

THE “RENUNCIATION” AND “PROTESTATION” OF
RICHARD II AND HENRY IV IN 1399:
TEXTUAL GENESIS AND RADIATION

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ACCIDENTS of documentary creation and preservation, or a conspiracy of them, may be the best explanation for the significance attaching to the deposition of the English king Richard II, with the concomitant accession of Henry IV, in 1399. Henry made himself king by violence and threat of violence; along with the kingship, control of wealth changed hands, though it was only transferred from one sub-branch of the same royal family to another, without substantive alteration of political-economic relations or any consequence for a constitution.¹ Needlessly, the accession of the Lancastrian fraction was made to depend on the prior resignation of the incumbent and on the assent of a parliament-like assembly to the claim of a new regality. For purposes of propagating these fictions—renunciation and claim—making it appear as if despotism was at issue and parliament involved, the record was manipulated by public performance of documents, by the placement of these documents in official records, including the records of parliament, and by their broadcast manuscript recirculation, so that the same materials came to rest too in contemporary historical accounts. The Lancastrian accession—not revolutionary in any proper sense—was more broadly publicized than any other event of the period, and it is now better documented, in part by virtue of the use of the parliamentary apparatus. An unprecedentedly great quantity of writing about the event was created at the time, and an unprecedentedly great quantity of it has been preserved.

¹ On the constitutional issues, see esp. Bertie Wilkinson, “The Deposition of Richard II and the Accession of Henry IV,” *The English Historical Review* 54 (1939): 215–39; and Peter McNiven, “Legitimacy and Consent: Henry IV and the Lancastrian Title, 1399–1406,” *Mediaeval Studies* 44 (1982): 470–88; on the wealth-transfer, C. Given-Wilson, “Richard II, Edward II, and the Lancastrian Inheritance,” *The English Historical Review* 109 (1994): 553–71.

The recirculation of these documents lacked the spontaneity evident, for example, in the proliferation of copies of the various versions and sub-versions of *Piers Plowman* in the preceding decades. A more apt model is the propagation of such contemporary writings of Christian dogma as the *Prick of Conscience*, where writings of the church were recirculated by the church for its own benefit, all within a long-founded, lubricious ecclesiastical network of text-writers and reusers.² In the case of the primary documents of the 1399 deposition, examination of the textual witnesses and the affiliations amongst them indicates that the textual genesis and radiation of the deposition records—how this corpus of writings came to have the features it does and how the members of the corpus came to rest where they have remained—were state-driven, with deliberation.³

1. THE ORIGINARY DOCUMENTS AND THEIR WITNESSES

First, it is useful to suppose that something happened in the great hall of Westminster Palace over the course of the one day, 30 September 1399, an event or rather a series of events amounting eventually to a commemorable composite, the public deposition proceedings against Richard II and assertion of the successive kingship of Henry IV. The hypothesis is useful

² The basic data on these textual traditions are in Julia Boffey and A. S. G. Edwards, *A New Index of Middle English Verse* (London, 2005), no. 1459 (*Piers*), and nos. 3428–29, with 484, 1193, etc. (*Prick*); a comparative tabulation of the manuscript preservations is in Carleton Brown and Rossell Hope Robbins, *Index of Middle English Verse* (New York, 1943), 737–39; and on recirculation of *Prick*, see, e.g., Ralph Hanna, “Yorkshire Writers,” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 121 (2003): 91–109, esp. 100.

³ For the notion of genesis, from continental textual criticism, see Louis Hay, “Does ‘Text’ Exist?,” *Studies in Bibliography* 41 (1988): 64–76; and for the notion of radiation, from U.S.A. Modernist criticism, see G. Thomas Tanselle, “Editing without a Copy-Text,” *Studies in Bibliography* 47 (1994): 1–22. For the recensionist principles, see esp. Martin L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique Applicable to Greek And Latin Texts* (Stuttgart, 1973), 31–47, where the problems of contamination are better accounted than in the strict-constructionist contribution of Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism* (Oxford, 1958); also, Richard Tarrant, *Texts, Editors, and Readers: Methods and Problems in Latin Textual Criticism* (Cambridge, 2016), 12–17 and 49–64. The principles have been discounted, most cogently by Sebastiano Timpanaro, *The Freudian Slip: Psychoanalysis and Textual Criticism*, trans. Kate Soper (London, 1976).

because it helps explain the series of attestations to the composite-complex event after the fact.⁴ Various credible contemporary witnesses wrote about what happened, drawing on direct experience and possibly also, or alternatively, on hearsay of other immediate witnesses and participants. Best is probably Adam Usk (ca. 1350–1430), who took part in preparing the proceedings and later wrote a considerable memoir of what happened. There were others, however: Thomas Chillendon († 1411), for example, prior of Canterbury, who was a participant in the event and whose witness underlies the surviving account in “La manere de la renonciation del roy Richard de sa corone et de la election del roy Henri le quarte puis le conqueste;” also, the notary William Feriby († 1400), a participant whose witness underlies at least some of the matter in the so-called *Giles’ Chronicle*.⁵ The list of immediate or hearsay contemporary witnesses—beyond the various chronicle accounts, the *Historia vitae et regni Ricardi secundi*, Jean Creton’s *La Prinse du roy Richart d’Angleterre*, and the *Chronica maiora* of Thomas Walsingham—probably extends also to the poet John Gower († 1408), whose *Cronica tripertita* is based in largest part on literary materials but also has direct witness to some events as well as access to contemporary talk.⁶

⁴ Joanna Bellis, “Rymes Sette for a Remembraunce: Memorialization and Mimetic Language in the War Poetry of the Late Middle Ages,” *The Review of English Studies* 64 (2013): 185–87.

⁵ For Chillendon’s participation and witness, see C. Given-Wilson, “The Manner of King Richard’s Renunciation: A ‘Lancastrian Narrative’?” *The English Historical Review* 108 (1993): esp. 369–70. For Feriby’s, see Jenni Nuttall, *The Creation of Lancastrian Kingship: Literature, Language and Politics in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2007), 30–31; also, *The St Albans Chronicle: The “Chronica Maiora” of Thomas Walsingham*, II, 1394–1422, ed. and trans. John Taylor, Wendy R. Childs, and Leslie Watkiss (Oxford, 2011), 818–24.

⁶ Paul Strohm, “Saving the Appearances: Chaucer’s Purse and the Fabrication of the Lancastrian Claim,” in *Chaucer’s England: Literature in Historical Perspective*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt (Minneapolis, 1992), 21–40, also in Strohm, *Hochon’s Arrow: The Social Imagination of Fourteenth-Century Texts* (Princeton, 1992), 75–94; and F. W. Grady, “The Generation of 1399,” in *The Letter of the Law: Legal Practice and Literary Production in Medieval England*, ed. Emily Steiner and Candace Barrington (Ithaca, 2002), 202–29. On Gower’s sources and the background, see David R. Carlson, *John Gower, Poetry and Propaganda in Fourteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2012), 110–20 and 153–96.

In textual perspective, the immediate significance of the participant-witnesses is that they concur in indicating that the better part of the day's proceedings consisted in documentary presentations. Their evidence is that on the day in question a series of documents was brought into sight of the assembly and read out in hearing of all there present, for the event was largely verbal rather than gestural, a matter of what was said on the occasion as much as or more than what was done.

These documentary artifacts—physically demonstrated and orally performed before the assembled witnesses—were five, evidently, all present in the form of real objects, words inscribed on material support. They need not be regarded as hypotheses, in other words, though the objects themselves no longer survive. The evidence of the contemporary eyewitnesses is that all five were actually existing textual entities at the moment.⁷

(REN) First, Richard II's renunciation of his regality, called the "Schedule of Renunciation" because it was so presented, *in quadam cedula pergameni redacta*, subscribed with Richard's own mark of signature ("se subscripsit manu sua propria;" "etiam cum subscriptione regie manus").⁸ The renunciation was read out by Richard Scrope (ca. 1346–1405), the archbishop of York, or performed, for Scrope impersonated the former monarch: "factus per regem Ricardum

⁷ For the texts and quotations cited below as "Record and Process," references are by line number to the edition (lines 1–989) in *The Deposition of Richard II: "The Record and Process of the Renunciation and Deposition of Richard II" (1399) and Related Writings*, ed. David R. Carlson, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 29 (Toronto, 2007), followed by the pages and columns of the edition in *Rotuli parliamentorum: ut et petitiones, et placita in parlamento*, ed. Richard Blyke et al., 8 vols. (London, 1780–1832), III, 416a–424b, references which are embedded in the (much preferable) edition in *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England, 1275–1504*, gen. ed. C. Given-Wilson, CD-ROM edition (Leicester, 2005).

⁸ REN is in the appendix below, lines 1–43 (with collation there of the corresponding section of the "Record and Process" 63–115 = 416b–417a). The quotations are from "Record and Process" 54–55, 60–61, and 141–42 = 416b and 417b; and *The Chronicle of Adam Usk, 1377–1421*, ed. C. Given-Wilson (Oxford, 1997), 68. "La manere de la renonciation del roy Richard de sa corone et de la election del roy Henri le quarte puis le conqueste"—quoted throughout from the unique copy in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Parker Library, Ms 59, fols. 236v–237r, a text printed in G. O. Sayles, "The Deposition of Richard II: Three Lancastrian Narratives," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 54 (1981): 266–70—has it that the document was read out by John Burbage († 1402): "mestre Johan Burbache lisoit la renonciacion qe le roy Richard avoit fait, et sur mesme la bille qe le roy mesmes ceo fist."

uocis sue organum, in prima persona ac si ipsemet rex loqueretur, . . . palam et publice in scriptis redactas [sc. *confessiones*] in pleno legit parlimento.”

- (ART) Next, and longest, the “Articles of Deposition,” a kind of charge-sheet of Richard’s malfeasances: thirty-three of them, in view of which the assembly was to pronounce Richard unfit to rule. The “Articles” were read before the assembly by Richard’s *protanotarius (olim)* Feriby (“lisoit en escriptz toutz les pointz queux furent cause de sa deposicion [sc. Richard’s], lez queux il avoit fait en countre la corone de sa roial mageste et son serment”).⁹
- (SEN) Third, a “Sentence of Deposition” against Richard, likewise prepared beforehand and presented in documentary form before the assembly. The *depositionis sententia in scriptis redacta* was read out for the assembly (or was caused to be read out) by John Trevor († 1410), bishop of St. Asaph, functioning as a proctor in chief for the assembly as a whole.¹⁰
- (PRO) Fourth, Henry’s own “Protestation,” in English (“in lingua materna”), by means of which he claimed the kingship for himself and thanked God and the assembly, assuring all that he had no malign intention. The evidence again is that these remarks too were prepared in advance and that Henry performed them from a script, a document physically present on the occasion from which he read: “quandam protestacionem in scriptis redactam ad statim ibidem palam et publice legit”; otherwise, “lysa en graunt vois une bille.”¹¹

⁹ ART is “Record and Process” 190–702 = 417b–422a. The quotation here is from “La manere de la renonciation.”

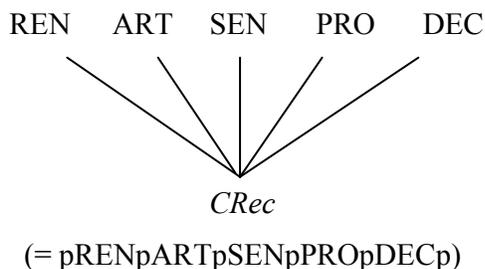
¹⁰ SEN is “Record and Process” 729–77 = 422a–422b, the phrase here cited being 723–24 = 422a–422b; on the bishop’s performance, see *Chronicle of Adam Usk*, ed. Given-Wilson, 68 (“ipsius deposicionis sententia, in scriptis redacta, consensu et auctoritate totius parlimenti per magistrum Iohannem Treuar de Powysia, Assauen’ episcopum, palam, publice et solempniter lecta fuit ibidem”) and “La manere de la renonciation” (“l’evesque de seint Assa la overtement lisoit”).

¹¹ PRO is in the appendix below, lines 58–70 (with collation there of the corresponding sections of the “Record and Process” 786–93 and 867–74 = 422b–423a and 423b). The quotations here concerning its performance are “Record and Process” 785 = 422b; *Chronicle of Adam Usk*, ed. Given-Wilson, 68; and “La manere de la renon-

(DEC) Finally, a “Declaration to Richard,” by means of which the assembly’s doings were to be presented to the former monarch. This “Declaration” is less securely attested than the other documents, the indication being that the “Declaration” was not in fact part of the one day’s events in quite the same way as the others. Where the “Declaration” is attested, the evidence is that it was presented to Richard—again both physically, in documentary form, and in performance, by reading—by the chief justice William Thirning († 1413) only on a subsequent occasion, the next day.¹²

2. THE GENESIS OF THE COMPOSITE “RECORD AND PROCESS”

In addition to the contemporary eyewitness descriptions of these five documents, there is some body of textual evidence for their verbal contents, since the five documents (REN, ART, SEN, PRO, DEC) were brought together on some subsequent occasion, or several, and amalgamated with other verbal matter linking them to one another (p). The result was written out and recirculated as a textually composite entity (*CRec* = pRENpARTpSENpPROpDECp) known as the “Record and Process,” an abbreviated translation of the title occurring with one of the surviving copies, naming it “Les record et proces del renunciacion du roy Richard le second apres le conquest, et de laceptacion de mesme la renunciacion, ensemblement oue la deposicion de mesme le roy Richard”.¹³



ciation” (“le duk de Lankastre . . . lya en graunt vois une bille, en la quele fuist compris coment il clama la roialme d’Engleterre”).

¹² For DEC, see n. 21 below; for Thirning’s part in its delivery, see Sayles, “Deposition of Richard II,” 263; and esp. Matthew Giancarlo, “Murder, Lies, and Storytelling: The Manipulation of Justice(s) in the Parliaments of 1397 and 1399,” *Speculum* 77 (2002): 94–104.

¹³ “Record and Process” 1–4 = 416a.

What needs be imagined, as H. G. Richardson understood, is an unruly “pile of documents”—one which will prove to have been leaky too, at another point; some “enrolling clerk” (who may in fact have been a series of individuals), Richardson explains, found he “had a good many loose documents before him, all connected” with the deposition and accession event of 30 September 1399, “from which, it is to be supposed, he selected under the more or less precise instructions” of some guiding editorial intelligence.¹⁴ The textual composite so created was then circulated; copies of the composite survive, and these copies transmit evidence of the verbal contents of the five artifacts presented before the Westminster assembly.

The surviving texts of the composite “Record and Process” (*CRec*) are four:

- W* the text incorporated into the St Albans *Cronica maiora*, authored by Thomas Walsingham († ca. 1422), attested by several manuscripts;¹⁵
- P* the best-known text, on a unique roll containing a number of records of parliaments, now London (Kew), National Archives: Public Record Office, C 65/62, mm. 21–17;¹⁶
- O* another once separate manuscript text, probably of Westminster provenance, bound with various other items by the seventeenth century to make a codex now Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 596, fols. 65r–80v;¹⁷

¹⁴ H. G. Richardson, “Richard II’s Last Parliament,” *The English Historical Review* 52 (1937): 41.

¹⁵ *W* is edited in *St Albans Chronicle*, ed. Taylor, Childs, and Watkiss, 2:158–216, chiefly on the basis of Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 462, though with *variae lectiones* from the others.

¹⁶ *P* was first printed in Roger Twysden (1597–1672), *Anglicanae scriptores antiqui nunc primum in lucem editi* (London, 1652), cols. 2743–62, “Quoad examinatur per Gulielmum Ryley juniorem & Radulfum Jennyngs cum Recordo in archivis in arce Londoniensi remanente” (cols. 2761–62); and subsequently as noted above, n. 7. About this text, the important points were made by Richardson, “Richard II’s Last Parliament,” 41, “that the version of the ‘Record and Process’ to be found on the parliament roll is no more authoritative than any other version which stands at the same distance from the original draft, and that a more faithful copy is quite possibly to be found elsewhere.”

¹⁷ The surviving book (*Summary Catalogue*, no. 2376) is a composite volume, the components of which were bound together by 1605; the composite volume’s first con-

E an English version surviving as it was incorporated in full into at least one copy of the contemporary *London Chronicle*.¹⁸

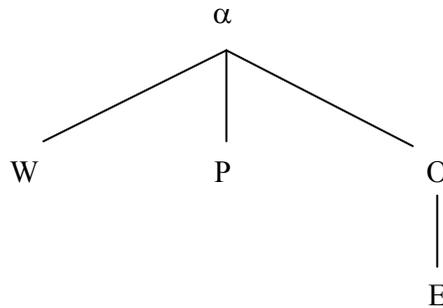
Since one of these, the English version (*E*), derives from one of the others, the copy in Oxford (*O*), directly and immediately,¹⁹ the derivative is useless for the reconstruction of the text. The English version indicates an intention to propagate information, and its derivation from the Oxford copy suggests which information was felt most appropriate for the purpose; however, only the three Latin copies (*W*, *P*, and *O*) are of consequence in textual perspective, since no one of them was copied from another.

Hypothetical reconstruction of an archetype (α) of the composite “Record and Process” (*CRec*)—or an archetype, capable of representing something from which the surviving copies could derive—would be straightforward. The agreement of any two of the non-derived copies against a third would represent the common archetype, except where two copies concur in making a mistake that the third avoids or where all three may be erroneous, be their errors coincident or divergent. Any such instances of manifest error require analysis and judgment, and residual uncertainties may remain.

stituent manuscript (fols. 1–85), containing the copy *O* of the “Record and Process,” appears by its contents to have come from Westminster Abbey, and it appears to have been written ca. 1400. The transmission of the “obit-clause” in *O* was reported in Twysden, *Anglicanae scriptores*, at p. [X 2]: “De Parl. 1^o H.4. de depositione Regis Ricardi secundi habemus Singulare exemplar, e Ms. Cod. ant. in Bibl. Bodleiana transcriptum, extat Ms. ille L.6.7. Theol. quem Bibliop. mutuo accepit a M. Tho: Barlow Collegii Reginae Oxon. Socio, viro summae affabilitatis eruditionisque. Col. 2744. lin. 62. *constitutis, Omniq;* sic legit Rotulus in archivis Turris London. Ms. vero Bodl. leg. *constitutis*. Salvis terris & possessionibus pro me & obitu meo impetratis & emptis, *omnique*.”

¹⁸ *E* is printed from London, British Library Cotton Julius B. ii, in Charles L. Kingsford, ed., *Chronicles of London* (Oxford, 1905), 19–47, though on the manuscript tradition, see Mary-Rose McLaren, “The Textual Transmission of the London Chronicles,” *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700* 3 (1992): 38–72. Portions of an English “Record and Process” occur in codicologically and paleographically distinct sections of the composite volume London, British Library Harley 293, fol. 49 and fols. 71–90 (at 83r–86v).

¹⁹ A single example, brief though indicative: for “diliget vanitatem” (“Record and Process” 846 = 423a) *O* has the distinctive and erroneous reading “diliget vitam,” the source for the translation “lovith his lyff” in *E*.



In fact, collation establishes a highly consistent text shared amongst the three textually consequential witnesses for the fundamental originary documents—REN, ART, SEN, PRO, and DEC (though DEC is mostly omitted from *O* and so from its derivative *E*). On the other hand, considerable differences amongst the manuscript copies occur in the transitional passages (*p*). Evidently, when copying out the major components for incorporation into the composite, the copyists worked from the same materials; the materials in question called forth special attention from the copyists, or the materials were clear, or both. In the transitional passages, the materials were less clear or attracted less care, for the rate of error is high; also, it appears that the text-writers were sometimes working from poorly redacted copy that was not stable in the same way that the major components were but kept changing, probably in response to altering editorial instruction.

The major addition to the originary documents in the composite “Record and Process” (*CRec*) is a sermon, ostensibly preached to the assembly by the soi-disant chancellor and archbishop Thomas Arundel, which splits Henry’s own “Protestation” (PRO) in two. In *P* and *O*, the sermon is reported in full; in *W*, its performance only is mentioned, no verbatim transcription being supplied, though in other respects the text that Walsingham transmitted is noticeably fuller than the other copies.²⁰

Evidence of omission in the witnesses comes at the end of the composite, involving the “Declaration” (DEC) to Richard and the transitional

²⁰ The sermon’s intrusion is discussed further below. That Arundel himself was responsible for causing other matter to be added to *CRec* may encourage belief that the sermon too was inserted at Arundel’s behest, perhaps somewhat belatedly: see Chris Given-Wilson, *Chronicles of the Revolution 1397–1400: The Reign of Richard II* (Manchester, 1993), 183 n. 15; also, James W. Sherborne, “Perjury and the Lancastrian Revolution of 1399,” *The Welsh History Review* 14 (1988): 240–41.

passages before and after it. *W* has a great deal, *P* has less, and *O* has still less, for one thing only mentioning the existence of the “Declaration” proper, without providing contents. The editorial impulse leading to the omissions appears to have been exculpatory simplification: the omissions, generally speaking, are of passages that make Richard look righteous or Henry wicked. The passages are not limited to the composite’s ending, though the concentration of them there may clarify the editorial imperative: the fullest version (*W*) has Richard express concern for his own life, as well as a persisting belief that his royal unction was indelible, no matter the *fait accompli* with which he was being confronted; the regality-assertion is gone from another version (*P*), along with the death-fear—unless it be kept in attenuated form in Richard’s pathetic prayer, “he hoped that is cosynde wolde be goode lord to hym”; the other version (*O*) omits these ending sections altogether, except to make the point that Henry did dispatch a delegation to Richard to inform him of what had been done, as if a courtesy extended the imprisoned former monarch by grace of the new one.²¹

The gross differences in the connective prose sections, weaving the five documents together into the composite “Record and Process” (*CRec*) in the three manuscripts *W*, *P*, and *O* (namely, the addition of Arundel’s sermon, the omission of the declaration, and the related exculpatory simplifications) establish that none of these three copies derived from any of the

²¹ DEC in *W* is in *St Albans Chronicle*, ed. Taylor, Childs, and Watkiss, 2:212–14, with the mutable connective prose before and after, 210–12 and 216, including Richard’s request there that he be not left to starve (“rogans ut pro eo taliter procurarent, ne victu honorifico destitueretur,” 216). In *P*, it is “Record and Process” 921–89 = 424a–424b, with the connective prose at 906–20 = 423b–424a and 987–89 = 424b. The corresponding section in *O*, its ending, is “Et postmodum, die Mercurii proximo extun(c) sequente, dicti procuratores, vt premittitur superius deputati, ad presenciam dicti Ricardi nuper regis infra dictam Turrim existentis, prout eis iniunctum fuerat, accesserunt. Et prefatus dominus Willelmus iusticiarius, pro se et dictis sociis suis et comprocuratoribus suis, nomine omnium statuum et populi predictorum, admissionem dicte renunciacionis, ac modum, causam, et formam sententie deposicionis huiusmodi eidem regi Ricardo notificauit ac plenius declarauit, et statim homagium et fidelitatem eidem regi Ricardo, vt premittitur, facta resignauit et reddidit, sub hiis verbis”—i.e., it has some of the introductory prose (more or less reproducing “Record and Process” 906–16), but it omits DEC and the kind of concluding prose that occurs in the *W* and *P* copies.

others, in the way that *E* derived from *O*.²² At the same time, the stability of these three copies in their representations of four of the five fundamental originary components—REN, ART, SEN, and PRO, but not DEC (omitted from *O*)—enables establishing archetypal readings for these portions of the composite “Record and Process” (*CRec*) by ordinary stemmatics. Of course, there are differences amongst the copies in their representations of the fundamental components too, but chiefly by way of the kinds of mechanical variants that copyists always generate. Excepting such errors (and intermittent indistinguishable variants), the copies of the composite “Record and Process” amongst themselves attest their basis in the originary documents as presented before the assembly in Westminster on 30 September 1399.

3. THE GENESIS OF THE INDEPENDENT “RENUNCIATION AND PROTESTATION”

In addition to being incorporated into the composite “Record and Process,” some of the components of the clerical amalgam apparently remained available for separate copying and recirculation. Since the underlying original artifacts treated in this way, namely, the schedule of Richard’s renunciation (REN) and Henry’s words claiming the kingship (PRO), were the most consequential verbal events of the deposition proceedings, it is a temptation to regard their separate circulation as the product of excerption: the remainder of the “Record and Process” is legalistic intermuralia, increasingly insignificant as the event itself receded in time; what mattered most at the moment and retained momentousness was that Richard gave up the kingship and Henry took it; and a series of editorializing text-writers, faced with the great swirls of jural verbiage, might have resorted to cutting away all of the “Record and Process” except these two most consequential subsections, the kings’ *ipsissima verba*. The textual evi-

²² It is not inconceivable that there may have been sub-archetypes—to explain the sharing of DEC by *W* and *P* that segregates *O* (and *E*), for example; or to explain the sharing of Arundel’s sermon by *P* and *O* that segregates *W* (though Walsingham may have had access to the sermon-text and chose to omit it on his own authority). The differences result from shifting editorial intervention, effectively causing the archetype to move and to change in the connective passages (*p*), it is suggested here, rather than from some proliferation of documents since lost and not otherwise in evidence, however; and in any case, the stemma proposed is only the most economical hypothesis that can account for the textual evidence that survives.

- S* a bifolium concluding with some related Latin verse but otherwise wholly occupied with Richard’s “Renunciation” and Henry’s “Protestation,” now London, British Library Stowe 66;²⁴
- V* a passage having the same contents again, except that Henry’s words in it are translated into Latin, in the contemporary *Historia vite et regni Ricardi secundi*.²⁵

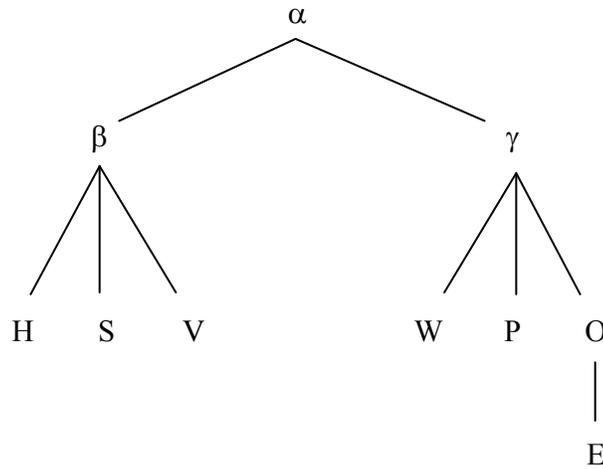
Collation establishes that these three copies differ often enough amongst themselves in verbal particulars that none can be argued to derive from any other: no one of them consistently reproduces another’s errors. On the other hand, only these three copies, *H*, *S*, and *V*, concur in making the same selections while omitting all the rest of the composite. Moreover, these three copies also share two gross features—a signature block and the objections transmitted with the Ricardian “Renunciation” (REN)—that are peculiar to this branch of the tradition (*IRen*) by contrast with the other (*CRec*); and, on substantive grounds, it appears highly likely that these conjunctive-distinctive features of this (*IRen*) branch of derivation are ar-

the endorsement of *H* is explicit about its text’s derivation from a singular copy in “the Records at Westminster.” Though in its English passages the *H*-copyist was inclined to modernize the language, there are also self-corrections indicating a concern to preserve the wording of the original being copied even in the English (in the appendix below, see the apparatus, esp. on 7, correcting “and” to “et,” e.g., also on 5 and 48, though also 68, correcting “ne” to “nor”). Finally, as regards the copy’s other text-internal features, there is nothing in the collation, by way of an otherwise inexplicable concurrence in errors, to suggest that contamination from another source may have occurred, though, of course, asserting a negative on grounds of an absence of evidence is not much satisfying.

²⁴ The text of *S* is in *Deposition of Richard*, 66–71, including the verse, and again a collation is reported in Sayles, “Deposition of Richard II,” 264–66. On it, see Wright, “Protestation of Richard II,” esp. 154–56; and Giancarlo, “Murder, Lies, and Storytelling” 98–103.

²⁵ The passage in question is in the *Historia vitae et regni Ricardi secundi*, ed. George B. Stow, Jr. (Philadelphia, 1977), 157–60, on the basis of London, British Library Cotton Claudius B.ix, though with full report too of London, British Library Cotton Tiberius C.ix. In its Latin rendering of the English, the passage in *V* is expansive (though not inaccurate); in view of the naturally greater compactness of Latin expression, it is remarkable that the ratio of Latin words to English is 1 : 1 (181 : 180) in the translated sections. The *V*-passage’s connection to the matter in *H* and *S* has been noticed, in Maude Violet Clarke and V. H. Galbraith, “The Deposition of Richard II,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 14 (1930): 143; Wright, “Protestation of Richard II,” 153–54; and Sayles, “Deposition of Richard II,” 258.

chetypal or originary. Otherwise, in textual perspective, this further line of descent contributes to reconstruction of what was said on Richard's behalf and what Henry read aloud on the day in question: what the two traditions (*CRec* and *IRen*) attest in common in their shared sections—is archetypal.



4. HENRY'S "PROTESTATION"

It needs be acknowledged first that the representations of Henry's verbal performance (PRO) in all the textual witnesses are a blatant muddle. Contemporary eyewitnesses to the event itself consistently (and sensibly) report that Henry spoke once. After the renunciation, after the articles, and after the sentence of deposition all had been read out and enacted, according to Adam Usk, then Henry was enthroned and he spoke:

Et sic, in trono regali sedens, quendam protestacionem in scriptis redactam ad statim ibidem palam et publice legit, in se continentem quod, regnum Anglie uidens uacare, per descensum iure successorio ex persona Henrici regis tercii sibi debito huiusmodi successionem quia sibi eidem debitam petiit pariter et admisit, et quod uigore huiusmodi successionis uel ipsius conquestus nullatenus regni statum uel alicuius eiusdem in libertatibus, frangesiis, hereditatibus, uel quouis alio iure uel consuetudine, modo in aliquo mutare permetteret.²⁶

²⁶ *Chronicle of Adam Usk*, ed. Given-Wilson, 68–70.

Unlike the witnesses to the event itself, however, which are consistent on this point, the textual evidence all equally represents it that Henry spoke twice, first in remarks claiming the throne for himself, and then again in separate remarks offering reassurances to his new subjects. In the three copies of the independent “Protestation,” *H*, *S*, and *V*, Henry’s two speeches are set apart from one another by minimal means (amounting only to line-space in *H*); in the composite parliamentary “Record and Process,” what separates the two speeches can be extensive: Thomas Arundel intervenes to deliver his sermon—the sermon being reported at length (*P* and *O*) or simply mentioned (*W*)—and narration of Henry’s enthronement too interposes between the claim and the reassurances. The underlying trouble is likely to have been a conflict between the dramatic effect of bringing together the Henrician regal remarks (as represented most plausibly in Adam Usk and the other reports), on the one hand, and some compound of juridical logic and archiepiscopal vanity (as represented in the composite “Record and Process” copies), on the other; be that as it may, all the sources agree on what Henry said, with remarkable consistency.²⁷ Even the details of Adam Usk’s periphrastic Latin match closely. The independent copies of the Henrician “Protestation” do not add much or detract from knowledge of Henry’s public utterance itself on the occasion; they only confirm.

5. RICHARD’S “RENUNCIATION”

The same consonance with the composite “Record and Process” that characterizes Henry’s “Protestation” in the independent “Renunciation and Protestation” does not characterize Richard’s “Renunciation.” The independent texts consistently differ from the “Renunciation” transmitted in the composite “Record and Process” in two gross features; and there is also, in one of the independent texts, an irregularity met with too in a single copy of the redacted composite “Renunciation”—the so-called “obit

²⁷ The legalistic thinking may have been that, strictly, a person need claim a throne, as in the first part of Henry’s utterance, before being set upon it; and that only an enthroned king might offer subjects the kinds of reassurances that occur in the second part of the utterance, as well as its threats, direct and implied (65–70 in the appendix and “Record and Process” 867–74 = 423b). For Arundel’s intrusions, see above, n. 20, esp. Sherborne, “Perjury and the Lancastrian Revolution,” 240–41.

clause”—in such a way as to confirm that the observed irregularity must in fact be archetypal and hence authoritative.

First, in contrast with the “Renunciation” section (REN) of the composite “Record and Process” (*CRec*), the independent texts of it (in *IRen*) all subjoin a block-like list of persons who attest the accuracy of the document’s contents and warrant that they saw Richard sign it. Richard’s own signature he warranted himself: “Ego Ricardus rex antedictus propria manu me subscribo,” in the phrasing that characterizes the redacted composite renunciation, and more succinctly “Et ego Ricardus predictus me subscribo” in the independent text.²⁸ Only in the independent texts, this signature-clause is followed by a list of the names and titles of twenty-one witness, “presentibus hominibus,” who warrant that they saw the signing occur.

The block-list of witnesses is a legal assurance that seems likely to have been provided on the occasion, but also likely to have become less needful subsequently, once the “Renunciation” had accomplished its function of necessitating the next day’s deposition proceedings, and the deposition had taken place; for the simplified representation of events in the composite “Record and Process,” the witnesses-list was otiose. Moreover, it was discreditable to the Lancastrian faction. Adam Usk’s indication, on the crucial occasion, “nullum sibi specialem aut famulari solitum, set alios extranios sibi totaliter insidiantes, ipsius obsequio deputatos,” is that Richard was in duress.²⁹ The implication is made concrete by the witnesses-list: these persons who visited him in his captivity to obtain his signified assent, “vultu hillari,” were not Richard’s friends.

The difference between the two traditions of the “Renunciation” (REN in *IRen* and *CRec*) at this point is as clear as it is stable; and it also seems clear that in the present instance (where a choice needs be made on non-textual grounds between two traditions equidistant from the artifact actually presented before the assembly) the “Renunciation” underwent

²⁸ “Record and Process” 114–15 = 417a; the other phrase is from the *S* text of *IRen*, *inter* 43 in the apparatus to the appendix below.

²⁹ The quotation is from *Chronicle of Adam Usk*, ed. Given-Wilson, 64. *IRen* might be judged to reflect the original presented before the public more accurately than *CRec* also in its verb-forms: see the appendix below, the apparatus for 27, where the independent versions put Richard’s undertaking in the first person (“quibus potero”) and the later composite record makes distanced reference to a third person (“quibus poterit”).

simplifying exculpatory redaction—expunction of the witnesses-list—for its representation in the composite “Record and Process” and that the independent “Renunciation” is more likely to represent what Richard saw and the next day’s assembly was shown.

The case is the same at the second point of difference between the two traditions, though the difference between them is less stark. Both traditions have it that, subsequent to his assent to the “Renunciation” proper, Richard registered (or wished to have acknowledged) some further conditions of his resignation. In the independent texts, the Ricardian addendum is labeled “Protestacio,” or prefaced with the phrase “premissa protestacione” in one (*H*): first, Richard neither wishes nor intends to renounce God’s sanction of his regality; second, he wishes that the funerary arrangements he has already made for himself should be carried out in accordance with his testamentary intention; and finally, he wishes that the duke of Lancaster should follow after him in the kingship: “ita quod, quantum in eo fuerat, dominus Henricus, dux Lancastrie, proximo sibi succedat in regno.”

In the composite “Record and Process,” the cognate passage, referred to as a “verbotenus” of Richard himself, mentions only Richard’s wish to be succeeded by his cousin, in considerable elaboration:

Et statim idem rex renunciacioni et cessioni predictis verbotenus adiunxit quod, si esset in potestate sua, dictus dux Lancastrie succederet sibi in regno. Set quia hoc in potestate sua minime dependebat, vt dixit, dictos Eboracensem archiepiscopum et episcopum Herefordensem, quos protunc suos constituit procuratores ad declarandum et intimandum cessionem et renunciacionem huiusmodi omnibus statibus dicti regni, rogavit vt intencionem et voluntatem suam in ea parte populo nunciarent. Et, in signum sue intencionis et voluntatis huiusmodi, annulum auri de signeto suo patenter de digito suo tunc ibidem extraxit, et digito dicti ducis apposuit, desiderans hoc ipsum, vt asseruit, omnibus regni statibus innotesci.³⁰

Inasmuch as both textual traditions attest some verbal gesture on Richard’s part, it is confirmed that he made one, or at least that the textual archetype lying behind the various surviving textual witnesses contained such a passage: the originary document. On the other hand, inasmuch as

³⁰ “Record and Process” 116–27 = 417a; the substance of Richard’s objections is analyzed in Wright, “Protestation of Richard II,” 153–65.

the substance of the Ricardian “Protestacio-Verbotenus” differs from branch to branch of the tradition, resort is to non-textual considerations, and again the pattern is clear. The version in the composite “Record and Process” exculpates the Lancastrian party, by reducing Richard’s addenda from three to one, namely, to the one that favoured Henry’s succession; moreover, it elaborates the one remainder disproportionately, in the direction of the kind of melodramatic fiction—even stipulating stage properties—that was in fact performed publicly the next day before the deposition assembly. On these non-textual, substantive grounds—specifically, inasmuch as it contains material derogatory to the Lancastrian pretension—the Ricardian “Protestacio” in the independent texts appears more likely to be originary than the “verbotenus” in the composite. Excision of anti-Lancastrian matter that was there at the tradition’s point of origin is more likely to have occurred than an insertion of the like after the fact; also, expunction is more easily carried out than insertion.

The same notions may apply to the anomaly within the independent tradition, where the anomalous lection is also confirmed by one only of the witnesses to the composite “Record and Process.” The “obit-clause” in the “Renunciation” proper must be archetypal, in other words. The textual evidence alone indicates that it occurred in the document Richard handled.

In both traditions, Richard attests that, by the document itself, he does renounce (“in hiis scriptis renuncio” etc.), amongst a whole long list of other things (in first place “omnique regie dignitati ac magestati et corone”), “dominiis et possessionibus meis, seu michi quomodolibet competentibus quibuscumque, quocumque nomine cenceantur, infra regna et dominia predicta vel alibi vbilibet constitutis, omnique iuri et colori iuris, ac titulo, possessioni, et dominio, que vmquam habui, habeo, seu quouismodo habere potero, in eisdem seu eorum aliquo,” etc. In the one copy of the independent “Renunciation” (*H*), between “vbilibet constitutis” and “omnique iuri,” occurs the additional phrase “saluis terris et possessionibus per me pro obitu meo impensis et emptis” (18–19).

Substantively the same concern about the arrangements he had made for his own burial recurs elsewhere in the literary evidence of the deposition proceedings, in the version of the Ricardian “Protestacio” subjoined to the “Renunciation” proper in the independent versions: “Item quod resirauit sibi redditus, terras, et tenementa per ipsum empta et perquisita de domino Ricardo Lescrop pro obitu suo.” The point is omitted from the “Verbote-

nus” in the same place in the composite “Record and Process”;³¹ its repetition within the texts of the independent “Renunciation” must make it appear more likely that some such reservation was raised, by Richard or for him.

The commoner omission of the “obit-clause,” indeed its substance’s mobility in the independent texts, may indicate that it was rather made for Richard and eventually came to be regarded as superfluous or as somehow discreditable to the Lancastrians, once it had served an immediate purpose. In effect, the clause answers an implied threat to disregard the will of a reigning monarch. The implicit threat may have been useful at the moment, when the Lancastrians were otherwise putting Richard under duress; but then the issue went moot when Richard ceased to be king, and the substance of the Ricardian reservation was eventually repeated elsewhere in the records in any case.

By error or by editorial expunction—one time only or more than once, independently—the omission of the “obit-clause” from the “Renunciation” proper is understandable. Simple mechanical omission in lists of the sort in question occur constantly (repetition serves and protects, inasmuch as the iterative synonyms that make up such lists protect against the total loss of something important to simple omission). Moreover, editorial simplification in an instance of repetition may have operated. Alternatively or additionally, inasmuch as the clause may have tended to make Henry appear ungracious, it might have become candidate for suppression too.

In textual perspective, however, what is not possible to countenance is that exactly the same phrase should have been added in exactly the same location—a perfectly sensible phrase, moreover, its substance otherwise attested, in a perfectly sensible location, when properties-dispositions come up—on more than one occasion, independently, in texts otherwise unrelated to one another in recension, not contaminated by one copying from the other. Error can occur anywhere, for any of a number of reasons, the same errors, moreover, independently, over and over again; absent interfering editorial conjecture or dread contamination, right readings can only be transmitted, from exemplar to copy. The appearance of the “obit-clause” within the “Renunciation” proper in the one independent copy (*H*) is such a case, for the same clause occurs in the same context in one (and

³¹ The repetition is below, lines 52–54, omitted in the corresponding passage in the “Record and Process,” 116–27 = 417a, quoted in full just above.

one only) of the copies of the “Renunciation” proper within the tradition of the composite “Record and Process.”

The clause occurs just so in the Oxford manuscript copy (*O*), and so occurs too in the English translation deriving from it (*E*); that these copies embody the most thoroughly redacted version of the composite text, most subject to the exculpatory simplification that characterizes the text-genetic process as a whole, may strengthen the case (if, even after maximal redaction, the “obit-clause” remained in place for recopying). In the end, however, it does not matter which manuscript from the other line of derivation has it: the “obit-clause” can only appear in two such places as it does in the tradition if it is archetypal.

APPENDIX

Because it has not been published before, *H* is treated here as a base text (though *S* is manifestly better, in the sense that it errs independently least often): departures from *H* in the text proper are enclosed in angled brackets ⟨ ⟩, and in the apparatus the lemmata are always the *H*-readings and the readings of all other witnesses not separately cited (although the apparatus is often more explicit about witness-naming, in order to make the witnesses’ convergences and divergences more immediately apprehensible).

Sigla and Abbreviations

- H* London, British Library Harley 293, fols. 47r–48v
S London, British Library Stowe 66, fols. 1r–2r
V The text of *IRen* in the *Historia vite et regni Ricardi secundi*
W The text of *CRec* in the St Albans *Cronica maiora* by Walsingham
P London (Kew), National Archives: Public Record Office, C 65/62, mm. 21–17
O Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 596, fols. 65r–85v
 β *consensus codicum HSV* (= *IRen*)
 γ *consensus codicum WPO* (= *CRec*)

ac = *ante correctionem*

pc = *post correctionem*, by itself if an *ac* state cannot be discerned.

sup. lin. = *super lineam*, indicating a correction made by insertion (with or without a caret-like mark or other indication)

exp. = *expunctum*

|H 47r|

In dei nomine amen. Ego, Ricardus, dei gracia rex Anglie et Francie, et dominus Hibernie, omnes dictorum regnorum et dominiorum archiepiscopos et episcopos, et alios quoscunque ecclesiarum, seculares et regalium prelatos, cuiuscunque dignitatis, gradus et status, seu condicionis existant, ducisque, marchiones comitesque, barones, milites, vassales, et valuassores, et ligeos homines meos quoscunque, ecclesiasticos vel seculares, quocunque nomine censeantur, a iuramento fidelitatis et homagii, et aliis quibuscunque mihi factis, omnique vinculo ligeantie et regalie ac domini quibus mihi obligati fuerant, vel sint, vel alias quomodolibet astricti, absoluo; eos et heredes et successores imperpetuum, ab eisdem obligationibus et iuramentis, et aliis quibuscunque, relaxo, liber(o), et quiet(o); et liberos, solutos, et quietos, et immunes, quantum ad personam meam attinet, dimitto ad omnem iuris effectum qui ex premissis sequi poterit seu aliquo premissorum; omnique regie dignitati ac magestati, et corone, vel dominio et potestati dictorum regnorum et domini, aliisque dominiis et possessionibus meis, seu mihi quomodolibet competentibus quibuscunque, quocunque nomine censeantur, infra regna et dominia predicta vel alibi,

2 regnorum et dominiorum] dominiorum et regnorum *W* 3 et episcopos *H*: episcopos *SVγ* ecclesiarum seculares et regalium *H*: ecclesiarum secularium vel regularium *Sγ*: ecclesiasticos secularium uel regularium *V* 4 et status *H*: status *SVγ* existant] existens *S* 5 ducisque] duces et *S*: duces *O* comitesque *H*: comites *SVγ* milites *om. O* vassales *Hpc(sup. lin.)*: *om. Hac*: vasallas *S*: uasallos *V*: vassallos *WP*: vassallas *O* et valuassores] ualuassores *V*: *om. S* 7 a iuramento fidelitatis et homagii] a iuramento fidelitate homagio *V* et²: et *Hpc(sup. lin.) SVγ*: and *Hac(exp.)* 8 ligeantie] ligianci *S* 9 mihi obligati] obligati michi *O*: obligati *V* sint] sunt *S* 10 eos et heredes *H*: eos et eorum heredes *V*: et eos et eorum heredes *SWP*: et eos et heredes eorum *O* 11 libero et quieto] libere et quiete *H* 11–12 et liberos, solutos, et quietos, et immunes *H*: et liberos et solutos, quietos et immunes *S*: et liberos, solutos, quietos et immunes *V*: solutos, quietos, et immunes *WP*: liberos, solutos, et quietos, ac immunes *O* 12–13 attinet *om. S* 13 omnem iuris effectum] effectum omnem iuris *O* ex premissis] ex promissis *P*: in premissis *V* 14 omnique regie dignitati ac *HPO*: omnique dignitati et *S*: omnique regie dignitati *V*: omnique regie dignitati et *W* 14–15 vel dominio et potestati *H*: necnon et potestati *S*: necnon dominio et potestati *VWP*: necnon dominio et potestate *O* 15 et domini *HWP*: et dominiorum *SVO* 16 quomodolibet competentibus] quomodolibet pertinentibus seu competentibus *O* 17 vel alibi] et alibi *S*

vbilibet constitutis, saluis terris et possessionibus per me pro obitu meo
 impensis et emptis; omnique iuri et colori iuris, ac titulo, possessioni, et
 20 dominio, que vmquam habui, habeo, seu quouismodo habere potero, in
 eisdem seu eorum aliquo, vel <ad> ea, cum suis iuribus et pertinentiis vni-
 uersis, seu dependentibus qualitercunque ab eisdem, vel eorum aliquo;
 necnon regimini, gubernacioni <et administracioni> regnorum et domi-
 25 niorum huiusmodi, omnibusque et omnimodis mero et mixto imperio ac
 iurisdictioni, in eisdem regnis et dominiis mihi competentibus seu com-
 petituris, nominique honori, et regalie ac celsitudini regiis, pure, sponte,
 simpliciter, et absolute, melioribus modo, via, et forma quibus potero, in
 hiis scriptis renuntio, et ea in totum resigno, ac re et verbo dimitto, et eis-
 dem cedo, et ab eisdem recedo, |H 47v| imperpetuum, saluis successori-
 30 bus meis regibus Anglie in regnis <et> dominiis, et ceteris omnibus
 premissis imperpetuum, iuribus in eisdem seu eorum aliquo competentibus
 et competituris quibuscunque. Meque ad regimen et gubernacionem dic-
 torum regnorum et dominiorum, cum suis pertinentiis vniuersis, fateor, re-
 cognosco, reputo, et veraciter ex certa sciencia iudico fuisse et esse
 35 insufficientem penitus et inutilem, ac propter mea demerita not(o)ria non
 inmerito deponendum. Et iuro, ad hec sancta dei euangelia per me cor-

18 constitutis] constituitur *V* saluis terris et possessionibus per me pro obitu
 meo impensis et emptis *HO* : *om. SVWP* per me pro *H* : pro me et *O* 19 im-
 pensis *H* : impetratis *O* et emptis *Hpc (sup. lin.) O* : *om. Hac* iuri et co-
 lori *Hγ* : iure et colore *SV* ac titulo] a titulo *V* possessioni] pessionioni *S* :
 possessione *V* 19–20 et dominio] ac dominio *O* 20 seu quouismodo] vel *S*
 21 ad *om. H* 22 ab eisdem vel eorum] ab eisdem seu eorum *S* 23 regimini]
 regimine *S* : regni *V* 23–24 gubernacioni et administracioni regnorum et domi-
 orum huiusmodi] et gubernacioni dictorum regnorum et dominiorum huiusmodi et
 eorum administracioni *O* 23 et administracioni *om. H* 24 omnibusque et
 omnimodis mero] omnibus et omnino de miro *S* imperio ac] imperio et *V*
 26 nominique honori et regalie ac *H* : nominique et honori ac regalie et *Sγ* : nomi-
 que et honori ac regalie *V* 27 et *βWPOpc (sup. lin.)* : *om. Oac* melioribus
 modo] meliori modo *S* quibus potero *β* : quibus poterit *γ* 28 ea in totum] in
 ea toto *V* verbo dimitto] uerbo resigno dimitto *V* 28–29 et eisdem cedo] et in
 eisdem cedo *P* 29–30 successoribus meis regibus] successoribus in eis regibus *S*
 30 et¹ *om. H* et ceteris] ac ceteris *V* 33 et dominiorum *om. S* 34 iudico]
 merito *V* 35 notoria] notaria *H* 36 Et iuro] Iuramentum. Et iuro *W* ad
 hec] per hec *V* sancta dei euangelia] sancta euangelia *P*

poraliter tacta, quod numquam premissis resignacioni, renunciacioni, di-
 missioni, et cessioni contramoueam seu ea quomodolibet impugno, facto
 vel verbo, per me vel per alium seu alios, seu contraueniri vel impugnari
 40 permittam, quantum in me est, priuate vel occulte stile; easdem renun-
 ciationem, resignacionem, dimissionem, et cessionem imperpetuum ratas
 et gratas habe(b)o, et firmiter tenebo et obseruabo, in toto et in qualibet sui
 parte; sicut me deus adiuuet et hec sancta dei euangelia.

Presentibus hominibus H. Lancastrie, reuerende patri Thome Cantuarie,
 45 Ricardo Eboracensi, ac nobilibus viris comitibus H. Northumbrie et West-
 merlandie, Thome Arundell; Iohanne de Berkele, et Willelmo Becham,
 Hugo Burnell, Willelmo de Rose, H. de Bellomonte, W. de Wilyby, baro-
 nibus; dominis Thomam Gray, T. Herpingham, T. Remston, W. Fulcham,

37 premissis] premissis *V* resignacioni renunciacioni *HW*: renunciacioni re-
 signacioni *SP*: resignacioni renunciani *O*: renunciacioni *V* 37–38 dimissioni *om.* *S*
 38 contramoueam *H*: contraueniam *SVγ* seu ea *om.* *S* seu ea quomodolibet]
 seu quomodolibet ea *V* 39 per me vel per alium seu alios seu *H*: vel per me vel
 per alium seu alios *S*: per me uel per alium seu per alios seu *V*: per me vel alium seu
 alios seu *WP*: per me vel per alium seu per alios *O* 40 priuate vel occulte stile *H*:
 publice vel occulte sed *SVγ* 40–41 easdem renunciacionem resignacionem *Hγ*:
 easdem renunciacionem *S*: easdem resignacionem renunciacionem *V* 42 habeo]
 habeo *H* in toto et in] in toto in *V*: in toto et *O* qualibet *H*: omni *SVγ*
 sui parte] sua parte *S* 43 me deus] deus me *VO* euangelia] Et ego Ricardus
 predictus me subscribo *add.* *S*: Fecitque se scribi dicens Ego Ricardus rex predictus
 me subscribo *add.* *V*: Ego Ricardus rex antedictus propria manu me subscribo *add.*
WP: Ego Ricardus rex antedictus propria manu mea hic me subscribo *add.* *O*
 44–50 Presentibus . . . Brelufford *β*: *om.* *γ* 44 hominibus] uiris uenerabilibus *V*
 H.] Henrico *S*: domino duce Henrico *V* reuerende patri Thome] patre Thoma *S*:
 reuerendis patribus Thoma archiepiscopo *V* 45 Ricardo Eboracensi] Ricardo
 archiepiscopo Eboraci Iohanni episcopo Herefordensis *V* uiris comitibus H.] uiris
 Henrico *S*: uiris et comitibus Henrico *V* 45–46 Westmerlandie] Radulpho West-
 merlandie *S*: Ricardo Westmerlandie *V* 46 Thome Arundell] et Arundel *S*: et
 Thoma Arundel *V* Iohanne] ac dominis Thoma *V* Berkele] Berkeley *S*:
 Berkley *V* et *om.* *V* Becham] Beuchamp de Bergeuene *S*: Beauchamp do-
 mino de Burgeuene *V* 47 Hugo Burnell] Hugone de Burnel *S*: Henrico de Bur-
 nell *V* Rose] Ros *S*: Roos *V* H. de Bellomonte] Henrico Bellomonte *S*:
 Henrico de Belamite *V* W.] Willelmo *SV* Wilyby] Williby *S*: Wilbi *V*
 48 Thomam] Thomas *S*: Thoma de *V* T. Herpingham] Thomas Erpingham *S*:
 Thoma de Erpyngham *V* T. Remston] Thoma Remeston *S*: Thoma Remestonn *V*
 W.] Willelmo *SV* Fulcham *Hpc* (*sup. lin.*): Fulleshame *S*: Fulthorp *V*

50 H. Waterton, militibus; W. Lucas, armigeris, I. Norbury, Edw. Becham, Radulpho Brelufford.

55 Premissa protestatione, quod noluit nec intendebat renunciare carecteribus anime sue in premissis. Item quod resiruaui sibi redditus, terras, et tementa per ipsum empta et perquisita de domino Ricardo Lescrop pro obitu suo et aliorum apud Westmonasterium faciendo et in vsu, et cetera. [H 48r] Item voluit et declarauit quod renunciauit regimen regni, ita quod, quantum in eo fuerat, quod dominus Henricus, dux Lancastrie, proximo sibi succedat in regno.

49 H. Waterton] Hugone Watterton *S* : Henrico Watirtonn *V* W. Lucas armigeris] Willelmo Lucas *SV* I.] Iohanne *SV* Norbury] Norburi *V* Edw. Becham] Edwardo Richehunt *S* : Edmundo Beauchamp *V* 50 Radulpho Brelufford] Radulpho Braylesford armigeris *S* : Ricardo de Braylesford et aliis *V* Brelufford] Protestacio regis Ricardi ante resignacionem *add. S* 51–57 Premissa . . . regno *β* : Et statim . . . innotesci *γ* (*vide infra*)

(*β*) 51 Premissa protestacione] Premissis cum protestacione *V* carecteribus] carectis *V* 52 in premissis] impressis a sacra vnccione *S* : impressis *V* quod] etiam quod *V* resiruaui *Hpc* : resignauit *Hac* : reseruauit *SV* redditus] redditum *V* 53 per ipsum *om. V* Lescrop] Scrope *S* : le Scroop *V* 54 vsu et cetera] uisu *V* 55 Item voluit] voluitque *V* quod renunciauit regimen regni ita quod] quod *V* 56 quantum in eo fuerat quod] quantum in eo fuit *S* : in quantum in ipso fuit quod *V* 57 sibi succedat] sibi succederet *S* : succederet sibi *V* regno] Post resignacionem publicatam in parlamento, surexit Henricus Lancastrie et dixit ista verba *add. S* : Postquam quidem resignacionem publice lectam, et per dominos et per plebeios unanimiter admissam, dictoque rege Ricardo deposito, et sic trono regio uacante, cum tractaretur inter dominos de rege future, totus populus acclamauit dominum Henricum ducem Lancastrie, ipsumque in regem eligerunt. Ipse autem dux mox de sede sua assurgens, tronum regium ascendit, ista uerba proferendo, signo crucis premissis *add. V*

(*γ*) Et statim idem rex renunciacioni et cessionis predictis verbotenus adiunxit quod, si esset in potestate sua, dictus dux Lankastrie succederet sibi in regno. Sed quia hoc in potestate sua minime dependebat, vt dixit, dictos Eboracensem archiepiscopum et episcopum Herefordensem, quos protunc suos constituit procuratores ad declarandum et intimandum cessionem et renunciacionem huiusmodi omnibus statibus dicti regni, rogauit vt intencionem et voluntatem suam in ea parte populo nunciarent. Et, in signum sue intencionis et voluntatis huiusmodi, anulum auri de signeto suo patenter de digito suo tunc ibidem extraxit, et digito dicti ducis apposuit, desiderans hoc ipsum, vt asseruit, omnibus regni statibus innotesci (Eboracensem] Eboraci *W* protunc] protinus *O* nunciarent] Signum voluntatis *add. W* patenter] patente *W* ducis] ducis Lancastrie *O*)

In the name of the said sonne, and holy-ghost, I, Henry of Lancaster,
 60 appurtenances, as I that descend by right lyne of the blood cominge from
 the good kinge Henry the third, and thorough the right that God of his
 grace hath sent mee, with helpe of my kyn and of my freinds to recouer it;
 the which realme was in poynt to bee vndone for the defence of gouer-
 nance and vndoynge of the good lawes.

65 Sires, I thanke God and you, spiritualls and temporalls and all the estates
 of the land, and doe you to wit that it is not my will that no man thinke, by
 way of conquest I would disherite any man of his heritage, fraunchises, or
 other rightes that hee ought to haue, nor putt him out of that hee hath had

58–64 In the name . . . lawes *HSγ*: Ego Henricus, dux et legitimus heres domini Iohannis ducis Lancastrie, uenerandi patris mei, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, istum tronum regium, iam uacantem, coronam, et regnum, cum omnibus membris et pertinenciis suis, uniuersis et singulis, michi, proximo heredi, iure hereditario in linea recta descendenti a nobili rege Henrico tercio debite clamo, assumo et eundem ascendo. *V* 58 of the said sonne and holy-ghost *H*: of þe Fadir of þe Son and þe Holy Gost *S*: of the fadere sonne and holy goost *O*: of fadir son and holy gost *P*: of God *W* 59 challenge *H*: chalange *S*: chalenge *WP*: cleyimme *O* the¹ *H*: this *SWP*: þe *O* realme of England *HO*: reme of Ingland *SP*: this royaume *W* 60 appurtenances *H*: all þe appurtenance *S*: the appurtenans *W*: þe appurtenances *PO* as I that descend *H*: as þat am descendit *S*: als I þat am disendit *PO*: as *W* right lyne of the blood cominge from] the ryght blood comyng of *W* 61 good kinge *H*: good lord kyng *SPO*: kyng *W* the third *H*: thrid *S*: therde *WP*: þe thrid *O* the right *HS*: þat ryght *γ* 62 sent mee *HPW*: send me *S*: sent to me *O* with helpe *HPO*: with þe help *SW* 63 bee vndone *HP*: ben vndoo *S*: ben undon *W*: be vndo *O* defence *H*: defaute *Sγ* 64 vndoynge of the good lawes *HSP*: vndoynge of the lawes *W*: good lawes *O* lawes] Post eleccionem Henricus Lancastrie habuit ista verba populo *add. S*: Et sic tronum ascendit, et in illo resedit, hos sermones distincte propalando *add. V*: Verba noui regis habita ad populum *add. W* 65–70 Sires . . . realme *HSγ*: Gracias Deo meo et regi . . . legis *V* (*vide infra*) 65 God and you *HPO*: God and I 3ou *S*: yow *W* spiritualls and temporalls *H*: esprituelx and temporelx *W*: spirituel and temporel *SPO* estates] states *SO* 66 of the] of this *S* doe you to wit that it is not *H*: do 3ou to wyten þat hit is no3t *S*: y do yow to wyte that is nought *W*: do yowe to wyte it es nought *P*: I do yow to vndirstonde þat it nys nat *O* no man] any man *S* 66–67 by way *H*: þat be way *SWP*: þat weye *O* 67–68 fraunchises or other rightes *H*: franchise or oudre ri3t *S*: fraunchis or other rightes *WP*: ffraunchyses outhere ryghtes *O* 68 that hee ought *H*: þat him o3t *SPO*: that hem oughte *W* haue nor putt *Hpc*: haue ne putt *HacSWP*: haue ne to put *O* that² *HWO*: þat þat *SP* hath had *H*: hath and

70 by the good lawes and customes of the realme, except those persons that haue been against the good purpose and the common good of the realme.

|H 48v en dorse| The Resignation of the Crowne by Richard the .2. & the Acceptation be Henry the .4., copied out of the Record the .2. of September, 1612. being in the Hande of Mr. Arthur Agare, keeper of the Records at Westminster.

75 Vide Thomas Walsingham

hath had *SWO* : has and has had *P* 69 the good : good *O* and customes of the realme *HSP* : and custome of the rewme *O* : of this royaulme *W* those persons *HSP* : þise persones *O* : hem *W* 70 haue been against *H* : han be ayȝayn *S* : han ben ageyn *W* : has ben agan *P* : han bene aȝeynste *O* common good *H* : good comen profit *S* : commune profyt γ (65–70) Gracias Deo meo et regi, et aliis amicis meis, necnon et uobis omnibus, reuerendi patres et domini spirituales et temporales, cum plebeis et omni statu, quod ad istud regnum optinendum, licet indignus, promotus et exaltatus sum. Quod quidem regnum quamuis ante hec tempora per plures annos periculose, ob defectum boni regiminis, uix stare uideretur, tamen, Deo fauente, qui omnia potest, uestro saniori concilio in melius reformabitur. Et hec scitote, intelligentes, quod non est aut fuit intencionis mee, per conquestum, uel alio aliquo modo, aliquem uel aliquos exheredare de terris, tenementis uel redditibus, aut a suis iusticiis, libertatibus uel aliis consuetudinibus, usque huc racionabiliter approbatis, subtrahere, eis dumtaxat exceptis, qui fuerunt contra nostrum bonum et necessarium propositum pro effectu et defensione communis regni legis. *V* 71–75 The Resignation . . . Walsingham *om. SV* γ

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