



Title	uurythen to ð[at] or uurythen it ð[at]? another paleographic crux in the Peterborough Chronicle
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***uurythen to ð[at] or uurythen it ð[at]?***

— another<sup>1</sup> paleographic crux in the *Peterborough Chronicle* —

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Editors tend to be influenced by one another, and often simply follow the readings offered by their immediate predecessor. As far as the *Peterborough Chronicle* under the year 1137 is concerned, editors can be categorized into two groups; Emerson (1960), Plummer (1965), Mossé (1968), and Miyabe (1974) form one group in favour of the reading **uurythen to ð[at]**, and, on the other hand, Dickins & Wilson (1954), Clark (1958), Bennett & Smithers (1982), Burnley (1992), and Burrow & Turnville-Petre (1992) support the reading **uurythen it ð[at]**. The latter reading simply appears in the later texts without explanation. It seems that the shift of the reading from the former to the latter came with Cecily Clark's thorough edition and that everybody else has followed her. Of course, it is possible that they simply looked at the original MS and decided that the reading was the latter.

I

In this article I shall make a paleographic and linguistic approach to this problem. According to Clark (1958, xiii), the last section, 1132 to 1154, is in a hand completely different from the preceding one. So, in order to gain additional information about it, we have every reason to look at and compare the Chronicle entries for both 1137 and 1140, which happen to be available to us in a photographic facsimile.

MS 1

TO or IT?

1 hæued. 7 uuyrchenre **ð**ic. **æ**de **to** be **ær**nes. **l**h diden heo in quar- IT TO  
 terne þar nachtes 7 snakes 7 pades 7 æron nine. 7 drapen heo swa.  
 Summe hi diden in crucechur þis in an ceste þar pas scoot 7 nareu.  
 5 7 undep. 7 dæde scærpe stanes þer inne. 7 þrengde þe man þer  
 inne. **ð** hi byæcon alle þe times. In man of þe castles 7 æron lof  
 7 gfi. **ð** 7 æron fachenreces **ð** 7 u oþer t h e men hadden on hli **to** TO  
 be æron onne. þar pas swa maced **ð** is fastned **to** an beom. 7 diden an  
 scær 7 iren abuton þa mannes thpote 7 his half. **ð** he **in** mofce noy  
 .der pades. ne sitten ne lien ne slepen. oc beþon al ðiren. **ð** man  
 10 þusen hi drapen mid hungæc. Ine can ne i ne man tellen alle þe  
 7 uncler ne alle þe pines **ð** hi diden 7 preccemen on his land. 7 **ð** laste  
 de þa. **cx**. 7 mæge pile Steþme pas king 7 cuse **it** pas uider se 7 IT  
 uuerse. Hi lauden gæildes ærhe tunas æn riu pile 7 clepeden **it** IT  
 tenferie. þa þe uirceccemen ne hadden nãmore **to** gnyen. þa þe TO  
 15 ueden hi 7 brendon alle the times. **ð** þel þu myhtes faren al a dæf  
 fare seuldost ðu nauere finden man intune sitrende. ne land ri  
 led. þa pas corn dæpe. 7 flec 7 cæse 7 burere. for nan ne pas oþe land.  
 7 preccemen sturuen of hunger. sume reden on ælmes þe þaren sū  
 pile preccemen. sume flugan ut of lande. 7 of nauere gæt mare 7 precc  
 20 hed on land. ne nauere hechen men 7 cysse ne diden þan hi diden.  
 for oug fithon ne for luren in nouthe 7 cysse ne cysse æard. oc nau  
 al þe god **ð** þar inne pas. 7 brenden sythen þe cysse 7 alte gædere.  
 He in ne for þaren b land ne abb ne proost. ac þe ueden minces  
 7 elerekes. 7 ænric man oþer þe ouer myhte. **ð** if 7 þa men oþer in  
 25 coman 7 idend **to** an tun. al þe tuniscepe flugan for heo. 7 enden **ð** TO  
 in þaron neuere. þe bisopes 7 lestedmen heo cursede ænre. oc pas  
 heo naht þar of. for hi uieron al for cursed 7 for suoren 7 for lo  
 ren. pas se me riled. þe erthe ne þar nan corn. for þe land pas al  
 for don. mid sinlice dædes. 7 in saden openlice **ð** epst slep. 7 his ha  
 30 lechen. Sumle 7 mare þanne pecunnen sam. þe holenden. **cx**. 7 mæge  
 For ure smnes.

... hæued, and uurythen it ðat it gæde to þe hæernes. Hi diden heom in quarterne þar nadres and snakes and pades wæron inne, and drapen heom swa. Sume hi diden in cruceþur, ðat is, in an ceste þat was scort and nareu and undeþ; and dide scærpe stanes þerinne, and þrengde þe man þærinne ðat him bræcon alle þe limes. In mani of þe castles wæron lof and grin: ðat wæron rachenteges ðat twa oþer thre men hadden onoh to bæron onne. Pat was sua maced ðat is fæstned to an beom, and diden an scærp iren abuton þa mannes throte and his hals, ðat he ne myhte nowiderwardes, ne sitten ne lien ne slepen, oc bæron al ðat iren. Mani þusen hi drapen mid hungær. I ne can ne I ne mai tellen alle þe wunder ne alle þe pines ðat hi diden wrecce men on þis land; and ðat lastede þa xix wintre wile Stephne was king, and æure it was uerse and uerse. Hi læiden gæildes on the tunes æure umwile, and clepeden it 'tenserie'. Pa þe uerece men ne hadden nammore to gyuen, þa ræueden hi and brendon alle the tunes, ðat wel þu myhtes faren al a dæis fare, sculdest thu neure finden man in tune sittende, ne land tiled. Pa was corn dære, and flec and cæse and butere, for nan ne wæs o þe land. Wrecce men sturuen of hungær. Sume ieden on ælmes þe waren sum wile rice men; sume flugen ut of lande. Wes næure gæt mare wreccehed on land, ne næure hethen men werse ne diden þan hi diden. For ouersithon ne forbaren hi nouthen circe ne cyrceiærd, oc namen al þe god ðat þarinne was, and brenden sythen þe cyrce and al tegædere. Ne hi ne forbaren biscopes land ne abbotes ne preostes, ac ræueden munekes and clerekes, and æuric man other þe ouermyhte. Gif twa men oþer iii coman ridend to an tun, al þe tunscipe flugæn for heom, wenden ðat hi wæron ræueres. Pe biscopes and lered men heom cursede æure, oc was heom naht þarof, for hi ueron al forcursæd and forsuoren and forloren. War sæ me tilede, þe erthe ne bar nan corn, for þe land was al fordon mid sulce dædes, and hi sæden openlice ðat Crist slep, and his halechen. Suilc, and mare þanne we cunnen sæin, we þoleden xix wintre for ure sinnes.

(Transcription in modern type by Burnley 1992)

MS 2

1 On his gæy polde he king Steph tacen Rodric coil of glou  
 cestre he kimges sune henries. ac he ne mylhte for he partur jar. IT  
 þer eft hi se lengten festrede he sunne. þe der abuton non tid  
 daries þamen eten. ð me lihtede candlestoc ten br. þæt pas  
 5 æn k apl. þæwon men suyrthe of pundred. þer eft forðfunde Will  
 ærceb of canþarb. þe kimg makede toodhald ærceb he pas  
 abtrec in the bee. þer eft þær suyrthe meel ungyre betuys  
 þo kimg 7 Randolf coil of cæstir noht for þi ð he ne raf hi al  
 ð he cirthe æven hi. al se he dide alle othre. ac eft þe mare  
 10 he raf heo. þe þær se hi þæwon hi. þe coil heold lincol agenes  
 þe kimg. þe nā hi al ð he abtrec to hauen. þe kimg for þider  
 þe sette hi. þis broþer Willm de Ke. are in þe castel. þæt wil  
 stel ut. þæt se eft Rodric coil of glou. æsthe. 7 broþer hi þe der  
 mid meel ferd. 7 fulten suyrthe on Ca. sel masse der agenes  
 15 heold laucyd. 7 namen hi for his m. 7 suyrthe 7 flugan. 7 he  
 hi to Bristole 7 diden þær in þe sun. 7 ær eft þe pas al engle  
 styreð mar þan ær þæs. 7 al yuel þe in lande. þæt eft þe kimg  
 doht henries þe he fde ben empier. 7 al a name ann þæs cuntes  
 in Angen. 7 to Lundene. 7 the landenisse folclhre þe de ce  
 20 een. 7 se fleh 7 for les þær mic. 7 ær eft þe biscop of Wincestre  
 henri þe kimg broþer Steph. 7 ær pid Rodric coil 7 pyð þe pice  
 7 suyrthe heo æthas ð he ne me ma mid te kimg his broþer polde hal  
 den. 7 eus fde alle þe men þe mid hi in coldon. 7 se de heo ð he mol  
 de men heo up Wincestre. 7 diden ð eunien þider. þæt in þær  
 25 unne þær en. þæt co þe kimg cuen. n. 7 þæt hre strengthe. 7 beset  
 heo. ð þer þæs in me meel hun. 7 ær. 7 al in ne leng ne mulren  
 þolen þæt stali hi ut 7 flugan. 7 hi suyrthe þær yd uten 7 fo  
 lecheden heo. 7 namen Rodric coil of glou. 7 leden hi to Roue  
 30 cestre. 7 diden hi þær in þe sun. 7 ær in pice fleh in to an m. 7 hre.

MCXL On þis gær wolde þe king *Stephne* tæcen *Rodbert* eorl of glou  
 cestre þe kinges sune *Henries*. ac he ne myhte for he wart it war.  
 Þer efter in þe lengten þestrede þe sunne 7 te dæi abuton non tid  
 dæies. Þa men eten. ðat me lihtede candles to æten bi. 7 Þat was  
 5 ·xiii· *kalend April*. wæron men suythe ofwundred. Þer efter fordfeorde *Willelm*  
*ærceþiscop* of *Cantwarberi*. 7 te king makede *Teodbald ærceþiscop* þe was  
 abbot in the bec. Þer efter wæx suythe micel uerre betuyx  
 þe king 7 *Randolf* eorl of cæstre noht for þi ðat he ne iaf him al  
 ðat he cuthe axen him. also he dide alle othre. oc æfre þe mare  
 10 he iaf heom, þe wæse hi wæron him. þe eorl heold *lincol* agænes  
 þe king. 7 benam him al ðat he ahte to hauen. 7 te king for þider  
 7 besætte him 7 his brother *Willelm de Romare* in þe castel. 7 te eorl  
 stæl ut 7 ferde efter *Rodbert* eorl of *gloucester*. 7 brohte him þider  
 mid micel ferd. 7 fuhten syuthe on *Candelmasse* dæi agenes  
 15 heore laurd. 7 namen him for his men him suyken 7 flugæn. 7 læd  
 him to *Bristowe* 7 diden þar in *prisun* 7 feteres. Þa was al *engleland*  
 styred mar þan ær was. 7 al yuel wæs in lande. Þer efter com þe kinges  
 dohter *henries* þe hefde *emperice* in *alamanie* 7 nu wæs *cuntesse*  
 in *Angou*. 7 com to *lundene* 7 te *lundenissce* folc hire wolde tæcen.  
 20 7 scæ fleh forles þar micel. Þer efter þe *biscop* of *Wincestre*  
*henri* þe kinges brother *Stephnes* spac wid *Rodbert* eorl 7 wid þe *emperice*  
 7 suor heom athas ðat he neure ma mid te king his brother wolde hal  
 den. 7 cusede alle þe men þe mid him heoldon. 7 sæde heom ðat he uuol  
 de iiuen heom up *Winceste*. 7 dide heom cumen þider. Þa hi þær  
 25 inne wæren. Þa com þe kinges cuen mid al hire strengthe. 7 besæt  
 heom, ðat þer wæs inne micel hungær. Þa he ne leng ne muhten  
 þolen þa stali hi ut 7 flugen. 7 hi wurthen war wid uten 7  
 folecheden heom. 7 namen *Rodbert* eorl of *gloucestre*. 7 ledden him to *Roue*  
 cestre. 7 diden him þare in *prisun*. 7 te *emperice* fleh into an *minstre*.

*(Leaflets on Historical Linguistics, p.15)*

## II

First and foremost, let us look closely at MS 1. The word which we are concerned with is the fourth word on the first line. (All examples of 'it' and 'to' are marked in both MS 1 and MS 2 and written down in the margin of each page to facilitate detailed comparison.) We can see why it might read 'to' instead of 'it', since there do seem to be marks which might suggest the roundness of an 'o'. But, if we compare it with the three other examples of 'it' (11.1, 12 & 13) and contrast it with the very firm 'o's in the examples of 'to' (11.1, 6, 7, 13, 25), we have to agree with Clark that it is an 'it'. The same is true for all examples of 'it' and 'to' in MS 2.

There is, in addition, a serious and linguistic difficulty with the reading 'to'. The expression *to that*, meaning 'until', is not recorded by the OED before 1460 — a full three hundred years later than the passage in the Chronicle. (See OED<sub>s.v.</sub> **To**, prep., conj., adv., C1b.) This does not of course make the reading impossible (the form 'til that' is found in *Havelok*), but makes it much less likely.

Note:

1. See my article 'CRUCETHUR: IS IT STILL A MYSTERIOUS WORD' (Humanities, Bulletin of Faculty of Education, Nagasaki University, 1995, pp.71-76)

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