THE COMPANIONS OF THE CONQUEROR

I

Ever since 1066 men have been proud to boast that that their ancestors 'came over with the Conqueror,' and the compilation of lists of the Conqueror's companions is a pastime of very respectable antiquity. Among these lists, three in particular are widely represented in extant manuscripts, and show unmistakable signs of early popular origin; and it is with these three lists that the present study is concerned. Lists 1 and 2 are closely related to each other, List 3 seems to be almost entirely independent of the other two. Of these three lists 55 versions are known to me in manuscripts and early printed books; it is likely that there are other versions which I have not discovered. The following is a list of the manuscripts and printed books to which reference is made in this study; the symbols used to denote the various volumes are italicized.

I. Manuscripts in Oxford

MS Ashmole 1116, f. 46r-47r. (List 1).

Late sixteenth century. Compiled by Nicholas Dethick, Windsor Herald (born c. 1540).

MS Rawlinson B 103, f. 253v-254r. (List 1).

Late sixteenth century. Compiled by Sir Richard St George, Clarenceux king-of-arms (died 1635).

MS Digby 196, f. 195r. (List 2).

Mid fifteenth century; the list is followed by an entry recording the capture of a whale at Sandwich in the 24th year of Henry VI (1445/6).

1 A fourth list, attributed to 'william tailleur that wrott the chronicles of Normandy', is to be found in MS Harley 542, f. 11r-12r and MS Harley 1619 f. 5r. A fifth list, compiled by Jean Benard, is in MS Egerton 2388, f. 4r-5v.
MS Top. gen. c 1, p. 221-224. (List 1).
Early sixteenth century. Compiled by John Leland the antiquary (1506?-1552).

MS Jesus 125. (List 3).
Late fourteenth century. A parchment roll.

MS Oriel 46, f. 108v. (List 2).
Early fifteenth century.

MS Corpus Christi 256, f. 193r-194r. (List 3).
Mid sixteenth century. The property of John Twyne, schoolmaster and antiquary (1501?-1581). The signature *John Twyne 1555* appears on f. 193v.

II Manuscripts in Cambridge

MS University Library *Kk. 5.33*, f. 119v-122r. (Lists 2 and 3).
Sixteenth century.

MS University Library *Ll. 5.20*, f. 41v-42v. (List 2).
Sixteenth century.

MS Corpus Christi 177, f. 214r-214v. (List 2).
Early sixteenth century.

III Manuscripts in London

MS *Royal 8 B vi*, f. 26r-27r. (List 2).
Sixteenth century. The property of John, Lord Lumley, the antiquary (1534?-1609).

MS *Royal 13 E ix*, f. 4r. (List 2).
Early fifteenth century.

MS *Royal 14 B i.*, (List 3).
Fifteenth century. A parchment roll.

MS Cotton *Julius B XII*.
(a) f. 3v-4r. (List 3).
(b) f. 5r-7r. (List 1).
Late fifteenth century.

MS Cotton *Tiberius C XIII*, f. 91r-91v. (List 2).
Fifteenth century. The property of Polydore Virgil (1470-1555).
MS Cotton Nero A VIII, f.129v-130v. (List 2).  
Early sixteenth century.

MS Harley 293.
(a) f.33r-33v. (List 2).
(b) f.35r-36v. (List 1).
(c) f.37r-37v. (List 3).

Early seventeenth century. List 2 is contained in a letter from Thomas Haule of Oxford, perhaps Thomas Hall of Balliol and Pembroke (1610-1665), 'a lover of books and learning.'

MS Harley 310, f. 7v-8v. (List 2).
Early seventeenth century.

MS Harley 838, f. 8v-9v. (List 3).
Sixteenth century.

MS Harley 902, f. 70v-71r. (List 1).
Early sixteenth century. Compiled by Nicholas Wotton, the diplomatist, Dean of Canterbury and York (1497-1567). See also A2.

MS Harley 1808, f.19r-19v. (List 2).
Sixteenth century.

MS Harley 2258, f. 123v-125r. (List 1).
Early sixteenth century.

MS Harley 2386, f. 55v-56v. (List 2).
Late fifteenth century.

MS Lansdowne 225.
(a) f.395r-396v. (List 1).
(b) f.396v-397r. (List 3).

Early seventeenth century.

MS Lansdowne 446, f.40r-40v. (List 2).
Sixteenth century. The property of John Strype, the collector (1643-1737).

MS Lansdowne 882, f.24r-27r. (List 1).
Early sixteenth century.
MS Stowe 501, f.132r-132v. (List 3).

Early sixteenth century. The property of Thomas Astle, member of the Society of Antiquaries and FRS (1735-1803).

MS Additional 34801, f.3r-5v. (List 1).

Early fifteenth century.

MS Additional 38692.

(a) f.86r-87r. (List 1).
(b) f.87v-88r. (List 2).
(c) f.135r-136v. (List 3).
(d) f.167v-168r. (List 2).


MS College of Heralds xlviii, f.21r. (List 3).

Mid fifteenth century. Compiled by William Worcester, alias Botoner, the chronicler (1415-1482?).

MS Lambeth Palace 306, f.55b. (List 1).

Late fifteenth century.

IV Manuscript in Edinburgh

MS Advocates' 19.2.1 (Auchinleck MS), f.105v-107v. (List 1).

Early fourteenth century.

V Manuscript in Dublin

MS Trinity College 1184.

(a) Article 2. (List 2).
(b) Article 3. (List 1).

Eighteenth century. Copied from the collections of Nicholas Peiresc, the antiquary (1580-1637).

VI Printed Texts

*Grafton*: A Chronicle at large and meere History of Englaonde...
[By Richard Grafton.] Volume II (1568) p.3-7. (List 1).

*Foxe*: The First Volume of the Eclesiasticall history contaynyng
the Actes and Monumentes of thynges passed in euerly kynges tyme in this Realme... § Newly recognised and inlarged by the Author Iohn Foxe (1570) p.236-237. (List 2).


Duchesne: Historiae Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui... Nunc primum edidit Andreas Duchesnius Tuonensis (1619).

(a) p.1023-1125( 1025). (List 1).
(b) p.1125( 1025)-1126( 1026). (List 2).

Twysden: Historiae Anglicanae Scriptorum X ... ex Vetustis Manuscriptis Nunc primum in lucem editi [By Sir Roger Twysden] (1652) column 963-965. (List 2).

Fuller: The Church-History of Britain; From the Birth of Jesus Christ, Untill the Year M.DC.XLVIII. Endeavoured By Thomas Fuller (1655).

(a) p.155-165. (List 1).
(b) p.165-167. (List 3).
(c) p.167. (List 2).
(d) p.167-168. (List 2).

Leland: Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea... Descripts ediditque Tho. Hearnius (1715) p.206-209. (List 1).


It is remarkable how many of the compilers and owners of the manuscripts listed above moved in the antiquarian circle of which Camden was the leader: Sir Richard St George, Twyne, Lord Lumley, Wotton and Peiresc were all associates of Camden. Moreover, Peiresc provides a link with Duchesne, whose Historiae Normannorum
Scripторes Antiqui he helped to edit. It is in fact highly probable that the two lists printed by Duchesne came from Camden: the two lists in Tr, copied from Peiresc’s collections, closely resemble those printed by Duchesne; and one article at least in the same manuscript (Article 22) bears the endorsement Transcribed from the original sent by William Cambden to Mons"r de Pieresk.

II

Versions of List 1 are to be found in As, Ra, T, Ju (b), H₃(b), H₅, H₆, L₃(a), L₅, A₁, A₃(a), La, Au, Tr(b), Grafton, Holinshed, Stow, Duchesne(a) and Leland. In its original form it consists of 540 names arranged in couplets; each couplet contains two lines which rhyme, each line contains two names which alliterate. An example will make the arrangement clear:

Aumarle & De eyncourt
Bertram & Buteturt
Brehuse & Byset
Bardolf & Basset
5 Deayuile & Darcy
Pygot & Percy &c.²

In a number of places successive couplets have the same rhyme; the longest sequence is in lines 53-64, where six successive couplets rhyme in -el. In a number of versions of the list the names have been rendered into alphabetic order; in each case the names are alphabetic by the first letter only, and otherwise remain in the sequence of the exemplar; thus, the B-names in an alphabetic version of the three couplets quoted above would run Bertram, Buteturt, Brehuse, Byset, Bardolf, Basset. Since the various versions of the list differ among themselves by reason of minor rearrangements, additions and omissions, it is always possible to determine which branch and sub-branch an alphabetic list belongs to by an examination of the sequence and number of the names it contains.

The nineteen extant versions of List 1 must be divided into three branches. Branch 1 is clearly the most authentic of the three: not only is it represented by the oldest extant Manuscript, Au, but it contains all the material found in both the other branches, and no material not found in either of the other branches. The scribe of Au or its arche-

² A full text of List 1 is given at the end of this paper.
type has copied down the first name in each line from the beginning of the list as far as line 206; then the second name in each line from the beginning as far as line 210; then the first name in each line from line 207 to the end; and finally the second name in each line from line 211 to the end. There are accidental omissions of three single names, 78b, 147a, 189b. In fourteen cases alternative spellings of the same name have been given: Darcy, De hercy 5b; Ferrers, ferre 28a; Rosse, Ros 34a; Gorgis, Gorges 43a; le Mare, De la mare 85a; Longebile; longeuile 116a; Blut, lusnet 126b; Daraynges, Daraun­
ges 183a; papilioun, Pampil­loun 184b; Monsters, Blaun monster 202a; Cuouile, Clouuile 208b; Chenziz, Chene 244b; Bleys, Bloy 261a; Car­
tenay, Charteray 262a. Apart from these duplications, the order of the names in Au is as follows: la-146a, 148a-206a, 1b-77b, 79b-188b, 190b-210b, 207a-270a, 211b-270b. It is possible to guess in part the reason for this rather curious arrangement. The list in Au is written in columns, four columns to a page. Like most of the rest of the manuscript, folios 105-7 are ruled with 44 horizontal lines, but on f. 105v, the first page of the list, the scribe began his work two lines from the top; the result is that the first four columns of the list contain only 42 names each. At the foot of his fifth column, the first of f. 106r, the scribe had reached 206a; now - and the reason for this is obscure - he reverted to the beginning and began to copy the second name in each line. Because of the different lengths of the columns, and because of the various omissions and duplications, he reached 206b thirteen lines from the bottom of his tenth column, the second of f. 106v; but he had written five more names (including one duplication) before he realized that he had overrun his mark. At this point he reverted to 207a and completed his work without further error.

Branch 2 is represented by T, H4, L4a and Leland. H4 and L4a are cognate, T is a copy of H4, and Leland is a diplomatic print of T. Unlike Branch 1, Branch 2 retains the archetypal arrangement in couplets, though owing to various omissions, additions and rearrangements of lines the couplets are not all complete. The following lines are omitted by all the texts: 62-3, 158, 160, 163-6, 169-177, 185-6, 259-260. One line, Souerenge et Suilly, is added after line 178. The following

3 The arrangement of the names in Au has been described by H.M. Smyser, 'The List of Norman Names in the Auchinleck MS. (Battle Abbey Roll)', Mediaeval Studies in Honor of J. D. M. Ford (1948) 259-87; but Smyser compares Au only with Leland, not with any of the other seventeen versions of List 1: thus, the many omissions in Leland (see below) are treated as additions in Au.

4 It is convenient to distinguish the first name in each line by a and the second by b appended to the line-number.

5 On the significance of these duplications see Section VII.

6 The spelling is that of H4.
rearrangements are common to all the texts: lines 15-16 and 19-20 are inverted, lines 231-2 appear before line 227, and lines 255-6 are inverted. Thus the basic order of the lines in this branch is as follows: 21-61, 64-157, 159, 161-2, 167-8, 1-14, 16, 15, 17-18, 20, 19, 178, 178*, 179-184, 187-226, 231-2, 227-230, 233-254, 256, 255, 257-8, 261-270. Each of the manuscripts has its own peculiarities. H. begins with the title Toutz cestes gentz dont leur sournoms sont icy escriptz vindrent oue William le conquerour Adeprimes. A new line, fichent et Tryuet, is added at the end. Lines 246-250 appear before line 239 in the order 246, 249-250, 248, 247. In line 26 the two names Souche and Sechewyle have been run together into the single name Soucheuill T and Leland begin with the title Et fait a savoir qe toutes cestes gentez dount leur sournouns y sont escritz vindrent oue William le conquerour a de primes; all the errors of H. are retained and some new ones are added. Line 64 is omitted; lines 18 and 20 are inverted. Lines 26 and 27 appear as the single line Soucheuille Coudrey et Collewyle. It is possible that Leland collated several manuscripts, since T occasionally gives an alternative spelling, e.g. in line 53, Power et Panel alias Paignel. L. begins with the title Here folowithe the names of hall tham tha [t c]ome in to Ryal [me] of england with wylliam the counqor of thes Ryalme as folowyt [h]. Lines 14, 48, 90 and 98 are omitted; line 27 appears before line 244, and line 248 before line 245. Lines 213-4 are treated in a curious way: 213a and 214b form a single line in the correct position, and 214a and 213b form a single line before line 212. The name Riuell is added at the end of line 224.

Branch 3 is represented by As, Ra, Ju(b), H. (b), H., L. (a), A. (b), La, Tr(b), Grafton, Holinshed, Stow and Duchesne(a). In all the texts lines 151 and 202 are omitted; four new lines are added, De la Vere et danuers after line 92, Harcourt & deuylle after line 259, Suremount & Sureglise after line 260, and Mounhaut & mellere after line 265. After line 175 (Tankeruile & Triuet) is inserted the remark le founder de le glise et de le Chatell de kenelworth. The church and castle of Kenilworth were in fact founded by Geoffrey de Clinton, but Dugdale records an interesting legend about his ancestry: ‘This Geoffrey, if we may credit our Countreyman Rous, was grandson to Will. de Tankerville Chamberlain of Normandy... but of the certainty thereof I much doubt.’ The basic arrangement of the lines in this branch is curious and complex, and is illustrated on page 13; the dotted lines indicate the abbreviation of an unbroken sequence. It seems likely that the

7 The spelling here, as elsewhere in this paragraph, is that of Ju(b).
8 W. Dugdale, The Antiquities of Warwickshire (1656) 155.
scribe of the archetypal version began to transcribe the list in columns of 71 lines each; when he reached the foot of the second column he realised that he had omitted a whole couplet (lines 85-86), so he in-

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serted line 85 at the foot of the first column and line 86 at the foot of the second column; he then completed the list with a third column of 72 lines, to match the first two, and a final column of 58 lines.

The fourteen texts in this branch must be divided into four sub-branches. The first sub-branch is represented by \textit{Ju(b)} and \textit{A1}. In this sub-branch the arrangement of the names in lines is preserved, but the basic text has undergone considerable modification. The scribe of the archetype of the sub-branch first copied out the first column of the basic text as far as line 58 - exactly opposite the last line of the short fourth column; he then reverted to the top of the second column, which he copied as far as line 63; next he copied the third column as far as line 62, the whole of the short fourth column, and finally the remaining portions of the first three columns in order. This curious division of the columns is marked on page by a continuous black line. The only other variation from the order of the basic text is the inversion of lines 258-9. Of the two manuscripts, \textit{A1} is rather earlier and slightly better than \textit{Ju(b)}, but part of f. 3r, the first page of the list, has been blotted out and is illegible; both begin with the title \textit{[C]}\textit{Es sont les surnomes les lynages de graunde de ceux qe vendrount ou William le Conquerour en Engliter.} In each manuscript a seventeenth-century hand has added a title in English above the original title: in \textit{A1}, \textit{The names of the principall gent' and noblemen thatt assisted k: W: Conq: in the Conquest of England}; in \textit{Ju(b)}, \textit{Names of thos that cam with the Conqueror into England}. \textit{A1} does not depart from the text of the archetype; \textit{Ju(b)} omits line 142 and transposes 145b and 146b.

The second sub-branch is represented by \textit{H1(b)}, \textit{H6} and \textit{A2(a)}. In this sub-branch the arrangement in lines is not preserved: the names are written in continuous sequence. Moreover, the list is preceded by two preliminary lists of important names abstracted from the body of the main list. Thus, in the spelling of \textit{H1(b)}, the beginning of the text runs as follows:

\begin{quote}
These be the Surnames of the persons of reputacions that entered into Englond with william Conquerer

\end{quote}

\textit{9} The spelling is that of \textit{Ju(b)}. 
It will be observed that within each of the two preliminary sequences the names run in correct order. The names thus signalized are omitted from the body of the main list, with the exception of mortymer, which appears in its proper place—doubtless because the Latin form of the name had been used at the beginning of the text. Lines 188-190 and line 192 are omitted, and two names are added, Aleham after 51a and Dela castell after 116b. There are various minor omissions and transpositions too numerous to mention in detail. The three manuscripts do not differ significantly from each other, and all three have the title quoted above; As(a) has the additional title Ex libro Historico Magistri Mohon.

The third sub-branch is represented by As, Ra, Ls and La. To explain the order in which the names appear in this sub-branch it is necessary to postulate an intermediate text closely similar to but not identical with the basic text of the branch. In this intermediate text the arrangement illustrated on page 13 was followed as far as the dotted line near the bottom of the page. The ten names below the dotted line were disposed of as follows: 71a and 85a were transferred to the right-hand side of the third column, below 214b, and the new name Seffarde was written below them; 143a and 86a were omitted altogether; 71b and 85b, 143b and 86b, 213a and 214a formed three new lines which were inserted between lines 259 and 260. In addition, 269b and 268b were removed from their proper place to form a new line between lines 180 and 181. It is difficult to imagine why or how this re-arrangement was done. In As and La the half-columns of the intermediate text are copied in regular sequence: thus, 1a-70a, 1b-70b, 72a-142a, 72b-142b, etc.; there are various minor omissions and transpositions too numerous to mention in detail. Of the two manuscripts, La has the better readings; it begins with the title

Here folowithe the surnames of the lynages of the old & great gentyllmen that came over the see out of normandy with william conquerour, when he conqueryd this realme of Engelande.

As has only the incomplete title The names of those that. Ra and Ls contain an alphabeticized version of the text represented by As and La. La has the better text, and begins with the high-sounding title

Habes hic erudite Hector illustrium Viro rum cognomina quos sanguinis clari tuidine Armororumque insignibus prestantissimos insulam oppugnasse Britann niam celeberrima passim Annalia testantur quod si quis claris progenatus parentibus de primo progenitore suo sorte subdubitat Huc accedit & originem suam inquirat.
The text of Ra is defective, in so far as it lacks all the names in A but three, and nearly a score of names in B; perhaps its exemplar was defaced at the beginning. It has the title

A catalogue of the names of those that Cam into england with William the Conqueror taken out of an old Boke of my Lord Stafforde written in parchment.

The fourth sub-branch is represented by Tr(b), Grafton, Holinshed, Stow and Duchesne(a). This sub-branch is an alphabetical version of the arrangement illustrated on page 13; there can be no doubt that it belongs to Branch 3, since not only does it include the additional names characteristic of the branch, but it preserves beneath its alphabetical guise the characteristic arrangement of the names. At the end of each alphabetical group there are a number of additional names, some of which are certainly taken from List 3: among the names in B-, for instance, are found Bastard, Baynard, Brasard, the first three names in List 3; but the arrangement is not systematic. Doubtless the text of the basic version from which this sub-branch is derived had at the end a miscellaneous collection of additional names, some of which were taken from List 3. The best text of this sub-branch is offered by Grafton and Holinshed, which are nearly identical. Grafton has the following title:

The name of the Gentlemen that came out of Normandy with William Duke of that prouynce when he conquered this noble Realme of England.

Holinshed has the simple title The Roll of Battaile Abbey (on which see Section VII). Stow, Duchesne(a) and Tr(b) have a similar but defective text from which many of the names have been accidentally omitted. Duchesne(a) and Tr(b) have the following title:


Ex Tabula Monasterii de Bello in Anglia, vulgo Battali Abbey, cum hac superscriptione.

Dicitur a bello Bellum locus hic, quia bello Angligenae victi sunt hic in morte relict:

Martyris in Christi festo cecidere Calixti:

Sexagenus erat sextus millesimus annus,

Chim pereunt Angli, stella monstrante Cometa.

These verses properly belong to List 3 (see Section IV). Holinshed and Stow are printed in parallel columns in Fuller(a), and there is a manuscript comparison of the two in MS Additional 5705.

(To be continued)

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