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A Tretis Compiled out of Diverse Cronicles (1440):

**A Study and Edition of the Short English Prose Chronicle Extant in London,
British Library, Additional 34,764**

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Introduction

The short English prose chronicle extant in London, British Library, MS Additional 34,764 has never been edited or received any serious critical attention.¹ Styled as ‘a tretis compiled oute of diuerse cronicles’ (hereafter *Tretis*), the text was completed in ‘the xvij yere’ of King Henry VI of England (1439–1440) by an anonymous author with an interest in, and likely connection with, Cheshire. Scholars’ neglect of the *Tretis* to date is largely attributable to the fact that it has been described as a ‘brief and unimportant’ account of English history, comprising a genealogy of the English kings derived from Aelred of Rievalux’s *Genealogia regum Anglorum* and a description of England abridged from Book One of Ranulph Higden’s *Polychronicon*.² While the author does utilize these works, parts of the *Tretis* are nevertheless drawn from other sources and the combination of the materials is more sophisticated than has hitherto been acknowledged.

Beyond the content of the *Tretis*, the manuscript containing it also needs reviewing. As well as being the only manuscript in which the *Tretis* has been identified to date, Additional 34,764 was once part of a (now disassembled) fifteenth-century miscellany produced in the Midlands *circa* 1475. The miscellany was

¹ To date, the only scholar to pay attention to the nature of the text is Edward Donald Kennedy, who wrote two short entries on the chronicle (Kennedy 1989: 2665-2666, 2880-2881; 2010: 1). Charles Kingsford makes a passing reference to the *Tretis* (1913: 169) and Kathleen L. Scott briefly discusses MS Additional 34,764 in relation to the miscellany to which it once belonged (2008: 117, 129).

² British Museum, *Catalogue of Additions*, 78.

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recognised and partially reconstructed by Kathleen L. Scott in 1966 (then Kathleen L. Smith) and in 2008. When considered in light of what is known about its original context, Additional 34,764 contributes to our understanding of the nature of the *Tretis* and the larger manuscript to which it once belonged. This study and edition seeks to rectify the absence of a critical edition of the *Tretis* and reappraise its value.

The Text and Authorship of the *Tretis*

Beginning with an epitome of British geography, the *Tretis* provides an account of England and its leaders (royal, ecclesiastical and noble), and a brief history of Chester and the See of Chester. According to a synopsis at the start of the work (fols. 3r-3v), the *Tretis* originally comprised seven ‘branches’ or sections, the first three of which survive in Additional 34,764 along with a portion, or perhaps all, of the fourth. It is nevertheless possible to reconstruct the essence of the missing parts from the author’s opening summary.

At 3124 words, Part One accounts for approximately 65 per cent of the text as it survives in Additional 34,764. It consists of a brief outline of Britain’s geography and a genealogy of the West Saxon and English monarchs, which from the time of Empress Matilda segues into a brief account of the reigns of England’s kings down to Henry VI. The sources for this segment include Books One and Seven of Ranulph Higden’s *Polychronicon*, Aelred of Rievaulx’s *Genealogia regum Anglorum*, and ‘other cronicles of Englonde’, which are in fact the Middle English Prose *Brut* and a version of the London Chronicles, or, more likely, a work that combined the two.³ The author also cites Bede’s eighth-century *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* and Alfred of Beverley’s *Historia* as a source, but the material derived from this text

³ The notes accompanying the edition provide more detailed information about the author’s use of these sources.

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has been transmitted via Higden, who mentions Bede and Alfred in those parts of the *Polychronicon* underpinning the *Tretis*.

Part Two of the *Tretis* is 428 words long. It draws solely on Book One of the *Polychronicon* and is concerned with the counties and shires of Britain. Part Three provides information about Britain's 'worthiest citees and townes', along with their former names and details of the bishops' sees. It uses Book One and Book Four of the *Polychronicon* (and perhaps Book Three) along with Nicholas Cantelupe's *Historiola de antiquitate et origine almæ et immaculatæ Universitatis Cantebriagiæ*, or a later work dependent on it, such as John Lydgate's 'Verses on Cambridge'.⁴ The author's reference to a 'cronicle of Chestre' casting doubt on King Coel's foundation of Colchester (fol. 8v) points to another minor, unidentified source: it cannot be a reference to Higden's chronicle, as that includes Coel's reputed founding of the city in Book Four.⁵ At 1230 words, Part Three is the second biggest section of the *Tretis* in Additional 34,764.

Part Four offers a brief account of the See of Chester and its translation to Coventry drawn from Books One and Seven of the *Polychronicon*. It is only 120 words, but there is no reason to suppose that additional passages are missing unless the author planned to expand the history of the See in Coventry and Lichfield. The text finishes with a complete sentence halfway down folio 10r, leaving one and a half folios blank at the end of the quire. While it is impossible to determine the precise reason for the text's cessation and omission of the final three parts at this point, several possibilities are worth considering:

1. The scribe may have paused his work and failed to resume it for reasons unknown.

⁴ See note 101 for more detail.

⁵ Higden, *Polychronicon*, IV, 474-475.

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2. The scribe's exemplar may have lacked the rest of the text, either because it was faulty or because the author failed to finish the seven sections envisaged at the start of the *Tretis* (therefore a complete exemplar did not exist).
3. The patron commissioning the miscellany to which Additional 34,764 belonged simply did not require the final three parts.

In sum, whatever the reason for the absence of the rest of the work, there is no codicological evidence in Additional 34,764 to suggest that the fourth part and/or the last three parts continued on a missing folio or quire. The text edited here for the first time gives all that was ever copied into the sole surviving witness. As will be shown later, the curtailment of other texts in the disassembled miscellany lends further support to this conclusion.

If the *Tretis* once existed in the seven-part form outlined at the beginning of the work, the author's synopsis of the last three 'branches' provides some insight into their content and probable sources. Part Five contained an account of the 'worthinesse' of the city of Chester and its foundation. This section no doubt retold the story of the city's legendary founder, Lyencius or Leon the Giant, and charted the development of the city from Roman times through to the extensive rebuilding programme undertaken in Anglo-Saxon times by Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians (†918). Book One of Higden's *Polychronicon* contains all of this information and the author touches on the same material briefly at the end of Part Three, so it was likely reused and amplified.

Part Six gathered together the names and principal deeds of noteworthy figures in the realm. The author's source is unclear, but Book Seven of the *Polychronicon*, the Middle English Prose *Brut* (hereafter *Brut*) and the London Chronicles were no doubt utilized again. The information may have been presented in a format similar to the

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genealogical and historical material in Part One, some of which was undoubtedly duplicated.

The final section of the *Tretis*, Part Seven, considered important sepulchres ‘in this lande’. The tombs featured would have been of royal, noble and ecclesiastical importance and St Werburgh, whose remains were enshrined at Chester, may have been included. The author almost certainly drew on the *Polychronicon* and the *Brut* for this section, as both texts record important burials.

At this point it is useful to set aside the absence of Parts Five to Seven, albeit momentarily, to evaluate what the seven parts of the *Tretis* reveal about the author and the work as it was originally conceived. Together the different ‘branches’ provide a useful digest of important geographical, genealogical and historical information about Chester, Britain and England extracted from lengthier Latin and English sources. Though anonymous, the author was clearly a well-read individual, adept at extracting information from lengthier Latin and English texts and compiling it into a serviceable volume that reflected his or her own interests or those of the individual or community that the *Tretis* was created for.

The author takes care to outline the sources used, often citing specific books and chapter references. This may indicate that the *Tretis* was initially envisaged as an educational tool or short reference work that allowed readers to consult the relevant sections of the original texts with ease. It may also explain why several sections overlap in terms of content. The seven parts could be read from beginning to end by those who wished to absorb the essence of several important chronicles in one short, coherent volume, or they could be used as an *aide-mémoire* by individuals who wanted to check particular facts or points of interest. In this respect, the author’s summary helped readers to navigate to the most relevant section for their interests or

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enquiries. However, this is not to say that we should think of the *Tretis* solely as a derivative text. While there is little original content barring the author's synopsis, the way in which the materials have been structured and woven together has created an entirely new work. The *Tretis* is at once a serviceable reference book for those familiar with the longer works from which it is drawn and a short vernacular account of the most important details pertaining to the geography, history and ruling elite of Britain, England and Chester. Given that it was completed at a time when fifteenth-century readers were developing a taste for vernacular chronicles and succinct town histories, the chronicle may exemplify one author's attempt to meet a demand for an authoritative, but manageable historical digest that spoke to Chester's role in the broader context of national affairs.⁶

The recurring focus on Chester and the See of Chester across the seven sections of the *Tretis* raises the likelihood that the text was compiled at one of the city's religious foundations. As the centre of diocesan administration in Chester, the Collegiate Church of St John is one example of an environment that might have fostered such a work. It had a grammar school from 1353, which, if it were still in use by the mid fifteenth century, would have benefitted from having a short vernacular text to teach students about local and national history.⁷ However, a more likely location for the composition of the *Tretis* is the Benedictine Abbey of St Werburgh. As the wealthiest and most influential religious house in Chester, St Werburgh's had an active scriptorium and a significant library.⁸ Importantly, it also had a tradition of

⁶ On the rise of vernacular chronicles in the fifteenth century, see Gransden (1982: II, 220-248).

⁷ Unfortunately the period during which the school was open is unclear. Lucian, a twelfth-century monk of Chester, mentions being educated at St John's in his *De laude Cestrie* (11-13, 41), but this may not have been at the grammar school that existed in the fourteenth century. A definitive reference to the grammar school occurs in the visitation records of 1353 and it was still active in 1368 when John de Whitby governed it. By the Reformation it was no longer extant, but how far into the fifteenth century it continued (if it did not close in the late fourteenth century) is unknown (see Jones 1957: 111).

⁸ For books associated with the library, see Ker (1964: 49). There were undoubtedly other manuscripts.

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producing historical writing from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries in the form of the *Annales Cestrienses* (c.1265–1297), Higden's *Polychronicon* (c.1327–1352), and Henry Bradshaw's two works, *De antiquitate et magnificentia urbis Cestrie* (c.1495–1513) and the *Life of St Werburge*, which included an account of the saint's royal ancestry and the foundation of Chester (1513).⁹ If the *Tretis* were produced in such an environment it would account for the author's access to a range of historical works, especially Higden's *Polychronicon* and the enigmatic 'cronicle of Chestre', and explain the text's focus on the See of Chester, notable sepulchres, and secular and ecclesiastical leaders.

Tempting as it may be to try and place the *Tretis* at St Werburgh's or a similar site within the city, it is nevertheless important not to speculate too much about the author's identity and milieu without further evidence. The text as it survives in Additional 34,764 was copied three and a half decades after the author of the *Tretis* claims to have finished the work and as such offers only an incomplete picture of the original seven-part *Tretis* and its author. For the time being, all we can say with confidence about the text as it was first conceived is that it was compiled by an individual who had an interest in Chester and its noble and ecclesiastical connections. This individual was well educated, able to read and write Latin and English, and had access to several substantial chronicles, which were combined to produce a new vernacular work with a local and national focus. Two of the author's sources, Higden's *Polychronicon* and the unidentified 'cronicle of Chestre', were inextricably connected with the city. If the author was not a member of a religious house with access to a library, he or she had a patron or knew individuals who provided the aforementioned sources.

⁹ For the *Annales Cestrienses*, see Ruddick (2010: 59); for Bradshaw, see Greatrex (2004). It is highly likely that Lucian's *De laude Cestrie* was written at St Werburgh's too, which would push the tradition of historical writing at the Benedictine house back to the twelfth century.

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While we can say little else about the seven-part *Tretis*, the incomplete four-part *Tretis* that has come down to us in Additional 34,764 captures a later stage of the text's transmission and sheds light on how the work circulated and was used in the years after its composition. It is to that manuscript and the late fifteenth-century miscellany to which the four-part *Tretis* once belonged that I will now turn.

The Manuscript and its Place in the Late Fifteenth-Century Miscellany

London British Library, Additional 34,764 is a late fifteenth-century manuscript, dated *circa* 1475, comprising nine paper folios and six modern paper flyleaves (iii + 9 + iii). The medieval folios, measuring 280 x 192 mm, consist of a blank, frame-ruled leaf and a quire of eight leaves on which the text is written. The verso of the final medieval leaf is another frame-ruled blank containing a Latin maxim written in a sixteenth-century hand.¹⁰

There are two sets of foliation. The first and oldest foliation begins on the second medieval paper folio and is written in pencil. The second foliation begins on the third modern flyleaf and was added when the British Library (then the British Museum) acquired the manuscript in 1895. The hand of the second foliation cancels the first. Neither foliation accurately reflects the true number of medieval leaves preserved in Additional 34,764, but this edition uses the second foliation for convenience.

All of the medieval folios are frame ruled in brown; dry point ruling is used within the frame. There are no catchwords or medieval quire signatures. The paper

¹⁰ The annotation is based on the Latin phrase, 'Doce ut discas' ('Teach in order to learn') and reads: 'Dissere qui queris doseas vt ipse doseris insturt [*sic*] tirones / qui te ~~sunt~~ sunt inferiores nam studeo tali tibi.' The maxim dates back to the Classical period and the writings of influential figures, such as Plato, Seneca and Dionysius Cato. It was repeated throughout the Middle Ages and appeared, among other places, in Book Four of Benedict Burgh's English translation of Cato's *Disticha*, a copy of which was once part of the same fifteenth-century miscellany as Additional 34,764. It now survives in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson Poet. 35 (fols. 1r-17r). The presence of the annotation may indicate that the miscellany was in a scholastic environment in the sixteenth century.

bears a watermark of a crown and crossed rod, which is only partially visible in the gutter of folios 6, 7 and 9. It is not present in Briquet or Piccard and awaits identification,¹¹ but it belongs to the same paper stock used for other quires of the larger manuscript to which it once belonged.¹² The manuscript has a nineteenth-century brown leather binding with a tooled border of tiny chevrons.

The text begins on the second medieval paper folio (fol. 3). It is written in a late fifteenth-century professional anglicana hand with secretary features, mostly notably letters *d* and *g*. The scribe's most distinctive letter is a large lower case anglicana *w* that ascends above the other letters giving the impression of an upper case character. Other notable features include barred *h*, *l* and *ll*, and two-compartment *a* formed with straight-sides and a cross-stroke dividing the two compartments. Section headings are rubricated and begin with a large blue initial, three lines in height, with red pen-work flourishing. The decoration is typical of that found in mid to late fifteenth-century English books. Within the text, red paraps and red tipped initials are used to highlight the author's summary of the seven parts of the text. Red tipping is occasionally employed elsewhere to highlight place names and divisions within longer passages, while the Latin phrase on folio 7r is written in red ink. The scribe uses the punctus and virgule for punctuation and occasionally tips the virgules in red.¹³

There are no medieval marks of ownership, but the aforementioned Latin annotation on folio 10v may point to the manuscript being in an academic environment in the sixteenth century; at this time, Additional 34,764 was still part of the larger miscellany. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the

¹¹ Briquet (1923); Piccard (1961–1997).

¹² See Scott (2008) and the Appendix.

¹³ Other descriptions of the Scribe's hand can be found in Smith (1966), Scott (2008), Keiser (2003), and the *Late Medieval English Scribes Database*, which profiles Scribe A under the misleading appellation 'Romances Scribe/Baggehey'.

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miscellany passed to Thomas Rawlinson (1681–1725), a famous antiquarian and bibliophile, who disassembled it and appears to have lent parts of it to other scholars. Thereafter the section containing the *Tretis* passed through at least one other (unidentified) owner into the collection of the antiquarian and book collector, Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872), where it became manuscript number 8859. Sothebys sold Phillipps's collection after his death and the British Museum purchased it on 23 March 1895 (lot 377).

The miscellany to which Additional 34,764 once belonged is known to have contained seventeen texts, with at least three more as yet unidentified. Kathleen L. Scott was the first to call attention to the miscellany in 1966 when she identified parts of it across seven manuscripts in the Bodleian library.¹⁴ Following the discovery of another substantial part in the British Library by George Keiser in 2003, Scott published a revised account of the miscellany's contents, including the parts identified by Keiser and two other manuscripts, one of which was Additional 34,764.¹⁵

The original position of each text in the miscellany prior to the separation of the booklets is, as Scott notes, preserved by a sequence of letters (A-V) and numbers (1-42), which were almost certainly added to the margins of the first folio of each text by Rawlinson.¹⁶ A summary of the structure and content of the miscellany based on Scott's work is provided in a table in the Appendix. As can be seen from the table, several parts of the miscellany, parts M, S, T, and possibly I and U, and part of H, are still missing. There may have been other parts after V.

The range of materials included corresponds with the kinds of texts found in other fifteenth-century miscellanies, with items ranging from history and romance to

¹⁴ See Smith (1966).

¹⁵ Scott (2008: 117, 129).

¹⁶ Like Scott, I have chosen to use the term booklets to describe the disassembled parts of the miscellany. For an overview of the term and a convincing justification for its use in this context, see Scott (2008: 124, n.2).

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hunting and medical treatises, and works of moral and religious instruction.¹⁷ The *Tretis* is nevertheless the only work in the collection to deal with English history, perhaps indicating that its value as both a national and local history was apparent to those commissioning it.

Also striking is the repeated curtailment of the items in the miscellany. The prose digests of *Mandeville's Travels*, *The Siege of Thebes* and *The Siege of Troy* (Parts D, F and G) are short by design, but some texts, such as the copy of Benedict Burgh's *Cato's Disticha* (Part A), have lacunae that are attributable to missing folios, and others, such as the *Aqua vite* (Part O), point to the scribe's use of incomplete or faulty exemplars, a factor that played a role in the production of other miscellanies.¹⁸ The latter may account for the absence of the final three books of the *Tretis*, as mentioned earlier, though the possibility that Parts Five to Seven may have been omitted because they were not desired by, or lacked relevance to, the individual purchasing the miscellany should not be overlooked.¹⁹

The scribe responsible for Additional 34,764 (Scribe A) copied the majority of the texts in the miscellany and often ceased copying other sections in the same manner as the *Tretis*. This scribe worked with at least two others – Scribe B and Scribe C – who copied two and one texts respectively (Parts D, Q and V), leading Scott to suggest that Scribe A may have instigated the project and that the manuscript was a commercial production by the triumvirate who followed 'an obvious plan from the outset to make the miscellany of texts look as much alike as possible'.²⁰ In an

¹⁷ On miscellanies and their contents, see Boffey and Thompson (1989) and Connolly and Radulescu (2015).

¹⁸ A good example is Robert Thornton's famous compilation, extant in Lincoln Cathedral Library, 91 and London British Library, Additional 31042, which bears evidence of his use of faulty or incomplete exemplars; see Boffey and Thompson (1989: 300).

¹⁹ The need for caution when attempting to unravel the knotty issue of whether the copyist of a unique reduction of a longer work was also the adapter has been exemplified most recently by Erik Kooper's illuminating work on London, British Library, Sloane 2027; see Kooper (2018).

²⁰ Scott (2008: 120).

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attempt to identify the scribe, Scott suggested that the words ‘Boggehey, baggehe, baggeheneý’ at the end of the *Aqua vite* (Part O) were variations of the scribe’s name.²¹ The *Late Medieval English Scribes Database* later repeated this error, referring to the scribe as the ‘Romances Scribe/Baggehey’.²² In fact, as Cant has demonstrated, *Boggehey* is a variant of *brome geneste*, a parasitic plant, which grows on the roots of the brome plant.²³ The three versions of the plant’s name occur at the beginning of a recipe for the cramp, just before Scribe A ceases copying the rest of the recipe; a similar recipe using ‘brome geneste’ for cramp is found in a fifteenth-century *Leechbook*.²⁴ There is only one clear *explicit* in which Scribe A signs off his work, and that occurs at the end of the Hunting treatise (Part K), where he finishes with ‘Explicit expliceat ludere scriptor eat’ (‘May the explicit be finished, let the scribe go and play’). This is nevertheless a conventional colophon, so it is impossible to say whether the scribe included it himself or copied it from his exemplar. Either way it reveals nothing further about the scribe except perhaps that he had a sense of humour.

The dialect of Additional 34,764 best fits a linguistic profile for Derbyshire, though it also contains some forms from Cheshire, Lancashire, Warwickshire and Northamptonshire.²⁵ Given that the written word was in still in flux in this period, it is hard to draw any firm conclusions about how much of the dialectal variance is authorial and how much was introduced by Scribe A or his exemplar. However, where linguistic profiles exist for other parts of the miscellany they reveal dialectal

²¹ Scott (2008: 115).

²² See the profile for ‘Romances Scribe/Baggehey’ at <https://www.medievalscribes.com> (accessed 7 August 2018).

²³ Cant (1973: 382).

²⁴ *Leechbook*, 80-81.

²⁵ Linguistic profiling was undertaken for this edition using the online ‘fitting’ programme available on the Electronic Version of the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English* <http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme.html> (accessed 7 August 2018).

forms located in the Midlands, so it is likely that the miscellany originated from this region and that the scribes gathered their exemplars from a range of locations in the Midlands. Cant has suggested that the scribes were based in the South-East Midlands, but worked from some exemplars with a more Northerly provenance.²⁶

If this is correct, the Cheshire/Lancashire forms in the *Tretis* are most likely remnants of the author's dialect, and the predominant Derbyshire dialect may reflect scribal intervention either at the miscellany stage or at one or more removes in an exemplar. This assumes, however, that the *Tretis* author was native to the Cheshire/Lancashire/Derbyshire region and was actively translating Higden's Latin text into English as he or she extracted information from the chronicle. The author could, of course, have been using an English translation of the *Polychronicon* like that extant in London, British Library, MS Harley 2261, which shares interesting similarities of phrasing with the *Tretis*, but was not the source.²⁷ Other dialectal forms could equally have crept in from the author's use of a manuscript of the *Brut/London Chronicle* originating in the Midlands.²⁸

Identifying the outstanding parts of the miscellany in the future may help to settle the issue of precisely where the larger manuscript was produced, and for whom, but for the time being it will suffice to say that the miscellany evidences a healthy fifteenth-century book trade in the Midlands and should be studied alongside other manuscripts known to have been commissioned in this region. Its contents indicate

²⁶ Cant (1974: 305-338).

²⁷ At the beginning of Part Two, for example, the *Tretis* describes the exclusion of Cornwall and smaller islands in its reckoning of counties as 'Cornwaile excepte and iles'. Harley 2661 has 'Cornwaile excepte and other yles', while Trevisa gives 'outake Cornwayle and ilondes'. The use of 'excepte' by the author of the *Tretis* and the translation in Harley 2261 is a closer rendering of Higden's 'exceptis Cornubia et insulis' (*Polychronicon*, II, 84-85)

²⁸ Interestingly, a version of the aforementioned *Brut/London Chronicle* in London, British Library, MS Egerton 650, which corresponds with a number of the details included in the *Tretis*, such as the reference to the celebratory bells and singing at Henry VI's birth, also has a mixed dialect with forms belonging to Cheshire, Lancashire and the Midlands. It also has an early Northern provenance, which places it with the Lathoms of Parbold in Lancashire (the inscription 'William Lathum de Parbalde gyuus a ...' occurs on fol. 33r).

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that it catered to the demands of a provincial household and, in such a context, the omission of Parts Five to Seven of the *Tretis* is understandable. What is present in Parts One to Four was essential reading for any English family wishing to learn about the make-up of the kingdom and its past sovereigns.

Far from being a ‘brief and unimportant’ history, the *Tretis* extant in Additional 34,764 offers valuable insights into the creation and use of vernacular chronicles in the mid to late fifteenth century. Written first for a local patron or scholastic audience in the Cheshire region, the seven-part *Tretis* offered a succinct vernacular account of knowledge embedded in established chronicles. Yet its careful referencing allowed readers to consult the lengthier materials from which it was compiled if necessary. Later, the same text found its way into a miscellany because its reduced four-part form met the requirements of a patron who wanted the essentials of British and English history in a useful compendium of texts that covered everything from moral and religious instruction to works on love and sport. The edition that follows makes the *Tretis* available for the first time in the hope that others will find further value in this ‘litulle werke’.

Editorial Practice

The scribe uses a number of common abbreviations. Contractions and suspensions denoting *par-*, *per-*, *-er*, *-is*, *-es* and *-ur* have been silently expanded, as have suspensions at the end of proper nouns (*Ric*’ for *Richard*, fol. 4v) and macrons placed over vowels representing *n* or *m*. Other silent expansions include long *r* with a distinct hook, barred *-ll* and macron over *-pp*, which have been expanded as *-re*, *-lle* and *-ppe* respectively in line with examples of the non-abbreviated form within the text. There is one instance of superscript *a* representing *ra* (*branches*, fol. 3r); three

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instances of superscript *u* for *ur* (*honour*, fol. 4v; *armour*, fol. 6r; *soiourne*, fol. 9v); one instance of barred *b* representing *-er* (*Dorobernia*, fol. 8v); and one instance of *ex^t* for *except* (fol. 7v). All have been expanded accordingly. Initial *ff* has been changed to *F*. Occasionally the scribe places a bar through single *l* and *h* (medial and final position), and adds macrons over final *-m*, *-n* and *-p*, or over words ending in *-zt* or *-ztes*.²⁹ Such strokes may or may not denote abbreviation and they have been treated as otiose in this edition. Capitalisation, word division and punctuation have been modernised. Textual and explanatory notes have been provided in footnotes.

A Tretis Compiled Out of Diverse Cronicles

(London, British Library, MS Additional 34,764)

[fol. 3r] **Here beginneth a tretis compiled oute of diuerse cronicles.**³⁰

This realme of Bretan that now is called Englund was somtyme called Albion bi men of other londes, as the worshipfulle Doctor Beed saith in his boke of storis, in the first boke thereof and in the first chapter thereof.³¹ This was the first name Albion, and then Bretaine, and now Englund.³² And hit is in length fro the North to the South ccc

²⁹ Words including single barred *l* are: *article*, *peple*, *Southwal*. Words including barred *h* are: *abought*, *Englissh*, *erth*, *fight*, *fourth*, *Frenssh*, *hondreth*, *Iohn*, *Iohnes*, *Kyghley*, *knight*, *North*, *Northfolke*, *Northumbrelond*, *parissh*, *slegh*, *slogh*, *South*, *Southfolke*, *Southampton*, *Sothrey*, *Southsex*, *Walssh*, *which*, *with*.

³⁰ MS *Here ... cronicles*: written in red ink. The heading is drawn from Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon*, which also refers to itself as a 'tractatum aliquem, ex variis auctorum decerptum laboribus' (I, 6). Compare also the English translations of Higden's text by John Trevisa and the anonymous translator of London, British Library, Harley 2261, which call themselves 'a tretis i-gadered of dyuerse bookes' and 'a tretys ... excerpte of diuerse labors of auctores' respectively (*Polychronicon*, I, 7).

³¹ The *Tretis* is referring to the Venerable Bede (673/4–735), monk, theologian and author, who describes Britain in Book One of the *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (hereafter *Bede*, *Ecclesiastical History*). Higden's *Polychronicon* cites Bede throughout its description of Britain, so there is no reason to assume that the author of the *Tretis* was using Bede independently (see, for example, *Polychronicon*, II, 4).

³² Compare *Polychronicon*, II, 4-5, for the same account of England's former names. The subsequent description is drawn from *Polychronicon*, Book One; see, for example, *Polychronicon*, II, 10-21.

myle.³³ And in brede fro the est to the west cc mile. And the circumstaunce about England is v hundreth thousand and x myles.³⁴ This lande is plenteuous of wolle, tynne, and of frutes, of tress, of welles, and ryuers, and of diuerse kindes of bestis, and of other commoditees plenteuouse that were irksom to the reader al to reken, but there as mekulle corne is after the bak of the repers, men may come and gader eres, and eres aren preferred after greynes.³⁵

The mater of this litulle werke I wil put in distinccion in seuen branches as now shal folowe, the name of God preceding.³⁶ First þe genologie of kinges of this lande from Adam oure first fader vnto oure liege lorde Harry the Sixt into the xvij yere of his regne,³⁷ whom almighti God preferne in alle prosperite, like as I finde in scripture of the worshipfulle abbot of Ryuaux, Aluered, and in other cronicles of England.³⁸ The second parcell shal be of countees, prouinces or of shires as I may pike hem oute after *Policronica*.³⁹ The thirde speche shalle be of the worthiest citees and townes in this said realme, founded of olde tyme and of late tyme, as I finde in

³³ ‘ccc myle’ appears to be an error for ‘dccc’ (800 miles), the figure given by Bede and Higden; see *Polychronicon*, II, 10-13.

³⁴ Bede and Higden give the circumference of Britain as 3600 miles: ‘quibus efficitur ut circuitus eius quadragies octies LXXV milia compleat’ (Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, 14); and ‘Beda. Exceptis tranctibus, quibus efficitur ut circuitus ejus quadragies octies septuaginta [quinque] milia passuum contineat’ (*Polychronicon*, II, 12).

³⁵ This statement underscores the *Tretis*’s value in conveying the essence of lengthier sources succinctly. It derives from a similar remark in the *Polychronicon* (I, 14-15). Both examples are indebted to the humility topos commonly found in medieval writing, whereby authors acknowledge their reliance on previous work and claim to be inferior to their sources.

³⁶ The author follows Higden in dividing his work into seven sections (see *Polychronicon*, I, 26-29). Higden states that his division calls to mind the seven days of creation.

³⁷ Henry VI’s eighteenth regnal year ran from 1 September 1439 to 31 August 1440. This places the composition of the text approximately thirty-five years before the present manuscript was created.

³⁸ Aelred of Rievaulx (1110–1167), was abbot of Rievaulx Abbey, Yorkshire, and author of various historical and religious works (see Bell 2004). The ‘other cronicles of England’ referred to here are the Middle English Prose *Brut* (hereafter *Brut*) and a version of the London Chronicles, or, more likely, a work that combined the two, similar to those texts extant in London, British Library, Egerton 650, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B. 173, Pennsylvania, State University, PS V-3A, and London, Lambeth Palace Library, 306. The textual history of the London Chronicles is complex and a detailed comparison of all extant manuscripts is beyond the reach of this edition. Where possible, correspondence between the *Tretis* and edited manuscripts of the London Chronicles is recorded in the accompanying footnotes, but as a general rule, the *Tretis* shows greatest correspondence with the London Chronicles extant in the following manuscripts: Bradford, *West Yorkshire Archives*, 32D86/42; London, Lambeth Palace, 306; London, British Library, Harley 565; and London, British Library, Egerton 1995 (also known as *Gregory’s Chronicle*).

³⁹ Ranulph Higden’s *Polychronicon*.

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the said cronicle and in oþer places after the true writers be her olde names put to hem, and of her bisshop sees. The firth speche shal be of the worship See of Chestur specialli, and of the translacion thereof to Couentre. The fift parte shal be of the worthinesse of this said citee of Chestre and of þe founder thereof. The sixt speche shal be of the names of kinges and of oþer [fol. 3v] lordes noble, as many as I may gader I shalle shewe expressed. The vij and the last shal be in shewing of sepultures and the names of bodies that weren worthi for to be beried in this lande. And in this parte I wil ende.⁴⁰

First nowe of oure king the genelogie, from oure first fader Adam. I shalle begyn as the worthi doctor Aluered procedit.⁴¹ Adam gat Seth. Seth gat Enos. Enos gat Gaynam. Gaynam gat Malaliel. Malalielle gat Enok. Enok gat Matussale. Matussale gat Lamec. Lamec gat Noee. Noee gat Sem. Sem gat Biadwig. Biadwig gat Wala. Wala gat Hathra. Hathra gat Vtermoth. Vtermouth gat Ben. Ben gat Geatwa. Geatwa gat Cetha. Cetha gat Fingeldulf. Fingeldulf gat Fredwolf. Fredwolf gat Woden. Woden gate Bealdas. Bealdas gat Genwas that was first fader to Gewayes. Genwas gat Efla. Efla gat Ceordic. Ceordic gat Creoda. Creoda gat Churic. Churic gat Sewelyn. Sewelyn gat Cuthwyn. Cuthwyn gat Cutha. Cutha gate Ceolwalle. Ceolwalle gat Secured. Secured gat Ive and Ingels, worthi kinges. Ingels gat Aeppa. Aeppa gat Goffa. Goffa gat Alkmond, king and marter that lieth in Derby.⁴² Alkmond gat Ethilbrigt. Ethilbright gat Ethelwolff. Ethelwolf gat Aluered. Aluered gat Edward. Edward gat Edmond. Edmond gat Edgare. Edgare gatte Ethildrede and Seint Edward,

⁴⁰ The *Tretis* contained in Additional 34,764 finishes at the end of Part Four (or part way through it) and lacks the final three books. See the introduction for more information.

⁴¹ The pedigree that follows is ultimately derived from Aelred of Rievaulx's *Genealogia regum Anglorum*, though Aelred lists the genealogy in reverse, beginning with Empress Matilda and progressing back from her mother, Margaret of Scotland, to Adam. There are also notable omissions and differences in the spelling of certain names in the descent supplied by the *Tretis*. See Aelred of Rievaulx, *Genealogia regum Anglorum*, cols 711-758, and *Aelred of Rievaulx*, 72-73.

⁴² There is confusion here with Ealhmund (*fl.* 784), son of Eafa, king of Kent (Goffa in the *Tretis*), and St Ealhmund (St Alchmund, †800), son of Alhred, king of the Northumbrians (765-774).

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king and marter. Ethildrede gat Edmond king, called Irenside, and Seint Edward, king and confessoure. Edmond Irenside gat Edwarde, and this Edwarde gat Margret þat was wedded to þe king of Scottes. The which Margret bere Molde, wedded to King Harry the first, and she was called the good quene.⁴³

This Molde bare to the said King Harry the first, that was son to William Conquerour and brother to William Rufus, another Molde, wedded to the emperoure of Rome.⁴⁴ The which Molde, after þe disces of the said emperoure, by the commaundement of Harry hir fader, was married to Geffray Plantegenest, erle of Aungoy and Mayne. Þe which [fol. 4r] Molde bere to him a son called Harry, after king of Englonð, called þe second Harry, in whos tyme Seint Thomas of Caunterbury was martered.⁴⁵ This Harry the second gat a son called Harry, that deposed with strength his fader and was crowned and after disseissud his fader leuyng.⁴⁶ And þen his fader was restored agayn to his crowne, that was called Harri fitez Emperice, and he gat Richart, and Geffray, erle of Bretaine, and Iohn, that was after King Richard reigned x yere, the which was called Richard Conquerour. The which at the sege he leid to þe castelle of Galiard was smyten in the hede with a quarelle of an arblaster and died. And yet afore his dethe hadde the castelle yolden to him, and he gaf him that slogh him lyfe and lyme for Cristes sake.⁴⁷

⁴³ Matilda (1080–1118), queen of England, wife of Henry I, and daughter of Malcolm III, king of Scotland, and Margaret, granddaughter of Edmund Ironside. Matilda was also known as Mold ‘the good queen’.

⁴⁴ Matilda of England (1102–1167), otherwise known as Empress Matilda, consort of Henry V (1086–1125), king of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor, and later wife of Geoffrey Plantagenet (1113–1151), count of Anjou.

⁴⁵ Henry II (1133–1189), king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, count of Anjou, and Thomas Becket (†1170), archbishop of Canterbury. Having followed Aelred of Rievaulx’s genealogy, or a text reliant on it, down to Empress Matilda, the *Tretis* appears to base the rest of its account of England’s monarchs on the *Brut* and the London Chronicles, or a work combining the two.

⁴⁶ ‘This Harry II had a son called Harry, who overcame his father with force and was crowned, and afterwards he died while his father was still living’. The *Tretis* refers to Henry the Young King (1155–1183), second son of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine, who was crowned during his father’s lifetime to secure the succession. He revolted in 1173–74 in an attempt to gain autonomy.

⁴⁷ Richard I was wounded in the shoulder by a crossbow bolt at Châlus-Chabrol, not Castle Gaillard. In stating that Richard was wounded in his head and at Castle Gaillard, the author of the *Tretis* provides

And after þis worthi conqueroure regned his brother Iohn, son of the seconde Harry, vij yere.⁴⁸ The which Iohn was called to the courte of the king of Fraunce for the dethe of Arthur, son of Geffray his brother, the which he slogh, and for he come not he lost Normandy.⁴⁹ This Iohn gatte the fourth Harry king, the which was called Harry the thirde, for þat other Harry the third was not iustely crowned, his fader þen levying, and he died afore his fader, as is bifore reherced.⁵⁰ This Harry, son of King Iohn, gat the first Edward, þe which Iohn⁵¹ and Edward rerud a batelle at Leux, and there thei were discomfite. And after þe said Harry hadde batelle at Euesham agaynst Symond and many on his part were slayne.⁵² The seid Edward went into þe holi londe and er he come ayen his fader died that hadde regned lvij yere.⁵³

Then this seid Edward succedid and with stronge honde wan alle Wales and Scotlonde, and he regned xxxij yere.⁵⁴ This Edward gat Edward the second, the which

the same information as the Common Version of the *Brut* (I, 153), and several of the London Chronicles, including Lambeth Palace 306 (*Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, 18), Harley 565 (*A Chronicle of London*, 3), and Egerton 1995 (*Historical Collections*, 58). The same error also occurs in the romance *Richard Coeur de Lyon* and Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle: see Kooper (2018: 123). The author of the *Tretis* could not have used the account of Richard's death as detailed in the *Oldest Anglo-Norman Prose Brut* (*Oldest Anglo-Norman Brut*, 262-263) or Book Seven of the *Polychronicon* (VIII, 164-167), as both texts correctly identify the castle as 'Caluz' (Châlus-Chabrol) and state that Richard was shot in the arm.

⁴⁸ John (1167–1216), king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou. The length of John's reign is incorrect, but the number 'vij' may be an error for 'xvij', which is the figure given by the *Brut* (I, 170) and London Chronicles such as Harley 565 (*A London Chronicle*, 8), Lambeth Palace 306 (*Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, 33), and Egerton 1995 (*Historical Collections*, 61).

⁴⁹ Arthur I, duke of Brittany, son of Geoffrey II, duke of Brittany (second son of Henry II, king of England). John reputedly murdered Arthur. Of the sources consulted for this edition, only the *Polychronicon* makes reference to the murder of Arthur (VIII, 174-75).

⁵⁰ Henry III (1207–1272), king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine.

⁵¹ *Iohn* is presumably an error for *Harry*, as King John was dead at the time of the battle and Henry III fought at the Battle of Lewes with his son, Edward.

⁵² The Battle of Lewes (14 May 1264) and the Battle of Evesham (4 August 1265) were the main battles in the civil conflict known as the Second Barons' War. 'Symond' refers to Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, who led the rebellion against the king and died at Evesham. Compare *Polychronicon* (VIII, 250), *Brut* (I, 175), Harley 565 (*A London Chronicle*, 22-23), and Egerton 1995 (*Historical Collections*, 68).

⁵³ Of the sources consulted for this edition, Prince Edward's voyage to the Holy Land is mentioned in *Polychronicon* (VIII, 256-257), *Brut* (I, 177), and the London Chronicle in Harley 565 (*A London Chronicle*, 25).

⁵⁴ Edward I (1239–1307), king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine. The brevity of the *Tretis*'s account of Edward I is surprising given how much information its sources provide about the king's reign. The London Chronicles correctly record a thirty-five year reign for the king.

in the beginnyng of his regne lost Scotlonde agayn. And he fauzt with the Scottes at Bannokkesburne, and there was slayne the erle of Gloucestre and x barons, and mo then v^c knyghtes and men on fote.⁵⁵ In this kinges tyme was slayn Pers Gauaston, erle [fol. 4v] of Cornwaile, at Warewik by commaundement of Sir Thomas, erle of Lancastre. And after, for a discorde þat felle, the said king sende to sle Sir Thomas of Lancastre with x erles and barons and oþer worthi men, and he was taken at Borobrigge and heded at Pountfret.⁵⁶ And after this king outelawed Quene Isabel his wife and Edward his son and his heire, the which weren oute of this londe two yere. And after his wife and his son come into Engelond, and this king Edward was taken and put into prison in the castelle of Berkeley.⁵⁷ And after was taken and at a parlement with bisshoppes, abbottes, erles and barons that seid to him in name of alle þe parlement in this wise: ‘To þe Edward king, in name of alle the parlement, I yelde homage as hath be wonte to be yolden in tyme passed, and from hens forthe, in name of al þe parlement, I defie the⁵⁸ and from al thi roial honour I depriuē the.’⁵⁹ And so whan þis king had regned xix yere he died in þe same castelle.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Edward II (1284–1327), king of England, lord of Ireland and duke of Aquitaine. The Battle of Bannockburn (24 June 1314) was an important Scottish victory in the First War of Scottish Independence. The English suffered huge casualties, including Gilbert de Clare (1291–1314), eighth earl of Gloucester. None of the sources examined for this edition fully match the details included in the *Tretis*, though the *Brut* is notable in placing the location of the battle at ‘Bannokesbourne’ and listing ‘Erl Gilbert of Clare’ among the dead (I, 208).

⁵⁶ The *Tretis* refers to Piers Gaveston (†1312), earl of Cornwall and favourite of Edward II, and Thomas of Lancaster (c.1278–1322), second earl of Lancaster and Leicester, and earl of Lincoln. Gaveston was executed at Blacklow Hill in Warwickshire. Lancaster was captured at the Battle of Boroughbridge and executed near Pontefract Castle. The *Brut* provides the best match for the information provided in the *Tretis*, including locations not mentioned in the other sources consulted here (I, 207, 217–224). Also of note are the *Polychronicon* (VIII, 302–304, 312–313) and the London Chronicles in Harley 565 and Bradford 32D86/42.

⁵⁷ In this instance the chronology of the *Tretis* corresponds with that in Egerton 1995 (*Historical Collections*, 76), which records Edward II’s imprisonment at Berkeley before his deposition. Both the *Brut* (I, 252) and the *Polychronicon* (VIII, 322, 324) mention Edward’s incarceration at Kenilworth Castle before his deposition and subsequent transfer to Berkeley.

⁵⁸ MS *I defie the*: this phrase has been underlined by a reader.

⁵⁹ MS *depriuē*: ~~dr~~ *depriuē* (*dr* cancelled with strikethrough). The speech is based on William Trussel’s speech, as reported in *Polychronicon*, Book Seven (VIII, 322–323) and the *Brut* (I, 242). The phrasing and vocabulary of the speech in the *Polychronicon* is closest to that in the *Tretis*. John Trevisa’s translation of the *Polychronicon* is also strikingly similar to the *Tretis*.

⁶⁰ Edward II died at Berkeley Castle, Gloucestershire, on 21 September 1327.

To þe which succeeded Edward his son in the realme called þe third Edward. This king regned lj yere.⁶¹ In þe iiiijth yere of his regne Sir Roger Mortemer was drawen and honged.⁶² In his xv yere was þe batelle of Scluse.⁶³ In þe xvij yere was þe earthquake.⁶⁴ In his xix yere was the batel of Cressy. In his xx yere this king wan Calys.⁶⁵ In his xxiiij yere was the first pestilence.⁶⁶ In his xxxj yere was the batel of Pateux. And þere was þe king of Fraunce taken and þe king of Beame slayne.⁶⁷ In his xxxvj yere was þe second pestilens.⁶⁸ And in his xliij yere was þe grete viage into Fraunce by Sir Robert Knolles and oþer.⁶⁹ In þe l yere was þe Wode Satersday, and

⁶¹ Edward III (1312–1377), king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine.

⁶² Roger Mortimer, first earl of March (1287–1330). Compare *Polychronicon* (VIII, 326-327) and *Brut* (I, 272). Lambeth Palace 306 also records the event under the same regnal year as the *Tretis* but provides different details: ‘This yere was Roger Mortymer honged for holding of the Quene’ (*Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, 43). Other London Chronicles place Mortimer’s execution in the king’s third or fifth regnal year: see, for example, London, British Library, Cotton Julius B ii (*Chronicles of London*, 10), Bradford 32D86/42 (*The London Chronicles*, 164), Harley 565 (*A Chronicle of London*, 54), and Egerton 1995 (*Historical Collections*, 79).

⁶³ The Battle of Sluys (24 June 1340). The *Brut* and several of the London Chronicles record the battle under the same regnal year (see *Brut*, II, 295; *A Chronicle of London*, 57; *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, 44; and *Historical Collections*, 81).

⁶⁴ See also Harley 565 (*A London Chronicle*, 58); Egerton 1995 (*Historical Collections Historical Collections*, 81); Lambeth Palace 306 (*Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, 44); and Bradford 32D86/42 (*The London Chronicles*, 166).

⁶⁵ The *Tretis* refers to the Battle of Crécy (26 August 1346) and the Siege of Calais (September 1346–August 1347). Compare *Polychronicon* (VIII, 340) and *Brut* (II, 298-299). In placing the events in Edward III’s twenty-first regnal year, the *Tretis* is textually close to the *Brut*, Harley 565 (*A London Chronicle*, 59), Egerton 1995 (*Historical Collections*, 82), and Lambeth Palace 306 (*Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, 44).

⁶⁶ This is a reference to The Black Death, an outbreak of plague that reached England from Europe in 1348–1349. The *Brut* (II, 301), Harley 565 (*A London Chronicle*, 60) and Egerton 1995 (*Historical Collections*, 83) also record the event under Edward III’s twenty-fourth year.

⁶⁷ The Battle of Poitiers (19 September 1356), at which Edward, the Black Prince, son of Edward III, captured King John II of France. The ‘King of Beame’ (Bohemia), mentioned in error, is John the Blind (1296–1346), who died at the Battle of Crécy, not Poitiers. Several of the London Chronicles record the death of the King of Bohemia in their entry for the Battle of Crécy, so the author of the *Tretis* presumably confused the two entries, or was drawing on a text that had confused the casualties. The *Brut*, Harley 565 and Egerton 1995 make reference to the king of Bohemia and to the capture of the king of France in their entries for Crécy and Poitiers (see *Brut*, II, 298, 308; *A London Chronicle*, 59, 63; and *Historical Collections*, 82, 85). The fifteenth-century English translation and continuation of the *Polychronicon* extant in Harley 2261 likewise lists these and other casualties (*Polychronicon*, VIII, 430).

⁶⁸ The London Chronicles in Harley 565 and Egerton 1995 also place the second pestilence in Edward III’s thirty-sixth regnal year (*A London Chronicle*, 65 and *Historical Collections*, 86). Bradford 32D86/42 (*The London Chronicles*, 169), Lambeth Palace 306 (*Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, 45), and Julius B.II (*Chronicles of London*, 13) place it a year earlier.

⁶⁹ Cheshire born, Sir Robert Knolles (†1407) played an important role in the Hundred Years’ War with France. The *Tretis* follows several of the London Chronicles and the *Brut* (II, 322-323) in referring to his disastrous expedition to northern France in 1370. Knolles’s army fractured due to a lack of discipline and a significant part of the force was slaughtered at the Battle of Pontvallain (4 December

þat day the duc of Lancastre at his ynne slogh Sir Iohn of Ipres and many oþer myscheues fel.⁷⁰ In þat yere died þe noble prince Edward, son of this thirddede Edwarde, afore his fader. And after þe disces of þat fader, Richard, son of þe said prince, succedid, called Richard the second. In his xj yere of age this Richard was crowned and he regned xxij yere.⁷¹

[fol. 5r] In the iiiij^{the} yere of his regne was þe rysing of Kent and Essex. Whereof the cheftens weren Iak Strawe and Wat Tyler and þei comen to London and brent a faire maner of the duke of Lancastre⁷² called Savoy. And þei brent a parcel of the house of Seint Iohnes of Clerkenwelle and þe maner of Heibury. And on þe morowe after thei come bifore the Toure of London and token oute the erchibisshoppe of Caunterbury and þe Prioure of Seint Iohnes and Iohn Legge, sergeant of armes, and girde⁷³ of here hedes at þe Toure Hille, and of Richard Lyons, Flemmyng, and of oþer men of Flaundes, as many as they might take.⁷⁴ And in Smythfelde this Iak Strawe

1370), which Knolles was later held accountable for. The phrasing of the *Tretis* is closest to that in Harley 565 ('And in this yere was the grete vyage into Fraunce be Sir Robert Knolles'; *A London Chronicle*, 68) and Bradford 32D86/42 ('In þat 3er was þe grete vyage mad in to ffrance be Sire Robert Knolles'; *The London Chronicles*, 171).

⁷⁰ This is a mangled reference to the London riots of February 1377, during which a mob of angry citizens attempted to capture John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster. Gaunt was dining at the Ypres Inn with his retainer Sir John of Ypres. Of the London Chronicles reviewed for this edition, only Bradford 32D86/42 and Lambeth Palace 306 refer to 'Wode Satersday', mentioning the duke of Lancaster and Sir John of Ypres (*The London Chronicles*, 172, *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, 47). Harley 565 refers to the uprising but does not mention Sir John of Ypres (70-71). Both the *Tretis* and Lambeth Palace 306 record the death of Prince Edward after the notice of 'wode Saturday'.

⁷¹ Richard II (1367–1377), king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, was ten years old when he succeeded his grandfather, Edward III. Richard's father, Edward, the Black Prince (1330–1376), died on 8 June 1376.

⁷² MS *Lancastre*: Kent *Lancastre* (*Kent* cancelled with expunction).

⁷³ MS *girde*: a later hand writes 'girde struck' in the left-hand margin beside this word.

⁷⁴ The *Tretis* is referring to the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, led by Walter (Wat) Tyler (†1381). Jack Straw is named as a leader of the revolt in many chronicles, but his identity remains a mystery: he may have been a real person about whom nothing else is known; his name could have been a pseudonym for Wat Tyler; or some confusion may have arisen with the figure of John Wrawe, a Suffolk priest involved in the uprising. The rioters attacked various buildings, including Savoy Palace, the Priory of St John of Jerusalem, Clerkenwell, and Highbury Manor (all mentioned here). At Tower Hill they then beheaded Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Robert Hales, prior of St John of Jerusalem in England and Treasurer, and John Legge, royal sergent-at-arms. Richard Lyons, a merchant and financier, was beheaded at Cheapside, and many Flemings were also slain. In mentioning details absent from some of the London Chronicles, such as the destruction of Highbury Manor and the death of Richard Lyons, the *Tretis* is closest to the accounts of the revolt in Egerton 1995 (*Historical Collections*, 91), Lambeth Palace 306 (*Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, 48), and Bradford

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and his meyne metten with King Richard and his lordes that come with him. And thider come the maier of London, called William Walworth, with his aldermen, the which maier there slogh Iak Strawe in presens of the king, wherefor there þe king made him knyzt and diuerse of his aldermen, þat is to witte Nicholle Brembure, Iohn Philpot, Robert Lounde, Adam Fraunces, and Nicholle Twyford, thes weren citezens of London and made knyzttes.⁷⁵

In the vth yere of this king was þe erthquake and þat same yere went Harry Spencer bisshoppe of Norwiche into Flaunders and made þere many bisshoppe mitres.⁷⁶ In the ix yere of⁷⁷ this king were made dukes Sir Edmond of Longeley and Sir Thomas Wodstok; and Sir Michel Pole and Sir Iohn Vrmond were made erles þe same yere at Westmynstre.⁷⁸

In his xj yere Alexander Nevelle, erchibisshopp of Yorke, Sir Robert Vear, duke of Irlonde, Sir Michel Pole, erle of Southfolke, flowen oute of Englund for þe said Robert Vear, Michelle Pole, Sir Robert Tresilien, Sir Nichol Brembure, and oþer mo, weren appeled by the duc of Gloucestre, and by the erles of Arundelle, Warwik, Derby, and Marchalle. And in this same yere Tresilien, Brembure, Sir Symond of

32D86/42 (*The London Chronicles*, 173-174). The *Brut* provides a thorough account of the revolt, but does not make reference to Highbury and Lyons (II, 336-338).

⁷⁵ The number of newly made knights and their identities varies from chronicle to chronicle, but the names given here correspond with those given in Lambeth Palace 306 and Bradford 32D86/42, which record William Walworth, Nicholas Brembre (†1388), John Philipot (†1384), and Robert Launde receiving their knighthoods at Smithfield, and Nicholas Twyford (†1390/91) and Adam Fraunceys (†1417) receiving theirs shortly after with others (*Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, 48, and *The London Chronicles*, 174). John Stow, who owned and annotated Lambeth Palace 306 and London, British Library, Harley Roll C 8, another London Chronicle closely related to it, mentions the same names in his historical works. See, for example, his *Chronicles of England*, 483; *The Annales of England*, 452; and *A Survey of London*, 80.

⁷⁶ Many chronicles record the earthquake that occurred in May 1382, Richard II's fifth regnal year. In the London Chronicles and the *Brut* the event is immediately followed by a brief comment on the military expedition to Flanders led by Henry Despencer, bishop of Norwich (†1406), in the king's sixth year. See, for example, Harley 565 (*A London Chronicle*, 75), Lambeth 306 (*Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, 26, 49), Bradford 32D86/42 (*The London Chronicles*, 174), and *Brut* (II, 338).

⁷⁷ MS *yere of: yere of k* ('k' expuncted for deletion).

⁷⁸ Compare Harley 565 (*A London Chronicle*, 76) and Bradford 32D86/42 (*The London Chronicles*, 174), which contain the same information. The *Brut* likewise records these and other honours (II, 341).

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Beuerley, Sir Iohn Beauchampe, Sir Iames of Bernes, and mo other, weren gird⁷⁹ of [fol. 5v] the hedes at þe Toure Hille.⁸⁰

In his xx⁸¹ yere, the xviiij day of Iune, þe duc of Gloucestre, the erle of Arundel, and þe erle of Warwik were arest fore treson. In his xxj yere, þe Sunday at nyzt after þe translacion of Seint Thomas, þe king with a power rode to Plasche and there toke þe duc of Gloucestre and sent him to prison to Calys. In the feste of Seint Bartilmewe þen next he sende to him þe Erle Marchal to prison.⁸² And in that same yere was þe grete parlement at Westminster in the which Sir Iohn Busche was speker. In this parlement was ordant that curates of holy church shuld haue a procutour in þe parlement, for þei hemself might not be present in domes to be geuen that touchen treson, and so haue they hadde a procutour sith þat tyme. And at þis parlement was heded þe erle of Arundelle. In that same parlement þe erle of Derby, þat was after the iiijth Harri king, was made duc of Herford; the erle of Rutlond was made duc of Almarle; the erle of Kent was⁸³ duc of Surry; the erle of Huntingdon was made duc of Exceter; the Erle Marchalle was made duc of Northfolke; and the Countes of Northfolke was made duchesse. The erle of Somerset was made marchis of Dorset;

⁷⁹ MS *gird*: a later hand writes 'gird' below this word.

⁸⁰ The details in this section correspond most closely with the entries for Richard II's eleventh regnal year in Harley 565 (*A London Chronicle*, 77-78), Egerton 1995 (*Historical Collections*, 92-93), and Bradford 32D86/42 (*The London Chronicles*, 175). Robert Tresilian and Nicholas Brembre were drawn and hanged at Tyburn in 1388, while Simon of Beverley, John Beauchamp of Holt, and James Berners were beheaded on Tower Hill with others.

⁸¹ MS *xx*: *xxviiij* (*viiij* cancelled with expunction, second *x* inserted above the line).

⁸² The *Tretis* has two entries for the arrest of Thomas Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, at the castle of Pleshey in Essex. The first is similar to the accounts in Harley 565 and Lambeth Palace 306, which date the arrests along with those of other noblemen to 21 June in Richard II's twentieth regnal year, 22 June 1396 to 21 June 1397 (*Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, 50-51 and *A London Chronicle*, 81). The second reference to Gloucester's arrest, dated to the twenty-first year of the king (22 June 1397 to 21 June 1398), is textually close to Bradford 32D86/42, which, having previously mentioned the murder of Gloucester, gives another entry like that in the *Tretis*: 'And in þe same 3er þe next soneday after þe Translacion of Seynt Thomas the kynge comaundyd al maner men þat þei schulde mete with hym at þe mile ende. And all þat nyzt the kynge and his lordes redden to Plasshe and þen þey arested þe Duke of Gloucestr in þe mornyng and sentyn hym to Caleys and þe was he put in preson. And at Seint Bertilmewe tyme next after þe Erl Marchall atte hym and on þe morwe after was soneday. And þat same day sume men seyden þat he died' (*The London Chronicles*, 177). See also the entry in Egerton 1995 (*Historical Collections*, 95).

⁸³ MS *was*: *was was*.

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the lorde Spenser was made erle of Gloucestre; the lord Nevile made erle of Westmerland; Sir Thomas Percy was made erle of Worcestre; Sir William Scrope was made erle of Wiltshire.⁸⁴

In his yeres xxij he went into Irlonde and in that same yere Harri, duc of Lancastre, reentred into Englund at Rauenspurne in þe counte of Yorke beside Wellington.⁸⁵ This duc of Lancastre is he the which in the xxj yere of King Richard, as is seid bifore, was made duc of Herford, that toke bataile agayn þe duc of Northfolke to fight at Couentre, where either of hem were iuged to exile. This Harri entred, as is seid, and that same yere Richard died in þe Castelle of Pountfret, as is seid, and beried at Langeley, and in þe tyme of the v^{te} Harri was translate to Westminster and beried by his queen, Anne.⁸⁶

To this seid Richard [fol. 6r] succedid this seid Harry, duc of Lancastre, and he is called Harri the iiij^{the}. He regned xiiij yere. Þes two kinges Richard and Harri were cosyns germans fore they two weren bothe neueves of King Edward the thirde, for Richard was son to Prince Edward, and Harri was son to Iohn, duc of Lancastre, brother to the said Prince Edward, son of King Edward.⁸⁷

In the iiijth yere of þis Harri þe fourthe regne was þe batel of Shrewesbury, where Sir Harri Percy was slayn, Sir Thomas Percy taken, and within two daies after

⁸⁴ Several of the details given here – the reference to John Bushy as parliamentary speaker, the ordinances concerning curates of the church, the execution of Arundel, and the creation of the Countess of Norfolk as Duchess – confirm the *Tretis*'s close textual correspondence with the London Chronicles in Egerton 1995 (*Historical Collections*, 96-97) and Bradford 32D86/42 (*The London Chronicles*, 178). The *Brut* does not mention Bushy or the Countess (II, 353-355).

⁸⁵ Egerton 1995 and Bradford 32D86/42 locate Ravenspurne 'be-syde Weldynton' and 'besydes Wodlyngton' respectively (*Historical Collections*, 101; *The London Chronicles*, 179). Harley 565 has 'besyde Bedlyngton' (*A London Chronicle*, 84), but Longleat 53 and the *Brut* preserve the correct geographical location beside 'Brydlyngton' (*The London Chronicles*, 179, footnote 152, and *Brut*, II, 357).

⁸⁶ Harley 565, Lambeth Palace 306 and the *Brut* mention Richard's death at Pontefract Castle, his burial at the priory of the Dominican friars at Kings Langley, and his later reinterment under Henry V (*A London Chronicle*, 86-87, 96; *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, 52, 54; *Brut*, II, 360, 373).

⁸⁷ This section does not occur in any of the sources considered here. It may be authorial, but since the *Tretis* contains no other original observations, and since the statement has a similar tone to the summary of the Battle of Shrewesbury addressed in the next note, it was most likely lifted from one of the author's sources.

drawen and honged, and þe erle of Stafford slayn in þe kinges cote armour. In this sharppe batelle was þe fader agaynst þe son, the broþer ayenst þe broþer.⁸⁸ In þis same yere Quene Iahanne was crowned at Westminster.⁸⁹ In the vth yere of þis king regned Cerle þat was drawen and honged fore þe priue dethe of þe duc of Gloucestre at Caleys.⁹⁰ In þe sixt yere of his regne was slayne the holy bisshope of York, Sir Richard Scrope, at Yorke and þe lorde Mowbrey and mo oþer.⁹¹ In þe viiiij yere of his regne þe erle of Northumberland and þe lorde Bardolf weren taken in þe northe and hedid and quartred.⁹² In þe ix yere of his regne was frost that dured xv wekes. And þe same yere the erle of Kent was slayne at þe castelle of Briak.⁹³ In the xiiij yere of his regne þe xx day of Marche discesed þe seid king at Wesminster, and is buried at Caunterbury.⁹⁴

⁸⁸ Compare Egerton 1995 which includes similar remarks about Stafford being slain ‘in the kyngys cote armure’ and the horrific nature of the conflict: ‘For hit was one of the wyrste bataylys that evyr came to Inglonde, and unkyndyst, for there was the fadyr ayenst the sone and the sone ayenste the fadyr, and brother and cosyn ayenste eche othyr’ (*Historical Collections*, 103-104). Stafford’s death is also mentioned in Harley 565 (*A London Chronicle*, 88), Julius B.II (*Chronicles of London*, 63), Lambeth Palace 306 (*Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, 52), Bradford 32D86/42 (*The London Chronicles*, 182), and *Brut* (II, 364).

⁸⁹ Joan of Navarre (1368–1437), queen consort of Henry IV, was crowned at Westminster on 26 February 1403 following her marriage to the king on 7 February at Winchester. Some of the London Chronicles make reference to her marriage under the king’s third regnal year, but none of the manuscripts checked for this edition include her coronation.

⁹⁰ Compare with the short entries in Egerton 1995 and Lambeth Palace 306, which, like the *Tretis*, focus solely on the capture and execution of William Serle for Henry IV’s fifth year (*Historical Collections*, 105; *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, 53). The *Brut* refers to Serle and provides other information about the king’s fifth year (II, 365-366).

⁹¹ The *Tretis* is referring to the uprising in the North of England led by Richard Scrope (1350–1405), archbishop of York and Thomas Mowbray (1385–1405), earl of Norfolk and Nottingham, who were executed on 8 June 1405 following their capture at Shipton Moor, near York. The rebellion is the only event recorded for Henry IV’s sixth regnal year in Julius B.II (*Chronicles of London*, 64). Longer entries occur in Harley 565 (*A London Chronicle*, 89), Egerton 1995 (*Historical Collections*, 104), Lambeth Palace 306 (*Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, 53), Bradford 32D86/42 (*The London Chronicles*, 183), and the *Brut* (II, 366).

⁹² The *Tretis* refers to the Battle of Bramham Moor (19 February 1408), where Henry Percy, first earl of Northumberland (1341–1408), was slain and Thomas, Lord Bardolf (1369–1408) mortally wounded. Their bodies were decapitated and quartered, then sent to London for display. Julius B.II and Bradford 32D86/42 also place this event incorrectly in the eighth regnal year of Henry IV (*Chronicles of London*, 64, and *The London Chronicles*, 184).

⁹³ The details provided about the great frost and the death of Edmund Holland (1383–1408), fourth earl of Kent, at the Île de Bréhat off Brittany, correspond most closely to the entry in Bradford 32D86/42 and the *Brut* (*The London Chronicles*, 185; *Brut*, II, 368-369).

⁹⁴ Compare Harley 565 (*A London Chronicle*, 95), Julius B.II (*Chronicles of London*, 68), Egerton 1995 (*Historical Collections*, 107), Lambeth Palace 306 (*Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, 54), and Bradford 32D86/42 (*The London Chronicles*, 186).

þe same yere on þe Passion Sunday folowing was crowned þe noble king Harri þe vth, son to þe seid Harri þe iiiij^{the}, and hit was a passing regne day.⁹⁵ This Harry the vth regned ix yere. In his first yere Iohn Oldecastelle, knight, was convicte⁹⁶ in heresie and was put into þe Toure of London, and he brak oute and didde moche evelle, and after was taken as shalle be seid. In þe second yere of his regne Lollardes token purpose to sle the king at Eltham with a play called mommyng, whereof the kyng was warned and toke þe felde þe same nyzt. And there the Lollardes were taken and honged on newe [fol. 6v] galons beside Seint Giles in þe felde, and there was taken Sir Roger of Aghton, knight, Sir Iohn of Beuerley, preste, and a Squier of Oldecastelle called Browne, of the which Lollardes were honged and brent at that tyme to the nombre of xl persones.⁹⁷

In the third yere of his regne he toke his viage ouer the see first and at Southampton, er he passed the see, were drawen and honged for treson Sir Richard, erle of Cambrigge, Sir Harri Lord Scrope, Sir Thomas Grey, and oþer diuerse. And þe xij day of August the kyng went oute of Portesmouthe touard Harflete, and on þe Assumpcion euen he ryued vppe at Kydcause and leid sege to Harflete, and þe xxv day of Septembre hit was yolden to him. And then þe king went touard Calis and Frenssh men brak here birges by which cause he was compelled to ride ferther into þe londe.⁹⁸ And in a felde called Agincort he toke batelle þe xxv day of Octobre, and

⁹⁵ Reference to the rain on Henry V's coronation day also occurs in Harley 565 (*A London Chronicle*, 95), Egerton 1995 (*Historical Collections*, 107), Lambeth Palace 306 (*Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, 54), and Bradford 32D86/42 (*The London Chronicles*, 186).

⁹⁶ MS *convicte: somtyme convicte* (*somtyme* cancelled with expunction and strikethrough in red).

⁹⁷ Several details in the *Tretis*'s account of Oldcastle's rebellion and the Lollard heresy are textually similar to the account of the rebellion in Egerton 1995 and London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A.XVI: they include the reference to the play being a 'mommynge', the king being warned, and Oldcastle's squire named as Browne (see *Historical Collections*, 107-108, and *Chronicles of London*, 268). Bradford 32D86/42 also includes many, but not all, of the details found here (*The London Chronicles*, 187).

⁹⁸ *brak here birges* means 'destroyed their bridges'. Egerton 1995 is textually close to the *Tretis* in terms of the names and details given here, but it provides a much fuller account and differs in some of the dates provided (*Historical Collections*, 109-111).

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þere was slayne the duc of Yorke, þe erle of Southfolke, and Sir Richard Kyghley, knyzt. This day God was with vs fore in oure parte there passed not dede viij knyztēs, and of þe Frenssh men were slayne m^l and mo, there was þe floure of Fraunce of the which many lordes, dukes, erles, and barons were som taken and other slayn.⁹⁹

In the fourth yere of his regne þe emperoure come into Englund. In the fift yere of his regne the king went ouer the see þe second tyme into Normandy and aryued vp at þe castel of Toke, and went to Caan and wan þat cite and many oþer places.¹⁰⁰ In the sixt yere of his regne the seid Oldecastelle was taken in Wales by the lorde Powes and Edward of Cherleton and was brought to London, and in þe presence of þe duc of Bedford and oþer lordes of þe realme was drawen and honged and after brent.¹⁰¹ In the vij yere of his regne he wedded Kateryn, daughter of the king of Fraunce, atte Troys in Champayne. In the viij yere of his regne he come [fol. 7r] into Englund and his quene with him and she was crowned þe iiijthe Sondag in Lenton.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ The inclusion of Sir Richard Kighley in the list of casualties at the Battle of Agincourt (25 October 1415) also occurs in Harley 565 (*A London Chronicle*, 101), Julius B.II (*Chronicles of London*, 71), Bradford 32D86/42 (*The London Chronicles*, 190), and Egerton 650, a copy of the *Brut* with a London Chronicle continuation (fol. 105v). The London Chronicle extant in London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra C.IV, likewise incorporates a poem on the battle of Agincourt that includes Kyghley (Curry 2000: 288-292). Kyghley was a Lancashire knight of Inskip in the Fylde, who provided fifty archers for the Agincourt expedition, though not all were present for the battle where he died with four of his men; see Bell (2013: 229) and Cooper (2014: 82). The casualty figures given in the *Tretis* look like corruptions of the estimates given in Harley 565 and Bradford 32D86/42, which list the English casualties as ‘the noumber of xviiij’ and place the French losses at ‘v m^l and mo’ (*A London Chronicle*, 101, and *The London Chronicles*, 190). However, see the French casualties given by the *Brut*, which tend to be ‘m^l c’ or ‘m^l and v c’ (II, 379).

¹⁰⁰ Comparable references to the visit of Sigismund, Holy Roman Emperor, and Henry’s campaign in France are given in Harley 565 (*A London Chronicle*, 103, 106), Julius B.II (*Chronicles of London*, 71), Egerton 1995 (*Historical Collections*, 113, 115), Lambeth Palace 306 (*Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, 55-56), Bradford 32D86/42 (*The London Chronicles*, 192, 194), and the *Brut* (II, 380-385), though none use the same phrasing as the *Tretis*.

¹⁰¹ The *Tretis*’s account of Oldcastle’s capture is similar to Egerton 1995 and Vitellius A.XVI in referencing the presence of the duke of Bedford at Oldcastle’s execution (*Historical Collections*, 116; *Chronicles of London*, 270).

¹⁰² Henry V’s marriage to Katherine of Valois occurred on 2 June 1420 at Troyes. The queen’s coronation was held at Westminster on 23 February 1421. Fuller accounts of the two events are given in Harley 565 (*A London Chronicle*, 108), Egerton 1995 (*Historical Collections*, 128, 138-139), Vitellius A.XVI (*Chronicles of London*, 271), Lambeth Palace 306 (*Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, 56-57), and Bradford 32D86/42 (*The London Chronicles*, 196), but none use the same dating method for the coronation as the *Tretis*: ‘iiijthe Sondag in Lenton’. The best match for the details provided here is the continuation of the *Brut* in Egerton 650, which states that the event ‘fell vpon a Sondag in lente’ (fol. 111v; also printed in *Brut*, II, 445).

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And þat same yere the king went into Fraunce the third tyme. In the ix yere of his regne died this worthi king at Boys in Vincent, the last day of August saue one, whos body is entired and toubet in Englund at Westminster.¹⁰³

And the same yere at Seint Nicolas day preceding was borne oure gracious king Harri, his son. In whose natiuite rongen al þe belles in London, and where eny syngers weren in eny chirch þe Maier of London commaunded hem to sing *Te Deum Laudamus*.¹⁰⁴ And after this worthi prince þe noble king thus decessed the last day of August,¹⁰⁵ this noble king Harri þe sixt bigan to regne, in whos xvij yere this short treti was ended.¹⁰⁶ To this worthi king al mighti God graunte many prosperions þat from this realme he may come into the realme euer lasting.

But for my disgression fro my compendious genelogie or generacion of oure king bigonnen from our first fader, I haue made of som of here dedes to þe tyme of King Ethelred, fader of Edmond Irenside, of whose neuwe Margret bigan to procede þe generacion of þe Saxons to þe generacion of the Normandes, I shal reherce therefor as I haue seid to fore. The king Ethelred, Saxon, gat Edmond Irenside. Edmond gat Edward. Edward gat Margret, after quene of Scotlond, and that Margret bare Molde, þe good quene of Englund. Molde bare to þe first king Harry anoper Molde, wedded

¹⁰³ Henry V died on 31 August 1422 at Bois de Vincennes, France. He was interred at Westminster Abbey on 7 November 1422. Lambeth Palace 306 also combines the two events in its entry about Henry V's death, though the phrasing is different to that in the *Tretis (Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles)*, 58). Longer accounts of the two events are found in Harley 565 (*A London Chronicle*, 110), Julius B.II (*Chronicles of London*, 74-75), Egerton 1995 (*Historical Collections*, 148), and Bradford 32D86/42 (*The London Chronicles*, 197-198). The error in dating the king's death to 30 August 1422 also occurs in the continuation of the *Brut* in Cambridge, Trinity College O.9.1 (fol. 200v) and the London Chronicle in Vitellius A.XVI, which, like *Gregory's Chronicle* and Bradford 32D86/42, contains a similar commendation of his soul to God: 'The noble kyng Henry the V^{te} after the conquest of Englund, flour of Chivalry of Cristen, ended his lyf in ffrance ate Boys in Vincente beside Parys, the xxx day of August, anno domini m ccc [sic] xxij, and the xth yer of his regne, to whom god doo mercy. Amen' (*Chronicles of London*, 272).

¹⁰⁴ MS *Te Deum Laudamus*: written in red ink. The London Chronicles mention the birth of Henry VI in their account of Henry V's reign, but only Egerton 650 records the celebratory bells and singing of the *Te Deum* (fol. 113r; also printed in *Brut*, II, 448).

¹⁰⁵ This comment contradicts, and corrects, the previous reference to Henry V's passing on 30 August. The duplicate entry on the king's death and the discrepancy in the two dates provided is most likely the result of the author's combining two sources, or using a text that did so.

¹⁰⁶ Henry VI's eighteenth regnal year ran from 1 September 1439 to 31 August 1440.

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to þe emperoure, and, after the discese of the emperoure, weddid to Geffray, erle of Angoye, by whom she hadde Harri called Fitz Emperice. This Harry get King Iohn. Iohn get the third Harry, and he get the first Edward. Edward gat þe second Edward, and he get þe third Edward. The third Edward get Iohn, duc of Lancastre. Iohn get King Harry the iiiijth. Harry the iiiijth get Harry the fift. This Harry the fift get this present kyng Harry the [fol. 7v] sixt, from Adam oure first fader the lx persone.

Here biginneth the second parte

The generacion of Engeland nowe declared, as first was beheght, now is to procede to þe lordeshippes of þis lond and erldomes, as Rondolf in his *Policronica* specifieth two and twenty prouinces, which nowe ben called countees or shires, Cornewaile excepte and iles.¹⁰⁷ The names of þe countees ben þes: Kent, Southsex, Sothrey, Hampshire, Berkshire, called so after a bare oke in þe forest of Wyndesore where men were wonte to semble in here tretes, also Wiltshire, Somerset, Dorset, Deuenysshire. Þes ix prouinces ben of þe south parte as Temse departes hem and weren somtyme ruled West Saxon legia fyr ouer.¹⁰⁸ Essex, Middelsex, Suffolke, Northfolke, Hertfordshire, Hontingtonshire, Norhamptonshire,¹⁰⁹ Leicestreshire, Derbshire, Notinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Yorkeshire, Duramshire, Northumberlandshire¹¹⁰ with Westmerland, and Lancastreshire, that conteyneth v litul shires. Þes xv prouinces forsaid esterne and northen somtyme weren demed by a lawe þat was called Denologa,¹¹¹ for ouer þes countees þat folowen, þat is to sey Oxfordshire, Warwikshire, Gloucestreshire, Wircestreshire, Herefordshire, Salopshire, Staffordshire and Chestreshire, thes

¹⁰⁷ *Polychronicon*, II, 84-85.

¹⁰⁸ They were once governed by West Saxon law.

¹⁰⁹ Book One of the *Polychronicon* also includes Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire at this point (II, 86).

¹¹⁰ Book One of the *Polychronicon* also includes Carlislehire, Cumberland and Applebyshire (II, 86).

¹¹¹ This information derives from *Polychronicon*, II, 86.

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westerne shires and mydelmere were iustified somtyme by a lawe called Marciana, þe which lawe was called in Englissh Marchen lawe.

Hit is þerefore to wite after, as hit is had in *Policronica*, that þe counte of Yorke strecches this day fro the flode of Hombre to þe flode of Teyse, and within that ben xxij wapentakes, þat is to sey hondrethes. A hondreth is taken for a c townes. A wapentake is called a taking of wepen, for in þe first commyng of a newe lord þe peple [fol. 8r] weren wonte to yelde vp here wepen in name of homage.¹¹² Dirhamshire strecches fro þe water of Teyse to þe riuer of Tyne. Northumbrelond strecches to take it properly fro þe ryuer of Tyne to þe water of Twede, and þere is þe biggynyng of Scotlond. Therefore if þat north pane,¹¹³ þe which was somtyme from Hombre to Twede, be this day as hit has ben accounted of olde tyme rekened fore a counte, then ben þere in Englund oonly xxij shires. And if þis north pane be deuided into six prouinces or shires aforeseid, þat is to wite Euerwikshire, Durhamshire, Northumbrelond, Carlisshire, Appulbyshire and Lancastreshire, þen ben in Englund, withoute Cornewaile and iles, xxxvj shires, prouinces or countees,¹¹⁴ þe which alle William Conquerour made to be distrened by tilthes and cartes, and to be moton, and so founded shires xxxvj and an half, and townes lij m^l and iiij^{xx}, and parissh chirches xlv m^l and xv.¹¹⁵ But þes daies nowe wodes ben fallen þere ben mo tilthes and moo townes then were then.¹¹⁶

¹¹² Compare *Polychronicon*, Book One (II, 86-88).

¹¹³ *pane* (n.) means 'part' or 'division'; see *MED* s.v. *pan(e)* (n.). The *Polychronicon* refers to the 'north pane' as Northumberland (II, 88).

¹¹⁴ Compare *Polychronicon*, II, 88.

¹¹⁵ *distrened by tilthes and cartes, and to be moton* means 'divided by tillage and charters, and surveyed'. *Polychronicon* has 'quingaginta duo milia et octoginta' (52,080) towns and 'quadraginta quinque milia duo' 45,002 parish churches (II, 90). The number of 'xlv m^l and xv' (45,015) parish churches mentioned in the *Tretis* appears to be an amalgamation of the figure the *Polychronicon* gives for parish churches and the number of knight's fees (60,015) mentioned immediately after (II, 90).

¹¹⁶ *Polychronicon*, II, 88.

Here biginneth the thirde parte¹¹⁷

Now haue I treted of þe diusion of prouinces or of countees, now is to say as for the third parcelle of þe worþi citees of þis londe þat were of olde tyme bygonnen and of newe, as we finde in olde bokes. Somtyme this lande was made noble or magnified by xvij worthi citees,¹¹⁸ þat now som ben but stretes and of litul reputacion, þe which in þe tyme of þe Bretons were of grete nobley and of grete worþinesse. And som ben made sollempne nowe þen þey were þen, for som þat now ben citees were þen none, and som þat were þen citees nowe ben wodes. Of þe which olde citees, after Alfrides writing, þes were þe names, and as þey weren called in Breton langage, so Walssh men callen hem yet.¹¹⁹ Caer Lud or Lenden is [fol. 8v] London. This cite is on Temys side fulfilled with al richesse. Brut, þe first king of Bretons, bilde this cite and called it Trinouatum, that is to sey New Troy, þen King Lud called it Caer Lud after his name. And þen after Englissh men called it London, and Normandes calle it Loundres.¹²⁰ Caer <Euerok> that is Yorke. This cite bild Ebrok þe v king of Bretons.¹²¹ Caer Kent is Caunterbury, this cite bild Rudhodibras, king of Bretons. The Englissh men calle it Dorobernia, but þis is hit that stondes on þe see side xij myle fro Doer.¹²² Caer Wrangan that is Wircestre,¹²³ of the which þe name of the founder is

¹¹⁷ MS *Here ... parte*: written in red ink.

¹¹⁸ The *Tretis*'s reference to 'xviiij worthi citees' is an error for 'xxviiij worthi citees', the same number given in the *Polychronicon* (II, 52). This figure is inherited from the pseudo-Nennius *Historia Brittonum*, but neither the *Polychronicon* nor the *Tretis* give precisely twenty-eight locations in their accounts. The places mentioned in the equivalent section of the *Polychronicon* include: London, York, Canterbury, Worcester, Leicester, Gloucester, Colchester, Chichester, Cirencester (not included in the *Tretis*), Winchester, Cambridge, Carlisle, Porchester, Dorchester, Lincoln, Carmarthen, Silchester, Chester, Bath, Shaftesbury, St Albans, Shrewsbury, Nottingham and Caerleon. The *Polychronicon* mentions Felix of Dunwich, saint and bishop of the East Angles, later (II, 124).

¹¹⁹ The *Polychronicon* and its English translations cite 'Alfridus' (Alfred of Beverley) as a source at this point, so there is no reason to assume the author of the *Tretis* was using anything other than Higden's text here (see II, 52-53). Alfred's chronicle was edited by Thomas Hearne in 1716.

¹²⁰ Taken from *Polychronicon*, II, 56-57.

¹²¹ Taken from *Polychronicon*, II, 64-65.

¹²² Dover. Compare *Polychronicon*, II, 56-57.

¹²³ Worcester. Its Old English name was 'Weorgoran ceaster'. It was also called Cair Guiragon and listed as one of the twenty-eight cities of Britain in Pseudo-Nennius, *Historia Brittonum*, 80.

vnknowen.¹²⁴ Caer Lerion that is Leycestre. This cite bilde þe x king of Bretons called Leyre, þe son of Bladud, be side a ryuer called Sara on a nole tuft.¹²⁵ Caer Clow, that is Gloucestre, this bilde Glaudius¹²⁶ the emperoure at þe wedding of his doughter, þe which he maried to þe king of Bretons, Aryuagus. Caer Colden is Colchestre. This bilde Coel, þe son of Marir, king of Bretons. Þe cronicle of Chestre puttis þis in doute. This Coel, som seyn, was fader to Seint Elyn, moder of the worthi Constantyne.¹²⁷ Caer Rucy, that is to sey Chichestre, þe which somtyme of the Saxons was called Cissancestre.¹²⁸ Caer Gwent is Wynchestre. Þis cite founded King Rudhudbras, which afterward of English men was called Venta, and after Winchestre after þe name of one Wynne, somtyme þere bisshope to which alle Westsex was suget.¹²⁹ Caer Graunte is Cambrigge, where þe vniuersite bigan in þe tyme of Dionisi the Tirant; þis was in þe tyme that Aristotle was xvij yere of age, lernyng with his master Plato, in whos daies Gurginncius Barbitrut was kyng of Bretons, after *Policronica*, þe third boke, xxj chapitre.¹³⁰ Lygubalia þat is Caerleile, þe <vij>¹³¹ king of Bretons, Leile, [fol. 9r]

¹²⁴ See *Polychronicon*, II, 52-53.

¹²⁵ Taken from *Polychronicon*, II, 62-63.

¹²⁶ MS *Glaudius*: ~~*Blaudius*~~ *Glaudius* (*Blaudius* cancelled with expunction and strikethrough). This is an error for Claudius. The *Polychronicon* attributes the foundation of Gloucester to him on the occasion of his daughter's marriage to Aviragus of Britain (II, 60-61).

¹²⁷ I have been unable to identify the 'cronicle of Chestre' mentioned here. It is not Lucian's *De laude Cestrie* or the *Annales Cestrienses*, and it cannot be a reference to Higden's *Polychronicon*, as Higden notes Coel's reputed founding of the city in Book Four, chapter twelve (IV, 474-475). It appears to be a lost work, which provided this and perhaps other minor details. See notes 101, 107 and 117 for other inclusions not found in the *Polychronicon*. Reference to Saint Helen and Constantine is made in Book Four, chapter twenty-four of the *Polychronicon* (V, 96-97.)

¹²⁸ See *Polychronicon*, II, 54-55.

¹²⁹ See *Polychronicon*, II, 56-59.

¹³⁰ For Cambridge as 'Caer Graunt' see *Polychronicon*, II, 53-54. For the information about Gurguit Barbtruc and Aristotle, see Book Three, chapter twenty-one of the *Polychronicon* (III, 320-328), though the reference to the foundation of Cambridge has been incorporated from another source. Nicholas Cantelupe (†1441) was the first to trace Cambridge's mythical foundation back to Gurguit Barbtruc's reign in his *Historiola de antiquitate et origine almæ et immaculatæ Universitatis Cantebrigiæ* (probably written before 1423). The author of the *Tretis* may have known Cantelupe's text or a later work dependent on it, such as John Lydgate's 'Verses on Cambridge'. Knowledge of the myth through oral transmission is likewise possible, especially if the *Tretis* was written in an ecclesiastical or scholastic environment, as the author may have had prior connections with the university or known other individuals who did. Born in Wales, Cantelupe completed his doctorate in theology at Cambridge c.1420 and by 1423 he had become prior of the Carmelite house in Northampton. This places him and his work in the Midlands sixteen years before the *Tretis* was written

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founded it.¹³² Caer Peris is Porchestre. Caer Dormy is Dorchestre. Caer Ludcot is Lincolne. This cite is in the hede of Lyndesey, but who was þe first founder is not certeyn, but if King Coyte hadde founded it þat is like to his name in sowne, fore in Brute tonge ‘caer’ is a cite and ‘coite’ is a wode, as who shuld sey ‘þe cite of þe wode of Lud.’¹³³ Caer Merthyn is þe cite of Merlyn. Caer Segent is Silcestre vppon Temse, not ferre fro Redyng.¹³⁴ Caer Baden is Bathe, that somtyme was called Achamany of Englissh. This cite the ix king of Bretons made, Bladud þe Nigramancier, the son of Leide, and after his name called it Caer Bladon, where he has made water to go thorgh vesselles of sulfur, that ben hote bathes to sike men ful holsom. Caer Paladur is Septony, that is Shaftesbury.¹³⁵ There were oþer names of townes and citees somtyme that sithen weren destroyed. The cite of Verolam was bilde beside Seint Albon, where of þe walles in partice places yit apperen.¹³⁶ The cite of Dymok, where Seint Felix somtyme was bisshophe, is now al hole destroyed by the see, and is beside Dunwiche.¹³⁷ And many other ben fordone of the which were longe to trete. Other citees nowe of new ben bilde sithen þe tyme of Bretons, and som made more that ben not reherced here, as Bristowe, Couentre. And in þe ende of Wales and of Engeland,

and roughly fifty-two years before Additional 34,764 was produced. It is possible, of course, that the reference was incorporated at a later date into the exemplar used for Additional 34,764 or by the scribe of Additional 34,764, who was perhaps based in the South East Midlands. Ad Putter (2003) has written a helpful article on the Cambridge foundation myth and its context.

¹³¹ MS *vij*: ~~second~~ <*vij*> (*second* cancelled with expunction and strikethrough, *vij* inserted above).

¹³² Based on *Polychronicon*, II, 68-69.

¹³³ Based on *Polychronicon*, II, 54-55 and 62-63.

¹³⁴ See *Polychronicon*, II, 54-55. Higden inserts Chester between Silchester and Bath (II, 54), but the author of the *Tretis* saves it until the end of the account of the cities.

¹³⁵ The origins of Bath and Shaftsbury are discussed in *Polychronicon*, II, 58-61.

¹³⁶ The Roman remains of Verulamium are situated to the south west of present day St Albans in Hertfordshire. There does not appear to be an equivalent section mentioning the remains of the walls in the *Polychronicon*, but Higden mentions the location in relation to St Albon’s martyrdom (V, 112-113). Another source, perhaps the aforementioned ‘cronicle of Chestre’, may have supplied this and the other details of lost cities that follow.

¹³⁷ See *Polychronicon*, II, 123-125, although the destruction of the city by the sea is not mentioned. The precise location of Dommoc, the seat of the Anglo-Saxon bishops in East Anglia, has been disputed since the thirteenth century. It was most likely either Dunwich in Suffolk or Walton in Suffolk. Of the two, Dunwich has suffered the most severe losses to coastal erosion. It was once an important city and by the fifteenth century a tradition equating Dunwich with Dommoc was well established. Bede is the first to mention Bishop Felix and his connection with Dommoc in Book Two, Chapter fifteen of his history.

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beside Seuerne on þe toppe of a hille, is Shrewesbury called so for busshes and trees growed þere somtyme, in Breton langage is called Pengworne, somtyme it was called þe hede of alle Powes londe.¹³⁸ This Ryuer Seuerne goes þorgh Walis to þe see. Notingham also, that is a borgh bilde vppon Trent side, þat somtyme was called Snotyngham, that was called a place of Danes fore Danes there made somtyme many solers vnder þe erthe in stone.¹³⁹

Many mo ben þere also in þis lond [fol. 9v] worthi townes and citees whereof litulle is writen. There is also in Bretons bokes anoþer cite gretly commended that is clept þe cite of Legion, but this name ben two. One is in Southwal¹⁴⁰ that is called Caer Vske there as the reuer of Vske comes into Seuerne beside Glomargan. Þe king of Engeling, Belyng, foundet it, and it was somtyme¹⁴¹ called þe hede of al South Walis. And sithen in Gladius¹⁴² tyme, the emperoure, it is called Caer Leon the segh of metropolitane, þat is to sey the segh of the bisshoppe, and was translate from thens to Menence.¹⁴³ In this cite was borne Amphialus, doctour and master to Seint Albon that taught him Cristen feithe.¹⁴⁴

There is anoþer Caer Lyon in Englund in þe meer bitwixt two armes of þe see Mercy and Dee, that in tyme of Bretons was hede of the segh of þe bisshoppes of al North Wales, and þe founder thereof was called Lyencius the Giant, and therefore in here tonge the Walssh men calle it Caer Lyon cause þat is to sey þe cite of Leons the Giant, fore in þe grounde þe honge stones arne to be holde þe werk of Romans or of gigantes rather then of Bretons. And after hit was called Legecestre, but now it is called of later tyme the cite of Legions, or Caer Lyon, for whan Iulius Cesar regned he send

¹³⁸ See *Polychronicon*, II, 60-61.

¹³⁹ *solers*, 'cellars'. Mentioned in the *Polychronicon*, II, 62-63.

¹⁴⁰ South Wales.

¹⁴¹ MS *it was somtyme: it s was som̄ tyme* (superfluous long *s* added in error).

¹⁴² An error for *Claudius*; another instance follows in the next paragraph.

¹⁴³ This information occurs in *Polychronicon*, II, 74-79 and 112-116.

¹⁴⁴ Taken from *Polychronicon*, II, 76.

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his ooste to soiourne and abide shipping þere to conquere Irlond. And Glaudius the emperoure after sent thider his ooste also to put Irlond and þe iles by in subieccion. This cite is plenteuous of al vitayle or corne, of flessch, of fissh, and moost of fressh samon, and plente of marchandize it receyues and sendis forthe, and in neer parties to it ben salt pittes and mynes of metaylles and of coles. This cite was somtyme be Danes beten downe and by North Humbres, and by þe noble¹⁴⁵ quene of Mercyeux, Eلفeld, reparild agayn and encresed in largenesse and widnesse of Walles. There arne wayes vnder þe erthe [fol. 10r] and walles walled wonderfully with many turnynggis and chaumbred with chaumbres of iij stages, and honge stones, and diuerse images and writen with olde names such somtyme arn founden and doluen vpp. And siluer of Iulius Cesar is founden there with scripture abought. This is þe cite that þe king of Northumbrelond, Ethelfride, bet downe, and two mile there aboutz he slegh monkes of Bangor vse to a grete nombre. To this cite come somtyme Kyng Egdar with ij litulle kinges. This cite is now called Chestre.¹⁴⁶

Here biginneth the fourthe parte¹⁴⁷

Now I am to sey for my fourth article touching the bisshopps seze how it was remeued or translate vnto Lycchefelde.¹⁴⁸ In the yeris of oure lorde m^l iij^{xx} regned the same William and Langeferyn, bisshoppe of Canterbury, this seze was translate to

¹⁴⁵ MS *noble*: *nobleȝ* (y cancelled with strikethrough).

¹⁴⁶ The entire section describing Chester derives from the *Polychronicon* (II, 76-81), except for the name of Chester's giant founder. Higden notes that the city appears to be the work of giants, but does not name them (II, 78). Henry Bradshaw's *Life of St Werburge of Chester* also names the giant 'Leon Gauer' and attributes the information to Higden (144, l. 380).

¹⁴⁷ MS *Here ... parte*: written in red ink.

¹⁴⁸ This section attempts to tackle the complex history of the bishop's seat at Litchfield, Chester and Coventry, using information from Books One and Seven of the *Polychronicon* (see II, 116-117 and VII, 292-293, 302-303). The individuals mentioned are: Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury (†1089); Peter, bishop of Lichfield (1067-1075) and bishop of Chester (1075-1085); Robert de Limesey (†1117), bishop of Chester from 1086 to 1102; and William II (†1100), also known as William Rufus, the third son of William the Conqueror. The bishop's seat was in Chester from 1075 to 1102. When it was removed to Coventry, Limesey became bishop of Coventry (1102-1117).

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Chestre. This Peirs discessud in the yere oure lorde m^l iiiij^{xx} vj and in Chestre beried.¹⁴⁹ To whom succeded Robert Lymsey and was consecrat in tyme of Kyng William Rufus, son of the seid¹⁵⁰ William Conqueroure, in þe yere of oure lord m^l iiiij^{xx} viij. And after, in þe yere of oure lorde m^l iiiij^{xx} ix, the said Robert translate the seze from Chestre to Couentre in tyme of King Harry, þe first son of William Rufus.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ The phrasing of this and the previous sentence assumes knowledge of who the ‘same William’ and ‘This Peirs’ are. It may indicate that the author of the *Tretis* provided more information about the king and bishop that was omitted in Additional 34,764 or the scribe’s exemplar. It could equally be a clumsy error on the part of the author, who knew who he or she was writing about from reading the *Polychronicon*, but failed to clarify the individuals’ identities for readers.

¹⁵⁰ MS *seid*: *seid* ~~son~~ (*Son* cancelled with expunction and strikethrough).

¹⁵¹ The final sentence of the *Tretis* contains two errors. It incorrectly dates the translation of the see of Chester to Coventry to 1089 instead of 1102, and it describes Henry I of England as the son of William Rufus. He was in fact his brother and his reign did not begin until 1100. The mistakes presumably came from the author’s source material.

Appendix: The Contents of the Fifteenth-Century Miscellany

Rawlinson Letter and numbers	Text	Manuscript	Scribe	Linguistic Profile and Provenance (where available)	Watermark
A, 1-3	Benedict Burgh, <i>Cato's Disticha</i> (IMEV 854; incomplete)	Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawl. Poet. 35, fols 1r-17r	A		Crescent
B	Lydgate, <i>Dietary</i> (IMEV 824)	Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawl. Poet. 35, fols 17v-18v	A		Crescent
C, 4	<i>Tretis</i> (incomplete)	Additional 34,764	A*	Derbyshire dialect, with some forms from Cheshire, Warwickshire and Northamptonshire. [†]	Crown and Rod
D, 5, 7-8	<i>Mandeville's Travels</i> (abridged)	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. D. 99	B [†]		Crown and Rod
E, 9-14, 16	Thomas Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> (IMEV 2229; omits prologue, stanzas 1-288 only)	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. Poet. 168	A		Crown and Rod
F, 17-18	<i>Siege of Thebes</i> (prose epitome of Lydgate's <i>Sege of Thebes</i>)	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. D. 82, fols 1r-10v	A	LALME, Linguistic Profile 6640, Northamptonshire	Crown and Rod
G, 19	<i>Siege of Troy</i> (prose epitome of Lydgate's <i>Sege of Troy</i>)	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. D. 82, fols 11r-24v	A	LALME, Linguistic Profile 6640, Northamptonshire	Crown and Rod
H (canc.), 21	<i>Awntyrs of Arthur</i> (IMEV 1566)	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 324	A	LALME, Linguistic Profile 320, Derbyshire. Hanna places it in the area bordering on West Midlands, East Cheshire, Derbyshire, and Staffordshire: (<i>Awntyrs off Arthure</i> , 149). [‡]	Crown and Rod
I or J, 23	Gower, 'Court of Venus' from <i>Confessio Amantis</i> (IMEV 2662)	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. D. 82, fols 25r-33v	A		Crown and Rod
?K, 24, 25	<i>Hunting treatise</i> from the <i>Boke of St Albans</i> or 'Sir Tristram's Boke of Huntyng'. (IMEV 4064)	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. Poet 143	A	Northern dialectal forms and false rhymes resulting from the substitution of Southern forms. Hands suggests it was copied in a region outside the North and London (1973: 73-74).	Crown and Rod
L (canc.), 26 (canc.)	<i>Prince Edward's Book of Hawking</i>	London, British Library, Sloane 3488, fols 1r-3v	A		Unclear, perhaps Crown and Rod
N, 29	Randolf, <i>Phisik</i> (incomplete)	London, British Library, Sloane 3489, fols 1r-5v	A	South-East Midlands Dialect, with some South-West Midland features (Cant 1973: 337).	Crown and Rod
O, 30	<i>Aqua vite</i> (incomplete)	London, British Library, Sloane 3489, fols 12r-28r	A	South-East Midlands Dialect, with some South-West Midland features (Cant 1973: 337).	Crown and Rod
P (canc.),	<i>Agnus castus</i> (a herbal	London, British	A	South-East Midlands Dialect,	Crown and

* Scott confuses the two scribes in her description of Additional 34,764. She begins by referring to the hand as that of Scribe B at the beginning of the paragraph describing the manuscript, but switches to Scribe A further down (Scott 2008: 117). The caption for Plate 4 likewise refers to Scribe B, when in fact it shows the hand of Scribe A (Scott 2008: 119).

[†] The linguistic profile was mapped for the purposes of this edition at

<http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme.html> based on the entirety of the text in Additional 34,764.

[‡] Scott describes the hand as that of Scribe A in her 1966 article, but corrects this to Scribe B in her 2008 article. Only Scribe B, whose handwriting has been dated to c.1475, uses blue paragraphs.

[‡] Hanna has presented further arguments for a provincial origin for the volume, comparing it to Cambridge University Library, MS ff.1.6, which was owned by Derbyshire gentry, as was Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson A.393 (*Awntyrs off Arthure*, 8–10).

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31-33	text)	Library, Sloane 3489		(Cant 1973: 337).	Rod
Q, 34-35	'Brother, I pray' (medical dialogue based on <i>Practica Chirurgica of Roger of Parma</i>)	London, British Library, Sloane 3489, fols 29r-42r	C	South-East Midlands Dialect, with some South-West Midlands features (Cant 1973: 337).	Crown and Rod
R, 36	Plague treatise attributed to Thomas Multon	London, British Library, Sloane 3489, fols 44r-52r	A	South-East Midlands Dialect, with distinct Northern or North Midland usages (Cant 1973: 337).	Crown and Rod
V, 41-42	<i>Manuale curatom</i> or <i>Treatise for Instruction for Parishioners</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. D. 913, fols 10r-21r	B	Connection with Baskerville family in Hereford, Cheshire or Oxfordshire (Smith 1966: 240).	Crown and Rod

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