# A Comparative Study of Pepys Library MS 2314 and UVic's MS Brown.Lat.1: Poetry and Matrilineage in a Fifteenth-Century English Genealogical Roll

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A Comparative Study of Pepys 2314 and UVic Brown.Lat.1: Poetry and Matrilineage in a Fifteenth-Century English Genealogical Roll

### I. Introduction

Held in University of Victoria's Special Collections and University Archives, MS Brown Lat.1 is a twenty-one-foot, late fifteenth-century genealogical roll of English kings on nine membranes of parchment. Written in Latin (with one instance of English), the roll includes seven vertical text columns. The columns work chronologically from the Christianization of England and mark the succession of the Christian year ("Anni a Nativitate Christi"), Popes ("Romani pontifices"), Archbishops of Canterbury ("Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis"), and the years from the conversion of England ("Anni Christianitatis Anglie"), as well as Sunday Letters ("Littere Dominicales") and Golden Numbers (here called "Numeri primacionum") to allow calculation of Sundays and Easter for each year. Significant historical events are also recorded in the text columns, especially in the central and largest column, which records the kings of England following the Kentish line ("Reges Kancie"), under the following header:

Hii successere tibi Reges Anglia uere

Primo Christicala gaudebat Kancia sola

Huc Augustine tibi laus resonat sine fine.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For a full manuscript description, including material and decorative features, see Boucher, et al.

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The note for the year 822 [in Pepys 2314] betrays a connexion with St. Augustine's abbey. And, in fact, a comparison of this roll with the similar table prefixed to Thomas of Elmham's unfinished *History of the Abbey of St. Augustine* ... shows that the roll is not independent of that work. The method of reckoning by years of St. Augustine is common to both. Various notes, e.g. that on Pope Joan, agree word for word; and some small events, e.g. the siege of Leeds Castle (Kent) in 1320, are recorded in both. Moreover the fact that Thomas of Elmham became a Cluniac accounts for the mention of the Cluniacs and of Lewes, which was their first home in England. The general style of writing closely resembles that of the manuscript of Elmham at Trinity Hall.<sup>5</sup>

James' argument was that Pepys 2314 was created using Elmham's work as an exemplar for its column structure and its early historical records. The Pepys roll, however, continues after Elmham's work ends and includes expanded later historical material that is not present in Trinity Hall MS 1, so it cannot be an exact copy of Elmham's table. The Victoria roll appears to be one manuscript generation out from this relationship: it copies the Pepys roll, which in turn used the Elmham table as template.

With my own work in situ at Cambridge, the connection between these three manuscripts has been confirmed. Pepys 2314 has the same columns in the same order as the Victoria roll, and it seems likely that the slightly later Victoria roll has been copied from Pepys 2314, which

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> M.R. James 85. The note on Pope Joan that James mentions is assigned to the year 853-855 and is also

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displays an earlier script and decorative style. Aside from minor divergences, which may simply be the result of copying errors and additions,<sup>6</sup> the two rolls are nearly identical. While Pepys roll continues its dating system until 1550, and MS Brown Lat.1 continues only until 1472, the textual content varies little. The last historical-event entry on both rolls is the death of the John of Lancaster, 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Bedford in 1435,<sup>7</sup> and, in general, the text entries on both rolls, as James also claimed for the connection between the Pepys roll and Elmham manuscript, "agree word for word" (85). For one simple example, a note beginning at the year 1282 records the recovery of King Arthur's crown: in Pepys 2314 (the earlier manuscript), it reads "Corona regis arthuri inuenta estsqueTaponeanuscTf ectvery vetapr() of us 9(a.6)aur J 3(d0)(10M96)(106)100wa) 10LJ 1(4)731 Tf 0 Tc 0.

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similarities and differences—so that their relationship and the ways in which MS Brown.Lat.1 is unique might be better understood. To this end, in the following sections, I will discuss MS Brown.Lat.1's distinct emphasis on English kings, its embedded poetry, and its unique interest in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Yorkist lineages.

# II. Of Kings and Poetry: MS Brown.Lat.1's Emphasis on Kings

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Figure 3: The beginning of UVic's MS Brown.Lat.1.

As these images show (Figures 1-3), Elmham

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beginning with Alfred), which was apparently used to assist in remembering the order of succession of English kings and was once attributed to Matthew Parker (Archbishop of Canterbury 1563-1575). The larger poem embedded in the rolls is relatively simple: each king has a couplet that remarks on an important aspect of his reign. For most, the couplets refer to significant wars they fought, civil unrest that plagued their reigns, or legal precedent they instituted. In some cases, their good or bad character is noted. In the case of Alfred the Great, his legendary founding of the University of Oxford is memorialized: "Oxoniis flores / Alured fert iste priores" (Alfred brought forth the first flowers of Oxford). While this poem may be original to the Pepys roll, it is given much more prominence in the Victoria roll, once again suggesting that the Victoria roll is an object meant to be read closely. With this emphasis on text over visual representation, the Victoria roll begins to create a narrative of kingship, which develops further as readers continue through the line of succession.

The Victoria roll has one notable textual addition that is missing from both Pepys 2314 and Trinity Hall MS 1: a seven-line poem dedicated to Alfred the Great (d. 899), which follows immediately upon the couplet memorializing of his founding of Oxford and thus visually appears as an eight-line epitaph in the central column, between the roll's calendar years of 874 and 881, with the rubricated first line "Oxoniis flores Alured fert iste priores," as follows:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Holkham Hall MS 228 (including material from the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries), fol. 173b. The poem written in this manuscript was attributed to Matthew Parker in the 1883 by the *Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (issue 9, 359). The fact that Parker was an Archbishop of Canterbury makes it possible that he had access to what is now Pepys MS 2314, from which he may have culled his couplets. A new catalogue of medieval Holkham Hall manuscripts is now available: Suzanne Reynolds, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library at Holkham Hall: Manuscripts from Italy to 1500: Part 1, Shelfmarks 1-399*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> This couplet, which appears in both the Pepys and Victoria rolls, refers to the common misconception that Alfred founded the University of Oxford. For more, see P. Wormald. University College at Oxford has also published an open-source blog post on the subject, available here: <a href="https://www.univ.ox.ac.uk/news/king-alfred-univ-part-1/">https://www.univ.ox.ac.uk/news/king-alfred-univ-part-1/</a>

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In addition, Parker's manuscript copy of his Asser edition was bequeathed to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, upon his death—a provenance likely related to Parker's time as master of Corpus Christi College and Vice Chancellor of Cambridge University. Scholars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries knew a fourteen-line version of the same epitaph (including the Victoria roll's seven lines but interspersing seven more), but there is no evidence that they knew the original source: by 1876, G.E. Watson wrote only that it was "from an old black-letter history of England." In any case, it is clear that some variation of the Victoria roll's Alfred poem was circulating as early as when Asser wrote his *Life of King Alfred* and that inclusion of it mattered to the copyist of the Victoria roll.

The Alfred poem, as it exists in Brown.Lat.1, combined with the Oxford couplet that also exists in Pepys 2314, emphatically celebrates one of the great kings of England as both a patron of scholars and an embattled

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Simon Keynes has argued that King Alfred was considered "prototypically British" from at least the late-medieval period: "Beset throughout his reign with the reality or threat of Viking invasions, Alfred battled fiercely and suffered heroically in leading his people to their eventual victory; at the same time he promoted the causes of religion and learning, and by the example of his government [he] upheld truth, justice and the Anglo-Saxon way." This image of Alfred as an ideal Anglo-Saxon king is exactly what led Matthew Parker to produce his edition of *The Life of King Alfred*: the first Archbishop of Canterbury during Elizabeth I's reign, Parker wanted "to locate the Elizabethan church in a laudable, historical tradition," and this led to his "sustained study of Anglo-Saxon[s]." Thus, King Alfred's narrative became a propagandistic tool for Elizabethan antiquarians, grounding both the early Church of England and Elizabeth I's reign in an idealized Anglo-Saxon past. The Alfred poem in Brown.Lat.1 serves a similar purpose; it links the great Anglo-Saxon king's royal descendants of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to his deep (and romanticized) warrior-scholar model.

By placing its emphasis on text, as opposed to illuminated images or intrusive decoration, the Victoria roll thus creates a narrative of English kingship that is absent from its related manuscripts. In this sense, the Victoria roll instructs its readers on both good and poor kingship, lauding Alfred's accomplishments in the seven-line poem, for instance, but simultaneously critiquing the bad character of other kings mentioned in the larger embedded rhymed-couplet poem. These poems allow readers to interpret kingship for themselves, while reflecting on a narrative history of the English throne. Combined with the Victoria roll's emphasis on genealogy, the poems serve a propagandistic function—though different from Parker's propaganda—which is continued through the roll's later interest in Yorkist lineages. As the roll

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> S. Keynes 225.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Crankshaw and Gillespie.

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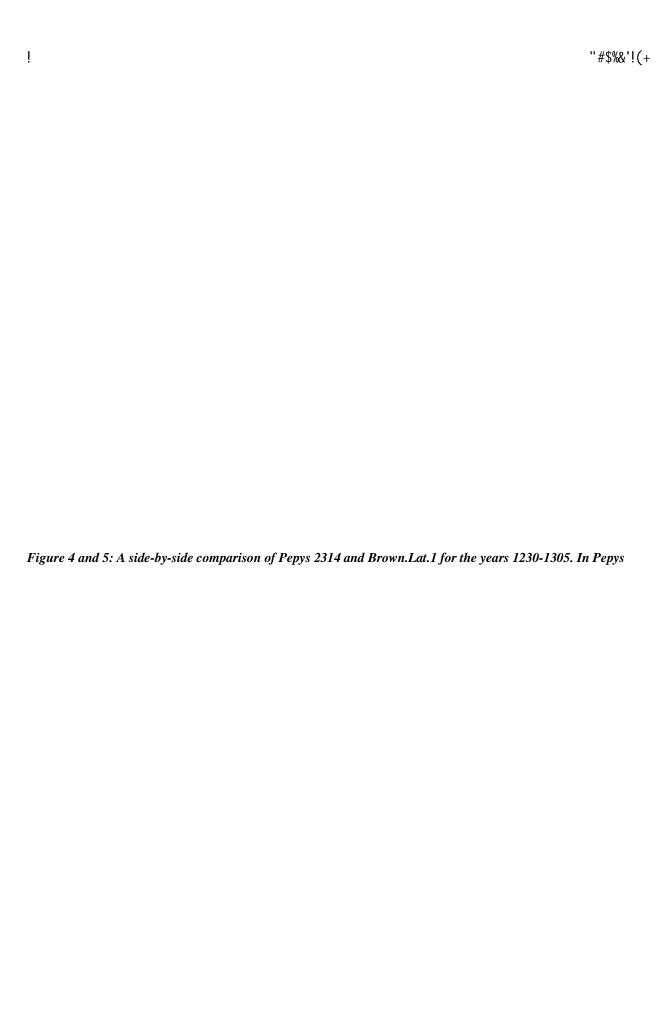
moves into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it becomes clear that it places a unique emphasis on matrilineal inheritance, as will be discussed in detail in the next section. To understand the importance the inclusion of the Alfred poem in this context, it is crucial to realize that any descendants of Alfred, following Edmund Ironside (*i.e.*, Alfred's last direct male descendent), had to trace their heritage through Matilda of Scotland, <sup>16</sup> the wife of King Henry I and mother of Empress Matilda.

## III. MS Brown.Lat.1, Wars of the Roses, and the Yorkist Claim

MS Brown.Lat.1 displays a unique interest in specific branches of the late-medieval and early modern royal family tree. This special interest is marked not only by the textual emphasis noted above, but also by visual emphasis on particular genealogical lines. Unlike its counterpart in Pepys Library MS 2314, Brown.Lat.1 connects certain family members and royal generations with thick green crayon lines that are markedly distinct from the thin red ink ones used to connect others. While Pepys 2314 does also track specific persons of interest—with thin blue ink lines similar to its thin red ink ones—they begin earlier than the green lines in Brown.Lat.1 (at 1084 as opposed to 1100) and follow a consistent pattern: they record marriages between different branches of the royal family.<sup>17</sup> This is certainly not the case with Brown.Lat.1, where the meaning of the lines is not as immediately clear. More often than not the green lines connect parents to children, and they are few and far between until the early fourteenth century, where they suddenly become common and seem to indicate special interest in specific branches leading up to the era of the Wars of the Roses (see Figures 4 and 5 just below).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> L. Huneycutt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> As first noted by Dr. Adrienne Williams Boyarin.



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**D.** 1250-1341: line connecting Elizabeth de Burgh ("Alienora" in MS Brown.Lat.1), 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Ulster, to her husband Lionel of Antwerp, son of Edward III.

- **E.** 1287-1306: line connecting Elizabeth of Rhuddlan, youngest daughter of Edward I, to all seven of her included children: John, Margaret, William, Eleanor, Edward, Eneas, and Humphrey (all de Bohun, cf. Line I).
- **F.** 1313-1326: line connecting King Philip IV of France to his daughter, Isabella, Queen of England (married to Edward II).
- **G.** 1331-1377: line connecting Edward the Black Prince to his son Richard II.
- **H.** 1349-1368: line connecting Richard of Conisburgh, son of Edmund of Langley, 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of York, to his wife Anne Mortimer.
- **I.** 1376-1413: line connecting Mary de Bohun, wife of Henry IV and granddaughter of Eleanor of Lancaster, to her son Henry V (cf. Lines C and E).

Five of the nine green crayon lines are dedicated to tracing the Yorkist claim to English throne, and seven of the nine show precedent for inheritance of the throne through the matrilineal line, an argument used to support the Yorkist claim during the opening years of the Wars of the Roses, when Edward IV claimed the crown by tracing his lineage to Lionel of Antwerp, son of Edward III: "Lionel was married to Elizabeth de Burgh, the daughter and sole heir of the deceased William de Burgh, third earl of Ulster. The marriage was consummated in 1352 and produced only one recorded child, Philippa Lionel, who married Edmund (III) Mortimer, earl of March: the house of York descended from this union." The marriage of Lionel and Elizabeth (who is referred to as "Alienora," or Eleanor, in MS Brown.Lat.1) is highlighted by green Line

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> W.M. Ormrod, "Lionel [Lionel of Antwerp], duke of Clarence (1338–1368), prince."

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D, and green Line C implicitly also highlights this connection to Edmund Mortimer, because the son of Eleanor of Lancaster, Richard (IV) Arundel, married Phillipa Mortimer, Edmund's daughter. Furthering this emphasis on Yorkist lineage, green Line H connects Richard of Conisburgh, son of Edmund of Langely, Duke of York, to his wife Anne Mortimer: Richard and Anne were the grandparents of Edward IV and Richard III, the two York kings of England. Anne Mortimer, moreover, was the descendent of Philippa Mortimer (Lionel of Antwerp's daughter), suggesting that the Victoria roll's green lines are working together to illustrate Yorkist claims the throne as passed matrilineally through Philippa and Anne.

It was certainly not unheard of for inheritance to be traced through a matrilineal line, as MS Brown.Lat.1 demonstrates throughout. This pattern begins with green Line A, which marks the conflict over succession between Empress Matilda and King Stephen by connecting Matilda to her son Henry II and emphatically bypassing Stephen and his heirs. Henry II inherited the English throne through his mother's royal blood, political power, and her participation in a protracted civil war.<sup>21</sup> Henry I had publicly declared that he expected his daughter Matilda to inherit his throne: "Henry I wished to secure the succession to England and Normandy in his own line by recognizing her [Matilda] as his heir. She crossed the channel ()Tj 0 0 m 36[(M)(t)-2(h)]TJ 4.9()-

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brought considerable benefits to her husband Henry IV, who was not clearly in line to be king at the time of their marriage.<sup>29</sup> Collectively, these cases seem to highlight precedent for any matrilineal claim to power.

Such a precedent would have served the interest of Yorkists in the time that the Victoria roll was probably created. As noted above, green Lines D and H support Yorkist claims by tracing the Clarence and Mortimer lines through Elizabeth de Burgh's marriage to Lionel of Antwerp, Duke of Clarence, and through Anne Mortimer's marriage to Richard of Conisburgh. It was through these two marriages that the House of York would claim their right to the throne: "York [i.e., Richard, 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of York and son of Anne Mortimer and Richard of Consiburgh] in 1460 asserted rights transmitted via both his great-grandmother Philippa of Clarence [i.e., the daughter of Elizabeth de Burgh and Lionel of Antwerp], and his mother Anne Mortimer."<sup>30</sup> When

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connections, highlighted by the thick green lines in Brown Lat.1, it appears that our Victoria roll has a strong interest in Yorkist lineage and claims at the opening years of the Wars of the Roses, set alongside precedents for such claims. Given the possible range dates for the creation of the roll—as mentioned above, between 1435 and 1472 but, in relation to Pepys 2314, likely after 1450—these emphases suggest an origin date close to the opening years of the Wars of the Roses (which spanned roughly 1455-1487). Indeed, it was not until 1460, right in the middle of the possible date range for the Victoria roll, that Richard, 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of York and son of Anne Mortimer, "overtly challenged the Lancastrian right to rule and claimed the throne for his own line." The Victoria roll was most likely produced around 1460, in precisely this political climate.

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Following the death of Bedford, around the time of the Victoria roll's creation ca. 1460, the future of the English throne was less certain than it had been in centuries. Brown Lat.1 does not record any historical event after 1435, even though its Christian year column continues to 1472, and thus the roll finishes its entries well before Edward IV ascended to the throne in 1461 and began the relatively brief rule of the House of York over England. Edward IV's absence suggests that the creation date of the Victoria roll is most likely 1460-1461, after the Yorkist claims but before certain Yorkist victory.<sup>36</sup>

That the roll so clearly traces both sides of the matrilineal Yorkist claim to the throne—that is, through Elizabeth de Burgh (also known as Elizabeth of Clarence through her marriage to Lionel of Antwerp, Duke of Clarence) and through Anne Mortimer—cannot be mere coincidence. Material features of the roll as it currently survives, in fact, substantiate the importance of this aspect of the roll's history: the section that features the green lines highlighting these two matrilineal claims (membranes 7-8) shows use-related wear that is nowhere else evident. It is possible that this particular section was kept on display, which accounts for the increased damage and notable discolouration of these membranes.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Though Pepys 2314 ends at the same historical-event point, part of my argument is that the 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Bedford's death takes on a greater significance in the Victoria roll because it so clearly foregrounds these issues of inheritance.

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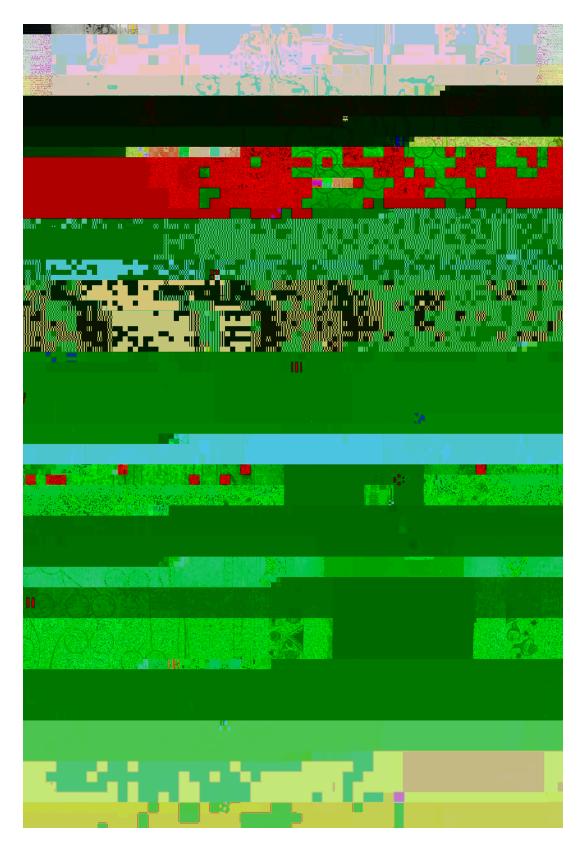


Figure 6: This image shows where Brown.Lat.1's use-related damage begins, coinciding with an increase in the green crayon lines. See also figure 4, which shows a cleaner section of the roll immediately preceding this one.

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This evidence puts University of Victoria's MS.Brown.Lat.1 in the company of other such rolls that were created around the same time and were interested in the matrilineal claims of the House of York. Osbern Bokenham's "Clare Roll" is one example, the text of which was preserved by Sir William Dugdale in his *Monasticon*. Bokenham (d. ca. 1464), an Augustinian friar at Stoke by Clare in Suffolk, has a number of Yorkist writings attributed to him. Similar to the embedded poem in Pepys 2314 and Brown.Lat.1, Bokenham's "roll" was a genealogical poem and covered many of the same Yorkist figures that the Victoria roll emphasizes, including Elizabeth de Burgh's marriage to "Kyng Edwardis son the third... Sir Lyonel." The poem also describes Philippa's marriage into the Mortimer family:

Lefe he ony frute, this Prince mighty?—

Sir, yea, a doughtir, and Philipp she hight;

Whom sir Edmond Mortymer weddid, truly,

Firste erle of the Marche, a manly knight.<sup>40</sup>

Bokenham's relationship with his patron, Richard, 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of York, and his consequent desire to support the York claim, has been well established by scholars in recent years.<sup>41</sup> Hicks even suggests that such rolls were particularly important in the early years of the civil war, as they narratively and visually served as a reminder of York lineage: "In the highly unlikely eventuality

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> The location of the original "Clare Roll" manuscript is unknown. The text was preserved in Dugedale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*. See D. Gray for more details.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> D. Gray. In another interesting connection, Matthew Parker became Dean of Stoke-by-Clare on 4 November 1535, where the "Clare Roll" would have been held (see Crankshaw and Gillespie for more).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> C. Horstmann, *Osbern Bokenam's Legenden*, lines 61-62.

<sup>40</sup> Horstmann, lines 64-67. - 67. - 67.

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that York [himself] was unaware of this distinguished ancestry, the Clare Roll prepared c. 1455 by Osbert Bokenham would have reminded him."<sup>42</sup> Bokenham's roll, like the Victoria one, puts heavy emphasis on matrilineage

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Yorkist claim to the throne of England at a specific moment in history, while the Pepys roll records royal genealogies and historical events without further interpretation.

#### IV. Findings and Conclusions

Victoria, McPherson Library MS Brown Lat. 1 very clearly has a close association with both Cambridge, Magdalen College, Pepys Library MS 2314 and Cambridge, Trinity Hall MS 1 (Thomas Elmham's history of St Augustine's Abbey). Where Trinity Hall MS 1 is centred around Canterbury and its religious institutions, Pepys 2314 expands upon the Elmham manuscript, as M.R. James first noted, to include more contemporary historical events and additional details about royal lineage. MS Brown Lat.1 takes this evolution one step further by making royal genealogy its primary focus through a series of distinctions and additions that emphasize a particular version of English heritage. The Victoria roll places emphasis on a textual narrative of kingship that is not present in its related manuscripts through the inclusion of both the embedded rhymed-couplet poem (Appendix 1), which is present in Pepys 2314, and the seven-line King Alfred poem, which is *not* in Pepys 2314 or Trinity Hall MS 1 and is unique to Brown.Lat.1. While Brown.Lat.1's exemplar (Pepys 2314) contains striking visual elements, such as illuminated crowns, the Victoria roll is clearly an object that is meant to be read closely. Its format reflects the roll's intended use: it makes a Yorkist argument for English royal lineage, and the green crayon lines that make this argument are not immediately be obvious without reader interpretation. However, by heavily foregrounding kingship, civil wars, and matrilineal inheritance, the Victoria roll created a narrative case for the Yorkist claim to the English thrown in the opening years of the Wars of the Roses, and highlights the women who made it possible.

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# Appendix 2: Preliminary Transcription of Victoria, McPherson Library, MS Brown Lat.1

Some of the transcription provided here is based on the work of previous University of Victoria students: membranes 1-3 were transcribed by Sophie Boucher, Brynn Fader, Rebekah Prette, and

Numeri primacianum

Littere Dominicales

Anni a Natiuitate (Christ)i	Rom(ani) Pontifices	Hij successere tibi Reges Anglia uere Primo (christ)icala gaudebat kancia sola Huc Augustine tibi laus resonat fine sine Reges kancia	Archiep(iscopi) Cantuar(iensis)	Anni (Christ)ianitatis Anglie
597. 598. 599. 600. 601.	S(an)c(tus) Gregorius papa j <sup>(us)</sup> illius n(omi)n(us) sed in num(er)o paparum a S(anc)to petro lxvij <sup>(us)</sup>	Ethelbertus baptizat(ur) anno regni sui xiij <sup>o</sup> iiij <sup>o</sup> Non(as) Iunij Rex Ethelbertus primus. stat honore repertus		
603.		Ethel		
604.		burga		
605.	Obitus Gregorii	ourga		
606.	Sannitanus.			
607.	Doniforing :::(us)			
608. 609.	Bonifacius iij <sup>(us)</sup> Bonifacius iiij <sup>(us)</sup>			
610.	Dominacius inj			
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612.				
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615.	Deusdedit	Edbaldus		
616.		Ed		
617.		Edbaldi Regis. violencia fit via legis.		
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E[[us]] [[wi]]tha

Ermen redus.

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Bonificius .v.(us)

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        Honorius j<sup>(us)</sup>
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        Seuerus
        Iohannes iiij<sub>Iohanne</sub>
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701.	Leo iij <sup>(us)</sup> hic non	computatur eoq(uo)d	104	C	17.
702.	patriciu(m) r(omanorum)	duorum factus est papa(m)	105	b	18.
703.	Iohannes vj. (us)		106	a	19.
704.			107	g	1.
705.	Iohannes vij <sup>(us)</sup>		108	E	2.
706.			109	d	3.
707.	Sisininus. j <sup>(us)</sup>		110	c	4.
708.	Constantinus. j <sup>(us)</sup>		111	b	5.
709.			112	G	6.
710.			113	f	7.
711.			114	e	8.
712.			115	d	9.
713.			116	В	10.
714.			117	a	11.
715.	Gregorius ij <sup>(us)</sup>		118	g	12.
716.			119	g f	13.
717.			120	D	14.
718.			121	c	15.
719.			122	b	16.
720.			123	a	17.
721.			124	F	18.
722.			125	e	19.
723.			126	b	1.
724.		Edbertus	127	c	2.
725.			128	Α	3.
726.		Edberti Regis patris assunt comoda legis	129	g	4.
727.			130	g f	5.
728.			131	e	6.
729.			132	C	7.
730.			133	b	8.
731.	Gregorius iij <sup>(us)</sup>		134	a	9.
732.		Cadwin			10.
733.			136	g E	11.
734.			137	d	12.
735.			138	c	13.
736.		Nothel		b	14.
737.			140	G	15.
738.			141	f	16.
739.			142	e	17.

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781.					184	A
782.					185	g
783.					186	f f
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788.					191	g
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792.					195	C C
793.					196	b)
794.		Ol	bitus Alrici		197	u .
795.	Leo tercius		ltimi regis		198	
796.			Kancie		199	
797.		Mors notat Alrici q(uod) tres			200	
798.		Ethebert Cuthred pulsus certa			201	
799.			Egberti apud westsaxons		202	
800.		Coronacio	agoetti upud westsuxons		203	
801.					204	
802.					205	
803.				Wolfredus.	206	
804.					207	
805.		Cuthredus p(er)ijt. Balredus in	ntrusit		208	
806.		p(e1)-ju zumeuus m			209	
807.					210	
808.					211	
809.					212	
810.					213	
811.					214	
812.					215	
813.					216	
814.					217	
815.	Stephanus iiij <sup>(us)</sup>				218	
816.	Paschalis .j.(us)				219	
817.					220	

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         Eugenius .ij. (us)
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829.
         Valentinus .j<sup>(us)</sup>
Gregorius .iiij<sup>(us)</sup>
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858. Nicholaus j<sup>(us)</sup>
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Bonifacius vj<sup>(us)</sup>
Stephanus vj<sup>(us)</sup>
Homanus j.<sup>(us)</sup>
Iohannes ix<sup>(us)</sup>
Theodorus ij<sup>(us)</sup>
Benedictus iiij<sup>(us)</sup>
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            Leo quintus
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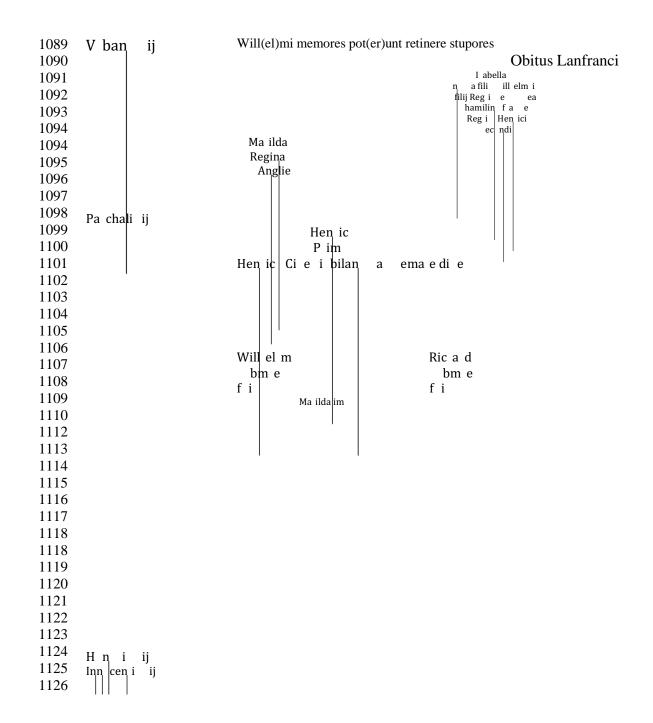
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934			ta dux		338	c	4
935	Leo septimus		Norman:		339	d	5
936			nie		340	В	6
937					341	a	7
938	Stephanus viij <sup>(us)</sup>				342	g	8
939					343	g f	9
940					344	D	10
941	Martinus iij <sup>(us)</sup>	Edmundus			345	c	11
942	-	Primus			346	b	12
943		Edmundo cedit lex quem latro nece cedit			347	a	13
944					348	F	14
945	Agapitus ij <sup>(us)</sup>				349	e	15
946		Eadredus			350	d	16
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948		Gignaciu(iii) fecit. ediedus nana fefecit			352	Α	18
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950	Iohannes xij <sup>(us)</sup>				354	f	1
951			Ricardus		355	e	2
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954			mamme		358	a	5
955		Edwinus			359		6
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958				Elflinus	362	c	9
959		Edga		Dunstanus	363	b	10
960	Leo. octauus.	rus.		Banstairas	364	G	11
961		Rex pius Edgarus (christ)o stat culmine darus			365	f	12
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965		Sancta Edmun			369	a	16
966		Editha dus.			370	g	17
967					371	f	18
968					372	D	19
969	Benedictus vj <sup>(us)</sup>				373	c	1
970	Bonus .j. (us)				374	b	2
971	Bonifacius vij. (us)				375	a	3
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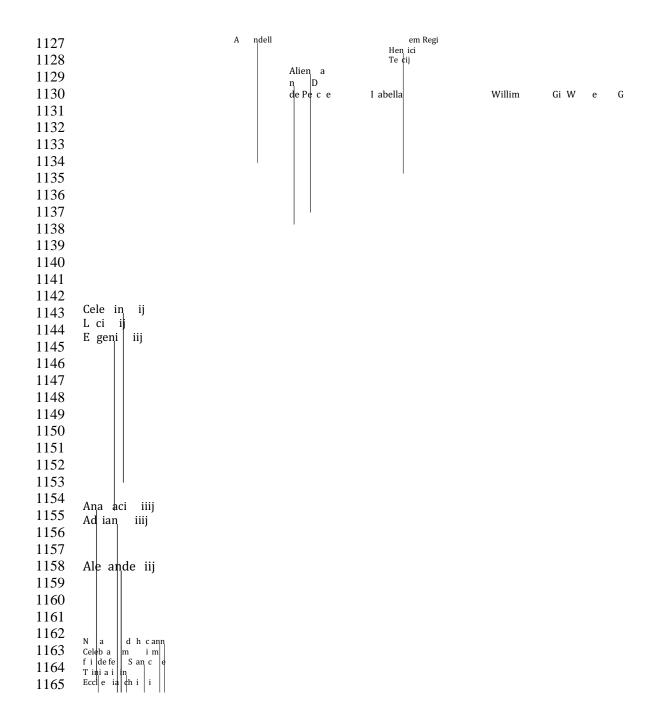
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977		Ethel		381	g	9
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980		Not(a) q(uo)d supradictus Rex Etheldredus		384	DC	12
981	Iohannes xiiij <sup>(us)</sup>	de Ethelgina filia Egberti		385	b	13
982	Iohannes xv <sup>(us)</sup>	Comitis genuit Edm(undum) ferreu(m) latus Edwinu(m) Alue		386	a	14
983	Iohannes xvj. (us)	Edwy:		387		15
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997				401	e	10
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999	Sil e e ij	Hi¢ feci h magi m Diab l		403	a	12
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1001			Si ici	405	e	14
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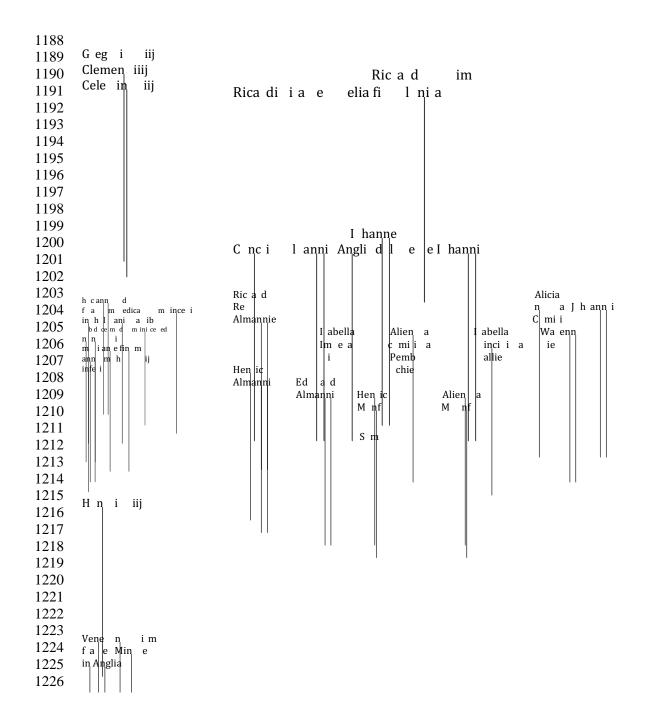
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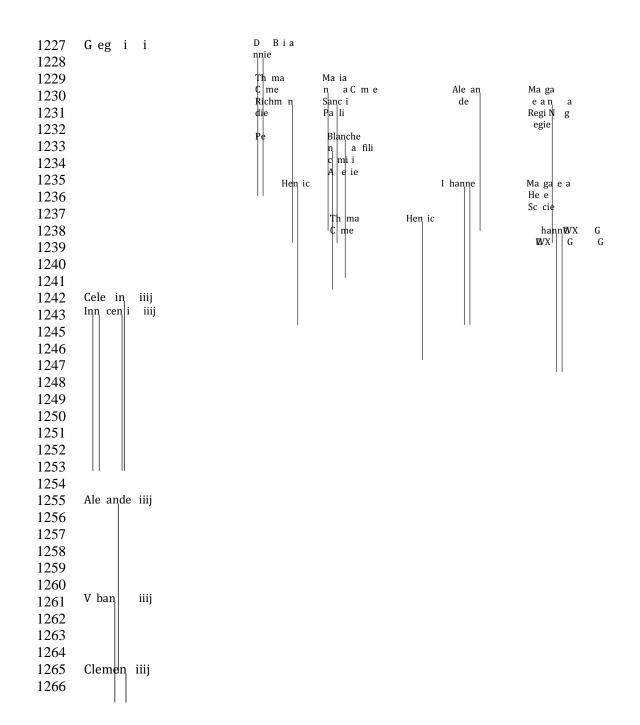
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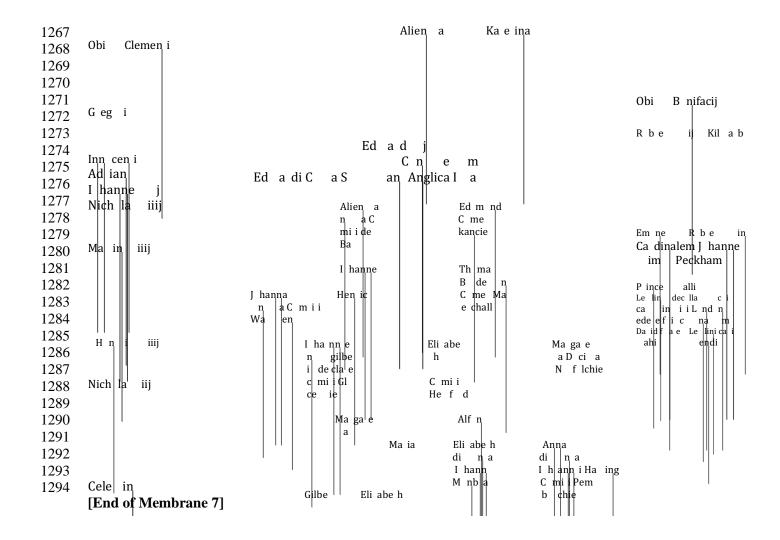




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      [End of Membrane 6]
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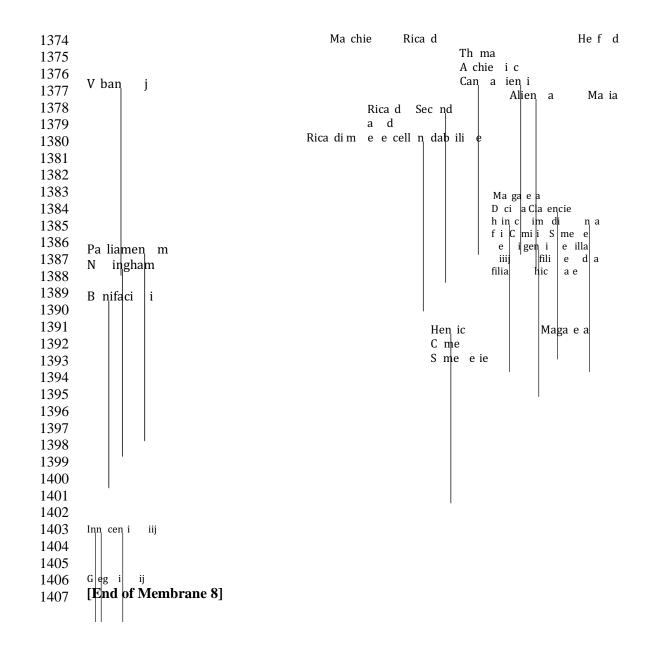






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1433       835       g       7         1434       836       E       8         1435       837       d       9         1436       838       c       10         1437       839       b       11         1438       840       G       12         1439       841       f       13         1440       842       e       14         1441       843       d       15         1442       844       B       16         1443       845       a       17         1444       846       g       18         1445       847       f       19					5
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1443 1444 1445 845 a 17 846 g 18 847 f 19					
1444 1445 846 g 18 847 f 19					
1445 847 f 19					
1445 847 f 19				g	
1446 848 D 1				f	
	1446		848	D	1

			Ва	a e
1447		849	c	
1448		850	d	
1449		851	a	
1450		852	F	
1451		853	e	
1452		854	d	
1453		855	c	
1454		856	A	
1455		857	g	
1456		858	f	
1457		859	e	
1458		860	C	
1459		861	d	
1460		862	a	
1461		863	g	
1462		864	g E	
1463		865	d	
1464		866	c	
1465		867	b	
1466		868	G	
1467		869	f	
1468		870	e	
1469		871	d	
1470		872	В	
1471		873	a	
1472	[End of Membrane 9]	874	g	

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