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 *urythen to ſ[at]*, and, on the other hand, Dickins & Wilson (1954), Clark (1958), Bennett & Smithers (1982), Burnley (1992), and Burrow & Turnville-Petre (1992) support the reading *urythen it ſ[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.
TO or IT?

1. haec...THE...PETERBOROUGH...CHRONICLE...1137

5. Yutaka SOEDA

10. TO

15. TO

20. TO

25. TO

30. TO

THE PETERBOROUGH CHRONICLE, 1137

(Bodleian Laud Misc, 636, f. 84v)
... hæued, and uurythen it δat it gæde to þe hærnes. Hi diden heom in quarterne þar nadres and snakes and pades waerôn inne, and drapen heom swa. Sume hi diden in crucethur, δat is, in an ceste þat was scort and nareu and undep; and dide scærpe stanes Perinne, and þrengde þe man þærinnne δat him bræcon alle þe limes. In mani of þe castles waerôn lôf and grin: δat waerôn rachenteges δat twa oþer thre men hadden onoh to bærôn onne. Pat was sua maced δat is fæstned to an beom, and diden an scærp ðeren abstun þa mannes throte and his hals, δat he ne myhte nowiderwardes, ne sitten ne lien ne slepen, oc bærôn al δat ðeren. Mani ðusen hi drapen mid hûngær. I ne can ne I ne mai tellen alle þe wundre ne alle þe pines δat hi diden wrecce men on þis land; and δat lastede þa xix wintre wile Stephne was king, and æure it was uuerse and uuerse. Hi læiden gældes on the tunes æure umwile, and clepeden it ‘tenserie’. Pa þe uurrecce men ne hadden nammore to gyuen, þa ræueden hi and brendon alle the tunes, δat 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 ceese and butere, for nan ne wes o þe land. Wrecce men sturuen of hungeær. Sume ieden on ælmes þe waren sum wile rice men; sume flugen ut of lande. Wes næure gæt mare wrecce-hed on land, ne næure hethen men worse ne diden þan hi diden. For ouersithon ne forbaren hi nouther circe ne cyrceierd, oc namen al þe god δat Parinne was, and brenden sythen þe cyrce and al tegædere. Ne hi ne forbaren bispokes land ne abbotes ne preostes, ac ræueden munekes and clerikes, and æuric man other þe ouermyhte. Gif twa men oþer iii coman ridend to an tun, al þe tunscipe flugœn for heom, wenden δat hi waerôn ræueres. Þe bispokes and lered men heom cursedæ æure, oc was heom naht Parof, for hi uueron al forcurseed and forsuen and forloren. War sæ me tilede, þe erthe ne bar nan corn, for þe land was al fordon mid suilce dædes, and hi sæden openlice δat 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)
On his grey polde he kynge Stephencce redde coal of gloues

stehe kynge Sine hentres de he ne mistre fonde partynar.

Pertyn he leten redde he sunne sterde de albion non dero

dore saumane eten. Dene lirade candlestereben. Jyst pas

ihe hol paven men fynche sit pander. Jyst er bowdelall

ecreb of camparbe. Jest kynge make de bowdelal ercreb he pas

abbe att the bee. Jest er per synchem etel manyte hertysx

he kynge Randolf coal of castir nolt for hi dene as hi al.

The cirdhe xenin. An he dide alle ortre. Oc es ye femare

heras flore. Oc per se in pase hon. He coal heoldenco. agenc

he kynge. Jey nali ald de alde casttalan. Jerking syn lyder


stel er crebe er coal de glous hertys. Syncher lir. Der

med met yf. Yfthreyn stryke on cael beymade de agenc

ekeu laneg ynamenhi for hysm. I synken slugen. Ster

hyn cirethe yaden har mesum. Sterk sa pas al engle

flyromar hon ey pes galouel. Qyancl. Stere cire the kynge

dohre hentres pe hebed hen empre. Alname in ye paseu

manys. Condumeyde tec. Landenesse fotheype. Occ

een. Ycre swel leyfe harym. Ycre be bicopos wenzfe

hent pe kynge byrth ystriphca. Per coal ydred hoppynce

ysyn he artif d heryrmen madte kynge his byrth poldekal

den. Yeupfede alle femene porsid. Isoldem. Yhede hode

de urae he up swneste. Ydenden ofte myn hode. Palynbre

me paryen. Pa yserkyc ydenden. Jyn nepstreythe. Ybeser

hev d per pesine. Mert hynge. Jahnoleng nemynhen

tolen ha staili ure slugen. Yhn yrythe per poyten. So

lecheden hyn. Ynamen coal de glous haden hiynn rosett

eshe ydenden hi jahympen. Strempyre felh in wan ympyre.
MCXL On ṭis gær wolde ṭe king Stephne tæcen Rodbert eorl of gloucestre ṭe kinges sune Henries. ac he ne myhṭe for he wart it war. ṭe ḻaft er in ṭe lengten ṭeestre ṭe sunne ṭe dǣl abuton ṭe non tid dæies. ṭa men eten. ṭat me lihtede candles to æt(en) bi. ṭat ṭat was

41

(LecofZets on Historical Lingzaistics, p.15)
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 OEDs.v. To, prep., conj., adv., Clb.) 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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