soul ascends to Janus and Minerva; and, perhaps most idiosyncratic of all, marginalia is added to show how the story of Leyre underscores England's suzerainty over Scotland.
- 1304–52 *Syr Margan . . . and mortalyté.* Hardynge appropriates his information from *HRB* §§32–33, RMB 1.2550–2608, or a similar source. The observation that Britain was established 599 years before the foundation of Rome is comparable with RMB 1.2595–2600, which makes a similar statement but provides a date of 397 years, perhaps indicating that Hardynge's source was a lost version of RMB containing a different reading, or an analogous text drawn upon by both RMB and Hardynge.
- 1353–1408 *Gurgustius his . . . grete myght.* The characteristics Hardynge ascribes to Gurgustius, Sisilius, Iago, and Kymar are unique. Through assigning good or bad qualities to each monarch, he is able to contrast good and bad kingship and stress the role of divine providence in determining a monarch's fate. His warning that those sovereigns who fail to uphold the law and protect the peace are “In moste perile . . . forto be slayne / Or els put doun right by his undirloute” (2.1404–05) encapsulates one of the *Chronicle's* most important themes and anticipates later cautions that Henry VI's monarchy is in danger if he fails to restore justice and peace to the realm. Also of interest is the fact that Hardynge, like *CPL* I:40, makes Kymar the son of Iago.
- 1409–92 *Gorbodyan that . . . youre sovereynté.* Unlike their counterparts in other sources, Hardynge's Ferrex is sent to France in his father's lifetime for causing discord and Queen Judon kills Porrex without the help of her handmaidens. The *Chronicle* is similar to *RB* lines 2195–98, *OV* line 441–43, *EH* II:234, and *Brut* pp. 22–23, in stating that the kingdom was divided between four kings, but only Hardynge and RMB 1.2658 give the length of the conflict as forty years. The most notable feature of this section is Hardynge's amplification of the break-down of social order and his use of the exemplarity of the ancient civil war to warn contemporary “princes and lordes of hye estate” (2.1486) about the importance of exercising their power to uphold law and peace.
- 1491 *Iff pese and lawe be layde and unyté.* In this line, “unyté” — with “pese” and “lawe” — is a subject of “be layde.”
- 1493–1555 *And whils . . . hym come.* The text follows the basic outline of Dunwallo's military campaign and his subsequent reign as presented in RMB 1.2673–2768, which, like *P III*:246–47, and *EH* II:236, locates Dunwallo's burial *inside* his temple

of peace rather than adjacent to it (as in *HRB*, *RB*, and *FH*). *EH* is unlikely to have been a source for this section because it gives the length of Dunwallo's reign as forty-three years and comments on the cities he founded (as do *OV*, *Brut*, *NC*), but *P* may have been used alongside a version of RMB or a related text. Gildas, mentioned at 2.1546, is similarly cited as a source in *HRB* §34, *P* III:246–47, and later in *EH*. Hardyng's unique address to the “prynce” (2.1549), either Henry VI or his son Edward, serves to highlight the *Chronicle*'s repeated appeal for good governance and justice from the contemporary sovereign.

- 1556–1800 *Than felle . . . and laste.* The history of Belyn and Brenny appears to draw upon *HRB* §§35–44, *RB* lines 2313–3240, RMB 1.2769–3598, or a similar source, rather than the shorter, alternative accounts found in *OV* and *Brut*. Hardyng omits the detailed descriptions of the brothers' military campaigns found in *HRB*, *RB*, and RMB, and abbreviates the rest of the narrative. His text is remarkably close to *RB* and RMB in its reference to the extreme sadness of the people upon Belyn's death, and like *CPL*, it omits all reference to the brothers' having to fight on two fronts — against Germany and Italy — when the Romans repudiate their treaty. The references to Geoffrey of Monmouth (2.1689m), Alfred of Beverley (2.1689m), the River Allia (“Awbe,” 2.1722), King Assuere (2.1748), Socrates (2.1749), and Orosius (2.1738m) are probably taken from *P* III:260–61, 264–75, and 294–95, although Martin of Troppau (2.1746), whom Hardyng lists as a source, is not mentioned at this point in the printed edition of *P*. Since *MO* was a source for *P*, Hardyng may have been working from a manuscript of *P* that acknowledged its debt to *MO* for this information, or he may have included “Martyne” after finding references to the Allia, King Assuere, Socrates, Orosius, and the dating from the foundation of Rome in *MO* (p. 403). Given the reference to *P* at 2.1801m and the possible correspondence between the *Chronicle* and *P* at 2.1801–1940, it is more likely that *P* is being used here. Hardyng's personal touches include the marginalia drawing attention to Brenny's deference to Belyn as overlord of Albany (Scotland) and the rebuke addressed to Fortune on account of her mutability.
- 1689m *secundum Alfridum . . . Monemutensem.* See note 2.1556–1800 above.
- 1738m *Secundum computacionem Orosii ad Augustinum.* “According to the computation of Orosius to Augustine.” See note 2.1556–1800 above. This marginalia occurs alongside line 1742.
- 1801m *Nota that . . . Radulphi Cestrensis.* Although Hardyng appears to have known and used *P* I:344–45 and III:328–29, for some of the details given in the section this marginalia accompanies, it is not his only source. See also notes 2.1556–1800 and 2.1801–1940.
- 1801–1940 *Gurguyn his . . . I gesse.* None of the individual sources considered here contains all of the details given by Hardyng. In all likelihood *HRB* §§45–48 provided the information for the reigns of Gurguyn, Guytelyn, and Morvyde, but it is silent about the nature of Danyus's reign. RMB 1.3599–3775, or a text related to it and *CPL* I:50–55, seems to have supplied the length of each king's

reign, but it lacks the anachronistic reference to Alfred at 2.1857 and does not name Morvide's mother. *P* is the only source to match Hardyng in placing Sysilius's accession *after* his mother's death (see II:92–93 and III: 381–83), but this, like other details, could equally have filtered into a hitherto unidentified source employed by Hardyng. The marginalia on pity, the notices of Scotland's homage to England, and the interjection on God's vengeance are Hardyng's own.

- 1809      *unto his friste degré*. The suggestion here seems to be that there is a direct line of fealty. In rebelling against the king the rebels break their oath of fealty to him. See also line 2.1826.
- 1941–2045    *Gorbonyan his . . . and specyfyed*. Although this section ultimately derives from *HRB* §§49–51, Hardyng's account is closer to RMB 1.3776–3911 in that it places the burials of Argalle and Elydoure at Carlisle and Aldburgh respectively. *CPL* I:54–56 also mentions these burial places, but it lacks many of the other details included in RMB, which Hardyng repeats. The reference to few people knowing where Alclude is echoes the information at 2.1066m.
- 2046–2231    *Gorbonyan whiche . . . fulle bounteuous*. Hardyng appears to be following *HRB* §§52–53 and RMB 1.3912–4113. He almost certainly obtained the notice of Cheryn's drunkenness (also in *RB*), and Ely's burial at Castor (also in *CPL* I:58) from RMB, but he develops both details in a unique manner. The conceit on drunkenness serves as a warning to princes about the dangers of intoxication, whilst simultaneously providing an explanation for the weakness of Cheryn's sons. By the same token, the discussion about the location of Ely's burial allows Hardyng to show his discerning nature at work by defending his rationale for dismissing those sources that place Ely at Castor, Lincolnshire (i.e., *CPL* and RMB). In incorporating additional, albeit brief, information about how good or bad a number of the kings were, Hardyng is able to adjust the monotonous list of names provided by his sources into useful examples of good and bad kingship.
- 2232–2451    *So felle . . . his excelence*. Hardyng abbreviates the story of Cassibalan's reign and Caesar's invasions found in *HRB* §§54–63 and RMB 1.4127–5245, apparently combining details from each, or using an intermediate source that drew upon both. See, for example, the reference to Caesar fighting Pompey, which occurs in *HRB* (possibly the “Boke of Brute” referred to at 2.2431) and in one of the manuscripts of RMB (London, Lambeth Palace MS 131; see RMB, pp. 216–17). The dating attributed to Bede's “Gestes of Englond” (2.2418) is also found in RMB (compare Bede p. 47). Although Hardyng is not alone in presenting Cassibalan's celebratory feast at 2.2326–64 in chivalric terms (see *RB* and RMB), he accentuates the courtly nature of the festivities more than other texts by describing how beautiful women were seated in front of the king's men to “chere” them (compare with the later description of King Arthur's celebrations at 3.2856–62). At lines 2.2347–53, in the second of several borrowings from John Lydgate's “King Henry VI's Triumphant Entry into London” (1432), Hardyng similarly emphasizes the importance of commemorating military conquests and royal power through public spectacles

- by comparing Cassibalan's celebrations with Caesar's triumphant entry into Rome and Scipio Africanus's entry into Carthage (Lydgate, "Henry VI," 517–20). For further discussion of Hardyng's use of Lydgate's poem see Peverley, "Chronicling the Fortunes." Hardyng is correct in stating that Martin of Troppau does not mention Caesar's being in Britain (2.2422–23).
- 2354–55     *Bot ever . . . ay adversité.* For this proverb, which Hardyng may have taken from Chaucer's *TC* 1.950, see Whiting V2.
- 2452–2710    *Tenvancius that . . . withouten lese.* This section is remarkably similar to RMB 1.5246–5631, albeit in an abridged form. It appears to be indebted to it for details such as Caesar's knighting Kymbelyn (also in *RB*); the dating of Christ's birth and Kymbelyn's death to 1200 years after Brute's arrival in Albion; the prophet Thelofyne (Teselyn in RMB and Teleusin *RB*); Claudius's sending for his daughter forty-six years after Christ's birth; Marius's forty-nine year reign and burial at Salisbury (also in *CPL I:66*); and Coile's ten year reign and burial at Norwich (likewise in *CPL I:68*). Aspects taken from another source, or unique to Hardyng, include his reference to translating a chronicle "Oute of Latyne" into "balade" (see note 2.2545–49 below); the attribution of Vespasian's coming to Britain to Gildas at 2.2573–74 (see note below); the marginalia before 2.2599 (see Textual Note 2599m) noting women's desire for sovereignty over their husbands (compare with the sovereignty desired by Albyne and her sisters at 1.14 and 1.212); the material concerning Joseph of Arimathea (see note 2.2611–47 below); the deliberation on the Virgin's assumption at 2.2655–61; and the information about Rey Cross (see note 2.2676–82 below).
- 2466–72     *Whiche Cesare . . . dyd de.* This information may have come from *MO* (pp. 443–44).
- 2545–49     *As cronycle . . . me submytte.* There is no reason to doubt Hardyng's claim to be using a Latin source; however, unless he is using a hitherto unidentified Latin text closely linked to RMB, he is probably using *HRB* alongside a copy of Mannyng's English chronicle. *HRB* §§68 makes reference to Claudius's sending for Genyse but does not give the date found in RMB.
- 2573–74     *as sayth . . . and remembrance.* Neither Gildas nor *HB* — the work commonly attributed to Gildas in medieval chronicles — mentions Vespasian's coming to Britain.
- 2611–47     *In whose . . . thurgh meschaunce.* It is unclear where Hardyng obtained his information about Joseph of Arimathea, but, as Kennedy has suggested, he seems to have included this and other material relating to the Grail in response to "Scotland's claims to preeminence as a Christian nation" ("John Hardyng and the Holy Grail," p. 199). Hardyng may have known *JG* (pp. 2–3, 30–31, 54–55), as some critics have argued, or had access to a related text — a chronicle or a romance — that incorporated similar details about Joseph's association with Glastonbury. Since *EH I:157*, *NC* fols. 21r–21v, several Latin *Bruts* (including the source of *NC*), and *English Chronicle* (see Marx "Aberystwyth" pp. 4–5), all describe Joseph's burial with two phials of the

bloody sweat of Christ, Hardyngh could have drawn on a chronicle for the details or amalgamated information from more than one source. Similar material concerning Joseph has been interpolated into William of Malmesbury's *Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie*, a manuscript of *FH* I:127, the version of Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle* in London College of Arms MS Arundel 58, and later works attesting to an ongoing interest in Joseph include the unusual Prose *Brut* extant in Lambeth Palace Library MS 84, William Worcester's *Itineraries* (p. 298), and the life of Joseph printed in the *Nova Legenda Anglie* by Wynkyn de Worde in 1516, though Hardyngh did not know these.

Importantly, none of the aforementioned chronicles makes reference to the "rode of the north dore" (2.2613m), a cross that Joseph made which was later cast into the sea by Agrestes, only to appear again in the reign of Lucius at St. Paul's, London (see 3.96–119 and 3.99m). Hardyngh's marginal reference to the story being contained in the "book of Joseph of Arymathi lyfe" (2.2613m) implies that he knew a separate version of Joseph's story, similar to, but doubtless fuller than, *Lyfe of St Joseph of Armathia* printed by Pynson in 1520, which also refers to the "rode" (see 217–24). Such a text was presumably based on *Lestoire del Saint Graal*, which makes reference to Agrestes (pp. 136–37), and *Queste*, which incorporates the story of the shield Galahad inherits on his Grail quest, something that Hardyngh recounts later in the *Chronicle* (see 3.3052ff). If Hardyngh did use a source of this kind, it may also have inspired his reference to the Virgin's assumption, as *Lyfe of St Joseph of Armathia* (line 117) mentions this event, though the unedited part of an *English Chronicle* in National Library of Wales, MS 21608, ff. 25v–26r also includes it so, again, it could have come from a chronicle (see Marx, "Aberystwyth," pp. 4–5). The tantalizing, but brief, reference to "þe Auenturus of Brutayne" (line 232) in the extant fragment of *Joseph of Arimathie*, a fourteenth-century English alliterative romance extant in the famous Vernon manuscript, seems to indicate that Joseph's coming to Britain was covered in the missing text, so Hardyngh may well have drawn on a similar lost vernacular romance containing the story of the cross. Henry Lovelich's *History of the Holy Grail* offers another example of a romance which associates Joseph with Glastonbury (IV:324) and includes an account of Agrestes and a 'red cross' (III:211–13), but in this version Agrestes does not throw the cross into the sea and it is not lost or associated with Lucius.

In the fifteenth century, the cross of the "north dore" was very popular with pilgrims, a fact that Reginald Pecock notes in his *The Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy* (I:194); this may have influenced Hardyngh's decision to include it in the *Chronicle*. For another reference to Joseph's burial at Glastonbury, see 6.2317–23.

2676–82

*In signe . . . over alle.* Although some chronicles give Stainmore as the location of the stone Marius erects to commend his victory over Redryke the Pict (see *OV* lines 757–59, and *EH* II:261), the information provided by Hardyngh, who describes the stone as the ancient boundary marker known as Rey Cross ("Rerecrosse"), appears to come from his own knowledge of the border regions.

## BOOK 3

- 1–196     *Aftyr Kynge . . . his exequyse.* For the most part Hardyng follows *HRB* §§72–74, but the date of Lucius's coronation appears to come from *MO* (p. 412), which gives the year 184 as the start of Pope Eleutherius' rule and mentions Lucius's appeal to him. Hardyng incorrectly claims that *MO* records Severus's death in the year 235, perhaps indicating that he misread a later entry, had a corrupt text, or took the reference from another source citing Martin (*MO*, pp. 447–48, gives the year as 212). However, another emperor with the name Severus — Alexander Severus — died in 235, so Hardyng may have used an unidentified source that confused the two emperors. In *MO*, Alexander Severus dies in 236, but he is not named “Severus” (p. 448).
- Other writers attributing a seventeen-year reign to Severus include Bede (p. 50), who also mentions his burial at York, and RMB 1.5776–5779.
- 29m     *Nota of . . . of goules.* Hardyng links Lucius's shield with the shield made by Joseph of Arimathea. It is later owned by St. George, Constantine, and Galahad. See 3.505m, 3.575m, 3.694m, 3.3059, 3.3157.
- 83–88     *Whose names . . . for memory.* According to Gildas, Christianity first came to Britain in the reign of the Emperor Tiberius, not Lucius, who first appears in Bede (p. 49). Hardyng has taken the reference to Gildas from *HRB* §72 (it also occurs in *FH* I:147), where it may be a mistake for the pseudo-Nennius *HB* §22. *HB* mentions Lucius's baptism, but not Fagan and Duvian.
- 89–91     *And Mewytryne . . . his dyspence.* Reference to Lucius's giving Glastonbury to Fagan and Duvian is also made in *JG* (pp. 38–39). The inclusion of the episode here provides further evidence that Hardyng knew a similar source detailing Glastonbury's legendary past. See also notes 3.29m, 3.96–119, and 3.99m.
- 96–119     *Bot now . . . dyd apere.* See notes to 2.2611–47 and 3.99m.
- 99m     *How the . . . sayd rode.* Having already mentioned the story of the crucifix made by Joseph of Arimathea at 2.2611–47, Hardyng develops his account by describing its miraculous arrival at St. Paul's. His reference to the “table” and stained glass window depicting the story of the crucifix at St. Paul's demonstrates the importance of the cross to the medieval cathedral. The information probably derives from Hardyng's own knowledge of the rood, from a work on Joseph's life, or, given its close proximity to lines 3.89–91, from an unidentified source containing the early history of Glastonbury (see notes 2.2611–47 and 3.89–91).
- 197–329     *Getan his . . . foule meschaunce.* This section contains one of the most topical interjections in the *Chronicle* (3.246–80). The essence of the story of Bassian and Carouce is most likely taken from *HRB* §§75–76 and RMB 1.5780–5921, but Hardyng removes all reference to Carouce's courage and his dealings with the Roman Senate. Instead he uses the example of Carouce's ambition and treachery to warn Henry VI and contemporary lords about the problems they face if the lawlessness plaguing late fifteenth-century England is allowed to

continue. Hardynge's caution about lower-born men rebelling above their station and rebelling against their social betters when oppressed is particularly significant given that he was writing this version of his *Chronicle* at the time of, or shortly after, the Kentish rebellion led by Jack Cade. Moreover, his criticism of "mayntenaunce" (3.263), a corrupt process by which a lord would trade on his influence to abet wrong-doers under his protection, complements complaints and advice found in other fifteenth-century works. Lydgate's *FP*, for example, frequently warns lords and princes to protect the poor, maintain the law, and be aware of the dangers of allowing low-born men to take positions of power (see 2.1423–29, 3.3108–14, 3.3129–35, 3.3262–82, 5.2362–75, 7.270–77, 9.3022–56). Since Hardynge knew Lydgate's work, such comments may have inspired his own interjections. For further discussion of Caraunce's reign and other sections relating to civil unrest see Peverley, "Dynasty and Division" and "Political Consciousness."

- 263      *mayntenaunce*. See note 3.197–329 above.
- 264–66     *The pore . . . sore ban*. Hardynge appears to be referring to the citizens of the Tuscan city states who had considerable rights of access and redress at law, even if they were poor. We are grateful to Alan Crosby for this suggestion.
- 288–308    *A prynce . . . it alterate*. Hardynge develops the brief comment about the Picts intermarrying with Britons in *HRB* §75 to emphasize the bellicose nature of the Scots and present a more general, xenophobic point about the danger of having "aliens" within a kingdom. Such sentiments would have been particularly topical in light of the riots that took place against alien merchants in London in the late 1450s (see Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 790–95).
- 292      *kyng Maryus*. The reference to King Marius alludes to 2.2662–89.
- 330–36     *Suche fyne . . . thayre hame*. An echo of 2.645–51, where Hardynge attributes the downfall of Albion's giants to Providence.
- 335      *And after olde synne so commyth ay new shame*. Proverbial. See Whiting S338 and Tilley S471.
- 336      *And wronge lawes make lordes forsake thayre hame*. Proverbial. See Whiting L111.
- 337–504    *The Bretons . . . the felde*. This section is similar to *HRB* §§76–78 and RMB 1.5922–6095, although neither source remarks on St. Amphibalus's martyrdom ("Amphybale"), mentions Galerius ruling the Empire with Constance, or gives the year of Constance's death as 306 AD, as Hardynge and *FH* I:173–75 do. A linguistic echo of Hardynge's "engynes and magnels" (3.359) occurs in RMB 1.5966–67.
- 499      *Galeryus*. Galerius is also mentioned in *HA* (pp. 536–37) and *MO* (p. 450).
- 505m     *Constantynes armes . . . the aire*. This marginalia is accompanied by an illustration of Constantine's coat of arms, but the colors of the shield have been accidentally reversed (i.e., the cross is colored argent [silver] when it should be gules [red], and the background is gules when it should be argent). For other decoration in the manuscript see the Manuscript Description. Other references

- to the arms, which are associated with St. George, occur at 3.575m, 3.694m, 3.3059, and 3.3157–70.
- 505–25     *Constantyne that . . . nought transcendē.* The beginning of Hardyng's account of Constantine's reign (3.505–74) relies on HRB §78–79, or a text derived from it, such as *RB* lines 5688–5730, which mentions Constantine's coronation by the British barons and his noble, “lion-like” countenance. The emperor's laudable ability to live from his own resources (3.521) and the suggestion that financial prudence is a desideratum in a sovereign (3.524–25) appear to be Hardyng's own embellishments. Though his additions are typical of the opinions expressed in advice literature, or “mirrors for princes,” Hardyng may have included them in light of his own experience of the financial difficulties faced by the Lancastrian government in the late 1440s and early 1450s. At this time, a series of Resumption Acts were passed to counteract Henry VI's crippling household expenditure and inept distribution of privileges: Hardyng's royal grant was among those resumed.
- 526–74     *And so . . . wele biloved.* Hardyng, like *CPL I:78*, has the Roman Senate appeal to Constantine for help instead of following the structure of HRB, in which a number of Romans flee to Britain because of Maxcence's tyranny and persuade Constantine to wage war on him. Among the chronicles considered for this edition, only Hardyng makes reference to the Romans' promise to cease their request for Britain's tribute, paving the way for King Arthur's decision to defy Lucius's request for tribute later in the *Chronicle*.
- 575–677    *The yere . . . were felle.* The Chronicle either draws directly upon *MO* (pp. 450–52) and the *Legenda Aurea* (“The Life of Saint Silvester” and “The Invention of the Cross”), or uses an intermediate source, such as *P* (V: 114–151), which borrows from these texts and contains many of the details found here (see notes 3.645m and 715m below). Whatever the case, Hardyng builds upon Constantine's refusal to slaughter innocent children in order to cure his leprosy by turning his reported comment about imperial dignity being born out of pity in “The Life of Saint Silvester” and *P* (V:124) (“Dignitas Romani imperii de fonte nascitur pietatis”) into an appeal to contemporary lords to show pity to those in distress. He goes on to explain that Constantine deferred baptism because of his desire to be baptized in the River Jordan; this story does not occur in *MO* or the *Legenda Aurea*, but it is mentioned in *P* V:128–29, where it is attributed to Ambrose and Jerome, although it actually originates from Eusebius's *Vita Constantini* (Book 4, Chapter 62). Of all of these texts, only Hardyng's explicitly aligns the emperor's desire for baptism in the Jordan with his aspiration of conquering the “Jewry hool” (3.608).
- 575m       *How Kynge . . . or borne.* See note 3.505m.
- 582m       *As in . . . hoc vinces.* The legend of St. Helen referred to here appears to be “The Invention of the Cross” in the *Legenda Aurea*; see note 3.575–677 above.
- 645m       *How Seynt . . . cronicas Martini.* The source for Silvester's healing of Constantine could have been the *Legenda Aurea*'s “Life of Saint Silvester,” *MO* (pp. 450–51) or *P* (V:122–29), which also acknowledges its debt to the “Life of

- Saint Silvester" (see note 3.575–677 above). Hardynge's claim to have seen the holy water used at Constantine's baptism may indicate that he had been to Rome in 1424, as suggested by 1.1m, because, in the second version of the *Chronicle*, he states that the water can be seen there. However, the holy water was clearly a well-known relic, and in *FP*, which Hardynge knew, Lydgate also mentions the font at St. Peter's, Rome, containing the water used on Constantine (*FP* 8.2140–67). The story of Constantine's leprosy and miraculous baptism is also told by Gower in *Confessio Amantis* 2.3187–3464.
- 659m *secundum cronicas Martini.* The number of bishops given in this marginalia, 300, does not correspond with the number given in the following stanza, 318 (3.660).
- 678–79 *She dyed ... and sely.* Hardynge may have used an unidentified source for his account of St. Helen's burial at Santa Maria in Ara Coeli, the city church in Rome dedicated to the Virgin Mary. However, Helen's relics were allegedly moved to the church in 1140, so if Hardynge did travel to Rome in 1424, as suggested by 1.1m and 3.645m, it is also possible that he saw the relics firsthand and added this information from his own knowledge. For St. Helen and Ara Coeli, see Drijvers, *Helena Augusta*, p. 75 and Harbus, *Helena of Britain*, p. 46.
- 680–86 *But now . . . were unkynde.* Gildas does not mention Constantine. Hardynge may have meant *HB*, which was commonly attributed to Gildas by medieval chroniclers, in which case he is correct in stating that it does not describe Constantine's life (see *HB* §25, where he is mentioned very briefly). Henry of Huntingdon does include some of Constantine's deeds, but his account is succinct in comparison with Hardynge's (see *HA* pp. 60–63, 574–75).
- 694m *And than . . . Georges armes.* Hardynge links Constantine's arms with the arms of St. George and, therefore, with the arms of Lucius (who is said to bear arms "in fourme of Seynt Georges armes"; see 3.29m). Later, he will associate the same heraldic device with Galahad. See 3.3056 ff. and notes 3.505m and 3.3157–70.
- 715m *How this . . . Martyne Romayn.* Hardynge has taken this information, including the reference to Isidore, from *MO* (pp. 450–51) or *P* (V:148–51). *MO* is the more likely source; if Hardynge had used *P* he would have had to have a manuscript that attributed the information to *MO* and gave the correct date of 21 May rather than the incorrect date of 11 May given in the manuscript used by Babington and Lumby for their edition of *P*. A survey of extant manuscripts of *P* would shed further light on this matter.
- 717–28 *A saynt . . . Chyrche promocioun.* See note 715m above.
- 729–812 *But in . . . withouten fayle.* This section has much in common with *HRB* §§80–81, although it differs in a number of smaller details. Like *OV* (lines 883–87) and *EH* (II:269), Hardynge locates Traherne's battle with Octave at Stainmore, rather than the less specific Westmorland of *HRB*; he also attributes the plan to persuade one of Octave's friends to kill Traherne to

Gunbert, an alteration that does not occur in any of the chronicles considered in this edition, and he clarifies that Kaerperis is Porchester (compare *FH* I:178). Such changes may indicate that Hardyng was using a source based on *HRB* rather than *HRB* itself.

- 771m *Unde Seneca . . . periculo est.* Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*, 1114 ff., which Hardyng may have known, includes a similar statement attributed to Seneca, but as Blyth, Hoccleve's editor, notes, it does not occur in Seneca: "the idea, though not the language, is in Boethius" (see note to 1114 ff.). If Hardyng's marginalia was not inspired by Hoccleve, his quotation may be an allusion to Seneca's *De Clementia* (Book I, chapter viii, §§ 1–5 or Book I, chapter xix, §§ 2–8), in which the dangers facing a prince are discussed. It is also possible that the sententia was obtained from a florilegium, which failed to identify the source correctly.
- 813–925 *The kynge . . . fully assocyate.* Hardyng's account of Maximian's reign is closest to *HRB* §§83–88 and RMB 1.6290–6543, although neither text is an entirely satisfactory match. The *Chronicle* offers a noticeably shorter version of the longer accounts of Maximian's campaign given in *HRB*, RMB, and other texts associated with them, omitting all reference to Maximian's encounter with the king of the Franks and the subsequent attacks made on Conan before the British women are sent to Brittany. The 10,000 men that Maximian requests to populate Brittany does not match any of the figures given in *HRB*, *RB*, RMB, *OV*, *EH*, or *FH*, but the description of Gwaynes and Melga as Saracens (3.896) corresponds with RMB 1.6484–94, as does the reference to the eleven noble women accompanying Ursula in the marginalia before line 3.855 (compare RMB 1.6456 and 1.6482, although, arguably, this could also be a shared mistake for eleven thousand). Hardyng's reference to Gwaynes and Melga's hatred of Britain is not part of their motive for executing the virgins in other sources, nor have we been able to find a textual parallel for Hardyng's reference to St. Ursula's burial in the choir at a church in Cologne, but it may have been widely known that her relics were at the church dedicated to her in Cologne. Only Hardyng refers to Maximian's killing of Valentinian instead of Gracian.
- 926–60 *Gracyan, whan . . . cronycle historialle.* Of the chronicles considered here, Hardyng alone provides specific details of Gracian's tyranny and states that Melga and Gwaynes invaded Britain because they believed Maximian was still king. His reference to Melga and Gwaynes ravaging Britain to avenge Maximian's slighting of Gracian may stem from the observation that Melga and Gwaynes ravaged the coasts for Gracian in *HRB* §88 and *P* (V:202–03).
- 961–1107 *Gwayns and . . . is memory.* Hardyng's source(s) here is unclear; for the most part his account corresponds with *HRB* §§89–93, but some elements are closer to *P* (V:224–27, 250–53) and RMB (1.6564–6885), suggesting that he combined two or more sources or was following a text that had already done this. He omits the speech made by Bishop Guthelyne in *HRB* just before the Romans leave Britain for the last time, thus removing the criticism levied at the British for being weak and not defending their realm properly, and

similarly fails to include the alternative speech made by the wise Roman in texts such as *RB* and *RMB*. This allows him to present the plight of the British in a sympathetic light, which is further enhanced by his accentuation of the treachery of Melga and Gwaynes and the indifference of the Romans. Guthelyne's request for help from Aldroene is shorter than that in most other sources and has much in common with the petition in *RMB*, whilst Aldroene's reply is closer to that in *HRB*.

- 975m *How Bretons . . . Gestis Anglorum.* Reference to the wall built by Severus is also made in Bede (p. 59), *P* (V:226–27), and *NC* (fol. 28v). It is difficult to tell whether Hardyng obtained the information directly from Bede or from another text that attributed it to him.
- 1024m *How Bretons . . . Gestis Anglorum.* Compare Bede (pp. 60–61), although there the Britons' sending for help from Egicyo (Aetius) is ascribed to the year 446 (see note 3.1045–48).
- 1045–48 *The tyme . . . and compilacioun.* This date is given in Bede (p. 325) and *RMB* (1.6758–61), though neither of the extant copies of *RMB* attribute the date to Bede. Hardyng, or his source, appears to confuse the year that Roman rule in Britain comes to an end in Bede with the year of the Britons' request for help from Egicyo.
- 1108–42 *This Constantyne . . . had conspyred.* Hardyng, *FH* (I:209), *P* (V:252–53), *CPL* (I:94), *RMB* (1.6886), and *NC* (fol. 29v) place Constantine's coronation at Cirencester ("Cyrcester") rather than Silchester (as in *HRB* §93 and *RB* line 6437), but only Hardyng supplements this information with the ancient name for Cirencester, Caercri ("Caersyry"). Hardyng and *RMB* 1.6890–91, 1.6904–27 are the only texts in the aforementioned group to give Constantine's wife Roman and British ancestry and attribute Constantine's death to Vortigern's treachery.
- 1143–1219 *Constans than . . . bene sene.* Hardyng is probably following *HRB* §§94–96 and *RMB* 1.6928–7168, but his account of Constance's election and coronation is more succinct than their detailed version of events. He omits all of the material dealing with the barons' concerns about Constance and Vortigern's discussion with him at Winchester (like *P* [V:254–55]). The *Chronicle* resembles *HRB* in its reference to the kingdom being devoid of older leaders and the future leaders (Aurelius and Uther) being too young to rule; however, it appears to emulate *RMB* in making Vortigern a duke of Wales and accentuating his ability to flatter.
- 1145 *the mynstere of Seynte Amphibale.* Other texts that make reference to Constance's being in a church dedicated to St. Amphibalus include *HRB* §93, *FH* (I:209), *P* (V:252–53), *EH* (II:274), and *NC* (fol. 29v).
- 1220–1443 *This Vortygere . . . quenes supportacioun.* This section has most in common with *HRB* §§97–100, although the reference to Engist's landing at Sandwich suggests knowledge of *RB* lines 6704–05 and/or *RMB* 1.7183–85, and Vortimer's sending for saints Germanus and Lupus occurs in *RMB* 1.7641–42.

Hardyng omits some of the information found in *HRB*, including the reference to Satan entering Vortigern when he sees Rowen, and adds a number of unique details, such as the description of Engist being as meek as a lamb (3.1243), the notification at 3.1402m that “Thwongcastre” is Caistor in Lincolnshire, and Engist’s prayer of thanks to Mercury and Venus for bringing the eighteen Saxon ships safely to Britain (3.1371–73). Two other points are worth noting: having elected not to include the Latin and Welsh names for “Thwongcastre” found in *HRB*, *RB*, and *RMB*, Hardyng provides an etymological description of the name, claiming that Engist named it “Thwongcastre” (3.1403) to ensure that he never forgot the wisdom, or clever trick, that helped him to obtain the land (i.e., cutting a continuous strip of leather, or “thong,” from a bull skin to measure out the greatest possible territory). This helps to underscore Engist’s intelligence and his ability to manipulate Vortigern, paving the way for his subsequent treachery. Likewise, whilst other texts stress that Engist asked for Kent as Rowen’s dowry, Hardyng does not; he merely states that Vortigern gave her the land as “dowere” (3.1401). This may be an attempt to reduce the narrative on Hardyng’s part, but it also has the effect of showing how blinded Vortigern is by his desire for Rowen; only a few stanzas before, he would not grant Engist land because he was a foreign pagan and he did not want to upset the British barons, but here he gives a whole county to his pagan wife.

- 1290m *Nota also . . . of golde.* This marginalia offers another example of Hardyng’s interest in heraldry as he includes a coat of arms for Engist and Horsa. Compare, for example, the arms he ascribes to Aeneas and Brute at 2.554m and the genuine coat of arms belonging to Sir Robert Umfraville at 7.889.
- 1444–1534 *This Engiste . . . waste indede.* The majority of this section corresponds to *HRB* §§101–02; however, there is sufficient correlation with *RMB* to suppose that Hardyng was combining elements of *HRB* and *RMB*, or using another text that had already done so. Compare, for example, Engist’s suggestion of sending for Octa, his cousin Ebissa (a brother in *HRB*) and Cherdike with *RMB* 1.7541–46, and Vortimer’s request for Germanus to preach again with *RMB* 1.7641–42. Hardyng’s conceit on Vortimer’s presumption is unique.
- 1535–1632 *This Vortygerne . . . myght suffise.* Although Hardyng’s account of Engist’s return is close to *HRB* §§103–05 in many respects, such as its inclusion of Eldane’s burial of the dead at Salisbury plain and Earl Eldolle’s defeat of seventy Saxons, it nevertheless contains several aspects yet to be found elsewhere. Unlike other sources, Hardyng comments on Engist’s joy upon hearing of Vortimer’s death and emphasizes the Saxon’s rhetorical skills by reporting his insincere statement about not wanting to hurt the British because of his consanguinity with their queen (3.1568–69). Correspondingly, Hardyng places greater emphasis on the role of the British barons — they are present when Engist’s messenger arrives and they approve of his alleged plan to “strenght the londe agayn” (3.1567) — and he supplements Engist’s plot to kill the British by adding a new stratagem whereby each “Bretoun” is “aflore a payen sette” to make them easier to kill (3.1600).

- 1626m *Nota that . . . of Afrike.* Like *OV* (lines 1238–40) and *EH* (I:280), the *Chronicle* mentions the etymology of England at this point in the narrative. Hardyng adds that the name was set aside shortly afterwards and not used again until Gurmond was king. The subsequent reference to the land being divided up “parcelmele” (3.1632) may indicate that Hardyng had some version of the Prose *Brut* to hand, or another text that drew upon it, since *OV* also mentions the apportionment of the realm.
- 1633–1786 *Wharfore so . . . swerd and fyre.* Compare with *HRB* §§105–08 and RMB 1.7689–8202. Hardyng supplements his account of Merlin’s birth with several details: he alone uses the simile “as white as any swan” to describe the spirit that visited Merlin’s mother (3.1674) and makes reference to the popular opinion that his father could have been a “fende” (3.1660). Likewise, he has Maugancus suggest that the spirit may have chosen to “dystayne and appalle” his mother’s “holynesse” because God selected her to fall “for the better” (3.1703–09). Hardyng may have included the latter because he had seen references to demons wanting to shame women in RMB 1.7973 and 1.7976, or he may have emphasized the spirit’s fiendish nature because he knew the Vulgate *Lestoire de Merlin*, which focuses on Merlin’s demonic father and his attempt to dishonor a secular virgin. Other aspects that Hardyng may have appropriated from RMB include the restyling of *HRB*’s governor of Caermardyn (“prefectum”) as “mayre” (see RMB 1.7917) and the naming of the castle Aurelius burns (see *RB* lines 7601–06 and RMB 1.8187–92). Elements not found in any of the sources considered here include Vortigern’s clerks defiantly answering Merlin (3.1730) and Duke Eldolle’s responsibility for the assembly that crowns Aurelius king (3.1780–86).
- 1757–72 *The water . . . to avenge.* Hardyng reduces the significance of the two dragons, which subsequently fight in *HRB* §§111–12 and signify the forthcoming battle between the Britons and the Saxons. He similarly omits all of the other prophecies found in *HRB* §§112–17 and condenses the divination concerning Vortigern’s end in §118 by passing over the fates of Aurelius and Uther, and excluding notice of the coming of Arthur. In the second version of the *Chronicle*, Hardyng states that he cannot write affirmatively about Merlin’s birth or his prophecies, so he omits them entirely.
- 1787–1835 *Thay crouned . . . his countré.* Generally speaking, Hardyng follows *HRB* §§120–25, but he radically reduces the account of Aurelius’s battle with Engist, omits Aurelius’s promise to restore the churches if victorious and removes Eldolle’s prayer to meet Engist on the field. Hardyng similarly alters *HRB*’s statement about the north of England being open to attack from Scots, Picts, Danes, and Norwegians, and recasts it as a justification for the Saxons’ north-eary retreat; they choose this area because they can seek refuge in Scotland and obtain help from Britain’s foreign enemies if necessary (compare RMB 1.8255–56). Only Hardyng’s Eldolle sends a letter to Aurelius noting Engist’s capture and only here does he ask what his punishment will be.
- 1816–28 *Sayde “Ye . . . dedes longe.”* This alludes to Samuel 1 15:33. Hardyng adapts his source to imitate the contemporary practice of quartering high-profile

criminals and sending their body parts to various cities for display to deter prospective felons.

- 1836–70 *In this . . . and recounisled.* Compare *HRB* §§126–27 and *RMB* 1.8517–8611. Hardyng's Octa submits himself to Aurelius's mercy with a rope around his neck instead of a chain, as in *RMB* 1.8534–35, but the *Chronicle* follows *RMB* in having Bishop Eldade offer the king advice first (Eldade is presumably a variation of the earlier character "Eldane," as he is in other sources). The gift of land to the Saxons is similarly attributed to Aurelius's own free will, rather than in response to the bishop's request as in *HRB* §126 and *RB* lines 7957–59. For the biblical story of the Gibeonites, see Joshua 9:26.
- 1871–1924 *Than sente . . . can merke.* Compare *HRB* §§128–30 and *RMB* 1.8612–8817, although the *Chronicle* may be drawing upon a related, but more succinct, text linked to *RB* and *EH*. Hardyng appears to condense and simplify the episode explaining how Stonehenge was brought across from Ireland; however, further investigation into unpublished chronicles, particularly the Latin *Bruts*, may reveal that the following alterations do not originate with him at all. Hardyng has Aurelius send for Merlin without the advice of his bishop, and he removes any material that makes the king appear foolish, such as his desire to know the future and his laughter at Merlin's suggestion of bringing the immovable stones to Britain. In so doing, Hardyng creates a stronger, more decisive Aurelius, whose qualities are more in keeping with those already seen. Hardyng alone has Merlin offer to travel with Uther, and by excluding the scene whereby the Britons amuse the prophet with their hopeless attempt to move the stones, he introduces a more obliging Merlin than *HRB* and *RMB*. Whilst *RB* (lines 8175–78), *OV* (lines 1425–26), *EH* (II: 302), and *NC* (fol. 38v) explain that the stones are known as Stonehenge, only *RB* and *EH* come close to matching Hardyng's etymological explanation for the name. Finally, reference to the saintliness of bishops Sampson and Dubricius is also made in *RB* (lines 8169–70) and *RMB* (1.8805–07).
- 1925–54 *In whiche . . . body stolle.* Hardyng appears to emulate *RMB* 1.8818–8913. He omits all reference to Paschance's being in Germany, describes "Menevue" (3.1933) as St. David's (*RMB* 1.8841–43; see also *RB* lines 8213–14) and has Aurelius request burial at Stonehenge instead of dying in his sleep, as he does in *HRB* §132. The advice concerning unsuitable physicians in the marginalia before 3.1941 is Hardyng's own.
- 1955–2149 *Thus was . . . the nones.* Hardyng's rendering of Uther's reign combines elements of *HRB* §§133–42 and *RMB* 1.8914–9599. He probably adapted Merlin's prophecy to accommodate his later account of Arthur's victory over Lucius (3.3619 ff.), for in *HRB* the beam that extends from the comet across the territories destined to be conquered by Uther's son stretches only to Gaul. On the other hand, Hardyng may have known that the place the beam extends to in *RB* (line 8298) and *RMB* (1.8929) — the Great St. Bernard's Pass or "Muntgieu" — leads to Italy and changed his text accordingly to include the more familiar Rome. Other alterations to the prophecy that appear to originate with Hardyng include the prediction that Arthur will have no

issue (3.1976) — an interesting addition, which looks forward to the succession of Constantine, the son of Duke Cador (3.3822–28) — and the reference to Uther having more than one daughter at 3.1981. If authorial, the latter is presumably an attempt to reconcile the incongruity in *HRB* §144, whereby the mother of King Hoel of Brittany, Arthur's nephew, does not appear to be Anna, daughter of Uther and wife of Loth. Regrettably, Hardyng's reference to Arthur and Hoel's consanguinity at 3.2312–13 adds nothing to support this assumption, but the second version of the *Chronicle* also refers to Uther's having more than one daughter, suggesting that the change was intentional or the result of Hardyng following a source with such a reading.

The *Chronicle* follows RMB 1.9029 in naming the church at Winchester St. Peter's (compare also *CPL* [I:132]), and the speech given by Hardyng's Gorlois is similar to, but noticeably shorter than, that in RMB 1.9110–19. Reference to Uther declaring peace at Alclud and punishing criminals severely is made in *HRB* §137, as is the name of Gorlois's stronghold “Dymyoke” (but compare *RB* line 8636, where it also occurs in three manuscripts of that text). Unfortunately, Hardyng's narrative is confused about the manner of Gorlois's death. He is slain twice: first by Uther's men (3.2113–14), and again by Uther (3.2142). This error probably arose because Hardyng decided to omit the episode in his sources whereby the king's men breach Gorlois's camp, kill the duke, and win the siege whilst Uther is with Igerne. In passing over this and attributing the victory to Uther, Hardyng may have hoped to enhance the king's military prowess, which is somewhat overshadowed by his lust in other texts. However, if this was his intention, his failure to omit the messenger's speech reporting the duke's demise at 3.2113–14 has spoilt the effect.

Finally, Hardyng omits those parts of his sources that cast the British barons in an unfavorable light; see, for example, *HRB* §139 and RMB 1.9450–59, where they refuse to follow Loth's orders.

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|---------|---|
| 2061–65 | <i>Whose beuté . . . stretched nought.</i> Hardyng's observation that Nature surpassed itself when it fashioned Igerne is comparable with the descriptions of feminine beauty in romance (see, for example, Chrétien de Troyes' <i>Chevalier au Lion</i> 1495–98, where we are told that Laudine is of “such immeasurable beauty, for in her Nature has surpassed all limit”; <i>TB</i> 5.1910–15; and Brewer, “Feminine Beauty,” pp. 258, 268).  |
| 2063    | <i>Hyre shappe and forme excede alle creature.</i> Compare <i>TC</i> 5.807–08.  |
| 2106    | <i>Whiche of nature tendre was of corage.</i> Compare <i>TC</i> 5.825.  |
| 2150–77 | <i>A feste . . . grete regyment.</i> Unlike other chroniclers, Hardyng follows the Vulgate <i>Lestoire de Merlin</i> (pp. 196–97) in placing the foundation of the Round Table in Uther's reign. However, whereas <i>Lestoire de Merlin</i> locates the first appearance of the Table at Uther's Whitsunday feast, Hardyng's Uther establishes it during his wedding feast. The description of the Grail as “The dysshe in whiche that Criste dyd putte his honde” and the vessel that Joseph of Arimathea used to collect Christ's blood is taken from <i>Lestoire de Merlin</i> , (pp. 196–97, 352), but it is at odds with Hardyng's earlier account of Joseph's coming to Britain with two vials of the bloody sweat of Christ (2.2611–19). |

Whilst it is not inconceivable that Hardyng viewed the vials and the Grail as separate relics, it is more likely that the inconsistency arose from his use of disparate sources. For the Grail as blood relic see Barber, *Holy Grail*, pp. 127–34, and Vincent, *Holy Blood*. For Joseph's arrival in Britain see note 2.2611–47 above. For the Round Table in literature and legend see Fleming, “Round Table” and the works cited therein. The reference to Christ at the house of Simon the leper alludes to Mark 14:3.

- 2220–26 *Afore his . . . Westmerlonde thurghoute.* The Middle English Prose Bruts found in Dublin, Trinity College MS 489 and Cleveland Public Library MS John G. White Collection W Q091.92–C468 (classified by Lister Matheson as *PV–1419: A* and *PV–1451/1460*) also connect Uther's stronghold with Pendragon Castle. The castle, which probably dates from the twelfth century, belonged to the Clifford family, who held the shrievalty of Westmorland by hereditary right and had close familial ties with the Percies, whom Hardyng once served. If this portion of the *Chronicle* was composed before the first Battle of St. Albans (22 May 1455), which seems most likely, “the Clifford” (3.2224) mentioned here is Thomas Clifford, eighth Baron Clifford (1414–55), son of John Clifford (1388/89–1422) and Elizabeth Percy (d. 1436). Thomas played an important role in fifteenth-century politics and was one of the men who supported Henry VI against Richard, duke of York at the Battle of St. Albans, where he was killed. Conversely, if Hardyng was at work on this section after Thomas's death, “the Clifford” is Thomas's son John Clifford, ninth Baron Clifford (1435–61), who came of age and inherited his father's legacy in July 1456.
- 2227–47 *Allas for . . . you sende.* Like the stanza before it, this unique commendation of Uther's achievements enhances the significance of his reign and underlines the continuity between past and present. Uther, like other sovereigns throughout the *Chronicle*, is to be a “myrour and remembrance to other kynges and prynces” because he protected his realm and opposed those who “ vexed” his people, even when sick (3.2227m and 3.2240). The correlation between the difficulties in Uther's reign and those lamented elsewhere in the *Chronicle* relating to Hardyng's own time are implicit, but Henry VI is asked to “Thynke on this poynte” and ensure that he remains active in defending the realm and people that God entrusted to his care (compare 7.1051–78). Uther's sickness and subsequent battle at St. Albans may have reminded Hardyng of the mental illness suffered by Henry VI in 1453–54, which preceded the battle of St. Albans in 1455, where one of the Cliffords mentioned above died (see note 3.2220–26).
- 2247m *Arthurs armes.* The illustrated arms of King Arthur — gules (red), three crowns or (gold) — occur alongside this marginalia.
- 2248–80 *Arthure his . . . and quyte.* Hardyng's portrait of Arthur's excellent features and his pledge to free the land of Saxons echoes *RB* lines 9013–38 and *RMB* 1.9614–37, although the inclusion of Fortune favoring the king is Hardyng's own expansion, perhaps inspired by references to Fortune in Lydgate's *FP*, and it anticipates his later diatribe on her fickleness (for more on this topic see Peverley, “Chronicling the Fortunes”). The location of Arthur's coronation at

Cirencester (“Cyrcestre,” 3.2253), presumably a misreading of “Silcestrie” in *HRB* §143, similarly demonstrates the *Chronicle’s* debt to *RB* and/or *RMB*, for the same reading occurs in four extant manuscripts of *RB* (line 9012) and the surviving copies of *RMB* (1.9605, 1.9610). Whilst the presence of “Caercyry” (3.2253) merely repeats the information at 3.1110, the observation that “som” call Cirencester “Caersegent” (3.2254) indicates some confusion, either on Hardyng’s part or in one of his sources. *HB* §66a lists Cair Segeint as one of the twenty-eight British cities and *HA* (pp. 14–15) equates it with Silchester, but neither text mentions it in relation to Arthur. Hardyng may have conflated his “Cyrcestre” with *HRB*’s Silchester and decided to supplement his text with the information in *HA*, or, perhaps more likely, he obtained “Caersegent” from a text that drew upon the identification in *HA* to supplement its own reference to Arthur’s coronation at Silchester.

- 2255      *fystene yere*. Arthur is fifteen at his accession in *HRB* and *RMB*.
- 2281–2380    *To Scotlonde . . . no nede*. Arthur’s campaign against the Saxons follows *HRB* §§143–48 and *RMB* 1.9638–10020, but Hardyng reduces the narrative considerably, omitting Hoel’s illness, the speeches made by Arthur and Dubricius, Arthur’s arming scene, and the detailed descriptions of combat. On one occasion his concision loses the coherence of his sources, for in omitting the scene in which Baldulf flees from battle and decides to try to reach his brother while disguised as a jester to plot their next move (3.2297–2303), it is not immediately apparent why Baldulf adopts his disguise.
- 2348      *By thayre letters and seles*. Only Hardyng refers to Cheldryke, Baldulf, and Colgrym ratifying their treaty with Arthur by “letters and seles.”
- 2360–61     *He hanged . . . batayle wente*. Hardyng diverges from his sources, where the Saxon hostages are hanged before Arthur journeys to Bath, and has them executed in full sight of their kinsmen to press home the Saxons’ perfidy.
- 2378      *Deveshyre, Dorset and also Somersette*. *RMB* 1.9845–48 appears to have inspired the *Chronicle’s* reference to the Saxons ravaging Devonshire, Somerset, and Dorset, although the information ultimately derives from *RB* lines 9245–48. Hardyng has removed it from its original context, where the pillaging precedes the siege of Bath.
- 2381–2401    *In this . . . and contumacité*. Compare *HRB* §§149–52 and *RMB* 1.10021–10244. Details apparently taken from *HRB* include Hardyng’s reckoning of forty islands in the loch, as opposed to sixty in *RB* line 9427 and *RMB* 1.10039, and the remark about Bishop Sampson. *RMB* 1.10077–10130 presumably supplied the reference to all levels of society petitioning the king, not just the bishops as in *HRB* (see also *RB* lines 9465–9526). It may also have prompted Hardyng’s observation that Guyllomore came to assist the Saxons, for one of the manuscripts of *RMB* has him coming to help the Saxons instead of the Scots (1.10067). Hardyng omits his sources’ report of the eagles at the loch and their reference to Arthur restoring the three Scottish kings’ inheritance, electing to emphasize their homage to Arthur as king of Britain instead. In so doing, he makes the Scots the first men to show deference to Arthur, a detail

that suits the *Chronicle's* repetitive assertion that English kings have always had suzerainty over Scotland.

- 2430–76 *This kynge . . . another founde.* Although the details of Arthur's marriage to Guinevere are ultimately derived from *HRB* §152, Hardyng adapts his narrative to parallel Uther's earlier marriage to Igerne. Hardyng describes Guinevere's beauty in the same terms as Igerne's (see note 3.2061–65) and mentions Arthur's reestablishment of the Round Table, justifying his creation of new knights with the statement that the Order of the Round Table had become depleted through war. This is a shrewd way of reconciling the disparate accounts that Hardyng encountered in his chronicle and romance sources concerning how the Round Table was formed and by whom. It also allows Hardyng to present Arthur as a king who restores order and brings stability to his realm by regulating the conduct of his knights and uniting them under a common cause.

Whilst the number of Arthur's new knights — forty-two — may have come from the additional companions that join the order of the Round Table in *Lestoire de Merlin* (see pp. 245–49 and the accompanying notes), the majority of their names are taken from *HRB* §156 and RMB 1.10879–10908, where a list of those attending the plenary court at Caerleon later in Arthur's reign is given. *RB* lines 10249–82, one of RMB's sources, and *Arthur* also contain the names, but Hardyng's “Syr Barent” earl of “Circestre” (3.2446), “Syr Jugence” (3.2448), and “Syr Bewes” (3.2456) are closer to the forms given in RMB. The knights at lines 2466–71 have been appropriated from the Welsh names in *HRB*, but Hardyng has misunderstood the Welsh prefix “map,” meaning “son of,” and produced a number of erroneous names; for clarification of individual names, see the notes that follow. Several knights have no clear source.

Finally, Hardyng may have had the processes governing the election of new Garter Knights in mind at line 2476, for there is nothing immediately apparent in his sources matching his statement about the selection of new knights (see Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 196–97, for the election process). New members were only admitted into the Order of the Garter upon the death of one of the knights, a fact that Hardyng would have been aware of because his former patron, Sir Robert Umfraville, was a member of the Order.

- 2447 *Syr Harand, Erle of Shrewsbury.* We have been unable to locate a precise match for this name, but *RB*, RMB, and *Arthur* have an “Anaraud,” “Amorand” (or “Emoraund”), and “Euerad Erl of Salesbury” respectively (see note 3.2457 below).
- 2453 *Galluc . . . of Salesbyry.* *HRB* §156 has “Galluc Guintoniensis,” but interestingly *EH* (II:326) is closer to Hardyng's knight with “Galluc Saresburiensis.”
- 2455 *Gurgoyne the Erle of Herford.* See *RB* line 10259, RMB 1.10889, and *Arthur* line 155.
- 2457 *Amorawde, Erle of Excestre.* A variation of RMB's “Amorand” of Salisbury (1.10895), although it is not clear whether Hardyng changed the knight's place of origin because he already had a knight from Salisbury, or whether he

- took this information from another source (see also *HRB* §156, *RB* line 10263, and *Arthur* line 159).
- 2459     *Ewayne*. See *RB* line 10252 and *RMB* 1.10882. *Arthur* lines 141–42 has “*Vrweyn þe kynge / Of scottes.*”
- 2462     *Of Demecy the kynge Syr Uriayne*. Of the sources considered here, only Hardying presents Uriayne as the king of South Wales. *RB* line 10253, *RMB* 1.10883, and *Arthur* line 143 call the king of South Wales Stater.
- 2466     *Donand, Mapcoyl, Peredoure, and Clenuus*. Compare *HRB* §156 “*Donaut Mappapo*,” “*Cheneus Mapcoil*,” and “*Peredur Maheridur*” respectively. “*Clenuus*” may be a variation of the first part of “*Cheneus Mapcoil*,” used here as a separate name.
- 2467     *Maheridoure, Mapclaude, Griffud*. For “*Maheridoure*” see note 3.2466 above. The other names (“*Regin Mapclaud*” and “*Grifud Mapnogoid*”) derive from *HRB* §156.
- 2468     *Gorbonyan, Esidoure and Heroyus*. “*Gorbonyan*” is taken from *HRB* §156 “*Gorbonian Masgoit*"; the second part of this name is used at 3.2469 and a variation of Gorbonyan occurs again at 3.2471. We have been unable to locate a source for “*Esidoure*,” but “*Heroyus*” may be Hervi of Rivel, who appears in several Arthurian romances, including the Vulgate *Lestoire de Merlin*, pp. 289–90 (see Bruce, *Arthurian Name Dictionary*, p. 265, which gives Herui(s) as a form of Hervi).
- 2469     *Edlein, Masgoyd, Kymbelyne*. Compare *HRB* §156 “*Eddelein Mapaledauc*,” “*Gorbonian Masgoit*,” and “*Kinbelin*"; see also 3.2468 and 3.2471, where the first part of “*Gorbonian Masgoit*” has been used for two other knights.
- 2469–70     *Cathleus / Mapcathel, Mapbangan, and Kynkare*. Compare *HRB* §156 “*Cathleus Mapcatel*” and “*Kingar Mapbangan*.”
- 2471     *Colflaut, Makeclauke, Gorbodyan*. Compare *HRB* §156 for “*Clofaut*.” “*Makeclauke*” may be a corruption of “*Regin Mapclaud*” or “*Eddelein Mapaledauc*.” For “*Gorbodyan*” see notes 3.2468 and 3.2469 above.
- 2477–85     *Thare reule . . . thayre lady*. Compare *HRB* §157, *RB* lines 10511–20, and *RMB* 1.11095–11114.
- 2486–2513     *The somer . . . to hafe*. These details are drawn from either *HRB* §§153–55 or *RMB* 1.10259–10519, although Arthur’s sword “*Caliburne*” (3.2489) is named much earlier in both texts (*HRB* §147 and *RMB* 1.9883). Hardying radically condenses his source’s account of Arthur’s conquest of Ireland and Norway, omitting the Norwegians’ attempt to defy Arthur’s installation of Loth as their king. He also adds Scotland and Friesland (“*Freseland*”) to the list of conquered realms.
- 2511     *Kynge Sychelme*. King Sichelm, Lot’s Norwegian grandfather (or uncle?), cited in *HRB* 9.11.

- 2514–40     *Kynge Arthure . . . make pretence.* Hardyng's idiosyncratic description of the vast corpus of Arthurian literature available in his own time may have been inspired by RMB 1.10391–10420, which in turn develops a passage in *RB* lines 9785–98. By directing his readers to “the grete boke of alle the aventures / Of the Seynte Grale” (3.2532–33), a source also mentioned in Lydgate's *FP* (8.2788), Hardyng simultaneously shows his own knowledge of, and fondness for, Arthurian literature, whilst introducing the notion that such stories are for “yonge mennes wytte” (3.2535) and not for seasoned old men like himself. The “grete boke” referred to is presumably a manuscript containing several Vulgate romances similar to that mentioned in the will of Sir Richard Roos (d. 1481/82), which contained the *Estoire del Saint Graal*, *Mort Artu*, and *Queste* (now British Library MS Royal 14 E. iii); (see Meale, “Manuscripts,” p. 103, and “Patrons,” p. 207; and Moll, *Before Malory*, pp. 170, 304). Moll has suggested that the individual tales alluded to at 3.2523 refer “to romances of individual achievement” (p. 170), a point that appears to be supported by the fact that Hardyng probably knew several of the knights listed at 3.2555–75 from their own romances.
- 2541–54     *Bot whan . . . thaire viage.* The suggestion that the knights' exploits were recorded in Arthur's time probably comes from *Queste* (p. 87), which refers to clerks writing down the adventures of the Grail quest (see also *Lestoire de Merlin*, p. 345), or Lydgate's *FP*, which mentions a clerk chronicling the deeds reported to him by pursuivants so that the stories could be read and sung at court to give folk “gret confort” (8.2780–86 and 8.2829–35). Even so, only Hardyng's knights write down their own adventures (3.2545), possibly, as Harker suggests, to reflect “a changed social context in which knightly literacy had become less uncommon” (“John Hardyng's Arthur,” p. 252). Hardyng is similarly unique in stating that the adventures were recorded and read to stir young knights to perform chivalric deeds, a detail that sustains the contrast between youth and old age introduced at 3.2534–36. Lydgate mentions a “scoole of marcial doctrine / For yonge knihtes to lernen al the guise” (*FP*, 8.2815–21), but he fails to connect the education of new knights with the exemplary activities of tested knights.
- 2555–75     *Bycause that . . . so thanne.* Whereas Hardyng's first register of the Round Table knights was compiled from those names occurring in his chronicle sources (see note 3.2430–76 above), this roll call consists mainly of figures from Arthurian romance, thus complementing Hardyng's previous allusion to romances concerning the adventures of individual knights (see note 3.2514–40). Gawain, Lancelot, Pelles, Percival, Calogrenant (“Colygrenauntt,” 3.2567), Lionel, Bors, Kay, and Mordred all appear in the Vulgate Cycle, as well as other romances, although there is also a chronicle precedent for Percival in *Le Petit Bruit* (p. 12). Libeaus Desconus (“Lybews Dysconus,” 3.2567), Degare (“Degré,” 3.2568), and Degrevaunt feature in their own English romances. Bedivere also occurs in English romance, but like his nephew Hireglas (“Irelglas,” 3.2571), and Guytarde, Hardyng would have known him from *HRB*. “Estore” (3.2569) is Ector, another romance figure, but it is unclear whether he is meant to be the father of Sir Kay and foster father of Arthur, or another Ector, such as the

half-brother of Sir Lancelot. We have been unable to locate Hardynge's source for "Bewes of Corbenny" (3.2570); one Escant, or Escans, duke of Cambenic is mentioned in *Lestoire de Merlin* (see, for example, pp. 227, 230–32, 270), where Cambenic is one of the northern duchies against Arthur, but Corbenny is more likely to be a variant of Corbenic, the Grail Castle in the Vulgate Cycle. The allusion to Arthur's incestuous relationship with his sister at 3.2573–75 provides another example of Hardynge's knowledge of the Vulgate Cycle, for, with the exception of the *Stanzaic Morte Arthur* which is derived from *Mort Artu*, early English sources tend to depict Mordred as Arthur's nephew (see 3.3787–93).

- 2576–96     *In whiche . . . herles consolacions.* Arthur's movable household mimics that of a medieval king, but the number of places he holds court is excessive, as the various locations serve to emphasize Arthur's supremacy "thurghout alle Bretayne grounde" (3.2579). Hardynge's inclusion of Glastonbury is particularly striking, because his interest in it usually centers on its association with Joseph of Arimathea and the Grail: that is, as a place of religious, as opposed to secular, authority. It is also the location of Arthur's court in *Libeaus Desconus*, a romance that Hardynge might have known given his reference to the hero at 3.2567.
- 2597–2624     *The reule . . . a name.* Having briefly touched upon the "reule" of the Round Table at 3.2477–78, Hardynge establishes the principles governing the order in greater detail. Three elements of the oath (helping maidens, seeking out absent knights, and describing their adventures) ultimately derive from the vows made by the knights in *Lestoire de Merlin* (p. 345), whilst other aspects of the pledge show the knights addressing common fifteenth-century problems by offering their services against those who commit heresy, oppress the common weal, rebel against the king's "dygnyté" (3.2605), and commit extortion, particularly against the poor. Hardynge may have been inspired by Lydgate's account of the Round Table statutes in *FP* 8.2728–2849, which list amongst other things the knights' duty to resist tyranny, protect widows and maidens, restore children to their "trewe heritage," defend "comoun proffit" and the "liberté" of the church, and help companions in need. The reference to the knights' deeds being recorded in "romance or scripture" (3.2621) to inspire others likewise bears some resemblance to Lydgate's text and echoes Hardynge's earlier observation at 3.2541–54 (see note 3.2541–54 above).
- In Arthurian literature Pentecost is a common time for the knights to gather at court and Hardynge appears to make use of this convention later on to invite comparisons between Arthur's court and that of Edward I, who is also said to hold a great feast at Pentecost, second only to Arthur's (6.798–867).
- 2625–26     *But ever . . . sharpe laboure.* See note 2.2354–55.
- 2625–2715     *But ever . . . is memory.* Having already changed the order of events in RMB 1.10391–10470 (which follows *HRB* §155 and *RB* lines 9731–9886) by recounting Arthur's conquest of Norway before the first period of peace and knightly adventures, Hardynge moves straight to the king's conquest of France and provides an abbreviated account of Arthur's victory over Frolle, which

appears to be drawn from RMB 1.10520–10792. The ensuing list of the European kings and princes that pay homage to Arthur is Hardyng's own addition, as is Arthur's coronation in Paris, an event which may have been added to prefigure Henry VI's coronation in Paris as dual monarch of England and France and create a connection between the two kings (see note 3.2716–2946 below, though compare Lydgate's *FP* 8.2892–98, which mentions Arthur's feast in Paris).

Other unique aspects of Hardyng's narrative include the description of Guinevere's beauty, which resembles that of Chaucer's *Criseyde* in *TC* 1.99–105, and the declaration that the tournaments took place for “love of ladyse” (3.2695). The description of Arthur's sojourn in France follows *RB* and RMB, rather than *HRB*, in that it enhances Arthur's prestige by depicting his nine-year stay as a time of peace and adventure; on this topic see Putter, “*Finding Time for Romance.*”

- 2716–2946 *And whan . . . prynces regymence.* Compare *HRB* §§155–57, *RB* lines 10147–10620, and RMB 1.10775–11192, though each of these places the events at 3.2730–43 *before* Arthur makes a decision to return to Britain. Although the basic details of the celebrations at Caerleon ultimately derive from *HRB*'s account of Arthur's plenary court, where the king wears his crown in state, Hardyng recasts the episode as a *second* British coronation. This alteration might indicate that he was following *RB* line 10204 or RMB 1.10828, since both texts phrase Arthur's wish to be crowned in such a way that it could be interpreted as a desire to have another coronation, rather than simply to wear the crown at court. RMB 1.10873–74 may have added to this confusion with its later reference to a “legate fro Rome” being sent to crown Arthur. In addition to this, Hardyng embellishes his account of the abundance of wine at Arthur's feast by reworking lines 314–320 and 333–34 of Lydgate's “Henry VI's Triumphant Entry into London” (see 3.2869–76). Having recycled parts of the same poem earlier in the *Chronicle*, Hardyng presumably utilizes it here to underscore subtle links between King Arthur's celebrations and those witnessed related to Henry VI's dual coronation in England and France. See Peverley, “Chronicling the Fortunes” for further discussion of Hardyng's use of Lydgate's poem. For other uses of the poem see Prol.1–14, 2.2232–2451, 6.812–67, 7.708–14.
- 2726 *north halfe Rome.* This detail is unique to Hardyng. It may have been inspired by the comparison of Caerleon and Rome in *HRB* §156 and other texts, or perhaps from RMB's reference to a papal legate being sent for (1.10873–74).
- 2727 *Severne.* In *HRB* §156 and elsewhere Arthur's guests sail down the River Usk, which is said to be close to the Severn. Hardyng just mentions the Severn.
- 2786 *The kyng of Man.* Compare *RB* line 10321 and RMB 1.10934, both of which mention the king of “Mans.”
- 2800–03 *The archebysshop . . . and excercyse.* Hardyng, like *LB* lines 12206–07, places the archbishop of London on Arthur's right and the archbishop of York on

- Arthur's left; neither *HRB*, *RB* nor *RMB* mention which side the archbishops walked on or which of Arthur's arms they held.
- 2809–13     *Where byried . . . alle wyrkyngē.* Reference to Dubrike's burial is not made in the equivalent passages in *HRB* §157, *HRBVV* §157, *CPL I*:176, *EH II*:329, and *RMB* 1.11543–48, where the archbishop resigns from his office to become a hermit. See note 3.2905–18 below.
- 2814–27     *Kynge Aguselle . . . that servyce.* Hardying places additional emphasis on the symbolic nature of the swords carried by the four kings, making it clear to his audience that the swords represent the lands that the kings "holdyn" for Arthur (3.2820).
- 2837         *With kynges led.* Presumably a misreading of *HRB* §157, which describes Guinevere being led by the consorts of the four kings accompanying Arthur.
- 2852–55     *Duke Kay . . . dyd stonde.* Hardying's reference to Kay's carrying a silver baton, or "yerde" (3.2854), before the king appears to be unique. It may be an allusion to the ceremonial white staff carried by the king's steward in the Middle Ages.
- 2860–62     *And ay . . . and disporte.* Arthur's court is said to follow Trojan custom in *HRB* §157, *RB* lines 10445–58, and *RMB* 1.11049–60, where the men and women attend separate feasts; however, Hardying emphasizes the fact that both sexes sit together so that the knights can "comfortere" and "chere" the ladies "with daliance." Compare with the seating arrangements at Cassibalan's feast at 2.2340–46.
- 2865         *In clothe of golde.* In *HRB* §157, *RB* lines 10471–78, and *RMB* 1.11073–76, Bedivere and his men are clad in ermine like Sir Kay; Hardying's reference to their golden attire appears to be unique.
- 2870–76     *Thetys that . . . the feste.* See note 3.2716–2946 above.
- 2891–2904     *And every . . . myght endure.* Only Hardying appears to mention Guinevere's special relationship with the church dedicated to St. Julian. For Guinevere's flight to St. Julian's at the end of Arthur's reign see 3.3801–07; for the martyrdom of saints Julian and Aaron see 3.386–92, where, contrary to what Hardying says here, the saints' martyrdom is said to have taken place under the Emperor Diocletian, not Maxence.
- 2905–18     *But Seynte . . . and autorised.* Compare note 3.2809–13 above. Dubrike's retirement and David's consecration are also mentioned briefly in *HRB* §157, *CPL I*:176, *EH II*:329, and *RMB* 1.11543–48. Although Sullens has noted that *RMB*'s reference to Dubrike is "conspicuously out of order" with the rest of the narrative (see p. 704n11543–48) Hardying's record of the archbishop's fate points towards the likelihood that he was using a version of *HRB*, *RMB*, or an unknown text related to them, rather than *RB*, which does not refer to Dubrike's resignation or burial. The allusion to David's canonization and the use of the simile at 3.2914–15 to describe the saint's exemplary life appear to be unique to Hardying.

- 2919m *Elyden was . . . Bede also.* For Elyden as bishop of Alclud see *HRB* §157. The debate about Alclud's location echoes similar comments at 2.1066m and 2.1941–2045, and draws upon *P* (II:64–69) and Bede (pp. 58–59) (although Bede is cited as a source in *P*, so Hardyng may not have used Bede directly here).
- 2926–46 *And whan . . . prynces regymence.* Compare with *RB* lines 10589–10620 and RMB 1.11159–92, where Arthur's generosity is described. Hardyng's account of the king's "liberalté" (3.2939) is notably different in its emphasis on the respect that other princes have for Arthur and the growth of his reputation.
- 2947m *How whan . . . and Wales.* Hardyng's account of Galahad's Grail Quest is unparalleled in the chronicle tradition and has attracted a great deal of attention from scholars. Whereas other chronicles, such as *HRB* and RMB, describe the arrival of the Emperor Lucius's envoy immediately after Arthur's plenary court, Hardyng's text takes a detour into the world of romance, delaying the onset of Arthur's war with Lucius until Galahad has achieved the Grail. Kennedy argues, quite convincingly, that Hardyng imbues the quest with political significance by transforming his source, the Vulgate *Queste*, into "something creditable to Arthur and his court," which enhances "the spiritual authority of Arthur's reign" and repudiates "Scottish writers who boasted of Scotland's preeminence as a Christian nation and who stressed the illegitimacy of Arthur's rule" ("John Hardyng and the Holy Grail," pp. 203, 205, 206). Riddy, on the other hand, makes an equally compelling case for Hardyng's demystification of the Grail, claiming that it "is not a religious symbol at all but [ . . . ] a heraldic emblem that harks back through history to Joseph of Arimathea, binding together the British past rather than transcending history in the Eucharist" ("John Hardyng in Search of the Grail," p. 426; see also her "Glastonbury" and "Chivalric Nationalism").

In this particular marginalia Hardyng attempts to lend historical authenticity to the romance material by linking "the grete story of the Saynt Graal" (i.e., *Queste*) with the "Policraticon" of "Waltier of Oxenford." Elsewhere in the *Chronicle* Hardyng's allusions to Walter of Oxford imply that he was thinking of *HRB*, a text that he probably had in mind here given his observation that Walter's text deals with "Cornewail and Wales" (see 2.1m, 2.1115–98, 4.2754), but which certainly did not furnish him with the story of the Grail. In connecting the "grete story" of the Grail with an author named Walter, Hardyng may be referring to Walter Map, alleged author of the Vulgate *Queste* and *Mort Artu* (see *Queste*, p. 87 and *Mort Artu*, pp. 91, 160). This hypothesis, however, does not explain the reference to Cornwall and Wales or Walter's association with Oxford, unless Hardyng was confusing Map with the Walter mentioned in *HRB* (see Moll, *Before Malory*, pp. 186–87). The enigmatic "Policraticon" is similarly opaque, and Moll may be correct in suggesting that Hardyng intended *Polychronicon* (p. 187). Nevertheless, if Hardyng had Higden's work of that name in mind he must have been attempting to lend spurious authority to the romance material because the information about Galahad and the Grail did not come from that text (compare notes 3.2989m, 3.2989–3016, 3.3038m, and 3.3136m, for other erroneous sources).

Since Hardynge is not the only author to cite the story of the Grail as a source (compare *JG*, p. 48, *Le Petit Bruit*, p. 6, and Lovelich, V:306), it is likely that he is drawing upon a genuine Grail text — probably a romance from the French Vulgate cycle — or repeating the information after seeing it cited elsewhere. Equally, John Lydgate's reference to a "Sang Real" in his account of Sege Perilous in *FP* 8.2788, may have influenced Hardynge. Futher information about this marginalia is available in the Textual Notes.

- 2947–88 *And at . . . that ordoure.* Hardynge's main source for this section is the Vulgate Cycle. In the Vulgate *Lancelot*, Galahad stays at an abbey until he is fifteen, then he leaves to become a knight (III:338), and in *Queste* (pp. 3–5), he arrives at Arthur's court on Whitsunday (Pentecost). The story of "Sege Perilouse" (3.2966) and the prophecy about Galahad are found in *Lestoire de Merlin* (pp. 196–97, 352, 359) and *Queste* (pp. 5, 26–27), but only Hardynge uses the story of the seat's destructive power to enhance Arthur's reputation by claiming that, until Galahad arrived, nobody except the king had sat in it without being "shamed and mescheved" (3.2969). Hardynge's description of Lancelot's begetting Galahad "by hole and fulle knowlage / Of Pelles doughter" (3.2956–57) likewise deviates from the traditional account of his conception by implying that Lancelot loved "Pelles doughter" willingly, rather than being duped into sleeping with her as he is in other romances (see, for example, *Lancelot*, III:164–65). In the second version of the *Chronicle*, Hardynge makes the purity of Galahad's conception clearer still by stating that Galahad was conceived "in verray clene sposusage / On Pelles doghter" (see Arch. Selden B. 10, fol. 56r; *Chronicle of Iohn Hardynge*, ed. Ellis, p. 131).
- 2954 *fiflene yere of age.* Compare with the Vulgate *Lancelot*, vol. 3, VI:338.
- 2989m *How the . . . and Cornwail.* Hardynge's spurious reference to Gerald of Wales ("Giralde Cambrense") writing about the Grail in his "Topographie of Wales and Cornwail" is another attempt to give historical authenticity to the romance material in this section of the *Chronicle*. Similar references to Gerald occur at 3.3038m and 3.3136m. See also note 3.2947m above and Moll, who suggests that Hardynge could have been "aware that Giraldus's work contained information relating to Glastonbury and that the rubrics are based on this" (*Before Malory*, p. 187).
- 2989–3016 *At whiche . . . myne avowe.* The account of the Grail's appearance is based on *Queste* (p. 5), where the doors and windows shut by themselves as Galahad is brought to Arthur's court, but Hardynge invents an erroneous source for it in the chronicle tradition at 3.2997 ("as sayth the cronyclere"; compare also notes 3.2947m and 3.2989m above). Besides adapting this episode to herald the Grail's entrance rather than Galahad's, Hardynge disregards the solemn procession of the Grail described in *Queste* (p. 7), and instead depicts it flying in, around, and out of the hall. Other alterations include Galahad's pledge to take up the quest before any other knight (in *Queste* Gawain is the first, pp. 7–8), and Arthur's knighting of Galahad (*Lancelot* confers this honor in *Queste*, p. 3). The king's gift of "armes" (3.3009) and Galahad's refusal of a

- shield echo *Queste* (p. 7), where Galahad dons a hauberk and helmet at the king and queen's request, but refuses to carry a shield until he has won his own.
- 3012–16     *Ne two . . . myne avowe.* As Harker notes, Galahad's pledge not to stay "two nyght" in one place until he has learnt about the Grail is the same as the vow made by Percival in Chrétien de Troyes' *Li Contes del Graal*, 4693 ff. ("John Hardyng's Arthur," p. 275). Compare also Arthur's vow not to spend two nights at the same place until he has found Percival (4099 ff.).
- 3022–37     *For whiche . . . and wo.* Arthur's lament at the knights' leaving echoes *Queste* (p. 8), but Hardyng supplies the king's aspiration to "folow thaym" (3.3036) and expands on the importance of the knights by employing the well-known image of the body politic, whereby the knights are the "membres" (3.3026), limbs or organs, that sustain Arthur's body (i.e., the realm) and maintain his "coroun" and sovereign "rightes" (3.3032).
- 3038m     *How Sir . . . and Cornwall.* See note 3.2989m above and Textual Notes.
- 3038–49     *With that . . . togedir layne.* The concept of knights exchanging stories about their adventures may have been inspired by *Queste* (pp. 10, 87), *Lestoire de Merlin* (p. 345), or, more generally, by the plot of *Queste*, whereby the knights often encounter each other again after separating on their quest.
- 3052–82     *Bot so . . . after right.* Hardyng follows *Queste* (pp. 11–13), although he changes several details (see the notes below).
- 3052         *Avalone.* Instead of finding the shield that once belonged to Evalache, king of Sarras, at a Cistercian abbey, as in *Queste*, Galahad acquires it at the Benedictine house at Glastonbury, which Hardyng equates with Avalon. For Glastonbury's association with Avalon and the Grail see Lagorio, "Evolving Legend"; Robinson, *Two Glastonbury Legends*; Abrams and Carley, *Archaeology and History*; and Barber, *Holy Grail*.
- 3057         *A shelde, a spere, a sworde.* Hardyng's source, *Queste*, makes no reference to Galahad obtaining a sword and spear at the abbey; Galahad obtains his sword before setting out on his quest (p. 6), and encounters a bleeding lance much later in the narrative when he uses it to cure the maimed king (p. 85). The *Queste* does describe a tomb at the abbey containing the cadaver of a knight in full armor, with a sword and other "chivalric accoutrements" (p. 14), but Galahad does not take the items and the dead knight is later revealed to be a symbol of sinful mankind. This episode may have inspired Hardyng to include the other weapons here, especially since Nascien (Seraphe) is said to be buried with the shield (p. 13), but he may simply have incorporated them because of their prominence in Grail lore at large.
- 3059         *thay sayde . . . it wreton.* In *Queste* a White Knight explains the shield's history to Galahad, but in Hardyng's text the holy men find the information written "in bokes."
- 3060         *Kynge Evalache.* Evalache is a pagan king of Sarras, who converts to Christianity after receiving a shield from Josephus, son of Joseph of Arimathea, which

- enables him to defeat his enemy. After converting he changes his name to Mordrain. See *Estoire del Saint Graal* (pp. 14–49) and *Queste* (pp. 12–13).
- 3062–64 *With crosse . . . or adversité.* Either deliberately or in confusion, Hardyn changes the character responsible for drawing the “crosse of blode” (3.3062) on the shield from Josephus — the son of Joseph of Arimathea in the Vulgate Cycle — to Joseph of Arimathea. The observation that no man except Galahad could bare the shield without suffering “deth, mayme or adversité” (3.3064) alludes to *Queste* (pp. 11–13).
- 3065 *Bot oon . . . in vrygynyté.* The themes of virginity and spiritual purity are ubiquitous throughout the Vulgate Cycle; see, for example, *Lestoire de Merlin*, (p. 359), where King Pelles predicts that three knights are needed to fulfil the Grail quest, two of which must be virgins and the third chaste.
- 3066 *Duke Seraphe.* Seraphe, duke of Orberica, brother-in-law of King Evalache, and ancestor of Galahad. Upon converting to the Christian faith, Seraphe changes his name to Nascien. See *Estoire del Saint Graal* (p. 47) and *Queste* (pp. 12–13).
- 3075 *Orboryke.* Orberica, the land ruled by Nascien and converted by Joseph of Arimathea in the Vulgate Cycle (see, for example, *Estoire del Saint Graal*, pp. 42, 44, 50, 69, 73). It is also mentioned at 3.3102.
- 3080–81 *What shuld . . . this prophecy.* In this version of the *Chronicle*, Hardyn does not elaborate on how, or where, Galahad finds the Grail, only that he fulfils his destiny; in the second version, Galahad finds the Grail in Wales.
- 3094–3100 *That every . . . kynge sojorned.* Hardyn probably appropriates the idea that the knights’ adventures were recorded by the court from *Queste* (p. 87) or *Lestoire de Merlin* (p. 345), but see notes 3.2541–54 and 3.2597–2624.
- 3101–28 *Bot so . . . fulle cyrumspecioun.* The nine companions that join Galahad, Percival, and Bors at the “Table of Seynte Grale” originate from *Queste* (pp. 84–85), but Hardyn ignores the brief role that they play in his source, whereby they re-enact the Last Supper with Galahad, Percival, and Bors and receive the Eucharist from Josephus. Instead, Hardyn credits Galahad with establishing a new chivalric order to equal that of the Round Table. The “reule” of Galahad’s Grail Order (3.3114m, 3.3115) differs from that of the Round Table in only a few details: Galahad’s knights swear “To leve evermore in clennesse virginalle” (3.3116), and young children are added to the list of people that they should protect. Several aspects of the Round Table oath — the vow to protect against sorcery, defend the king’s dignity, meet annually to recount adventures, and seek absent knights — are similarly omitted, but, for the most part, the codes upheld by both orders are the same. Compare 3.2477–78 and 3.2597–2624.
- 3102 *Orberike.* See note 3.3075 above.
- 3115m *What the . . . Gestis Arthuri.* The enigmatic sources alluded to in this marginalia have prompted some debate amongst scholars. Riddy suggests that “the dialogue ‘de gestis Arthur’ is conceivably ‘de gestis Britonum’, an alternative

title for the *Historia Brittonum*,” which was “frequently attributed to Gildas in medieval manuscripts” (“Glastonbury,” p. 322n17). In contrast, Moll posits that the reference to “De Gestis Arthuri” is a “poor reading” of the *Description of Wales*, where Gerald of Wales “explains why Gildas did not mention Arthur in his *De Excidio Britonum*” (*Before Malory*, pp. 188). However, he concedes that the accompanying marginalia, which could have been written in two stages, may represent Hardyng’s “own attempts, late in the production of the manuscript, to provide authority for his suspect history” (p. 189).

Carley, on the other hand, notes that Hardyng’s alleged sources “correspond very closely” to the *Tractatus de Sancto Ioseph ab Arimathea* (The Treatise of St. Joseph of Arimathea) and *Liber de gestis incliti regis Arthuri* (The book of the deeds of the glorious King Arthur) cited in *JG*. He surmises that Hardyng’s references are drawn from “some sort of compendium concocted at Glastonbury separate from John’s chronicle [*JG*] (but into which it was partially incorporated).” See Barron, ed., *Arthur of the English* (p. 54) and *JG* (pp. 46, 52, and 278n69); see also the interpolation in William of Malmesbury’s *De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie* (p. 47), from which *JG*’s reference to the *Liber de gestis incliti regis Arthuri* is taken. Although *JG* does not attribute the *Gestis* to Gildas directly, it does celebrate Glastonbury’s connections with the saint and draws upon Caradoc of Llancarvan’s *Life of Gildas*, so if Hardyng did use “some sort of compendium” related to Glastonbury, there is a small possibility that such a work may have attributed a *Gestis* to Gildas; see, for example, Geffrei Gaimar’s *L'Estoire des Engleis* (lines 39–42).

Given that other similarities occur elsewhere between Hardyng’s work and that of *JG* (or a related text), Carley’s proposal best explains how Hardyng might have encountered a reference to the works cited here, but, for all this, it is highly unlikely that he obtained any information about the “reule” of Galahad’s Grail order from such a text; he appears to have invented the “reule” himself based on Arthur’s Round Table oath and material in *Queste* (see notes 3.2597–2624 and 3.3101–28). For the possibility of Hardyng using, or having knowledge of, a romance dealing with Joseph of Arimathea see note 2.2611–47 above. In sum, all that can be said with any degree of certainty is that the “book of Josep of Arymathie” and “De Gestis Arthur” are cited to add authority to the narrative, whether they are real or spurious sources (compare notes 3.2989m, 3.2989–3016, 3.3038m, and 3.3136m). Additional information about this marginalia can be found in the Textual Notes.

3129

*So endurynge fulle longe and many yere.* In Hardyng’s source, *Queste* (p. 87), Galahad has no desire for worldly sovereignty and reigns for a single year before receiving the Eucharist from Josephus and dying of joy. Since Hardyng’s presentation of Galahad is much more secular in its orientation, he may have refrained from mentioning Galahad’s reluctance to be king and extended the length of his reign to present a more positive portrait of kingship and English rule over a foreign land (see Riddy, “Chivalric Nationalism,” pp. 407–08).

3134–49

*Whiche tyme . . . knyghtly diligence.* In *Queste*, Galahad does not make Bors king of Sarras. After witnessing Galahad’s death Bors remains with Percival until

- he dies; he then returns to Arthur's court, where he recounts Galahad's adventures and they are recorded for posterity (p. 87).
- 3136m *How Percyvall . . . and Wales.* See note 3.2989m and Textual Notes. As Kennedy notes, the spurious sources cited in this marginalia have been falsified to lend authority to Hardyng's own account of the burial of Galahad's heart ("John Hardyng and the Holy Grail," p. 204).
- 3150–56 *And to . . . his blode.* Kennedy argues that Hardyng's inimitable reference to Galahad's heart being encased in gold could have been inspired by "the well known story of the death of Robert Bruce, whose heart was encased in silver, taken on a pilgrimage against the Saracens, and brought back to Scotland and buried with great ceremony at Melrose Abbey" ("John Hardyng and the Holy Grail," pp. 204–05). In contrast, Riddy proposes another analogue, suggesting that Hardyng "must have known" about Emperor Sigismund's presentation of St. George's heart to Henry V in 1416 "through his 'good lord,' the Garter knight Sir Robert Umfraville" ("Chivalric Nationalism," p. 409). Given the reference to St. George's arms in the following stanza (see note 3.3157–70 below), Riddy may be correct, or Hardyng could be conflating both episodes. Wherever his inspiration came from, his account of Galahad's interment at Avalon (Glastonbury) serves to bolster the connections he makes elsewhere between Glastonbury, Joseph of Arimathea, Galahad and the Grail. In *Queste*, Galahad is buried in Sarras.
- 3157–70 *And there . . . he hynge.* English interest in St. George arose in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, first under Edward III, who created the Order of the Garter in his honor and may have helped to establish St. George as the patron saint of England, and later under Henry V, who had a "personal devotion" to the saint and who carried his banner during his campaign against France (see Riddy, "Glastonbury," p. 330n37). Up to this point in the *Chronicle*, Hardyng has taken care to associate St. George's arms with Joseph of Arimathea, the legendary Christian kings Lucius, Constantine, Arthur, and Galahad, but here he makes an explicit link between the monarchs of the past who have borne the "armes that we Seynt Georges calle" (3.3158) and all subsequent kings who have fought under the saint's banner. It is likely that Hardyng, who fought for Henry V in France, had his former sovereign in mind when composing these lines. For earlier references to St. George's arms see 3.505m, 3.575m, 3.694m, 3.3059, and 3.3157–70. By emphasizing the connection between past and present uses of heraldry, Hardyng similarly paves the way for his subsequent description of how all chivalric orders are connected (see note 3.3171–84 below).
- 3171–84 *Of whiche . . . soules heelfulnesse.* Earlier in the *Chronicle*, Hardyng followed the Vulgate *Lestoire de Merlin* (pp. 196–97) and *Queste* (pp. 26–27), stating that the chivalric orders of the Round Table and the Holy Grail were made in imitation of the table at the Last Supper. In this section he builds upon the notion of a chivalric genealogy connecting past and present orders of knighthood by claiming that the twelfth-century order of the Knights Templar was formed "in figure" of Galahad's Grail Order (3.3173), and that Knights

Hospitaller are, in turn, related to the Templars, who were disbanded in 1312. Whilst the Hospitallers, who also originated in the twelfth century, did indeed model their rule on the Templars, it is likely that Hardynge's lines reflect an interest in, and awareness of, the "historical mythology" of chivalry (see Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 50, 124), rather than any detailed knowledge of the Templars' and Hospitallers' statutes. Consequently, these stanzas underscore Hardynge's careful attempt to chronicle the ancestry of chivalry alongside the ancestry of his sovereign; moreover, they provide an insight into why Hardynge may have elected to weave romance materials into this and earlier sections of the *Chronicle*. As Keen has noted, the stories of Joseph of Arimathea, the Grail, and Arthur's court played a significant role in helping to underpin "the values of chivalry by providing them with a faultlessly antique and highly evocative pedigree" (*Chivalry*, p. 102); thus, just as Hardynge traces Henry VI's lineage from Adam, he is also able to chart the development of knighthood and chivalry from Joseph of Arimathea and the Last Supper by appropriating and adapting the Vulgate stories and explaining the history of the arms of St. George, patron saint of the Order of the Garter to which Sir Robert Umfraville, who is held up as a perfect proponent of chivalry at the end of the *Chronicle*, belonged. For similar correlations between past and present orders see Keen, *Chivalry*, (pp. 190–92), who cites some interesting examples of the Order of the Garter being made in honor of Arthur's Round Table. Compare also, Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*, which also links the Templars to the Grail by making them the guardians of the Grail Castle (Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 59).

- 3185–3219     *At Pentecoste . . . a suffisshance.* Compare with 3.2744–2890. Having interpolated a Grail Quest and account of Galahad's achievements, Hardynge picks up his chronicle sources where he left them. By incorporating a second Pentecostal feast at Caerleon, he is able to follow *HRB* and *RMB* and describe the arrival of the Roman delegates during the festivities at court (see note 3.3220–73 below).
- 3191             *Camalot.* Hardynge may be alluding to an oral tradition that associates Caerleon with Camelot, or he may be conflating the disparate locations of Arthur's principal court found in chronicles, such as *HRB*, and romance, such as the Vulgate *Mort Artu*. Camelot first appears in Chrétien de Troyes' *Chevalier de la Charette*, but it is a separate location to Caerleon.
- 3192–98         *The kynges . . . alle plesaunce.* Compare 3.2777–88, where the same kings are mentioned alongside Duke Cador and the King of Man.
- 3220–72         *So at . . . his avaylle.* On the whole, Hardynge's account of the arrival of Lucius's envoy and his letter appears to draw upon *HRB* §158 and *RMB* 1.11195–11314, although the wording of *RB* lines 10621–10730 is also of interest (see note 3.3227–32). Lucius is "procuratoure" of Rome (3.3228) in *HRB* and *EH* (II:330), and Emperor in *RB*, *Lestoire de Merlin* (p. 401), *RMB*, and *EH* (II:330) (in the chapter heading), but see also note 3.3346m. *CPL* refers to him as senator and emperor (I:176, 192). "Kynge Frolle" (3.3243) is mentioned in Lucius's letter in *RB* and *RMB*, but not *HRB*. *LB*, *OV*, and *Brut* also refer to Lucius as emperor, mention Frolle, and have Arthur reply by

- letter (see *LB* lines 12356–12627, *OV* lines 1808–45, *Brut* pp. 81–82), but they do not appear to be Hardyng's sources.
- 3220      *dese.* *RB* and *RMB* also place Arthur on the dais when the envoy arrives.
- 3222–23    *With olyfe . . . esy pase.* Compare *RMB* 1.11204–05, “with olyue branches in handes born / with softe pas.”
- 3224      *Upon thayre knes.* This detail appears to be unique to Hardyng.
- 3227–32    *Lucyus of . . . haste deserved.* Compare *HRB* §158 and *EH* (II:330), “Lucius rei publice procurator Arturo regi Britannie quod meruit” (Lucius, Procurator of the Republic, wishes that Arthur, King of Britain, [may receive such treatment] as he has deserved) and *RB* (lines 10641–42) “Luces, ki Rome ad en baillie / E des Romains la seinurie / Mande go qu'il ad deservi / Al rei Artur, sun enemi” (Luces, the ruler of Rome and lord of the Romans, sends King Arthur, his enemy, what he has deserved).
- 3249      *Auguste.* *HRB* §158, *RB* line 10691, and *EH* (II:330) contain August, but *RMB* 1.11269 refers to “next heruest.”
- 3259      *The lyfelode . . . thee lefte.* This detail does not occur in *HRB*, *RB*, or *RMB*. Although the *Alliterative Morte* (line 112) touches upon Uther's tribute (“Thy fader made fewtee we find in our rolles / In the regestre of Rome”), there is nothing in this section to suggest that Hardyng knew or used the romance. See Harker, “John Hardyng's Arthur,” p. 285, who seems to imply that Hardyng knew the text.
- 3262–68    “*Written at . . . I gesse.*” This stanza is unique to Hardyng and may reflect, as Harker has suggested, “the kind of officiating tag which Hardyng in his capacity as a forger of documents could be expected to add” (“John Hardyng's Arthur,” p. 286).
- 3269      *Geants Toure.* Compare *HRB* §158 (“giganteam turrim”), *RB* line 10730 (“Tur gigantine”), *RMB* 1.11314 (“Toure Geaunt”), and *EH* II:331 (“gigantaeam”).
- 3272      *He shulde than wryte.* Despite the fact that *HRB* §§158–162 elucidates Arthur's rights and mentions that Arthur used Lucius's messengers to relay his reply, there is no explicit reference to Arthur writing a letter. *RB* lines 11045–47 briefly mentions the composition of a letter after Arthur has discussed the matter with his men, but *RMB* 1.11405–10, 1.11611–18, and *Arthur* lines 247–70 make more of Arthur's writing, dedicating several lines to the composition of the letter. Hardyng may have been inspired by *RMB* (see note 3.3273–3345 below for a linguistic echo to support this assumption) or another unidentified source related to *RB* (as *Arthur* appears to be). Equally, the decision to present Arthur's response to Lucius solely in letter form may originate from a desire to link Arthur's epistolary exchange with other instances in the *Chronicle* where kings have asserted their territorial claims through letters; see, for example, 6.1990–94, where Edward III uses letters to establish his claim to France, and Edward I's letter to Pope Boniface at 7.1401–14, which Hardyng urges Henry VI to use if he ever wishes to insist on his right to Scotland.

- 3273–3345 *Of whiche . . . thaym amonge.* Hardyng omits the speeches made by Arthur's men in *HRB* §§158–162, *RB* lines 10711–11058, RMB 1.11315–11628, and *EH* II:331–35. There are linguistic echoes between the letter at 3.3333–36 and Arthur's response in RMB 1.11494–96 (“bring Rome & I salle Bretayn bring, / & whilk of vs most may / bere Rome and Bretayn boþe away”). See also note 3.3272 above.
- 3286 *By treson of Androges.* This is an allusion to 2.2354 ff. Androges is not named in *HRB*, *RB*, *OV*, RMB, *EH*, or *Brut*.
- 3290m *Quicquid iniuste . . . imperatoria patet.* Compare with *HRB* §159: “Nichil enim quod ui et uiolentia adquiritur iuste ab ullo possidetur” (Nothing that is acquired by force and violence can ever be held legally by anyone). Similar statements occur in *RB* lines 10829–34 and RMB 1.11415–18.
- 3299 *Brute.* Brute is not mentioned in *HRB*, *RB*, *LB*, *OV*, *CPL*, RMB, *EH*, *Brut*, *Arthur*, or *NC* at this point.
- 3311m *Cui descendebat . . . comitatus Romani.* The editors thank Neil Wright for his help in elucidating this text.
- 3346m *How Arthure . . . Emperoure Leo.* In *HRB* Lucius is the Procurator of Rome and Leo is the emperor. However, in §162, Arthur sends a reply to “Imperatoribus” (emperors), stating that he has no intention of paying *them* tribute, and later, in the description of the battles that ensue, the narrative contains frequent references to the emperor, the emperor's camp, and the emperor's bodyguard, which presumably refer to Leo, but could equally be mistaken for references to Lucius. This appears to have led to the confusion that arises about Lucius's status as an emperor in this and other texts (see, for example, *RB*, *CPL*, RMB, and *Arthur*).
- 3346–66 *This noble . . . and Holonde.* Hardyng omits the details found in *HRB* §§162–64, *RB* lines 11085–11286, RMB 1.11653–11848, and *EH* II:336 concerning Lucius's army, Arthur's dream, and Mordred's love of Guinevere (not in *HRB*), and instead emphasizes how Arthur mustered his troops and who supported him. With the exception of the references to Flanders (lacking in *HRB* and *EH*) and the Twelve Peers of France, Hardyng's account of the men supporting Arthur is different to that in *HRB*, *RB*, RMB, and *EH*. Interestingly, *HRB* and *CPL* list the king of Spain as one of Lucius's supporters, whilst *RB*, *EH*, and RMB refer to one Aliphatima of Spain in Lucius's retinue; Hardyng, like the *Brut* (p. 83), has the king of Spain supporting Arthur.
- 3367–3436 *Than was . . . withouten right.* Hardyng alone describes “Elyne” as Arthur's niece and Hoel's sister (3.3369–73), although the *Brut* (p. 84), *Arthur* (line 355), and *NC* (fol. 41r), refer to her as Hoel's “cosyn,” which could mean kinswoman, niece, or cousin. In *HRB*, *RB*, *OV*, RMB, and *EH*, she is Hoel's niece; in *LB* she is Hoel's daughter (line 12924). Nonetheless, on the whole, Arthur's encounter with the giant at Mont St. Michel is similar to *HRB* §165 and RMB 1.11849–12170. See additional notes to this section below.

- 3370–73     *Whiche for . . . no pere.* Compare RMB (1.11961–62) and *Arthur* (line 356), which also mention Helen's fairness. Harker notes that the *Alliterative Morte* (lines 860–63) similarly refers to Helen's beauty, but there is no further correspondence to indicate that Hardyng knew this source ("John Hardyng's Arthur," p. 289).
- 3375–76     *Bot he . . . ete thaym.* Compare *HRB* §165 and *EH* II:338, which draws upon *HRB*.
- 3390–94     *Therefore ye . . . this londe.* Compare *HRB* §165, where the giant eats men half-alive and the woman tells Bedivere to flee or the giant will tear him to pieces, and *CPL* I:188, where Bedivere is warned that the giant will eat him.
- 3401–03     *When that . . . the hylle.* Compare *RB* lines 11461–68 and RMB 1.12014–20.
- 3408         *With Caliburne his sworde.* Compare *RB* line 11547, *CPL* I:190, RMB 1.12071, 12104, and *EH* II:340, all of which refer to Arthur's sword by name at this point in the narrative.
- 3413–15     *So huge . . . and grym.* Reference to Arthur's stature being like that of a child beside the giant does not occur in *HRB*, *RB*, *OV*, *CPL*, *RMB*, *EH*, or *Brut*.
- 3419–22     *That wente . . . fende hydouse.* Only Bedivere is told to sever the giant's head in *HRB*, *RB*, *LB*, *OV*, *RMB*, *EH*, and *Brut*; in *CPL* Arthur removes the head.
- 3432–36     *Whiche is . . . withouten right.* Throughout the Hundred Years War, Mont St. Michel withstood repeated attacks from the English, hence Hardyng's reference to it as a "strength fulle gretly famed" (3.3432). The last two lines of this stanza are comparable with the *Libelle of Englysche Policy*, lines 198–210 (c. 1436–38), which similarly criticizes the people of Mont St. Michel for capturing English ships in peacetime, albeit during the reign of Edward III.  
 Whilst Hardyng may be alluding to the importance of keeping the seas, a topic that engaged writers in the mid-1430s and 1440s (see the *Libelle* and John Capgrave's *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*, pp. 134–35), two extant petitions made to the Chancellor, John Kemp, between 1450 and 1452 illustrate that the problem of piracy near Mont St. Michel was very real at the time Hardyng was writing this version of the *Chronicle*. Two petitions for alms made by John Sterlyng of Horning reveal that his ship had been captured by Bretons and taken to Mont St. Michel where he was ransomed (see TNA; PRO, SC 8/304/15182 and SC 8/305/15208). Similar cases in the Chancery Proceedings, nevertheless, demonstrate that the capture of vessels was common on both sides of the Channel during periods of truce, and that the English were just as guilty of seizing ships as their foreign counterparts (see, for example, TNA; PRO, C 1/43/53).  
 Hardyng's reference to "pese" (3.3436) may indicate that this part of the *Chronicle* was composed between 1444 and 1449, when the Truce of Tours technically protected interests on either side of the Channel. Correspondingly, the notion that Normandy is "unbayne" (3.3434) might imply that Hardyng wrote this section before 1450, when the English lost Normandy. Then again, as a patriotic Englishman, Hardyng may be speaking more generally about the

nefarious character of the French and could conceivably have been writing after the fall of Normandy in the early 1450s, when the loss of Lancastrian France was still keenly felt but no hostile action was being taken to retrieve it. For further information about the increase of piracy around England's shores from the mid-1430s onwards, and the wider debate about the importance of keeping the seas, see Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 424–33.

- 3437m      *in Itaylle did feghte.* See note 3.3438–43 below.
- 3437–3520    *Arthure his . . . and wounde.* Hardyng's account of the Roman war is more succinct than his probable sources; compare, for example, *HRB* §§166–67, *RB* lines 11609–12262, and *RMB* 1.12171–12775. See the notes that follow for additional comments.
- 3438–43      *Awbe a . . . colours sene.* In *HRB* §166, *RB* lines 11616–24, *Lestoire de Merlin* p. 405, and *RMB* 1.12178–84, Arthur makes his camp by the River Aube in Autun, or Augustodunum, Burgundy (compare note 3.3522 below). Hardyng has either confused the Aube with the River Allia, a tributary of the Tiber in Italy, where Belin and Brenny fight against the Romans and conquer Rome earlier in the *Chronicle* (see 2.1556–1800), or he has deliberately altered his source to make Arthur's war against the Romans echo Belin and Brenny's campaign. Three later references to Arthur fighting against Lucius in Italy seem to indicate that the change was intentional (see notes 3.3437m, 3.3619m, and 3.3717–19); however, if this is the case, Hardyng's attempt to relocate the action has been impeded by his appropriation of Augustodunum (3.3522) and Saussy (3.3530) from one of his sources.
- The description of the landscape's natural beauty at lines 3441–43 appears to be Hardyng's own addition, but the imagery used is conventional and similar descriptions can be found in other medieval texts, particularly those evoking a spring setting, such as dream visions, lyrics, and romances.
- 3447–50      *Syr Gawayne . . . the historien.* Only Hardyng makes reference to Gawain being brought up in Arthur's household at this point in the narrative, but compare *HRB* §166 and *Lestoire de Merlin* (p. 405), which stress Gawain's consanguinity to Arthur. *RB*, *LB*, *CPL*, and *RMB* enhance Gawain's usefulness by claiming that he had either spent time in Rome (*RB* lines 11653–54, *LB* line 13100) or that he could speak “speche Romeyn” (*LB* line 13099, *CPL* I:194, *RMB* 1.12214). *LB* line 13099 also credits Gawain with knowledge of Celtic.
- 3459–61      *To turne . . . may suffyse.* Compare *RMB* 1.12306–07: “To turne agayn, it salle not be. / ffrance is myn, þider wille I go.”
- 3463      *Quyntyllian.* In *HRB* §166 and *HRBVV* §166, Lucius's nephew is Gaius Quintillianus, but Hardyng refers to him by surname only, like *RB* line 11741, *LB* line 13197, *CPL* I:194, and *RMB* 1.12311.
- 3465–66      “*Ye Bretons . . . or hardymente.*” Although Quintillian's speech is similar to that reported in *HRB* §166, and the direct discourse developed by *RB* lines 11745–48 and *RMB* 1.12315–20, Hardyng alone places emphasis on the quality of “*knyghthode*” (3.3466).

- 3467–3520    *Whom Gawayne . . . and wounde.* Whilst this section is based on *HRB* §§166–67, Hardyng greatly reduces the narrative and omits all reference to the fact that Arthur did not authorize his men to fight, an issue that causes anxiety for the knights in Hardyng's sources, but which Hardyng manages to sidestep here by having the “felaws” attempt to travel “homwarde” to “warne” Arthur of “bataylle and no reste” (3.3468–70). Hardyng similarly alters the circumstances leading to the ambush described from 3.3493 onwards and downplays the number of Briton casualties. In *HRB* §167 the Britons are ambushed the day after the first battle, as they prepare to take the Roman captives to Paris, and Arthur loses many troops in the first stage of battle. Here the Roman ambush occurs before the Britons have reached Arthur to give him the prisoners and “few” of them are slain (3.3506). Whilst the first of these changes may result, unintentionally, from Hardyng's abridgement of the narrative, the deliberate attempt to downplay the Briton casualties suggests that Hardyng wanted to present Arthur's men as formidable warriors.
- 3494–97    *Two senatours . . . grete powere.* Hardyng, like *HRB* §167 and *CPL* I:200, refers to the emperor sending two senators, the kings of Syria and Libya, and fifteen thousand men to ambush the Britons, whereas *RB* line 12105, *HRBVV* §167, and *RMB* 1.12641 state that ten thousand men were sent. *RMB* similarly mistakes *RB*'s senator “Catellus Waltereius” (line 12112) for two individuals, thus listing three senators and two kings (1.12647–50). *EH* (II:345), also refers to fifteen thousand men, but makes a similar mistake to *RMB* and interprets *HRB*'s “Vulteius Catellus” and “Quintus Carucius,” as three or four individuals.
- 3502    *kynges thre.* It is unclear where Hardyng obtained this figure from, as *HRB* §167, *RB* lines 12237–40, and *RMB* 1.12755–58 only list two high-born Roman casualties. Harker has suggested that this might be a transposition error for “ther” (“John Hardyng's Arthur,” p. 294).
- 3511    *Welcome my . . . grete Payne.* Arthur's speech appears to be unique to the *Chronicle*.
- 3516–18    *Gawen, Bewes . . . and Bedwere.* Hardyng's list of wounded knights combines several of the knights mentioned in *HRB* §167 — Gawain, Beus, Bedivere, Gerin, Cador (either Duke Cador of Cornwall or Maurice Cador of Cahors), Guitard, and Irenglas — with three of Hardyng's own choosing. However, of these, only Maurice Cador of Cahors and Irenglas occur in the list of four princes killed in *HRB*, making Hardyng's list unique.
- 3521–62    *Lucyus so . . . and olde.* Hardyng follows *HRB* §168. In condensing his source the only significant changes he makes include the addition of marginalia describing Arthur's four banners (see note 3556m below) and the repositioning of the reference to the earl of Gloucester's battalion, which is mentioned before the other battalions in *HRB*, but last here.
- 3522    *Augustudoun.* Augustodunum is the Latin name for Autun given in *HRB* §168. See note 3438–43 above.

- 3530      *Seysy*. Probably Saussy or Val-Suzon in France; see Matthews, “Where was Siesia-Sessoyne?” and Keller, “Two Toponomical Problems” for further discussion.
- 3556m     *Arthure bare . . . of golde*. Of the four heraldic devices mentioned in this marginalia three are referred to elsewhere in the *Chronicle*: the dragon banner (3.2008–09), the three crowns (3.2248m), and Saint George’s Cross (3.3157–63). The dragon and three crowns are common in Arthurian heraldry. The image of Mary is ultimately derived from *HB* §56, but Hardyng presumably encountered it in *HRB* §147, where it is painted on Arthur’s shield. Morris believes that Hardyng’s transferral of the Virgin’s image from the shield to the banner indicates that “it is no longer [a] personal insignia, but a focus for allegiance, belonging to Arthur only insofar as he represents England, and proclaiming the whole nation’s devotion to the Christian cause” (*Character of King Arthur*, p. 127). The inclusion of St. George’s arms in remembrance of Galahad is clearly Hardyng’s invention, and may have been inspired by Henry V’s use of the arms during his French campaign.
- 3556–62    *The nynte . . . and olde*. Hardyng has amalgamated what appear to be two battalions in *HRB*, one headed by Arthur and one by Morvide. In *HRB* §168 Morvide is given his own company of men and told to wait in reserve until needed, so that Arthur’s men can withdraw to him if necessary, regroup, and launch new attacks. Arthur then leads his own company, which he positions behind the other battalions and identifies with his dragon banner to designate it as a fortified camp to which the wounded can withdraw. See also note 3.3661–65 below.
- 3563–66    *The emperoure . . . that day*. These lines are based on the twelve Roman legions mentioned in *HRB* §170 after the speeches of Arthur and Lucius. Hardyng omits Lucius’s speech and *HRB*’s description of the structure of the Roman army.
- 3567–69    *With that . . . be bette*. This appears to be Hardyng’s own addition, but see RMB 1.12985–96.
- 3570–83    *Kynge Arthure . . . do mynystracioun*. Hardyng radically reduces the rousing speech attributed to Arthur in *HRB* §169, and, in keeping with RMB 1.12923–24, emphasizes the great conquests made by the Britons and the “servytute” (3.3581) that they will suffer if the Romans are victorious in battle. Lines 3577–78 are particularly interesting, as they accentuate the threat of losing territorial possessions and failing to defend the king’s “right,” two themes that would doubtless have had a strong resonance with Hardyng’s original audience, who, by the time the *Chronicle* was completed, had witnessed the loss of Henry VI’s possessions in France.
- 3584–97    *With that . . . thare wykydnesse*. Hardyng has taken King Auguselus’s speech out of its original context in *HRB* §161 and abbreviated it; in the source Auguselus speaks to Arthur and his men in the Giants’ Tower just after Lucius’s emissaries arrive demanding tribute. Compare 3.3605–11 and 3.3612–18, which are also taken out of context here.

- 3598–3604    “*Me thynke . . . and wyght.*” Urien’s speech has no equivalent in *HRB* or its derivative texts. It is probably unique to Hardyng.
- 3605–11    *Kynge Howelle . . . hole Senate.* In *HRB* §160 Hoel, like Auguselus, speaks at the meeting Arthur holds in the Giants’ Tower following Lucius’s demand for tribute. While Hardyng may have taken his inspiration for this speech from this earlier section of *HRB*, the content is only loosely related. Compare 3.3584–97 and 3.3612–18, which are also taken out of context.
- 3612–18    *Thus every . . . ben undre.* Like 3.3584–97 and 3.3605–11, these lines appear to be based on the vows made by Arthur’s knights in the Giants’ Tower in *HRB* §162; but compare the end of *HRB* §169, *RB* lines 12441–50, and RMB 1.12937–44.
- 3619m    *in Itaylle.* See note 3.3438–43 above.
- 3619–88    *Thanne to . . . to welde.* For the most part Hardyng follows, and severely condenses, *HRB* §§171–75, but see notes 3.3626 and 3.3668–69 below for the possible influence of RMB.
- 3626    *Whose corses so brought were to the dragoun.* In *HRB* §171 it is Kay who takes Bedivere’s body back to the golden dragon that marks Arthur’s fortified camp. Hardyng assigns this task to Auguselus and Cador instead, possibly because he omits that part of *HRB* where Kay attempts to avenge Bedivere and rescue his body. The phrasing of this line is also interesting because of its similarity to RMB 1.13133, “þe body to þe dragon brouht,” which may have influenced Hardyng here.
- 3628–30    *And of . . . in fight.* *HRB* §172 states that two kings and two senators were killed at this point.
- 3647    *four prynces.* See note 3.3628–30 above. Hardyng appears to be repeating information here.
- 3650    *And thre knyghtes than thay slew of the Senate.* The equivalent section of *HRB* §173 does not relay any specifics about the high-born Romans lost when Hoel and Gawain attack; instead we are told that the Briton casualties include Chinmarchocus, duke of Tréguier, and three other leaders, Riddomarcus, Bloctonius, and Iaginvius. Assuming that Hardyng was not using an unidentified source, he either misread *HRB* or a chronicle related to it, such as RMB, or he deliberately altered it to reflect more favorably on the Britons.
- 3655    *egle of golde.* Lucius’s golden eagle is mentioned much earlier in *HRB* §170, where it has the same function as Arthur’s dragon: that is, to act as a rallying point, where men can withdraw to and regroup (see also *CPL* I:206). It also occurs in *RB* line 12866 and RMB 1.13294, just after Gawain begins to fight Lucius, although RMB does not call the device an eagle, but a “standard.”
- 3661–65    *Bot at . . . on newe.* Hardyng’s reduction of his source obscures some of the sense behind Morvide’s actions here. In *HRB* §168 Morvide is asked to lead a reserve company of men that the Romans are not aware of; see note 3.3556–62 above.

- 3668–69     *Bot who . . . the name.* Hardynge may have taken this detail from *Lestoire de Merlin* (p. 410), where Gawain kills Lucius in battle; however, it is more likely that he is following RMB 1.13405 ff., which builds upon a similar assertion in CPL I:216, by stating “I kan not say who did him falle, / bot Sir Wawayn, said þei alle” (1.13405–06) and “þe certeyn can þer noman ame / But sire Wawayn bar þe name” (1.13408–09, additional text supplied in the margins of Sullen’s edition from London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS Lambeth 131).
- 3680–88     *There was . . . to weelde.* Hardynge’s own addition.
- 3690–3723     *To Rome . . . his innocence.* Hardynge bases this section on HRB §176 and RMB 1.13433–13468, making several additions of his own. The lines concerning Lucius’s association with Leo are his (see 3.3346m for further details), but they are in keeping with other texts that present Lucius as emperor, such as *RB*, *CPL*, and *RMB*. Hardynge seems to follow *RMB*, rather than *RB*, in expanding *HRB*’s reference to Arthur sending Lucius’s body to the Senate as “truage” (3.3696), though he makes more of Arthur’s grim irony by using the word “gode” (3.3702), meaning “gifts” or “wealth,” to describe the additional corpses that he will send if Rome demands further payment. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, Hardynge introduces a scene in which the Senate offers Arthur the emperorship in return for “gode lordeship” (3.3706); although Arthur falls short of conquering the “Empire hole” in this version of the *Chronicle* because news of Mordred’s usurpation necessitates his return to Britain, Hardynge’s reference to the king wintering in Italy after accepting the Senate’s offer implies that Arthur has all of Italy, except Rome, under his control. In the second version of the *Chronicle*, Hardynge’s Arthur enters Rome, where he is crowned emperor and resides for the winter.
- 3717–19     *Bot he . . . somer came.* See notes 3.3438–43 and 3.3690–3723 above. In *HRB*, *RB*, *LB*, *OV*, *CPL*, *RMB*, and *Brut*, Arthur sojourns in Burgundy.
- 3724–3870     *Bot tythandes . . . foure yere.* Hardynge’s main sources for the account of Arthur’s return to Britain and ensuing death appear to be *HRB* §§176–78 and *RMB* 1.13469–13744 (or an unidentified text linked to them), and *Mort Artu*; see the notes that follow for specific examples and for features unique to Hardynge.
- 3725–27     *Modrede had . . . the quene.* In other texts Mordred has already taken the crown and, in most cases, the queen. Here the use of “aspyred / To have the croune” and “wadden wold the quene” implies that he has yet to secure both.
- 3730     *And Albany he gafe hym to his mede.* *HRB*, *RB*, *OV*, *CPL*, Castleford’s *Chronicle*, *RMB*, *EH*, and *Brut* all refer to Mordred offering Cheldrike Scotland for his assistance, but only Hardynge and *CPL* I:218 call it “Albany.”
- 3733     *And bade . . . to conquerere.* In *HRB* §177 Arthur cancels his attack on Rome and sends Hoel to restore peace. Hardynge’s Arthur appears to be unique in sending Hoel to conquer Rome on his behalf instead.
- 3737     *As traytoure . . . by jugement.* Arthur’s desire to “honge and draw” Mordred, the medieval punishment for high treason, appears to be unique, but see *LB* lines

- 14065–85, where Gawain wishes to hang Mordred and have the queen drawn apart by horses. See also 3.3770–72.
- 3740–41 *Assembled were . . . armes clere.* *HRB* §177 and *EH* II:360 mention the 80,000 pagans and Christians, but Hardynge uses the same phrasing as *CPL* I:218 (“quatre vint myl”) and *RMB* 1.13492 (“fourscore þousand”) to describe them.
- 3743 *Porte Rupyne whare Whitesonde is.* “Rupini Portu” (Richborough) is given in *HRB* §177 and *EH* II:360 (“Rutupi portu”), whereas Wissant is given in *RB* line 13049 (“Witsant”), *LB* line 14091 (“Wissant”; the manuscript used for Barron and Weinberg’s edition contains “Whitsond”), *OV* line 1986 (“Whitsonde”), *RMB* 1.13518 (“Whitsand”), and *Arthur* line 559 (“Whytsond”). Hardynge tries to reconcile the two disparate places by conflating the two.
- 3752 *Wynchester.* Like *HRB* §177, *CPL* I:220 and *EH* II:361, Hardynge’s Mordred goes straight to Winchester. In *RB*, *LB*, *OV*, *RMB*, *Brut*, and *Arthur* he travels to London first where he is refused entry.
- 3760 *Camblayne.* Hardynge’s text is closest to *HRB* §178 (“fluum Camblani”); compare *RB* line 13253 (“Juste Cambe”), *RMB* 1.13687 (“a water, Tambre”), and *EH* II:361 (“fluvium Cambla”).
- 3761 *sexty thousandde.* Compare *HRB* §178, *LB* line 14240, *CPL* I:222, and *EH* II:361. *RB* line 13070 and *OV* line 1980 also number the troops at 60,000 when Mordred first musters his soldiers for Arthur’s return.
- 3766–68 *Bot Arthure . . . and stroyed.* Compare *RB* lines 13143–48 and *RMB* 1.13587–94.
- 3770–72 *His foule . . . his lawe.* See note 3.3737 above.
- 3777–93 *Bot Arthure . . . his generacioun.* Hardynge, like *CPL* (I:222), Castleford’s *Chronicle* (line 23924), *P* (V:332–33), *RMB* (1.13693–700), *Mort Artu* (p. 154), and the *Alliterative Morte* (lines 4224 ff.), states unequivocally that Mordred was slain by Arthur and that Arthur received his “dethes wounde” (3.3787) from Mordred (compare also *EH* II:363). In claiming that he can find no books attesting to Mordred’s incestuous birth, Hardynge follows the chronicle tradition, in which Mordred is Arthur’s nephew (see, for example, *HRB* §176 and *RMB* 1.13475), as opposed to the romance tradition, which presents him as Arthur’s son. In so doing, Hardynge distorts the truth about his own knowledge of Arthurian literature — deliberately overlooking the fact that *Mort Artu*, a romance that he clearly knew, emphasizes Mordred’s status as Arthur’s son — and makes his king morally superior to his sinful counterpart in romance. Hardynge’s attribution of Cheldrike’s death to Arthur similarly increases the king’s prestige; *HRB*, *CPL*, Castleford’s *Chronicle* (line 23937), *RMB*, and *EH* list the Saxon amongst those that fell at the battle, but fail to elaborate on who killed him. In other sources, such as *JG* and *P*, Cheldrike does not die in this battle. Also of interest here is Hardynge’s idiosyncratic comparison of Arthur and Mars, the god of war, and his allusion to Fortune’s role in Arthur’s victory, which prefigures the complaint addressed to Fortune at 3.3878–88.

- 3778      *Caliburne*. The *Alliterative Morte* (lines 4230, 4242) also mentions the king's sword by name in its description of Arthur slaying Mordred.
- 3787      *as cronycle doth expresse*. Compare *RB* line 13275 ("si la geste ne ment") and *RMB* 1.13706 ("men sais").
- 3794–3807      *The quene . . . myghtes moste*. In *HRB* Guinevere flees to Caerleon upon hearing of Mordred's initial defeat, that is, before the siege at Winchester. In *RB*, *OV*, *RMB*, *EH*, *Brut*, and *Arthur*, she leaves after learning of Mordred's flight from Winchester and before the final battle. In *CPL* she flees when she hears of Arthur's return, after Mordred has retreated to Winchester, whilst in the *Mort Artu* the news of Arthur's imminent return prompts her to abscond, but this time prior to the king's arrival in Britain. *NC* concludes Arthur's reign with a brief description of Guinevere's fate, but the moment of her flight is not given. In contrast, Hardyng's queen escapes out of fear for her own life only upon hearing of Mordred's death. This, together with the references to "shame" (3.3800) and "synne" (3.3806) — possibly inspired by the use of the same words in *RB* lines 13221–22 and *RMB* 1.13648–50 — suggests that Hardyng is following other chronicles in presenting Guinevere as an adulteress despite his knowledge of the *Mort Artu*, where, having locked herself in the Tower to avoid Mordred's attentions, Guinevere elects to join the nunnery because she fears that Arthur will not believe she is innocent. Whilst this version of the *Chronicle* does not condemn the queen as overtly as the second version, Hardyng's later "compleynt . . . for the deth of Kynge Arthure" (3.3871m) emphasizes her culpability by lamenting the fact that she caused the death of "so fele knyghtes" (3.3891) because of the power she allowed Mordred to exert over her. Hardyng similarly accentuates her fall by expanding the reference to the church of St. Julius the Martyr in *HRB* §177 and *EH* II:361 and reminding his audience that this was where she was crowned.
- 3808–14      *In whiche . . . dethes wounde*. Compare *RB* lines 13266–74, *OV* lines 2017–19, *RMB* 1.13701–04, and *Brut* p. 90; Hardyng's phrasing is similar to *RB* and *RMB*.
- 3815–21      *For whiche . . . bygan dystrayne*. The account of Arthur's distress echoes the king's sadness when the knights leave him in pursuit of the Grail (see 3.3022–37). Hardyng may have drawn upon *HRB* §178, where an angry Arthur buries his dead knights before attacking Winchester, or *Mort Artu* (pp. 154–55), where Arthur laments the loss of his men at the Black Chapel.
- 3824      *Whiche Cadore . . . that adversacioun*. Hardyng is presumably following either *HRB* §178, *CPL* I:224, or *RMB* 1.13732 in saying that Cador died in battle, although in *HRB* it is not Cador of Cornwall listed amongst the dead, but "Cador Limenic."
- 3826–28      *Whose brother . . . withouten fayle*. Hardyng provides more detail about Cador's lineage than his regular sources; his Cador is Arthur's half-brother, the son of Arthur's mother, Igerne, and her first husband Gorlois. Cador is also Arthur's half-brother in Thomas Gray's *Scalacronica* (Moll, *Before Malory*, pp. 165–66), in the *Brut y Brenhinedd* in the *Black Book of Basingwerk* (National Library of

Wales MS 7006D, p. 182b), and, according to Fletcher, in the *Brut Tysilio* (see Fletcher, *Arthurian Material*, pp. 117–18, 283), although there is no evidence to suggest that Hardying knew any of these texts. Cador's son, Constantine, is Arthur's nephew in the *Vita Merlini* (p. 268), *OV* (lines 2027–28), *EH* (II:363), and *Brut* (p. 90) (which also uses “cosyn”), implying that Cador is Arthur’s sibling, but most chronicles simply describe Constantine as Arthur’s kinsman or cousin (see, for example, *HRB* §178, *RB* line 13296, Robert of Gloucester’s *Chronicle* lines 4585–86, *CPL* I:224, RMB 1.13742, *PV*:338–39, and *NC* fol. 41r).

- 3829–35     *Kynge Arthure . . . made sufficiantly.* Hardying links Avalon with Glastonbury once again and places Arthur’s tomb there, along with the grave of Joseph of Arimathea and Galahad (see 2.2611–47, 3.3052–82, 3.3150–56). For Arthur’s association with Glastonbury and the alleged discovery of his remains in 1190–91 see Robinson, *Two Glastonbury Legends*; Lagorio, “Evolving Legend”; and Abrams and Carley, *Archaeology and History*. Other texts mentioning Arthur’s burial at Glastonbury include William of Malmesbury’s *De antiquitate Glastonie ecclesie*, p. 82–83; Gerald of Wales’ *De principiis instructione*, I:20 and *Speculum ecclesiae* II:8–10; Ralph of Coggeshall’s *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 36; Adam of Domerham’s *Historia de rebus gestis Glastoniensibus*, pp. 341–42; Robert of Gloucester’s *Chronicle*, lines 4592–94; the fourteenth-century copy of William of Malmesbury’s *Gesta Regum Anglorum* in Oxford Bodleian Library MS Bodley 712 (II:261–62); *An Anonymous Short English Metrical Chronicle*, lines 239–48; *Petit Bruit*, p. 13; *Castelford’s Chronicle*, lines 23988–89; *JG*, pp. 80–81; John of Fordun, *Chronica gentis Scotorum*, pp. 110–11; *PV*:332–33; *EH* II:363; the *Alliterative Morte* lines 4308–09; *Arthur* lines 612–24; *NC* fol. 41r; the Middle English Prose Bruts extant in Cleveland Public Library MS John G. White Collection W Q091.92–C468 and Dublin Trinity College MS 489; and a Cornish folktale (see Barber, “*Vera Historia*,” p. 77). Gray’s *Scalacronica* and Capgrave’s *Chronicle* can be also added to this list, as they mention the discovery of Arthur’s tomb at Glastonbury.
- 3833         *As yit this day ys sene and shalle evermore.* This statement links the Arthurian past with Hardying’s own time. Compare with Caxton’s preface to Malory’s *Morte Darthur*, in which relics of the Arthurian past provide evidence of Arthur’s existence in the late fifteenth-century (see *Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, ed. Vinaver, I:cxlili–cxlvii).
- 3836–39      *Who dyed . . . fulle clere.* This is the date given in *HRB* §178.
- 3840–42      *Fro whiche . . . ay doutous.* A number of chronicles mention Merlin’s prediction about the uncertainty surrounding Arthur’s death; see, for example, *RB* lines 13279–93, *OV* lines 2022–23, RMB 1.13714–22, and *Brut* p. 90. The reference ultimately stems from the prophecy in *HRB* §112 that Arthur, the “Boar of Cornwall,” will have an uncertain end (“exitus eius dubius erit”). Hardying presumably followed RMB, but see also note 3.3843m below.
- 3843m         *De quo . . . rexque futurus.* For a study of this epitaph and its history see Withrington, “*Arthurian Epitaph*” and Barber, “*Vera Historia*.” It occurs in

several texts: the *Vera Historia de Morte Arthuri*; the *Chronicon de Monasterii de Hailes; Arthur* lines 619–24, which may be based on a lost version of *RB*; at the end of the unique copy of the *Alliterative Morte*; in a version of John of Fordun's *Chronica gentis Scotorum*, p. 111; in a manuscript gloss accompanying Lydgate's *FP* in British Library MS Royal 18 B. xxxi (fol. 193r); and in Malory's *Morte Darthur* (*Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, ed. Vinaver, III:1242). The epitaph appears to have gained some currency in the fifteenth century, and it probably circulated in oral form too, which Hardynge may have known. If Hardynge encountered it in written form, he may have known it from a lost text based on *RB*, linked with the source of *Arthur*, or a manuscript of the *FP* containing similar marginalia (see note 7.491–97 for a possible borrowing from the stanza in *FP* against which the epitaph occurs).

- 3843–70     *Bot of . . . fourre yere.* Hardynge completes his account of Arthur's passing by leaving his chronicle sources and turning, once again, to romance. In this instance, the "story of Seynt Grale" (3.3843) refers to *Mort Artu*, pp. 154–59, which locates Arthur's tomb at a Black Chapel, describes how Girflet lived at the chapel as a hermit for eighteen days before dying, and relates how Lancelot and his companion Hector spent their last four years in religious contemplation with the archbishop of Canterbury and Lancelot's cousin, Bliobleris. Hardynge, who may have been recalling *Mort Artu* from memory, adapts his source, linking the Black Chapel with the chapel at Glastonbury reputedly dedicated to the Virgin Mary by St. David, and he claims that Geryn (who takes the place of the Vulgate Girflet) spent four years there as hermit with Lancelot. It is unclear whether the phrase "Whiche Geryn made" (3.3847) refers to his building Arthur's tomb or the chapel dedicated to Mary, which is normally attributed to St. David (see, for example, *JG*, pp. 2–3), but in the *Mort Artu* neither is constructed by Girflet, so unless Hardynge was using a source linked to Glastonbury that incorporated material from *Mort Artu*, the suggestion may originate with him.
- 3871–3905    *O gode . . . als sertayne.* Hardynge's "compleynt" (3.3871m) questions the role of divine prescience and Fortune in the demise of Arthur and Mordred, who is portrayed, rather surprisingly, as a "gode" knight (3.3892) who falls from a state of "grete manhode" (3.3893) and "honoure" (3.3899) to "pryde" (3.3875) and "falshode" (3.3901) through "unhappe" (3.3896). Line 3878 is clearly influenced by Chaucer's *TC* 3.617, a text that Hardynge uses elsewhere to infuse his narrative with Boethian wisdom; however, whilst the tragic implications of Fortune lamented here were undoubtedly inspired by *TC*, the account of Arthur's reign in Lydgate's *FP* may have been equally influential on Hardynge, ending as it does with an envoy warning "princis" against treason and Fortune's mutability (8.3130–3206). For Hardynge's knowledge of Boethian narratives see Peverley, "Chronicling the Fortunes."
- 3889–91     *O fals . . . sele knyghtes.* See note 3.3794–3807 above.
- 3904         *Thy lorde . . . kynge soverayne.* Hardynge emphasizes the triple nature of Mordred's treachery; when he commits treason by betraying his sovereign, Mordred also breaks the oath he made to Arthur as a feudal "lorde" and his

obligations to him as a blood-relative. Cooper makes a similar observation about the wording of Gawain's appeal to Arthur in Malory's *Morte Darthur*, as he requests Arthur help as "My king, my lord, and mine uncle" (*Sir Thomas Malory*, ed. Cooper, p. 560).

- 3906–47 *Kynge Constantyne . . . in menciouen.* Hardyng expands the account of Constantine's reign in *HRB* §§179–80 and instead of condemning the king for killing Mordred's sons at the "high autere" (3.3921), as *HRB* and *RB* do, Hardyng presents him as a good king who governs well in "reste and pese" (3.3942). The brief description of Constantine's coronation at 3.3910–12 appears to be original to the *Chronicle*, as does the reference to Constantine being a knight of the Round Table (3.3906–08). For Constantine's consanguinity to Arthur see note 3.3826–28 above.
- 3924–40 *In whose . . . that cenoby.* Compare *HRB* §179, which Hardyng augments with additional information.
- 3948–68 *Aurelyus Conan . . . and remove.* Despite the fact that Hardyng's narrative is similar to both *HRB* §181, which gives the length of Conan's reign as three years, and RMB 1.13777, which refers to Conan as Constantine's "cosyn," neither source provides all of the details found here; this suggests that Hardyng was conflating two or more sources, supplementing the narrative himself by referring to Conan's "beuté" at line 3955 (an observation that is absent from all of the sources considered here), or using an unidentified source. The stanza warning "lordes that ben in hygh estates" (3.3962) to avoid quarrels is unique to Hardyng, but it may have been inspired by similar advice in Lydgate's *FP*.
- 3969–75 *Than Vorlypore . . . hym decese.* Compare *HRB* §182.
- 3976–96 *Malgo next . . . rialle trone.* Although this section has its origins in *HRB* §183, lines 3990–96 are based on RMB 1.13823–26.
- 3997–4010 *Careys was . . . theym stonde.* Compare with the beginning of *HRB* §184. Hardyng's account of Careys and Gurmond continues in Book 4.



Figure 9. Folio 196r. Facial details observed at different wave lengths. Additional emphasis on upper lip observed at 420 nm on the electromagnetic spectrum (left) and curls in the hair become visible at 780 nm on the electromagnetic spectrum (right). Photos courtesy of Dr. Christina Duffy, Conservation Science Team, The British Library and The British Library.

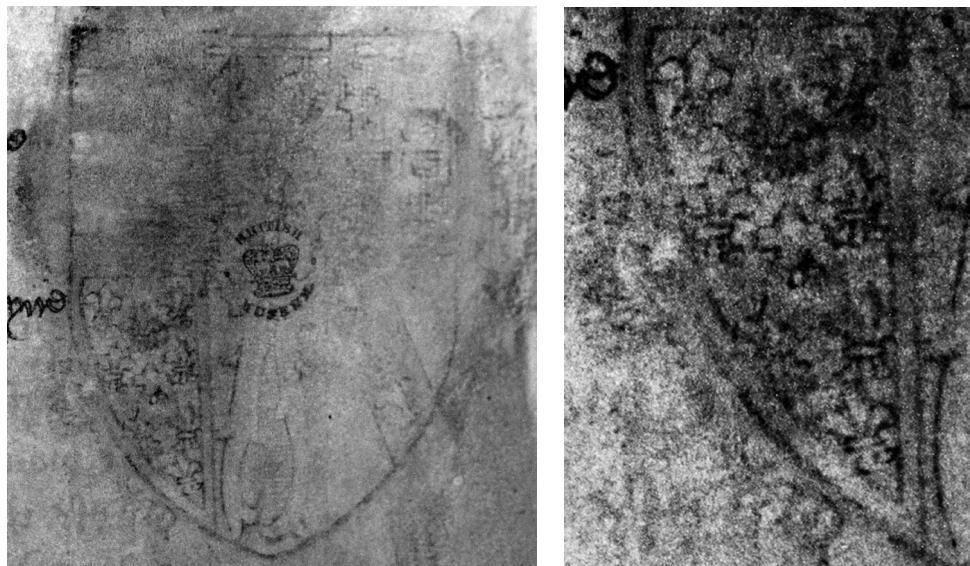


Figure 10. Folio 217v. Shield displaying the British Museum's stamp of ownership in the center (left) and the erased arms of Margaret of Anjou. Pattern of multiple fleur-de-lis designs in the lower left hand quarter of Margaret Anjou's arms (right). Images captured at 420 nm on the electromagnetic spectrum. Photos courtesy of Dr. Christina Duffy, Conservation Science Team, The British Library and The British Library.



## TEXTUAL NOTES

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**ABBREVIATIONS:** **m:** marginalia; **MS:** London, British Library MS Lansdowne 204 (base manuscript).

Throughout the manuscript, the marginalia, book and chapter headings, and the running heads featuring the names of the reigning kings, are written in red ink; often the first letter of each stanza of the main text is also written in red ink. Because of the consistency of the scribe's use of red in these areas, we have only recorded exceptions to this rule in the notes. Other features, such as scribal corrections, illumination, annotations by hands other than the scribe(s), and editorial emendations are recorded as they occur.

Occasionally, background smudges and traces of letters or words occur behind the current text of Lansdowne 204. Though beyond the scope of this edition, a comprehensive study of each instance of smudging is desireable, as some may have been caused by underwriting, indicating that the scribe(s) altered the work. The British Library analyzed ten examples of potential underwriting for us, using multispectral imaging equipment and Digital USB microscopy. Our selections fell into one of three categories. 1) Examples that did contain underwriting: the background shadows were caused by the scribe scraping the parchment to remove a word or phrase and writing different text over the erasure (or, as in two cases, simply erasing text that was no longer required). In such instances, traces of the original iron gall ink burn-through have survived, leaving partial letter-forms or words visible at a wavelength of 420 nanometers (hereafter nm) on the electromagnetic spectrum; sadly, it is often impossible to discern complete letters or words, and ink burn-through from text overleaf further obscures the original writing, making it largely unrecoverable. 2) Examples that do not contain underwriting: the shadows behind the text are caused by ink-burn through from text overleaf, which, to the naked eye, gives the impression of underwriting. 3) Examples that do not contain underwriting: the shadows behind the text are again due to degradation caused by the iron gall ink flaking away from the surface of the parchment and leaving the shape of the original letter below; to the naked eye, the spread of the burn-through can look like underwriting beneath the thinner flakes of surviving ink. The following textual notes make references to confirmed instances of underwriting only; we do not highlight *potential* cases because, given the degredation of the ink, we feel that this could be misleading.

### PROLOGUE

- |        |  |
|--------|--|
| 1–28   | MS: The scribe adds rhyme bands in the same colored ink as the verse and draws lines between each stanza.                                |
| 29–154 | MS: The scribe adds red rhyme bands and draws each stanza. With the exception of line 29 (which begins with an illuminated initial), the |

- first letter of each stanza has been written in the same black ink as the rest of the stanza, then written over again in red ink.
- 29           *Who.* MS: illuminated initial.
- 30           *compleyne.* MS: *compley*; the corner of the folio is missing.
- 71–93       The corner of the folio is missing. The text has been reconstructed using Charles Kingsford's "Extracts" and the epilogue of Lansdowne 204 (7.1093–1169) as a guide.
- 122       MS: This line shows evidence of some alteration to the text. Before the present line was added, the parchment was scraped away removing the ink of a previous line. During the multispectral analysis carried out by the British Library, partial letters were observed in the underwriting, but the original text was unrecoverable. The nature of this particular change is important because it may indicate that Hardyng asked the scribe to add or correct the reference to John Kemp's titles ("cardinalle" and archbishop of "York") at a later stage of production.
- 155–61      MS: This stanza is partially legible under ultraviolet light and may have been intentionally erased by the scribe(s). Traces of the text are observed at a wavelength of 420 nm on the electromagnetic spectrum, but are not always legible. We have reconstructed illegible words speculatively. Evidence of red rhyme bands is present, and there is a small trace of red ink near the first letter of the stanza (visible in a false color image), suggesting that it was rendered in red ink like the stanzas covering Prol.29–54.

#### CONTENTS PAGE

The incomplete contents page is written entirely in red ink on one folio; it is divided into two columns, the second of which begins with the entry for Book 3, chapter 7. Each of the headings denoting a new book is enclosed by a red box.

- The First Book.*   MS: The corner of the folio is missing.
- xxvi capitulum Of Arvyragus.* MS: This appears on the same line as the previous entry.
- viii capitulum . . . Seint Elene.* MS: The text runs into the gutter, which is too tight to see the final letters of *Elene*.
- xx capitulum of Elfride of Westsex sovereyn.* MS: An early reader has added a small manicule pointing to this line.
- xxii capitulum Of Edward, sovereyn.* MS: *xxii capitulum Of Edward sover.*
- xxiiii capitulum.*   MS: *xxiiii.*
- xxv capitulum.*   MS: *xxv.*
- xxvi capitulum.*   MS: *xxvi.*
- xxvii capitulum.*   MS: *xxvii.*
- xxviii capitulum.*   MS: *xxviii.*
- xxix capitulum.*   MS: *xxix.*

**BOOK 1**

- 1m *How thay . . . hys Dialoge.* MS: This part of the marginalia (in red ink) appears to have been written over an earlier note in iron gall ink, traces of which can still be seen, although it is not legible. In most cases the red ink traces the original ink underneath, though regions of the marginalia at the start and the end of the present selection do contain illegible underwriting, partially visible at a wavelength of 420 nm of the electromagnetic spectrum.  
*Lyndisfarn.* MS: *Lyndifarn.*  
*Wynchester.* MS: *Wynchest.*
- 1 *The.* MS: illuminated initial.
- 176m *Nota that . . . exiled thaym.* MS: This part of the marginalia was originally copied in iron gall ink, but has been written over in red.  
*as Trogus . . . xlippii booke.* MS: This part of the marginalia appears to have been added when the scribe traced over the rest of the marginalia with red ink.
- 197–203 An early hand has copied a version of the first two lines into the left-hand margin: ‘Thys was the yere afore the incarnacyon a thousand iiii c v yere.’ Other annotations by this hand occur at 3.4004, 4.42, 6.1, 6.295, 6.332, and 6.346.
- 212 *soveraynté.* MS: *soveraraynte.*  
 266 *So that.* MS: *That.*  
 283 *From Dame Albyne.* MS: *From.*  
 286 *Two hundre yere.* MS: A contemporary hand has written “ii c yere” by the side of this text in the left-hand margin.
- 295–2.14 The stanzas on this folio, covering 1.295–2.14, have red rhyme bands.  
 308 A contemporary hand has written “x ii c yere afore the encarnacyon” in the left-hand margin next to this line.

**BOOK 2**

- 1m *Pli(?)*. MS: This word is difficult to read. It appears to be an abbreviation of an author’s name. It could be an erroneous abbreviation for Pompeius Trogus, who is later mentioned with regards to Aeneas.  
*translata.* MS: *tranlata.*
- 1 *As.* MS: an illuminated initial.
- 1–512 Hardying writes in eight-line stanzas here and at 2.522–617.
- 68 *Japhet cam.* MS: *Japhet.*
- 89 An early hand, possibly that of John Stow, writes “Eryctonus frost edified Troy” in the left-hand margin beside this line. See Manuscript Description for further information from Stow.
- 151 *disposicioun.* MS: *disposicoun.*
- 258 An early hand has written “Nota how Brutus was borne” in the gutter of the right-hand margin of this folio.
- 330 *fallible.* MS: *fallibe.*

- 417      *Brutus*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 513–21    A nine-line stanza.
- 522–617   Hardyng writes in eight-line stanzas here and at 2.1–512.
- 543      The name “Brute” has been erased in the right-hand margin next to this line; a contemporary hand has rewritten it underneath the original annotation.
- 630      *Cornewayle*. MS: A contemporary hand has copied the word “Cornewall” below this word.
- 639m     *conceyle of*. MS: *of* has been inserted above line.
- 667      *Thus*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 730m     Originally copied in iron gall ink, this marginalia has been overwritten in red.
- 786      *Of*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 822      *Mewyne*. MS: An early hand has copied this name into the right-hand margin.
- 902      *fylde*. This sentence requires the infinitive *fylan*. The needs of rhyme have produced a grammatical error.
- 919      *After*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 954      *This*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 975      *Manlyn*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 989      *Membrice*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 1017     *Ebrauke*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 1062     *myschaunce*. MS: *myschaune*.
- 1066m    MS: This marginalia was originally copied in iron gall ink, but has been overwritten in red.
- 1115     *Hys*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 1128     An early hand, apparently that of John Stow, writes “Gyldas” in the right-hand margin beside this line. See Manuscript Description.
- 1129     *So*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 1153     *Hys*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 1171     *Bladud*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 1185     An early hand, apparently that of John Stow, writes “Gyldas” in the left-hand margin beside this line. See Manuscript Description.
- 1199     *Aftyr*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 1234m    *Nota, for homage of Scotland*. MS: This part of the marginalia was originally copied in iron gall ink; it has been overwritten in red.
- 1290m    *How Margan . . . of hym*. MS: This part of the marginalia was originally copied in iron gall ink; it has been overwritten in red.
- 1290     *Margan*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 1339     *Ryval*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 1353m    *Nota of drunkenes*. MS: This marginalia occurs beside 2.1358–59.
- 1353     *Gurgustius*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 1367     *Sisilius*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 1381     *Iago*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 1395     *Kymar*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 1409     *Gorbodyan*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 1437     *Cloten*. MS: an illuminated initial.

- 1493           *And.* MS: an illuminated initial.  
 1556           *Than.* MS: an illuminated initial.  
 1654m          *hoste.* MS: This word is inserted above the line.  
 1676           *conquerours.* MS: *conquerous*.  
 1689m          An early hand, apparently that of John Stow, has written “Alfryd and Galfryd” after the marginalia. See Manuscript Description.  
 1718           *And.* MS: *Ane*.  
 1738m          This marginalia occurs alongside 2.1742.  
 1801           *Gurguyn.* MS: an illuminated initial.  
 1850           *Guytelyn.* MS: an illuminated initial.  
 1864           *Sysilius.* MS: an illuminated initial.  
 1878           *Kymar.* MS: an illuminated initial.  
 1885           *Danyus.* MS: an illuminated initial.  
 1892           *Morvyde.* MS: an illuminated initial.  
 1941m          *first.* MS: This word is inserted above the line.  
 1941           *Gorbonyan.* MS: an illuminated initial.  
 1955           *Argalle.* MS: an illuminated initial.  
 1962           *Elydoure.* MS: an illuminated initial.  
 1997           *Argalle.* MS: an illuminated initial.  
 2004           *The.* MS: an illuminated initial.  
 2011           *But.* MS: an illuminated initial.  
 2025           *Peridoure.* MS: an illuminated initial.  
 2032           *Elydoure.* MS: an illuminated initial.  
 2046           *Gorbonyan<sub>1</sub>.* MS: an illuminated initial.  
 2053           *Margan.* MS: an illuminated initial.  
 2060           *Enniaunus.* MS: an illuminated initial.  
 2067           *Ivalle.* MS: an illuminated initial.  
 2074           *Rymo.* MS: an illuminated initial.  
 2081           *Geyennes.* MS: an illuminated initial.  
 2088           *Katellus.* MS: an illuminated initial.  
 2095           *Coyle.* MS: an illuminated initial.  
 2102           *Porrex.* MS: an illuminated initial.  
 2109m          *Nota of drunkenes.* MS: This marginalia occurs beside 2.2114.  
 2109           *Cheryn.* MS: an illuminated initial.  
 2116           *His.* MS: an illuminated initial.  
 2137           *Urian.* MS: an illuminated initial.  
 2144           *Elyud.* MS: an illuminated initial; the rest of the name was originally in iron gall ink, but has been overwritten in red.  
 2146           *Detonus.* MS: originally written in iron gall ink, but overwritten in red.  
 2151           *Detonus.* MS: an illuminated initial.  
 2152–2259       The following words and proper names have an initial letter in red ink:  
                   *Gurgucyus* (2.2152); *Meryan* (2.2153); *Bledudo* (2.2154); *Cappe* (2.2156); *Oenus* (2.2156); *Sisilyus* (2.2157); *Bledud* (2.2158); *Than* (2.2165); *Archyvalle* (2.2165); *Eldolle* (2.2166); *Redyon* (2.2167); *Redrike* (2.2168); *Samuel* (2.2169); *Pyrre* (2.2170); *Penysselle* (2.2170); *Capoyre* (2.2171); *Elyguelle* (2.2171); *Tenvancyus* (2.2229); *CesarJulyus* (2.2232); *O* (2.2237); *For* (2.2259).

- 2178      *greteste*. MS: *grete*.
- 2179      *Hely*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 2193      *Than*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 2221      *Cassibalan*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 2238      *Belyne*. MS: initial letter originally written in iron gall ink and overwritten in red.
- 2452      *Tenvancius*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 2459m     *Kymbelyn Kynge*. MS: This part of the marginalia appears to have been added at a later stage of production.
- 2459      *Kymbelyne*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 2487      *Guydere*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 2526      *Arviragus*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 2527      *Claudius*. MS: *Claudus*.
- 2550      *At*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 2574      An early hand, apparently that of John Stow, writes “Gyldas” in the left-hand margin next to this line. See Manuscript Description.
- 2599m     This marginalia occurs beside 2.2604.
- 2599–2633 MS: The stanzas from 2.2599–2633 are quite close together, so the scribe has drawn red lines between each of them to show that they are separate.
- 2662      *Maryus*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 2697      *Coyle*. MS: an illuminated initial.

**BOOK 3**

- 1            *Aflyr*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 39           An early hand, apparently that of John Stow, writes the word “Gildas” in the left-hand margin beside this line. See Manuscript Description.
- 84           An early hand, apparently that of John Stow, writes the word “Gildas” in the left-hand margin beside this line. See Manuscript Description.
- 86           The first letter of this line has been overwritten in red ink.
- An early hand, apparently that of John Stow, writes the words “de victoria Aurelii Ambrosii” in the left-hand margin beside this line. See Manuscript Description.
- 141           *The*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 197           *Getan*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 204           *This*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 253           *Nota*. The word “Nota” occurs in the right-hand margin beside the text.
- 274m        *Principio . . . cadas*. This marginalia occurs alongside 3.279.
- 281           *Thurgh*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 281–94       The first letter of each line has been overwritten in red ink.
- 288m        *regno*. MS: *regn*, due to marginal cropping.
- 309           *But*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 311           *and*. MS: *ad*.
- 316m        This marginalia occurs alongside 3.320.
- 337           *The*. MS: an illuminated initial.

- 342           *Asclepiadote*. MS: The first letter of this word has been overwritten in red ink.
- 351m          *How the*. MS: *the* has been inserted above the line.
- 435            *Than*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 477m          *Kynge Constance*. MS: This part of the marginalia appears to have been added at a later stage of production.
- 477            *Constance*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- Before 505m    *Constantynes armes*. MS: The armes of Constantine (gules [red], a cross argent [silver]) appear in the left-hand margin.
- 505            *Constantyne*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 525            *Nota*. This word presumably draws attention to the fact that the king lived by his own means.
- 553            *That what*. MS: *That*.
- 680–81        An early hand, apparently that of John Stow, has written “Gyldas” and “Henry Huntyngdon” in the right-hand margin beside these lines.  
See Manuscript Description.
- 729            *But*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 750            *So*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 771m          *Unde . . . est*. This marginalia occurs beside 3.776–77.
- 785            *This*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 813            *The*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 848            *Conan*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 875            *ese*. MS: this word appears to have been added at a later stage of production.
- 883–90        An eight-line stanza.
- 926            *Gracyan*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 961            *Gwayns*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 979            *senatours*. MS: *sanatours*.
- 1108           *This*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 1143           *Constans*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 1220           *This*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 1278           *knyghthede*. MS: *knyghhede*.
- 1290m         MS: Multispectral analysis reveals traces of underwriting beneath the current text (observed at a wavelength of 420 nm), which originally continued for several lines after the current marginalia, but was erased by the scribe before being partially overwritten. The original text contained similar information to the current marginalia (referring to the arms containing Woden and Fry), but also cited Saint Colman as a source for the information.
- 1402m         *called*. MS: *called called*. This marginalia occurs beside 3.1403.
- 1458m         *Sapiencia . . . suaviter*. This marginalia occurs beside 3.1408.  
*of Bretayne, son of Vortygere*. MS: This part of the marginalia may have been added at a later stage of production.
- 1458           *Syr*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 1535           *This*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 1553           *surely*. MS: This word appears to have been added at a later stage of production.

- 1626m This marginalia was originally copied in iron gall ink, but has been overwritten in red.
- 1710 *Merlyn*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 1787 *Thay*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 1847 *Israelles*. MS: *Isarelles*.
- 1997 *Syr*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 2004–09 A six-line stanza.
- 2059 *Gorleys, duke of Cornewayle*. MS: The capital *G* and *C* have been overwritten in red ink.
- 2099 *of*. MS: *of of*.
- 2145 *And bade*. MS: *And*. We have followed Harker's conjectural restoration of *bade* (meaning *beseeched*), which restores the meter and is further supported by the presence of *bade* in the second version of the *Chronicle* (see Harker, "John Hardyng's Arthur," p. 226 and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Arch Selden B. 10, fol. 50r).
- 2150m *How the*. MS: *the* inserted above the line.
- 2164 An early hand, apparently that of John Stow, has written "The Saynt Grale what it is" in the left-hand margin next to this line. See Manuscript Description.
- 2197 An early hand, apparently that of John Stow, has written "Verolame, is name of Saint Albons" in the right-hand margin next to this line. See Manuscript Description.
- 2248m *Bretayne*. MS: *Br*. This marginalia is accompanied by an illustration of King Arthur's arms (with gules [red], three crowns or [gold]).
- 2248 *Arthure*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 2407 *whan*. MS: *than*.
- 2409m *Scotland*. MS: *Scoland*.
- 2414 *Out*. The first letter of this line has red ink in the center.
- 2430 *This*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 2444–57 Originally written in iron gall ink, the first letter of each line, the first letter of the proper names, and the first *e* of *erle* in each of these lines have been overwritten in red.
- 2514 *Kynge*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- the*. MS: inserted above the line.
- 2528–33 A six-line stanza.
- 2541m *he*. MS: inserted above the line.
- 2564–71 The first letter of each proper name is overwritten in red.
- 2567 *Colygrenauntt*. MS: *Colgrenauitt*.
- 2625 *But*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 2668 *Chartres*. MS: *Chartes*.
- 2709m *Table*. MS: inserted above the line.
- 2715 *is*. MS: *his*.
- 2744 *This*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 2759 *philosophres*. MS: *phlosophres*.
- 2947m MS: The multispectral analysis of this marginalia undertaken by The British Library was unable to clarify whether the smudge observed

- behind *as the grete story of þe Saynt Graal propentes* was indicative of underwriting. The shadows may be from the text overleaf.
- Perlouse*. MS: *Pelouse*, due to cropping.
- Table<sub>2</sub>*. MS: *Tabl*, due to cropping.
- the<sub>7</sub>*. MS: *the of*.
- contened*. MS: *contene*, due to cropping.
- 2979–81      The first letter of each line has been overwritten in red.
- 3038m      *swerde*. MS: inserted above the line.
- 3115m      Underneath this marginalia an early hand, apparently that of John Stow, has written “Gildas de gestis arthur.” See Manuscript Description.
- 3136m      *he*. MS: inserted above the line.
- 3207      *mynstralsy*. MS: *mystralsy*.
- 3227      *Lucyus*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 3276      *Arthure*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 3311m      *inperium*. MS: *in*. The rest of the text appears to be in the gutter of the manuscript, but it is difficult to see due to the tight binding.
- totius*. MS: *to*. The rest of the text appears to be in the gutter of the manuscript, but it is difficult to see due to the tight binding.
- Romani*. MS: *Romane*.
- 3319      *Senate*. MS: *Sanate*.
- 3419      *to*. MS: *to to*.
- 3463      *Quyntylian*. MS: *Quytylian*.
- 3535–76      Each stanza begins with an illuminated initial. Some of the proper names in the text begin with a red initial up to *kynge Arthure* at 3.3556.
- 3605      *Kynge<sub>1</sub>*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 3615      *ennemyse*. MS: *ennemyse*.
- 3634      *doun*. MS: *doum*.
- 3843m      This marginalia occurs alongside 3.3842.
- 3906      *Kynge*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 3907      *aventurous*. MS: *aventrorse*.
- 3920m      This marginalia occurs alongside 3.3924.
- 3948      *Aurelyus*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 3963      *transmutacioun*. MS: *transmuitacioun*.
- 3969      *Than*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 3976      *Malgo*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 3997      *Careys*. MS: an illuminated initial.
- 4004      An early hand has written “Bretons” in large letters in the left-hand margin next to this line. Other annotations by this hand include 1.197–203, 4.42, 6.1, 6.295, 6.332, and 6.346.

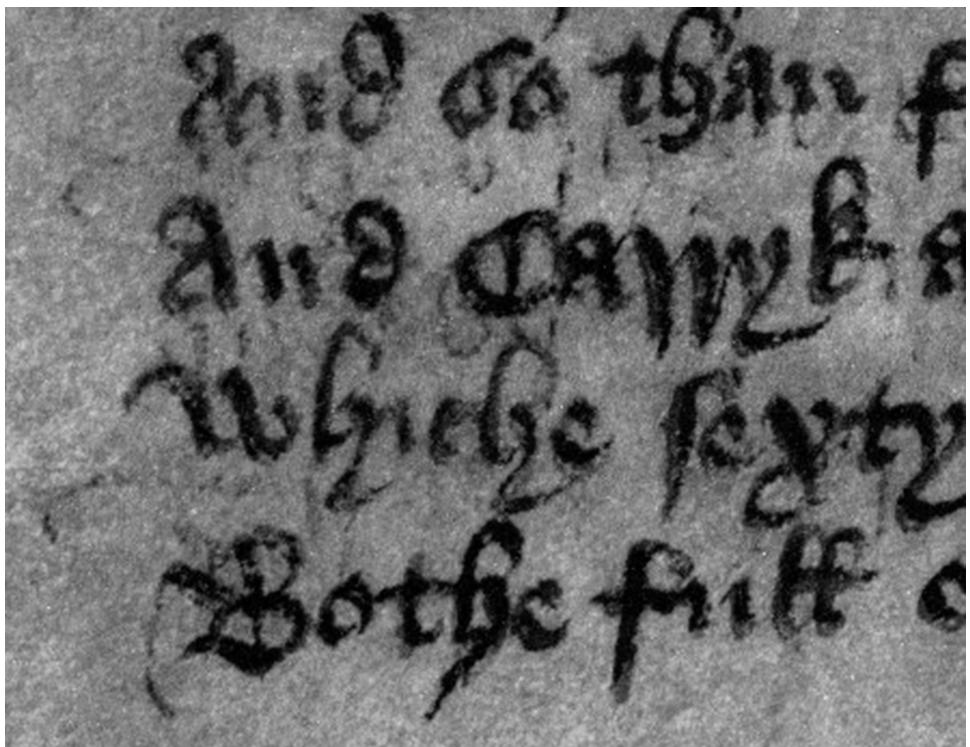


Figure 11. Folio 225v, stanza 6. Underwriting is observed in between the lines. Image captured at 420 nm on the electromagnetic spectrum. Photo courtesy of Dr. Christina Duffy, Conservation Science Team, The British Library and The British Library.



Figure 12. Folio 226v–227r, Map of Scotland. Original designs for the building structures are observed at 1000 nm on the electromagnetic spectrum. Photo courtesy of Dr. Christina Duffy, Conservation Science Team, The British Library and The British Library.



## INDEX OF NAMES AND PLACES

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**ABBREVIATIONS:** **HB:** Nennius, *Historia Brittonum*; **HRB:** Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*; **m:** marginalia; **RMB:** Robert Mannyng of Brunne, *The Chronicle*.

- Aarone (Aaron, Aron):** 3.387, 3.2806, 3.2893, 3.2897. Saint Aaron.
- Abdon:** 2.229. Abdon, Judge of Israel.
- Abyrford:** 3.1466. Aberford.
- Adam:** 1.319, 2.10, 2.44, 2.57m, 2.57, 2.1738. Adam, the first man.
- Agag (Agage):** 3.1817, 3.1822. Agag, King of the Amalekites.
- Aganype:** 2.1241, 2.1281. Aganippus, King of France, married to the youngest daughter of King Leyre, Cordele.
- Aggeos:** 2.1141. Haggai, prophet at the time of King Leyle.
- Agneth Mounte:** 2.1052. Mount Agned or Agnes, name of the rock upon which sits Edinburgh Castle.
- Agrestes:** 2.2613m, 2.2642, 3.99m, 3.100. Agrestes, responsible for throwing the cross of the North Door made by Joseph of Arimathea into the sea.
- Agrippe:** 1.203. An error for Agrippa Silvius?
- Aguselle (Agusel):** 3.2427, 3.2458, 3.2814, 3.3535, 3.3584, 3.3627, 3.3745, 3.3767. Auguselus, King of Albany.
- Albanacte (Albanactus):** 2.800m, 2.800, 2.807m, 2.841, 2.842, 2.849m, 3.2427. Albanactus, youngest son of Brute.
- Albane, Seint:** 3.379m, 3.387, 3.394. Saint Alban.
- Albany:** 2.786m, 2.801, 2.839, 2.840, 2.849m, 2.870, 2.955, 2.1045, 2.1067, 2.1130, 2.1290m, 2.1318m, 2.1443, 2.1563m, 2.1564, 2.1639, 2.1752m, 2.1759m, 2.1761, 2.1980, 2.2334, 2.2672, 2.2684, 3.69, 3.141m, 3.152, 3.286, 3.293, 3.296, 3.297, 3.344, 3.750, 3.987, 3.1310, 3.2184, 3.2304m, 3.2309, 3.2415, 3.2423m, 3.2424, 3.2458m, 3.2778, 3.2814m, 3.2842, 3.3195, 3.3305, 3.3535, 3.3730, 3.3745. Albany, the ancient name for Scotland, named after Albanacte.
- Albion (Albyon):** 1.1m, 1.197m, 1.219, f. 8v, 1.317, 2.1m, 2.417, 2.554m, 2.558, 2.567, 2.632, 2.675, 2.769, 2.2476. Albion, the ancient name of Great Britain.
- Albyne:** 1.1m, 1.16, 1.176m, 1.172, 1.197m, 1.218, 1.283, 2.646. Albina, mythical founder of Albion.
- Alclude:** 2.1031m, 2.1066m, 2.1066, 2.1979, 2.2042, 3.2044, 3.2381m, 3.2382, 3.2386, 3.2919, 3.2919m. Alclud, a city in Albany (Scotland) associated with Dumbarton.
- Aldburgh:** 2.2045. Aldeburgh.

- Aldroene:** 3.1060, 3.1087.  
Aldroenus, fourth King of Brittany.
- Alecte:** 2.28. Alecto, one of the Erinyes, or Furies, in Greek mythology.
- Alfridum Beverlaicensem:** 2.1689m. Alfred of Beverley.
- Allechte:** 3.309m, 3.316m, 3.317, 3.351. Allectus, King of Britain.
- Almayne:** 2.1689m, 2.1690, 2.1695, 3.827m, 3.913, 3.2679, 3.3366. Germany.
- Alsynges:** 2.1599. Elsingius, King of Norway, whose daughter is coveted by Brenny.
- Alverede:** 2.1857. King Alfred.
- Ambrius (Ambrii):** 3.1581, 3.1611. Ambrius, alleged founder of a religious house at Mount Ambri (equated with Amesbury).
- Ambry, Mounte:** 3.1905. Mount Ambri, the location of the religious house founded by Ambrius.
- Amorawde:** 3.2457. Amoraud, Earl of Exeter, Knight of the Round Table. Possibly derived from Amorand in RMB 1.10895.
- Amos:** 2.1141, 2.1166, 2.1181. Amos, prophet at the time of King Leyle.
- Amphybale (Amphibale):** 3.393, 3.1145, 3.3918. Saint Amphibalus.
- Ampuleyus:** 3. 1693. Apuleius; the work referred to by him in the text is *De deo Socratis*.
- Anacletoun (Anacletus):** 2.378, 2.387, 2.393, 2.426. Anacletus, comrade of King Pandrase.
- Anchises:** 2.122, 2.148, 2.158, 2.346. Anchises, father of Eneas.
- Andragius (Andragyus):** 2.2116m, 2.2117, 2.2121. Andragius, King of Britain, youngest son of Cheryn.
- Androgodus (Andragyus, Andragius, Andrage, Androge):** 2.2226, 2.2228, 2.2326m, 2.2354m, 2.2360, 2.2363, 2.2368, 2.2389m, 2.2390, 2.2399, 2.2401, 2.2409, 2.2438, 3.3286. Androgeus, Lord of London, Duke of Kent, eldest son of Lud.
- Anglia:** 2.730m. England.
- Anne:** 3.2188, 3.2508, 3.2574. Anne, daughter of Utore Pendragon and Igerne, sister of King Arthure, wife of Loth of Louthianne.
- Anthenores Posterius:** 2.734. Antenor, a Trojan lord.
- Antigonus (Antigonyse, Antigone):** 2.377, 2.389, 2.426. Antigonus, brother of King Pandrase.
- Antioche (Antyoche):** 2.2571m, 2.2579. Antioch.
- Appolyne:** 2.765, 2.1192. The god Apollo.
- Aquitayne (Aquytayne):** 2.513, 3.2658. Aquitaine.
- Ara Cely:** 3.678. The church of Santa Maria in Ara Coeli, Rome.
- Archyvalle:** 2.2165m, 2.2165. Archmail, King of Britain.
- Argalle:** 2.1955m, 2.1955, 2.1962m, 2.1972, 2.1989, 2.1997m, 2.1997, 2.2053m, 2.2053, 2.2060m. Archgallo, King of Britain, second son of Mowyde.
- Argalle:** 3.2449. Argall, or Artgualchar, Earl of Warwick, Knight of the Round Table.
- Armoryke:** 3.827m, 3.834. Armorica, the ancient name for Brittany.
- Arriens erresyes:** 3.659m, 3.661, 3.664. The Arian heresy.
- Arrogoyne (Aragoyne):** 3.2672, 3.3361. Aragon.
- Arthure (Arthuri, Arthur, Arthurus):** 2.1061, 3.1626m, 3.2052m, 3.2108, 3.2169, 3.2248m, 3.2276m, 3.2304m, 3.2345, 3.2346m, 3.2369, 3.2381m,

- 3.2381, 3.2395m, 3.2398,  
 3.2423m, 3.2429, 3.2430m,  
 3.2430, 3.2486m, 3.2514,  
 3.2541m, 3.2573, 3.2576m,  
 3.2581, 3.2625m, 3.2627, 3.2636,  
 3.2641, 3.2644, 3.2646, 3.2652,  
 3.2662, 3.2664, 3.2667m,  
 3.2709m, 3.2730, 3.2744m,  
 3.2819, 3.2947m, 3.2967,  
 3.2989m, 3.3017m, 3.3095,  
 3.3115m, 3.3136m, 3.3145,  
 3.3185m, 3.3231, 3.3276m,  
 3.3276, 3.3346m, 3.3346, 3.3354,  
 3.3367m, 3.3367, 3.3372, 3.3381,  
 3.3395, 3.3397, 3.3304, 3.3414,  
 3.3417, 3.3437m, 3.3437, 3.3454,  
 3.3470, 3.3508, 3.3526, 3.3556m,  
 3.3556, 3.3570, 3.3584m, 3.3605,  
 3.3619m, 3.3619, 3.3654, 3.3665,  
 3.3681, 3.3710, 3.3724m, 3.3725,  
 3.3738, 3.3742, 3.3749, 3.3752m,  
 3.3753, 3.3758, 3.3759, 3.3763,  
 3.3766, 3.3777, 3.3782, 3.3809,  
 3.3812, 3.3815, 3.3825, 3.3829,  
 3.3848, 3.3850m, 3.3861, 3.3863,  
 3.3871m, 3.3909. Arthur, King of  
 Britain, son of Utore Pendragon.
- Arvyragere (Arvyragus, Arviragus, Advyragus):** 2.2506, 2.2518,  
 2.2522m, 2.2526, 2.2529, 2.2536,  
 2.2550m, 2.2565, 2.2613m,  
 2.2648, 2.2655m, 2.2655.  
 Arviragus, King of Britain,  
 second son of Kymbelyn, brother  
 of Guydere.
- Asaph:** 2.1103. Asaph, a prophet in  
 Israel at the time of King  
 Ebrauke.
- Ascanyus (Askanyus):** 2.151, 2.157,  
 2.243, 2.257, 2.266. Ascanius, son  
 of Eneas.
- Aschille:** 3.2783, 3.3542. Aschil,  
 King of Denmark.
- Asclepiadote:** 3.337m, 3.342, 3.356,  
 3.408, 3.428, 3.445.  
 Asclepiodotus, King of Britain.
- Askalone:** 2.374. A river in Greece,  
 where Brute defeats King  
 Pandrase, derived from Geoffrey  
 of Monmouth's "Akalon,"  
 probably an error for the River  
 Acheron.
- Assarak:** 2.1095. Assaracus, son of  
 Ebrauke.
- Assuere:** 2.1748. Ahasuerus, King of  
 Persia, or Artaxerxes II.
- Aube:** 2.270. Alba, or Alba Longa,  
 legendary birthplace of the  
 founders of Rome, Romulus and  
 Remus.
- Aufrike:** 2.164, 2. 486, 3.1911.  
 Africa.
- Augustinum:** 2.1738m. Saint  
 Augustine.
- Augustudoun:** 3.3522.  
 Augustodunum, or Autun.
- Aungoy:** 3.2740. Anjou.
- Aurelii Ambrosii, see Aurilyus  
 Ambrosius.**
- Aurelius Conan (Aurelyus Conan):**  
 3.3948m, 3.3948. Aurelius  
 Conanus, King of Britain,  
 successor of Constantyne III.
- Aurilyus Ambrosius (Aurilius,  
 Aurelyus, Aurilius Ambros,  
 Auril Ambros):**, 3.86, 3.1125,  
 3.1126, 3.1626m, 3.1783,  
 3.1787m, 3.1787, 3.1801m,  
 3.1857m, 3.1962m, 3.1997m,  
 3.2021. Aurelius Ambrosius,  
 second son of Constantyne II,  
 King of Britain, brother to  
 Constance and Utore Pendragon.
- Austria.** See **Ostryche.**
- Avalon (Avaloun, Avalone):**  
 3.2150m, 3.2593, 3.3038m,  
 3.3052, 3.3136m, 3.3153, 3.3166,  
 3.3830, 3.3844, 3.3850m. The Isle  
 of Avalon, also associated with  
 Glastonbury.
- Awbe:** 2.1722, 3.3438. The River  
 Allia, which flows into the Tiber  
 near Rome; the site of Belyn and

- Brenny's battle against the Romans.** At 3.3438 Hardyng confuses the River Aube in Burgundy for the Allia.
- Awmesbury:** 3.1580. Amesbury, or more specifically the religious house allegedly founded there by Ambrius.
- Azarius (Azarias):** 2.1141, 2.1167, 2.1182. Azariah, prophet at the time of King Leyle.
- Bachus:** 2.31, 3.2872. Bacchus, God of wine.
- Baldulf (Baldulfe):** 3.2291, 3.2297, 3.2327, 3.2346m, 3.2346, 3.2368. Baldulf, brother of Colgrym, the Saxon leader.
- Bamburgh:** 2.1035, 3.2585. Bamburgh Castle, Northumberland; also called Mounte Dolorouse.
- Bangore:** 3.3934. Bangor.
- Barflete:** 3.3357. Barfleur.
- Barent:** 3.2446. Barent, Earl of Cirencester, Knight of the Round Table (possibly derived from Baruc of Cirencester in RMB 1.10897).
- Bassian (Bassyan):** 3.197m, 3.201, 3.204m, 3.204, 3.206, 3.211m, 3.233, 3.240, 3.325. Bassanius, son of Severe by a British woman and brother of Getan.
- Bathe:** 2.1173, 3.2346m, 3.2356, 3.2359. Bath; see also **Caerbladon**.
- Bayoun:** 3.3711. Bayeux.
- Bayre,** 3.2682. ?The ancient Duchy of Bar (Bar-le-duc), France; ?Baar, Germany; or ?Bavaria, from the German Beiern.
- Beaufort, Henry:** 1.1m. Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester and Cardinal.
- Bede (Bedam):** 2.2418, 3.176m, 3.178, 3.189, 3.975m, 3.1024m, 3.1047, 3.2919m. Bede.
- Bedwere:** 3.2569, 3.2737, 3.2863, 3.3381, 3.3395, 3.3399, 3.3404, 3.3410, 3.3419, 3.3518, 3.3547, 3.3624, 3.3711. Sir Bedivere, Knight of the Round Table, Duke of Normandy.
- Belyn (Belyne):** 2.1556m, 2.1560, 2.1563m, 2.1567, 2.1570, 2.1577m, 2.1602, 2.1612m, 2.1619, 2.1624, 2.1627, 2.1633, 2.1654m, 2.1658, 2.1662, 2.1683, 2.1689m, 2.1708, 2.1713, 2.1722, 2.1732, 2.1752m, 2.1752, 2.1759, 2.2238, 3.3304m, 3.3304. Belinus, King of Britain and elder son of King Dunwallo.
- Besaunse:** 3.669. Byzantium.
- Bewes:** 3.2456, 3.3445, 3.3516, 3.3540. Beus, Earl of Oxford, Knight of the Round Table (possibly derived from Beus of Oxford in RMB 1.10890).
- Bewes of Corbenny:** 3.2570. A knight of the Round Table.
- Bilyngate (Belyngate):** 2.1773m, 2.1785. Billingsgate, London.
- Bladud:** 2.1171m, 2.1171, 2.1185. Bladud, King of Loegria.
- Blake Chapelle:** 3.3846. The Black Chapel at Glastonbury.
- Bledud Gabred:** 2.2151m, 2.2158. Beldgabred, King of Britain.
- Bledudo:** 2.2151m, 2.2154. Bledudo, King of Britain.
- Boloyne:** 2.2234, 3.3642. Boulogne.
- Bors (Borse):** 3.2569, 3.3108, 3.3134. Sir Bors, Knight of the Round Table.
- Braban:** 3.2681, 3.3364. Brabant.
- Brenny (Brenne):** 2.1563m, 2.1563, 2.1577m, 2.1591m, 2.1595, 2.1612m, 2.1626, 2.1640, 2.1654m, 2.1655, 2.1680, 2.1689m, 2.1708, 2.1713, 2.1722,

2.1732, 2.1752m, 2.1752, 2.1755,  
 2.2238, 3.3304m, 3.3305.  
 Brennius, younger son of King  
 Dunwallo, brother of Belyn.  
**Bretayne (Bretayn, Brytayne,**  
**Britania, Breteyne, Grete**  
**Bretayne, More Bretayne,**  
**Britayne, Bretayne Grete, Grete**  
**Bretayn, Britonum, Britannie):**  
 1.313, 2.1m, 2.554m, 2.618m,  
 2.619, 2.635, 2.667m, 2.672,  
 2.701, 2.730m, 2.745, 2.751m,  
 2.786m, 2.820, 2.828, 2.834,  
 2.1126, 2.1285, 2.1312, 2.1324,  
 2.1444, 2.1495, 2.1536, 2.1557,  
 2.1752m, 2.1754, 2.1802, 2.1840,  
 2.1842, 2.1843, 2.1851, 2.2151,  
 2.2235m, 2.2236, 2.2256m,  
 2.2325, 2.2326m, 2.2333,  
 2.2389m, 2.2432, 2.2455,  
 2.2459m, 2.2481, 2.2538, 2.2565,  
 2.2566, 2.2571m, 2.2612,  
 2.2613m, 2.2614, 2.2621, 2.2664,  
 3.1m, 3.8m, 3.21, 3.44, 3.99m,  
 3.124, 3.141m, 3.146, 3.149,  
 3.155m, 3.157, 3.203, 3.213,  
 3.252, 3.294, 3.311, 3.317, 3.322,  
 3.379m, 3.382, 3.385, 3.390,  
 3.407, 3.435m, 3.439, 3.447,  
 3.458, 3.463m, 3.470, 3.477m,  
 3.479, 3.483, 3.541, 3.735, 3.743,  
 3.750m, 3.756, 3.767, 3.785,  
 3.809, 3.831, 3.839, 3.841, 3.850,  
 3.855m, 3.855, 3.860, 3.863,  
 3.890, 3.927, 3.941, 3.955,  
 3.961m, 3.962, 3.964, 3.972,  
 3.975m, 3.1001, 3.1009, 3.1035,  
 3.1059m, 3.1093, 3.1094m,  
 3.1108m, 3.1123, 3.1290m,  
 3.1305, 3.1400, 3.1434, 3.1458m,  
 3.1490, 3.1542m, 3.1607,  
 3.1619m, 3.1626m, 3.1767,  
 3.1787m, 3.1871m, 3.1902,  
 3.1919, 3.1926, 3.1962m, 3.1969,  
 3.2053, 3.2150m, 3.2168,  
 3.2276m, 3.2576m, 3.2579,  
 3.2582, 3.2717, 3.2744m, 3.2744,

3.2787, 3.2789, 3.2949, 3.3136m,  
 3.3137, 3.3231, 3.3252, 3.3276,  
 3.3285, 3.3334, 3.3336, 3.3367m,  
 3.3724m, 3.3724, 3.3726, 3.3735,  
 3.3953, 3.4010. Britain.

**Bretelle:** 3.2089. Britaelis, a servant  
 of Gorloys, whose resemblance  
 Merlyne magically adopts to help  
 Utere infiltrate Tintagel Castle.

**Brute (Bruti, Brutus):** 1.232m,  
 1.287, 1.309m, 1.310, 2.1m, 2.4,  
 2.13, 2.57m, 2.250, 2.259, 2.275,  
 2.313, 2.326, 2.337m, 2.337,  
 2.361m, 2.363, 2.370, 2.371,  
 2.380, 2.382, 2.385, 2.389, 2.399,  
 2.403, 2.417m, 2.417, 2.460,  
 2.497m, 2.507, 2.509, 2.532,  
 2.540, 2.543, 2.554m, 2.562,  
 2.575, 2.586m, 2.586, 2.589,  
 2.596, 2.600, 2.604, 2.615,  
 2.618m, 2.618, 2.621, 2.636,  
 2.639m, 2.665, 2.667m, 2.667,  
 2.721, 2.723, 2.730m, 2.786m,  
 2.786, 2.819, 2.828, 2.1075,  
 2.1107, 2.1333, 2.2242, 2.2245,  
 2.2475, 3.3299. Brutus, the  
 mythical founder of Britain.

**Brute Grenesheelde (Brutus**  
**Grenesheeld):** 2.1115m, 2.1115.  
 Brutus Greenshield, King of  
 Britain.

**Brute, the grete (Boke of Brute):**  
 2.1m, 2.2431. A Book of Brute,  
 probably *HRB* rather than a Prose  
*Brut*.

**Budyce:** 3.1218. Budicius, the King  
 of Brittany that takes care of  
 Aurilyus Ambrosius and Utere  
 Pendragon in their youth.

**Burgoyne:** 2.1612, 2.1646, 2.1653,  
 2.1654m, 3.2674, 3.3363.  
 Burgundy.

**Cadore (Cador):** 3.2295, 3.2374,  
 3.2432, 3.2465, 3.2785, 3.2818,  
 3.3518, 3.3536, 3.3627, 3.3823,  
 3.3824, 3.3906m, 3.3907. Cador,

Duke of Cornwall, son of Gorloys, Knight of the Round Table, and father of Constantyne III.

**Caerbladon:** 2.1173. Bath.

**Caercaredot:** 3.1579. Salisbury.

**Caercolim:** 3.436. Colchester.

**Caerglou (Caergloy):** 2.2558, 2.2560, 3.134. Gloucester.

**Caergwent:** 2.1158, 3.1143, 3.1628, 3.746, 3.748. Winchester.

**Caerkent:** 2.1157, 3.1235. Canterbury. See also **Cauntyrbyry** and **Doroberny**.

**Caerlegion (Caerlegioun, Caerlegyoun):** 2.2634, 3.70, 3.99. The City of Legions, equated with Caerleon, see also **Caerlioun**.

**Caerleyle (Caerleyl, Carlele):** 2.1066m, 2.1131, 2.1132, 2.1150, 2.2003, 3.2586, 3.2919m. Carlisle.

**Caerleyre:** 2.1201, 2.1279, 2.1301. Leicester.

**Caerlioun (Carlyoun, Caerlyoun, Carlioun):** 2.1752m, 2.1768, 2.1848, 2.1877, 2.2613m, 3.43m, 3.64m, 3.1922, 3.2256, 3.2591, 3.2718, 3.2725, 3.2744m, 3.2746, 3.2794, 3.2905m, 3.2952, 3.3185m, 3.3191, 3.3337, 3.3797, 3.3864, 3.3920m, 3.3925. Caerleon. See also **Caerlegion**.

**Caerludcourte:** 3.1627, 3.2323. Lincoln.

**Caermardyn:** 3.1649, 3.1666. Carmarthen.

**Caerpaldoure:** 2.1159. Shaftsbury.

**Caerpenelgorte:** 2.2593. Exeter.

**Caerperis (Kaereperis):** 2.2502, 3.744. Porchester.

**Caersegent:** 3.2254. A correct identification of this location is difficult because the context of Hardyn's reference to it is hindered by his use of two confused sources (see Explanatory Note 3.2448–80). He may have

believed it was the ancient name for Silchester, but the correct identification is probably Caernarfon.

**Caersyry (Caercry):** 3.1110, 3.2253. Cirencester.

**Caeruske:** 2.1752m, 2.1769, 2.1772. The City of Legions, associated with Caerleon. See also **Caerlegion** and **Caerlioun**.

**Calabre:** 2.1702. Calabria, Italy.

**Calathere:** 2.1638, 2.1971. The forest of Calaterium in Albany, where Belyn and Brenny fight, and Elydoure meets his brother. Taken from Geoffrey of Monmouth, it may derive from Calatria, an area of the Scottish lowlands associated with the Calders in Midlothian.

**Caliburne:** 3.2489, 3.2652, 3.2666, 3.3408, 3.3778. Caliburn, the name of Arthure's sword.

**Calidoun:** 3.2335. Celidon Wood, Lincoln.

**Caliope:** 2.24. The goddess Calliope, muse of epic poetry.

**Camalot:** 3.3191. Camelot. Hardyn equates this with Caerleon; see **Caerlioun**.

**Camber (Cambre):** 2.793m, 2.793, 2.805, 2.807m. Camber, or Kamber, second son of Brute. See also **Gales**.

**Camblayne:** 3.3759m, 3.3760, 3.3825. The scene of Arthure's last battle with Mordred, which Hardyn appears to identify with the River Camel in Cornwall.

**Cambre (Camber, Cambry, Kambre):** 2.786m, 2.794, 2.795, 2.849, 2.1442, 2.1561, 2.2334, 2.2635, 3.70, 3.344, 3.1158, 3.1635, 3.1662, 3.1710m. Wales; see also **Gales**.

**Campany:** 2.1702. Campania, Italy.

- Capoyre:** 2.2165m, 2.2171, 2.2172.  
Capoir, King of Britain.
- Cappe:** 2.2151m, 2.2156. Cap, King of Britain.
- Carauce (Karause, Carause, Karauce):** 3.197m, 3.210, 3.211m, 3.211, 3.239, 3.281m, 3.281, 3.310, 3.316m, 3.319, 3.323. Carausius, King of Britain.
- Cardyfe:** 3.2590. Cardiff.
- Cardynal of Wynchester,** see **Beaufort, Henry.**
- Careys (Careyse):** 3.3969m, 3.3997m, 3.3997, 3.4007. Kereric, King of Britain.
- Carlud (Caerlud):** 2.2193m, 2.2200m, 2.2207, 3.99m, 3.2323. London. See also **New Troy.**
- Carnarvan:** 3.2590. Caernarfon.
- Carodoch (Cradocke):** 3.799, 3.857. Caradoc, Duke of Cornwall.
- Carolle (Carolle of Geants, Geants Carolle, Karolle):** 3.1871m, 3.1898, 3.1953, 3.1996, 3.2214, 3.3946. The ancient name for Stonehenge.
- Cartage:** 2.2351. Carthage.
- Cassibalan (Cassibalayne):** 2.2221m, 2.2221, 2.2251, 2.2284, 2.2326m, 2.2326, 2.2352, 2.2364, 2.2396, 2.2445. Cassivelaunus, King of Britain, brother of Lud, second son of Ely.
- Castele:** 3.2673. Castille.
- Castre (Castre on the Walde):** 2.2186, 3.1402m. Caistor, Lincolnshire. See also **Thwongcastre.**
- Categerne (Katygerne):** 3.1417, 3.1469. Katigern, second son of Vortyger.
- Cateloyn,** 3.2673: Catalonia.
- Cathleus,** 3.2469: A Knight of the Round Table. The name derives from Cathleus Mapcatel in *HRB* §156.
- Cattenesse:** 2.2662m, 2.2683. Caithness.
- Cauntyrbyry (Caunterbyry):** 2.1157, 3.1235. Canterbury. See also **Caerkent and Doroberny.**
- Caynaan:** 2.61. Kenan, son of Enos, father of Malaleel.
- Celi:** 2.73. According to the genealogy that Hardyng follows, Celi is the father of Saturnus.
- Cerbery:** 2.31. Cerberus, guardian of Hades.
- Ceres:** 2.27. The goddess Ceres.
- Cesar, Julius (Julius Cesar, Cesare, Cesare, Cesare Julyus):** 2.2232, 2.2235m, 2.2256m, 2.2259, 2.2298, 2.2303, 2.2309, 2.2320, 2.2347m, 2.2349, 2.2354m, 2.2377, 2.2378, 2.2389m, 2.2389, 2.2398, 2.2411, 2.2423, 3.3284. Julius Caesar.
- Cesare Auguste:** 2.2462, 2.2466. Augustus Caesar.
- Chanaan:** 1.176m. Canaan.
- Chartres:** 3.2668. Chartres.
- Cheldrike:** 3.3728, 3.3739, 3.3779. Cheldric, a Saxon who supports Mordred against King Arthur and is killed by Arthur.
- Cheldryke (Cheldrike):** 3.2304m, 3.2305, 3.2346m, 3.2346, 3.2376. Cheldric, a Saxon leader, who is killed by Cadore, Duke of Cornwall.
- Cherdike:** 3.1448. Cherdic, a companion of Octa and Ebissa.
- Cheryn:** 2.2109m, 2.2109. Cherin, King of Britain, son of **Porrex II.**
- Chynoun:** 3.3712. Chinon.
- Cichen:** 1.176m. Shechem.
- Claudyus (Claudius):** 2.2501, 2.2504, 2.2527, 2.2543m, 2.2543, 2.2557m, 2.2557, 2.2654, 2.2668. The Emperor Claudius.
- Claudyus:** 3.3109. Cladius, a French Knight, who joins the Order of the Holy Grail.

**Clenyus:** 3.2466. A Knight of the Round Table. The name is probably derived from Cheneus Mapcoil in *HRB* §156.

**Clifford:** 3.2224. Either Thomas Clifford, Eighth Baron Clifford, or his son John, Ninth Baron Clifford (see Explanatory Note 3.2220–26).

**Cloarke, Mounte:** 3.1778. The hill on which Vortygere's castle stands; possibly associated with Little Doward, Herefordshire.

**Cloten:** 2.1437m, 2.1437, 2.1498, 2.1500. Cloten, King of Cornwall during the civil war that follows the death of Porrex.

**Coile II (Coule, Coyle, Coylus):** 2.2662m, 2.2697, 3.1, 3.3. Coilus, King of Britain, son of **Marius**.

**Colayn:** 3.899. Cologne.

**Colchester:** 3.436. Colchester.

**Colegrenauntt:** 3.2567. Sir Calogrenant or Colgrevance, a Knight of the Round Table.

**Colflaut:** 3.2471. Clofaut, a Knight of the Round Table.

**Colgrym (Coligrym, Colgryme):** 3.2283, 3.2288, 3.2327, 3.2346m, 3.2346, 3.2368. Colgrin, a Saxon leader, brother to Baldulf.

**Colman:** 1.1m, 1.197m. Saint Colman, bishop of Lindisfarne. See Explanatory Note 1.1m.

**Conan:** 3.1808. Conisbrough.

**Conan Mariadoch:** 3.792, 3.816, 3.822, 3.838, 3.848, 3.855m, 3.855, 3.874, 3.1062. Conanus Meridiadocus, King of Brittany.

**Condage (Cundage):** 2.1290m, 2.1291, 2.1306, 2.1310, 2.1315, 2.1318m, 2.1320. Cunedagius, Duke of Cornwall, son of Ragewe.

**Connesburgh:** 3.1809. Conisbrough.

**Constance (Constans):** 3.1124, 3.1129, 3.1143m, 3.1143, 3.1157m, 3.1281, 3.1325, 3.1792. Constance, eldest son of

Constantyne II, King of Britain, and brother to Aurilyus Ambrosius and Utete Pendragon.

**Constance (Constans, Constaunce):** 3.463m, 3.465, 3.473, 3.477m, 3.477, 3.499, 3.503, 3.3316. Constantius, Roman Senator, King of Britain, father of Constantyne I.

**Constantyne I (Constantine):** 3.491, 3.505m, 3.505, 3.526m, 3.532, 3.543, 3.554, 3.575m, 3.576, 3.582m, 3.583, 3.603, 3.617m, 3.659m, 3.665, 3.670, 3.680, 3.687m, 3.705, 3.715m, 3.730, 3.732, 3.804, 3.3311m, 3.3315, 3.3320. Constantine I, Emperor and King of Britain.

**Constantyne II (Constantine):** 3.1052m, 3.1094m, 3.1094, 3.1108m, 3.1108, 3.1143m, 3.1762. Constantine II, King of Britain, brother of Aldroene, King of Brittany.

**Constantyne III:** 3.3823, 3.3906m, 3.3906, 3.3913, 3.3917, 3.3941, 3.3952. Constantine, son of Cadore, King of Britain after King Arthure.

**Conwen:** 2.1666. Queen Conwenna, mother of Belyn and Brenny.

**Cordele (Cordeyle):** 2.1227, 2.1243, 2.1263. Cordelia, youngest daughter of King Leyre.

**Cornewayle (Cornwail, Cornwaille, Cornwaylle, Cornewail, Cornewaylle):** Cornwall, 2.630, 2.751m, 2.917, 2.922, 2.938, 2.1020, 2.1234m, 2.1240, 2.1291, 2.1437, 2.2227, 2.2452, 3.65, 3.341, 3.799, 3.856, 3.2031, 3.2059, 3.2295, 3.2465, 3.2592, 3.2785, 3.2814m, 3.2818, 3.2842m, 3.2844, 3.2947m, 3.2989m, 3.3038m, 3.3536, 3.3757, 3.3759m, 3.3827, 3.3906m. Cornwall.

- Coryneus:** 2.497m, 2.505, 2.520, 2.540, 2.543, 2.563, 2.586m, 2.595, 2.602, 2.629, 2.631, 2.884, 2.912, 2.919, 2.960. Corineus, a Trojan leader, companion to Brute, and eponymous founder of Cornwall.
- Coyle I:** 2.2095m, 2.2095. Coilus, King of Britain, son of Katellus.
- Coyle III:** 3.435m, 3.437, 3.449, 3.471, 3.475. Coel, Duke of Colchester, King of Britain, father of Seynt Elene.
- Cradocke, see Carodoch.**
- Crete:** 2.71, 2.73. According to the genealogy that Hardyng follows, Crete is the mythical founder of Crete.
- Creusa:** 2.250, 2.261, 2.273. Hardyng's Creusa is the mother of Brute, but in Greek mythology she is the daughter of Priamus.
- Crocea Mors:** 2.2301. "Yellow Death," the name of Julius Caesar's sword.
- Cronica Brutii:** 2.1m. The Chronicles of Brute, a reference to the *HRB*. See also **Brute, the grete.**
- Cryste (Criste, Cryste, Jhesu):** 2.572, 2.1740, 2.2459m, 2.2468, 2.2471, 2.2473m, 2.2474, 2.2479, 2.2480, 2.2483, 2.2487m, 2.2495, 2.2544, 2.2613, 2.2617, 2.2637, 2.2640, 3.18, 3.29m, 3.29, 3.37, 3.42, 3.71, 3.73, 3.80, 3.179, 3.184, 3.372m, 3.385, 3.397, 3.421, 3.498, 3.575, 3.596, 3.609, 3.651, 3.667, 3.673, 3.676, 3.694m, 3.703, 3.894, 3.931, 3.938, 3.1046, 3.2157, 3.2164, 3.2166, 3.3123, 3.3181, 3.3836. Christ.
- Cumbyrnalde:** 3.2584. An error for Cumbyrlande (Cumberland).
- Cupido:** 2.30. Cupid, the god of Love.
- Curson (Cursale):** 3.2450, 3.3552, 3.3643. Cursalem, Earl of Chester, Knight of the Round Table.
- Cypre:** 2.70. According to the genealogy that Hardyng follows, Cypre is the mythical founder of Cyprus.
- Cypres:** 2.70. Cyprus.
- Cyrcester (Cyrcestre):** 3.1110, 3.2253. Cirencester. See also **Caersyry.**
- Cythym:** 2.69. Kittim, son of Javan.
- Danaus:** 1.176m. Danaus, King of Greece, father of Albyne. In classical mythology he is the father of the Danaïds.
- Danen Hylle:** 3.2029. Mount Damen, the site of one of Utere's battles.
- Danmarke (Denmarke, Danmark, Dannemarke):** 2.1612m, 2.1612, 2.1801m, 2.1815, 2.1819, 3.2486m, 3.2495, 3.2783, 3.3112, 3.3194, 3.3542, 3.3980. Denmark.
- Danos:** 2.1066m. The Danes.
- Danyele, Seynt:** 3.3934. Saint Deiniol.
- Danyus:** 2.1885m, 2.1885. Danius, King of Britain, brother of Kymar II.
- Dardanus:** 2.85. Dardanus, father of Eryctonius.
- David (Davyd):** 3.2905m, 3.2912, 3.2916, 3.3920m. Saint David, Archbishop of Caerleon, and uncle to King Arthur.
- Davyd:** 2.1101. The biblical king, David.
- Degré:** 3.2568. Sir Degare, Knight of the Round Table.
- Degреваunt:** 3.2568. Sir Degrevant, Knight of the Round Table.
- Demecy:** 3.1661, 3.2462, 3.2815. Demetia, ancient name for South Wales.
- Dephebus:** 2.124. Deiphobus, son of Priamus.
- Derwent:** 3.1465. The River Derwent.
- Detonus:** 2.2146, 2.2151m, 2.2151. An error for Clotenus (?), King of Britain.

- Deveshyre:** 3.2378. Devonshire.
- Diane (Dyane):** 2.31, 2.417m, 2.453, 2.460, 2.468, 2.554m, 2.767, 2.768. Diane, goddess of the hunt, the moon, and virginity.
- Didone:** 2.167. Dido, Queen of Carthage.
- Dioclican (Dioclycian, Dioclicyen, Dioclycien):** 3.379m, 3.379, 3.386, 3.577. The Emperor Diocletian.
- Dioclician:** 1.176m. Diocletian, King of Syria, father of Albyne.
- Doldayn:** 3.2782. Doldavius, King of Gotland.
- Dolorous, Mounte (Mounte Dolorouse):** 2.1031m, 2.1034. Bamburgh Castle.
- Dolorouse Garde:** 2.1036. The name of a tower at Mount Dolorous.
- Donand:** 3.2466. Donand, Knight of the Round Table. The name derives from Donaut Mappapo in *HRB* §156.
- Doroberny:** 3.1236. Canterbury. See also **Caerkent** and **Cauntyrbyry**.
- Dorset:** 3.2378. Dorset.
- Dougles, water of (water of Douglas):** 3.2276m, 3.2286. The River Douglas.
- Dovere:** 2.2394, 2.2585, 3.2592. Dover.
- Dubricyus (Dubrike):** 3.1922, 3.2256, 3.2793, 3.2805, 3.2809, 3.2905m, 3.2905. Dubricius, Archbishop of Caerleon.
- Dunbretayne:** 2.1066m, 2.1069, 3.2583, 3.2919m, 3.1920. Dumbarton, Scotland.
- Dundonalde:** 3.2584. Dundonald Castle, Ayrshire.
- Dunwallo (Dunwallo Molmucyus):** 2.1493m, 2.1499, 2.1505, 2.1507, 2.1513, 2.1520, 2.1521m. Dunvallo Molmutius, son of Cloten, King of Cornwall, and King of Britain.
- Dusze Piers:** 2.524, 2.539, 2.541, 3.2786, 3.3197, 3.3362. The Douze Peers, twelve peers of France.
- Duvian (Duvyan):** 3.8m, 3.25. Duvianus, a Christian sent to Britain by Pope Eleuthery.
- Dymyoke:** 3.2078. Dimilio, the place where Utere besieges Gorloys.
- Dynabucyus:** 3.1651, 3.1652. Dinabutius, the child who plays with Merlyne at Carmarthen.
- Dyonote:** 3.856, 3.869. Dionotus, Duke of Cornwall, father of Saint Ursula.
- Ebissa:** 3.1447, 3.1837. Ebissa, cousin of Hengest.
- Ebrauke (Ebrauk):** 2.1031, 2.1113, 2.1991, 2.2451, 3.64m, 3.66, 3.169, 3.191, 3.494, 3.1626, 3.2025. York, founded by King Ebrauke.
- Ebrauke (Ebrauk, Ebrauc):** 2. 1010, 2.1017m, 2.1017, 2.1031m, 2.1039, 2.1073m, 2.1087m, 2.1108. Ebraucus, son of Membrice and King of Loegria.
- Ecuba:** 2.131. Hecuba, wife of King Priamus.
- Ector:** 2.123, 2.733. Hector, son of Priamus.
- Edlem:** 3.2469. A Knight of the Round Table. The name derives from Eddelein Mapaledauc in *HRB* §156.
- Edynburgh:** 2.1050. Edinburgh Castle.
- Edynburgh:** 3.2583. Edinburgh.
- Egicio (Egicyo):** 3.1024m, 3.1025. Agicius, a Roman to whom the Britons appeal for help.
- Egistus:** 1.176m. Aegyptus, King of Egypt and brother of Danaus.
- Eldade,** see **Eldane**.

**Eldane (Eldade):** 3.1609, 3.1815, 3.1846. The holy man who buries those slaughtered by the Saxons on Salisbury Plain. In *HRB*, one of Hardyng's sources, the holy man is named Eldadus, a name from which Hardyng's Eldade, Bishop of Gloucester, is derived. Hardyng's Eldane and Eldade have therefore been treated as the same character here.

**Eldolle:** 2.2165m, 2.2166. Eldol, King of Britain.

**Eldolle (Eldol):** 3.1616, 3.1780, 3.1804, 3.1813, 3.1815, 3.1829. Eldol, Earl of Gloucester, brother of Eldane.

**Eldrade:** 2.2116m, 2.2117. Edadus, King of Britain, eldest son of Cheryn.

**Elene, Seynte (Eleyne, Elyne):** 3.435m, 3.456, 3.476, 3.478, 3.582m, 3.673m, 3.3315. Saint Helen, daughter of King Coyle.

**Eleuthery:** 3.8m, 3.15. Pope Eleutherius.

**Elud:** 2.2044. Aldburgh.

**Ely (Hely):** 2.2179m, 2.2179. Heli, King of Britain, son of Elyguelle.

**Ely, Ile of:** 2.2183, 2.2193. Isle of Ely.

**Elyden (Elidenne):** 3.2919m, 3.2925. Eledenius, Bishop of Alclud.

**Elydoure (Elidoure):** 2.1962m, 2.1962, 2.1976, 2.2004m, 2.2004, 2.2032m, 2.2032, 2.2081m, 2.2081. Elidurus, King of Britain, third son of Morvyde.

**Elyguelle (Eliguelle):** 2.2171, 2.2172m, 2.2172. An error for Cligueillus, King of Britain.

**Elyne (Eleyne, Elene):** 3.3369, 3.3384, 3.3427, 3.3430. In the *Chronicle*, Helen is sister of King Howelle and niece of King Arthure, but in other texts she is niece to King Hoel (Howelle).

**Elyud:** 2.2144m, 2.2144. Eliud, King of Britian.

**Eneas (Enee):** 2.150, 2.153m, 2.157, 2.162, 2.166, 2.197, 2.207, 2.210, 2.217, 2.233, 2.554m, 2.730m, 2.736, 2.947, 2.1106, 2.2247. Aeneas, son of Anchises and legendary warrior.

**Engistlonde:** 3.1626m. The ancient name of England: literally "Hengest's land."

**Englond (Englonde):** 1.197m, 2.673, 2.788, 2.1472m, 2.2418, 3.1626m, 3.2243. England.

**Enniaunus:** 2.2060m, 2.2060. Enniaunus, King of Britain, son of Argalle.

**Enoch:** 2.64. Enoch, son of Jareth.

**Enos:** 2.60, 2.62. Enosh, son of Seth, father of Caynaan.

**Eopa:** 3.1934m, 3.1938. Eopa, the Saxon sent to kill Aurilyus Ambrosius.

**Ercules:** 2.97. Hercules, or Heracles, the Greek hero.

**Ercules: Columpnes of (Ercules Pylers)** 2.489, 2.491. The Pillars of Hercules.

**Eristens:** 2.1016. Eurysthenes, first king of Sparta.

**Erisyes Pelagien (Pelagiens errysy):** 3.1423m, 3.1425. The Pelagian heresy.

**Eryctonius:** 2.89. Erichthonius, father of Troyus.

**Esidoure:** 3.2468. A Knight of the Round Table. This name appears to be unique to Hardyng.

**Estore:** 3.2569, 3.3517. Sir Ector, Knight of the Round Table.

**Estrilde (Estrylde):** 2.881, 2.895, 2.899, 2.905, 2.920, 2.926. Estrildis, daughter of the king of Germany, lover and second wife of Locryne.

**Europe:** 2.2649. Europe.

**Evalache:** 3.3060. Evalach, the pagan king of Sarras, who converted to Christianity in the time of Joseph of Arimathea, and who possessed the shield inherited by Galaad.

**Evandre:** 2.174, 2.185, 2.193, 2.196, 2.199, 2.201. King Evander, adversary of King Latyne.

**Ewayn:** 2.1058. Ywain, Knight of the Round Table.

**Ewayn:** 2.1234m, 2.1240, 2.1246. Henwinus, duke of Cornwall, married to the second daughter of King Leyre, Ragawe.

**Ewayne:** 3.2459. Ywain, son of Urien of Moray, Knight of the Round Table.

**Excestere:** 2.2592. Exeter.

**Exiona:** 2.129. Possibly Hesione, daughter of Leamedon, King of Troy.

**Faggan:** 3.8m, 3.24. Faganus, a Christian sent to Britain by Pope Eleuthery.

**Fenycia:** 1.176m. Phoenicia.

**Ferrex:** 2.1415, 2.1416. Ferrex, son of King Gorbodian, brother of Porrex.

**Flaunders:** 2.2260, 3.2683, 3.3365, 3.3641. Flanders.

**Fortune:** 1.211m, 1.211, 1.214, 1.225, 2.127, 2.322, 2.330, 2.1577m, 2.1577, 3.2262, 3.2273, 3.3779, 3.3784, 3.3878, 3.3966. Fortuna, the goddess of fortune.

**Fraunce:** 2.46, 2.523, 2.1645, 2.1687, 2.1689m, 2.2320, 2.2435, 3.827m, 3.913, 3.1972, 3.2625m, 3.2627, 3.2632, 3.2637, 3.2666, 3.2670, 3.2709m, 3.2709, 3.2716, 3.2744m, 3.2786, 3.3109, 3.3197, 3.3233, 3.3235, 3.3253, 3.3362, 3.3456, 3.3461. France.

**Freslond (Freselonde):** 3.2486m, 3.2495. Friesland.

**Frolle:** 3.2625m, 3.2635, 3.2639, 3.2643, 3.2650, 3.3243. Frollo, King of France.

**Frye (Fry, Frie):** 3.1290m, 3.1300, 3.1373. Freyja, the Norse goddess, also associated with Venus.

**Frygy (Fryge):** 2.81, 2.87. Phrygia (Turkey).

**Fulgen:** 3.141m, 3.154, 3.169m, 3.174. Fulgen, King of Scotland at the time of Severe.

**Fulgyn:** 2.2116m, 2.2116, 2.2118. Fulgenius, King of Britain, eldest son of Cheryn.

**Gabanytes:** 3.1847. The biblical Gibeonites.

**Gabas:** 2.1705, 2.1720, 2.1729. Gabius, Roman Consul who fights against Belyn and Brenny.

**Gad:** 2.1103. Gad, prophet in Israel at the time of King Ebrauke.

**Galaad:** 3.2170, 3.2947m, 3.2954, 3.2989m, 3.3000, 3.3008, 3.3038m, 3.3038, 3.3052, 3.3101, 3.3115, 3.3136m, 3.2170, 3.3138, 3.3141, 3.3151, 3.3556m. Galahad, Knight of the Round Table, son of Lancelot, and achiever of the Holy Grail.

**Galbroke:** 3.369. Walbrook, named after the Roman, Gallus.

**Galeryus:** 3.499. The Emperor Galerius.

**Gales:** 2.796, 3.1665. Wales. See also Cambre.

**Galfridum Monmentensem:** 2.1m. Geoffrey of Monmouth, author of *HRB*.

**Galilea:** 1.176m. Galilee.

**Galluc (Gwaluk):** 3.2453, 3.3644. Galluc, Earl of Salisbury, Knight of the Round Table.

**Gallus:** 3.351m, 3.353, 3.362, 3.366, 3.370. Gallus, the Roman after whom Walbrook is named.

- Gaule (Galle):** 2.469, 2.522, 2.544, 2.1021. Gaul, the name given to an ancient region of Western Europe. It is often used here to refer to France.
- Gawen (Gawayn, Gawayne):** 3.2562, 3.2572, 3.3447, 3.3464, 3.3467, 3.3482, 3.3485, 3.3516, 3.3545, 3.3638, 3.3649, 3.3669, 3.3746, 3.3767. Gawain, Knight of the Round Table, son of King Loth, and King of Lothian.
- Gaynore (Gwaynore):** 3.2430m, 3.2431, 3.2691, 3.2702, 3.2836, 3.2842m, 3.3794, 3.3890. Guinevere, Queen of Britain, wife of King Arthur.
- Geants Toure:** 3.3269. The Giants' Tower.
- Gedyngtoun:** Prol.117, Prol.124, Prol.138. Geddington Manor, Northamptonshire.
- Gellerlonde:** 3.2681. Gelderland.
- Gelre:** 3.3364. Guelders.
- Genareu:** 3.1777. The name of Vortygere's castle; it may be associated with Ganarew, Herefordshire.
- Gene:** 2.1701. Genoa, Italy.
- Genvyse:** 2.2537, 2.2550m, 2.2597, 2.2663. Queen Genvissa, daughter of the Emperor Claudius and wife of Arvyragere.
- Genyus:** 2.29. The god Genius.
- George, Seynt:** 3.29m, 3.575m, 3.694m, 3.3158, 3.3556m. Saint George.
- Gerald of Wales, see Giraldus Cambrensis.**
- Germany (Germayne):** 2.1073m, 2.1085, 2.1096, 3.881, 3.988, 3.1246, 3.1330, 3.1360, 3.1370, 3.1485, 3.2181, 3.2306, 3.2350, 3.2680. Germany. See also **Almayne**.
- Germayn:** 3.1423m, 3.1431, 3.1498. Saint Germanus, bishop of Auxerre.
- Geryn (Garyn, Gereyne):** 3.2668, 3.3446, 3.3516, 3.3540, 3.3847, 3.3850m, 3.3850, 3.3862, 3.3869. Gerin, Earl of Chartres and Orléans.
- Getan:** 3.197m, 3.197, 3.204, 3.205. Geta, son of Severe by a Roman woman.
- Geyennes:** 2.2081m, 2.2081. Gerennus, King of Britain, son of Elydoure.
- Gildas (Gyldas):** 2.735, 2.1128, 2.1185, 2.1546, 2.2574, 3.39, 3.84, 3.681, 3.3115m. Gildas, the historian. NB: medieval writers often cite Gildas when they really mean the pseudo-Nennius *HB*; Hardying is no exception.
- Giraldus Cambrensis (Giralde Cambrense, Girald):** 2.554m, 2.751m, 3.2989m, 3.3038m, 3.3136m. Gerald of Wales.
- Glamorgan (Glamargan):** 2.1316, 2.1318, 2.1319, 2.1770. Glamorgan, Scotland.
- Glaskowe:** 3.2923. Glasgow.
- Glassynbyry (Glasenbyry, Glastynbyry):** 2.2632, 3.2594, 3.3834. Glastonbury; see also **Mewytryne**.
- Glaucus:** 2.32. Glaucus, a sea god.
- Gloucestere (Gloucester):** 2.2553, 2.2557m, 2.2652, 3.134, 3.1616, 3.1780, 3.3557. Gloucester.
- Gloy:** 2.2562. Gloius, son of the Emperor Claudius.
- Goffore:** 2.497m, 2.518, 2.522. Goffar, King of Aquitaine.
- Gogmagog:** 2.579, 2.586m, 2.593, 2.602, 2.612. Gogmagog, the giant killed by Coryneus.
- Goneryle (Gonerile):** 2.1213, 2.1238, 2.1253. Goneril, eldest daughter of King Leyre.

- Gorbodian (Gorbodyan):** 2.1409m, 2.1409. Gorboduc, King of Britain, son of King Kymar.
- Gorbodyan:** 3.2471. A Knight of the Round Table. The name probably derives from Gorbonian Masgoit in *HRB* §156.
- Gorbonyan:** 3.2468. A Knight of the Round Table. The name derives from Gorbonian Masgoit in *HRB* §156.
- Gorbonyan I:** 2.1941m, 2.1941, 2.2046m, 2.2046. Gorbonian, King of Britain, eldest son of Morvyde.
- Gorbonyan II:** 2.2046m, 2.2046. Gorbonian, King of Britain, son of Gorbonyan I.
- Gorloys (Gorleys):** 3.2031, 3.2052m, 3.2059, 3.2087, 3.2114, 3.3827. Gorlois, Duke of Cornwall, husband of Igerne.
- Gotlonde (Gothlonde):** 3.2486m, 3.2782, 3.3195, 3.3981. Gotland.
- Gracyan (Gracyane, Gracian):** 3.813m, 3.917, 3.922, 3.926m, 3.926, 3.939, 3.947m, 3.947, 3.963. Gratian, King of Britain and Emperor.
- Grece:** 1.2, 1.176, 1.197m, 1.203, 2.46, 2.71, 2.130, 2.337, 2.341, 2.365. Greece.
- Griffud:** 3.2467. A Knight of the Round Table. The name is derived from Grifud Mapnogoid in *HRB* §156.
- Guendolyne (Guendolene, Guendelyne):** 2.896, 2.917, 2.919m. Queen Gwendolen, daughter of Coryneus, first wife of Locryne, mother of Maddan.
- Guinevere, see Gaynore.**
- Gunberte:** 3.765. Gunbert, King of Norway.
- Gunthelyne (Guntelyne, Guthelyn):** 3.1053, 3.1059m, 3.1066, 3.1095, 3.1115, 3.1121, 3.1132.
- Guithelinus, Archbishop of London.
- Gunvase:** 3.2780. Gunhpar, King of the Orkneys.
- Gurgoyne:** 3.2455. Gurguint, Earl of Hereford, Knight of the Round Table. Possibly derived from Gurguynt in RMB 1.10889.
- Gurgucius (Gurgucyus):** 2.2151m, 2.2152. Gurgintius, King of Britain.
- Gurgustius:** 2.1353m, 2.1353. Gurgustius, King of Britain.
- Gurguyn (Gurguyn Batrus):** 2.1801m, 2.1801, 2.1836, 2.1843. Gurguit Barbtruc, son of Belyn and King of Britain.
- Gurmund (Gurmonde):** 3.1626m, 3.4005. Gormund, King of Africa.
- Guthlake:** 2.1612m, 2.1612, 2.1617. Ginchtalacus, King of Denmark.
- Guydere (Guyder):** 2.2487m, 2.2487, 2.2494, 2.2506, 2.2511, 2.2515. Guiderius, King of Britain, son of Kymbelyn.
- Guyen:** 2.46, 2.514, 3.2659, 3.2661, 3.3363. Guyenne, an ancient province of southwest France.
- Gyllamare (Guyllomare):** 3.1892, 3.1930, 3.1984, 3.1988. Gillomanius, the Irish king killed in battle against Utere.
- Gyllomore (Guyllomare):** 3.2395, 3.2779. Gilmaurius, the Irish king that attacks King Arthure in Scotland.
- Guytarde:** 3.2570, 3.2660, 3.2669, 3.3518, 3.3549. Guitard, Knight of the Round Table.
- Guytelyn (Guytelyne):** 2.1850m, 2.1850, 2.1859. Guithelin, King of Britain, husband of Queen Marcyan.
- Gway:** 3.1779. The River Wye.
- Gwayns (Gwaynes, Gwayne, Gwaynus):** 3.876m, 3.882, 3.928, 3.947m, 3.961m, 3.961, 3.975m,

- 3.986, 3.1005, 3.1010, 3.1106.  
Wanius, King of Hunland.
- Hamon Haven:** 2.2524. Southampton.
- Hamontoun (Hamtoun):** 2.2524, 3.2318. Southampton.
- Hamoun:** 2.2522. Hamo, a Roman soldier killed by Arvyragere.
- Harand:** 3.2447. Harand, Earl of Shrewsbury, Knight of the Round Table (possibly derived from Amorand of Salisbury in RMB 1.10895).
- Hardyng, John:** 1.1m. John Hardyng, author of the *Chronicle*.
- Helenus:** 2.124, 2.129, 2.345. Helenus, son of Priamus.
- Hely:** 2.730m, 2.730. Eli, ruler of Judea.
- Helyas:** 2.1178. Elijah, prophet in the time of King Bladud.
- Hengest (Engiste, Engeste, Engist, Engyste):** 2.2189, 3.1234m, 3.1243, 3.1262, 3.1283m, 3.1290m, 3.1307, 3.1318m, 3.1318, 3.1360m, 3.1395m, 3.1402, 3.1441, 3.1444, 3.1475, 3.1517, 3.1542m, 3.1577m, 3.1588, 3.1601, 3.1625, 3.1626m, 3.1630, 3.1801m, 3.1804, 3.1806, 3.1814, 3.1815m, 3.1836, 3.1874, 3.2017. Hengist, brother of Horsus.
- Henricus primus:** 2.1m. Henry I, King of England.
- Henry Huntyngdoun:** 3.681. Henry of Huntington.
- Herforde:** 3.2591. Hereford.
- Hergye:** 3.1779. The ancient region of Ercing, now part of Herefordshire.
- Heroyus:** 3.2468. A Knight of the Round Table. The name appears to be unique to Hardyng.
- Hewlyn:** 2.2360, 2.2361, 2.2362. Cuelinus, nephew of Androgyus.
- Hien:** 2.1181. A prophet at the time of Bladud, possibly an error for Haggai.
- Higden, Ranulph,** see **Radulphi Cestrensis.**
- Holande:** 3.2683, 3.3366. Holland.
- Holdyne:** 3.3549, 3.3641. Sir Holdin, Earl of Flanders.
- Horne,** see **Horsus.**
- Horsus (Horne, Horse):** 2.2190, 3.1234m, 3.1262, 1290m, 3.1307, 3.1470. Horsa, brother of Hengest.
- Hospitilers (Hospitulers):** 3.3171m, 3.3174. The Knights Hospitalers.
- Howel (Howelle):** 3.2313, 3.2381m, 3.2381, 3.2656, 3.2660, 3.2667, 3.3372, 3.3428, 3.3545, 3.3605m, 3.3605, 3.3638, 3.3649, 3.3731. Hoel, King of Brittany, nephew to King Arthur.
- Humber (Humbre):** 2.837, 2.845, 2.854, 2.859. Humber, King of the Huns, who dies in the river Humber during a battle with Locryne.
- Humber (Humbre):** 2.838, 2.862, 2.1290m, 2.1305, 2.1307, 2.1566, 3.69, 3.817, 3.1795, 3.2415. The River Humber.
- Hunneslonde:** 2.837. The land of the Huns.
- Iago:** 2.1381m, 2.1381. Iago, King of Britain.
- Idunya:** 1.176m. Idumea.
- Igerne:** 3.2060, 3.2082, 3.2144. Igerne, the wife of Gorloys, Duke of Cornwall, and later Utore Pendragon, mother of King Arthur.
- Ilus:** 2.91, 2.95. Ilus, son of Tros and founder of Troy (Illiium).
- Ilyon (Ilion):** 2.92, 2.135. Illium, the city of Troy, see also **Troy**.
- Ingen:** 2.2011m, 2.2011, 2.2018, 2.2067m, 2.2067. Ingenius, son of Morvyde.
- Innogene (Innogen):** 2.418, 2.729. Innogen, wife of Brute.

**Irelglas (Irelgas):** 3.2571, 3.3518.  
Hirelglas, one of King Arthure's  
knights, nephew to Bedwere.

**Irelglas (Irelglassee):** 2.2358, 2.2361.  
Hirelglas, nephew of Cassibalan.

**Irelonde (Irlande, Ireland,  
Irelond):** 2.1801m, 2.1836,  
2.2335, 2.2685, 3.1881, 3.1891,  
3.1893, 3.1912, 3.1929, 3.1980,  
3.2395m, 3.2396, 3.2400,  
3.2486m, 3.2486, 3.2779, 3.3113,  
3.3193, 3.3981, 3.4006. Ireland.

**Irisshe se:** 2.1920. The Irish Sea.

**Isaye:** 2.1325. Isaiah, the prophet.

**Iselonde:** 3.2486m, 3.2493, 3.3981,  
3.3196. Iceland.

**Isrelle (Israell, Israelle):** 2.229,  
2.942, 2.1102. Israel.

**Isydorus:** 3.719. Isidore of Seville.

**Itaylle (Italy, Itayly, Itale, Itayl,  
Itaille):** 2.1m, 2.45, 2.75,  
2.153m, 2.163, 2.170, 2.178,  
2.337m, 2.736, 2.948, 2.1073m,  
2.1073, 2.1105, 2.1689m, 2.1698,  
2.1735, 2.1755, 2.1758, 3.740,  
3.914, 3.3437m, 3.3439, 3.3619m,  
3.3718. Italy.

**Ivalle:** 2.2067m, 2.2067. Idvallo,  
King of Britain, son of Ingen.

**Janus:** 2.1281, 2.1302. Janus, the  
Roman god of beginnings and  
endings.

**Japhet:** 2.68. Japheth, son of Noe.

**Jareth:** 2.63. Jared, father of Enoch.

**Jason:** 2.98, 2.106. Jason, the Greek  
hero and leader of the Argonauts.

**Javan:** 2.68. Javan, son of Japhet.

**Jerusalem:** 2.1136, 3.666.  
Jerusalem.

**Jhesu, see Cryste.**

**Joel (Joelle):** 2.1141, 2.1166, 2.1181.  
Joel, prophet at the time of King  
Leyle.

**Jonatalle (Jonathas):** 3.2454, 3.3550.  
Jonathel, Earl of Dorchester,  
Knight of the Round Table.

**Jordan:** 3.2091. Jordan, a servant of  
Gorloys whose resemblance Ulfyn  
adopts through Merlyne's magic to  
help Utere infiltrate Tintagel  
Castle.

**Jordan, Flum:** 3.607. The River  
Jordan.

**Josep Aramathey (Joseph of  
Arymathy, Joseph of Arymathi):**  
2.1612, 2.2613m, 2.2620, 3.8m,  
3.91, 3.96, 3.2150m, 3.2156,  
3.2161, 3.3038m, 3.3062, 3.3084,  
3.3115, 3.3155, 3.3157, 3.3180.  
Joseph of Arimathea.

**Jupiter (Jubyter):** 2.26, 2.81, 2.914.  
Jupiter, the principal Roman god,  
son of Saturnus.

**Judea (Judé, Jude):** 1.176m, 2.730,  
2.1015, 2.1101, 2.1134. Judea.

**Judon:** 2.1423. Queen Judon, wife of  
Gorbodian and mother of Ferrex  
and Porrex.

**Jugence (Jugens):** 3.2448, 3.3550.  
Jugein, Earl of Leicester, Knight  
of the Round Table.

**Julius Cesar, see Cesar, Julyus.**

**Julyus (July):** 3.387, 3.2835, 3.2893,  
3.2896, 3.3801. Saint Julius.

**Julyus Cesaryne:** 1.1m. Julian  
Cesarini, scholar and humanist.

**Justynus (Justyne):** 1.1m, 1.176m.  
Marcus Junianus Justinus, author  
of an *Epitome of Pompieus*  
Trogus's *Philippic History*.

**Katellus:** 2.2088m, 2.2088. Catellus,  
King of Britain, son of Geyennes.

**Kay:** 3.2569, 3.2739, 3.2852, 3.3399,  
3.3404, 3.3410, 3.3419, 3.3547,  
3.3624, 3.3712. Sir Kay, Knight of  
the Round Table and Duke of  
Anjou.

**Kent (Kente):** 2.2226, 2.2312,  
3.1234m, 3.1237, 3.1401, 3.1442.  
Kent.

**Kylormare, Mount (Lyllormare):**  
3.1897, 3.1910. Mount Killaraus,

- the legendary location of Stonehenge before Merlyne transports it to Britain; possibly associated with Kildare.
- Kymar I:** 2.1395m, 2.1395. Kimar, King of Britain.
- Kymar II:** 2.1878m, 2.1878. Kimar, King of Britain, son of Sisilyus II.
- Kymbelyn (Kymbelyne):** 2.2459m, 2.2459, 2.2473, 2.2478. Cymbeline, son of Tenvancyus, also known as Cunobelinus.
- Kymbelyne:** 3.2469. Kimbelin, Knight of the Round Table.
- Kynkare:** 3.2470. Kingar, Knight of the Round Table. The name derives from Kingar MapBangan in *HRB* §156.
- Kynmare:** 3.2451. Kynmarc, Earl of Canterbury, Knight of the Round Table.
- Kynmare:** 3.2471. Kinmar, Knight of the Round Table.
- Lacedemonya:** 2.1016. Lacedaemon, ancient name for Sparta.
- Lameke:** 2.65. Lamech, son of Matussaleel and father of Noe.
- Langres:** 3.3525. Langres.
- Latyne (Latyn):** 2.153m, 2.554m, 2.949, 2.1076. Latium in the Kingdom of Alba Longa.
- Latyne (Latyns):** 2.193, 2.201, 2.203, 2.209. King Latinus, father of Lavynyane, wife of Eneas.
- Launcelot (Launcelot de Lake, Launselot):** 2.1042, 3.2564, 3.2956, 3.3850m, 3.3858. Sir Lancelot, Knight of the Round Table.
- Lavynyane (Lavyne):** 2.153m, 2.203, 2.208, 2.220, 2.250. Lavinia, second wife of Eneas.
- Lavynyon:** 2.219. Lavinium, an ancient city founded by Eneas.
- Leamedon (Leamedoun):** 2.95, 2.113, 2.121. Laomedon, King of Troy, father of Priamus.
- Leo (Leoun):** 3.3346m, 3.3524, 3.3692, 3.3720, 3.3722. The Emperor Leo.
- Leogice (Leogyce):** 2.417m, 2.446, 2.769. From Geoffrey of Monmouth's Leogetia, an island where Brute visits the temple of Diana. Possibly the Greek Island of Lefkada.
- Leonelle:** 3.2568. Sir Lionel, Knight of the Round Table.
- Leycestre (Leyrecestre, Leycester):** 2.1202, 2.1203, 2.1301. Leicester.
- Leyle (Leyl):** 2.1129m, 2.1129, 2.1139, 2.1165. Leil, King of Loegria.
- Leyre:** 2.1199m, 2.1199, 2.1206m, 2.1206, 2.1234m. Lear, King of Britain.
- Lincolnshire:** 3.1402m. Lincolnshire.
- Litel Bretayne (Lesse Bretayne, Lytylle Bretayne, Lesse Bretayn, Litille Bretayne, Bretayne the Lesse, Litil Bretayne, Lasse Bretayne, Bretayne Lesse, Little Bretayne, Bretayne Lasse, Lytillé Bretayne):** 3.827m, 3.835, 3.847, 3.848, 3.855m, 3.878, 3.967, 3.1052m, 3.1057, 3.1060, 3.1094m, 3.1108m, 3.1216, 3.2314, 3.2381m, 3.2667, 3.3198, 3.3373, 3.3431. Brittany.
- Locryne (Locrine):** 2.786m, 2.787, 2.791, 2.804, 2.807m, 2.807, 2.844, 2.849m, 2.849, 2.861, 2.863, 2.919m, 2.920, 2.924, 2.933. Locrin, eldest son of Brute.
- Loeline:** 3.561, 3.568. Ioelinus, brother of King Coyle and father of Maximyan.
- Logres (Loegres):** 2.786m, 2.788, 2.789, 2.791, 2.954, 2.1502, 2.1561, 2.1601, 2.1609, 2.1618,

2.2334, 3.65, 3.345, 3.998,  
3.1012. Loegria or Loegres, the  
name given to the land ruled by  
Locryne, eldest son of Brute,  
approximating to the area covered  
by England (minus Cornwall).

**London (Londoun):** 2.667m, 2.724,  
2.751m, 2.1773m, 2.1786,  
2.2193m, 3.43, 3.99m, 3.351,  
3.1052m, 3.2050, 3.2056, 3.2180,  
3.2183, 3.2312, 3.2590, 3.2800.  
See also **New Troy** and **Carlud.**

**Loreyne:** 3.2678. Lorraine.

**Loth of Louthianne:** 3.2186, 3.2424,  
3.2461, 3.2507, 3.2562, 3.2784,  
3.3543. Loth, King of Lothian  
and of Norway.

**Louthianne (Louthian, Louthien):**  
3.2186, 3.2189, 3.2425, 3.2461,  
3.2563, 3.2575, 3.3449, 3.3747.  
An ancient region in Scotland  
covering the current Lothian and  
part of the border areas.

**Lucius (Lucyus):** 3.1m, 3.1, 3.8m,  
3.26, 3.29m, 3.43m, 3.72, 3.94,  
3.98, 3.99m, 3.103, 3.106,  
3.120m, 3.120. Lucius, King of  
Britain.

**Lucyus (Lucius):** 3.3185m, 3.3226,  
3.3227, 3.3274, 3.3278, 3.3280,  
3.3346m, 3.3458, 3.3521, 3.3611,  
3.3619m, 3.3667, 3.3689, 3.3691.  
The Emperor Lucius, whom King  
Arthur defeats.

**Lud:** 2.2193m, 2.2193, 2.2210,  
2.2385. Lud, King of Britain, son  
of Ely.

**Ludgate:** 2.2200m, 2.2205, 2.2212.  
Ludgate, London.

**Lumbardy:** 2.1696, 3.264.  
Lombardy, Italy.

**Lupe (Lupus):** 3.1423m, 3.1432,  
3.1498. Saint Lupus, Bishop of  
Troyes.

**Lybews Dysconus:** 3.2567. Libeaus  
Desconus, Knight of the Round  
Table.

**Lyncolne (Lindcolyne):** 3.1627,  
3.2324, 3.2325. Lincoln.

**Lyndsay,** 3.1234m. Lindsey,  
Lincolnshire.

**Maddan:** 2.898, 2.917, 2.936, 2.954m,  
2.954. Maddan, King of Loegria,  
son of Guendolyne and Locryne.

**Maglane (Maglayne):** 2.1234m,  
2.1237, 2.1239, 2.1246.  
Maglaurus, duke of Albany,  
married to King Leyre's eldest  
daughter, Goneryle.

**Maheridoure:** 3.2467. A Knight of  
the Round Table. The name  
derives from Peredur Maheridur  
in *HRB* §156.

**Makeclauke:** 3.2471. A Knight of the  
Round Table. The name probably  
derives from Regin Mapclaud in  
*HRB* §156.

**Malaleel:** 2.62. Mahalalel, son of  
Caynaan.

**Malgo:** 3.3969m, 3.3976. King Malgo.  
**Malvase,** 3.2781. Malvadius, King of  
Iceland.

**Man:** 3.2786. The Isle of Man.

**Manes:** 2.32. Manes, the spirits of the  
dead in Roman mythology.

**Manlyn:** 2.963, 2.975m, 2.975.  
Malin, son of King Maddan.

**Mapbangan:** 3.2470. A Knight of the  
Round Table. The name derives  
from Kingar Mapbangan in *HRB*  
§156.

**Mapcatheil:** 3.2470. A Knight of the  
Round Table. The name derives  
from Cathleus Mapcatel in *HRB*  
§156.

**Mapclaude:** 3.2467. A Knight of the  
Round Table. The name derives  
from Regin Mapclaud in *HRB*  
§156.

**Mapcoyl:** 3.2466. A Knight of the  
Round Table. The name derives  
from Cheneus Mapcoil in *HRB*  
§156.

- Marcyan (Marcian, Marcyane):** 2.1850m, 2.1853, 2.1866. Marcian, Queen of Britain, wife of Guytelyn.
- Margan:** 2.1290m, 2.1290, 2.1304, 2.1309, 2.1317, 2.1318m. Marganus, duke of Albany, son of Goneryle.
- Margan:** 2.2053m, 2.2053. Marganus, King of Britain, son of Argalle.
- Marius (Maryus):** 2.2662m, 2.2662, 2.2690, 3.292. Marius, King of Britain, son of Arvyragere.
- Mars:** 2.26, 3.3785. Mars, the god of war.
- Martyne:** 1.1m. Pope Martin V.
- Martyne (Martyn, Martini):** 1.176m, 2.1746, 2.2422, 3.8m, 3.31, 3.183m, 3.183, 3.645m, 3.659m, 3.660, 3.673m, 3.687m, 3.701, 3.705m, 3.719. Martin of Troppau (aka Martinus Polonus, or Martini Oppaviensis), author of *Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum*.
- Mary:** 2.572, 2.2480, 2.2655m, 2.2656, 3.703, 3.3849. Mary, mother of Christ.
- Maryn:** 3.562. Marius, brother of King Coyle.
- Masgoyd:** 3.2469. A Knight of the Round Table. The name derives from Gorbonian Masgoit in *HRB* §156.
- Matussaleel:** 2.64. Methuselah, son of Enoch.
- Maugancyus:** 3.1686. Maugantius.
- Mauron:** 3.2445. Mauron, Earl of Worcester, Knight of the Round Table.
- Maxcence (Maxence):** 3.501, 3.527, 3.532, 3.578, 3.2894. Maxentius, a Roman dictator at the time of Constantyne I.
- Maximyan (Maximyane, Maxymyan):** 3.571, 3.578, 3.801, 3.808, 3.813m, 3.814, 3.827m, 3.859, 3.912, 3.926, 3.938, 3.940, 3.965, 3.1075, 3.3311m, 3.3318, 3.2629. Maximianus, a Roman senator and Emperor, son of Loeline (brother of King Coyle), King of Britain.
- Maximyan (Maxymyan, Maxymyan Herculyus):** 3.372m, 3.379m, 3.380, 3.421m, 3.440, 3.2894. Maximianus Herculius, a Roman sent by Dioclican to persecute the British Christians.
- Mayden Castelle:** 2.1046, 2.1064. Maiden Castle, an alternative name for Edinburgh Castle.
- Megary:** 2.28. Megaera, one of the Erinyes, or Furies, in Greek mythology.
- Melga:** 3.876m, 3.883, 3.928, 3.947m, 3.961m, 3.961, 3.975m, 3.986, 3.1005, 3.1010, 3.1106. Melga, King of the Picts.
- Membrice (Membryce):** 2.963, 2.975m, 2.978, 2.982, 2.989m, 2.989, 2.1012. Mempricius, son of Maddan and King of Loegria.
- Menevue (Meneu):** 3.1933, 3.1983, 3.3926. Menevia, or Saint David's, Wales.
- Mercury (Mercure):** 2.26, 3.1258, 3.1283m, 3.1283, 3.1288, 3.1371. The Roman god Mercury also associated with the Norse god, Woden. See **Woden**.
- Merlyne (Merlyn, Merlinus):** 2.824, 3.1650, 3.1667, 3.1668, 3.1710m, 3.1710, 3.1717, 3.1723, 3.1724, 3.1745, 3.1871m, 3.1871, 3.1878, 3.1891, 3.1900, 3.1904, 3.1909, 3.1962m, 3.1962, 3.2001, 3.2015, 3.2081, 3.2084, 3.2137, 3.2151, 3.2973, 3.3841, 3.3843. Merlin.
- Meryan:** 2.2151m, 2.2153. Merianus, King of Britain.

**Mewyne:** 2.822. Possibly a corruption of the name Melkin, a prophet associated with Glastonbury.

**Mewytryne:** 2.821, 2.2625, 3.89. Glastonbury (a probable corruption of Inis Witrin).

**Mordrede (Modrede, Modred):** 3.2571, 3.3724m, 3.3725, 3.3736, 3.3738m, 3.3738, 3.3752m, 3.3752, 3.3754, 3.3756, 3.3759m, 3.3768, 3.3778, 3.3788, 3.3795, 3.3875, 3.3883, 3.3889, 3.3892, 3.3914. Mordred, nephew to King Arthur.

**Morvyde:** 2.1892m, 2.1892, 2.1910. Morvide, King of Britain, son of Danyus.

**Morvyde:** 3.2444, 3.3557, 3.3663. Morvid, Earl of Gloucester, Knight of the Round Table.

**Murreve (Murrefe):** 2.1906, 3.2428. Moray, Scotland.

**Mynerve:** 2.31, 2.1014, 2.1303. Minerva, goddess of creativity and wisdom.

**Nacyan (Nacyen, Naciens):** 3.2974, 3.3067, 3.3156, 3.3167. Nascien, or Seraphe, an ancestor of Galaad.

**Nathan:** 2.1103. Nathan, prophet in Israel at the time of King Ebrauke.

**Naverne:** 3.2672, 3.3361. Navarre.

**Nemynus:** 2.2302, 2.2307. Nennius, brother of Lud, son of Ely.

**New Troy (Novel Troy, Trynovant, Troynovant, Troynovaunte, Trynovaunte, Trynovaunt):** 2.475, 2.667, 2.705, 2.707, 2.709, 2.716, 2.717, 2.719, 2.724, 2.753, 2.1543, 2.1773, 2.1953, 2.2015, 2.2193m, 2.2200m, 2.2201, 2.2226, 2.2312, 3.64m, 3.64, 3.108, 3.346, 3.876, 3.1051, 3.1054, 3.1522, 3.1620, 3.3912, 3.3921. New Troy, the ancient name for London. See also **Carlud**.

**Nicholas, Seynt:** 3.659m, 3.663. Saint Nicholas.

**Noe:** 2.67. Noah, son of Lameke.

**Normandy:** 2.2318, 3.2738, 3.3357, 3.3434. Normandy.

**Northumbrelend**

**(Northumbrelonde):** 2.1565, 2.1907. Northumberland.

**Norway (Northway):** 2.1591m, 2.1598, 2.1605, 3.764, 3.2495, 3.2507, 3.2512, 3.3194, 3.3980. Norway.

**Norwyche:** 2.2704. Norwich.

**Nychomede:** 3.716. Nicomedia, the place of Constantyne I's death.

**Octa:** 3.1446, 3.1836m, 3.1836, 3.1841, 3.2017m, 3.2017, 3.2030, 3.2040, 3.2051, 3.2178, 3.2204. Octa, son of Hengest.

**Octave (Octavyus):** 3.729m, 3.729, 3.736, 3.751, 3.764, 3.785m, 3.785, 3.813. Octavius, seizes Britain during the reign of Constantyne I.

**Octovain, see Cesare Auguste.**

**Odnea:** 2.2319. The place where Julius Caesar builds his tower in Normandy.

**Oenus:** 2.2151m, 2.2156. Oenus, King of Britain.

**Omer:** 1.202, 2.231, 2.951. Homer, the poet.

**Orboryke (Orberike):** 3.3075, 3.3102. Orberica, the land ruled by Nacyan and converted by Joseph of Arimathea in the Vulgate *Estoire del Saint Graal*.

**Orcades, see Orkenay, Iles of.**

**Orkenay, Iles of (Orcades, Orcadese, Orchadese, Orkadese):** 2.1827, 3.2486m, 3.2493, 3.2780, 3.3193, 3.3981. The Orkney Islands.

**Orlience:** 3.2668. Orléans.

**Orosius:** 2.1738m. Orosius.

**Osee:** 2.1327. Hosea, the prophet.

**Ostia:** 2.172. Ostia, a harbor city of ancient Rome.

- Ostryche:** 3.2676. Austria.
- Oute Iles:** 3.2381m. The name given to the islands in the Scottish loch to which Arthure drives the Scots and Picts in battle.
- Ovyde:** 2.545. The poet Ovid.
- Oysa:** 3.2017m, 3.2018, 3.2041, 3.2051, 3.2178, 3.2204. Eosa, son of Octa.
- Palestina:** 1.176m. Palestine.
- Pallas:** 2.28. The goddess Pallas Athena.
- Pandrase (Pandrasius):** 2.358, 2.379. Pandrasus, King of Greece.
- Parise (Paryse, Parisse):** 3.2640, 3.2653, 3.2689, 3.2731, 3.3513. Paris, France.
- Partholoym:** 2.1834. Partholoim, leader of the Spanish exiles whom King Gurguyn encounters near the Orkney Islands.
- Paryse:** 2.124. Paris, son of Priamus.
- Passhent (Pascence):** 3.1418, 3.1925, 3.1939, 3.1984, 3.1988. Paschent, third son of Vortygere.
- Patrike:** 2.1070. Saint Patrick.
- Paules (Poulys, Poules):** 2.766, 2.1193, 3.113. Saint Paul's Cathedral.
- Paytow:** 3.2659. Poitou.
- Peghtes Walle (Peght Wall):** 3.1013, 3.2919. Hadrian's Wall.
- Pelagiens errysy, see Errisyes Pelagien.**
- Pelles:** 3.2565, 3.2957. Pelles, King of North Wales (Venodotia), Knight of the Round Table.
- Pendragoun:** 3.2222. Pendragon Castle, Cumbria.
- Penyssel (Penysselle):** 2.2165m, 2.2170. Penessil, King of Britain.
- Peredoure:** 3.2466. Peredur, Knight of the Round Table. The name derives from Peredur Maheridur in *HRB* §156.
- Perse:** 2.1749. Persia.
- Persyvalle (Percyvalle):** 3.2566, 3.3108, 3.3136m, 3.3137, 3.3517. Sir Percival, Knight of the Round Table.
- Perydoure (Peridoure):** 2.2011m, 2.2011, 2.2025m, 2.2025, 2.2074m, 2.2074. Peredurus, son of Morvyde.
- Perte:** 3.2584. Perth.
- Petir (Petre, Petyre):** 2.2571m, 2.2578, 3.613. Saint Peter.
- Petro:** 3.3483, 3.3492, 3.3512. Petreius Cocta, a Roman senator and captain, who supports Lucius in his battle against Arthure.
- Phebus:** 2.27. The god Phoebus.
- Philistiens:** 2.731. The Philistines.
- Pli(?)**: 2.1m. An error for Pompeius Trogus?
- Pompey:** 2.2436. Pompey the Great.
- Porcenna (Persenna, Porsenna):** 2.1705, 2.1720, 2.1730. Porsenna, Roman consul who fights against Belyn and Brenny.
- Porchestere:** 2.2502, 3.744. Porchester. See also **Caerperis**.
- Porrex I:** 2.1415, 2.1426. Porrex, son of King Gorbodian, brother of Ferrex.
- Porrex II:** 2.2102m, 2.2102. Porrex II, King of Britain, son of Coyle.
- Porte Rupyne:** 3.3743. Richborough (Rutupiae).
- Portyngale:** 3.2673, 3.3360. Portugal.
- Poule:** 3.613. Saint Paul.
- Poules Querfe:** 3.105. Saint Paul's Wharf, London.
- Priamus (Priam):** 2.121, 2.123, 2.131, 2.154, 2.345. Priam, King of Troy.
- Protheus:** 2.32. Proteus, a sea god.
- Puyle:** 2.1702. Apulia (Puglia), Italy.
- Pynhere (Pynher):** 2.1437m, 2.1441, 2.1508. Pinner, King of Loegria during the civil war that follows the death of Porrex.

- Pyrame:** 3.2416. Piramus, Archbishop of York.
- Pyrre:** 2.2165m, 2.2170. Pir, King of Britain.
- Quyntylian:** 3.3463. Quintillian, nephew of Lucius.
- Radulphi Cestrensis:** 2.801m. Ranulf of Chester, better known as Ranulf Higden, Benedictine monk of St. Werburgh in Chester and author of the *Polychronicon*.
- Ragawe:** 2.1220, 2.1240, 2.1255. Regan, second daughter of King Leyre.
- Redryke (Redrike):** 2.2165m, 2.2168. Redechius, King of Britain.
- Redyon:** 2.2165m, 2.2167. Redon, King of Britain.
- Remus:** 2.1330. Remus, one of the founders of Rome, brother of Romulus.
- Rerecrosse:** 2.2680. Rey Cross, Stainmore.
- Roberti:** 2.1m. Robert, Duke of Gloucester, son of Henry I.
- Roderyke (Rodryke):** 2.2662m, 2.2669. Roderick (Sodric in *HRB* §70), a Pict who fights against Marius.
- Rodes:** 3.3175. Rhodes.
- Romany:** 2.1701. Romagna.
- Romayne:** 3.1433. Presumably Saint Romanus; Hardynge takes the reference from RMB 1.7641-42.
- Rome (Romanye, Romany):** 1.1m, 2.75, 2.175, 2.226, 2.227, 2.271, 2.554m, 2.1329, 2.1334, 2.1338, 2.1703, 2.1712, 2.1743, 2.1745, 2.2239, 2.2389m, 2.2414, 2.2429, 2.2447, 2.2460, 2.2465, 2.2569, 2.2573, 2.2579, 2.2599, 2.2666, 2.2698, 3.74, 3.78, 3.141m, 3.143, 3.147, 3.187, 3.309, 3.447, 3.461, 3.463m, 3.466, 3.469, 3.472, 3.477m, 3.526m, 3.526, 3.544, 3.555, 3.569, 3.675, 3.678, 3.737, 3.796, 3.800, 3.813m, 3.827m, 3.914, 3.975m, 3.975, 3.1003, 3.1024m, 3.1024, 3.1077, 3.1973, 3.2634, 3.2726, 3.3185m, 3.3227, 3.3262, 3.3277, 3.3283, 3.3300, 3.3303, 3.3322, 3.3325, 3.3336, 3.3352, 3.3355, 3.3367m, 3.3455, 3.3690, 3.3720. Rome.
- Romulus:** 2.1330, 2.2243. Romulus, one of the founders of Rome, brother of Remus.
- Rounde Table (Table Rounde):** 3.2150m, 3.2152, 3.2173, 3.2430m, 3.2437, 3.2444m, 3.2473, 3.2514m, 3.2518, 3.2541m, 3.2555m, 3.2556, 3.2577, 3.2588, 3.2597m, 3.2687, 3.2709m, 3.2713, 3.2767, 3.2947m, 3.2948, 3.2965, 3.3004, 3.3018, 3.3078, 3.3171m, 3.3178, 3.3519, 3.3612, 3.3685, 3.3813, 3.3859, 3.3871m, 3.3908. The Round Table.
- Rowen (Rowene):** 3.1367, 3.1389, 3.1509, 3.1525, 3.1537, 3.1551. Rowena or Renwein, daughter of Hengest and wife of Vortygere.
- Ruddan:** 2.1437m, 2.1442, 2.1510. Rudaucus, King of Wales during the civil war that follows the death of Porrex.
- Rudhudibrace:** 2.1150m, 2.1155. Rud Hud Hudibras, King of Loegria.
- Rutupewe:** 2.2585. Dover.
- Rymo:** 2.2074m, 2.2074. Runo, King of Britain, son of Perydoure.
- Ryval:** 2.1339m, 2.1339. Rivallo, King of Britain.
- Saba:** 2.1137. The Queen of Sheba.
- Sabren:** 2.910, 2.927, 2.931. Sabrina (or Habren), daughter of Locryne and Estrilde, drowns in the River Severn, which is named after her.

**Saint Grale (Saynte Grale, Seynt Grale, Saynt Graal, Saynt Graale, Seint Grale, Saynte Graalle, Seynte Graalle, Saint Gralle):** 3.2150m, 3.2155, 3.2163, 3.2165, 3.2533, 3.2947m, 3.2989m, 3.2978, 3.2993, 3.3038m, 3.3073, 3.3104, 3.3115m, 3.3136m, 3.3171m, 3.3171, 3.3180, 3.3843. The Holy Grail.

**Saint Paul's, see Paules.**

**Salamon (Salomon):** 2.639m, 2.1134. The biblical king, Solomon.

**Salysbyry (Salesbury, Salisbyry):** 2.2691, 3.1577m, 3.1578. Salisbury. See also **Caercaredot**.

**Samaria:** 1.176m. Samaria.

**Sampson:** 3.1920. Samson, Archbishop of York in Arthure's time.

**Sampson, Seynt:** 3.2412. Samson, Archbishop of York.

**Samuel:** 2.2165m, 2.2169. Samuil, King of Britain.

**Samuel (Samuelle):** 2.940, 3.1816, 3.1822. Samuel the prophet.

**Sandwyche:** 3.1238. Sandwich.

**Sarras:** 3.3038m, 3.3074, 3.3102. Sarras, the kingdom over which Galaad rules after achieving the Holy Grail.

**Saturnus (Saturne):** 2.25, 2.74. Saturn, the Roman god of agriculture, regarded as an early king of Latium, and accredited with teaching men how to cultivate the land and build a civilisation.

**Saul:** 2.1015. Saul, ruler of Judea at the time of King Membrice.

**Savoy:** 2.1696, 3.2674, 3.3364. Savoy.

**Saxonye (Saxonay, Saxony):** 3.1234m, 3.1245, 3.1368, 3.2376, 3.2680. Saxony, Germany.

**Scatere (Scater):** 2.1437m, 2.1443, 2.1510. Staterius, King of Albany during the civil war that follows the death of Porrex.

**Scotlond (Scotlonde, Scotland):** 2.673, 2.786m, 2.803, 2.807m, 2.1051, 2.1234m, 2.1290m, 2.1318m, 2.1563m, 2.1906m, 3.298, 3.1853, 3.2043, 3.2045, 3.2221, 3.2281, 3.2395m, 3.2397, 3.2493. Scotland.

**Sege Perlouse (Sege Perilouse):** 3.2947m, 3.2966, 3.3078. Siege Perilous; literally "The Perilous Seat."

**Segwyne:** 2.1645. Segnius, Duke of Burgundy, helps Brenny in his campaign against Belyn.

**Seint John Laterense:** 3.687m. The basilica of Saint John, Rome.

**Selonde:** 3.3365. Zeeland.

**Seneca:** 3.778m. Seneca.

**Seneus:** 2.27. Possibly a reference to Zeus Cenaeus.

**Seraphe:** 3.3065. The name adopted by Nacyan after converting to Christianity.

**Seth:** 2.59, 2.60. Seth, son of Adam.

**Severe:** 3.141m, 3.145, 3.148, 3.155m, 3.158, 3.169m, 3.171, 3.190, 3.975m, 3.996. The Emperor Severus.

**Severne:** 2.930, 2.2552, 3.2355, 3.2727. The River Severn.

**Seynte Albans:** 3.2199. Saint Alban's.

**Seynt Aron:** 3.2806. Saint Aaron's Minster.

**Seynt Davyd (Saint Davys):** 3.1933, 3.3930. Saint David's, Wales. See also **Menevue**.

**Seynt July:** 3.2835, 3.2893. Saint Julius' church.

**Seynte Michelle Mounte (Myghel Mount):** 3.3367m, 3.3378, 3.3431. Saint Michael's Mount.

**Seynte Petirs:** 3.1664. Saint Peter's convent, the nunnery in Wales, where Merlyne's mother resides.

**Seynte Petyr:** 3.2005. Saint Peter's Minster (Winchester Cathedral).

**Seysy:** 3.3530. Probably Saussy or Val-Suzon.

**Shafftesbyry:** 2.1159. Shaftsbury.

**Silvy:** 2.1075. Silvius, King of Latium.

**Sipion:** 2.2350. Scipio Africanus.

**Sisile:** 2.160. Sicily.

**Sisilius I:** 2.1367m, 2.1367. Sisilius I, King of Britain.

**Sisilius III (Sisilyus):** 2.2151m, 2.2157. Sisilius III, King of Britain.

**Sisilyus II (Sysilius, Sisilius):** 2.1864m, 2.1864, 2.1869. Sisilius II, King of Britain, son of Guytelyn and Marcyan.

**Socrates:** 2.1749. Socrates.

**Somersette:** 3.2378. Somerset.

**Sore:** 2.1200, 2.1300. River Soar.

**Southamptoun:** 2.2520. Southampton.

**Spayne:** 2.46, 2.487, 2.497, 2.1801m, 2.1835, 3.465, 3.3360. Spain.

**Staynemore:** 2.2680, 3.752. Stainmore.

**Stonehengles:** 3.1871m, 3.1915, 3.1956. Stonehenge. See also **Carolle**.

**Stryvelyn:** 3.2583. Stirling.

**Sulwath:** 2.1066m. Sulwath, Scotland.

**Sychelme:** 3.2511. Sichelm, King of Norway.

**Sylvestre (Silvestre):** 3.615, 3.645m, 3.645, 3.659m, 3.687m. Pope Sylvester I.

**Sylvus Julius:** 2.248, 2.249, 2.281, 2.730m. Silvius Julius, son of Ascanius, father of Brute.

**Sylvus Postumus (Silvus Postumus, Sylvy):** 2.241, 2.267, 2.730m, 2.735, 2.947, 2.1082, 2.1105. Silvius Posthumous, son of Eneas, brother of Ascanius.

**Symonde:** 3.2157. Simon the Leper.

**Syry:** 1.176m. Syria

**Sythy:** 2.2670. Scythia.

**Sywarde:** 2.1417. Suhard, King of France at the time of Ferrex and Porrex.

**Tanguste:** 2.1893. Tanguesteaia, mistress of Danyus, mother of Morvyde.

**Templers:** 3.3171m, 3.3172. The Knights Templar.

**Tenette:** 3.1474. The Isle of Thanet.

**Tenvancyus (Tenvaunce, Tenvancius):** 2.2227, 2.2229, 2.2442, 2.2452m, 2.2452. Tenvantius, Duke of Cornwall, King of Britain, youngest son of King Lud.

**Thamyse (Themse, Themmys):** 2.702, 2.1775, 2.2276, 3.99m, 3.104, 3.367, 3.876. The River Thames.

**Thelofyne:** 2.2481. A British prophet at the time of Christ, perhaps a corruption of Taliesin?

**Thesiphony:** 2.29. Tisiphone, one of the Erinyes, or Furies, in Greek mythology.

**Thetys:** 3.2870. Thetis, a sea nymph in Greek mythology.

**Thwongcastre:** 3.1318m, 3.1403. Caistor, Lincolnshire. The place where Hengest builds his castle. See also **Castre**.

**Tottenes (Totnesse, Totteneyes, Totneys, Tottenesse, Toteneys):** 2.554m, 2.562, 2.2588, 3.1098, 3.1772, 3.2354. Totnes, Devon.

**Toure of Trynovaunt:** 2.2015, 2.2034. The Tower of London.

**Toures:** 2.533, 2.546. Tours, France.

**Traherne (Thraerne):** 3.561, 3.729m, 3.734, 3.737, 3.743, 3.749, 3.750m, 3.753, 3.770. Trahern, brother of King Coyle, King of Britain.

**Trogus Pompeyus (Trogus Pompeius),** 1.1m, 1.176m, 2.554m. Pompeius Trogus, author of the *Philippic History*.

- Troylus:** 2.123. Troilus, son of Priamus.
- Troy (Troye):** 1.1, 2.82, 2.90, 2.96, 2.97, 2.99, 2.105m, 2.118, 2.125, 2.128, 2.133, 2.137, 2.137m, 2.154, 2.156, 2.225, 2.342, 2.345, 2.348, 2.499, 2.500, 2.508, 2.554m, 2.698, 2.706, 2.713, 2.718, 2.732, 2.809, 2.819, 2.826. The city of Troy, or Illium, see also **Ilyon**.
- Troyus:** 2.91. Tros, son of Ertctonius and father of Ilus.
- Trynovant (Troynovant, Trynovaunte, Trynovaunte, Trynovant).** See **New Troy**.
- Turky (Turké):** 2.82, 2.84, 2.712, 2.713. Turkey.
- Turnus:** 2.194. Turnus, King of the Rutuli.
- Turnus:** 2.531, 2.534, 2.536. Turnus, nephew of Brutus.
- Tuskayne (Tuscayne):** 2.153m, 2.206, 2.949, 2.1700. Tuscany.
- Tyber:** 2.171, 2.270. River Tiber.
- Tyberyus:** 2.2469. Tiberius Caesar.
- Tyntagelle:** 3.2074, 3.2096, 3.2144. Tintagel Castle, Cornwall.
- Ulfyn (Ulfyne):** 3.2081, 3.2085, 3.2090, 3.2137. Ulfín, one of Utore's men.
- Urgen:** 3.2452, 3.3552, 3.3646. Urbgennius, Earl of Bath, Knight of the Round Table.
- Urian:** 2.2137m, 2.2137. Urianus, King of Britain, son of Andragius.
- Urian:** 3.2428, 3.2459, 3.2459, 3.3598. Urian, King of Moray in Scotland.
- Uriayne:** 3.2462. Urián, King of Demety (South Wales).
- Ursula:** 3.855m, 3.862, 3.876m, 3.902. Saint Ursula.
- Uske:** 2.1768, 2.1770, 2.1772. The River Usk.
- Utere Pendragon (Uther, Uter, Uter Pendragoun):** 3.1127, 3.1626m, 3.1885, 3.1894, 3.1935, 3.1962m, 3.1962, 3.1967, 3.1993, 3.1997m, 3.1997, 3.2011, 3.2017m, 3.2020, 3.2052m, 3.2206m, 3.2227m, 3.3946. Uther Pendragon, King of Britain, third son of Constantyne II, brother to Constance and Aurilyus Ambrosius, father of King Arthur.
- Valentynyan:** 3.917, 3.925. The Emperor Valentinian.
- Valeryus:** 3.499. The Emperor Valerius.
- Venodoce:** 3.2464, 3.2816, 3.2958. Vendotia (North Wales).
- Venus:** 2.27, 3.1283m, 3.1298, 3.1373. Venus, the Roman goddess of love, also associated with the Norse goddess Freyja. See **Frye**.
- Verolame:** 3.2197. St Alban's.
- Vespasyan (Vaspasien, Vaspasian):** 2.2571m, 2.2571, 2.2586, 2.2603. Vespasian, a Roman sent by the Emperor Claudius to make Arvyragere pay tribute to Rome.
- Vortygere (Vortygerne, Vortigerne, Vortiger, Vortyger):** 3.1136m, 3.1140, 3.1147, 3.1157m, 3.1157, 3.1200, 3.1220m, 3.1220, 3.1234m, 3.1395m, 3.1458m, 3.1526, 3.1535m, 3.1535, 3.1542, 3.1619m, 3.1669, 3.1710m, 3.1791, 3.1925. Vortigern, Duke of Wales, King of Britain.
- Vortymere (Vortymere):** 3.1220m, 3.1416, 3.1436, 3.1457, 3.1458m, 3.1458, 3.1512, 3.1540, 3.1544, 3.1559. Vortimer, King of Britain, eldest son of Vortygere.
- Vortypore:** 3.3969m, 3.3969. Vortiporius, King of Britain.
- Vulcane:** 2.32. Vulcan, the Roman god of fire.
- Walbroke:** 3.351m, 3.371. Walbrook, also named Galbroke after Gallus, the Roman who died there.

**Wales:** 2.673, 2.794, 2.807, 2.1320, 3.99m, 3.1158, 3.1619m, 3.1662, 3.2464, 3.2565, 3.2777, 3.2815, 3.2817, 3.2842m, 3.2842, 3.2843, 3.2947m, 3.2989m, 3.3038m, 3.3136m, 3.3193. Wales.

**Walterum Oxoniensem (Waltier):** 2.1m, 2.1189, 3.2947m. Walter of Oxford.

**Waltier of Oxenford.** See **Walterum Oxoniensem.**

**Westmerlond (Westmerlonde):** 2.2679, 2.2681, 3.2226. Westmorland.

**Whytsonde (Whitesonde):** 3.3738m, 3.3743. Wissant, France, where Arthur meets Mordred in battle on his way back to Britain.

**Woden:** 3.1290m, 3.1290, 3.1372.

The Norse god Woden, also associated with Mercury.

**Wynchestre (Wynchestere,**

**Wynchester):** 2.1158, 2.2526, 3.748, 3.1130, 3.1143m, 3.1144, 3.1629, 3.1994, 3.1997, 3.2591, 3.3752m, 3.3752, 3.3916, 3.3990. Winchester.

**Ymeneus:** 2.30. Hymen, the goddess of marriage.

**Yorke:** 2.1032, 3.43m, 3.169m, 3.1626, 3.1839, 3.1920, 3.2025, 3.2289, 3.2409m, 3.2409, 3.2585, 3.2802, 3.3796. The City of York. See also **Ebrauke.**



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