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 δ[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 δ[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.

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.
haused. and ychehert, lit. «vede resit etures», lonli beon ong.
Surne he biden in streetthyt, for man este for pasce neare.
Tom dep. ylde scearp stanes perime. jegenthe seman per-
mine. Sibrycon ale he times. In man of he castles peon tof
se. Se peon anchegetas, par of by men hadden onole
benton onne, har passt au maco. Is sethred wibome, yhiden
scearp iron aburon samene. thure yhis halis. He instinct
bene, der parde: ne sitten ne liene ne sepen. oc bynon al byren.
Thum
ruten hydren mid hunge; for canne ne martellen alle he
punderne; ale he penes. Sib biden prcccmen on hyfland. 70
bake de 8. ctre ymonte ylde Sepsme pas king. ctre sepstake
uuerse. Is lenden sendes, alte times. en ripile ycelpedere
vrentere. Ha wypccmen ne hadden namone to cyven. Ha se-
uden ha «byendon allethetunen. by et pu mystref yaren al ado
sore sendes. thu neure finden man intime sittende. ne
led. Ha pascom bere. ylsec ycafe ybutere. homane nepos fe
land. Prccmen huren of hunge. Some ruden on allman be pasen
pyleprccmen. Some stugrue in of lande. Ya neuregan mat
nebyt.
led on land. ne neure hethen men jyfe neatly on
hiden. Sowen ython ne forburnhtne ychep center eglebred. oc
nben all he god do yurume pas bybenden ythren. He yrene alre
siter. He in ne solthyn bland ne alh. y prosth of peureld minchels
welereke. neureman other feuer mystre. Of yynmen ofem-
coman yreden to anburn alste ymerpe stugrue smyte. Yrenden
in peon rtere. He Bisope yletemen heo cysede empe. oc pas
heo naht hur of. Ha in meuenal for cursed. for yuwen yfut
lo ren. Par seure ylede yteere men barten unfor he land pasal
for den. mufint e deyse. Ylne seeden openstede yepst seyst e.
Ylne seeden stonde. kule men peccumen syn. se bylenden wes.

THE PETERBOROUGH CHRONICLE, 1137
(Bodleian Laud Misc, 636, f. 84v)
... hæued, and uurythen it ðat it gæde to þe hærnes. Hi diden heom in quarterne þar nadres and snakes and pades wæron inne, and drapen heom swa. Sume hi diden in crucethur, ðat is, in an ceste þat was scort and nareu and undep; and did scærpe stanes þerinne, and þrengde þe man þærinnne ðat him bræcon alle þe limes. In mani of þe castles wæron lôf and grin: ðat wæron rachenteges ðat twa oþer thre men hadden onoh to bærôn onne. Pat was sua maced ðat is fæstned to an beom, and diden an scærp ðeren abuton þa mannes throte and his hals, ðat he ne myhte nowiderwardes, ne sitten ne lien ne slepen, oc bærôn al ðat ðiren. Mani þusen hi drapen mid hængær. I ne can ne I ne mai tellen alle þe wunfer 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 uuerse and uuerse. Hi læiden gælides on the tunes æure umwile, and clepeden it ‘tenserie’. Pa þe uurecce 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 ceæse and butere, for nan ne wæs o þe land. Wrecce men sturuen of hungeær. Sume ieden on ælmes þe waren sum wile rice men; suma flugen ut of lande. Wes næure gæt mare wreccehed on land, ne næure hethen men worsne ne diden þan hi diden. For ouersithon ne forbaren hi nouthir circe ne cyrecioerd, oc namen al þe god ðat þarinne was, and brenden sytten þe cyrce and al tegæedere. Ne hi ne forbaren biscope 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 tunsipe flugæn for heom, wenden ðat hi wæron ræueres. Þe biscope and lered men heom cursede æure, oc was heom naht þarof, for hi uueron al forcursæd and forsuoren and forlören. War sæ me tilede, þe erthe ne bar nan corn, for þe land was al fordon mid suilce dædes, and hi sæden openlice ðat Crist slep, and his halechen. Suilc, and mare þanne we cunnin sæin, we þoleden xix wintre for ure sinnes.

(Transcription in modern type by Burnley 1992)
On Jes greif polde he king Stephen tacen his kint of glou-
cestre. He kinge stune henry of hee namisfe for hie partiteur.
He sest in hie lengep sijwede he sunne sej se dibution nonnd
dere sijamen eten. Dene lihete candles seterenby. Jis pas
Oise apte pamen susche of poundred. Jist §¢ findrode all
esteb of campbath. Jis king makde loedkald esteb he pas
abbe in the bee. Jis est freysethe muel unyte heryxe.
He kinge Randolf colof castele nohte for hie henreshe al.
The castle xenby. 7fse he dide alle othere. 0e esfe semenre
hezafs he polde se peyse in payson hie. He col heold mecal agenst
he kinge. Sij namisal dide he aterchation. 7ykinge sudnder
se serech bi hys brother Wolmekeke. 0e sere in caistel. 0e col
sete est freyede est rodbre colof glouestre. Jysbreit hie sijder
meed mee frid. Jis lihen setche en caistel. 0e aterch
heo sete lanpnd jynamen hie for hys hie. 7fsehen stugger. 7y
hysbylope yden hie mepumun. Yrest hie pas al engle.
Styremarn eser pasgal sterd. 7t lannde. 7rest esfe king
beshrnres he sebde ben empre. Alamane in payshat sue,
Maters ve polyundene ve lihende jifis. Jifis est
ceen. 7rest bi biskop of wenezego hent he king bysthe stephene
pid rodbre col of wenezego. 7rest
7ynewa haf d hentwiz maneud te king hie bysthe poldekal
men het upwenesthe. 7zden veamen jude. Pahbet
nun payten jis okseking caun. 7y hinxiestre. 7beter
hod d ple pasimmen me ter huner. Jis almen lenge nemuthe
polen haf stilu upwenesthe. 7y newhen pas pidenmen se
lecheden hie jynamen rodbre colof glouesthe. Jast he ne
wenesthe. 7yden hie aserwip. 0eempere sikhumemanesthe.

THE PETERBOROUGH CHRONICLE, 1140
(Bodleian Laud Misc. 626 f. 90v)
MCXL On þis gær wolde þe king Stephne tæcen Rodbert eorl of gloucestre þe kinges sune Henries. ac he ne myhte for he wart it war. Þer eftir in þe lengten Þestreda þe sunne 7 te dæl abuton non tid daeies. þa men eten. ðat me lihtede candles to æten bi. 7 þat was
5 ‘xiii kalend April, waren men suythe ofwundred. þer eftir fordfeorde Willelm ærecesbiscop of Cantwarberi. 7 te king makede Teobald ærecesbiscop þe was abbot in the bec. þer eftir væx suythe micel uwerre betuynx 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 værse hi væron him. þe eorl heold lincol agenes 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 æorl stæl ut 7 ferde eftir Rodbert eorl of gloucester. 7 brohte him þider mid micel ferd. 7 fuhten suythe on Candelmasse dæi agenes
15 þe or lauerd. 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 væs in lande. þer eftir com þe kinges dohter henriæ þe hefde emperice in alamanie 7 nu væs cuntesse in Angou. 7 com to lundene 7 te lundenisse folc hire wolde tæcen.
20 7 scæ fleh forles þar micel. þer eftir þe bispoc of Winestre henri þe kinges brother Stephnes spac wid Rodbert eorl 7 wid þemperice 7 suor heom athas ðat he neure ma mid te king his brother wolde hal den. 7 cursede alle þe men þe mid him heoldon. 7 sæde heom ðat he uuol de iuen heom up Wincestte. 7 dide heom cumen þider. þa hi þær inne væren. þa com þe kinges cuen mid al hire strengthe. 7 besæt heom, ðat þe æres inne micel hungær. þa he ne lenc 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 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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