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Multilingual practices in late medieval English official writing

An edition of documents from the

Beverley Town Cartulary



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‘No man is an island, entire of itself...’

(John Donne, *Devotions upon emergent occasions and seuerall steps in my sicknes - Meditation XVII*, 1624)

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Abstract

The present work contains an edition of fifteen Middle English texts recorded in the Beverley Town Cartulary. The edited selection is miscellaneous, consisting of copies of documents which refer both to local matters of Beverley and historical events of national importance. The texts are dated to the period 1430-1450 and differ in genre, place of production and recipients and addresses. They are mainly in English, but some of them contain notes in Latin. Additionally, a study of multilingual practices in medieval English official writing is offered. More specifically, the Latin, Scandinavian and French loanwords are presented and discussed and the mechanisms of code-switching and code selection are observed.

For an accurate analysis of both loanwords and code-switching phenomena, the larger literacy context of late medieval English writing is considered. The first four chapters contain descriptions of palaeographic aspects, theoretical aspects of scribal behaviour, terminology and use of medieval cartularies, socio-historical background of late medieval Beverley and mid-fifteenth century England. Furthermore, summaries of the texts are given and theoretical tools for investigating multilingual practices in writing are presented, followed by a brief study of linguistic variation and scribal behaviour. Eventually, both quantitative and qualitative methods are employed for a detailed analysis of the Latin, Scandinavian and French loanwords and code-switching phenomena from English to Latin and viceversa.

One of the conclusions reached is that linguistic features of Middle English texts cannot be studied in isolation, especially when multilingual interaction is targeted. There are causal connections between the language used in a text and the text genre and date of production. Multiple extralinguistic factors such as time, social status, geographical location, scribal intervention and text purpose may determine the linguistic characteristics which can, in turn, trigger certain palaeographic features. It is noteworthy that the factors mentioned above do not act disconnectedly, but rather in conjunction.

This thesis belongs to the larger framework of socio-historical and linguistic studies of Middle English texts. Simultaneously, it modestly contributes to existing research in code-switching practices of late medieval English writing.

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PART I CONTEXT AND LANGUAGE

1. Introduction

The aim of the present work is to present a diplomatic edition of a set of fifteen English documents from the Beverley Town Cartulary. Most of the texts are letters of petition and complaint, involving correspondents such as Henry VI, Richard of York and the Archbishop of York, as well as the municipal officials of the town of Beverley.

The cartulary contains copies of originals from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries. Most texts are in Latin; however, by the mid-fifteenth century, when the English texts were copied, English was replacing Latin as the language of official documents. Both the linguistic characteristics and the contents of the selected texts, as well as their socio-historical context make them of considerable interest for the study of scribal variation and multilingual practices in late medieval England. The present thesis includes a study of these aspects of the edited texts, as well as a historical contextualization.

The cartulary provides very interesting material for the study of linguistic variation in late medieval England. The English texts, which consist of various types of official letters as well as legal documents, represent a wide range of geographical and social backgrounds, but are all copied by a single scribe, presumably the Town Clerk of Beverley. They also provide scope for chronological comparison in that one group of five texts, copied in the same part of the manuscript, date from a point of time almost twenty years earlier than the rest. The period during which the texts were copied is one of exceptional interest in the history of written English: this is both the period when official writing first begins to be produced in English, and when regional variation gradually begins to give way to standardisation. As the only English texts in an otherwise Latin environment, with additions and titles in Latin, the texts also give rise to questions about multilingualism in late medieval manuscripts.

The present study will therefore deal both with scribal practices and with two main linguistic phenomena which occur in multilingual contexts: borrowing and language alternation or, more specifically, code selection and code-switching. The linguistic study of the texts will include an assessment of the frequency and use of loanwords from Latin, Scandinavian and

French, including their dialectal and stylistic distributions. The mechanisms of code selection and code-switching between English and Latin are analysed in light of present-day theories advocating a connection between the use of a certain language and extralinguistic factors such as text genre and purpose, social status of author(s) and recipient(s), time and place of text production. In order to make sense of the linguistic variation in the texts, the copying practices of the scribe are subjected to a detailed study.

Multilingualism in medieval English texts is a relatively new area of study; earlier studies have focussed on genres such as medical texts, sermons and business documents (see e.g. Pahta, 2004; Schendl, 2012; Wright, 2000). It has been pointed out that much research is needed in the area of multilingual discourse (Sebba, 2012). Moreover, the characteristics of code-switching in a medieval English text are a matter of interest to historical linguists and, at the same time, a challenge to the modern theories of code-switching (Schendl, 2012). It is suggested here that the Beverley Town Cartulary is of particular interest from this point of view, especially as the texts provide evidence for what is basically a process of language shift in the domain of official writings.

An edition of the English texts in the Beverley Town Cartulary is, however, also of interest for historical research, as many of the texts are of considerable interest both for local and national history during the reign of Henry VI. In addition, this thesis will directly contribute to a larger research project, 'Language and Geography in Middle English Documentary Texts', a project started in August 2012 and funded jointly by the Norwegian Research Council and the University of Stavanger.¹ The edited texts will also be added to the Corpus of Middle English Local Documents (MELD), which is being compiled as part of the project.

As far as we know, this thesis contains the first diplomatic edition of the selected texts. In 1900, Arthur Francis Leach edited the extensive *Reports on the Manuscripts of the Corporation of Beverley*.² As the subtitle indicates,³ this was compiled at the request of Queen Victoria. Although it presents comprehensive summaries of documents from the Beverley Town Cartulary, it does not claim to offer historical background or to examine linguistic elements. The present thesis aims to fill this gap, both making available a full diplomatic text of the fifteen English texts

¹ <http://www.uis.no/mest>.

² <http://archive.org/details/cu31924028044364>.

³ Presented to Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

and providing a detailed, contextualized study of the texts in terms of linguistic variation and multilingual practices.

This thesis contains two main parts. The first part consists of introductory chapters providing a physical and historical contextualization and presenting the linguistic study. Chapter 2 provides a description of the palaeographic aspect and contents of the manuscript, while Chapter 3 places it in the context of medieval cartularies. Chapter 4 presents a framework for the study of scribal copying behaviour, based on Benskin and Laing (1981). The next chapter, Chapter 5, focuses on the socio-historical context of medieval Beverley, including origins, government, education, trade and population, and gives a brief overview of the political setting in England in 1435-1455, highlighting the relationship between Henry VI and Richard of York. Chapter 6 provides detailed summaries of the edited texts. Finally, Chapter 7 discusses the theoretical framework of multilingualism and the implications of the coexistence of English, Latin, Scandinavian and French in medieval England. The linguistic study itself, which includes both an analysis of the scribal variation and a discussion of multilingual practices in the English texts, is carried out in Chapter 8.

The second part consists of a description of the editorial conventions and the diplomatic edition itself. The edition is based on transcriptions of the texts from photographic reproductions supplied by the East Riding of Yorkshire Archives and Records Service. The thesis contains three Appendices: a full glossary with etymologies, a list of personal names with page references and a list of place names.

2. The Manuscript

The text here edited consists of a group of English documents in the Beverley Town Cartulary. This cartulary consists of copies of miscellaneous official documents in both English and Latin, produced by one scribe. It has been dated c. 1400-1452 on The National Archives website,⁴ but contains copies of numerous much earlier texts. The English documents are dated to the period 1435-53, and were probably entered into the cartulary during the same period, or not very much later (Leach, 1900). A group of English texts belonging to the selected documents has been used in the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English* (henceforth LALME) and labelled Linguistic Profile 1257, East Riding of Yorkshire.⁵

Leach (1900: 4), described the cartulary as a quarto volume of 11 ½ by 8 inches (29.2 by 20.3 cm) with paper leaves bound in parchment. According to Leach, it contained a statement that described it as ‘41 leaves with a little labell in Englisshe’, but he notes that one of the leaves had disappeared (Leach, 1900: 4). The cartulary contains a variety of texts on the customs, constitutions and privileges and rights of the town, as well as Guild ordinances at the end.

The leaves of the manuscript are badly worn, and the manuscript has now been restored by entering the individual leaves onto a modern frame. The manuscript is foliated, with two different sets of folio numbers. One set is entered at the middle of the right-hand margin of the recto side and the other in the left-hand lower corner of the recto side. Both sets use Arabic numbers, but the second is much more modern in shape and is certainly a post-medieval addition; it is not mentioned by Leach (1900: 4). The two sets do not coincide: the set on the right hand margin is consistently one number ahead of the one at the bottom of the page, except for folio 36r, where it is two numbers ahead. Consequently, it may be inferred that more than one leaf of the original manuscript may have been lost or destroyed.

The English texts are written in a single hand and are contained on the following folios: 7v, 8r, 19v, 20r, 20v, 21r, 21v, 22r, 35r, 35v, 36r, 36v. Their contents may be listed as follows:

⁴ <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/a2a/records.aspx?cat=047-bc&cid=2-2#2-2>.

⁵ http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme_frames.html.

1. Letter of credence to the Archbishop of York, fol. 7v
2. Instruction addressed to Thomas Mayn' & William lorymer' by the Governors of Beverley, fol. 7v
3. Agreement between the Governors of Beverley and John Gargrave, Walker, fol. 7v-8r
4. Memorandum containing the complaints of the Archbishop of York against the Governors of the Town of Beverley, fol. 20r-20v
5. Petition to the Archbishop of York, fol. 20v
6. Writ by the King under the Privy Seal, fol. 21v
7. Petition to the Provost of Beverley, fol. 21v-22r
8. Answer of the Provost of Beverley, fol. 22r
9. Appointment between Jean de Dunois and the inhabitants of Bordeaux, fol. 35r
10. First petition to the King from Richard, Duke of York, fol. 35r-35v
11. Second petition to the King from Richard, Duke of York, fol. 35v
12. The answer of the King, fol. 35v-36r
13. Obligation for five hundred saleuz, fol. 36r
14. Record of a fugitive servant, fol. 36v
15. Letter of complaint to the Earl of Northumberland, fol. 36v.

Most of the documents recorded in this cartulary are in Latin. In addition to the English texts here edited, it also contains two copies of royal charters of Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror in 'corrupt Anglo-Saxon' (Leach, 1900: 25). According to Leach (1900: 4), part of the contents were copied from an older book which is not extant anymore, referred to as the *Old Paper Register* and the *Large Register*. The Latin entries contemporary with the English texts mainly consist of administrative and legal documents, and include the following:

- an action for penalty dated in 1436, fol. 6v
- a judgement dated in 1442, fol. 6v
- a power of attorney dated in 1440, fol. 7r
- a grant dated in 1445, fol. 7r
- a document on the discharge of toll in York dated in 1373, fol. 7r
- a certification document dated in 1448, fol. 7r

- three fines: Easter dated in 1447 and 1448 and Michaelmas dated in 1446, fol. 7r
- an annual payment dated in 1380, fol. 19r-19v
- a lease dated 1318, fol. 19v
- a charter of a gift, undated, fol. 19v
- a lease dated 1318, fol. 19v
- a commission dated in 1433, fol. 20v
- a writ dated in 1433, fol. 20v
- an exemplification of a charter dated in 1434, fol. 22r-22v.

The text is organised in single columns, with twenty-one to fifty lines on a page. The script is Secretary with Anglicana features and varies somewhat from text to text (see p. 66). Pointed single-compartment **a** is used throughout the text even if double-compartment **a** also occurs. The **g** is a Secretary one with a separate line on the top and the tail curled to the right; it has no Anglicana counterpart. The **x** is cursively written in a single stroke. For **r** the v-shaped variant typical of Secretary is used alongside with the Anglicana 2-shaped one. Similarly, at the end of the words, **s** is not only kidney-shaped, but also sigma-shaped. Initially and medially, the tall **s** often occurs, and might lead to confusions between **s** and **f** due to the fading of ink. The instantly recognisable Secretary **w** is, again, accompanied by the more adorned Anglicana one. At times **þ** ('thorn') is indistinguishable from **y**; however, this varies from text to text and the usage is at times very mixed (see p. 64). The minims are realised without pen lifting. In a few cases, especially where the reading might otherwise be problematic, the **i** is accented, e.g. **eníoie** (fol. 35r).

The text contains a fairly large number of abbreviations, such as & 'and' (line 1), *w^t* 'with' (line 117) *w^touten* 'withouten' (line 237). The handwriting and layout are relatively simple, lacking decorations. Nevertheless, capital letters at the beginning of paragraphs are decorated and Latin titles are produced in a more formal hand, resembling Textualis, e.g. on fols. 20r and 22r. The hand may be described as mainly a Secretary one, but with the addition of some Anglicana letter shapes, such as sigma-shaped **s**. It may be noted that the Anglicana sigma-shaped **s** is less time consuming to produce than its counterpart, Secretary kidney-shaped **s** (Roberts, 2005: 212), something that is immediately verifiable through a short handwriting

exercise. This choice, combined with a fairly extensive use of abbreviations might suggest that speed of writing was here more important than the level of formality.

Punctuation is relatively scarce. The punctus, the virgule and the punctus elevatus all occur; however, the punctus is by far the most frequent punctuation mark. Paraph marks are not used.

Marginalia are frequent on the folios here edited. In some cases, the marginal notes give additional information, such as the date of an event: for example, a marginal note attached to the petition addressed to the Archbishop of York states that the petition was delivered by the messengers on 4 November in the year 13 of Henry the VI (fol. 20v, see p. 74, 85). Other times, marginal notes explain or comment on the information already provided in the text. For example, one of the marginal notes on folio 7v states, in Latin, the genre of text it accompanies: *littera credencie* 'letter of credence' (see p. 73, 82).

Due to the extensive wearing out of the margins, certain parts of the marginalia are lost or indecipherable; this is also the case with small portions of the main text. The recto side of folio 22 is incomplete, due to large tears at the top and right-hand side of the page. However, compared to the amount of text that is legible, only a small proportion of text is missing; therefore, this should not prevent a linguistic analysis of the text.

According to LALME (http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme_frames.html), all the texts have been copied into the cartulary by a single scribe; this was mostly probable the town clerk (see p. 22). Nonetheless, variation in the palaeographic features of the texts can be easily noticed throughout the manuscript. On folio 7v, for example, there are differences between the two first texts (the letter of credence and the instruction) and the third one (the agreement). Firstly, the ink of the third text looks darker, which could indicate that another type of ink was used, suggesting that the text might have been added later. Secondly, the spacing of the first two texts is airier, with a fair amount of space between words, whereas the third text seems to be rather crammed, but without causing illegibility. There is no apparent need for economy of space as more than half of the next folio, 8r, is empty. However, as noted earlier, the original manuscript might have differed in terms of organisation and foliation. Although clearly noticeable, the described variation is insufficient to argue for the existence of more than one hand in the manuscript, especially as many of the other texts seem to represent intermediate forms or

stages of handwriting. Such variation may merely reflect changes over time in the handwriting style of the same scribe.

3. Cartularies in Medieval England

3.1 Definition and terminological specifications

Official collections of copies of documents from the Middle Ages are known as cartularies or registers. There has been some terminological confusion ensuing from the usage of two terms to designate similar concepts in the same historical period. The two main positions in the terminological debate are presented and discussed below.

Foulds (1987: 7) notes that the term *cartulary* derives from the Latin *carta*, which would indicate that a cartulary is a collection of mainly charters. The term has been used at least since the twelfth century, when it was associated with a certain kind of writings in the library of Leicester Abbey. For example, the precentor of the abbey gives the following description of a cartulary, listed under ‘Exceedingly necessary books and rolls of our evidences’:

There is one book which is called *the chartwary* in a great and thick volume in which is contained all the charters of our founders and our other benefactors with compositions, pleas, final concords and with the charters of our enfeoffors and many other things.

(James and Thompson, 1940-1: 53 cited in Foulds, 1987: 6)

In *A New English dictionary* (1893), A.H. Murray defines a cartulary as ‘a collection or set of charters in a volume containing a duplicate copy of all charters, title-deeds and like documents belonging to a monastery, corporation or other landowner’ and a register as ‘a book or volume in which a regular entry is made of particulars or details of any kind which are considered of sufficient importance to be exactly and formally recorded’ (cited in Foulds, 1987: 6). It should be noted that ‘corporation’ and ‘landowner’ do not here only refer to individuals, families, ecclesiastical groups or business-related associations, but also to town communities. While registers are mostly composed of miscellaneous documents, cartularies contain more specific and less varied documents, mainly attesting ownership. A cartulary is not a collection of random documents regarding a certain monastery, town, family and their respective properties, but rather

‘a studied transcription of the title-deeds, the vehicle by which title was conveyed from the late twelfth century and before’ (Foulds, 1987: 7).

However, not all writers have made this distinction. For example, Grevers (1975: 504) suggests that the book into which charters are copied is ‘known as a register or cartulary’. Clanchy (2003: 103) explains that in medieval England, a cartulary was commonly called a *registrum*, probably as a short form of the Latin *registrum cartarum* (Davis, 1958: xi). Seventeenth century antiquaries used the term register to refer to both cartularies and registers indistinguishably (Foulds, 1987: 5). It also seems that, over the time, the term *cartulary* underwent a process of generalisation. With the advent of the thirteenth century, when the habit of producing cartularies ceased to be the apanage of monasteries (Clanchy, 2003: 102), it can be easily imagined that cartularies would extend their purposes. They would be compiled by different institutions for different reasons and thus contain a broad range of documents besides charters. To illustrate, the estate books of Richard Hotot and Henry de Bray, although considered cartularies, ‘were intended as general reference books for their families and are not narrowly legalistic’ (Clanchy, 2003: 103). The two terms, *cartulary* and *register*, have thus become largely synonymous, as is also suggested by the definition for *cartulary* provided in the online version of the *Oxford English Dictionary*: ‘a place where papers or records are kept; whence the whole collection of records (belonging to a monastery, etc.); or the book in which they are entered; a register.’

The Beverley Town Cartulary is a cartulary only according to the second definition. While the Latin contents include several charters, they also include many other kinds of documents. Of the fifteen English texts edited here, none is a charter; on the contrary, petitions and letters are the prevailing genres. The diversity of genres (see p. 7) is sufficient to affirm that it is not a cartulary in Murray’s sense of the term; rather, it could be described as a register. In fact, the original cartulary was initially referred to as a register (see p. 7), even though the modern established term used for it is cartulary. The term ‘cartulary’ is also used to refer to the book in what follows. Although it is not a collection of title-deeds, it shares other common features with other more complex works such as the book of Richard Hotot. Both cartularies transmit a wide range of information to the following generations, they are ‘made primarily for purposes of reference and information’ (Davis, 1958: xi). This also means that, wherever the term cartulary is employed in the following sections, it is used in the second, more general sense.

3.2 Motives and purposes for compiling cartularies

Today, medieval cartularies are an important source of information, to the extent that, in some cases, historians tend to neglect the primary purposes that brought them into existence (Foulds, 1987: 4). Cartularies were, of course, not compiled solely for the benefit of posterity; rather, like most types of human activity, they were produced to serve certain individuals, families and larger communities. One of the most obvious purposes would be to preserve copies of important documents that would survive and be referred to in case the originals were destroyed. Time itself is a threat, as all materials used for writing eventually wear out. Sometimes, the motives for compiling a certain cartulary are explicitly stated in its preface; however, this does not occur when the compilers remain anonymous (Foulds, 1987: 21-22).

Cartularies originated in religious houses. According to Davis (1958: xi), the earliest surviving ecclesiastical cartulary in England dates from the eleventh century and comes from the Benedictine Cathedral Priory of Worcester. Monasteries faced various difficulties, such as national or local political crisis, vandalism and theft which could lead to the destruction and loss of documents. Thus, producing cartularies was a means of fighting against all these adversities that could disturb the peace and well-being of a religious institution. To illustrate, the preface to the Dover priory cartulary explains:

When formerly in Dover priory many disasters and injuries both spiritual and temporal befell the muniments, that is to say, some of them being carried away from time to time by arsonists (per combustores), robbers and other evildoers, and others [documents] having been removed from memory often by decay, theft and other negligences ... caused to be inserted in the present volume all our extant muniments.

(Foulds, 1987: 23)

Nevertheless, not only monasteries, but also town communities and families could suffer from the loss of documents attesting their properties or granting them certain rights. This could become a source of distress for future generations, when oral memory was gone and no written proof was available. The intention of leaving a written legacy for posterity is transparent in the note made by Hemming, a monk of Worcester, at the beginning of the twelfth century:

I ... have composed this little book concerning the possessions of this our monastery, so that it may be clear to our posterity which and how many possessions in land pertain to the endowment of this monastery for the sustenance of the monks, the servants of God

(Clanchy, 2003: 101)

In some cases the original purpose of informing the following generations was, paradoxically, defeated by the exact opposite, namely concealing essential facts. To illustrate, Thomas Pype, a former abbot of Stoneleigh, compiled *Stoneleigh Leiger Book* at the end of the fourteenth century and masterfully omitted details of his misruling the monastery (Foulds, 1987: 24-25).

Cartularies were not only intended to guard the members of the convent from the peril of ignorance, but also to be themselves guarded from prying eyes. The Dover priory cartulary was to 'be chained in a suitable and secret place' where only members of the community could access them. This intentionally gave the cartulary a 'quasi-mystical aura' (Foulds, 1987: 24), which might have had the purpose of instilling a deeper and stronger feeling of belonging and dedication to such an exquisite community in the hearts of monks.

In this way, passing on information to the posterity through cartularies in the monastic tradition also contributes to building a sense of identity in the successors. Knowing more about the rights, privileges, material goods and general affairs of a monastery unquestionably helped new members to understand the community they entered. Moreover, they were supposedly prepared to defend not only the spiritual values, but also the rights and possessions they identified themselves with.

The purpose of creating an identity is characteristic not only of monastic cartularies, but also of secular ones. For example, the Woodford cartulary, compiled in the mid-fifteenth century, relates how the Woodford family gained their fortune and also the position it held in society (Foulds, 1987: 27). At the same time, the preface of this cartulary contains no explicit reason for its compilation, which suggests that at that date the production of cartularies had become a customary practice.

Although not an initial purpose of compiling cartularies, they

have value as evidence of title to the extent that they can often be produced as substitutes for the documents copied into them, when these have been lost or destroyed and when no better-authenticated copies are available

(Davis, 1958: xiv).

Thus, the copy of the 1235 agreement between the Thurgarton priory and John I de Heriz, which was recorded in the Thurgarton cartulary, was subsequently labelled as original because the original was lost (Foulds, 1987: 32).

The general purpose of cartularies is, in sum, to secure the knowledge from memory by committing it to writing. It is true that, as Bouchard (2002: 26) suggests, ‘the individual records copied into a cartulary had previously made the transition from living to written memory, even before the cartulary was composed’. However, compared to scattered muniments, the cartulary has the advantage that it offers access to the content of the muniments without having to make the effort of accessing them directly (Foulds, 1987: 31). Moreover, as memories fade in time, written documents are also subject to change and disappearance, even though at a much slower pace. Consequently, a cartulary is a convenient way of preserving copies of documents that will, at some point, cease to be available.

3.3 Types of cartularies

Foulds (1987: 3) distinguishes between two main types of cartularies: ecclesiastical and secular. The secular cartularies include family cartularies, town cartularies and even cartularies belonging to individuals, such as the estate book of Henry de Bray, which he wrote himself in 1322 (Clanchy, 2003: 102). Unfortunately, cartularies as a genre have not been studied extensively (Carpenter, 2011: 1512) and town cartularies are even less documented. The practice of recording copies of title-deeds in towns might have been inspired by the production of the Chancery rolls or by the monastic cartularies. The oldest text of this type which is still extant is the roll of Wallingford, made in 1231-1232, which records property rights communicated orally in the town court (Clanchy, 2003: 104).

Both the monastic and the secular cartulary can be further classified into different types according to their contents and function. Davis (1958: xiii) distinguishes between the following types: general cartulary, special cartulary, cartulary of rights, privileges etc., chronicle-cartulary,

cartulary in Gospel-Books and inventory. To these, Foulds adds the hybrid cartulary, a mixture between the general cartulary and chronicle-cartulary (Foulds, 1987).

A general cartulary consists of most of the muniments belonging to a religious house, family or secular organisation. They are mostly organised topographically or according to the subject-matter or grantor; sometimes, chronological order is employed (Davis, 1958: xii). In some cases, some of the muniments are deliberately not included, as one of the explanatory notes in the Thurgarton cartulary informs: ‘Note that there are seven charters that speak of the same matter which it is unnecessary to transcribe all on account of their prolixity and tedium’ (Foulds 1987: 8). It is highly probable that other scribes have also decided to omit documents because of the tedium of transcribing, without giving any notice of this choice.

Incomplete as they may be, general cartularies usually contain sufficient information to offer an overview of the legal, economic and social history of clerical and lay institutions. Thus, they become important especially when the original muniments of the institutions are no longer extant, which is the case of the Thurgarton priory (Foulds, 1987: 10). Because of the wide range of information they provide, general cartularies are an effective means of portraying and preserving, at least partially, the identity of the organisations they describe (Foulds, 1987: 11).

The Beverley Town Cartulary is definitely a general cartulary, considering the great variety of documents included. The order of the texts to be studied is partly chronological, but this cannot be used to make a general statement referring to the whole content of the cartulary. Apart from the expected range of documents pertaining to the town’s rights and privileges, it contains copies of texts which are somewhat unexpected in a town cartulary, such as the correspondence between Henry VI and Richard, Duke of York (see p. 39, 91).

The special cartulary is a cartulary designed for a certain type of muniments, usually produced in large monasteries where a large variety of documents needed to be preserved. Thus, some cartularies would be ‘devoted to royal charters or papal or episcopal privileges’ (Foulds, 1987: 15). The cartulary of rights, privileges etc. is an even more specialized type of cartulary, which contains copies of documents that might be particularly important in specific situations, for example in solving administrative issues. It tends to include copies of

royal, papal and episcopal privileges ...; compositions, ordinations and other material relating to churches, tithes, pensions and rents; records of legal proceedings, and

ocasionally also satutes of the Realm

(Davis, 1958: xiii).

The chronicle-cartulary is written in prose, presenting the story of a religious house and including a considerable number of title-deeds of that house. The *Liber Eliensis* is such a cartulary, containing a narrative regarding the abbey, the external events that influenced it and offering relevant documentation. Some of the chronicle-cartularies become mere transcriptions of documents, as compilers often lose their creative energy (Foulds, 1987: 11). The ‘hybrid’ type of cartulary is a combination between the general cartulary and the chronicle-cartulary. An example is the work produced by the abbey of Croxden Kerrial, which is structured as a narrative, similarly to a chronicle-cartulary, but presents facts topographically, in a way pertaining to a general cartulary (Foulds, 1987: 13).

The cartulary in a Gospel-Book is, as the name suggests, a collection of royal and other charters copied in Gospel-Books. Such cartularies were produced in Benedictine monasteries, ‘bound up with Passion narratives, collects, Gospel lessons and prayers’ (Davis, 1958: xiii). Finally, the inventory mainly contains lists of the documents to be found in muniment rooms. Occasionally, it contains summaries of texts, which enables it to be used as a cartulary in its own right. The inventory mainly contains lists of the documents to be found in muniment rooms. Occasionally, it contains summaries of texts, which enables it to be used as a cartulary in its own right.

4. Scribal behaviour

Cartularies, like medieval literary texts but unlike many original documents, are produced by scribes copying from existing exemplars. In the case of a cartulary, the sources of the documents copied, and the language contained in them, may be very varied, even though most documents are likely to be locally produced. As the copying process may have considerable implications for the language of a text, the question of scribal copying behaviour should be addressed.

Traditionally, scribal copying was considered a generally corrupting influence, producing *Mischsprachen*, or mixed forms of language, of little interest for dialect study (see Tolkien 1929: 104). It is now recognized, however, that scribes were generally highly competent craftsmen

who could employ different strategies for copying. A typology of scribal strategies was developed in connection with the work on LALME and presented in a seminal article by Benskin and Laing (1981), as well as in LALME itself (LALME I: 13-24).

Benskin and Laing (1981: 56) take as their starting point a basic classification made by McIntosh (1973: 61). When a scribe copies documents, there are three main possibilities: the new texts may be faithfully copied (so-called *literatim* copying), translated into the scribe's own kind of language or something in between the two. Nevertheless, a scribe may use more than one approach when transcribing, so that some features of the original text may be preserved while others may be altered.

Firstly, when a scribe translates between dialects, the translation does not necessarily affect equally the different levels of language: orthography, morphology, syntax and lexis. While orthographic and morphologic changes are generally expected, syntactic variation has not been documented and lexical change is unpredictable. In the process of copying, the amount of text taken in at a glance is presumably too small to enable the modification of syntactic structures (Benskin and Laing, 1981: 95). As for the vocabulary, no clear pattern has been found for translating or preserving it. In some cases it is translated, especially when there is a specific purpose for this, such as forging or rendering the content in a dialect that the target audience would understand. For example, the scribe who copied the Bodleian version of the Lollard sermon cycle systematically translated the text into the northern dialect at the lexical level as well (Benskin and Laing, 1981: 96-97). Nevertheless, the general assumption is that in most cases the lexis is not significantly altered.

Secondly, even if translating might be rather natural than deliberate (Benskin and Laing, 1981: 94), it involves a choice, be it unconscious, between two sources: the exemplar to be copied and the scribal repertoire (Stenroos, 2013). Benskin and Laing (1981: 59) distinguish between *active* and *passive repertoire*. The *active repertoire* represents the set of forms which a scribe uses spontaneously, i.e. when he is not copying. The *passive repertoire* consists of forms familiar to the scribe, which he recognises and might retain even when otherwise translating. In the process of copying, the scribe may employ a strategy named *constrained selection* (Benskin and Laing, 1981: 72). This means that he faithfully reproduces only the forms that coincide with his own repertoire, replacing the forms that are alien to his usage. However, in some cases, such alien forms, called *relicts* (Benskin and Laing, 1981: 58), might be preserved due to varying

degrees of thoroughness in translating or as a result of mere isolated mistakes. It has been suggested that all or most scribes employ the strategy of constrained selection at least to some extent, even though the range of their repertoires may vary greatly (see e.g. Benskin and Laing, 1981: 72-73).

Thirdly, in some cases, a scribe might take time to accommodate to the linguistic particularities of the exemplar he copies before starting to translate it, resulting in *progressive translation* (Benskin and Laing, 1981: 65-67). Here, the transition from the original linguistic features of the exemplar to the scribe's own language is made gradually. The LALME authors considered the opposite possibility, that of progressive *literatim* copying, very unlikely; however, later studies have suggested that it probably occurred reasonably commonly as well (see e.g. Horobin, 2005).

As with linguistic variation in general, the study of scribal behaviour becomes more interesting when it is related to extralinguistic factors such as the educational and geographical background of the scribe. For example, a northern scribe who was used to copying southern documents in addition to local ones would eventually become bidialectal and own a broader repertoire (Stenroos, 2013: 23). As it will be shown below (see 8.1), this may have well been the case with the town clerk of Beverley.

5. Historical context

Beverley is a market town and the county town of the East Riding of Yorkshire. It is located '8 miles (13 km) north-west of Hull, 10 miles (16 km) east of Market Weighton and 12 miles (19 km) west of Hornsea'.⁶ In the Middle Ages, Beverley was the tenth-largest town and also one of the richest towns in England. Its wealth was mainly based on the wool trade and the pilgrims travelling to the minster church of St. John. Beginning with the fifteenth century and during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the town's prosperity decreased considerably and most religious houses were lost; however, the minster survived. Beverley became the administrative centre of the East Riding in the late seventeenth century and its social centre one century later. In 1892 it was designated as the county town of the East Riding of Yorkshire.

⁶ <http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beverley>.

The following sections provide a historical contextualization for the texts in the Beverley Town Cartulary, which will then be discussed in detail (see Chapter 6.). The information about medieval Beverley is mainly based on the online version of the Beverley volume of the Victoria County History (Allison *et al.*, 1989). Wherever other sources are used, this will be indicated.

5. Historical context

5.1 Beverley

5.1.1 The origins of Beverley

It is traditionally thought that Beverley developed from an eighth century settlement, the monastery of *Inderauuda* ‘in the wood of the men of Deira’, where Bishop John of York retired in 714 A.D. and was buried seven years later; while this identification has been questioned, recent archaeological findings provide some support for it (Allison *et al.*, 1989). By the tenth century, the tomb of the bishop had gained fame as miracle-working, attracting the interest of King Athelstan. In 937, when Athelstan defeated the Scots at Brunanburh, he credited his victory to Bishop John. Two years later he showed his gratitude by establishing a college of secular canons at Beverley, which he endowed with land and privileges such as the right to receive thraves, two shocks or stooks of corn⁷ throughout the East Riding. During the eleventh century, the minster was rebuilt and Edward the Confessor sent the first royal charter to Beverley, declaring the Archbishop of York as the sole lord of the town under the King.

In 1037, Ælfric canonised Bishop John as St. John of Beverley, and subsequent documents from mid twelfth century attest that his tomb was visited by inhabitants of Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, East Anglia and Scotland, which naturally helped the growth of local economy. The attribution of military power to St. John of Beverley and the fact that the battle of Agincourt in 1415 was won on 25 October, the exact day of his translation, contributed to his becoming one of the patrons of the royal house. Henry V visited the shrine in 1420 and Henry VI spent a week in Beverley in 1448, during his only journey to the north.

⁷ One hundred twenty units of corn, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2013, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/178400?rskey=obMXcU&result=1&isAdvanced=false>.

5.1.2 Government and authority in Beverley

The two main figures of authority in the borough of Beverley were the Archbishop of York and the Provost of Beverley. The local government was represented by twelve Governors elected from the town burgesses.

The Archbishop of York was the overlord of Beverley throughout the Middle Ages and had a series of privileges such as freedom from suit of court, free warren, profits of wrecks and waifs, as well as owning his own gaol, gallows and coroner. Additionally, he possessed most of the open lands surrounding Beverley, of which some were turned into his private enclosed deer parks. He claimed exclusive jurisdiction within the liberty and as a result, not even the King's sheriffs and bailiffs were allowed to exercise their authority. As the majority of these rights were based on oral tradition, a 'charter' from Athelstan to the Archbishop of York was fabricated at the beginning of the fourteenth century in response to the increasing demand for written evidence; according to Allison *et al.* (1989), it was apparently given credit by later Kings. In 1404, Henry IV provided the Archbishop with letters of patent, 'to remove any ambiguities' (Allison *et al.*, 1989).

The two main positions of the Archbishop's office were that of bailiff and steward. The steward was the head of the office, while the bailiff held a more important function as far as the relationship with the townfolk was concerned and in the fifteenth century he was customarily paid an annual fee by the town. Although initially separate and occupied by clerics, in the fourteenth century a layman could hold both positions at the same time. Other positions in the Archbishop's office were the receiver, who collected the taxes, the keeper, who guarded the manor and parks belonging to the Archbishop, the clerk of court and the porter of the Archbishop's manor. The Archbishop's base in Beverley was the Bishop Dings, in the market place. The Dings was subsequently moved to Hall Garth, south of the minster.

As he received tolls from Beverley, the Archbishop was naturally interested in the financial prosperity of the town, which was fostered by trade. Consequently, he encouraged the development of trade, but his authority limited the development of civic autonomy, which constituted a matter of constant clashes between the Archbishop and the representants of local government. In some cases, the power of the Archbishop would prove abusive. For example, in 1281 Archbishop Wickwane excommunicated a group of townsmen who had complained to the

Archbishop of Canterbury on a matter of pasture. In the sixteenth century, the borough of Beverley gained freedom from the lordship of the Archbishop, which eventually paved the way to independent local government.

The minster of St. John was another source of authority in Beverley. The church of St. John had possession of the saint, received thaves and owned land in its own right within Beverley and elsewhere. The Provost of Beverley was the one who administered both the lands and the revenues of the chapter. This post seems to have been created by Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux and the complete statement of the Provost's rights was made by William Melton in the fourteenth century. Both the set of privileges and the office of the Provost were very similar to those enjoyed by the Archbishop. The office of the Provost, led by the steward, included a bailiff, who was responsible for the town, a coroner, a receiver, responsible for the lands in Holderness and Beverley, and gaolers. Other members of staff appointed at the Provostry in the Bedern included cooks, butlers, ushers and porters. In 1373, Thomas Beverley was steward to both Provost and Archbishop and similar overlapping occurred in the late fifteenth century. Most of the land possessed by the Provost was situated in the eastern side of the town, accompanied by properties to the west of the minster, including land in Keldgate, Minster Moorgate, Market or Fishmarket Moorgate, Lairgate and Highgate. Pasture rights were a subject of dispute between the Archbishop of York and the Provost of Beverley. In 1403 and 1408, conflicts arose between Archbishop Alexander Neville and Provost Robert Manfield. Later in the fifteenth century, once Robert Rolleston was appointed as Provost, peace seemed to have been restored.

During the archiepiscopate of Thurstan, in the twelfth century, the townfolk of Beverley gained a certain degree of self-government. Beverley was made a borough in 1122, and the townfolk were granted the right to farm their own tolls for £12 a year, except on the feast days when the tolls, from which the burgesses were exempted, belonged to the Archbishop and canons. Initially, the town of Beverley was represented collectively by the hanse or guild merchant, which developed into the guild of St. John of Beverley de Hanshus.

However, in time it became more and more cumbersome for the commonalty of Beverley to exercise authority as a whole. For example, in 1282 Archbishop Wickwane made an agreement regarding pastures with 108 named burgesses. By 1320, the commonalty was replaced as authority by 12 Keepers, also called Governors; however, this new structure was only fully accepted in the early 1330s. In the fourteenth century, the procedure for electing the Keepers was

relatively simple: the outgoing Keepers nominated eighteen men who had not been Keepers during the past three years, of whom the burgesses chose the next twelve Keepers.

The Keepers had the right to formulate orders with the assent of the burgesses and to punish trespassers. Keepers who did not attend the council meetings were fined; in 1376 the penalty was £2. During their term of office, they had to remain in town. A keeper with an interest in a discussed case was required to withdraw, as William Lorimer did in 1442 when his son was charged of felony. The Keepers were not paid for their service, but their expenses and sometimes their meals were covered. The rule by Keepers was not always popular and dissatisfaction towards them led to riots in 1356 and 1381. Further unrests continued in the fifteenth century, with a disturbance of the election of 1423, when 18 townsmen were fined and were to enter bonds for good behaviour.

The Keepers were involved in trade and industry and were responsible for local laws, such as those regulating wheeled traffic and forbidding the dumping of residues in public roads. They held responsibility for public works such as the 'scouring of the beck' (see p. 32-33) and the maintenance of the river banks. They managed the town's finances and were also responsible for securing the town's defence.

In order to assist the Keepers, a body of paid officials was formed. This consisted of the following offices: a toll collector; a town clerk, who was primarily a scribe, but held the parallel role of a town's attorney; waits, who guarded the town; a bellman, who warned burgesses of council meetings and indirectly opened the daily trade; a shepherd and swineherd, who were paid by the burgesses whose animals they were guarding; a furbisher or armourer; a sweeper or raker of the market; a supervisor of fish and corn markets. Besides paying its officials, the town of Beverley made gifts to influential persons in to show gratitude for their help. In the fifteenth century, the town's most influential neighbours were the earls of Northumberland, who owned the manor of Leconfield. In 1423-1424, the town paid for a dinner for the earl and his household during the Corpus Cristi festivities. Such expenses were titled as 'expenditure on magnates' in the Keepers' accounts.

In the fifteenth century, the annual wages for the town's officials amounted to between £7 and £8, which according to Allison *et al.* (1989), is a modest sum and indicates that the part played by external agencies in the internal businesses of the town was still major, especially in the legal sphere. Theoretically, the Keepers had authority only over the breaches of their own

ordinances, with all other matters left to the jurisdiction of the Archbishop and Provost. One way of trying to exercise more authority was employed in 1354, when the Keepers ordered that no burgess was to complain in any other court before expressing his grievance to the Keepers and obtaining their permission. This ordinance was in force for the rest of the Middle Ages and this is one of the reasons why in 1434 the Archbishop of York complains in his letter copied into the Beverley Cartulary (fol. 20r-20v, see p. 33, 85).

5.1.3 Schools

The first attested grammar school in Beverley was founded around 1100. Schools are not as well documented as, for example, religious houses mainly due because of the fact that they did not customarily keep extensive written records as the latter did. In his catalogue of medieval schools, Orme (2006: 348) records only those years for which there are explicit references to activity; for the grammar school, there are mentions in 1100, 1150, 1251, 1276, 1304-1366 and 1436-1457. The Beverley minster song school was active at least in 1423-1424 and permanently for chorists. According to Moran (1985: 241), both grammar and song schools survived at least until the Reformation. The minster in Beverley survived through the twelfth century without being monasticised, and provided teaching for the choristers and clerks of foundation, as well as for the general public. While a schoolmaster was provided with a small stipend for teaching members of the foundation, the outsiders were charged for their own education (Orme, 2006: 214-215).

It seems that it could have been common for teachers to be elected from individuals holding important positions in the administrative affairs of the town. William Hardynges, steward of the gild of St. John, was schoolmaster during 1436-1456. He had been borough governor three times, and was one of the persons selected to meet Henry VI on his visit to Beverley (Moran, 1985: 241). As for the number of students at the schools in Beverley, in 1457 thirty-three scholars are mentioned saying psalms at the funeral of Stephen Wilton (Moran, 1985). It may be assumed that, while Beverley would not have been a major centre of education on the national scale, it was well provided with locally educated literate people, who could be expected to develop local writing conventions.

5.1.4 Trade and commercial activities

A variety of trades were common in medieval Beverley, resulting in successful commercial activities and economical growth. Until the rise of Hull at the end of the thirteenth century, Beverley was considered the main trading centre of the area. The religious importance of the town played an important part by attracting pilgrims. The Archbishop of York also had a considerable role in stimulating the economy as he would benefit from the town's financial advancement. One of the archiepiscopal initiatives was the development of what would later become the Saturday Market.

As the river Hull provided a link with the Humber, other inland waterways and the sea, waterborne trade developed. Thus, the river Hull had to be kept navigable, which benefitted both the Archbishop and the town. However, the river was situated at a mile's distance from the town, making it necessary to use either road transport or another stream reaching the suburbs. By the end of the thirteenth century, Beverley beck was used for this purpose. In order to maintain its depth, it was regularly scoured, mainly by brickmakers who used the mud as raw material.

The Saturday market, so called in the sixteenth century, existed since the twelfth century and represented the commercial centre of medieval Beverley. The first area to be established was the corn market, and Corn Hill was also the general name of the market. There was also a meat market, a cobblers' market and a cloth market. In addition, bakers, blacksmiths, mercers and glovers practised their craft in the market area. Another market in Beverley was the Fish Market, called the Wednesday Market in the fifteenth century, which existed by the early thirteenth century.

In the Middle Ages, the most prosperous suburb of the town was Beckside. The southern part of Beckside, Barleyholme, was richer than the northern one, probably due to the fact that the latter was situated in damper land and was in the Provost's fee. By 1365, there was a regular meat market in Barleyholme. In the fifteenth century, the prosperity of Beckside was preserved mostly because of the craftsmanship activities.

Between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, the wool trade was the main source of the town's prosperity and developed both nationally and internationally. In the twelfth century, Flemings were trading in Beverley and gave their name to *Flammengaria*, later Flemingate. However, Beverley locals were also involved in the wool trade, and by the end of the thirteenth

century, they were more involved in the local wool export than Flemings and other Englishmen. Between 1298 and 1305, three of the greatest exporters of wool through Hull were Beverley men (Allison *et al.*, 1989). The wool export peaked in the mid-fourteenth century and plunged dramatically in the fifteenth century. Nonetheless, Beverley merchants were still active, and in 1430 Thomas Brompton owned a wool-house in Calais.

An expansion in the export of cloth was one of the causes for the decrease of wool export. However, Beverley had been acknowledged as a producer of high quality cloth by 1163, when by a charter of Henry II, Beverley weavers were allowed to make rayed and dyed cloth. The production of cloth was the town's main craft throughout the Middle Ages. In the late fifteenth century, the town had eight dyers and forty-two weavers. The second main industry in medieval Beverley, although much less important than cloth making, was tanning, which provided material for other craftsmen, such as shoemakers, cobblers, glovers and saddlers. Another local popular trade at the time was brick making.

5.1.5 Population

Documents containing direct information about the number of late medieval Beverley inhabitants and their revenue are not available. However, this kind of information can, to some extent, be inferred from accounts of tax returns. In 1436, each ward of Beverley had to pay for one archer. The resulting documents shed some light over the number of taxpayers in the different wards. For example, there were 79 taxpayers in the two Beckside wards, 73 in Flemingate, 35 in Corn Market, 33 in North Bar Without and 54 in Keldgate. In total, there were 503 taxpayers in the fourteen wards of Beverley (Allison *et al.*, 1989) The largest wards in terms of population were not necessarily the wealthiest; for example, Corn Market was the wealthiest despite being one of the least populous. Conversely, the high population in Flemingate was not coupled by prosperity. According to such records, North Bar Without was the poorest ward. Such correlations between numbers of taxpayers and the amount paid are limited in that not all residents had the same income.

The first extant document for tax returns is from 1297, when a tax of a ninth was levied on individuals who owned goods valued at 9 shillings or more. There were 219 taxpayers in the Archbishop's fee, 36 in the Provost's fee and 5 in the chapter fee, adding up to 260 which

excludes residents with goods worth less and dependents of those taxed. In the fourteenth century, taxes were levied on everyone over the age of fourteen who was not poverty-stricken. In 1377, 2,663 Beverley residents paid their contribution, suggesting a number of around five thousand inhabitants. According to Russell (1948: 143, cited in Kermode, 1990: 49), at the end of the fourteenth century, Beverley was the tenth most populous town in England, with a population of approximately four thousand.

In the fifteenth century, the lists contain the names of the persons who contributed to town expenses. In 1449, 564 men contributed to defence costs and, in 1456, 267 persons, mostly probable resident burgesses, paid municipal taxes and charges for the maintenance of town liberties. In the fifteenth century, the population appears to have significantly decreased because of the ravage caused by the Black Death in 1348-1349. As a result, the town's population was smaller at the end of the fourteenth century, and it probably continued to fall because of further outbreaks of disease. This phenomenon was possibly one of the reasons why the value of properties started decreasing in the 1430s (see also p. 28).

In the fifteenth century, Beverley was facing difficulties at several levels. Apart from the falling population, the town was experiencing competition in the cloth trade. Leland notes in the 1530s that the cloth trade was 'much decayed' (Allison *et al.*, 1989). Interestingly enough, the town Governors do not mention this particular problem when they use the lack of resources as an argument against lending money to the Crown in 1435 (see p. 35-36). It would seem, however, that in this period the vast majority of trades was negatively affected.

5.2 England in 1435-1455

All the English documents here edited seem to belong to a period of twenty years from 1435 to 1455. This period falls in its entirety within the long reign of Henry VI. While most of the documents have an overt concern for local matters in Beverley, involving the Archbishop, Provost and the twelve Keepers, a few documents refer to national matters and non-local people. There is a writ from Henry VI as well as a historically interesting correspondence between him and Richard of York, dealing with tensions and power struggles within the country. The war with France forms a backdrop to several of the documents, including an exchange of letters

reacting to a royal request for a loan, as well as a copy of the agreement between the French authorities and the newly captured town of Bordeaux.

Henry VI was the son of Henry V and Catherine, the daughter of Charles VI of France. He became King at the age of nine months, after the death of Henry V in 1422. In July 1436, Henry VI personally signed an authorising warrant for the first time, formally indicating his sovereignty.

Henry's father, the King Henry V 'brought medieval English Kingship to a peak of achievement and fame' (Black, 2003: 90) and promoted the official use of the English language. He was famous for his military victories, such as the one at Agincourt in 1415, and for his managerial and administrative skills. Unlike his father, however, Henry VI has generally been described as 'a poor leader; incompetent and ineffectual' (Black 2003: 92); he also faced a period of mental illness between 1453 and 1455. Historians describe him as peaceful and extremely benevolent and thus unfit for a demanding leadership position. Even if he was pious, intelligent and wise (Griffiths, 1981: 235), he proved to be 'a profoundly unsuccessful King' (Hicks, 2012: 75).

The war with France, which Henry inherited from his father, did not proceed well. In 1435, The Burgundians abandoned Henry VI and the Duke of Bedford, who had been lieutenant of the King in Lancastrian France, died (Hicks, 2012: 57). This caused a lack of competent leadership for the English and, consequently, in the same year, they were driven back by the French. In 1436, Paris was lost, followed by the loss of Maine in 1444, when the Treaty of Tours was also signed. The marriage of the King to Margaret of Anjou in 1445 was, according to Hicks (2012: 58), a failed attempt at long lasting peace with France. Normandy and Gascony were lost in 1449-1451, while Calais was held until 1558 (Black, 2003: 90-91). According to Hicks (2012: 94), Bordeaux fell on 5 June 1451. Nonetheless, Griffiths (1981: 693) states that it surrendered to the French armies on 10 June 1451, and this latter alternative seems to be more accurate (see p. 38).

The influence of his uncles, the Dukes of Gloucester and Beaufort, especially after Bedford's death in 1435, accustomed Henry VI to depending on others in the decision-making process. When the influence of Gloucester and Beaufort faded, the King relied on the Earl of Suffolk, Archbishop Kemp, the Duke of Somerset and ultimately the queen.

Richard Plantagenet, the third Duke of York, conventionally referred to as Richard of York, was the son of Richard of Conisburgh and Anne Mortimer. Richard of York grew up as an orphan, as his mother died at birth and his father was executed in 1415 for plotting against Henry V. He inherited his paternal uncle, Edward of Norwich, 2nd Duke of York and his maternal uncle, Edmund Mortimer, 5th Earl of March, which made him the most powerful nobleman in England after the King. In 1432 he was granted full control over his estates, which had been the property of the Crown during his minority.

The relationship of the Duke of York with Henry VI seems always to have been complicated. After the death of the Duke of Bedford, Richard was appointed Lieutenant of France in 1436; in 1445 his service was renewed for five more years and he was granted the same authority that Bedford had possessed. In July 1447, he was made Lieutenant of Ireland for ten years. In the autumn of 1450, he returned to England with the purpose of running the government (Hicks, 2012: 85). According to Griffiths (1981: 694), York's aim was to 'secure acceptance as Henry's heir, not as his replacement'. Prior to observing his further actions, more details about the historical context of 1450 must be given.

The series of dramatical events occurring in 1450, set in the larger picture of economic recession, is generically called the 'Crisis of 1450' (Hicks, 2012: 49). During the mid-fifteenth century, England was profoundly impacted by the pan-European crisis caused by the shortage of silver bullion. At the same time, the internal economic recession termed the 'Great Slump' began in the 1430s in the North and spread throughout the country, plunging continuously towards the end of the century. The lack of financial means affected all social classes, from nobility to landholders and cultivators. Consequently, violent revolts of retailers, merchants, labourers and servants erupted (Hicks, 2012: 49-52). The Kentish rebels under Jack Cade were dissatisfied with 'a government corrupt at home and unsuccessful abroad' (Black, 2003: 32); they executed hated officials and defeated a royal army at Sevenoaks. They also requested the restoration of trade with northern Germany and the Baltic (Hicks, 2012: 53). At the same time, according to Griffiths (1981: 686), they considered Richard of York 'Henry VI's rightful heir' and 'one of several magnates whose counsel would improve the king's government'. In this context, it is easily understandable that York requested charging the officials accused by Cade's rebels (Hicks, 2012: 72). The rebellion was defeated, but Cade's cause was reiterated in Parliament in the autumn of 1450 (Hicks, 2012: 71).

At the political level, another significant event was the death of Adam Moleyns, the Bishop of Chichester and keeper of the Privy Seal, on 9 January 1450. He was murdered at Portsmouth in Hampshire by soldiers whom he was going to pay (Hicks, 2012: 54). In the spring of 1450, William 1st Duke of Suffolk was put on trial in Parliament and murdered on a boat in the English Channel (Black, 2003: 32). In this context, the Duke of York could use pressing concerns such as public order, the loss of France, succession to the throne and reformation in order to attract attention and pursue his own interests in the Parliament meeting held in November 1450 at Westminster. However, even though he was supported by twelve associates, including the speaker, William Oldhall, and the parliamentary public was receptive (Griffiths, 1981: 691), the King did not submit to the pressure for reform (Hicks, 2012: 72). During the third session of Parliament summons in May 1451, York's lawyer Thomas Young raised the question of Henry VI's heir, implying that the Duke be named heir presumptive. Nevertheless, York failed to 'gain the confidence of the king or a majority of the lords' (Griffiths, 1981: 692), Young was arrested and parliament was dissolved at the end of May.

In 1453, Richard lost the position of Lieutenant of Ireland; however, during the following year he became Protector of the Realm and Chief Counsellor. In 1455, after Henry VI recovered his health, York was deprived of his Captaincy of Calais and his office as Protector. After the battle of St. Albans, which took place in the same year, Richard captured Henry VI, whom he held prisoner during the following summer. This was one of the events that led to the so-called Wars of the Roses, the series of civil conflicts that centered around the dispute for the throne between the families of Lancaster and York.

From this point, the King was controlled by his wife, Margaret of Anjou. The Duke of York had his Lieutenancy of Ireland renewed and when he returned to England in September 1460, he acted like a king. After advancing his claim to the Crown, based on hereditary rights, Richard obtained the Act of Accord, by which he and his heirs were to be recognised as the lawful successors of Henry VI (Hicks, 2012: 157). At the end of the same year, York died in the battle of Wakefield, defeated by the Lancastrians. His head, adorned with a paper crown, was displayed on the gate of York. The efforts of the Duke of York brought him very close to the throne of England, and only a few months after his death, his son, Edward IV (1461-1483), became King. In 1483, Richard III, another son of Richard of York, became King for two years.

6. The contents

The text here edited consists of copies of fifteen documents of seven different types: an instruction, an indenture, a memorandum, an appointment, an obligation, a record and nine letters. These are summarised and discussed in the following sections. Each section deals with a single text or with a group of adjacent texts that share common elements, such as the subject matter and writer or addressee, so that it is natural to treat them together.

6.1 A letter of credence and an instruction for communication with the Archbishop of York (fol. 7v)

The first two texts are dated to July 1447. The first is the copy of a letter of credence (*littera credencie*). It is dated 13 July and addressed to *þe most reuerent fadir in god our' most graciose lord the Cardinal & Archiebisschop of york* 'to the most reverent Father in God our most gracious Lord the Cardinal and Archbishop of York', by the twelve Governors of Beverley. The Archbishop of York⁸ was the most dominant authoritative figure in Beverley during the Middle Ages, as Edward the Confessor had made him the town's only lord under the King (see p. 20). The twelve Governors⁹ were the representatives of local authority (see p. 22).

The purpose of the letter is to introduce the *right trusty & welbyloved Brethir*, Thomas Mayn and William Lorymer, and to ask the Archbishop to give full credence to everything that they present to the Archbishop on behalf of the Governors. The tone of the letter is reverential. The twelve Governors address the Archbishop using a large number of polite and address terms that emphasise both the power and ecclesiastical position of the receiver, such as *most reuerent fadir, graciose lorde* and *your right hy noblesses*. According to Davis (1965: 263), the repetitive use of such respectful phrases is characteristic of fifteenth century formal letters addressed to persons of higher authority. Whereas 'lord', 'father' and 'noblesse' all imply the fact that the Governors submit to the authority of the Archbishop, the use of 'father' additionally suggests that the Archbishop, from his position as religious leader, is also regarded as a source of provision

⁸ Cardinal John Kemp, who at this time was also Chancellor (see p. 27). He was Archbishop during 1426-1452.

⁹ Edmund Portington, Nicholas Brompton, John Skipwith, Thomas White, Robert Jekson, William Penycocke, Richard Halitreholm, William Wenseley, Alexander Creyke, Master William Harding, William Trentham, John Newton jr. and William Wilton, Kermode, *op. cit.*, Appendix, p. 46.

and protection. The Governors commend themselves to the Archbishop in *the most humble wyse*, pleading for his kindness towards themselves and their town. The initial formula, *To þe most reuerent fadir in god our' most graciose lord the Cardinal & Archiebisschop of york*, coupled with the following one which commends the writers to the recipient, constitute the 'conventional sequence of *salutatio* and *captatio benevolentiae*' (Stenroos and Mäkinen, 2011a: 93-94). However, what Davis (1965: 236) calls the 'health' formula, by which information regarding the welfare of both writer and recipient is given and requested, is missing. In the end, the Governors assure the Archbishop of their commitment and continuous worship. The last line of the letter uses a 'conventional place-and-date formula' (Stenroos and Mäkinen, 2011a: 97): *writen' in our' Gilde Halle at Beuerlay the xiiij day of July*.

The letter is followed by an instruction dated 8 July 25 Henry VI (1447). It is made by the twelve Governors, Thomas Wilton and his fellows, the twelve Governors and delivered to Thomas Mayn and William Lorymer, themselves identified as two of the twelve Governors. This document contains the requests that were to be presented to the Archbishop. The sovereign authority of the Archbishop, which lead to a complete exclusion of the royal officers from the liberty, could be an advantage to the community (see p. 20). However, the power that the Archbishop enjoyed could also at times prove abusive, preventing the autonomous development of the town community. This is partly reflected in the contents of the present instruction.

The Governors ask their representatives to pursue a complaint about the binding of the constables, ordered by the steward and carried out by the bailiff and his servants, introduced as 'matters hanging undetermined between our lord and us'. The argument is laid out clearly and directly, and basically consists of the warning that violating the customary privileges of the town might be counterproductive. The Governors emphasise the violation of custom:

And slike distres was nevir sen' with-in þe seid ton' be no man that beris lif / this day no a gret deil lenger' which is ful hevvy to vs for to haue slike newe impositcions' othirwise than has be don' & vsid of old tyme

'And such distress has never been seen in the said town by any man alive, today or for a great deal longer, which is very cumbersome for us to have such new impositions different from what has been done and accustomed since old times'

The Governors express their wish that the tenants, burgesses and residents of the town should retain the same ‘liberties, franchises and customs’ as their predecessors, as stipulated in the royal charters issued by the ancestors of the King Henry VI. The representatives are instructed to beseech the Archbishop to consider their requests and to resolve them in a manner that would be favourable to the community of Beverley. The Governors make clear that they do not wish to *encroche* the *liberte* or *Frauncise* of the Archbishop, but also that the situation is felt to be unfair and unacceptable.

While lacking the conventional formulae of a direct letter, the document is written in polite and respectful terms; its formal character and inclusion in the cartulary suggests that it is meant to function as a written record of the orally presented petition to the Archbishop. In the cartulary copy, an identification of the senders is inserted at the beginning: *your oraturoures & tenauntes The xij Gouvernours of your ton’ of B.* The second-person address, which may have appeared at the back of the original document, suggests that the document may have been presented to the Archbishop, even though the actual act of petitioning was performed orally.

6.2 An agreement between the Governors of Beverley and John Gargrave (fol. 7v-8r)

The third text, dated 6 April 32 Henry VI (1454), is the copy of an indenture, containing a commissioning agreement between the Governors of Beverley, named as William Spencer, John Coppandale, William Sleforth, Stephen Tilson, William Northorp, William Morethwayt, William Atkynson, Thomas Hadilsay and Robert Stonys of Beverley, on the one hand and John Gargrave of Beverley, Walker on the other. According to the list Kermode (1990, Appendix, p. 46) provides,¹⁰ it appears that John Gargrave himself was one of the town Governors. Each of the two parties received a copy of the document authenticated by the seals of the other party.

According to the agreement, John Gargrave was employed to oversee a series of maintenance works in Beverley in order to prevent flooding (see p. 70,84). More precisely, he was to make sure that the clows¹¹ of the Beverley beck were cleaned and that the the banks of the

William Spencer, John Coppendale, Richard Patrington, William Northorp, Stephen Tilson, William Morethwayte, Hugh Carlisle, William Sleford, William Atkinson, Thomas Hadilsay, Robert Stones, John Gargrave. Kermode, *The Merchants of York, Beverley and Hull in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, 1990, Appendix, p. 46.

¹¹ The outfall sluice of a river or drain communicating with a tidal river and provided with flood-

stream were scoured from the Parson Bridge to the House of St. John. Such measures appear to have been necessary in medieval Beverley, where numerous watercourses streamed through the town without forming a ditch and thus creating areas prone to flooding. Also, regular scouring of the banks was important in order to facilitate navigation on the Beverley beck, which was recognised as the water route into the suburbs at the end of the thirteenth century. The main watercourse within Beverley was Walker beck, which ran beside Walkergate to the Cross bridge, where it passed under the High Street. It probably continued west of the Minster and joined another stream, now known as the Mill Dam drain, which eventually joined Beverley beck itself.

The work supervised by John Gargrave was to be completed by the following feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (24 June), and it was to be rewarded with forty marks, of which half was to be paid at the beginning of the work and the other half at its completion. The granters of this construction project were two corvers, Cristofir Hoggeson and Thomas Abraham, as well as two tilers, Robert Talbot and William Jonson, all of Beverley, who agreed to pay ten marks in English currency in case John Gargrave did not carry out the assigned task.

6.3 A complaint of the Archbishop of York and a petition from the twelve Governors (fol. 20r-21v)

The fourth text belongs to a cluster of five texts which are copies of documents produced considerably earlier than the others, in the mid-1430s. The first two texts are dated in the autumn of 1434 and the next two in the spring/summer of 1435. The first text from this group, dated 13 September 13 Henry VI (1434), is the copy of a memorandum containing the complaints of the Archbishop against the community of the Beverley town, which was delivered to Thomas Mayn and the twelve Keepers¹² of the town of Beverley. The vast majority of complaints address the inappropriate use of land in Beverley and its surroundings, such as:

diuers toftys conteyneng xij Acris of Grovnde & more whiche were late biggid & then callid Cokwaldstrete whiche oughten to be kept seueral in . alle tymes of ye yer' And now late ye same

gates, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2013, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/34751?rskey=u3gnRM&result=1&isAdvanced=false>.

¹² See Kermode, *op. cit.*, Appendix, p. 45-46. See also p. 22.

Gouernours & oyer Communers of ye ton' vsyn Commune in ye seid Grovnde in opyn tyme of ye yere

'some tufts containing twelve acres of ground which were built recently and then called Cokwaldstreet, which ought to have been kept separate during the whole year, but now recently the same Governors and other commoners of the town are using common pastures in the said ground during the open time of the year'

As far as can be made out, the complaints here concern the use of various lands belonging to absent landlords, and currently lying waste, that are being used for common pasture by the townspeople. As noted above (see p. 20), the Archbishop of York had numerous rights in Beverley, including the possession of land of which he disposed as he pleased. Historically, Archbishops were mostly interested in pastures, turbaries, sandpits and generally barren land that could subsequently be used to create inclosed parks. Conflicts of interest would repeatedly arise between the absent Archbishop and the town people. According to Allison *et al.* (1989), the Beverley townsfolk were often distressed, as sometimes they were denied access to pastures and punished if they asked for this right. This was the case during the reign of John, when the townsmen who took action against the abuses of the Archbishop were eventually excommunicated.

The Archbishop also criticises the Governors of Beverley for exercising authority over matters that, he claims, were not under their jurisdiction. They imposed a fine of one noble (gold coin) on anyone that would sue in *ye lordes Courte* before complaining to the Governors. In 1354, the Governors issued an order according to which any burgess was to ask for their permission before taking another person to court and this remained in force during the Middle Ages (Allison *et. al.*, 1989). From the Archbishop's perspective, this was unfavourable since it affected the integrity of his authority. For the Governors, it was a way to reconcile local matters themselves or, if this proved impossible, to create revenue from cases lost to other jurisdictions.

The fifth text, dated 3 November 13 Henry VI (1434), is a reaction on the fourth. It is the copy of a bill containing a petition, sent to the Archbishop by by Th. Mayn, Th. Wayte, littester and W. Lorymer, mercer, on behalf of the tenants and burgesses of Beverley, asking for an adjournment of their official answer to the Archbishop's complaints. The letter opens, again, with the customary address formula, *vnto our right worschipful lord & fadir in god þe Archebischop*

of yorke ‘to our very worshipful lord and father in God, the Archbishop of York’ and a Latin clause giving the senders’ names, date and instructions for delivery.

According to the letter, the Governors of Beverley had promised the Archbishop an answer to his complaints *be ye fest of Martilmes next comand*, that is, by eleventh November. However, the answer could not be given on time, as the Governors could find no councillor to *examyn & labour þeir euydence* ‘to examine the matter and prepare their evidence’. The letter states that the only available lawyer was Thomas Wilton, who, however, had neither the time (*no ful leyser*) to examine the matter, nor the strength (*forse*) to travel to London to provide the answer, due to some infirmity, the nature of which is not disclosed. Therefore, the writers of the letter beseech the Archbishop to postpone the matter until his coming to Yorkshire. According to a following note in Latin (fol. 21v, see p. 74), the delay was granted.

6.4 A letter by the King, followed by a petition to the Provost of Beverley and his answer (fol. 21v-22r)

The sixth document, dated 28 May 13 Henry VI (1435), is the copy of a letter of request given under the Privy Seal by the King at Westminster, sent to the Community of Beverley asking for a loan of 200 marks in order to obtain peace with France. The loan was to be delivered to the King’s treasurer at London at the octave of the following Holy Trinity at the latest, and the treasurer would provide appropriate surety, as had been done for other lenders.

The letter is written in a formal tone, and formulated as a polite request, *we desire and pray you*, rather than a command. The Beverley community is addressed as *trusty and wellebeloued*, and the reason for requesting the loan is comprehensively explained.

A letter such as this would have been composed by one of the King’s officials rather than the King himself, not least since Henry VI was at this point only thirteen years old. The political situation in England at this time was quite unstable, and an arrogant attitude would not only have been inappropriate, but could also have proved ineffective. The war against France had been going on for a long time, and used up enormous resources. In 1424, England had enjoyed a victory at Verneuil, while only five years later the army led by Joan of Arc freed Orléans, defeating the English, and Charles was crowned at Rheims (Black, 2003: 90). In 1430, Henry VI was crowned at Paris and in 1431, Joan, the Maid of Orléans, was burned as a witch.

Nevertheless, this failed to bring major or lasting improvement to the English cause. The Burgundians, who had captured Joan and secured English control of Paris, abandoned Henry VI in 1435, and, as a result, one year later the English lost Paris. John, Duke of Bedford, who had become regent in France and tried to protect the interests of Henry VI and to defeat Charles VII, died in 1435 (Black, 2003: 90).

The request of the King was written in the shadow of these events, which greatly contributed to the weakening of the English power (Black, 2003: 90-91). At this point, peace with France was worth pursuing by the use of all available means, which meant obtaining all resources from supporters of the Crown. The matter was particularly urgent, as Henry VI, unlike his father, was regarded as peaceful and thus unfit for the dynastic wars that would inevitably follow if a peace settlement could not be made (see p. 27-28).

The seventh text, dated 2 July, is the copy of a letter addressed to the Provost of Beverley (see p. 21) by the twelve Governors of Beverley, asking for his help in having them excused of providing the King with the requested loan. The Governors address the Provost formally and politely: *right honourable and worschipful sir and mastre*. It is interesting that, in this letter of request, the occurrence of such expressions is mainly limited to the introductory part. By contrast, in the letters addressed to the Archbishop of York, such expressions are scattered across the text. The latter have a much more submissive tone, which may in part reflect the fact that the Archbishop, who at that point was also a Cardinal, held a much more powerful position than the Provost.

The Provost addressed in the present letter was Robert Rolleston, elected in 1427 from the local townsmen. Robert Rolleston had been clerk of the wardrobe during the minority of Henry VI, and became a royal counsellor and keeper of the great wardrobe after Henry VI assumed power. It might have been his close acquaintance with the King that contributed to his appointment as Provost. His brother, Roger Rolleston, was regularly elected as governor of Beverley in the 1430s and 1440s. When Henry VI visited Beverley in 1448, he was welcomed by Roger Rolleston with the words ‘most gracious Christian prince our sovereign lord, you be welcome to your people and town of Beverley’ (Allison *et al.*, 1989). The relatively direct and unadorned language used by the Governors in the present letter could therefore also be explained by the familiarity between them and the Provost.

The twelve Governors of Beverley present a request to be excused from lending the 200 marks asked for by the King in his writ. As Provost of Beverley, Roger Rolleston could present petitions to the King on behalf of the community, and was in a good position to do so because of his royal office.

Before more details are provided, the Provost is informed that he can consult a copy of the King's writ, carried by *þe berer of þis letre* 'the bearer of this letter'. It is then explained that the Keepers of Beverley and other important commoners had assembled at the guild-hall in order to discuss the King's petition. The guild-hall referred to here is presumably the one located in Walkergate street, which was used as a town hall. The decision they reached was that they could not afford to provide the loan because of a series of reasons, including losses caused by misfortune and unprofitable business, high taxes, relief needed by the victims of raiding by enemies 'of various nations', and the prospect of a war with Scotland.

The eighth text is the answer of Robert Rolleston, wardrober and Provost of Beverley. The Governors of Beverley are addressed in a very polite and, at the same time, familiar manner: *To ye worschipfull and entierly welebeloued Frenedes þe xij Gouvernours of þe ton of Beuerlay* 'to the worshipful and entirely well-beloved friends, the twelve Governors of the town of Beverley'. At the beginning of the letter itself, almost exactly the same form of address is reiterated, adding the words *sirs* and *nighbures* to refer to the twelve Keepers. The answer of the Provost is at first sight unfavourable: he asks them to have him excused of furthering their request. He explains that he cannot reasonably ask for Beverley to be treated differently, and he knows that the request would not be accepted: the Governors must act as other men of their status, who have positively responded to the King's request, for the sake of their own position as well as his. However, he then seems to suggest that the contribution to the King could, in fact, be nominal: the Governors should, as quickly as possible, send an answer where they agree to *do sumwhate to ye kynges plesur* 'do at least something to please the King', and the Provost will then do his best to bring the sum down to as little as possible. The Provost ends his letter with a conventional place-and-date formula (Stenroos and Mäkinen, 2011a: 97), *Wretenn in haste at london' ye viij day of* 'written in haste at London the eighth day of', which is common in short letters and could here provide an excuse for brevity. The month and year of the date are unavailable since the manuscript is torn, but from the content it may be inferred that this was also written in 1435.

6.5 An appointment between Jean of Dunois and the inhabitants of Bordeaux (fol. 35r)

The ninth text is distanced from the previous group of texts chronologically as well as spatially, regarding its position in the manuscript. Dated 12 June 29 Henry VI (1451), it is the copy of what is titled an *appointment*, or agreement, between the ‘Bastard of Orléans’, Jean of Dunois, and the inhabitants of Bordeaux and the surrounding area. The agreement involves the submission of Bordeaux to French rule without a siege against a promise that the French army will not proceed further into English territory; the same agreement is also offered to the cities of Bayonne and Acres. The agreement was to come into force should the French army win a battle at Fronsac on Midsummer Eve; should Bayonne and Acres not follow suit, they would be taken *be strengthe*.

Jean of Dunois was a French general, the illegitimate son of Louis, Duke of Orléans and Mariette d’Enguien, Madame de Canny. He was also called, of his own accord and suggestion, the Bastard of Orléans. He acquired his fame by defending the city of Orléans when it was besieged by the English and he was the first commander to acknowledge the input of Joan of Arc in obtaining military success. In 1432, he raised the siege of Chartres and Lagny and actively participated in campaigns that eventually led to the release of Paris in 1436. He subsequently continued to fight against the English, driving them northward. In 1450 he managed to reconquer northern France. In 1451, he took Bordeaux, which had been under English dominion for three hundred years, and Bayonne.¹³

The agreement offered to the inhabitants of Bordeaux originally involved both Jean of Dunois and the French King, both of whom had attached their seals to the original document; however, in the cartulary copy, the King’s name is crossed through in the title, and no mention is made of him in the opening of the document.

The terms of the agreement consist of sixteen articles. Those who did not wish to stay under French rule were to leave Bordeaux, with the right to take their moveable belongings and with the obligation to buy a guarantee for safe passage:

Jtem if ther’ be any man that wil {not} be Frensch . that he take w^{ith} hym alle his meveable goodis & goo his way with-in vj monthes folowyng garnysched w^{ith} a saf condith . that sal coste hym a Scute .

http://www.jeannedarc.info/p_references/p_biography_partisans/p_partisan_french/jean_de_dunois.html.

‘Item, if there is any man who does not wish to be French, he should take all his movable goods with him and go his way within six months, being provided with a safe passage agreement that will cost him a Scute’

The members of clergy were allowed to *holde ther’ benifises & rentes* as they were of *Custum to do*. Other articles included in the appointment refer to a wide range of aspects such as: the preservation of the laws and privileges in Bordeaux, the right to practice commerce as long as taxes are paid, the procedure to be followed by English ships coming to Bordeaux, the right of the inhabitants of Bordeaux to receive payment in case they were required to serve the French King in war.

6.6 A correspondence between Henry VI and Richard of York (fol. 35r-36r)

The group of texts 10-12 represent a remarkable correspondence between Henry VI and the Duke of York (see p. 28). None of them contains a dating, but the first letter is dated by the registrar to *the yeer afor wretyn*, referring to text 9, which was written in 29 Henry VI (1540-41). They therefore belong to the period described in the political outline (see p. 28-29).

Text 10 is titled *copy of the first bill vnto the kyng fro the Duke of york* ‘copy of the first letter to the King from the Duke of York’. It reads as a personal letter of complaint, expressing the Duke’s dissatisfaction towards some of the King’s subjects. It is relatively free from politeness phrases, and goes directly to the subject matter, introduced simply with *plese it vnto your excellence for to knawe* ‘may it please your excellence to know’. The scarcity of conventional formulas in the Duke’s letter might be owed to the high social status that he had enjoyed as both the King’s cousin and the wealthiest nobleman of England (see p. 28).

This letter seems to have been written in the context of the events which occurred in September 1450 (see p. 28). According to the historical account provided by Griffiths (1981: 686-687), the letter seems to have been composed after York’s return from Ireland in early September 1450, when he landed in north Wales, at Beaumaris. He claims that he was pursued by a party of five men sent by the King, who intended to imprison him in the Castle of Conwy and to kill Sir William Oldhall. Oldhall had been a faithful supporter of Bedford and subsequently became York’s chamberlain, before being elected speaker in Parliament. During March and April 1450, Oldhall might have led a group of York’s supporters in trying to portray the latter as

the realm's saviour in Ipswich, Norwich and Bury St. Edmund's, where the Duke had properties (Griffiths, 1981: 685). Richard further complains that his landing at Beaumaris was *stoppid & forbarred* and that, in addition to all the injustice done to him of *malice withouten any cause*, 'certain persons' plotted against him so that he would be accused of treason. This seems to have been the Duke's greatest concern, since if successful, such plotting 'would have destroyed all prospect of his securing peaceable acknowledgement as Henry VI's heir presumptive' (Griffiths, 1981: 687). He ends the letter requesting that the King would have his officials examine these matters and do justice, submitting to the King's authority for resolution.

The eleventh text is simply titled *the copy of the secunde bille*. Presumably, the King did not answer to York's first letter, so the Duke wrote another one, wanting to obtain a reaction. However, the Duke now completely refrains from mentioning his own interests. He claims his purpose is to bring to the King's knowledge the fact that *Justice is not deuly ministred to suche as trespacez & offendez* and to preserve the tranquility and peaceful rule in the Kingdom. Furthermore, he not only advises the King to make provision for *deu reformacionn & punyschment* 'appropriate reformation and punishment', but also offers himself to execute the King's commandment in this respect. It is probably the persons indicted by Cade's rebels (see p. 29) that York wished to see punished (Hicks, 2012). The letter lacks a formal ending, which might indicate a lower level of submission to the King.

The twelfth text is titled *the answer of the kyng to the seid billes* 'the King's answer to the said letters'. Henry VI eventually answers the two letters written by Richard, Duke of York; however, the King's letter offers no direct solution or answer to the complaints presented by the Duke. He tries to explain that the sudden arrival of the Duke in England, without *certayn' warnyng*, caused his subjects to try to arrest him. This statement, however, contradicts the inference drawn from the Duke's first letter, namely that he was awaited at Beaumaris and thus at least the approximate date of his arrival would have been known in advance. The King is not convinced by the accusations of treason and asks the Duke to present further proof. Even if the King acknowledges the Duke as his *trewre faithful subiecte* and *weel bilovid cosyn*, he delays taking action, pointing out that it was neither customary, nor appropriate to make a decision based on the advice given by only one person. Therefore, a council was to 'be appointed to deal with the matter. There is, however, no record of such a council. On the contrary, still dissatisfied with the government, York became leader of the opposition between 1450 and 1452. In view of

the fact that Henry VI would suffer a serious mental breakdown three years later, his rationality in dealing with the issues raised by the Duke is debatable.

6.7 An obligation for five hundred saleuz (fol. 36r)

The thirteenth text, dated 8 July 1452, is the copy of an obligation, in the form of a letter, by which *William Manypeny knyght lord of Congtursault in France* bound himself to pay five hundred and fifty saleuz of gold to the *honourable & worschipful lord William Turnbull Bischop of Glaskow*. If the saleuz were not available, the equivalent was to be paid in English currency. Manypeny obliged himself to pay the sum in two equal installments, the first one on All Saints' Day, 1 November, and the second at the celebration of Easter, which would have fallen in March or April. In case he was not able, *god forbede*, to make the payment, he granted the bishop unconditional access to his 'lands, rents and possessions' and his movable and unmovable goods in Scotland and France. At the end of the document, the lord of Congtursault places his seal and signature by his own hand and thus authenticates it. While the use of seals was common, signatures were less common in this period; the function of both was to reinforce the validity of Manypeny's pledge. The text does not reveal why Manypeny had to pay the respective sum to the Bishop of Glasgow.

6.8 A record of a fugitive servant (fol. 36v)

The fourteenth text, dated 30 Henry VI (1452), is the copy of a *record of a seruand recedig out of his seruice* in the form of a letter testimonial, addressed to *alle cristen' men*. Roger Rolleston, the Provost of Beverley and the twelve Governors of Beverley record the fact that Thomas Colynn, also called Thomas Colynson, broke the contract which he had with John Willyamson of Beverley. More than eleven witnesses swore *on the haly Euangels* in the guild-hall of Beverley that the two had had an agreement according to which Thomas Colynn was supposed to serve the dyer John Willyamson in his business. Nevertheless, the former not only fled from the service of the latter, but also stole three pounds, eleven shillings and five pence which were paid by some inhabitants of *Northcaue Blaktoft Whitgift & Croule* and intended for Willyamson. The Provost and twelve Governors also require of the community of Beverley to support John Willyamson in

this matter, according to the statute of the King against fugitive servants. The original letter was authenticated by the seal of the town of Beverley. The precise date of the document seems to be missing, as there is a gap where it would presumably have been inserted (see p. 96). It might be that the precise date was not important in the cartulary copy. It may be assumed that the date of record was some time after the Guildhall hearing which took place on 28 July 30 Henry VI (1452).

6.9 A letter of complaint to the Earl of Northumberland (fol. 36v)

The fifteenth text is the copy of a letter of complaint addressed to *the most excellent & worshipful lord the Erle of Northumbirland* (see p. 22) by William Murthewayt, keeper of the park of Beuerlay on behalf of his master, the Archbishop of York. William Murthewayt had held two positions in the Archbishop's office. In 1450-1451, as a receiver, he was responsible for collecting the taxes in the town. Five years earlier, he had been the keeper of the park of Beverley (Allison *et al.*, 1989). Consequently, the events referred to in the letter are assumed to have taken place some time in 1445 or 1446, making this letter a few years earlier than the previous document entered on the same page. The park was an important source of revenue, for which a separate office was developed; this consisted of two parkers, one paliser, one hayward, one carter and one cowherd. The position and responsibilities of a parker might not seem demanding, but the animals grazing there often attracted poachers who threatened the safety of both the parkers and the animals. This is exactly the subject of complaint presented by Murthewayt.

His first complaint is against some persons belonging to the earl's *worthy houshold*, who illegally hunted the deer in the park he was guarding. Also, he is utterly dissatisfied with the behaviour of John Pykeryng, Henre of the Seler, William Clifton, William Hotoft, John Clifton, John Smothyng, Henre Schotelanger and Thomas Broghton, as well John Clerk, *seruant* of William Normanvile and Richard, *seruant* of Pynchebek, Topshawe and Basset. These men had killed two deer and attempted to kill Murthewayt himself as well, after having beaten some of his friends. Although Murthewayt had not intended to complain initially, these final events persuaded him to do so. At the end of the letter, he *tendirly* asks the earl to offer a compensation for the losses he had suffered and ends his plea in a respectful manner, promising to *euer pray to god* for the earl's *noble estate*.

6.10 The function of the texts in the Beverley Town Cartulary

The fifteen texts summarised above belong to different periods and are placed in different sections in the manuscript. The first two texts (fol. 7v) are dated 1447 and the third text (fol. 7v-8r) is dated 1454. It was noted on p. 9 that the handwriting and ink colour of the third text differ somewhat from the first two, and it is likely that the third text was added later. The next five texts (fol. 20r-22r) are all dated in the mid-1430s, and are interspersed with Latin texts (see p. 7-8). The remaining seven texts (fol. 35r-36v) are dated in the early 1450s, except for the last one, which, although no date is given, could be dated 1445-46 on external evidence.

The texts are of different types and genres, have different functions and are addressed and written by different persons. Consequently, one might ask how the texts are linked and what the reasons are for their preservation in the Beverley Town Cartulary. For some of the texts, the reasons seem straightforward; in other cases, however, no ready answer is available because of the lack of historical evidence.

Copies of the letters and documents of communication between the twelve Governors of Beverley and the Archbishop of York may be expected to be included in the Beverley Town Cartulary, since they contain information which directly concerns the affairs of the town. This is also true of the letter from the King, in which he requested a loan from the townfolk of Beverley, as well as the petition addressed to the Provost of Beverley and his answer. These texts deal with land rights, pastures and finances, and may be consulted both with regard to the same case and, later, as similar situations arise. In particular, in case the loan was granted, a back-up copy of the request would have been necessary in order to show the King's conditions and promise to return the sum. The *Letter of complaint to the Earl of Northumberland* from the Archbishop's park keeper deals with a matter important for the upkeep of order and authority in Beverley. All these texts represent the official communication between the representatives of local authority, the twelve Governors and external authoritative figures.

Further, it is not surprising to find copies of local agreements involving the town, such as the agreement between the twelve Keepers and John Gargrave, by which he was appointed to undertake scouring of the Beverley beck. Such works were constantly performed in Beverley as waterborne trade was directly dependent on them (see p. 24). Similarly, the record of the fugitive

servant is a matter of importance for the order and discipline of the town and concerns the entire community.

The reasons for preserving a copy of the appointment between Jean de Dunois and the inhabitants of Bordeaux in the Beverley Town Cartulary are quite well-founded if trade related relations between Bordeaux and the Yorkshire area are considered. From the beginning and until the half of the fifteenth century, Hull was one of the largest ports for wine imports and, at the same time, grain continued to be exported to France from Hull (Kermode, 1990). For example, between September 1444 and February 1445, '13,000 tuns of wine from Bordeaux' were taken to Hull by 36 ships (Kermode, 1990: 146). Kermode (1990: 137) notes that Yorkshire families, especially those of traders, used to move to and from the three main towns, York, Hull and Beverley. Consequently, the fact that a document with implications in commercial activities is recorded in Beverley is highly relevant.

The fact that the correspondence between King Henry VI and Richard Duke of York is copied in the Beverley Town Cartulary is, at first glance, intriguing. One would wonder how the Duke's affairs are connected with Beverley. However, in the autumn of 1450, when the first letter (*The first petition to the King from Richard, Duke of York*) seems to have been written, York was trying to gain support in the following parliament meeting. In this endeavour, popular opinion was important: consequently, in addition to his making public appearances in the eastern counties, 'his correspondence with the King had been widely publicised' (Griffiths, 1981: 693). From this perspective, the copying of the three letters into the Beverley Town Cartulary indicates that Beverley may have been one of the towns from where the Duke attempted to draw support.

Similarly, the reason for the inclusion of a copy of the obligation of William Manypeny to William Turnbull, the Bishop of Glasgow, by which he binds himself to pay five hundred fifty saleuz to the latter, is not immediately clear; however, as the obligation concerned a considerable sum of money and involved large holdings of land as a guarantee, it may be assumed to have had implications for the town which would have justified its inclusion in the cartulary.

While most of the English texts are dated in the mid-fifteenth century, the group of texts on fols. 20r-22r are dated in the mid-1430s. These are: *Memorandum containing the complaints of the Archbishop of York against the Community of Beverley Town*, *Petition to the Archbishop of York*, *Writ by the King under the Privy Seal*, *Petition to the Provost of Beverley* and *Answer of the Provost of Beverley*. It is uncertain why this group of earlier texts appears where it does. It

may be noted that all these texts relate to the town's dealings with external authorities, and they may have been entered as a group at a later stage. The texts are interspersed with Latin ones (see p. 7-8) which treat matters related to Yorkshire rather than Beverley (see Leach, 1900: 22-25), but are dated in approximately the same period. As may be deduced from earlier specifications, no steadfast chronological order is observed in the cartulary records (see p. 7-8 and Chapter 6). Consequently, the English and Latin texts may have been part of the same group, at least as far as dating is concerned, and transcribed at the same point in time.

The political and economical situation in the 1450s would, presumably, have provided motives for the entry of such earlier correspondences in the cartulary: this was the time of a national crisis, with an ongoing war that was depleting the nation's resources, as well as considerable internal unrest, reflected in the correspondence between the King and Richard of York. At Beverley, following a fall in population, rents were lowered and properties such as lands and buildings were deserted, losing their initial value (see p. 26). Beverley was starting to lose its financial power, and its local problems, enumerated in the petition addressed to the Provost, seem to have been real enough. The inclusion of the set of correspondences with external authorities, all of which, in different ways, negotiate their rights in relation to the rights of the townspeople, would seem to fit well in this context.

The value and importance of this set of texts lies not only in their content, but also in their linguistic form. First of all, the texts here edited represent a new development in the fifteenth century: the choice of English as the language of official documents. While most of the contents of the cartulary, and all the material from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, are in Latin, the fifteenth-century material provides a valuable case study of code selection in official documents. As the English texts are interspersed with Latin ones, and sometimes provided headings and marginal comments in Latin, the cartulary provides a good opportunity to study the interaction of these two languages in the fifteenth century.

In the English texts, the language varies considerably from text to text, at several levels, including scribal usage, dialectal colouring and vocabulary. While some of the differences reflect the functions and topics of the texts, and their genre conventions, others have to do with the mechanisms of scribal copying. The cartulary therefore represents a very rich source for the study of linguistic variation and multilingual practices in fifteenth century England.

7. Multilingualism in Medieval England

7.1 The historical context of multilingualism

For the purpose of the present study, multilingualism is defined as the phenomenon that occurs ‘when speakers of different languages are brought together within the same political entity’ (Hoffmann, 1991: 157). Further, it is assumed that the coexistence of different languages inevitably results in the mutual influencing of their development (Crespo 2000: 28).

During the Middle Ages, the languages that had a major impact on English were Scandinavian, Latin and French. The Scandinavian element was particularly powerful in the ninth and tenth centuries, while French mainly came to England after the Norman Conquest in 1066. Latin was the lingua franca of Europe throughout the Middle Ages and had already been the language of religion, culture and power in pre-Conquest England (Crespo, 2000). While the language of England before the conquest was Old English, also called Anglo-Saxon, in the northern and western neighbouring territories Celtic languages such as Scottish Gaelic, Welsh and Irish were used.

The linguistic situation after the Conquest was complex. In official written communication, Anglo-Saxon was replaced by Latin in the course of the twelfth century. In oral communication, English was still used by the majority of the population, but Norman French which would later become Anglo-Norman, was the language of conquerors, royalty and lords who would occupy the authoritative positions (Clanchy, 2003: 213). Consequently, the conditions had been created not only for language contact, but also for language conflict, as the three languages, Latin, French and English, would struggle for dominion as written languages during the following four centuries.

According to Crespo (2000: 25), England was trilingual after the Norman conquest. Latin was used in writing, while both French and English were spoken. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, French started to be used in writing, in literary texts (Clanchy, 2003: 216-217) and in personal letters of the nobility, as well as in various other uses, while Latin continued to be the main language of formal documents and English the spoken language of the masses. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, English regains power, but Latin is preserved as the language of religion and especially learning up to the seventeenth century (Barber, 1999: 175).

One should not make general inferences related to how multilingualism worked in medieval England without taking into consideration the exceptions. The main argument here is that England was never characterised by universal multilingualism (Schendl, 2012: 27). Although some members of the royal family, and representatives of the nobility, gentry and clergy might have mastered both English and French and even Latin (cf. Clanchy, 2003: 210, 221), this was mostly probable not the case of the English peasantry, who continued using English after the Conquest. Rather, there seem to have been areas of monolingualism with English monolingualism among the lower social classes and French monolingualism among the gentry in the early Middle English period (Schendl, 2000: 77).

The linguistic impact of the Norman Conquest has generated a very long debate, and over the decades researchers have expressed a wide range of opinions which are often contradictory. Berndt (1969: 371) seems to minimise the influence of French on English, on the grounds that the former was mainly spoken by members of the aristocracy, a minority group compared to the peasantry who represented 85% to 90% of the population. By contrast, Clanchy (2003: 213-214) emphasises the important role that French played, especially because it was used by powerful members of the English society. Here, the following question emerges: is it the size or the status of a certain social group the factor that dictates how influential the linguistic choices of the respective group will become for the development of the language? Along the lines of the same dispute, Brand (2000: 64) claims that French was the language universally spoken in royal courts during the thirteenth century, while Clanchy (2003: 209) states that English continued to be spoken in courts, while French became the language of recording the pleas. Nevertheless, as the former admitted, 'the direct evidence either way is slight' (Brand, 2000: 65).

Although French was the 'most influential language in Europe' in the thirteenth century (Clanchy, 2003: 200), the post-Conquest linguistic landscape of England is incomplete without discussing the other languages. It is generally accepted that Latin, French and English held intellectually and socially distinct positions and were used in different contexts (Clanchy 2003: 200). French and Latin were both considered high status languages, whereas English was considered low status (Crespo, 2000: 24). While French was the spoken language of the nobility and the written language for official and private purposes, Latin was mostly a written language and English a spoken one. It seems that after the Conquest, Latin replaced English as the written language of government, but was not spoken, except for religious or educational purposes. Latin

was generally considered more appropriate for written purposes and more serious than its rivals in fields such as education and religion. To illustrate, clerics such as Peter of Blois apologised for sermons which were not originally formulated in Latin (Clanchy, 2003: 203). Also, the gentry were supposed to acquire knowledge of Latin from a young age, under the supervision of a tutor who would have chiefly taught Latin grammar (Clanchy, 2003).

English was the mainstream spoken language, preserving this function from the eleventh century through to the fourteenth century when it would start to emerge 'as the principal language of literature and ultimately of record' (Clanchy, 2003: 201). During the second half of the twelfth century, French was employed for literary purposes, but contrary to some beliefs, it never replaced Latin as a language of record (Benskin, personal communication, 2012). This is attested by the very scarce number of extant medieval English official documents in French, compared to the large number of such texts in Latin. In addition to French and Latin, in the twelfth century, Hebrew started to be used due to the arrival of the Jews in England (Clanchy, 2003). Legal documents regarding moneylending were usually bilingual, written in Latin and Hebrew and, starting with 1260, in French and Hebrew when arrangements were made between Jews and Christians (Clanchy, 2003). Trade and commercial relations, mostly between England and the Netherlands, also facilitated the interaction between English and other languages such as Dutch (Crespo, 2000).

The general division of functions between the three main languages of medieval England can, as mentioned before, be contested by the existence of documented exceptions. There are some situations when English appears to be more than the mere common spoken language among the peasantry. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, Jocelin of Brakelond (cited in Clanchy, 2003: 205) described Samson, the Abbot of Bury St Edmunds, as 'eloquent in French and Latin' and able 'to read literature written in English most elegantly' even if he preached in the Norfolk dialect. Therefore, English was not only the popular dialectal language, but could also be considered the language of educated men. Although English was not conventionally the language of court records, the Rawlinson B520 manuscript in the Bodleian Library might seem to document the contrary. It is dated at the beginning of the fourteenth century and contains translations into English of thirteenth century statutes, short legal memoranda and legal treatises (Brand, 2000: 76).

In 1258, letters patent in Latin, French and English were sent by the King's office to every county, addressing the King's subjects. The writer of the French and English letters was Robert Fulham, a constable of the Exchequer and justice of the Jews, whose multilingual competence indicates the skills of English administrators of the time. The reason for writing these letters in languages other than Latin is not clearly given. However, one might guess that it was so due to the fact that they expressed the King's discontent with the sheriffs, who could consequently have proved reluctant to translate the Latin version for public information (Clanchy, 2003: 221-222). A more general possible inference is that, in order to ensure the diffusion of important notifications to an extended audience, all available linguistic means were used. This would parallel the way in which, nowadays, different types of media are used for broadcasting, sometimes rather obsessively, the same piece of news.

7.2. The French element: loanwords and calques

According to Barber (1999: 134), French had had an influence over the English language already before the Norman Conquest in 1066. Nevertheless, the major influence started after the Conquest. Norman French developed specific characteristics and was eventually called Anglo-Norman, a dialect significantly different from Central French, which was used in Paris and, as a high-status language, also came to influence English. During the thirteenth century, French was spoken at the royal court in England and literature was written in French. However, in the fourteenth century, English started regaining its prestige as a written language. In 1362, the King's speech at the opening of the Parliament was in English and in the same year English was declared the official language of law-courts instead of French even if records would continue to be written in Latin (Barber, 1999: 141).

The influence of French can be found in multiple levels of the English language. However, the following discussion will only deal with three areas which will be relevant here: loanwords, stylistic and pragmatic influence. The main area affected by French was the vocabulary, as 'an enormous number of French loanwords came into the language during the Middle English period' (Barber, 1999: 145). The number of borrowings increased in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with the transition from French to English as the spoken language of the aristocracy. This dictated the need to preserve the terminology already common

in French in fields such as: war, religion, law, art, hunting, heraldry and fashion (Barber, 1999: 146). To illustrate, some words of French origin are: *ancestors, clergy, parson, people, payment, purchase, empire, governor, justice, trespass, war, mantle, labour, substance, suffer, mercy, gentle, praise* (Serjeantson, 1935: 136-137). In addition, ‘Norman French terms will usually have associations of rank, courtliness, and refinement’ (Hughes, 1988: 20). This can be noticed especially in the case of French words borrowed for concepts which already had signifiers in Saxon. For example, the Norman correspondents for the Saxon *calf, cow, sheep, deer, boar* and *pig* are, respectively: *veal, beef, mutton, venison, brawn* and *pork* (Hughes, 1988: 5). Interestingly enough, borrowing from French occurred not only when the English itself lacked the needed lexical items, but also to provide more refined alternatives for the already existing words. To illustrate, the more elegant counterparts of *hearty, doom, folk* and *holy man* are, respectively: *cordial, judgement, nation* and *saint* (Barber, 1999: 147).

When languages are in contact, this often leads to the borrowing of entire structures, so-called *calques* – itself a French word (Burnley, 2003: 19). On a large scale, such ‘loan translation’ is found in the *curial style* (Burnley, 2003: 22), which reflects the French influence on the English prose style in the late fourteenth century. The curial style is characterised by:

great lexical elaboration, consisting of extensive borrowing from French and Franco-Latin, by elaborated phrasal forms of indirect address, by very long sentences which exploit lexical repetition, synonymous doublets, and anaphoric referential devices (such as *the same* + noun, *the saide* + noun, *the whiche* + noun)

(Burnley, 2003: 22)

It can be found in records of parliamentary business, petitions, formal letters, legal and administrative documents at the end of the fourteenth century and throughout the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, it occurs even in prologues and epilogues of literary works, such as those of Caxton (Burnley, 2003: 22). In the fifteenth century, it is generally common in English translations of French works.

Besides the stylistic influence, pragmatic conventions were also taken over from French into English; the best-known example of this is the use of second person plural pronouns as means for expressing politeness. The practice of using *ye* for addressing a single individual, accompanied by terms indicating politeness such as *dame, lord, sire* and, on the other hand, using

thou with derogatory forms such as *brother*, *son*, *daughter* (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 101-210) mirrors the medieval French custom.

7.3 The Scandinavian element: loanwords

The presence of the Scandinavian element in English is due to the Viking settlements in England and their eventual peaceful cohabitation with the Anglo-Saxons. In England, Vikings were generally referred to as Danes, and their densest settlements were in Derbyshire, Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire and Norfolk, the area called the Danelaw. However, Norwegians were also taking part in the invasions and they made settlements mainly in the North-West, in Lancashire and Cumbria (Barber, 1999: 128-129).

The Scandinavian element in the English language is mainly represented by loanwords. The chronology of the loanwords is difficult to establish, as most of them are not recorded until the thirteenth century (Serjeantson, 1935: 63-64). Townend (2002: 201) distinguishes between Norse borrowings in Old English, made while Old Norse was still a living language, and the Norse loans in Middle English as ‘the result of Old Norse language death, being words introduced by Norse speakers in shifting to English’. Consequently, it may be inferred that Old Norse ceased to be spoken in England sometime during the transition from Old English to Middle English (cf. also Page, 1971). The surviving documents of the late Old English period come mostly from the South of the country and are written in the West Saxon dialect, which was least influenced by Old Norse. The few Scandinavian loanwords that appear in written Old English belong to the technical registers of ships, weapons and legal customs (Serjeantson, 1935; Barber, 1999).

However, in the areas of Scandinavian settlement, the daily-life interactions between the English and the Scandinavians led to natural socio-linguistic phenomena. Townend (2002: 202) has suggested that the interaction between the groups was based on mutual intelligibility rather than widespread bilingualism; however, practices are likely to have varied. Since the two languages were similar, both groups may have used words from the other language. Also, bearing in mind the case of inter-marriages, it is possible that some of the English learned Old Norse and their offspring probably spoke a mixed dialect.

Eventually, Old Norse died out and was completely replaced by Old English which was by that time enriched with Scandinavian loans. Some of the earliest ones are geographical items such as: *by* ‘village, homestead’, *thorp* ‘secondary settlement, outlying farmstead’, *toft* ‘building site, plot of land’ and *thwaite* ‘woodland clearing, meadow’ (Barber, 1999: 128). Grammatical words such as the conjunctions *though*, *till* and *until*, as well as third person plural pronouns *they*, *them* and *their* (Old English *hīe*, *him* and *hiera*) come from Scandinavian. The pronouns were first used in northern dialects and spread southwards in the Middle English period; the spread of *they* took place considerably earlier than that of the other two forms, so that, during the fourteenth century, Chaucer and his contemporaries used it together with the Old English *hem* and *hire* for *them* and *their* respectively (Barber, 1999: 133).

The Scandinavian loanwords are simple, everyday words belonging to the basic vocabulary used to name common concepts such as family members and body parts (Hughes, 1988: 20). They include *sister*, *leg*, *cake*, *fellow*, *skin*, *sky*, *law*, *window*, *loose*, *odd*, *ugly*, *call*, *get*, *give*, *smile* and *take* and *both*, *burn*, *brains*, *to*, *bond*, *loan*, *meek*, *want*, *listen*, *against*, *let*, *strong*, *husband*, *maiden* (Serjeantson, 1935). Scandinavian loanwords were usually given English inflections, sometimes the Scandinavian inflections were considered part of the stem and assimilated as well, as is the case of the –t in *want*.

Even if the number of Scandinavian loans in Standard English is small compared to the imposing amount of French and Latin loanwords, they form a group of basic and very frequently used words. In the dialects of the Danelaw area, particularly the Northeast, however, Scandinavian words were borrowed in much larger quantities. They are still frequent in the present-day dialects, where loanwords such as *bairn* ‘child’ and *laik* ‘to play’ survive over large areas (Barber, 1999: 134). In Northern Middle English texts they tend to be more common still, and would have contributed greatly to the problems of intelligibility between the North and the South that were commented upon by Middle English writers such as Trevisa (see e.g. Burrow and Turville-Petre 1996: 6).

7.4 The Latin element: loanwords

The three main languages which had a great impact on the formation of the English vocabulary are Scandinavian, French and Latin. Of these three, Latin has provided the highest number of

loanwords over the longest period of time, covering entirely the historical stages of the linguistic development of English. While Scandinavian words were borrowed mainly between the ninth and twelfth centuries and French ones in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the influx of Latin words started in the Old English period and continued throughout the Early Modern English period (Serjeantson, 1935: 9). Latin loanwords spread over a variety of fields, from simple routinely used words to specialised terms. To illustrate, some of the common words coming from Latin are: *candle, pile, cheese, wine, port, school* and *to turn*. More specialised Latin borrowings are: units of measurement such as *pound* and *mile*; plant names such as *rose, mint, lily* and *rosemary*; religious terms such as *litany, deacon, heretic, pope, disciple*.

The first bidirectional lexical exchanges between (Vulgar) Latin and Germanic took place around 350-400 A.D. However, the main influx of Latin words into Anglo-Saxon accompanied the advent of Christianity in the seventh century and were, at that point, Classical Latin loanwords belonging to the sphere of religious activities.

Although immediately after the Norman Conquest Anglo-Saxon continued to be the language of written official communication, its place was soon to be taken by Latin, since this was the language of 'lordship and management' for the Norman conquerors (Clanchy, 2003: 214). Furthermore, in the eleventh century, as the case of Orderic Vitalis shows, early instruction in Latin was utterly important. He was the son of a priest who counselled Roger II of Montgomery and despite the fact that he did not learn French, he was taught Latin from the age of five. The importance of Latin in the education of the clergy and gentry seems to have been preserved throughout the Middle Ages. In the twelfth century, Richard Fitz Neal claimed that the Latin Domesday Book was written in 'common words' (Clanchy, 2003: 214). Even if during the twelfth century French started to be used in literary and historical works by authors such as Jordan Fantosme, Latin continued to be the official language of royal charters, business agreements, legal statutes and court documents such as plea rolls. At the same time, Latin was the language of monks and monastic chronicles and it was still considered the most appropriate medium to convey the Christian doctrine (Clanchy, 2003). Nevertheless, from this point on, the emphasis of Latin shifts from the religious life to the academic sphere. Latin was the language of the graduates of Bologna and Oxford, who

whether they were lawyers, academics or royal officials, ... were responsible for ensuring that Latin could cope with the new demands made on it by schools, city communes, religious orders and royal lordships'

(Clanchy, 2003: 215).

Some of the loanwords from Latin in Middle English are: in religious contexts: *Gloria* and *requiem*; in law-courts: *client*, *conviction*, *memorandum*; in medicine and science: *dissolve*, *distillation*, *equator* and *recipe* and abstract words: *conflict*, *dissent*, *imaginary*, *implication* (Barber, 1999: 178).

At the end of the Middle Ages, English had triumphed over French and started to be used as a record language. However, written Latin endured for about two more centuries as an international language of learning; it was also during the Early Modern period that the greatest influx of Latin loanwords into English took place.

7.5 Code-switching and related phenomena in multilingual medieval texts

In the multilingual context of medieval Britain, even if multilingualism was not a universal phenomenon (see p. 47), the use of several languages in the same communicative act, be it written or oral, could only be regarded as natural. When, for example, fluent speakers of both English and French conversed, they might have chosen to use both languages alternately for the sake of convenience and time economy. However, switching between languages goes beyond spoken communication and is, in fact, highly characteristic of certain types of medieval written texts. As Schendl (2000: 79) claims, the number of such texts from the Middle English period is significant. The alternation of languages within the same act of communication is termed *code-switching* (Schendl, 2000: 77) and this is the term that will be used in the following discussion. The choice of different languages for different texts will be referred to as *code selection*.

Three main types of syntactic switches in present-day bilingual practices have been identified in by Myers-Scotton (1993: 4): tag-switches, intersentential switches and intrasentential switches. Tag-switches occur when, for example, interjections and exclamations are inserted in a different language. Intersentential switches are switches between sentences and independent clauses and should not present any difficulties for the bilingual user. Intrasentential switches take place within the same sentence, between its constituents, including dependent

clauses, and are thought to be restricted to fluent bilinguals (Poplack, 1994: 581; cited in Schendl, 2000: 88) since they require observing the syntactic rules of two languages simultaneously. The types of switches used are conditioned by text type, genre, functions as well as by the (social status of) addressee and author.

Code-switching occurs in non-literary texts such as sermons and other religious texts, letters, business accounts, legal texts and medical treatises, as well as in literary texts such as drama, texts in prose or verse (Schendl, 2000: 80). The term ‘macaronic poetry’ refers to poetry in which two or more languages are mixed. Differentiating between text types when analysing language mixing is crucial since genres can determine the code selection, the type of switch and also the frequency of switching. To illustrate, the early thirteenth century religious prose text *Ancrene Wisse* contains intersentential switches from Latin to English in the form of translations. In contrast, a twelfth century sermon titled *In diebus dominicis* also contains intersentential switches, but from English to Latin and with the purpose of structuring the discourse. An example of both inter- and intrasentential shift can be found in the letter of Richard Kingston, Dean of Windsor to King Henry IV, who uses both English and French (Schendl, 2000: 80,81). Although this could have resulted from extralinguistic factors such as lack of time, it can also be rendered as a deliberate choice which would have not only been socially acceptable, but appropriate and even expected at that date.

Additionally, code-switching between French and English indirectly indicates the identity and social status of both the author and addressee. Compared to sermons, religious texts and letters, which were not necessarily language-mixed, business accounts were constantly produced by using code-switching (Wright, 2000: 149). For example, financial accounts were written in both Latin and Hebrew in the twelfth century, and later in French and Hebrew mostly probable due to the fact that, even if the Jewish moneylenders could understand Latin and French to a certain extent, they might not have mastered the highly specialised terminology (see p. 48). From these examples it can be inferred that code-switching was not randomly used in medieval texts. On the contrary, it seems to have been an important discourse strategy in medieval Britain as well as in other European nations (Schendl, 2000).

Researchers who have contributed a considerable amount of work on code-switching in various medieval texts include Schendl (2000, 2012), Wright (2000), Hunt (2000) and Rothwell (2000). Nevertheless, according to Sebba (2012: 1), more studies are needed in the field of

multilingual discourse. Schendl (2012) claims that more extensive studies on historical code-switching would be welcomed since they would bring more insight into the actual mechanisms of earlier bilingual communication. Moreover, such studies would create more scope for testing the modern theories of code-switching. It might, in particular, be useful to apply some of the current theories on code-switching in modern non-literary texts, such as advertisements, to medieval texts. Sebba (2012: 12) has made the point that layout and palaeographic features should not be forsaken in the analysis of mixed-language manuscripts.

Furthermore, two main types of code-switching have been recognised in modern non-literary texts, namely: *parallelism* and *complementarity* (Sebba, 2012: 14-15). Parallelism occurs when the same content is expressed in different languages. Complementarity takes place when texts or fragments of texts with different content are written in different languages by means of inter- and intrasentential code-switching. A form of parallelism is identifiable in *Ancrene Wisse*, as the intersentential switches are basically used to convey the same information through both Latin and English. Complementarity is used in Richard Kingston's letter as meaning is created by collating distinct pieces of information in different languages at both inter- and intrasentential level.

Studying code-switching in multilingual medieval texts is challenging due to two main impediments. Firstly, as Sebba points out, the phenomenon of code-switching in written language, be it in modern or historical texts, has 'no independent theoretical framework' (2012: 1) and thus the research that has been carried out is based on theories of modern code-switching in oral communication (Sebba, 2012: 31). Secondly, it is hard to draw borders between code-switching and borrowing in medieval texts. Eastman (1992: 1, cited in Hunt, 2000: 132) suggested rather boldly that 'efforts to distinguish code-switching, code-switching and borrowing are doomed'. Along the same lines, Wright (2000: 155) has signalled the difficulty of assessing 'the degree of assimilation of a borrowed word to a given language at a given point in time'. This view is also supported by Schendl (2000: 86), who adds that frequency and phonological or morphological integration are not valid criteria in deciding on either borrowing or switching.

The obvious ideal solution would be to create a theoretical framework tailored for code-switching in written multilingual discourse. However, formulating theories without supporting them empirically would be unrealistic and ultimately pointless. As a result, the present approach aims at investigating language mixing phenomena with the aid of previous empirical studies.

Following Schendl (2012: 31), this study will therefore take into account parameters such as author, readership, date, purpose of a text as well as manuscript tradition and socio-historical reality; the aim is to adequately place the text in its literacy context (Sebba, 2012: 8).

Code-switching in medieval texts might have been used naturally or unconsciously in certain situations created by lack of time or alternatives. Richard Kingston, for example, admits that he was in ‘tresgraunte haste’ when writing his letter to King Henry IV (Schendl, 2000: 81). However, in certain texts code-switching was used deliberately to fulfil specific functions. As noted by Schendl (2000), to bilinguals it was a means of style variation in writing whereas in macaronic poetry it had artistic value. Switches to English in Latin sermons would have the function of clarification and explanation. Switches from English to French and vice versa between the members of nobility could have had the purpose of reinforcing social identity. Far from being accidental, code-switching events were part of an accepted discourse strategy and even social practice in written communication in the Middle Ages. In the case of business records such as accounts, bills and inventories, they are even considered ‘recognised policy’ (Rothwell, 2000: 230).

8. Linguistic variation and multilingual practices in the English texts

8.1 Scribal practice and linguistic variation

The fifteen English texts here edited are copies of original documents, recorded in the town cartulary by a scribe, most probably the town clerk (see p. 22). Both the language and handwriting vary slightly between the different texts. The linguistic variation was noted in LALME, where the material on which Linguistic Profile 1257 is based is described as follows:

Copies by a single hand (temp. Henry VI, late) of diverse Beverley documents [list of T2, T3, T5, T7, T14] ... In the same hand are various other such copies of local documents, and also of documents originating outside the town. On these last the local language is imposed in various degrees.¹⁴

¹⁴ http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme_frames.html.

It may be noted that the LALME profile was based on only five of the fifteen texts here edited. It is therefore of particular interest to enquire whether the scribal usage of these five texts might differ from the other local texts, and how far these differ from the texts that have a non-local origin.

This section presents a study of the scribal variation in the material. For this purpose, 22 items have been selected. All these items occur reasonably frequently in the material and show variation between the texts. The variants, together with their frequencies of occurrence, are presented in Tables 1 and 2 (see p. 59-63). The texts are numbered 1 to 15 (see p. 7) Texts with a local, Beverley origin have been labelled 'L', while texts with non-local origins, such as the letters from the king and the archbishop, are labelled 'NL'. These labels refer, of course, to the original document and not the copy itself.

Perhaps the most dramatic difference between the texts is the distribution of *y*, *þ* and *th* for the initial consonant corresponding to Present-Day English <th> in grammatical words, such as 'the', 'that', 'this' and 'they'. The letters *y* and *þ* had come to be indistinguishable in shape in many late Middle English scripts, particularly in the North of England, while non-northern scribes generally distinguish between them (Benskin 1977: 506-507, n. 9). During the fifteenth century, both forms are gradually replaced by the spelling <th>. It has been shown that this replacement takes place most rapidly in the southern half of the country, and also that it takes place in documentary texts much earlier than in other genres (Stenroos, 2004: 280; cf. also Benskin 1982).

With regard to *y* and *þ*, the scribe of the cartulary varies in his usage, tending to discriminate between the letters in some stretches of the text, but not in others. In the first three texts, <th> is clearly dominant while <þ> appears as a minority form in the first two; here, <þ> and <y> are clearly distinguished. However, all three forms are employed in T4-T8, which represent a group of both local and non-local documents dated in the mid-1430s, almost twenty years earlier than the other texts. In these five texts, including the non-local ones, the *y*-shaped form is dominant. *þ*-shapes are exceptional in T4 and T5, but occur more commonly in T6-T8, which basically show a mixture of the two forms and no distinction is made between *y* and *þ*. In these five texts, <th> appears only occasionally. The remaining texts, T9-T15, show only <th>, except for two isolated occurrences of *yat* 'that' in T10 and T12.

Table 1.

	T1, L	T2, L	T3, L	T4, NL	T5, L	T6, NL	T7, L	T8, NL
the	the (4) þe (3)	the (16) þe (1)	the (4) te (1)	ye (42) þe (1)	ye (8) þe (1)	the (2) ye (15) þe (9)	ye (14) þe (10)	ye (11) þe (5)
that	that (1)	that (11)	that (1)	yat (1) þat (3)	yat (1) that (1)	þat (3)	yat (1) þat (11)	yat (1) þat (2)
these	thies (1)	this (1) thees (2) thies (2)	thez (1)			þees (1)		
there			ther' (1)	yer' (1) þer (1)	þer (1)		ther' (1) þer (2)	
which	whiche (1)	which (1)		which (5) whiche (5)	whilk (2)	which (3) whiche (3)	whilk (2) whilke (2)	which (2) whiche (3)
such	suche (1)	slike (3) slyk (1)				suche(1)	slike (1) suche (1)	
much	moche (1)				mekil (1)	moche (1)		
you (S)	ye (2)					ye (3)	you (2)	ye (4)
you (O)					you (1)	you (2)	you (4)	you (4) yow (1)
your	your (2) youre (4)				your (12)	your' (1) youre (1)	your' (2) youre (1)	your (6) youre (2)

Table 1.

	T1,L	T2, L	T3, L	T4, NL	T5, L	T6, NL	T7, L	T8, NL
they		they (1)		yei (1)			þei (3) þey (1)	
their		thar' (2)	ther' (3)	their (1) theyr (2)	yeir' (1)	þeir' (1)	þeir (3)	
them		them (3) thaym (1)	them (1) (<i>them-salf</i>)		them (1)	hem (1)	þem (2)	þaime (1)
all	al (4)	al (2) alle (1) all (2)	al (1) alle (1)	alle (1)			al (1)	al (1)
after			aftir (2) eftir (1)					
said	saide (3) seide (1) seid (1)	seid (7) said (3) saide (1)	(-) said (17) (-) seid (1) saide (1)	seid (16)	(-) seid (7)	said (3) saide (1)	(-)seid (6)	
not		noght (1)	not (1)			not (1)	not (1) noght (1)	noght (5)
year		yer' (1)	yeer (1)	yer (1) yere (1)				
then		than (4)		then (1)	then (1)			
Pres.part.	-yng (1)	-yng (3) -and (1)	-and (1) -yng (4)	-yng (3) -yn (1) -eng (2)	-and (1)	-yng (3)	-yng (3) -eng (1)	-ynge (1) -yng (1)
Pres.ind.3sg.		-is (1)		-eth (6) ith (4) -th (1) -yth (1) -es (1)	-is (1)	-th (1)		
Pres.ind.pl.	-e (3) -Ø* (2)		-ez (1) -eth (1)	-en (1) -eth(1)	-is (1)	-e (1) -Ø (2)	-Ø (2)	-Ø (2) -eth (1) -is (1)

Table 1.

	T1, L	T2, L	T3, L	T4, NL	T5, L	T6, NL	T7, L	T8, NL
Sb.pl.	-es (5)	-es (10)	-es (5)	-es (3)	-es (2)	-es (12)	-es (4)	-es (6)
	-ys (1)	-ys (1)	-ys (3)	-ys (2)	-ys (1)	-s (2)	-ys (3)	-s (3)
		-is (5)	-s (4)	-is (4)	-s (4)		-is (7)	
		-s (6)	-ez (3)	-s (12)	-ez (2)		-s (1)	
		-ez (1)	-z (1)	-ez (1)				

*Ø = zero ending for present indicative plural.

Table 2.

	T9, NL	T10, NL	T11, NL	T12, NL	T13, L	T14, L	T15, L
the	the (35)	the (15)	the (6)	the (18)	the (17)	the (20)	the (8)
that	that (18)	that (5) yat(1)	that (5)	that (16), yat (1)		that (4)	that (6)
these	thees (1)	thes (1) thees (2)	thees (1)	thes (1), thees (1)	thes (1), thees (2)	thies (1),thees (1) thes (1)	
there	ther' (2)	ther' (3)	ther' (1)	ther' (4)	ther' (2)	ther' (1)	ther' (3)
which		whilke (1) which (2)	which (1)	which (4)	whik (1) whilk (1)	which (1)	which (2) whiche (1)
such		such (2)	such (1) suche (2)	such (6), suche (2)			such (2)
much				moche (1)		mekil (1)	
you(S)				ye (10)			
you(O)				you (5), yow (3)		you (1)	yow (2)
your		your (18)	your (16)	your (12)		your (3)	your (8)
they	they (7) thay (2)		thay (2)	thay (2)	thay (1)		thay (2)
their	ther' (4)			ther' (1)		ther' (2)	ther' (1)
them	them (3) hem (2)		them(2)	thaym (1)			them (1)
all	al (1) alle (4), all (5)	alle (1)	all (1) alle (2)	all (2)	al (3)	all (1), alle (1)	

Table 2.

	T9, NL	T10, NL	T11, NL	T12, NL	T13, L	T14, L	T15, L
after	eftir (1)		aftir (2)	eftir (1)	aftir (1), eftir (2)	aftir (1), eftir (1)	
said	seid (7)	said (1) sayde (1)	sayde (1)	seid (2), saide (1) said (1), seide (1) sayde (1) sad (1)	sayd (1), said (1), seid (4)	said (6), seid (3)	said (5) seid (2) saide (1)
not	not (3)		not (1)	not (2), nat (1)			nott (1)
year	yeer' (1)	yeer' (1)			yer' (1)	yer (1), yeer (2)	
then	then (3) than (1)			then (1)			
Pres.part.	-yng (3) -eng (1)	-yng (5) -eng (1)	-yng (3)	-yng (5), -eng (1), -ing (1)	-and (2), -yng (1)	-and (1), -yng (2), eng (1)	-and (1) yng (3)
Pres.ind.3sg.		-eth (1)			-es (2)		-eth (1)
Pres.ind.pl.	-Ø (4)			-Ø (4), -e (5)	- Ø (1), -es (1)	-es (2)	
Sb. pl.	-es (17) -ys (1) -is (2) -s (5) -ez (1)	-es (9) -is (1) -s (2)	-es (9) -ys (1) -is (1) -s (1) -ez (1)	-es (8) -ys (1) -is (6) -s (3) -ez (1)	-es (9) -ys (3) -is (5) -s (6) -ez (6)	-es (6) -ys (1) -s (6)	-es (4) -is (1)

The northern merger of <þ> and <y> thus only appears in the group of texts from the 1430's, with the exception of very occasional relict usage. All other texts show <th> as the sole or dominant spelling, <þ> appearing as an occasional variant only in the first two texts. The dating of the texts seems highly significant here. While texts T4-T8 are dated in the mid-1430s the T1-T3 group is dated in the late 1440s and the T9-T15 group is mainly dated in the early 1450s. It seems very likely that the variation here reflects the spread of <th> during the fifteenth century, and its increasing tendency to replace the traditional northern forms. Assuming that the texts were copied over this entire period, the spellings might suggest that the scribe's own usage changed over time. On the other hand, if all the texts were copied around 1450, as was suggested earlier (see p. 43), one might assume all three forms belonged to the scribe's repertoire, and that he would adapt his choices through constrained selection.

It is not unlikely that texts such as T1, T2, T3 and T15 might, in fact, have been written by himself to begin with, as they are the type of texts which a town clerk might be expected to produce; at the same time, a northern scribe in the mid-fifteenth century might be expected to be familiar with the northern use of <y>, and to be able to copy it as it appeared in his exemplar, even if it did not form part of his active usage. Sandvold (2010; cf. also Stenroos, 2013) has shown that the northern usage was retained, and even seemed to be expected, in official use in Barmston, not far from Beverley, in the 1470s.

In order to determine whether the change might reflect the scribe's own development or the usage of his exemplars, it will be of interest to consider the other items. The varied orthography of 'which' is worthy of attention here. Here, the two main types are the northern spelling *whilk* (with the variants (*whik*, *whilke*) and the southern *which* (or *whiche*). As might be expected, the form *whilk* is only used in local texts, with the exception of one non-local text (T10), where it appears once only along side two occurrences of *which*. The three local texts, T5, T7 and T13, where *whilk* is used, show it as the only form; two of these belong to the group from the 1430s. Perhaps surprisingly, in four of the local texts (T1, T2, T14 and T15), the spelling is regularly southern. It may be noted that T1, T2 and T15 were identified above as the kind of texts that would be expected to have been composed by the town clerk himself; the *which* forms might therefore represent his own usage. Apart from the single occurrence of *whilk* in T10, all the non-local texts where this item appears show *which* forms only.

A similar pattern appears in the case of ‘much’, which occurs in two forms, *moche* and *mekil*. Not surprisingly, *moche* is employed in non-local texts (T6 and T12) and *mekil* in local ones (T5 and T14). However, T1 shows a single occurrence of *moche*; while single occurrences should not be used for drawing conclusions, it is at least suggestive that *moche* here occurs in a text that also has <th> and *which*, and that may have been originally composed by the scribe.

The use of the subject form of the 3rd person plural pronoun ‘they’ also calls for comment. The spelling of the consonantal element follows the pattern described above, with <y> and <þ> in the group of older texts (T4-T8) and <th> everywhere else. However, the spelling of the vocalic element seems to change fairly abruptly in the middle of the material. While T2, T4 and T7 show only medial <ei> or <ey>, with the spelling variants *they*, *yei*, *þei* and *þey*, in T9 the form *thay* appears as a minority form, and is then used as the sole form in the remainder of the manuscript, in T9, T11-T13 and T15. In general, such a shift could be a result of adopting more standardised forms or an indication of a change of exemplar. Here, it is interesting that the form preferred in the later part of the manuscript, which generally seems to show a usage that may suggest standardisation, is not the standard one: the form that came to be standardised is *they* and not *thay*. Here, it may be significant that the scribe seems to have taken some time to adjust his usage in T9.

Finally, some interesting variation is noticeable in the case of the object form of the 3rd person plural pronoun ‘them’. Even if *them* is the most common form (T2, T3, T5, T9, T11 and T15), variants such as *thaym* (T2, T12), *hem* (T6, T9) and *þem* (T7) are also encountered. The *hem* form evolved from the Old English dative plural *him/heom*, while the forms with initial *th*-seem to have originated in the Old Norse dative plural *þeim*, which appears to have been borrowed in the Danelaw area during the Scandinavian settlement, and only gradually spread southward (Lass 1992: 120). In the late Middle English period, *hem* is a marker of a southern dialect, while *them* is specific to the northern dialects. As expected, the two texts where the *hem* form occurs are non-local. It is noteworthy that in T6, where there is only one instance of ‘them’, *hem* is used, whereas, in T9 two occurrences of *hem* are accompanied by three of *them*. In general, with the exception of the use of *y* in *ye* ‘the’, T6 tends to show the most consistently non-northern usage of all the texts. It could be that the scribe wished to preserve, at least in part, the southern linguistic features, which might be related to the fact that the original document was issued by the king’s office. It was noted above that T9 showed a mixed usage for ‘they’, being transitional

in usage between the two halves of the text material; this might suggest that the scribe, when beginning his copying of the stretch of texts on fols 35r-36v, went through a period of ‘working in’ usage, presumably, as the *hem* form is unlikely to be his own, in the direction of progressive translation (Benskin and Laing, 1981: 66-67; see also p. 18).

The linguistic variation between the texts is accompanied by variation in letter-shapes and their position within words. As already stated before, *y* and *þ* are used undistinguishably in T4-T8, while *th* is used predominantly in T1-T3 and almost exclusively in T9-T15. A similar pattern can be noticed in the way the shape of ‘d’ varies across the texts. In T4-T8, ‘d’ is double-compartmented, while in T1-T3 and T9-T15 it is single-compartmented. This indicates that variation, both at the linguistic and palaeographic level, is closely connected; again, it presumably reflects the different time frames of the texts, and could be interpreted to represent either the scribe’s change of usage over time or the influence of the exemplar on his usage.

The analysis of scribal variation seems to suggest that the scribe’s behaviour may be characterized as constrained selection. There are very clear differences between the groups of texts: in particular, the group of texts from the 1430s on fols. 20r-22r stand out as a group, as does the group of later texts on fols. 35r-36v. In addition, there are clear differences between the local and non-local texts in the 1430s group, and the first text on fol. 35r, T9 (the Bordeaux text) seems to show a degree of working-in usage, probably progressive translation.

The overall range of forms suggests a fairly well-defined repertoire, including both northern and southern or supralocal forms. The distribution of these forms suggests that southern or supralocal forms such as *which*, *moch*, *them* and the spelling <th> might have been his own preferred forms in active usage: these forms occur in the greatest range of texts, and are preferred in those texts that may plausibly have been composed by himself. However, the northern forms that occur especially in the 1430s group seem to have been familiar to him, and appear occasionally as relict forms even in non-local texts. Some northern forms, such as the present participle ending *-and*, appear scattered through all the local texts, but do not appear in the non-local ones.

Overall, the distribution of forms would seem to suggest a bidialectal scribe, with a northern background but a training in a southern-based usage, similar to the so-called ‘Chancery Standard’ (Samuels, 1963; Benskin, 2004). It is possible that this scribe, who would also have been the town attorney, represents precisely the kind of person envisaged by Benskin (1992: 20-

21) as being instrumental in carrying standardisation into the regions: a clerk with a local background but a legal education from Westminster.

8.2 Multilingual practices

This section will focus on two aspects of multilingualism in the texts analysed. Firstly, it presents a study of the French, Latin and loanwords in the text, relating the presence of specialized and dialectal vocabulary to the geographical background and genre of the different texts. Secondly, it discusses the mechanisms of code selection and code-switching in the edited texts. In part, this discussion concerns the juxtaposition of passages in different languages, studied as part of multilingual practices in official Middle English written documents. However, it also considers the question of language selection in the cartulary texts, relating the choices to the replacement of Latin by English as the language of official texts during the fifteenth century.

8.2.1 Loanwords

It was noted on p. 56-57 that borrowing and code-switching are difficult to distinguish in detail. For the present purpose, any individual words or short sequences that occur intrasententially are treated as borrowings.

The percentual distribution of lexical items in the present texts, according to their etymological background recorded in the glossary (see Appendices, p.), is the following: 42.40% (371) Old English, while 28.91% (253) French, 20.00 % (175) Anglo-Norman, 5.25% (46) Latin and 2.40% (21) Old Norse. Consequently, the vast majority of vocabulary used in the edited texts is of French origin. This seems to be in accordance with general estimates for Middle English texts. Hughes (1988: 21) suggests that the Middle English lexis was built on the foundation of 50,000 to 60,000 Anglo-Saxon words to which was added an amount of 2,000 Scandinavian items and a bulk of 100,000 to 125,000 Anglo-Norman and French words. Latin words, although incorporated to a certain extent during the Middle Ages, were mostly added during the Renaissance, when they were twice as many as the Middle English words. The framework of this discussion is thus set in a multilingual context described by Daniel Defoe as: ‘Your Roman-Saxon-Danish-Norman-English’ (1701, in Morley, 1889: 190).

In the following discussion, loanwords from Anglo-Norman and French, when treated collectively, will be labelled as French. In the same manner, the general term Scandinavian is here applied to all loanwords coming from a Scandinavian language, whether Norwegian or Danish.

The fifteen texts here studied vary not only with regard to their scribal usage, but also in their lexical choices and writing style. Variation in the use of lexical items may depend on where the texts come from geographically, on the background and position of their authors and recipients and on the purpose and subject of the texts. The initial assumption is that Latin, as well as French and Scandinavian loanwords are to a degree scattered across the texts, but that some groups of them may be more dominant in some texts than others.

The largest cluster of Scandinavian borrowings is found in T3, the agreement with John Gargrave (see p. 32): *bankis* ‘banks’ (T3, line 55), *Bek* ‘beck’ (T3, line 50), *bothe* ‘both’ (T3, line 52), *eftir* ‘after’, *fro* ‘from’ (T3, line 53), *gar* ‘do’ (T3, line 46), *same* (T3, line 47). Of these, *eftir*, *fro*, *bothe* and *same* occur throughout the texts irrespective of their origin, *bankis*, *Bek* and *gar* are restricted to this local document. In addition to reflecting the local linguistic colour, these word choices are dictated by the content of the text, which refers to construction works that had to be done on the banks of Beverley beck and Walker beck by John Gargrave (see p. 33).

Other Scandinavian loanwords are: *bigged* ‘built’ (T4, line 95), *callid* ‘called’ (T14, line 340), *getyn* ‘got’ (T13, line 314), *happyn* ‘happen’ (T13, line 317), *loon* ‘rogue’ (T8, line 176), *reyse* ‘raise’ (T7, line 162), *scathis* ‘damages’ (T13, line 323), *thay* ‘they’ (T13, line 324) and *tofftis* ‘tufts’ (T4, line 94).

Of the Scandinavian loanwords in the texts, the following may, on the basis of the *OED*, be defined as northern dialectal words: *bigged*, *eftir*, *gar*, *loon* and, perhaps. It is notable that these words occur scattered throughout the material, including several non-local texts; for example, *bigged* occurs in the Archbishop’s complaint (T4) and *eftir* in the Bordeaux text (T9) and in the letter from the King to Richard of York (T12). As it seems unlikely that this forms would have appeared in the originals, the scribe may in fact be replacing some of the lexical forms to more northern ones; however, it should be noted that in the case of words such as *eftir* and *fro*, their native/non-northern equivalents (*after* and *from*) are so similar that the replacement might be seen as a basically orthographic one.

It is, however, possible to see differences between local and non-local usage. The causative auxiliary *gar*, meaning ‘to cause someone to do something’, appears in T3. Thus, *John Gargrave sal gar make & finisch a payre of Clowys* (line 46) rather ‘John Gargrave shall cause to make and complete a pair of sluices’. A synonymous verb is used in T10, the first letter of Richard of York, (see p. 39, 90) in *to do examyn thees maters* (line 253-254) ‘to make (someone) examine these matters’. In both texts, *gar* and *do* are used to express the same reality and they indirectly transmit the idea of authority. While *gar* comes from Scandinavian *ger(v)a* and marks the northern regional use, *do* comes from the Old English *dōn* and would eventually become part of the standardised language. It seems that their use here reflects the dialectal background of the texts: a Scandinavian loanword was employed in a local northern text and a native word in a non-local text. The politeness formulas for addressing individuals of higher social status generally contain adjectives borrowed from French, such as *graciouse* (T1, letter of credence to the Archbishop, line 1) *reuerent* (T1, line 2) and *honourable* (T7, line 143). Respectful phrases of Scandinavian origin are quite rare, since most of the Scandinavian loanwords mainly signify palpable and mundane realities (see p. 52). However, they do occur. One example is *trusty* ‘trustworthy’ (T1, line 4), derived from the noun ‘trust’ (Sc. *treysta*) and is used in T1 to describe Thomas Mayn and William Lorymer, two messengers sent to the Archbishop of York on behalf of the twelve Governors of Beverley (see p. 32).

Most of the French loanwords were adopted into English during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with the transition of aristocratic speech from French to English. The French terminology used in the lexical fields of war, religion, law, fashion and art has generally been preserved (see p. 50). In the edited texts, there is a relatively high number of French loans, especially from the fields of law, war and religion. The legal terms include *complaynte* ‘complaint’ (T4, line 101), *court* (T9, line 214), *defende* ‘defend’ (T11, line 261), *depute* ‘deputee’ (T10, line 242), *examyn* ‘examine’ (T10, line 253), *fraude* ‘fraud’ (T13, line 236), *Juge* ‘judge’ (T13, line 321), *euidence* ‘evidence’ (T5, line 114), *Justice* ‘justice’ (T11, line 258), *endited* ‘indicted’ (T11, line 259) *liberte* ‘liberty’ (T12, the King’s answer, line 303), *presones* ‘prisons’ (T11, line 271), *reparement* ‘repairment’ (T6, the petition by the king, line 137), *statute* (T14, line 347) and *suppliaunt* ‘suppliant’ (T15, line 368).

French borrowings in the field of warfare include *fensible* ‘fencible’ (T15, line 364), *gwerr* ‘war’ (T7, line 161), *oste* ‘host’ (T9, line 197), *Treson* ‘treason’ (T10, line 252), *tretee*

‘treaty’ (T8, line 178), *pees* ‘peace’ (T8, line 178), *Aduersarie* ‘adversary’ (T6, line 126), *tratoure* ‘traitor’ (T10, line 245), *defende* ‘defend’ (T11, line 261), *enemys* ‘enemies’ (T7, line 153), *armee* ‘army’ (T8, 177). Religious terms borrowed from French, though less numerous, are also present: *cardinal* (T1, line 1), *parson* (T2, line 47), *praier* ‘prayer’ (T6, line 134), *sacrament* (T9 line 199), *grace* (T12, line 306). The distribution of these loans shows that they are used throughout the texts, irrespective of where they were produced.

A controversial French borrowing is *beal-vncle* (T6, line 138). It does not seem to occur in the online version of the OED, but is found in the *Middle English Dictionary*, where it is said to apply to four possible relations: (a) a great uncle; (b) great uncle by marriage; (c) father's cousin; (d) father's brother. In the present text, it is used by the king to refer to that, while, it is indirectly given different nuances in historical depictions referring to the same historical figure, Cardinal Henry Beaufort. Leach (1900: 23) glosses *beal* as *fair* which expresses politeness rather than kinship; while this is etymologically correct, it is unlikely to be the meaning in the present context, which very clearly refers to a kinship. According to Griffiths (1981), Henry Beaufort was in fact the half-brother of Henry IV, Henry VI's grandfather, suggesting that the meaning here is ‘great uncle’.

An example of the different characteristics of French and Scandinavian loans is the noun phrase *Thomas Wilton’ & his Felaus xij Gouvernours* (T2, line 13). Here, the nouns *Felaus* ‘fellows’ and *Gouvernours* ‘governors’ refer to the same group of twelve men. ‘Fellow’ goes back to Scandinavian *fēlage*, while ‘governor’ represents French *gouverneur*. Even if the two nouns refer to the same people, they do not signify the same concept: significantly, the one expressing social proximity (*Felaus*) has Scandinavian roots, while the one indicating social status and power (*Gouvernours*) is of French origin.

The French borrowings further include a large number of terms commonly used in documentary texts, especially ones dealing with land ownership: *tenantes* ‘tenants’ (T2, line 19), *burgeys* ‘burgesses’ (T2, line 19), *reseantis* ‘residents’ (T2, line 19), *auncestetres* ‘ancestors’ (T2, line 22), *inhabitantes* ‘inhabitants’ (T1, line 6), *custumes* ‘customs’ (T2, line 23), *predecessours* ‘predecessors’ (T3, line 31), *Contre* ‘country’ (T2, line 41). An interesting example of linguistic integration is the spelling *askcuse* (T7, line 167) for the French noun *excuse* (T8, line 176), which occurs in a local text and may represent a kind of folk etymology.

Linguistically adjusting unfamiliar lexical items, even unconsciously, can only be regarded as a predictable process, expected in the Middle English context of dialectal variation.

The correspondence between Richard of York and Henry VI, contained in T10-T12 (see p. 39) contains a considerable number of French loans, some of which may be characterised as socially rather marked. In his first letter to the king, the Duke of York complains that *sir Walter Devoreux & sir Edmond Mulso knyght* were freed from prison *wⁱthouten enlargisshyng* (T10, line 236-23), which means that they had not been vouchsafed. The verbal noun *enlargisshyng* might erroneously be assigned the meaning of the present-day present participle form ‘enlarging’ due to their apparent similarity. To judge from its *OED* entry, this word seems to have been little used and short-lived in English; its use shows the Duke’s preference for a style which was probably considered elevated and peculiar to members of nobility and the royal family. In general, the letters of York and Henry VI abound in French expressions, which suggests an elevated style: *auctorite, devoire, defendours, manasse, obeisance refreschyng, vitaille*.

The Latin loanwords in the edited texts include *Aprill* ‘April’ (T3, line 72), *Archiebisschop* ‘archbishop’ (T1, line 1), *estretis* ‘streets’ (T2, line 27), *Jtem* ‘item’ (T2, line 30), *Jniures* ‘injuries’ (T10, line 251), *Conducte* ‘conduct’ (T12, line 302), *equale* ‘equal’ (T12, line 304), *party* ‘part’ (T2, line 18), *Pasche* ‘Passover’ (T13, line 316), *place* (T13, line 23), *Pope* (T6, line 124), *Priuylegis* ‘privileges’ (T9, line 211), *Progenitours* ‘progenitors’ (T2, line 22) and *prouest* ‘provost’ (T7, line 143). What may be noticed from these examples is that the Latin loanwords belong to different semantic fields (see p. 53). Borrowings from Latin are everyday words such as ‘April’, ‘part’, ‘place’, ‘streets’, religious terms such as ‘pope’, ‘archbishop’ and ‘Passover’, terms from ecclesiastical law such as ‘privileges’ and general, but more formal coinages such as ‘item’, ‘injuries’, ‘conduct’, ‘equal’ and ‘progenitors’.

8.2.2 Code selection and code-switching

In addition to dialectal and lexical variation, the material also shows variation in the distribution of languages across the texts. The Beverley Town Cartulary contains records of documents which are either entirely in English or Latin and texts which use both languages. In the first case, the phenomenon which occurs is code selection, whereas in the second case code-switching is used for combining the two languages (see p. 55).

By far most of the fifteen edited English texts are letters of different types: complaints, petitions and memoranda (see p. 7). Only three of them: T3, the agreement with John Gargrave, T9, the appointment of Jean de Dunois and T15, the obligation of William Manypenny may be classified as legal documents. By contrast, most of the texts in Latin from the same period are legal documents (Leach, 1900). There are two commissions, two charters, a writ, a bond, a condition for a bond, an action for penalty, a confirmation of a papal bull and a letter patent dated in the 1430s. The variety of documents in Latin decreases in time, however, with only a judgement, power of attorney, grant and petition dated to the 1440s and a recognizance, plea and writ dated to the 1450s. This seems to indicate that English began to be officially used mainly in the epistolary genre and gradually expanded to other fields, such as law and administration, which had been Latin strongholds for several centuries (see p. 47-48). Therefore, it could also be stated that, before and around the mid-fifteenth century, by the time the use of English as official language had been actively encouraged (see p. 26), code selection depended on text genre. The importance of genre in language choice then faded progressively, as English was replacing Latin as the language of the official sphere.

The first instance of English and Latin occurring in combination appears on fol. 7v, where the Latin phrase *littera credencie* ‘letter of credence’ is added as a marginal note on the left-hand side of the folio, corresponding to the first line of T1, the letter of credence. It may be argued that this is not a real example of code-switching, since the marginal note is not part of the actual text (see p. 82). This note has the pragmatic function of enabling the fast localisation of the letter when searching for it in the cartulary. Such a function would have been unnecessary in the original document, and the note may be an addition to the cartulary copy only. It concisely states the function of the text in Latin, while the actual contents of the letter are in English. Consequently, this instance of language alternation could be regarded as a form of parallelism (see p. 56).

There are three more marginal notes on folio 7v. One of them gives the date of T1 in slightly abbreviated form: a^o domini M^o &c xlvij (1447); as the date is already included in the letter, this note is also likely to be intended for facilitating searches. In addition, there are two other notes in English, *A instruccion* ‘an instruction’ and *<?>endes for makynge of Bek be John Gargrave* ‘...for making of... beck by John Gargrave’ which accompany T2 and T3 respectively (see p. 83-84). On folio 8r, there is another marginal note in Latin, attached to T3 on the right-

hand side of folio 8r on line 64: *iiij obligat* '4 bound', referring to the obligation the warranters had accepted in case the work was not performed (see p. 84).

Another example of multilingual practices is encountered on folio 20r. The title of T4, the memorandum containing the complaints of the Archbishop of York against the Community of Beverley, is in Latin:

Memorandum quod dominus archiepiscopus affirmabat se iniuriati de diuersis trans' sibi factis per Comitatem ville per quadam billa, vt sequitur 'Memorandum that the lord Archbishop alleged himself injured by diverse trespasses done to him by the Community of the town by a certain bill, as follows'.

A continuation is added as a note on the on the right-hand margin: *& liberatus xij Custodibus Th mayn & sociis suis xiiij^o die Sept' A^o xiiij^o R Henrici . sexti* 'and delivered to the twelve Keepers, Th. Mayn and his fellows, 13 September 13 Henry VI'.

The following text is T5, a petition for postponing the resolution of the complaints, written by the twelve Governors of Beverley (see p. 85-87). Both the title and body of T5 are in English. However, the titles of T4 and T5 differ not only in the language used, but also palaeographically. The title of T4 is written in an obviously distinct script, with larger letters and a more formal appearance, resembling Textualis. In contrast, the title of T5 preserves the defining characteristics of Secretary with Anglicana features, used in the English texts in the manuscript.

At the end of T5, there is a Latin note stating that the request made by the governors was granted (see p. 86). This is clearly not part of the original document (T5), but it may be considered part of the copy rendered in the cartulary. As the Latin note reveals the outcome of the petition, and thus contains new information, this instance of code-switching may be labelled as complementary (see p. 56).

T5 is also provided with a marginal note in Latin, providing its date and details of its delivery:

*Et hec billa liberatus Th mayn
Th wayte littester' & W. lorymer
Mercer' iiij^o die Nou' A^o xiiij^o R. H. vj^{ti}*

*cum quam billa equitauerunt vsque londonn
ad dominum Archiepiscopum pro contumac' &c'*

'And this bill was delivered to Th. Mayn, Th. Wayte, dyer, and W. Lorymer, mercer, 4 November 13 Henry VI, with which bill they rode to London to the lord Archbishop for an adjournment'

The language alternation could here be described as complementarity, since it gives additional information in a different language (see p. 56).

Three code-switching events also occur on folio 21v, represented by three marginal notes on the left-hand side of T6, the royal request for a loan and T7, the letter of request to the Provost (see p. 86-88). The first two notes belong to T6 and the third to T7. The first is in Latin: *littera priuat' sigillo d' regis miss' Comitati B per profit' CC marcax*, stating the purpose of the document: to obtain a loan of 200 marks from the Community of Beverley. The second note is mainly in English: *suprascript' To oure trusti and welbeloued ye mayer' Bailiffe notable persones & communes of be toun of Beuerlay*, presenting the addressees of the letter. The third marginal note, very worn at the edge of the sheet, is in Latin and accompanies T7: *littera missa prepositur' Beuerl londonn pro escusatione tocius Villa Beuerlaci de pref... supradicto vt p...* (see p. 87), providing the aim of the missive letter, namely to be excused from the implicit obligation of granting the 200 marks to the Crown.

Another instance of code-switching occurs on folio 22r, between T7 and T8 and represents the first title of T8: *Responsio letre suprascript' 'Answer to the letter written above'* (see p. 88). T7 is a petition addressed to the provost of Beverley by the twelve governors of Beverley and T8 is, as already inferred, the provost's answer to the governors (see p. 35, 88). It is clear that T7 and T8 were distant in both time and space, even if they refer to the same matter. Consequently, the Latin specification is quite obviously a scribal intervention. On the right-hand side of the folio, there is also a marginal note in Latin. Due to the fact that the right-hand side of the manuscript is torn and the ink has faded, it is unclear whether this refers to T7 or T8, but one of the few legible phrase, *de materia supra<dicta>* might indicate that it refers to T7 and that it is also a scribal addition.

Code-switching thus occurs in connection with the first two clusters of texts, T1-T3 and T4-T8. The first two texts, T1 and T2 are dated to 1447, T3 is dated to 1454 and the T4-T8 cluster is dated to the mid-1430s. There is a Latin marginal note in T1, an English marginal note

in T2 and both a Latin and an English one in T3. In T4-T8 there are four marginal notes in Latin, as opposed to two in English, one final note in Latin and also two titles in Latin. While in T1-T3, the distribution between English and Latin is rather balanced, in T4-T8 Latin is obviously prevalent. The final cluster of texts, T9-T15, contains no Latin whatsoever.

This distribution may, tentatively, be explained as follows. The T1-T3 group is dated more than a decade later than the T4-T8. In the mid-1430s, the use of Latin in official records was in general likely to be more convenient than English, in terms of available vocabulary and phraseology, since Latin was still the mainstream language of official documents. Secondly, it could be inferred that the Latin terminology for typical functional details occurring in marginalia, such as genre labels, dates, locations and names of recipients and senders of letters, would have been formulaic and much less time-consuming to use than the English equivalents to competent fifteenth-century scribes. English formulae for all concepts might, at that time, not even have been established yet. As a result, if one was determined to use English nonetheless, such phrases had to be coined ad-hoc, undoubtedly requiring a considerable amount of effort and time.

Adapting to the use of a new code for a certain type of texts is a process similar to that experienced by any learner of a foreign language in the early stages of language acquisition. When trying to communicate, the first language will instinctively come to mind and a conscious translation will take place. As progress is made, the process of translation will gradually become unconscious and, if proficiency is reached, it will disappear and cognitive processes will ultimately take place in the new language. Similarly, a scribe used to Latin will preserve its use for certain purposes as a part of his process of adaptation to employing English. In such a case, loanwords might be the relicts of this process. To illustrate, the present-day equivalent of *littera credencie* is 'letter of credence'.

The town clerk of Beverley, who was presumably the one who transcribed the texts recorded in the Beverley Town Cartulary, also had the role of attorney (see p. 22). Consequently, legal and administrative terminology in Latin may be assumed to have constituted his main working code, and would thus have been familiar to him. At the same time, it is notable that the last part of the English material, preserved on fols. 35r-36v, contains no Latin whatsoever. As this is the chronologically latest part of the material, it could be inferred that the lack of Latin reflects a change in official usage or policy; if so, the change may be assumed to have happened over a relatively short stretch of time.

Variation in the palaeographic appearance of the text is also an interesting aspect in the analysis of code-switching practices. The titles of T4 and T8 are both in Latin (see p. 73-75) and they are both written in a different script than the body of the texts. The letters are visibly larger and, in the case of T4, they are narrowed and crammed together, indicating a more formal style and resembling Textualis. As the English titles are written in a script that is much more similar to that of the body of the text, the language choice clearly dictates the use of palaeographic features where titles are concerned.

8.3 Conclusions

The fifteen texts included in this edition show variation at different levels: orthography, lexis, language choice and palaeography. The findings presented above suggest that the main extralinguistic factors which govern variation are: time and socio-historical context, genre, scribal copying behaviour, social status and geographical background. The impact of each of these factors varies from text to text.

Time is a major factor both when it comes to dialectal variation and code selection, and it also has an effect on the palaeography. The group of texts dated in the mid-1430s share approximately the same pattern of variation at all levels. Here, <y>, <þ> and <th> are all used, while most of the later texts show exclusively <th>, which is becoming the standardised spelling. Also, switches from English to Latin are more numerous in the early texts than in those dated to the 1440s; the last group, dated to the 1450s, shows no Latin titles or marginalia at all. Finally, the early group (T4-T8) shows somewhat different palaeographical habits: here, ‘d’ is double-compartmented and scripts vary in the Latin titles, in contrast with single-compartmented ‘d’ and uniform use of script in T1-T3 and T9-T15. Variation in the script style of Latin titles is, however, the result of employing Latin rather than simply a matter of time.

Genre seems to be the main factor that determines the process of code selection. While petitions, bills and letters of complaint dated in 1430s are written in English, legal and administrative documents dated in the same period are in Latin. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, the variety of Latin texts decreases, while English gradually expands to other areas.

Scribal variation due to copying mostly affects the orthographic level. It is clear that the Beverley town clerk does not translate the copied texts fully, as the written usage varies

somewhat between the texts; rather, his copying strategy may best be described as constrained selection. His repertoire, while clearly discernible, seems to contain two definable subsets: a regionally marked, northern usage and a non-northern, largely supralocal usage. While he seems to generally prefer the latter, at least in some items, the northern forms appear regularly both in local and non-local texts: in fact, the appearance of markedly northern lexical items, such as *biggen* and *eftir*, as well as verbal inflections such as the present participle ending *-and*, in texts with a non-local background suggests that the scribe is imposing his own language on the texts to a considerable amount. It was suggested in 8.1 that this bidialectal usage may reflect a southern education.

The geographical dimension is reflected in the distribution of certain spellings and loanwords across texts. For example, the northern form *whilk* 'which' is encountered mainly in T5, T7 and T13, which are all texts produced in Beverley. Similarly, regionally marked Scandinavian loanwords such as *bek* 'beck', *gar* 'cause to' are solely found in another local text, T3; however, as noted above, the scribe seems to be to some extent imposing his northern vocabulary, including regionally marked Scandinavian loanwords, on non-local texts as well. French loanwords are encountered in all texts, irrespective of their provenance, which is in accordance with historical data in the field.

Socio-historical context and social status are, above all, relevant for the lexical variation in the material. The social status of some of the correspondents is reflected directly through French polite adjectives used by others to address them, such as *graciously* and *reuerent*, irrespective of the geographical background of the texts. Furthermore, a writer's social status may be indicated indirectly by his choice of vocabulary. This is the case especially with Richard, Duke of York, whose language is marked by very high concentration of French loanwords.

Studying multilingual practices in late Middle English texts is undoubtedly challenging. On the other hand, observance of linguistic, pragmatic and palaeographic features in conjunction with historical data, chronology, scribal behaviour and social status is rewarding in that it grants the possibility of discovering new patterns and connections which can form the basis for new research questions.

From this point of view, documentary materials that may be anchored in time and place are of particular interest. While a cartulary such as the present one generally contains no information as to the precise time of copying of the individual texts, and the identity of the scribe

is seldom known, the texts still provide a solid historical context unparalleled by most literary manuscripts. The combination of a large number of texts of different backgrounds and genres, all copied by a single scribe, also makes possible detailed studies of scribal behaviour and dialectal variation.

Multilingualism is only one of the possible directions in the study of medieval English documentary texts. While only a limited study has been possible in the present thesis, it is clear that the cartulary would provide material for a much more detailed dialect study, as well as for the study writing style and pragmatic aspects. Nevertheless, even in the field of multilingualism, there would be more possible approaches. For example, a more detailed investigation of the Latin texts in the Beverley Cartulary, placed in relation to the English texts, would be a complementary study to the present work.

PART II: THE EDITION

Editorial conventions

The purpose of this edition is to facilitate the study of multilingual practices in medieval official English writing and to make a set of documents from the Beverly Cartulary available for linguists and historians. As the edition is meant for linguistic study, it is diplomatic, aiming to offer a faithful representation of the texts as they appear in the manuscript. A few alterations have been made to facilitate legibility. These are described below and further detailed in the accompanying explanatory notes.

The manuscript orthography has been retained. Across the texts, three letters: *th*, *þ* and *y* are used to represent the fricative consonant corresponding to the initial consonantal element of Present-Day English *that* and *through*, while *y* is also simultaneously used for the vowel in words like *his*, *ride* and *fire*:

	the manuscript	the edited text	
line 100	þ ^t	þat	‘that’
line 100	ye	ye	‘the’
line 129	ye	ye	‘you’
line 140	comyng	comyng	‘coming’
line 248	thes	thes	‘these’

Similarly, *v* and *u* are used indistinguishably, with *v* generally occurring in initial positions and *u* in the middle of words:

line 254	<i>vppon</i>
line 252	<i>vndo</i>
line 274	<i>vndirstande</i>
line 288	<i>haue</i>
line 309	<i>fiue</i>
line 329	<i>oure</i>

However, in some cases both *v* also occurs in the middle of words.

line 345	<i>toynes</i>
line 290	<i>resayved</i>
line 294	<i>ovre</i>

The minuscule letter *j* is employed as the last minim in a sequence of numbers, whereas the majuscule *J* stands for present-day *I*, e.g. the personal pronoun for the first person, singular *I*. Conversely, *i* stands for present-day *j*, e.g. *iustice* ‘justice’ (line 297) and also for present-day *y*, e.g. *pei* ‘they’ (line 149).

Other elements which are strictly preserved in the edition are capital letters, punctuation marks and line breaks. The peculiar form *ff* in initial positions is transcribed as capital *F*, e.g. *Fraunchis* (line 97). Three punctuation marks are used in the text: the *punctus*, the *virgule* and the *punctus elevatus*. They are transcribed as full stop (.), slash (/) and semi-colon (;) respectively.

Word division is normalised in the transcribed text, but all changes are noted. Thus, words that are written as one but according to present-day practice consist of two separate words, are split and the original form in the manuscript is recorded in footnotes.

	the manuscript	the edited text
line 216	putto	put to
line 350	setto	set to

In the same manner, when single words are separated, e.g. *in to* ‘into’ (line 39) they are transcribed using a hyphen: *in-to*. Hyphens are also used to indicate word division across lines when it is not marked by the scribe, e.g. *afor-seid* ‘aforesaid’ (line 31-32). When it is marked, an equal sign is employed, e.g. *vndir=stande* (line 3-4). Hyphens in the text are, therefore, always editorial.

When words are added above the line, usually by means of a caret in the manuscript, they are inserted into the intended place within {} brackets. Contractions involving superscript letters such as *p^t* “that” and *w^t* “with” are transcribed as ‘*pat*’ and ‘*with*’ respectively. Accents over the

i (i) are retained, since they are useful in accurately reading a string of minims. On the other hand, in fol. 7v (lines 5, 7, 18, 30, 31, 33 and 42) and 20v (lines 115-119), the word *lordschip* has a rounded circumflex-shaped stroke over the two final letters. As this could either be an accent over the *i* or a macron or neither of these, it is left unmarked in the transcription.

A significant number of words in the manuscript end in a stroke which can stand for –e, endings such as –es or is/ys and sometimes –m or –n (Parkes, 1979). To illustrate, such a stroke at the end of *certeyn* could represent an –e (*certeyne*). Given the fact that their shape varies according to the letter they follow and not the possible suspension, it is almost impossible to assign a valid interpretation to these strokes. However, their existence is meaningful to the discussion of the language of the manuscript. Thus, following the practice of Parkes (1979 : xxx), they are indicated by means of an apostrophe.

Conjectures are signalled by < > brackets. Also, when the text is illegible, this is marked by <?> and when it is invisible due to tears, it is marked by <...>. Wherever a word is crossed out, this is reproduced in the transcription. Obvious scribal mistakes are emended, inserting the correct words into [] brackets and providing the manuscript reading in footnotes.

The abbreviations are expanded according to the conventions of the *Middle English Grammar Corpus* (MEG-C), as described in the *Corpus Manual* (Stenroos and Mäkinen, 2011b) and transcribed using italics.

The Texts

Fol. 7v

To þe most reuerent fadir in god our' most *graciously* lord the Cardinal & Archiebisscho[p]¹⁵ of york¹⁶ 1

Most reuerent fadir in god and to vs most *graciously* lorde In the most humble wyse we can or may suffice we
recomaunde vs *with* al oure hertys to youre most reuerent Fadirhode & lordschip To þe whiche pleasit to vndir=
stande we sende to your' right hy noblesses oure right trusty & welbyloued Brethir Thomas Mayn' & William
lorymer' the berer of thies to opyn' & declare *with* licence of your' seide *graciously* lordschip diuerse ~~matters~~ 5
matiers & causes *concernyng* vs & al the tenautes & inhabitantes of youre ton' in Beuerlay To whom'
we beseike *your* saide most reuerent faderhode & lordschip to gif ful credence in al suche thynges as þe
seid¹⁷ Th & William sall on our' *parte* & behalue opyn' & declare to youre saide moste *graciously* lordschip .
And that ye will be to vs & youre saide toun gode & *graciously* lord as we trist in oure lorde ye
er & wil be at al tymes / Whome we beseike to *preserue* in moche honour' with worschip long to 10
endure writen' in our' Gilde Halle at Beuerlay the xiiij day of July

your oraturoures & tenautes The xij *Gouernours* of *your* ton' of B .¹⁸

This *instruccion*¹⁹ made be Thomas Wilton' & his Felaus xij *Gouernours* of the ton'
of Beuerlay the viij day of Jule the yer' of kyng Henry vi xxv

And than deliuered to Thomas Mayn' & William lorymer' than beyng two of the xij *Gouernours* aforseid to *pursewe* 15
to oure lorde the Cardinall an Erchebissshop' of york for diuers maters be-twix oure seid lord & vs hyngand
vndetermynde

~ First to comaunde vs to his *graciously* faderhode & lordschip bysekyng hym in oure *party* & for al the ton'
aforseid tenantes burgeys reseantis *with*-in the saide ton' to be oure gode tendir lord And of his *graciously*
lordschip to sofr' vs for to haue & enioyse oure libertees fraunchises & customs that we & oure *predecessour's* 20
tenantes burgeys & reseantis of and in the said ton' has had & vsed as weel be gravnt of his worthy
predecessours & be the *charters* of the *progenitours* & auncestetres of oure souerayn' lord kyng that now is . as
be fre vsagis & custumes vsed of tyme that no mynde is . &c'

~ *Jtem* to enforme oure said lord that we war & is redy to delyuer' the estretes of Brustergildes And to do ovr'

¹⁵ MS Archiebisschor.

¹⁶ Marginal note: *littera* credencie.

¹⁷ Marginal note: a° *domini* M° &c xlvij.

¹⁸ Added on the right-hand side of the page, separated from the text by a line.

¹⁹ Marginal title: A *instruccion*.

part to affere them as the xij men or vij of them has don' afor thys tyme And that his steward has 25
refused & has comaundid the Bayllif & his *seruantes* to distreyne the Constables of the Fee to bryng
in afor hym' the estretis of Breustergildes & they haue taken distres of diuers of them / And slike distres
was nevir sen' with-in þe seid ton' be no man that beris lif / this day no a gret deil lenger' which is
ful hevy to vs for to haue slike newe impositcions' othirwise than has be don' & vsid of old tyme &c'
~Item to beseke oure said lord of his graciose fadirhode & lordschip to consider' that befor this tyme oure 30
predecessours in thar' tyme has *purseyd* to his lordschip bisekyng hym to be gode tendir lord to the ton' afor-
seid thar' fraunchise *liberte*s & fre costomes vsed And that we in oure tyme wil *pursewe* to his gode
lordschip to haue it *with* al oure hertis And that appoyntment that was takyn' be avyse of oure
predecessours declarid & notefied to the Surveyour & the Steward . we wil be redy to execute at comyng
of oure seid lorde into this Cuntre And that we wil noght ne desires to haue any thyng that schulde 35
encroche of oure lord *liberte* or Frauncise . but only slike Fraunchisez & customs as we & our' *predecessours*
has vsid befor this tymes . That it like his *graciose* lordschip to putte all thees maters in *con-*
tinuance to his comyng in-to this cuntre And than we to *pursewe* to his lordschip for alle thies
matters . & that he wolde write to his Steward att Beuerlay & to the bayllif / to contynue thies maters
& to surces of all slyk distres to be takyn' of of the Constables or any of thaym' to tyme *that* 40
oure seid lord come into this Contre / And than we to *pursewe* to his lordschip for a small *con-*
clusion' to be had in thees maters *with* grace of god and his gode fadirhode & lordschip'²⁰
~ This indenture²¹ made be-twix William Spencer' John Coppandale William Sleforth Stephen' Tilson William
Northorp' William Morethwayt William Atkynson' Thomas Hadilsay & Robert Stonys of Beuerlay on the to party
and John Gargrave of Beuerlay Walker' on the tothir' party witnesseth how al the same parties ar accordid 45
& condiscendid that the same John Gargrave sal gar make & finisch a payre of Clowys sufficient
at the hy brig of Beuerlay Bek to resayt of the watir' flowyng into the same Bek vnto the Parson brig
And for avoydyng of the same watir' be-twix the said Briggez for skouryng of the same Bek The
same Clowe to be²² finisched be the fest of Natiuite of saynt John Baptist nest comand afir date of
this indenture ; the same John Gargrave also sal gar skowre the said Bek fro the said parson Brig vnto 50
saynt John hows the same Bek beyng in depnes iij *quarters* of a yerde depper' then it is at makyng

Fol. 8r

of this indenture . Furthirmore the same John G sal clense & kutte the bankys on bothe sides of the said Bek

²⁰ Followed by a faint mark which might indicate the end of the text.

²¹ Marginal note: <s>endes for makyng of Bek be John Gargrave.

²² MS tobe.

fro saynt John hows aforsaid vnto the ende of the same Bek eftir discrecion' & appoyntement of William
 Spencer' William Sleforth Stephen Tilson' William Northorp' Thomas Hadilsay & William Atkynson' to this
 assigned The said clowe clensyng & cuttyng of the bankis to be finisched & don' be the fest aforsaid 55
 at Costagez & expences of the same John Gargrave . The same John G to resayve of the forsaidez William
 Spencer' John Coppandale &c' &al. xx marke of money at begynnyng of this said werk . Recoupyng
 & alowyng the valoure of the said tymbir' & al othir costagez ther' aboute donn / and othir xx . marke at²³
 fenyschyng of the saide Clowys & Bek complet in forme afor rehersed / Also the same John Gargrave
 sal have power' for to stoppe walkerbek for weel & furtheryng of the same Bek the saidez ~~John~~ William 60
 Spencer' John Coppandale William Sleforth &c' &al. to be warant vnto John G . aforsaid . To alle thez
 conantz afor specified on the party of the same John Gargrave sufficiently to be ²⁴ *performysched* the same
 John Gargrave & Cristofir²⁵ hoggesonn Thomas Abraham of Beuerlay Coruesours . Robert Talbot & William Jonson'
 of the same ton' Tilers byndez them-salf ther' heires & executours seueraly in x marke vsuel money of Inge-²⁶
 land be ther' iiij obligacions to pay vnto te saidez William Spencer' John Coppandale William Sleforth Stephen 65
 Tilson . William Northorp' William Morethwayt William Atkynson Thomas Hadilsay and Robert Stonys in cas the
 forsaid John Gargrave his conandes aforseid refuse & wil not fulfille In witnesse here-of vnto the to *partte* of
 this indenture to remayne *with* the said John Gargrave the forsaidez William John William Stephen William William
 William Thomas & Robert ther' seals chaungeably er put to²⁷ . Vnto the tothir' *partye* of the same indenture anens the
 same William . John &c' &al. to be reseasid John Gargrave aforsaid his seal has put to²⁸ wretyn at Beuerlay the 70
 sext day in the moneth of Aprill . the year' of oure lord god a thousand CCCC . liii^{ti} And the reigne of kyng
 Henri the sexte aftir conquest of Ingeland xxxij^{ti} .

Fol. 20r

*Memorandum quod dominus Archiepiscopus affirmabat se iniuriati
 de diuersis trans sibi factis per Comitatem Ville B. per quadam billa . vt sequitur*²⁹

*Memorandum yat William ledys holdeth and hath til hym and to his Heyres of ye xij Gouvernours of Beuerlay 75
 a lane which is a Commen . way & wast of ye lord for a certeyn*³⁰ *summe* of money paid before

²³ Marginal note: TW.

²⁴ MS tobe.

²⁵ MS xpofir with a macron above xpo.

²⁶ Marginal note: iiij obligat'.

²⁷ MS putto.

²⁸ MS putto.

²⁹ Explanatory note: & liberatus xij Custodibus Th mayn & socis suis xiiij^o die Sept' A^o xiiij^o rr' Henr' . sexte'.

³⁰ MS acerteyn.

be their' *Comune* seal whiche lane endureth fro Fischmarketmoregat thorgh' a close of ye seid ledis
 in to Ryngaldlane ende toward Mynstermoregate / ~ Also watkyn' Clerk holdes of ye
 graunte of ye seid *Gouernours* to ferme for *terme &c'* A lane of þe lordis waste as it lith on ye
 Est side of ye tenement of ye same watkyn' fro *Flemmyngates* to Hellegarth whiche is now 80
 closid vp at bothe endys . ~ Also Th Mayn' holdeth of ye seid *Gouernours* to ferme &c' A
 lane of þe lord wast as it lith fro *Flemmyngate* to Hellegarth be-side ye tenement of
 seynt John of *Jerusalem* whiche is closid ~ Also *William Souleby* holdeth of ye seid *gouer=*
nours to ferme . ij lanes of ye lord wast as yei lien & ioyneth on bothe sidis of his place
 endureng fro *Flemmyngate* to Hellegarth ~ Also *Roger Rolleston'* holdeth of ye same *Gouer=* 85
nours to ferme of ye seid wast . &c' a lane³¹ as it lith fro lortlane vnto ye *Newemylne* which
 is stoppid be ye seid *Roger* & closid with-in his gardynn to ye lengthe of a Butscote & more
 be ye stoppyng of which way ye lord paieth for ferme of a way to ye seid *Milne* ij. s .
 yerely to ye *Priour* of watton' . Also ye same *Roger* holdeth and stoppyth *oyer* two lanes of ye seid
 wast endureng fro *Flemyngate* . And yer' be³² *with-oute* *Keldegatbarr'* diuers toftys *conteyneng* 90
xij *Acris* of *Grovnde* & more whiche were late biggid & then callid *Cokwaldstrete* whiche
 oughten to be kept *several* in . alle tymes of ye yer' And now late ye same *Gouernours* & *oyer*
Communers of ye ton' vsyn to *Commune* in ye seid *Grovnde* in opyn tyme of ye yere And
 in ye *Chapellane* be also diuers toftis *conteyneng* *vj* *acris* & more endureng fro *Keldegatbarr'*
 to *Seynt Thomas Chapell* which wer' late bigged & ought to be kept *several* &c' & now ye seid *go=* 95
uernours & othir *Commoners* vsyn it as theyr' *Commune* . Also þer be³³ diuers lanys *with-in* ye seid
Fraunchis of *Beuerlay* vpon ye seid lordis wast which been stoppid & closid be ye seid *Gouernours*
 to ye gret harme hurt & hyndering of ye right longyng vnto ye lord³⁴ of ye seid *fraunchise* .
 Also ye seid *Gouernours* hath confederid & constitute a-mong them in *derogacion'* of ye lordis
Court / þat what man þat is enfraunchised & sewyth in ye lordes Courte for dette trespas or 100

Fol. 20v

oyer causez be-for . ye tyme þat he haue made compleynte to ye seid *Gouernours* & haue theyr' leue / he
 schal paye a noble to ye seid *Gouernours* or ellis lose his *Burgeisschip* .

Vn-to our' right Worschipful' lord & fadir
 in god þe Archebischof' of yorke

³¹ MS *alane*.

³² MS *þer'be*.

³³ MS *þerbe*.

³⁴ MS *þelord*.

Et hec billa liberata Th mayn 105
Th wayte litteste' & W. lorymer
Mercer' iiii° die Nou' A° xiiij° R. H. vj^ti
cum quam billa equitauerunt vsque londonn
ad dominum Archiepiscopum pro contumac' &c'

Right mekely bisekis *your* tenantz & Burgeys of *your* ton' of Beuerlay for as mekil as ye xij *Gouernours* 110
of *your* seid ton' made *promys* to *your* lordschip to make Answer' of certeyn Articles conteyned in a
bille til them lyuered be *your* discret consell in *your* worschiful presence . So ye seid Answere schulde be had be ye fest
of Martilmes next comand . ye seid *Gouernours* has no Consel in ye seid maters yat myght examyn' & Labour yeir'
euydence but only Thomas Wilton' . Whilk Thomas myght haue no ful leyser'³⁵ ye forseid euidence to examynn
& forse ne for to come vnto london' þer to make answer to *your* worthi lordschip cause of diuers infirmities whilk 115
ye same Thomas has had & 3itt sufferis That like til your' graciouse lordschip to graunte to continu
ye maters abounseid *with*-outen offens of *your* lordschip til *your* comyng in-to yorkschiere ; and then *with* grace of
god answer' to be made til *your* lordschip in ye seid maters be avis of consell . right to be don'³⁶ be-twix you
& tenantz as lawe / { & reson } wil *with* supportacion' of *your* graciouse lordschip .
Et sciendum quod dicta materia inter dominum Archiepiscopum & Comitatem possitur in respectu vsque proxime aduentum
domini in partibus 120
borialibus videlicet in Comitatu Eboracum Ad quod aduentum provideatur omnio que consilium de responcione ³⁷

Fol. 21v

By the Kyng³⁸ a° xiiij° regn . R H sexte

Trusty³⁹ and Wellebeloued For as moche as we now late instauntly required as wel bi solempne
Ambassiates as by *lettres* of oure holy fader ye Pope / the general counceil oure broþer þemperour' oure Vncle
of Burgoigne and many oþer . to entende vnto ye meenes of pees to be treted bytwix vs and oure 125
Aduersarie in oure Reaume of Fraunce . be condescended to sende oure solempne Ambassiate of ye lordes
of oure blode⁴⁰ and oþer in gret noumbre to mete with þambaxatours of oure said Aduersarie at Arrai<s>

³⁵ Odd form of final r, initial stroke similar to an s.

³⁶ MS bedon'.

³⁷ Followed by a mark that might indicate the end of the text.

³⁸ Marginal note: *litterae priuato sigillo domini Regis missis Comitatu B pro prefatis CC marcarum.*

³⁹ MS Tusty.

þe firste day of Juyll next comyng . for which cause of necessite we most sende Also at ye same
tyme in-to oure saide Reaume of Fraunce a grete Armee to holde þe feld . þe which þing as ye in
your' discreciouns can wele considre may in no wyse be doonn namely so sone *with*-oute grete eide of 130
cheuance of oure trewe frendes and subgittes . to ye which eide at þis tyme we haue founde oure
beal-vncle þe Cardinal and ye remenant of oure counseil and other aboute oure *persone* as wele
spirituel and *temparel* / as wel willid as oure hert can desire . not-withstandyng þat many of hem
at oure praier' shul goo vnto ye same conuencioun in þeir' *persones* . We desire and pray you þat
consideryng ye grete good . Whiche we truste to oure lord shal ensue of þees þinges befor rehersi<d> 135
ye wolde at þis tyme lene vnto vs þe *somme* of CC marc' for þe whiche oure Tresourer of
england shal make vnto you be auctorite of parlement suche seuretee for youre reparation as
he maketh vnto oure said beal-vncle ye Cardinal and ye Remenant of oure counceill and oþer
þat leene semblable *sommes* and gretter vnto vs in þis necessitee / þe whiche *somme* . we pray you
to be deliuered vnto oure said Tresourer at londoun' at ye o[c]taues⁴¹ of ye Trinites next comyng 140
at ye ferthest / as ye desire ye Worschip' and wele of vs and þe conseruacion' of boþe oure
Reaumes / yeuen vnder oure priue seal at westmynstre þe xxviiij day of May

Vnto oure right honourable & worschipful *sir* & master ye Prouest of Beuerlay⁴²

Right honourable and worschipful *sir* and mastre we comaunde vs til you like you to wite oure liege
lord ye kyng has directid til vs a *preuy* seal of CC . marke deliuerid til vs on Corpus *Cristi* euyn last pas<sid> 145
of ye whilk *preuy* seal þe berer' of þis *letre* has a copy to schewe you gif it like you / Wherupponn and
it like your' mastirship to vnderstand þat we in þe best wise has sembled in oure Gilde halle ye mos<t>
notable *persones* and *oyer* Comeners of ye ton' of Beuerlay reheryng til þem þe *preuy* seal beforseid . Vppon
whilk þei yede to-gedir and gaf answer' þat for diuers causis notable þei myght cheuys no
good vnto oure seid kyng at þis tyme O cause was þat mennys frehald *with*-in þe ton' of Beuerlay 150
thre *partes* was in decay ; and oþer *tenantis* þat was inhabit with tenantz was so febil þat þey
myght noght {weel} pay . A-noþer cause was seid þat Marchandis *sumtyme* vsid *within* ye ton' of Beuerlay
is so gretly enfeblid what be losse of ye see and what with takyng of enemys on⁴³ ye see . yat profit
of Me[r]chandis⁴⁴ is no thyng as it was won to be . A-noþer cause þei haue been {so} chargid *with* taxis

⁴⁰ Marginal note: *suprascript'* To oure trusti and welbeloued ye mayer' Bailiffe notable *persones* & *communes* of þe *toun* of Beuerlay.

⁴¹ MS oytaues.

⁴² Marginal note: *littera missa prepositur'* Beuerl londonn *pro* escusatione tocius Villa Beuerlaci de pref... *supradicto* vt p...

⁴³ Scribe seems to have initially written f, which is corrected to n.

yearly þat has been payd and yit is for to pay . þat *with*-outen ouyr greuous hynderyng til þe it<?> 155
 slike cheuance may not be made Anoper is as it is wele kennyd þat enmys of diuers nacioun<s>
 has been on ye coste of Holdernesse and þer' . has takynn . diuers schippis men and þeir' goodes / Also ha<s>
 Reuyn vp at withornsee & oþer places in holdernesse ther' takyng Scheep & men *with* them . Whilke co<?>
 of Holdernesse vs moste help and releue tyme of necessite *with* al oure power' in withstandyng ye
 malys of ye enemys aboue seid⁴⁵ . Also anothir is certefied til vs þat þe Scottis wil haue 160
 opynn gwerr' whilke til vs wil be a gret greuous charge and warantz come fro wardeyns of y<e>

Fol. 22r

Marche to reyse ye pople as it has be don'⁴⁶ bifer tyme⁴⁷ . A<nother><?>
 pondage for saf garde & kepyng of ye see boþe for þem & þer'
 men & þeir' schippis ar takyn on ye see dayly til þeir' Vtte r<...>
 medy . Wherfor suche chargis rehersed with oþer' þat is<...> 165
 importabil hynderyng til þe ton' Prayeng you hertly with al oure h<erte>
 & til þe seid ton' goode & tendir maysterschip' at þis tyme in askcuse
 be vs at þis tyme consideryng þe causis abounseid Wherof' <we> pray y<...>
 your' entent be *letre* how be youre wis discrecion' we schal be de<spo>nyd<...> *mater*
 No more at þis tyme but almyghty⁴⁸ god haue you in his grace <and> <...>g to endure 170
 Wryten at Beuerlay þe ij^{de} day of July .

Responsio *letre* *suprascript'*

By your' ovne <xij> *Gouernours*
 and wardeyns <of> *Beuerlay*⁴⁹

To ye worschipfull and entierly welebeloued Frenedes þe xij *Gouernours* of þe ton' of *Beuerlay*

Worschipfull *sirs* and full entierly welbeloued frenedes and neghbures gi<...> wel <...>ften tymes
 of right *perfit* and hertly affeccione / lettyng you witte þat J haue late recey<...> your' *letres* directe<d> 175
 to me be your' *commun seruant* as for youre excuse to ye kyng oure *souerein* lorde of oon loon<?>

⁴⁴ MS Mechandis.

⁴⁵ MS aboueseid.

⁴⁶ MS bedon'.

⁴⁷ MS bifortyme.

⁴⁸ Here the scribe seems to have written agmyghty first and then corrected himself.

⁴⁹ Marginal note in Latin; mostly illegible.

cheuance of CC marc' desired of your' ton' be ye kyng for his *especiale* Ambassiate on armee at yis tyme
into Fraunce for þe tretee of pees of þe which labour J praye you haue me excus<?>d for <...> as
J stonde toward ye kyng as ye knowe / and also yat oper men of like condicconne as ye<?>of . straungeth
þaíme noght in þis cas . but makis cheuance vndre suertee suffisante . consideryng ye grete and 180
notable cause of ye desire ther-of / And J couth noght resonably excuse yow withoute ye <?>cte you
sumwhat like othir and vndre like suerte . þe whiche is ordenede as stronge as ya<le> <?> cour<...>
ye which ar chief lenners at þis tyme can deuise And þerfor withouten ye be d<?>s<?>s<?>d
like oper of youre degre desire me noght to entrete in þat mater' as weel for your' worchip <...>
for myn . for trewely J wote wele it wolde noght be accepte of your' *partie* and J myght be <...> 185
ther-with . þe whiche J trust ye wolde noght in no wise Wherfor J counseill you ye di<...>
like oper men of your' degrees to do sumwhate to ye kynges plesur' and sendith it hedir be <...>
man in haste . and J wil help it to brynge it to as litell *somme* as . J may with al my her<e>
wote god ye whiche haue you euyr in his holy kepyng . Wreten*n* in haste at london' ye viij day of <...>
Be Robert Rolleston 190
wardrober & prouest

Fol. 35 r

The appoyntementes betwix the ~~Frensch~~ kyng Bastard of Orliance & Burdelez

~ First the xij day of Juyn' the xxix year' of our' *soueraygne* lord kyng Henri the sexte was appoynted
and ordeyned be-twix the Bastard of Orlyance & Burdelez . that if the Frensch party were stronger'
in the feld than the Englisch party befor' the Castell of Fronsek on Midsomer' evyn' next folowyng/ 195
That then they sal delyuer the seid Burdeux & burdelez Bayon' and Acrez . if they will stande to the same appoyntemet'
~ Jtem that the Frensch oste sal not com' no forthir vpon*n* the englisch gronde duryng the seid composicion⁵⁰
~ Jtem that {if} the Frensch party haue the feld that day . that on Midsom*er*day schulde be resceyued in Burdeux
& take the Obbesiance & sacrament of alle tho that will be Frensch .
~ Jtem if ther' be any man that wil {not} be Frensch . that he take *with* hym alle his meveable goodis & goo his 200
way with-in vj monthes folowyng garnysched *with* a saf condith . that sal coste hym a Scute .
~ Jtem tho that haue possessiouns and goodes unmeveable that they leve them to ther' next heyres that wil abide
& be Frensch
~ Jtem *Euery persone* that will abide & be Frensch schal haue alle his goodes & possessions be they of the kynges
gifte or othirwise / in the same forme & maner' as he had them befor' 205
~ Jtem all men of haly chirche of what estate or condicion' thay be . schal holde ther' benifises & rentes as they

⁵⁰ Here there seems to have been an accidental spill of ink.

were of Custum to do .

~ Item if ther' be any habitant of Burdeux or Burdelez or of any othir place yelded be the seid composicion' at this tyme beyng out of the Contre / that he cum home *with*-in xij monethes / & he schal be receyued and enjoye his goodes possessions or benefices as they did before . 210

~ Item alle the Custumes Franchises *Priuylegis* & lawys schal be vsed obserued & kept asweel in Burdeux as any othir places as hath been .

~ Item that ther' money schal holde & not be changed this ij yeer' day

~ Item that the Court of the suffereynte schal be holden' & kept in Burdeux as hath ben vsed & custumed be-for this tyme 215

~ Item thay in Burdeux nor in the Contre sal not be put to no gabellelez quatrenid talage nor non imposition' nor' non othir' Custumes then has been had & vsed

~ Item that all maner' of Marchandes may cum vnto Burdeux be watir' or be land to discharge and charge in all places / payng the dute & Custume {as} hath been vsed here afor' .

~ Item if the Frensch kyng wil make any werre to any Contre . that they of Burdeux nor of the places yoldyn' in the Contre / besyde Composicion' schal not be halden to *serue* the seid kyng *withoute* wages 220

~ Item if any schip of Ingeland wil come to Eren' he schal come saf to Nostirdamys Entredeux Acres ; and fro ~~the~~-thens to sende vnto Burdeux for a saf Condith . Which schal be sent than for the maystirship and maryners to be ther' saf Condith & for the *merchandises* to cum bye & selle at Burdeux . payng for the same saf Condith eftir the burdon' of the same schip 225

~ Item in this composicion' aboueseid the counsell of Burdeux hath comprisonnd Bayon' & Acres / And if the seid Bayon' & Acres wil not yelde them be the seid composicion' . that then all that may be done in all haste goo befor' hem & take hem be strengthe / And for to⁵¹ fulfille thees articles the Frensch kyng & the Bastard been bounde *expressed* be her' seals for to do this in al haste possible *with*-outen' any tarieng or delay

Copy of the first bill vnto the kyng fro the Duke of york the yeer' afor wretyn' 230

Plese it vnto *your* excellence for to knawe that as weel afor my *departyng* out of this *your* Reame for to go into *your* land of Jrland in *your* ful noble *service* And sethyn' certayne *persones* have layn' in wayte to herkyn vp on me as *Sir* John Talbot knyght at the Castell of Holte *Sir* Thomas Stanlay knyght in Chesschire Pulforthe of Chestir' Elton' of Worcestr' Broke of Glowcestr' & Richard Grome of *your* Chambir' at Beammercys whilke had in charge as J {was} enformed for to take me & put me in the Castell of Conway / And to strike 235 of the hede of *sir* William Oldhalle knyght . And to haue put in *prison*' *sir* Walter Devoreux & *sir* Edmond Mulso knyght *withouten* enlargisshyng vnto the tyme *your* highnesse had appoynted ther' delyuerance

⁵¹ MS forto.

Item at such tyme as J purposid for to arreyved at *your* haven' of Beammercys for to Comyn' vnto *your* noble presence to declare me *your* trewe man & subiecte as my deute is my landyng was stoppid & forbarred be Herry Norys Thomas Norys William Buklay William Gruffe & Bartilme Bolde *your* Officers of Northwalys / that J schulde not land ther' . nor haue vitaile nor refreschyng for me & my fellaschip as J haue wretyn' to *your* excellence here be-fore So ferforth yat herry Norys depute to the Chambirlayn' of Northwalys sayde vnto me that he had in Comaunde = ment that J schulde in no wyse haue landyng ther' . nor refreschyng for man hors nor othir thyng that myght tome to my worschip or ease ; puttyng the blame vnto William Say Vsscher of *your* chambir' sayeng & affermyng that J am come ayenst *your* entent as *your* *Tratoure* as J am enformed And more-ovir' certayn' *letres* was wretyn' . made & deliuerd vnto Chestir' Schrowisbery & to othir places for to lette myn entre into the same .

Jtm' aboue alle thes wronges & Jniures above-said & doon' vnto me of Malice *withouten* any cause J beyng in *your* land of Jreland in *your* seruice ; certayn' Commyssions ware made and directed vnto divers *persones* which for the execucion of the same secte . In certayn' placis the Jniures enpaneld & charged The which Jures certayn' *persones* laboured instantly forto haue endited me of Treson' . to thentent to haue vndo me . myn' Jssue & corrupt my blode as it is opynly published . Besekyng *your* maieste Rial of *your* righwisnesse to do examyn' thees maters and ther'vppon' to do such Justice in this behalue as the cause requireth . For myn entent is fully to *pursewe* to *your* highnesse for conclusion' of thees . maters

The copy of the secunde bille

Plese it to *your* highnesse tendirly to consider that grete gruchyng & murmur' is vniuersaly in this *your* Reavme of that . Justice is not deuly ministred to suche as trespacez & offendez ayens *your* lawis And enspecial of them that been endited of treson' & othir' beyng opynly noysed of the same . wher'by gret inconuenientes haue fallen & gretter is likly to falle here aftir' in *your* sayde Reame which god defende ; but gif {by} *your* highnesse *prouision'* connable be made for deu reformacion' & punyschment in this halue . Wher'fore J *your* humble soget & trewe leigemann Richard Duke of York willyng as affectually as J can and desiryng the seurete & *prosperite* of *your* most Riale *personne* & welfare of this *your* noble Reame consaile & aduertise *your* excellence for the conseruacion' of goude *tranquillite* & pesible reule emong alle *your* trew subiectes so to ordeyne & *prouide* that deu iustice be had ayenst

alle such that be so endited or opynly noysed . Wher' in J offir' me & wil put me in devoire forto
execute *your* comandement in thees *premisses* for punyschyng of such defendours to redresse the same
mysrules to {my} myght & power' And for the hasty execucion' hereof like it *your* hynesse to addresse
your letres of preuey seal & writtes to *your* officers & minístres to do take & areste all suche *persones* so
noysed or endited of what astate degre or condicon' so evir thay be . And them to *commytt* to *your* 270
towre of london' or othir *your* *presones* ther' to abide in bayl *withouten* maynprice in to the tyme
thay be ther'-of vtirly tried & *determynd* afir cours of *your* lawys .

The answer of the kyng to the seid billes .

Cosyn' we haue seen the billis late taken to vs And haue vndirstande the good humble obeisance
that in *your*-self ye schewe vnto vs as wel in worde as dede . Wher'for' oure entent is the more hastily 275
to aese yow of such thynges as wer' contenyd in *your* saide bille As how it be that at oure more
laiser' we myght answeere you to *your* said bille . yit we late you wit that for the cause aforseide
we wil declare you now oure entent in this mater' . Soth it is that a lang⁵² tyme⁵³ the pepill
hath ~~been~~ {yeven} vpon yow moche straunge langage and in special anon eftir' the disordinate & vnlafull

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sleyng of the Bischop of Chichestre⁵⁴ <...> and many of the <...> 280
ther' maner' wordys ayenst oure astate makyng manasse vnto oure *persone* be *your* sayeng that
ye schuld be fechid home *with* many thousandis . & that ye schulde take vpon you that . that ye
nothir aught nor as we doute nat⁵⁵ ye wole not attempte . so far forth that it was sayde vnto oure
persone be diuers & specially we remembre of oon wastnesse which had suche wordis vnto vs And
also ther wer' diuers of such fals pepill that wentyn' & had suche langage in diuers of *your* toynes 285
in oure lande which be oure trve *subiectes* war' takyn' & deuly executid Wher'for we sende to
diuerse of our' partis & placis . for to herkyn' & take hede if any of such {maner of} comenyng were . & if ther'
had been' for to haue resisted it . but *commyng* in to our' land as ye did our' entent was not that
nor ye nor lesse of estat of *your* subiectes or seruantes schulde haue been warned . but in goodly wise
resayved How it be that *perauenture* *your* sodayn' Comyng *withouten* certayn' warnyng causid 290
thaym to do as thay dide *consideryng* the causes aforseid . And as touchyng to the enditement

⁵² MS *alang*.

⁵³ In MS, tyme is followed by a gap.

⁵⁴ The Bishop of Chichester referred to here was Adam Moleyns.

⁵⁵ MS *doutenat*.

afor specified . We thynke verily ther' was non such And if ye may treuly *præue* that any such
persones was ther'-abowte . the mater schal be demenyd as the case requireth So that ye schal
 knawe it is to ovre gret displeasure Vppon this aesyng of *your* hert in all such maters we declare
 repute & admitte you asoure trewe faithful subiecte & asoure weel bilovid cosyn' .⁵⁶ 295

Jm' as touchyng *your* last bille last put vp⁵⁷ vnto vs Cosyn' we vndirstande weel that ye of *your* good
 hert consaile & aduertise vs to setting vp of iustice & to spede punyschyng of *certayn*' *persons* endited
 or noysed offeryng *your* seruice to be redy at our' Commaundement in the same . Soth it is *yat* many
 gret causes moving vs we haue *determenyd* inoure avne saule so stablich *with* sad & so *substancial*
 consaile yevyng them more ample auctorite & power' the{n} evir' we did afor this ; in the which 300
 we haue appoynted yow to be oon . But seth it is not accustomed nor expedient to take
 a conclusion' or a Conducte be avise or consaile of on *persone* be hym-self for which consideracion
 is observid . that in counsailes grettest & the leste the riche & the pour' in *liberte* vertu & effecte
 of *your* voices ben equale . We haue ther'for' *determynde* *with*in ovre-self to sende for our' Chancellor'
 of Ingelond⁵⁸ & for othir' lordis of ovre counsaile thay all to-gedir' *with*in schort tyme riply to commyn' 305
 thees & othir'oure gret maters . In the which *communicaton* such conclusion' *with* grace of god
 almyghty sal be take As schal be to his plesur' . to the weel of vs andoure land asweel in
 thes maters as in othir' .

The obligacion of fiue hundreth & fifti saleuz

Be it kend vnto al men by thees *present letres* me William Manypeny knyght lord of Congtursault in France 310
 to be bunden & oblisched be thees *present letres* & faith in my body byndes & oblishes me to the right
 honourable & worschipful lord William Turnbull Bischop of Glaskow in fiue hundreth & fifti saleuz of
 good gold & of weyght eftir cours & pays of Ingeland or in the valure of Inglich payment gif the
 Saleuz may not esly be getyn' . to be payde vnto the forseid William Turnbull Bischop or to his executours
 & his assignez at the *termys* vndirwretyn' be half & evenly porcions . Whilk is to say at Alhalowmas in 315
 wyntir' next comand aftir date of thes *presentz* . & at the fest of Pasche next ther' eftir folowand *with*-outen'
 forthir delay or excepcion' fraudefull And if happy'n' as god forbede it do me William Manypeny knyght
 befor-said to fayle in payment of the *summez* of gold & money or in the avayle as it is sayd at *termys*
 befor' wretyn' in al or in *parte* J oblich me my landis rentis possessions heires executours & assignez al &
 sondry my goodis meveable & vnmeueable what-*sumevir* *with*-in the kynrikes of Scotland & France to be 320

⁵⁶ Punctus is followed by a mark indicating the end of the text.

⁵⁷ MS putvp.

⁵⁸ The Lord Chancellor referred to is John Kemp who was also Archbishop of York at the time.

con-pounded & away led *with*outen licencez of any Juge *spiritual* or *temporal* at the frewil of the forseid
 William Turnbull Bischop' his executours or assignez or his lawful attorne havynge sufficeant maundement
 & power' of hym to come & *pursewe* in any place where-sum-evir whil of aswel costes scathis dampnage labours
 & expencez gif he or thay any make or⁵⁹ susteynes in defaute of payment of the *summes* of gold & money
 aforseid or of the valure of Inglish payment as seid is at the *termys* afor wretyn' as of the *principal summes* 325
 & dette ful payement be made & assethed *with*-outen fraude gile or male engyne noon excepcion of lawe Canon
 or Ciuile be me myn heyres executours or assignez or be any othirs in my name to be *proponed* or allegid any
 tyme to come in the contrary . In witnesse of whik thyng to ther' my *letres* of obligacion' my seal is to put
 & *subscribed* with myn avne hande the viij day of the moneth of Jule In the yer' of oure lord a thousand
 foure hundrith fifti & two yeris / 330

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A record of a *seruand* recedig out of his *seruice*

To alle cristen' men thies *present letres* seyng or heryng Roger' Rolleston' &c' & ther' felas xij kepers & *Gouernours* of
 the Comonalte in the ton' of Beuerlay sendes gretynge in oure lord ihesu For as mekil it is necessary meritory &
 nedeful all douteful maters in *promocion*' of treuthe clerely to certefye which ilke *persone* of right is bunde opynly
 to declare is this . How we to *your vniuersite* notifies be thees *present letres* . that on Friday the xxviii day of July afor 335
 vs in ovre Gilde Halle of Beuerlay *personaly* apperid oure trewe Comburgens John Willyamson' of B. litteste
 & *presence* of William Sleforth John Brompton *Merchandis* John Walker' Smyth John Stanley John Trusse Robert
 Grene Henri Hamby John Vyntener' Robert Scharp Richard Jngold Richard Halle *with* othir' to whom ful credence
 we gif to⁶⁰ and ther' to vs opynly declared & on the haly Euangels be the said John Willyamson' touchid sware
 that latly a conuencion was made be-twix the same John Willyamsonn & Thomas Colynn othirwise callid Thomas 340
 Colynsonn that the same Thomas be ful conand made schulde deuly & trewly serue the forsaid John Willyamson'
 in littestercrafft fro the feste of seynt Mathye thapostil⁶¹ . last passid was two yer' be a hole yer' nest folowand
 to be complet The said Thomas ageyn band of his conuencion oute of *seruice* of his Mastir aforseid vnlefffully
 recedig fledde and bare away with hym iij li . xj s . v d that he had resayved of diuers ~~persnes~~⁶² *persones* in the
 tovnnes of Northcaue Blaktoft Whitgift & Croule to the vse & *profit* of the said John Willyamson' to hym 345
 gret losse & harmys To *your vniuersite* effectually we notefye *prayeng* you to fortifie the seid John Willyamson'
 afir the forme of the statute of oure liege lorde the kyng ageyn *seruantes* fugitiues for *seruice* of ther' mastirs

⁵⁹ MS correction from of to or.

⁶⁰ MS gifto.

⁶¹ Contracted form of the apostil.

⁶² Smudged.

had & *providid with* othir acciouns to be takyn by hym ageyn the said Thomas, as we in like cas or more be you
to vs rapported diligently to *your purpos* may fulfille . In witnesse wher'-of to thes *present letres testimonial* our'
common' seal of the said ton' of Beuerlay we haue set to⁶³ writen' in oure seid Gild-halle the .⁶⁴ day of &c' 350
The yeer of oure souerayne lord kyng henry the sexte effir conquest of Ingeland xxx^{ti} .

To the most excellent & worschipful lord
the Erle of Northumbirland⁶⁵

Compleyneth to *your gracijs* lordschip' *your pouer'* *seruant* William Murthewayt keper' of the park of Beuerlay wher' . as J
in the feste of Seynt Marie Magdalene att lekynfeld compleyned vnto *your moost*⁶⁶ worthy lordschip of *certayn'* tres=
pas & harmes *domn* to my lord *with-in* my said office . At which tyme it likid yow of *your* special grace to gif me in 355
charge att such tyme as J knew that ony bilongyng to *your* worthy houshold did any trespas or reuery *within* my said
office to certefie ther names to *your* said lordschip . How be itt that diuers tymes and as who say continually seth⁶⁷
that tyme certeyn' *persones* haue been *within* my said office & ther' *withoute* leue haue hurt slayn' & born away
my lord-is⁶⁸ Dier' in gret nombr' that hedir towardes J supposyng that thay wolde haue been more thankfully 360
entretid to haue left such mysgouernance which J can in no wise bryng aboute haue nott compleyned Now is it so
that vppon Satirday the xxix day of July last passid John Pykeryng Sqwier' Henr' of the Seler' William Clifton'
William Hotoft Joh Clifton' John Smothyng Henr' Schotelanger' Thomas Broghton' John Clerk *seruant* to William Nor=
manvile Richard *seruant* to Pynchebek Topshawe / & Basset cam into my said office in fensible wise arraied & ther'
killed two dier' and ther saide them-self⁶⁹ lay in wayte to haue slayn' me & my felaschip And bet & hurt 365
certeyn' of my frendis *within* my seid office as thay wer' comand towardes me For the whiche J am of Verey force
coartid⁷⁰ at this tyme to compleyne to *your* most worthy lordschip tendirly bisekyng yow of remedy & socour in
this bihalue at the reuerence of god & in way of charite And *your* seid suppiaunt schal euer pray to god for *your* noble estate

⁶³ MS setto.

⁶⁴ Punctus is followed by a gap.

⁶⁵ Marginal note: <K>rekers of the <to>n Beuerlay.

⁶⁶ There seems to be an accent on the second o.

⁶⁷ Smudged.

⁶⁸ MS lordis.

⁶⁹ Smudged t in them-self.

⁷⁰ Marginal note: <cio . in> July a° R &al.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Glossary

The glossary includes every form of every word in the transcription, as they occur in the text and in alphabetical order. Whenever a lexical item has varying spellings and grammatical forms, one of these is chosen as a headword, as many variants of the same word occur. The variants are listed in bold type. A grammatical label, definition and note on etymology are provided for each headword. The meaning is mostly concisely formulated, but for some items it has been deemed useful to give more extensive explanations. For each word, the immediate etymology (that is, the immediate source from which it entered Middle English) is provided, with the form in the source language italicised and inserted in [] brackets. The definitions and etymologies are based mainly on the online version of the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Additionally, in the case of Old English loanwords, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* by J.R. Clark Hall has been consulted and the form given for the Old English word follows the headwords of Clark Hall. No attempt is made to provide a full range of variant forms for the etymologies. The words beginning with *þ-* are treated as *th-* and are listed under ‘T’ in alphabetical order. Unless otherwise stated, the Late West Saxon forms of Old English words are given.

Abbreviations used in the glossary:

<i>1</i>	first person	AN	Anglo-Norman
<i>2</i>	second person	Fr.	French
<i>3</i>	third person	Lat.	Latin
<i>acc.</i>	accusative	ME	Middle English
<i>adj.</i>	adjective	OE	Old English
<i>adv.</i>	adverb	Sc.	Scandinavian
<i>comp.</i>	comparative		
<i>conj.</i>	conjunction		
<i>dat.</i>	dative		
<i>def.art.</i>	definite article		

<i>gen.</i>	genitive
<i>imp.</i>	imperative
<i>ind.</i>	indicative
<i>indef.art.</i>	indefinite article
<i>inf.</i>	infinitive
<i>int.</i>	interjection
<i>masc.</i>	masculine
<i>n.</i>	noun
<i>neg.</i>	negation
<i>nom.</i>	nominative
<i>num.</i>	numeral
<i>pass.</i>	passive
<i>pers.pron.</i>	personal pronoun
<i>pl.</i>	plural
<i>pos.</i>	possessive
<i>pp.</i>	past participle
<i>prep.</i>	preposition
<i>pres.</i>	present
<i>pres.p.</i>	present participle
<i>pron.</i>	pronoun
<i>pt.</i>	past tense
<i>sg.</i>	singular
<i>subj.</i>	subjunctive
<i>sup.</i>	superlative
<i>v.</i>	verb
<i>v.n.</i>	verbal noun

A

abide	<i>v.inf.</i> , to remain ready for, to await [OE <i>abīdan</i>]
aboue	<i>adv.</i> , in addition to, besides [OE <i>bufan</i>]
aboueseid	<i>adj.</i> mentioned previously in the present text, aforesaid; MS also abounseid , above-said [OE <i>bufan</i> + OE <i>secgan</i>]
aboute	<i>prep.</i> , about; [prefix <i>on-</i> + OE <i>būtan</i>]
acceptede	<i>v.pp.</i> , willingly received [Fr. <i>accepter</i>]
acciouns	<i>n.pl.</i> , habitual or ordinary deeds, conduct [AN <i>accioun</i>]
accordid	<i>v.pp.</i> , accorded, agreed to [AN <i>acorder</i>]
accustomed	<i>adj.</i> , customary, habitual, usual. [AN <i>acustumer</i>]
Acris	<i>n.pl.</i> , ‘a measure of land area, originally as much as a yoke of oxen could plough in a day, later defined by English statute as an area 220 yards (40 poles) long by 22 yards (4 poles) broad (equal to 4,840 square yards, 4 roods, or approx. 4,047 square metres), or its equivalent of any shape’ (<i>OED</i>) [OE <i>æcer</i>]
adresse	<i>v.inf.</i> , to address; to write and send (a writ, a petition, a letter, etc.) to a specific person or place [AN <i>adrescer</i>]
admitte	<i>v.inf.</i> , to accept (a person) into an office, status, or privilege [Lat. <i>admittere</i>]
Aduersarie	<i>n.sg.</i> , an antagonist, enemy, foe [AN <i>adversaire</i>]
aduertise	<i>v.inf.</i> , to advise, notify, warn [AN <i>avertiss-</i>]
aese	<i>v.inf.</i> , to give relief to any one suffering from oppression, or burdened with expenses or laborious duties; <i>v.n.</i> aesyng [Fr. <i>aaisier</i>]
affeccione	<i>n.sg.</i> , favourable or kindly disposition towards a person or thing [Fr. <i>affection</i>]
affectually	<i>adv.</i> , with eager desire, earnestly; MS also effectually [AN <i>affectuel</i>]
affere	<i>v.inf.</i> , to examine and approve [AN <i>aferer</i>]
affermyng	<i>v.n.</i> , the action of asserting something strongly [AN <i>afirmer</i>]
afor	<i>adv.</i> , before [OE <i>onforan</i>]

aforsaid	<i>adj.</i> aforesaid, MS also aforseid, aforseide, beforeseid, forsaid, forseid, befor-said, beforeseid , <i>pl.</i> forsaidez [OE <i>onforan</i> + OE <i>secgan</i>]
aftir	<i>adv.</i> , after; MS also eftir [OE <i>æfter</i> , Sc. <i>eptir</i>]
ageyn	<i>adv.</i> , again [OE <i>ongēan</i>]
al	<i>adj.</i> , all; in al or in parte wholly or in part MS also all, alle [Lat. <i>alere</i>]
alang	<i>adv.</i> , along; [OE <i>andlang</i>]
Alhalowmas	<i>n.</i> , All Saints' Day, celebrated on 1 November in Western Christianity, and on the first Sunday after Pentecost in Eastern Christianity
allegid	<i>adj.</i> , submitted as legal evidence or testimony [AN <i>allegger</i>]
almighty	<i>adj.</i> , omnipotent [OE <i>eallmihtig</i>]
alowng	<i>v.n.</i> , the action of granting a sum to someone by way of deduction or rebate [AN <i>alower</i>]
also	<i>adv.</i> , also [OE <i>ealswa</i>]
am	<i>v.pres.1sg.</i> , to be; <i>pt.</i> was ; <i>inf.</i> be , <i>3sg.</i> is , <i>pl.</i> ar, er, ben ; <i>pp.</i> been, ben ; <i>v.n.</i> beyng ; <i>pt.pl.</i> ware, wer', were' ; <i>v.subj.pres.</i> be , MS if ther'be [OE <i>bēon</i>]
Ambassiate	<i>n.sg.</i> , a body of men sent on a message by a sovereign or other authority [Lat. <i>ambassiata</i>]
a-mong	<i>prep.</i> , among; MS also emong [OE <i>on gemonge</i>]
ample	<i>adj.</i> extensive, complete [Fr. <i>ample</i>]
an	<i>indef.art.</i> , an [OE <i>ān</i>]
and	<i>conj.</i> , and [OE <i>and, ond</i>]
anon	<i>adv.</i> , at once, instantly; anon eftir' immediately after [OE <i>on ān</i> into one, <i>on āne</i> in one]
Anoþer	<i>adj.</i> , another; MS also anothir [OE <i>ān</i> + OE <i>oðer</i>]
answer	<i>n.sg.</i> , answer; MS also Answer [OE <i>andswaru</i>]
any	<i>adj.</i> , any [OE <i>ānig</i>]
apperid	<i>v.pp.</i> , appeared, came into view [Fr. <i>apar-eir, apar-oir</i>]
appoynted	<i>v.pp.</i> , fixed by authority, ordained [Fr. <i>apointe-r, -ier</i>]
appoyntement	<i>n.sg.</i> , the action of nominating to, or placing in, an office; MS also appoyntemet', appoyntment <i>pl.</i> appoyntementes [Fr. <i>apointement</i>]

Aprill	<i>n.</i> , April [Lat. <i>Aprīlis</i>]
Archebischop'	<i>n.</i> , archbishop MS also Archiebisscho[p] , Erchebisshop' [Lat. <i>archiepiscop-um</i>]
areste	<i>v.</i> , arrest [Fr. <i>areste-r</i>]
Armee	<i>n.</i> , army [Fr. <i>armée</i>]
arraied	<i>v.pp.pt.</i> , drew up prepared for battle [AN <i>arayer</i>]
arreyved	<i>v.pp.pt.</i> , arrived, came ashore, landed; MS also (pp.) Reuyn [Fr. <i>ariver</i>]
Articles	<i>n.pl.</i> , separate points in a petition or request [AN <i>articl</i> , Fr. <i>article</i>]
as	<i>conj.</i> , as [OE <i>eallswā</i>]
askcuse	see excuse
assetted	<i>v.pp.pt.</i> , satisfied [Fr. <i>a(s)set</i>]
assigned	<i>v.pp.pt.</i> , assigned [Fr. <i>a(s)signe-r</i>]
assignez	<i>n.pl.</i> , those who assign or make over a right or property [Fr. <i>assigneur</i>]
astate	<i>n.</i> , estate; MS also estat , estate [Fr. <i>estat</i>]
asweel	<i>adv.</i> , asweel as as well as; MS also aswel [as + OE <i>wel</i>]
at	<i>prep.</i> , at; MS also att [OE <i>æt</i>]
attempte	<i>v.inf.</i> , attempt [Fr. <i>attempte-r</i>]
attorne	<i>n.</i> , private attorney [Fr. <i>atorné</i>]
auctorite	<i>n.</i> , authority [Fr. <i>autorité</i>]
aught	<i>pron.</i> , anything [OE <i>āwiht</i>]
auncestetres	<i>n.pl.</i> , ancestors [Fr. <i>ancestre</i>]
avayle	<i>n.</i> , avail [Fr. <i>vail</i> , <i>vaill</i>]
avis	<i>n.</i> , advice MS also avise , avyse [AN <i>avise</i>]
avne	<i>adj.</i> , own; MS also ovne [OE <i>āgen</i>]
avoydyng	<i>v.n.</i> , emptying [AN <i>avoider</i>]
away	<i>adv.</i> , away [OE <i>on weg</i>]
ayenst	<i>prep.</i> , against; MS also ayens [prefix <i>on-</i> + ON <i>gegn</i> , straight + suffix <i>-s</i>]

B

band	<i>v.inf.</i> , to allocate to a band according to ability, income [Fr. <i>bande-r</i>]
bankis	<i>n.pl.</i> , one side or slope of a ridge or mound; MS also bankys [Sc. <i>banke, banki</i>]
Baptist	MS Natiuite of saynt John Baptist , Nativity of St. John the Baptist, celebrated on June 24
bare	<i>v.pt.</i> , MS bare away sailed away; also carried, 3sg. beris carries, pp. born [OE <i>beran</i>]
Bastard	<i>n.</i> , one begotten and born out of wedlock [Fr. <i>bastard</i>]
bayl	<i>n.</i> , charge, custody, jurisdiction, power [Fr. <i>bail</i>]
Bayllif	<i>n.</i> , one charged with public administrative authority in a certain district [Fr. <i>bailliff</i>]
be	see am
beal-vncle	<i>n.</i> , uncle by marriage according to http://fr.wiktionary.org/wiki/bel-oncle [Fr. <i>bel-oncle</i>]
befor	<i>adv.</i> , before MS also be-for , before , bifor [OE <i>beforan</i>]
beforeseid	see aforsaid
begynnyng	<i>v.n.</i> , beginning [OE <i>beginnan</i>]
behalue	<i>n.</i> , behalf; MS on our ... behalue on our ... behalf MS also bihalue [<i>be</i> + OE <i>healf</i>]
Bek	<i>n.</i> , a brook or stream: the word for this in those parts of England from Lincolnshire to Cumbria which were occupied by the Danes and Norwegians [Sc. <i>bekk-r</i>]
ben	see am
benefices	<i>n.pl.</i> , advantage, favour, protection, benefit MS also benifises [Fr. <i>benefice</i>]
berer	<i>n.</i> , one who carries or conveys [OE <i>beran</i> + suffix <i>-ere</i>]
beris	see bare
beseike	<i>v.pl.</i> , beseech; MS also beseke ; 3sg. bisekis , v.n. Besekyng , bysekyng , bisekyng [prefix <i>bi-</i> + OE <i>sēcan</i>]

be-side	<i>prep.</i> , near, by the side MS also besyde [OE <i>be sīdan</i>]
best	<i>adj.sup.</i> , best [OE <i>betst</i>]
bet	<i>v.pt.</i> , beat [OE <i>bēatan</i>]
betwix	<i>prep.</i> , between MS also be-twix , bytwix [OE <i>betweohs</i> , <i>-tweox</i>]
bi	<i>prep.</i> , by MS also be , by [OE <i>bī</i> , <i>bi</i> , <i>be</i>]
bigged	<i>adj.pp.</i> , built MS also biggid [Sc. <i>byggva</i>]
bill	<i>n.</i> , a formal document containing a petition to a person in authority; MS also bille , pl. billes , billis [AN <i>bille</i>]
bilongyng	<i>adj.v.n.</i> , belonging [ME <i>bilongen</i> , <i>belongen</i>]
bilovid	<i>adj.pp.</i> , beloved [prefix <i>be-</i> + OE <i>lufian</i>]
Bischof	<i>n.</i> , bishop [OE <i>bisceop</i> , <i>biscop</i>]
blame	<i>n.</i> , imputation of demerit on account of a fault or blemish [Fr. <i>blâme</i> , <i>blasmer</i>]
blode	<i>n.</i> , blood [OE <i>blōd</i>]
body	<i>n.</i> , the physical form of a person, animal, or plant [OE <i>bodeg</i> , <i>bodig</i>]
Bolde	<i>adj.</i> , audacious, presumptuous, too forward [OE <i>beald</i>]
bonnde	<i>adj.pp.</i> , compelled, obliged, under necessity; MS bunde , bunden ; <i>v.3sg.pres.</i> byndes , byndez [OE <i>bindan</i>]
bothe	<i>adj.</i> , both MS also boþe [ON <i>báðar</i> masculine, <i>báðir</i> feminine, <i>bæði</i> , <i>báði</i> neuter]
Brethir	<i>n.</i> , brethren, fellow-clansmen, fellow-citizen, fellow-countrymen; <i>sg.</i> broþer [OE <i>brōðor</i>]
brig	<i>n.</i> , bridge; pl. Briggez [OE <i>brycg</i>]
bryng	<i>v.inf.</i> , bring; MS also brynge [OE <i>bringan</i>]
burdon'	<i>n.</i> , a hinny between a male horse and female donkey, used figuratively [Lat. <i>burdōn-em</i>]
Burgersschip'	<i>n.</i> , burgess-ship, the position of 'burgess' or member of parliament for a borough [Fr. <i>burgeis</i> + suffix <i>-ship</i>]
burgeys	<i>n.pl.</i> , burgess, an inhabitant of a borough [Fr. <i>burgeis</i>]
but	<i>prep.</i> , with the exception of, except, save [OE <i>būta</i> , <i>būtan</i>]
bye	<i>v.inf.</i> , buy [OE <i>bycgan</i>]

C

callid	<i>adj.pp.</i> , called, named [ON <i>kalla</i>]
cam	<i>v.pt.</i> , came [OE <i>cuman</i>]
can	<i>v.</i> , can [OE <i>cunnan</i>]
Canon <i>n</i>	<i>n.</i> , MS lawe Canon n canon law, ecclesiastical law, as laid down in decrees of the pope and statutes of councils [OE <i>canon</i>]
Cardinal	<i>n.</i> , ‘One of the seventy ecclesiastical princes who constitute the pope's council, or the sacred college, and to whom the right of electing the pope has been restricted since the third Lateran council in 1173’ (<i>OED</i>); MS also Cardinall [Fr. <i>cardinal</i>]
cas	<i>n.</i> , MS in cas in case, MS also case [Fr. <i>cas</i>]
Castell	<i>n.</i> , castle [Fr. <i>castel</i>]
cause	<i>n.</i> , a fact, condition of matters, or consideration, moving a person to action; pl. causes , causez , causis [Fr. <i>cause</i>]
causid	<i>adj.</i> , caused [Lat. <i>causāre</i>]
certayn	<i>adj.</i> , certain MS also certayne , certeyn , serteynis [Fr. <i>certain</i>]
certefie	<i>v.inf.</i> , certify; <i>pp.</i> certefied MS also certefye [Fr. <i>certifie-r</i>]
Chambir	<i>n.</i> , a chamberlain's office [AN <i>chamber</i>]
chambirlayn	<i>n.</i> , chamberlain [AN <i>camberlein</i>]
Chancellor’	<i>n.</i> , chancellor [AN <i>canceler</i>]
changed	<i>adj.</i> , changed [Fr. <i>change-r</i>]
Chapellane	<i>n.</i> , chapellany, chapelry [Fr. <i>chapellenie</i>]
charge	<i>n.</i> , 1.MS a...charge a source of trouble or inconvenience, 2. responsibility, commission; pl. chargis [Fr. <i>charge</i>]; <i>v.</i> , 1.load; 2.accuse, <i>pt.</i> charged MS also chargid [Fr. <i>charge-r, -ier</i>]
charite	<i>n.</i> , charity, the Christian love of one's fellow human beings [Fr. <i>charité</i>]
charters	<i>n.pl.</i> , ‘a legal document or ‘deed’ written (usually) upon a single sheet of paper, parchment, or other material, by which grants, cessions, contracts, and other transactions are confirmed and ratified’ [Fr. <i>chartre</i>]
chaungeably	<i>adv.</i> , by way of exchange or interchange [Fr. <i>changeable</i>]

cheuance	<i>n.</i> , chance, fortune, provision [Fr. <i>cheance</i>]
cheuys	<i>v.inf.</i> , choose [OE <i>cēosan</i>]
chief	<i>adj.</i> , most important, influential, or active [Fr. <i>chef, chief</i>]
chirche	<i>n.</i> , church [OE <i>cirice</i>]
Ciuiile	<i>adj.</i> , MS lawe Canonn or Ciuiile canon or civil law [AN <i>civil</i>]
clense	<i>v.</i> , cleanse, <i>v.n.</i> clensyng [OE <i>clānsian, clēnsian</i>]
clerely	<i>adv.</i> , clearly [Fr. <i>cler</i> + suffix <i>-ly</i>]
close	<i>n.</i> , enclosure [Fr. <i>clos</i>]
clolid	<i>adj.</i> , closed [Fr. <i>clos</i>]
Clowe	<i>n.</i> , sluice or floodgate, an outfall sluice of a river or drain communicating with a tidal river and provided with flood-gates; <i>pl.</i> Clowys [OE <i>clūse</i>]
Coartid	<i>adj.</i> , coercted, compelled [Lat. <i>coarct-āre</i>]
comandement	<i>n.</i> , commandment, order, MS also Comaunde=ment, Commaundement [Fr. <i>commandement</i>]
comaunde	<i>v.inf.</i> , to entrust a matter or person to someone with greater authority and power [Fr. <i>cumander, comander</i>]
comaundid	<i>v.pp.</i> , commanded, ordered [Fr. <i>cumander, comander</i>]
Comburgens	<i>n.pl.</i> , comburgess, fellow-citizen [prefix <i>com-</i> + Fr. <i>burgeis</i>]
come	<i>v.</i> , come, MS also comyn' ; <i>v.n.</i> comyng , <i>subj.</i> cum ; pres.p. comand [OE <i>cuman</i>]
Comeners	<i>n.pl.</i> , commoners, members of the community having civic rights MS also Commoners, Communers [Fr. <i>comuner</i>]
comenyng	<i>v.n.</i> , communing, debate, discussion, deliberation [Fr. <i>comuner</i>]
Commen	<i>adj.</i> , common, of general, public, or non-private nature [Fr. <i>comun</i>]
common'	<i>adj.</i> , common; MS also <i>commun</i> ; MS common' seal, Comune seal, commun seruant [Fr. <i>comun</i>]
Commune	<i>n.</i> , a municipal corporation, community [Fr. <i>commune</i>]
Comonalte	<i>n.</i> , commonality [Fr. <i>comunalte</i>]
communicaton	<i>n.</i> , communication [AN <i>communicacioun</i>]
commyn'	<i>v.inf.</i> , communicate, tell [Fr. <i>comuner</i>]
Commyssions	<i>n.pl.</i> , orders, commands [Fr. <i>commission</i>]

commytt	<i>v.inf.</i> , commit, to give in charge, entrust, consign to [Lat. <i>committ-ĕre</i>]
complaynte	<i>n.</i> , complaint [Fr. <i>complainte</i>]
complet	<i>adj.</i> , complete, finished [Lat. <i>complēt-us</i>]
compleyne	<i>v.inf.</i> , complain; <i>pp.</i> compleyned , 3sg. Compleyneth [Fr. <i>complain</i>]
composicion	<i>n.</i> , composition, MS also composicon' [Fr. <i>composition</i>]
comprisonnd	<i>v.pp.</i> , seized under legal authority, 'attached' [Fr. <i>comprendre</i>]
conclusion	<i>n.</i> , conclusion, MS for conclusion of thees maters for the outcome of these matters, MS to take a conclusion' decision [Fr. <i>conclusion</i>]
continuance	<i>n.</i> , continuity, connection [Fr. <i>continuance</i>]
connable	<i>adj.</i> , reduction of covenable, proper, convenient [AN <i>covenable</i>]
conand	<i>n.</i> , pl. conandes , conantz ; covenant, a mutual agreement between two or more persons to do or refrain from doing certain acts [Fr. <i>covenant</i>]
concernyng	<i>prep.</i> , concerning [Lat. <i>concernĕre</i>]
condescended	<i>v.pp.</i> , agreed; MS also condiscendid [Fr. <i>condescend-re</i>]
condicconne	<i>n.</i> , state, condition; MS also condicion' , condicon' [Fr. <i>condicion</i>]
condith	<i>n.</i> , condition, agreement by settlement of terms; covenant, contract, treaty [Fr. <i>condicion</i>]
conducte	<i>n.</i> , conduct, guidance [Lat. <i>conduct-us</i>]
confederid	<i>v.pp.</i> , confederated, united in alliance [Fr. <i>confédér-er</i>]
con-pounded	<i>adj.</i> , compounded, collective [Fr. <i>compon-re</i> , <i>-pondre</i> , <i>-pundre</i>]
conquest	<i>n.</i> , conquest, acquisition by war [Fr. <i>conquest</i>]
consaile	<i>v.</i> , counsel, offer advice; MS also counseill , <i>n.</i> Consel , pl. counsailes advice [Fr. <i>conseiller</i>]
consell	<i>n.</i> , an advisory or deliberative assembly; MS also cunceil , cunceill , counsaile , cunseil , cunsell [Fr. <i>conseil</i>]
conseruacion'	<i>n.</i> , conservation, preservation of existing conditions, institutions, rights, peace, order [AN <i>conservacione</i>]
consider	<i>v.inf.</i> , to take into practical consideration or regard; MS also considre , v.n. consideryng [Fr. <i>considérer</i>]
consideracion	<i>n.</i> , consideration, the action of taking into account [Fr. <i>considération</i>]

Constables	<i>n.pl.</i> , the chief officers of the household, court, administration, or military forces of a ruler [Fr. <i>cunestable, conestable</i>]
constitute	<i>v.</i> , set up, establish a law, regulation [Lat. <i>constitūt-</i>]
contenyd	<i>adj.</i> , contained; MS also conteyned , <i>v.n.</i> conteyneng [AN <i>conten-ir</i> + ed]
continuu	<i>v.inf.</i> , continue, proceed; MS also contynue [Fr. <i>continue-r</i>]
continually	<i>adv.</i> , incessantly [Fr. <i>continuel</i> + suffix <i>-ly</i>]
contrary	<i>adv.</i> , MS in the contrary on the contrary, on the other hand [Fr. <i>contrarie</i>]
Contre	<i>n.</i> , country; MS also Cuntre [Fr. <i>cuntrée, contrée</i>]
conuencion	<i>n.</i> , convention, an agreement creating legal relations; MS also conuencioun [Fr. <i>convention</i>]
copy	<i>n.</i> , a transcript or reproduction of an original [Fr. <i>copie</i>]
Corpus Cristi	Liturgical solemnity in the Roman Catholic church, celebrating the tradition and belief in the body and blood of Jesus Christ and his Real Presence in the Eucharist, celebrated in June.
corrupt	<i>v.</i> , spoil (anything) in quality; MS corrupt my blode spoil my reputation [Fr. <i>co(r)rupt</i>]
Coruesours	<i>n.pl.</i> , shoemakers [AN <i>corviser, corveser</i>]
Coste	<i>n.</i> , coast [Fr. <i>coste</i>]
costes	<i>n.pl.</i> , costs [Fr. <i>cost, coust</i>]
costomes	<i>n.pl.</i> , any customary tax or tribute paid to a lord or ruler; MS also customs, custumes , <i>sg.</i> Custume [Fr. <i>custume, costume</i>]
cosyn	<i>n.</i> , cousin [Fr. <i>cousin</i>]
cours	MS affir cours after-course, the later part of the development of anything that continues in time [Fr. <i>cours</i>]
Court	<i>n.</i> , court, the place where a sovereign (or other high dignitary) resides and holds state, attended by his retinue; MS also Courte [Fr. <i>cort, curt</i> , later <i>court</i>]
couth	<i>v.pt.</i> , earlier form of <i>could</i> [OE <i>couþe, inf. cunnan</i>]
credence	<i>n.</i> , MS to whom ful credence we gif whom we believe, give credit to [Fr. <i>crédence</i>]

cristen'	<i>adj.</i> , christian [OE <i>crīsten</i>]
Custum	<i>n.</i> , custom, habit [Fr. <i>custume, costume</i>]
custumed	<i>v.pp.pass.</i> , customed, spacecustomary, usual [Fr. <i>costumer, coustumer</i>]
cuttyng	<i>v.n.</i> , cutting; here in the sense 'an open, trench-like excavation through a piece of ground that rises above the level of a canal, railway, or road which has to be taken across it' (<i>OED</i>); <i>v.inf.</i> , kutte [ME <i>cutte, kitte</i>]

D

dampnage	<i>n.</i> , damage [Fr. <i>damage</i>]
date	<i>n.</i> , the time during which something lasts; duration; term of life or existence [AN <i>dat</i>]
day	<i>n.</i> , day [OE <i>dæg</i>]
dayly	<i>adv.</i> , every day [OE <i>dæg</i> + suffix <i>-ly</i>]
de<spo>nyd	<i>adj.</i> , disposed, arranged [Lat. <i>dispōnēre</i>]
decay	<i>n.</i> , progressive decline, ruin [Fr. <i>v. decair, dekair</i>]
declare	<i>v.</i> , to state publicly, announce or pronounce by formal statement or in solemn terms; <i>pp.</i> declared, declarid [Fr. <i>déclare-r</i>]
dede	<i>n.</i> , deed, act [OE <i>dǣd, dēd</i>]
defaute	<i>n.</i> , default, lack [Fr. <i>defaute</i>]
defende	<i>v.subj.</i> , defend, protect [Fr. <i>defendre</i>]
defendours	<i>n.pl.</i> , defendants, persons sued in a court of law [AN <i>defendour</i>]
degre	<i>n.</i> , relative condition or state of being [Fr. <i>degre</i>]
degrees	<i>n.pl.</i> , relative social or official rank [Fr. <i>degre</i>]
deil	<i>n.</i> , MS a gret deil a great deal [OE <i>dǣl</i>]
delay	<i>n.</i> , MS withouten' any tareng or delay immediately [Fr. <i>délai</i>]
delyuer	<i>v.inf.</i> , to set free from restraint, imminent danger, annoyance, trouble, or evil generally; <i>pp.</i> deliuerd, deliuered, deliuerid , <i>n.</i> delyuerance [Fr. <i>délivrer</i>]
demenyd	<i>v.pp.</i> , deemed, judged [OE <i>dēman</i>]
departyng	<i>v.n.</i> , the action of leaving, departure [Fr. <i>depart-ir</i>]

depnes	<i>n.</i> , depth [OE <i>dēopnes</i>]
depper'	<i>adj.comp.</i> , deeper [OE <i>dēop</i>]
depute	<i>n.</i> , deputy [Fr. <i>député</i>]
derogacion'	<i>n.</i> , depreciation, deterioration [Fr. <i>dérogation</i>]
desire	<i>v.inf.</i> , wish; <i>n.pl.</i> desires , <i>adj.</i> desired , <i>v.n.</i> desiryng [Fr. <i>desire-r</i>]
determenyd	<i>v.pp.</i> , determined, decided; MS determynde , <i>adj.</i> determyned [Fr. <i>determine-r</i>]
dette	<i>n.</i> , debt [Fr. <i>dete, dette</i>]
deu	<i>adj.</i> , appropriate, right; <i>adv.</i> deuly [Fr. <i>deü</i>]
deuse	<i>v.inf.</i> , contrive, plan [Fr. <i>deviser</i>]
deute	<i>n.</i> , duty [AN <i>dueté, duité, deweté</i>]
devoire	<i>n.</i> , devoir, duty [Fr. <i>deveir</i>]
did	<i>v.pt.</i> , did, <i>pp.</i> don' , done , donn , doon' , doonn ; MS also dide [OE <i>dōn</i>]
Dier'	<i>n.</i> , deer [OE <i>dēor</i>]
diligently	<i>adv.</i> , with diligence [Fr. <i>diligent</i>]
directed	<i>v.pp.</i> , directed, aimed, addressed; MS also directid , directe<d> [Lat. <i>dīrect-</i>]
discharge	<i>v.inf.</i> , to unload (a ship, etc.) from that with which it is charged or loaded [Fr. <i>descharge-r</i>]
discrecion'	<i>n.</i> , discretion, judgement; <i>pl.</i> discreciouns [Lat. <i>discrētio</i>]
discret	<i>adj.</i> , discreet, showing discernment or judgement in the guidance of one's own speech and action [Fr. <i>discret, -ète</i>]
disordinate	<i>adj.</i> , not conformed to moral order, or to what is right, befitting, or reasonable [Fr. <i>desordené</i>]
displesure	<i>n.</i> , displeasure [Fr. <i>desplaisir</i>]
distres	<i>n.</i> , distress [Fr. <i>destrece, -stresce, -stresse</i>]
distreyne	<i>v.inf.</i> , to distraint: constrain, force, or compel (a person to do something) [Fr. <i>destreindre, -aindre</i>]
diuers	<i>adj.</i> , divers, different, MS diuers of them some of them; MS also diuerse , divers [Fr. <i>diviers, divers</i>]
do	<i>v.inf.</i> , to cause someone else to do something [OE <i>dōn</i>]

douteful	<i>adj.</i> , questionable, ambiguous [Fr. <i>dute</i> , <i>dote</i> , <i>doute</i> + suffix <i>-ful</i>]
doute	<i>v.</i> , doubt; MS we doute nat we doubt not [Fr. <i>duter</i> , <i>doter</i> , <i>douter</i>]
duke	<i>n.</i> , duke [Fr. <i>duc</i>]
duryng	<i>prep.</i> , during [Fr. <i>dure-r</i> + suffix <i>-ing</i>]
dute	<i>n.</i> , duty, charge, fee [AN <i>dueté</i> , <i>duité</i> , <i>deweté</i>]

E

effecte	<i>n.</i> , effect, that which results from the action or properties of something or someone [AN <i>effecte</i>]
effectually	see affectually
eftir	see aftir
eide	<i>n.</i> , aid [AN <i>aid</i>]
ellis	<i>adv.</i> , else [OE <i>elles</i>]
encroche	<i>v.inf.</i> , to trench or intrude usurpingly on the territory, rights, or accustomed sphere of action of others [Fr. <i>encrochier</i>]
ende	<i>n.</i> , end, the extremity of anything extended in space; <i>pl.</i> endys [OE <i>ende</i>]
endited	<i>v.pp.</i> , indicted, accused; <i>n.</i> enditement [AN <i>endite-r</i>]
endure	<i>v.</i> , last, extend in time or space; <i>3sg.</i> endurith , <i>v.n.</i> enduryng [Fr. <i>endure-r</i>]
enemys	<i>n.pl.</i> , enemies; MS also enmys [Fr. <i>enemi</i>]
enfeblid	<i>adj.</i> , enfeebled, weakened [Fr. <i>enfebl-ir</i>]
enforme	<i>v.inf.</i> , inform; <i>pp.</i> enformed [AN <i>enfourmer</i>]
enfraunchised	<i>adj.</i> , released from confinement [Fr. <i>enfranchiss-</i>]
Englisch	<i>adj.</i> , English, of or belonging to England (or Britain) or its inhabitants; MS also Jnglisch [OE <i>englisc</i>]
engyne	<i>n.</i> , MS male engyne evil machination, ill intent [AN <i>mal engin</i>]
enioyse	<i>v.inf.</i> , enjoy; MS also enioye [Fr. <i>enjoie-r</i>]
enlargisshyng	<i>v.n.</i> , enlarging, extending (temporally) [Fr. <i>enlargiss-</i>]
enpaneld	<i>v.pt.</i> , empanelled, enrolled or constituted (a body of jurors) [AN <i>empaneller</i>]

enspecial	<i>adv.</i> , especially [Fr. <i>en especial</i>]
ensue	<i>v.inf.</i> , ensue, follow as a result [Fr. <i>ensiw-</i> , <i>ensu-</i>]
entende	<i>v.inf.</i> , intend, pay heed, devote attention [Fr. <i>entend-re</i>]
entent	<i>n.</i> , intent [Fr. <i>entent</i>]
enter	<i>v.inf.</i> , enter [Fr. <i>entrer</i>]
entierely	<i>adv.</i> , entirely, heartily; MS also entierly [Fr. <i>entier</i> , <i>entir</i> + suffix <i>-ly</i>]
entrete	<i>v.inf.</i> , entreat, deal with; pp. entretid [Fr. <i>entraiter</i> , <i>entraitier</i>]
equale	<i>adj.</i> , equal, adequately fit or qualified [Lat. <i>æquālis</i>]
er	see am
Erchebisshop'	see Archebisshop'
Erle	<i>n.</i> , earl [OE <i>eorl</i>]
esly	<i>adv.</i> , easily [Fr. <i>aisié</i> + suffix <i>-ly</i>]
especial	<i>adj.</i> , special [Fr. <i>especial</i>]
estat	see astate
estretes	<i>n.pl.</i> , streets; MS also estretis [Lat. <i>strata</i>]
etc.	<i>phrase</i> , and so forth [Lat. <i>et cētera</i>]
Euangels	<i>n.pl.</i> , evangels, the Four Gospels [Fr. <i>evangi(l)le</i>]
euer	<i>adv.</i> , ever, always; MS also euyr , evir [OE <i>æfre</i>]
Euery	<i>adj.</i> , every [OE <i>ælc</i>]
euidence	<i>n.</i> , evidence; MS also euydence [Fr. <i>évidence</i>]
euyñ	<i>n.</i> , evening; MS also evyn' [OE <i>æfen</i>]
evenly	<i>adj.</i> , equal [OE <i>efen</i>]
examyn'	<i>v.inf.</i> , examine, test judicially or critically; MS also examynn [Fr. <i>examiner</i>]
excellence	<i>n.</i> , excellence [Fr. <i>excellence</i>]
excepcion'	<i>n.</i> , exception [AN <i>excepcioun</i>]
excuse	<i>n.</i> , excuse; MS also askcuse ; <i>v.pp.</i> excusid [Fr. <i>excuse</i>]
execucion	<i>n.</i> , execution, the action of carrying into effect (a command, decree, etc.); <i>v.inf.</i> execute , <i>v.pt.</i> executid [Fr. <i>execucioun</i>]
executours	<i>n.</i> , executor, administrator or enforcer of (a law, vengeance, etc.) [AN <i>executour</i>]

expedient	<i>adj.</i> , fit, proper, or suitable to the circumstances of the case [Fr. <i>expédient</i>]
expences	<i>n.pl.</i> , the charges, costs, items of outlay, incurred by a person in the execution of any commission or duty; MS also expencez [AN <i>expense</i>]
expressed	<i>adj.</i> , expressed, uttered or made known in words [Fr. <i>espresser, expresser</i>]

F

fader	<i>n.</i> , father; MS also fadir [OE <i>fæder</i>]
faderhode	<i>n.</i> , fatherhood, the position of being the ‘father’ or oldest member of a society; MS also Fadirhode [OE <i>fæder</i> + suffix <i>-hode</i>]
faith	<i>n.</i> , faith [Fr. <i>feid, feit</i>]
faithful	<i>adj.</i> , loyal [Fr. <i>feid, feit</i> + suffix <i>-ful</i>]
falle	<i>v.inf.</i> , befall, occur; <i>v.pp.</i> fallen [OE <i>feallan</i>]
fals	<i>adj.</i> , false, deceitful, treacherous [OE <i>fals</i>]
far	<i>adv.</i> , far [OE <i>feorr</i>]
fayle	<i>v.inf.</i> , lack, want, be without [Fr. <i>faillir</i>]
febil	<i>adj.</i> , frail, fragile [Fr. <i>feble</i>]
Fee	<i>n.</i> , estate in land (in England always a heritable estate), held on condition of homage and service to a superior lord, by whom it is granted and in whom the ownership remains [AN <i>fee, fie</i>]
felas	<i>n.pl.</i> , fellows; MS also Felaus [OE <i>fēolaga</i>]
felaschip	<i>n.</i> , body of fellows or equals; MS fellaschip [OE <i>fēolaga</i> + suffix <i>-ship</i>]
feld	<i>n.</i> , battlefield [OE <i>feld</i>]
fensible	<i>adj.</i> , fencible, capable of making defence [Fr. <i>défensable</i>]
fenyschyng	<i>n.</i> , finishing; <i>v.inf.</i> finisch , <i>v.pp.</i> finished [Fr. <i>feniss-</i> + <i>-ing</i>]
ferforth	<i>adv.</i> , to a great distance or extent [OE <i>feorr</i> + OE <i>forðian</i>]
ferme	<i>n.</i> , farm, a fixed yearly amount (whether in money or in kind) payable as rent, tax, or the like [Fr. <i>ferme</i>]
ferthest	<i>adv.superlat.</i> , furthest [ME <i>furthest</i> , formed on OE <i>furðra</i>]

feste	<i>n.</i> , feast, religious anniversary appointed to be observed with rejoicing, in commemoration of some event or in honour of some personage; MS also fest, feste [Fr. <i>feste</i>]
fechid	<i>v.pp.</i> , fetched, brought back [OE <i>feccan</i>]
fifti	<i>adj.</i> , fifty [OE <i>fīftig, fīfteg</i>]
First	<i>adv.</i> , first; <i>adj.</i> firste [OE <i>fyrst</i>]
Fiue	<i>adj.</i> , five [OE <i>fīf</i>]
fledde	<i>v.pt.</i> , fled, ran away from or as from danger [OE <i>flēon</i>]
flowyng	<i>v.n.</i> , flowing [OE <i>flōwan</i>]
folowyng	<i>pres.p.</i> , following, ensuing; MS also folowand [OE <i>folgian</i>]
for	<i>prep.</i> , for [OE <i>for</i>]
forto	<i>prep.</i> , for to, in order to [OE <i>for</i> + OE <i>tō</i>]
forbarred	<i>v.pp.</i> , prevented, hindered [AN <i>forbarrer</i>]
forbede	<i>v.subj.</i> , forbid, prohibit [OE <i>forbēodan</i>]
force	<i>n.</i> , MS of ... force of binding power, valid [Fr. <i>force</i>]
forme	<i>n.</i> , form, the particular character, nature, structure, or constitution of a thing [Fr. <i>fo(u)rme, furme</i>]
forse	<i>v.inf.</i> , force, compel [Fr. <i>forcer</i>]
fortefie	<i>v.inf.</i> , fortify, support and strengthen mentally and morally [Fr. <i>fortifier</i>]
forth	<i>adv.</i> , forth; MS far forth , see ferforth
forthir	<i>adj.</i> , further [OE <i>furðra</i>]
forto	<i>adv.</i> , in order to [OE <i>for</i> + OE <i>tō</i>]
founde	<i>v.pp.</i> , found [OE <i>findan</i>]
fourde	<i>num.</i> , four [OE <i>fēower</i>]
Franchises	<i>n.pl.</i> , legal immunity or exemption from a particular burden or exaction, or from the jurisdiction of a particular tribunal, granted to an individual or corporation; special rights to own property, earn income, trade; MS also fraunchises, Fraunchisez ; sg. Fraunchis, fraunchise, Frauncise [AN <i>franchise</i>]
fraude	<i>n.</i> , fraud, faithlessness, insincerity; <i>adj.</i> fraudefull [Fr. <i>fraude</i>]
fre	<i>adj.</i> , free [OE <i>frēo</i>]

frehald	<i>n.</i> , freehold [OE <i>frēo</i> + OE <i>healdan</i>]
frendes	<i>n.pl.</i> , friends; MS also frendis [OE <i>frēond</i>]
Frensch	<i>adj.</i> , French [OE <i>frencisc</i>]
Frewil	<i>n.</i> , free will [OE <i>frēo</i> + OE <i>willa</i>]
Friday	<i>n.</i> , Friday [OE <i>frīgedæg</i>]
fro	<i>prep.</i> , from [ON <i>frā</i>]
fugitiues	<i>adj.</i> , fugitive [Fr. <i>fugitif, fugitive</i>]
full	<i>adj.</i> , full, complete; MS also ful ; <i>adv.</i> fully [OE <i>full</i>]
fulfille	<i>v.inf.</i> , fulfil [OE <i>fullfyllan</i>]
furtheryng	<i>n.</i> , furthering [OE <i>fyrðran</i>]
Furthirmore	<i>adv.</i> , furthermore [OE <i>furðor</i> + OE <i>māra</i>]

G

gabellelez	<i>n.pl.</i> , taxes [Fr. <i>gabelle</i>]
gaf	<i>v.pt.</i> , gave; <i>inf.</i> gif [OE <i>giefan</i>]
gar	<i>v.inf.</i> , cause (someone to do something) [ON <i>ger(v)a</i>]
garde	<i>n.</i> , MS saf garde safeguard, safety [AN <i>saufgarde</i>]
gardynn	<i>n.</i> , garden [Fr. <i>gardin, jardin</i>]
garnysched	<i>adj.</i> , provided, equipped [Fr. <i>garniss-</i>]
general	<i>adj.</i> , general [AN <i>general, generall</i>]
getyn'	<i>pres.p.</i> with <i>pp.</i> value, getting; MS may not esly be getyn' may not easily be got [ON <i>geta</i>]
gifte	<i>n.</i> , gift [OE <i>gift</i>]
Gild	<i>n.</i> , MS Gild halle guild-hall; MS also Gilde halle, Gilde Halle [OE <i>giel</i> + OE <i>heall</i>]
gile	<i>n.</i> , guile, deceit, treachery [Fr. <i>guile</i>]
go	<i>v.inf.</i> , go; MS also goo [OE <i>gān</i>]
gouernours	<i>n.pl.</i> , governors, officials appointed to govern a province, country, town; MS also Gouernours, Gouvernours [Fr. <i>gouverneur</i>]
god	<i>n.</i> , God, n the specific Christian and monotheistic sense [OE <i>god</i>]

gode	<i>adj.</i> , good; MS also goude [OE <i>gōd</i>]
gold	<i>n.</i> , gold [OE <i>gold</i>]
good	<i>n.</i> , benefit, property and possessions; pl. <i>goodes</i> , <i>goodis</i> [OE <i>gōd</i>]
goodly	<i>adj.</i> , proper, convenient [OE <i>gōdlic</i>]
grace	<i>n.</i> , favour, goodwill; MS with grace of god [Fr. <i>grâce</i>]
graciose	<i>adj.</i> , gracious, used as a courteous epithet in referring to kings, queens, or dukes; MS also gracius [Fr. <i>gracious</i>]
graunte	<i>n.</i> , grant, consent, permission; MS also gravnt [AN <i>graunter</i> , <i>granter</i>]
gret	<i>adj.</i> , great, MS also grete ; <i>comp.</i> <i>gretter</i> , <i>superlat.</i> <i>grettest</i> ; <i>adv.</i> <i>gretly</i> [OE <i>grēat</i>]
gretyng	<i>n.</i> , greeting, salutation, MS sendes gretyng a translation of the Latin and Greek epistolary formulæ of salutation, <i>salutem (dicit)</i> , <i>χαίρειν</i> [OE <i>grētan</i>]
greuous	<i>adj.</i> , grievous, burdensome, heavy [Fr. <i>grevos</i> , <i>-(o)us</i> , <i>-eus</i>]
gronde	<i>n.</i> , ground; MS also Grovnde [OE <i>grund</i>]
gruchyng	<i>n.</i> , grutching, complaint [Fr. <i>groucier</i> + <i>-ing</i> suffix]
gwerr'	<i>n.</i> , war [Fr. <i>guerre</i>]

3

3itt *adv.*, yet, still [OE *gīet*]

H

h<erte> *n.*, heart; MS also **hert**, **hert<e>**; *pl.* **hertis**, **hertys**; *adv.* **hertly** [OE *heorte*]

ha<s> *v.3sg.*, has; MS also **hath**, *pl.* **haue**, **have**, *v.n.* **havyng**, *pt.* **had** [OE *habban*]

habitant *n.*, inhabitant [Fr. *habitant*]

halden *v.pp.*, held, kept in charge; MS also **holden'**, *inf.* **holde**, *3sg.* **holdes**, **holdeth** [OE *healdan*]

half	<i>adj.</i> , half; MS also halue [OE <i>healf</i>]
Halle	see Gild
haly	<i>adj.</i> , holy; MS also holy [OE <i>hālig</i>]
hande	<i>n.</i> , hand [OE <i>hand</i>]
happyn'	<i>v.subj.</i> , happen, occur [ON <i>happ</i>]
harme	<i>n.</i> , harm; <i>pl.</i> harmes, harmys [OE <i>hearm</i>]
haste	<i>n.</i> , haste; <i>adj.</i> hasty ; <i>adv.</i> hastly [Fr. <i>haste</i>]
haven'	<i>n.</i> , haven [OE <i>hæfen</i>]
he	<i>pers.pron.3masc.sg.nom.</i> , he; <i>pos.</i> his , <i>dat.</i> hym [OE <i>hē, his, him</i>]
hede	<i>n.</i> , 1. head [OE <i>hēafod</i>]; 2. heed, attention [OE <i>hēdan</i>]
hedir	<i>adv.</i> , hither [OE <i>hider</i>]
heires	<i>n.pl.</i> , heirs; MS also Heyres [Fr. <i>eir, heir</i>]
help	<i>n.</i> , help [OE <i>help</i>]
hem	<i>pers.pron.3pl.</i> , them [OE <i>him, hiom, heom</i>]
hem-self	see them-salf
here	<i>adv.</i> , here; MS also her' [OE <i>hēr</i>]
hereof	<i>adv.</i> , hereof; MS here-of [OE <i>hēr + OE of</i>]
herkyn	<i>v.inf.</i> , hearken [OE <i>heorcnian</i>]
heryng	<i>v.n.</i> , hearing [OE <i>hīeran</i>]
hevy	<i>adj.</i> , heavy, of great specific gravity [OE <i>hefig</i>]
highnesse	<i>n.</i> , highness, title of dignity or honour given to princes; MS also hynesse ; <i>adj.</i> hy [OE <i>hēanes</i>]
hole	<i>adj.</i> , whole [OE <i>hāl</i>]
Holte	<i>n.</i> , wood, timber [OE <i>holt</i>]
home	<i>n.</i> , home [OE <i>hām</i>]
honour'	<i>n.</i> , honour; <i>adj.</i> honourable [Fr. <i>onor, onour, honor</i>]
hors	<i>n.</i> , horse [OE <i>hors</i>]
houshold	<i>n.</i> , household, domestic establishment including servants etc. [OE <i>hūs + OE healdan</i>]
how	<i>adv.</i> , how [OE <i>hū</i>]
humble	<i>adj.</i> , humble [Fr. <i>umble, humble</i>]

hundreth	<i>adj.</i> , hundred; MS also hundrith [OE <i>hundred</i>]
hurt	1. <i>n.</i> hurt, pain; 2. <i>v.pp.</i> , <i>pt.</i> hurt [Fr. <i>hurte</i>]
hym	see he
hym-self	<i>pron.3sg.</i> , himself [OE <i>him</i> + OE <i>self</i>]
hynderyng	<i>n.</i> , hindering, damage [OE <i>hindrian</i>]
hyngand	<i>v.pres.p.</i> , hanging, being suspended [OE <i>hōn</i>]

I

if	<i>conj.</i> , if [OE <i>gif</i>]
iiij	<i>num.</i> , four
ilke	<i>adj.</i> , every, each [OE <i>ælc</i>]
importabil	<i>adj.</i> , importable [Lat. <i>importā-re</i> + suffix <i>-able</i>]
imposicion'	<i>n.</i> , taxation; pl. imposicions' [Lat. <i>impositiōn-em</i>]
in	<i>prep.</i> , in; MS also Jn [OE <i>in</i>]
inconuenientes	<i>n.pl.</i> , inconveniences, misfortunes, mishaps [Fr. <i>inconvéniēt</i>]
indenture	<i>n.</i> , indenture, deed between two or more parties with mutual covenants, executed in two or more copies, all having their tops or edges correspondingly indented or serrated for identification and security [Fr. <i>endenteure</i>]
infirmities	<i>n.pl.</i> , flaws, weaknesses, physical frailty [Lat. <i>infirmitāt-em</i>]
inhabit	<i>v.pp.</i> , inhabited; <i>n.pl.</i> inhabitantes [Fr. <i>enhabiter</i>]
instantly	<i>adv.</i> , instantly; MS also instauntly [Fr. <i>instant</i> + suffix <i>-ly</i>]
instruccion	<i>n.</i> , instruction [Fr. <i>in-</i> , <i>enstruction</i> , <i>-cion</i>]
into	<i>prep.</i> , into; MS also in-to [OE <i>in</i> + <i>tō</i>]
ioyneth	<i>v.pl.</i> , join [Fr. <i>joign-</i>]
is	see am
it	<i>pron.</i> , it; MS also itt [OE <i>hit</i>]
iustice	<i>n.</i> , justice; MS also Justice [Fr. <i>justise</i> , <i>-ice</i>]

J

Jn	see in
Jnglisch	see Englisch
Jniures	<i>n.pl.</i> , injuries, violation or infringement of another's rights [Lat. <i>injūria</i>]
Jssue	<i>n.</i> , issue, a descendant or descendants [Fr. <i>issue</i>]
Jtem	<i>n.</i> , item; likewise, also, used to introduce a new fact or statement, or, more frequently, each new article or particular in an enumeration, esp. in a formal list or document; MS also Jtm' [Lat. <i>item</i>]
Juge	<i>n.</i> , judge [Fr. <i>judge</i>]
July	<i>n.</i> , July; MS also Jule, Juyll [Lat. <i>Iūlius</i>]
Jures	<i>n.</i> , rights, privileges [Lat. <i>jūr-</i>]
Justice	see iustice
Juyn'	<i>n.</i> , june [Lat. <i>Iūnius</i>]

K

kend	<i>adj.</i> , kenned, known; MS also kennyd [OE <i>cennan</i>]
keper'	<i>n.</i> , keeper, one who has charge, care, or oversight of any person or thing; <i>pl.</i> kepers , <i>pp.</i> kept , <i>v.n.</i> kepyng [OE <i>cēpan</i> + -er suffix]
killed	<i>v.pt.</i> , killed [ME <i>killen</i>]
knawe	<i>v.inf.</i> , know; <i>2sg.</i> knowe , <i>pt.</i> knew [OE <i>cnawan</i>]
knyght	<i>n.</i> , knight [OE <i>cniht</i>]
kutte	see cuttyng
kyng	<i>n.</i> , king; <i>pos.</i> kynges [OE <i>cyning</i>]
kynrikes	<i>n.pl.</i> , kingdoms [OE <i>cynerīce</i>]

L

Labour	1. <i>v.inf.</i> , labour, bring into a specified condition or position by labour or exertion, <i>pt.</i> laboured ; 2. <i>n.</i> , labour, an instance of physical or mental exertion, <i>pl.</i> labours [AN <i>labure</i>]
laiser'	<i>n.</i> , leisure, freedom; MS also leysers ' [Fr. <i>leisir</i>]
land	<i>n.</i> , land; MS also <i>lande</i> , <i>pos.</i> <i>landis</i> [OE <i>land</i>]
landyng	<i>v.n.</i> , bringing to land, setting on shore [OE <i>land</i>]
lane	<i>n.</i> , lane, narrow road or street between houses or walls; <i>pl.</i> lanes , lanys [OE <i>lanu</i>]
langage	<i>n.</i> , language, manner or style of expression [AN <i>langage</i>]
last	<i>adv.</i> , last [OE <i>lator</i>]
late	<i>adv.</i> , recently; MS also latly [OE <i>late</i>]
lawe	<i>n.</i> , law, <i>pl.</i> lawis , lawys ; <i>adj.</i> laweful [OE <i>lagu</i>]
lay	<i>v.</i> , lay, MS lay in wayte await, 3. <i>sg.</i> <i>lith</i> , 3 <i>pl.</i> lien , <i>pp.</i> layn ' [OE <i>lecgan</i>]
led	<i>v.pp.</i> , lead [OE <i>lædan</i>]
leene	<i>v.inf.</i> , lend; MS also lene [OE <i>lænan</i>]
left	<i>v.pp.</i> , left [OE <i>læfan</i>]
leigemann	<i>n.</i> , liegeman, a vassal sworn to the service and support of his superior lord, who in return was obliged to afford him protection [Fr. <i>lige</i> , <i>liege</i> + OE <i>mann</i>]
lenger'	<i>adj.comp.</i> , longer; <i>n.</i> lengthe [OE <i>lengra</i>]
lenners	<i>n.</i> , lenders [OE <i>lænere</i>]
lesse	<i>n.comp.</i> , less; <i>superlat.</i> <i>leste</i> [OE <i>læs</i>]
let	<i>adj.</i> , let, allowed to pass or go; <i>v.n.</i> lettyng e [OE <i>lætan</i>]
letre	<i>n.</i> , letter; <i>pl.</i> <i>letres</i> [AN <i>lettir</i> , <i>leitre</i>]
lette	<i>v.inf.</i> , prevent, hinder [OE <i>lætan</i>]
leue	<i>n.</i> , leave, permission [OE <i>læafe</i>]
li	<i>num.</i> , fifty-one
liberte	<i>n.</i> , freedom, privilege, right; <i>pl.</i> libertees [AN <i>libertee</i>]

licence	<i>n.</i> , 1. permission, leave; 2. formal, usually a printed or written permission from a constituted authority to do something, <i>pl.</i> licencez [Fr. <i>licence</i>]
liege	<i>adj.</i> , of the superior: entitled to feudal allegiance and service [Fr. <i>lige</i>]
lif	<i>n.</i> , life [OE <i>līf</i>]
like	<i>v.subj.</i> , please, suit a person; <i>adv.</i> likly , <i>pt.</i> likid [OE <i>līcian</i>]
litell	<i>adj.</i> , little, small [OE <i>lȳtel</i>]
littester'	<i>n.</i> , dyer, painter; <i>n.</i> littestercrafft [ME <i>littester</i> < Sc. <i>lita</i> + suffix <i>-ster</i>]
long	<i>adv.</i> , for or during a long time [OE <i>lange</i>]
longyng	<i>v.n.</i> , belonging [Germ. <i>lang</i> , <i>long</i> + suffix <i>-ing</i>]
loon	<i>adj.</i> , small [ON <i>lūenn</i>]
lord	<i>n.</i> , lord, one who has dominion over others as his subjects, or to whom service and obedience are due; MS also lorde , <i>pl.</i> and <i>pos.</i> lordes , lordis , lord-is [OE <i>hlāford</i>]
lordschip	<i>n.</i> , lordship, the personality of a lord [OE <i>hlāford</i> + suffix <i>-schip</i>]
lose	<i>v.</i> , lose; <i>n.</i> losse [OE <i>losian</i>]
lyuered	<i>adj.</i> , delivered, presented [AN <i>leverer</i> + suffix <i>-ed</i>]
M	
maieste	<i>n.</i> , majesty, preceded by a possessive (your, his, her, the king's, the queen's) [AN <i>majesté</i>]
make	<i>v.inf.</i> , make, create, give; <i>3sg.</i> maketh , makis ; <i>pt.</i> made [OE <i>macian</i>]
male	see engyne
Malice	<i>n.</i> , malicious intent, ill will; MS also malys [AN <i>malice</i>]
man	<i>n.</i> , man, human being; <i>pl.</i> men , <i>pos.pl.</i> mennys [OE <i>mann</i>]
manasse	<i>n.</i> , menace, threat, danger [AN <i>manace</i>]
maner'	<i>n.</i> , manner, way [AN <i>manere</i>]
many	<i>adj.</i> , many [OE <i>mænig</i>]
marc'	<i>n.</i> , mark, a monetary unit equivalent in value to two-thirds of a troy pound of pure silver or two-thirds of a pound sterling; MS also marke [ON <i>mearc</i>]

Marchandes	<i>n.pl.</i> , merchants; MS also Marchandis, Me[r]chandis, merchandes, Merchandes [AN <i>marchand</i>]
Marche	<i>n.</i> , the part of England bordering on Scotland [AN <i>marche</i>]
Marie Magdalene	<i>n.</i> , MS feste of Seynt Marie Magdalene feast of St. Mary Magdalene, celebrated on July 22
Martilmes	MS fest of Martilmes St. Martin's Day, eleventh November
maryners	<i>n.</i> , mariners [AN <i>mariner</i>]
master	<i>n.</i> , master, a person having authority, direction or control over the action of another or others; MS also Mastir, mastre [Lat. <i>magistr-</i> , <i>magister</i>]
mastirschip	<i>n.</i> , a title of rank or respect, as a formal style of address in applications and petitions; MS also maysterschip', maystirschip [Lat. <i>magistr-</i> , <i>magister</i> + suffix <i>-ship</i>]
mater	<i>n.</i> , matter; <i>pl.</i> maters, matiers [AN <i>matier</i>]
Mathye	MS feste of seynt Mathye thappostil St. Matthew's Day, 21 st September
maundement	<i>n.</i> , formal authorization for one person to act on behalf of another [AN <i>mandement, maundement</i>]
may	<i>v.</i> , may [OE <i>mæg</i>]
maynprice	<i>n.</i> , mainprize, 'the action of procuring the release of a prisoner on someone's undertaking to stand surety ('mainpernor') for his or her appearance in court at a specified time' (<i>OED</i>) [AN <i>mainprise, meinprise</i>]
me	<i>pers.pron.1sg.</i> , me; <i>pos.</i> my, adj. myn [OE <i>mē, mīn</i>]
medy	<i>v.</i> , reward, bribe [OE <i>median</i>]
meenes	<i>n.</i> means, instrumentmethod, or course of action employed to attain some object or bring about some result [AN <i>mene</i>]
mekely	<i>adv.</i> , meekly, humbly [ON. <i>mjúkr</i> + suffix <i>-ly</i>]
Memorandum	<i>int.</i> , it is to be remembered (that), placed at the head of a note of something to be remembered or a record (for future reference) of something that has been done [Lat. <i>memorandum</i>]
mercier	<i>n.</i> , a person who deals in textile fabrics, especially silks, velvets, and other fine materials [AN <i>marcer</i>]
meritory	<i>adv.</i> , meritory, serving to earn reward [AN <i>meritorie</i>]

mete	<i>v.inf.</i> , meet, deliberately arrive at the same place [OE <i>mētan</i>]
meveable	<i>adj.</i> , movable; <i>v.n.</i> moving [AN <i>mevable</i>]
Midsomer'	<i>n.</i> , MS Midsomer' evyn' , Midsomer'day 24 June, the feast of the Nativity of St John the Baptist, and one of the recognized quarter days in England and Wales [prefix <i>mid-</i> + OE <i>sumor</i> + OE <i>dæg</i>]
Milne	<i>n.</i> , mile [Lat. <i>mīlia</i>]
ministers	<i>n.pl.</i> , ministers, persons who carry out executive duties as the agents or representatives of a superior; MS also ministres , <i>v.pt.</i> ministred [AN <i>menestre</i>]
moche	<i>adj.</i> and <i>adv.</i> , great in amount or degree; much. MS also mekil [OE <i>micel</i>]
moneth	<i>n.</i> , month; <i>pl.</i> monethes , monthes [OE <i>mōnað</i>]
money	<i>n.</i> , money [AN <i>monai</i>]
moost	<i>adj.superlat.</i> , most, MS also most , moste ; comp. more [OE <i>māra</i> , <i>mæst</i>]
more-ovir'	<i>adv.</i> , moreover [OE <i>māra</i> + OE <i>ofer</i>]
murmur	<i>n.</i> , murmur, the expression of discontent or anger in subdued tones [Fr. <i>murmure</i>]
myght	<i>n.</i> , might [OE <i>miht</i>]
mynde	<i>n.</i> , mind, remembrance, recollection [OE <i>munan</i>]
mysgouernance	<i>n.</i> , misconduct, misbehaviour [prefix <i>mis-</i> + Fr. <i>gouvernance</i>]
mysrules	<i>n.pl.</i> , misconduct; ill-regulated living [prefix <i>mis-</i> + AN <i>reulle</i>]

N

nacion<s>'	<i>n.</i> , nation [AN <i>nacion</i>]
name	<i>n.</i> , name; <i>pl.</i> names [OE <i>nama</i>]
namely	<i>adv.</i> , particularly, especially [OE <i>nama</i> + suffix <i>-ly</i>]
ne	<i>adv.neg.</i> , MS we wil noht ne desires we wil not desire; construction similar to French double negation [OE <i>ne</i> , <i>ni</i>]
necessary	<i>adj.</i> , necessary; MS also nedeful , <i>n.</i> necessite , necessitee [Fr. <i>necessarie</i>]
neghbures	<i>n.pl.</i> , neighbours [OE <i>nēahgebūr</i>]
nest	<i>adv.</i> , next; MS also next [OE <i>niehst</i>]

nevir	<i>adv.</i> , never [OE <i>nǣfre</i>]
newe	<i>adj.</i> , new [OE <i>nīwe</i>]
no	<i>adv.</i> , no [OE <i>nā</i>]
noble	<i>adj.</i> , noble; <i>n.pl.</i> noblesses [Fr. <i>noble</i>]
noght	<i>adv.neg.</i> , not, MS also not, nott ; see ne [adv. <i>ne</i> + OE <i>á, ó</i> , ever + <i>wiht</i>]
nombr'	<i>n.</i> , number; MS also noumbre [AN <i>nombre</i>]
non	<i>pron.</i> , <i>adj.</i> and <i>adv.</i> no, none; MS also noon [OE <i>nān</i>]
nor	<i>adv.</i> , nor; used in double negations, see ne [OE <i>nōhwæðer</i>]
notable	<i>adj.</i> , notable [Fr. <i>notable</i>]
notefied	<i>v.pt.</i> , notified; <i>1pl.</i> notefye , <i>3sg.</i> notifies [Fr. <i>notifier</i>]
nothir	<i>pron.</i> , neither of two persons or things [OE <i>nōhwæðer</i>]
not-withstandyng	<i>conj.</i> , although [<i>not</i> + OE <i>wiðstandan</i>]
now	<i>adv.</i> , now [OE <i>nū</i>]
noysed	<i>v.pp.</i> , rumoured [AN <i>noisier</i>]

O

Obbesiance	<i>n.</i> , obedience, submission to the rule or authority of another; MS also obeisance [AN <i>obedience</i>]
obligacion	<i>n.</i> , obligation, binding agreement committing a person to a payment or other action; the document containing such an agreement; <i>pl.</i> obligacions [AN <i>obligacion</i>]
oblisch	<i>v.</i> , oblige, bind (a person) by oath, promise, contract; commit; <i>3sg.</i> oblisches , <i>pt.</i> oblisched [AN <i>obliger</i>]
observed	<i>v.pp.</i> , observed, respected, followed; MS also observid [AN <i>observer</i>]
offendez	<i>n.pl.</i> , offence, breaches of law, rules, duty, propriety, or etiquette; <i>sg.</i> offens [AN <i>offense</i>]
offeryng	<i>v.n.</i> , offering; <i>1sg.</i> offir' [OE <i>offrung</i>]
office	<i>n.</i> , office, position of trust, authority, or service under constituted authority [AN <i>office</i>]
officers	<i>n.</i> , officer, person who holds a particular office, post, or place [AN <i>officer</i>]

old	<i>adj.</i> , old [OE <i>eald</i>]
on	<i>prep.</i> , on [OE <i>on</i>]
only	<i>adv.</i> , only [OE <i>ānlic</i>]
ony	<i>pron.</i> , any [OE <i>ǣnig</i>]
oon	<i>pron.</i> , <i>adj.</i> one [OE <i>ān</i>]
opyn	<i>v.</i> , <i>adj.</i> open; MS also opyn' ; <i>adv.</i> opynly [OE <i>open</i>]
or	<i>conj.</i> , or [ME <i>or</i> < OE <i>oðer</i>]
oraturoures	<i>n.pl.</i> , persons who offer a prayer or petition [AN <i>oratur</i>]
ordenede	<i>v.pp.</i> , ordained, planned; MS also ordeyned , <i>v.inf.</i> ordeyne [AN <i>ordener</i>]
oste	<i>n.</i> , host, army [Fr. <i>ost</i>]
oþer	<i>pron.</i> , <i>adj.</i> , other; MS also other , othir , oyer , ouyr ; <i>pl.</i> othirs
othirwise	<i>adv.</i> , otherwise [OE <i>oðer</i> + OE <i>wīse</i>]
ought	<i>v.</i> , ought; <i>3pl.</i> oughten [OE <i>āhte</i>]
our	<i>pers.pron.1pl. adj.</i> our; MS also oure , ovr' , ovre ; <i>nom.</i> we ; <i>pos.</i> us ; [OE <i>wē</i> , <i>ūre</i> , <i>ūs</i>]
out	<i>adv.</i> , out; MS also oute [OE <i>ūt</i> , <i>ūte</i>]
ovne	see avne
ovre-self	<i>pron.1pl.</i> , ourselves [OE <i>ūs</i> + <i>self</i>]
octaues	<i>n.pl.</i> , the period of eight days beginning with the day of a festival [AN <i>octaves</i>]

P

paid	<i>v.pp.</i> , paid; MS also payd , payde ; <i>v.inf.</i> pay , paye ; <i>3sg.</i> paieth ; <i>v.n.</i> payeng , payng ; <i>n.</i> payement , payment [AN <i>paier</i>]
park	<i>n.</i> , enclosed tract of land held by royal grant or prescription and reserved for keeping and hunting deer and other game [AN <i>parc</i>]
parlement	<i>n.</i> , parliament, formal conference or council, an assembly of magnates summoned (usually by a monarch) for the discussion of some matter or matters of general importance [AN <i>parlement</i>]

<i>Parson</i>	<i>n.</i> , person presented to an ecclesiastical living by a patron and admitted and instituted to it by the bishop [AN <i>parson</i>]
part	<i>n.</i> , part; MS also parte, partte, partie, party, partye ; <i>pl.</i> partes, partis [Lat. <i>part-</i> , <i>pars</i>]
Pasche	<i>n.</i> , MS fest of Pasche Easter, Passover feast [Lat. <i>pascha</i>]
passid	<i>v.pp.</i> MS last passid preceeding, last passed [AN <i>passer</i>]
payre	<i>n.</i> , pair [AN <i>paire</i>]
pays	<i>n.</i> , peise, definite measure of weight [AN <i>pais</i>]
pees	<i>n.</i> , peace; <i>adv.</i> pesible [AN <i>pes</i>]
pepill	<i>n.</i> , people, nation; MS also pople [AN <i>pople</i>]
<i>peraventure</i>	<i>n.</i> , risk, hazard [AN <i>par aventure</i>]
<i>perfit</i>	<i>adj.</i> , perfect, full [AN <i>parfit</i>]
<i>performysched</i>	<i>v.pp.</i> , performed, finished, completed [AN <i>parfourmer</i>]
<i>persone</i>	<i>n.</i> , person; <i>pl.</i> persones, persons ; <i>adv.</i> personaly [AN <i>parsonne</i>]
place	<i>n.</i> , place; <i>pl.</i> places, placis [OE <i>plæce</i> < Lat. <i>platea</i> , Fr. <i>place</i>]
Plese	<i>v.subj.</i> , MS Plese it, pleasit may it please [AN <i>plais-</i>]
plesur'	<i>n.</i> , pleasure, that which is agreeable to or in conformity with the wish or will of the person specified [AN <i>plaiser</i>]
pondage	<i>n.</i> , storage of water [OE <i>pund</i> + suffix <i>-age</i>]
Pope	<i>n.</i> , pope, Bishop of Rome, head of the Roman Catholic Church [Lat. <i>papa</i>]
porcions	<i>n.pl.</i> , portion, share [AN <i>porceun</i>]
possessions	<i>n.pl.</i> , property, belongings; MS also possessiouns [AN <i>possessiun</i>]
possible	<i>adj.</i> , possible [AN <i>possibel</i>]
pour'	<i>adj.</i> , poor; MS also puer' [AN <i>pover</i>]
power'	<i>n.</i> , power [AN <i>poer</i>]
praier'	<i>n.</i> , prayer, request; <i>v.</i> pray, praye ; <i>v.n.</i> Prayeng [AN <i>praere</i>]
predecessour's	<i>n.pl.</i> , predecessors [AN <i>predecessur</i>]
<i>progenitours</i>	<i>n.pl.</i> , offspring [Lat. <i>progenitura</i>]
premisses	<i>n.pl.</i> , premises, matters or things stated or mentioned previously [AN <i>premisses</i>]
presence	<i>n.</i> , presence; <i>adj.</i> present, presentz [AN <i>presence</i>]

preserue	<i>v.inf.</i> , preserve, protect [Fr. <i>préserver</i>]
presones	<i>n.pl.</i> , prisons; <i>sg.</i> prison' [AN <i>prisoun</i>]
preue	<i>v.inf.</i> , prove [AN <i>prover</i>]
preuey	<i>adj.</i> , MS preuey seal privy seal, a seal affixed to documents which are afterwards to pass under the Great Seal) and to documents of less importance which do not require the Great Seal; MS also priuay , priue , preuy [AN <i>prevé, privé</i>]
principal	<i>adj.</i> , principal [AN <i>princepal</i>]
Priour	<i>n.</i> , prior, superior officer of a religious house or order [Lat. <i>prior</i>]
Priuylegis	<i>n.pl.</i> , privileges, rights [Lat. <i>privilēgium</i>]
profit	<i>n.</i> , profit [AN <i>profit</i>]
promocion'	<i>n.</i> , promotion, advancement [AN <i>promocione</i>]
promys	<i>n.</i> , promise [AN <i>promese</i>]
proponed	<i>v.pp.</i> , proponed, put forward, proposed for consideration, acceptance, or adoption [Lat. <i>prōpōnere</i>]
prosperite	<i>n.</i> , prosperity [AN <i>prosperitee</i>]
prouest	<i>n.</i> , provost, an officer responsible for the management of a royal or feudal establishment and the collection of dues MS also Proest [Lat. <i>propositus</i>]
prouide	<i>v.inf.</i> , provide, make possible; <i>pt.</i> <i>prouided</i> , <i>n.</i> <i>prouision</i> [Lat. <i>prōvidēre</i>]
publisched	<i>v.pp.</i> , made publicly known, announced [AN <i>poeplier</i>]
punyschment	<i>n.</i> , punishment; <i>v.n.</i> punyschyng [AN <i>punisceement</i>]
purpos	<i>n.</i> , purpose; <i>v.pt.</i> purposid [AN <i>purpois</i>]
pursewe	<i>v.inf.</i> , pursue, follow; <i>pt.</i> pursewyd [AN <i>pursure</i>]
put	<i>v.inf.</i> , <i>v.pp.</i> put; MS also putte , <i>v.n.</i> puttyng [OE <i>pȳtan</i>]

Q

quarters	<i>n.pl.</i> , fourth parts of some usual measure or standard [AN <i>quarter</i>]
quatrenid	<i>n.</i> , (maybe) quatrimē, a twenty-five percent duty or tax levied on certain commodities [Fr. <i>quatrieme</i>]

R

rapported	<i>v.pt.</i> , reported [AN <i>reporter</i>]
Reame	<i>n.</i> , realm, kingdom; MS also Reaume [AN <i>realm</i>]
recedid	<i>v.pt.</i> , receded, departed; <i>v.n.</i> recedig [Lat. <i>recēdere</i>]
receyued	<i>v.pp.</i> , received, admitted to a place; MS probably also recey <...>; <i>v.inf.</i> resayve , <i>adj.</i> resayved , <i>v.pp.</i> resceyued [AN <i>receiver</i>]
recomaunde	<i>v.</i> , recomand, commit, entrust (a person) <i>to</i> a person or thing [AN <i>recomander</i>]
record	<i>n.</i> , record, anything preserving information and constituting a piece of evidence about past events, an account kept in writing or some other permanent form [AN <i>record</i>]
Recoupyng	<i>v.n.</i> , recouping, recovering, repaying [AN <i>recouper</i>]
redresse	<i>v.inf.</i> , redress, restore, repair [AN <i>redrescer</i>]
redy	<i>adj.</i> , ready [OE <i>rāde</i>]
reseantis	<i>n.pl.</i> , resiants, residents [AN <i>resceant</i>]
reformacionn	<i>n.</i> , reformation, action of reforming one's own or another's conduct or character [AN <i>reformacioun</i>]
refreschyng	<i>n.</i> , food [AN <i>refresement</i>]
refuse	<i>v.</i> , refuse; <i>pt.</i> refused [AN <i>refuser</i>]
rehersid	<i>adj.</i> , rehearsed, repeated; <i>v.n.</i> rehersyng [AN <i>reherser</i>]
reigne	<i>n.</i> , reign [AN <i>rengne</i>]
releue	<i>v.inf.</i> , relieve [AN <i>releiver</i>]
remayne	<i>v.inf.</i> , remain, stay [AN <i>remain-</i>]
remedy	<i>n.</i> , remedy, a means of relieving a bad situation or avoiding a problem [AN <i>remedi</i>]
remembre	<i>v.</i> , remember [AN <i>remembrier</i>]
remenant	<i>n.</i> , remanant, the rest or remainder of a number of people; MS also Remenant [AN <i>remanaunt</i>]
rentes	<i>n.pl.</i> , rent, a source or item of revenue or income; a separate piece of property yielding a certain return to the owner ; MS also rentis [AN <i>rent</i>]

reparement	<i>n.</i> , repairment, reparation [AN <i>reparer</i> + suffix <i>-ment</i>]
repute	<i>v.</i> , consider, think, esteem [AN <i>reputer</i>]
required	<i>v.pt.</i> , required, requested; <i>3sg.</i> requireth [AN <i>requer-</i>]
resayt	<i>v.inf.</i> , receive, make room for [AN <i>recepte</i>]
reseasid	<i>v.pp.</i> , (a person) put in possession of something again, replaced in or restored to a former position or dignity [AN <i>reseisir</i>]
resisted	<i>v.pp.</i> , resisted, stopped, hindered [AN <i>resistre</i>]
{reson}	<i>n.</i> , reason, intellectual power, the capacity for rational thought; <i>adv.</i> reasonably [AN <i>raisun</i>]
reuerence	<i>n.</i> , reverence, respect; <i>adj.</i> reuerent [AN <i>reverence</i>]
reury	<i>n.</i> , reverie, wild or uncontrolled behaviour [Fr. <i>reverie</i>]
Reuyn	see arreyved
reyse	<i>v.inf.</i> , raise, stir up, incite, instigate (a person or persons) <i>to</i> do something or <i>to</i> some feeling [ON <i>ræisa</i>]
Rial	<i>adj.</i> , rial, befitting a king, magnificent, excellent; MS also Riale [AN <i>rial</i>]
riche	<i>adj.</i> , rich [OE <i>rīce</i>]
right	1. <i>n.</i> , right; 2. <i>adv.</i> completely, totally, absolutely, fully [OE <i>riht</i>]
rihwisnesse	<i>n.</i> , correctness, rightness; aptness [OE <i>riht</i> + OE <i>wīs</i> + suffix <i>-ness</i>]
riply	<i>v.</i> , reply, respond [AN <i>repplier</i>]

S

sacrament	<i>n.</i> , oath, solemn engagement [Fr. <i>sacrement</i>]
sad	<i>adj.</i> , full, true [OE <i>sæd</i>]
saf	<i>adj.</i> , safe, valid [AN <i>salf</i> , Fr. <i>sauf</i>]
said	<i>adj.</i> , said, mentioned; MS also saide , saidez , sayd , sayde , seid , seide ; <i>v.inf.</i> say ; <i>v.n.</i> sayeng , seyng [OE <i>secgan</i>]
sal	<i>v.</i> , shall; MS also sall , schal , shal ; <i>pt.</i> schuld , schulde , shul [OE <i>sculan</i>]
saleuz	<i>n.pl.</i> presumably the plural of sol, a former monetary unit in France, later sou. Equal to 1/20 livre. [Fr. <i>sol</i>]
same	<i>adj.</i> , same [ON <i>same</i>]

Satirday	<i>n.</i> , Saturday [OE <i>Sæterdæg</i>]
saule	<i>n.</i> , soul [OE <i>sāwol</i>]
Saynt	<i>n.</i> , saint; MS also Seynt [Fr. <i>saint</i>]
scathis	<i>n.pl.</i> , damages [ON <i>skaðe</i>]
Scheep	<i>n.pl.</i> , sheep [OE <i>scēap</i>]
Schewe	<i>v.</i> , show [OE <i>scēawian</i>]
schip	<i>n.</i> , ship; <i>pl.</i> schippes , schippis [OE <i>scip</i>]
schort	<i>adj.</i> , short [OE <i>scort</i>]
Scottis	<i>adj.</i> , Scottish [Lat. <i>Scotticus</i>]
Scute	<i>n.</i> , an English name for the French coin called <i>écu</i> [Lat. <i>scūtum</i>]
seal	<i>n.</i> , seal; <i>pl.</i> seals [Fr. <i>seel</i>]
secte	<i>n.</i> , kind [Fr. <i>secte</i>]
secunde	<i>adj.</i> , second [Fr. <i>second</i>]
see	<i>n.</i> , sea [OE <i>sǣ</i>]
seen	<i>v.pp.</i> , seen; MS sen' [OE <i>sēon</i>]
Seler'	<i>n.</i> , seller, one who sells; <i>v.inf.</i> selle [OE <i>sellan</i>]
semblable	<i>adj.</i> , similar [Fr. <i>semblable</i>]
sembled	<i>v.pt.</i> , assembled, brought together (persons) into one place or company [Fr. <i>a(s)semble-r</i>]
sende	<i>v.</i> , send; <i>3sg.</i> sendes , sendith ; <i>pt.</i> sent [OE <i>sendan</i>]
seruand	<i>n.</i> , servant, one who is under the obligation to render certain services to, and to obey the orders of, a person or a body of persons in return for wages or salary; MS also seruant , <i>pl.</i> seruantes [Fr. <i>servant</i>]
serue	<i>v.</i> , serve, go through or perform a term of service under a master; <i>n.</i> service [Fr. <i>servir</i>]
set	<i>v.pp.</i> , set; <i>v.n.</i> settyng [OE <i>settan</i>]
seth	<i>adv.</i> , since; MS also sethyn' [OE <i>siððan</i>]
seueral	<i>adv.</i> , separate, distinct; <i>adv.</i> seueraly [AN <i>several</i>]
seurete	<i>n.</i> , surety, security, certainty; MS also seuretee , suerte , suertee [Fr. <i>surte</i> , <i>-tey</i> , <i>seurte</i>]
sewyth	<i>v.pp.</i> , sued [AN <i>suer</i>]

sext	<i>adj.</i> , sixth; MS also sexte [OE <i>siex</i>]
side	<i>n.</i> , side; <i>pl.</i> sides, sidis [OE <i>sīde</i>]
sir	<i>n.</i> , sir; <i>pl.</i> sirs [Fr. <i>sire</i>]
skowre	<i>v.inf.</i> , scour, clear out (a channel, ditch, drain etc.) by removing dirt, weeds etc.; <i>v.n.</i> skouryng [ME <i>scure</i> , <i>skoure</i>]
slayn	<i>v.pp.</i> , slain; <i>v.n.</i> sleyng [OE <i>slēan</i>]
slike	<i>adj.</i> , such; MS also slyk [ON <i>slik-r</i>]
small	<i>adj.</i> , small, short, simple [OE <i>smæl</i>]
So	<i>adj.</i> , so [OE <i>swā</i>]
socour	<i>v.</i> , succour, help, assistance [Fr. <i>sucurs</i>]
sofir'	<i>v.inf.</i> , suffer, tolerate; 3 <i>sg.</i> sufferis [AN <i>suffrir</i>]
soget	<i>n.</i> , subject, a person who is under the control of another or who owes obedience to another; MS also subiecte ; <i>pl.</i> subgittes , subiectes [AN <i>suget</i>]
solempne	<i>adj.</i> , solemn [Fr. <i>solempne</i>]
somme	<i>n.</i> , sum; MS also sum , summe ; <i>pl.</i> summes , summez , sommes [Fr. <i>summe</i>]
sondry	<i>n.</i> , individual material goods [OE <i>syndrig</i>]
sone	<i>adv.</i> , soon [OE <i>sōna</i>]
Soth	<i>adv.</i> , sooth, truthfully [OE <i>sōðe</i>]
soueraygne	<i>adj.</i> , sovereign; MS also souerayn' , souerayne , souerein [Fr. <i>soverain</i>]
special	<i>adv.</i> , MS in special especially; MS also specialy [Fr. <i>especial</i>]
specified	<i>v.pp.</i> , mentioned [Fr. <i>specifier</i>]
spede	<i>v.inf.</i> , speed [OE <i>spēdan</i>]
spiritual	<i>adj.</i> , spiritual, of or relating to, affecting or concerning, the spirit or higher moral qualities; MS also <i>spirituel</i> [Fr. <i>spirituel</i>]
Sqwier'	<i>n.</i> , squire, a young man of good birth attendant upon a knight [Fr. <i>esquier</i>]
stablich	<i>v.</i> , establish [Fr. <i>establiss-</i>]
stande	<i>v.inf.</i> , stand, remain steadfast, firm, secure; 1 <i>sg.</i> stonde [OE <i>standan</i>]
statute	<i>n.</i> , decree or command made by a sovereign, ruler, or ruling body [AN <i>statute</i>]

steward	<i>n.</i> , housekeeper [OE <i>stīweard</i>]
stoppe	<i>v.inf.</i> , stop, block up; 3 <i>sg.</i> stoppyth <i>pt.</i> stoppid , <i>v.n.</i> stoppyng [OE - <i>stoppian</i>]
straunge	<i>adj.</i> , strange, abnormal [Fr. <i>estrange</i>]
straungeth	<i>v.</i> , strenghten, encourage [OE <i>strengðu</i>]
strengthe	<i>n.</i> , strength, force; <i>adj.</i> stronge , <i>comp.</i> stronger ? [OE <i>strengðu</i>]
strike	<i>v.</i> , strike, hit, kill [OE <i>strīcan</i>]
subscribed	<i>v.pp.</i> , undersigned [Lat. <i>subscrībere</i>]
substancial	<i>adj.</i> , significant, important [Fr. <i>substantial</i>]
such	<i>adj.</i> such; MS also suche [OE <i>swelc</i> , <i>swilc</i>]
suffereynte	<i>n.</i> , sufferer [AN <i>suffrir</i>]
suffice	<i>v.inf.</i> , to be enough, sufficient, or adequate for a purpose; <i>adj.</i> sufficeant , sufficient , suffisante ; <i>adv.</i> sufficiently [Fr. <i>suffis-</i>]
sumtyme	<i>adv.</i> , sometime [OE <i>sum</i> + OE <i>tīma</i>]
sumwhat	<i>adv.</i> , somewhat MS also sumwhate [OE <i>sum</i> + OE <i>hwæt</i>]
suppliaunt	<i>n.</i> , suppliant, a person who makes a humble or earnest plea to another [AN <i>supliant</i>]
supportacion'	<i>n.</i> , support, assistance [AN <i>supportacion</i>]
supposyng	<i>v.n.</i> , supposing [AN <i>suposer</i>]
surces	<i>v.</i> , surcease [Fr. <i>sursis</i>]
Surveyour	<i>n.</i> , surveyor, one who has the oversight or superintendence of a person or thing [AN <i>surve(i)our</i>]
susteynes	<i>n.</i> , sustain, sustenance [AN <i>susteiner</i>]
Sware	<i>v.pt.</i> , swore, made a solemn declaration or statement with an appeal to God or to some sacred object, in confirmation of what was said [OE <i>swerian</i>]

T

take	<i>v.inf.</i> , take; <i>v.pp.</i> taken, takyn' ; <i>v.n.</i> takyng [ON <i>taka</i>]
talage	<i>n.</i> , a tax levied upon feudal dependants by their superiors, a municipal rate [Fr. <i>taillage</i>]
tareng	<i>n.</i> , tarry, delay [Fr. <i>tarier</i>]
taxis	<i>n.pl.</i> , taxes [Fr. <i>taxe-r</i>]
temporal	<i>adj.</i> , temporal, temporary; MS also temparel [Lat. <i>temporāl-is</i>]
tenantes	<i>n.pl.</i> , tenants, persons who hold or possess lands or tenements by any kind of title; MS also tenantis, tenantz, tenauntes [Fr. <i>tenant</i>]
tendir	<i>adj.</i> , kind; <i>adv.</i> tendirly [Fr. <i>tendre</i>]
tenement	<i>n.</i> , tenement, the fact of holding as a possession; tenure [AN <i>tenement</i>]
terme	<i>n.</i> , term, space of time; <i>pl.</i> termys [Fr. <i>terme</i>]
testimonial	MS letres testimonial letters testifying to the bona fides of the bearer, credentials [Fr. <i>tesmoignal</i>]
þambaxatours	<i>n.pl.</i> the ambaxatours the ambassadors [Fr. <i>ambassadeur</i>]
than	1. <i>conj.</i> than; 2. <i>adv.</i> then; MS also the{n} [OE <i>þanne</i>]
thankfully	<i>adv.</i> , thankfully [OE <i>þanc</i> + suffix <i>-ful</i> + suffix <i>-ly</i>]
thapostil	<i>n.</i> , MS seynt Mathye thapostil Saint Matthew the apostle [Fr. <i>apostle</i>]
ther	<i>adv.</i> , there; MS also þer [OE <i>þær</i>]
that	1. <i>pron.</i> , 2. <i>adj.</i> , 3. <i>conj.</i> , that; MS also yat, þat [OE <i>þæt</i>]
thay	<i>pers.pron.3pl.</i> , they; MS also they, þey, þei [ON <i>þei-r</i>]; <i>pos.adj.</i> their' , þeir' , theyr' , thar' , ther' [ON <i>þeir(r)a</i>]; <i>pers.pron.3pl.acc.dat.</i> them, þem, thaym, them, reflexive them-salf, them-self [ON <i>þeim</i>]
the	<i>def.art.</i> , the; MS also þe, te [OE <i>se</i>]
thees	<i>adj.pl.</i> , these; MS also thes, thez, thies [OE <i>ðes</i>]
þemperour'	<i>n.</i> , the emperour' the emperor [Fr. <i>emperere</i>]
thens	<i>adv.</i> , thence [OE <i>þanone</i>]
thentent	the entent; see entent
ther'abowte	<i>adv.</i> , thereabout [OE <i>þær abūtan</i>]
ther'for'	<i>adv.</i> , therefore; MS also þerfor [OE <i>þær- + fore</i>]

ther'vppon'	<i>adv.</i> , thereupon [OE <i>þær</i> + OE <i>uppan</i>]
þerfor	see ther'for'
ther-of	<i>adv.</i> , thereof [OE <i>þær</i> + <i>of</i>]
ther-with	<i>adv.</i> , therewith [OE <i>þær</i> + <i>wiþ</i>]
þing	<i>n.</i> , thing, MS also thing , thyng ; <i>pl.</i> þinges , thynges , thynges [OE <i>þing</i>]
This	<i>adj.</i> , <i>pron.</i> , this; MS also þis , þys ; <i>pl.</i> thees , thes , thez , thies [OE <i>ðes</i>]
tho	<i>pron.pl.</i> , those [OE <i>þās</i>]
thorgh'	<i>prep.</i> , through [OE <i>ðurh</i>]
thousand	<i>adj.</i> , <i>n.</i> , thousand; <i>pl.</i> thousandis [OE <i>ðūsend</i>]
thre	<i>adj.</i> , three [OE <i>ðrē</i>]
thynke	<i>v.</i> , think, believe [OE <i>þencan</i> , <i>þyncan</i>]
til	1. <i>conj.</i> , until [ON <i>til</i>]; 2. <i>prep.</i> , to; [ON <i>til</i>]
Tilers	<i>n.pl.</i> , tilers, tile-makers [OE <i>tigel</i>]
To	<i>prep.</i> , to [OE <i>tō</i>]
tofftis	<i>n.pl.</i> , tuft, grassy hillock; MS also toftys [ON <i>topt</i> , <i>tupt</i>]
togedir'	<i>adv.</i> , MS to gedir' together, in union or contact; MS also to-gedir [OE <i>tō-gædre</i>]
ton'	<i>n.</i> , town; <i>pl.</i> <i>toynes</i> ; MS also tone [OE <i>tūn</i>]
torne	<i>v.inf.</i> , turn [OE <i>tyrnan</i>]
tothir'	<i>adj.</i> , the other (of two) [OE <i>þæt oþer</i>]
touchid	<i>v.pt.</i> , touched; <i>v.n.</i> touchyng [OE <i>tochier</i>]
toward	<i>prep.</i> toward; MS also <i>towardes</i> [OE <i>tōweard</i>]
towre	<i>n.</i> , tower [OE <i>torr</i>]
tranquillite	<i>n.</i> , tranquility [Fr. <i>tranquillité</i>]
Tratoure	<i>n.</i> , traitor [Fr. <i>traître</i>]
Treson'	<i>n.</i> , treason [AN <i>treysoun</i>]
Tresourer	<i>n.</i> , treasurer [AN <i>tresorer</i>]
trespas	<i>n.</i> , trespass; <i>pl.</i> trespacez [Fr. <i>trespas</i>]
treted	<i>v.pp.</i> , treated, dealt with [Fr. <i>tretier</i>]
tretee	<i>n.</i> , treaty [AN <i>treté</i>]

treuthe	<i>n.</i> , truth; <i>adj.</i> trew , trve , trewe ; <i>adv.</i> treuly , trewely , trewly , [OE <i>trēowð</i>]
tried	<i>adj.</i> , excellent, refined [Fr. <i>trie-r</i>]
Trinites	<i>n.</i> , the festival of the Holy Trinity, Trinity Sunday, the first Sunday after Pentecost, eight weekes after Easter Sunday (May or June) [Fr. <i>trinite</i>]
trust	<i>v.</i> , trust; MS also trist , truste ; <i>adj.</i> trusty [ON <i>treysta</i>]
two	<i>adj.</i> , two [OE <i>twā</i>]
tymbir'	<i>n.</i> , timber [OE <i>timber</i>]
tyme	<i>n.</i> , time; <i>pl.</i> tymes [OE <i>tīma</i>]

U

unmeveable	<i>adj.</i> , unmovable, immovable; MS also vnmeueable [prefix <i>im-</i> + AN <i>mevable</i>]
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V

valoure	<i>n.</i> , valour, value; MS also valure [Fr. <i>valour</i>]
Verey	<i>adj.</i> , real, true; <i>adv.</i> verily [AN <i>verrai</i>]
vertu	<i>n.</i> , virtue, voluntary observance of the recognized moral laws or standards of right conduct [AN <i>vertu</i>]
vitaile	<i>n.</i> , victual, food or provisions of any kind [AN <i>vitaile</i>]
Vncle	<i>n.</i> , uncle [AN <i>uncle</i>]
vnder	<i>prep.</i> , under; MS also vndre [OE <i>under</i>]
vnderstand	<i>v.</i> , understand; MS also vndirstande [OE <i>understandan</i>]
vndetermynde	<i>adj.</i> , undetermined, not authoritatively decided or settled [prefix <i>un-</i> + Fr. <i>determine-r</i>]
vndirwretyn'	<i>adj.</i> , underwritten, specified below [prefix <i>under-</i> + OE <i>writan</i>]
vndo	<i>v.</i> , undo [OE <i>undōn</i>]
vniuersaly	<i>adv.</i> , universally, all over [AN <i>universell</i> + suffix <i>-ly</i>]

vniuersite	<i>n.</i> , university, the collective whole of the members of a body or group of persons addressed in a formal or official document; MS also vniuersite [AN <i>univercyté</i>]
vnlafull	<i>adj.</i> , unlawful; <i>adv.</i> vnlefffully [prefix <i>un-</i> + OE <i>lagu</i> + suffix <i>-full</i>]
vnmeueable	see unmeveable
vnto	<i>prep.</i> unto, to; MS also Vn-to [ME <i>unto</i>]
voices	<i>n.pl.</i> , voices, with reference to the issuing of a command [AN <i>voice</i> , <i>voisce</i> , Fr. <i>voiz</i>]
vp	<i>adv.</i> , up [OE <i>ūp</i>]
vpon	<i>prep.</i> , upon; MS also vppon , vpponn [OE <i>ūp</i> + OE <i>on</i>]
vs	see our
vse	<i>n.</i> , use, benefit, habit; <i>pl.</i> vsagis; <i>v.pp.</i> , <i>pt.</i> vsed, vsid; <i>v.n.</i> vsyn [AN <i>eos</i>]
Vsscher	<i>n.</i> , usher, official or servant who has charge of the door and admits people to a hall, chamber [AN <i>usser</i>]
vsuel	<i>adj.</i> , usual [Fr. <i>usual</i>]
vttirly	<i>adv.</i> , utterly, truly, verily [OE <i>ūtera</i> + suffix <i>ly</i>]
W	
wages	<i>n.pl.</i> , wage, payment to a person for service rendered [AN <i>wage</i>]
war	<i>n.</i> , war; MS also werre [Fr. <i>werre</i>]
warrant	<i>n.</i> , warrant, guarantor; <i>pl.</i> warantz [Fr. <i>warrant</i>]
wardeyns	<i>n.pl.</i> , wardens, persons in charge of a division of an army [Fr. <i>wardein</i>]
wardrober	<i>n.</i> , wardrober, officer of a royal household who had charge of the robes [Fr. <i>warderobier</i>]
ware	MS also wer' , were' ; see am
warned	<i>v.pp.</i> , warned; <i>v.n.</i> warnyng [OE <i>warnian</i>]
was	see am
wast	<i>n.</i> , waste, piece of land not cultivated or used for any purpose, and producing little or no herbage or wood; MS also waste [Fr. <i>wast(e)</i>]
watir'	<i>n.</i> , water [OE <i>wæter</i>]

way	<i>n.</i> , way [OE <i>weg</i>]
wayte	<i>n.</i> , wait, lay in wayte take up a concealed position in order to make an unforeseen attack [Fr. <i>wait</i>]
we	see our
weel	1. <i>adv.</i> well, 2. <i>n.</i> well, well-being; MS also wel, wele [OE <i>wel</i>]
welbeloued	<i>adj.</i> , well-beloved; MS also welbyloued, welebeloued, Wellebeloued [prefix <i>bi-</i> , <i>be-</i> + OE <i>lufian</i>]
welfare	<i>n.</i> , welfare [OE <i>wel fare</i>]
wentyn'	<i>pres.p.</i> , venting, giving utterance, expression, or publicity to an opinion, complaining [Fr. <i>vent</i>]
werk	<i>n.</i> , work [OE <i>weorc</i>]
weyght	<i>n.</i> , weight [OE <i>wiht</i>]
what	<i>adj.</i> , <i>pron.</i> , what [OE <i>hwæt</i>]
what-sumevir	<i>pron.</i> , whatsoever, whatever [OE <i>swā hwæt swā</i> + OE <i>ǣfre</i>]
wher'-for	<i>adv.</i> , wherefore, for which; MS also Wher'for, Wher'fore [OE <i>hwær</i> + OE <i>for</i>]
wher'by	<i>adv.</i> , whereby, by which [OE <i>hwær</i> + OE <i>bī</i>]
Wher'in	<i>adv.</i> , wherein, in which [OE <i>hwær</i> + <i>in</i>]
where-sum-ewir	<i>adv.</i> , wheresoever [OE <i>swā hwær swā</i> + OE <i>ǣfre</i>]
Wherof'	<i>adv.</i> , whereof, of which [OE <i>hwær</i> + OE <i>of</i>]
Wherupponn	<i>adv.</i> , whereupon, upon which [OE <i>hwær</i> + <i>upon</i>]
which	<i>pron.</i> , <i>adj.</i> , which; MS also whiche, whik, Whilk, Whilke [OE <i>hwilc</i>]
whil	<i>adv.</i> , while [OE <i>hwīl</i>]
who	<i>pron.</i> , who [OE <i>hwā</i>]
whom	<i>pron.</i> , whom; MS also Whome [OE <i>hwām</i>]
wil	<i>v.</i> , will, desire; MS also <i>pres.3.sg.</i> wole ; <i>pres.p.</i> willyng; <i>pt.</i> wolde [OE <i>willan</i>]
willid	<i>adj.</i> willed [OE <i>willa</i> + suffix <i>-ed</i>]
wis	<i>adj.</i> , wise [OE <i>wīs</i>]
wise	<i>n.</i> , wise, manner; MS also wyse [OE <i>wīse</i>]
wit	<i>v.inf.</i> , know, be aware of; MS also wite, witte ; <i>pt.</i> wote [OE <i>witan</i>]

<i>with</i>	<i>prep.</i> , with [OE <i>wið</i>]
<i>within</i>	<i>prep.</i> , within, MS also with-in [OE <i>wiðinnan</i>]
<i>without</i>	<i>prep.</i> without [OE <i>wiðūtan</i>]
<i>with-sad</i>	<i>v.pt.</i> , withsaid, contradicted, denied [OE <i>wiðsæcga</i>]
<i>witnesse</i>	<i>n.</i> , witness, knowledge, evidence; <i>v.3</i> witnesseth [OE <i>witnes</i>]
<i>won</i>	<i>v.pp.</i> , won, continue, remain [OE <i>wunian</i>]
<i>worde</i>	<i>n.</i> , word; <i>pl.</i> wordis, wordys [OE <i>word</i>]
<i>worschip</i>	<i>n.</i> , worship; MS also worship , <i>adj.</i> worschipful, worschipfull [OE <i>weorðscipe</i>]
<i>worthi</i>	<i>adj.</i> , worthy; MS also worthy [OE <i>weorðe</i> + suffix <i>-y</i>]
<i>write</i>	<i>v.</i> , write; <i>pp.</i> Wretenn, wretyn', writen, Wryten ; <i>n.pl.</i> writes [OE <i>writan</i>]
<i>wronges</i>	<i>n.pl.</i> , wrongs, unjust actions [OE <i>wrang</i>]
<i>wyntir'</i>	<i>n.</i> , winter [OE <i>winter</i>]

Y

<i>yat</i>	see that
<i>ye</i>	1. see the ; 2. see you
<i>yede</i>	<i>v.pt.</i> , went, proceeded [OE <i>ēode</i> , pt. of <i>gān</i> ,]
<i>yeer</i>	<i>n.</i> , year; MS also yeer, yer' ; <i>pl.</i> yeris [OE <i>gēar</i>]
<i>yeerly</i>	<i>adv.</i> , yearly; MS also yerely [OE <i>gēar</i> + suffix <i>-ly</i>]
<i>yelde</i>	<i>v.inf.</i> , yield, give as due or of right; <i>v.pp.</i> yelded, yoldyn' [OE <i>gielðan</i>]
<i>yerde</i>	<i>n.</i> , measure of length equal to three feet or thirty-six inches [OE <i>gierd</i>]
<i>ye-re-of</i>	see ther-of
<i>yeuen</i>	<i>v.pp.</i> , given; <i>v.n.</i> yevyng [OE <i>giefan</i>]
<i>yit</i>	<i>adv.</i> yet [OE <i>gīet</i>]
<i>you</i>	<i>pers.pron.2.pl and formal, dat.</i> you MS also yow ; <i>nom.</i> ye, ye' ; <i>adj.</i> your, youre ; <i>reflexive</i> your-self [OE <i>gē, ēower, ēow</i>]

Appendix 2: List of personal names

Bartilme Bolde

Broke

Cristo'fir hoggeson

Edmond Mulso

Elton

Henr' Schotelanger

Henri Hamby

Henry VI, see p. 27

Herry Norys

ihesu

Joh Clifton'

John Baptist

John Brompton

John Clerk

John Coppandale

John Gargrave, see p. 32-33

John Hows

John of Jerusalem

John Pykeryng

John Smothyng

John Stanlay

John Talbot

John Trusse

John Vyntener'

John Walker' Smyth

John Willyamson', Willyamson*n*

Marie Magdalene

Mathye

Pulforthe

Pynchebek Topshawe

Richard Duke of York, see p. 28

Richard Grome

Richard halle

Richard Jngold

Robert Grene

Robert Grene

Robert Scharp

Robert Stonys

Robert Talbot

Robert Rolleston, see p. 36-37

Roger Rolleston', see p. 36-37

Stephen Tilson, Tilsonn

Thomas Abraham

Thomas Broghton

Thomas Chapell

Thomas Colynn (Colynsonn)

Thomas Hadilsay

Thomas Mayn', mayn

Thomas Norys

Thomas Stanlay

Thomas Wilton'

Walter Devoreux

wastnesse

watkyn' Clerk

William Atkynson'

William Buklay

William Clifton'

William Gruffe

William Hotoft

William Jonson

William ledis, ledys

William lorymer

William Manypeny, see p. 41

William Morethwayt, Murthewayt, see p. 42

William Normanvile

William Northorp

William Oldhalle, see p. 29

William Sleforth

William Souleby

William Spencer

William Tay

William Turnbull

Appendix 3: List of place names

Acres

Arrai<s>

Basset

Bayon'

Beammerrcys, Beammercys

Beuerlay

Blaktoft

Burdelez

Burdeux

Burgoigne

Castell of Conway

Castell of Fronsek

Castell of Holte

Chesschire

Chestir

Chichestre

Cokwaldstrete

Congtursault

Croule

england, Ingeland, Ingelond

Entredeux

Eren'

Eren'

Fischmarketmoregat

Flemmyngate

France, Fraunce

Glaskow

Glowcestr'

Hellegarth

Holderness
Jerusalem
Ireland, Irland
Keldegbatrr
lekynfeld
london', londonn, londoun
lortlane
Mynstermoregate
Neuemyln
Northcaue
Northumbirland
Northwalys
Nostirdamys
Orliance, Orlyance
Ryngaldlane
Schrowisbery
Scotland
watton'
westmynstre
Whitgift
withornsee
Worcestr'
yorkschire

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