

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.¹ 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 wrrott 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 *R₁oyal 8 B vi*, f.26r-27r. (List 2).
Sixteenth century. The property of John, Lord Lumley, the antiquary (1534?-1609).
- MS *R₂oyal 13 E ix*, f. 4r. (List 2)
Early fifteenth century.
- MS *R₃oyal 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 *H*₁arley 293.

(a) f.33r-33v. (List 2).

(b) f.35r-36r. (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 *H*₂arley 310, f. 7v-8v. (List 2).

Early seventeenth century.

MS *H*₃arley 838, f. 8v-9v. (List 3).

Sixteenth century.

MS *H*₄arley 902, f. 70v-71r. (List 1).

Early sixteenth century. Compiled by Nicholas Wotton, the diplomatist, Dean of Canterbury and York (1497?-1567). See also *A*₂.

MS *H*₅arley 1808, f.19r-19v. (List 2).

Sixteenth century.

MS *H*₆arley 2258, f. 123v-125r. (List 1).

Early sixteenth century.

MS *H*₇arley 2386, f. 55v-56v. (List 2).

Late fifteenth century.

MS *L*₁ansdowne 225.

(a) f.395r-396v. (List 1).

(b) f.396v-397r. (List 3).

Early seventeenth century.

MS *L*₂ansdowne 446, f.40r-40v. (List 2).

Sixteenth century. The property of John Strype, the collector (1643-1737).

MS *L*₃ansdowne 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 *A*₁dditional 34801, f.3r-5v. (List 1).

Early fifteenth century.

MS *A*₂dditional 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).

Early sixteenth century. Compiled by Nicholas Wotton (1497?-1567). See *H*₄.

MS College of *Heralds* xlviij, 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 Englande...
[By Richard Grafton.] Volume II (1568) p.3-7. (List 1).

Foxe: The First Volume of the Ecclesiasticall history contaynyng

the Actes and Monumentes of thynges passed in euery kynges tyme in this Realme... § Newly recognised and enlarged by the Author Iohn Foxe (1570) p.236-237. (List 2).

Holinshed: The Laste volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande,... by Raphaell Holinshed (1577) p.294-297. (List 1).

Stow: The Chronicles of England, from Brute vnto this present yeare of Christ, 1580. Collected by Iohn Stow, p. 139-158. = The Annales of England... By Iohn Stow (1592) p.135-137. (List 1).

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

(a) p.1023-1125(1025). (List 1).

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

Twysden: *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores 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... Descripsit ediditque Tho. Hearnius* (1715) p.206-209. (List 1).

Hearne: *Liber Niger Scaccarii...nunc primus edidit Tho. Hearnius, Volume II* (1728) p.522-524. (List 3).

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*

Scriptores 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), *H₁*(b), *H₂*, *H₃*, *L₁*(a), *L₃*, *A₁*, *A₁*(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.³ There are accidental omissions of three single names, 78b, 147a, 189b.⁴ 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; *Bluet*, *lusnet* 126b; *Daraynges*, *Daraunges* 183a; *papilioun*, *Pampilloun* 184b; *Monsters*, *Blaun monster* 202a; *Guouile*, *Clouuile* 208b; *Cheniz*, *Chene* 244b; *Bleys*, *Bloy* 261a; *Cartenay*, *Charteray* 262a.⁵ 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 207 a and completed his work without further error.

Branch 2 is represented by *T*, *H₄*, *L₁(a)* and *Leland*. *H₄* and *L₁(a)* 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*,⁶ 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*₄ 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 *Secheuyle* have been run together into the single name *Soucheuill*. *T* and *Leland* begin with the title *Et fait a sauoir qe toutes cestes gentez dount lour sournouns y sont escritz uindrent oue William le conquerour a de primes*; all the errors of *H*₄ 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 Colleuille*. 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*₁(a) begins with the title *Here folowithe the names of hall tham tha [t c]ome in to Ryal [me] of england with wylliam the counquror 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*₁(b), *H*₂, *L*₃, *A*₁, *A*₂(a), *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 & deuyll* after line 259, *Surmount & Sureglise* after line 260, and *Mounhaut & mellere* after line 265.⁷ 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:⁸ 'This Geffrey, 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-

1a	1b	72a	72b	144a	144b	215a	215b
2a	2b	73a	73b	145a	145b	216a	216b
3a	3b	74a	74b	146a	146b	217a	217b
.....	.....	.....	.....	147a	147b	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	148a	148b	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	149a	149b	.....	.....
.....	.....	83a	83b	150a	150b	.....	.....
16a	16b	84a	84b	152a	152b	.....	.....
17a	17b	87a	87b	153a	153b	.....	.....
19a	19b	88a	88b	.....	.....	.....	.....
18a	18b	89a	89b	.....	.....	.....	.....
20a	20b	90a	90b	.....	.....	.....	.....
21a	21b	91a	91b	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	92a	92b	174a	174b	258a	258b
.....	.....	92*a	92*b	175a	175b	259a	259b
.....	.....	93a	93b	[two lines		259*a	259*b
.....	.....	94a	94b	of text]		260a	260b
.....	.....	.....	.....	176a	176b	260*a	260*b
.....	.....	.....	.....	177a	177b	261a	261b
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	262a	262b
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	263a	263b
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	264a	264b
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	265a	265b
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	265*a	265*b
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	266a	266b
56a	56b	.....	.....	.....	.....	268a	268b
57a	57b	.....	.....	.....	.....	269a	269b
58a	58b	.....	.....	200a	200b	270a	270b
59a	59b	.....	.....	201a	201b		
60a	60b	.....	.....	203a	203b		
61a	61b	133a	133b	204a	204b		
62a	62b	134a	134b	205a	205b		
63a	63b	135a	135b				
64a	64b	136a	136b	206a	206b		
65a	65b	137a	137b	207a	207b		
66a	66b	138a	138b	267a	267b		
67a	67b	139a	139b	208a	208b		
68a	68b	140a	140b	209a	209b		
69a	69b	141a	141b	210a	210b		
70a	70b	142a	142b	211a	211b		
71a	71b	143a	143b	212a	212b		
85a	85b	86a	86b	213a	213b		
				214a	214b		

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 *Ju(b)* and *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, *A₁* is rather earlier and slightly better than *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 [C]*Es sount les surnomes les lynages de graunde de ceux qe vendrount ou William le Conquerour en Engliter.*⁹ In each manuscript a seventeenth-century hand has added a title in English above the original title: in *A₁*, *The names of the principall gent' and noble-men thatt assisted k: W: Conq: in the Conquest of England*; in *Ju(b)*, *Names of thos that cam with the Conqueror into England*. *A₁* does not depart from the text of the archetype; *Ju(b)* omits line 142 and transposes 145b and 146b.

The second sub-branch is represented by *H₁(b)*, *H₆* and *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 *H₁(b)*, the beginning of the text runs as follows:

These be the Surnames of the persons of reputacions
that entered into Englund with william Conquerer

Dominus Percy [3d] magnus constabellarius Dominus
Movbray [22a] mariscallus Dominus Radulfus de Mortuo
mari [39b] omnium strenuissimus velut alter Samson
cum leonina ferocitate Dicti Heraldi exercitus
invadente necnon Amarle [1a] Ayncourt [12] Bardolf [4a]
pagod [6a] waren [11a] Bonvile [19b] hunfrevile [20b]

⁹ The spelling is that of *Ju(b)*.

veer [23a] Audeley [24a] Souche [26a] Nevill [30b]
 hastinges [35a] matreviers [77b] Delewar [117a] Bevchamp
 [141b] ffavconbrigge [169b] Bertry [2a] Betacourt [2b]
 Brehus [3a] Bisek [3b] &c.

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 *mortymmer*, 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; *A₂(a)* has the additional title *Ex libro Historico Magistri Mohon*.

The third sub-branch is represented by *As*, *Ra*, *L_s* 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 reallme of Englande.

As has only the incomplete title *The names of those that*. *Ra* and *L_s* 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 Virorum cognomina quos sanguinis claritudine Armorumque insignibus prestantissimos insulam oppugnasse Britanniam celeberrima passim Annalia testantur quod si quis claris prognatus 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 parchement.

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.

The which J haue taken out of an auncient recorde that J had of Mayster Clarencius
King at armes

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:

Cognomina Nobilium, qui Guill. Norm. Ducem
in Angliam sequuti sunt.

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

Dicitur à bello Bellum locus hic, quia bello

Angligenae victi sunt hic in morte relictis:

Martyris in Christi festo cecidère Calixti:

Sexagenus erat sextus millesimus annus,

Cùm 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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