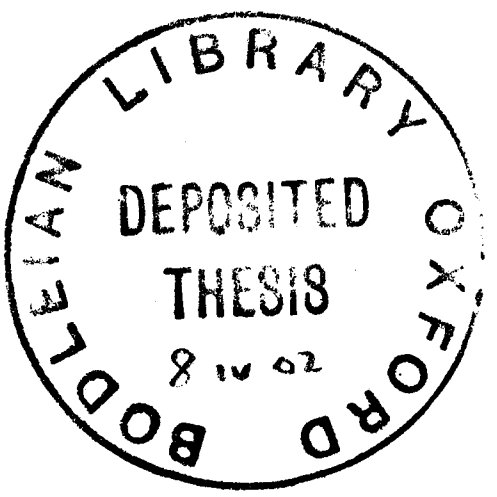
The Early English Text Society in the nineteenth century: a chapter in the history of the editing of Middle English texts

Antony Singleton



Corpus Christi College
University of Oxford

DPhil
Michaelmas Term 2001

Abstract

The Early English Text Society in the nineteenth century: a chapter in the history of the editing of Middle English texts

Antony Singleton
Corpus Christi College

DPhil
Michaelmas Term 2001

Despite the importance of the subject to the discipline of Middle English studies, little research has been published on the history of the editing of Middle English texts. This thesis supplies a small, but essential portion of that history by examining the editorial practices that were used to produce the editions of Middle English texts published by the Early English Text Society in the nineteenth century. Then the dominant publisher in its field, EETS identified and printed almost the entire Middle English canon during a crucial time in the development of English studies—the period in which it moved from being an almost exclusively amateur pursuit to one accepted and practiced by professional academics in the universities.

To provide a context for my examination of EETS editions, I first investigate the financial and material conditions under which EETS' publications were produced and examine the ideas which guided EETS' editorial policy in the light of contemporary theories about the editing of Middle English texts. I then examine nine editions in detail, analysing the various methods by which the text is established and formal manuscript detail is represented in print. The analysis contained in these nine studies is based on the evidence I compiled by comparing sample extracts of the printed text and associated paratext of each edition with the manuscript evidence originally available to the editor. I then use the information gathered about these individual editions as part of an assessment of the editorial practices that define the nature of EETS' nineteenth-century editorial output as a whole. I find that a conservative editorial approach that valorises the evidence of individual manuscripts characterises the majority of EETS' publications, but that the Society also produced a great variety of editions that diverge from this approach, including several of the earliest applications of recension to Middle English texts published in England.

Acknowledgements

I wish first and foremost to thank my supervisor, Anne Hudson, for the generosity she showed in sharing with me her time and knowledge, for trusting me when I disappeared to work on my own for months at a time while still offering firm direction when it was required, and for her interest in and enthusiasm about my topic. I also owe a special debt of gratitude to the following: the Association of Commonwealth Universities, whose funds made this project possible; Alexandra Gillespie, for the assistance she gave me in devising my topic at the beginning of my time in Oxford and for proof-reading my entire thesis at the end of it (any mistakes which remain are, of course, my responsibility alone); and Richard Hamer, for allowing me access to various documents in the EETS archive and for providing a place in the Christ Church College Library to read them in.

Abbreviations

EETS	Early English Text Society
ES	Extra Series
OS	Original Series
SS	Supplementary Series
IMEV	*Index of Middle English Verse* (and *Supplement*)
IPMEP	*Index of Printed Middle English Prose*
K	Saint Katherine
M	Saint Margaret
MA	Morte Arthure
MED	*Middle English Dictionary*
NED	*New English Dictionary*
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
PLM	Pilgrimage of the Life of Man
SPM	Stans Puer ad Mensam
SW	Sawles Warde
TG	Temple of Glas
WP	William of Palerne

Sigla specific to individual chapters and/or texts

Chapter Four

B	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 34
R	London, British Library, MS. Royal 17 A. xxvii
T	London, British Library, MS. Cotton Titus D. xviii

Chapter Six: SPM only

H	London, British Library, MS. Harley 2251
L	London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS. 853
pH	printed text of SPM from MS. Harley 2251 in OS 32
pL	printed text of SPM from Lambeth Palace Library, MS. 853 in OS 32
W	printed text of SPM in Wright and Halliwell's *Reliquiæ Antiquiæ*

Chapter Six: PLM only

S	London, British Library, MS. Stowe 952
T	London, British Library, MS. Cotton Tiberius A. vii
V	London, British Library, MS. Cotton Vitellius C. xiii

Chapter Six: TG only

B	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. 638
C	*The Temple of Glas*, Caxton ca 1477 (STC 17032)
F	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Fairfax 16
G	Cambridge University Library MS. Gg. 4. 27
L	Longleat, Somerset, MS. 258
P	Cambridge, Magdalene College Library, MS. Pepys 2006
S	London, British Library, MS. Additional 16165
T	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Tanner 346

Other Conventions

In general, this thesis is presented according to the conventions outlined in the *MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers,* 4th ed. (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1995). However, I have diverged from the MLA's conventions as follows:

i) Nineteenth-century EETS editions are referred to by series and part number (e.g. OS 32); for the publication details of these editions, readers are directed to Appendix One.

ii) Middle English words are not printed in italics, because this would obscure the alternate use of roman and italic type in the editions I quote from, and because there are so many Middle English words in my text and footnotes that italicizing them all would make some chapters difficult to read. In the text, Middle English words are surrounded in single inverted commas; in the footnotes, which often take the form of lists of manuscript readings, I print them without the use of a distinguishing typographical convention.

iii) Furnivall and other writers in the nineteenth century made frequent use of alternative spellings. In order to avoid the constant repetition of [*sic*], I have reproduced those spellings without comment. Similarly, unless otherwise stated, the use of italic, bold and other special type follows that of the quoted author.

Table of Contents

Part One

Chapter One: Introduction 1

Chapter Two: EETS in the nineteenth century: an organisational history 6

Chapter Three: EETS' editorial policy and its nineteenth-century context 31

Part Two

Preface: Editorial Practice in EETS editions 46

Chapter Four: The Katherine Group of texts in EETS editions 49

Chapter Five: Two alliterative romances in EETS editions 86

Chapter Six: Three works by Lydgate in EETS editions 112

Chapter Seven: Editorial practice in EETS' collected Middle English publications 158

Chapter Eight: Conclusion 188

Appendices

Appendix One 193

Appendix Two 201

Appendix Three 222

Bibliography 238

Part One

Chapter One: Introduction

This thesis is primarily about the editorial practices that were used to produce the editions of Middle English texts published by the Early English Text Society between its foundation in 1864 and the end of the nineteenth century. Focusing on the work of one particular publisher in one particular period, the thesis aims to provide an account of a small, specific element of the history of the editing of Middle English texts. But while the thesis may therefore be arcane and limited in scope, the wider subject to which it endeavours to make a contribution—the history of editing or, more broadly, textual criticism—is not, for it has considerable importance to the discipline of Middle English studies.

The benefits of the printed editions of Middle English texts we use today are immense and obvious. They make widely available the various surviving writings in Middle English that could otherwise be read only by people privileged with access to manuscripts and early printed editions. They facilitate our ongoing discussion about the nature and significance of these writings by reconstituting the often disparate textual evidence for each work within a single, mass-produced artefact to which all can refer. However, with this convenience comes an attendant danger. Ongoing reference to the printed text of a commonly used modern edition can easily lead to the treatment of it as the 'received text'—that is, the printed text may be studied as if it were the definitive record of a medieval author's words, without regard for the underlying textual contradictions and uncertainties, even if they are recorded in the edition's notes. Evidence of this danger has been perceived by two scholars who have examined the history of the editing of *Piers Plowman*, a work which prompted some of the most vigorously pursued debates in Middle English textual criticism in the twentieth century. Eric Dahl, sceptical about the view asserted by (among many others) the editors of the famous Athlone edition of the poem that one author is responsible for all three versions of *Piers Plowman*, believes that George Kane and E. Talbot Donaldson edited the B-text in a manner that supports their position, and that 'the recent flood of enterprising scholarship concerned with *Piers Plowman* does not flow from a better understanding of fundamental textual issues' but from an uncritical acceptance of the now orthodox view of single authorship:

> Given the status of the extant evidence, the modern debate about authorship could not be won on the basis of fact alone. Instead, a general consensus in favor of single authorship has been achieved through the rhetoric of editorial authority and the inclination of academic scholars to accept the least arduous of uncertain paths, especially if that option is ready-made, presented confidently in magisterial editions, and if access to the underlying manuscript evidence is difficult.... It should come as no surprise that the current textual status quo so created has no need for the less streamlined theory of multiple authorship, since the texts of different versions have been harmonized to exclude it.[1]

[1] Eric Dahl, "Diuerse Copies Haue It Diuerselye: An Unorthodox Survey of *Piers Plowman* Textual Scholarship from Crowley to Skeat," *Suche Werkis to Werche: Essays on* Piers Plowman *in Honor of David C. Fowler*, ed. Míċeál F. Vaughan (East Lansing: Colleagues Press, 1993) 53, 76-78.

While Charlotte Brewer does not take issue with a specific outcome generated by a particular edition of *Piers Plowman*, she questions the authority implied by 'the frequent employment of a vocabulary and diction which mimics that of the empirical sciences' that has characterised recent editions of the poem:

> [Editorial practices] reflect the thinking of the time on the nature of poetic composition, authorial revision, and scribal transmission of texts.... In the case of *Piers Plowman*, a poem with an enormous number of manuscript variants, to choose between the surviving manuscript readings (or to reject them as unsatisfactory, and instead conjecture what the author wrote) is an act of literary criticism, even literary creation, based on a succession of undemonstrable hypotheses, whose result (the edited text) can never be tested in the way that scientific theories can, except in the unlikely event of the discovery of the author's holograph(s). The editor is inextricably combined with the text he or she produces, despite the paraphernalia of rigorously objective discussion that accompanies editions of *Piers Plowman*.[2]

For both Brewer and Dahl, an examination of the history of the textual criticism of *Piers Plowman* provides an insight into the nature of the text we read today. Brewer explains the purpose of her study as follows:

> I have written this book with the aim of revealing how close is the link between editor and text, and consequently how disingenuous must be any claims to dispassionate editing.[3]

Dahl's purpose is more closely related to his particular problem with the scholarly consensus:

> ... part of the value of this survey of the early scholarship should come from the perspective it can give to those studying the related scholarly activity of the twentieth century. During the centuries we have reviewed, textual scholars discovered and catalogued a range of manuscripts. While this effort went a long way toward characterizing uncertainties about the nature of the manuscript sources, it also provided the basis for a new debate about authorship. The theory that more than one author was responsible for the multiple versions of the poem, as advocated in our century by scholars from Manly to Fowler, is not peculiar to this era; it was considered possible or likely by such earlier textual scholars as Hearne and Wright, the best editors of Middle English texts in their respective eras.[4]

The textual evidence of few Middle English texts, if any, is as complicated as that of *Piers Plowman*, but nonetheless the general problem that Dahl and Brewer identify is applicable to them all. Responsible scholarship requires a knowledge of, and consistent attention to, the nature of the printed texts from which we work. Our understanding of the editorial practices underlying the text of an edition we use today can be enhanced by an understanding of the scholarship which preceded and led to their employment. This is hardly a new or radical thought, of course—it suggests no more than the application of historiography to the study of textual criticism.

However, while it may not be radical, study of the history of Middle English editing is unusual. Middle English textual scholars have examined only a small proportion of their history in any depth. Amongst the work that has been undertaken, Chaucer has been—as in all things in Middle English studies—first and most well served. An essay on twelve editors of Chaucer from Caxton to Robinson may be found in a convenient book edited by Paul Ruggiers, *Editing Chaucer: The Great Tradition*, and subsequently a

---

[2] Charlotte Brewer, *Editing* Piers Plowman: *The Evolution of the Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 3.

[3] Brewer, p. 3.

[4] Dahl, p. 76.

number of articles examining the work of various Chaucer editors and textual critics has appeared.[5] The editing of Langland too has been well explored, first by Dahl, and then more comprehensively and in greater detail by Brewer. Otherwise, however, coverage of other texts in the Middle English canon is sparse and often lacking in depth. Two publications attempt to survey a substantial proportion of the discipline as a whole. In the first, an article titled "Observations on the History of Middle English Editing," A. S. G. Edwards gives 'a preliminary sketch of some significant aspects of the history of Middle English editing, chiefly between the late sixteenth and early nineteenth centuries,' examining the editorial work of, among others, Speght, Wharton, Ramsey, Hearne, Pinkerton, Percy, Tyrwhitt, Ritson, Madden and Skeat.[6] As he covers such a large amount of material in a single article, Edwards is unable investigate the work of individual editors in any depth; he simply notes the most salient aspects of each edition he examines and infers from them the broad movement of the discipline as a whole.

More ambitious is David Matthew's book *The Making of Middle English, 1765-1910,* which attempts to show how the wider discipline of Middle English studies we know in universities today was constructed by examining the editions produced by Percy, Ritson, Walter Scott and Madden, and printing clubs such as the Roxburghe Club, EETS and the Chaucer Society. Despite the presentation of a considerable amount of relevant detail, Matthews offers frustratingly little technical insight about editorial theory or practice; this was perhaps sacrificed to his examination of 'the politics of editing' and 'the relation of Middle English studies to the wider, nonacademic world' (for example, in a chapter titled '"The Deadly Poison of Democracy," Frederic Madden, Scholar-Knight,' Matthews links the violent suppression of a Chartist demonstration in Birmingham in July 1839 and the medieval tournament staged at Eglinton Castle in Ayrshire in August 1839 with Madden's edition of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*).[7] Other detailed studies are few and difficult to find: I have managed only to locate one on the editorial work of Percy and another on the work of Madden.[8]

---

[5] Paul G. Ruggiers, ed., *Editing Chaucer: The Great Tradition* (Norman, Oklahoma: Pilgrim Books, 1984). Some examples of subsequent articles dealing with aspects of the work of various Chaucer editors and textual critics are: John Finlayson, "Textual Variants in Chaucer's *House of Fame:* Thynne as Editor," *English Studies* 70 (1989): 385-394; Joseph A. Dane, "The Reception of Chaucer's Eighteenth-Century Editors," *Text: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship* 4 (1988): 217-236; Donald C. Baker, "The Evolution of Henry Bradshaw's Idea of the Order of the *Canterbury Tales*," *The Chaucer Newsletter* 3.1 (1981): 2-6; and Roy Vance Ramsey, "F. N. Robinson's Editing of the *Canterbury Tales*," *Studies in Bibliography* 42 (1989): 134-152.

[6] A. S. G. Edwards, "Observations on the History of Middle English Editing," *Manuscripts and Texts: Editorial Problems in Later Middle English Literature*, ed. Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1987) 34-48 (quotation p. 34). Even as late as 1987, Edwards could state 'No history of Middle English scholarship exists.... This deficiency is particularly felt by the student of Middle English editing and its history, who finds himself working in territory marked only by isolated signposts and the occasional local map of his terrain' (p. 34).

[7] David Matthews, *The Making of Middle English, 1765-1910* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999) quotation p. xi, chapter pp. 113-37; the edition referred to is Frederic Madden, ed., *Syr Gawayne: A Collection of Ancient Romance-Poems by Scotish and English Authors, Relating to that Celebrated Knight of the Round Table* (London: Bannatyne Club, 1839).

[8] Walter Jackson Bate, "Percy's Use of his Folio-Manuscript," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 43 (1944): 337-48; and Barbara Pertzel, "Frederick Madden and Havelock the Dane: An Originary Moment in the History of Editing Middle English Verse Romance," Diss., University of Melbourne, 1997.

A considerable amount of work remains to be done. For example, in some preliminary research I undertook while I was developing the topic of this thesis I was able to compile a list of over 200 books containing Middle English and Scots texts, not including Chaucer, published between 1800 and 1864 simply by working through the bibliographies in the *Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500*.[9] This mass of material remains almost wholly unexplored. However, I decided that an examination of the nineteenth-century publications of EETS was a more pressing task for the following reasons. EETS was the dominant publisher of Middle English texts in the final four decades of the nineteenth century, a period in which the study of English language and literature in England moved from an almost exclusively amateur pursuit to one accepted and practised by professional academics in the universities.[10] During this period EETS published the first printed edition of numerous Middle English texts, and made accessible many others that had previously been available only in the rare and expensive publications of exclusive printing clubs (see Chapter Two)—thereby identifying and disseminating, in conjunction with the Chaucer Society, almost the entire Middle English canon as we know it today. In the case of a number of works whose fate it has been to rank low in the canon—for example, Lydgate's *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man* and Gascoigne's *Myroure of Oure Ladye*—EETS' nineteenth-century editions remain the only modern editions available today.

In his account of the work of eighteenth-century textual critics of Shakespeare's works, Simon Jarvis notes that one of the central difficulties for the historian of textual criticism is finding an approach which allows him or her to 'attend to the relative autonomy of the practice of textual criticism without therefore separating it entirely from its surrounding culture.'[11] This is a difficult balance to strike, and in my attempt to do so I have chosen cautiously to err on the side which pays detailed attention to the technical aspects of editorial practice, in the hope that this will provide the information of most use to future students of EETS' nineteenth-century editorial work. Thus the core of this thesis is a close examination of nine editions in which I have concentrated primarily on the complex individual circumstances of each text; my findings about these individual editions are then used as part of an assessment of the editorial practices that define the nature of the Society's nineteenth-century editorial output as a whole (for a more detailed introduction to these studies, see the Preface to Part Two below). The context for this technical investigation is provided by the two Chapters immediately following this introduction. Chapter Two investigates the financial and material conditions under which EETS' publications were produced, examining the origins, objectives, organisational structure and mode of operation of the Society, and paying particular attention to the means by which editions were produced,

---

[9] J. Burke Severs and Albert E. Hartung, eds., *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500*, 10 vols. (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1967-1998).

[10] For various accounts of the establishment of English as an academic discipline, see Stephen Potter, *The Muse in Chains: A Study in Education* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1937); D. J. Palmer, *The Rise of English Studies: An Account of the Study of English Language and Literature from its Origins to the Making of the Oxford English School* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965); and Jo McMurtry, *English Language, English Literature: The Creation of an Academic Discipline* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1985).

[11] Simon Jarvis, *Scholars and Gentlemen: Shakespearian Textual Criticism and Representations of Scholarly Labour, 1725-1765* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995) 10.

marketed, sold and distributed. Chapter Three examines the ideas which guided EETS' editorial policy and places them in the context of contemporary theories in England about the editing of Middle English texts. However, in the interests of examining EETS' editorial practices in satisfactory depth, I have chosen not to examine the relationship of EETS with its wider cultural milieu—for instance, I do not address the question of why the conditions that made possible the wholesale publication of Middle English texts should emerge in the second half of the nineteenth century, or of how EETS' publications relate to the broader phenomenon of Victorian medievalism. Nor, for the most part, do I relate the debate about the textual criticism of Middle English texts going on in nineteenth-century England to contemporary and past debates in various countries about various literatures. These questions are without doubt important to the history of the editing of Middle English texts, but I feel that to be examined properly they must form the subject of another scholarly work.

Chapter Two: The Early English Text Society in the nineteenth century: an organisational history

Origins and founding objectives

In 1864 Frederick J. Furnivall, at the head of a small group of scholars from the Philological Society, established the Early English Text Society in order to bring, according to the Society's current promotional material, 'the mass of unprinted Early English literature within the reach of students and to provide sound texts from which the New English Dictionary could quote.'[1] While this formulation encapsulates the essence of EETS' founding objectives, the events and motivations surrounding the establishment of EETS are still worth recounting in detail because, as will be seen in the following two chapters, they suggest a good deal about the nature of the Society and its publications throughout the nineteenth century.

There are but few accounts of the foundation of EETS written by those directly involved in it. In 1867 Furnivall wrote that Richard Morris prompted the establishment of the Society, as 'when in 1863 he was sending extracts from English MSS. abroad to be printed in a foreign journal, because there was no journal or society in England to print them, it *did* seem to me a shame, and that if people only knew the fact they would put an end to such a state of things.'[2] In 1873 Furnivall (quoted by Alexander Ellis) reminded the Philological Society that EETS was founded 'to carry on the publication of Early English Texts, which the Philological Society had so well begun, but, from want of funds, had been forced to abandon.'[3] The only detailed account of the events which led to the establishment of EETS to be written by one of the founding members—that of Henry B. Wheatley, EETS' first Honorary Secretary—was not published until almost five decades after the event. He explains that the Philological Society began the occasional publication of Early English manuscripts in order to provide material for the *New English Dictionary*, but the cost of printing them drained the resources of the Society. Members complained that Philology was not confined to the English language, and so it was decided to print no more texts—at which point EETS was formed to carry on the work. Wheatley goes on to explain that

---

[1] EETS, *List of Publications 1864-1997* (1998): 3. The founding Committee of Management were Furnivall, Danby P. Fry, Richard Morris, H. T. Parker and Henry B. Wheatley (Honorary Secretary). All were members of the Council of the Philological Society, with the exception of Parker, who was an ordinary member. Furnivall was at first listed as an ordinary a member of the EETS Committee, but in 1872 the Committee 'thought it well to recognize publicly the position which Mr Furnivall... in fact held since the foundation of the Society by him in 1864' and gave him the title 'Director' (EETS, *Eighth Report of the Committee* January 1872: 12.) The phrase 'Early English' was used to denote texts ranging 'from the earliest Anglo-Saxon to the latest Elizabethan stage of our language and life' (EETS, *Sixth Report of the Committee* January 1870: 11).

[2] Frederick J. Furnivall, "The Early English Text Society," *Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Review* August 1867: 212. This letter, which announced the inception of the Society's 'Extra Series' of texts and appealed for subscriptions, was circulated in a slightly altered form to subscribers to the Original Series with EETS OS 28.

[3] Alexander J. Ellis, "Second Annual Address of the President to the Philological Society, Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, Friday, 16th May, 1873," *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1873-4): 236.

> In the foundation of the Early English Text Society, Furnivall's main object was, in his own words, that Englishmen might be able to say of their early literature what the Germans can say with pride of theirs, 'Every work of it is printed, and every word of it is glossed.' In attempting to carry out this great scheme, he set before his eyes four cardinal points: 1. The publication of the best text of each work, with full information respecting the position of the book in the history of our language and literature, glossary and index in all cases being added. 2. The production of a body of authoritative early quotations for the use of the New English Dictionary. 3. The collection of materials for the history of our language and literature. 4. The collection of materials for the history of the social condition of the country at different periods.[4]

With regard to the second of Wheatley's 'cardinal points,' Sir James A. H. Murray, who became involved in EETS in 1868 and in 1879 became the editor of the *NED*, recalled:

> One of the great objects, perhaps originally the greatest, in founding the E. E. T. S., although in the original prospectus it was for good reasons put second to the publication of works of the Arthurian Cycle, was the supply of early material for the Philological Society's dictionary.[5]

Given the above testimony and the fact that in 1864 Furnivall was the dictionary's editor and chief promoter, there seems no reason to doubt that a principal objective of EETS was to provide material for the Philological Society's dictionary, and indeed this idea is ubiquitous in other scholars' discussions of EETS.[6] Unfortunately, no copy of the original prospectus referred to by Wheatley and Murray appears to exist in the public domain: I have not been able to locate one, and no other discussion of the Society refers to it either.[7]

---

[4] Henry B. Wheatley, "The Early English Text Society and F. J. Furnivall," *The Library* 3rd series 3 (1912): 4-6, 8. The Philological Society publications referred to are Frederick J. Furnivall, ed., "Early English Poems and Lives of Saints, (with those of the Wicked Birds Pilate and Judas)," *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1858); Whitley Stokes, "Play of the Sacrament," *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1861) appendices pp. 101-152; Richard Morris, ed., *Liber Cure Cocorum* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1862); Richard Morris, ed., *The Pricke of Conscience (Stimulus Conscientiae): A Northumbrian Poem by Richard Rolle de Hampole* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1863); and R. Weymouth, ed., *Castel off Loue (Chasteau D'Amour or Carmen de Creatione Mundi): An Early English Translation of an Old French Poem by Robert Grosseteste Bishop of Lincoln* (London: Asher & Co., 1864). The latter three were also issued bound together in a volume entitled *The Philological Society's Early English Volume 1862-4* (London: Asher & Co., 1865). Wheatley's hindsight presents events with an order that may not have been apparent at the time they occurred: Furnivall states that his reason for editing and printing "Early English Poems and Lives of Saints" is only to make up for 'certain Members' (a reference to the Philological Society's President, Professor Goldstücker) not submitting papers (p. iii), and in all five publications, the *NED* is mentioned only once (Stokes, p. 104). The Philological Society's resolution to discontinue publishing Early English texts is not recorded in the "Notices of the Meetings" in the *Transactions of the Philological Society.*

[5] Sir James A. H. Murray's untitled contribution to James Munro, ed., *Frederick James Furnivall: A Volume of Personal Record* (London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, 1911) 132.

[6] In addition to the sources cited above, discussions of EETS and its publications may be found in William Benzie, *Dr. F. J. Furnivall: Victorian Scholar Adventurer* (Norman, Oklahoma: Pilgrim Books, Inc., 1983); W. P. Ker, "Frederick James Furnivall 1825-1910," *Proceedings of the British Academy* (1909-1910): 375-378; K. M. Elisabeth Murray, *Caught in the Web of Words: James A. H. Murray and the Oxford English Dictionary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977); Harrison Ross Steeves, *Learned Societies and English Literary Scholarship in Great Britain and the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1913); Henry Sweet, "Sixth Annual Address of the President to the Philological Society, Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, Friday, the 18th of May, 1877," *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1877-79): 1-122; Harold Williams, *Book Clubs and Printing Societies of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: First Edition Club, 1929). For the idea that Furnivall founded EETS to service the needs of the *NED,* see Benzie, p. 117; Ker, p. 377; K. M. Elisabeth Murray, p. 139; Steeves, p. 152; and Williams, p. 73-4.

[7] The three important commentators on EETS, Steeves, K. M. Elisabeth Murray and Benzie, offer the relationship between EETS and the *NED* as a fact for which the citation of primary sources is unnecessary. None of the three cite the above extract from James Murray's contribution in Munro; nor do any of them cite the above extract from Wheatley. Benzie, however, has clearly read the passage by Wheatley, as he quotes the paragraph extracted above almost verbatim, but without acknowledgement (p. 132n). Steeves' source appears to be a personal communication

Curiously, none of the Society's published records from the nineteenth century—including the notices and annual reports EETS circulated to its members, which proved a rich source of evidence for many other aspects of the Society's organisational history—mention the object of providing material for the dictionary.[8] Rather, the aim of publication was simply publication itself: to make available in print as many Early English texts as the Society's income allowed, thereby enabling study of the history of English language and literature. At first, this object was modest in extent, the Society being 'formed with the object of publishing a series of Early English Texts—especially those relating to KING ARTHUR,'[9] but as its list of subscribers grew, so did its ambitions. By January of 1868 EETS had determined to see every Early English text in print—a determination from which in the nineteenth century it never resiled, despite the recognition that, given its rate of publication, the work would take at the very least two generations to complete, and could last until the turn of the millennium.[10] The basic motivation for this project was consistently expressed in terms of a nationalistic educational and moral duty, here articulated in its strongest form:

> [T]he love of Fatherland that was shown so strikingly by the German nation at the outbreak of the [Franco-Prussian] war, and has been called forth from the French during its continuance, justifies the Committee in referring with renewed emphasis to the memorable words of Professor Seeley... 'Classical studies may make a man intellectual, but the study of the native literature has a moral effect as well. *It is the true ground and foundation of patriotism*... I call that man uncivilized who is not connected with the past through the state in which he lives, and sympathy with the great men who have lived in it.' The Committee again declare that they can take no lower ground for the Society's work than this. Not dilettante Antiquarianism, but duty to England, is the motive of the Society's workers; and they do not hesitate to call on all men interested in Literature who can feel that motive, to come forward and help them in their work.[11]

---

with EETS' then Honorary Secretary, W. A. Dalziel (p. 156n). K. M. Elisabeth Murray's source is not apparent. Ker and Williams do not provide primary references.

[8] EETS circulated regular reports and notices to its members. I have consulted the collection of these held by EETS' current Executive Secretary, Dr. Richard Hamer of Christ Church, Oxford, as well as the reports and notices bound into the EETS volumes held in the Bodleian, English Faculty and Corpus Christi College Libraries at Oxford. Annual reports for the first ten years of the Society's existence were issued by the Committee in January of the following year. These contained chatty, detailed discussions of EETS' past, present and planned future work, as well as general news about Early English studies, a list of members, and a financial statement; they were intended to fulfil the role of a Chairman's speech at an Annual General Meeting, as the Society did not have such meetings (*Fifth Report of the Committee* January 1869: 21). A circular reprinting much of the 1874 report was issued *in lieu* of a report in January 1875. A circular entitled *Change of Honorary Secretary. Texts for 1876* was issued in March 1876. No reports were then published until 1879, when in September a report was issued covering the years 1874-79 (the financial statements covered only 1874-78, as EETS' financial year ran from January-December), and promising that a yearly statement would be issued from then on (*Eleventh Report of the Committee* September 1879: 1n.) However, none of the four collections of papers I have consulted include any such statement until 1887, from which time on regular, brief statements were bound inside the covers of a volume with each issue of texts, meaning that several statements were issued each year. Unlike previous annual reports, which were written anew each year, these statements remained substantially the same from issue to issue, updated only where required; some of the notices within them remained unchanged for over a decade. Usually they do not include financial statements or membership lists. However, periodically EETS would issue a list of subscribers with some financial statements (for example, a membership list was issued in 1885 with the financial statements for 1879-83; in 1886, with the statements for 1879-85; and in 1888 with the statements for 1886 and 1887). In addition, the paper cover of every volume published in the nineteenth century contained a list of the Society's past and planned publications.

[9] EETS, *Early English Text Society* 1864: 1 (a four page circular issued with EETS OS 1).

[10] EETS, *Fifth Report of the Committee* January 1869: 22; *Texts at Press and Preparing. General Notices* May 1892: 4.

[11] EETS, *Seventh Report of the Committee* February 1871: 1-2 (EETS' italics).

Allied to the nationalistic spirit which animated EETS' activities was an egalitarian one. The explanation of its intention to re-print works which were then available only in rare or expensive editions may stand as a manifesto for this spirit:

> It is well known that the Hon G. P. Marsh, the author of 'The Origin and History of the English Language,' could not procure for use in his work a copy of 'Havelok' for love or money; and the usual catalogue-price of 'William and the Werwolf,' or 'The Early English Gesta Romanorum,' etc., etc., is six guineas, when the book should be obtainable for less than a pound.... more than half our early printed literature—including the Romances relating to our national hero, Arthur—is still inaccessible to the student of moderate means; and it is a scandal that this state of things should be allowed to continue.... Those who would raise any objection to these re-editions... are asked to consider the absurdity and injustice of debarring a large number of readers from the enjoyment of an old author, because a living editor has once printed his works, when the feeling of the editor himself is well expressed in the words of one of the class, 'You are heartily welcome to all I have ever done. I should rejoice to see my books in the hands of a hundred, where they are now on the shelves of one.'[12]

Throughout the nineteenth century EETS was committed to its objective of offering affordable publications, steadfastly maintaining its subscription rate at one guinea per year, even when its financial situation was parlous (see below). In order to keep costs down, editors provided their services without charge, and the books were printed in a cheap format and bound in paper covers. For the benefit of those 'poor students' who could not or did not wish to afford the price of a full year's subscription, texts were sold separately to the public at only the publisher's profit.[13]

One outcome of the emphasis on the nationalistic and egalitarian value of publishing Early English texts was the selection in the nineteenth century of a great number of texts relating to English social history. This was an especial interest of Furnivall's, as the collection of texts under his name in EETS' bibliography demonstrates.[14] But while it may, as James Murray's comment above suggests, have been expedient to distance the EETS from the specialist needs of the *NED* in favour of a more general, popular appeal, EETS' origins in the Philological Society are still clearly evident in its more specific objectives and practices. Points two and three of Furnivall's four 'cardinal points,' recollected by Wheatley above, relate directly to the

---

[12] EETS, *Report of the Committee* January 1865: 2n. The books referred to are George P. Marsh, *The Origin and History of the English Language and of the Early Literature it Embodies* (London: Sampson Low, Son, & Co., 1862); and three publications of the Roxburghe Society, all edited by Frederick Madden: *The Ancient English Romance of Havelok the Dane Accompanied by the French Text* (1828); *The Ancient English Romance of William and the Werwolf* (1832); and *The Old English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum* (1838). The editor supposedly quoted was probably Madden, who records in his journal entry of 12 February 1864 his dislike of 'a notice of myself' that Furnivall informed him was necessary to protect EETS from the accusation that they had pirated Madden's work (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Eng. Hist. c. 177, p. 37). Madden acceded to the scheme, although he refused the Society use of his *Havelok* until 1867, when he gave his permission on the condition that Skeat be the editor (see EETS, *Report of the Committee* January 1868: 8; see also Benzie pp. 121n, 124-5, 130-131).

[13] Furnivall, OS 25, pp. vii-viii. Furnivall reports here that only an average of five copies of each text were sold separately. See below for details of the Society's arrangement with its publisher, Trübner and Co.

[14] Furnivall is reported to have said shortly before he died—with obvious dramatic hyperbole, given that he was Honorary Secretary of the Philological Society for more than half a century—'I never cared a bit for philology; my chief aim has been throughout to illustrate the social condition of the English people in the past.' (Roman Dyboski's untitled contribution in Munro, p. 43.)

activities undertaken by the Philological Society. After its first year in operation, the aim of printing texts 'relating to our Language and its Dialects' was added to that of printing Arthurian material,[15] and in 1866 a 'Dictionary Series' was started for works such as the *Catholicon Anglicum* and Peter Levins' *Manipulus Vocabulorum*. Many works considered 'dull' by Furnivall were printed for their 'interest in point of language.'[16] Furthermore, as will be discussed in Chapter Three, the predominant practice of EETS' editors—representing manuscript evidence as fully as possible—was intended to facilitate philological study. The resulting publications were, at least in EETS' first year, sufficiently similar to the Philological Society's efforts for a contemporary reviewer to remark that they appeared to be a 'continuation in the same series of the texts which the Philological Society has already published.'[17]

Structure and mode of operation

When Furnivall set about forming EETS he had as models the printing societies which had formed the mainstay of antiquarian publishing in the first half of the nineteenth century, the earliest of which, the Roxburghe Club, may stand as an example. The Roxburghe Club originated in 1812 as a kind of gentlemen's social club, centring around a lavish, annual dinner for an exclusive community of bibliophiles. The number of members was limited to thirty-one individuals; their commonality of interest was maintained by the rule that potential new members, nominated only to fill a vacancy, could be excluded by a single dissenting vote. Each member was to reprint in the Club's standard deluxe format a rare book of his own choosing, at his own expense. A copy of this edition was then presented to each member. A disposable income was, therefore, a requirement of membership, and the Club's membership was made up from England's social elite—the original list of (all male) members included two Earls, two Viscounts, a Duke and a Marquis. The number of copies which could be printed in the Roxburghe format was restricted to fulfilling the needs of the members only; the editions were not available for commercial sale to people outside the Club. By the time Furnivall became involved with the Club, its activities had become more oriented toward formal publication. While the annual dinners and the requirement that members produce a book of their own remained, members also paid an annual membership fee of five guineas, so that books could be produced at their corporate expense. A small committee decided on the texts to be printed and commissioned editors from outside the Club to do the work—hence Furnivall's involvement. The issue of these books was also usually limited to the membership of the Club. This was generally the mode of operation of the many printing societies that sprang up throughout the first half of the nineteenth century,

---

[15] EETS, *Report of the Committee* January 1865: 2.

[16] EETS, *Tenth Report of the Committee* January 1874: 16.

[17] "Early English Texts," *The Saturday Review* 5 November 1864: 570.

although others allowed for larger memberships: the Bannatyne Club, for instance, had one hundred members to whom its publications were restricted.[18]

The exclusivity of such printing clubs, while providing the security of a clearly defined market and a stable level of income, was too restrictive for the Society's aim of making available low cost publications to a (hoped for, but at that point unknown) wider readership. Another model available to Furnivall was that of publishing by subscription—commonly used in the eighteenth century to issue expensive publications, and still used, though with less frequency, in the nineteenth—whereby an author or publisher offered prospective customers a discount if they paid a proportion of, or less often the whole price of, a book in advance. Subscription publishing thus provided a risk-averse publisher with a means of testing a market whose extent was uncertain, safeguarding him from loss by allowing him to delay putting up significant capital until the required minimum number of sales had been made and—as was crucial for an undercapitalised publisher—part or all of the cost of producing the book had been raised. There was, however, as Marjorie Plant points out, a drawback to this scheme: 'the author placed himself in the importunate position which he had occupied in the old days of patronage. His demands must indeed have taxed the patience of his friends.'[19] This drawback no doubt magnified disproportionately when the scheme was used repeatedly by the same individual to issue a series of works.

---

[18] Considerable contemporary detail about the structure and operation of the Bannatyne and Roxburghe Clubs may be found in *Notices Relative to the Bannatyne Club, Instituted in February, M.DCCC.XXIII. Including Critiques on some of its Publications* (Edinburgh: Printed for Private Circulation, 1836), and [James Maidment, ed.], *Roxburghe Revels, and Other Relative Papers; Including Answers to the Attack on the Memory of the Late Joseph Haselwood, Esq. F. S. A. with Specimens of his Literary Productions* (Edinburgh: Printed for Private Circulation, 1837). The Roxburghe Club, which is still in existence, has on two occasions commissioned publications containing a history of Club, Clive Bigham, *The Roxburghe Club: Its History and its Members 1812-1927* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1928), and Nicholas Barker, *The Publications of the Roxburghe Club 1814-1962* (Cambridge: Printed for presentation to the members of the Roxburghe Club, 1964). For an overview of all the printing societies operating in England during the nineteenth century, see Steeves and Williams.

[19] Marjorie Plant, *The English Book Trade: An Economic History of the Making and Sale of Books*, 3rd ed., (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1974) 230. The information I used on subscription publishing is from Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972) 181; and Plant, pp. 227-30, 252. The only more recent research into subscription publication in the nineteenth century I have found is that produced by the 'Project for Historical Biobibliography' (PHIBB), which collected subscription lists from books published in England from 1617 for the bibliographical and biographical information they contain. The publication details of these books were collated and published in F. J. G. Robinson and P. J. Wallis, *Book Subscription Lists: A Revised Guide* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Book Subscriptions List Project, 1975) and P. J. Wallis, *Book Subscription Lists: Extended Supplement to the Revised Guide*, completed and edited by Ruth Wallis (Newcastle upon Tyne: Project for Historical Biobibliography, 1996). PHIBB found 3,912 individual titles published by subscription in the eighteenth century and 3,609 in the nineteenth century (apparently not including any books produced by a printing society). It is not certain how fully PHIBB's collection of lists, which is drawn from searches in over ninety libraries in the United Kingdom, represents the extent of subscription publication in the nineteenth century, but it nonetheless demonstrates that it was a relatively common practice in the nineteenth century. The nineteenth-century statistic breaks down by decade (with the decades ending with the year shown) as follows: 1810, 465; 1820, 503; 1830, 499; 1840, 428; 1850, 397; 1860, 261; 1870, 187; 1880, 189; 1890, 333; 1900 347. PHIBB also published the number of subscribers to each title up until 1849. I calculated from this information that in the books published between 1845 and 1849, the mean number of subscribers was 390, and the median 277. Unfortunately, PHIBB does not record the prices of all the individual editions.

Furnivall's solution was to form a hybrid of the structures of subscription publication and the printing society, thereby creating an organisation which was wider in scope and more flexible than previous printing societies, and which through the notion of ongoing society membership allowed for the continuous publication of a long series of books. The Society's Committee of Management was responsible for selecting the texts to be published in a particular year. The selection was then advertised and subscriptions for the year taken, with the proviso that the exact number of texts from the list which would actually be issued was contingent on the number of subscriptions received. While a minimum number of subscribers was required to make publication of all of the selected texts viable, there was no upper limit on the number of subscribers the Society could service. However, payment of an individual's first subscription was not considered simply to be the purchase of that year's texts, but was also assumed to be an act of joining the Society as a member, indicating an ongoing commitment to receive the texts of, and pay subscriptions for, subsequent years, unless and until the Committee were advised otherwise. Thus the names of new subscribers received in any one year were added to a cumulative list of members, a system allowing, at least in theory, the ongoing expansion of the Society's publishing activities. Each year a surplus number of copies of texts was printed, so that new subscribers in subsequent years could also subscribe to back issues, thereby obtaining a complete set of the Society's publications.[20]

Communication, including the remittance of subscriptions, between members and the Society was direct; similarly, EETS paid its printing costs directly to its printers. However, the Society issued its publications under the imprint of a commercial publisher, Trübner and Co. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., following a merger in 1889). The exact nature of the relationship between EETS and Trübner is unclear, but at a minimum the publisher's role was co-ordinating the production and distribution of texts, for which they charged a small commission.[21] They also acted as an agent for the Society in obtaining subscribers—they had collected 33 of the 580 Original Series subscribers by January of 1867[22]—from whose subscriptions they took an additional ten percent commission.[23]

---

[20] Steeves (p. 157) and following him Benzie (p. 124) state that Furnivall 'revived' the 'eighteenth-century' system of publication by subscription, and then—apparently failing fully to understand both their own point and the nature of Furnivall's organisation—discuss with implicit disapproval Furnivall's 'autocracy' and the 'undemocratic' nature of EETS in comparison with other printing societies of the time (Steeves pp. 160, 163-4; Benzie pp. 126-7).

[21] On Trübner's role in distributing texts to subscribers, see EETS, *Fifth Report of the Committee,* January 1869: 23. Benzie (p. 124) cites a letter from Furnivall to Frederick Madden dated 15 February 1864 in which he states 'A publisher has offered to give us a vol. of 400 pages a year for every 50 guineas subscribed. if we will let him print other copies from our types, and sell them at not less a price than the vols. cost the subscribers' (London, British Library MS Eg. 2848, fol. 50). For a brief history of Trübner & Co., see F. A. Mumby, *The House of Routledge 1834-1934 with a History of Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and other Associated Firms* (London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1934) 162-77. Mumby makes no mention of EETS and so it may be concluded that, at least in his view, the Society's publications did not form a significant part of the firm's activities.

[22] EETS, *Third Annual Report of the Committee* January 1867: 4.

[23] This relationship conforms with the typical arrangements of commission publishing in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries described by Gaskell, pp. 299-300.

For the first few years of EETS' operation this scheme appeared to be a great success. As Figure One (below) shows, the Society's gross income and membership expanded rapidly, so that by 1869 the Society was able to boast that it had become the leading printing society in Britain.[24] In 1867, no doubt buoyed by this steady growth, but impatient to achieve more, EETS replicated its existing operations by opening subscriptions for another set of publications, called the 'Extra Series,' with the existing scheme continuing under the title 'Original Series.'[25] This enabled EETS to raise the £1000 of annual income it believed was required to achieve its goal of printing every work of Early English.[26]

Figure One: EETS' gross income and number of subscriptions and publications, 1864-85

Year	Income £s	% age change	Subscriptions OS	ES	Total	% age change	Publications OS	ES	Total	Cumulative Total
1864	152		145		145		4		4	4
65	384	153	260		260	79	8		8	12
66	681	77	409		409	57	11		11	23
67	941	38	580	150	730	78	7	2	9	32
68	1229	31	660	250	910	25	5	4	9	41
69	1228	0	635	255	890	-2	4	3	7	48
70	1490	21	580	240	820	-8	4	2	6	54
71	1172	-21	630	265	895	9	5	3	8	62
72	992	-15	461	221	682	-24	4	3	7	69
73	1176	19	424	233	657	-4	3	2	5	74
74	934	-21	388	198	586	-11	3	4	7	81
75	1061	14	475	237	712	22	3	2	5	86
76	966	-9	440	234	674	-5	4	2	6	92
77	970	0	403	206	609	-10	2	2	4	96
78	739	-24	366	207	573	-6	3	3	6	102

Year	Income £s	% age change	Publications OS	ES	Total	Cumulative Total
1879	810	10	2	2	4	106
80	732	-10	2	2	4	110
81	686	-6	2	2	4	114
82	688	0	2	2	4	118
83	809	18	2	2	4	122
84	723	-11	2	2	4	126
85	917	27	2	2	4	130

Subscription statistics for 1879-84 unavailable.
1885 subscriptions: OS 351, ES 207, total 558

Source: EETS, *Reports of the Committee* 1865-74, 1879; untitled circular 1886. Income figures here are those provided by EETS, and include the small cash balances held by EETS at the beginning of each financial period (see below for these balances, and Figure Two for income figures adjusted to include subscription income only.)

EETS' initial expansion was fuelled in part by the non-commercial appeal engendered by framing its operations in a membership based Society. Members were not simply customers, but were consistently addressed in Committee reports as fellow workers for the Early English cause, ideologically committed to EETS' objectives. As such, they were repeatedly exhorted to proselytise on behalf of the Society and so help

---

[24] EETS, *Fifth Report of the Committee* January 1869: 5.

[25] The Extra Series was to be reserved for the re-printing of texts published in editions which were no longer obtainable, and the Original Series for the publication of unedited manuscripts. However, even in the original proposal Furnivall was ambivalent about this distinction, remarking in a footnote 'This [division of work] is to meet the objection that the Texts of the Original and Extra Series would cross and clash with one another. I don't believe it possible, as the management of both Series is in the same hands, and should have preferred making the Extra Series simply a relief one to the Original Series for *any* Texts' (Furnivall, a letter to EETS subscribers advertising the Extra Series dated 10 June, 1867: 2n; see also Walter Skeat, ES 1, p. i). The division of work between the two Series was not strictly maintained.

[26] EETS, *Report of the Committee* January 1868: 1.

increase its membership. Such calls were by no means, in the early years at least, made in vain. In 1867 one John Leigh of Manchester obtained twenty-four new subscribers, and undertook to obtain twenty more in the following year.[27] His efforts and those of others like him advanced EETS' interests outside of London—Furnivall and the Committee members' personal sphere of influence.

> The Society's work is one in which everybody who takes pride in being an Englishman may fairly be called on to take part, and the Committee appeal to every Member to bring the Society's claims for support under the notice of all men within his reach. The examples of our energetic Local Secretaries and other friends in Manchester and Glasgow are evidence of what may be done in this way. Our Manchester subscribers number 57, our Glasgow ones 30... while the Edinburgh ones are only 16. This is mainly because the Society has no energetic member in Edinburgh, and has always had one at least in Manchester and Glasgow.[28]

Despite such efforts, however, the market for Early English publications was limited, as will be discussed further below. EETS' membership and income peaked between 1869-71 and then declined and fluctuated (see Figure One). The nature of the market also slowly transformed over time, moving away from individual subscribers and toward organisations such as libraries and schools. In the early years, individual subscribers formed overwhelmingly EETS' most important market—in 1870, for instance, ninety percent of books issued went to individuals; by the end of the century, well over half of books issued went to institutional subscribers.[29]

The initial expansion also masked the problems with EETS' organisational structure which soon began to make themselves manifest. One difficulty inherent in using the subscription system to publish an ongoing series of texts issued annually was that the cycle of production was different from the cycle of sales and distribution; added to this was the fact that the level of income collected annually was neither stable nor known in advance. The texts selected and advertised for issue in any year needed to be in the press by, at the least, the very beginning of that year if they were to be produced and distributed to subscribers on time. Before going to press, a text could be in the hands of editors for many months, or even years. As the Society discovered to its chagrin in 1869, unexpected delays in the work of an individual editor could prevent a text from going to press as planned. To avoid the subsequent delay in distribution, a larger group of texts than would be issued in any one year had to be kept at the press so that an alternative text could be substituted for the one which was delayed.[30]

---

[27] EETS, *Third Annual Report of the Committee* January 1867: 4; *Report of the Committee* January 1868: 1n.

[28] EETS, *Fifth Report of the Committee* January 1869: 3.

[29] EETS, *Sixth Report of the Committee* January 1870: 21-32; EETS, *List of Members* [1897]: 3-9.

[30] EETS, *Sixth Report of the Committee* January 1870: 1-2. All the 1869 Original Series texts were distributed later than expected, and some were not received by subscribers until 1870. EETS attributed to this delay the fact that for the first time its list of Original Series subscribers had not grown, but had declined in numbers from 660 in January 1869 to 635 in January 1870.

In itself, this situation was not a problem—EETS' arrangement with its printers appears to have been such that credit was extended to the Society until the point where the texts were issued. However, a serious difficulty lay in the fact that, because EETS operated with close to zero capital,[31] it was entirely reliant on the cash-flow from annual subscriptions, and the level of its activities was thus vulnerable to fluctuations in income. In theory, as subscriptions were due on the first day of January, the year's income would be known sufficiently early for the issuing of texts to take place without difficulty. In practice, however, subscribers did not all pay their subscriptions when they were due, and throughout its first decade EETS operated by estimating what its income would be. This involved significant risk: if it estimated wrongly and authorised the issuing of too many texts, it would be left without sufficient funds to pay its printers; the annual subscription system meant that the next year's income could not rightly be used to pay for a previous year's texts.

The means by which EETS estimated what its income for the year would be was inherently flawed. As discussed above, the Committee assumed that its subscribers accepted that they had, in subscribing to a year's texts, become members of a printing society and so had made a commitment to receive the texts of, and pay subscriptions for, subsequent years. Thus EETS continued to issue texts to members who had not paid their subscriptions and tried to obtain payment in arrears. However, notwithstanding the genuine commitment of active members such as those in Manchester and Glasgow described above, for a significant minority of subscribers this assumption did not hold true. Despite repeated requests for payment, in 1870 subscription arrears stood at £160, and in 1871, £175.[32] These were significant sums of money for EETS, representing, for instance, 10.7% and 14.9% of its gross income in 1870 and 1871 respectively. A more meaningful insight into the nature of the problem is given by Figure Two, which illustrates how the assumption that the names carried over from a previous year's membership list represented the current year's paying subscribers would lead to faulty estimations of annual income. The columns of particular interest, labelled 'Yield,' divide each year's income by the number of listed members, showing the actual yield in pounds (here decimalised; the reader is left to establish the number of shillings if desired) that each listed member produced. Given that a subscription was £1. 1*s.* and that every year a small number of advance subscriptions for future years was received (i.e. the yield should be 1.05 at the very least), the yield in 1867, '68, '69 and '71 is well below what would be expected. This suggests that a significant minority of

---

[31] Apart from its publications, EETS' only recorded asset is its cash on hand and at the bank. In the years 1867-1869, part of this balance belonged to the 'Reprint Fund,' money from subscriptions to back issues which were out of print, but were reprinted in 1870. Cash balances for the first two decades of EETS' operation are recorded below (rounded to the nearest pound).

Year	1864	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	Mean balance
Balance	17	50	31	123	161	237	15	17	35	59	93	45	87	8	110	20	29	23	182	98	72
Less reprinting fund	17	50	31	60	69	169	15	17	35	59	93	45	87	8	110	20	29	23	182	98	61

Source: EETS, *Reports of the Committee* 1865-74, 1879.

[32] EETS, *Seventh Report of the Committee* February 1871: 18; and *Eighth Report of the Committee,* January 1872: 11.

subscribers—approximately ten percent—on the list in the previous year did not continue to make payments. This effect is masked in case of 1865 and 1866, whose income figures are artificially high because they include payments for previous years' texts made by a substantial proportion of new subscribers (in 1865, £105 out of the £366 of income; in 1866, £230 out of £590). 1870's figures are anomalously high.

Figure Two: Subscription income yielded per listed member 1864-78

Year	ORIGINAL SERIES						EXTRA SERIES						TOTAL					
	Income £s	%chg	M'bers	%chg	Yield	%chg	Income £s	%chg	M'bers	%chg	Yield	%chg	Income £s	%chg	M'bers	%chg	Yield	%chg
1864	152		145		1.05								152		145		1.05	
65	366	141	260	79	1.41	34							366	141	260	79	1.41	34
66	590	61	409	57	1.44	2							590	61	409	57	1.44	2
67	532	-10	580	42	0.92	-36	109		93		1.17		641	9	673	65	0.95	-34
68	634	19	660	14	0.96	5	291	167	250	169	1.16	-1	925	44	910	35	1.02	7
69	581	-8	635	-4	0.91	-5	257	-12	255	2	1.01	-13	838	-9	890	-2	0.94	-7
70	706	22	580	-9	1.22	33	399	55	240	-6	1.66	65	1105	32	820	-8	1.35	43
71	606	-14	630	9	0.96	-21	304	-24	265	10	1.15	-31	910	-18	895	9	1.02	-25
72	596	-2	461	-27	1.29	34	312	3	221	-17	1.41	23	908	0	682	-24	1.33	31
73	615	3	424	-8	1.45	12	410	31	233	5	1.76	25	1025	13	657	-4	1.56	17
74	487	-21	388	-8	1.26	-13	278	-32	198	-15	1.40	-20	765	-25	586	-11	1.31	-16
75	588	21	475	22	1.24	-1	361	30	237	20	1.52	8	949	24	712	22	1.33	2
76	533	-9	440	-7	1.21	-2	333	-8	234	-1	1.42	-7	866	-9	674	-5	1.28	-4
77	494	-7	403	-8	1.23	1	282	-15	206	-12	1.37	-4	776	-10	609	-10	1.27	-1
78	444	-10	366	-9	1.21	-1	278	-1	207	0	1.34	-2	722	-7	573	-6	1.26	-1

Source: EETS, *Reports of the Committee* 1865-74, 1879. Income figures have been adjusted to include subscription income only.

Overestimation of income in 1866 and 1873 led to serious financial difficulties, as will be discussed below. EETS slowly became aware that it could not rely on the notion of membership to provide ongoing payments, and in 1869 resolved 'that no Texts be sent to any Member 1 year in arrear with his subscription [and that] those in arrear for 2 years be struck off the List of Members, subject to the discretion of the Honorary Secretary.'[33] However, even this period of grace proved too great a burden on the society, and two years later the Committee bowed to commercial reality and strictly enforced the advance payment of subscriptions:

> The Members in arrear have thought it honest to take their fellow-members' books without paying for them, and have considered it consistent with gentlemanly feeling to give Mr Wheatley the trouble of writing to them no less than four times for their arrears, without returning an answer to any of his applications. The Committee have heard of this with much disgust, and have struck these men's names off the Society's list.... No Texts shall be sent to any Member until his current year's subscription is paid. Even if this rule should cut down the Members of the Society to four-fifths or two-thirds of their old number, the remainder will have the satisfaction of knowing that only those men who pay for the books get them.[34]

---

[33] EETS, *Sixth Report of the Committee* January 1870: 18.

[34] EETS, *Eighth Report of the Committee* January 1872: 11-12.

From 1872 onward, therefore, one was only included as a 'member' in a year following the payment of that year's subscription, leaving behind one of the central assumptions of the printing society. When this measure was taken, the income yielded per member immediately and permanently increased from its 1867-71 levels and, when the new regime had bedded in, settled into a reasonably stable pattern: from 1874 onward the yield changed from year to year by two percent at most for the Original Series, and four percent at most in total. Even so, the lesson that estimations of income were too dangerous a territory for an undercapitalised Society to inhabit was not learned until after 1873, in which year Furnivall authorised the issuing of Original Series texts on the basis that payment for a number of subscriptions in arrears would be made. These turned out to be bad debts, and the cost of the Original Series exceeded its income of £615 by almost £100.[35] The Society was thus left with 'liabilities it could not discharge' and was forced to raise the required funds by launching an appeal for donations under the title of 'The Duke of Manchester's Commemoration Fund,' after the noble member who agreed to head it.[36] By the end of 1873 £90. 17*s.* had been raised, and in 1874 an additional £85. 16*s.* was added to this total.[37]

The generosity of subscribers to the Commemoration Fund enabled EETS to continue its operations without disruption, in contrast to a similar overestimation of income in 1866 which proved to have long-term effects. Perhaps overly optimistic about the rate of EETS' growth, Furnivall authorised that eleven texts be issued. Still a record issue for EETS, it was, as Wheatley recalls, too many texts for the income received, and the books quickly ran out of print.[38] The task of seeing them all in print again was so huge—the cost was calculated in 1872 to be over £650—that the Committee felt 'forced, though most reluctantly, to give-up hope of ever being able to reprint these Texts,' realising that 'nothing short of a subscription of five guineas a-piece by the Members who now want the 1866 Texts, will enable the Committee to produce them.'[39] Regaining heart in 1873, the Committee proposed to open subscriptions to the reprints priced at two guineas, the first guinea due immediately, and the second when half the reprints had been completed. In addition, all money received from the sale of back texts would be added to the reprinting fund. Texts would be issued individually over time as funds allowed.[40]

---

[35] EETS, *Tenth Report of the Committee* January 1874: 42. The Original Series' subscription income was £615. 5*s.* 7*d.* The expenses incurred for the Original Series were £662. 14*s.* 5*d.* for printing; £20. 14*s.* for copying, and an approximately two-thirds share in Trübner's commission of £44. 2*s.*

[36] Furnivall, "The Duke of Manchester's Commemoration Fund," an open letter to EETS' members dated 3 November 1873. A supportive article publicised the appeal in the *Daily News* of 20 November 1873: 5.

[37] EETS, *Tenth Report of the Committee* January 1874: 42; and *Eleventh Report of the Committee* September 1879: 25.

[38] Wheatley, p. 7.

[39] EETS, *Eighth Report of the Committee* January 1872: 8, 9n.

[40] EETS, *Ninth Report of the Committee* January 1873: 12.

Progress proved to be painfully slow. Between January 1874 and December 1885, only £181 was collected, enabling the reprinting of OS 17, 19, 20 and 21. To hasten the process, a 'Jubilee Reprint Fund' was opened and all EETS members personally solicited by mail for donations; the scheme received 'but little support' and was silently abandoned in 1889.[41] More successful was a fund which raised money to commemorate Furnivall's seventy-fifth birthday: among other gifts, £200 was donated to EETS to relieve its debt to its printers, thereby freeing funds for reprinting.[42] Progress continued slowly. OS 23 was reprinted in 1888, 18 in 1889, 22 in 1899, 14 in 1901, 15 in 1908 and 18 in 1922. OS 13 was never reprinted, but its main text, *The Liflade ant te Passiun of Seinte Margarete* (IPMEP 29) was re-edited by Frances Mack and issued as OS 193 in 1934 (for the atypical production history of OS 13, see Chapter Four).

Following its rescue by the Duke of Manchester's Fund in 1873, EETS based its annual activities on the income it received, rather than on prior estimations. Given the difficulty inherent in EETS' publishing system (i.e. that the cycle of production was different from the subscription cycle, as described above), this meant risking delays in publication—no doubt seen as preferable to overspending again. In 1882, Furnivall was forced to hasten his editing of OS 78, leaving the notes less comprehensive than he felt they should be and rushing it to print in order that it might be 'out by Christmas to fill up its year's issue' (p. xv). The Extra Series texts of 1883, 84 and 85 were all delayed by a year.[43] After 1886, however, it seems that EETS came to an arrangement with its printers whereby they extended the credit given to the Society by allowing partial issues of texts. This meant that texts for several years in advance could be printed in full. Members were asked to pay two or three years' subscriptions in advance, and those who did were rewarded with copies of future years' texts ahead of time, providing partial payment for the printer. However, the bulk of the copies of a text would not be issued unless and until sufficient income for their year had been collected.[44] For EETS, this was a happy solution indeed: its operations were made smooth by the use of its printers' capital.

---

[41] The first appeal was made in EETS, *Statement for 1887 and 1888* (unpaginated), and the assessment of its lack of support first made in *Texts at Press and Preparing. General Notices,* December 1887: 3. The fund was not mentioned after 1889.

[42] EETS, *Texts at Press and Preparing. General Notices,* December 1900: 3. The fund also paid for a portrait to be made of Furnivall, a sculling boat, £200 toward the publishing of a new edition of Furnivall's *Roberd of Brunne's Handlyng Synne (written A. D. 1303;) with the French Treatise on which it is Founded, Le Manuel des Pechiez by William of Wadington,* Roxburghe Club 81 (London: Roxburghe Club, 1862) and the publication of *An English Miscellany Presented to Dr. Furnivall in Honour of his Seventy-Fifth Birthday* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1901).

[43] EETS, circulars distributed with OS 81 in 1885 (p. 1) and OS 84 in 1886 (p. 1).

[44] See, for instance, EETS, *Texts at Press and Preparing. General Notices* March 1888: 3; January 1890: 3; and May 1892: 3. This system means that it is possible that references to some EETS editions may have been made in work published one or two years before the editions' stated year of publication! I have not, however, come across an instance of this in the course of my research.

The production cycle

In broad outline the production cycle of EETS editions is straightforward and unsurprising. The Committee of Management decided it wished to print a particular text and engaged the services of an editor to carry out the work, sometimes enlisting an additional person or persons to assist in the copying of manuscript(s) or the production of some aspect(s) of the edition's paratextual material; on occasion, the Committee accepted the suggestions and offers of work from prospective editors. The editor's copy was typeset as it became available and proof sheets were printed off; these were corrected and the final version was printed and issued to subscribers as soon as funds allowed.

The evidence which survives about the production process suggests that little else can be described in general terms. Figure Three below shows remarkable variation in the length of time it took to produce individual publications. It should be noted that the statistics given can be regarded only as providing an indication, rather than a definitive account, of the situation, as they are limited in several ways. Only the first part of editions published in multiple parts is taken into account. The information about the progress of the editions through the production cycle is taken from EETS' records from only 1864-79—after which the records become discontinuous and less detailed (see footnote 8 above)—and the eventual publication dates of the editions. The data is made up from only those editions for which a year of commission is recorded, and thus the seventy editions included are but a subset of the editions published during the period. An edition is considered to have been 'commissioned' when it first appears in one of the Society's records with a named editor attributed to it, under the assumption that the Committee of Management had by then engaged him to undertake the work. However some individuals, such as Furnivall, Morris and Skeat, were named as editors of two or more projects at one time, which they may not have worked on concurrently. An edition is considered to be 'at Press' when it is first described as such (or as 'in the press') in the Society's records. This information was available for only forty of the seventy editions.[45] The term 'at Press' was used by EETS to

---

[45] The seventy editions are as follows, presented by *Part Number,* Year of Commission, First Year "at Press", Year of Publication. Editions whose "at Press" date is known: *OS 6,* 1865, 1865, 1865; *OS 14,* 1866, 1866, 1866; *OS 18,* 1866, 1866, 1866; *OS 22,* 1866, 1866, 1866; *OS 27,* 1866, 1867, 1867; *OS 28,* 1866, 1867, 1867; *OS 31,* 1866, 1867, 1868; *OS 32,* 1866, 1867, 1868; *OS 33,* 1866, 1867, 1868; *OS 39,* 1867, 1868, 1869; *OS 40,* 1867, 1868, 1870; *OS 41,* 1866, 1870, 1870; *OS 42,* 1867, 1870, 1870; *OS 43,* 1870, 1870, 1870; *OS 44,* 1870, 1870, 1871; *OS 45,* 1870, 1870, 1871; *OS 46,* 1868, 1868, 1871; *OS 47,* 1870, 1870, 1871; *OS 49,* 1866, 1870, 1872; *OS 51,* 1867, 1868, 1872; *OS 52,* 1866, 1867, 1873; *OS 53,* 1866, 1870, 1873; *OS 57,* 1865, 1871, 1874; *OS 58,* 1871, 1872, 1874; *OS 71,* 1867, 1870, 1879; *OS 75,* 1867, 1879, 1881; *OS 76,* 1879, 1879, 1881; *OS 79,* 1879, 1879, 1883; *OS 83,* 1879, 1879, 1885; *OS 90,* 1867, 1868, 1888; *ES 1,* 1867, 1867, 1867; *ES 11,* 1868, 1870, 1870; *ES 12,* 1870, 1870, 1871; *ES 13,* 1870, 1870, 1871; *ES 15,* 1871, 1871, 1872; *ES 16,* 1866, 1871, 1872; *ES 17,* 1869, 1870, 1873; *ES 35,* 1879, 1879, 1880; *ES 39,* 1879, 1879, 1882; *ES 42,* 1871, 1879, 1883. Editions with Year of Commission only: *OS 1,* 1864, 1864; *OS 2,* 1864, 1864; *OS 3,* 1864, 1864; *OS 4,* 1864, 1864; *OS 5,* 1865, 1865; *OS 7,* 1865, 1865; *OS 8,* 1865, 1865; *OS 9,* 1865, 1875; *OS 10,* 1865, 1865; *OS 11,* 1865, 1865; *OS 15,* 1866, 1866; *OS 16,* 1866, 1866; *OS 23,* 1865, 1866; *OS 24,* 1867, 1867; *OS 25,* 1867, 1867; *OS 26,* 1867, 1867; *OS 29,* 1866, 1867; *OS 30,* 1867, 1867; *OS 48,* 1871, 1871; *OS 55,* 1867, 1878; *OS 60,* 1868, 1875; *OS 64,* 1876, 1876; *OS 65,* 1874, 1876; *OS 77,* 1879, 1882; *OS 98,* 1866, 1892; *OS 119,* 1865, 1901; *ES 2,* 1867, 1867; *ES 3,* 1868, 1868; *ES 4,* 1868,

describe publications from the point where the first proof sheets were typeset—at which point some aspects of the edition, such as the introduction and glossary, need not even have been written—until they were completely ready for printing and issue, when they were described as 'ready' or 'printing.'

As Figure Three below shows, the production cycle of editions was considerably longer than the annual cycle of sales and distribution. A large majority—sixty-four percent—of editions took more than one year to produce; the average production time was 3.6 years. The disparity between the cycles is compounded by the wide range and distribution of production times, as this must have made planning the completion of annual sets of texts more complex. The greatest proportion of editions completed in any one year period is only 36 percent (the 28 editions which took less than one year to produce) with the next greatest proportion a mere 17 percent (the 13 editions which took between one and two years to produce). To some extent, this variation in production times was a result of the different scale and complexity of various editorial projects, ranging from the very simple, such as ES 54, Furnivall's edition of Caxton's *Curial*, which contains sixteen pages of text taken from a single printed witness (STC 5057), to enormous undertakings such as Skeat's famous edition of *Piers Plowman* (OS 28, 38, 54, 67, 81) and Morris' four text parallel edition of *Cursor Mundi* (OS 57, 59, 62, 66, 68, 99, 101).

As the scale of an editorial undertaking can be estimated at its outset, careful planning could manage the variations in production time of individual editions to achieve the annual completion and issue of a set publications to subscribers. However, EETS' records show that the Society often faced unexpected delays which made this task more difficult. The most common source of delay was unforeseen disruption to editors' work. For example, OS 97 was delayed by 18 months because its editor, Karl Bülbring, was prevented from continuing by the pressure of other work.[46] Ultimately the edition was published incomplete, wanting an introduction, notes and a glossary. Similarly, James A. H. Murray was delayed in completing OS 47, and had to resign his co-editorship of ES 42, because of other, more pressing demands on his time.[47] Sometimes illness or death intervened. OS 40 was delayed by the editor Toulmin Smith's poor health; eventually he died and the work was completed by his daughter, Lucy Toulmin Smith.[48] Julius Zupitza died before writing the paratextual material of his edition of the fourteenth century *Guy of Warwick* (the text was printed in ES 42, 49 and 59), and this was never completed.[49] ES 57 and ES 62 were also delayed by the death of their editors, W. T. Culley and Hermann Deimling respectively.[50]

1869; *ES 5,* 1866, 1868; *ES 8,* 1869, 1869; *ES 9,* 1868, 1869; *ES 19,* 1871, 1873; *ES 20,* 1865, 1874; *ES 22,* 1871, 1874; *ES 34,* 1868, 1879; *ES 47,* 1876, 1876.

[46] OS 97, p. xiv

[47] EETS, *Seventh Report of the Committee* February 1871: 5; ES 42 (1883), 'Temporary Notice,' unpaginated.

[48] EETS, *Fifth Report of the Committee* January 1869: 5-6; OS 40 (1870), p. xi-xii.

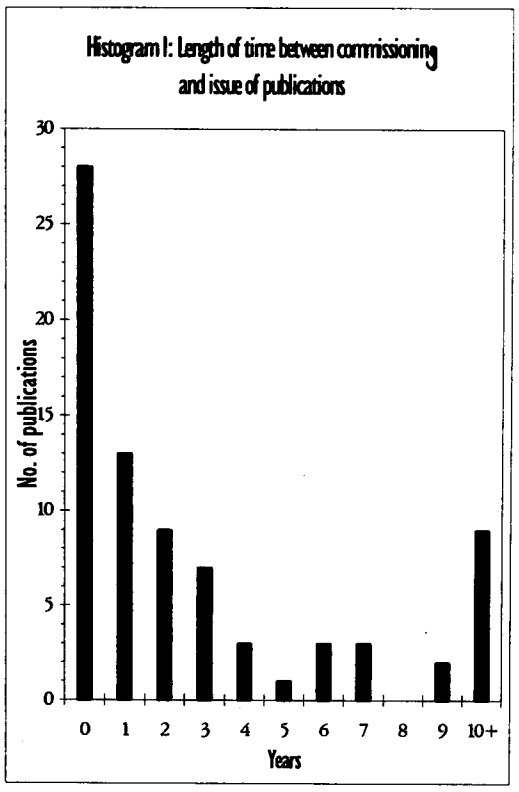
[49] The verso of the title page to the set reads: 'This Title-quarter-sheet is now issued because no pupil of the late Prof. Zupitza has yet come forward to complete his edition of the various versions of *Guy of Warwick*, and some members

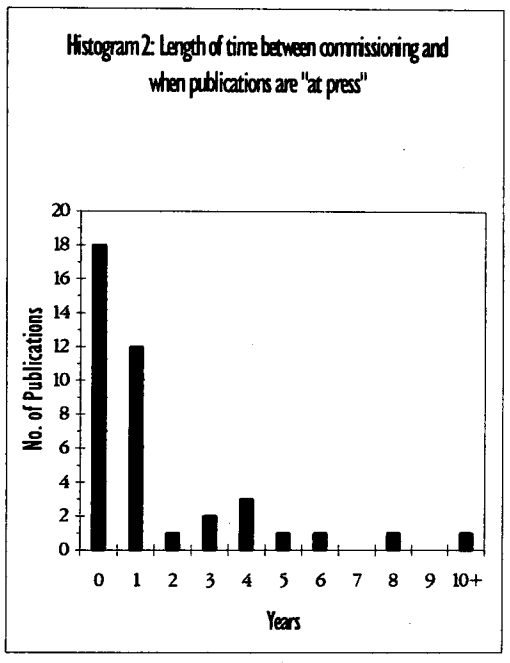
Figure Three: EETS publication production times

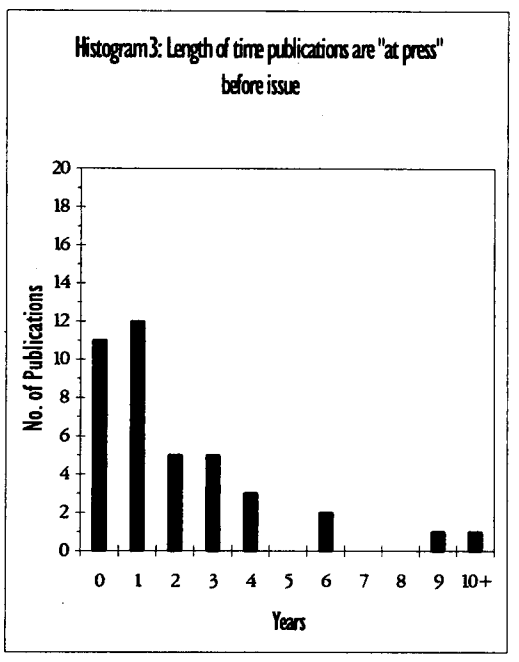
Histogram 1:	
No. of publications	78
Range	0-36
Mode	0
Median	1
Arithmetic Mean	3.6

Histogram 2:	
No. of publications	40
Range	0-12
Mode	0
Median	1
Arithmetic Mean	1.6

Histogram 3:	
No. of publications	40
Range	0-20
Mode	1
Median	1
Arithmetic Mean	2.25







Source: EETS, *Reports of the Committee* 1865-74, 1879.

In some cases, production was delayed because the scale of a project turned out to be larger than originally envisaged. For example, Ellis' five volume *Early English Pronunciation* (ES 2, 7, 14, 23, 56 published between 1869 and 1889) was originally intended to be a revised version of a paper read before the Philological Society in 1867, but when Ellis began revising his work he found 'it would be necessary to re-write and considerably enlarge it, entering into many additional investigations, and arranging it as an independent work instead of a Prefatory Essay.'[51] Similarly, the issuing of the text of Murray's *Complaynt of*

---

wish to bind together their three Parts of the 14th-century version which the Society has publisht.—F.J.F., 25 Nov., 1905.'

[50] ES 57 (1890), p. xx; ES 62 (1893), p. vii n.

[51] EETS, *Fifth Report of the Committee* January 1869: 8. The original paper (which was never printed in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*) was short enough to be read in two meetings, January 18 and February 1, 1867.

Scotland (ES 17, 18) was delayed by a year and the edition divided into two volumes when his Preface turned out to be more expansive (and expensive) than anticipated.[52]

As might be expected, larger editions, especially those published in multiple parts, were more susceptible to unexpected delays. On one occasion, EETS felt it necessary to apologise for the length of time that had passed without completing an edition, and to publicly, albeit light-heartedly, exhort the editors to finish their work

> The Committee sympathize from the bottom of their hearts with the sorrowing and indignant looks that Members desiring to bind their sets of Texts have from time to time cast on the paper backs of their still unfinisht books. For fourteen years has Part I of *Merlin,* for fourteen years has Part I of *Lyndesay*, stood waiting for the Parts IV and VI that respectively are to complete them, and the Parts that have followd them. For three years has the Marquis of Lothian, as well as our Members, waited for Part III to finish his *Blickling Homilies.* Certainly it is too bad. But, could our Members see the tears of repentance that the Committee are sure the so deeply offending Editors have in secret shed, they are sure that Members would join in assuring these sinners of instant forgiveness, if they will but produce the wanted Parts next year.[53]

Fourteen years was in fact not an unusual period for subscribers to wait: the average length of time between the publication of the first and final parts of multiple part editions was 10.7 years.[54] In the case of nine editions, a promised final part was never produced, leaving them incomplete.[55] In all nine of these cases, the full text was published, but some or all of the paratext was wanting: without exception, these editors worked on the text and sent it to be typeset well before the paratext of their editions was ready. As many of the editions examined in Chapters Four-Six reveal, this was EETS' common working practice, irrespective of whether an edition was issued in a single or in multiple parts, reflecting EETS' primary concern with making texts available in print. This also suggests a reason for the fact that, as shown in Figure Three, on average editions remained longer "at press" than it took them to reach that point. EETS appears to have used the term "at press" as a marketing device, attempting to encourage new subscribers with the suggestion that so-described publications would soon be issued if only the money were available, when in fact publications would be "at press" for an average of more than two years.

---

[52] EETS, *Ninth Report of the Committee* January 1873: 8-9.

[53] EETS, *Eleventh Report of the Committee* September 1879:11.

[54] The multiple part publications are as follows, presented by *number of first part*, year of first part, year of final part: *OS 10,* 1865, 1889; *OS 11,* 1865, 1868; *OS 12,* 1865, 1886; *OS 28,* 1867, 1885; *OS 29,* 1867, 1868; *OS 39,* 1869, 1874; *OS 45,* 1871, 1871; *OS 52,* 1873, 1879; *OS 55,* 1878, 1878; *OS 57,* 1874, 1893; *OS 58,* 1874, 1880; *OS 76,* 1881, 1885; *OS 89,* 1888, 1921; *OS 94,* 1890, 1901; *OS 98,* 1892, 1901; *OS 105,* 1895, 1897; *ES 2,* 1867, 1889; *ES 11,* 1870, 1889; *ES 12,* 1878, 1878; *ES 17,* 1872, 1873; *ES 20,* 1874, 1905; *ES 25,* 1875, 1876; *ES 36,* 1880, 1881; *ES 40,* 1882, 1887; *ES 42,* 1883, 1891; *ES 44,* 1884, 1885; *ES 46,* 1885, 1894; *ES 61,* 1892, 1925; *ES 62,* 1892, 1916; *ES 77,* 1899, 1904.

[55] The nine incomplete editions are OS 89, OS 97, OS 102, ES 42, ES 57, ES 62, ES 67, ES 68, ES 74.

The market for Early English texts

As the subscription statistics in Figure One suggest, the market for EETS' publications was limited. Furnivall, who saw EETS' work as the fulfilment of a national duty, envisaged a particular source of popular support, wondering in an appeal for more subscribers 'May not a Society of the Middle Class which has in great measure superseded the Upper as the mainstay of General Literature and Art, expect to do the same in the case of Antiquarian Literature?'[56] A satisfactory level of support was never forthcoming; complaints that EETS is hindered by a lack of funds, and exhortations to members to work to increase their number, are present in all the Society's reports and circulars from the nineteenth century. Furnivall's frustration led him to plead EETS' cause in characteristic, hectoring style:

> To the public... I should say, what a very stupid public it is for not supporting more vigorously the best and most liberal Early English printing Society that has ever existed: that there are several thousand well-to-do men in this country who can easily spare a guinea a year each to make their forefathers' speech and thoughts better known to this and future generations; and they ought to spare it. To the Historian and Antiquary the Society's work yields rich fruit; to the Tory who glories in the past, it appeals with the strongest claim; to the Liberal who pleads, as cause for modern justice, the ancient tale of poor men's wrongs that starts before the Conquest, the Society makes heard the voice he listens for. Every man of culture is bound to support us; and yet hardly any do. The Sanskrit Text Society starts—most rightly—with a first year's subscription of over £1200. The Early English Text Society with a miserable £152. In its third year its income is not much over £600; and when it asks for money to print nineteen Texts in one year, it hardly gets money for eleven. The apathy of English lettered men on this subject is a disgrace to them.[57]

As someone who Furnivall succeeded in persuading to join in this fashion, George A. Macmillan suggests the reason behind the lack of wide support

> One constant subject of chaff between us was the respective claims of classical and English studies, and he would express humorous indignation that I could get about a thousand supporters for the Hellenic Society, while the membership of the Early English Text Society scarcely reached five hundred. I pacified him by agreeing to join his society, but on the express condition that I was not bound to read its publications, which to me were far less intelligible than Greek.[58]

In truth, EETS produced specialist publications which appealed to a very restricted audience indeed. Even a university educated man like Macmillan, well versed in Greek and Latin, would be likely to find EETS publications arduous, if not impossible, reading because English language and literature for the most part went untaught in English universities. Although the Rawlinson Chair in Anglo-Saxon was endowed there in 1795, Oxford did not allow itself an Honours School in English until 1893. Similarly, Walter Skeat established himself at Cambridge as the Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon in 1878, but that University's Medieval and Modern Languages Tripos did not begin until 1886, and a lectureship in English not endowed until 1896. London alone included English in its BA syllabus at the time EETS began operations, but had only done so since 1859.[59] In these circumstances, Early English was known to, and its study pursued and

---

[56] EETS, *Fifth Report of the Committee* January 1869: 22.

[57] OS 25, p. ix.

[58] George A. Macmillan's untitled contribution in Munro, pp. 107-108.

[59] For references for the history of the study of English in British Universities, see Chapter One.

promulgated by, a small group of (mostly untrained, amateur) enthusiasts; the educational establishment in the nineteenth century provided few opportunities for widening this circle of interest.

Throughout the nineteenth century, EETS tried a number of means of expanding its market. The most promising of these was offering an 'Early English Prize,' designed to link the study of Early English to higher educational institutions where it was not taught as part of their official programmes. This scheme saw academics friendly to EETS' objectives offer classes and set an examination in 'English before Chaucer'; EETS then gave these academics books with which to reward their most successful candidates. Academics from twelve institutions were involved in 1866, the first year of the prize; this had increased to thirty-eight by 1879, including nine secondary schools in Britain and sixteen universities in Germany, Canada, Denmark and the USA.[60] Although no doubt encouraged by expansion of the scheme itself, EETS was ambivalent about the extent of its achievement in England, noting that 'the hold of Classics is too firmly fixt for the displacement of any of its fangs by English to happen rapidly.'[61]

EETS also encouraged university study of English with the special production and sale of books. In 1869 a cheap edition of ES 4, *Havelok the Dane,* was produced (using a paper stock of lighter weight than EETS' own editions, allowing it to be sold at a discounted rate) to enable George Stephens of the University of Copenhagen to use *Havelok* as a teaching text. Stephens purchased 50 copies of the edition, and King's College Evening-Classes and School, and the University College of London promised to make it a set text for their classes in 1870.[62] Similarly, in 1888 OS 23, *Ayenbite of Inwyt,* was brought forward in the programme of reprinting of 1866 texts in order that it could be examined by the University College of London in 1889.[63]

EETS took limited measures to make its publications more attractive to a wider market. The most important of these was the decision to print texts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whose subjects were considered more interesting and whose language was more accessible to the untrained reader. Through this means EETS hoped to 'interest and attract as many different sections of students as can be reached,'[64] although it found the subsequently varying tastes of its subscribers difficult to satisfy while at the same time working toward its overall objective:

---

[60] EETS, *Second Annual Report of the Committee* January 1866: 4; and *Eleventh Report of the Committee* January 1879: 18-19.

[61] EETS, *Eighth Report of the Committee* January 1872: 9.

[62] EETS, *Sixth Report of the Committee* January 1870: 14-15

[63] EETS, *Texts at Press and Preparing* November 1888: 4.

[64] EETS, *Fifth Report of the Committee* January 1869: 5n.

> Complaints of two opposite kinds as to our Texts have reacht the Committee's ears. One comes from the workers, the students, who echo Mr Kingston-Oliphant's words... "I wish [EETS] would print more works written before 1400, and fewer works written after that year." With this wish the Committee heartily sympathize, and would be only too glad if they dared gratify it. Nothing would have pleased them better that to have begun at the earliest Anglo-Saxon MS., and printed everything steadily in order. But the other complaint has warned them that such a course would have halved or thirded the number of our subscribers; and the late decrease in the Society's list of members since the earliest Texts have increast in number, has shown the necessity of restoring, if possible, the original proportion between later and easier Texts—often more attractive in subject—and the earlier and harder ones, which are, with rare exceptions, theological and dull, though of extreme interest in point of language.... the Committee will try their best to meet the wishes and tastes of the bulk of the Society's Members, whose forbearance they crave in this difficult task, and whom they remind that interesting inedited MSS. of Romance and Adventure, of social Life, and Fun, are rare indeed, and grow rarer year by year. But the one great fact remains, that till all our early MSS. are printed, the History of the English Language cannot be fully known, [and] the Society's work cannot come to an end.[65]

EETS also tried in a limited way to capture the antiquarian market for luxury editions evident in the success of previously established printing societies such as the Bannatyne and Roxburghe Clubs. Subscribers to the Extra Series could opt to pay a subscription of two guineas per year to receive their texts in large-paper quarto editions, printed on hand-made, ribbed paper. The idea of luxury editions rested uncomfortably with EETS' egalitarian spirit—it was made clear that 'as the Society has from the first set its face against luxurious editions except as a help to working ones, the large-papers must fulfil the condition of yielding that help, or the Society cannot consent to produce them'—and the Committee did not hesitate to raise their price as soon as they failed to provide surplus income.[66] EETS did resist, however, the suggestion that they produce their editions in the form of black-letter type facsimiles in the manner once popular in printing societies.[67]

The extent to which these measures succeeded in gaining the Society new subscribers is now difficult to assess, but the failure of the membership list to grow indicates that their impact must have been minimal. However, given the limitations of its market and the numerous difficulties it experienced described above, the Society was astonishingly productive. At the close of the nineteenth century EETS had achieved substantial progress toward its goal of bringing every Early English text within the reach of students: it had issued 191 volumes, of which all but four were in print.

---

[65] EETS, *Tenth Report of the Committee* January 1874: 15-16. The report quotes T. L. Kington Oliphant, *The Sources of Standard English* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1873) 320n.

[66] EETS, *Report of the Committee* January 1868: 8. The large-paper editions were available from the inception of the Extra Series in 1867; the price was raised in 1872 to £2. 12*s.* 6*d.* Subscribers were also offered Original Series texts on large paper for three guineas per year, on the condition that 50 members take up the offer, but there was insufficient interest for this scheme to go ahead. In response to a request from its Manchester subscribers, in 1872 members were offered large-paper reprints of a range of Original Series texts from previous years if a minimum of 25 members undertook to buy them at 1*s.* per sheet of 16 pages (EETS, *Eighth Report of the Committee* January 1872: 9). It is not recorded if this proposal was carried through.

[67] EETS, *Seventh Report of the Committee* January 1871: 15.

Editorial personnel

EETS employed the services of a remarkable number of individuals during the nineteenth century. Forty-five different people were identified as editors on the title pages of the ninety-eight Middle English editions alone, and the assistance of a significant number more was acknowledged within their various Prefaces and Introductions.[68] Such a large pool of workers was necessary for EETS to sustain its level of production: before such labour was professionalised, few people could afford to devote themselves to the Society's work on more than a part-time basis. The need to cast its net wide for editorial personnel was but one aspect of the influence the limited presence of English studies in the universities had on EETS' work. Henry Sweet gave his assessment of the situation and its effects in his 1877 Presidential address to the Philological Society, quoting and commenting on a review of EETS' work by the German philologist Julius Zupitza:

> [Quoting Zupitza] "But with all appreciation I cannot refrain from calling attention to some drawbacks [to EETS' publishing achievements]. The editors are, with very few exceptions, dilettantes. Many of them have very vague ideas of philological method, of the treatment of the text, especially when it is preserved in several MSS., of what is essential and what not in reproducing a MS., or of the plan of a glossary, etc. Nor do all of them possess a thorough knowledge of the earlier periods of their native language: many of them cannot get Modern English out of their heads, so that any deviation from it is apt to leave them in a fix.... Many of the better class of editors, who are quite competent to turn out good work, do not always take enough time about it. It really looks sometimes as if the copy of the MS. made by some clerk or other went straight to the printer, and that the editor cleared off the whole business of editing during the process of correcting the proofs, so that gross blunders are almost inevitable."
>
> The truth of these criticisms cannot be denied. How is it, then, that while the principles of text-criticism have been firmly established for the last thirty years in other Teutonic countries, we at the present day have hardly advanced beyond the mere mechanical reproduction of MS. texts?.... The defects [Zupitza] exposes are the result not of any inherent defect in the English character, but simply of want of time. Most of us—indeed, nearly all of us—are by force of circumstances compelled to work in a dilettante style: we cannot expect much from a philologist whose whole working day consists, perhaps, of an hour snatched away from other labours. Where, again, are we to get our training? We are left to pick it up at random, often quite late in life, the result being that talents of the highest order often go quite astray, and waste their strength on wild and fantastic theories. How different are the circumstances of the foreign student! He starts young with a thorough training, and with the certainty of the full opportunity of devoting himself to his subject for the rest of his life. An undergraduate of an English University who were to announce to the Head of his College his intention of devoting himself to English philology would be regarded as a dangerous lunatic—to be repressed by any means.[69]

Sweet and Zupitza's comments offer an important contemporary insight into the circumstances in which EETS undertook its publishing project. Their comments are particularly valuable because both men were trained philologists—the products of German universities—and as such, they were two of the few contemporary commentators with formal qualifications in the discipline. Unsurprisingly, the extract above is also a highly influential source in twentieth-century assessments of the nature of EETS' editorial personnel,

---

[68] For an explanation of the criteria by which publications were included in the collection of 98 Middle English editions, see Chapter Seven.

[69] Sweet, pp. 11-12.

their work habits, and the quality of their work.[70] The question of the quality of EETS' work will be examined (implicitly or explicitly) in Chapters Four-Six below. The remainder of this chapter will present further evidence about the nature of EETS' editors and the manner in which they worked.

EETS did not have a formal selection procedure by which it screened candidates for training, experience and editorial competence. As labour was in short supply, the only qualifications necessary appear to have been enthusiasm for the subject, available time and a willingness to work. Skill and experience could be acquired on the job—after all, Morris and Furnivall were themselves essentially self-taught—after some basic advice had been given. Alois Brandl occasionally witnessed Furnivall

> ...furnishing a training for collaborators, who were at first naturally scarce in a country unprovided with *Seminare,* and even without a system of modern philological instruction. I have more than once heard him take in hand some ingenious novice, whose only incentives to editorial work were a love of poetry and Furnivall's example. In half an hour he would give him information enough to produce useful work.... [Furnivall was] an excellent example of those strong personalities which in England make up for the national lack of adequate system.[71]

Furnivall's 'collaborators' were indeed often complete beginners. For example, Sidney Lee (ES 40, 41, 43, 50) was enlisted while an undergraduate at Oxford, after an article he had written on Shakespeare caught Furnivall's attention.[72] Alfred W. Pollard (ES 71, 91, and director of EETS from 1930-37) was first set to work by Furnivall on a Wyclif Society publication, despite the fact that he had 'never read a page of Mediaeval Latin, nor looked at a manuscript except through a glass case'; in his next attempt he 'went so wrong that the Clarendon Press sent a private memorandum to headquarters to report that they never had any proofs so heavily corrected.'[73] Similarly, Skeat recalls that his involvement with EETS began when he—at that time a lecturer in mathematics at Christ's College, Cambridge—was mentioned to Furnivall as 'one who was fond of Early English and had some leisure.' Skeat was entrusted with editing *Lancelot of the Laik* (OS 6), despite his own misgivings about his capability: 'My objection, that I was unable to read a MS., was over-ruled on the grounds, first, that the sole MS. [CUL Kk. 1. 5] was always at hand in the Cambridge University Library; and secondly, that I could learn.'[74]

---

[70] See Elisabeth Murray, p. 91 and Benzie pp. 150-51. The content and structure, and occasionally the phrasing, of Murray's account strongly suggests that it is derived from the passage extracted above. Benzie's account is clearly an (unacknowledged) paraphrase of Murray. Neither scholar provides a reference to Sweet or Zupitza.

[71] Alois Brandl's untitled contribution in Munro, p. 13.

[72] Sidney Lee's untitled contribution in Munro, pp. 94-95.

[73] Alfred W. Pollard's untitled contribution in Munro, p. 147. The two Wyclif Society texts Pollard refers to are *Iohannis Wycliffe: Dialogus sive Speculum Ecclesie Militantis* (London: Trübner & Co., 1886); and *Iohannis Wyclif: Tractatus de Officio Regis* (London: Trübner & Co., 1887). In unpublished correspondence, Professor Anne Hudson informs me that Pollard's edition of the *Dialogus* 'is *not* satisfactory—though in fairness the textual situation is unusually obscure and there are 25 MSS.'

[74] Walter W. Skeat, *A Student's Pass-time: Being a Select Series of Articles Reprinted from 'Notes and Queries'* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1896) xxv; quoted in part in Charlotte Brewer, *Editing Piers Plowman: The Evolution of the Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 96-7. Skeat seems to have been able to devote long hours of 'leisure' to literary scholarship. Brewer suggests that his mathematics job took little of his time, and reports that he received substantial financial assistance from his father, which left him free to pursue his philological interests. He was

Sometimes this undiscriminating mode of recruitment bore valuable fruit—in Skeat, for instance, EETS gained the services of an individual who would go on to become arguably the most influential editor of Middle English in the nineteenth century. However, they were not always so fortunate. For example, the editorial repertoire of Thomas Wright—an individual who came to EETS with previous editing experience—did not extend to proof reading. This was only discovered after his edition of *The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry* (OS 33) had been issued; the Society was forced to print an extensive set of corrections along with an apology and the pledge that they would 'in future take care that the work of all Editors new to them is checked in time.'[75] When Carl Horstmann edited and had typeset (in Furnivall's view) the wrong manuscript of Capgrave's *Life of St. Katharine of Alexandria* (OS 100), Furnivall concluded his apology to subscribers with the revealing conclusion that 'All our workers can't be of the first class; we must often put up with some of the third and fifth; they show their good will, and we take the will for the deed' (p. xxviii).

It seems that this disparate group of editors were given some direction from EETS about matters of editorial practice. No set of written guidelines or house style-sheet is known to survive from this period. However, a number of editions' Prefaces suggest that editors did receive instruction. In OS 60, manuscript contractions are expanded and marked 'according to our custom' (p. vi); in OS 105, contractions and other aspects of the manuscript evidence are presented 'in accordance with the rules of our Society' (p. vii); in ES 60, they are presented 'in the usual way' and 'in accordance with the principles of the E. E. T. S.' (p. liii). On at least two occasions, EETS' editorial conventions were followed even when the editors themselves did not see their value. In ES 25, the editor Zupitza originally disregarded the flourishes which appear after some occurrences of the letter *n* in the manuscript as he believed them to be meaningless, but Furnivall required that they be added while the text was passing through the press (ES 25, p. ix). In ES 62, editor Hermann Deimling's objections to having to present his text as he did (i.e. 'according to the principles which govern the editing of the E. E. Text Society') were firmly enough expressed for Furnivall to respond with an explanation of EETS' policy in a footnote, presumably added as the Preface went through the press (p. xxix). The nature of these conventions and the extent to which uniformity was achieved in practice will be examined in Chapters Four-Seven.

Collaborative work in EETS editions

Zupitza's impression (i.e. 'It really looks sometimes as if...') that the quality of work in EETS editions was so poor that it must have stemmed from transcriptions made by 'some clerk or other' has become, in K. M. Elisabeth Murray and Benzie's accounts of the Society's work, a definitive statement of the Society's practice

---

therefore far from the typical dilettante English philologist whose working day was, in Sweet's description, but 'an hour snatched away from other labours.' That Sweet's description was in some degree accurate in other cases, however, is testified to by the long production times and delays described under the heading 'The Production Cycle' above.

[75] EETS, *Fifth Report of the Committee* January 1869: 6n.

and the reason for much of the inaccuracy they assert is to be found in EETS' early editions.[76] Certainly, EETS' editors made considerable use of the work of amanuenses: the acknowledgements of 33 of the 98 editions of Middle English texts record that at least part of their text was transcribed by someone other than the individual named on the title page as editor.[77] However, these acknowledgements—which form the only substantial positive evidence about the practice of using amanuenses available—suggest that Murray and Benzie's view of EETS' working practices requires considerable modification. In many cases, the amanuenses were individuals whom EETS, if not posterity, considered to be qualified as editors, rather than mere copyists, for they were indeed engaged by the Society as the editor of some other text(s). For example, Skeat acted as an amanuensis for ES 3 and OS 71; Furnivall, OS 7 and OS 17; W. Wright, OS 17; Lumby, OS 22; Brock, OS 57 and OS 71; Lucy Toulmin-Smith OS 57; and Horstmann OS 106. Furthermore, four of the editions included among the collaboratively produced texts are recorded as such because they were based in the text of a previous edition by Frederic Madden.[78] In other cases, transcriptions were made by individuals whose work for the Society was limited to (usually paid) clerical assistance. The most important of these was George Parker, in Oxford, who copied texts for nine editions.[79] It may be observed that simply in the course of transcribing two of these texts, Parker would have gained more experience in dealing with manuscripts than many of EETS' editors ever had. Furthermore, while no EETS publication was issued under his name, Parker—a member of staff at the Bodleian library who in his fifty years service to 1904 achieved the position of Senior Assistant—did edit two books containing sixteenth- and seventeenth-century parish registers.[80] Among the remaining transcribers were William Wood, who went on to work as a 'reader' at one of EETS' printers (see Chapter Six), and Eleanor Marx, a woman with considerable literary interests who went on to make a significant contribution to the British working-class movement, and could scarcely be dismissed as 'some clerk.'[81]

It is possible that some of EETS' editors received unacknowledged clerical assistance, but little evidence about the scale of such assistance remains. EETS financial statements record payments for the copying of manuscripts, but unfortunately combine them with the 'purchase of books,' rendering the level of paid copyists' activities obscure. Benzie records an anecdote about Furnivall's wife, Eleanor Dalziel, providing

---

[76] K. M. Elisabeth Murray, p. 91; Benzie pp. 150-51. See above regarding the relationship of Murray and Benzie's accounts of EETS' working practices to Zupitza's review.

[77] See Appendix Three for a list of these editions.

[78] The texts of OS 4, ES 1, ES 4 and ES 33 were taken from Madden's editions of *Syr Gawayne, William and the Werwolf, Havelok the Dane, and the Old English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum* respectively (for the publication details of which, see above).

[79] OS 28, OS 29, OS 57, OS 60, OS 69, OS 71, ES 11, ES 34, ES 70.

[80] "To Mr. George Parker, Hon. M. A. [congratulatory address by members of the staff to G. Parker on his completion of 50 year service at the Bodleian library]," (2 September 1904). The two parish registers Parker edited are *Bradfield, Berks, and Wolvercote, Oxon.: Notes from the Parish Registers, 16th and 17th cent.* (Oxford: Bridge and Co., 1888); and *Alverstoke Church Inscriptions and Parish Register* (Oxford: Privately Printed, 1885).

[81] For Marx's biography, see Yvonne Kapp, *Eleanor Marx*, 2 vols. (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1972-6).

him with a great deal of help at home.[82] However, it seems unlikely that much of Dalziel's work would have been on the texts of EETS editions: Furnivall had numerous projects for his various Societies on the go at any one time, and, if the work could be completed outside the library, probably involved activities such as the more mechanical aspects of the preparation of glossaries and indices.

EETS also made considerable use of collaborative work in the paratext of its editions. The side-note paraphrases of the text of 12, the glossaries of 18, the indices of 9, and the introductory materials of 23 editions were, in part or in whole, the work of someone other than the individual named on the title page as editor.[83] In general, the reason the more laborious tasks—the paraphrases, glossaries and indices—were handed over to collaborators is not explained, but it seems reasonable to assume it was to spare the editor the work and hasten production of the edition. Furnivall, who as EETS' director would have been aware of occasions when it was necessary for production of individual editions to be expedited, found a particularly willing candidate for this kind of work in Thomas Austin, who prepared the glossary and indices of four of Furnivall's editions in the 1890s.[84] In the case of introductory material, however, the contributions of other scholars were usually included to augment the knowledge and expertise of the editor, and so offer the reader a wider range of information. Such contributions were often presented after the editor's own Preface or Introduction as separate essays, or appendices. They are extraordinarily diverse, ranging from technical discussions of the text's language or metre by more experienced EETS editors,[85] to discussions of the text's historical or cultural background by experts in other fields.[86] EETS also sought out and printed studies of its texts from academics in Europe, broadening the scope of the scholarship it could offer its readers.[87]

---

[82] Benzie, p. 24.

[83] See Appendix Three for a list of these editions.

[84] ES 61, OS 100, ES 67 and OS 107. Austin was himself the editor of OS 91.

[85] For example, OS 8 contains an essay by Skeat "On the Metre of the Poem" (pp. xv-xix), and OS 40 an appendix of "Grammatical Notes" by Morris (pp. 460-62).

[86] For example, OS 15 contains an essay by W.M. Rossetti, "Notes on the Stacyons of Rome" (pp. xxi-xlviii), and OS 40 an essay by Lujo Bretano, "On the History and Development of Guilds, and the Origin of Trade-Unions" (pp. xlix-cxcix).

[87] For example, ES 57 contains an essay by Dr. Salverda de Grave (Paris), "On the *Eneydes* and the *Roman D'Énéas* (pp. xxiv-xxviii); OS 57 an "Inquiry into the Sources of the "Cursor Mundi"" by Dr. Haenisch (pp. 1*-56*), and two essays by Dr H. Hupe (Lübeck), "On the Filiation and the Text of the MSS. of the Middle-English Poem Cursor Mundi" (pp. 57*-103*) and "Cursor Studies, and Criticism on the Dialects of its MSS." (pp. 107*-264*).

Chapter Three: EETS' editorial policy and its nineteenth-century context

EETS' editorial policy

If a document articulating EETS' editorial policy in the nineteenth century was ever produced, it appears not to have survived the passage of time. What evidence can be presented is fragmentary, a collection of isolated statements made in various publications by several individuals involved in the Society. As Charlotte Brewer notes of her research on editorial theory and practice in England in the nineteenth century, made as part of an assessment of Skeat's EETS edition of *Piers Plowman*

> [I]t is virtually impossible... to turn up any explicit statement by Furnivall of his views on editing that fully acknowledges his position relative to those of others.... It seems baffling now to read through letters and published remarks of many Middle English scholars of the late-nineteenth century and find almost no reference to the sorts of theoretical discussion going on in Europe.[1]

Brewer then goes on to argue that it 'seems simplest, and most obvious' to conclude that Furnivall 'saw his task as bringing manuscripts to light, and/or getting them into print. It would then be for others to make of the original material what they would.' She cites two sources as evidence for this conclusion. The first is the following comment by Furnivall in a letter to Henry Bradshaw, who was a stern critic of EETS' custom of recording manuscript evidence in fine detail but with minimal editorial attention to substantive matters of the text, and was subsequently opposed to Furnivall's plan similarly to print six manuscripts of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales:*

> You're the man to *edit* Chaucer, if only you will. I'm the man to print the texts, if only you'll add your notes of MSS. to mine, or tell me what books to look in to find out the MSS.[2]

---

[1] Charlotte Brewer, *Editing Piers Plowman: The Evolution of the Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 88.

[2] Brewer, p. 88, quoting a letter from Furnivall to Bradshaw dated 8 February 1871. Despite Bradshaw's opposition, the Chaucer Society's plans to print the *Canterbury Tales* went ahead, resulting in Frederick J. Furnivall, ed., *A Six-Text Print of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales: in Parallel Columns from the Following MSS. 1 The Ellesmere. 2 The Hengwrt 154. 3 The Cambridge Univ. Libr. Gg. 4. 27. 4 The Corpus Christi Coll., Oxford. 5 The Petworth. 6 The Lansdowne 851* (London: N. Trübner and Co., 1869-77). (All six MSS were also printed and issued separately by the Chaucer Society.) Brewer presents Furnivall's distinction between printing and editing in the context of an earlier letter Bradshaw wrote Furnivall, in which Bradshaw harshly criticises Panton and Donaldson's edition of Lydgate's *Troy Book*, OS 39, and then ridicules EETS' customary effort to record in type manuscript details such as marks of contraction, concluding: 'You now perhaps see what I mean by the remarkable absence of literary editorial power w^{h} the Society's work displays. A great deal of care about marginal notes, italic abbreviations, &c &c &c &c &c &c but not a feather's weight of care for the substance of the matter.... what I insist on is that until some of you [i.e. EETS' editors] begin to *edit* books there is no chance for any of us learning anything' (Brewer, p. 87, quoting CUL Add. 2591: 384a). This letter is also quoted in Donald C. Baker, "Frederick James Furnivall (1825-1910)," *Editing Chaucer: The Great Tradition*, ed. Paul G. Ruggiers (Norman, Oklahoma: Pilgrim Books, 1984) 163. Baker, whose article assesses Furnivall's significance as an editor of Chaucer, describes Furnivall's intentions in terms very similar to those of Brewer. He argues that Furnivall's 'overriding purpose is well caught in the title page of the *One-Text Print of Chaucer's Minor Poems: Being the Best Text of Each Poem in the Parallel-Text Edition, for Handy Use by Editors and Readers* [London: N. Trübner & Co., 1868-1880]'; as an editor, Furnivall's work 'cannot really be evaluated, for he never, in a sense, *edited* anything. He printed, but how fully, how gloriously, he printed!' (pp. 168-9). Benzie, Steeves and K. M. Elisabeth Murray do not assess the editorial content of EETS publications further than their general criticisms about quality reported in Chapter Two.

Brewer's second source is the following extract from Furnivall's 1866 proposal to reprint the manuscript from which Bishop Thomas Percy originally produced his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, notoriously supplementing, suppressing and otherwise altering the text:

> By way of justification, the Bishop tells his readers that 'His object was to please both the judicious antiquary and the reader of taste; and he hath endeavoured to gratify both without offending either.' Now 'in a polished age like the present,' as Percy described his own time, a judicious antiquary (unlike Ritson) might possibly be pleased with such treatment of manuscripts as the Bishop's was; but in an age which (like our Victorian) has, thank Heaven, lost that kind of polish, a judicious antiquary would get judiciously furious at such tampering with a text, and demand imperatively the very words of the manuscript. After their production he might listen to any retouchings and additions of editors clever or foolish, but not before. He cares first for the earliest known authority (however late it may be), and its sentiment, not for the 'interesting and affecting' alterations made in 'a polished age.'[3]

While neither of Brewer's sources relates directly to EETS, the position taken by Furnivall in them is, as will be seen below, consistent with that expressed by other editors in EETS editions. The sources, along with Brewer's analysis of them, are of particular interest in that they introduce two ideas that consistently inform statements of EETS' editorial policy. One is that readers have an *a priori* right to the full evidence of the manuscripts so that they may judge it for themselves. The other, related, idea is that this evidence is provided in response to the position of contemporary Middle English scholarship—in the case of the Percy's manuscript, owing to the nature of previous editions, but more usually referring to the notion that Middle English scholarship is in its infancy and such editions are required to facilitate further research. The stated purpose of the Chaucer Society perhaps encapsulates these ideas most neatly:

> To do honour to CHAUCER, and to let the lovers and students of him see how far the best unprinted Manuscripts of his works differ from the printed texts, this Society is founded. There are many questions of metre, pronunciation, orthography, and etymology yet to be settled, for which more prints of Manuscripts are wanted, and it is hardly too much to say that every line of Chaucer contains points that need reconsideration.[4]

Early EETS publications contain few statements of the theoretical position or policy underlying their editorial practice. In four cases, these statements are little more than passing comments. In ES 4 Skeat, after giving an account of the care taken in proof-reading the text, remarks that establishing 'the complete correctness of the text.... is altogether the most important part of the work of a *Text* Society, in order that the student may never be perplexed by the appearance of words having no real existence' (pp. ii-iii). Similarly, in ES 47 he states that 'the exact reproduction of the MSS. is... the chief duty of editors' (p. xii). In OS 23, at the conclusion of an account of the errors made by a previous editor of *The Ayenbite of Inwyt*, Morris notes of his predecessor that 'with a boldness not to be commended, he occasionally alters his author's

---

[3] Frederick J. Furnivall, *Bishop Percy's Ballad Manuscript: Proposal for its Publication,* circular dated 1 November 1866: 1; reprinted with slight alterations as "A Proposal for the Publication of Bishop Percy's Ballad Manuscript," *Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Review* January 1867: 87-88; cited by Brewer, pp. 88-89.

[4] Printed from the verso of the rear paper cover of Frederick J. Furnivall, ed., *The Ellesmere MS of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales,* part 1 (London: N. Trübner & Co., 1868). As EETS was founded primarily to publish previously unprinted works, its statement of purpose does not make a distinction between its editorial methods and those of previous editors.

language, and.... teaches us how rigidly Editors of Early English works should adhere to their MSS.'[5] In OS 49, in a footnote to a discussion of the dialect of Kent, Morris points out a mistake he himself made in emending OS 23 owing to his ignorance of a word form and remarks 'I merely mention this little incident as a caution to future editors, who, for the most part, will find it safer to believe themselves ignorant than to suppose that the MS. is wrong.'[6]

The only extensive commentary on the theory of editing by Morris is a review of an edition produced according to the principles of recension. Morris' parallel text edition of *Cursor Mundi*, OS 57, includes an essay "On the Filiation and the Text of the MSS. of the Middle-English Poem Cursor Mundi" (pp. 57*-103*) and a sample critical text of 1800 lines (pp. 201*-252*) by H. Hupe. In his Preface to the edition as a whole, Morris devotes six pages to criticising Hupe's text, commencing with the remark that 'after all it is a "doctored" text, to which many exceptions might be taken' (p. xxii). An extensive list of these many exceptions follows, including a large collection of emendations which Morris believes are 'arbitrary' (p. xxiv) or which 'impair the value of our texts for the purposes of *historical grammar'* (p. xxvii). The discussion concludes with the following paragraph:

> These few instances, from the critical text, show what a well-nigh impossible task Dr. Hupe set himself to perform, and how unsafe it is to be wise above what is written in our texts. I do not think that English scholars have, as yet, such a wide acquaintance with, and mastery over, the old Northumbrian dialects, as to be able to provide a critical text that shall meet all the requirements of modern scholarship (p. xxviii).

Here, as in his remark in OS 49 above, good editorial policy is for Morris an appropriate response to the nascent position of Middle English scholarship. In circumstances where scholars have only a basic understanding of a dialect, it is wiser to hold that the scribe knows best and rigidly adhere to the manuscript; alternative 'critical' methods only reduce the usefulness of the printed text in advancing that understanding, in that they 'impair' their value for 'the purposes of *historical grammar.*' Not all of EETS' editors shared Morris' view of Hupe's texts, for a small proportion of editions were edited according to the principles of recension (see Chapter Seven). However, that the prevailing policy of the Society was against critical editing can be seen in the statements of two editors who initially considered producing critical texts. In ES 46 E. Kölbing, after discussing the problematic textual transmission of his text, concludes that:

> After all that has been stated in the foregoing §, I do not believe that anybody will ever be able to make a thoroughly critical edition of the poem, without introducing a lot of arbitrary changes. I quite agree with Dr. Furnivall that, in a case like this, even trying to edit the work critically would be only making it far more difficult for the reader to form a judgement of his own.... I have

---

[5] OS 23, footnote to the third page of the (unpaginated) Preface. Morris' criticisms refer to Joseph Stevenson, ed., *The Ayenbite of Inwyt Written in the Dialect of the County of Kent by Dan. Michel of Northgate in the Year 1340,* Roxburghe Club 72 (London: Roxburghe Club, 1855).

[6] OS 49, p. xvi n. Pointing out the compounds *euerte* and *neuerte*, Morris notes that 'while editing the *Ayenbite*, and being wholly unacquainted with these forms, I removed *euerte*, p. 96, from the text to the foot of the page, supposing it to be merely an error for *euere;* a little further on I came across *neuerte*, p. 99, l. 3, which, I am happy to say, I left standing.'

> therefore simply restricted myself to laying before the members of the Early English Text Society the whole of the materials (pp. xli-xlii).

Similarly, in ES 75 G. Morrill writes:

> In harmony with the suggestion of Dr. Furnivall, the work does not present a distinctively critical text, but it aims to mark fidelity to its original, and to avoid arbitrary changes by which a picturesque meaning would be lost or an interesting philological form obscured. Full material for such a text, subject to the judgement of the individual student, is offered in the decisive readings of the various manuscripts of the *Speculum* and in its critical notes (p. ix).

Mentioned by name, the influence of Furnivall is here made manifest. Rejecting critical methods, Kölbing and Morrill 'simply' present the manuscript evidence and so enable readers to make their own critical judgements; the 'decisive readings' of the editor may be found in the notes, separate from and secondary to those of the manuscript. The ongoing study of philological forms remains unimpaired. Interesting too is the association of critical methods with 'arbitrary changes' to the text, present in each of Morris, Kölbing, and Morrill's statements. Morris' characterisation of critical texts as 'doctored' suggests an uneasy sense that they are intrinsically modern constructions, presenting a text which may in theory have existed, but which he cannot now observe in a manuscript; changes wrought by theory on observed fact would seem suspiciously arbitrary to an editor whose own project is the faithful rendition of individual manuscripts. Alois Brandl reports that Furnivall too 'would not hear of [critical editions]—'doctored editions' he called them.'[7] Perhaps Kölbing and Morrill's association of the critical method with arbitrariness was influenced by Furnivall's editorial instincts. (It is clear from the context of their comments that Morris, Kölbing and Morrill refer specifically to texts established by recension, but it should be noted that in the second half of the nineteenth century, the term 'critical' was applied to equally to texts edited by recension and editions which would now be described as eclectic: for example, Henry Nicol, whose work will be discussed further below, felt it necessary to distinguish between critical texts which are 'scientific' (i.e. established by recension) and those which are 'unscientific' or 'ordinary.'[8] Thus Morris and Furnivall's characterisation of critical editions as 'doctored' probably reflects their views on all critical editions.)

The EETS publications edited by Furnivall contain no statement of his views on editing. However, the Prefaces of Middle English editions he completed before founding EETS, published by the Roxburghe Club and the Philological Society, dramatise his development as an editor. Concerned from the outset of his career with the detailed, accurate representation of manuscripts,[9] it was his second effort, the Roxburghe Club edition of *Handlyng Sinne*, that proved the most formative experience:

---

[7] Alois Brandl's untitled contribution in James Munro, ed., *Frederick James Furnivall: A Volume of Personal Record* (London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, 1911) 14.

[8] Henry Nicol, "An Account of M. Gaston Paris's Method of Editing in his *Vie de Saint Alexis*," *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1873-4) 335.

[9] In his first editorial project, *Seynt Graal, or The Sank Ryal: The History of the Holy Graal, Partly in English Verse by Henry Lonelich, Skynner... and Wholly in French Prose by Sires Robiers de Borron,* Roxburghe Club 80 (London: Roxburghe Club, 1861), Furnivall notes that his only alterations to the text were 'to put together disjointed words, as

In editing the text, one mistake that I know I have made I will mention: To many final *d*'s which had a mere scribe's flourish at the end I have added an *e*. This was partly owing to my being misled by a theory of an Editor of many Early English books, that wherever in Anglo-Saxon there would have been an inflection of a word (and in certain other cases), there in Early-English, before 1400, you will find, or ought to put, a final *e*; and that even the slightest mark attached to a letter denotes this *e*. The scribe of the Harleian MS. (copying fifty years after his original was written) had certainly omitted some final *e*'s, &c. which the rhythm required, and had put a flourish after some *d*'s, but not after others. For these flourishes I inserted an *e*; wrongly, I have now no doubt; hence the form *ande* for *and*, &c. Again, the little strokes at the end of the final *g*'s and *t*'s have not been rendered e, as some editors might have rendered them—wrongly as I think.... I am sorry that, when correcting the copy, I did not know of the sensible plan I have since seen adopted, of printing all the expansions of contractions in italics....

As to the theory of the final *e* above mentioned, I repeat here what I said to its author, 'I undertake to prove it wrong from every Early-English text you have yourself edited.' The fact is, that our language was in a state of continuous change from before 1200; and to suppose that at any one time, from then to 1400, the usage of writers was perfectly uniform, or that the consciousness of the Anglo-Saxon flexions continued in men's minds for 200 years, is a mistake; as is also the Gentleman's Magazine's finding fault with Dr. Pauli, because, in his edition of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, he followed his Manuscript, and did not insert a host of these hypothetical *e*'s.... Unfortunately, the text of our handiest edition of Chaucer—that edited by a young clergyman and Mr. Robert Bell, for Messrs. J. W. Parker and Son—has been made symmetrical, or cooked, in accordance with this *e* theory; and we have still to desire a satisfactory edition of the Father of English verse.[10]

---

onne this for *onnethis*, 'scarcely," and records the difficulties he experienced in distinguishing the orthographs *u* and *n* (p. xii).

[10] Frederick J. Furnivall, ed., *Roberd of Brunne's Handlyng Synne (written A. D. 1303;) with the French Treatise on which it is Founded, Le Manuel des Pechiez by William of Wadington,* Roxburghe Club 81 (London: Roxburghe Club, 1862) xxiii-xxv. I have not been able to establish to which 'Editor of many Early English books' Furnivall refers. The edition of Chaucer referred to is presumably *The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 14 vols., Bell's Edition: The Poets of Great Britain Complete from Chaucer to Churchill (Edinburgh: The Apollo Press, by the Martins, 1782). The edition of Gower is certainly Reinhold Pauli, ed., *Confessio Amantis of John Gower*, 3 vols. (London: Bell and Daldy, 1857); the anonymous review is "Gower and his English Poetry," *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Review* June 1857: 645-651. Pauli presents an eclectic text, based on Berthelette's 1532 edition, with readings taken chiefly from London, British Library, MSS. Harleian 3869 and 7184. MS. Harleian 7184, however, provides 'the basis for the spelling' (p. xxxix). The reviewer argues that 'the English language of the fourteenth century (including under that term the latter part of the thirteenth century and the commencement of the fifteenth) possessed a certain regularity of form and permanence of character,—meaning, first and above other things, that it possessed strict grammatical inflections, which cannot be neglected. The inflections of the Anglo-Saxon language were represented in the earlier part of the period of which we are speaking by the terminations *-e, -en* and *-es*; the latter part of it, *-en* was itself gradually superseded by *-e*. The manuscripts even of the fourteenth century contain examples of the non-observance of these grammatical inflections, but they are few, and are always errors of the scribes, arising from causes which are easily explained; but during the fifteenth century all these forms were becoming obsolete, and after that century they were not only entirely lost, but were understood by nobody. It is clear, therefore, that in editing a writer of the fourteenth century, we can place no dependence on manuscripts of the fifteenth century, and that the early printed editions are of no value at all. To take, therefore, an early printed edition of such a writer as the foundation of a text, and from that text by collating this edition with manuscripts of the fifteenth as well as the fourteenth century, is hardly a less absurdity than to take a version of Homer in modern Greek, and attempting to form a text by collating it with the ancient manuscripts.... we hardly open his book before we become convinced that his text is no correct representation of the language of the fourteenth century; in fact, that almost every page swarms with grammatical errors, which must be ascribed to the manuscripts of the fifteenth, or perhaps more generally to the printers of the sixteenth, century' (pp. 646-7). However, as far as editorial practice is concerned, the reviewer's position is in fact closer to Furnivall's than Pauli's is. Pauli reports that his 'chief labour... consisted in restoring the orthography and in regulating the metre, both of which had been disturbed in innumerable places by Bertelette' (p. xliv). The reviewer, however, argues that it is 'a rash act... to attempt to establish a rule of orthography, or to form a text in this manner from different manuscripts, even had they all been good ones.... The only proper way of editing Gower would be to take a manuscript of acknowledged excellency [i.e. one of the fourteenth century], to print strictly from that, altering only any words which are evident corruptions or palpable mistakes of the scribe. Then, if we have an error of grammar, it would, no doubt, be of very rare occurrence, and we should know whence it came' (p. 651).

This experience is perhaps the origin of Furnivall's suspicion of 'doctored' editions: he himself has 'made symmetrical, or cooked' a text on the basis of a theory he later discovered could be disproven.[11] Worse still, in the absence of a typographical convention to indicate the editorial expansion of (supposed) marks of contraction, his reader is unable to distinguish which final *e*'s are authorised by the manuscript; the text is impaired for the purposes of further philological study.[12] At this point, Furnivall's response is simply to admit his fault and protest against the erroneousness of 'the theory of the final *e*.' In his next publication, this protest has developed the form of a more generalised theoretical position:

> The doctrine of the critic of Dr. Pauli's edition of Gower's *Confessio Amantis* as to the final *e* in Early English, is not strictly borne out by any MS., or any undoctored edition of one, that I have ever read; and far more experienced readers and better judges than I, have condemned the attempt to impose on a language constantly changing in words, inflexions, and spelling, written often by half-lettered men, a rigid rule applicable only to the well-settled speech and literature of a cultivated nation.[13]

EETS' editors, however, did not see themselves as mere transcribers of manuscripts. While it may have suited Furnivall to represent himself as printer to Bradshaw's editor in an effort to make clear to him the extent to which their intentions for publishing were both fundamentally different and complementary, on all EETS title pages the text is still described as having been 'edited.' As discussed in Chapter Two, the initial task of transcription was often carried out by an amanuensis, whose contribution earned a place in the edition's acknowledgements, but not with the editor on the title page. In one exceptional case, OS 7, the editor Morris admits to never having seen the manuscript itself, the text of *Genesis and Exodus* being copied from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 444 by Furnivall and the proof sheets collated against the manuscript by Skeat (p. v). Editors were responsible for seeing through the press a text which represented the manuscript evidence in full, but it seems they had license to emend their text in a small number of apparently exceptional cases. The only explanation for this policy I have found—which does not even explain the criteria for emendation, other than to note that their application is 'not consistent'—is not from an EETS edition, but from Furnivall's *Temporary Preface to the Six-Text Edition of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales:*

> All hyphens, and letters and words between square brackets, have been inserted by me. Some, perhaps most, readers will think that all these should have been left out, especially as the insertion of

---

[11] Furnivall states in his Preface that 'the text of this volume has been laid aside for nearly two years' (p. xxv), allowing ample time for a change of mind between editing the text and writing the Preface.

[12] The 'sensible plan... of printing all the expansions of contractions in italics' Furnivall mentions probably refers to Whitley Stokes, ed., "Play of the Sacrament," *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1860-61): appendices pp. 1-100. In John W. Hales and Frederick J. Furnivall, eds., *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript: Ballads and Romances,* 3 vols. (London: N. Trübner & Co., 1867-8), Furnivall says 'The expansions of contractions are marked in the text by italics, after the German plan introduced (I believe) to the English public by Mr. Whitley Stokes in his edition of *The Play of the Sacrament...* and wisely adopted by our Early English Text Society' (p. xxiii). Stokes, a pre-eminent Celtic scholar, had also used this convention in "The Passion," a 'Middle-Cornish Poem' that was also published in the 1860-61 issue of the *Transactions* (appendices pp. 101-152).

[13] Frederick J. Furnivall, "Early English Poems and Lives of Saints, (with those of the Wicked Birds Pilate and Judas)," *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1858): vi. Note that the 1858 issue of the *Transactions* was published in 1862; Furnivall's Preface to the "Early English Poems" is dated 17 December 1861 (p. vi).

> them is not consistent. My pleas in excuse are, first, the weakness of human nature (in my own case—I couldn't resist the temptation of touching-up now and then): secondly, the want of a hyphen or letter often threw me out so, that I had to read a word or a line twice to know what it was. This, being a bore to me, would, I supposed, be a bore to others; and in, accordingly, the hyphen, letter, or word, wanting, was stuck. I don't repent of this, but wish I had done it oftener, for the [] is a guarantee to readers that—barring oversights, which must occur—my attention was drawn to the omission noted, and that in such cases I am not liable to the exclamation one hears sometimes, "Why, the careless dog's left out an *l* (say), and printed *kild, kid;* confound him!" The [] does, in short, answer to the ordinary *(sic);* and we all know the comfort of that.[14]

Leaving aside Furnivall's ingenuous revelation of the attraction of improving his texts (implied, interestingly enough, to be a universal experience, attributed as it is to human nature), Furnivall appears to view these recorded departures from the manuscripts as a means of bolstering the edition's claim to be an accurate and faithful copy of the original text. While the reasoning may be a little perverse, the technique, in conjunction with the use of italics and special type to represent marks of contraction, does have an undeniable utility: the *Six-Text Canterbury Tales* appears to be a monument to careful transcription and typesetting.[15] Furnivall's second 'excuse,' that of saving the reader from the inconvenience of absent hyphens or letters, could similarly be argued to assist readers in forming their own judgements about the full manuscript evidence laid before him. Furnivall was, however, aware of the uncertain theoretical compromise underlying these expediencies. In the Preface to *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript*—a book whose stated object is 'to give the texts just as they stood in the MS. [with] their mistakes and defects... except in a very few cases where a word has been altered, and notice given in the notes'—Furnivall concedes:

> This plan offers on the one hand a justification for Percy's feeling obliged to make *some* alterations in the text of his MS, and on the other lays us open to the charge of abnegating the true function of editors, &c. &c. But we deliberately declined to make our edition a critical one, though at some future time we (or one of us) may undertake the task as to the best of the ballads and romances.[16]

Notably, Furnivall's response to the dilemma is simply to reassert the basic stance he has chosen, rather than to attempt a theoretical resolution: for Furnivall, editing was an essentially practical, rather than philosophical, business.

EETS' policy in the context of nineteenth-century editorial theory

Addressing the Philological Society in 1873, Alexander Ellis saw in Furnivall's *Six-Text Canterbury Tales* a momentous advance in philological scholarship that had fundamentally altered readers' expectations about the kind of evidence editions should provide:

> [I] draw especial attention to [Furnivall's] great contribution to accurate English philology, the magnificent Six-Text Edition of Chaucer, still in progress, which I regard as entirely his own in conception and execution. Mr. Furnivall has in this work inaugurated a new era in philology. No one will henceforth be satisfied with collations of important works. An editor may patch up a text

---

[14] Frederick J. Furnivall, *A Temporary Preface to the Six-Text Edition of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales* (N. Trübner and Co., 1868) 88.

[15] For a detailed assessment of the accuracy of the *Six-Text Edition* in practice, see Ewald Flügel, "A New Collation of the Ellesmere MS.," *Anglia* 30 (1907): 401-12, and, less usefully, Baker pp. 164-5.

[16] Hales and Furnivall pp. xxiii and xxiii n.

> to shew his own particular views, and defend them in elaborate comments. But students, who wish to know what the works are like, will now require the lively counterfeits of their oldest existent forms placed side by side for actual comparison one with another and each part with its whole; not a mosaic presentment of disaccordant patches.[17]

Ellis' assessment of the significance of Furnivall's work is not without substance. The number of editions of Middle English made generally available by Furnivall's publishing societies in the 1860s was unprecedented, and so, through sheer volume alone, their mode of editing must quickly have established itself as the norm. But while its dominance may have been new, the idea that editors should present the evidence of manuscripts in full was hardly unprecedented. For example, from its inception in 1812, the publishing activities of the Roxburghe Club—for whom, as was seen above, Furnivall edited several editions before he founded EETS—centred around the detailed replication of manuscripts and early printed books. In the first two decades of the Club's existence this was not usually done with a scholarly motivation or execution. The founding members of the Club were bibliophiles rather than textual or literary scholars, and their original purpose in publication was the preservation of early printed books as bibliographical artefacts through their physical replication, rather than the publication of historical texts.[18] Thus, of the thirteen books containing Middle English texts produced by the Roxburghe Club before 1828, ten are black-letter type facsimiles of early printed books,[19] in which the early print was reproduced page for page, including the original lineation, punctuation, gathering signatures, wood-cut illustrations, decorated capitals, title pages and printers' devices. Generally these publications are unpaginated and contain no editorial material other than the

---

[17] Alexander J. Ellis, "Second Annual Address of the President to the Philological Society, Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, Friday, 16th May, 1873," *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1873-4): 245.

[18] Contemporary critics attacked the Roxburghe Club for producing its books exclusively for Club members and thereby harming the promotion and wider study of literature, and for printing texts they felt were of negligible literary worth (see, for example 'J. M.,' "Roxburghe Club," *Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle,* September 1813: 211-12; and *Notices Relative to the Bannatyne Club, Instituted in February, M.DCCC.XXIII. Including Critiques on Some of its Publications* (Edinburgh: Printed for private circulation, 1837) 8-9.) The replies of Roxburghe Club members to these criticisms reveal that they did not see themselves as engaged in the business of *belles-lettres,* but were primarily concerned with the value of their editions as bibliographical artefacts. For example, James Maidment wrote in the *Roxburghe Revels, and Other Relative Papers; Including Answers to the Attack on the Memory of the Late Joseph Haselwood, Esq. F. S. A. with Specimens of his Literary Productions* (Edinburgh: Printed for private circulation, 1837) vii: 'The object of the Club... is not for *publication,* but for *preservation,* and the object is fully attained by an impression of forty or fifty copies. If any one of the works is deemed interesting, there is no copyright to prevent a republication by booksellers.... To multiply copies would serve no good end, for how few readers nowadays care one farthing about the works, however important, of the older authors.' Similarly, one 'A. C.' wrote in "The Utility of Literary Associations Demonstrated," *Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle,* October 1813: 339: 'If the members of the Roxburghe Club only add 31 (which by the bye are not only copies but *facsimiles)* to the existing very small numbers of any very scarce works, by depositing these copies in Libraries where they are preserved with due care, they sufficiently guard against the final extinction of those works; and while these gentlemen allow their Collections to be seen and consulted by authors and other men of taste who wish it, there is, I conceive, not the least ground for complaint.' For an account of the history of the Roxburghe Club, see Nicholas Barker, *The Publications of the Roxburghe Club 1814-1962* (Cambridge: Printed for presentation to the members of the Roxburghe Club, 1964).

[19] Terminology used is that of D. C. Greetham, *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1992). 'Black-letter' is used to denote typefaces modeled on textura script (p. 232). The 'type facsimile' edition 'prints an unemended but reset text, using the same typeface as the original printing' (p. 387).

Roxburghe Club's standard title pages; three have short prefaces (ranging from one to five pages) and desultory glossaries.[20]

However, serious textual and literary scholarship was introduced to the Club's publications with the appearance in 1828 of Frederick Madden's edition of *Havelok the Dane*.[21] Madden was then the assistant keeper of manuscripts at the British Museum, and so his interest in palaeography and bibliography was that of a professional, rather than a dilettante amateur, and was grounded in a depth of scholarship matched by few of his contemporaries.[22] As the editor of *Havelok,* Madden's interest was in the historical, linguistic and cultural information contained in the text the manuscript conveys, rather than in the manuscript as a bibliographic artefact *per se*, and so he supported the text with an introduction, collection of explanatory notes and glossary, all of which were of a length and scholarly depth unprecedented in Roxburghe Club publications.[23] In establishing the text (which is printed in roman rather than black-letter type) Madden claims to have 'scrupulously adhered' to the manuscript evidence, presenting the reader with 'transcripts' of the manuscript which 'will be found to correspond literally with their respective originals.'[24] The most significant of the manuscript's formal details are also represented in the edition, either by typographic

---

[20] The seven black-letter type-facsimiles with no editorial material published (in London) by the Roxburghe Club before 1828 are: Duke of Devonshire, ed., *The Life of Saint Ursula. Guiscard and Sigismund,* Roxburghe Club 24 (1818); Thomas Frognall Dibden, ed., *The Complaint of a Lover's Life. Controversy between a Lover and a Jay,* Roxburghe Club 18 (1818); G. H. Freeling, ed., *Informacōn for Pylgrymes unto the Holy Londe,* Roxburghe Club 38 (1824); J. Littledale, ed., *Magnyfycence: an Interlude By John Skelton, Poet Laureat to Henry VIII,* Roxburghe Club 31 (1821); Sir Mark Masterman Sykes, ed., *The Chorle and the Birde,* Roxburghe Club 16 (1818); Sir Mark Masterman Sykes, ed., *The Hors, the Shepe, and the Ghoos,* Roxburghe Club 36 (1822); E. V. Utterson, ed., *Cheuelere Assigne,* Roxburghe Club 27 (1820). The three editions with short prefaces are: G. Hibbert, ed., *Six Bookes of Metamorphoseos in whyche ben Conteyned the Fables of Ovyde: Translated out of Frensshe into Englysshe by William Caxton*, Roxburghe Club 26 (1819); T. Ponton, ed., *Le Morte Arthur: The Adventures of Sir Launcelot Du Lake,* Roxburghe Club 25 (1819); P. E. Towneley, ed., *Judicium, a Pageant: Extracted from the Townley Manuscript of Ancient Mysteries,* Roxburghe Club 32 (1822). The editions of Ponton and Towneley also include glossaries.

[21] Frederick Madden, ed., *The Ancient English Romance of Havelok the Dane; accompanied by the French Text,* Roxburghe Club 48 (London: Roxburghe Club, 1828).

[22] Madden was not a member of the Roxburghe Club, but was the first editor to be commissioned by the Club at their corporate expense. The most detailed account of Madden's life and career is his own journal, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Engl. Hist. c. 140-182. Short biographies may be found in Robert W. Ackerman and Gretchen P. Ackerman, *Sir Frederick Madden: A Biographical Sketch and Bibliography* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1979); and Robert W. Ackerman, "Sir Frederick Madden and Medieval Scholarship," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 73 (1972): 1-14. A detailed account of Madden's work in the British Museum restoring fire-damaged manuscripts in the Cotton collection may be found in Andrew Prescott, "'Their Present Miserable State of Cremation': The Restoration of the Cotton Library," *Sir Robert Cotton as Collector: Essays on an Early Stuart Courtier and his Legacy,* ed. C. J. Wright (London: British Library, 1997) 391-454.

[23] Madden prints Havelok from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud Misc. 108; he was not aware that Cambridge, University Library, MS. Additional 4407 contained fragments of the poem. His interests in the poem are expressed in his rationale for choosing to edit it: 'Of [*Havelok's*] value, not only in a Glossographical point of view, or as an accurate picture of the manners and customs of former times, but also as serving in a singular manner to illustrate the history and progress of our early poetry, there can be but one opinion, and on each and all of these accounts, it must certainly be considered as a highly interesting addition to the specimens we already possess of ancient English metrical composition' (p. iii).

[24] Madden, *Havelok*, p. liv.

imitation (the incipit and concluding 'Amen' are printed in black-letter type, and Lombardic capitals are printed as roman capitals two lines high) or with modern editorial conventions (column and folio divisions are noted in the left hand margin of the text, scribal corrections and lacunae are recorded in textual notes at the foot of the page). Madden went on to suggest elsewhere that the scholarly credibility of an edition is contingent on the full and accurate presentation of manuscript evidence:

> The truth is, that editors of our old poetry have, with a few exceptions, paid too little attention to the system of writing used by the early scribes, and the consequence is, that but a small portion of all that has been published will bear collation with the originals. I say this *advisedly*, having myself compared most of the poems edited by Ritson, Pinkerton, Weber, Percy, Ellis, Hartshorne, and others. It is time this were remedied.'[25]

Subsequent to the publication of *Havelok*, the conception of the Club's editions as replica bibliographic artefacts quickly waned. Roman type superseded black-letter as the standard fount of Club publications, and the general level of scholarship was lifted: every edition included at least a short preface and either some form of explanatory notes or a glossary, of the kind (notwithstanding their far less sophisticated execution) found in *Havelok*. Madden's belief that the manuscript evidence should be recorded in detail also remained influential throughout the period before the foundation of EETS. In 1862 W. E. Buckley claimed to follow his manuscript closely 'in deference to the advice of the best scholars,' singling out for quotation some advice written by Edwin Guest in 1858—repeated here as it expresses the idea that such editions should be produced in order to advance the study of the language:

> I would take this opportunity of again pressing on the reader the importance of copying our MSS. *faithfully*—I mean not only to the letter, but so as to show their peculiarities as regards punctuation, composition, &c. It is astonishing how much light may thus be thrown upon the structure of our language.[26]

Guest, who was a founding member of the Philological Society, had in fact advocated the reproduction of manuscripts with a level of detail that surpassed even Furnivall's concern for minutiae, criticising 'modern editors' who

> take the liberty (without any warning to the reader) of altering the text in *three* particulars. They change the accents, which in certain cases are used to distinguish long vowels; they compound and resolve words; and they alter the stops and pauses—or in other words the punctuation and versification—at their pleasure.[27]

However, despite its long heritage and its dominance in publications from 1860s onwards, the primacy of the manuscript was not universally accepted in the nineteenth century. Bradshaw, as we have seen, was unimpressed by the presentation of manuscript detail in EETS editions. Instead, he 'believed that one should

---

[25] Madden, ed., *Syr Gawayne: A Collection of Ancient Romance-Poems by Scotish and English Authors Relating to that Celebrated Knight of the Round Table* (London: Bannatyne Club, 1839) xlv.

[26] Edwin Guest, *A History of English Rhythms*, vol. II, 2 vols. (London: William Pickering, 1838) 430, cited W. E. Buckley, ed., *The Old English Version of Partonope of Blois,* Roxburghe Club 82 (London: Roxburghe Club, 1862) iii.

[27] Guest, II, 9. The details of Guest's criticisms are directed at John M. Kemble, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Poems of Beowulf, The Travellers Song and the Battle of Finnes-burh*, 2 vols. (London: William Pickering, 1833-1837), and Benjamin Thorpe, *Cædmon's Metrical Paraphrase of Parts of the Holy Scriptures, in Anglo-Saxon* (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1832).

correct manuscripts ruthlessly, and that there were "a thousand" instances where "you cannot trust the best MSS. for spelling rightly."'[28] Similarly, in his Presidential address to the Philological Society in 1878, Henry Sweet told his audience that scribes 'always represent more or less inaccurately' both 'the original text and the actual forms of the language,' and furthermore that many scribes 'did not understand what they were writing half so well as a thoroughly competent editor.' For Sweet, a competent editor is one with a clear understanding of the 'universally received laws of Comparative Philology.'[29] This is a position which was first expressed about English texts by Kemble, an early advocate of comparative philology in England, who claimed that 'a modern edition, made by a person really conversant with the language which he illustrates, will in all probability be much more like the original than the MS. copy, which, even in the earliest times, was made by an ignorant or indolent transcriber.'[30]

Bradshaw, Sweet and Kemble's views on the relative authority of the editor and the scribe were, therefore, the antithesis of Morris' belief that editors should not 'be wise above what is written in our texts' and are safer 'to believe themselves ignorant than to suppose that the MS. is wrong' (see above). Sweet argued that theories that privileged the scribe were the outcome of a 'form of charlatantry' which he terms 'the *mechanical* view of language' and characterises as 'insidious and dangerous, veiling itself under the disguise of conscientiousness and accuracy.' As far as editorial practice is concerned, 'mechanical philology assumes the form of a slavish and undeviating adherence to MS. readings.' The mechanical editor 'resents' the 'scientific' philologist's attempt to restore the original text 'as high treason to the scribe, who, he argues, must understand what he was writing better than any modern editor.'[31]

It is difficult not to concur with Brewer's argument that in his criticisms of the mechanical school of editing, Sweet was referring to the work of Furnivall[32] and, by extension, to that of Morris and EETS' other editors. Yet Sweet also made statements that suggest he did see value in editions which simply reproduced manuscript evidence. Before arguing that the scribe's written letters are, for the 'scientific philologist,' only a means to the end of recovering the original text, he remarks that 'We now assume, and rightly, that the first business of an editor is to lay the evidence of the MSS. themselves before the reader in an accurate and unadulterated form.' Then, after advocating editing that performs a 'genuine critical reconstruction' of the text, he says that 'There is, of course, no reason why we should not at the same time keep up our present

---

[28] Brewer, p. 87, quoting a letter from Bradshaw to Furnivall, CUL Add. 2591: 384a.

[29] Henry Sweet, "Seventh Annual Address of the President, to the Philological Society, Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, Friday, the 17th of May, 1878," *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1877-9): 413-14.

[30] Kemble, p. xxiv. For an account of the introduction and controversial progress of comparative philology in England in the 1830s and 1840s, see Hans Aarsleff, *The Study of Language in England, 1780-1860*, 2nd ed., (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; London: Athlone Press, 1983) 162-210.

[31] Sweet, *Seventh Annual Address*, pp. 412-13.

[32] Brewer, p. 79.

method, from which, indeed, foreign scholars still have much to learn.'[33] In his address to the Philological Society the previous year, 1877, Sweet stated:

> The two best features of our editing are minute accuracy and fullness of material. Hence our parallel-text editions, of which the Six-text Canterbury Tales, published by the Chaucer Society, is a noble example.... The Germans are also beginning to see the advantage of a plan which makes the reader independent of possible editorial vagaries, besides supplying inexhaustible material for special investigations of every kind.[34]

These comments are in complete accord with the two ideas which inform EETS' fragmentary editorial policy, that editions should present readers with the evidence of the manuscripts in order that they may judge it for themselves, and that such editions are required to facilitate further research. In the context of this support, the robustness of Sweet's criticism of 'mechanical' editing is difficult to understand. However, two factors may help us interpret his ambivalent position. The first is his despair at the quality of many EETS publications. As discussed in Chapter Two, Sweet quoted at length Zupitza's criticisms of EETS editions as the flawed productions of either editorial haste or dilettante ignorance of the language. The following passage suggests that scorn of hastiness and ignorance lies, at least in part, behind Sweet's attack:

> The real explanation of this mechanical fanaticism is, that it is often a mere excuse for laziness. Whatever may be said of the worthlessness of the results of modern philology, it cannot be denied that their application to a special language postulates an enormous amount of hard labour and patient training, and any amount of critical sagacity. But the mechanical philologist escapes all this. I have seen Old English text-editions which postulated literally no training beyond the power of transcribing the Old English letters into ordinary ones.[35]

The second factor is Sweet's frustration about the Middle English publishing industry which—or so he perceives—excludes 'scientific' critical editions from its presses:

> There is really no reason why we Englishmen should confine ourselves to the mechanical reproduction of MSS., or, still worse, to the construction of texts on radically false principles, and leave the interesting and important work of genuine critical reconstruction entirely to our German brethren.[36]

Sweet's final position seems to be that scholarship has a place and a need for both 'mechanical' and critical editions. The editorial policy which an individual editor should adopt is governed by the purpose of his edition:

> How far [the findings of comparative philology] should be utilized in printing texts, depends entirely on the character and object of the text. It is evident that there is wide difference between an editio princeps, whose main business is to make the unaltered MS. evidence generally accessible, and a reading-book for beginners, which is intended to familiarize the student with the *language itself*, as reconstructed by the processes mentioned above, not with the details of the MS. tradition of each text, which would give the beginner an entirely false and inadequate idea of the actual language. Hence the editor of such a book is not only justified in utilizing, but is bound to utilize all the

---

[33] Sweet, *Seventh Annual Address*, pp. 413, 417.

[34] Henry Sweet, "Sixth Annual Address of the President to the Philological Society, Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, Friday, the 18th of May, 1877," *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1877-9): 10.

[35] Sweet, *Seventh Annual Address*, pp. 415-16.

[36] Ibid., p. 417.

> certain results of scientific investigation, and if the MS. spellings require supplementing... or alteration... he is equally bound to supplement and alter accordingly.[37]

Decrying the 'almost universal ignorance of the principles of text-criticism' amongst the English, Sweet then urges would-be editors to read a paper by Henry Nicol that describes the method by which Gaston Paris edited *Vie de St. Alexis*. Nicol is an advocate of Paris' method (recension, although Nicol does not use this term). However, he is at pains to point out this does not 'imply that no text is of value which is not edited in this way... accurate copies of several good MSS. are always most valuable, and while our knowledge is small, we should try to explain what we do not understand, rather than rashly attempt to correct it.' Rather, Nicol would have editions constructed with Paris' method replace 'ordinary critical editions,' whose method, even in the best example of the kind (that which 'selects the apparently best MSS., and from these selects the apparently best readings'), is 'fundamentally unscientific,' giving 'credence to the witnesses solely according to the apparent probability of their statements, without first examining the sources of their information.'[38] However, Nicol argues that it is wrong for such editions to be the only published form of a work. His reasoning is worth quoting in full because it provides the only contemporary discussion I have found of the editor's influence over readers, and gives an explanation for the assumption that if readers are to be able to form their own judgements, the manuscript evidence must be presented in an unadulterated form:

> In this country, a healthy reaction against careless and doctored texts makes us apt to think that in publishing a faithful transcript of the best MS. or MSS. of a work, we do wonders; on the Continent, the importance of having such a transcript seems to me often much underrated.... M. Paris may... reply that he has always scrupulously given in his notes the words and spellings of the best MS... but this is not enough for the critical philologist. Instead of having first a true copy of the document which is the most important part of the evidence, and then having what the editor believes—in the main, no doubt, on sufficient grounds—to have been its original form, we are always first prejudiced (I use the word in its etymological sense) by the editor's opinion. The result is that we are liable to accept without debate edited readings which appear good in themselves, or the reasons for which appear good; whereas if we were first allowed to think for ourselves, and draw our own conclusions, these might occasionally differ considerably, even after weighing M. Paris's opinion, and from those which his present mode of publishing the text induces us to form.[39]

In a variation of the point made later by Sweet (above), Nicol ultimately argues that the editorial policy which an individual editor should adopt is governed by both the edition's intended audience and—most interestingly, for this factor will in Chapters Six and Seven be seen to influence EETS' editorial practice, even though it is not mentioned in any statement of editorial policy—on the type of work being edited:

> [W]hen a work is a mere literal translation, whose interest is therefore purely linguistic, to publish a critical text appears to me useless; and very harmful, if by so doing an accurate print of the best, perhaps the only, MS. is excluded. There is no reason for making the text easy to general readers, for if they want to know its contents, they will get them much better from its original; and to the linguistic student the really valuable part of a critical edition, as such, is not the alterations in the

---

[37] Ibid., p. 415.

[38] Nicol, pp. 334-5. As Brewer points out (p. 82), Nicol regards Skeat's editorial work as unscientific, expressing the hope that Skeat will 'give a genealogical table of the forty or fifty known MSS.' of *Piers Plowman*, for with such a classification Skeat will be able to 'test the truth of the proposition that he apparently assumes, that if two or three of the best MSS. give a reading good in itself, we may, without consulting the others, infer it to be the author's' (pp. 339-40).

[39] Nicol, pp. 343-4.

> text, but the editor's reasons for making them. If an error and its correction are obvious, any one who has studied the language philologically may be trusted to discover them; if they are not, he requires the point to be discussed; and in any case he wants, or ought to want, to have at least the best MS. put before him as well as is practicable with types.[40] But it is otherwise with a work of literary or historical interest, and so it is if our edition is intended for beginners in the language. The general reader wants the author's words in a complete and consistent orthography, so that he may get at the meaning without being distracted by extraneous difficulties; even if the language interests him, he is not usually qualified to correct unaided the imperfections from which MSS. are never free. And to a learner not tolerably well grounded in the language, inconsistent and inefficient orthography, and still more the mixture of forms of different ages and dialects, not to speak of pure mistakes, are a great hindrance; his half formed associations between letters, sounds, and meanings, instead of being confirmed, are confused.[41]

It would seem, then, that in the nineteenth century there was a consensus that the type of edition published by EETS had an important role in the developing discipline of Middle English studies, even if there were concerns about the quality of EETS' execution of such editions.[42] In all, I could find the statements of only two individuals who did not accept the notion that the unemended presentation of manuscript evidence was necessary to facilitate further research. One is Bradshaw who, as was discussed above, informed Furnivall that 'until some of you [i.e. EETS' editors] begin to *edit* books there is no chance for any of us learning anything.'[43] The other is Richard Weymouth, who produced a critical edition of Grosseteste's *Castle of Love* for the Philological Society in which he stated 'as to all cases of doubtful usage, to attempt emendation is just the most effectual way of claiming for them the careful consideration of those English scholars who think their native language as well worth study as those of Greece and Rome.'[44]

---

[40] For the purposes of serious research, Nicol believes that no printed texts can be adequate: 'to the thorough investigator, photographs, such as the Palæographical Society publishes, are the only efficient substitute for the MS. itself. Not that these enable us to dispense with the MS.; but they give us the letters made by the scribe, not the modern copyist's versions of them, which are never of the same shape, and are often, as with *n* and *u* in many MSS., based solely on his opinion' (p. 344).

[41] Nicol, pp. 344-5.

[42] Even the otherwise uncompromising Kemble had considered presentation of the manuscript evidence to be valuable. He printed the text of *Beowulf* 'letter for letter' from the manuscript with his corrections at the foot of each page, explaining 'while he makes the necessary corrections, no man is justified in withholding the original readings: for although the laws of a language, ascertained by wide and careful examination of all the cognate tongues, of the hidden springs and ground-principles upon which they rest in common, are like the laws of the Medes and Persians and alter not, yet the very errors of the old writer are valuable, and serve sometimes as guides and clues to the inner being and spiritual tendencies of the language itself. The reader will moreover be spared that, to some people, heart-burning necessity of taking his editor's qualifications too much for granted, if side by side he is allowed to judge of the traditional error, and the proposed correction' (pp. xxiv-xxv).

[43] CUL Add. 2591: 384a, cited Brewer, p. 87.

[44] Richard Francis Weymouth, ed., *Castel off Loue (Chasteau D'Amour or Carmen de Creatione Mundi): An Early English Translation of an Old French Poem by Robert Grosseteste Bishop of Lincoln* (London: Asher & Co., 1864) iii. In addition to the edition's paratext, information on the way in which Weymouth established his text may be found in Richard Francis Weymouth, "Bishop Grosseteste's 'Castle of Love'," *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1862-3): 48-66.

Part Two

Preface: Editorial Practice in EETS editions

As was seen in Chapter Two, direct evidence about EETS' editorial policies is at best fragmentary, to be found in isolated statements made in various publications by several individuals involved in the Society. There is, however, a very rich source of indirect evidence about EETS' editorial policies: the editorial product itself. From a close examination of the editorial practices by which individual publications were produced, it is possible to infer much about the intentions and theoretical assumptions which lie behind them. The remaining chapters of this thesis are devoted to just such an examination of the editions of Middle English texts produced by EETS in the nineteenth century. This examination is divided into two parts. The first is a collection of nine detailed studies of different EETS editions, analysing the methods by which their texts were established (i.e. the treatment of the text of the base manuscript of each edition, and the use made of any additional witnesses to the text), and the presentation or otherwise of their manuscripts' formal detail (i.e. details such as foliation, rubrication and marks of contraction). The analysis contained in these nine studies is based primarily on the evidence I gathered by comparing in minute detail sample extracts of the printed text and associated paratext of each edition with the manuscript evidence originally available to the editor. In the case of the first three studies (which make up Chapter Four), I have documented this evidence in full, including lists of all the accidental differences among the manuscripts in the passages of text under examination, in order that my method may be comprehensively tested. Owing to constrictions of space, however, in the remaining studies my record of manuscript evidence is more selective. Less detailed descriptions of general paratextual elements of these editions, such as the introduction, glossary and explanatory notes, are also included in the studies; this is left comparatively brief, because the chief purpose of my research is the investigation of matters concerning the text. While I have tried to be as consistent in my approach as possible, the different circumstances behind individual editions meant that in order to assess each one on its own merits, some variation in my working methods was required. More full descriptions of my working methods may therefore be found within the studies themselves.

A number of factors were involved in the selection of the nine editions that are the subject of the detailed studies. An initial constraint was the availability of manuscripts: for reasons of time and money, I eliminated from consideration editions of texts whose manuscripts are not located in Oxford, London or Cambridge, or of which no facsimile has been published. From the remaining texts, I endeavoured to make a selection representative of the broad range both of EETS' editorial personnel and the philological and textual challenges that they faced. I have therefore included in my selection examples of texts from each of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; examples of texts written in prose, alliterative verse and syllabic verse; and examples of texts found in only a single witness, a small number of witnesses (i.e. two or three), and numerous witnesses. I felt it was essential to include examples of the work of the three most prolific and influential of EETS' nineteenth-century editors, Furnivall, Morris and Skeat (see Chapter Seven for an account of their importance to the nature of EETS' editorial output as a

whole). In addition, I selected a number of texts from among those produced by EETS' less well-known English editors and by the small but significant group of German editors who became involved in the Society in the 1880s and 1890s (as will be seen in Chapter Seven, the specialised training in philology and textual criticism available in German universities meant that their editorial practices include common characteristics which were distinct from those of EETS' other editors).[1]

The nine detailed studies are divided into three sets of three, with each set presented in an individual chapter (Chapters Four, Five and Six). The editions grouped in each chapter are derived from similar textual materials, in order to enable a meaningful comparison of their editors' various editorial practices. Thus Chapter Four contains studies of editions of three prose texts belonging to the so-called Katherine Group, a group of related texts apparently written in a similar dialect during the opening quarter of the thirteenth century, and found together in the same three thirteenth-century manuscripts. Chapter Five contains studies of three editions of texts belonging to the 'Alliterative Revival' of the fourteenth century which share formal features that may be used by editors in establishing the text (i.e. alliteration, metre and the use of rhetorical formulae) and which are extant in only a single witness, posing for editors the task of assessing the value of, and subsequently treating, that witness as the basis of an edition in the absence of other textual evidence. Chapter Six contains studies of three editions of texts in syllabic verse which, because they were attributed by their editors to Lydgate, provide a means of examining the ways EETS editors conceived the task of presenting in print works written by a known, literary author, and for which numerous witnesses survive.

This means of selecting and organising my material is designed to highlight the methodological differences which may be found in the work of EETS' editors, and the nine studies together stand as an illustration of the range of editorial approaches they employed in the nineteenth century. However, the studies also make apparent a number of characteristic editorial practices common to some or many of the inspected editions, both within and across chapter groupings. The second part of my examination of EETS' editions of Middle English texts, presented in Chapter Seven, assesses the significance of these common practices as traits which help to define the nature of the Society's nineteenth-century editorial output as a whole (and as such, this chapter acts as a conclusion to Chapters Four-Six). Attention is paid to changes which occur in the nature of the collection of publications over time, and the particular contribution made by Furnivall, Morris and Skeat as individuals, and the Society's German editors as a group. The analysis in this chapter is based primarily on the evidence I gathered from a survey of the text and paratext, made without recourse to the manuscripts, of the ninety-eight editions which contain Middle English texts. (For details of the nature of this survey—which was, in terms of the time spent examining individual editions, cursory in comparison with the nine detailed studies—and the editions

[1] The German editors who produced editions in the collection are Adam, Bülbring, Deïmling, Einenkel, Hausknecht, Holthausen, Horstmann, Kölbing, Schick and Zupitza; see Appendix One for the details of their editions. For an account of the central place of philology in German universities and the seminar system through which training in it was delivered, see Hans Aarsleff, *The Study of Language in England, 1780-1860*, 2nd ed., (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; London: Athlone Press, 1983) 179-81.

included within it, see Chapter Seven.) This chapter also assesses the extent to which the evidence about common editorial practices corresponds with the fragmentary evidence about editorial policy presented in Chapter Three.

Throughout my discussion of the nine editions selected for detailed examination, I continually distinguish between the 'accidental' and 'substantive' readings. Although these terms are well established in the vocabulary of textual criticism, the categories they represent are so fundamental to my analysis of EETS' editorial work that some definition of them seems required. The words were first clearly deployed as technical terms by W. W. Greg in 1950:

> [W]e need to draw a distinction between significant, or as I shall call them 'substantive', readings of the text, those namely that affect the author's meaning or the essence of his expression, and others, such in general as spelling, punctuation, word-division, and the like, affecting mainly its formal presentation, which may be regarded as the accidents, or as I shall call them 'accidentals', of the text. The distinction is not arbitrary or theoretical, but has an immediate bearing on textual criticism, for scribes (or compositors) may in general be expected to react, and experience shows that they generally do react, differently to the two categories.[2]

While Greg's formulation belongs to twentieth-century textual criticism, the concept that lies behind it—that of making a distinction between features of a text which may be regarded as formal or surface elements and those which carry its meaning—was not unfamiliar to critics a century earlier: it is implicit, for instance, in Sweet's claim that scribes represent inaccurately both 'the original text and the actual forms of the language' (see Chapter Three). In the debate which followed Greg's essay, however, the theoretical distinction between substantive and accidental readings has often been contested or dismissed as untenable. Yet Greg did not himself claim to have distinguished two strict, mutually exclusive categories of readings applicable to all texts, but instead acknowledged that 'between substantive readings and spellings there is an intermediate class of word-forms about the assignment of which opinions may differ and which may have to be treated differently in dealing with the work of different scribes.'[3] Greg saw his distinction as 'practical, not philosophic,' and it is in this manner that I apply the categories as they are defined by him to the work of EETS' editors: they provide a set of working criteria which facilitates my analysis of the various texts of EETS editions, the discussion of which is extensive enough to allow for the individual treatment of readings that do not clearly fall within one category or the other.[4]

---

[2] W. W. Greg, 'The Rationale of Copy-Text,' *Studies in Bibliography* 3 (1950-1): 21

[3] ibid. p. 21n.

[4] Note that my acceptance of the validity of the work presented by Greg in 'The Rationale of the Copy-Text' is limited to the practical distinction he makes between 'accidental' and 'substantive' readings, and does not reflect any particular view on the theory of copy-text he draws from it.

Chapter Four: The Katherine Group of texts in EETS editions

The texts of the so-called Katherine Group, a group of related texts apparently written in a similar dialect during the opening quarter of the thirteenth century, are found in three manuscripts: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 34 (given the siglum B), and London, British Library, MSS. Royal 17 A. xxvii (R) and Cotton Titus D. xviii (T).[1] Three EETS editors produced texts from the Katherine Group in the nineteenth century, allowing a comparative examination of their methods of editing works with very similar textual material. The editions examined are Morris' *Sawles Warde*, printed on pp. 245-267 of an anthology of homiletic works, OS 29 (1868); Cockayne's *Seinte Marherete: The Meiden ant Martyr*, OS 13 (1866), and Einenkel's *Life of Saint Katherine*, OS 80 (1884).[2]

Saint Katherine (hereafter referred to as K) and *Sawles Warde* (SW) are found in all three of the manuscripts.[3] It seems generally accepted now that both texts follow the same pattern of manuscript-relationships, described most concisely by E. J. Dobson:

> None of [B, R and T] is the source, direct or indirect, of either of the others, for each contains frequent errors which the other two avoid. But in both works B and R often share errors, or have related erroneous readings, which are not in T; B and R therefore must have a common proximate ancestor *a* of which T is independent. Again in both works, all three extant manuscripts at a number of points have identical (or only slightly varied) erroneous readings which must descend from their archetype X; and as the errors are not such as might be explained as an author's slips of the pen, it follows that in neither work is X to be identified with the author's holograph.... Such a stemma does not of course imply that any manuscript [described by] it is a direct copy of its proximate ancestor.[4]

Dobson goes on to discuss the evidence for this classification of the manuscripts in detail, a discussion which he expands on in his and d'Ardenne's edition of K; the same conclusions are reached in R. M. Wilson's edition of SW.[5] The details of the manuscript relationships presented by Wilson and Dobson will not be discussed here except insofar as they are relevant to the editorial practice of Morris and Einenkel, but acceptance of Dobson and Wilson's findings, at least in general terms, is implicit in this

---

[1] A facsimile and description of B may be found in N. R. Ker, ed., *Facsimile of MS. Bodley 34*, EETS OS 247 (London: Oxford University Press, 1960). Another, more detailed description of B is included in a diplomatic edition of B, S. T. R. O. d'Ardenne, ed., *The Katherine Group: Edited from MS. Bodley 34* (Paris: Société d'Edition «Les Belles Lettres», 1977) 1-15. For descriptions of all three MSS., see d'Ardenne and E. J. Dobson, eds., *Seinte Katerine: Re-Edited from MS Bodley 34 and the Other Manuscripts*, EETS SS 7 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981) xliii-liii.

[2] Cockayne produced editions of two other Katherine Group texts, *Hali Meidenhad*, OS 18 (found in two of the MSS., B (ff. 52^{r}-72^{r}) and T (ff. 112^{v}-127^{r})) and *Þe Liflade of St. Juliana*, OS 51 (also found in two MSS., B (ff. 32^{v}-56^{r}), R (ff. 56^{r}-70^{r})), but restrictions of time and the length of this thesis meant that only one of Cockayne's editions could be examined.

[3] K is written in B on ff. 1^{r}-18^{r}, R ff. 11^{r}-37^{r}, T ff. 133^{v}-47^{v}; SW in B on ff. 72^{r}-80^{v}, R ff. 1^{r}-10^{v}, T ff. 133^{v}-47^{r}. The text of K is imperfect in B, missing ll. 878-1255 of Einenkel's text. The text of SW is also imperfect in B, missing from p. 265, l. 23 to the end of Morris' text.

[4] E. J. Dobson, "The Textual Tradition of *Ste Katerine* and *Sawles Warde*," *The Origins of Ancrene Wisse* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976) 421.

[5] D'Ardenne and Dobson, *Seinte Katerine*, pp. xl-xliii and R. M. Wilson, ed., *Sawles Warde: An Early Middle English Homily* (Leeds: School of English Language in the University of Leeds, 1938) xxxii-xxxiii. Wilson, while presenting evidence which suggests that the common ancestor of the three extant texts was not the author's autograph copy, is not prepared, as Dobson would be, to argue that this evidence is definitive.

study. *Saint Margaret* (M) is found in MSS. B and R,[6] the texts of which are considered by Frances M. Mack to be descended independently of each other from a manuscript that was either the author's text or a copy of it; one or more intermediary copies stand between each of B and R and their common ancestor. However, this simple textual situation is complicated by the fact that B has been corrected as far as f. 21^{r} by a reviser whose text 'stands in close relationship to R., since in nearly all cases the correction brings the text of B. into agreement with R., even where... it is probable that B. preserves the original reading.'[7]

B, R and T are linguistically very similar, but there are some minor differences of phonology and accidence which characterise each manuscript. It is generally agreed in this regard that T is more distant from B than is R.[8] Details of the phonological and accidental differences among the manuscripts will be discussed where this is relevant to the editors' editorial practice.

Sawles Warde

SW is one text in an anthology edited by Morris entitled *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises,* which contains 'a bundle of fragments and smaller treatises arranged in the order in which the editor was fortunate enough to meet with them' (p. v).[9] The chief of these is a collection of twelfth-century sermons from Lambeth Palace Library MS. 487, to whose language Morris devotes a characteristic forty-two page 'Grammatical Introduction' (pp. xvii-lviii). On the text of SW, however, Morris makes little comment, remarking only that of the three manuscripts in which it is found 'the Bodleian version is certainly the oldest, though slightly imperfect, and is here for the first time printed, the missing portions being supplied from the Royal MS. 17 A 27' (p. ix). Morris' only other relevant comment on the manuscripts is made in a brief note on the *Wohunge of Ure Laverd,* whose text in T, he says, 'abounds in dialectical peculiarities, which are altogether foreign to the compositions' in B and R (p. x). Of his editorial method, Morris reveals only that

---

[6] M is written in B on ff. 18^{r}-36^{v} and in R on ff. 37^{r}-56^{r}.

[7] Frances M. Mack, ed., *Seinte Marherete Þe Meiden ant Martyr,* EETS OS 193 (London: Oxford University Press, 1934) xv; for the detail of her discussion of the manuscript relationships, see pp. xiv-xix.

[8] For a description of the phonology and accidence of the individual MSS. of SW, see Wilson, pp. 81-103; for M, see Mack, pp. xxxv-lxxx; and (less accessibly, in terms of the individual manuscripts) for K, see H. M. Logan, *The Dialect of the Life of Saint Katherine: A Linguistic Study of the Phonology and Inflections* (The Hague: Mouton, 1973); for a discussion of the dialect, see Jeremy J. Smith, "Tradition and Innovation in South-West-Midland Middle English," *Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts: Essays Celebrating the Publication of A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English,* ed. Felicity Riddy (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991) 53-65.

[9] The full contents of OS 29 are as follows (note that the texts are printed on odd-numbered pages only; a modern English translation of every text is presented on the even-numbered pages facing the text): Sermon collection, s. xii ex. (IPMEP 556), pp. 3-159; 'Poema Morale' (IMEV 1272), pp. 159-183; *On Wel Swuþe God Ureisun of God Almichti* ("On Ureisun of Ure Loverde"), mystical prayer to Christ, s. xiii in. (IPMEP 419), pp. 183-89; *On god ureison of ure lefdi* (IMEV 631), pp. 191-199; *Oreisun of Seinte Marie* ("On Lofsong of Ure Lefdi"), mystical prayer to the Virgin, s. xiii in. [from MS. Lambeth 487, a version from MS Cotton Nero A. xiv printed pp. 200-203] (IPMEP 617), pp. 205-207; "On Lofsong of Ure Loverde," mystical prayer to Christ, s. xiii in. (IPMEP 416), pp. 209-17; "Apostles' Creed" (IPMEP 316), p. 217; Sermons (4), s. xiii in. (IPMEP 519), pp. 217-45; *SW* (IPMEP 594), pp. 245-67; *Wohunge of Ure Laverd,* mystical prayer to Christ, s. xiii in. (IPMEP 420), pp. 269-87. The titles of the texts are given here as found in the IPMEP and IMEV, and not necessarily those given by Morris. References to SW are made by page/line.

> For the accuracy of the text [of B] I have relied upon the fidelity of the transcript and collations furnished me by Mr. G. Parker, Rose Hill, Oxford. The marginal readings are from Royal MS. 17 A 27; and in the notes will be found some collations from Cotton MS. Titus D 18.[10]

As the margins of the pages of text also contain a Modern English paraphrase of the text, there is only room for the collated readings of one manuscript (see Figure One below). Morris' decision to present R with the text and T in the endnotes (and to supply the text of R where B is imperfect) could be seen to imply that he understood that B and R derive from a common source. However, there is also some evidence that the endnotes were written after the text had been sent to print, and the collation of T may have been delayed until then.[11] More significantly, the examination of the edition's textual notes and translation of the text presented below shows that, while Morris was aware that R and T give certain individual readings which are preferable to those found in B, his occasional failure to perceive the value of evidence provided by R and T suggests he had not undertaken a systematic, critical comparison of all three manuscripts' texts. It should also be noted that Morris was unaware of the Latin source of SW, the dialogue 'De Custodia Interioris Hominis' attributed to St. Anselm, which has proved useful to later editors in establishing the text.[12]

The first task of this examination of Morris' editorial work is, however, to describe the text of his edition, for which he took B as his base. Morris gives no explanation for his choice of base text other than to comment that it is the 'oldest' (see above). Given that there were two important disincentives for choosing B—its text is imperfect, and Morris would have to rely on Parker's transcription—it seems likely that by 'oldest' he means 'with the text closest to the original,' rather than simply referring to the palaeographic evidence for the manuscripts' dates. (Later in his Preface, Morris records his perception that B's version of another Katherine Group text, *Hali Meidenhad*, is 'better' than that of T, although of course it does not necessarily follow that such is the case for SW.)[13] The edition presents its text as a straightforward attempt to document B in print, using various conventions to represent the formal features of the manuscript in some detail, while making only a minimal number of accidental corrections to the text. A comparison with the manuscript shows that the editorial conventions used to present the text provide a fair, if not entirely full, account of the editor's treatment of the manuscript evidence; the

---

[10] OS 29, p. ix n. It is almost certain that Parker's role was restricted to work on B and that Morris worked on R and T. In EETS editions, the word 'collation' is typically used to refer both to the proof-reading of printed proof-sheets against their manuscript copy-text (as in the first occurrence of 'collations' in the passage), as well as the collection and presentation of variant readings of other manuscripts. For a brief account of Parker's career, see Chapter Two.

[11] As discussed in Chapter Two, it was customary for elements of an edition's paratext such as the endnotes, introduction and glossary to be written after the text had been sent to the printer. The endnotes to 254/6, 254/6-7 and 264/1 are corrections of the translation printed facing the text; as the facing translation must have been set on the same plates (and so probably at the same time) as the text, this suggests that the endnotes were composed after the text was sent to print.

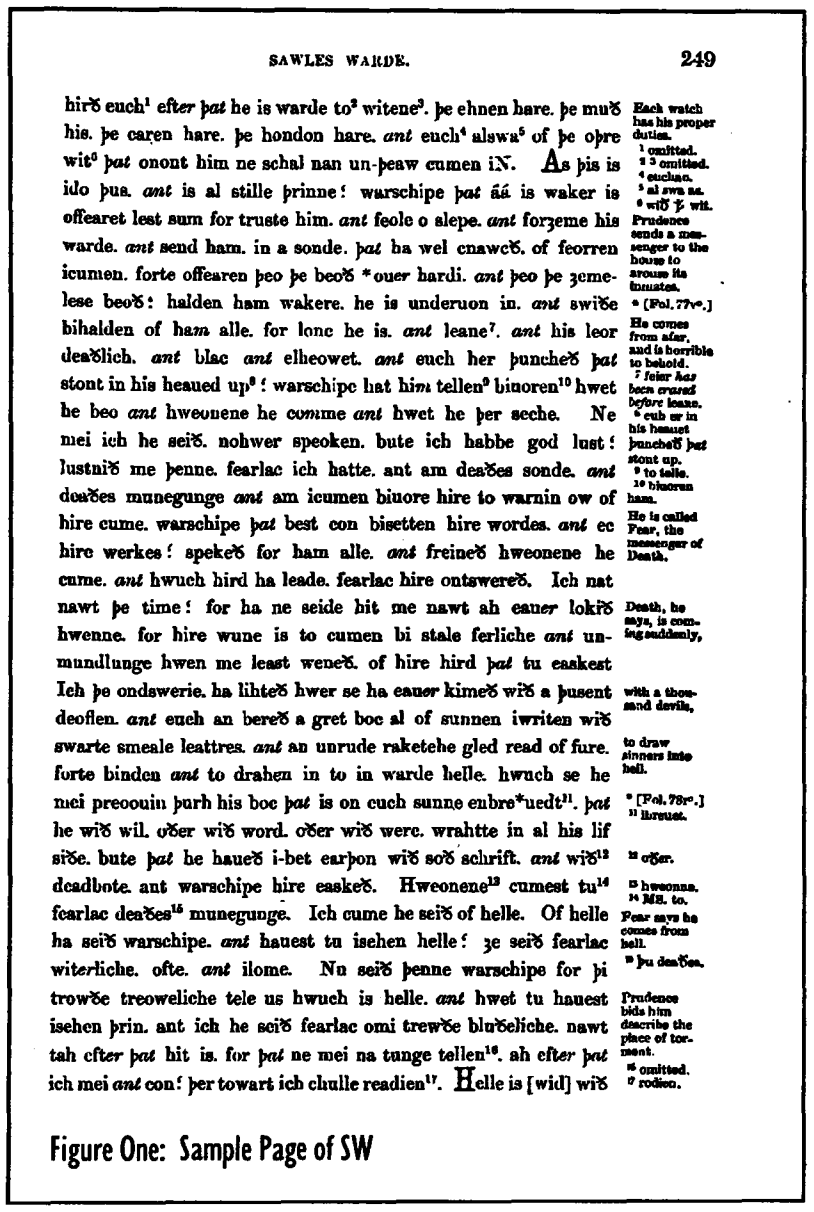
[12] R. W. Southern and F. S. Schmitt, eds., *Memorials of St. Anselm* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969) 354-60. This text had previously been published as chapters xiii, xiv and xv the of 'De Anima' attributed to Hugh of St Victor in Jacques Paul Migne, ed., *Patrologiae Cursus Completus... Series Latina*, vol. 177, 221 vols. (Paris: 1844-65), col. 185A-188D, misleading Wilson as to the true identity of the Latin text, which he prints in parallel with the texts of the three SW MSS., pp. 3-42.

[13] OS 29, p. ix n. Morris refers the reader to Cockayne's edition of *Hali Meidenhad*, OS 18, which is based on T, with collated readings from B.

unreported differences between Morris' text and the text of B are more likely to have been suppressed by inaccuracy than by design.

Presentation of manuscript detail

A significant amount of the manuscript's formal detail is represented or recorded in the edition's text and paratext. The text is printed in a roman fount of the modern English alphabet, with the addition of the MS. characters þ, ð and ȝ. MS. wynn, however, is represented by the letter *w*; the latter never itself appears in the MS. The hair-line stroke over the letter *a* in the manuscript, used inconsistently by the scribe to distinguish the word 'ever' from the definite article, is represented by the character á. Abbreviations in the MS. are expanded in italics. The crossed, seven-shaped sign representing 'and' is always expanded as '*ant*,' in accordance with MS. practice (see several examples f. 77ᵛ). The crossed thorn abbreviation is expanded '*þat*,' contrary to the attested manuscript form in SW, 'þet' (e.g. f. 77ʳ). The abbreviation qð is expanded '*quoð*'.[14] The printed punctuation follows that of the MS., with the *punctus elevatus* represented by a semicolon rotated through 180 degrees. The red initials which divide the text in the MS. into sections are represented in print by large capitals which extend upward through the leading to line above. The text is printed as prose and the edition follows its own natural line and page breaks but, while the lineation of the manuscript is not recorded, the foliation is noted in the margin of the page, an asterisk marking the point in the text where a new folio begins.[15]



SAWLES WARDE. 249

hirð euch[1] efter þat he is warde to[2] witene[3]. þe ehnen hare. þe muð his. þe caren hare. þe hondon hare. *ant* euch[4] alswa[5] of þe oþre wit[6] þat onont him ne schal nan un-þeaw cumen in. As þis is ido þus. *ant* is al stille þrinne: warschipe þat áá is waker is offearet lest sum for truste him. *ant* feole o slepe. *ant* forȝeme his warde. *ant* send ham. in a sonde. þat ha wel cnawcð. of feorren icumen. forte offearen þeo þe beoð *ouer hardi. *ant* þeo þe ȝemelese beoð: halden ham wakere. he is underuon in. *ant* swiðe bihalden of ham alle. for lonc he is. *ant* leane[7]. *ant* his leor deaðlich. *ant* blac *ant* elheowet. *ant* euch her þuncheð þat stont in his heaued up[9]: warschipe hat him tellen[9] binoren[10] hwet he beo *ant* hweonene he comme *ant* hwet he þer seche. Ne mei ich he seið. nohwer speoken. bute ich habbe god lust: lustnið me þenne. fearlac ich hatte. ant am deaðes sonde. *ant* deaðes munegunge *ant* am icumen binore hire to warnin ow of hire cume. warschipe þat best con bisetten hire wordes. *ant* ec hire werkes: speke ð for ham alle. *ant* freineð hweonene he cume. *ant* hwuch hird ha leade. fearlac hire ontswereð. Ich nat nawt þe time: for ha ne seide hit me nawt ah eauer lokið hwenne. for hire wune is to cumen bi stale ferliche *ant* unmundlunge hwen me least weneð. of hire hird þat tu easkest Ich þe ondswerie. ha lihteð hwer se ha eauer kimeð wið a þusent deoflen. *ant* euch an bereð a gret boc al of sunnen iwriten wið swarte smeale leattres. *ant* an unrude raketehe gled read of fure. forte binden *ant* to drahen in to in warde helle. hwuch se he mei preoouin þurh his boc þat is on euch sunne enbre*uedt[11]. þat he wið wil. oðer wið word. oðer wið werc. wrahtte in al his lif siðe. bute þat he haueð i-bet earþon wið soð schrift. *ant* wið[12] deadbote. ant warschipe hire easkeð. Hweonene[13] cumest tu[14] fearlac deaðes[15] munegunge. Ich cume he seið of helle. Of helle ha seið warschipe. *ant* hauest tu isehen helle: ȝe seið fearlac witerliche. ofte. *ant* ilome. Nu seið þenne warschipe for þi trowðe treoweliche tele us hwuch is helle. *ant* hwet tu hauest isehen þrin. ant ich he seið fearlac omi trewðe bluðeliche. nawt tah efter þat hit is. for þat ne mei na tunge tellen[16]. ah efter þat ich mei *ant* con: þer towart ich chulle readien[17]. Helle is [wid] wið

Each watch has his proper duties.
[1] omitted. [2] [3] omitted. [4] euchan. [5] al swa as. [6] wið ȝ wit.
Prudence sends a messenger to the house to arouse its inmates.
* [Fol. 77ᵛᵒ.]
He comes from afar, and is horrible to behold.
[7] feier *Has been erased before* leane.
[9] cuh ur in his heauet þuncheð þat stont up. [9] to telle. [10] binoren ham.
He is called Fear, the messenger of Death.
Death, he says, is coming suddenly,
with a thousand devils,
to draw sinners into hell.
* [Fol. 78ʳᵒ.]
[11] ihreuet.
[12] oðer.
[13] hweonna. [14] MS. to.
Fear says he comes from hell.
[15] þu deaðes.
Prudence bids him describe the place of torment.
[16] omitted. [17] rodien.

Figure One: Sample Page of SW

Morris' use of these conventions to represent the manuscript's formal detail is remarkably consistent: in the ten folio sides of the manuscript

[14] This is in contrast with the practice of d'Ardenne, *Katherine Group,* who, arguing that the correct expansion of qð is 'debatable' (p. x), retains it unexpanded in her text, and refers the reader to the following note in her edition of *Þe Liflade ant te Passiun of Seinte Iuliene,* EETS OS 248 (London: Oxford University Press, 1961): 'In B *quoð* and *qð* appear before a singular subject, principally *he* and *ha*, parenthetically in quotations. The form *cweð* is also frequent in AB especially when not parenthetic or with full sense 'spoke'. The form *quoð* is an abnormal development due to frequent parenthetic use' (p. 84). The text of *Sawles Warde* in B does not contain the form 'cweð' in full, and I have not been able to find an instance of the expanded form 'quoð' either.

[15] The foliation of B made in the seventeenth century is incorrect after f. 39, as it skips the numbers 40, 42, 44 and 46; the correct foliation was subsequently written under the older sequence from f. 40 onward. Morris uses the older sequence, which in *Sawles Warde* is always four ahead of the corrected sequence. As later editors and commentators use the corrected foliation, this discussion converts Morris' foliation to the corrected sequence.

I collated against the printed text (ff. 75^{r}-79^{v}, corresponding to 251/31-263/21, of which more below) I found only four errors. At 253/21, the second 'and' in the line is printed without the use of italics, but is in fact an expansion of a crossed, seven-shaped sign of abbreviation. At 257/14, Morris prints a full stop after 'wurð' that is not present in the MS., and in the line following prints a full stop after 'uuel,' where the scribe wrote a *punctus elevatus*. Finally, at 261/10 'Ich' Morris prints in ordinary type a rubricated initial capital.

Several aspects of the manuscript's formal detail are not recorded by Morris. Word division is altered silently on occasion (e.g. 251/35 'a þusent' for MS. f. 75^{r} 'aþusent'; 253/7 'i seon' for MS. f. 75^{r} 'iseon') and this issue is nowhere mentioned by Morris. The frequent scribal corrections in the MS. are not noted, with the exception of erasures at 249/9 (f. 73^{v}) and 263/8 (f. 79^{v}).[16] The rubricated line-fillers, found at the end of many sections of the text, are not recorded in the text or paratext. This is also the case with a marking on f. 78^{r} described by d'Ardenne as an 'abnormal red paragraph.'[17] Nor are the marginal scribbles on ff. 73^{v}, 74^{v}, 75^{v}—written much later than, and unrelated to, the text of SW—noted in any way.[18]

Treatment of the base text

The text of Morris' edition is a more or less faithful transcription of the text of B, with only minimal editorial intervention in the text, restricted, for the most part, to accidentals. Leaving aside the text of R supplied where B is imperfect owing to the damage to f. 80 and the loss of the following leaf (pp. 263-7), Morris acknowledges altering the text of B on only nine occasions, enclosing words and letters inserted into the text of the MS. in square brackets, and recording the substitution of MS. readings in notes at the side of the text. In every case, Morris' emendation is supported by R and T, although he only records their readings on one occasion (see below). Seven of these are probably straightforward corrections of what Morris regarded as mere scribal blunders. At 245/4 Morris emends 'wernches' to 'wrenches,' in accordance with the form found elsewhere in the MS. (e.g. 255/6), apparently disregarding the possibility that 'wernches' might be a metathesized form of the word. At 247/11 Morris prints 'tre[sor]' for MS. 'tre.' In the manuscript these letters come at the end of a line; it seems that this is an instance of the scribe's common practice of breaking words at turn of line in which he forgot to complete

---

[16] The scribe's corrections, and Morris' interpretation of them, are usually straightforward, but one case is problematic. At 261/13 Morris prints 'alle' for MS. 'alles' in the phrase 'of alle cunnes ledenes.' There is a dot under the s of 'alles' in the manuscript which Morris apparently reads as a mark of expunction (cf. 251/9 'wið alles cunnes pinen,' where there is no mark of expunction in B and Morris prints the manuscript's text without alteration). However, Wilson (p. 30) and Bennett and Smithers (p. 257) disregard the mark without comment, presumably regarding the *s* as a marker of the genitive case; d'Ardenne (*Katherine Group*, p. 181), who incorrectly indicates the mark is located under the *e* of 'alles,' describes it as a 'meaningless deleting dot.'

[17] D'Ardenne, *Katherine Group*, p. 179n.

[18] According to Ker (p. xiii), the scribbles on ff. 73^{v} and 74^{v} are legal tags, written in the mid sixteenth-century and probably pen-trials made in a lawyer's office, and the scribble on 75^{v}, which reads 'ly þow me ner lemmon in þy narmus,' is probably the work of fourteenth-century hand.

the remaining letters.[19] That the word in full should be 'tresor' is made clear by the occurrence of that word two lines later in B (247/12 in the printed text); R and T, whose readings are not recorded by Morris, read 'tresur' and 'tresor' respectively. '[I]ch' for MS. 'ch' (259/2) and 'þe[r]' for MS. 'þe' (259/32) correct similarly obvious accidental omissions by the scribe. In several cases Morris' emendation in fact restores B's reading which, it appears, was misread by Parker in his transcription of the manuscript, and which Morris' consequently takes to be the manuscript's reading. These are 'tu,' correcting Parker's 'to' (249/29); 'remu*n*ge' correcting Parker's 'renninge' (251/19); 'wone' correcting Parker's 'wode' (255/17).

In two cases Morris' intervention in the text, while probably still intended to be no more than the correction of a scribal error, makes a more substantive alteration to B's text. At 247/6 the word transcribed by Parker as 'iþþlen'—added above the line in another hand in the MS., and of which only the final three letters are clearly legible—has been transcribed variously as 'iþþlen' by Hall and Wilson, 'iwelen' by Furuskog and Millett, and 'rw?len' by d'Ardenne and Tolkien.[20] Morris' emendation, 'ifelen' is apparently derived from the readings of R ('felen') and T ('fele'), although he does not record their readings. At 249/36 Morris supplies 'wid' in 'Helle is [wid] wið ute met. *ant* deop wið ute grunde' from T (again not recording its reading) and so allows his text T's neat parallelism, although the text of B (and R, with which it agrees) makes perfect sense. (The Latin source, unbeknownst to Morris, here, as often, confirms T to be correct, reading 'Infernus latus est sine mensura, profundus sine fundo.')[21]

In order to ascertain whether or not Morris disclosed all the changes he made to the text of B, I collated the printed text against ff. 75^{r}-79^{v} inclusive of the manuscript. In this passage I found nine differences between the printed text and B which are not recorded in the notes, all of which are arguably not deliberate changes. Six are clearly errors of transcription. At 259/32, Morris prints *o* for MS. *a* in 'þe[r] o ȝeines'; that this alteration was made in error, rather than by design, is suggested by the fact that at 247/18 Morris prints 'aȝeines' unaltered, in accordance with the MS. On three occasions, MS. *g* is misread as *ȝ*: 261/2 'unwerȝeð' (cf. 265/1 'un werget' in both the printed text and B); 261/11 'biȝoten' (cf. 263/35 'bigotten'); and 255/24 'ȝuldene.' On two occasions, a *d* which has been altered from *t* (or vice-versa) has been misread as *ð*, the top stroke of the *t* presumably mistaken for the cross-stroke of an *ð*: 261/2 'unwerȝeð' (i.e. the same word in which *ȝ* was confused for *g*) and 263/4 'seoueualð.'

---

[19] For an account of the B scribe's 'frequent absent-mindedness and haste,' and other instances when this is manifested at turn of line, see d'Ardenne, *Katherine Group,* pp. 1-2.

[20] Wilson p. 4; S. T. R. O. d'Ardenne and J. R. R. Tolkien, "MS Bodley 34: A Re-collation of a Collation," *Studia Neophilologica* 20 (1947/48): 71; Ragnar Furuskog, "A Collation of the *Katherine Group* (MS Bodley 34)," *Studia Neophilologica* 19 (1946/47): 160; Joseph Hall, ed., *Selections from Early Middle English 1130-1250,* vol. II, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920) 508; Bella Millett and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, eds., *Medieval English Prose for Women: Selections from the Katherine Group and Ancrene Wisse* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990) 86-7.

[21] Wilson, p. 11, ll. 40-41. There is possibly a third such case at 255/8-9, where Morris reports in a marginal note '*from* for *to* nawiht *omitted,*' referring to the phrase 'for al of his strengðe ne drede we nawiht' (which is followed by 'for nis his strengðe'). Presented at the side of the text in the same manner as other collated readings from R, the note suggests that the phrase is missing from R, which is not the case—an unusual error for Morris to make given that he supposedly consulted R himself. Alternatively, he may have left off the sigil 'MS.' which precedes the notes that give the readings of B where the text has been emended; as the phrase is also in B, this assumes an error of homoeoteleuton was made by Morris' scribe Parker.

The remaining three unacknowledged changes to the text of B may be similar errors of transcription, but it is also conceivable that they are silent corrections of the text, made either by Morris or Parker. At 261/2 'ha' is printed for B's 'ha ha,' a superfluous repetition which is, as d'Ardenne comments, 'dittographic... at turn of line.'[22] Morris is likely to have corrected what is a typical scribal error, but the fact that B's reading is not recorded may mean that, for whatever reason, the repetition was not included in Parker's transcript. It is worth noting in this regard that five of the nine cases of unacknowledged change to B's text are to be found on f. 78^{v} (i.e. 259/30-261/14), suggesting that Parker's concentration may have been less than complete during its transcription. At 261/25 Morris prints 'feierlec' where B has 'feierlac' with an *e* written above the *a*; probably the scribe forgot the required mark of expunction, and either Morris or Parker completed the correction on his behalf. The same situation applies at 261/27 where 'smal' is printed for 'smel' with an *a* written over the unexpuncted *e*.

Collation of variants

While the edition's conventions are intended to lead readers to believe themselves precisely aware of the manner in which Morris treated B, no such information is provided about his treatment of the collated manuscripts. Readers may reasonably assume that not every difference between the manuscripts was recorded, but the criteria by which the recorded variants were selected are not explained. However, when R was collated against the same passage as was B above (i.e. pp. 251/31-263/21, in R ff. 4^{r}/4-9^{r}/12), it was immediately evident that the general purpose of Morris' collation is to record the substantive differences between the texts of B and R. Morris records sixty-six differences between the manuscripts, in addition to which I found another 258. Of the differences unrecorded by Morris, twenty-nine may be regarded as substantive variants, and 229 as accidental, whereas of the differences Morris does record, forty-nine are substantive, and seventeen accidental.

Morris, then, records some two-thirds of the substantive variants found in R. Of the forty-nine recorded variants, eight are instances where a word is present in R but not in B,[23] eleven are instances where a word is present in B but not in R,[24] and thirty are instances where B and R give alternative readings.[25]

---

[22] D'Ardenne, *Katherine Group,* p. 180n.

[23] The eight recorded instances where a word is present in R but not B (presented B] R) are: 251/33 oðres earen] oderes earm earen; 253/17 bold of eauer euch bitternesse] bold eauer euch bitternesse is of (with slight change of word order); 253/33 wule] eauer wule; 255/4 sechinde] sechinde in ȝong; 255/13 on] on ont; 255/27 ne] ne of; 257/2 þat] þat ha; 261/10 poure] þat poure weren.

[24] The eleven recorded instances where a word is present in B but not R are: 251/33 te; 253/2 of; 253/2 þe; 253/4 ich^{2}; 253/4 ilke; 253/7 for; 253/24 ȝef; 253/27 ich; 253/30 þe; 257/35 ham; 261/26-7 þe... singen.

[25] The thirty recorded instances of alternative readings (presented B] R) are: 251/34 to] forto; 253/10 þis] wið, edwiteð] etwiteð; 253/19 of] for, rueð] runeð or ruueð, schokeð] sorheð; 253/33 he] ha; 253/36 false] fahe; 255/19 heart] hard; 255/35 ant] to; 257/5 luft] lust; 257/8 to do riht forte demen ant] to don riht ant riht fon ant demen (*given incompletely—R in fact reads* ... ant demen ant); 257/25 ant] þ; 257/32 þat] his; 259/16 is dosc. ant þuncheð aschadewe] þuncheð dosc ant as aschadewe ; 259/18 schawere] schadewe; 259/19 þe] him; 259/23 blisful] wunderful; 259/24 eche] riche; 259/25 ȝet ich iseh etscene] ȝet is eðsene; 259/30 his] ant; 259/31 weoleful] meinful; 259/35 lengre þolien] na mare of hire iþolien; 261/2 ah] ant; 261/8 igret ear] igreiðet; 261/20 seoð] iseoð;

Of the twenty-nine unrecorded variants, four are instances where a word is present in R but not in B,[26] sixteen are instances where a word is present in B but not in R,[27] and nine are instances where B and R give alternative readings.[28] These distinctions are only useful in that they help reveal the criteria used by Morris to decide which substantive variants he did and did not record.

Where the evidence provided by R may be regarded as negative—that is, in the cases where a word present in B is omitted in R—it appears that Morris intended to record every variant up to a point in the text when he decided in general not to record them. Of the eleven instances he does record, nine are found on or before R f. 4^{v}, whose final line corresponds to 253/32—the last such variant recorded being 'þe' at 253/30. Of the sixteen instances he does not record, all but one are found on R f. 5^{r} or later (i.e. 253/33 ff.). The one unrecorded instance from before R f. 5^{r}, 'eni' (251/34, R f. 4^{r}), may have been mistakenly overlooked at a point when Morris otherwise recorded all such examples. Of the two instances recorded after the putative cut-off point, the first, the omission in R of the words 'þe þer beoð. Ah hare song ne mahe nane buten heo singen' (261/26-27), is probably made owing to its exceptional length; the other, 'ham' (257/35) is less explicable.

Where the evidence provided by R may be regarded as positive—that is, where R provides a reading either additional or alternative to that of B—it seems Morris intended his collation to be close to comprehensive throughout the passage examined. It may be possible that he intended to record every instance in which a word is present in R but not in B, and that the four cases where he does not do so are missed in error. R's abbreviated 'ant' before 'demeð' at 255/36 is part of a difficult reading discussed below; its omission from the collation, if not made by simple error, attributes to Morris a remarkable editorial misjudgement. R's doubling of the relative pronoun 'þe' at 259/36 is meaningless and therefore may have been considered a mere scribal slip, unworthy of recording. Less easy to discount is the absence from the collation of R's 'in' before 'godes' at 263/8 and 'te' before 'cnawen' at 263/10, but it may be noted that these unrecorded variants occur within the space of two lines, and so are perhaps the result of a moment's inattention from Morris, similar to the lapse of concentration attributed to the transcriber of B above. In the absence of any other evident rationale, similar circumstances could be adduced to explain away as oversights each of the nine unrecorded instances of R and B giving alternative readings. However, this would be to stretch the point untenably: the most that can be said is

---

261/31 halhen] he walden; 261/32 euch a] euchan to; 263/9 quod he] he seið 263/13 godes reades. his runes ant his domes] godes runes. ant his reades.

[26] The four unrecorded instances where a word is included in R but not B (presented B] R) are: 255/36 demeð] ȝ demeð; 259/36 þe] þe þe; 263/8 godes] in godes; 263/10 cnawen] te cnawen.

[27] The sixteen unrecorded instances where a word is present in B but not R are: 251/34 eni; 255/7 te; 259/8 þat; 259/15 alswa; 259/32 ich; 261/8 þat; 261/10-11 on eorðe; 261/12 þe; 263/2 þis; 263/3 a; 263/16 hwi ant hwerto; 263/17 ham; 263/17 þat; 263/19 ase muchel; 263/20 al; 263/20-1 se muchel. In another two cases, unrecorded by Morris, following words from B are written in R, but have also been crossed out: 257/28 ich; 257/35 He easkeð.

[28] The nine instances where alternative readings have not been recorded (presented B] R) are: 255/7 warschipe] warschipes; 255/32 þe] þ; 261/2 wordes] ordres (with an erased, but visible wynn before the *o*, and the second *r* written above the *e*); 261/4 on] of; 261/9 as] ant; 261/12 i] on; 263/5 ha] aa; 263/13 þe] þ; 263/18 deorewurde] muchele.

that the great majority (thirty out of thirty-nine) of R's alternative readings in the passage are recorded by Morris, and there are no manifest distinctions between those which he does record and those which he does not.[29]

The 229 accidental variants unrecorded by Morris are all straightforward differences of phonology or accidence accounted for in Wilson and Mack's descriptions of the language of the individual manuscripts. I will not describe or categorise all these variants here, for to do so would simply repeat their work at length.[30] However, some illustrative examples follow. OE æ̆ is sometimes represented by *ea* in B where it is represented by *e* in R (e.g. 257/30 B 'gleade' and R 'glede'; 253/2 'feader' and 'feder'; 255/19 'meað' and 'með'). OE double consonants are sometimes simplified in one manuscript and not

---

[29] However, it may be noted that in one case (261/4 on] of) R's alternative reading is almost certainly left unrecorded by mistake, as T's reading, which agrees with R, is recorded in an endnote.

[30] See Wilson, pp. 81-103 and Mack, pp. xxxv-lxxx. The full list of unrecorded accidental variants (presented B] R) is: 251/31 se] so, world] wordld; 251/32 heatieð] hatieð, se] so; 251/34 bigunne] bigunnen, bringe] bringen; 253/1 heard] hard, leaste] leste, se] so; 253/2 feader] feder; 253/3 hearm] harm; 253/6 swa] so, is þe sihðe grislich] grislich is þe sihðe; 253/7 i seon] seon; 253/11 schenðlac] schenlac; 253/12 mealles] melles; 253/14 imisliche] misliche, oðer] oðre, towart] toward; 253/15 granunge] graninge, wanunge] waninge; 253/16 heard] hard, heatel] hatel; 253/17 dorc] darc, lont] lond; 253/20 bituhhe] bituhe, þer] ter; 253/23 earneð] hearneð, hwilinde] wilinde, wununge] wuninge; 253/26 kimeð] cumeð; 253/27 deað] deð, deoflen] deoulen, hiderwart] hideward; 253/28 fearlac] farlac, forte] forto; 253/29 Nv] Nu, tidinges] tiðinges; 253/32 tresor] treosor, ure] hure; 253/34 deað] deð; 253/35 fikelinde] fikilinde; 255/3 unwhiht] unwiht; 255/4 ase] as, ure] hure; 255/6 ne mei] nei; 255/7-9 (4x) strengðe] strencðe; 255/8 limpet] limpeð; 255/9 noht] nowt; 255/10 se] so; 255/11 þen] te; 255/14 towart] toward; 255/17 falsi] falsin, mi] min; 255/18 strengðen] strencðen, towart] toward; 255/19 meað] með, nowcin] neowcin; 255/20 heard] hard; 255/22 bituhhen] bituhen, héard] hard; 255/23 (2x) bituhhe] bituhen; 255/23 muche] muchel; 255/24 ȝuldene] guldene; 255/25 deað] deð, þerf] þearf; 255/26 heardes] hardes, se] so; 255/27 licomlich] licomliche; 255/28 bringe] bringen, este] estes, midel] middel; 255/29 rihtwissnesse] rihtwisnesse; 255/30 bituhhe] bituhen; 255/31 ȝeme] ȝemen; 255/32 á] aa; 255/33 ha] heo, nawt] nawiht; 255/34 strengde] strencðe; 255/35 þah] þa; 257/1 ase] as, strengðe] strencðe; 257/2 heardes] herdes; 257/4 meað] með; 257/6 heard] hard; 257/7 na] nane; 257/8 meoster] mester; 257/11 werien] weren, wiðute] wiðuten; 257/13 swucche] swuche; 257/16 cunnes] cunes, meaðful] meðful; 257/19 god] godd; 257/20 Wiit] Wit; 257/21 glead] gled, god] godd, se] so, þonkeð] þonkið; 257/23 forte] forto, wite] witen; 257/24 þrinne] þerinne; 257/28 a sonde cumen] cumen a sonde, freolich] freoliche, gledd] gled, swide] swiðe; 257/30 gleade] glede, þat] tat; 257/31 deaðes] deðes, fearlac] farlac, offearet] offeared; 257/32 þen] ten; 257/33 lahhinde] lahinde, seoðen] soðden; 257/34 igleadet] igledet; 259/3 murðes] murhðes; 259/6 fearlac] farlac; 259/7 deað] deð, gleadien] gledien; 259/9 þurue] þuruen; 259/11 alwealdent] alweldn*t*; 259/14 Murhdes] Murhðes; 259/17 leome] leom; 259/20 feader] feder; 259/23 al wealdent] alweldent, feader] feder; 259/24 linnunge] linunge, se] so; 259/26 feader] feder; 259/28 a] aa, swa] so; 259/29 eadi] eadie; 259/30 briht] brih, se] so, wid] wið; 259/31 se] so; 259/32 oȝeines] aȝeines, þear] þer; 259/33 (2x) se] so; 259/34 blideliche] bliðeliche; 259/36 archangles] anchangles, buuen] abuuen, oðre] oðer; 261/1 a] aa, þe] þ; 261/2 a] aa, unwerȝeð] unwerget; 261/3 meoster] mester, oðre] odere; 261/4 se] so, 261/6 makied] makieð, patriarches] patriarkes, towart] toward; 261/7 ha aren] haren, lont] lond, þa*t*] þe; 261/8 seoð] soð; 261/9 ischawed] ischawet, longe] long; 261/10 igastelich] in gasteliche, lah] lahe; 261/11 biȝoten] bigoten; 261/12 forte] forto, uet] fet; 261/13 alle[2]] alles; 261/14 biheolt] biheold, cunnes] cunes, martyrs] martirs; 261/15 murhðe] muhðe; 261/16 cunnes] cunes, neowcins] nowcins, tintreohen] tintreon; 261/17 schawede] schawde; 261/18 biheolt] beheold, cunfessurs] cumfessurs; 261/19 haliche] haliliche; 261/21 þe eadi] þeadie, þa*t*] tet; 261/22 feolohlukest] feolahlukest, towart] toward; 261/23 gleadien] gledien, libbinde] libinde; 261/25 feierlec] feirlec; 261/27 se] so, smal] smel; 261/28 hwider] hwuder, se] so; 261/29 se] so; 261/31 sittende] sittinde; 261/32 iseið] iseid, se] so; 261/33 seli] selie, us nu] nu us; 261/34 ondswereð] onswereð; 261/35 seouenfald] seoueuald; 261/36 sikernesse] sikernessne; 263/2 oðre] oðere, witerluker] witerluter; 263/3 liuieð] lifieð; 263/4 seoueualð] seouefald, a] an; 263/5 strengðe] strencðe; 263/6 god] godd, steal] stel, wiðute] wiðuten; 263/8 swote] swete; 263/9 to] te; 263/10 sod] soð; 263/11 iþe] inþe; 263/12 beoð] beo, se] so; 263/14 deopre] deoppre, igodd] ingodd; 263/15 eauer] euer, iwurden] iwurðen, is ant wes] wes ant is, schal] shal; 263/16 luuieð] luieð; 263/17 god] godd, understondeð] unterstonteð, wiðute] wiðuten; 263/18 godlec] goddlec; 263/19 to] te; 263/20 gleade] glede, se] so. This list includes the places where the text of B is altered without notice (see above) if R's reading is different from the supposed reading of B printed by Morris in the text.

the other (e.g. 261/23 B 'libbinde' and R 'libinde'; 261/14 'cunnes' and 'cunes'; 259/24 'linnunge' and 'linunge'; 255/28 'midel' and 'middel'), and likewise OE single consonants are sometimes doubled in one of the manuscripts (e.g. 253/20 'bituhhe' and 'bituhe'; 255/28-9 'Rihtwissnesse' and 'rihtwisness'). The infinitive sometimes has the older *–n* ending in R where it is not present in in B, e.g. 255/31 B 'ȝeme' and R 'ȝemen'; 251/34 'bringe' and 'bringen.'

The reason(s) Morris selected the seventeen accidental variants he does record are not clear.[31] On only two occasions does Morris comment on variant readings, noting in an endnote that R's 'unselie' (cf. B 'unseli,' 253/8) is 'the proper plural form,' and of T's 'seh' (cf. B 'sehe,' 259/12) that 'T... uniformly omits the final *e* in the 2nd pers. sing. pret. indic.' In every other case it was possible to find some problematic or unusual aspect which may explain their inclusion. However, as a mode of evaluating Morris' editorial decisions, this enterprise is more speculative than empirical, and it seems of little value to outline these findings in full. Nevertheless, a few illustrative examples follow. In R's 'munege' at 259/3 (by haplography for B's 'munegunge') and 'iblesce' 259/36 (for B's 'iblescede'), Morris records what are evidently scribal corruptions in the text of R. At 257/25 'dreaien,' R's variant spelling 'dreien' appears to have been recorded (along with T's reading 'drahen' in the endnotes) because B and R give a phonological form that is unusual in the manuscripts, omitting the back aspirant which, when occuring after OE *a*, is elsewhere represented by *h* (e.g. 249/25 'drahen,' 257/21 'sahen').[32] At 257/26 'treowliliche,' R's 'treowliche' may have been recorded (along with T 'treweliche') because of the possibility that B's form represents a separate word, rather than a dittographic writing of the more likely R and T reading.[33]

As T is linguistically more distant from B than is R (see above), there seemed little point in collating the manifold differences in accidental readings between B and T which Morris does not record. Of the 53 variants in T recorded by Morris, 24 are accidental;[34] that they follow a similar (though obscure) pattern of selection to those of R is illustrated by the correspondences between the accidental variants recorded

---

[31] The seventeen recorded accidental variants (presented B] R) are: 251/33 þe] þes; 251/36 her] hwer; 253/8 unseli] unselie; 253/12 unirude] unrude; 253/16 wuntreaðes] wondrades (*mistranscription of* wondraðes; T wandreades *also recorded*); 253/18 grisle] grissen; 255/1 wurðeð] wurcheð; 255/4 ȝeað] geð; 255/33 unweotenesse] unwitnesse (T unweonesse *also recorded*); 257/25 dreaien] dreien (T drahen *also recorded*); 257/26 treowliliche] treowliche (T treweliche *also recorded*); 259/3 munegunge] munege; 259/6 drupnin] durcnin; 259/36 iblescede] iblesce; 261/13 cunreadnes] cunredes; 263/7 hearmin] hearm; 263/16 bigunne] biginne.

[32] For a discussion of this form in the AB language, see d'Ardenne, *Seinte Iuliene*, pp. 244-5.

[33] B's reading is the only quotation cited in the MED under the headword 'treulīlī,' which has the etymology 'From adj. treulī, ? error for treulī adv.'

[34] The twenty-four recorded accidental variants (presented B] T) are: 253/8 hare[1]] hore; 253/16 wontreaðes] wandreades (mistranscription of wandreðes; R wondrades *also recorded*); 253/19 her] hear; 253/33 haueð] haues; 255/27 licomlich] lichomliche (*mistranscription of* licomliche); 255/33 unweotenesse] unweonesse (R unwitnesse *also recorded*); 257/22 lane] leane; 257/25 dreaien] drahen (R dreien *also recorded*); 257/26 treowliliche] treweliche (R treowliche *also recorded*); 259/9 þurue] þurn; 259/12 sehe] seh; 259/19 þrumnesse] *so in T (to confirm that the mark of contraction in B should be expanded as* m, *as printed in the text, rather than* n, *as suggested in the sidenote*); 259/25 ful] fulle, etscene] edscene; 261/2 a] ai, unwerȝeð] unwercheð (*mistranscription of* unwerched), wordes] woredes; 261/5 hwile] hwiles; 261/14 biheolt] biheld, hare] hore; 261/19 haliche] haliliche; 261/22 feolohlukest] felahlukest; 261/23 libbinde] libbende; 261/25 feierlec] feirleic.

for the two manuscripts, pointed out in footnotes 31 and 34. Considerably fewer substantive variants are recorded of T than of R (i.e. 29, compared to 49).[35] As will be seen below, Morris' selection misses several variants of significance to a full account of the text of SW, and so it may be concluded that his selection criteria were not consistently judicious.

Treatment of difficult readings in B

While Morris felt that B was superior enough to R and T to provide the text he printed in full, he must have been aware that it contained more problematic readings than the nine (or six, if we are to disregard Parker's inaccuracies in transcription) predominantly accidental readings he emends. Bennett and Smithers, for instance, acknowledge emending the text of B some twenty-three times, and Dobson identifies eleven places in which B and R share errors against T, and eight or nine places in which all three MSS. are in error together.[36] Certainly, in collating R and T against the text, he on occasion found alternative readings as good as, if not preferable to, those of B. In the case of 'wid' (249/36), discussed above, Morris emended his text on the basis of a reading in T. This is, however, an exceptional example, for the purpose of Morris' text is to present that of the extant B, rather than a partially restored hypothetical original. Instead, Morris' typical strategy is to provide the alternative readings of R and T in the notes and, when he thinks the alternative reading is good, implicitly to direct the reader to adopt it by incorporating it into his translation on the facing page. For example at 259/29 Morris translates 'ich iseh on heh ou*er* alle heouenliche þe eadi meiden' as 'I saw on high, above all heavenly (hosts), the blessed Virgin,' and records in an endnote that 'After *heouenliche,* T. reads *weordes*, hosts, companies' (p. 327). Similarly, at 261/10 Morris translates 'Ich iseh þe apostles poure. *ant* lah on eorðe' as 'I saw the Apostles (that were) poor and low on earth,' recording in the margin that R reads 'þ*at* poure weren.' (He also records in an endnote T's reading 'of poure ꝛ lahe,' but does not comment on how this relates to the readings of B and R.)

An alternative method, providing a translation in the endnotes, demonstrates that T's reading is at least a viable one. For example, Morris translates 255/5-7 'ich mei... warnin ow of his lað *ant* for his wrenches. ah ich ne mei nawt aȝeines his strengðe' as 'I may... guard you against his enmity (malice)

---

[35] The twenty-nine recorded substantive variants (presented B] T) are: 253/1 for þe] for þe alre; 253/19 rueð] runeð (R ruueð *also recorded*), schokeð] schekeð (R sorheð *also recorded*); 253/25 i wis] þis; 253/33 þurue we] þarf us; 255/6 lað ant for his wrenches] leað ant for [his] wrenches Ich con (*slightly misrepresenting* T, *which reads* leað for hise wrenches ich con); 255/8 þe ant] þu; 255/18 ba] baðe; 255/24 worldlich] eorðlich; 255/26 for] for na; 255/31 readeð us ant leareð] teacheð us ꝛ leareð; 257/5 luft] lust ; 257/9 me ne] me self ne; 257/11 ei] eauer ani (*erroneously, as* eauer *is not attested by* T); 257/35 schimmeð] schimereð; 259/1 liðeliche] so in T (*to show that B reading is correct cf.* R bliðeliche), lustnin] lustin þ helden us swa stille hwil fearlac us agrette; 259/4 ofte] oftre; 259/13 ȝe] ȝoi; 259/29 heouenliche] heouenliche weordes (*mistranscription for* heuenliche weoredes), iseh] biseh; 259/32 o] to; 259/35 ich ne ... lengre] ine ... of hire lengre (*omitting a word in* T, *which reads* ...of hire na lengre); 261/2 nihe] Novem ordines ibi sunt Nihe; 261/4 on[1]] of; 261/10 poure ant] of poure ꝛ lahe; 261/19 blissen] blisse; 261/31 sittende] sittinde him; 261/32 eucha setnesse] euchan setnesse (R euchan to setnesse *also recorded*). Note that the variant recorded for 251/31 in fact refers to a reading on 251/30, and so was not included in my considerations.

[36] J. A. W. Bennett and G. V. Smithers, eds., *Early Middle English Verse and Prose*, 2nd, rev. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968) 246-261; Dobson, "Textual Tradition," 424-5, 427-8.

and his devices, but I may not guard you against his strength (violence).' In an endnote he records that between 'lað' and 'ah ich' T reads 'ant for [his] wrenches Ich con' with the translation 'for I know his wiles.' His views on the relative authority of the B and T readings are not expressed.

Morris was not consistently aware of the possibilities offered by the manuscript evidence before him. He occasionally neglects to provide readers with significant readings from R and T, and in these cases his edition may be regarded as giving an inadequate account of the text of SW. For example, at 255/35-6 Morris prints the confused text of B with a translation as follows:

> ...halt hire wac þah ha beo muche wurð. *ant* ure alre ehnen demeð hire unmihti onont hire seoluen to etstonden wið his. t*um*es ('esteems herself weak though she have much power; and the eyes of us all deem her to be powerless, as to herself, to withstand his devices')

R reads 'to' for B's 'ant,' and inserts 'ant' before 'demeð,' giving the more sensible construction 'considers herself weak, although she be of great merit in the eyes of us all, and considers herself powerless to withstand his devices.' However, Morris obscures R's text from his readers by recording only its substitution of 'to' and not the addition of 'ant.' T's reading '...ant ure alre ehnen ant demeð...' is also not recorded. Similarly, Morris fails to record T's viable, if not preferable, reading of 'nesche' ('softness') for B and R's 'wone' ('lack') in 'For ba me ah. q*uo*ð meað. ant for heart of nowcin. *ant* for wone of wunne dreden. *ant* carien' (255/18-20).

Morris' inconsistent comprehension of the significance of the various manuscripts' readings suggests that the textual criticism implicit in his notes and facing translation is not derived from a systematic comparison of the manuscripts over the text as a whole, but rather is based on a consideration of the evidence about each reading in isolation from the others. Certainly, in some individual cases he realises that T may provide valuable evidence when offering an alternative reading to that of B and R in agreement—for example the inclusion of T's 'wid' in his text, and 'hosts' for T's 'weordes' in his translation, discussed above. Elsewhere he argues—on the only occasion in the collated passage in which he engages explicitly in the role of textual critic—that T's agreement with B in reading 'liðeliche' (259/1) against R's (easier) 'bliðeliche' validates the reading of B (p. 327). However, these examples appear not to instantiate a broader understanding by Morris of the close relationship of B and R, or, as Dobson might argue of the final example, that the occurrence of readings across the stemma suggests they were present in the archetype. Had Morris perceived that T was descended from the archetype independently of the related B and R, it is unlikely he would have failed to consult T at 255/18-20 and 255/35-36, discussed above; nor is it likely that at 251/33 he would incorporate in his translation R's 'earm' against the agreed reading of B and T. Finally, it should be noted that on no occasion does Morris suggest all three manuscripts may be in error and the correct reading subject to editorial conjecture.

Paratext

As mentioned above, SW is printed in an anthology of homiletic works, the chief of which is a collection of twelfth-century sermons from Lambeth Palace Library MS. 487. The paratextual elements presented

with the text of SW—the modern English paraphrase presented in the margin beside the Middle English text (see Figure One above) and the facing page translation—are found for all the texts included in the anthology. As a whole, the anthology is supported by sixty-three pages of introductory materials, divided into a Preface (pp. v-xv), a 'Grammatical Introduction' (pp. xvii-lviii), a table of contents (pp. lix-lx) and a list of corrections (pp. lxi-lxiii). In the Preface, Morris 'briefly enumerate[s] the several items' (p. x) contained in the publication, giving a small amount of bibliographical information about each item (i.e. listing the manuscripts in which it is found and any printed books in which it has been edited or discussed) and summarising its contents; in the case of the Lambeth MS. sermons, Morris also expends some effort in identifying their sources (pp. xi-xii). The 'Grammatical Introduction' contains a detailed study of the language of the Lambeth sermons, whose interest lies in the fact that they 'enable us to trace with some minuteness the various changes that took place during the latter half of the twelfth century,' an important 'transitional period' for the language 'characterized by a want of uniformity' (p. xviii). For the most part, Morris simply catalogues the different forms of various parts of speech found in the sermons (pp. xx-lii); more analytical are his lists of the 'noteworthy' differences between the language of the Lambeth MS. sermons and the sermons of Ælfric (pp. xviii-xx) and the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels (pp. liii-lviii). Four times the length of the Preface, the apparent thoroughness of the 'Grammatical Introduction' demonstrates both Morris' emphatic personal interest in, and the Society as a whole's concern with, Middle English texts as philological records.

The table of corrections rectifies errors present in the text and the facing-page translation, but not in the endnotes—further evidence that the text and translation were sent to print before the introductory materials and endnotes were complete. The list of corrections to the text is short (there are only five items) and deals with errors of typography (e.g. '*For* swiclne *read* swilcne' p. lxi), whereas the list of corrections to the translation is over a page long and is made up of revised interpretations of the Middle English text (e.g. '*For* may *read* need' p. lxi), suggesting that the process of preparing some element of the paratextual materials—probably the endnotes—prompted Morris systematically to re-evaluate his understanding of the texts. The endnotes to all the texts are, like those described for SW above, predominantly textual, including lists of variant readings, occasional glosses for difficult words or phrases and, less frequently, quotations from other Old, Middle and Early Modern texts to assist with the interpretation of a word or phrase (e.g. p. 313).

OS 29 does not contain a glossary. In the Preface Morris states that 'the Glossarial Index will form part of the second series [of twelfth-century homilies]' (p. xv), but when this 'second series' was published, the glossary was again deferred: 'I have not added a glossary to these Homilies, because it is my intention when the Third Series is printed to add a glossary to the whole collection.'[37] However, the promised glossary never appeared. No edition of twelfth-century homilies, either with or without the appellation 'third series' on the title page, was produced by Morris, and while he did go on to publish an edition of the tenth-century homilies, OS 58, its glossary refers exclusively to its own texts.

[37] OS 53, p. vi.

Saint Katherine

Dealing with essentially similar textual materials some sixteen years after the publication of SW, Einenkel's editorial approach differs fundamentally from Morris' in almost every respect. The chief differences may be seen in outline in Einenkel's description of his editorial method, which, as opposed to the brief and passing comments of Morris, fills a little over four pages of the introduction (pp. xiv-xviii). Einenkel begins with an account of the manuscript-relationships that accords with those of Wilson and Dobson, but giving the siglum X to the archetype and Z to the intermediary ancestor common to B and R (note also that Einenkel uses the siglum C for T). However, he provides no evidence to demonstrate the validity of his stemma, choosing, as he says of the common ancestry of B and R, to 'refrain from proving at great length what almost every line of the poem teaches us' (p. xv). Unless this statement is mere hyperbole, Einenkel's belief that the evidence is so abundant suggests he mistakenly considers the linguistic closeness of B and R relative to T to be evidence of their relationship.[38] As will be seen throughout this discussion, Einenkel does not separate his concern for the linguistic forms of the text from its substantive readings in his editorial practice.

Einenkel then introduces a description of his editorial method with a theoretical justification intended, it would seem, to forestall his readers' objections:

> I am perfectly aware of the objections so often made to so-called critical editions, and am myself convinced of their soundness. Like many others I am of opinion [*sic*]... that dialects as we find them in the purified editions of the Lachmann-School are practically impossible. The really spoken dialects... must have allowed the changing of sounds and forms, just as their modern descendants do, in which, apart from certain peculiarities constituting their essence, we find nothing but fluctuation and gradation; and this, not only in districts of the narrowest possible limits, but in individuals. A critical edition of the Lachmann kind, produced by eliciting normal sounds, and substituting them for every variation occurring in the MSS., such an edition was from the beginning out of question [*sic*].
>
> Nevertheless, in my case matters lay so as to make a diplomatic edition as unadvisable as its reverse. Here were three MSS., two of them undoubtedly old, the third [T] rich in later forms, each of them frequently dropping words, omitting sentences which would have rendered a fluent reading, and still more the appreciation of a metre, all but impossible. At the same time the MSS. supplied each other so easily and fully, and the variations were often so insignificant (in many verses none at all), that in at least half of the lines the original reading was morally certain (pp. xv-xvi).

Interestingly, Einenkel's critique of the 'Lachmann-School' is restricted to their 'purification' or normalisation of linguistic forms, while his argument for the necessity of editing according to the precepts of recension includes accidental and substantive readings without a clear distinction. Yet the remainder of his description makes clear that he does alter the accidentals of his base manuscript with the intention of producing a text that more closely represents the notional dialect of the original than any one of the extant manuscripts—although, one is to assume, that dialect in all its 'fluctuation and gradation.' As far as accidentals are concerned, wherever possible the readings of the hypothetical Z are given (and thus, when not present in R, the manuscript Einenkel chooses as his copy text, restored); in

---

[38] Dobson, "Textual Tradition," p. 423, does attribute this false reasoning to Einenkel, but without reference to a more direct statement from him.

the case of substantives, readings from C (T) which are seen to derive from X are incorporated into the text of Z, and their accidentals altered to conform with it:

> ...the only course advisable was to make one MS. the base of the text, correcting and altering it whenever the concurrence of the two others proved it to be wrong. That such a course is impossible with C(otton MS.) will be evident from what I have said about its relation to the other MSS. B(odleian MS.), on the other hand, is defective, wanting three leaves in the middle of the poem. There remains only R(oyal MS.), which though somewhat carelessly written, deserves our confidence on account of the many archaic forms it has preserved.
>
> In this way, of course, we upon the whole only reach the reading of Z. But I think it better to be contented with a safe reading of Z, than to try for X, whose reading in many cases could not be found but by guesses. My partiality for Z does not of course go the length [*sic*] of accepting simple and obvious mistranscriptions; but, on the other hand, it will be good to stick to the reading of R whenever the congruence of B with C can be accounted for by a mutual though independent alteration on their part. This latter course will be taken in the case of archaic words and forms such as 'mid(t),' which B and C often, though not always mutually, change for 'wið;' and in the case of the few dual forms and the fuller terminations of verbs and adverbs, which are pretty faithfully preserved by R, but frequently mutilated by B, and still oftener by C.... There are a few instances where, either by internal evidence or by the wording of the Latin original, C is shown to be right. In such cases as these, I thought it right to go with C, preserving, however, as far as possible the spelling of Z (pp. xvi-xvii).

The level of emendation engendered by this method was in practice very high (as will be discussed below, Einenkel emended R no less than 166 times in the 300 lines I collated against the manuscripts, ll. 250-400 and 1503-1652) and thus Einenkel's text is more usefully understood as a composite of the three manuscripts than an emended transcription of R. This is, of course, a remarkably more radical treatment of a base text than the faithful transcription presented by Morris. However, in one respect Einenkel's edition remains close to EETS' more usual conservative spirit. He is unwilling to go much beyond the evidence of the extant manuscripts, refusing—in terms reminiscent of Morris' injunction to editors not to hold themselves, in their imperfect state of knowledge, above their manuscripts (see Chapter Three)—to emend by conjecture against the combined evidence of the manuscripts:

> Still less in number are those cases where X must have been corrupt, and where each copyist tried to get some sense into his copy. Here no other course was left me than to take as a guide the faint resemblances of the MSS., and the reading of the Latin original, and so to restore what had in all probability been the reading intended by the author. Where, however, in such a case the MSS. agreed with each other, I unhesitatingly accepted the reading, however corrupt it seemed, and however easy and plausible its emendation. The Notes will show several new words, and many old ones employed in a sense which they were hitherto unknown to imply. It would be rash, therefore, and certainly anything but critical, to venture on the emendation of readings so well supported (p. xvii).

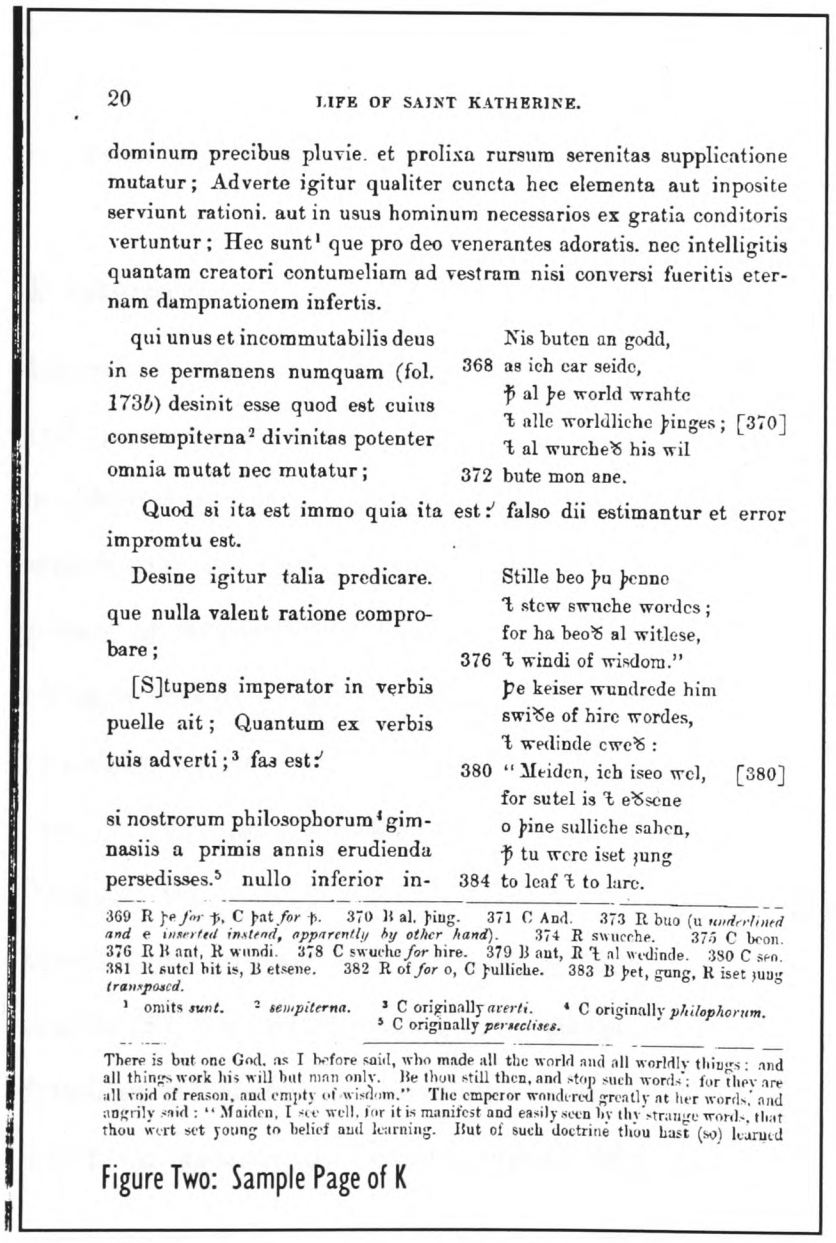
Presentation of manuscript detail

Unlike Morris' edition of SW, where the text dominates the page and the apparatus is squeezed into the narrow side-margin or presented in another section of the book, the text of K never fills more than a third of the page, and is surrounded and dominated by paratextual material (compare Figures One above and Two below). Most of this material—a corpus of the readings of the three manuscripts, and a parallel edition of the Latin source from British Library, MS. Cotton Caligula A. viii. with its own apparatus—facilitates the establishment of a text closer to the original text of K than R supplies. The strikingly different manner in which the two editors deploy the physical resources of their page reflects their differing editorial purposes. Morris presents a careful transcription of B and is interested enough in the manuscript in and of itself to record a good deal of its formal detail, whereas Einenkel is primarily

interested in all three manuscripts as the means through which he can reclaim as much of the text of their archetype as he is able. Einenkel's attitude to the formal details of the manuscript which do not serve this purpose is perhaps expressed in his statement that to follow the capitalisation of R in print would be 'preposterous, and a great hindrance to cursory reading' (p. xvii). The rubrication and decoration of the MSS. are also not recorded. However, details which do assist in the establishment of the original text are valued—in this case, the division of the text into lines of verse, as Einenkel mistakenly believed the poem to be written in 'four-accent metre'—even if for practical purposes they may not be included in the edition:

> I highly regret having been obliged to leave the old interpunctuation, a matter so important and even essential in the case of a poem; but since the coincidence of the three MSS. would alone have been conclusive as to the division of the lines, and as I could not possibly have given more than the punctuation of one, no other course was left me.[39]

Instead, Einenkel punctuates the text according to nineteenth-century conventions. His reason for not reproducing the manuscripts' punctuation suggests again the composite nature of his text, and it is this nature that governs the choice and treatment of those aspects of manuscript detail he does record. As in SW, the text is printed in a roman fount of the modern English alphabet, with the addition of the MS. characters þ, ð and ȝ (wynn again represented by *w*). However, as discussed below, the orthography of an individual word may be taken from any of the three manuscripts or, on a small number of occasions, be editorial; the same is true of word division. The crossed, seven-shaped sign representing 'and' is printed in the text, as is the crossed thorn abbreviation for 'þet.' However, on the regular occasions when R writes these words in full, Einenkel substitutes for them the appropriate sign of abbreviation, ostensibly adopted from either or both of B and T, thus producing complete regularity of form throughout the text.[40]



20 LIFE OF SAINT KATHERINE.

dominum precibus pluvie. et prolixa rursum serenitas supplicatione mutatur; Adverte igitur qualiter cuncta hec elementa aut inposite serviunt rationi. aut in usus hominum necessarios ex gratia conditoris vertuntur; Hec sunt[1] que pro deo venerantes adoratis. nec intelligitis quantam creatori contumeliam ad vestram nisi conversi fueritis eternam dampnationem infertis.

qui unus et incommutabilis deus in se permanens numquam (fol. 173*b*) desinit esse quod est cuius consempiterna[2] divinitas potenter omnia mutat nec mutatur;

Nis buten an godd,
as ich ear seide,
þ al þe world wrahte
7 alle worldliche þinges; [370]
7 al wurcheð his wil
bute mon ane.

Quod si ita est immo quia ita est:' falso dii estimantur et error impromtu est.

Desine igitur talia predicare. que nulla valent ratione comprobare;

Stille beo þu þenne
7 stew swuche wordes;
for ha beoð al witlese,
7 windi of wisdom."

[S]tupens imperator in verbis puelle ait; Quantum ex verbis tuis adverti;[3] fas est:'

Þe keiser wundrede him
swiðe of hire wordes,
7 wedinde cweð:
"Meiden, ich iseo wel, [380]
for sutel is 7 eðsene
o þine sulliche sahen,
þ tu were iset ȝung
to leaf 7 to lare.

si nostrorum philosophorum[4] gimnasiis a primis annis erudienda persedisses.[5] nullo inferior in-

369 R þe *for* þ, C þat *for* þ. 370 B al. þing. 371 C And. 373 R buo (u *underlined and* e *inserted instead, apparently by other hand*). 374 R swuecche. 375 C beon. 376 R B ant, R wundi. 378 C swuche *for* hire. 379 B aut, R 7 al wedinde. 380 C seo. 381 R sutel bit is, B etsene. 382 R of *for* o, C þulliche. 383 B þet, gung, R iset ȝung *transposed*.

[1] omits *sunt*. [2] *sempiterna*. [3] C originally *averti*. [4] C originally *philophorum*. [5] C originally *perseclises*.

There is but one God, as I before said, who made all the world and all worldly things: and all things work his will but man only. Be thou still then, and stop such words: for they are all void of reason, and empty of wisdom." The emperor wondered greatly at her words, and angrily said: "Maiden, I see well, for it is manifest and easily seen by thy strange words, that thou wert set young to belief and learning. But of such doctrine thou hast (so) learned

Figure Two: Sample Page of K

[39] OS 80, pp. xvii-xviii. Einenkel defends his theory that K is written in 'four-accent metre' in great detail (pp. xxi-xxxix), including a sample passage of eighty-five lines marked up with his scansion. His ingenious metrical system, which allows stress to be placed on inflectional syllables and words not ordinarily stressed in Middle English, as well as enjambment of a nature not seen elsewhere in Middle English verse (according to Wilson, p. xlii), is so flexible that it was not necessary for Einenkel even once to emend the text on the basis of it. Unsurprisingly, the theory met immediate and lasting scholarly disfavour.

[40] Einenkel considers marks of abbreviation and words in full to be variants and records them in his corpus of readings at the foot of the text. The seven-shaped mark of abbreviation is printed for R's 'ant' in the passage with the support of both B and T on twenty-three occasions (338, 1514, 1520, 1523, 1526, 1528, 1529, 1535, 1538,

Conversely, 'qð' and the crossed q signs of abbreviation are always expanded 'quoð,' and the abbreviated forms recorded in the corpus of variant readings. Other abbreviations are expanded silently as 'their meaning is beyond all doubt' (p. xvii). The foliation of R is not recorded in the text, but the folio divisions of all three MSS. are recorded in tables in the introduction (pp. lvii-lix). Scribal corrections of the text are recorded among the corpus of variant readings (e.g. 1647 the expunction of an extraneous wynn, 1516 the interpolation of *i* written above the line in 'mei').

Collation of variants

While Einenkel does not state it, there can be little doubt that the corpus of variants presented at the foot of the text is intended to be entirely comprehensive. As can be seen in Figure Two, it records accidental differences among the manuscripts of the most minor detail. In the passage of 300 lines I collated against the manuscript, I found only six differences between the printed text and each of R and T that were unreported or recorded erroneously. There were fourteen such differences between the printed text and B.[41] One unreported difference was found in all three MSS. (1579 'þal' for 'al þ' BRT) and so is probably a typographical error in the text. Given the vast mass of information Einenkel recorded, the collation may be regarded as close to accurate.

Establishment of the text

Einenkel's editorial practice accords with the description he gives in his introduction, discussed above. In the passage of 300 lines I examined, Einenkel emends the text of R whenever B and T, in matters accidental or substantive, agree together against it. There are only eighteen exceptions to this rule, all of which may be regarded as involving accidentals and may be accounted for in terms of Einenkel's stated policy of retaining R's reading when 'the congruence of B with C can be accounted for by a mutual though independent alteration on their part.' Eight are instances of the cases specifically cited as examples by him: the retention of the 'archaic forms' 'mit' (1540, 1577 against 'wið' BT) and the dual 'unc' (1515, against 'us' BT), and 'the fuller terminations of verbs' (infinitives: 394 'bringen' against 'bringe' BT; 397 'cumen' against 'cume'; 342 'ileuen' against 'ileue'; 261 'witen' against 'wite'; subjunctive plural: 1632 'weren' against 'were'). In the remaining ten instances Einenkel similarly rejects BT's more phonologically progressive form, retaining the final *–n* of prepositions which have fallen in BT (before a consonant: 1566, 1644 'abuten' against 'abute'; 348, 1547 'in' against 'i'; 1536, 1651 'on' against 'o'; before a vowel: 363 'buten' against 'bute'), and preferring R's inflected form of the

---

1545, 1548, 1554, 1558, 1560, 1565, 1569, 1580, 1582, 1591, 1619, 1633, 1639, 1649); with T alone on four occasions (ll. 356, 376, 1601, 1646); and with B alone on three occasions (1510, 1575, 1652). The crossed thorn is printed for R's 'þet' on two occasions, each with the support of both B and T (330, 1532).

[41] The unreported or erroneously recorded differences between the printed text and MSS. are as follows (presented text] MS; the text readings marked with an asterisk are taken from the corpus of variants). R: 283 world] woorld (divided at turn of line between the *o*'s); 394 bringen to] bringen þe to; 1533 cuðe] euðe; 1534 cwakien] ewakien; 1579 þal] al þ; 1622 eorðliche] eordliche. B: 262 biȝetene] bigetene; 299 ȝ] ant; 308 spek] spec; 314 ȝ] ant; 336 ȝ] ant; 361 þ] þe; 364 heuene] heouene; 399 þi] ti; 1553 *fearren] fearen; 1560 ȝ] ant; 1563 mid] wið; 1579 þal] al þ; 1620 þe] þe þe; 1632 *were] weren. T: 256 his (not omitted by T as stated); 285 *framien] framen; 319 ure[1]] vre; 1579 þal] al þ; 1586 ba] bar; 1627 *heueneriches] heuenriches.

indefinite article (1569, 1573 'ane' against 'a') and unreduced form of the preposition governing the infinitive (352 'to' against 'te').

As stated above, Einenkel's text differs from R in 166 places. Unlike Morris, Einenkel does not mark these emendations in the text; readers who wish to know where R has been emended must consult the footnotes. In 106 cases, these differences may be categorised as accidental—thirty-two of which are the abbreviations discussed and listed above, and about which nothing more will be said. The remaining seventy-four are emendations made to R in response to the combined readings of B and T. In the great majority (fifty-five) of these cases, B and T agree together exactly against the reading of R, and Einenkel simply adopts their reading in the text.[42] In fourteen cases, the readings of B and T share a feature which is at variance with R but they also differ from each other in some (less significant) way; in these circumstances Einenkel adopts the reading of either B or T, choosing, it is assumed, the reading which best conforms to his notion of the spelling of Z. For example, for the text's 'feont' at 255, R reads 'fint,' B 'feont,' and T 'feond'; Einenkel adopts B's reading to include the BT medial *eo* while preserving the BR final *t*. T and B serve roughly equally as the source of the adopted readings in these circumstances, supplying six and eight of the fourteen emendations respectively.[43] Applied mechanically (albeit with the eighteen exceptions discussed above) to restore the readings of Z, this editorial practice has the effect of standardising the accidentals of the text to a small degree. However, it is far from a normalisation, and the dialect represented by R (or, more indulgently, Z) survives with most of its 'fluctuation and gradation' intact. For example, the glossary shows that form 'deð,' altered to the more regularly occurring 'deað' at 337, may be found unaltered at 702, 926 *et al.*, and 'neuer,' altered to 'neauer' at 279, may be found unaltered at 1254.

In five cases, the form adopted in the text is an editorial invention. Two of these emendations are prompted by the fact that the readings of B and T share a feature which is at variance to R, but they also differ from each other in some way. The adopted form incorporates the feature common to B and T, but

---

[42] The fifty-five instances in which Einenkel adopts the reading of BT (presented: printed text & BT] R) are: 258 creftiluker] creftluker; 263 ibroht] broht; 265 maumez] mawmez; 269 nomen] nome; 272 hersumeð] hersumið; 279 neauer] neuer; 283 nawiht] nawt; 290 walde] walden; 307 steape] steap; 308 spek] spec (B spec *misread by Einenkel as* spek); 310 westum] wastun; 314 murie] muri; 316 hit] h hit; 319 lei] ley; 322 se] swa; 328 Giws] giwes; 336 herhede] herehede; 337 aras] aroas, deað] deð; 338 steah] steh; 345 unlefliche] unleflich; 349 seggeð] segeð; 354 Þeos] þis; 357 onswere] onsware; 362 steoren] storen; 363 hehe] heh; 364 heuene] heouene (B heouene *misread by Einenkel as* heuene); 376 windi] wundi; 383 iset ȝung] ȝung iset; 391 idele] idel; 1513 ꝛ iteiet in an] ꝛ in an iteiet; 1515 bituhhen] bitweonen; 1515 tweien] twa; 1517 strengðe] strencðe; 1518 of na liuiende mon] of na mon liuiende; 1525 se] swa; 1540 schurgen] scurgen; 1558 Porphire] porfirie; 1565 meidnes] meidenes; 1578 Porphire] porfirie; 1579 ha] heo; 1584 ha] heo; 1587 dun] adun; 1588 se] swa; 1590 fearlac] farlac; 1630 Porphire] porfirie; 1631 freinen] freinin; 1633 endelese] endeles, te] tet; 1634 ileuet] ilenet; 1635 luren] lure; 1637 ha] heo, þe] ðe; 1647 steapre] steappre.

[43] The six instances in which Einenkel adopts the reading of T (presented: printed text & T] R) are: 277 a] aa (B á); 299 þerfore] teruore (B þeruore); 359 sotliche] sotlich (B sottliche); 1586 fearlac] farlac (B fearleac); 1603 beatinge] beating (B beattunge); 1626 wurðschipe] wurschipe (B wurdshipe); 1636 worldliche] worldlich (B worlðliche). The eight instances in which Einenkel adopts the reading of B (presented: printed text & B] R) are: 255 feont] fint (T feond); 264 heouenliche] heoueneliche (T heuenliche); 329 heaðene] heðene (T heaðe), ahongeden] ahongen (T hongeden); 397 seoðan] soðden (T siðen); 1524 wilni] wiln (T wilne); 1646 schininde] schinin (T schinende); 1650 bearnde] bernde (T bearninde).

also demonstrates that Einenkel was not averse to improving the text in the event that none of the manuscripts provide an acceptable solution.[44] In the remaining three cases, the editorial form incorporates the one phonological feature Einenkel does standardise throughout the text, although he expresses regret at having done so:

> Z frequently softens the anlauting *f* to *u*, that is, *v*. Whenever this *u* is no more than a peculiarity of Z's, and not traceable back to X (as it is but in two cases), I gave it up for the *f*, which C always has as 'anlaut.' I admit that I ought not to have done so, as it is highly probably that this *u* was something more than an orthographic whim.... Still, this cannot be altered now.[45]

There are 59 substantive differences between the printed text and R. In 53 cases, B and T agree together exactly against the reading of R, and Einenkel adopts their reading in his text.[46] This is done quite mechanically—there are no exceptions to this practice, and he feels no need to comment on the adopted readings in his endnotes. More interesting are the remaining six differences, in which a reading from T is adopted against the readings of B and R in agreement, representing instances where Einenkel believes he is restoring a reading from X which is corrupt in Z. Unless stated otherwise, he makes no comment on the reading in his endnotes. At 278, Einenkel prefers T's 'sehen' over BR's 'schulen,' a reading which makes no sense and which Dobson and d'Ardenne suggest was copied mechanically from its preceding appearance:[47] 'bute þ ow þuncheð | þ ha schulen leasten a, | for þi þ ȝe ne *sehen* ham | neauer biginnen' (276-79). At 285, Einenkel adds 'for' from T, which, while not strictly necessary for sense, provides his text with T's parallelism and assists with an otherwise supposedly metrically deficient line: '...i þis world | iset us for to frourin | ꝛ *for* to fremien' (283-5). At 393, 'nu' is added from T, again not strictly necessary to, but improving, the sense: 'Ah wastu *nu* hwet is? | We schulen bringen to ende | þ we bigunnen habbeð' (393-5). At 1642 Einenkel describes BR's 'bur' as 'an alteration of Z' (p. 142); 'bur' is possible in context, but T's 'burh,' following the Latin *'civitas,'* is preferred: 'Constu bulden a *burh*, | inwið i þin heorte, | al abuten bitrumet | wið a deorewurðe wal' (1642-1645). Einenkel comments of the BR reading at 245, 'unwit(e)lese,' that 'Z in correcting the verse destroys the sense' (p. 126), and adopts T's reading, 'witlese' (describing pagan idols). However, Dobson describes some palaeographical evidence that BR's double negative, though seemingly illogical, is the likely original reading ('T's logical *witlese* is the scribe's own emendation, made as he was writing, for his initial *wyn* is

---

[44] The first such instance is an alteration of R's word order, 333-4 ꝛ iboren buten | bruche of hire bodi] ꝛ iboren of hire bodi buten bruche R, ꝛ iboren of hire bute bruche of hire bodi B, wiðute bruche of hire bodi T. The second is an alteration of orthography, 350 undeadliche] undedliche R, undeaddeliche B, undeaðliche T.

[45] OS 80, p. xvii. The three such cases are: 1505 leofmonnes] leoue monnes R, leofmones B, lefmonnes T; 1512 ifestnet] ifefnet R, iuestnet B, ifestned T; and 1613 biforen] biuoren R, biuore B, bifore T.

[46] The fifty-three instances in which Einenkel adopts the reading of BT (presented: printed text & BT] R) are: 250 blodles] ꝛ blodles; 255 euch] al; 271 ꝛ[1]] of, ꝛ[2]] of; 277 schulen] schulden; 282 ha] *om.*; 283 ꝛ[2]] *om.*; 290 he] ha; 303 ham] al; 305 he bigon] he ne bigon; 309 him] *om.*; 318 we] *om.*; 328 þe] *om.*; 338 in] *om.*; 343 is as] is al as; 346 inoh] *om.*; 349 ȝet] *om.*; 350 bi] *om.*; 359 isette] iseide; 365 buheð] beoð; 366 schafte] schat; 369 þ] þe (T þat); 379 ꝛ wedinde] ꝛ al wedinde; 381 sutel is] sutel hit is; 382 o] of; 385 Ah] ꝛ; 386 leaue] *om.*; 1508 mit te] mitte te; 1509 rihte] treowe; 1525 lif] luue; 1533 Þe king] He, na wit] nawt; 1544 ah] ant; 1545 lahinde] þuldeliche; 1547 in cwalmhus] in a cwalmhus; 1549 ne] *om.*; 1554 þe] *om.*; 1566 al] ant al; 1574 of] from; 1584 nawt] *om.*; 1585 aȝeines] toȝeines (T aȝaines); 1588 swiðe] *om.*; 1593 ȝe] *om.*; 1598 sehen] isehen, þe engles] an engel (T te engles); 1605 swa feire] swa swiðe feire; 1607 þ] þe (T þat); 1609 baðe] *om.*; 1620 þe] *om.*; 1623 þ] þe (B þet); 1624 þ] *om.*; 1640-41 *two lines entirely omitted by R*; 1644 al] ah al; 1647 of] þen eni.

[47] D'Ardenne and Dobson, *Seinte Katerine,* p. 213.

altered from *u*') and notes that *unwitlese* is also attested with like meaning in M ('tu wite to þe... mi wisdom from unwitlese wiht').[48] At 1522, Einenkel reads 'buuen' ('above') a form of his own invention, but clearly derived from T's 'buue' against BR's misreading 'bune(n).' This is the only instance in the passage I examined where Einenkel adopts the reading of T while 'preserving... the spelling of Z' (p. xvii)—an example of his preference for prepositions to retain final *n*, which may be set alongside the examples of accidental readings from R retained against the agreement of BT.

In Dobson's view, Einenkel 'rarely considered the possibility that all three manuscripts might be erroneous in substance, and when he did, showed no skill in emendation.'[49] Certainly, on no occasion in the passages I examined does Einenkel make a substantive emendation to the text by editorial conjecture and without the support of a manuscript. His notes record that in two places he suspected there to be an error derived from the archetype, but was not, it may be assumed, prepared to emend against the combined evidence of the three manuscripts in agreement. At 280-83, 'Ah þer nis buten an godd, | þurh hwam witerliche | ha alle weren iwrahte, | ꝛ of nawiht,' Einenkel comments 'According to the Latin text ['Que plane a deo ex nichilo facta sunt' (pp. 14-15)], we ought to have *iwrahte of nawiht*. The corruption, if such it is, reaches back as far as X.' He then goes on to show the altered metrical division of the emended sentence, which 'very likely the poet intended' (p. 127). Dobson, by contrast, notes that while the Latin does not account for the 'ꝛ,' its addition in the English is 'entirely idiomatic, a device of emphasis.' He also states, wrongly (and against his own edition's transcription of R, l. 129, p. 17), that R 'loses the run of the sentence' and omits the 'ant' (p. 213). The palaeographical slip aside, on this occasion Dobson could rightly regard his sensitivity to idiom to be a more reliable manifestation of editorial skill than Einenkel's peculiar metrical expertise. At 320 'hefde lahe sprung,' Einenkel comments 'to judge by the Latin *rationalis*, it is not improbable that *lahe* is miscopied from *lahede*, past. part. (indic. l. 1206),' with the sense 'had a legitimate origin' (pp. 127 and 17). On this occasion Einenkel reaches essentially the same conclusion as Dobson, who similarly consults the Latin, cites the same occurrence of the indicative form of the verb (i.e. d'Ardenne and Dobson's l. 443) and gives its sense with the same modern English phrase, although he would spell the past participle 'lahet' (pp. 214-5).

Dobson's criticisms may seem more fairly to reflect Einenkel's editorial practice in the passages I examined when the following example—an occasion on which Einenkel did not perceive that a reading given by the three manuscripts in agreement is problematic—is considered. At 1549-51, Einenkel prints 'ꝥ ha nowðer ne ete, | lesse ne mare, | tweolf dahes fulle' which he translates as 'so that she should neither eat, less nor more, full twelve days.' No comment is made in the notes, and the awkwardness of having the first occurrence of 'ne' placed before rather than after 'ete' is simply transferred into the translation. Dobson, noting the Latin's 'fame et siti,' would solve the problem by emending the text to 'ne ete [ne drunke] leasse ne mare' (p. 252). While Einenkel need not have shared

---

[48] D'Ardenne and Dobson, *Seinte Katerine*, p. 211; quotation from Mack, p. 20, ll. 11-13.

[49] Dobson, "Textual Tradition," p. 425.

Dobson's exact conjecture, it is perhaps surprising that he did not note the difficulty provided by the extant text.

Paratext

Einenkel's edition contains a considerable amount of paratextual material in addition to that presented on the page of text (see above). The text is preceded by a two page 'Preface' containing Einenkel's acknowledgements (pp. v-vi), and fifty-three pages of 'Introductory Remarks' which are dominated by two topics: the language of K, whose phonology and morphology are illustrated systematically and in detail (pp. xxxix-lvii), and the 'four-accent metre' in which Einenkel believed K to be written (pp. xxi-xxxix; see above). There are also short discussions of the manuscripts (pp. xii-xviii, lvii-lix; see above), the appearance of the legend of Saint Katherine of Alexandria in European literature from the ninth century through to Dryden (pp. vii-xii), and the relationship of K with the other texts written in the (now so-called) AB language (pp. xviii-xxi).

Following his 'Introductory Remarks,' Einenkel presents a two page list of 'Corrections and Additions' to the introduction, the text and its accompanying apparatus, and the endnotes up to page 144. The endnotes fill pages 125-150, with the glossary immediately following on pp. 151-188. Page 145 is the first page of a gathering (with the signature 10) encompassing pp. 145-160; gatherings 11 and 12 (pp. 161-176 and 177-188 respectively) contain the remainder of the glossary and the book. It may therefore be inferred from the fact that final correction on the list refers to a note on p. 144 that gatherings 10, 11 and 12 were sent to print some time after the rest of the book. The endnotes generally consist of textual notes such as those discussed above, and require no further explanation. The glossary provides a comprehensive index, apparently listing every form of every word in the printed text. In the majority of cases, a line reference is given for every appearance in the text of each form, but in the case of frequently occurring words, only the first few occurrences are listed, followed by 'etc.' The content of individual entries in the glossary is very basic, providing only simple grammatical information about the various listed forms of words (e.g. '2 p. sing. pres.') and a modern English gloss.

Saint Margaret

Cockayne's edition of M was originally published in 1862.[50] It was reprinted by EETS in 1866 with the following rationale:

> This Text the Committee have adopted into the Society's Series (though not quite uniform in type with it), because the *Seinte Marherete* is necessary to complete the triad of Saints' Lives, about 1230 A.D., of which Mr. Cockayne has kindly undertaken to edit the remaining two, *St.*

[50] Oswald Cockayne, ed., *Seint Marherete the Meiden ant Martyr in Old English, now First Edited from the Skin Books* (London: Longman, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1862). Copies of this edition are scarce. The only copy I am aware of in the public domain in the UK is that held by the British Library (the catalogue entry for which incorrectly records it as a quarto volume, when in fact it is octavo, of the same dimensions as the EETS edition). The copy recorded in the Bodleian Library's pre-1920 catalogue is a ghost; its call-mark links it to EETS' 1866 edition. A reprint of the 1862 edition was apparently published under the impression 'Editions Rodopi' in Amsterdam in 1970, but none of the UK libraries included in the COPAC and WORLDCAT databases are listed as holding a copy.

> *Juliane* and *St. Katherine,* for the Early English Text Society. Though this *Seinte Marherete* was published separately in 1862, only a few copies of it were sold, on account of its high price (7*s.* 6*d.*), and the work may be fairly considered as hitherto uncirculated. The Committee, therefore, having the chance of securing a valuable Text, necessary to complete their series, at cost price, gladly availed themselves of the opportunity, and the Text is now issued to Members.[51]

The exact circumstances of this transaction are uncertain. With the exception of EETS' customary paper covers, an altered title page, and the addition of a one page 'Review,' the EETS edition is identical to the original edition, including the latter's typographical errors and the probable use of a malformed piece of type (described below).[52] As such, they were certainly set from the same plates, if not actually the products of the same print run that EETS obtained and issued under its own title page and covers. The 1862 edition was printed by 'Taylor & Francis, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street'; the EETS edition also records Taylor & Francis as printer, both in the place where the attribution is found in the 1862 edition (at the foot of page 114) and on the verso of EETS' own title page. The Society used Taylor & Francis on no other occasion. EETS' financial statement for 1866 records a payment of twenty pounds to Cockayne for *Seinte Marherete*; no payment was made either to Taylor & Francis, or the original publisher, Longman, Green, Longmans, and Roberts.[53] Whatever the circumstances, the previous history of OS 13 is no doubt responsible for its atypical typography (discussed below) and the fact that, unlike every other EETS edition from the 1860s, it was never reprinted (see Chapter Two).

In addition to M (printed pp. 1-23), Cockayne's edition contains two other versions of the story of Saint Margaret of Antioch: the *Life of St. Margaret* in the *South English Legendary* (IMEV 2987, pp. 24-33); and the thirteenth-century *Life of St. Margaret* (IMEV 2672, pp. 34-43). However, these two texts are presented as something of an adjunct to M, to which latter the paratext of the edition is almost wholly devoted: the translation of the text (pp. 51-74), the essay "On the Language of St. Marherete" (pp. 74-96), and the glossary (pp. 97-113) refer to M alone.[54] Cockayne gives a brief account of his editorial

---

[51] 'Notice' printed on the inside front cover of OS 13.

[52] The one page 'Review' contains 'remarks [which] are þe result of þe criticism which an editor passes upon his own former efforts, chastised occasionally by friendly or angry suggestions from wiþout'—the only matters of substance being ten additions to his glossary. The title-page of the EETS edition, in addition to recording the customary details of the Society and its publisher Trübner & Co., reads '...first edited from the skin books in 1862... and now reissued' where the original publication reads 'now first edited from the skin books.'

[53] EETS financial statements record payments to three printing firms in the 1860's, Stephen Austin of Hertford, John Childs and Son, and the Clarendon Press (under the guise, in the editions themselves, of 'T. Combe, MA., E. Pickard Hall, and H. Latham, M.A., Printers to the University'). The statement for 1866 records a payment to Stephen Austin of £4. 3*s.* 6*d.* for *Seinte Marherete*. This is, however, far smaller sum that that charged by Austin for the printing in full of a text of similar length (e.g. EETS were charged £43. 18*s.* 9*d.* for the 164 page OS 14; OS 13 has 122 pages.) Perhaps Austin was paid to print the paper covers, title page and 'Review,' and to bind the book in its new covers.

[54] Cockayne's translation, entitled 'Seinte Marherete Modernized,' attempts to replicate the stylistic features of the Middle English text. To preserve the alliteration, Middle English words are included as part of the translation, albeit with modernised orthography, and an italicised modern English word given in brackets as a gloss (e.g. 37a/20 'þe heiden ant hereden' is translated 'who heyed (*extolled*) and herried (*glorifed*)' (p. 51)). The text of the translation, like the Middle English text, is printed as prose, but the translation is regularly divided by vertical lines | to show the rhythm of the text. This compromise reflects the nature of Cockayne's thinking about the form of the text expressed in his introduction: 'An alliterative text should, many will pronounce, have been printed in short verses, as poetry. The manuscripts, however, write straight away from end to end of the ruled lines, and this was done in the earlier times, as in the original copy of Cædmon. To abide by the example of our forefathers in printing

method only of M, which is essentially conservative, despite his evidently more radical editorial disposition. He begins by saying that what he presents to the reader 'aims at being a critical edition,' but then continues:

> The text according to the true theory of a critical edition should have been made as perfect as possible, whether by collation or emendation. But the present generation of English scholars has not advanced to that point. They expect an adherence to the manuscript, and will condemn deviations from it. Yielding therefore to circumstances I have rarely altered the text of MS. R., and when I have so done, it has been on the authority of MS. B. Suggestions for improvement of the text so resulting will be found in the notes (p. v).

This is an interesting commentary on the state of vernacular textual criticism in England: written two years before EETS would begin to make 'mechanical' editing the dominant mode in publication, it suggests that the conservative valorisation of manuscripts' texts was already well established (see Chapter Three). Cockayne's position, that of endorsing the methods of critical editing but nevertheless abandoning them to the prevailing scholarly orthodoxy, also forms a curious counterpart to that of Einenkel, who, despite his orthodox expression of antipathy to critical editing, felt compelled to adopt its methods by the circumstances of his text. Nothing more is said by Cockayne of his editorial method, and no reason is given for choosing R as his base text, although the fact that Cockayne 'had no opportunity of seeing' B and so was forced to rely on a 'collation... forwarded... from Oxford' may well have influenced his decision (p. vi).

Cockayne's editorial practice accords with his brief description of it, in so far as this goes. The text is conservative: emendations of the base text, while not infrequent, are for the most part limited to accidentals, and considerable effort is made to record the manuscript's formal detail. However, as an account of R, the printed text is marred by frequent inaccuracies, which also appear in the corpus of variant readings from B recorded in the endnotes. The corpus of variants is highly selective. The criteria for the inclusion of accidental variants, while nowhere explained, seems to be that they illustrate the transitional nature of the language described by Cockayne in his essay "On the Language of St. Marherete" (pp. 74-96). Substantive variants are recorded only if Cockayne views them as at least potentially original, the most certain of which he renders fully authoritative with directive textual commentary and—using a technique seen above in SW—by incorporating them in his translation of the text. His suggested emendations are also conservative, choosing between or conflating, but never departing from, the readings attested by the manuscripts. Even within this limited scope, Cockayne was not always an astute textual critic. Only the minimum amount of information required to establish the putative original text is provided—on occasion Cockayne selects only certain words from a larger variant reading for inclusion in the notes, a practice which sometimes renders his account of the textual evidence seriously deficient. Furthermore, Cockayne's notes do not include the text deleted by the corrector of B—there is no indication that he understood the relationship between the corrector's text and R—thereby denying significant textual evidence to the reader.

---

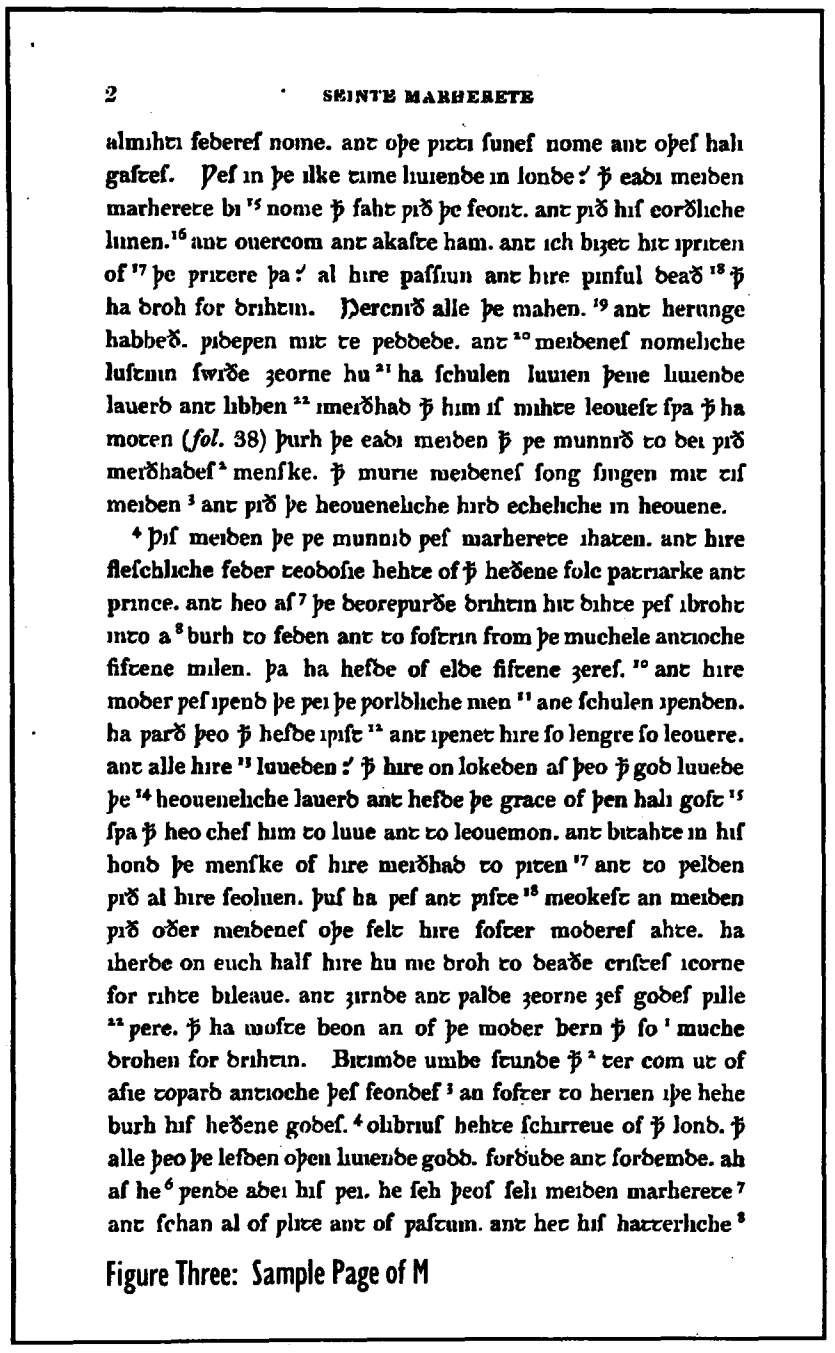
their compositions seemed most fair and proper. The only advantage of the other course is to bring out the versification more distinctly. To do that would in a few instances have led to a constraint upon my conviction, that the writer has in some instances come very near to prose' (p. v).

Presentation of manuscript detail

Like Morris, Cockayne presents a significant amount of the manuscript's formal detail in his printed text, although with results of dissimilar appearance (compare Figures One above and Three below). As in SW, the text is printed as prose and the edition follows its own line and page breaks. Foliation is recorded within the line of text in brackets. The lineation of the manuscript is also recorded: the number of the line in the manuscript folio is printed in superscript before the first word of that line in the manner that verses are numbered in a bible. At the beginning of the first line of a verso side of a folio, the sequence of line numbers begins again at one; folio numbers are given only at the beginning of each recto. Where a word is divided at turn of line in the manuscript, the line-break is not indicated in the text and the line number is skipped. For example, in the printed text of f. 38^{r} (see Figure Three below), the line numbering at the start of the second paragraph jumps from four to seven, as the words 'ihaten' and 'hehte' are divided in the manuscript at the turn of lines four and five, and five and six respectively. While references to the manuscript in the printed text occasionally give, therefore, a slightly inaccurate indication of a word's location in the manuscript, they are nevertheless considerably more specific than those provided by Morris and Einenkel. In his textual notes, Cockayne always gives an exact line reference to the manuscript, even where the line number has been left out of the printed text. For the sake of convenience, references in this discussion are given by the folio and line number *recorded in the printed text;* the letters 'a' and 'b' indicate recto and verso respectively, in accordance with the convention used in Cockayne's notes (e.g. 38b/17).

Cockayne states that he has 'attempted to give such a facsimile of the original writing as the printers [*sic*] means allowed, and they have resources beyond most others' (p. vii). These resources amount to an adapted roman fount which, in addition to the þ, ð, ȝ and ƿ found in K and (with the exception of the last character) SW, includes a wynn and versions of the lower-case letters *d, i* and *t*, and the capitals *H* and *M*, which are shaped in imitation of the MS. hand. Also, two forms of lower-case *s* are used in an attempt to replicate manuscript practice, as Cockayne claims that the printed 'alternations of long ſ and crooked s are found in the ancient copy' (p. vii). In practice, the crooked *s* represents the scribe's characteristic near horizontal *s*, a form used occasionally in terminal positions, apparently to fill space (e.g. 53a/12 'neiles'; 53a/16 'his'). The long *s* is used to represent without distinction both the manuscript's usual form of *s*, which has a tall, straight shaft and curved headstroke (e.g. three times in 38a/2 'meidenes song singen') and a less frequently occurring form, which has an equally tall but distinctly curved shaft (e.g. 39b/1 'his'; 39b/16 'þeos,' 'wordes').

By contrast, however, Cockayne expands the manuscript's contractions silently, on the basis that 'there was no difficulty, and to leave them in the text would have been irksome to most readers' (p. vii). Because they are made silently, these expansions have the effect that Cockayne's text—notwithstanding the characteristics of the type-facsimile lent it by the addition of special type characters (of which only the alternating forms of *s* offer any meaningful palaeographical information not provided by those used in SW)—records the manuscript's orthography in less detail than does Morris', with the latter's italic marking of expansions. The only abbreviations not so expanded are the crossed thorn sign for 'þet,' which Cockayne consistently renders with the type character þ, and on one anomalous occasion the abbreviation 'Ih^{9}u,' otherwise rendered 'Ihesu,' is printed 'ihū' (39b/8). The crossed, seven-shaped sign representing 'and' is always expanded as 'ant,' the thorn with a crossed descender as 'þurh,' and 'qð' as 'quoð.' Similarly, word division is occasionally altered without notice; no mention of this problem is made by Cockayne in the discussion of his editorial method.



2 · SEINTE MARHERETE

almihti feberef nome. ant ope pitti funef nome ant opef hali gaſtef. Pef in pe ilke time liuiende in londe :' þ eadi meiden marherete bi [15] nome þ faht pið þe feont. ant pið hif eorðliche linen.[16] ant ouercom ant akaſte ham. ant ich bizet hit ipriten of [17] þe pritere þa :' al hire paſſiun ant hire pinful deað [18] þ ha broh for drihtin. Þercnið alle þe mahen. [19] ant herunge habbeð. pidepen mit te peddede. ant [20] meidenef nomeliche luſtnin ſwiðe 3eorne hu [21] ha ſchulen luuien þene liuiende lauerd ant libben [22] imeriðhad þ him if mihte leoueſt ſpa þ ha moten (*fol.* 38) þurh þe eadi meiden þ pe munnið to bei pið meriðhabef [1] menſke. þ murie meidenef ſong ſingen mit tif meiden [3] ant pið þe heoueneliche hird echeliche in heouene.

[4] Þif meiden þe pe munnib pef marherete ihaten. ant hire fleſchliche feder teoboſie hehte of þ heðene folc patriarke ant prince. ant heo af [7] þe deorepurðe drihtin hit dihte pef ibroht into a [8] burh to feden ant to foſtrin from þe muchele antioche fiftene milen. þa ha hefde of elde fiftene 3eref. [10] ant hire moder pef ipenb þe pei þe porldliche men [11] ane ſchulen ipenden. ha parð þeo þ hefde ipiſt [12] ant ipenet hire ſo lengre ſo leouere. ant alle hire [13] luueden :' þ hire on lokeden af þeo þ gob luuede þe [14] heoueneliche lauerb ant hefde þe grace of þen hali goſt [15] ſpa þ heo chef him to luue ant to leouemon. ant bitahte in hif honb þe menſke of hire meriðhab to piten [17] ant to pelden pið al hire feoluen. þuf ha pef ant piſte [18] meokeſt an meiden pið oðer meidenef ope felt hire foſter moderef ahte. ha iherde on euch half hire hu me broh to beaðe criſtef icorne for rihte bileaue. ant 3irnde ant palde 3eorne 3ef godef pille [22] pere. þ ha mofte beon an of þe moder bern þ ſo [1] muche brohen for drihtin. Bitimde umbe ſtunde þ [2] ter com ut of afie toparb antioche þef feonbef [3] an foſter to herien ipe hehe burh hif heðene godef. [4] olibriuf hehte ſchirreue of þ lonb. þ alle þeo þe lefden open liuiende godd. forðude ant forbemde. ah af he [6] pende abei hif pei. he feh þeof feli meiden marherete [7] ant ſchan al of plite ant of paſtum. ant het hif hatterliche [8]

Figure Three: Sample Page of M

The printed punctuation follows that of the MS., with the *punctus elevatus* represented by a semicolon rotated through 180 degrees. However, Cockayne's 'wish to print everything as I found it as much as might be' (p. vi, referring specifically to punctuation) is achieved only haphazardly: for example, periods are not infrequently omitted, apparently by accident (e.g. after 39a/18 'lauerd,' 39a/19 'meiden'), and a colon is substituted for the MS. period after 39b/7 'feder,' the end of the shoulder stroke of the letter *r* apparently being mistaken for the upper dot of a colon. Capitalisation also follows that of the manuscript, although again with some inaccuracy (e.g. 39b/5 'freo' has a capital F in the MS.). With the exception of the decorated capital *E* at the beginning of the text, MS. rubrication is not recorded. However, a new paragraph is started in the printed text where a decorated capital is found in the manuscript at the beginning of a line. Decorated capitals not at the beginning of a line in the manuscript are printed as normal sized capitals where they naturally fall in the unbroken line of print. Scribal corrections in the manuscript are not recorded in the edition's text or paratext.

Treatment of the base text

As the comments in his introduction suggest, Cockayne's treatment of his base text is basically conservative. In the passages I collated against the manuscript (ff. 38a/1-39b/22 and 53a/1-53b/22) he acknowledges emending the text on seventeen occasions, restricted, for the most part, to accidentals. The printed text also differs from the manuscript on a further thirteen occasions unrecorded in the notes, the majority of which are likely to be the result of error, rather than editorial design. Cockayne's editorial practice is thus far closer to that of Morris than Einenkel. However, it should be noted that there are two important differences between the editorial practice of Morris and Cockayne which mean that their texts are of a fundamentally different character. The first is the frequency with which they emend their text: while not remotely approaching the level of emendation undertaken by Einenkel, Cockayne nevertheless acknowledges altering his text approximately six times more often than Morris.[55] The second is that, like Einenkel, Cockayne does not mark his emendations in the text in any way: the reader must refer to the notes at the back of the book to discover both where and how the text of R has been altered. Thus on the page of text, where Morris' emendations are overtly editorial and clearly distinguished from the base manuscript's text, Cockayne's are seamlessly included within it; while Morris' text may be regarded as a more or less successful transcription of an individual manuscript, Cockayne's text, conservative though it may be, is inescapably a more editorial product.

Cockayne acknowledges emending his base manuscript in the collated passage on seventeen occasions by recording the reading of R in the edition's endnotes. Only once (discussed below) is the reading of B recorded in the notes: the reader must work on the at times misleading assumption that B's reading is that adopted in the text, following Cockayne's statement to this effect in his introduction (quoted above). The majority (ten) of these emendations may be regarded as straightforward corrections of scribal error. On five occasions R's scribe makes a simple error and Cockayne adopts B's correct form without alteration: 38a/10 'worldlice' for R's 'wordlice,' 39b/5 'ich' for 'ihc,' 53a/16 'seolf' for 'seolð,' 53b/17 'pineð' for a 'p' followed by three minims and, faintly, the curved stroke of another letter, and 53b/22 the omission of R's 'lu' (at turn of folio, the first word of 54a being 'luueliche'). On three occasions Cockayne adds words from B required by the syntax and so, while involving a more substantive change, may be seen as corrections of simple omission by the scribe (53a/3 'weren,' 53a/8 'ward' and 53a/14 'is'). On two further occasions, Cockayne corrects what he sees as a scribal error but does so by introducing an editorial form, without recording the variant reading of B: at 38b/7 'wastum' is printed where R reads 'wastun' and B 'wastume'; at 53b/4 'stores' is printed for R 'storest' and B 'steores.' The impulse behind printing forms unsupported by the manuscripts is probably conservative, as they involve less change to the accidentals of R than forms attested by B would allow.

---

[55] This statistic was calculated as follows. Morris makes nine emendations to the text of SW, which fills twenty folio sides; if the findings about the passage of six sides of M that I examined can be extrapolated, Cockayne would emend twenty sides of his text on at least 56 occasions. This is, of course, only a rough approximation, especially given that the editions took different manuscripts as their base text. Nevertheless, the difference in the approximated rate of emendation is so great that it must be regarded as significant.

The remaining seven cases are less straightforward. On three occasions, Cockayne emends the text apparently in the belief that he is correcting a scribal error in the text's accidentals, and takes no account of a substantive difference among the readings of the manuscripts and the printed text. At 38b/8 he prints 'neomen' where R reads 'neomem' and B 'neomeð.' As with 'wastum' and 'stores,' the adopted form—which, it seems, would have the scribe write a superfluous minim—allows the editor to restore his text with the minimum possible change to R. However, this leaves unrecorded a substantive difference between the printed text (and following it, the modernisation, p. 52), which reads the verb as an infinitive, and B, in which the verb is imperative; the edition at this point therefore provides an incomplete account of the textual evidence. At 53b/12, Cockayne substitutes B's 'bliðeliche' for R's 'liðeliche.' The reading appears as 'blithely' in the modernisation (p. 71); neither 'bliðeliche' nor 'liðeliche' appears in the glossary and, other than the record of R's reading, no note is given. It seems likely that Cockayne did not realise that 'liðeliche' is a legitimate Middle English word and regarded his emendation as the simple restoration of an initial 'b' carelessly left off by the scribe of R: as discussed above, six years later 'liðeliche' was still regarded as an unusual enough reading to prompt Morris to defend it in a rare piece of direct textual commentary. Finally, at 38a/11 Cockayne adopts B's 'ha warð þeo' for R's 'ha warð as þeo,' and translates the resulting 'ha warð þeo þ hefde iwist ant iwenet hire so lengre so leouere' as 'She became to them that had y-wist (*known*) | and y-weened (*thought of*) her | the longer the liefer' (p. 52). R's reading is possible syntactically but was probably rejected by Cockayne because it is much less satisfactory in context than the reading of B. However (leaving aside reservations about his glosses for 'iwist' and 'iwenet') Cockayne's solution obscures a substantive difficulty with B's reading. Mack compares B with the Latin, 'Cum autem mortua esset mater eius, ampliori desiderio de sua nutrice amabatur,' and points out that

> ...the required translation "She (Margaret) was to the one who had watched over her and weaned her the longer [known] the more beloved" makes it necessary to take *þeo* as a dative form, though it is recorded only as nominative, and more rarely accusative, when used as a pronoun in the singular. Yet the form receives some support from the use of *þeo* as an indeclinable pronoun in the plural in the writings of the Katherine Group' (p. 59).

Cockayne, uninterested in the relationship between the Middle English text and its Latin source, sidesteps this issue by simply reading 'þeo' as a plural pronoun without an antecendent.[56] Nor does he record the fact that B originally read 'ha warð þeo þe ha hefde iwist ant iwenet' and that the corrector expuncted the second 'ha' and added 'hire' after 'iwenet.'[57] The two alternative readings contained in B, along with the variant reading of R and both manuscripts' divergence from the Latin, suggest that there may have been some confusion in the manuscripts' exemplar at this point. Whatever the case, the text in the extant manuscripts is more complicated here than Cockayne's solution allows.

---

[56] Cockayne states that 'it was of no consequence whatever to fix on the Latin from which the tale is taken. The wooing scene between "a clean man and a clean woman" occurs in no other version of the legend that I have seen, and it shows that the English maker was a proficient in his art' (p. vii). Cockayne did, however, direct the reader to the Latin version of the *Life* found in London, British Library, MSS. Harley 5327 and 2801—the very manuscripts from which Mack would take the Latin text printed in her edition (pp. 127-42). Mack describes the English text as 'a free adaptation of its Latin original' (p. xxix). For a detailed discussion of the Latin life and its relationship with the English text, see Mack pp. xxiv-xxxii.

[57] The MED, under the headword 'thē (pron. (1)),' cites the uncorrected text of B as an example of the sense 'those ones whom (sb. fostered).'

On three occasions, Cockayne seems to go beyond the simple correction of scribal errors and regularises the text. At 53a/16 Cockayne substitute's B's 'his' for R's 'is,' but notes that 'we see sometimes tokens of a loss of H in His, as H has been lost in Hit' (p. 49). Cockayne thus recognises that R provides a legitimate form (albeit rare in M, where it is not otherwise attested in either B or R) but emends it to agree with the form found throughout the rest of the text. At 39b/8-10 Cockayne's reading, 'ant him ich... leue on as lauerd,' varies from that of both manuscripts, presumably with the intention of smoothing the syntax: R reads 'ant him ich... leue as on lauerd,' and B 'ant him ich... leue on ase on lauerd.' In the single note referring to an emendation in the collated passage in which Cockayne gives both the R and B readings, he records that both occurrences of 'on' in B are added by the corrector; perhaps because the manuscripts themselves show some confusion about the reading he feels free to emend to his own taste. Mack notes that elsewhere in M the text 'seems to make some distinction between *leuen* with direct object = "to trust, have confidence in," and *leuen on* = "to believe in"' (p. 62), but Cockayne does not acknowledge this distinction and translates his 'leue on as lauerd' as 'believe on as lord' (p. 54, the word is not included in his glossary). Finally, at 53b/17 Cockayne substitutes B's 'him' for R's 'ham' in 'Hwa so omi nome makeð chapele. oðer chirche. oðer ifindeð in ham liht. oðer lampe. þe leome ȝef ham lauerd ant ȝette him [R ham] of heouene,' which he translates 'Whoso in my name | maketh chapel or church | or findeth in em light or lamp, | the leem give em lord, and grant em of heaven' (p. 71). As both this translation and the note to a similar construction at 54a/1 show, Cockayne was aware that the plural pronoun is sometimes used with the indefinite pronoun 'hwa so' (otherwise treated singular, cf. 'makeð,' 'ifindeð'), and so a correction of the text is not required.[58] However, where B has the singular 'him,' Cockayne emends to achieve concord of number; in the case of the pronouns immediately prior to this emendation, B agrees with R in 'ham,' and Cockayne refrains from altering the base text.

The last of the seventeen acknowledged changes to the base text to be discussed is, from Cockayne's perspective, no change at all. Printing 'Yai' ('yes') for R's 'Nai' ('no') at 39b/11, Cockayne notes 'Some might interpret the writing as Nai, but see yenet fol. 37. b. 11, yeue fol. 40. b. 5' (p. 44). Cockayne's argument that the capital *n* is an orthograph representing the letter y is apparently the result of faulty palaeography and poor eyesight. The word he believes is 'yenet' is actually 'ilenet': the minim stroke for the letter *i* is a little taller than usual and so almost reaches the left-pointing wedge of the following letter *l*, thus forming a shape approximately like the capital *n* of 'Nai.' Similarly, Cockayne's 'yeue' is actually 'ileue,' whose letter *l* has an enlarged left-pointing wedge which nearly touches the top of the preceding minim. In addition to requiring these two further misreadings, Cockayne makes his assertion that R reads 'Yai' in the face of considerable contrary evidence: B also clearly reads 'nai'; 'yes' is consistently spelt 'ȝe' previously in the passage (e.g. 39b/6, 10); and 'nai' meaning 'no' is printed

[58] See Cockayne's note to 54a/1 'ham.' Cockayne renders the third person plural pronoun variously as 'em' and 'them' throughout his translation, apparently for stylistic reasons—I can find no certain pattern in their use. His use of 'em' in this case, therefore, is probably not a signal of his doubts about the plural reading.

elsewhere without objection (e.g. 51b/8, 55a/5). The reason Cockayne wishes R to read 'Yai' is not stated, but may be guessed from the context, an exchange between Margaret and Olibrius, who interrogates her about her beliefs: '... leuestu ant luuest him þe reowðfulliche deide ant dreorliche on rode. Yai [BR Nai] quoð heo. ah þeo ðo wenden forto fordon him. þine forðfederes. beoð forfarene reowliche' (39b/10-12). Cockayne, concentrating perhaps on the adversative sense of 'ah,' would read the first word of Margaret's response as an affirmation of her faith, rather than an interjection opening her claim that it was not Christ but those who crucified him who met their fate 'reowliche.'

The apparent weakness of Cockayne's eyesight is probably responsible for three of the thirteen unacknowledged differences between R and the printed text. At 38a/11 Cockayne prints 'ane' (translated 'alone' p. 52) for R's 'alle,' making a small but substantive alteration to the text: 'hire moder wes iwend þe wei þe worldliche men ane [BR alle] schulen iwenden.' Cockayne's confusion seems to be caused by the fact that in the manuscript the second *l* of 'alle' is slightly shorter than the first and so, with its left-pointing wedge, looks somewhat like a minim stroke which is attached to the first *l*—a shape similar to that made by the 'il' combination in 'ilenet' and 'ileue,' but here read by Cockayne as *n* rather than *y*. B even more clearly reads 'alle,' but this is not recorded the notes. At 38b/18 Cockayne prints 'ai' for R's 'aa' and so provides an alterative form of the same word (translated 'aye,' p. 53) which, although not attested elsewhere in M, would have been seen by Cockayne when reading SW and K in T.[59] The confusion here is probably caused by the extreme biting of the second letter *a*, which thus at first glance appears to be a simple minim stroke; closer inspection reveals the hairline strokes of the lobe which attaches it to the stem of the initial a. B reads 'a,' but again this is not recorded in the notes. At 39a/1, Cockayne prints 'little' for R's 'lutle.' In this instance Cockayne, who prints 'lutle' without alteration elsewhere in the text (e.g. 49a/13), may have been confused by the fact that the down-stroke of *t* is exactly the same height as the minims of the *u*, and the top-stroke of the *t* joins with the left-pointing wedge of the second minim of the *u*, thus forming a group of strokes very similar in appearance to a double *t*. B reads in agreement with R, but this is not recorded in the notes.

The misreadings attributed above to Cockayne's poor vision form but a small proportion of the inaccuracies which characterise the collated passage and which are hence probably widespread in the edition. At least seven of the unacknowledged differences between the printed text and R appear to be typographical errors. At 38a/13 Cockayne prints 'god' where both R and B clearly have 'godd' ('God'); that this is not a deliberate emendation is suggested by the fact that 'godd' for 'God' is printed without alteration elsewhere (e.g. 38b/4, 53a/6). At 38a/14 the printed text reads 'gost' where R and B read 'gast,' the latter form being that which is consistently attested by the manuscripts and printed as such elsewhere (e.g. 44b/20, 53a/18). At 38b/2 R and B's 'feondes' is printed 'feondef,' perhaps the result of a printer's muddle of long *s* and *f*, or more likely the use of a malformed piece of type. At 39a/2 Cockayne substitutes B's 'blostme' for R's 'blosme,' but this change seems explicable only as an error, given that at

[59] Cockayne occasionally cites the text of SW and K from both R and T in his essay on the language and in the glossary (e.g. SW, pp. 82, 86; K, pp. 84, 109).

the only other instance where R reads 'blosme' and B reads 'blotsme' (45b/6), R's reading is retained, along with a note that 'blosm is a more correct spelling that blostma' (p. 46). At 53a/9 'te' is printed where B and R read 'to,' but the latter form is printed unemended where it occurs in close proximity (e.g. 53a/7, 53a/10). At 53a/10 Cockayne prints R and B's 'schimminde' as 'schimmende,' entirely against the practice of both manuscripts, and elsewhere the printed text, in which present participles terminate in either –inde (e.g. 46a/20 'creopinde,' 49a/18 'schudrinde') or less often –iende (for short-stemmed OE verbs in –ian, e.g. 37b/21 'liuiende'); at the single instance where one of the manuscripts does give a present particple in –ende, B's 'glistende,' Cockayne prints R's 'glistinde' unemended (47a/12). Finally, at 53b/22 Cockayne adds to R's text the first occurrence of 'hit' in the following phrase, presumably an error as it makes no sense and is not included in his translation: 'ah hwa so eauer mi nome munegiđ. ant hit haueđ hit ofte imuđe,' translated 'but whosoever my name mentioneth | and hath it oft in mouth' (p. 71). (B here reads 'ah hwa se eauer mi nome mungeđ. wiđ muđe,' a variant reading unrecorded in the notes.)

Three of the unacknowledged differences between the printed text and R may be deliberate emendations—probably, given the nature of Cockayne's recorded emendations, corrections of what he regarded as scribal errors. If so, the record of such a change may have been left out of the notes simply by accident: as will be seen below, the inaccuracy of the text extends also to the notes. At 38a/3 Cockayne prints 'heoueneliche' for R's 'houeneliche,' following B and in accordance with the form predominant in R (e.g. 38a/14, 43a/11); he does acknowledge emending 'houene' to 'heouene' at 46b/21. At 38b/22 the printed text reads 'lichomes,' instead of the form found in both R and B, 'licomes.' Cockayne's treatment of this word is not consistent elsewhere in the text: at 37a/17 and 41b/7 both manuscripts read 'licomes,' but while Cockayne retains the manuscripts' reading in the former case, he prints (the less progressive form) 'lichomes' in the latter. At 53b/1, Cockayne prints 'Drihtin' for R's 'Drihđtin,' again following B and in accordance with the form elsewhere in R (e.g. 38a/7, 38b/1). No note is provided on any of these three occasions.

Collation of variants

The corpus of variant readings from B presented in the edition's endnotes is highly selective. For the passages of text I examined Cockayne records only twenty-two accidental and thirteen substantive variants; a further 199 accidental and sixty substantive differences between the two manuscripts go unrecorded. Analysis of the accidental variants which were included shows that they reflect Cockayne's particular interest in the progression of the language from 'Saxon English' (p. 77) to the English of his own century. This interest finds its fullest expression in his essay "On the Language of St. Marherete" (which is introduced by the sentence 'Having before us specimens of our language at different times, we shall do well to turn our attention to some of its changes' (p. 74)), and is also suggested by some of the comments which intermittently accompany the accidental variants in the notes, such as at 53a/13 (where R reads 'wiđuten' and B 'wiđute') 'B. dropping N. and coming nearer to our modern Without' (p. 49), and, in an example taken from outside the collated passage, at 43a/14 (where R reads 'iweddedes' and B

'weddede') 'B. a genitive plural on an older model than R' (p. 45). The great majority (i.e. seventeen out of twenty-two) of the recorded variants are cases where one manuscript—usually B—has a more progressive form of a word than the other, providing specific examples of the variance of form which Cockayne argues throughout his essay are indicative of the transitional nature of the language of M.

Six of the accidental variants are recorded with a comment on the feature they are provided to illustrate; for the remainder an (usually completely obvious) assumption must be made. The most frequent type of variant is that where one of the manuscripts drops or adds a final *–n*, including examples of inflections of past participles (e.g. 39b/16 'utnumen' R and 'utnume' B), prepositions (e.g. 53a/13 'wiðuten' and 'wiðute'), infinitives (e.g. 39a/11 'onswerien' and 'onswerie') and the case endings of substantives (e.g. 53b/21 'deoulen' and 'deofle' (a dative plural)). Other variants include indicators of number and gender (e.g. 39b/19 'his' and 'hise' (plural adjective); 53b/7 'wihtes ƿ' and 'wiht þe' (plural neuter)), and orthographic variations indicative of phonological change (e.g. 39a/1 'hwile' and 'while'). Only five variants resist interpretation in this way; perhaps they were recorded simply as unusual spellings, made more unusual in two cases by the fact that either the collator of B misread the manuscript, or Cockayne misread the collation: 39a/4 'iwurðinge' and 'iwurðine' (wrongly recording MS. 'iwurðinc'); 39a/15 'roa' and 'ra'; 39a/17 'cherden' and 'charden'; 39a/20 'ƿ giwes' and 'þe gios' (wrongly recording MS. 'þe þe gius'); and 53a/7 'martirs' and 'martyrs.'[60]

These five unexplained inclusions aside, the accidental variants recorded by Cockayne seem in general to fit within the type described two paragraphs above. Cockayne does not, however, attempt to provide a comprehensive collection of variants of this type. While he records six instances where one manuscript drops or adds a final *–n*, another fourteen such instances go unrecorded, including examples of past participles (e.g. 39a/2 'iȝeuen' R and 'iȝeue' B), prepositions (e.g. 39a/14 'i' and 'in'), infinitives (e.g. 53a/17 'bitrumen' and 'bitru*mm*e') and case endings (e.g. 39a/16 'honden' and 'honde' (dative plural)). Similarly there are a number of unrecorded variant inflections indicating number and gender (e.g.

---

[60] The twenty-two recorded accidental variants (presented R] B, along with reasons for their inclusion) are: 38b/1 muche] muchel (B retains l of OE myclum); 38b/1 drohen] drehheden (B has weak—and more progressive—form of the verb, but this is wrongly recorded as a variant reading: 'ꝛ drehheden' is added by the corrector in the margin with the indication it be added to the text following 'drohen,' so providing grammatical alliteration); 39a/1 hwile] while (R less progressive form >OE hwile); 39a/2 imene] meane (illustrative of language essay, point 56, p. 96); 39a/2 in bodi] ibodi (illustrative of point 57, p. 96); 39a/4 iwurðinge] iwurðinc (recorded incorrectly as 'iwurðine'); 39a/11 onswerien] onswerie (illustrative of point 14, pp. 80-81); 39a/15 roa] ra (? R has unusual form of OE rā); 39a/17 cherden] charden (? Angl. cærran, cerran); 39a/20 ƿ giwes] þe þe gius (recorded incorrectly as 'þe gios,' which would be a very unusual spelling, unrecorded by the MED); 39b/4 þeow] þeowe (cited in point 18, p. 81); 39b/16 utnumen] ut nume ('dropping N' p. 44, illustrative of point 57, p. 96); 39b/19 his] hise (B 'making the pronoun a declinable adjective,' p. 44); 53a/6 aheuen] aheue ('dropping N' p. 44, illustrative of point 17, p. 81); 53a/7 martirs] martyrs (? OE martyrs, OF martir); 53a/10 ƿ] þe (illustrative of point 40, p. 90); 53a/13 wiðuten] wið ute 'dropping N and coming nearer to our modern Without' p. 49); 53a/19 bidde] bide (B 'the true spelling,' actually a misunderstanding of a substantive variant discussed below, Ich bidde... ƿ tu] ibide þe); 53a/20 to] forte (B '... is now called vulgar English' p. 49); 53b/7 wihtes ƿ] wiht þe (illustrative of points 29 and 40, pp. 86 and 90); 53b/17 hihentliche] hihendliche (perhaps illustrative of point 20, p. 82); 53b/21 deoulen] deofle (variant forms of the neuter dative plural, perhaps illustrative of point 12, p. 80).

53a/17 'eadi' and 'eadie' (plural adjective); 38b/4 'þen' and 'þe' (accusative masculine singular)).[61] While the examples Cockayne does record have a clear illustrative function, I can find no way of distinguishing why some particular variant readings are chosen for this purpose and not others.

Cockayne's collection of substantive variants is also highly selective, the criteria for inclusion apparently being either that B provides material additional to R which is, in Cockayne's view, likely to be original, or that B provides a viable alternative reading that is equally, if not more likely to be original than the reading of R. Only the minimum amount of information required to establish this putative original text is provided—as will be seen below, on occasion Cockayne selects only certain words from a larger variant reading for inclusion in the notes.

The substantive variants which are included are divided into a hierarchy of textual authority by Cockayne's use of editorial commentary and his translation of the text. On five occasions the variant reading is recorded in the notes along with a comment to the effect that the B reading should be regarded as an authoritative part of the text, and the variant is incorporated into the modernization. For example, at 38b/6-7 'he seh þeos seli meiden marherete ant schan al of wlite,' Cockayne records that

---

[61] The 199 unrecorded accidental variants (presented R] B) are: 38a/1 þe] þ, eadi] eadie, þ] þe, munnið] munneð; 38a/2 meidenes] meidnes, tis] þis; 38a/3 houeneliche (*printed* heoueneliche)] heouenliche, þe] þ; 38a/4 þe] þ, marherete] margarete, fleschliche] flesliche, teodosie] theodosie, heðene] heþene, patriache] patriarke; 38a/7 deorewurðe] deorwurðe, wes ibroht into a burh] into a burh wes ibroht; 38a/8 feden] ueden, fostrin] uostrin, elde] helde, fiftene ȝeres] ȝeres fiftene; 38a/10 wordliche] (*printed* worldliche)] worldliche, þe] þ; 38a/11 þ] þe, iwenden] wenden; 38a/12 so] swa (2x), leouere] leuere; 38a/14 þe] þen, gost] gast, heoueneliche] heouenliche, heo] ha; 38a/15 leouemon] lefmon, menske] meske; 38a/18 an] a, oðer] oðre, meidenes] meidnes, felt] feld, moderes] modres, ahte] hahte, icorne] icorene, euch] euich (*at turn of line, division between* u *and* i); 38a/22 so] swa; 38b/2 asie] asye, toward] towart, þes] þe, feondes] ueondes; 38b/3 his] hise; 38b/4 þ] þe, þen] þe, schirreue] shireue; 38b/6 þeos] þis, marherete] margarete; 38b/7 wastun (*printed* wastum)] westume; 38b/8 ha] heo, is] his; 38b/9 to wif halden] halden to wiue, ha] heo, freoin] freohin; 38b/11 lufsum] lufsume, hire schal] schal hire; 38b/12 cnihtes] knihtes, walden] wolden; 38b/13 cleopien] clepien, þus to criste] to criste þus; 38b/15 neauer] neaure, forleosen] forleosun, forlorne] forlorene; 38b/16 þ] þe; 38b/18 gledunde] gledunge, mote] mot, aa (*printed* ai)] a, heien] hehen; 38b/20 bileaue] bileue, þe] þ, fleschliche] flesliche, fulðen] fulþen; 38b/22 þe] þ (2x); 39a/1 little] lutle, lust] lustu; 39a/2 ȝimstan] gimstan, iȝeuen] iȝeue; 39a/3 blosme (*printed* blostme)] blostme; 39a/4 unhwiht] unwhit, leof þe] þe leof, laðest] loþest, weoreð] weorreð, eauer] euer; 39a/8 eauer] euer, neauer] neuer; 39a/9 weorri] wori; 39a/10 healent] helent, þe] þ; 39a/11 schirreue] schireue, þis] þes, schucke] schuckes; 39a/13 as] ase (2x), wed] wedde; 39a/14 as] ase, i] in, fisch] fisc, fon] iuon, þe] þes; 39a/15 healent] helent, as] ase, net] nette, hehe] heh; 39a/16 nu ne leaf... neauer] ne leaf... neuer nu, iluðere monne] iluðeres menne, honden] honde; 39a/17 cnihtes] knihtes; 39a/20 heðene] heþene, on þe] oþe, nane] nan; 39b/1 bringen... him bliue] biliue bringin... him, biuoren] biforen, so] se, heo] ha, icumen] icume, ȝef] ȝif; 39b/4 monne] mon; 39b/5 ihc (*printed* ich)] ich, marherete] margarete, onwerede] ontswered; 39b/6 þeowe] þewe; 39b/7 heie] hehe, heiestu] hehest; 39b/8 deorewurðe] deorwurðe, leouemon] leofmon; 39b/11 reowðfulliche] reufulliche; 39b/12 heo] ha, forðfederes] forðfedres, forfarene] forfaren, reowliche] reuliche, forto] to; 39b/16 warð] wearð; 39b/17 aðet] aþet, cwalmhus] cwal hus; 39b/19 merrin] merren, heide] hehede; , heðene] heþene; 39b/21 bileaue] bileue, heo] ha; 39b/22 seggen] segen; 53a/2 turnden] turden; 53a/4 riht... nome. as þe reue het] right as þe reue het... nome; 53a/5 an] a; 53a/6 stefne] steuene; 53a/7 murhðen] murhde; 53a/8 swa[1]] se, o] of; 53a/9 te] to, deaðe] deaþe, hat] hot; 53a/10 heauet] heued, twemde] tweamde; 53a/12 barst] bearst; 53a/13 bihefden] biheafdin; 53a/14 uorð] forð, underfonne] underuon; 53a/15 ti] þi, fore] uore; 53a/16 seolð (*printed* seolf)] seolf, is (*printed* his)] his; 53a/17 broðer þenne] þenne broðer, eadi] eadie, bitrumen] bitru*mm*e; 53a/19 baðen] baðe; 53a/22 toward] towart; 53b/3 deað idemet her nu] nu deað idemet her, ileanet] ilenet; 53b/4 þoncki] þonki, folckes] folkes, feder] feader, frumschaft] frumscheft, ischapen] ischepen, wruhte] wurhte, storest (*printed* stores)] steores; 53b/7 weldent] wealdent, sehliche] seheliche; 53b/8 me] mi, healinde] healent; 53b/10 so] se; 53b/12 so] se, weldent] wealdent, lustnið] lusteð, an] on; 53b/14 ifindeð] findeð, so] se, omi] on mi; 53b/17 pin (*printed* pineð)] pineð, iþe] I þet, so] se, heo] ha, munnið] munneð; 53b/19 nan] na; 53b/20 bern] bearn, noðer] Nowðer; 53b/21 so] se; 53b/22 munegið] mungeð.

before 'ant schan' B reads 'as ha wes ant wiste up oþe feld hire fost'modres schep. þe schimede' with the comment 'this reading must be accepted' (p. 44). The way B's reading is incorporated into the translation makes clear that Cockayne believes it is necessary to the syntax: 'he saw this seely maiden, | Margaret, | (as she was and wist, | up on the field, | her foster-mothers sheep, | who shimmered) and shone | all of wult (*aspect*)' (p. 52). Similarly, at 39a/1-4 'ich habbe a deore ȝimstan. ant ich hit habbe iȝeuen þe. mi meiðhad ich meane... ant biwit wel ne lettu neauer þe unhwiht warpen hire iwurðinge,' Cockayne notes that B reads 'hit' for 'hire,' with the comment that B's reading 'seems necessary' (p. 44)—presumably on the basis that 'ȝimstan,' the antecendent of the pronoun, requires a neuter form, as is attested previously by 'hit.'[62]

The remaining eight recorded substantive variants are not incorporated into the translation and no comment asserting their textual authority is made in the notes. In these cases, B's reading is certainly viable, but is not regarded as necessary to the syntax or sense of the text. For example, at 53a/10 R's 'wið schimminde ant scharp sweord' is followed in B by the phrase 'wið blikinde ꝛ bitel brond,' an elaboration that is perfectly in keeping with the style of the text, but in no sense necessary to it. However, some degree of textual authority is implicitly bestowed on such variants by their inclusion in the notes. As the following example shows, Cockayne makes a careful distinction between the individual words within B's variant readings which are suitable for inclusion and those which are not. At 53b/17 'iþe hus þer wummon pineð ochilde sone so heo munnið mi nome hihentliche help hire,' B reads between 'nome' and 'hihentliche' the phrase 'ꝛ mi pine lauerd. lauerd.' Cockayne records only 'ant mi pine' (p. 49), probably regarded as viable because of the parallel between the 'pine' of Saint Margaret and a woman in childbirth, whereas the double occurrence of 'lauerd' is considered extraneous to the text.

The partial recording of variant readings occurs elsewhere in the passage, obscuring important textual matters from the reader. For example, at 53b/1 Cockayne prints R's text, 'þah þine runes derne beon ant derne alle ha beoð duhti,' which he translates 'though thine runes (*secrets*) derne (*hidden*) be and dark | they all be doughty (*excellent*)' (p. 70). B here reads 'duhtie þah ha dearne beon. ꝛ derue þine domes'; of this variant reading Cockayne records only a single word, 'domes' for R's 'runes' (p. 49). Without recourse to the manuscripts, the reader must assume that this simple alternative reading is the only difference of any significance between the manuscripts, when in fact the textual situation is more complex and the readings given by both manuscripts are problematic. Mack observes that 'B. *domes* is better for the context than R. *runes,* but the occurrence in both MSS. of the adjectives *derne* and *derue*,[63] the first of which is specially applicable to *runes* and the second to *domes*, rather suggests an original ...

---

[62] The other three occasions on which Cockayne makes a comment conferring authority on B's reading (presented R] B) are: 38a/4 munnid (despite Mack)] munnieð ('read munnið, munnieð B'); 38b/7 his hatterliche] his hird hetterlich ('to be accepted'); 39b/21 het] het i þe oðer dei ('rather improving the text').

[63] In R, the letters *u* and *n* are not distinguishable in the words Cockayne prints identically as 'derne'; Mack's distinction is based on the confirmation given by B's 'dearne.' Interestingly, Cockayne's translation, rendering 'derne' as both 'derne (*hidden*)' and 'dark' attempts to provide for R the elegant variation allowed by Mack's more sensible reading.

þah þine runes derne beon ȝ derue þine domes. alle ha beoð duhtie, which with faulty copying has given the present readings' (p. 78). The combined evidence of the manuscripts renders some form of editorial analysis like this necessary; with its partial reporting of the B variant, Cockayne's edition neither engages in this analysis nor allows it to the reader.

On another occasion, the partial recording of a variant compounds with a misunderstanding of B's reading, resulting in a deficient account of the text. At 53a/19-20 Cockayne prints R's 'Ich bidde qð he þ tu do baldeliche hwil þe god likeð,' which he translates '"I bid (*pray*)," quoth he, "that thou do boldly, | while thee well liketh (*it pleases*)"' (p. 70). B here reads 'ibide þe baldeliche hwil þe god likeð,' which may be translated with Mack as 'Make intercession boldly...' (p. 78). Cockayne records B's variant reading only as 'bide' (with the intriguing note that this is the 'true spelling') for R's 'bidde,' apparently believing the manuscripts to give accidental variants of the 1 pr. sg. form of the verb 'bidden' (>OE biddan), and the 'i' of B's 'ibide' to be a pronoun coalesced with the verb (a scribal practice seemingly described as a phonological phenomenon in the language essay, point 56, p. 96).[64] However, it is more likely that 'ibide' is the imperative of the verb 'ibidden' (>OE gebiddan), with the following 'þe' providing the reflexive dative that accompanied that verb in OE (Mack, p. 78). B's reading is undeniably as viable as that of R, but without the full detail of the manuscripts' readings, the reader is unable to look beyond Cockayne's editorial misunderstanding.[65]

Cockayne's criteria for the inclusion of substantive variants in his notes are not wholly consistent. The sixty unrecorded substantive variants include two readings which it might be expected Cockayne would record.[66] At 39a/20 'þe lauerd þ giwes fordemden ant heðene ahongen ant heuen on rode,' B reads 'þe lauerd þe þe gius fordemden ant drohen to deaðe heðene hongen ant heuen on rode,' the additional three words giving a balance to the phrase which is typical of the style of the text and no less likely to be

---

[64] This is the very misunderstanding that Mack, arguing that B's text—with 'quoð he' supplied from R in her printed text—is probably original, speculates befell some scribe: 'It is probable that at some stage in the history of R. the scribe had mistaken the prefix *i* of *ibide* for the pronoun *i, ich,* and the imperative *bide* for 1 pr. s. of *bidden,* "to bid, beg." Either then or later *þet tu do* would be added to provide a necessary object to *bidde*' (p. 78).

[65] The remaining recorded substantive variations (presented R] B) are: 39a/11 bistaðed] bistepped *(read incorrectly by Cockayne as* bistewwed); 53a/1 buten ende bruken blisse] bruken in blisse buten ende crunene brihtest; 53a/9 wode wise] wodschipe; 53a/14 þi] þ; 53b/4 markedest eorðe] merkedest þe heouene ȝ mote wið þi strahte hond ȝ wið þe icluhte þe eorðe.

[66] The sixty unrecorded substantive variants (presented R] B) are: 38a/2 murie] seli, mit] wið; 38a/4 ant] Ah; 38a/11 ane (*mistranscription of* alle)] alle; 38a/14 hefde] ȝef hire; 38a/18 wille] wil, iherde] herde, ha] ȝ; 38a/22 þe moder] þe moni moder; 38b/4 þeo] *om.*, ah] *om.*; 38b/6 he] *om.*; 38b/7 ant] he; 38b/8 neomen] nemeð; 38b/9 ȝef] ȝ ȝef; 38b/12 þeos] þe; 38b/17 mid] of; 38b/19 healent] lauerd; 38b/20 bitahte from] bitaht to þe from; 38b/22 beo mit sunne isulet] isuled beo in sunne; 39a/1 nu] *om.*; 39a/2 ich] *om.*; 39a/4 he] ȝ, swa] *om.*; 39a/7 mid] wið; 39a/10 hehe] *om.*; 39a/13 mit] wið; 39a/14 ant] *om.*; 39a/15 þe] *om.*, iþe] i; 39a/20 ahongen] hongeden, for ne hereð ha] for ha ne heheð, ant heðene] ant drohen to deaðe ant heðene; 39b/1 bed] het; 39b/5 freo] ȝ softeliche seiðe freo; 39b/6 ant tah] ȝ tah ȝ, ant^2] ah; 39b/7 hersumest] herestu, godd feder] heh feader healent in heouene; 39b/8 as] to; 39b/11 dreorliche] reuliche; 39b/17 into^1] in, into^2] i; 39b/19 soðden] þenne swa forð; 39b/21 hire] *om.*, ant] *om.*; 53a/2 ocristes] hit ocristes; 53a/3 þ] ȝ; 53a/8 he o] he al o; 53a/16 mid] wið; 53a/18 biteache mi] biteache him mi; 53a/19 qð he þ tu do] þe; 53b/4 al] a; 53b/8 unsehliche] unsehene; 53b/17 me] þi; 53b/19 iher] her, þ^1] ne, þ^2] *om.*; 53b/20 misbilimet] mislimet; 53b/22 ant hit haueð hit ofte imuðe] wið muðe.

original than B's 'ꝛ mi pine,' discussed above. Similarly, at 39b/6-7 B's 'heh feader healent in heouene' is better suited to the alliteration than R's 'godd feder' in 'ȝe quoð he. ant hwet godd heiestu ant hersumest. ich heie qð ha godd feder: ant his deorewurðe sune.'

Finally, it should be noted that on no occasion in the passages examined does Cockayne suggest that both manuscripts are substantively in error and the correct reading subject to editorial conjecture.

Cockayne's text and the corrector of B

As was mentioned above, B has been corrected as far as f. 21^{r} by a reviser whose text 'stands in close relationship to R., since in nearly all cases the correction brings the text of B. into agreement with R., even where... it is probable that B. preserves the original reading' (Mack, p. xv). The details of the relationships among these three texts will not in themselves be discussed here, as a full account of them may be found in Mack's introduction (pp. xiv-xix) and notes (pp. 2-12, 57-63). Cockayne mentions the work of the corrector on only one occasion, 39b/10 'on as on,' discussed above, where he records 'both ons [are] by the corrector' (p. 44). This means that the collation of B from which he was working recorded, at least occasionally, the places where the corrector *added* to the original text of B. Elsewhere, the additions made by the corrector bring the text of B into agreement with R and so, given that there was no variant reading to record, either the collator or Cockayne may have felt it unnecessary to note that the text in B was provided by the corrector. The only exception to this is at 38b/1, where the corrector writes 'ꝛ drehheden' in the margin—words not present in R—with an indication they be inserted after 'drohen.' No mention is made of the corrector in the edition and, as was discussed above, 'drehheden' was mistakenly registered as an alternative reading for R's 'drohen,' and the 'ꝛ' simply lost. The clearness with which the intention of the corrector is indicated in B makes it highly unlikely the collator misunderstood the correction; it seems probable therefore that the confusion was caused by some unclearness in the way the corrector's text was recorded in the collation itself.

More significantly, the readings of B deleted by the corrector—including instances where Mack convincingly argues that B 'preserves the original reading' (p. xv)—are not recorded in the edition.[67] It seems unlikely that Cockayne would simply have passed over these readings without comment, given his sympathy for the view that a text should be made 'as perfect as possible, whether by collation or emendation' and the fact that on five occasions in the passages of the edition I examined he made statements to the effect that B's reading is authoritative—clearly he believed B to have some value as an independent witness to the text. The possible independent authority of the deleted readings is also

---

[67] See, for example, Mack's commentary on 4/27 and 8/27 (pp. 59 and 62). The readings in B deleted by the corrector and unrecorded in the edition (presented Printed Text] B's reading before correction) are: 38a/11-12 hefde iwist ant iwenet hire] ha hefde iwist ant iwenet (ha *expuncted,* hire *written above line by corrector after* iwenet); 38a/15 *crossed out between* meiðhad *and* to: hire wil ꝛ hire werc. ꝛ ne þ heo eauer iþe world iwald hahte; 38a/18 an meiden] alre milde (*crossed out,* a meiden *written in margin*); 38b/20 fleshliche] ulche (*subpuncted and crossed out,* flesliche *written in margin*); 39a/4 hit is] ꝛ (*expuncted,* hit is *written in margin*); 39a/6-7 *crossed out between* toward *and* mid: wið willes wið werkes; 39a/8 hit] me (*expuncted,* hit *written above line*); 39b/10 ȝe] hu dele (*crossed out,* ȝe *written above line*).

pointed up by the fact that the corrector's text is closely related to R. This relationship is obvious when the manuscripts are systematically and critically compared, a process that the textual commentary in the endnotes indicates Cockayne had undertaken. It seems reasonable to speculate that the collator, whose task—more mechanical than critical—was to record the text of B, did not see the significance of the deleted text and did not trouble himself to record it. Whatever the reason for their omission, the absence of these readings from the edition represents a significant loss of textual evidence for the reader.

Paratext

The paratext of Cockayne's edition of M is no less idiosyncratic than his text. The Middle English poems are preceded by the one page 'Review' discussed above—written in Modern English but nonetheless printed with thorns and eths—and a four page 'Foreword,' in which Cockayne provides the reader with the bibliographical details of the texts included in the publication, as well as his thoughts on the current state of the editing of vernacular texts (see above; also adequately discussed above are the 'Various readings and notes,' the curious 'modernisation' of M, and the essay "On the Language of St. Marherete," all of which follow the text). The most distinctive item in the edition is the glossary, which covers 'only the more uncommon words' in the text (p. 97, the glossary itself pp. 97-113). Cockayne, an assistant-master at Kings College School, London, and a member of the Philological Society, had wide-ranging scholarly interests, and had published (among other works) a study of the etymological relationships among various words from the English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Sanskrit languages.[68] As the sample entries in Figure Four below show, he brought to his glossary of M a broad philological perspective, and while the glossary may be an example of the work described by the DNB as 'characterised by both learning and originality,' it must have proved baffling to the great majority of EETS' subscribers.

[68] Oswald Cockayne, *Spoon and Sparrow, ΣΠΕΝΔΕΙΝ and ΨΑΡ, Fvndere and Passer; or, English Roots in the Greek, Latin and Hebrew: Being a Consideration of the Affinities of the Old English, Anglo-Saxon, or Teutonic Portion of our Tongue to the Latin and Greek; with a Few Pages on the Relation of the Hebrew to the European Languages* (London: Parker, Son, and Bourn, 1861).

UNGEINLICHE, fol. 44. a. 12. Gain is *commodum*, Ungainly is *incommode*, Gein spoken of roads is only *compendiosus* as that is *commodus*: ȝein, *commodus*, occurs in the Epistola Alexandri: *commodum*, St. Marh. here fol. 51. b. 9. The root syllable seems to approach the earlier forms of Unne, below.

UNNAN, *to favour*, fol. 54. b. 8. The sense *concedere* passes to *favere*. The substantive Unne is *favour* in Laws and Inst. p. 115, line 40. The cognates are the Norse Unna, the reciprocal form of which Unnask, is *to entertain mutual affection*; þan Helgi ok Svâva veittusk varar ok unnusk furðu mikit. Helgakviða Hiorv. S. 31. in Sæmunds prose; *Helgi and Svava exchanged troth and loved each other wondrous mickle*; the German Gönnen, *to permit*, Gunst, *leave, favour*, the low German Gunnen, of old written also Gannen, where they alledge an ancient gloss, Gegant, Gegunnet, *favore addictum*, the Mœsogothic Ansts, χάρις, and the Latin Venia, which is as large in its range as any of its northern kindred. Speaking of this coincidence to a learned friend, he immediately added חֵן, *gratia, favor, benevolentia*, חַנָּה, *Hannah*, יְהוֹחָנָן, and חָנַן, *favit*. God, *good*, in the passage above is used adverbially as in God likeþ, fol. 53. a. 20. Cf. yfeles unnon. Paris Psalter, Ps. xxxix. 17.

UNOFSERUET, *undeserved*, fol. 50. b. 5. þu hauest for me swa muche iwraht wiðuten min ofseruinge. Juliana, fol. 67. a. 19. Cf. Ancren Riwle, fol. 62. b, fol. 63. a.

WANDRIEN, *to be in misery*, fol. 46. a. 11. Hwen hit þer to cumeð þat sar sorhfule angoise. þat stronge ant stikinke stiche

Figure Four: Extract from the glossary of M, p. 111.

Chapter Five: Two alliterative romances in EETS editions

The 'Alliterative Revival' of the fourteenth century produced a considerable variety of works—embracing, for example, secular romances, religious visions and poems on contemporary social conditions—and so provided material relevant to a number of EETS' interests in the nineteenth century (see Chapter Two). Thus there is in alliterative verse a considerable body of published editorial work, from which texts similar enough to allow a productive comparison of their editorial procedures may be selected. All alliterative poems in Middle English share formal features which may be used by editors in establishing the text, namely alliteration, metre, and the use of rhetorical formulae.[1] Those which are extant in only a single witness also pose their editors a distinct task: assessing the value of, and subsequently treating, that witness as the basis of an edition in the absence of other textual evidence. Two such poems were chosen for this study. The alliterative *Morte Arthure* (MA), found only in Lincoln Cathedral MS. 91 (the Thornton Manuscript), was edited in 1865 by G. Perry (OS 8), and again in 1871 by Edmund Brock (also OS 8).[2] The reissue of the text in a 'new edition' by a different editor—an exceptional circumstance at a time when other texts were being reprinted by EETS with only minor corrections—is of particular interest, as it raises the question of whether editorial practices which were acceptable in 1865 were considered beyond the pale six years later. The work of both Perry and Brock will therefore be examined. *William of Palerne* (WP), found only in Cambridge, Kings College MS. 13, was edited by Walter Skeat in 1867 (ES 1).[3] Skeat's edition is based on the 1832 edition of Frederick Madden, and so offers the additional interest of showing the response of one of EETS' most productive and influential editors to the work of the pre-eminent Middle English scholar of the previous generation.[4]

---

[1] For a detailed, if outdated, survey of the formal features of alliterative verse, see J. P. Oakden, *Alliterative Poetry in Middle English*, 2 vols. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1930-35). On metre and alliteration in works of the alliterative revival, see especially vol. 1, pp. 153-200; on characteristic vocabulary and alliterative phrases, see vol. 2, pp. 175-93 and 263-363; and, more generally, on style, see vol. 2, pp. 392-401. A brief description of the metre and diction may be found in Thorlac Turville-Petre, *The Alliterative Revival* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer; Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman & Littlefield, 1977) 48-92.

[2] MA is written on ff. 53^{r}-98^{r} of the manuscript. A large number of studies have been published which describe and analyse various aspects of the manuscript; for a facsimile and description of it as a whole, see *The Thornton Manuscript (Lincoln Cathedral MS. 91)*, intro. Derek Brewer and A. E. B. Owen, Rev. ed. (London: Scolar Press, 1977). Other descriptions of the manuscript as a whole may be found in Gisela Guddat-Figge, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Romances* (Munich: W. Fink, 1976) 135-42, and R. M. Thomson, ed., *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1989) 65-69. Note that in preparing this Chapter I have consulted the facsimile, and not the manuscript itself.

[3] WP is written on ff. 4^{r}-86^{r} of the manuscript. A detailed description of the manuscript may be found in G. H. V. Bunt, ed., *William of Palerne: An Alliterative Romance* (Groningen: Bouma's Boekhuis bv, 1985). Brief descriptions may also be found in Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts other than Oriental in the Library of King's College, Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895) 22-25, and Guddat-Figge, pp. 84-5.

[4] Frederick Madden, ed., *The Ancient English Romance of William and the Werwolf*, Roxburghe Club 48 (London: Roxburghe Club, 1832).

Scholarly assessments of the manuscripts of both poems have swung from an assumption that they are generally sound and should be treated conservatively, to a belief that they are corrupt and require extensive emendation, and back again. In the case of MA, the first scholarly editions of the poem—those of Perry and Brock—treated the manuscripts conservatively (see below), and in 1900 their successor, Mary Macleod Banks, stated that there were 'few variations' between the text of her edition and that of Brock.[5] However, two scholars who also studied the poem at the turn of the century, Ferdinand Holthausen and Franz Mennicken, argued for a more radical treatment of the manuscript's text. They believed that alliterative verse in Middle English was subject to strict alliterative and metrical rules, and that by the application of these rules to the (inherently corrupt) text of the manuscript, along with the usual tools of rigorous textual criticism, the poem could be restored to something more like its original form.[6] According to J. L. N. O'Loughlin's assessment of Mennicken's work, the 'number of emendations proposed for a poem of 4,000 odd lines was unbelievably high. Logically, in fact, the position was, that the text was so corrupt that emendation by comparison with any other line of the poem was fraught with the gravest danger.'[7]

Mennicken's metrical theories and their attendant suggestions for emendation proved to be more controversial than influential. In 1913 Erik Björkman, who two years later produced a critical edition of MA, stated that 'those emendations of MENNICKEN's which are based on metrical considerations seem to me, as a rule, to be of no or little value and will certainly not convince those who, like me, do not believe in his metrical theories.'[8] However, other aspects of the German scholars' work did have real influence. Björkman believed that 'MENNICKEN's other emendations are... generally worthy of consideration and often seem to be correct,' and pointed out in a footnote that the class of emendations he dismissed did not include 'such emendations as are based on the alliterative system of the poem.'[9] A glance through the textual apparatus of Björkman's edition reveals he regularly emended his text on the basis of Holthausen and Mennicken's suggestions; O'Loughlin confirms that 'roughly 50 per cent. of the emendations [Björkman] admitted are based on alliterative requirements as postulated by Mennicken and Holthausen.'[10]

---

[5] Mary Macleod Banks, ed., *Morte Arthure: An Alliterative Poem of the Fourteenth Century* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1900). The EETS editions were preceded only by James Orchard Halliwell, ed., *Morte Arthure: The Alliterative Romance of the Death of King Arthur* (Brixton Hill: Printed for private circulation, 1847). Halliwell's edition, of which only seventy-five copies were made, makes no mention of emendation. This suggests that his editorial method was conservative, but I have not examined his text in any detail.

[6] Franz Joseph Mennicken, "Versbau und Sprache in Huchowns Morte Arthure," *Bonner Beitrage zur Anglistik* 5 (1900): 33-144; Ferdinand Holthausen, "Litteratur," *Englische Studien* 30 (1901-2): 269-78.

[7] J. L. N. O'Loughlin, "The Middle English Alliterative *Morte Arthure*," *Medium Ævum* IV (1935): 153.

[8] Erik Björkman, "Notes on the 'Morte Arthure' and its Vocabulary," *Minnesskrift af Forna Lärjungar tillägnad Professor Axel Erdmann* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri-A.-B., 1913) 35. The edition edited by Björkman is entitled *Morte Arthure* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitatsbuchhandlung; New York: G. E. Stechert & Co., 1915).

[9] Björkman, "Notes on the 'Morte Arthure,'" p. 35.

[10] O'Loughlin, p. 155.

O'Loughlin's criticisms of Holthausen, Mennicken and Björkman, published in 1935, signalled a return to a conservative treatment of the manuscript. O'Loughlin argued that the metrical and alliterative system of the poem is more flexible than the previous three scholars had allowed, and demonstrated that the vast majority of the lines they regarded as irregular (and so requiring emendation) do fit within a recognisable alliterative pattern, or are justifiable in other ways. This argument was accepted by the next scholarly editor of MA, Valerie Krishna, whose conservative rendition of the manuscript may be regarded as the current standard text of the poem: 'O'Loughlin's contention that many of the emendations proposed by Mennicken and Holthausen were based on overly rigid metrical and alliterative requirements is accepted here, and emendations are considered only in cases where no sense can be made of the MS reading.... Where an emendation is made, an attempt is made to account for the scribal error.'[11]

The first modern edition of WP, that of Frederick Madden, is also the most conservative. Madden presents a meticulously diplomatic text, printed in black-letter type to replicate the scribe's textura hand as closely as possible, including the marks of abbreviation: 'The Romance is printed, as nearly as possible, in exact accordance with the Ms. and not the slightest liberty has been taken, either with the punctuation or orthography. It is, in short, as near a fac-simile of the original, as could be imitated by typography.'[12] A small number of 'Corrections of the MS.' are printed as endnotes, separate from and secondary to the manuscript's text.[13]

Subsequent to publication of Skeat's edition, Max Kaluža recommended seventy-eight conjectural emendations be made to the (already frequently emended) text presented by Skeat, in addition to numerous suggestions regarding punctuation.[14] While Kaluža did not suggest altering the text on the scale proposed for MA by Holthausen and Mennicken, he shared with those scholars the assumption that the manuscript is corrupt, and that an editor should, through the means of textual criticism, restore to the poem its original readings—on a number of occasions Kaluža would emend the text to improve the

---

[11] Valerie Krishna, ed., *The Alliterative Morte Arthure: A Critical Edition* (New York: Burt Franklin & Co., Inc., 1976) 14-15. Krishna argues that the Winchester manuscript version of Book V of Malory's *Le Morte d'Arthur* (which was discovered in 1934, and is much closer to the text of MA than the Caxton version previously known) strengthens arguments for 'the desirability of a conservative handling of the text... [as it] support[s] a number of the MS readings that had been emended by Björkman' (p. 14). Mary Hamel, ed., *Morte Arthure: A Critical Edition* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1984) prints the Winchester manuscript at the foot of the pages of the text of MA. She believes that the Winchester manuscript version of Malory's text provides new evidence which may be used in producing a critical text of MA, but nonetheless treats the Lincoln Cathedral manuscript conservatively: 'The central emphasis in this edition... is on the identification and analysis of error; the editor has attempted to take a fresh look at all readings questioned in the past and to raise a few new questions. To quote Vinaver... these are the questions: "We should ask ourselves in the first place, 'What does the extant reading mean?' and if no satisfactory answer is forthcoming, go on to ask: 'Can it be shown to be a scribal error?'"' (Hamel, p. 76, quoting Eugène Vinaver, *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, vol. 1, 3 vols., 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967) cvii-cviii.)

[12] Madden, p. xvii.

[13] Madden, pp. 201-207.

[14] Max Kaluža, "Das Mittelenglische Gedicht William of Palerne und seine Französische Quelle," *Englische Studien* 4 (1881): 280-283 (punctuation), 283-7 (changes to the text).

alliteration or make it read (in his view) more logically, even though the manuscript makes sense as it stands. Foster and Gilman, working from a more conservative perspective, took issue with twenty-two such emendations, arguing that 'although many of Kaluža's suggestions are helpful, some seem to be revision rather than emendation.'[15] Nevertheless, Foster and Gilman went on to propose sixteen new emendations of their own. Many of these were in turn rejected by G. H. V. Bunt, whose edition, now regarded as the standard text, is based on a conservative editorial position similar to that of Krishna: 'The present edition aims at reproducing the Ms. text as faithfully as possible, and respects the manuscript reading wherever it is not manifestly in error.... emendation is introduced only to correct obvious errors which impair the sense, not to improve metre or alliteration.'[16]

Perry's edition of the alliterative *Morte Arthur*

In the introduction to his edition, Perry states that MA is 'printed from' the manuscript (p. vii), and that the printed text follows the manuscript's lineation—unlike the text of his editorial predecessor, Halliwell, in which the manuscript's long alliterative lines are divided in two (p. viii). Perry also points out that manuscript's contractions have been expanded in italics, and notes

> ...it will be observed that there is no regularity in the spelling used, a final *e* being sometimes appended to words, sometimes not. Great care has, in fact, been taken to reproduce exactly the *irregularity* which is one of the most marked features of the spelling of this manuscript (p. viii).

He then goes on to describe the conventions used to record the manuscript's orthography (discussed further below). Although brief, Perry's description of his work clearly suggests that he is an editor of a conservative orientation, a fact which is borne out by an examination of his editorial practice: he makes only eight acknowledged emendations over the entire 4,346 lines of the romance, six of which are restricted to matters accidental (the insertion of individual letters seemingly omitted by the scribe in error), the remaining two (the insertion of pronouns) improving the syntax without altering the sense. Perry is, then, primarily concerned with recording the text as it is manifested in the manuscript, rather than presenting a notional, original text of the literary work. However, his attempt to provide a diplomatic transcription of the manuscript's text in print is substantially undermined by the innumerable inaccuracies endemic to his work. In the 201 lines of the printed text I collated against the manuscript

---

[15] Edward E. Foster and Gail Gilman, "The Text of *William of Palerne*," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 74 (1973): 492 (the discussion of Kaluža, 492-4). Foster and Gilman examine Skeat's edition, listing his divergences from the text of the manuscript and the 'manuscript phenomena' not noted by him and criticising a number of his emendations (pp. 483-492). In his subsequent edition of the poem, Bunt is highly critical of Foster and Gilman's work, claiming 'their article is marred by numerous inaccuracies, including several misprints, and by evidence of faulty understanding of the text. Their list of Skeat's divergences from the Ms. is incomplete, but also includes cases where Skeat is right and Foster and Gilman are wrong. Their [list of manuscript] Procedures and Anomalies Not Noted by Skeat includes several details duly noted by Skeat, where his critics have overlooked his remarks' (p. 12). Bunt himself provides a list of Madden and Skeat's misreadings of the manuscript (Appendix II, pp. 332-335). I have found Bunt's list to be reliable.

[16] Bunt, p. 13. Of Foster and Gilman's suggested emendations, Bunt states 'I am unable to accept most of their proposed emendations, some of which are evidently insufficiently considered' (pp. 12-13). Bunt's conservative attitude extends to the retention of manuscript readings he believes are 'clearly corrupt' but which 'however corrupt, mak[e] sense' (p. 284, note to lines 118-20 of the text). It should be noted that Bunt's edition was preceded by the publication of Norman Toby Simms, ed., *William of Palerne: A New Edition* (Norwood, Pa.: Norwood Editions, 1973). This edition enjoyed limited distribution in the United States only, and is reported by Bunt to be of little scholarly value (p. 12).

(ll. 491-591 (ff. 58^{v}/17-59^{v}/25) and ll. 1900-2001 (ff. 73^{v}/1-74^{v}/10)) I found 58 instances where the printed text represents the manuscript erroneously. A small proportion of the errors make a substantive difference to the text, and these, along with Perry's rationalisations for them in the paratext, indicate significant deficiencies in his palaeographic and philological scholarship.[17]

Perry's preface is followed by a short essay by Skeat "On the Metre of the Poem" (pp. xv-xix). Skeat's account of alliterative verse is descriptive, rather than prescriptive, and as such is more concordant with a conservative approach to the text than one which would emend on the basis of a metrical theory. Skeat first explains the basic properties of alliterative verse using an example of a 'convenient type' of the alliterative line (p. xvi), one which could be represented *aa/ax*. He then illustrates 'the peculiar freedom and elasticity of alliterative verse' (p. xvii) with a description of the numerous ways that the text of MA varies from the standard pattern, including examples of half lines which have more than two stressed syllables, lines with varying numbers of words carrying the alliteration (or, in one case, no alliteration), lines where the alliteration falls on unemphatic syllables, and a line where stressed syllables clash. Finally, the first fourteen lines of the poem are printed with the caesura and accented syllables marked. Skeat's scansion appears to be based on the assumption that the reader's understanding of alliterative metre must adapt to the text as it stands in the manuscript, rather than that the text might be adapted conform to the reader's assumptions about alliterative verse (e.g. he notes that line 14 has 'the rather unusual number of six accents, unless *how* was slurred over' (p. xix)).

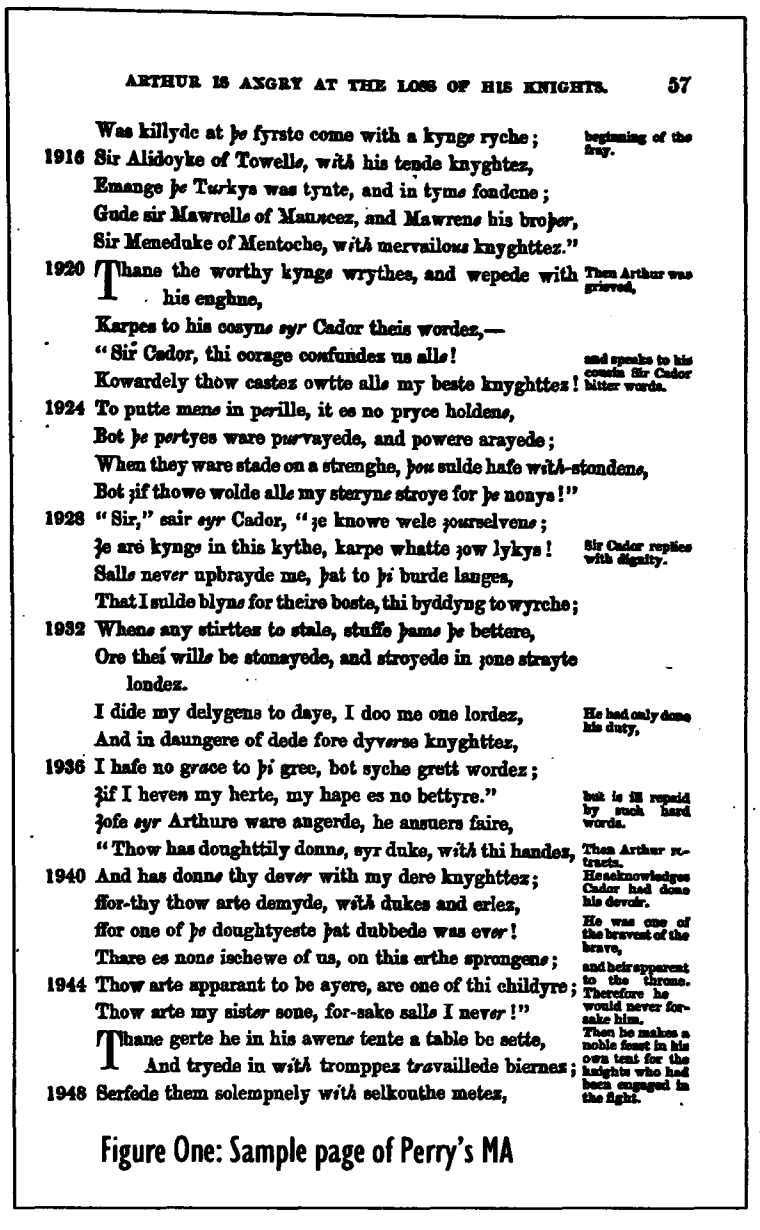
Presentation of manuscript detail

In a manner resembling Morris' SW, a significant amount of the manuscript's formal detail is represented or recorded in Perry's edition's text and paratext. The text is printed in a roman fount of the modern English alphabet, with the addition of the MS. characters þ and ȝ (ð is not required). As was stated above, the division of the text into long alliterative lines follows the manuscript.[18] The capital letters printed at the beginning of each of these lines are consistent with the practice of the manuscript, including, of course, the use of *ff* for capital *F*. Otherwise, however, the capitalisation and punctuation of the printed text are modern; the manuscript's marking of the caesura, rubricated to f. 69^{r} and plain thereafter, is not recorded in the printed text. The decorated initial capitals in the manuscript which divide the text into sections are represented in print by large capitals which extend downward through the leading to the bottom of the line below, although a large capital *T* and regular sized *h* are used in place of the manuscript's decorated *Þ*, as it appears the printer did not have the appropriately sized piece

---

[17] Perry was made aware of some of his inaccuracies after the text was sent to print but before he finished his introduction, which includes a page of corrigenda. He explains that 'one sheet of the poem [being the gathering with the signature '3', pp. 33-48, ll. 1088-1633] having been inadvertently sent to the press before the final collation with the manuscript was made, a list of *corrigenda* (most of them unimportant) has to be supplied' (p. xiv; the corrigenda itself p. xx). A small number of corrections from lines outside gathering 3 are also listed on p. xx, but none are from the passages I examined with the manuscript.

[18] In Perry's edition, line 2591 is mistakenly given the number 2592, throwing the numbering out by one from this point in the text onward. Note, however, that references in this discussion are always made to the correct numbering, in order to avoid confusion with, and enable convenient reference to, the editions of Brock and Krishna, both of whom avoid Perry's error.



ARTHUR IS ANGRY AT THE LOSS OF HIS KNIGHTS. 57

Was killyde at þe fyrste come with a kynge ryche; — beginning of the fray.
Sir Alidoyke of Towelle, *with* his tende knyghtez,
Emange þe Turkys was tynte, and in tyme fondene;
Gode sir Mawrelle of Manacez, and Mawrene his broþer,
Sir Meneduke of Mentoche, *with* mervailous knyghttez."
Thane the worthy kynge wrythes, and wepede with his enghne, — Then Arthur was grieved,
Karpes to his cosyne *syr* Cador theis wordez,—
"Sir Cador, thi corage confundes us alle! — and speaks to his cousin Sir Cador bitter words.
Kowardely thow castes owtte alle my beste knyghttes!
To putte mene in perille, it es no pryce holdene,
Bot þe portyes ware purvayede, and powere arayede;
When they ware stade on a strenghe, þou sulde hafe *with*-stondene,
Bot ȝif thowe wolde alle my steryne stroye for þe nonys!"
"Sir," sair *syr* Cador, "ȝe knowe wele ȝourselvene; — Sir Cador replies with dignity.
ȝe are kynge in this kythe, karpe whatte ȝow lykys!
Salle never upbrayde me, þat to þi burde langes,
That I sulde blyne for theire boste, thi byddyng to wyrche;
Whene any stirttes to stale, stuffe þame þe bettere,
Ore thei wille be stonayede, and stroyede in ȝone strayte londez.
I dide my delygens to daye, I doo me one lordez, — He had only done his duty,
And in daungere of dede fore dyverse knyghttez,
ȝif I hevene my herte, my hape es no bettyre." — but is ill repaid by such hard words.
ȝofe *syr* Arthure ware angerde, he ansuers faire,
"Thow has doughttily donne, syr duke, *with* thi handez, — Then Arthur retracts.
And has donne thy devor with my dere knyghttez; — He acknowledges Cador had done his devoir.
ffor-thy thow arte demyde, *with* dukes and erlez,
ffor one of þe doughtyeste þat dubbede was ever! — He was one of the bravest of the brave,
Thare es none ischewe of us, on this erthe sprongene; — and heir apparent to the throne.
Thow arte apparant to be ayere, are one of thi childyre; — Therefore he would never forsake him.
Thow arte my sister sone, for-sake salle I never!" — Then he makes a noble feast in his own tent for the knights who had been engaged in the fight.
Thane gerte he in his awene tente a table be sette,
And tryede in *with* tromppes travaillede biernes;
Serfede them solempnely *with* selkouthe metes,

Figure One: Sample page of Perry's MA

of type (see Perry's footnote to 288 'Than'). The rubricated incipit on f. 53^{r} and explicit on f. 98^{v} are differentiated from the main text by the use of black-letter type (pp. 1 and 128). Occasionally—particularly at the beginning of the text—substantive scribal corrections are recorded in notes at the foot of the text (e.g. a footnote to 124 'lowde' reads '*hyghe* in text, erased, and *lowde* written in margin'). Coverage of such corrections is, however, far from comprehensive. The foliation of the manuscript goes unrecorded.

Abbreviations in the manuscript are expanded in italics. The crossed, seven-shaped sign representing 'and' is always expanded as '*and*,' in accordance with manuscript practice. The sign meaning 'sir,' a long *s* crossed by curved stroke, is expanded as '*syr*'—a form attested by the manuscript (e.g. 625, 1267), albeit less frequently than the more usual 'sir' (e.g. 1916, 1918, 1922). As is explained in Perry's introduction, the scribe's habitual practice of writing the terminal letter of some common words above the line is generally represented by printing those letters, as well as any letters they signal are contracted, in italics: MS. þ^{e} is printed as 'þ*e*' (e.g. 492, 493), þ^{t} as 'þ*at*' (e.g. 523, 529), þ^{i} as 'þ*i*' (e.g. 551, 1930) and þ^{u} as 'þ*ou*' (e.g. 1926)—all spellings in accordance with the predominant forms in the manuscript where the words are written on the line in full.[19] MS. w^{t} is printed as 'w*ith*' (e.g. 504, 506) and y^{i}s as 'y*is*' (e.g. 515).

By far the most frequent italicised 'expansion' is that of final *e*. As was seen above, Perry was aware that the use of final *e* by the scribe was not regular; his approach to preserving this irregularity in the printed text means, as he explains it, that 'in no case has a final *e* been added unless indicated by a strong and decided mark' (p. viii). Despite the judiciously negative formulation of Perry's explanation, in practice he made profligate use of the editorial final *e*, as a glance at Figure One (above) will show. Thornton's hand is characterised by the frequent otiose strokes typical in current scripts of his period, all of which Perry apparently considered to be 'strong and decided.' However, there is considerable inaccuracy in Perry's

[19] Perry explains that 'the threefold variation in the writing of words beginning with *th* has been carefully followed. [A footnote to this sentence reads '*The, This, That, Thus, Thou, Thi, These,* etc., are sometimes written in this manuscript as at present spelled, sometimes with the Y and the final letter out over it, sometimes with the Y and the other letters following in a line; *e.g.* That, Y^{t}, Yat, This, Y^{s}, Yis. In the second of these cases the letters are printed in italic; in the third in roman type.'] The form of the thorn letter (þ) has been adopted in the printing, instead of the form used in the manuscript (Y), as it has been thought more agreeable to the date of the composition, and more in unison with the other publications of the same period printed by the E.E.T.S. There can be no doubt that the two forms represent substantially the same sound' (pp. viii-ix).

record of which final *es* are editorial. In passages I collated against the manuscript, eleven editorial final *es* are not italicised, and one italicised *e* is in fact present in the manuscript.[20] There are also three cases where a word in the manuscript terminates with a stroke which, according to Perry's practice elsewhere, should result in the addition of a final *e*.[21] Nor is this problem restricted to final *e*, as I found eighteen instances where other (more legitimate) expansions go unrecorded or are recorded incorrectly.[22] The level of inaccuracy is thus high enough to render Perry's text unreliable as an account of the manuscript's specific orthography, despite his hope that 'several careful collations' of the printed text against the manuscript have made the edition 'near perfect' (p. ix). Furthermore, the letters *u* and *v*, and *i* and *j*, are silently redistributed in accordance with the modern distinction between their consonantal and vocalic functions. No mention of this practice is made in the introduction.

Treatment of the base text

The text of Perry's edition is presented to the reader as a rigorously diplomatic transcription of the manuscript's text. In the passages I examined, he acknowledges altering the text on just two occasions, both of which are arguably not emendations proper. At 541 'þ[i]s,' the use of square brackets suggests that Perry has made good the scribe's careless omission of the letter *i*, but in fact the *i* is written above the line between the other letters. This is perhaps the result of an error in Perry's transcription, as his use of square brackets here is an anomalous exception to the convention, described above, of printing in italics letters written above the line in the manuscript (compare, for example, line 515, where MS. þ^{i}s is rendered 'þ*is*'). At 1905 'an awntere,' Perry records in a footnote that the words are 'written in MS. *a nawntere*'; he alters the text presumably either to assist inexperienced readers, or because he felt the scribe's word division to be erroneous. While metanalysis may be better considered here, as it was in the discussion of the Katherine Group editions, as a matter relating to the representation of the manuscript's formal detail rather than the establishment of the text, Perry's decision to record editorial word division is nonetheless illustrative of the intended diplomatic nature of his text.

Given the paucity of editorial changes in the passages I examined with the manuscript, it seemed appropriate to study some of the emendations acknowledged elsewhere in the text. A careful scan of the text revealed only six further cases where Perry acknowledges altering the text of the manuscript over the entire 4346 lines of the poem—an extraordinarily low rate, far lower even than the conservative standard set by Morris' edition of SW. All are insertions of individual letters or pronouns, rather than

---

[20] The following eleven words should have an italicised final *e*: 493 mene; 496 Tille; 533 alle; 539 þane; 572 Tille; 576 tille; 585 Alle; 1904 Ewaynedyre; 1917 fondene; 1966 foure; 1967 entire. The final *e* of 501 sugg*oume* is erroneously italicised.

[21] The three cases are: 1999 Launcelott, 1900 kyng, and 1931 byddyng (cf. 83 king*e*... kyng*e*, to which Perry gives the footnote 'A tag (†) is appended to these g's, which is to indicate a final *e*.')

[22] Perry neglects to use the necessary italics shown in the following words: 493, 1915 and 1920 w*ith*; 498 Lu*m*berddye; 520 ettell*es*; 557 *and*; 565 mou*n*tes; 1910 Suter*s*; 1939 *syr*; 1998 cast*es*. At 552 *qua*rte, the letter q is italicised unnecessarily. To be consistent with Perry's practice elsewhere, 1992 sheltrone should be printed as sheltron*ne* and 1994 renownd as renown*n*d. 510 þ*at* should be printed as þ*at*; 528 segnou*ry* as segnou*rry*; 580 hono*ur*able as hono*ur*able; 1925 p*er*tyes as p*ar*tys (cf. 212 ap*er*ty and its respective entry in the corrigenda, p. xx); and 1928 3o*ur* as 3o*ur*.

the replacement or suppression of text, and are clearly marked off from the manuscript's text with square brackets. In four cases, a single letter is inserted which has been erroneously omitted by the scribe or, in the first instance listed, obscured by a mark in the manuscript: 433 'hy[m],' 715 'whe[n],' 809 'cony[n]geste,' 900 'hym*e*-se[l]fen*e*.' The remaining two cases are substantive in that they involve the insertion of an entire word into the manuscript's text. Nevertheless, while improving the syntax, they do not alter the sense of their respective lines, and it seems likely that Perry considered them also to be corrections of scribal slips: 1783 'He sall*e* noghte dere us to daye, the devyll*e* have [his] bones,' and 4009-4010 'Than kaughte they upe þ*e* cors w*i*t*h* kare at theire hertes / Karyed [it] one a coursere w*i*t*h* þ*e* kynge selfen*e*.' Perry is no doubt justified in regarding the first of these two emendations as the correction of a scribal error; compare, for example, 2934 'the devell*e* have 3o*ur* bones,' and 3776 'the fende have thy bonys.' However, the second may be less straight forward. Notwithstanding the fact that there is a word-sized hole in the manuscript between the words 'Karyed' and 'one,' Krishna apparently believes the unemended reading to be legitimate, citing 'Karyed' in her glossary as being 'with pron. obj. unexpressed' (p. 227).[23]

I found only three instances where Perry indicates that the manuscript may require emendation. On each occasion he prints (what he construes to be) the manuscript reading in the text and tentatively offers an alternative reading in a note at the foot of the page. At 340 he prints 'arou*u*ede' with the footnote 'The reading of this word is somewhat doubtful. Halliwell reads *aprovede*, but there is certainly no trace of a *p* in the MS.' Halliwell's *pr* is in fact no more contentious than Perry's *r:* it seems clear to me that Brock and Krishna are correct in transcribing the manuscript's reading as 'ajo*u*mede.' In the corrigenda, Perry instructs the reader to read 'arou*m*ede' (p. xx), which is in turn defined in the glossary as 'enlarged.' As the corrigenda and the glossary were written after the text was sent to print (see footnote seventeen above), it seems that at the time he completed the text, Perry was willing to print a potentially inexplicable word in his text, in order to remain faithful to (his view of) the palaeographical evidence. When writing the glossary, however, he found a means of accounting for the manuscript's reading by reinterpreting rather than emending the palaeographical evidence (albeit rather wishfully so—the sign of contraction in the manuscript is clearly not the *titulus* used elsewhere to represent a contracted *m*).[24]

Similarly, at 1534 'ffore-maglede,' Perry records in a footnote that 'Halliwell reads "sore manglede."' Perry's footnote seems to be prompted by uncertainty about the legitimacy and meaning of what is a

---

[23] For a brief discussion of the non-expression of the object-pronoun, see Tauno F. Mustanoja, *A Middle English Syntax* (Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 1960) 144-5.

[24] Interestingly, the OED follows Perry in this error. The online edition of the OED cites the line as the single attestation of the verb 'aroom,' with the meaning 'to extend, prolong,' derived from OE '*on rúm, on rúme*, to set at a space or distance.' This entry can be traced back to the first volume of the original *New English Dictionary*—published in 1884, after the publication of Brock's corrected edition, but work on collecting words for the dictionary started some years before this, when Perry's edition would have been the most widely available edition (see K. M. Elisabeth Murray, *Caught in the Web of Words: James A. H. Murray and the Oxford English Dictionary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977) 135 ff.)

particularly unusual word,[25] and Halliwell's reading may be offered by way of a possible solution. Nonetheless, Perry prints the manuscript's reading in his text, and defines the word in his glossary 'engaged, hardly pressed.' Although perhaps uncharitable, it is impossible not to suspect a degree of guesswork in this glossary entry, especially when comparing it to the etymologically based explanations of Brock ('*p.p.* mangled... Sc. *magil, maigil*, to mangle *(Jamieson)*') and Krishna ('*pp.* utterly crushed... OE *for-*+AF *mangler*'). Finally, at 4056 Perry prints the manuscript's reading as 'T*r*eynte' in the text (but making a typographical error—the final letter of the word in the manuscript is a long, crossed *s*, rather than an *e*), along with the footnote '? Tamar.' His uncertainty about this reading comes from the context: it is part of a passage which describes Arthur following Mordred through 'Dorsett' (4052) into 'Kornewayle' (4054). Again, Perry's unwillingness to make a substantive alteration to the manuscript's text may be judicious. Although the suggested emendation has an obvious attraction, Krishna for one dismisses it, suggesting that the manuscript reading 'very likely refers to the small stream named *Trent*, also called *Piddle*, that flows into Poole Bay at Wareham in Dorset' (p. 202).

While the passages I examined contain only two instances where Perry acknowledges altering the text, there are a further twenty-five unreported differences between the printed text and the manuscript (over and above the inaccuracies in reporting the expansion of contractions previously described). While this belies the editor's representation of his text as a diplomatic transcription of the manuscript, the nature of the unreported differences is such that it may be assumed that they indicate his fallibility, rather than disingenuousness. Sixteen are alterations of accidentals without significance and seem certain to be the result of carelessness in transcription or type-setting, as the same forms are elsewhere printed from the manuscript without alteration.[26] It is highly probable that another two are also errors of transcription or typography but, as the same form does not appear elsewhere in the manuscript, this claim cannot be substantiated.[27] The remaining seven involve the confusion of *u* and *n*, letters which are, by palaeographical criteria alone, indistinguishable in the manuscript. Four are of purely accidental significance, and it might be argued that Perry's chosen form is acceptable, despite the fact that Brock and Krishna agree in the alternative reading.[28]

---

[25] Neither 'foremagled,' nor any reasonable guesses at variant spellings, are cited in the MED or OED.

[26] The sixteen altered readings (presented Perry] MS.), together with citations of unaltered occurrences of the manuscript form, are: 491 they] þey (cf. 43, 168); 494 flede] fleede (cf. 1432, 3068); 512 ffor] ffore (cf. 141, 219); 540 that] þat (cf. 556, 557); 551 send] sende (cf. 556, 1685); 552, 1929 this] þis (cf. 151, 161); 1901 þere] þare (cf. 134, 430); 1923 owtte] owte (despite Brock and Krishna, who read with Perry, cf. 9, 30); 1928 sair] sais (cf. 136, 227); 1928 selvene] selfene (cf. 331, 338); 1927, 1931 for] fore; 1972, 1986 the] þe (cf. 23, 53); 1987 traystez] traistez (cf. 2870).

[27] The two altered readings (presented Perry] MS.) are: 550 dreste] dresce (most likely a confusion of the similarly shaped letters in this hand; note also that at 1072 and 2042 the word occurs in printed text, unaltered from the manuscript, with the spelling dresse); and 588 Johnne] Iohne (referring here to the doubled n—the *J* is an example of the normalisation of *i* and *j*).

[28] The four readings are: 491 stowuntyng*e* (cf. stownntyng(*e*) BrKr); 1920 enghne (cf. eughne BrKr); 532 haundez and 552 staunde (cf. hanndez and stannde BrKr—but note Krishna's launde*s* at 58, 98, 154 *et al.*).

Three cases, however, make a substantive difference to the text. At 501, where the manuscript reads 'sonondaye' ('Sunday'), Perry prints 'sevondaye' (the *v* being a normalised incarnation of *u*, and the *e* a further confusion of the manuscript's writing), a word not attested elsewhere in the manuscript and not included in Perry's glossary, but presumably taken by him to mean 'a week' (cf. 153, 380 'sevenyghte'); alternatively, it may be an error of transcription influenced by the occurrence of 'sevende day' ('seventh day') thirteen lines earlier (488). Similarly, the manuscript's 'neynesom' ('nine-some') is printed 'neyvesom*e*' in 523 'Be-fore þ*at* noble of name *and* neyvesom*e* of kynges.' Perry's glossary entry for 'neyvesome' simply gives its meaning as 'renowned'; neither the OED or MED record this word, but perhaps Perry believed it to be derived from the verb 'neven,' to name. At 558 Perry prints 'covaunde' where the manuscript more likely reads 'conaunde' (cited in the MED under 'conning (ppl.) 1(a) Possessing skill in a profession, art, or craft; skilled, skilful, expert, competent'). In the glossary, Perry defines 'covaunde' as meaning 'careful'; how, or from where, he derives this word must remain a matter for speculation.

These three cases suggest that Perry's philological expertise, and consequently the reliability of his text, is limited. Given the serious implications of this suggestion to an assessment of Perry's editorial work, I checked all glossary entries specifically citing words from the passages of text previously examined with the manuscripts, and found two philological errors. 561 'strates' is given the definition 'streets, paths,' presumably meaning the still common word derived from OE *stræt*. However, the context of the passage makes it clear that, despite the unusual spelling, the MED is right to cite this line as an example of 'streit' (n) a, 'A narrow pass between hills or mountains, defile,' derived from the OF *estroit;* 'street' is neither listed in the MED among this word's possible senses, nor makes satisfactory sense given the setting of the action at this point in the poem. 'Suters' is given the meaning 'stalls' where it occurs in the lines 'The sevondaye [MS. sonondaye] in suters þay suggo*ume* þeire horsez, / And sekes þ*e* Seyntez of Rome, be assente of knyghtes' (501-2). 'Suters' here is surely Sutri, a place north of Rome, as Krishna and Brock have it in their glossaries, and recognised by Perry where the word occurs elsewhere (1627, 1871 and 1910). Perhaps Perry construed the lines to mean that the entourage made their way on foot to the 'Seyntez of Rome' from the place where they 'suggourne[d] þeire horsez'—a possible interpretation, but not one necessitated by the text—and considered Sutri to be beyond walking distance from Rome. (Brock too was doubtful, as the line reference to this occurrence of 'Sutri' in his 'Index of Names' is preceded by a question mark (p. 134).) However, I found no word for a housing place for animals in the MED or OED which resembles 'suters'; Perry's definition appears to be a guess, made from the context and without philological foundation. Further evidence of Perry's limitations as an editor will be presented below, in the discussion of problematic readings emended by Brock but not noted by Perry.

Brock's edition of the alliterative *Morte Arthur*

During the 1870s, EETS undertook a process of reprinting the texts from the first two years of its operation, in order to supply back-issues to subscribers who joined the Society after copies from the

initial print-run had run out (see Chapter Two). Usually these appeared under the original editor's name and were, with the exception of a small number of isolated corrections, no different from those of the initial print-run. OS 8, however, was described on its title page as a 'New Edition' under the name of a different editor, Edmund Brock. All that is said of the original edition, and the editorial practices of the new, is as follows:

> The poem is printed from the Thornton MS., in the library of Lincoln Cathedral; no other copy is known.... The present edition appears instead of a reprint of Mr Perry's, but differs from it in several respects; the text has been carefully read throughout with the MS. at Lincoln, and corrections made, where needful; the side-notes are greatly altered, often replaced with new; a new Glossary has been written, and an index of names and some notes added (p. viii).

The most readily apparent of the differences between the two editions is in the glossary. Upon even the most cursory examination, it is obvious that Brock's glossary is by a considerable margin the more comprehensive of the two, filling some seventy-three pages (pp. 136-208, following a separate 'Index of Names,' pp. 129-135), in comparison with Perry's glossary of sixteen pages (pp. 129-44, without an index of names). The entries for individual words in Brock's glossary are more detailed than Perry's—Brock lists all the spellings of the words which occur in the text and gives line references to examples of all of them, and occasionally provides etymological detail and/or references to relevant scholarly works or other Middle English texts. This difference may be expressed statistically: a count of the headwords on five pages taken at random in both editions showed that Brock's glossary contains an average of 48.6 words per page, and Perry's an average of 56.8 words. Thus in terms of the amount of data provided in the glossary, Brock's edition is an enormous advance on Perry's. As will be evident from the discussion (above and below) of the two editions, Brock's glossary is also the more reliable source of accurate philological information.

The differences between the other elements of the paratext in the two editions are far less significant. Perry's Preface is for the most part given over to an enthusiastic but essentially useless review of the poem, which he characterises as the 'expression of inexperience, of thoughtlessness and light-heartedness, not bearing the marks of complicated state of society, where the restless struggle for social superiority absorbs the energies and gives a grave cast to the reflections' (p. x), filled with instances of a 'noble contempt for the probable' (p. x), 'highly-spirited diction' (p. xi) and 'vigour and life' (p. xii); he also ruminates on the date and unknown authorship of the poem, and provides some basic bibliographical details about the manuscript and Halliwell's edition (discussed above). While Brock rewrites the Preface in a more scholarly and, in reducing it to two pages, concise style, he does not communicate any substantive new information, giving only a very brief account of the contents of the poem, its date and authorship, and the manuscript and Halliwell and Perry's editions (pp. vii-viii). Brock also reprints the essay "On the Metre of the Poem," to which Skeat has made a few minor revisions, quoting examples from *Piers Plowman* from his own, rather than Wright's edition, adding a new paragraph on the MA poet's practice of using the same initial 'rime-letter' in several consecutive lines (pp. ix-xiii).[29] Only

[29] Thomas Wright, ed., *The Vision and Creed of Piers Ploughman*, 2nd rev. ed. (London: John Russell Smith, 1856); Skeat, OS 28 (1867-85).

Brock's four pages of explanatory and textual notes contain substantial material not found in Perry's paratext (pp. xiv-xvii, discussed at various points below).

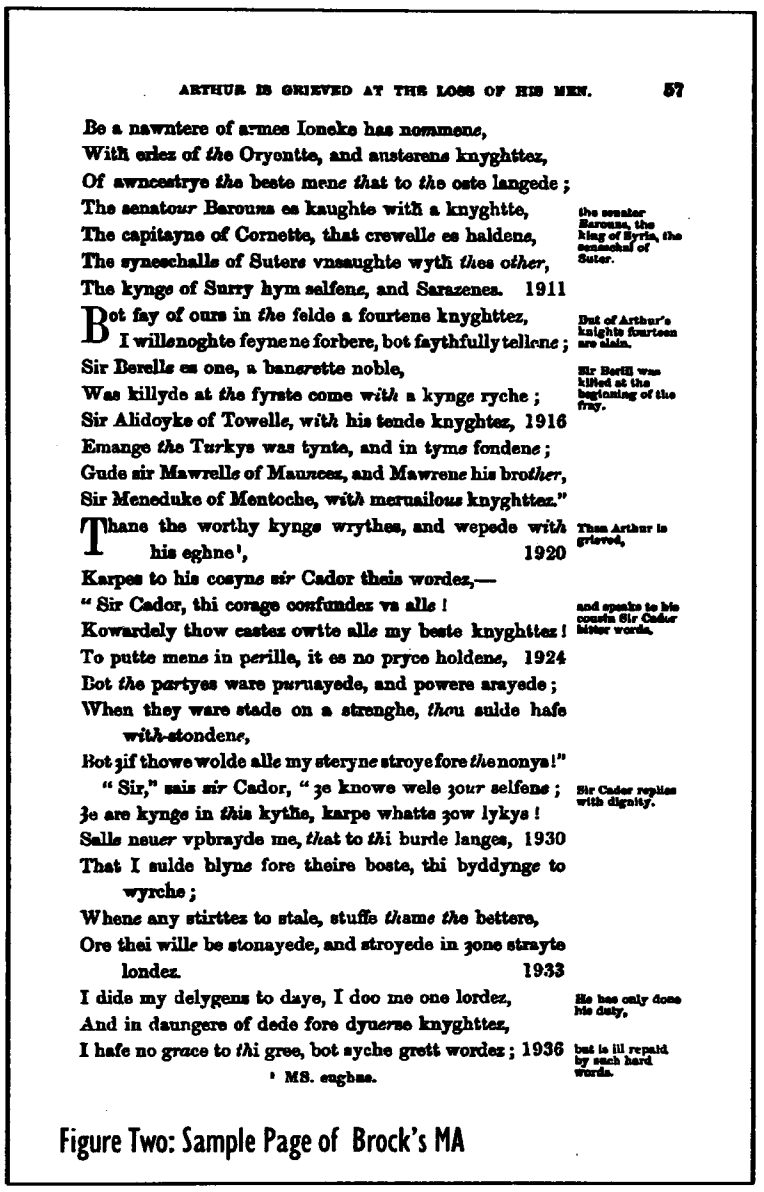
As a comparison of Figures One above and Two below might suggest, the differences between the texts of the two editions are also much less radical than those between the glossaries. While remaining a conservative editor—at least as conservative as Morris—Brock emends or suggests emending the text considerably more regularly than Perry, and in so doing demonstrates a greater awareness of the flaws in the manuscript's text, and superior palaeographical and philological skills. Brock also corrects the vast majority of the inaccuracies which beset Perry's text. However, Brock's editorial method is fundamentally the same in nature as Perry's. Like Perry, emendation of the text is restricted for the most part to accidentals, and, in the great majority of cases, substantive emendations are suggested to the reader because the sense of the text as it stands in the manuscript is not otherwise intelligible. EETS did not undertake a 'new edition' of MA because there had been an advance in editorial practice *per-se*. Rather, it seems that Brock's edition was published because of the deficiencies in Perry's execution of an accepted editorial method, and because a more substantial glossary was required.

Presentation of manuscript detail

The formal details of the manuscript recorded in Brock's edition are substantially the same as those recorded by Perry, as are the conventions used to represent them in print. However, Brock's edition does differ from Perry's in several respects. While the roman fount used to print Brock's text did include a yogh, it was without a thorn; the manuscript *þ* is represented by italicised *th* in the printed text.[30] Several special type-characters, described below, are also used to reproduce in print otiose strokes made in the manuscript. The letters *u* and *v*, and *i* and *j*, are printed as they occur in the manuscript. Punctuation is again editorial, but Brock's pointing of the text regularly differs from that of his predecessor. Also, where Brock is certain a final *e* should be sounded, he prints it with an acute accent, not found in either the manuscript or Perry's edition (e.g. 1979 'cité,' 241 'leueré'). The incipit on f. 53^{r} is printed in emboldened roman type; the explicit on f. 98^{v}, however, remains in black-letter (pp. 1 and 128). The foliation of the manuscript is recorded, enclosed in square brackets, in the outside margin of the printed page.

[30] The verso of the title page of Brock's edition records the printer as 'Clay and Taylor, Printers, Bungay.' This company was not one of the printers regularly used by EETS, and so may not have been equipped with the necessary specialist type. EETS' financial statement for 1871 records that payment for the reprinting of OS 8 was made to John Childs and Son, a printer frequented by the Society in this period; perhaps John Childs and Son, who received payment for eleven other EETS publications in 1871, found it expedient to sub-contract OS 8 to Clay and Taylor.

Like Perry, Brock expands manuscript abbreviations in italic print, but there are a number of minor differences in the way this convention is applied in the two editions. The sign meaning 'sir' is expanded as '*sir,*' rather than '*syr*'—Brock electing to use the spelling most frequently attested in the manuscript. Brock does not record which letters are written above the line, although any additional letters they signal are contracted are printed in italics: MS. þ^{e} is printed as '*the*' (e.g. 492), þ^{t} as '*that*' (e.g. 523) and þ^{u} as '*thou*' (e.g. 1926). Also, there are a small number of occasions on which Brock believes the *titulus* above an *n* or *u* to be otiose and so prints the stroke itself, rather than an expanded letter (e.g. 142 'corouñde,' 1992 'sheltroñe.') Although Brock regularly adds a final *e* to words where the scribe writes an otiose stroke, he does so with a little more discrimination than Perry. The stroke that crosses the ascender of the letter *h* in the manuscript is never taken to represent a final *e*, but is recorded with a special type character ħ (e.g. 567 'witħ,' 1 'thurgħ,' 28 'kytħ'). This type character is also used to show crossed *h*'s where they are not in terminal positions (e.g. 1929 'kytħe,' where the letter *e is* written in the manuscript). In the case of one word alone, 'alls' ('as'), the manuscript's crossed double *l* is represented by the type character ŧ, rather than an editorial final *e* (e.g. 1590, 1989, 2152)—presumably because Brock knew that in this case final *e* is not etymological and there is no instance in the manuscript where a spelling with *e* is attested.[31] These few exceptions aside, Brock, like Perry, adds a final *e* wherever the scribe writes an otiose stroke at the end of the word. Brock, however, documented this editorial process scrupulously: in the passage I examined he achieved complete accuracy in recording or representing the expansion of contractions, editorial final *e*'s, and unexpanded otiose strokes. As a record of the specific orthography of the manuscript, Brock's edition may be considered a great advance over that of Perry.



ARTHUR IS GRIEVED AT THE LOSS OF HIS MEN. 57

Be a nawntere of armes Ioneke has nommene,
Witħ erles of *the* Oryentte, and austerene knyghttez,
Of awncestrye *the* beste mene *that* to *the* oste langede;
The senato*ur* Barouns es kaughte witħ a knyghtte, — the senator Barouns, the king of Syrria, the seneschal of Suter.
The capitayne of Cornette, that crewelle es haldene,
The syneschalle of Suters vnsaughte wyth *thes other*,
The kynge of Surry hym selfene, and Sarazenes. 1911
Bot fay of ours in *the* felde a fourtene knyghttez, — But of Arthur's knights fourteen are slain.
I willenoghte feyne ne forbere, bot faythfully tellene;
Sir Berelle es one, a bane*re*tte noble, — Sir Berill was killed at the beginning of the fray.
Was killyde at *the* fyrste come *with* a kynge ryche;
Sir Alidoyke of Towelle, *with* his tende knyghtez, 1916
Emange *the* Turkys was tynte, and in tyme fondene;
Gude sir Mawrelle of Mauncez, and Mawrene his bro*ther*,
Sir Meneduke of Mentoche, *with* merualious knyghttez."
Thane the worthy kynge wrythes, and wepede *with* his eghne[1], 1920 — Then Arthur is grieved,
Karpes to his cosyne *sir* Cador theis wordes,—
" Sir Cador, thi corage confundes vs alle! — and speaks to his cousin Sir Cador hister words.
Kowardely thow castes owtte alle my beste knyghttez!
To putte mene in perille, it es no pryce holdene, 1924
Bot *the* partyes ware purtayede, and powere arayede;
When they ware stade on a strenghe, *thou* sulde hafe *with*-stondene,
Bot 3if thowe wolde alle my steryne stroye fore *the* nonys!"
" Sir," sais *sir* Cador, " 3e knowe wele 3our selfene; — Sir Cador replies with dignity.
3e are kynge in *this* kythe, karpe whatte 3ow lykys!
Salle neuer vpbrayde me, *that* to *thi* burde langes, 1930
That I sulde blyne fore theire boste, thi byddynge to wyrche;
Whene any stirttes to stale, stuffe *thame the* bettere,
Ore thei wille be stonayede, and stroyede in 3one strayte londes. 1933
I dide my delygens to daye, I doo me one lordes, — He has only done his duty,
And in daungere of dede fore dyuerse knyghttez,
I hafe no grace to *thi* gree, bot sythe grett wordes; 1936 — but is ill repaid by such hard words.
[1] MS. eughne.

Figure Two: Sample Page of Brock's MA

Treatment of the base text

Brock's greater accuracy extends beyond his recording of the formal features of the manuscript. In the passages I collated against the manuscript I found only three unacknowledged differences between the printed text and the manuscript; all three are probably errors of transcription or typography, as the same forms are elsewhere printed from the manuscript without alteration. In this regard, Brock's editorial

[31] Only the following spellings are attested in the manuscript: as, als, alls, aŧs (e.g. 32, 409, 1687, 1989 respectively). In words other than alls, the crossed double *l* is represented in print by the addition of a final *e* (e.g. 492 alle, 500 appairelles).

standards are at least as high as those of Morris and Einenkel. At 491 Brock prints 'they' (i.e. without italics) where the manuscript reads 'þey' (cf. 43, 168); at 1923, he prints 'owtte' for 'owte' (cf. 9, 30); and at 1901 he prints 'yare,' but in the glossary entry for this word instructs '*Read Th*are,' deciding that the manuscript's orthograph should be read as a thorn (p. 207; *y* and thorn are indistinguishable in Thornton's hand, so Brock and Perry interpret the difference in signification throughout the text). It will be noted that Perry's text was also in error in these three places, reading 'they,' 'owtte' and 'þere' respectively. As there is no particular confusion in the manuscript at 491 and 1923, these shared errors suggest that, as might be expected, Brock used Perry's printed text as his copy text.[32]

Two differences between the printed text and the manuscript are acknowledged by Brock in the passages I examined. Both are emendations of accidentals. At 1920 Brock prints 'eghne,' noting that the manuscript reads 'eughne' (read by Perry as 'enghne,' see above), apparently believing the scribe to have made an error when writing the form of the word attested at 426, 1087, 1238 and 2962. Similarly, at 1996 he prints 'wyt[h]' for the scribe's 'wyt,' in accordance with the manuscript's correct and regularly occurring form (e.g. 2000, 2387). Note that Brock rightly prints '*th*is' for Perry's 'þ[i]s' at 541, and at 1905 prints 'a nawntere,' without comment, in accordance with the manuscript's word division.

Once again, the paucity of editorial changes in the passages I examined with the manuscript made it appropriate to study some of the emendations acknowledged elsewhere in the text. Other than the two cases mentioned in the previous paragraph, Brock follows every emendation Perry acknowledges making to the text. However, Brock emends on many more occasions than Perry. A careful scan of the first 1500 lines of the poem revealed seventeen occasions on which Brock acknowledged emending the text. Fifteen of these were emendations of accidentals, which may be categorised as follows. Six involved the addition of an individual letter, surrounded by square brackets, to a word; the examples of such emendations in Perry's work given above may also stand here as examples. Another six emendations involved the deletion or substitution of individual letters in word, with the manuscript reading recorded in a footnote to the text. For example, 169 'cheualrye' is printed for MS. 'chelualrye,' and 1123 'genitales' is printed for 'genitates.' Three emendations involve changes to word order. For example, at 230 Brock emends 'That ne he myghte' to read 'That he ne myghte,' presumably, like Krishna, to enable 'that he' to function as a 'relative pronoun equivalent' (Krishna, p. 168).

On only two occasions in the first 1500 lines of the text does Brock acknowledge making a substantive emendation. At 134, Brock inserts the copular verb 'is' (made distinct from the manuscript's text with square brackets), and so, like Perry elsewhere, supplies a word necessary to the syntax without

---

[32] A possible trace of the copy-text underlying Brock's editorial work emerges in an endnote which corrects an error in the text. At 2616 both Perry and Brock print 'Cyr*us* witrye' in the text. Perry leaves these words unexplained, there being no glossary entry, textual note or marginal paraphrase relating to them. Brock however, obviously after the text had been sent to print, realised that there was an error and states in an endnote: '*Cyrus witrye* should be *cyrqwitrye*. The letter *q* is raised a little and looks very much like the usual contraction for *us*. Cyrqwitrye = surquidry, arrogance, pride.' The entry for 'Cyrus' in Brock's Index of Names refers the reader to the glossary entry for 'Cirquytrie,' which in turn notes that line 2616 is 'wrongly printed.'

significantly altering the sense. At 135 Brock substitutes 'for' for the manuscript reading 'full' (recorded in the footnote as 'full*e*) in the sentence 'Thow durste noghte for all*e* Lumb*er*dye luke on*e* hym ones.' Despite Perry's editorial silence, the text as it stands in the manuscript is unsatisfactory—perhaps the result of a scribal error influenced by the double *l* of the word following—and Brock's emendation is both obvious and sensible. It is, however, unusual for Brock to emend the text in this way: elsewhere, when he believes that the manuscript's text contains a substantive error, he prints the manuscript's reading unaltered in the text and suggests an emendation in the paratext, occasionally in a footnote, but more usually in an endnote.

For the most part, Brock suggests substantive emendation of the text only in response to manuscript readings which are not in themselves satisfactorily intelligible. For example, at 515-16 Brock follows the manuscript in printing 'That will*e* he neu*er* for no waye of all*e* *th*is werlde ryche, / Bot who may wynn*e* hym of werre...' A footnote to 'waye' reads '? wye,' a suggestion Krishna incorporates in her text, attributing her emendation to Brock, and explaining that 'no sense can be made of [line 515] or of line 516, containing the relative pronoun *who*, which needs an antecedent, if *waye* is retained' (p. 171). At 2519 Brock is more directive, instructing the reader in an endnote that the manuscript reading 'With birenne ony borne' (printed unemended in the text) 'is corrupt; no doubt the right reading is, *With-outene eny berne.*' Krishna again emends her text in accordance with Brock's suggestion, with the justification that the word 'birenne' is 'unknown' and that 'Malory has *withoute*' (p. 190). Brock was, of course, unable to consult the Winchester manuscript of Malory's text, but his suggested emendation, although without this textual support, is sensible in context.

By way of contrast, Perry does not explicitly note the difficulties inherent in the manuscript's reading in these two cases. At 515, the paraphrase in the margin of the text suggests that he does read 'waye' as 'wye' ('...Arthur is too great to do that for anyone'), but the spelling 'waye' is not given, nor the line cited, under the headword 'Wyes' in his glossary.[33] At 2519 Perry prints 'With birenne ony borne' in accordance with the manuscript, but what he understands this to mean is unclear—the marginal paraphrase does not cover the line, there is no textual note, and 'birenne' is not included in the glossary. Another example of Perry silently following the manuscript where Brock considers emendation necessary provides evidence that this silence may, at least occasionally, be attributed to obtuseness. At 3282-3 Perry and Brock print, in accordance with the manuscript, 'Þe two eyne of þe byeryne was brighttere þane silu*er*, / The toþ*er* was ȝalowere then*e* the ȝolke of a naye.' Brock's endnote reads 'this is clearly an error for "the tone eye" = (the) one eye. "One eye of the man was brighter than silver, the other was yellower than the yolk of an egg."' Perry gives no textual note, but his marginal paraphrase reads 'the first a little man [referring to 3278] with eyes brighter than silver,' leaving the 'toþ*er*' of 3282 unexplained and inexplicable. (Brock changes the paraphrase to read 'the first was a little man with lean loins and long hair,' referring to attributes described in 3279-80.)

---

[33] The entire glossary entry reads 'Wyes or wyese (sing. *wy* or *wye*), men, 56, 533.'

Only twice does Brock suggest a substantive emendation where the manuscript is in itself perfectly intelligible. Of 1572, 'Thare sall*e* no silu*er* hym saue bot Ewayn*e* recouer*e*,' Brock notes that 'the alliteration would be improved by reading *bot* [*sir*] *Ewayne*' (Brock's square brackets). At line 1911, 'The kyng*e* of Surry hym selfen*e* and Sarazenes,' an endnote reads 'the line is incomplete; add [many]' (Brock's square brackets). The later emendation is arguably necessary, as the second half line is certainly metrically deficient; Brock's solution, although given some support by similar constructions in the text (e.g. 1295 'senato*urs* many,' 1729 'gardwynes many'), is inferior to Krishna's 'Sarazenes [ynowe],' which gives a formula attested elsewhere (e.g. 624, 1626, 2657). However, the addition of 'sir' in the former example is wholly unnecessary. These two examples represent the only attempts by Brock to improve the text of the manuscript on the basis of its formal literary features. As such, they are exceptions to his usual conservative practice, forays (of limited success) into the radical, conjectural mode of textual criticism that would be undertaken with vigour by MA scholars in the early decades of the twentieth century (see above).

William of Palerne

In his introduction to WP, Skeat gives an assessment of the previous edition of the poem, and describes the manner in which the text of that edition was used in the production of his own:

> The thorough excellence of both the text and glossary of [Madden's 1832] edition is known to all who have had the opportunity of access to it, and it has always ranked as a contribution of great importance to our knowledge of Early English literature. Sir F. Madden justly claims to have been one of the first editors who insisted on the necessity of strict and literal accuracy, and it is impossible to say how much we owe to him, directly and indirectly.... A copy of [the edition] having been provided for my use, it was sent to the printer, after I had expanded all the contractions by the use of italic letters, numbered the lines, inserted marks of punctuation, and added side-notes. Had the proof-sheets been corrected by this only, the volume would have contained no error of importance; but I judged it to be due to Sir F. Madden and to subscribers to make it absolutely correct... by reading the proof-sheets with the MS. itself.... I have also added a few words within square brackets where there are obvious omissions; they are chiefly taken from Sir F. Madden's notes.[34]

The relationship between Madden and Skeat's editions is of considerable interest, and will be discussed at various points below. More immediately, it may be noted that Skeat's admiration of Madden's 'strict and literal accuracy' in dealing with manuscript evidence, and his sense of obligation to continue this in his own edition, are wholly in accordance with the Society's conservative philosophy outlined in Chapter Three—including, of course, Skeat's own comments recorded there. However, the statement that Skeat has made good the manuscript's 'obvious omissions' hints at another important aspect of his editorial work. The criteria by which Skeat decided what constituted such omissions are not stated, and the reader might accept that this procedure was no more complicated than Skeat's easy statement suggests, were it not for the revelation that the emendations are 'chiefly' taken from Madden's notes—Skeat and Madden's sense of the obvious, it seems, did not always coincide. In fact, when it came to editorial

---

[34] ES 1, p. ii. Several accounts of Skeat's editorial work on texts other than WP have been published: for example, for his work on Chaucer, see A. S. G. Edwards, "Walter Skeat (1835-1912)," *Editing Chaucer: The Great Tradition*, ed. Paul G. Ruggiers (Oklahoma: Pilgrim Books, 1984) 171-189, and for his work on Langland, see Charlotte Brewer, *Editing Piers Plowman: The Evolution of the Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 113-178.

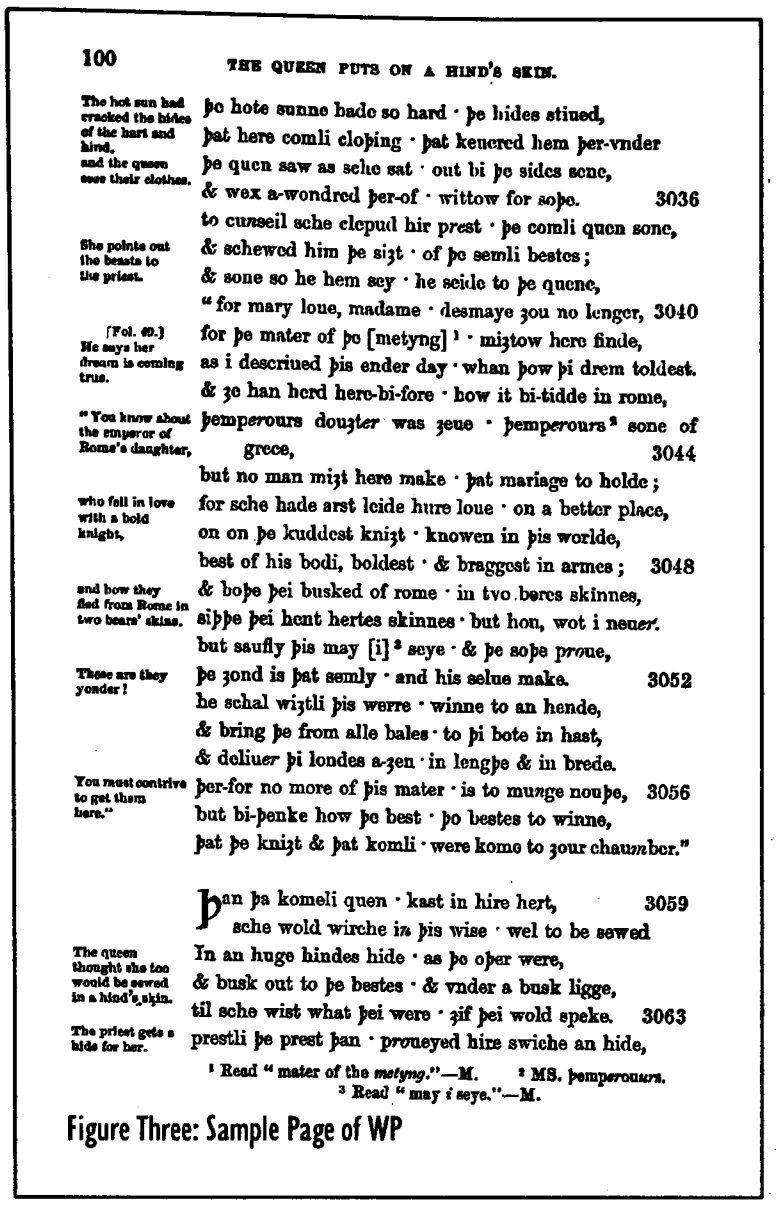
practice, Skeat interpreted the requirements of a conservative treatment of the manuscript rather differently to Madden, Morris, Perry and Brock. Certainly, Skeat's work shows a commitment to recording the manuscript evidence equal to any other conservative EETS editor, and in practice no EETS editor I have studied surpasses Skeat's accuracy in doing so. However, Skeat is less influenced by the notion that the manuscript readings must be recorded in the text itself: he routinely alters the text, and records the manuscript's readings with 'strict and literal accuracy' in the paratext. While the few emendations Perry and Brock did make were for the most part restricted to accidentals, the majority of Skeat's emendations are substantive. These are usually made in response to deficiencies Skeat perceives in the sense, and only occasionally (in the case of individual readings Skeat himself regards as exceptional) to improve alliteration—as we might expect from his description of alliterative verse included in the editions of MA, Skeat did not seek to make his text conform to a rigid set of formal criteria. It should also be noted that unlike Einenkel and Cockayne, who also make a considerable number of substantive emendations to their texts, Skeat carefully marks editorial readings from those of the manuscript within the printed text. Where letters or words in the manuscript are replaced or deleted, the word so emended is marked with a footnote reference, and the manuscript's original reading is printed at the foot of the page. Where individual letters or words are added to the manuscript's text, they are printed surrounded in square brackets; occasionally Skeat uses square brackets and footnotes in combination, either to provide further annotation (e.g. to attribute the emendation to Madden) or to refer the reader to a more detailed discussion of the emendation in another set of notes, both textual and explanatory, gathered together at the end of the text (pp. 219-235).

Presentation of manuscript detail

WP may be regarded as another example of the type of edition produced by conservative EETS editors such as Morris, Perry and Brock, in terms of both the amount of formal manuscript detail recorded in the text and paratext, and the conventions used to record it (see Figure Three below). The text is printed in a roman fount of the modern English alphabet, with the addition of the MS. characters þ and ȝ (ð is not required). The sign representing 'and' is printed as the standard roman ampersand &; all other abbreviations are expanded in italics. Capitalisation follows the manuscript, but the punctuation, including the point dividing each line at the caesura, is editorial.[35] The decorated initial capitals in the manuscript which divide the text into sections are represented in print by large capitals which extend downward through the leading to the line below.[36] The line divisions of the printed text follow those of the manuscript, and the manuscript's folio divisions are recorded in square brackets in the outside margin at the side of the printed page. The manuscript's catchwords are recorded in the footnotes to the

[35] For a list of the small number of marks of punctuation found in the manuscript, see Bunt p. 5.

[36] Six irregularities in the work of the manuscript illuminator are made good in Skeat's edition. On f. 55^{v} (l. 3450 of the printed text) the illuminator neglects to draw the *W* indicated by a small letter written by the scribe; Skeat provides the appropriate large capital in the text, and records its absence in the manuscript in a footnote. On five occasions, the illuminator mistakenly draws an M instead of a required W; Skeat prints the correct large capital in his text, and records the illuminator's errors in footnotes (ff. 65^{r}, 73^{r}, 76^{v}, 77^{r}, 82^{v}; ll. 4119, 4660, 4880, 4923, 5288 respectively). All the decorated initials in the manuscript are two lines high, with the exception, unrecorded by Skeat, of a three line Þ on f. 13^{v} (l. 629).



100 THE QUEEN PUTS ON A HIND'S SKIN.

The hot sun had cracked the hides of the hart and hind, and the queen sees their clothes.

þe hote sunne hade so hard · þe hides stiued,
þat here comli cloþing · þat keuered hem þer-vnder
þe quen saw as sche sat · out bi þe sides sene,
& wex a-wondred þer-of · wittow for soþe. 3036

She points out the beasts to the priest.

to cunseil sche clepud hir prest · þe comli quen sone,
& schewed him þe siȝt · of þe semli bestes;
& sone so he hem sey · he seide to þe quene,

[Fol. 40.]

"for mary loue, madame · desmaye ȝou no lenger, 3040
for þe mater of þe [metyng] [1] · miȝtow here finde,

He says her dream is coming true.

as i descriued þis ender day · whan þow þi drem toldest.
& ȝe han herd here-bi-fore · how it bi-tidde in rome,

"You know about the emperor of Rome's daughter,

þemperours douȝter was ȝeue · þemperours [2] sone of grece, 3044

who fell in love with a bold knight,

but no man miȝt here make · þat mariage to holde;
for sche hade arst leide hure loue · on a better place,
on on þe kuddest kniȝt · knowen in þis worlde,
best of his bodi, boldest · & braggest in armes; 3048

and how they fled from Rome in two bears' skins.

& boþe þei busked of rome · in tvo beres skinnes,
siþþe þei hent hertes skinnes · but hou, wot i neuer.
but saufly þis may [i] [3] seye · & þe soþe proue,

These are they yonder!

þe ȝond is þat semly · and his selue make. 3052
he schal wiȝtli þis werre · winne to an hende,
& bring þe from alle bales · to þi bote in hast,
& deliuer þi londes a-ȝen · in lengþe & in brede.

You must contrive to get them here."

þer-for no more of þis mater · is to munge nouþe, 3056
but bi-þenke how þe best · þo bestes to winne,
þat þe kniȝt & þat komli · were kome to ȝour chaunber."

Þan þa komeli quen · kast in hire hert, 3059
sche wold wirche in þis wise · wel to be sewed

The queen thought she too would be sewed in a hind's skin.

In an huge hindes hide · as þo oþer were,
& busk out to þe bestes · & vnder a busk ligge,
til sche wist what þei were · ȝif þei wold speke. 3063

The priest gets a hide for her.

prestli þe prest þan · proueyed hire swiche an hide,

[1] Read "mater of the *metyng*."—M. [2] MS. þemperours.
[3] Read "may *i* seye."—M.

Figure Three: Sample Page of WP

printed text. However, the scribe's corrections of his own work are not recorded in the edition; Skeat silently follows the scribe in making the correction. Nor are the various instances recorded where later hands have underlined or glossed words in the text, or scribbled notes unrelated to the poem (although the work of one such annotator, who names himself as Nicholas Williams, is mentioned by Skeat in his description of the manuscript).[37]

Treatment of the base text

In an appendix to his edition, Bunt lists 103 instances where Skeat has 'misread clear manuscript readings,' 79 of which are also found in—and, given the production process described above, probably derived from—Madden's edition.[38] If Bunt's appendix is, as it is presented to be, a comprehensive list of the unacknowledged differences between the readings of the manuscript and Skeat's text, we may calculate that Skeat erred at the relatively low average rate of once in every 54 lines of the 5540 line poem. In order to test both Skeat's work and Bunt's assessment of Skeat's accuracy, I examined two hundred lines of the printed text with the manuscript, ll. 580-699 (ff. 13^{r}/4-14^{v}/18) and ll. 3003-3083 (ff. 48^{r}/31-49^{v}/9). I found three unreported differences between the printed text and the manuscript, a result in perfect accordance with Bunt's appendix. Bunt is also almost certainly right to regard these differences as misreadings rather than silent emendations deliberately made by Skeat. Two of the differences (614 'wold' for MS. 'wol,' and 3057 'þe' for MS. 'be') are also found in Madden's edition, and so were probably overlooked when Skeat read his proofs against the manuscript. In the third case (620 'my' for MS. 'mi'), the form found in the manuscript is printed unchanged by Skeat elsewhere (e.g. 364, 430, 444). Thus, over passages of equal length, Skeat and Brock recorded the readings of the manuscript with equal accuracy (in the two hundred lines of MA I examined above, Brock also misread his manuscript on three occasions). While WP and SW are less easy to compare, it could not be convincingly asserted that Skeat is less accurate than Morris to any significant degree.

In the two hundred lines I examined with the manuscript, Skeat acknowledges emending the text on thirteen occasions. This represents a rate of emendation far higher than that of Brock, who was found to emend the text only seventeen times in the first 1,500 lines of MA, and also of Perry, who emended the

[37] ES 1, p. vii. A detailed list of the specific items unrecorded by Skeat, with references to manuscript folios and Skeat's line numbers, may be found in Foster and Gilman, pp. 486-90.

[38] Bunt, pp. 332-5.

text less often than Brock. Skeat's work differs from that of the other two editors not only in the frequency, but also in the nature, of his interventions in the text. Whereas Perry and Brock's emendations are almost entirely restricted to accidentals, eight of Skeat's thirteen emendations are substantive.

Three of Skeat's substantive emendations involve the insertion of a single word which improves the syntax but does not significantly alter the sense, and so can be classed with the few exceptional substantive emendations ventured by Perry and Brock. At 649-50 'alisandrine algate þan · after [þat] þrowe / bi-þou3t hire ful busily,' the syntax requires that 'þrowe' be preceded by a modifier; the demonstrative is the most sensible choice in the context (cf. 648 'þat time,' referring to the moment when Alisaundrine promised Melior her assistance). At 3031 'þer as [þei] were ere' and 3051 'may [i] seye,' Skeat makes explicit the subjects of two finite verbs. The non-expression of the first person subject-pronoun is rare in WP, and indeed in Middle English generally, so Skeat may be justified in treating its omission at 3051 as a scribal error.[39] However, the non-expression of the third person subject-pronoun is frequent, as Skeat shows he is aware when he decides not to emend 3021 '& busked hem þat time · bliþe to bedde,' explaining that the 'omission of the nominative is frequent, and no doubt intentional.'[40] The directly contradictory treatment of two non-expressed, plural third person subject-pronouns within the space of ten lines is difficult to explain, given that the manuscript reading Skeat chooses to emend is no more difficult than the one he leaves—the subjects of 'busked' and 'were' may be understood from the context equally readily. The one obvious difference between the two readings is that Madden makes no comment on 3021, but instructs that line 3031 be emended.[41] Throughout the edition, Skeat tends to follow Madden's suggestions regarding such pronouns. For example, Skeat inserts 'he' at line 30, and 'sche' at line 3181, both cases where Madden indicates an emendation is required, and at 4944 he prints the manuscript's text unemended, along with Madden's note at the foot of the page: 'The sense would be clearer if the pronoun "sche" were supplied, but it is often omitted in similar cases throughout this poem.'[42]

Skeat makes two further substantive emendations which improve the syntax but do not alter the sense. However, because they alter, rather than supplement, the readings of the manuscript, these emendations are of the type Perry and Brock suggest in the notes, rather than make to the text of MA (with the exception of Brock's emendation of 135 'full,' discussed above). At 637 the manuscript reads 'haue 3e it sleiliche it seie,' unnecessarily providing two objects to the verb 'seie'; Skeat omits the first 'it' in the printed text. At 3073, Skeat emends the manuscript's 'schewed,' the past tense form of the verb, to give the infinitive required by the line's periphrastic preterite construction '& whan þe su*m*ne gan here schewe

---

[39] The first person subject-pronoun is also omitted in the manuscript, and inserted by Skeat, at 899 and 4006.

[40] ES 1, p. 230. Bunt also notes instances in WP of 'the frequent omission of the third person subject pronoun when it can be understood from the context,' p. 283. For a general discussion of the non-expression of the subject-pronoun in Middle English, see Mustanoja, pp. 138-44.

[41] 'Read "ther as *thei* were ere,"' Madden, p. 204; reprinted by Skeat (but with *þ* for *th*), p. 99n.

[42] Madden, p. 207; reprinted by Skeat, p. 157n.

· & to schine bri3t.' (Both these emendations were suggested by Madden, although at 637 Madden would omit 'it' at its second occurrence.)

The remaining three emendations do affect the sense, and as such go beyond the type of emendation made by Perry and Brock. The lines printed as 600 and 601 are transposed in the manuscript; Skeat, in lieu of an explanation, simply asserts (albeit with good reason) '...the emendation so obviously assists the sense, that it hardly requires apology' (p. 225). (Madden, who of course prints the lines in the order they occur in the manuscript, makes no comment on the difficulty they provide). At 3041 'for þe mater of þe [metyng] · mi3tow here finde / as i descriued þis ender day · whan þow þi drem toldest,' the manuscript has a definite article without a substantive, which most likely refers to the 'drem' of 3042. In addition to 'drem,' the synonyms 'metyng' (698 *et al.*) and 'sweuen' (2312 *et al.*) are attested in the poem; Skeat's choice of reading (which follows that of Madden) is no doubt guided by the alliteration. While these two emendations are made in places where the text is otherwise deficient, Skeat does on one occasion alter the text where the manuscript makes perfect sense as it stands. At 610-11 the printed text reads '& ofter þan [ten] times · hit takeþ me a-daye, / & [ix.] times on þe ni3t · nou3t ones lesse.' Skeat explains that he has emended the text by transposing the words in square brackets:

> I have taken the considerable liberty of changing the places of *nine* and *ten*, because the alliteration of *both* lines is thereby improved.... I do not suppose that any one will quarrel with the alteration of the *sense*. When we consider that these numbers were selected for *no other reason* than to *secure alliteration* it must be right to place them where they best fulfil that object.

Like Björkman, then, Skeat is prepared here to alter the sense of perfectly intelligible lines in order to improve the alliteration, and the confidence of his assertion of the author's intentions ('these numbers were selected for no other reason...') reveals an editorial temperament characteristic of scholars who routinely see original readings beyond those of the manuscript. However, Skeat's explanation is qualified by the statement that he has taken a 'considerable liberty' with the text, indicating that he feels the emendation is more radical than is usual in his editorial practice. Part of his justification for the emendation, that the alteration of the sense is of little importance (i.e. the exact number of times Melior is afflicted by her sickness by day and night matter little, so long as we understand that she suffers often and continually) suggests that the improvement of alliteration alone would not have been a sufficient reason for emending were a more meaningful reading affected.[43]

The note to the emendation of lines 610-11 provides an excellent clue to the nature of the unexpressed editorial restriction which may be discerned at work throughout the edition as a whole. Alliteration is frequently used to supply a reading when considerations of sense require a line be emended (the insertion of 3041 'metyng,' discussed above, is a typical example)—in other words, formal features of the alliterative verse are used to assist emendations whose primary purpose is to make good a perceived

---

[43] Bunt, who does not emend the text as 'the two lines alliterate as they stand, and make good sense,' considers that the numbers chosen do have some significance, at least in relationship to each other: 'Skeat transposes *ix.* and *ten* to improve alliteration, but in doing so destroys the climax of the rising numbers' (pp. 291-2). Madden makes no comment on lines 610-11.

deficiency in the sense.[44] However, where the primary purpose of an emendation is to improve a formal feature of the text, and the alteration of sense is not in itself required and so is a secondary motivation for the emendation, Skeat generally prints the text as it is found in the manuscript, and suggests the emendation in the notes. For example, of 365 '& þe trewe kinnesman · þe payenes sone,' Skeat notes 'For *kinnesman*... I should propose to read *Thomasin* or *Thomasyn*. It would improve the alliteration, of which there is none in the line as it stands' (p. 223). (As Skeat also reports, at this point the French source, from which the English text has taken several other names in ll. 362-5, reads 'et Thumassin le fil Paien.')[45] This example illustrates distinctly the difference between the limited mode of conjectural emendation Skeat allows himself and the more radical methods of the early twentieth-century textual critics described above—it is easy to imagine Mennicken making Skeat's suggestion, and difficult to imagine Björkman failing to take it up, derived as it is from the poem's source, to cure a line otherwise devoid of alliteration.[46] Similarly, at 1644 'I may banne þat i was born · to a-bide þis time,' Skeat notes 'the line would sound better, if *born* and *was* were to change places' (p. 228); and at 2463 '& as sone as he hade · sette it a-downe,' he comments 'I think the rhythm, alliteration and sense would all be improved by inserting *softeliche* [between 'hade' and 'sette']' (p. 229).

The restriction of emendations to those required by sense appears to function in Skeat's editorial practice as a general rule which may be bent in response to the particular circumstances of a few individual readings. In the case of the transposition of 'ix' and 'ten' at 610-11, Skeat apparently feels that the evidence of the author's intention regarding the alliteration is sufficiently strong, and the alteration of the sense sufficiently insignificant, for what he regards as an exceptional emendation to be made. Similarly, at 1211 'þat his kniȝtes swiþe swore · what [so] it bi-tidde,' Skeat's emendation is not required for the sense: 'what' is regularly found on its own as a generalising relative in Middle English, and printed unemended as such elsewhere in WP (e.g. 58, 148).[47] Skeat notes that 'the word *so* is required for the alliteration, and it improves the sense,' although it does not, importantly, change the sense to a significant degree. Skeat also justifies his editorial form by noting that it 'occurs elsewhere' in the manuscript (p. 227).[48] Such exceptions to Skeat's usual editorial practice probably should be regarded as

---

[44] The majority of such emendations are made without explanation, but for further examples which are explained in Skeat's notes, see lines 1654, 2870, 3477 (notes pp. 228, 229, 231 respectively).

[45] Skeat was provided with a transcription of 'a considerable proportion' of the French *Guillaume de Palerne* from the sole manuscript copy of the text which survives, Paris, Bibliotheque de l'Arsenal MS. 6565, by Henri Michelant (ES 1, p. iii). The line cited above is numbered 598 in the printed text of H. Michelant, ed., *Guillaume de Palerne* (Paris: Librairie Firmin Didot et cie, 1876). (The endnotes to Skeat's edition include commentary on the English poet's treatment of his French source as far as 460.) The alliteration of 365, while improved by Skeat's suggested emendation, would nonetheless remain defective. Bunt notes that the line 'must be corrupt' but chooses not to adopt Skeat's suggested emendation, noting that 'the translator [as opposed to a corrupting scribe] must be held responsible for the mistranslation of the French given names *Chrestiien* and *Paien*, which he seems to have taken as common nouns' (p. 288).

[46] Kaluža makes no comment on Skeat's suggested emendation. Another line without alliteration which Skeat notes but chooses not to emend is 5035 'þemp*er*our of rome · will*ia*ms suster ladde.'

[47] For a brief discussion of generalising relative pronouns, see Mustanoja, pp. 192-5.

[48] At 723 'For-þi me [bi-]houes · þe buxumlier me bere,' Skeat's emendation is not required for sense—'houes' is a legitimate, aphetic form of 'behoves' (see MED hōven v. (2))—and so its chief effect is alliterative. However, Skeat apparently gives equal weight to considerations of sense and alliteration when explaining the purpose of the

representative of flexibility and pragmatism, but they are not incompatible with the plain inconsistency seen in his treatment of non-expressed pronouns, discussed above, and metathesized word forms, discussed below.

Skeat emends the accidentals of the text where he believes the scribe to have made a straightforward error of spelling. In the passages I examined with the manuscripts, he emends accidentals on five occasions, two of which he explains in the notes. At 584 Skeat prints 'h[*er*]e' for MS. 'he,' and notes 'this is due to the omission of the small flourish which is used as a contraction for *er*. In the same way we find "þide" instead of "þid*er*e" in l. 47, and elsewhere' (p. 224). At 698 he prints 'Metyng' for MS. 'Metynt,' and notes that 'The *c* and *t* being much alike, *Metynt* may be meant for *Metync*, but *Metyng* is better spelling; see l. 706 [where both the MS. and printed text read 'metyng']' (p. 225). The remaining three accidental emendations in the examined passages are not themselves annotated, but Skeat's commentary on analogous emendations elsewhere in the text may serve as explanations. At 694 Skeat prints 'h[*er*]e-inne' for MS. 'heinne,' a scribal error of the kind described in the note to 584 'h[*er*]e,' above. At 685 he prints 'chambur' for 'chanbur,' which may be explained by the note to 771 'chamber,' a product of the same emendation: 'the MS. seems to have "chanber"... probably a mere slip for "chaūber," the spelling adopted in ll. 755 and 769' (p. 225). This makes credible reasoning here because, as Bunt observes, 'there are undoubted cases of *u* written for *n* and vice versa' in the manuscript, and the manuscript's form of the word at 769 referred to by Skeat is 'chañber,' 'with a clear *n* (which must be read as *u*).'[49] However, this also weakens Skeat's emendation at 654, where 'chau[*n*]teme*n*s' is printed for MS. 'chautemēs'—apparently assuming that the scribe has again omitted an abbreviating 'flourish,' he appears not have considered that the possibility that the *u* may be written for *n* in this case too.

Explanations of accidental emendations appear regularly in Skeat's textual notes, and generally follow the pattern which may be observed in those quoted above: an attempt is made to explain the scribal practice which led to the particular error, and one or more further examples are cited by way of illustration. Occasionally, the illustrative example is taken not from WP, but from another manuscript of which Skeat apparently had detailed knowledge. For example, at 1478 he notes '*Diting* is simply miswritten for *tiding*. Such inversion of letters is occasionally found; thus, in the Romance of Parthenay, *aduertise* is written for *aduersite* (adversity) more than once' (p. 227).[50] Skeat also regularly comments on the accidence of the text where he makes no emendation, but a reader might otherwise believe the scribe had made an error. For example, at line 80 Skeat prints the manuscript's 'wolnk' unchanged in his text, with the footnote '*Sic* in MS; *read* wlonk? Cf. ll. 468, 1634 [which read 'wolnk' and 'wlonke'

---

emendation: 'the word *houes* nowhere occurs again in the poem, the usual form being *bihoues*. The alliteration also points out that the initial *bi* is really required' (p. 225).

[49] Bunt, p. 292. Bunt chooses not to follow Skeat's emendation, but prints the manuscript form instead, noting that '*chanbre* is a quite usual spelling in OF.'

[50] While Skeat regards this emendation as a simple matter accidence, it does, of course, make a change with an arguably substantive effect: Foster and Gilman maintain that the manuscript reading 'makes sense as it stands' (p. 491).

respectively],' and in an endnote describes the regular occurrence of metathesis in manuscripts: 'The letter *l*, like *r*, is one that sometimes shifts its place in a word. As we find *brid* for *bird*, so we find *wordle* for *worlde*; and *wolnk* may be *intentionally* put for *wlonk*' (p. 221).

The close attention paid to scribal practices is a characteristic of Skeat's edition which distinguishes it from all the other EETS editions examined in this study—while editors such as Morris, Brock and (as will be seen in Chapter Six) Furnivall dedicatedly record such manuscript evidence, they rarely comment on its palaeographical and philological significance. Skeat's examination of scribal practices does, however, follow and expand on the editorial work of Madden. While all notes discussed above are Skeat's own work, a considerable proportion of this class of note are taken, with appropriate acknowledgement, from the 1832 edition (e.g. the notes to ll. 261, 347, 788, 1196). It should also be noted that this aspect of Skeat's editorial work is not a self-consistent product of a systematic study of the manuscript's accidence. For example, metathesized words are not treated consistently throughout the poem in accordance with the note to 80 'wolnk' quoted above. For instance, while at 1190 Skeat prints the manuscript's 'fresly' unchanged, noting that '*fresly*=*fersly*, fiercely' (p. 226), at 530 he emends MS. 'worngely' to 'wrongely,' following Madden without comment. (As with the treatment of non-expressed subject pronouns, Skeat tends to follow Madden's suggestions about the emendation of individual metathesized readings, even though they are not consistent with his practice elsewhere.)[51] Similarly unsystematic is the appearance of the commentary on the emendation of MS. 'chanbur' to 'chambur,' discussed above, in a note to 771, and not 685. No advantage is gained by delaying comment until the later occurrence of the emendation; rather, the earlier occurrence seems to have been overlooked. Ultimately, the details of Skeat's working procedures and the intentions behind them must remain a matter for speculation, but my impression is that he felt moved to comment on scribal practices either when prompted by a note in Madden's edition, or simply as and when a particular scribal form called to mind a practice he recognised from his previous editorial experience.

Skeat's treatment of Madden's edition

The relationship between Skeat and Madden's editions has been touched on at various points in the discussion above, but a few general points remain to be made. Despite his reservations about the abilities of EETS' founding editors, in 1864 Madden gave the Society permission to make use of his edition of WP. There is no evidence that Madden sought editorial control over the resulting EETS publication—his assistance in its production (see above) followed a personal request for help from Skeat, and was apparently given without conditions.[52] Thus the heavy use of the 1832 edition in the introduction, glossary and establishment of the text of ES 1 was made in accordance with Skeat's wishes.

---

[51] For example, Skeat also follows Madden in emending 1569 MS. 'gald' to 'glad'; 1582 MS. 'glod' to 'gold'; and 4335 MS. 'worþ' to 'wroþ.' Madden makes no comment on any of 80, 468 'wolnk,' 1634 'wlonke' and 1190 'fresly,' 3426 'ferscheli,' which Skeat prints unaltered from the manuscript.

[52] In Robert W. Ackerman and Gretchen P. Ackerman, *Sir Frederick Madden: A Biographical Sketch and Bibliography* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1979), Madden's biographers record that Skeat 'wrote to beg FM's assistance in preparing' the edition (p. 27).

In the case of the introduction, the relationship between the two editions is straightforward: Skeat prints Madden's original Preface in full (ES 1, pp. vii-xxv), and supplements it with his own introductory material (pp. i-vii, xxxvii-xliii).[53] Madden's Preface gives an account of how the manuscript of the poem was brought to light, and discusses the French versions of the romance, the authorship and commissioning of the English poem, and the nature of its metre and language, as well as giving a cursory description of the manuscript. In his Introduction, Skeat fleshes out Madden's manuscript description, recording the specific dimensions of the manuscript Madden describes as 'moderate sized' and, where Madden lists the names of the texts that make up the contents of the manuscript, recording their foliation and opening and closing lines (pp. vi-vii). Skeat also expands on Madden's comments on the language of the poem by listing, in a manner similar to that employed by Morris in OS 29, the different forms of various parts of speech found in the text, and then attempts to identify its dialect (pp. xxxvii-xliii). In addition, Skeat's introduction contains a three page summary of the plot (pp. iii-v), and the remarks on Madden's edition and the establishment of the text quoted and discussed above.

The relationship between Skeat and Madden's glossaries is less straightforward. Extensive work was required to present Madden's work in the form Skeat desired. Converting Madden's page references to more specific line references meant that the glossary had to be 're-written... entirely' (p. ii), and Skeat also found it necessary to make Madden's record of variant spellings more comprehensive:

> In the present edition, every variation of spelling has had its own references assigned to it in the Glossary, at the cost of no small amount of labour; I hope this may prove of use to the student of our old English orthoëpy (p. xliii).

Nevertheless, Skeat states that 'the glossary is, of course, copied from [Madden's] almost wholly,' and a significant minority of entries include 'some illustrative notes that are left entirely in his own words,' to which Skeat draws 'special attention by attaching to them the letter "—M"' (p. ii). The following example shows Skeat's more typical treatment of an entry from Madden's glossary:

> Madden, p. 212:
> A KNOWE, *p. pa.* S. Always joined with the verb *ben*, to be, as "Ich *am a knowe*," I confess, acknowledge, 158. "We *be a knowe*," we acknowledge, 172. Cf. Gloss. to Chauc. *in v.* So, in the Prompt. Parv. Ms. Harl. 221. "*Beene a knowe*, confiteor."
>
> Skeat, p. 251:
> A-knowe, *pp.* S. Always joined with the verb *ben*, to be, as "*was* aknowe," 421; "ich *am* aknowe," 4391; "we *be* aknowe," 4788. *To be aknowe*=to be aware, to acknowledge, confess. "Beeñ a-knowe wylfully. *Confiteor.* Be a-knowe a-geyne wylle. *Fateor.*" Prompt Parv. Cf. A. S. *on-cnáwan.*

[53] Skeat does not include two epistles entitled 'On Werewolves' which were appended to the Preface of Madden's edition (pp. 1-45). Madden recorded in his journal his opinion that these epistles, which were written by Algernon Herbert to Lord Cawdor and included in the 1832 edition at Cawdor's behest, were devoid of learning on their subject (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Engl. Hist. c. 148, pp. 18, 104). Madden felt compelled to respond to Herbert's work in an essay inserted in the glossary under the word 'Werwolf'; Skeat reprints an updated version of this essay in his Introduction under the title 'Note on the Word "Werwolf"' (ES 1, pp. xxv-xxix). Pages xxix-xxxvii of ES 1 contain Skeat's introduction to a fragment of the *Romance of Alexander* (Version A only: The Story of Alisaunder, IMEV 4262), the text of which is printed on pp. 177-218.

Skeat clearly derives the basis of his entry—the information about the grammatical construction, the gloss and the source of external evidence for the gloss (the *Promptorium Parvulorum* of Galfridus Grammaticus)—from Madden's glossary.[54] Skeat adds to Madden's entry an example of the construction in a different tense, a further citation from the *Promptorium* and an etymological detail, as well as reorganising the entry by separating the list of variant forms from the gloss. The fact that Skeat referred back to the *Promptorium* suggests that he had considered the entry afresh, and indeed he was prepared to make substantive changes to Madden's glosses if he thought they were inaccurate (e.g. the entry for 'a-beye,' which Madden glosses 'to suffer for' but Skeat glosses 'to atone for'). Skeat's revision of the 1832 glossary was not limited to the amendment of (numerous) individual entries, however. The list of abbreviations contained in the head-notes to the glossaries indicate that Skeat revised the system by which the derivation of Middle English words was assessed and recorded in the glossary as a whole. In Madden's edition, the possible categories are 'B. Belgic or Dutch.—F. French.—L. Latin.—B. L. Barbarous or middle-age Latin.—S. Saxon.—Su. G. Suio-Gothic.—T. Teutonic or German' (p. 211); in Skeat's, 'Dan. Danish.—Du. Dutch.—F. French.—G. German.—Lat. Latin.—O.N. Old Norse or Icelandic.—A.S. or S. Anglo-Saxon.—Su. G. Suio-Gothic' (p. 250).

As was stated above, Skeat did most of his work on the text itself from a copy of Madden's text, and finally checked his proofs against the manuscript itself. In the few cases where Skeat found Madden had misread the manuscript, he records the difference between the two editions in the paratext (e.g. the notes to ll. 592, 2707, 3290 on pp. 224, 229, 230 respectively). Skeat responds to the great majority of Madden's 'Corrections of the MS.' by emending the text accordingly, often reproducing Madden's original note at the foot of the page, with the attribution '—M.' (the several instances of substantive emendations made by both Skeat and Madden discussed above may serve as examples of this). However, there are also occasions when Skeat disagrees with a 'correction' suggested by Madden. In these cases, Skeat records Madden's proposed emendation in the notes and discusses his objection to it, either providing evidence which justifies the manuscript's reading (e.g. the notes to ll. 753, 1983, 2432 on pp. 225, 228, 229), or arguing for an emendation of his own (e.g. the notes to l. 84, pp. 221).

Skeat is, then, indebted to the work of his editorial predecessor, and acknowledges this fact throughout the edition. As such, Skeat's WP is one of the earliest editions which attempts comprehensively to record the history of a Middle English text's modern editorial reception and transmission. However, in addition to acknowledging its debt to preceding editorial work, Skeat's edition also represents itself as an advance on existing scholarship—his occasional rejection of Madden's suggested emendations, and the inclusion of emendations not previously considered, demonstrate that the text has been examined anew by an independent mind. Skeat's textual commentary, then, suggests that his editorial work pays Madden's edition its appropriate due without being inappropriately beholden to it. Taken at face value,

---

[54] Skeat referred to a printed edition of this reference work: Albert Way, ed., *Promptorium Parvulorum Sive Clericorum, Lexicon Anglo-Latinum Princeps*, Camden Society 25, 54, 89, 3 vols. (London: Camden Society, 1843-65); Madden referred directly to a manuscript version, London, British Library MS. Harleian 221.

however, Skeat's notes provide only a partial view of his work, as my examination of ES 1 with the manuscript and Madden's edition reveals that the rigor with which Skeat appraised his predecessor's work was not entirely consistently applied. It is true that I found no example of a substantive emendation that significantly affected the sense about which Skeat could be said to have followed Madden uncritically. However, the cases where Skeat defers to Madden's instructions to 'correct' certain metathesized words and non-expressed subject pronouns, despite the fact that this is inconsistent with his practice elsewhere, may be considered isolated abdications of his editorial independence.

Chapter Six: Three works by Lydgate in EETS editions

A considerable proportion of the works of John Lydgate was published by EETS in the nineteenth century. These publications provide a means of examining the ways EETS' editors conceived the task of presenting in print Middle English works which are attributable to a known literary author, and for which numerous manuscript and early print witnesses survive. Three works attributed by their editors to Lydgate are examined in this chapter. Two were edited by Frederick Furnivall: *Stans Puer ad Mensam* (SPM), printed on pp. 26-33 of OS 32 (1868), an anthology usually known as *Manners and Meals in Olden Time;* and *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man* (PLM), originally issued in three parts, ES 77, 83 and 92 (1899-1904). The third, *Lydgate's Temple of Glas* (TG), ES 60 (1891), was edited by J. Schick.

Renoir and Benson find SPM in twenty-four manuscripts and two early printed books.[1] The poem, a brief and amusing insight into medieval social graces, was of some interest in the nineteenth century—it had been printed in two anthologies of 'Early English' verse before Furnivall's edition, once in 1845 by Thomas Wright and James Halliwell, and again in 1866 by W. Carew Hazlitt.[2] However, the editors of neither anthology show a serious interest in the textual tradition of the poem. Wright and Halliwell print the text of a single manuscript, Cambridge, Jesus College MS. 56, and make no mention of the other witnesses. Hazlitt takes the text of Wright and Halliwell's edition as his base text, but notes that 'this piece is printed very carelessly in the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, unless we suppose the Jesus College MS. to be a very bad one, which the present editor, not having had an opportunity of examining it, cannot pretend to determine.'[3] He provides a very small number of readings from three manuscripts now in the British Library, MSS. Harley 4011, Lansdowne 699 and Additional 5467, and uses a combination of these readings and editorial conjecture to 'correct' what he regards as either Halliwell and Wright's careless typography or scribal errors.

Following the publication of OS 32, only Henry Noble MacCracken has attempted to present in print all the available manuscript evidence. His edition, published by EETS in 1934, takes as its base text Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Laud Miscellaneous 683, and provides an extensive corpus of readings from nineteen other witnesses.[4] No attempt is made to classify the witnesses, and the edition contains

---

[1] Alain Renoir and C. David Benson, "John Lydgate," *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500*, ed. Albert E. Hartung, vol. 6 (New Haven: The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1980) 2158-9. Renoir and Benson give bibliographic references (including folio numbers) for all the witnesses to the texts of SPM, PLM and TG, as well as references to any descriptions of the witnesses that were published before 1980. Similar bibliographical information may be found in Derek Pearsall, *John Lydgate (1371-1449): A Bio-bibliography* (Victoria, B. C. University of Victoria, 1997).

[2] Thomas Wright and James Orchard Halliwell, eds., *Reliquiæ Antiquæ: Scraps from Ancient Manuscripts, Illustrating Chiefly Early English Literature and the English Language*, vol. 1 (London: John Russell Smith, 1845) 156-8; and W. Carew Hazlitt ed., *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, vol. 3 (London: John Russell Smith, 1864-66) 23-28.

[3] Hazlitt, IV, 366.

[4] Henry Noble MacCracken, ed., *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate: Edited from All Available MSS., with an Attempt to Establish the Lydgate Canon*, Part II, EETS OS 192 (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1934) 739-44.

no textual commentary. Nevertheless, MacCracken's work remains the only available scholarly edition of the poem. If subsequent scholars have been interested in the textual tradition of the poem in Middle English, they have not published their work.

Interest in textual matters relating to PLM, which survives in three manuscripts and one early printed edition, is similarly scant.[5] Furnivall's edition was at the time of publication the first, and a century later remains the only, modern edition of the poem, and its introduction contains the only specific account of the witnesses to the text yet published. Furnivall's edition was also published by the Roxburghe Club in 1905. Its title pages and larger page size apart, the Roxburghe Club edition is identical to the EETS edition.[6] (See below for further details about the relationship between the two editions.)

Like SPM, TG must have been widely disseminated in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries: Renoir and Benson list nine manuscript copies and six early printed editions of the work.[7] The first modern edition was that of Schick, which presents the readings of all the witnesses known at the time of publication—seven manuscripts and four early prints. Schick's work remains the only scholarly edition of the poem that attempts to record comprehensively the evidence of the witnesses to the text. Nevertheless, TG has been better served than SPM or PLM by textual critics. John Norton-Smith finds within the manuscripts three distinct versions of the poem which, when subjected to literary analysis, are revealed to be 'an early, unfinished draft' (represented by the texts of Cambridge University Library, MS. Gg. 4. 27 and London, British Library, MS. Additional 16165), 'an intermediate draft' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS. Fairfax 16 and Bodley 638), and 'the completed poem in a polished, self-consistent, poetically important version' (Bodleian Library, MS. Tanner 346).[8] Norton-Smith then went on to produce an edition of the poem based on the Tanner manuscript, but it is not intended for a scholarly audience and contains little in the way of textual commentary.[9]

Ethel Seaton also identifies three different versions of the poem in the manuscripts, but while the individual manuscripts she includes in each group concur with Norton-Smith's analysis, her interpretation of the significance of the groupings is different. Seaton, who attributes authorship of TG not to Lydgate but to Richard Roos, identifies various anagrams in each of the groups and argues that they display Roos' response to certain events that occurred in his social milieu and personal life. The dates of these events enable her to place the three versions of the poem into a chronological sequence, the version represented by MS. Tanner 346 being the earliest, and MSS. Gg. 4. 27 and Additional 16165 the

---

[5] Renoir and Benson, p. 2143.

[6] Frederick J. Furnivall, ed., *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, Englished by John Lydgate, A.D. 1426, from the French of Guillaume de Deguileville, A.D. 1330, 1355* (London: Nichols and Sons, 1905).

[7] Renoir and Benson, p. 2160.

[8] J. Norton-Smith, "Lydgate's Changes in the *Temple of Glas*," *Medium Ævum* 27 (1958): 166-72. The quotations are from p. 167.

[9] John Norton-Smith, ed., *John Lydgate: Poems* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966).

latest, a chronology at odds with that of Norton-Smith.[10] However, to the extent that the issue has been considered at all, it is Norton-Smith's work that has received the blessing of scholarly consensus, in as much as this is represented by Renoir and Benson's overview of scholarship on the poem:

> Three different versions of the poem are found in the manuscripts, whose relationship has been variously defined, with the standard modern text usually accepted as the final version. What some consider the first draft of the poem is quite different from the final one, principally in its presentation of the lady's psychology and in the inclusion of a long complaint by the poet on leaving his mistress, which is usually not considered to be by Lydgate.[11]

Stans Puer ad Mensam

The title of OS 32 regularly appears in bibliographies and catalogues as *Manners and Meals in Olden Time.* In the publication itself, this title is printed on a fly-leaf, presumably by way of summarising the full title, which is recorded on the title page proper as

> The Babees Book, Aristotle's ABC, Urbanitatis, Stans Puer ad Mensam, The Lytille Childrenes Lytil Boke, The Bokes of Nurture of Hugh Rhodes and John Russell, Wynkyn de Worde's Book of Keruynge, The Booke of Demeanor, The Boke of Curtasye, Seager's Schoole of Vertue, &c. &c. with some French & Latin Poems on like Subjects, and some Forewords on Education in Early England.

The full title indicates the nature of Furnivall's book—a compilation of a variety of texts which address a particular aspect of medieval cultural practice, the instruction of young people in social behaviour. Fifty-one such items make up the contents of the publication, which are described by Furnivall, along with his editorial purpose, at the opening of his Preface:

> [I have] gathered together divers treatises touching the Manners & Meals of Englishmen in former days... to the end that, to my fellows here & to come, the home life of their forefathers may be somewhat more plain, & their own minds somewhat rejoiced.
>
> The treatises here collected consist of two main ones—John Russell's *Boke of Nurture* and Hugh Rhodes's *Boke of Nurture,* to which I have written separate prefaces—and certain shorter poems addressed partly to those whom Cotgrave calls "*Enfans de famille,* Yonkers of account, youthes of good houses, children of rich parents (yet aliue)," partly to merchants' sons and good wives' daughters, partly to schoolboys, partly to people in general, or at least those of them who were willing to take advice as to how they should mend their manners and live a healthy life.[12]

The primary criterion for inclusion of a text is, it would seem, its subject matter. Certainly, the haphazard and confusing arrangement of the book suggests no other principle by which Furnivall selected and ordered his material. The bulk of the publication is made up of three texts which were originally edited by Furnivall for publication in 1866 by the Roxburghe Club: the works by Rhodes and Russell mentioned above (printed in OS 32 on pp. 63-108 and 117-99 respectively), and the *Boke of*

---

[10] Ethel Seaton, *Sir Richard Roos c. 1410-1482L Lancastrian Poet* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1961) 375-83.

[11] Renoir and Benson, p. 1907. Norton-Smith's view may be recorded by Renoir and Benson simply as the most recent, but it may also be noted that Seaton's fixation with Roos has tended to discredit other points in her book. The 'standard modern text' referred to is presumably that of Schick, which is based, like Norton Smith's edition, on MS. Tanner 346. The poet's complaint is found in MSS. Gg.4.27 and Additional 16165 at l. 1380, and is printed by Schick in an appendix, pp. 59-67. For a list of the differences that distinguish the versions of the poem, see Norton-Smith, "Lydgate's Changes," pp. 166-7.

[12] OS 32, pp. i-ii. Furnivall quotes part of Cotgrave's dictionary entry under the head-word 'enfant.' See James Howell, *A French and English Dictionary, Composed by Mr Randle Cotgrave: with Another in English and French* (London: Printed by William Hunt in Pye-Corner, 1660) Kk4^{v}, col. 2.

Kervynge, printed from the 1513 edition of Wynkyn de Worde (STC 3290) (OS 32, pp. 265-86).[13] The notes originally included in the Roxburghe Club publication for each of these works are also printed in the EETS edition, immediately after their respective texts. The remaining forty-eight items are included before, between and after the three major texts. Some are served by notes gathered together at the end of a group of texts (e.g. the notes printed on pp. 362-4 provide background material to a text printed on pp. 299-327); others by notes appended to the publication's introductory material (e.g. the textual notes on pp. cxxvi-cxxix refer to two texts, printed on pp. 11-12 and 16-24); others still by mixed explanatory and textual notes at the foot of each page of text (e.g. 'ffor to serve a lord,' pp. 367-77). The introductions to Russell and Rhodes' texts in the Roxburghe Club publication are also included, with minor alterations, as independent essays in the EETS edition ('Preface to Rhodes,' pp. lxxv-ciii, 'Preface to Russell,' pp. civ-cxxiii), following a set of 'Forewords' to the entire publication (pp. i-lxxiv, discussed further below). The overall impression given by the composition of the book, with its numerous individual texts, disparate notes and multiple prefaces, is that Furnivall has bundled together material relevant to his subject as he came across it, with little regard to the book's formal unity as a scholarly edition. This impression is confirmed by Furnivall's explanation of the nine items printed as a "Postscript" (the explanation itself being found at the end of the 'Corrigenda, Additional Notes, &c.' appended to the collection of prefaces, pp. cxxxi-cxxxvi):

> Nine fresh pieces relating more or less to the subjects of this volume having come under my notice since the Index was printed and the volume supposed to be finished, I have taken the opportunity of the delay in its issue—caused by want of funds—to add the new pieces as a Postscript to Part I.[14]

---

[13] Frederick J. Furnivall, ed., *Bokes of Nurture and Kervynge,* Roxburghe Club 87 (London: Roxburghe Club, 1867). The Roxburghe Club (RC) edition was produced with the intention that the texts be shared with EETS. In his 'Forewords' to the RC edition, Furnivall states:

> I trust that to the Members of the Roxburghe Club—accustomed to editions of from sixteen to a hundred copies—no diminution of the satisfaction with which they may read the words of Russell, de Worde, and Rhodes, will be wrought by knowing that these treatises here following are three of several intended, in less luxurious form, for a thousand readers. On the contrary, I hope such Members will be glad to know, that many besides themselves will learn from these works how feasts and fasts were kept in good Duke Humphrey's days... (p. xxiii).

The type of the RC edition was set so that it could fit within the octavo pages of a standard EETS edition; the larger pages of the RC edition therefore have spacious margins, in keeping with their more luxurious format. Thus the two publications could be printed from the same plates—only the pagination, in the top outside corner of each page, differs between them. Perhaps Furnivall's intention was to share the cost of setting the type with Robert Curzon, the individual responsible for the RC publication (RC, title page and dedication); Furnivall may also have been paid by Curzon for his editorial work. However, the specific financial arrangements are not recorded. EETS' financial statement for 1868 records a payment for OS 32 to the printer, John Childs and Son, of £324. 8*s.* 5*d.* This is, for EETS, a very large sum (cf. the payment for OS 33 in the same year of £119. 19*s.* 6*d.*) which, even taking into account the extreme length of OS 32 and the 500 extra copies of the 'Forewords' which were produced (see below), suggests Curzon did not significantly subsidise the EETS publication. At the very least, however, he seems to have indirectly funded the woodcuts appended to the EETS edition—Furnivall states in the EETS edition that they cost the Society nothing (OS 32, p. lxxiv), whereas Curzon paid a royalty to reproduce them (RC, p. ix) from Thomas Wright, *A History of Domestic Manners and Sentiments in England during the Middle Ages: With Illustrations from the Illuminations in Contemporary Manuscripts and other Sources, Drawn & Engraved by F. W. Fairholt,* Esq. F. S. A. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1862).

[14] OS 32, p. cxxxvi. Furnivall's impulse to include as much relevant material as possible extends to his paratext—a number of notes on pages 113-14 are printed under the heading 'A few notes to fill up a page and a quarter.'

Approximately half of one page of the 'Forewords' is devoted to SPM (p. lxix). Furnivall introduces readers to the poem by noting that it has been 'attributed to Lydgate—as nearly everything in the first half of the 15th century was.' Given the state of Lydgate scholarship at the time, this off-hand remark may reflect some healthy scepticism about the Lydgate canon. More significantly, however, Furnivall's cavalier attitude suggests that the authorship of the poem is of little importance in the publication. No effort is spent investigating the authenticity of the attribution to Lydgate.[15]

Furnivall similarly spared his energy in the establishment of the text. The only comment on his editorial method is as follows: 'I have printed two copies, with collations from a third, the Jesus (Cambridge) MS. printed by Mr Halliwell... and reprinted by Mr W. C. Hazlitt.' (The reader must turn to the text itself to find that the two copies printed are London, British Library MS. Harley 2251, ff. 148^{r}-149^{r}, and London Lambeth Palace Library MS. 853, pp. 150-155). Furnivall then gives the shelf-marks of the British Library manuscripts 'Mr Hazlitt notices' (see above), and remarks 'there must be plenty more about the country, as in Ashmole MS. 61, fol. 16, back, in the Bodleian.' No reason is given for choosing to print MSS. Harley 2251 (H) and Lambeth 853 (L). Hazlitt's corpus of readings is so sparse that Furnivall could not have believed it would provide an accurate impression of the texts of MSS. Harley 4011, Lansdowne 699 and Additional 5467, so he may have consulted these manuscripts himself and decided they were in some way unsatisfactory—he was a regular enough visitor to the British Museum's reading room.[16] Nevertheless, his remarks suggest he made little or no attempt to seek out and assess witnesses to the text himself. Perhaps Furnivall's attitude to the text of SPM is the same as that expressed in OS 15 (1866), an anthology similar in arrangement to OS 32:

> Of the pieces now issued some have been printed elsewhere, and of most, perhaps better texts exist; but the time it takes to ascertain whether a poem has been printed or not, which is the best MS. of it, in what points the versions differ, &c., &c., is so great, that after some experience I find the shortest way for a man much engaged in other work, but wishing to give some time to the Society, is to make himself a foolometer and book-possessor-ometer for the majority of his fellow-members, and print whatever he either does not know, or cannot get at easily, leaving others with more leisure to print the best texts. *He* wants *some* text, and that at once.[17]

These are the words of an editor entirely unconcerned with the notion that he might, using the combined evidence of the manuscripts, recover an ideal, authorial form of the text, or trace from variant

---

[15] Furnivall's identification of the source of SPM is more assertive, although not more carefully researched. He prints a Latin poem from London, British Library MS. Harley 3362 on pp. 30-2 of Part II of OS 32, which he states is the 'original of *Stans Puer'* (p. lxxiii). Later scholars are less sure about the poem's source. Walter F. Schirmer, *John Lydgate: A Study in the Culture of the XVth Century*, trans. Ann E. Keep (London: Methuen and Company Ltd., 1961) will go no further than to state that 'it may be derived from a Latin original through the intermediacy of a French version' (p. 110). Similarly, Renoir and Benson say only that the poem 'is usually considered an adaptation of a Latin original' (p. 1904). Pearsall alone is prepared to be specific, claiming in *John Lydgate* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970) 219 that the poem 'originates' from the 'De modo comedendi' of Petrus Alfonsi's "Disciplina Clericalis," as printed in Alfons Hilka and Werner Söderhjelm, eds., "Petri Alfonsi: Disciplina Clericalis," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicæ* 38.4, 5 (1911-12), Latin text 4. 37, French text, 5. 31.

[16] For numerous references to Furnivall's habitual presence in the British Museum, see John Munro, ed., *Frederick James Furnivall: A Volume of Personal Record* (London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, 1911).

[17] OS 15, p. ix. Furnivall's attitude changed considerably by 1893, when he castigated Carl Horstmann for choosing to print an inferior manuscript of Capgrave's *Life of St. Katherine of Alexandria,* OS 100 (see Chapter Two).

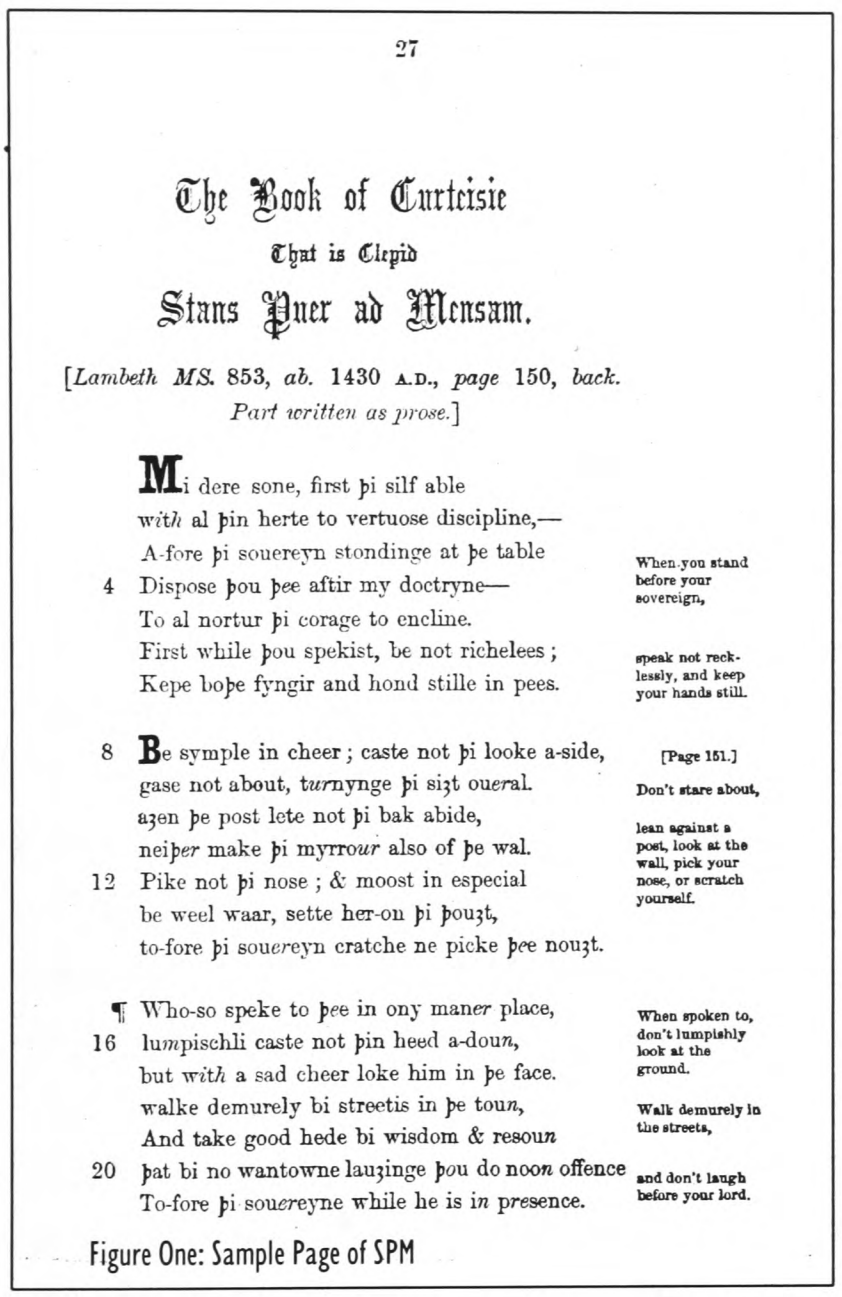
versions medieval responses to it—for Furnivall, the pragmatic response to multiplicity in a text's witnesses is simply to print one and hope for the best. In the case of SPM, he sees fit to double his chances by printing two witnesses in parallel (on facing pages, with H taking the even numbers). The relative merits of the witnesses that Furnivall did and did not print will not be examined here—the purpose of this discussion is to assess the use he made of those he did include in his edition. However, it may be noted that MacCracken, who had collected readings from twenty witnesses, including L and H, preferred MS. Laud Miscellaneous 683 as a base text (see above). Certainly, Furnivall chose two manuscripts which are comparatively different from each other: the attribution to Lydgate is present in H but not in L and, in purely quantitative terms, MacCracken records that L varies from his base text independently of H on 70 occasions, while H varies from his base text independently of L on 33 occasions. Furnivall also collates a small number of variant readings from Wright and Halliwell's edition (W) in footnotes to the Harley text. He does not state his motivation for providing these readings, but it may be assumed he wished to provide for readers interested in comparing his chosen manuscripts with what had hitherto been the poem's standard text.

Although the cavalier attitude behind it may be peculiar to Furnivall, his edition's focus on individual manuscripts falls within the tradition of EETS' conservative publications observed so far. As might therefore be expected, Furnivall's treatment of those manuscripts generally conforms with the editorial practices that make up that tradition. A considerable amount of the manuscripts' formal detail is recorded. The printed text closely follows that attested by the manuscripts and the very few departures from them are ostensibly recorded in square brackets and footnotes. However, within the familiar EETS conventions lie hidden a small number of isolated, idiosyncratic editorial modifications which conflict with the general nature of the edition. The conventions used to represent the manuscripts' formal detail are also used to lend the suggestion of authenticity to several editorial items. The conventions used to report both substantive and accidental emendations in the text lead the reader to assume that all such emendations have been recorded, but at least one, and possibly up to five, emendations have been made in silence.

Presentation of manuscript detail

Furnivall presents a considerable amount of the manuscripts' formal detail, using a variety of conventions now familiar from the editions of Morris, Perry, Brock and Skeat. (N. B. The following comments refer to both manuscripts unless otherwise stated. The sigla H and L refer specifically to the manuscripts, and pH and pL to their respective printed texts.) The text is printed in a roman fount of the modern English alphabet, with the addition of the MS. characters þ and ȝ (required only for L). The sign representing 'and' is printed as the standard roman ampersand (&). Otherwise, abbreviations in the manuscripts are expanded in italics. The L scribe's habitual practice of writing the terminal letter of some common words above the line is not recorded, but any letters they signal are contracted are printed in italics: MS. þ^{e} (in the case of the pronoun only) is printed as 'þ*e*' (e.g. 4), þ^{t} as 'þ*at*' (e.g. 24), þ^{u} as 'þ*ou*' (e.g. 20), in accordance with the forms found in the manuscript when they are written out in full (e.g. 55, 47, 26

respectively). The H scribe regularly adds a cross stroke to the letter *h* in terminal positions; Furnivall renders this with an italicised final *e*. Furnivall does this inconsistently in the printed text itself, leaving the final *e* off eleven terminal crossed *h*'s. However, these are missed in error, for the corrigenda—which confesses that 'the proof of this poem was either accidentally not read with the MS. or lost in the post'!—instructs that a final *e* should be added in all but one of these cases.[18] The corrigenda lists a further six occasions when abbreviations in H are incorrectly recorded in the printed text: on three occasions letters printed in roman type should be in italics, on two occasions letters in italic type should be in roman and on one occasion Furnivall has left off a final *e* which he believes is indicated by a stroke over a letter *n* in a terminal position. Only two such errors in either of the two texts go unrecorded in the corrigenda.[19] Thus, providing the text is combined with the corrigenda, Furnivall's edition of SPM may be regarded as a close, though imperfect, rendition of the specific orthography of the manuscripts. Furthermore, capitalisation follows that of the manuscript (with the exception the capital letter of pL 28 'Do' which, mid-line and mid-clause, is probably a typographical error).



27

The Book of Curteisie

That is Clepid

Stans Puer ad Mensam.

[*Lambeth MS.* 853, *ab.* 1430 A.D., *page* 150, *back.*
Part written as prose.]

Mi dere sone, first þi silf able
with al þin herte to vertuose discipline,—
A-fore þi souereyn stondinge at þe table
Dispose þou þee aftir my doctryne—
To al nortur þi corage to encline.
First while þou spekist, be not richelees;
Kepe boþe fyngir and hond stille in pees.

When you stand before your sovereign,

speak not recklessly, and keep your hands still.

Be symple in cheer; caste not þi looke a-side,
gase not about, *turnynge* þi siȝt oueral.
aȝen þe post lete not þi bak abide,
neiþer make þi myrrour also of þe wal.
Pike not þi nose; & moost in especial
be weel waar, sette her-on þi þouȝt,
to-fore þi souereyn cratche ne picke þee nouȝt.

[Page 151.]

Don't stare about,

lean against a post, look at the wall, pick your nose, or scratch yourself.

¶ Who-so speke to þee in ony maner place,
lumpischli caste not þin heed a-doun,
but *with* a sad cheer loke him in þe face.
walke demurely bi streetis in þe toun,
And take good hede bi wisdom & resoun
þat bi no wantowne lauȝinge þou do noon offence
To-fore þi souereyne while he is *in* presence.

When spoken to, don't lumpishly look at the ground.

Walk demurely in the streets,

and don't laugh before your lord.

Figure One: Sample Page of SPM

The manuscripts' foliation is recorded in square brackets in the outside margin at the side of the texts. Furnivall prints both texts as verse, the lineation of which, for the whole of H, and the majority of L, follows that of the manuscripts. The head-note to pL notes that in the manuscript it is 'part written as prose,' but does not specify which lines his comment refers to. In fact, pL 1-7 and 50-77 are written as long lines in L, but slashed capitals within the manuscript's lines correspond with the first word at each turn of line in the printed text—i.e. the scribe does indicate that the text is to be read as verse. The rubrication of these slashed capitals is not recorded in the edition. However, in general the rubrication of both manuscripts is represented in the printed text. The paraphs dividing H into stanzas are reproduced in type, although two are apparently omitted in error—the first before the title 'LENVOYE' after line 91, the second marking the first line of the final

[18] For ten of the eleven words terminating with a crossed *h* in the manuscript but missed in the text, see the corrigenda, p. cxxxiii. The word containing the one crossed *h* missed in both the text and corrigenda is 17 with.

[19] At H 63, the final *e* of 'sou*e*rayn*e*' should be printed in roman type, and at L 40, the letters 'ri' of 'naprie' should be italicised.

stanza. Furnivall also makes the stanza divisions clear by widening the leading between the final line of each stanza and the first line of the next, but there is no corresponding extra space in either of the manuscripts. The large decorated capital B at the beginning of the text of H (line 8 of pH) is represented by a proportionally large capital in the printed text, extending downward through three lines of type. Similarly, the red initials which divide L into stanzas are printed in large type, extending upward into the leading dividing the stanzas; the first such initial is slightly larger than the others in both the manuscript and the printed text. The first lines of two stanzas (those beginning at pL 15 and 71) are marked not with rubricated initials but with paraphs. These too are printed in the text. The rubricated explicit on L p. 155 ('Thus eendith þe book of curteisie þat is clepid stans puer ad mensam') is differentiated from the main text by the use of emboldened type.

Several aspects of the manuscripts' formal detail are not recorded by Furnivall. The marks of the caesura in H are not included in the printed text; instead, the punctuation of both pH and pL is modern. The occasional scribal corrections in both manuscripts are not noted; nor is the note scribbled at the top of the text of H, 'Heolde this as ye lyke' (f. 148^{r}).[20] The rubricated brackets indicating the rhyme scheme of L 8-48 and 92-99 are not recorded in the text or paratext.

Conversely, Furnivall includes in his edition items which imitate conventions typically found in medieval manuscripts, but which are not present in the text of SPM in either H or L. The titles given to pH ('Stans Puer ad Mensam') and pL ('The Book of Curteisie That is Clepid Stans Puer ad Mensam') are printed in black-letter, a type-convention commonly used by EETS editors to represent the rubricated headings found in manuscripts. The impression that the headings are present in the manuscripts is heightened by the fact that the bibliographic head-notes to each text, printed between the heading and the poem beneath, are enclosed in square brackets. However, the headings are not to be found in the manuscripts: the title given to pL is derived from the explicit in L quoted above, and the title to pH is editorial. Similarly, while the first stanza of pH—absent in H and interpolated from W—is surrounded by square brackets, Furnivall marks it with a paraph placed before the opening square bracket, in keeping with the rubrication of the following stanzas in both the manuscript and the printed text. The importance of the appearance of manuscript authenticity in Furnivall's edition is highlighted by the fact that he should thus bestow the suggestion of it on editorial items whose purpose is to give coherence to the printed page and book. The extra paraph visually incorporates the interpolated stanza into the printed text, and the headings are two of many dividing the publication into recognisable, individual texts.

[20] Read by MacCracken as 'Reade thys as ye lyke' (p. 739). The first word is unclear in the manuscript. However, it is certain that MacCracken records the spelling of the second word wrongly.

Treatment of the base text

Furnivall's edition presents itself as a faithful rendition of the text of the two manuscripts. A total of only five emendations are recorded—one accidental and four substantive—with the emended text surrounded in square brackets to distinguish it from the manuscripts' text and, in the one case where a word from a manuscript is displaced, the original reading recorded in a footnote. The fact that the substantive emendations are made in the text, rather than suggested in the notes, may make Furnivall's editorial approach seem more radical than would be expected from an individual whose views on editing resemble those of Morris, as described in Chapter Three. However, it will be demonstrated that Furnivall makes substantive emendations only where the text is not satisfactorily intelligible as it stands in the manuscripts, thus drawing an editorial line more in keeping with the work of Morris and Brock than Einenkel and Cockayne, or even Skeat. No suggestions for the improvement of the text on other grounds are made—there is no textual commentary, and no attempt is made to elucidate the many substantive differences among H, L and W.

The four substantive emendations made by Furnivall are as follows. At pL 23, Furnivall inserts a conjunction into the manuscript's text which otherwise conflates two separate events: '...þi*n* hondis waische also / to-fore þi mete, [&] wha*n*ne þou doist arise.' This emendation has the support of both H and W, although Furnivall does not document the latter. At pH 40, 'For to souppe [loude] is agenst gentiles,' Furnivall's emendation makes sensible what would be an otherwise unreasonable stricture. The reading inserted has the authority of L and W, but its location in the line does not: L reads 'Lowde for to soupe is aȝen gentilnes' (l. 37), and W 'Loude for to suppe it is ageyn gentilnes' (l. 37). It may be assumed that Furnivall chose to disregard the attested word order for metrical reasons, as the difference affects only the metre of the line—making it the only occasion in the edition on which considerations of metre demonstrably influenced Furnivall's editorial work. At pH 41 '[N]evyr at mete begynne thow nat stryfe,' Furnivall's added initial letter *n* makes H's temporal adverb negative, thus making the construction conform both to the usual Middle English syntax and to the readings of L and W. At pH 80, 'To children it longithe nat to be [vengeable],' Furnivall substitutes the reading of H, 'tretable' (recorded at the foot of the printed page) with the reading of L and W. Unemended, line 80 directly contradicts the advice given two lines earlier (and from where the scribal error was presumably derived), 'Be meke in mesure, nat hasti, but tretable' (78). One line in edition, pH 53, 'Toward thy sou*er*ayne alwey thyn aduertence,' is without a finite verb, but it appears that an appropriate emendation was left out of the text in error, as the corrigenda instructs '*before* alwey *insert* [do]' (p. cxxxiii).

The documentation of an accidental emendation, at pH 63, 'comav[*n*]dithe,' suggests that no undisclosed changes to the manuscripts' texts, however minor, have been made. In order to test this, I collated the printed versions of the poem against their respective manuscripts. I found eight unreported differences between pL and L, and one difference between pH (read with the corrigenda) and H.

The eight differences between L and the printed text may be mere errors of transcription or typography, but there is evidence that several are the result of silent editing by Furnivall. Half involve final *e*: on three occasions a final *e* present in L is absent in pL (5 'nortur' is printed for MS. 'norture', 9 'about' for 'aboute' and 91 'all' for 'alle'), and on one occasion a final *e* is printed against the reading of the manuscript (8 'looke' is printed for MS. 'look'). Given that their only possible effect on the text is metrical, it seems unlikely that these four differences represent deliberate emendations. They are too few to be regarded as a systematic attempt to regularise the metre by manipulating the occurrence of final *e*, a method Furnivall would go on to employ in his edition of PLM (see below). Nor is it clear what would be achieved by making these particular changes: while line 91 is hypermetric to an unusual degree, lines 5, 8 and 9 could hardly be considered more irregular than many others in the poem, and in any case the reading in question in line 8 is followed by a word beginning with a vowel, 'a-side.' However, the remaining differences are more likely to be silent emendations. At pL 21, the printed form 'sou*e*reyne' accords with the spelling found elsewhere in both L and pL (e.g. 14, 53 'sou*e*reyn'), whilst L's form, 'sou*e*ryne,' does not. At line 30, 'silence' is printed for L's 'scilence'; the printed text gives the form more usual in late Middle English, although spellings of the word in 'sc' are hardly rare.[21] At pL 81, the printed text's 'fi3tinge' seems a straightforward correction of L's 'fi3tnige.' Finally, pL 84, the printed text's 'p*a*rtis' may be a substantive emendation of L's 'parties' (i.e. substituting the plural of MED pārtīe (n.) with the plural of MED part (n.)) to clarify L's peculiar version of the couplet ll. 83-4, 'wraþþe of childre*n* is ou*e*rcome soone, / W*i*th þe p*a*rtis of an appil be*n* made at oon' (cf. H, which accords in this respect with all the other witnesses recorded by MacCracken in reading 'Wrath*e* of children is sone ou*e*rgone / With an apple the p*a*rties be made at one').

The one difference between pH and H not corrected by the corrigenda is almost certainly a deliberate emendation. The order of the lines in the sixth stanza of the printed text (i.e. pH 36-42) is different to the order found in H: giving them the numbers of their respective lines in pH, the lines in H are ordered 36, 37, 39, 40, 38, 41, 42—a stanza with the rhyme scheme *abbbacc*. The rhyme scheme of all the other stanzas in H (and L and W), with the exception of H 8-14, is the standard rhyme-royal *ababbcc;* the sixth stanza of H is made to conform to the regular pattern by moving a single line from fifth to third position. As an attempt to treat the manuscript evidence conservatively, this solution is something of a compromise, in that it involves the minimal possible alteration to the base text that will provide a rhyme-royal stanza, and yet manages to produce a line order unattested by any of the edition's witnesses (L and W both have the line order, using the line numbers of pH, 36, 40, 38, 37, 39, 41, 42). More remarkable is the fact that this emendation, as well as the four probably deliberate emendations of L, is not recorded. It is possible that this omission is accidental—the corrigenda testifies to the fact that there was some confusion during the production of the edition. Given that Furnivall did record an emendation as minor as the addition of a single letter at H 63, 'comav[*n*]dith*e*,' the alternative conclusion—that Furnivall emended the text elsewhere in deliberate silence—posits the use of contradictory editorial practices within the same, very short, edition. Although Furnivall's intentions must remain a matter of

[21] See the various spellings of the word in the quotations under the headword 'sīlence (n.)' in the MED.

speculation, the latter conclusion seems to me the least likely, as it also belies his statements about the importance of manuscript evidence recorded in Chapter Three. Whether disingenuously or not, the edition does not fully qualify for the status of a faithful representation of the manuscript evidence that it claims through its editorial conventions. However, it must be noted that the silent emendations which disqualify the edition are few, and that Furnivall's work otherwise remains well within the tradition of EETS' conservative editorial productions.

The relationship between W and pH.

As was stated above, Furnivall reveals in the corrigenda that the 'proof of this poem was either accidentally not read with the MS. or lost in the post.' The printed text (at least of H, as L is never mentioned in the corrigenda) thus captures a moment in which the edition was still in preparation—an accident of publication that offers an interesting insight into Furnivall's production methods. The corrigenda lists twenty misspellings in the printed text; on eighteen of these occasions, the erroneous spelling follows the form of the word in W (e.g. at line 30 H reads 'lowde,' but W and pH read 'loude').[22] Similarly, of the eleven occasions (discussed above) where a final *e* is not printed in pH but the corrigenda states that such an *e* should be present, nine follow the reading found in W.[23] Given the high number and proportion of errors in the printed text which match the readings of W, it seems reasonable to conclude that many, if not all, of these errors also *derive* from W—in other words, that W was used somewhat in the manner of a copy text, with Furnivall marking the differences between H and W directly onto the pages of his copy of Wright and Halliwell's edition. This would not have been a simple enterprise, as the differences of accidence between W and H are many: I counted twenty-eight words with variant spellings in a single stanza (ll. 8-14). There can be little wonder that in the first instance Furnivall missed some of the differences in his transcription, or that the type-setter missed some of Furnivall's editorial instructions, or both.

There is no evidence that W was similarly used by Furnivall in the production of the Lambeth text. The corrigenda does not refer to L, and of the eight unreported differences between L and pL described above, only two of the printed text's readings concur with W—an incidence small enough in both absolute and proportional terms to be attributed to coincidence. Perhaps only one copy of W was available to Furnivall, and he was forced, no doubt for the better, to transcribe L afresh. Given the link between H and W in the production of the edition, it seems natural that Furnivall should also choose to collate the variant readings of W against pH, and not pL. The corpus of readings is highly selective. All

---

[22] The twenty instances where an error in the printed text follows the form found in W, presented pH] H, are: 11 thi] thy; 30 loude] lowde; 34 fysshe] fissh̄ (W fysshe); 38 thi] thy; 38 thou] thow; 41 [N]evyr] Eu*er;* 41 stryfe] stryf (W stryve); 46 alway] alwey; 48 not] nat; 62 fulfylle] fulfille (W fulfyll); 64 whare] where; 66 blowe] blow; 68, 89, 91, 99 all] al; 81 meved] meeved (W mevid); 91 vertue] vertu. (The W reading is given in brackets only when the spelling in the printed text and W are not identical, but the W form still contains the individual letter in the word in pH that differentiates it from H.) The two letter errors in the printed text made independently of W are 43 latt] late (W lat); 49 frome] from (W fro).

[23] The nine instances where pH and W read together without a final *e*, but the corrigenda states that a final *e* should be added, are: 42 teth; 32, 38, 47, 48, 57, 71, 84 with; 99 John. The two cases where final *e* is erroneously omitted in pH independently of W are 43 myrth (H myrth̄, W myrthe) and 51 With (H with̄, W which).

accidental and the majority of substantive variants are not recorded. In selecting which substantive variants he does record, Furnivall appears to distinguish between readings which he feels materially alter the sense of a line and those which do not. The recorded variants consist of all the nouns, verbs, adverbs and adjectives (with the exception of some weak intensifiers, discussed below) in W which are additional or alternative to the readings of H. For example, at line 16 Furnivall records that W reads 'Lumbisshly' and 'hede' for H's 'Rudely' and 'ye' respectively, and at line 41 that W reads 'be warre gynne no' for H's 'begynne thow nat.' The one inexplicable exception to this rule is at line 8, where W's 'looke,' a variant for H's 'ye,' is left unrecorded.

This exception aside, the unrecorded substantive variants, apparently considered by Furnivall to alter the sense of their lines in a significantly less important way, are generally minor differences of syntax and expression. For example, Furnivall does not record that at 42 H reads 'thow pike nat with no knyf' and W 'ne pike nat with thi knyf,' or that at 76 H reads 'To gladde ne to sory,' and W 'To glad ne sory.' The category of unrecorded variants also extends to variations in number (e.g. at 67 H reads 'Reu*e*rence thy felawe' and W 'Reverence thi felawis') and the presence or absence of weak intensifiers (e.g. at 79 H reads 'no man*er* thyng' and W 'no thing,' and at 88 H reads 'no credence' and W 'no gret credence'). Although obviously subjective, the distinction Furnivall makes between the variants he does and does not record is generally self-consistent—only the unrecorded 'looke' / 'ye' variant is significantly problematic.

Paratext

The haphazard and confusing arrangement of OS 32, with its numerous individual texts, disparate notes and multiple prefaces apparently bundled together with little regard to the book's formal unity as a scholarly edition, has been described above. Only two elements of the fragmented and cumbersome paratext are presented as addressing the publication as a whole, namely the 'Forewords' (pp. i-lxxiv) and the 'Index' (Part II, pp. 60-132). Almost three quarters of the 'Forewords' consist of a 'digression' (p. lxii) on 'Education in Early England' (pp. iv-lxii); the remainder is a short discussion of 'Cleanliness, or Dirt, of Men, Houses, &c' and a 'Notice of the separate Poems up to *Rhodes*' (pp. lxiii-lxviii and lxviii-lxxiv respectively; the titles quoted from the contents page).[24] In the 'Notice,' Furnivall gives a brief account of the content of each poem (including SPM) and provides basic bibliographical information about the witnesses to the text known to him and any subsequent editions in which it has been printed. The essays on education and hygiene are compilations of extracts from an impressive range of the late medieval and early modern documents available in print in the 1860s, embedded in a chatty commentary that links and introduces, rather than analyses, them. This lack of analysis is apparently

[24] The entire 'Forewords' were also published separately, under the title *Education in Early England: Some Notes Used as Forewords to a Collection of Treatises on "Manners & Meals in Olden Time" for the Early English Text Society* (London: Trübner & Co., 1867). A note on the verso of the title page reads 'As the subject of those notes may interest many people into whose hands the volume of which the notes constitute the Preface may not fall, 500 copies have been pulled for separate circulation. But it is the plain duty of all Schoolmasters and Educators to join the Early English Text Society at once.'

not something Furnivall would have recognised as a weakness. In all the introductory material in the edition, as well as in the explanatory notes to many of the texts (some texts, like SPM, are not supported by explanatory notes), Furnivall simply gathers together and prints as much primary evidence as he is able; edification is to be found in evidence itself, rather than the authoritative voice of a scholarly editor. This approach is made curious by the fact that Furnivall apparently presented the evidence with a moral purpose in mind. In the one didactic passage in the Forewords, he makes clear that medieval social history contains lessons for contemporary social relations:

> ...it is not for one of a nation that has not yet taken generally to tubbing and baths, or left off shaving, to reproach his forefathers with want of cleanliness, or adherence to customs that involve contradiction of the teachings of physiologists, and the evident intent of Nature or the Creator. Moreover, reflections on the good deeds done, and the high thoughts thought, by men of old dirtier than some now, may prevent us concluding that because other people now talk through their noses, and have manners different from our own, they and their institutions must be wholly abominable; that because others smell when heated, they ought to be slaves; or that eating peas with a knife renders men unworthy of franchise. The temptation to value manners above morals, and pleasantness above honesty, is one that all of us have to guard against (p. lxiii).

In the 'Index,' Furnivall combines the entries of a glossary—comprising a Middle English headword, line references, gloss(es) and in some cases etymological information—with the entries of a subject index, as may be seen in Figure Two below. The coverage of the text given by the glossarial part of the index is highly selective and supplementary to the glossarial information contained in the notes to many of the texts (not including SPM, whose notes are limited to recording manuscript readings, as described above); nor does the subject index 'pretend to completeness' (Part II, p. 60). While limited in coverage, the index does go some way toward redeeming the disorderly arrangement of the book by making the information within it accessible—the importance of which was impressed upon Furnivall by his experience, in the preparation of the 'Preface to Russell,' of dealing with 'the unwieldy mass and clueless mazes' of books without a glossary or index (p. cxv).

Twopence or threepence a day, the wages of a groom or page, 320/619-20.
Twynkelynge, 134/281, blinking.
Twyte, 7/179, hack; 'telwyn, or thwytyn (twhytyn, twytyn). *Abseco, reseco.*' P. Parv.
Tyer, 267/21, Tyrian wine.
Tyere, p. 265, cut up.
Tymbre that fyre, p. 265, put wood on it.
Tyre, 125/119; p. 206, No. 9, a sweet wine.

Unbrace, p. 265, carve.
Unbrushen, 180/944.
Uncleanness to be abhorred, p. 256.
Uncountabulle, 317/544, not accountable to any other officer of the household?
Unsunken, 313/441.
Untache, p. 265, carve.
Upbrayde, 141/395, reproach.
Upper-crust of a loaf for the lord, 139/342; p. 271 at foot; to be cut in four, 300/37.
Upright, sit, 21/93.
Upright, p. 245, with the face upwards. "I throwe a man on his backe or *upright*, so that his face is upwarde. *Je renuerse.*" Palsgrave.
Urinal, 283/34.
Urine, retain it not, 296/145.
Usher, the duties of one, p. 185-194; p. 284-6.
Usher of the Chamber, 312/432; his duties, 314/473 to 316/520; he carries the smallest wand, 309/354.

Figure Two: Extract from the 'Index' of SPM p. 126

The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man

Furnivall begins his 'Forewords' to PLM with an account of the process by which the edition was brought to print—an example of EETS' collaborative mode of production *par excellence:*

> As DeGuileville's *Pelèrinage*—or some abstract or report of it—was supposed to have been the original of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, or to have suggested the subject to him, I got one of our copiers, the late William Wood—afterwards a Reader at our printers', Austins of Hertford—to copy Lydgate's verse englishing, some 20 years ago, from the only two imperfect MSS. of it then in the British Museum, Vitellius C 13 and Tiberius A 7. Mr. J. Meadows Cowper kindly wrote sidenotes to most of the copy. About six years ago, Mr. G. N. Currie, M.A. Lond., a school-master, undertook to edit it, and sent it to Clays as fit for press. On his sad death two years back, I, as the Society's man-of-all-work, had to take it up, and, after trying in vain to fill up the burnt parts of the Vitellius MS. in the first four sheets of proof, I luckily came on the Stowe MS. 952 of the poem, with a capital text, which had escaped the notice of our great teacher in MS. Romances, Henry Ward, thro' not having been fully described in the Stowe catalog of Lord Ashburnham. This MS. has only about two-thirds of Lydgate's englishing; but that worthy old tailor John Stowe,—whom all MS. folk honour,—hating a vacuum, as Nature does, copied into his MS. the missing part, from another MS.; and tho' he modernised the spelling somewhat, and cut off a lot of final ees, his text has enabled me to fill up the gaps left by the two Cotton MSS., and thus secure the Society the complete poem.[25]

Exactly how much editorial work Currie managed to complete during the four years he had possession of the transcriptions is not clear. However, the frequent use made of the Stowe manuscript in establishing the text suggests that responsibility for the nature of the printed text as a whole (if not the majority of the editorial work) should be—and indeed, throughout the following discussion, is—attributed to Furnivall; the few aspects of the text which show evidence of Furnivall's predecessors' labours will be pointed out below. As Furnivall's account suggests, the witnesses to PLM provide a textual situation as complicated as the means by which the poem was brought to print. Both manuscripts copied by Wood give imperfect accounts of the text. London, British Library MS. Cotton Vitellius C. xiii (henceforth referred to as V) contains 20,785 of the 24,832 lines of the printed poem; the missing lines divide V's text into four passages of varying length. British Library MS. Cotton Tiberius A. vii (T) contains 4,407 lines which in the printed text form three passages divided by several hundred additional lines of text. British Library MS. Stowe 952 (S) does give the poem in its entirety but, as alluded to by Furnivall, the original fifteenth-century manuscript ends at line 17,197; the remainder of the poem is written on different paper in the hand of John Stowe—a fact which, even if V and T had not been transcribed before S was discovered, would probably have disqualified it from use as the base text.[26] Instead, Furnivall uses V as his base text wherever possible; where V fails, he prints the text of T, resorting to S

---

[25] ES 77, pp. v-vi. The EETS edition of PLM was also published, unaltered apart from the title page, by the Roxburghe Club in 1905. The official history of the Roxburghe Club, Nicholas Barker, *The Publications of the Roxburghe Club 1814-1962* (Cambridge: Printed for presentation to the members of the Roxburghe Club, 1964), gives a different version of the genesis of the edition: 'In 1893 the Club began its massive series of Deguileville's works.... Lydgate's version... was to have been edited by Stürzinger, but he was prevented, first by illness and then insanity, from finishing the work, which was finally completed by Furnivall, in conjunction with the Early English Text Society' (p. 47). (Before losing his sanity, J. J. Stürzinger managed to edit for the Roxburghe Club three versions in French, *Le Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine,* Roxburghe Club 124 (1893); *Le Pèlerinage de l'Ame,* Roxburghe Club 127 (1895); *Le Pèlerinage Jhesucrist,* Roxburghe Club 133 (1897)). For further discussion of the Roxburghe Club publication of Furnivall's PLM, see below.

[26] Furnivall variously used the sigla 'St.' and 'Stowe' for MS. Stowe 952, 'Tib.' for MS. Cotton Tiberius A. vii and, perhaps most confusingly, 'C' for MS. Cotton Vitellius C. xiii. For ease and clarity of reference, I have adopted my own single letter sigla in this discussion, as given above.

where both V and T are imperfect. The various combinations of witnesses found throughout the poem are such that Furnivall is forced to switch between the manuscripts in accordance with this formula on seven occasions.[27] In total, V provides 20,785 lines of the base text, T provides 2,655 lines and S provides 1,392 lines (411 of which are from the section written by Stowe).

The textual situation is further complicated by the damage V suffered in the infamous fire in the Cotton library. Charring and heat-deformation of the vellum have rendered the first six or seven lines of many folios unreadable in part or in whole. Where a whole line is unreadable, Furnivall simply inserts it from one of the other witnesses—where possible from T, but more frequently from S. Such lines are indicated by the presence of the appropriate manuscript's sigil alone in square brackets to the side of the text (e.g. beside 6221 is the note '[Stowe]'). Where a line is only partially unreadable, the legible portion is printed and the remainder inserted from the other witnesses. Such compound lines are indicated by the presence of the sigla of the constituent manuscripts in square brackets to the side of the text (e.g. beside 17864 '[C. & St.]' and beside 17865 '[St. & C.].') The frequent variation in the order of sigla in these notes—not uncommonly found, as in the previous example, in consecutive lines—goes unexplained by Furnivall. The most obvious supposition, that the order of the sigla reflects the proportion of the line provided by each manuscript, proved unsupportable upon examination. I have been unable to find another satisfactory explanation.

Of the remainder of Furnivall's brief 'Forewords,' only the following observations on particular aspects of grammar and metre relate directly to his editorial practice:

> The two points that strike me most on reading Lydgate's poem, are, 1. the large number of times in which he has run the preposition *to* into the next vowel-beginning word, like *tave*, to have; *tal*, to all; *talyved*, to have lived; and 2. the many instances in which a single unemphatic syllable does duty for the first measure of a line, and rarely that of a half-line after the pause [Nine lines exemplifying point 1. follow].... As restoring the *to* sometimes mends the metre, the reader may perhaps put the amalgamation down to Lydgate's scribe. I don't. [Nineteen lines exemplifying point 2. follow, only three of which relate to the half-line after the caesura] (p. xi).

Furnivall here gives casual expression to a serious interest in metrical detail sustained throughout the editorial process. Throughout the printed text, diacritics are used to distinguish final *e*s that should be sounded, and to show where the stress falls in certain polysyllabic words. While they do not provide a comprehensive scansion—Furnivall himself notes that 'I haven't markt all the *e*e's that need sounding' (p. xii)—the diacritical marks are applied frequently enough to give a clear sense of Furnivall's interpretation of the metre (see Figure Three below). Significantly, the final two sentences of the passage suggest that underlying Furnivall's interpretation of the metre is an assumption that Lydgate's metrical

---

[27] The following list shows the varying combinations of manuscripts giving witness to the text throughout the poem. The sigil in bold italic is that of the manuscript used as the base text at that point in the poem. S^2 refers to the part of S which is written by Stowe. Lines 1-16080 ***V***S; 16081-17061 ***S***; 17062-17197 ***V***S; 17198-17901 ***V***S^2; 17902-18312 ***S***^{2}; 18313-19550 S^2 ***T***; 19551-19712 ***V***S^2 T; 19713-20415 ***V***S^2; 20416-20557 ***V***S^2 T; 20558-20811 ***V***S^2; 20812-21949 ***V***S^2 T; 21950-23366 S^2 ***T***; 23367-23676 ***V***S^2 T; 23677-24832 ***V***S^2. Note that Furnivall makes use of T as a witness only as far as 23015, with the note that the remainder of the manuscript 'is nearly illegible' (p. 614).

practice can be distinguished from the work of a scribe. In the case of the assimilation of the preposition *to*, Furnivall's assertion that he can recognise authentic authorial forms leads him to take an essentially conservative position, supporting the retention of the manuscript's readings. However, in the text itself Furnivall emends accidentals with the sole effect of altering the metre, disregarding the readings of the scribe in favour of more metrically acceptable, conjectural forms. Such emendations are frequent: there are nine in the 300 lines I examined with the manuscripts. They are remarkable both because they diverge from Furnivall's past editorial practice as exemplified by SPM, and because they contradict his injunctions against the 'doctoring' of texts recorded in Chapter Three. Furnivall makes no comment about his emendations in PLM but, given the distinction he draws in the above passage between Lydgate and his scribe, it seems reasonable to assume that the emended forms are to be regarded as authorial, and that Furnivall envisages his task as editor to include the (at least partial) restoration of Lydgate's original metre. This argument presupposes that between the publication of SPM in 1868 and PLM in 1899, Furnivall's appraisal of the significance of Lydgate's authorship of a text—which, as has been seen, prompted no more than a passing comment in the case of SPM—underwent considerable change. There is some evidence of the beginning of such a change in Furnivall's proposal for a 'Lydgate and Occleve Society,' and because it may assist in understanding Furnivall's change in editorial practice, I will present this evidence in detail.

By 1872 it had become apparent that EETS' rate of production was such that many significant fifteenth-century texts would remain unprinted for at least another two decades. Furnivall's response was to propose a 'Lydgate and Occleve Society,' in order to 'relieve the Early English Text Society of the chief burden of their fifteenth-century work.'[28] Furnivall made clear to his readers that his primary objective in forming the Society was to expand the production capacity of his overall Early English publishing project, stating that he offered subscribers the opportunity of 'furthering our common object of making accessible to students the unprinted works of our old authors.... The Chaucer Society is well on with its work of clearing the first obstruction out of the way of the Early English Text Society; I hope the second obstruction—the works of Lydgate and Occleve—will be cleared away by the new Society.' He estimated that this task could be completed in twenty years, and the Society then disbanded. The implication here is that Lydgate and Hoccleve were chosen at least partly to provide a convenient, delimiting category of texts to which the additional resources could be applied—in other words, that the significance of the authorship of 'Lydgate and Occleve' lay as much in its administrative and marketing functions as it did in the inherent characteristics of the authors' literary productions. It is possible to read a similar ambivalence in Furnivall's reasoning for the choice of the works of Lydgate and Hoccleve as the vehicle for the primary objective of the new Society. Although the authors are mentioned continually by name, the reasons he gives for printing their works mainly relate to characteristics which could be found in other fifteenth-century texts, rather than to practices specific to the individual authors:

---

[28] Frederick J. Furnivall, *Lydgate and Occleve Society,* an open letter dated 14 March 1872, issued with Furnivall, ed., *The Ellesmere MS of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, vol. 4 (London: N. Trübner & Co., 1872).

> No one who knows even a little of the subject can say that we can well wait for the next generation to print Lydgate and Occleve; for one of the most pressing questions of such English scholarship as we have, is, to trace the degeneration of the 14th-century forms, and specially the final *–e* in the works of Chaucer's pupils, as contrasted with his, the master's, own use. We haven't a single printed text of either Lydgate or Occleve which represents the best MSS of it, so as to enable a student to judge whether any final *–e*, for instance, was written by the scribe, or is an editor's fancy of the value of the scribe's flourish, or contraction-mark.... Moreover, we need prints of all our 15th-century MSS in order to be able to watch and register the growth of our vocabulary, and the fall of its dead leaves; to help in the solution of the problem of what are, and what are not, the genuine works of Chaucer; what words and phrases came in, or are recorded in the 15th-century, that were not written in our rolls of the 14th. We need these MSS before us, too, to help us to know better their time, of which we have so few contemporary chronicles and records.

However, the final reason Furnivall gives for choosing the works of Lydgate and Hoccleve does assert unequivocally that they are valuable for the sake of their authorship *per se:*

> Lastly, we want the works of Lydgate and Occleve for the sake of the men themselves. Unthrifty "T. Hoccleve", with his London life in office, and tavern, and want; scampish young John, playing tricks in school, robbing apple-orchards, and the like, and then settling down into preacher and poet, 'Dan John Lydgate, monk of Bury'; these are men whose individuality and life should be brought out more clearly before us; whose works ought at least to be made accessible to men away from great MS libraries.[29]

Furnivall goes on to print several complimentary comments about Lydgate made by Stephen Hawes, Elisabeth Barrett Browning and Henry Morley, thus producing the only genuinely favourable account of Lydgate's literary abilities to be issued by one of Furnivall's printing Societies in the nineteenth century.[30] The purpose of this argument is clear: in order to convince prospective subscribers to part with their money, Furnivall represents the works attributed to Lydgate as the products of a talented and distinctive literary author, from whom they derive their particular characteristics and literary value. In doing so, he articulates a far greater interest in Lydgate's authorship for its own sake than was demonstrated in the edition of SPM, although the extent to which the marketing rhetoric reflects his own views is questionable—almost three decades later he would be, for instance, less than charitable about the literary merits of PLM:

> Seeing that the main interest of Lydgate's poem—supposing his verse to deserve that name—is its supposed relation to Bunyan's world-known work, I suppose our members will read enough of it to settle, each in his own mind, whether this *Pilgrimage* had anything to do with the *Pilgrim's Progress*.... The only pretty page in the volume is that on the renewing of Nature by Spring, p. 92. Of the literary quality of the rest of the verse, the less that's said the better; but of course the text is of worth for its words, metre, and grammar, and its gauge of religious folks' minds in the 14th and 15th centuries (p. vi).

Whether disingenuous or not, the respect for and interest in Lydgate as a literary author expressed in Furnivall's proposal does signal the beginning of a wider scholarly movement which considered the defining characteristics of Lydgate's works in terms of their authorship. The flowering of Lydgate-studies was initially arrested, as the proposed Society failed to attract the 150 subscribers required to

---

[29] Furnivall, *Lydgate and Occleve Society*, pp. 2-3.

[30] Stephen Hawes' "The Pastime of Pleasure" (ll. 1373-74), presumably printed by Furnivall from [Thomas Wright, ed.], *Early English Poetry, Ballads, and Popular Literature of the Middle Ages, Printed from Original Manuscripts and Scarce Publications*, vol. 18 (London: The Percy Society, 1846) 55; Elizabeth Barrett Browning, *Essays on the Greek Christian Poets and the English Poets* (New York: James Miller, 1863) 137; Henry Morley, *English Writers*, vol. 2 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1867) 423-4. No such comments are cited by Furnivall in support of Hoccleve.

enable work to commence and, as Furnivall predicted, Lydgate's works languished in EETS' list of forthcoming texts for another two decades. However, in the 1890s publication began in earnest, and in the twenty years between 1891 and 1911, EETS produced nine editions of Lydgate's works.[31] As will be discussed below, the first of these, Schick's edition of TG—which included in its introduction, in addition to the discussion of matters relating specifically to TG, detailed examinations of 'Lydgate's Metre' (pp. liv-lxiii) and 'Lydgate's Language' (pp. lxiii-lxxv) and a 'Chronology of Lydgate's Writings' (pp. lxxxv-cxv)—effectively inaugurated the scholarly study of Lydgate as a literary author in EETS publications.

It seems natural that the influence of a growing regard for Lydgate would find expression in PLM which, because of its extreme length, was published as an autonomous work (in contrast to SPM, which formed an insignificant part of a publication containing numerous texts by different, sometimes anonymous, authors, selected for the sake of their subject material). Nevertheless, a change in attitude to the matter of authorship provides only a partial explanation for the change in Furnivall's editorial practice. After all, Furnivall's interest in Lydgate was by no means as great as his interest in Chaucer, for whom he successfully founded the Chaucer Society and published his works on the familiar principle that the manuscripts' texts should be printed without editorial 'doctoring.' Aspects of Chaucer's work such as metre were opened to appreciation by the publication of multiple manuscript versions of the same work—in the case of the *Canterbury Tales*, printed both individually and in parallel. This solution was unaffordable in the case of Lydgate, who lacked a Society dedicated to generating revenue specifically for the purpose. Perhaps Furnivall's change in practice can be attributed to the fact that both his and his subscribers' estimation of Lydgate's authorial significance, although it had increased enough to prompt a serious interest his metrical practice, remained comparatively slight. While the works of the Father of English Poetry were sacrosanct and funded as such, in the case of Lydgate, editorial principles could be bent in a pragmatic response to more limited funds.

Furnivall's attempt to recreate an authentic authorial text is restricted to its metre; in all other respects, his edition belongs to EETS' conservative school of editing. The formal features of the manuscripts are recorded in great detail, and wherever the base text is emended, the original readings are presented in notes beside the text. As in SW and SPM, no attempt is made to establish the relationships between the manuscripts, and no attempt is made to reconstruct an original text from the substantive variants found among them: alternative readings are only adopted where the base text is deficient of sense.[32] Furthermore, in an instance where all the available witnesses to the text seemed to contain a substantive error, Furnivall proved unwilling to emend the text by editorial conjecture. Given the restrictions of time and the length of this chapter, it was not possible to investigate Furnivall's editorial practices in all

---

[31] ES 60 (1891), ES 66 (1894), ES 69 (1896), ES 77 (1899), ES 80 (1900), ES 84 (1901), ES 97 (1906), ES 107 (1910), 108 (1911).

[32] Furnivall's lack of interest in the possible relationships among the manuscripts remarkable, given that he believed Stowe, in addition to copying out part of S from another manuscript, had annotated V (see below).

of the different textual situations (i.e. the varying combinations of witnesses and the alternations of the base text) of which this vast and complicated edition is comprised. It should be noted therefore that I have restricted myself to examining passages representative of the two textual situations which make up greatest proportions of the edition. Thus I have examined two passages in which V provides the base text and S alone is also a witness to the text (501-600 and 6201-6300), and one passage where V provided the base text and both S and T are also witnesses to the text (20902-21001).

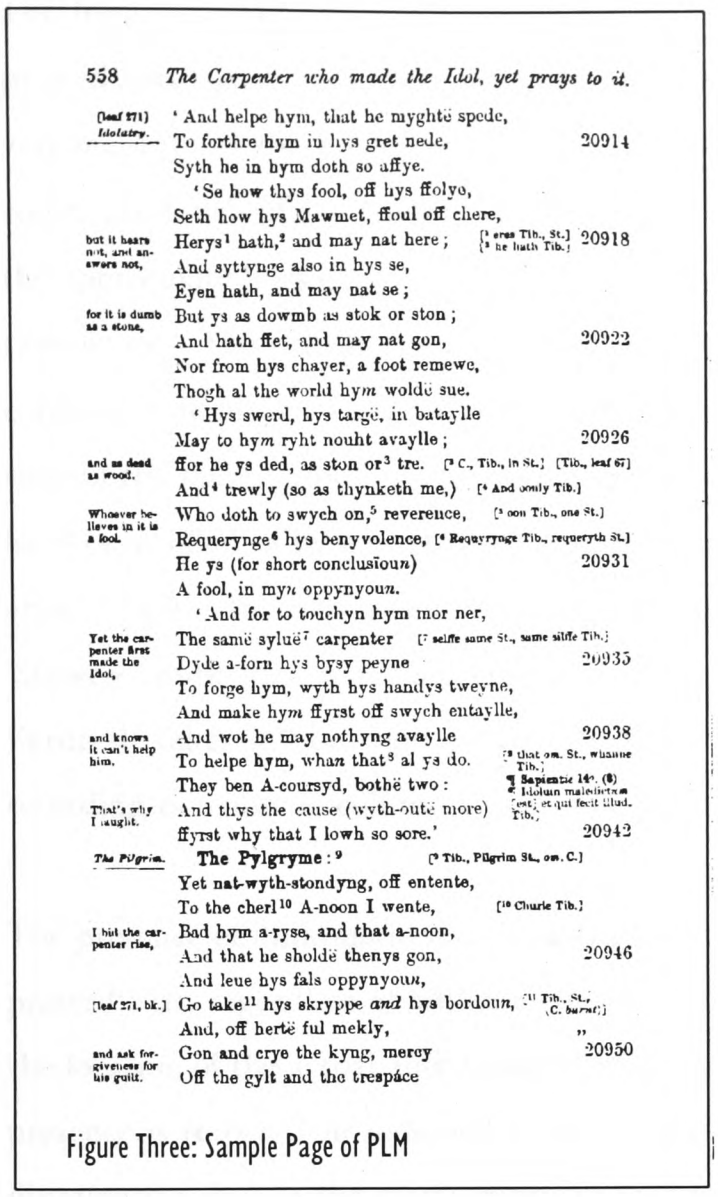
Presentation of manuscript detail

In terms of both the type of formal manuscript detail recorded in the text and paratext, and the conventions used to record it, PLM conforms to the basic pattern exemplified by the editions of Morris, Perry, Brock and Skeat, and Furnivall's own edition of SPM. However, PLM is given added complexity by the fact that all three witnesses provide part of the base text of the edition, and so the variations in formal presentation found among the manuscripts are included in various places in the printed text. (Comments in the following discussion refer to details common to all three manuscripts unless otherwise stated.) The edition is further complicated by Furnivall's practice of concurrently recording a subset of formal details from all the manuscripts throughout the text, regardless of which manuscript provides the base text at any given point. The elements concurrently recorded are those most significant in the organisation of the manuscript folio and book—that is, the headings, illuminations, marginalia and foliation—and thus the printed book may be regarded as a kind of compendium of the physical arrangement of the three witnesses to the text. As will be seen in Figure Three below, this has resulted in a complex layout of the printed page. In Figure Four below, I have reduced the page-layout to a schema of four columns, labelled A-D, to which, for the sake of clarity, I will refer in my description.

The text is printed in a roman fount of the modern English alphabet, with the addition of a yogh, and modified characters for the letters *d, g, h, l* and *n* to record the various cross marks and tags on those letters regarded by Furnivall as otiose and so not expanded as final *e* in the manner of Perry, Brock, and Furnivall himself in SPM. (ȝ is only found in T and S; þ and ð are not required for any of the manuscripts). The sign representing 'and' is printed as the standard roman ampersand (&); all other abbreviations are expanded in italics. In the three hundred lines of text I examined with the manuscripts I found two instances where the expansion of an abbreviation was not signalled by italics, and five instances where Furnivall neglected to record the presence of otiose strokes.[33] Four of the five unrecorded otiose strokes were found in the last of the three extracts examined with the manuscripts. This fact, in combination with my impression—gained from a visual comparison of a number of pages from throughout the text—that tagged and crossed type-characters are more prevalent toward the beginning of the text, suggests that Furnivall (or before him Wood) became less diligent in recording the presence of otiose strokes in the second half of the poem. Very occasionally, a cross or tag mark of the

[33] The letter *n* in the following two words should be in italics: 582 Seyn, 6284 plesaunce. According to his practice elsewhere, Furnivall should have reproduced in the printed text the crossed h in 6206 hihte, and the tagged *g* in 20938 nothyng, 20943 stondyng, 20950 kyng, 20988 menyng.

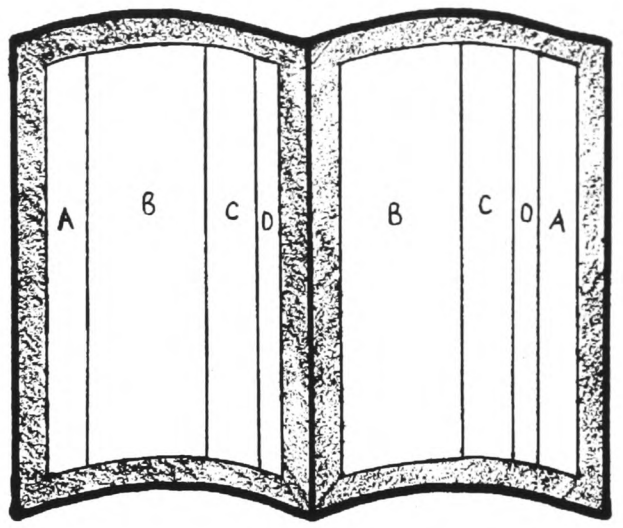
kind normally interpreted as otiose is expanded in italics as a final *e*. These exceptions to Furnivall's usual practice are apparently made for the sake of metre and will be discussed along with Furnivall's metrical emendations below.



558 *The Carpenter who made the Idol, yet prays to it.*

[leaf 271] *Idolatry.*
'And helpe hym, that he myghtë spede,
To forthre hym in hys gret nede, 20914
Syth he in hym doth so affye.
'Se how thys fool, off hys ffolye,
Seth how hys Mawmet, ffoul off chere,
but it hears not, and answers not, Herys[1] hath,[2] and may nat here; [1 eres Tib., St.] [2 he hath Tib.] 20918
And syttynge also in hys se,
Eyen hath, and may nat se;
for it is dumb as a stone, But ys as dowmb as stok or ston;
And hath ffet, and may nat gon, 20922
Nor from hys chayer, a foot remewe,
Thogh al the world hym woldë sue.
'Hys swerd, hys targë, in bataylle
May to hym ryht nouht avaylle; 20926
and as dead as wood. ffor he ys ded, as ston or[3] tre. [3 C., Tib., in St.] [Tib., leaf 67]
And[4] trewly (so as thynketh me,) [4 And oonly Tib.]
Whoever believes in it is a fool. Who doth to swych on,[5] reverence, [5 oon Tib., one St.]
Requerynge[6] hys benyvolence, [6 Requyrynge Tib., requeryth St.]
He ys (for short conclusioun) 20931
A fool, in myn oppynyoun.
'And for to touchyn hym mor ner,
Yet the carpenter first made the Idol, The samë syluë[7] carpenter [7 selffe same St., same silffe Tib.]
Dyde a-forn hys bysy peyne 20935
To forge hym, wyth hys handys tweyne,
And make hym ffyrst off swych entaylle,
and knows it can't help him. And wot he may nothyng avaylle 20938
To helpe hym, whan that[8] al ys do. [8 that om. St., whanne Tib.]
They ben A-coursyd, bothë two: ¶ Sapientie 14°. (8) Idolum maledictum [est]; et qui fecit illud. Tib.]
That's why I taught. And thys the cause (wyth-outë more)
ffyrst why that I lowh so sore.' 20942
The Pylgrim. **The Pylgryme**:[9] [9 Tib., Pilgrim St., om. C.]
Yet nat-wyth-stondyng, off entente,
To the cherl[10] A-noon I wente, [10 Charle Tib.]
I bid the carpenter rise, Bad hym a-ryse, and that a-noon,
And that he sholdë thenys gon, 20946
And leue hys fals oppynyoun,
[leaf 271, bk.] Go take[11] hys skryppe *and* hys bordoun, [11 Tib., St., (C. burnt)]
And, off hertë ful mekly, ,,
and ask forgiveness for his guilt. Gon and crye the kyng, mercy 20950
Off the gylt and the trespáce

Figure Three: Sample Page of PLM



A: Modern English paraphrase, foliation of base manuscript.
B: text, notes on illumination
C: textual notes, MS marginalia
D: line numbering

Figure Four: Simplified Page-layout

Capitalisation follows the base manuscript, except that *ff*, usually reproduced as found in the base manuscript, is printed as capital *F* when it occurs as the initial letter of proper a name (e.g. 582 'Fravnceys'). The umlauts and grave and acute accent signs used to mark the scansion are editorial, as is the punctuation, with the exception of paraphs and virgules. Rubricated words are printed in bold type. Decorated initial capitals, present only in T, are represented in print where that manuscript provides the base text by large capitals which extend downward through the leading to the line below. The occasional underlining of words, present only in S, is reproduced in type where that manuscript provides the base text (e.g. 16281, 16294). The line divisions of the printed text follow those of the base manuscript, except for 16275-17033 which are written as long lines of prose in S (at that point the only witness to the text) and are similarly printed as prose in the edition, but following their own natural line breaks.

The foliation of all three manuscripts is recorded wherever they witness the text. The foliation of the manuscript which provides the base text is recorded in square brackets in column A; on every page for which V does not provide the base text, the shelf-mark of the manuscript which does is also given at the head of column A. The foliation of the manuscript or manuscripts which witness the text but do not provide the base text is recorded in square brackets in column C. The places in the text where

manuscripts take up or leave off as witnesses, and also where the manuscript providing the base text changes, are recorded in notes in column C, or, where a lack of space beside the text requires, at the foot of the page.

The frequent headings which divide the text into sections in all the manuscripts are recorded in the printed text. Although there is some variation in the position of headings among the manuscripts, the vast majority of them coincide, as they indicate a change of speaker in the numerous dialogues which constitute much of the poem. Generally, the heading given in the base manuscript is printed between the appropriate lines of text in column B, in bold type if rubricated, in unemboldened but slightly larger type if not. The presence or absence of the headings in the other manuscripts is recorded in a note in column C, along with any variations in their spelling. Many headings in V were left unexecuted at the time of the manuscript's production; in most instances the blank lines left for them by the original scribe have been filled in by a later hand that Furnivall believed belonged to Stowe (e.g. the heading and note after 6240). In such cases, Furnivall prints the heading in unemboldened type and acknowledges 'Stowe's' work in a note in column C. Where the heading in V has been omitted by both scribes, Furnivall takes it from one of the other witnesses, using bold type to represent any rubrication and recording in a note in column C the source of the heading and the fact of its omission in V.

The presence of illuminations in T, and spaces left for unexecuted illuminations in V, are recorded in the printed text, regardless of which of the three manuscripts provides the base text. Unlike the headings, the location of the actual and intended illuminations in the two manuscripts tends not to coincide. Their presence is recorded in italicised notes between lines of text in column B, thus dividing the text as the illumination does in the manuscript. In the case of V, Furnivall usually records how many lines were left blank for the illumination; in the case of T, only the presence of an illumination is recorded (with the exception of the one drawn after 22946, of which a description is given for reasons unknown). Two diagrams present in S at 1387 and 4926, but absent in V, are reproduced in the printed text. Marginal notes written in Latin in V and S are printed in small type across columns C and D, regardless of which manuscript provides the base text.

Treatment of the base text

Furnivall acknowledges emending the text on eleven occasions in the three hundred lines I examined with the manuscript. This represents a rate of emendation similar to WP, in which Skeat was found to emend two hundred lines on 13 occasions (as the alliterative lines of WP are considerably longer than those of Lydgate's predominantly octosyllabic verse, the two sets of extracts form roughly equivalent amounts of text). In other ways, however, the editorial practices of Furnivall and Skeat are very different. Whereas Skeat usually emended the text in response to deficiencies in the manuscript text's sense and emended to improve the formal literary features of his text only in exceptional cases, the great majority of Furnivall's emendations are made solely to improve the metre. Six of the eleven emendations involve the addition of a final *e* to a word in order to make the metre more regular, and another three

emendations involve changes which are not required for, or are not significant to, the sense, and so appear to be made for their metrical effect.

A list of the six lines in which a final *e* has been added reveals that such emendations are made in response to a particular metrical circumstance (the underlining below is provided by me to indicate *e*s which have been added to the base text; the umlauts are Furnivall's, and indicate that the *e* should be sounded as a distinct syllable):

569 Wych, as I rehersë shal
579 And the ryht[ë] weye han take
593 Grypyng hem w*i*t*h* gretë peyne
6268 Than to endure so gretë wo
6287 Of thys vnkouthë pryvyte
20983 By clerë demonstracïou*n*s.

In all six cases, Furnivall's emendation places an unstressed syllable between two otherwise unmediated consecutive (or 'clashing') stressed syllables in a line. To the above list may be added two instances where Furnivall, contrary to his usual practice, interprets the cross stroke through the ascender of the letter *h* as a mark of abbreviation, rather than an otiose flourish—in effect manipulating the print conventions used to represent the manuscript's formal detail as an alternative to making an emendation proper:

570 ffor to scale that hih*e* wal
595 To gete vp to that hih*e* wal.

In this way, Furnivall alters the accidentals of the base text in order to make individual lines conform more closely to a regular iambic pattern—the basic rhythm underling the verse throughout the poem. His treatment of clashing stresses is not entirely consistent throughout the passages: there are at least three unemended lines which contain unmediated, consecutive stressed syllables (505, 563, 20972). Nevertheless, the regularity with which this single form of emendation is made throughout the poem implies that Furnivall is attempting a limited form of standardisation of the metre, and so this aspect of his editorial practice may be considered systematic.

In the case of five of the six readings to which Furnivall adds a final *e*, the emended form is that attested by S, as Furnivall acknowledges in textual notes in column C. The exception is 579, where the emended form is the product of editorial conjecture (S reads 'right,' a fact unrecorded by Furnivall). Furnivall follows the practice common to EETS' more conservative editors (i.e. Morris, Perry, Brock and Skeat) of distinguishing emended readings from those of the base manuscript within the printed text. Where letters or words in the manuscript are replaced or deleted, the word so emended is marked with superscript note reference, and the manuscript's original reading is printed, along with the readings of the other witness(es), beside the text in column C. Where individual letters or words are added to the base manuscript's text by editorial conjecture, they are printed surrounded in square brackets. However, where the added letters or words are attested by another witness, square brackets are not used; such emendations are treated in the same manner as replaced or deleted text.

The distinction between added text which is and is not attested by another witness appears to be an innovation peculiar to Furnivall's edition of PLM—in SW and SPM, Morris and Furnivall enclose all inserted text in square brackets. It is not clear what is intended by this small deviation from previous convention, or indeed if it is meaningful at all, given that the information provided on the page of text remains the same. It may be over-interpreting the distinction made by the use and non-use of brackets to suggest that it establishes a hierarchy of authority among emendations, with added text supported by S claiming to be a more authentic part of the text than that separated from it by square brackets. In the case of Furnivall's treatment of final *e*, such a hierarchy would be a little spurious: the fact that Furnivall does insert an unattested final *e* for the sole purpose of making the metre more regular might suggest that the final *e*s cited from the other witnesses provide more of a rationalisation than an authorisation for this particular editorial practice. (It may also be noted that Furnivall continues to cite the variant final *e*s of S when it is written by Stowe, and is thus a less reliable source of detailed metrical information.)

However, the manner in which the variant readings of the witnesses are recorded where the text has been emended is genuinely significant because it relates to the disparity between Furnivall's metrical emendations and EETS' usual position that manuscripts should be printed 'undoctored' in order to facilitate study of (among other things) a text's metre. While the emendations themselves may be more editorially directive than befits EETS' characteristic reader-oriented spirit, the recording of the variant spellings of all the witnesses seems *prima facie* to fulfil the intentions of the Society's more conservative editorial procedures: alongside the emended text, the evidence of all the manuscripts is laid out for the reader—an inexpensive alternative to the Chaucer Society's custom of printing several manuscripts in full. However, the fact that only the variants of the individual words emended are recorded substantially compromises the edition's usefulness in examining, for instance, 'one of the most pressing questions of such English scholarship as we have... to trace... the final *–e* in the works of Chaucer's pupils' (see above). In the study of Lydgate's metrical practice, an individual variant reading from another manuscript is only meaningful in the context of all the metrical variations of its line, but these go unrecorded by Furnivall. In this regard, the most that the edition supplies is a record of the base manuscript, to be found beneath a layer of editorial assertions about occasions when it incorrectly reproduces the metre of the original text. As will be seen below, Schick is unable in this regard to produce any more useful information than Furnivall. This deficiency is not restricted to the nineteenth-century editions of EETS, however. It is a crucial problem that confronts any student of the metre of a Middle English text with multiple witnesses who desires to work from a convenient printed edition.

Another three acknowledged emendations appear to be made for metrical reasons and, although they are less easy to classify than emendations involving final *e*, they too seem intended to regularise the metre of the text. At 575 Furnivall prints 'By wych, thor[o]gh deuocyon,' an emendation whose only consequence is to render disyllabic V's originally monosyllabic reading, 'thorgh.' The emendation is almost certainly not intended as the correction of a perceived error in spelling, as Furnivall prints the manuscript's form unchanged on numerous occasions elsewhere (e.g. 988, 1105, 1539). Unemended,

575 would stand as an example of a type of line which, in his Forewords, Furnivall appears to recognise as a legitimate, albeit unusual, component of Lydgate's metrical practice, the 'rarely' occurring 'instances in which a single unemphatic syllable does duty for the first measure... of a half-line after the pause' (see above). Emended, the line has a more regular metrical form—four feet, each comprising two syllables. Two further emendations demonstrate that for the sake of metre Furnivall was prepared to make substantive emendations which, while altering the syntax, do not alter the sense of their respective lines:

> Me thouhte I sawh a gret mervayle:
> Vp-on Tours, dyuers estatys
> Off doctours and <u>off</u> prelatys (516-18)
>
> Ther holy lyff, ther myracles
> Wych ben to vs but spectacles,
> And as merours, that represente... (20985-7).

The emendation in the latter case is the removal of a word: at 20986 V reads '...but as spectacles'; Furnivall rightly records that S omits the 'as,' but does not note that T reads in agreement with V. In the former case, Furnivall correctly records that the 'off' he inserted in V is present in S. Neither emendation is likely to be the correction of what Furnivall believed was a scribal error because in both cases V makes perfect sense as it stands. It is also improbable that the motivation for the emendations was stylistic improvement: while in the first of the two emendations Furnivall endows the text with the neat parallelism of syntax found in S, in the second he removes just such a parallelism from V—despite the fact that it is also supported by another witness. However, it will be observed that the emendations bring the lines closer to regular iambic octametre. In the printed text, 518 may be read from the caesura with a regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables, and 20986 may be read to consist of four iambic feet.

The two acknowledged emendations remaining to be discussed are substantive changes made in response to deficiencies in the sense of the base manuscript's text. At 20905 Furnivall substitutes the manuscript reading 'hyr' with 'hys.' The pronoun refers to 'thys cherl' of 20891, a clearly male character referred to with masculine pronouns elsewhere (e.g. 20983 'he,' 20896 'hym,' 20898 'hys'). Furnivall rightly notes that S reads 'her,' sharing V's error, and that T correctly reads 'his'; the form given in the printed text was no doubt chosen to agree with that attested in V nearby (e.g. 20898, 20905). At 503 Furnivall substitutes the base text's 'compart' with S's 'compact' in the Pilgrim's account of his vision of pilgrims entering Jerusalem:

> But ffyrst they most (thys no ffable,)
> Dyspoyllen hem, & nakyd be;
> ffor noman entrede that cyte
> That clothyd was, nor myhte passe,
> Wher he mor, or wer he lasse,
> Or gret <u>co*m*pact</u> in any membre (498-503).

The difficulty with V's reading is such that Furnivall no doubt felt an editorial obligation to respond to it in some way. However, the solution given by S is no more comprehensible, and I am uncertain how Furnivall would have the reader construe the meaning of the printed text: he gives no textual commentary on the line, the glossary of the edition does not include an entry for either 'compact' or

'compart' and the paraphrase at the side of the text does not summarise this particular part of the text. The emendation indicates that Furnivall's more radical editorial approach is restricted to the regularisation of certain aspects of the poem's metre and does not extend to the conjectural reconstruction of substantive readings: in this case he is not prepared to go beyond the manuscript evidence, even though it gives a demonstrably insufficient account of the text.

Through the use of various editorial conventions, Furnivall presents his text as a diplomatic transcription of its various base manuscripts, the changes to which have all been carefully recorded. The particular nature of these changes aside, Furnivall's representation of his text is quite fair. In the passages I collated against the manuscript I found five unacknowledged differences between the printed text and V—a standard of accuracy comparable to that of Brock and Skeat, and certainly far greater than that seen in Furnivall's earlier edition of SPM. (The credit for this increased level of accuracy may be due to Wood, the transcriber of V and T, as much as to Furnivall himself). In only one case is there an arguably significant probability that the difference between the printed text and V stems from an unrecorded emendation. At 535 Furnivall prints 'Grete' for V's 'Gret,' in effect inserting a final *e* between clashing stresses according to the pattern of the six acknowledged emendations to final *e* described above: 'Grete nou*m*bre of thys Iacobins.' The remaining four cases are probably errors of transcription or typography. At 6287, Furnivall prints 'Of' for that manuscript's 'Off'; that this is not a deliberate emendation is suggested by the fact that 'off' meaning modern 'of' (as it does in 6289) is on numerous occasions elsewhere printed from V without alteration (e.g. 509, 518). The final *e* of the manuscript reading 'trouthe' is unprinted in 6295, 'Saue the trouth (& thus yt stood).' This is unlikely to be an emendation for metre, as 'trouthe' is printed from the manuscript without alteration in metrically similar positions elsewhere (i.e. immediately preceding an unstressed syllable beginning with a vowel at the caesura, such as in 19393, 'To seyne a trouthe agaynës kynde'). Similarly, Furnivall silently adds a final *e* to MS. 'mor' in 20906 'To make the fool more for to muse.' This does not conform to the pattern found in the acknowledged insertions of final *e*; rather, the added *e*, if pronounced at all, would prove metrically superfluous before two weak syllables, 'for to.' It may also be noted that Furnivall feels no need to add, silently or otherwise, a final *e* to the word 'mor' in metrically similar positions elsewhere in the text (e.g. 6161 'Mor to maken résistence'). At 6245 Furnivall prints 'may them' for V's 'mayst hem.' Again, this seems unlikely to be a deliberate emendation as the same forms are printed from the manuscript without alteration elsewhere (e.g. 6234 'hem'; 20892 'mayst'). Rather, this seems the type of error that might result from a moment's inattention during the transcription of the manuscript, the transcriber slipping into the more natural, modern form of the words—unchecked, as the alteration is metrically neutral, by any awkwardness of scansion such a change might otherwise cause. Furnivall records S's 'mayst hem' as a variant to the printed text, suggesting that the error was originally made by Wood, and that while collating S, Furnivall worked from Wood's transcription of V without recourse to the manuscript itself.

Collation of variants

Furnivall's edition of PLM contains a corpus of variant manuscript readings in addition to those recorded where the base text has been emended. In studying this corpus of readings I was aware of the possibility that, because T came to Furnivall through intermediaries but he worked directly from S, the treatment of the variant readings from those two manuscripts might be different. (If, as is at least theoretically possible, Furnivall worked from a collation of T made by Currie, Furnivall's work would be limited by the editorial decisions of his predecessor.) However, I did not find any significant difference between the treatment of variant readings in S and T, and the statements made below are equally applicable to both manuscripts. Nevertheless, I have given examples from both S and T wherever illustration is required.

Furnivall nowhere discusses his purpose for or method of collating the variant readings, and so we are left to infer what we are able from the evidence of the manuscripts and the recorded variants themselves. As readers of PLM probably assumed—given that they would have gained a sense of the orthography of all three manuscripts from the passages where they provide the base text—Furnivall's collation is highly selective. In the 300 lines I examined with the manuscripts I found numerous minor differences of accidence which went unrecorded, a significant minority of which are also metrical variants (e.g. at 6282 'mychë' S reads 'much,' and at 20989 'gretë' T reads 'greet'). It is from the bulk of these unrecorded variants that the only certain general statement about Furnivall's otherwise perplexing treatment of variant readings may be derived, albeit a negative one: he did not attempt comprehensively to record the orthographic or metrical practices embodied in all three manuscripts. It has not proved possible to deduce from the recorded variants with certainty any positive criteria by which they were selected. Thus the classification below is made solely to give order to my description of the variants he did record; the counter examples given for each class of variant illustrate that the class a particular variant falls into does not necessarily explain Furnivall's decision to record it.

In the 300 lines of text I examined with the manuscripts, Furnivall records thirty-one instances where one or both of S and T read in variance to V. Fifteen of these variant readings may be regarded as substantive. The substantive variants may divided into two kinds: firstly, those which alter the sense of a line (e.g. for 20912 'hym,' S reads 'hem,' and for 20928 'And' T reads 'And oonly') and secondly, those in which a word is added to or omitted from the text found in V, altering the syntax but not the sense (e.g. in lines 515 and 20995 S and T insert 'and' between otherwise acceptably paratactic clauses; at 20988 S leaves implied the pronoun 'ther' which is expressed in V). However, many substantive variations of both kinds also go unrecorded. For example, of the first type, Furnivall does not record that for 529 'in' S reads 'alle,' and that for 20917 'hys' T reads 'thys'; of the second type, Furnivall does not record that T inserts 'and' at 20947, or that at 551 S omits the definite article 'the.' It is not clear why these particular variants are less worthy of recording than the examples of recorded variants I have given above. It may be noted that in the case of the second type, the substantive variation is also by definition a metrical one. However, I am unable to demonstrate that those variants of the second type which are recorded result in more significant or interesting metrical variations to their lines.

The remaining sixteen recorded variants are accidental. In many of these variants some particular point of philological interest may be seen. For example, Furnivall records that, in the place of 6202 'sherpe' and 6220 'shyrpe,' S reads 'Scrippe' and 'Skryppe' respectively. The OED also finds these variant forms of the word to be noteworthy: it lists 'scrip' and 'shrip' as separate, but cross-referenced, headwords and notes in the entry for the latter that 'the existence of the two forms is difficult to account for.' Similar philological characteristics (albeit generally less salient) could probably be adduced in explanation of all the recorded accidental variants. However, this mode of analysis, based as it is on unrelated speculations about individual variants, leads only to the vague and unhelpful conclusion that Furnivall's criteria for recording accidental variants was that he should find them interesting.

Paratext

As mentioned above, PLM was issued in three parts over a period of five years: Part I, containing Furnivall's brief Forewords and the first 8684 lines of the text, was issued in 1899, Part II, containing the remainder of the text, in 1901, and Part III, containing the paratext of the edition—almost all of which was prepared not by Furnivall but by Katherine B. Locock—was issued in 1904. The arrangement of the edition as a whole has been somewhat obscured by the division into three parts, so it is worth outlining their contents in full:

Part I: (ES 77)	1. Forewords (pp. v-xii) 2. Text ll. 1-8685 (pp. 1-240)
Part II: (ES 83)	3. Text ll. 8686-24832 (pp. 241-665)
Part III: (ES 92, by Locock)	4. Contents [of the edition as a whole] (p. v*) 5. Preface (pp. vii*-viii*) 6. Introduction (pp. ix*-lxxi*) 7. Table of Contents [of the poem alone] (pp. lxxiii*-lxxvii*) 8. Afterwords [by Furnivall] (pp. xiii-xvi) 9. Notes (pp. 667-94) 10. Glossary (pp. 695-723) 11. Index (pp. 725-34) 12. Index of Names (pp. 735-36).

The table of contents printed on p. v* makes it clear that EETS intended readers to divide up Parts I and III and bind the constituent items of the edition in the order 4, 5, 6, 7, 1, 8, 2, 3, 9, 10, 11, 12. However, none of the copies in the three libraries whose collections of EETS publications I consulted in the course of my research in Oxford are presented in this fashion. The Bodleian and English Faculty Libraries bound each part as it was issued, and so the edition may be found in three (disparately shelved) volumes. The Corpus Christi College copy is bound in a single volume, but without dividing up Parts I and III and re-ordering the contents, thereby creating a book which is initially very confusing, and always physically cumbersome, to use. However, the Roxburghe Club version of the edition, which was issued to Members in its entirety in 1905, is bound in the manner directed by the table of contents.

Other than that presented alongside the text itself, Furnivall's contribution to the paratext of the edition was slight: the 'Forewords' are made up of the comments on the production of the text and those on Lydgate's metre and literary prowess discussed and quoted at various points above; the 'Afterwords' correct errors in the 'Forewords' and make further comments about the literary merit of Lydgate's work. By contrast, Locock's work is substantial and scholarly. In the Preface, which contains Locock's acknowledgements and an outline of the contents of the edition, she states 'my principal aim in the Introduction has... been to discuss the relation of the poem to its original, to indicate the character of that original, and to consider the question of Bunyan's suggested debt to Lydgate' (p. vii*). Approximately one half of her introduction is taken up with discussion of these matters; the remainder is made up of 'a few notes concerning Lydgate's metre, Language and Style,' a bibliography of the manuscript and early printed witnesses to the various French and English versions of the poem, a description of the three Lydgate manuscripts, and a brief biographical note about de Guileville. The four page table of contents which follows the introduction is a tabulated summary of the poem, providing page (rather than line) references.

The notes which follow the text may be best described as explanatory: in the Preface, Locock explains that 'owing to the extreme length of the poem, I have felt it necessary to exercise a strict moderation in writing the notes, and have therefore aimed at little more than the clearing up of the more obscure allusions' (pp. vii*-viii*). The glossary is necessarily selective in its coverage of Lydgate's lengthy text. Individual entries are simple in content and follow a standard form, comprising a Middle English headword (sometimes with one or two variant spellings), an abbreviated indicator of the part of speech, a Modern English gloss, and references to one or two occurrences of the word in the text by page and line number. In the case of verbs, entries list the Middle English spellings and page and line references for the various combinations of tense, person and mood found in the text. The glossary is followed by a ten page subject index—Locock preferring not to combine, as Furnivall does in OS 32; entries with Middle and Modern English headwords. Locock also provides a separate 'Index of Names,' listed according to their spelling in the text, rather than their Modern English equivalents.

The Temple of Glas

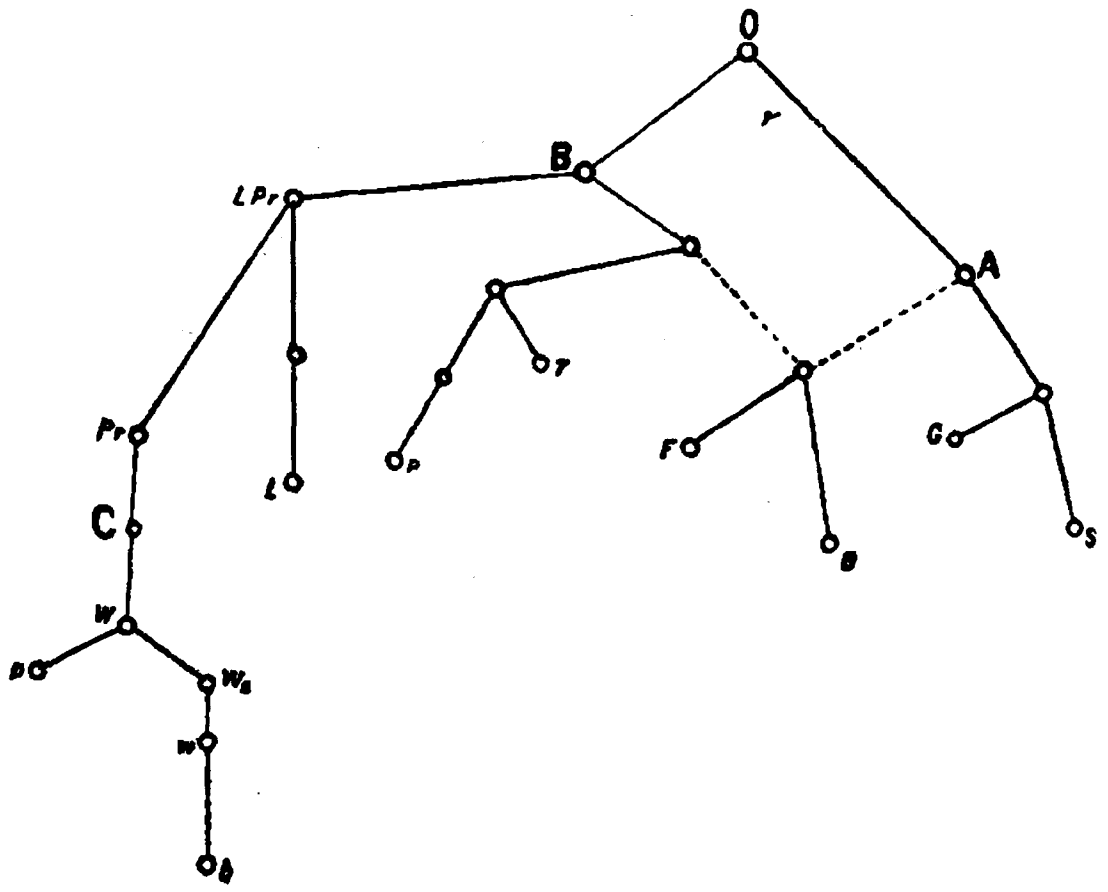
Some eight years before the publication of PLM, Schick produced an edition of TG with the explicit intention of presenting the authentic, authorial text of Lydgate's poem to EETS' readers. In the introduction to his edition, Schick confidently informs the reader that

> ...not less that thirteen texts of the *Temple of Glas* have been found, thus forming sufficient material for a critical construction of the text, which cannot now, I think, differ much from the original (p. xiv).

This 'critical construction' is based on Schick's 'preliminary criticism of the text,' in which the traditional method of recension is applied to the witnesses in order to ascertain the relationships among them and thence to construct a stemma demonstrating how the text was transmitted to those witnesses from their (assumed) common ancestor (pp. xxx-xlix). The information provided by the stemma is then used to establish the principles by which the text of this hypothetical archetypal manuscript may be

reconstructed (pp. xlix-liv). Implicit in the adoption of this method is a mistrust of the textual value of the extant manuscripts as individual conduits of the 'original' text which is quite at odds with EETS' customary valorisation of the individual manuscript (see Chapter Three). This mistrust reveals itself in a particularly vociferous form in Schick's assessment of the fifteenth-century witnesses to Lydgate's metre:

> There is hardly a good critical text of Lydgate's writings existing, and the metre in the corrupt MSS. and Prints deserves indeed the severest strictures that have been laid upon it. There are, in the later MSS., and particularly some of the prints, hundreds and thousands of... halting lines... which seem to have simply no metre at all.... The greatest wonder to me is how the public of the time of Caxton and his immediate followers could read these things as verses; their ears must surely have been singularly impenetrable to anything like rhythmical harmony. If, however, we go back to Lydgate himself, the case is after all not so bad (pp. lvi-lvii).



Key to Sigla

O, *the* B *and* A *immediately descended from* O, *and* Pr *are hypothetical manuscripts (see below)*
L: Longleat, Somerset, MS. 258
P: Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS. Pepys 2006
T: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Tanner 346
F: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Fairfax 16
B: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 638
G: Cambridge, University Library, MS. Gg. 4. 27
S: London, British Library, MS. Additional 16165
C: Caxton ca 1477 (STC 17032)
W: de Worde ca 1548 (STC 17032a)
W_2: de Worde ca 1500 (STC 17033)
w: Berthelet n.d. (STC 12955), attributed by Schick to de Worde
p: Pynson ca 1505 (STC 12954)
b: Berthelet ca 1530 (STC 17034)

Figure Five: Schick's stemma, p. xli

The results of Schick's 'preliminary criticism of the text,' given in diagrammatic form in Figure Five above, may be summarised as follows. Schick finds that the manuscripts T and P stand in 'some close connection with each other' because they share 'a number of very characteristic mistakes, which could scarcely have been committed twice over by different scribes' (p. xxxvi); he similarly pairs manuscript G with S, and F with B. (The pairing of these six manuscripts is entirely in keeping with the classification of the witnesses found in Norton-Smith's work, although the latter rejected the validity of Schick's method of obtaining this result.)[34] After establishing that within each pair, neither manuscript can be derived from the other, Schick concludes that each pair of manuscripts descends from a unique common ancestor, hereafter referred to as *TP, *FB and *GS respectively.[35] However, in addition to containing

[34] Norton-Smith contends that the relationships among the different texts found in the manuscripts 'cannot be defined by providing a list of common readings; it is really a concern of literary analysis' ("Lydgate's Changes," p. 166).

[35] The sigla of the extant witnesses and the hypothetical manuscripts are those used by Schick, except that I print an asterisk where Schick uses brackets to indicate that a manuscript is hypothetical, in order to avoid some instances of typographical confusion that would otherwise occur in my discussion.

readings which indicate they form a distinct pair, F and B are also found to contain readings variously characteristic of either *GS or *TP. With a few exceptions, the readings that F and B share with *GS are found between lines 429 and 1029 inclusive, while those shared with *TP occur before and after this passage. Schick accounts for this fact by arguing that *FB was copied from two exemplars, one of which was also the exemplar of *TP (hitherto referred to as *TPFB), and the other of which was also the exemplar of *GS, and the origin of a distinct manuscript tradition of the poem labelled 'Group A.' Thus, as in Norton-Smith's schema, the manuscript pair FB manifests the text in a form intermediate to the textual states represented by TP and GS. However, there is an essential difference between Schick and Norton-Smith's interpretation of this evidence: Norton-Smith believes that FB's text represents an autonomous authorial version of the poem, whereas the implication of Schick's stemma is that *FB is a hybrid of two manuscript traditions of the text which go back to a single archetype manuscript.

Schick then goes on to consider the place of the remaining witnesses, MS. L and six early printed editions of the poem.[36] He finds that the prints derive in a linear fashion from the Caxton edition of 1477 (STC 17032),[37] given the siglum C, which he supposes was itself copied from a manuscript, no longer extant, given the siglum Pr. Schick argues that L and Pr may be paired in the manner of the other six manuscripts and thus are descended from a common ancestor, *LPr. He adduces some common readings apparently showing a relationship between *LPr and *TPFB, and argues from them that *LPr and *TPFB 'go back to a common original B'—i.e. that all the witnesses that are not part of group A together make up a single distinct manuscript tradition. From here Schick argues that the 'two archetypes A and B of the two groups' would then in some way or other go back to the original O, that is, the poem as it was written by Lydgate himself' (p. xlii). Although Schick does not point this fact out himself, the existence of *LPr and its position in the stemma—one element of the neat bifurcation from the archetype of group B, with the other, opposing element being *TPFB—is extremely important because it provides Schick with a means of testing the authenticity of group A readings against those of *TPFB (or *TP between lines 429 and 1029). If *LPr agrees with group A against *TPFB, then the *TPFB reading must be dismissed as corrupt because—unless it can be demonstrated that the hypothetical scribes of A and *LPr came to their reading independently (and, in this circumstance, erroneously)—their shared reading can only be derived from the archetype O.

Where *LPr and *TPFB support each other against group A, however, Schick's stemma offers him a simple choice between the readings of groups A and B. In general, Schick finds group A's readings to be corrupt, and so he concludes that neither G nor S can be 'taken as the basis' of a critical text. After

---

[36] Schick was not aware that London, British Library MS. Sloane 1212 contains two fragments of TG (ll. 98-162 and 736-54). Norton-Smith shows no interest in L and the prints, presumably because he found they added nothing to his argument for the three authorial versions of the poem.

[37] Schick states the 'the type used... shows that this is one of Caxton's oldest Prints, and belongs to about the year 1478' (p. xxv). The date of publication is not printed on the edition itself (p. xxv); 1477 is the conjectural date given in the STC.

'discarding' group A, Schick's primary consideration in choosing a suitable base text from among the remaining witnesses appears to be age:

> We must, from the first, reject group [*LPr]; for [no] representative of it... is old or good.... In the two remaining subdivisions... we cannot think of taking the younger representatives P and B. So only T and F are left. Their text does not differ much; but the scale will be turned at once in favour of T, if we consider that it is older, and that, for part of the poem, F follows the version of group A (p. lii).

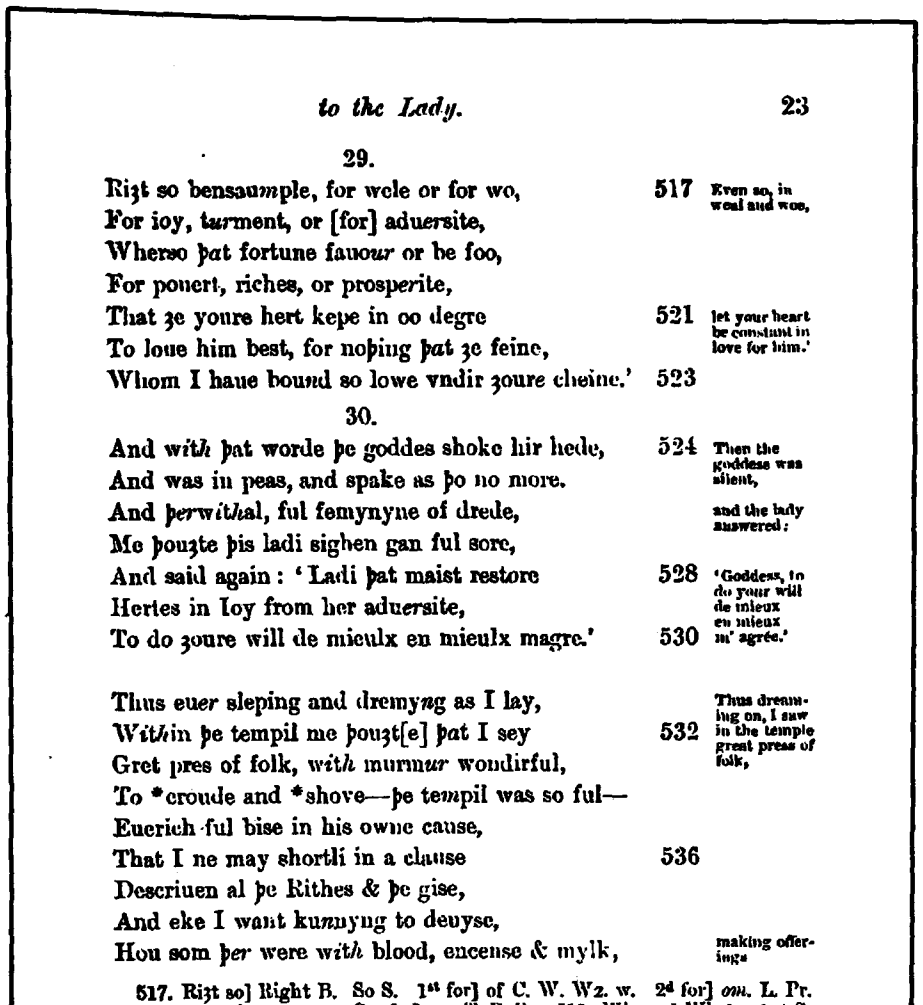
However, while Schick rejects group A as corrupt in general, he remains prepared to exercise his editorial discretion in specific cases, allowing that 'we may introduce a few of its readings where they seem to be old and good' (p. lii).

For the most part, the procedures by which Schick constructs his critical text on the base provided by T must be inferred from the arguments he makes in the course of his recension, and from the printed text and its accompanying textual notes. Schick makes only two explicit statements about how he has emended the base text. This first is that the 'obvious mistakes made by T alone have been, of course, corrected' (p. liii). As the examination of the text below makes clear, however, Schick's emendations, both accidental and substantive, go much further than the correction of T's individual errors. The second statement relates to emendations made for the sake of metre:

> Conservatism—perhaps pushed too far—in reproducing the MS. has prevented me from putting in the final *e*'s, whenever the metre did not manifestly show that they were *absolutely* indispensable, especially at the end of the line, or the first half-line (p. liv).

Again, an examination of the text will show that Schick's comment—cast in such a way that the fact that he has emended the text by inserting final *es* is only revealed by a statement of the circumstances in which he did not do so—underplays the nature of his editorial intervention in the text. By contrast, however, Schick does give a full and fair description of the conventions he uses in presenting his text in print (p. liii). He gives detailed explanations of the manner in which emendations are indicated in the text (inserted text is surrounded by square brackets, and omitted or substituted readings marked in the text by an asterisk, with the original reading of T recorded in the textual notes) and of his treatment of some aspects of the manuscript's formal detail (the expansion of manuscript contractions, capitalisation, punctuation and word division, as will be discussed below). He also gives the following explanation of the corpus of variant readings printed beneath his critical text:

> The readings of the various texts are all given in full at the bottom of the pages, when they represent variations of meaning; mere orthographical variations, or phonetic ones of no consequence, have not been reproduced. The reader has thus in every case the full available material before him by which he may judge for himself in questions concerning the metrics and language of Lydgate (pp. liii-liv).



to the Lady. 23

29.

Riȝt so bensaum*p*le, for wele or for wo, 517 Even so, in weal and woe,
For ioy, tu*r*ment, or [for] aduersite,
Wherso þat fortune fauo*u*r or be foo,
For pouert, riches, or prospe*r*ite,
That ȝe youre hert kepe in oo degre 521 let your heart be constant in
To loue him best, for noþing þat ȝe feine, love for him.'
Whom I haue bou*n*d so lowe vndir ȝoure cheine.' 523

30.

And *with* þat worde þe goddes shoke hir hede, 524 Then the goddess was silent,
And was in peas, and spake as þo no more.
And *þerwithal*, ful femynyne of drede, and the lady answered:
Me þouȝte þis ladi sighen gan ful sore,
And said again: 'Ladi þat maist restore 528 'Goddess, to do your will de mieux
Hertes in loy from her aduersite, en mieux
To do ȝoure will de mieulx en mieulx magre.' 530 m' agrée.'

Thus eue*r* sleping and dremy*n*g as I lay, Thus dreaming on, I saw
*With*in þe tempil me þouȝt[e] þat I sey 532 in the temple great press of
Gret pres of folk, *with* murmu*r* wondirful, folk,
To *croude and *shove—þe tempil was so ful—
Euerich ful bise in his owne cause,
That I ne may shortli in a clause 536
Descriuen al þe Rithes & þe gise,
And eke I want kunnyng to deuyse,
Hou som þ*er* were *with* blood, encense & mylk, making offerings

517. Riȝt so] Right B. So S. 1st for] of C. W. Wz. w. 2d for] *om.* L. Pr. 518. tu*r*ment] turnement G. for] *om.* T. F. B. 519. Wherso] Whe*þ*er þat S. Whether so Pr. þat] *om.* Pr. be] els b. 522. feine] seyn P. fyne S. C. 523. Whom] Who L. so lowe vndir] *om.* P. 525. þo] than b. 526. ful] *om.* b. as S. femynyne] meinynyne P. drede] degre G. 527. þis] the w. b. sighen] to sighe b. gan] can L. 528. restore] þer fore S. 529. in] to F. B. G. S. b. loy] saus S. from] for G. 530. will—magre] byddyng humblement magre F. B. G. S. wyll (wylll w.) better & better after my gre w. b. *After line* 530 T *and* L *have:* Explicit prima pars (.I. parte L.). Icy commence le secund parti (seconde party L.) de la soñge. F *and* B: Et cest le ffyne del primer parte Et ycy commence la secoñde parte del songe. G: Yci comence la secunde partye de la Chaunsoñ. S: And þus endeþe þe first partye of þe dreem and filowyng begynneþe þe secound partye. *Lines* 531—596 *omitted in* G. 531. Thus] This P. Thus ener] þer I was S. and] *om.* Pr. 532 *omitted in* P. þat] *om.* Pr. 533. pres] preces Wz. w. part S. *with*] *om.* Wz. w. 534. To] Who b. To croude] So heve S. croude] bronte T. L. brounte P. shove] showe T. 535. in his] in Wz. 536. ne may] myght P. a] *om.* P. 537. Descriuen] Dysceyne w. Rithes] rightes P. ryȝtis B. ryte S. 538. eke I want] al þestates þe S. 539. þ*er* were *with* blood] there that blede L. *om.* P. blood] golde b.

Figure Six: Sample page of TG

The first sentence of this explanation may be regarded as a fair representation of Schick's collation of the variant readings of the witnesses. I checked a passage of fifty lines (1250-1299) against all the witnesses of which facsimiles have been published, namely T, P, F, B, G and C.[38] On only one occasion did I find that Schick had failed to record a substantive variant; it is likely this variant was left out of the collation by accident and so represents a small degree of inaccuracy in Schick's corpus of variant readings.[39] In cases where two or more witnesses share the same substantive variation, it is not possible from the textual notes to ascertain from which witness the accidentals of the variant as it is printed are derived. The order of the sigla—which is itself inexplicably inconsistent throughout the notes—does not relate to the spelling Schick chooses to print.[40] I was not able to discern a preference for the forms of any particular witness in the various combinations of witnesses that occur throughout the passage I examined; nor could I demonstrate that Schick preferred spellings which could be considered comparatively more or less progressive or characteristic of a particular dialect.

---

[38] *Manuscript Tanner 346: A Facsimile*, Intro. Pamela Robinson (Norman, Oklahoma: Pilgrim Books, 1980); *Manuscript Pepys 2006: A Facsimile*, Intro. A. S. G. Edwards (Norman, Oklahoma: Pilgrim Books, 1985); *Bodleian Library MS Fairfax 16*, Intro. John Norton-Smith (London: Scolar Press, 1979); *Manuscript Bodley 638: A Facsimile*, Intro. Pamela Robinson (Norman, Oklahoma: Pilgrim Books, 1982); *The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer: A Facsimile of Cambridge University Library MS Gg. 4. 27*, Intros. by M. B. Parkes and Richard Beadle, vol. 3 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1980); *The Temple of Glas*, STC 17032 (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1938) microfilm 1, item 29.

[39] At 1274 'In hert and þouȝt be glad,' Schick does not record that P inserts an 'I' between the words 'and thought.' Note that the readings regarded by Schick as 'variations of sense' are the same as those which would be classified throughout this thesis as 'substantive variants,' with the exception of variations of word order that make no difference to the sense, which Schick does record in his corpus of variant readings, but which I would otherwise regard as accidental.

[40] Compare, for example, the variant reading at 1258, 'abogh*t* F. B. G. S.,' where the spelling given is that of the first witness listed (B and G both read 'abought') and the variant reading at 1275 'shal and hath P. Pr.' where the spelling given is that found in the second and last witness listed (i.e. C; P reads 'shalle and hath').

Schick's claim that the corpus of readings provides 'in every case the full available material' for the reader to assess 'questions concerning the metrics... of Lydgate' is, however, open to question. As will be discussed more fully below, Schick does not record variations of accidence, a small proportion of which do offer an alternative to the metrical form of the lines printed in the critical text.

Presentation of manuscript detail

While Furnivall emended the text of PLM in an attempt to recover Lydgate's original metre, he nonetheless retained EETS' customary concern with individual manuscripts, to the extent that, in his effort to record the formal details of all three witnesses, he rendered the layout of his printed page complex and confusing. The layout of Schick's printed page is simpler, dominated by two clearly defined blocks of text—the text of the poem and the corpus of variant readings at the foot of the page (see Figure Six). Two other elements, the line numbering and a paraphrase of the text, are presented in discrete narrow columns alongside the text.

The page-layout of TG and the treatment of the formal detail of base manuscript in general reflect Schick's particular editorial purpose. Like Einenkel, Schick is primarily interested in the manuscripts as the means through which he can reconstruct Lydgate's original text, and thus the majority of the physical resources of his page are devoted to presenting the textual evidence offered by the witnesses and the critical text established from it. Furthermore, Schick shows little interest in the formal details of the manuscript which do not serve this purpose, and thus many of the features which characterise the editions of Morris, Perry, Brock, Skeat and Furnivall are absent from or presented differently in TG. For example, the foliation of the base manuscript, and indeed of all the witnesses, goes unrecorded. The decorated capitals in T are not reproduced in the text or recorded in the paratext. Marginalia of little textual significance in T, such as the finger-pointing hands drawn at 252 and 820 (ff. 79^{v} and 88^{r}), are not recorded. However, marginal annotations with greater textual significance in other witnesses are recorded in the textual notes (e.g. Schick records that at 696 F and B have in the margin 'Verba sompnia*m*tis' (f. 72^{v} and f. 27^{r} respectively). Similarly, the rubricated incipit and explicit in T at f. 83^{v} (i.e. between lines 530 and 531) are not printed as part of the text, in imitation of the manuscript, as is usually the case in EETS editions. Instead, they are recorded in the textual notes along with (and without precedence over) like features from all the witnesses. In this way Schick renders the most basic features of T's *ordinatio* either invisible or as textual evidence in support of the critical text and, by thus printing the text clear of the manuscripts' most salient formal details, presents Lydgate's poem as a work which exists independent of its physical manifestation in the extant witnesses.

Punctuation is editorial; the few marks of punctuation in T are disregarded by Schick because 'they are quite superfluous, teach us nothing, and would only interfere with the other punctuation' (p. liii). Capitalisation is also editorial: although the capital letters at the beginning of each line, and some proper nouns, are found in T, the initial capitals of many proper nouns (e.g. 1303 'Cupide,' 1310 'Amphiou*n*') are provided by Schick, and the manuscript's *ff* is consistently printed as *F*. Similarly, while the line and

stanza divisions in the manuscript coincide with the conventions of the printed text, the numbering of the stanzas is editorial. Word division too is editorial: Schick occasionally divides words in the manuscript without notice (e.g. 516, 525 'no more'), although on one occasion when the division could be interpreted as having a substantive effect, he records his editorial action in the notes at the foot of the page (at 1278 'so forþew*ith*, in' is printed for T's 'soforþe w'in').

Schick's edition does, however, conform with EETS' conventional treatment of a few aspects of the base manuscript's formal detail. The text is printed in a roman fount of the modern English alphabet, with the addition of the MS. characters þ and ȝ. The sign representing 'and' is printed as the standard roman ampersand (&). Otherwise, abbreviations in the manuscripts are expanded in italics, including a particular characteristic of the scribe's hand which Schick singles out for mention in the introduction:

> Several instances in this MS. seem to show that *r* with a curl to it, was meant by the scribe for *re*.... I do not say at all that the scribe... purposely put *r* with a curl for *re* in every case where it occurs; [rather] it *might* be only a pleonastic writing, the well-known abbreviation for *re* (or *er*) being attached to the *r*. This would then be similar to cases where ou^{ur} stands for o^{ur}, which former I transcribe by ou*r*. I have, however, for the sake of consistency and in accordance with the principles of the E. E. T. S., in every case printed r*e* for *r* with the curl (p. liii).

On a small minority of occasions, Schick considers a stroke over the letter *n* to be otiose and reproduces it typographically, rather than expanding it with an *e* (e.g. 505 haw[e]thorn̄, 697 [a]doun̄). However, he never expands crossed final *h* or double *l* with an *e* nor reproduces it typographically as other EETS editors might have done (e.g. 1309 'touch,' 579 'all'). These two exceptional orthographs aside, in the 200 lines I examined with a facsimile of T (ll. 496-594 and 1250-1347), I found that Schick recorded the detailed orthography of the manuscript with only a single inaccuracy.[41] In his presentation of the changes made to the base text, Schick's work is again remarkably accurate: I found no unacknowledged differences between T and the printed text; on one occasion, the asterisk indicating that an emendation has been made is misplaced within a line (1293), but the corresponding textual note is entirely correct.[42]

Establishment of the text

In addition to the word division at 1278 mentioned above, Schick acknowledges altering the text of T on forty occasions in the 200 lines I examined with the manuscript facsimile, a rate of emendation considerably higher than that of Furnivall, who was found to emend 300 lines of PLM on eleven occasions. Schick's higher rate of emendation is indicative of his more radical goal in establishing the text: while Furnivall undertakes no more than a partial restoration of the original metre of PLM, Schick attempts a complete restoration of both the original metre of Lydgate's poem and its substantive

---

[41] At 1318, Schick prints Wiþ for T's W', an abbreviation expanded consistently elsewhere as 'w*ith*' (e.g. 1309, 1346). The two passages I examined were chosen in order to analyse Schick's editorial practice in the two textual situations described in his recension: in lines 496-594, FB are group A witnesses, and in lines 1250-1347 they are group B witnesses. I found no significant difference of editorial method in the two passages.

[42] One word in the passages I examined, 554 if, may be present in the printed text as the result of an unacknowledged emendation, as the place where the word would be written in T is covered by a mark which, in facsimile, entirely obscures whatever lies beneath it. The word may well, however, be legible in the manuscript itself.

readings. Thus nine of Furnivall's eleven emendations are made for the sake of their metrical effect; the remaining two are substantive emendations made in response to obvious deficiencies in the text of his base manuscript. By contrast, Schick emends the substantives of his base manuscript on twenty-one occasions, twelve of which are made to readings in T that make perfect sense as they stand. But all of Schick's substantive emendations are made where the reading of T is, according to the principles derived from his recension, corrupt; on every occasion when the recension indicates that a substantive reading in T is corrupt and the reading of the archetype is identifiable in the other witnesses, Schick emends the text accordingly. However, the editorial practices of Furnivall and Schick are more similar in the treatment of accidentals, as both editors attempt to reconstruct the text's original metre by manipulating the expression of final *e* in order to produce lines with a regular iambic rhythm. Again, however, Schick is the more radical of the two in his treatment of the base text: he inserts a final *e* more frequently than Furnivall (eight times in 200 lines, as opposed to Furnivall's six such emendations in 300 lines), in accordance with a comprehensive metrical schema derived from an extensive analysis of Lydgate's metrical practice.

Schick's editorial practice most closely resembles that of Einenkel, as both editors establish their text by the systematic application of principles derived from their recension. However, the differences between the editorial practices of these two editors are as significant as the similarities. While Schick's substantive emendations alone are based on his recension, Einenkel uses his stemma to establish the text in matters both substantive and accidental, resulting in such a high rate of emendation—166 emendations in 200 lines—that his critical text is best regarded as a composite of all three of the witnesses. Furthermore, Einenkel recognised that on a small number of occasions the text of the archetype established by his recension 'must have been corrupt' and that he would have by conjecture to 'restore what had in all probability been the reading intended by the author' (although he was unwilling to reject readings supported by all the manuscripts, no matter how corrupt they seemed).[43] Schick, however, does not acknowledge that his archetype may contain errors and never makes an emendation without the support of the extant witnesses.

Emendation of substantive readings

On twelve occasions in the passages of the poem I examined, the variant readings of the witnesses are such that, according to the principles established by Schick's recension, T's reading is corrupt and the reading of the archetype O is identifiable in the other witnesses. In all of these cases Schick emends the text, irrespective of whether or not T makes sense as it stands. In six cases, Schick adopts a reading found in all the witnesses except T alone, usually thereby making good a deficiency in the base text, but also rejecting an otherwise acceptable reading at 563, where 'in his chere' is emended to 'by his chere'.[44] A similar textual situation arises on three occasions when all the manuscripts agree against T with the

---

[43] OS 80, p. xvii.

[44] The remaining instances, presented Printed Text] T, are: 502 of] to; 1284 As] And; 1289 That] And; 1289 and] þow; 1293 of] to.

exception of one or two witnesses which contain another, independent reading. On all three occasions Schick adopts the reading attested by the majority of the witnesses, in two cases thereby supplying finite verbs wanting in T, and in one case needfully correcting the gender of a pronoun.[45] More interestingly, on two occasions the agreement across the stemma of LPr with group A indicates that T's reading is derived from a corruption in *TPFB. Thus, at 1291 Schick substitutes LPrGS 'for' for TFB 'fforþe' (FB at this point in the poem are group B witnesses, and P reads independently 'In'). Similarly, at 1333 Schick adopts the LPrGS reading 'contune' in place of TPF 'tyme' (B reads independently 'suvn'). In the latter case, the fact that the reading should rhyme with 1332 'fortune' confirms that T is in error; at 1291, however, T's reading is acceptable, although arguably less satisfactory than that printed by Schick. Finally, at 1346 Schick substitutes LPrFBG 'be' for TP 'we' (S reads independently 'ffor'), a manuscript grouping which indicates that T's reading is derived from an error in *TP; in this case the syntax, which requires a verb in the subjunctive rather than a subject pronoun, confirms that T is in error.

The fact that in the passages I examined Schick emends his text on every occasion when the stemma indicates unambiguously that T's reading is corrupt, irrespective of whether or not T's readings make sense in themselves, suggests that the evidence of the stemma is paramount in Schick's establishment of the text's substantive readings. That this is the implicit rule of Schick's textual practice is to some degree confirmed by his retraction of three exceptions made to it elsewhere in the poem:

> [MSS. G and S] are certainly incorrect when, between ll. 429 and 1029, F and B do not go with them... [in the case of the substantive emendations made at 778, 781 and 808] this consideration did not present itself so clearly to me, when I introduced the reading of group A into the text; I believe now that the text-criticism absolutely obliges us to let the singular accentuation Ántonyús, the monosyllabic, and even the trisyllabic foot at the beginning of lines 808 and 781 pass unchallenged (p. lii).

TG is, then, another example of an EETS edition whose text was printed before the introduction was written. As will be seen below, Schick's metrical investigations led him to believe that Lydgate's metrical practice allowed only a restricted set of variations to the standard rhythm and syllable count of iambic pentameter. While editing three lines of text, Schick apparently found the results of his metrical investigations conflicted with those of his recension, and decided that, in these lines at least, metrical criteria were more credible than the evidence of the stemma. By the time he came to write the introduction, however, he had apparently come to believe that if his recension is valid then its evidence is paramount and must be applied consistently throughout the text; in every case where it gives a clear indication of an original reading, its findings must be accepted, notwithstanding other evidence to the contrary.

Nevertheless, the process of establishing the text is not entirely mechanical, for the division of the witnesses into two distinct traditions allows for occasions where Schick can exercise some editorial discretion without breaching the principles of his recension. Two of the nine remaining substantive emendations are examples of this: at 1328 Schick prefers GS 'her presscience' to TPFBLPr 'oure

---

[45] The variant readings in the case of these three emendations, presented Printed Text] T, are: 587 hir] him (she Pr); 1280 toke] eke (take F); 1297 shal] om. (shulde GS).

presence,' and at 1331 he prefers GS 'providence' to the rest of the witnesses 'prudence.'[46] In both cases, the grouping of the variant readings presents Schick with a straightforward choice between the readings of groups A and B, and he decides that 'G and S alone seem to have preserved the right reading' (p. lii), notwithstanding the fact that T's readings are perfectly acceptable in terms of the syntax. This is an important indicator of Schick's editorial temperament: while not moving beyond the boundaries laid down by his recension, he is prepared to improve on T's text when not required to do so by a deficiency in T or the evidence of the stemma.

In the remaining seven emendations, the grouping of the variant readings cannot be explained *prima facie* by the stemma. Rather, if the stemma is held validly to represent the relationships among the witnesses, the unexpected affiliation of one or more witnesses in these individual readings must be accounted for in such a way that its significance may be disregarded. This is something that Schick does attempt to do: as will be seen below, all but one of these readings is specifically mentioned by him in the course of his 'preliminary criticism of the text.' In every case Schick's explanation realigns the manuscripts in the most economical (and so least implausible) way—i.e. the way which disregards the significance of the readings of the smallest number of manuscripts possible, so that the grouping of the remaining manuscripts makes sense according to the recension—and the emendation made is that directed by the thus supposedly validated stemma, irrespective of whether or not it is required by the sense. However, some of the Schick's solutions seem more arbitrary than convincing and, as will be seen below, one in particular raises serious doubts about the adequacy of his recension in dealing with the manuscript evidence.

At 497 Schick replaces TPL 'myn hole' with GSFBPr 'my ful'; similarly, at 534 he replaces TPL 'bronte' with FBPr 'croude' (note that at this point in the poem FB are group A witnesses; in the case of the latter set of readings, G is imperfect and S reads independently 'heve'). In both cases, L and Pr are divided across the stemma, in contradiction with the claim that they are descended from a common ancestor in group B, *LPr. The most economical explanation of the division of L and Pr is that one of these two manuscripts arrived at its reading independently of the group of manuscripts whose reading it shares. In the case of 497, Schick asserts that 'hole' is one example of a number of corruptions deriving from the archetype of group B which Caxton independently altered to give the correct reading again:

> Throughout the Prints... we find a tendency to modernize the language and to make the poem altogether more palatable to the public of the day. If therefore Caxton, in his endeavour to produce a readable text from his corrupted copy, hit on the true reading in some dozen cases out of the very numerous instances of alteration, this would betray no incredible amount of sagacity on his part' (p. xlii).

Although the form of his justification apparently presupposes that Pr gives (by chance) the correct reading, by choosing to disregard the stemmatic significance of Pr, Schick in effect allows himself a choice between the readings of groups A and B. This is a move which might suggest that Schick

---

[46] S at 1328 reads 'hir heghe prescyence,' but Schick disregards the adjective, which is not attested in any of the other witnesses.

manipulates the evidence of the recension to give himself the discretion to select the reading which best suits his taste—the repetition of the word 'hole' in 'And hool substaunce of my ful [myn hole T] entent' would no doubt have met with Schick's stylistic disapproval.[47] However, it will be noted that the alternative solution—i.e. choosing to disregard the stemmatic significance of L—would result in the same emendation: in this circumstance, *LPr would agree across the stemma with group A, showing T's reading to be derived from a corruption in *TP. Presumably 534, which is not mentioned specifically by Schick, is to be regarded as another example of Caxton's editorial good fortune, although the argument in this case is more difficult to sustain. As G and S are essentially neutral here, FB could theoretically have derived their reading from a corruption in *FB. Furthermore, the rejected TPL reading not only makes excellent sense, but is also lent credence by the fact that it is the harder reading.

However, in the case of a third emendation where L and Pr are divided, Schick finds it expedient to dismiss the stemmatic significance of L rather than Pr. At 1283 Schick replaces TPL 'tristi' with PrFBGS 'þrifti'—both readings which make good sense. If Pr came by its reading independently of FBGS (through, for example, the attentions of Caxton), then L would remain the legitimate representative of *LPr and the reading it shares with TP would derive from the archetype of group B. However, this solution is untenable because FB, which are at this point in the poem group B witnesses, read with GS. Therefore Schick includes 1283 in his list of 'Coincidences in TPL' (pp. xl-xli), presumably to suggest that the agreement of L with TP is without significance, and therefore that the reading in TP derives from a corruption in *TP. No argument of the sort made about the editorial activities of Caxton is offered in explanation of the independent readings of L.

At 518 Schick includes in his text the word 'for,' present in LPrPGS but absent in TFB; similarly, at 1257 he includes 'in,' present in LPrPGS but absent in TFB. The primary difficult in these two cases arises from the division of T and P, in contradiction with the claim that they share a common ancestor, *TP. Schick's argument in these cases is as follows:

> I... suppose that the original [*TPFB] had all the... readings now only found in T.F.B.; that from there they crept into T.F.B., whilst on the way from [*TP] to P a scribe supplied the respective corrections. For these mistakes, characteristic though they may be of the close connection between F.B.T, were nevertheless easy to correct (p. xxxviii).

This is not an unreasonable argument in the case of 1257, 'As euere þing is had more [in] deinte,' which, as Schick notes, 'quite challenged a correction.' However, the TFB reading at 518 is less explicable: of it Schick simply says 'the common readings of the three... must be a mere chance, as in this part of the poem F and B follow group A' (p. xxxviii). It may be noted that in this case the emendation, which is not necessary for the sense, does provide the line with ten syllables, as was required by Schick's strict metrical system (discussed below).

---

[47] For a characteristic display of Schick's literary fussiness, see his chapter on the 'Style of the *Temple of Glas*,' pp. cxxxiv-cxlii.

A similarly convenient result derives from Schick's response to the ambiguous grouping of the witnesses at 1305, where he adopts BG 'Gunne' in place of TPFLPr 'Sone.' S here reads independently 'Can.' Schick reads 'magnyfie' as an infinitive, meaning that the text as it stands in T requires a finite verb which B and G supply: '...Caliope / And al hir sustren in hir armonye / Gunne [Sone TPFLPr] w*i*t*h* her song þe goddes magnyfie.' Silently disregarding the reading of B, Schick includes these variants in a list of readings in G and S which are 'slightly differing, yet indicate a common source' (pp. xxxi-xxxii), thus enabling either manuscript to be regarded as the legitimate representative of *GS and, because at this point in the poem FB are group B witnesses, of the archetype of group A. By adopting G's reading in the printed text, Schick appears to have decided it is the legitimate representative of group A and, for obvious reasons, that that manuscript tradition has preserved the 'old and good' reading. No attempt is made to explain the consequent division of FB across the stemma; apparently B independently reverted to the original reading.

While the ambiguous grouping of witnesses in the six emendations described above may together cast a shadow on Schick's recension, the seventh and final case reveals a weakness that brings its validity seriously into question. At 1272 Schick includes in his text the word 'off,' present in PFBGS but absent in TLPr. (T is in no way deficient here; with or without 'off' the line makes good sense). The most economical way to account for the division of T and P across the groups of readings is to disregard the stemmatic significance of T's reading by suggesting it agrees with LPr only by coincidence, thus allowing the shared reading of LPr to be derived from a corruption in *LPr. This appears to be the approach taken by Schick: in the list of 'Coincidences of L and the Prints' which forms his evidence for the existence of *LPr, Schick acknowledges the shared reading of TLPr at 1272 with an entry in the following form '1272 ? off] *om.* (+T!)' (p. xxxix). The use of the question and exclamation marks seems designed to suggest that the agreement of LPr with this other single manuscript is an extraordinary coincidence. However, of the 48 readings that Schick adduces to demonstrate that L and Pr are derived a unique common ancestor, thirteen are cases where the common reading of LPr is shared with one other manuscript. No explanation is given for these shared readings, which are slightly more strongly attested with group A witnesses than with those of group B—LPr agree with T twice, with P three times, with G twice and with S on six occasions (but curiously never with F or B). Few of the remaining common readings of LPr in the list can be regarded as 'very characteristic mistakes, which could scarcely have been committed twice over by different scribes,' the standard of evidence Schick claimed existed for the close connection of T and P (see above). Rather, the evidence for the existence of *LPr is very weak, and so, therefore, is the evidence that *LPr and *TPFB are derived from a common ancestor higher in the stemma. This substantially undermines the central division in the structure of Schick's stemma, the neat distribution of the witnesses into two distinct manuscript traditions originating from a single archetypal manuscript.

Emendation of accidental readings

Although he frequently emends the substantive readings of the base text according to the principles derived from his recension, it is the restoration of Lydgate's metre that Schick emphasises as the outcome of his 'preliminary criticism of the text.' For example, the comments from the introduction I used to open this discussion of TG were made by Schick in the following context:

> Up until a quite recent date the opinion has prevailed amongst scholars that Lydgate's metre is exceedingly irregular, jerky, and halting. The question of his treatment of the final *e*—a question closely interwoven with the preceding—has also been a vexed one, and was difficult to decide from the materials available. Fortunately, not less that thirteen texts of the *Temple of Glas* have been found, thus forming sufficient material for a critical construction of the text, which cannot now, I think, differ much from the original. This preliminary criticism of the text furnishes us... with a firm basis on which to stand while grappling with the above questions... (p. xiv).

Similarly, as was seen above, Schick presents the *apparatus criticus* with the claim that it will enable the reader to 'judge for himself in questions concerning the metrics and language of Lydgate.' However, the implication of these statements, that the metrical form of the critical text is derived from, and so authenticated as original by, Schick's recension is at best misleading. Only the substantive emendations are directly derived from the recension; that the accidental emendations are not is demonstrated by the fact that the readings of the other witnesses are never recorded in the corpus of variant readings or included among the manifold citations in Schick's chapter on the 'Genealogy of the Texts.' In the passages I examined, only seven of the substantive emendations had any effect on the metre, whereas I found nine accidental emendations whose singular purpose and effect is metrical—eight of which involve the 'treatment of the final *e*' or the *e* in unaccented inflexional syllables.

The method by which Schick establishes the precise metrical form of the text is not explicitly stated, but can be inferred from the chapters in the introduction dealing with 'Lydgate's Metre' and 'Lydgate's Language.' In the former, Schick presents his 'observations, based on a critical text' of Lydgate's metrical practice, which establish that 'Lydgate has five types of the five-beat line' (p. lvii). Schick lacks no confidence in the significance of his analysis, asserting that 'according to the types set forth... nearly all Lydgate's lines, perhaps even the very unruly ones of the *Story of Thebes*, can be made to scan tolerably' (p. lxiii). The five types of line, described on pages lvii-lix, are as follows:

A	'the regular type, presenting five iambics'	˘/ ˘/ | ˘/ ˘/ ˘/(˘)
B	lines with a 'trochaic cæsura... [like A, but] with an extra-syllable before the cæsura'	˘/ ˘/ ˘ | ˘/ ˘/ ˘/(˘)
C	the 'peculiarly Lydgatian type, in which the thesis is wanting in the cæsura, so two accented syllables clash together'	˘/ ˘/ | / ˘/ ˘/(˘)
D	the 'headless' line in which 'the first syllable has been cut off, thus leaving a monosyllabic first measure'	/ ˘/ | ˘/ ˘/ ˘/(˘)
E	lines with a 'trisyllabic first measure'	˘˘/ ˘/ | ˘/ ˘/ ˘/(˘)

The existence of type E is as much denied as it is acknowledged—Schick states that there are probably only two such lines in TG (781 and 1029), dismissing two other possibilities by eliding their initial unstressed syllables (496, 1037).

Schick's discussion of his five types of line reveals that he believes the iambic rhythm manifests itself in Lydgate's verse in an extremely inflexible way—a belief that renders his schema insufficient to account for the full range of Lydgate's metrical practice as it would be understood by many scholars today, including the present writer. The only variations to the regular iambic rhythm Schick allows are those which differentiate the five different types of line, all of which involve the addition to or omission of a single unstressed syllable in the regular ten-syllable iambic line. The scansion marked on the examples he gives of each type of line shows that he does not recognise metrical variations caused by the inversion of stressed and unstressed syllables within individual feet. For instance, his scansion of the following example of a type B line does not acknowledge the simple, and hardly uncommon, inversion of a line's first foot:

> 120 List óf his gódhode | his fó*u*me tó t*r*ansmẃe' (p. lvii).

It seems improbable that the stress marks here are simply a print convention used by Schick to indicate the underlying iambic rhythm of Lydgate's verse. Rather, it seems likely that he actually read the line with a skewed stress, as he later comments that 'Lydgate very often makes the arsis fall on unaccentuated syllables' and gives fourteen further examples of this supposed practice, eleven of which are also cases of trochaic first feet (p. lx).

In Schick's understanding of Lydgate's metrical practice, the number of syllables which may with validity be included in a line is also more strictly controlled than other scholars would allow. For example, aside from the two manifestations of type E, Schick's schema allows only for the addition of one unstressed syllable to the regular ten-syllable line, positioned immediately before the caesura. However, it is now generally accepted that the appearance of one or more extra unstressed syllables, either before the caesura or elsewhere in a line, is not unusual in the syllabic verse of Lydgate's period. Schick does concede the possibility that extra unstressed syllables may on rare occasions have appeared in the original text of TG, but not without impugning the evidence:

> I must add here that Lydgate seems sometimes to have a double thesis; but the instances are rare and uncertain in our poem. This may be the case in [five lines], all of which, however, are uncertain, inasmuch as they either present doubtful readings, or may be scanned smoothly by slurring (pp. lix-lx).

While examples of lines with a 'double thesis' might suggest some inadequacies in Schick's account of Lydgate's metrical practice, his response to this evidence reveals the robustness of his belief that his schema is fundamentally sound. Schick's confidence in the validity of his analysis is further demonstrated in the following paragraph, where the difficulties of classification presented by some lines are attributed to the faults of the poet, rather than the system of classification:

> In many cases it is... impossible to classify a line as belonging incontestably to any particular one of the above-named types. It not unfrequently happens with Lydgate, as with all doggerel-poets who have not a sensitive ear for rhythm, that his verses can be read in two or three

> different ways. Type A and C particularly may often seem to have equal claims to a line, according as we read or drop the final *e* before the cæsura. For instance, l. 3 belongs to type C, if we read *went*, as the MS. has it; but it belongs to type A, if we read *wentë*, sounding the final *e*. In our present case it is impossible to decide: Lydgate usually sounds the e of the weak preterit, but he has also unquestionably *went* in l. 546 (p. lix).

The question of the pronunciation of final *e* is not just significant in assigning a type to a particular line, however: in positions other than before the caesura it is often crucial to the strict iambic rhythm required by the schema as a whole. Schick acknowledges that 'it was absolutely necessary to investigate closely [the sounding of final *e*] for the construction of the text' and directs the reader to his subsequent discussion of the matter in the chapter entitled 'Lydgate's Language' (p. lx). This chapter is almost wholly devoted to an analysis of the 'inflexional system' of the language, 'especially with regard to the sounding of unaccented syllables' (p. lxiv). Schick examines some 29 aspects of Lydgate's language (generally sub-categories of parts of speech, such as the various combinations of person, tense and mood in the conjugation of verbs), citing instances in the poem where he felt reasonably confident they did or did not 'warrant the sounding of the final *e*' (p. lxv n). However, in over eighty percent of the aspects examined, Schick found that the text contained a number of examples of both conditions, from which he concluded

> It is somewhat difficult to ascertain precisely to what extent the dropping of the final *e* gradually made itself felt in the metrical system of that age.... [Lydgate wrote during] a phase in the language in which double forms—with mute or sounded *e*—were allowed and used to a great extent in poetry (pp. lxxiii-lxxiv).

The 'system of certain allowable double forms' (p. lxxiv) is thus so widespread in the language of the poem as it is described by Schick that his analysis cannot produce a set of criteria which would predict with reasonable certainty the status of final *e* in any individual case—in other words, the results of Schick's examination of the 'inflexional system' are of no practical use in the construction of a critical text. There is also a further factor disallowing these results from use as determining criteria in the establishment of the text: the means by which they were derived. Schick explains his method as follows:

> I shall... point out the instances in the *Temple of Glas* which tend most to throw light upon this question, hoping that the ground on which we stand will have been made firm by the metrical investigations of the preceding chapter, and by the text-criticism contained in Chapter III [on the 'Genealogy of the Texts] (p. lxiv).

As has been described above, the direct role of 'the text-criticism' in the construction of the text is limited to the establishment of its substantive readings; it is responsible for the metre of the text only to the extent that it provides the basic framework of readings within which considerations about the pronunciation of final *e* take place. The ultimate determining factor for the pronunciation of final *e* in the examples given in Schick's examination of 'Lydgate's Language' is therefore the very 'metrical investigations' they were adduced to support. Something of the circularity of this mode of reasoning can be seen from the fact that a considerable proportion of the examples given in the language chapter are readings whose final *e* is not attested by T but has been inserted in the printed text by Schick.[48] For

[48] Five of the nine readings to which Schick added an editorial *e* in the passages I examined are cited as examples (505, 532, 591, 1305 and 1331).

instance, Schick cites 'þouȝte' as an example of a past-tense verb whose final *e* is sounded at 530 but not at 527:

> 527 Me þouȝte þis ladi | sighen gan ful sore
> 532 W*i*t*h*in þe tempil | me þouȝt[e] þat I sey
> (p. lxxiii; the marks of the caesura are mine)[49]

In both cases, Schick's interpretation of the evidence is that required to make the lines comply with the strict criteria derived from his 'metrical investigations,' producing a type A line from 527 and a type B line from 532. In like manner, on the remaining eight occasions in the passages I examined where Schick emends the accidentals of the text for the sake of metre, he alters T in order to produce lines which are allowable within the strict confines of his schema of Lydgate's metrical practice. On every occasion, an unstressed syllable is added to enable the line to be read with a rigid iambic pulse:

> 591 Is in hir hond, it would[e] not auaile
> 1254 Wiþ-out[e] prefe may be no sikirnes
> 1288 Of hir þat euer ment[e] wel, & would
> 1289 That in goode faith, and I tell[e] shuld
> 1318 Wiþ-oute[n] ende, in suche plite as þei gonne
> 1331 That þuruȝ hir myȝt and iust[e] providence
> 1334 Of which[e] graunt, þe tempil environ*n*
> 505 Of haw[e]thorn̄, þat wenten environ*n*.[50]

Ultimately, then, the final metrical form of the critical text is established according to the strict criteria of Schick's metrical schema, independent of the evidence of the textual criticism and analysis of the language which ostensibly support them. As was seen above, this schema provides an insufficient account of the full range of Lydgate's metrical practice, and so—if such a task is possible at all—it cannot be considered a sound basis for the reconstruction of Lydgate's original metre.

There is an obvious similarity between the metrical emendations in TG and those in Furnivall's subsequently published edition of PLM. The editors of both publications insert final *es* in order to produce lines with a regular iambic rhythm. Schick's editorial approach is, however, the more systematic of the two: his emendations occur considerably more frequently (Furnivall inserted a final *e* on only six occasions in 300 lines) and derive from a far more extensive and ostensibly scholarly examination of Lydgate's metrical practice than that found in the Forewords to PLM. However, the difference in the frequency of these emendations also reflects a subtle difference in their nature. In PLM, an editorial final *e* is found only between syllables which, in any reasonable reading of the line, are certain to carry a stress. Thus it seems likely that Furnivall would let T's text stand where Schick chose to emend it in lines 532, 591, 1318 and 1334, and that Furnivall credited Lydgate with a slightly more varied and flexible metrical practice than Schick was prepared to acknowledge.

---

[49] While Schick regularly adds final *es*, he never removes them from T's text, apparently trusting the reader to disregard those which should not, according to his metrical system, be sounded.

[50] Although the emendation at 505 does not involve an inflectional syllable, Schick includes it his discussion of the 'inflexional system' of Lydgate's language: 'The composition of words in Lydgate is effected on the same principles which we find in Chaucer, and, indeed, as early as in the *Ormulum*; the *e* in particular, which stands between the two parts of the compound—be it organic or inorganic—being sounded by Lydgate as by Chaucer and Orrm. Thus we have... hawëthorn (O.E. hagaþorn) 505' (p. lxix).

Although Schick manipulated the alternative accidental forms of numerous readings in his attempt to reconstruct the poem's original metre, he does not record the metrically significant accidental variants actually attested by the witnesses to the text. Given that Schick believed the metre of the later manuscripts and prints to be hopelessly corrupt—as seen above, he thought that ears in the fifteenth century were 'impenetrable to anything like rhythmical harmony'—he no doubt felt that the accidental variations they contained held no value as evidence for the construction of the text, and so even without them the reader had 'the full available material before him by which he may judge for himself in questions concerning the metrics and language of Lydgate.' However, a brief examination of two examples of the manifold accidental variants which are not recorded will show how questionable this claim is. At 1253, Schick prints without emendation a line from T which, on the basis of his practice in the introduction, he probably read as a type B line. The reader of ES 60 is not aware, however, that F gives a type A line (the marks of the scansion and caesura are mine):

T	Where tróuþe is rótid | w*ith*óutë dóubïlnés
F	Where tróuth ys róted | wíthout dóublënésse

Schick regarded F to be, in terms of metre, one of the least corrupt manuscripts. As was seen above, it was his second choice as a base manuscript; T was considered preferable primarily because of F's partial affiliation with group A, and not because its orthographical and metrical deficiencies were worse than those of T. As F's line is valid in the terms of Schick's metrical schema, if F had been chosen as the base manuscript, its metrically variant line would have been printed unaltered as a line of Lydgate's original text. More significant are the accidental variants which go unrecorded at 1263, where two witnesses give lines which do not conform to any one of Schick's five types of line, but which are otherwise perfectly acceptable (again, the marks of the scansion and caesura are mine):

T	In his p*ur*suite | as hé fint résisténce
P	In his p*ur*suyte | as he fýndyth résisténce
B	In his pursute | as he fíndeth résisténce.

Schick prints T's line without emendation, reading it, we must assume, as a type A line with a wrenched stress in the first foot after the caesura. As extra unstressed syllables are found only in the first foot of a line (type E) or immediately before the caesura (type B) in Schick's metrical schema, P and B's variant lines would not be sanctioned as original—despite the fact that they endow the line with a more natural iambic rhythm. Thus, notwithstanding the immense scholarly effort expended in Schick's flawed attempt to restore Lydgate's original metre to the text, the edition provides the reader with little more evidence to 'judge for himself in questions concerning the metrics' of the poem than Furnivall's edition of PLM does. The metrical significance of the substantive variants aside, the most that Schick supplies is again a record of the base manuscript, to be found beneath a layer of editorial assertions about occasions when it incorrectly reproduces the metre of the original text.

Schick makes ten accidental emendations in the passages I examined which do not affect the metre of the text. Five of these are simple corrections of scribal errors of the kind routinely made by even the most

conservative of the editors whose work I have previously examined.[51] Schick also rectifies a 'confusion of *w* and *v*' in two readings: at 534 he prints 'shove' for T's 'showe,' and at 1283 'wise' for T's 'vise.' However, in his description of the manuscript, Schick recognises that the 'confusion' of these two letters is a particular 'orthographical... peculiarity' of T (p. xviii), and so in many cases is content to let such spellings stand (e.g. 541 'sparovis'; 1243 'nvfangilnes'), apparently only altering those from which a substantive confusion could arise.

A similar impulse to tidy the orthography of the base manuscript is evident in the remaining three accidental emendations. At 1336 Schick prints 'gon[n]e' for T's 'gone,' apparently to make the reading conform to the spelling convention which elsewhere in both T and the printed text distinguishes forms of the verb 'ginnen' from those of the verb 'gōn' (e.g. 1318 'gonne,' 26 'gone'). Similarly, at 1273 Schick prints 'well' for T's 'wele' in accordance with the distinction made elsewhere in T between the nouns meaning 'source' and 'happiness, prosperity' (e.g. 706 'well,' 517 'wele'). At 1255, Schick prints 't[w]oo' for T's 'too'; elsewhere in T and the printed text, the numeral is always spelt with a *w* (e.g. 348 'two,' 1314 'twoo'), rendering it orthographically distinct from the common preposition and adverb of which it had become a homophone. In this manner, Schick standardises the orthography of the text, but only to a very limited degree: his emendations are apparently restricted to readings whose spelling could cause confusion (albeit for very obtuse readers), whereas there are numerous examples of variant spellings of the same word in T which go unaltered in the printed text.

Paratext

The text of TG is preceded by an expansive introduction of 154 pages—almost three times the number of pages taken up by the poem itself. The descriptions of the witnesses, textual criticism and studies of Lydgate's language and metre discussed above fill some two-fifths of the introduction. Also included are a two page précis of the poem with detailed line references throughout (pp. xv-xvi), an extensive examination of the sources and style of the poem (pp. cxv-cxlii) and a discussion of the authorship of the poem in which Schick describes and dismisses the tradition that Stephen Hawes was responsible for TG before producing evidence that it is Lydgate's work (pp. lxxv-lxxxv). The fact that Schick devotes ten pages to establishing that Lydgate is the author of TG—especially when compared with the casual (and ambivalent) attribution to Lydgate made by Furnivall in SPM—is another indication of the importance of the concept of authorship in the edition. Further evidence of this may be found in the three items which make up the substance of the remainder of the introduction, all of which look beyond TG as an individual poem to the scholarly study of Lydgate as a literary author. Schick's opening remarks about his reasons for choosing to edit TG include an account of the preceding modern Lydgate scholarship published in English and German (pp. xii-xiii). In a chapter entitled 'Chronology of Lydgate's Writings,' he gives a biography of the poet (pp. lxxxv-xcix) and then attempts with the limited evidence available

[51] The five corrections of obvious scribal errors (presented Printed Text] T) are: 541 And] An; 565 by himself] bymself; 572 o[f]] of; 1270 knot] þnot (with the thorn scratched out); 1282 fu[l]fillyng] fufillyng. 541 and 572 are instances of what Schick describes as 'letters... stuck fast in the scribe's pen' (p. xviii).

to him to establish the 'chronological sequence of Lydgate's writings' (pp. xcix-cxv). Finally, in the midst of a rather eccentric discussion of the literary merits of TG and the place of Lydgate's works in the canon of English literature, Schick lists the most pressing *desiderata* for ongoing Lydgate research (pp. cxlvi-cxlviii).

Schick supports his text with a substantial collection of notes (pp. 69-126). A small proportion of these notes contain observations on technical matters such as the metre or syntax of individual lines in the text. The vast majority of notes cite passages from other Middle English works which are analogous to specific phrases, lines or passages in TG. Many of the works cited are also from the Lydgate canon, thus presenting TG as one example of Lydgate's literary wider practice. Also regularly cited are other works dealing with courtly love—principally, but not exclusively, the relevant works of Chaucer—thus placing the poem in the context of an established literary tradition. Perhaps because of the extensive nature of this collection of notes, the glossary to the edition is highly selective and simple in content: individual entries consist only of a Middle English headword, a modern English gloss, and a line reference (pp. 127-32).[52] The glossary is followed by an indexed 'List of Proper Names' (p. 133), and an 'Addenda' which provides a small amount of information supplementary to specific points in the introduction and the notes (pp. 135-6).

[52] On p. 127 a headnote to the glossary reads 'For the more interesting or rare words, the Notes should also be compared.'

Chapter Seven: Editorial practice in EETS' collected Middle English publications

The nine editions examined in the previous chapters were chosen to illustrate the range of editorial approaches taken by EETS' editors in the nineteenth century, and the way the editions were grouped was designed to highlight the differences among them. Even so, the level of diversity I found in the detail of the various editions was a surprise to me, and this striking variety in editorial practice must be regarded as one of the defining characteristics of the Society's output during the period. It seems clear that the Society's management committee did not attempt to standardise its publications according to a comprehensive set of editorial principles and conventions—a fact which suggests that the reason I have been unable to find a document articulating EETS' editorial policies is that no such document was ever produced. However, in Chapters Two and Three I presented evidence suggesting the committee (or Furnivall as its 'Director') did attempt in some way to influence the general approach taken by editors, steering them toward a more conservative treatment of the manuscript evidence, and issued isolated instructions about some specific editorial conventions for the representation of certain formal manuscript details. To some extent this too is confirmed by the evidence presented in the special studies: in addition to the differences among them, the studies make apparent a number of characteristic editorial practices common to some or many of the inspected editions, both within and across chapter groupings. This present chapter assesses the significance of these common practices as traits which help to define the nature of the Society's editorial output as a whole, by relating them to the similar, but less detailed, evidence I collected about of all the editions of Middle English texts issued by EETS in the nineteenth century.

The constraints of time and the length of this thesis made it impossible to compare any more than nine editions with their manuscript sources. The new material presented in this chapter and its associated appendices was collected solely from a survey of the evidence available within the editions themselves, such as the editors' descriptions of their editorial method, the content of textual notes and the conventions used in the presentation of the text. It should therefore be borne in mind that this chapter provides an account of the editorial practices in these editions as they are represented by their editors, rather than an independently verified, objective description of them. This is an important distinction. While in eight of the nine editions I examined with the manuscripts the difference between the editors' treatment of the text and their representation of it amounted to no more than a small number of unintentional inaccuracies in an otherwise straightforward presentation of the manuscript evidence—occasionally, in the case of Cockayne and Perry's editions, with substantive effect—the editorial conventions Furnivall uses in SPM do mislead the reader about the full extent of his editorial intervention in the text.

As this thesis is concerned with the editing of Middle English, and in order to restrict my task to a manageable size, only publications which contain a text dating from 1100-1500 A.D.—the traditional,

albeit arbitrary, dates for the Middle English period—were included in the survey.[1] Similarly, only editions published in or before 1899 were included in the study. Where an edition was issued in multiple parts, the year in which the initial part was issued is recorded as the edition's year of publication. Thus in the few instances where an initial part was issued in the nineteenth century but subsequent parts were issued in the twentieth, these too were examined, as it was assumed that decisions about editorial practice had been taken in the nineteenth century (Furnivall's PLM is an example of such an edition). Given these restrictions, ninety-eight editions were included in the survey, as listed Appendix One; when discussed as a group, these editions will hereafter be referred to as 'the collection.'[2] A further limitation was imposed by the computerised database through which the survey information was collected and analysed. The design of the database was such that for each individual publication only one textual situation (i.e. the number and nature of the witness(es) to the text) and one set of data about the editorial treatment of the text could be recorded. However, a number of EETS editions contain more than one text, and in some cases these texts have different textual situations and receive varying editorial treatments (the editions containing SW and SPM are examples of this).[3] In such editions the most important text was chosen for examination and, unless otherwise stated, the information recorded about these editions relates to the selected texts alone. (In the absence of criteria manifestly more significant, the most important text was taken to be the longest in a publication. The texts selected are recorded in Appendix One; their titles are given as found in the IMEV or the IPMEP, to which a reference is also provided.) For editions containing multiple texts which are all from the same textual situation and which are all treated in the same way, the information recorded about the edition refers to all the texts.[4]

I. Treatment of the base text

In the few theoretical comments he made about editing recorded in Chapter Three, Morris dismisses the scholarly value of critical (or 'doctored') texts and asserts the necessity of producing editions which faithfully adhere to the texts of individual manuscripts. His edition of SW is characterised by a correspondingly conservative treatment of the base manuscript's text (Chapter Four). With the anomalous exception of the insertion of 'wid' at 249/36, his emendations are restricted to accidentals; where he thinks one of the other witnesses offers an alternative substantive reading preferable to that of the base text, he records the alternative reading in the notes and implicitly directs the reader to adopt it by incorporating it into his translation on the page facing the Middle English text. This editorial practice is also evident in both Perry and Brock's editions of MA: they too emend only the accidentals of

---

[1] Note that this includes texts whose composition occurred, according to the IMEV or IPMEP, within the period 1100-1500, but for which the only extant witnesses are early printed books produced after 1500.

[2] In the case of every EETS edition, I have consulted a copy produced in the first printing; it should be noted that reprints made in the nineteenth century often differ from the original to a small degree, and that the twentieth-century reprints subsequently taken from them are not always noted as altered.

[3] Editions which fall into this category are ES 8, ES 61, ES 72, OS 15, OS 24, OS 25, OS 26, OS 29, OS 32, OS 40, OS 43, OS 46, OS 49, OS 69, OS 71, OS 74, OS 91, OS 98.

[4] For example, all the texts included in OS 1, *Pearl, Patience* and *Cleanness,* are from London, British Library MS Cotton Nero A. x., and receive the same editorial treatment.

their text (although in the case of Brock, there is an unexplained, anomalous exception to this rule at 135) and are content to suggest substantive emendations in their textual notes (Chapter Five). Thus, if the quality of Perry's work editorial work is set aside, the difference in these three editors' treatment of their base texts lies in the frequency, as opposed to the nature, of emendations they make. The basic characteristics of their common editorial practice may also be seen in M, although Cockayne's emendations are far more numerous and less simple to assess (Chapter Four). Grudgingly suppressing his desire to establish a critical text in order to conform with what he saw as the editorial orthodoxy of the time, Cockayne records the substantive emendations he believes should be made in the notes and incorporates them only in his translation of the text. Although a proportion of the emendations he does make have a substantive effect, my analysis suggests that they are intended to be corrections of perceived errors in the accidental readings of the base manuscript.

Cockayne's perception that the prevailing opinion among English scholars required close adherence to the manuscripts is confirmed by my survey of EETS' Middle English publications. The base text of a large majority of these editions—seventy out of the ninety-eight in the collection—is printed from a manuscript or early printed witness in the manner exemplified by the editions of Morris, Perry and Brock: that is, with emendation limited to accidental readings;[5] forty-five of the seventy such editions also include in their paratext suggestions for emendations which their editors chose not to make in the text. As in the special studies, the frequency with which accidental emendations are made varies considerably, but I did not find any edition in which the rate of emendation seems to equal or exceed that found in M. Three editions contain no acknowledged emendation whatsoever.[6]

Among the editions examined in Chapters Four-Six, the five editions in which substantive readings are emended are considerably more diverse in nature than the four in which they are not. Part of this diversity derives from the differing ways in which their editors deal with multiple witnesses to the text, a matter that will be discussed separately below. However, their diverse nature also derives from the

---

[5] See Appendix Three for lists of the editions which fall within this category, and all other categories discussed in this chapter. It should be noted that this categorisation (as is the case with the categorisations made elsewhere) is made on the basis of my assessment of what constitutes the predominant practice in a publication. Thus isolated instances of the emendation of substantive readings which appear to be unexplained, anomalous departures from an practice that is otherwise clearly being applied throughout the text (such as the insertion of 'wid' in SW) do not disallow an edition from being included in the class of editions whose emendations are limited to accidental readings. (My assessment also excludes parts of texts where the base manuscript is illegible owing to physical damage.) Obviously, this mode of categorisation is subjective and somewhat impressionistic, and I accept that my categorisation of some individual editions may be open to challenge. However, I have done my best to be as consistent as possible in dealing with the multitude of editions included in the survey, and am confident that the general proportion, if not the specific number, of editions within any given category is reliable enough to indicate fairly the characteristics of EETS' publications.

[6] The text of OS 17 was probably not emended because of the edition's special purpose: as a prelude to editorial work on *Piers Plowman*, Skeat printed the same passage of the poem from 29 manuscripts 'so that, by a collation of these extracts, the relative dialectal peculiarities, ages, and types of the MSS. themselves may be determined, and attention afterwards concentrated on those most likely to yield the most valuable results' (p. 1). OS 39 appears to be a simple case of EETS' conservative practice taken to its logical extreme. In ES 19, however, the situation is more complicated. The text of Gascoigne's *Myroure of Oure Lady* (IPMEP 798) is printed from R. Fawkes edition of 1530 (STC 17542) along with the early print's table of errata (ES 19, pp. 333-338); the editor John Henry Blunt corrects the errors listed in the original table in the text, but apparently makes no corrections of his own.

varying motivations behind their substantive emendations. Furnivall's treatment of his base text in SPM may be regarded as the most conservative in the five editions, in that he emends substantive readings only to make good the base manuscripts' deficiencies of sense. While the majority of the substantive emendations in Furnivall's PLM and Skeat's WP are also made in response to deficiencies in the sense, a small proportion are made solely to improve the metre of lines in which the text makes sense as it stands. Einenkel and Schick's treatment of their base manuscripts is more radical still, as they frequently emend the substantive readings of their base texts in accordance with the principles derived from their recension, regardless of whether or not the text makes sense as it stands in the manuscript.

Einenkel, Skeat, Furnivall and Schick all treat the base text of their editions in a less conservative way than might be expected from the evidence about the Society's editorial policies presented in Chapter Three. While clearly a practice of a minority of EETS editors, the proportion of editions in the collection which contain substantive emendations is, at 29 percent, also larger than might be expected. However, it should be remembered that Einenkel, Skeat, Furnivall and Schick all circumscribe their substantive interventions in the text in ways which do reflect EETS' more usual conservative spirit. Neither Schick nor Furnivall emend the substantive readings of their base text without the authorisation of one or more of the other witnesses to the text; in the case of PLM, Furnivall maintains this self-imposed restriction even where (at l. 503) this leaves him with a manifestly unsatisfactory text. Einenkel acknowledges that in order to reconstruct the 'original' text of K it is necessary to emend by conjecture, but he is nevertheless unwilling to do so against the combined evidence of the manuscripts; where all three witnesses agree in an apparent error he is content to suggest a solution in the notes. While Skeat emends his base text purely by editorial conjecture—there are no other witnesses with which to authorise his interventions in the text—he too imposes a restriction on his editorial practice, limiting the emendations of substantive readings he makes for the sake of metre to instances where the meaning of the line is not significantly altered; otherwise, such emendations are suggested in the notes. In terms of the treatment of the base text, therefore, Skeat and Einenkel prove to be less radical editors than they are textual critics. A similar conservative impulse may be seen in a substantial proportion of editions in the collection: of the twenty-eight which have emended substantive readings, eleven also include in their paratext suggestions for further emendations that their editors chose not to make in the text.

The editorial work of Einenkel, Schick and, in PLM, Furnivall is also made distinctive by their treatment of the accidental readings of their base texts. Schick and Furnivall routinely alter one aspect of the orthography of their base text—the presence of unstressed inflectional syllables (usually simply final *e*)—in order to produce lines which conform to their understanding of Lydgate's metrical practice. Far more mechanically, Einenkel emends all the accidental readings of his base text where the other two witnesses agree together against it, in order to reconstruct the orthography of the hypothetical ancestor of the extant manuscripts. The systematic application of such orthographic changes throughout the text is a far more radical editorial practice than would be expected in EETS editions, given the evidence presented in Chapter Three—particularly considering Furnivall's own injunctions against texts which have been

'made symmetrical' and 'doctored' by their editors (the discrepancy between Furnivall's editorial practice and his statements about editorial policy will be discussed further below). The extent to which this normalisation of the base texts' accidental readings is inconsistent with the Society's generally conservative editorial temperament is reflected by the fact that it was the practice of only a very small minority of the Society's editors—I found only six such editions in the collection (all of which were texts which also had emended substantive readings).

The basic statistics regarding the treatment of the base text given above are presented in more detail in Tables 1.1-1.3 in Appendix Two. Table 1.1 groups editions in the collection according to the number of manuscript and early print witnesses there are to the text (as known to their editors). Texts with three or four witnesses have been grouped together, as have texts with five or more, in order to provide large enough groupings to make comparisons between the groups meaningful. The most salient fact revealed by Table 1.1 is that the proportion of texts extant in a single witness in which substantive readings have been emended is significantly smaller than is the case for texts which have two witnesses or more: in all but 13 percent of texts with a single witness, emendation is restricted to accidental readings, whereas slightly more than two-fifths of the editions with multiple witnesses have emended substantive readings. This probably reflects the high level of respect for manuscript evidence which characterises the statements of editorial policy recorded in Chapter Three (and which, as we have seen in the paragraph before last, was evident to some degree even in the work of an editor as comparatively radical as Einenkel). Although adopting a reading attested by another witness does not remove entirely the element of conjecture from emending the text, the statistics suggest that EETS' editors were generally more willing to emend the substantive readings of the base text if its defects had been drawn to their attention by another witness, and if they could confer on their emendations the authority of that other witness.

Table 1.2 groups the editions in the collection by their editors, in order to enable an assessment of the nature of the work of certain significant individual editors and groups of editors. Furnivall (responsible for nineteen editions), Morris (ten) and Skeat (twelve) were selected for individual analysis because they were the most prolific of EETS editors, together editing over two-fifths of EETS' Middle English publications; their work is thus *a priori* an important influence on the characteristics of the collection as a whole.[7] (The precise statistical influence of any one of these editors on EETS' overall editorial output may be seen by comparing two sets of statistics: the percentage figures in the total row at the foot of the table calculate the proportion of editions in each category for the collection as a whole, whereas the percentage figures in the second row under the editor's name calculate the proportion of editions in each category for the collection excluding that editor's publications). These three editors are also of interest because their influence on the characteristics of EETS' editorial output as a whole was no doubt wider than the

[7] No other single editor was responsible for a large enough group of editions to make comparisons meaningful. The next most prolific editors were Sidney Herrtage, with five editions and Carl Horstmann, with four. Three individuals edited three publications each, two individuals edited two publications, and thirty-five individuals edited a single publication.

purely statistical: Furnivall was the director of the Society, Morris was a founding member of the Committee of Management, and Skeat quickly established a reputation among his contemporaries as one of the foremost experts in the field of Middle English. The fourteen editions produced by the Society's German editors were grouped together on the assumption that, given the specialised training in philology and textual criticism available in German universities, their editorial practices might contain common characteristics which were distinct from those of the other editors involved in the Society.[8]

Table 1.2 reveals that, in his treatment of the base text, Morris is the most consistently conservative of the three selected editors: in all but one of his ten editions, he restricts his emendations to accidental readings, thereby corroborating the evidence about his editorial views presented in Chapter Three and his editorial practice presented in Chapter Four. Furnivall's editorial practice is shown to be only slightly less consistently conservative than Morris'—in sixteen of his nineteen editions, Furnivall restricts his emendations to accidental readings. This is again in keeping with the evidence presented in Chapter Three, but contrary to his editorial practice in SPM and PLM. As in SW, Morris appears to have made a conscious distinction between accidental and substantive readings in the nine editions in which emendation is restricted to accidental readings, as the notes to all of them contain suggestions for substantive emendations. This is also the case in eleven of the sixteen such editions produced by Furnivall.

The exceptions to Morris and Furnivall's usual conservative editorial practice are of considerable interest. It will be noted that in Morris' one, and two of Furnivall's three, exceptional editions, the editors not only emend the substantive readings of the base text, but also systematically and consistently alter (or 'normalise') some aspect of its accidental readings. Although it is not stated by either Morris or Furnivall, the radical difference between their usual editorial practice and that employed for these particular texts suggests that some distinctive aspect of the texts alters their conception of their role as editors. The intended results of Morris and Furnivall's normalisations suggest that this alteration is induced by the fact that the text is the work of a known literary author. One of the two normalised texts produced by Furnivall is PLM, about which I argued in Chapter Six that Furnivall envisaged his task as editor to include the (at least partial) restoration of Lydgate's original metre. The other is an edition of Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes,* ES 72 (Hoccleve, it will be remembered from Chapter Six, was the author Furnivall paired with Lydgate in his failed attempt to launch another printing society in 1872). As in PLM, in ES 72 Furnivall displays his confidence that he can identify his author's personal metrical practice: he presents a collection of scanned lines as examples of the distinctive characteristics of Hoccleve's metre, and then goes on to use these characteristics as evidence that Hoccleve is also the

[8] The German editors who produced editions in the collection are Adam, Bülbring, Deïmling, Einenkel, Hausknecht, Holthausen, Horstmann, Kölbing, Schick and Zupitza. For an account of the central place of philology in German universities and the seminar system through which training in it was delivered, see Hans Aarsleff, *The Study of Language in England, 1780-1860,* 2nd ed., (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; London: Athlone Press, 1983) 179-81.

author of fourteen 'Englisht De Guilleville Poems' also included in the edition.[9] Furnivall also criticises the base manuscript's scribe's supposed habit of 'dropping... the *e* where it was wanted metrically inside the line,' and throughout the text inserts final *e*s with results similar to those described in the study PLM above.[10] Morris normalises the text of ES 5, an edition of *Chaucer's Translation of Boethius's "De Consolatione Philosophiae"*—the only edition of a work by Chaucer edited by Morris for EETS. Unlike the Northumbrian dialect, about which Morris believed too little was known to warrant substantive emendation of manuscript evidence (see Chapter Three), the following extract from Morris' Preface to ES 5 shows that he felt he understood Chaucer's language in considerable detail. Morris bases his text on London, British Library, MS. Additional 10,340, 'which is supposed to be the *oldest* manuscript that exists in our public libraries,' but after this manuscript 'was all copied out and ready for press' he received on loan Cambridge University Library MS. Ii. 3. 2:

> Had I had an opportunity of examining the Cambridge MS. carefully throughout before the work was so far advanced, I should certainly have selected it in preference to the text now given to the reader. Though not so ancient as the British Museum MS., it is far more correct in its grammatical inflexions, and is no doubt a copy of an older and very accurate text.
>
> The Additional MS. is written by a scribe who was unacquainted with the force of the final *–e*. Thus he adds it to the preterites of strong verbs, which do not require it; he omits it in the preterites of weak verbs where it is wanted, and attaches it to passive participles (of weak verbs), where it is superfluous. The scribe of the Cambridge MS. is careful to preserve the final *–e* where it is a sign (1) of the definite declension of the adjective; (2) of the plural adjective; (3) of the infinitive mood; (4) of the preterite of weak verbs; (5) of present participles; (6) of the 2nd pers. pret. indic of strong verbs; (7) of adverbs; (8) of an older vowel ending (p. xvi).

Although he does not state his intention to do so, Morris apparently attempts to reconstruct Chaucer's text in its 'original' language, systematically emending the base text so that it consistently has a final *e* in seven of the eight situations listed in the paragraph above, irrespective of whether or not the emended form is attested in the Cambridge manuscript. (For reasons he does not explain, Morris never emends present participles (item 5) in this way). Interestingly, while this editorial practice is unlike that used by Morris in any other of his EETS editions, the text of his Aldine edition of the *Canterbury Tales* is established according to similar principles.[11] It seems clear, then, that Morris and Furnivall felt that the texts of known literary authors required a different editorial treatment to that appropriate for the majority of Middle English texts, despite the fact that this seems entirely contrary to their explicit rejection of 'doctored' editions. However, while neither Morris nor Furnivall directly state that the *type of text* being edited should influence the way it is presented in print, the comments to this effect made by Nicol in Chapter Three demonstrate that this idea was current in England in the second half of the nineteenth century.

---

[9] The fourteen poems are from the English translation of the *Pèlerinage de l'Ame* (IMEV 233, 263, 540, 1242, 1243, 1244, 1245, 1246, 1247, 1248, 1249, 1296, 1719, 2428), printed on pp. xxiii-lxii from London, British Library MS. Egerton 615. For Furnivall's argument that the poems were written by Hoccleve, see pp. xx-xxi.

[10] ES 72, p. xvii. Furnivall produced one other edition of Hoccleve's work in the nineteenth century, ES 61, a collection of the *Minor Poems*. Furnivall does not normalise final *e* in the text I selected for examination from this edition, the 'Ars Sciendi More' (IMEV 3121), presumably because at the time of editing he believed the manuscript from which he printed the poem, Durham University, MS. Cosin V. iii. 9, to be written in Hoccleve's own hand (p. 119; a position Furnivall recanted in his introduction to the edition, p. xlix.)

[11] [Richard Morris, ed.], *The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer: With a Memoir by Sir Harris Nicolas,* vol. 1, The Aldine Edition of the British Poets (London: Bell and Daldy, 1866) vii-viii.

As might be expected from his edition of WP, Table 1.2 shows that Skeat is a less conservative editor than Morris and Furnivall, for he emends the substantive readings of seven of the twelve texts he edited for the Society. The reason he chose to restrict his emendations to accidental readings in five editions and not the remaining seven is not clear—I could find no obvious common features which distinguished the texts of one group of editions from the other. It seems likely that Skeat was not guided by a theoretical distinction between accidental and substantive readings in the way that Morris apparently was, but regarded the practice he adopted for any particular text as the most appropriate, pragmatic response to the particular circumstances presented by that text. For example, he does not emend the substantive readings of the text in his edition of the *Wars of Alexander*, ES 47, because he finds it more convenient to present the text of its two manuscripts in parallel:

> The method here adopted, of printing the two MSS. side by side, as far as they go, not only gives fuller information than could be shewn by a mere collation, but dispenses with a great deal of explanation and emendation. It will be found, repeatedly, that one MS. corrects the other; and the reader should compare them for himself.[12]

Of the editors whose work was studied in Chapters Four-Six, Einenkel and Schick were easily the least conservative in their treatment of the base text; the method of recension they employed is no doubt indicative of the training in textual criticism they received in Germany. As might be expected, Table 1.2 shows that as a group the German editors involved in EETS were considerably less conservative in their treatment of the text than were the remainder of the Society's editors as a group: some 57 percent of their editions had emended substantive readings, as opposed to 29 percent of editions in the collection as a whole, or 24 percent of editions in the collection if those produced by German editors are removed from the equation. The difference between the last two statistics demonstrates that the editorial activity of the German editors was substantial enough to influence the characteristics of EETS' output as a whole; the nature of this influence will be discussed in more detail below.

Table 1.3 groups the editions in the collection according to the decade in which they were published, in order to show any change or development in EETS' editorial practices over time. The statistics show that EETS' editorial output was to a small, but nonetheless significant degree, less conservative at the end of the nineteenth century than it was in the first decade of the Society's operations: the proportion of editions with emended substantive readings rises from 18 percent in the 1860s to 35 and 36 percent in the 1880s and 1890s respectively. Care must be taken, however, in interpreting this change. Some additional information is provided in Table 1.4, which shows the number of editions produced in each decade by the individual editors and groups of editors featured in Table 1.3. Table 1.4 reveals that no editions were produced by German editors in the 1860s, but their efforts contributed significantly to the EETS' output in the 1880s and 1890s, in which decades they were responsible for 47 and 20 percent of the Society's Middle English publications respectively. Concentrated as it is in the final two decades of the nineteenth century, the work of the German editors is responsible for the statistical change recorded

---

[12] ES 47, p. xx. The manuscripts are Dublin, Trinity College MS. 213 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 6925.

in Table 1.3. This is demonstrated by the fact that the proportion of the editions that were not produced by German editors which have emended substantive readings is at the end of the period only a small degree greater than it was at the beginning: 25 percent in the 1890s (i.e. five out of the twenty 'non-German' editions), as opposed to 18 percent in the 1860s. Thus it can be said that in the final two decades of the nineteenth century, the editorial practices found in EETS editions became more diverse, and the output of the Society as a whole slightly less conservative, as it incorporated the work of editors who had received training in philology and textual criticism in Germany. However, it must be observed that the statistics generated by my survey do not provide evidence that this exposure to continental modes of editing produced a shift in editorial thinking among editors in England in the final two decades of the nineteenth century.

The influence of continental theories and practices on textual criticism and editing in England is, of course, a highly complex matter, and further comment on it would require considerable research—work that is beyond the scope of this thesis. Nevertheless, it does seem worth pointing out a curious case study of the unreconciled differences between German and English editorial practices at the end of the nineteenth century offered by Georgina Lea Morrill's edition of *Speculum Gy de Warewyke*, ES 75 (1898). The edition published by EETS is an adapted version of a PhD dissertation completed by Morrill at the University of Berlin under the supervision of Julius Zupitza and Schick, and with the assistance of Eugen Kölbing—all three of whom were professional German academics who were also involved in EETS as editors.[13] The edition contains all the apparatus of traditional recension, and yet, while Morrill does emend substantive readings to rectify 'undoubted blunders of the copyist' and supply 'absolute deficiencies' in the base text (p. lxii), she does not make the numerous other emendations prompted by her recension and recorded as such in the notes. Morrill explains her decision to limit her intervention in the text as follows:

> In harmony with the suggestion of Dr. Furnivall, the work does not present a distinctively critical text, but it aims to mark fidelity to its original, and avoid arbitrary changes by which a picturesque meaning would be lost or an interesting philological form obscured. Full material for such a text, subject to the judgment of the individual student, is offered in the decisive readings of the various manuscripts of the *Speculum* and in its critical notes (p. ix).

Morrill goes on to state that 'some points could have been discussed more briefly than I have judged advisable,' to which comment she appends the footnote 'some allowance must be made for the difficulty of transferring this work from the German edition. Traces of German training, chiefly at the University of Berlin, must be attributed to their proper source' (p. x).

2. Treatment of multiple witnesses to the text

The evidence presented above shows that in the great majority of EETS editions the printed text is intended to represent closely the text of an individual witness—an editorial method ideally suited to presenting all the available manuscript evidence of a Middle English work extant in a single witness. However, when adopted for a work whose text is found in more than one witness, this procedure raises

---

[13] ES 75, pp. ix-xi. For the bibliographical details of these three editors' EETS publications see Appendix One.

some important questions: the editor must decide which individual witness' text will be presented in full, and whether or not, and in what manner, the evidence of the additional witness(es) is to be incorporated in the edition. In general, EETS editors felt it necessary to record at least some of the evidence provided by multiple witnesses to a text: in only three of the fifty-two editions of works which were known to exist in more than one witness did editors record the evidence solely of the witness they selected to be their base text.[14] However, as was the case in several of the editions examined in Chapters Four and Six, in a large number of the editions in the collection the evidence of the additional witness(es) was considered to be, and presented as, subordinate in importance to that of the witness selected as the base text—even where, as was often the case, the reasons for preferring that witness were far from clear. Two aspects of EETS' corporate operation identified in Chapters Two and Three apparently acted as constraints on the way multiple witnesses were treated in these editions. The editorial inexperience and lack of training in textual criticism of a large number of EETS' editorial personnel, as discussed in Chapter Two, must have left them ill-equipped to deal with the often complicated textual evidence presented by multiple witnesses in any more than a simple fashion. No statement instructing editors on the critical assessment and editorial treatment of the evidence of multiple witnesses appears to have been issued by the Society. However, in Chapter Three I noted a general suspicion of 'doctored' texts which, as will be seen below, expresses itself in a resistance to incorporating in the printed text the readings of additional witnesses, and an apparent preference for editions which present the evidence of the base text and the other witnesses separately.

The editors of all of the texts with multiple witnesses studied in Chapters Four-Six considered it necessary to include the evidence of more than one witness in their editions. The edition in which the least attention is paid to the available textual evidence is SPM. Furnivall does not attempt even to identify all of the extant witnesses to the poem, although he rightly suspects that there are many more than the seven of whose existence he was aware. He prints in full the texts of two witnesses, and records in footnotes a selection of readings from a third, but does not explain his reasons for preferring these witnesses over the other four; such is his lack of concern for the textual tradition of the poem that it calls to mind his comment, made elsewhere, that the busy editor does not have the time to identify the 'best' text, but rather 'wants *some* text, and that at once' (see Chapter Six). In contrast, the most assiduous treatment of the textual evidence is found in the work of Schick, who seeks out all the available

---

[14] In OS 87, Horstmann prints the *South English Legendary* from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud Misc. 108; he states that he is aware of the text in another ten manuscripts, all of which he intends to print separately in EETS editions (p. vii)—a task he never carried out because his association with the Society ceased in 1893 after his row with Furnivall over the production of OS 100 (see Chapter Two). In ES 19, John Henry Blunt prints Gascoigne's *Myroure of Oure Lady* (IPMEP 798) from a 1530 R. Fawkes edition (STC 17542); he states that Aberdeen University, MS. WPR. 4. 18, an imperfect copy of the text, was 'courteously placed in the hands of the Early English Text Society for use in preparation of the present volume' (p. vii) but apparently makes no use of it other than to print the text of its first two folios in his preface (p. lx). In ES 44, Octavia Richardson prints Caxton's *Historie of the Foure Sonnes of Aimon* (IPMEP 80) from Caxton's original edition of 1489 (STC 1007). She is also aware of two other extant witnesses to the text: the first a fragment of a 1504 de Worde edition (STC 1008), and the second a complete copy of an edition printed by W. Copland in 1554 (STC 1010). She believes that Copland's text is a 'literal reprint' of the original Caxton edition and so makes no use of it other than to supply a passage of text where her copy of the Caxton edition is imperfect (p. xii).

manuscript and early print witnesses to TG, systematically collates and analyses their variant readings in order to ascertain the relationships among them, and then uses this information to select a base text and establish the principles by which he emends it—the evidence for all of which is recorded in full detail.

More typical of the collection as a whole in its concern for the textual tradition of a work is Morris' SW, which lies between the extremes presented by Furnivall and Schick's editions. Morris identifies all of the extant witnesses, prints one in full and collates the majority of the substantive variants of the others, thus providing a considerably more comprehensive record of the available textual evidence than is offered in Furnivall's SPM. However, the reason Morris gives for selecting the manuscript chosen as the base text—that it is the 'oldest'—is at best simplistic and, more significantly, his critical apparatus reveals that he occasionally fails to perceive the value of evidence provided by the additional witnesses (see Chapter Four). His inconsistent comprehension of the significance of the various manuscripts' readings suggests that the textual criticism implicit in his notes and facing translation is not derived from a systematic comparison of the manuscripts over the text as a whole, but rather is based on a consideration of the evidence about each reading in isolation from the others. In this regard, SW exemplifies Morris' abnegation of editorial methods which 'doctor' a text according to a systematised textual theory. That this rejection of such editorial methods—and also, no doubt, a certain level of ignorance about them—characterises a substantial proportion of EETS publications is indicated by the fact that, of the fifty-two editions in the collection with multiple witnesses, only twenty contain any discussion, however brief, of the relative authority of the witnesses, and only eighteen discuss the relationships among the witnesses.

Three basic approaches to incorporating the evidence of multiple witnesses may be discerned in the collection. One is to print the text of a single manuscript as the base text, collate readings from the other witnesses in the notes, and substitute some of these collated readings in the printed text for those of the base text. In three editions these emendations are made according to the principles of recension, but usually the method employed to establish the text is best described by the term 'eclectic'—emendations are generally made to problematic readings in isolation from others and the manuscript which supplies the adopted readings is chosen according to editorial expediency rather than its relationship with the other witnesses. Eighteen editions (i.e. just over one third of the fifty-two editions containing texts with multiple witnesses) collate the variant readings of the witnesses and use them to form a critical text. The second approach used to incorporate the evidence of multiple witnesses is to print the text of a single manuscript as the base text and to collate readings from the other witnesses in textual notes, without using them to emend the printed text; of the editions examined in detail, Morris and Cockayne's exemplify this method. Fourteen of the fifty-two relevant editions in the collection are produced in this way. Unlike those produced by the method previously described, which all have by definition base texts with emended substantives, emendation in all but one of these fourteen editions is

restricted to accidental readings—a further indication of the unwillingness of EETS' editors to alter the substantive readings of their manuscripts by editorial conjecture alone.[15]

The editions described in Chapters Four-Six which record in their notes the variant readings of the witnesses vary greatly in the fullness of the evidence they present. For example, Einenkel's corpus of variant readings is comprehensive—recording even minor orthographical variations such as the use of a sign of abbreviation for the conjunction 'and' in one manuscript and not another—whereas Cockayne's textual notes include a small selection of illustrative accidental variations and only those substantive variations he apparently believes are derived from the author's original text. Like Cockayne's, the corpora of variant readings in Morris, Furnivall and Schick's editions are selective, but only Schick states the criteria by which his selection was made: 'the readings of the various texts are all given in full... when they represent variations of meaning; mere orthographical variations, or phonetic ones of no consequence, have not been reproduced' (see Chapter Six). Morris and Furnivall's corpora also seem primarily intended to record substantive variants, but they also include a small proportion of the accidental, and leave out a small proportion of the substantive, variations among the witnesses, the selection criteria for which, despite my best attempts at analysis, remain unclear. In the collection as a whole, only nine editions (i.e. about one quarter of the 39 editions which contain corpora of variant readings[16]) provide an explanation of the selection criteria their editors used when collating variant readings. Although not using the terms themselves, in eight editions (including TG) editors make a distinction between substantive variants, which they do record, and accidental variants, which in general they do not, although two editors state that they occasionally include interesting variations of spelling.[17] Without recourse to the manuscripts it is, of course, impossible to establish with any certainty the nature of the readings collated in the remaining editions.

The third approach used to incorporate the evidence of multiple witnesses is the presentation of the full text of two or more witnesses in parallel. Some of these editions are relatively simple, with the texts of

---

[15] The one exception is OS 55, W. Aldis Wright's edition of *Generydes* (version B, IMEV 1515), which is perhaps better compared to editions of texts with a single witness rather than those with two or more. The text is printed from Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. 1283; the variant readings of the other 'witness'—a set of fragments from two early printed editions covering only a small proportion of the text—are printed in an appendix (pp. 224-5). The variant readings are not used in the construction of the text, but Wright does make some substantive emendations 'where there was an obvious error destructive to the sense of a passage' by conjecture alone (p. viii).

[16] This includes the seven editions which combine the parallel presentation of some witnesses with the collation of the variant readings of others in the notes.

[17] The stated criteria by which variants were selected in the editions (other than Schick's) are as follows. OS 16 'The later copy... has been only collated for a few passages which require elucidation' (p. vi); OS 31 'All the various readings that seemed of any interest have been noted. It was not desirable to record every difference of spelling' (p. v); OS 28 'varieties of spelling in the case of such words as seemed rare or interesting; otherwise... varieties of reading only' (IV, p. xi); OS 74 'I have not attempted to note mere differences of spelling' (p. l); OS 97 'Usually differences of spelling and dialect are not given, so that the alterations of the reviser will be more readily perceived' (p. xiv); ES 46 'I have not... omitted one single different reading, except those which only refer to the spelling' (p. xlii); ES 69 'chief variations... are given [but all variations are given for the first fifty lines] to indicate the differences in orthography' (p. viii); ES 75 '...no form conveying difference of meaning has been omitted. Variations purely orthographical or phonetical have in general not been represented. Yet in a few instances graphical or phonetic modifications that seem of peculiar interest are cited among genuine variants' (p. lxiii).

two witnesses printed on facing pages and, as is the case in SPM, readings from any additional witness(es) collated in the notes. However, many editions were considerably more substantial and elaborate undertakings. For example, in OS 61, James Murray prints alongside each other the full texts of all five known witnesses to *Thomas of Erceldoune's Prophecy* (IMEV 365), and in OS 57 Morris prints all four known witnesses to the *Cursor Mundi* (IMEV 2153), thus producing a parallel edition of seven volumes. Seventeen of the fifty-two relevant editions in the collection present the text of two or more witnesses in parallel (seven of which also record a selection of readings from additional witnesses in textual notes). In all but three of the seventeen editions, emendations are restricted to accidental readings.[18] The reason for this is perhaps that the fullness of the manuscript evidence presented was considered to render such emendation unnecessary. For example, in his explanation of the parallel treatment of the two witnesses of the *Wars of Alexander* quoted above, Skeat—an editor who otherwise routinely emended the substantive readings of his base text—noted that 'repeatedly... one MS. corrects the other; and the reader should compare them for himself.'

As the presentation of the full text of two or more witnesses in parallel is a logical extension of EETS' characteristic valorisation of the individual witness, it may seem surprising that it is found in only a minority of the relevant editions in the collection. However, the Society's limited income meant that the comparatively high cost of printing texts in parallel (which increased by at least one hundred percent of the cost of printing a single witness with every additional text printed in full) must have acted as a powerful disincentive to adopting this approach. It seems right to assume, therefore, that texts would only be printed in parallel if their editors—and the committee who commissioned and authorised the printing of their work—were convinced that there was a particular advantage to be gained from adopting this method over collating variant readings in the notes. Unfortunately, editors tend not to state directly their reason for choosing to print the text of multiple witnesses in full, and so often it must be inferred from the nature of the witnesses themselves, as well as any indirectly relevant comments in the paratext. In some cases this is not easy: Furnivall's choice and treatment of the witnesses printed in SPM, for instance, seems more the outcome of editorial caprice than a judicious assessment of the textual tradition of the poem. However, a few examples of more considered editorial work will illustrate the range of reasons apparently behind the decision to print texts in parallel. In OS 57, it seems that Morris prints the four witnesses in parallel in order to make available the philological information they contain: he points out the characteristic forms of various dialects found in each of the manuscripts and notes that 'the *Cursor*... is of first-rate importance for the history of the English language, and will amply repay a careful study of its many interesting and curious forms' (p. xxx). In OS 71, Simmons presents in full the texts of four witnesses to the *Lay Folk's Mass Book* (IMEV 3507) in part because of their various dialects (see pp. ix, xii, xvii), but also because they allow a comparison of the 'three separate forms' in which the text survives, which show various 'ritual revisions' made to suit local usage (pp. lxi-lxv). In ES 46, Kölbing analyses the variant readings of eight witnesses to *Sir Beues of Hamtoun* (IMEV 1993) and finds that the extant witnesses are descended from a hypothetical archetypal manuscript in two main

[18] The three exceptions are ES 33, OS 32 and OS 85.

families of texts. However, he also finds the extant witnesses to be so far removed from the archetype, and the resulting textual situation so complex, that it is impossible to construct an adequate critical text; he therefore prints the full text of the best witness of each family and collates the variant readings of the related witnesses against them, thereby 'simply... laying before the members of the Early English Text Society the whole of the materials' (p. xlii).

The basic statistics regarding the treatment of multiple witnesses given above are presented in more detail in Tables 2.1-2.3. Table 2.3, which groups the relevant editions according to their decade of publication, may cast some additional light on the choices made between collating the variant readings of multiple witnesses and printing them in full. The proportion of editions in which the text of a single manuscript is printed as the base text and the variant readings of other witnesses are collated in the notes (without using them to emend the printed text) is, at 60 percent, significantly higher in the 1860s than in the following decades, the highest of which is the 1890s (21 percent) and the lowest the 1880s (when no such editions were produced). The 1860s was also by far the most prolific decade in terms of the overall number of individual editions EETS published. The combination of these two facts suggests that in the earliest years of EETS' operations, the Society concentrated on making available as many different Middle English works as possible and therefore decided to employ less often an editorial approach which would consume per publication proportionately more of its annual income; whereas from the 1870s on, it became concerned with the more full presentation of the evidence provided by multiple witnesses. This explanation is, however, only speculation: I can find no other evidence to corroborate it. Table 2.3 also records that the proportion of editions produced by recension and 'eclectic' treatments of multiple witnesses is significantly higher in the 1880s and 1890s than in the 1860s and 1870s. This reflects the trend of increased emendation of substantive readings in the later decades, recorded in Table 1.3 and explained above.

Table 2.1 groups editions in the collection according to the number of witnesses there are to the text. For the most part this table suggests that when a text has multiple witnesses, the number of those witnesses does not significantly influence the approach used to incorporate their evidence in EETS editions. The only notable trend the statistics reveal is that the proportion of editions with parallel texts grows larger as the number of witnesses to the text increases. It is possible to speculate that this reflects an intuitive editorial response in an organisation whose main approach to editing is to print the text of individual witnesses: the more witnesses there are, the greater the compulsion to present the full evidence of more than one of them in print. Again, however, there is no other evidence to corroborate this theory. Table 2.2 groups the editions in the collection by their editors. Interestingly, the statistics reveal that all the individual editors and groups of editors included in the table use more than one approach to incorporating the evidence of multiple witnesses in their editions. It is also notable that when Skeat and any of the German editors print in full the text of a single witness and collate the variant readings of the other(s), they always also use those variant readings in the establishment in the text. As

might be expected, all of the editions produced by recension were the work of the Society's German editors.[19]

3. Treatment of the witnesses' formal detail

Although the treatment of the base manuscripts' formal detail is not identical in any of the nine editions examined in Chapters Four-Six, two broad approaches among these editions were observed, and the approach taken by each editor was found to be closely related to his method of establishing the text. The majority of editions (i.e. those produced by Morris, Cockayne, Perry, Brock, Skeat and Furnivall) are characterised by a serious attempt to represent in print the physical appearance of the base manuscript. Important features of the base manuscripts' *ordinatio* are replicated with special type: decorated capitals are printed in proportionately larger type; rubrics, headings, colophons, incipits, explicits and the like are printed in the text where they appear in the manuscript and made distinct with black-letter or emboldened roman type; and in some cases paraphs are typographically reproduced. The foliation of the manuscripts is recorded in the margin beside the text so that, while the editions' page divisions do not follow those of their base manuscript, the reader can be aware while reading the text of the manner in which it was originally physically divided. Notwithstanding the fact that Furnivall and Skeat deal less conservatively with the readings of their base manuscript than do Morris, Perry and Brock, all these editors' printed texts are intended to represent closely the text of an individual witness; the recording of the formal detail of the base manuscript by these editors is best understood as another product of their concern with the evidence offered by individual witnesses to the text. In contrast, Einenkel and Schick attempt to reconstruct in print the text of an hypothetical archetype of the extant witnesses, and therefore show little interest in the formal details of individual manuscripts which do not assist in this project, making little or no attempt to reproduce the physical appearance of their base manuscripts. None of the elements of the manuscripts' *ordinatio* listed in this paragraph are reproduced or represented within the printed text and the folio divisions of the base manuscript are not recorded beside it.

The approach found in the majority of the editions examined in Chapters Four-Six was similarly dominant in the collection as a whole. In eighty-three editions the foliation of the manuscript is recorded on the page of text. Eighty-eight editions contain at least one, but usually more, of the type conventions used in the editions examined in Chapters Four-Six to represent the important features of the base witnesses' *ordinatio* in (i.e. decorated capitals, rubrics, headings, colophons, incipits, explicits and paraphs). Although it is possible that, as turned out to be the case in SPM, some of these features are editorial in a number of publications, it is likely that in the vast majority of cases they are straightforward representations of features present in the witnesses. A considerable proportion of editors recorded other information about the formal detail of their witnesses in textual notes. Scribal corrections—a feature which must have appeared in almost all of the manuscript witnesses used by EETS

[19] Morrill's edition, discussed above, is categorised as an 'eclectic' rather than a 'recension' edition because although the substantive emendations she made in the text were primarily derived from the variant readings of the other witnesses, she chose not to apply the findings of her recension in the establishment of the text.

editors—are recorded in forty-eight editions, and forty editions contain notes recording other details such as glosses, catchwords, illustrations and physical damage.

There is some evidence that, as was the case in the editions examined in Chapters Four-Six, the approach to formal detail taken by editors in the collection as a whole is related to their method of establishing the text. Table 3.1, which groups editions in the collection according to the category of their base text, shows that the proportion of editions which reproduce or record various aspects of formal detail is consistently higher among editions without substantive emendation than among editions with substantive emendation. In the case of foliation, the proportions are 89 percent compared to 75 percent; important features of *ordinatio,* 93 and 82 percent; scribal corrections 51 and 43 percent; and other formal details 46 and 29 percent. If considered in the context of the characteristics of individual and groups of editors described above, Table 3.2, which groups editions in the collection according to their editors, tends to confirm the relationship suggested by the statistics in Table 3.1. Foliation and the important features of *ordinatio* are recorded in all of Furnivall, Morris and Skeat's editions, with the exception of one of Skeat's, in which foliation alone is not recorded, and one of Morris', in which the typographical representation of items such as decorated capitals is not found.[20] In contrast, the German editors, who are as a group more radical in their editorial approach than the remainder of the editors in the collection, record the formal details in a smaller proportion of their publications: 71 percent in the case of foliation, and 79 percent in the case of the important features of *ordinatio.* Interestingly, scribal corrections are recorded in a higher proportion of publications edited by Germans (71 percent) than in publications edited by Furnivall, Morris and Skeat (53, 30 and 50 percent respectively). This suggests that German editors tended to regard scribal corrections as significant *textual* evidence rather than formal detail.

EETS' editors intending to print the text of an individual witness were confronted with the numerous differences between the orthographic conventions of medieval manuscripts and early print, and those of nineteenth-century print. Many letters in medieval scripts and the typefaces of early print are quite different in form from those in the roman founts which were in the nineteenth century, as now, the standard typefaces used in printed books. Scribes and printers in the Middle English period also made use of several letters which are not part of the Modern English alphabet. Manuscripts and early printed books contain marks of contraction that are not used in nineteenth-century printed books—a matter made more complicated by the fact that later Middle English scribes habitually wrote similar looking, but nonetheless otiose, strokes. Also, the conventions of Middle English and nineteenth-century punctuation differ both in terms of the symbols used and their purpose—broadly speaking, punctuation in manuscripts was rhetorical, as opposed to the syntactical punctuation of the nineteenth century.[21]

---

[20] Skeat, OS 30; Morris, OS 1.

[21] For an account of medieval punctuation, see M. B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1992).

The editions examined in Chapters Four-Six show considerable uniformity in their response to these differences. Rather than use a black-letter fount to replicate partially the letter forms of the manuscripts as had been customary in the early publications of the Roxburghe Club (see Chapter Three), the equivalent letterforms in the standard roman typeset are used, with the addition of the three most commonly occurring letters for which there was no individual equivalent in the Modern English alphabet, thorn, eth and yogh. Marks of contraction are expanded in italics or, in cases where they are considered to be otiose, reproduced typographically with the use of specialist type that placed strokes over or through roman letters as required. Editorial punctuation generally supersedes that of the manuscript. There are but few exceptions to this approach to representing the orthography of the witnesses. In addition to adding thorn, eth and yogh, Cockayne uses a specialist typeface which attempts to reproduce a number of the manuscript's letterforms. Both Cockayne and Einenkel expand their base manuscript's marks of contraction without the use of italics, and while Einenkel reproduces typographically the signs of abbreviation representing the words 'and' and 'þet,' he also substitutes these signs for the words themselves when they are written in full in the base manuscript as part of his effort to reconstruct the orthography of the archetypal text. Morris and Cockayne print the manuscript's punctuation, using an inverted semicolon to represent the *punctus elevatus*, and in PLM—the punctuation of which is otherwise editorial—Furnivall prints the virgules present in one of the witnesses.

The predominant way of dealing with the orthographic differences between manuscript and nineteenth-century print conventions found in the editions examined in Chapters Four-Six characterises the collection as a whole. In the vast majority of editions an attempt is made to record the specific orthography of the base manuscript in more detail than can be achieved with a standard roman fount of the Modern English alphabet. The letters thorn, eth and yogh are added to the standard roman typeset in eighty-three editions, ten of which also supplement the typeset with one or more additional letterforms. For example, in OS 7 Morris introduces a long form of the letter *s* in order to represent the alternation of long and twisted forms of that letter in the manuscript (p. vi), and in OS 6 Skeat 'adopted' the character ß 'as closely resembling a symbol in the MS., which apparently has the force of double *s*, and is not unlike the "*sz*" used in modern German handwriting' (p. viii). Table 3.1 suggests that, as might be expected, the introduction of letterforms in addition to thorn, eth and yogh is related to more conservative treatments of the text: nine out of the ten instances of this practice are found in editions without substantive emendation. Table 3.3, which groups editions in the collection according to their decade of publication, records the fact that all ten editions were published before the end of the 1870s, suggesting that in that decade a decision was made by the management committee to abandon the practice.

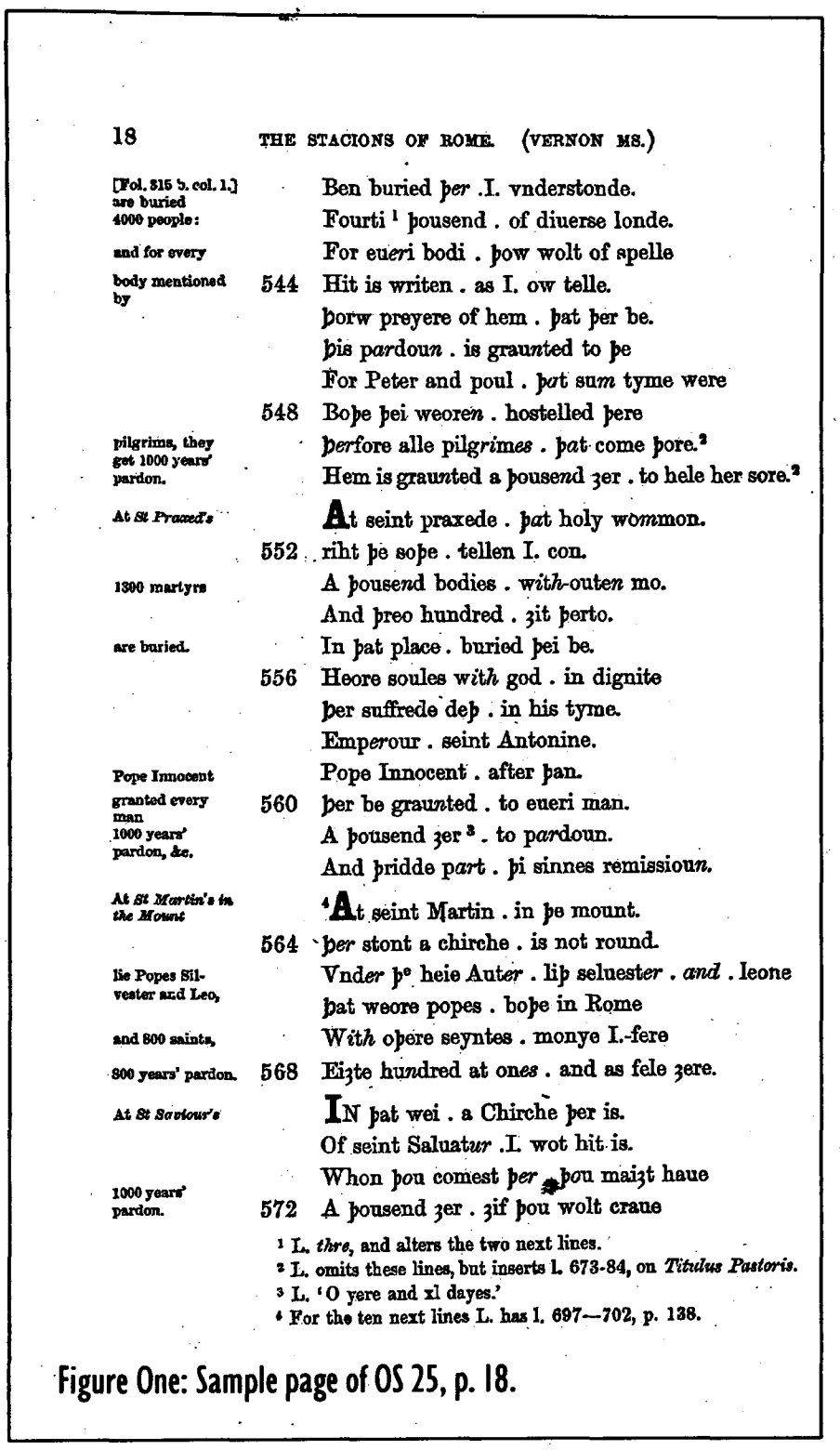
Fifteen editions are printed in roman type without the addition of thorn, eth, and yogh, or any special type except that needed to reproduce typographically the witnesses' marks of contraction. Without recourse to the original witnesses it is impossible state whether thorn, eth and yogh are absent in the printed text because they are not required, or because the editors of these fifteen publications chose to

deal with orthography in a different manner to that found in the majority of EETS' editions. However, it may be noted that all of these editions are printed from fifteenth- or sixteenth-century manuscript or printed witnesses, making it more likely that for at least some, if not all, of these editions the former explanation applies.

All the editions in the collection use print conventions to record the presence of contractions in their base witnesses, either by reproducing them typographically, or by expanding them in italics, or both. However, Einenkel's edition of K shows that some editors, while reproducing typographically the signs of abbreviation of certain words, expand other contractions without notice. While it is impossible without recourse to the witnesses to establish with certainty whether contractions go unrecorded in any printed text, my experience researching Chapters Four-Six suggests that some conclusions may reasonably be drawn from the conventions employed in individual editions. Assuming that editors who used italics to show expanded contractions do so consistently, we may conclude that the editorial expansion of marks of contraction goes unrecorded only in editions, such as K, in which typographical reproduction alone is used to represent contractions. As Table 3.4 shows, this is the case in only five editions in the collection; the remaining ninety-three use italics, in fifty-two cases in conjunction with typographic reproduction.

The almost universal use of italic type for expanded manuscript contractions suggests that the committee instructed editors that it should be used. While there is no direct evidence that this was so, it is worth noting Morris' statement about the convention in the first EETS' publication, OS 1: 'The contractions of the scribe have been expanded and printed in italics, a plan which [the editor] hopes to see adopted in every future edition of an early English author' (p. xviii). As was seen in Chapter Three, Furnivall described this practice as 'sensible' in 1862, and he employs it in all his own subsequent work for EETS. Table 3.4, which groups the editions according to their decade of publication, shows that the combination of typographic reproduction of (unexpanded) marks of contraction with italics became steadily more frequent in the collection over time, rising from 33 percent of editions in the 1860s to 80 percent in the 1890s. This seems to reflect both a growing awareness among EETS editors of the difference between significant marks of contraction and otiose strokes, and a growing consensus about the appropriate method of representing these aspects of the witnesses' orthography. The combination of italic and special type, which allows editors to exercise their judgement about which strokes are otiose while still providing readers with the full evidence of the specific orthography of the manuscript, is a classic expression of the pragmatic and conservative editorial spirit of EETS described in Chapter Three.

EETS also appears to have become convinced that it was necessary to punctuate Middle English texts for nineteenth-century readers. As Table 3.3 shows, editorial punctuation was added to all the editions published in the 1880s and 1890s, rising from the already high proportion of 82 percent of editions in the 1860s. EETS' treatment of the witnesses' punctuation is, however, far less clear. The editions examined in Chapters Four-Six show a variety of attitudes to the value of manuscript punctuation ranging from the valorisation implicit in its reproduction in SW and M, to the dismissal of it as 'superfluous' in TG. Thirty-eight editions in the collection appear to record at least some aspects of the witnesses' punctuation, as they contain symbols such as the *punctus elevatus* or virgules, or have punctuation in places which were not standard in the nineteenth century. However, twenty-nine of these editions also contain editorial punctuation.



18 THE STACIONS OF ROME. (VERNON MS.)

[Fol. 315 b. col. 1.] are buried 4000 people:
Ben buried þer .I. vnderstonde.
Fourti [1] þousend . of diuerse londe.
and for every body mentioned by
For eueri bodi . þow wolt of spelle
544 Hit is writen . as I. ow telle.
þorw preyere of hem . þat þer be.
þis pardoun . is graunted to þe
For Peter and poul . þat sum tyme were
548 Boþe þei weoren . hostelled þere
pilgrims, they get 1000 years' pardon.
þerfore alle pilgrimes . þat come þore.[2]
Hem is graunted a þousend 3er . to hele her sore.[2]
At St Praxed's
At seint praxede . þat holy wommon.
552 riht þe soþe . tellen I. con.
1300 martyrs
A þousend bodies . with-outen mo.
And þreo hundred . 3it þerto.
are buried.
In þat place . buried þei be.
556 Heore soules with god . in dignite
þer suffrede deþ . in his tyme.
Emperour . seint Antonine.
Pope Innocent
Pope Innocent . after þan.
granted every man 1000 years' pardon, &c.
560 þer be graunted . to eueri man.
A þousend 3er [3] . to pardoun.
And þridde part . þi sinnes remissioun.
At St Martin's in the Mount
[4] At seint Martin . in þe mount.
564 þer stont a chirche . is not round.
lie Popes Silvester and Leo,
Vnder þe heie Auter . liþ seluester . and . leone
þat weore popes . boþe in Rome
and 800 saints,
With obere seyntes . monye I.-fere
800 years' pardon.
568 Eiȝte hundred at ones . and as fele 3ere.
At St Saviour's
IN þat wei . a Chirche þer is.
Of seint Saluatur .I. wot hit is.
Whon þou comest þer þou maiȝt haue
1000 years' pardon.
572 A þousend 3er . 3if þou wolt craue

[1] L. *thre*, and alters the two next lines.
[2] L. omits these lines, but inserts l. 673-84, on *Titulus Pastoris*.
[3] L. 'O yere and xl dayes.'
[4] For the ten next lines L. has l. 697—702, p. 138.

Figure One: Sample page of OS 25, p. 18.

EETS was apparently uncertain about the best means of combining two sets of punctuation in its opening years. In three editions printed before 1867, round brackets were used to distinguish manuscript punctuation from editorial punctuation, but this clumsy convention was soon quietly abandoned.[22] In 1867, Furnivall printed the text of the *Stacions of Rome* (IMEV 1172) 'with all its metrical points, and guard-stops on each side of figures and single letters, as in the MS., for an experiment on how Members like these points and stops reproduced' (OS 25, p. vi; see Figure One above). The experiment was apparently at least a partial success: it is my observation that virgules, metrical points and 'guardstops' around numerals are the elements which typically appear in editions that combine the two forms of punctuation—with editors apparently disregarding, as was the case in PLM, any other elements of punctuation found in the witnesses. While the nineteenth-century punctuation is clearly intended to assist the reader in understanding the syntax of the text, the purpose of recording the manuscript punctuation alongside it is never stated by EETS editors. However, something of an explanation may be found in a footnote appended by Furnivall to a

[22] OS 2, OS 7 and OS 22, edited by Furnivall, Morris and Skeat respectively.

comment made by Deimling in the Preface to his edition of the *Chester Plays,* ES 62. Deimling notes that 'I have... endeavoured to preserve the look of the MS. in the print, according to the principles which govern the editing of the E. E. Text Society' but complained that retaining the capitalisation of the manuscript was unhelpful to the reader (p. xxix). Furnivall responds

> Tho' we do not say an editor shall not print modern capitals, &c., we tell him that, as our members are more or less accustomed to faithful prints of MSS., we like as little change in MS. habits as is needed for understanding of the text (p. xxix n).

4. Disclosure of editorial practice

Throughout this chapter, as well as the chapters that precede it, I have found myself required to make inferences about EETS' editors' intentions from the evidence provided by their printed texts because the majority of them give little or no explanation of their editorial practice. In only fifty-four publications do editors make even a brief statement about their editorial method. The impression given by this figure about the amount of information provided by EETS editors is, if anything, overly generous, for it includes without distinction accounts of editorial practice ranging from Schick's detailed exposition to the three sentences Morris provides in OS 1 (p. xviii). Chapters Four-Six demonstrate how partial the information given by many editors is. Only Schick and Einenkel attempt to describe in full the principles behind their approach to editing the text; in the remainder of the editions, important questions about the editor's work could be answered only by comparing the printed text with the manuscripts—and even then a number of significant aspects of the editions which could, presumably, be explained by their editors remain unclear (e.g. the criteria Morris used in selecting the variant readings he recorded in the notes to SW). EETS' editors were even less forthcoming about their treatment of individual readings than they were about their editorial practice in general. Only forty-two editions contain notes which discuss difficult readings in the base witnesses' text or the emendations made to them; the majority of editors leave readers to contemplate these aspects of the text without assistance.

In contrast to the lack of information they provided about how they edited their text, EETS' editors generally recorded *where* they edited their text in full detail. In all but three of the ninety-five editions in which the editor emends the text, the readings which have been emended are clearly marked as such within the text. In keeping with EETS' concern that the evidence of the manuscripts be made available to readers unmasked by the work of editors, this convention makes the reader immediately aware of every editorial deviation from the text attested by the base witness. The fact that the marking of emendations in the text is almost universal practice in EETS editions suggests that the Committee of Management (or Furnivall as 'Director') instructed editors to do so. It is worth noting in this regard that, as Tables 4.1-4.3 show, a consistent set of typographical conventions was used for this purpose. Where individual letters or words are added to the base witness' text, they are printed surrounded in square brackets. Where letters or words in the witness are replaced or deleted, the word so emended is marked with a note reference (usually a superscript number, or a symbol such as an asterisk), and the witness' original reading is printed beside, or at the foot of, the text. In a small proportion of editions, inserted text is both surrounded in square brackets and marked with a reference to a textual note

(usually recording that the inserted reading is attested by another witness to the text); occasionally substituted readings are also surrounded in square brackets. Substantial departures from these conventions are found, for each of the two types of emendation, in only six editions.[23]

It is tempting to present the lack of explanation about editorial practice in EETS publications as straightforward evidence of the untrained, dilettante nature of their editors. There is, undeniably, some truth in this assessment: it is one of a number of the aspects of EETS nineteenth-century editions that would fail to meet the more rigorous standards of professionalised scholarship today. However, the fact I have found in the collection a purposeful and consistently applied set of conventions for marking emendations within the text suggests that it would not be not fair to attribute EETS' editors' silence about their editorial methods entirely to a lack of thought, or scholarly backwardness and ineptitude. It might be argued that EETS had developed a characteristic mode of establishing a text (i.e. taking the text of an individual witness and correcting its accidental readings where necessary) which was printed using a characteristic set of type conventions, and that therefore the Society's members had clear expectations about what they would find in an EETS edition. Presumably, if these expectations were met, minimal explanation was required.

Tables 4.1 and 4.2 provide some evidence to support this view. Table 4.2, which groups the editions according to their editor, shows that Skeat, the individual whose scholarly reputation is today undoubtedly the highest of any of EETS' nineteenth-century editors, provided explanations of his general editorial practice and treatment of individual readings in all but one of his editions—that is, in a far higher proportion of his publications than is the case for Morris, Furnivall, or the collection as a whole. This is no surprise, of course: Skeat's reputation rests in large part on the depth of thought and editorial thoroughness evident in these elements of his publications—elements which are absent in many of the editions of the nineteenth-century editors to whom he is compared. But it may also be noted that Skeat generally treats his base text in a more radical fashion than is the norm in EETS editions; from this perspective, such explanations are required of him where they are not required of EETS' more conventional editors.[24] Similarly, Table 4.1, which groups the editions according to the category of their base text, shows that the proportion of editions with explanations of their editorial practice is considerably higher among those with substantive emendations (79 percent for general explanations, and

---

[23] Note that non-standard methods of recording the two types of emendation are not always found together in the same publication. The difference recorded in Tables 4.1-4.3 between the total number of editions which have inserted readings (92 editions) and deleted and substituted readings (79 editions) marked in the text can be attributed to a particularly conservative treatment of the text in thirteen editions (for the details of which, see Appendix Three). Editors in these editions insert letters and words into the text of the base witness, but prefer to suggest emendations which involve deleting or substituting letters or words in the notes.

[24] The proportion of publications by EETS' German editors which contain a general explanation of their editorial practice is, at 71 percent, also higher than the collection as a whole. However, the proportion of publications by German editors which contain notes discussing individual readings and emendations is, at 43 percent, the same as that of the collection as a whole. However, this figure is affected by the fact that the final volume of three editions by German editors, which would probably have contained such notes, were not completed (in the case of ES 42 and ES 62, because of the deaths of Zupitza and Deimling respectively, and in the case of OS 97, because of Bülbring's commitment to other work).

57 percent for discussion of individual readings and emendations) than among those in which emendation is restricted to accidentals (46 and 37 percent respectively). In other words, explanations of textual practice are more frequently given by those editors who deviate from EETS' characteristic mode of editing.

5. Paratext

It seems certain that EETS intended to impose a very basic uniformity on the paratext of its publications. Henry Wheatley, EETS' first Honorary Secretary, recalled that one of Furnivall's primary objectives was 'publication of the best text of each work, with full information respecting the position of the book in the history of our language and literature, glossary and index in all cases being added.'[25] In 1869 the Committee decided that it would be 'the rule for the Society's texts, though with exceptions in the case of double-columned books, &c., &c.' for a modern English paraphrase of the Middle English text to be printed as side-notes to the text.[26] In practice, ninety-three of the ninety-eight editions in the collection contain some form of introductory material; eighty-four have a glossary; and eighty-three have a paraphrase at the side of the text.[27] The title pages or prefaces of the great majority of the editions which lack introductory material or a glossary indicate that their eventual publication was planned; presumably they failed to materialise owing to circumstances more or less beyond the Society's control (e.g. the untimely deaths of Zupitza and Deimling in the case of ES 42 and ES 62, and Horstmann's fall out with Furnivall in the case of OS 89 and OS 98 (see Chapter Two)). On many occasions when an editor was unable or unwilling to produce a required aspect of the paratext, Furnivall did manage to arrange for another volunteer to complete it, or would do it himself: the glossaries of eleven, the side-note paraphrases of twelve and the introductory materials of twenty-three editions were written, in part or in whole, by someone other than the editor (see Chapter Two). However, while the fact of their inclusion may endow EETS publications with a basic uniformity, the execution of the constituent parts of the paratext in individual editions is such that the collection as a whole is characterised primarily by diversity, as the differences among the nine editions examined in Chapters Four-Six amply demonstrate.

Of all the elements of the paratext, the greatest diversity may be found in the introductory materials. A good impression of the diversity in approach, if not of the actual content, in the introductory materials is given by the remarkable variety in their length throughout the collection, ranging from the two page preface of OS 16 to the 422 pages of introductory materials in OS 10. As Table 5.1 shows, the introductory materials in almost one tenth of editions fill fewer than six pages, but in an equal number of editions they run to more than 120 pages in length. The spread between these two extremes is relatively even, rendering the mean length of introductory materials in the collection (49 pages) valueless as an

---

[25] Henry B. Wheatley, "The Early English Text Society and F. J. Furnivall," *The Library,* 3rd Series, 3 (1912): 8.

[26] EETS, *Fifth Report of the Committee* January 1869: 23.

[27] One further publication, ES 16, has a paraphrase printed at the foot of the text; less concise than EETS' other paraphrases, it would not fit at the side of the text. Note that 'introductory material' for the purpose of this study refers to editorial material which is not an index, glossary or set of notes keyed to specific pages/lines of the text, and which is not printed on the same pages as the Middle English text.

indicator of a 'typical' EETS edition. It is also noteworthy that the decade with the most even spread (and thus the greatest diversity) of page lengths is the 1890s: there is no evidence that this element of the paratext of EETS editions became more standardised over time.

It is not hard to guess at the reason for this diversity. As EETS' director, Furnivall was the individual best placed to influence the nature of the collection as a whole. Significantly, Table 5.2 shows that in terms of the length of their introductory materials, Furnivall's editions were more diverse than those of Morris, Skeat, or the German editors as a group. Furnivall's singular lack of interest in producing introductory materials of a standard length reflects his attitude to scholarly convention in general, neatly encapsulated in a footnote to the 'Forewords' to OS 32:

> If anyone thinks it a bore to read these Prefaces, I can assure him it was a much greater bore to have to hunt up the material for them, and set aside other pressing business for it. But the Boke of Curtasye binding on editors does not allow them to present to their readers a text with no coat and trowsers on. If any Members should take offence at any expressions in this or any future Preface of mine, as a few did at some words in the last I wrote, I ask such Members to consider the first maxim in their Boke of Curtasye, *Don't look a gift horse in the mouth.* Prefaces are gift horses; and if mine buck or shy now and then, I ask their riders to sit steady, and take it easy. On the present one at least they'll be carried across some fresh country worth seeing (p. i n).[28]

While Furnivall accepts that scholarly propriety requires the production of a Preface, he asserts his right to execute the task in the manner he sees fit. In practice, he regularly gave himself licence to discuss matters with little relevance to the texts he was introducing, indulging, for instance, in robust exchanges with critics of his previous publications (OS 15, pp. xviii-xix and OS 25, pp. vii-x), commentary on contemporary religious and political controversies (OS 24, p. viii), and personal reverie about past summer outings on the Thames and time spent with a particular young female companion (ES 61, pp. xlvii-xlviii). It is difficult to imagine a writer of this temperament desiring, let alone enforcing, some kind of scholarly orthodoxy in the prefatory work of others that would produce a standard EETS introduction. Rather, EETS allowed the personal interests and eccentricities of its nineteenth-century editors far greater expression than is customary in scholarly editions today.

Among the diverse introductory writings of EETS' editors a number of common features may be discerned. The single most regularly occurring subject of discussion is, in Wheatley's description, 'the position of the book in the history of our language,' that is, an account of the salient features of the language of the text, usually with an identification of the dialect. Fifty-four editions—almost three-fifths of the editions containing introductory materials—contain such an account, thirteen of which include a

---

[28] The response of a reviewer in the *Athenæum* to this footnote gives some indication of the contemporary reception of Furnivall's writing style: 'The steed will not go straight; he is half way over a road when he turns suddenly round and is off with his rider back, beyond the place where the ride began. Started again, the horseman finds himself as suddenly carried down by-lanes, up and down, in and out, backward and forward; and he comes upon the high road again when he least expects it. The animal fears nothing and faces everything; jibs, bolts, jumps off his four legs like an Australian back-jumper; shies, gets the bit between his teeth, and carries you from post to pillar in such an irregular and untrained way that we think Mr. Furnivall must have had mischief in his mind when he told those who had complained of his former prefatory nags, that if they would only mount this one, they would find him easy to ride or drive, in curb or snaffle, in single or double harness' (*Athenæum* October 26, 1867: 533).

detailed and ostensibly comprehensive survey of the accidence and/or syntax of the text, such as Morris presents in OS 29 (see Chapter Four). Table 5.1 shows that interest in this subject remained steady over the four decades under study. Table 5.2 shows that, while they may be found relatively more frequently in the editions of an individual such as Morris, who had a clear personal commitment to philological study, discussions of the language were produced by a broad range of EETS editors. This may be regarded as another manifestation of the general concern with the history of the language that informed EETS' predominant, conservative editorial practice.

The introductory materials of fifty-four editions include a detailed précis of the Middle English text, usually written in paragraph form in the manner of a plot summary, but occasionally in the form of an unusually comprehensive table of contents; thirty of the fifty-four précis include page and line references throughout. These précis apparently have a similar function to the side-note paraphrases of the texts, which latter the committee required to be printed, despite the fact that they 'increase the chances of error' in each publication, because of their 'great convenience... the help they are to men with little time for reading a Text, or wanting to find a passage quickly, and to other men less conversant than some old students with the early stages of our language.'[29] Both the précis and the side-note paraphrases, therefore, may be regarded as practical expressions of EETS' egalitarian attempt to make Middle English texts accessible to a wider audience (see Chapter Two). Again, Tables 5.1 and 5.2 show that the proportion of editions containing this feature was relatively consistent throughout the four decades—albeit with a small decrease in the 1890s—and produced by a broad range of EETS' editors.

The introductory materials of forty-nine editions include a technical description of one or more features of the manuscript or early print witness(es) to the text, an unsurprising subject of interest given EETS' concern with the evidence of individual witnesses. Fifty-three editions include a discussion of the specific textual source(s) of their text, and fifty editions a discussion of the (often unknown) authorship of the text—both subjects relating to 'the position of the book in the history of our... literature.' Notably, Table 5.2 shows that a greater than average proportion of the editions of Skeat and EETS' German editors contain descriptions of the witnesses to and sources of their texts, further indication of the distinctiveness of their (in some cases only ostensibly) rigorous textual scholarship. The fluctuations among decades recorded in Table 5.1 relate to the relative statistical influence of the editions of Skeat and the German editors. Finally, it is notable that the introductory materials of thirty-nine editions contain a table of corrigenda, further indication of EETS' practice of setting in type the text of its editions before the introductory materials were complete.

EETS' editors also provided 'information respecting the position of the book in the history of our language and literature' in notes referring to specific words, lines or passages in the text. All ninety-eight editions in the collection contain notes of some kind, although in many cases, such as Perry's edition of MA, they are few in number. In twenty editions, these notes are limited to matters

[29] EETS, *Fifth Report of the Committee* January 1869: 23.

concerning the establishment of the text or the variant readings of other witnesses to it. However, the remaining seventy-eight editions contain commentary which goes beyond strictly textual matters. (It should be noted that the division made here between textual and non-textual notes was not generally recognised by EETS' nineteenth-century editors, who combined their notes without distinction.)

Among the notes of the various editions in the collection, a number of common features, similar to those found in the introductory materials, may be identified. Statistics regarding each feature are presented in Tables 6.1 and 6.2, which group the editions in the collection by decade of publication and editor respectively. In every case, the statistical fluctuations among decades shown in Table 6.1 give no suggestion of an institutional practice emerging or changing over time, whereas Table 6.2 does show characteristic differences among the work of individual editors; the statistics given in the latter table will therefore be the subject of discussion.

Approximately one-third of the seventy-eight editions containing non-textual notes provide commentary on philological details such as morphology, phonology, orthography or syntax which may be regarded as non-textual in the sense that it examines these details without discussing the editor's choice of a particular reading, rationalising the base manuscript's reading or the like. The appearance of such notes in the work of individual editors reflects the importance of philological detail in other aspects of their work: characteristically, philological commentary is present in a comparatively high proportion of editions produced by Morris (five out of the seven relevant editions) and absent in all but one of Furnivall's editions.

Fifty-five of the seventy-eight relevant editions in the collection provide glosses to individual words or phrases in the text, information apparently provided to supplement that supplied in the glossary. While the proportion of such editions produced by Skeat and Morris is higher than in the collection as a whole, the inclusion of glosses in the notes was nonetheless a widespread editorial practice. However, only a tiny minority of editors were prepared to go beyond the level of interpretation required for individual glosses and provide a critical commentary on lines or passages of the text: such notes are found in only nine editions, four of which are the work of Skeat, and three of the Society's German editors. The desire to interpret the text for the reader may be another manifestation of the confident editorial temperament of these editors who, believing that they could apprehend the author's original work, were more often than not prepared to emend substantive readings in the extant witnesses on which they based their texts. On the other hand, while few editors were willing to engage directly in exegesis, the majority were happy to provide the reader with what might be regarded as interpretative information about the cultural or historical context of specific aspects of the text. Forty-six editions contain commentary of this kind.

A large minority of editions (thirty of the seventy-eight) contain commentary on the relationship between the Middle English text and its source. The inclusion of such notes follows a similar pattern to

the discussion of sources in the introductory materials: they are found in a greater proportion of editions produced by Skeat and the Society's German editors than in the collection as a whole, and may again be regarded as a manifestation of their particular form of textual scholarship. Thirty editions contain references to and often short extracts from other, less directly related works—usually also in Middle English, but occasionally in French or Latin—that are in some way analogous to certain expressions, lines or passages in the text. The ability to produce this form of commentary requires knowledge of a broader range of texts from the period than many of EETS' less scholarly or less dedicated editors might be expected to possess, and thus it comes as no surprise that Skeat (who produced seven such editions) and Furnivall (who produced six) were together responsible for almost half of these editions. It is notable that Morris does not engage in commentary on analogous texts in any of his editions. In Morris' case this is not indicative of a lack of knowledge of the literature of the Middle English period—in his philological commentary he cites detailed examples from a wide range of Middle English texts—but rather demonstrates the extent to which his editorial efforts were concentrated on linguistic, rather than literary or historical, concerns.

Glossaries, the preparation of which is necessarily a specific and technical task, provided EETS' editors with less scope for variation than the introductory materials did. Nevertheless, the glossaries described in Chapters Four-Six demonstrate that, within the more restricted boundaries that this element of the paratext allowed, EETS' editors produced work of considerable diversity, both in terms of coverage (i.e. the proportion of words from the text that are included) and content (i.e. the kind of information recorded within individual entries).

Only twelve of the eight-four editions with glossaries contain statements about their coverage of the text. Three of these editions attempt to be comprehensive, providing a headword entry for every different Middle English word in the text.[30] The remaining nine editions provide entries for a selection of words in the text; their selection criteria are vaguely expressed, but generally words that were considered archaic or obsolete, or whose sense had altered by the nineteenth century are included.[31] I briefly examined the remaining glossaries in the collection to establish whether they give comprehensive or selective coverage of their texts. While an authoritative assessment of the glossaries would require a far more extensive examination than I had time to complete, I estimate that approximately one-fifth of all the glossaries in the collection are comprehensive. Table 7.1 records that no comprehensive glossaries

---

[30] In ES 6, Henry Gibbs states that 'I have made the Glossary as copious and accurate as I could' (p. xviii); Skeat states in ES 31 that 'though I may not have cited *every word*, I have not wittingly omitted *any*' (p. 61) and in ES 47 that he has included 'every form that occurs in both the MSS.' (p. xxiii).

[31] The nine editions with selective glossaries, presented with the criteria used for the inclusion of words, are as follows: OS 6 'more uncommon words' (p. xix); OS 13 'Only the more uncommon words' (p. 97); OS 44 'every word which seemed worthy of note' (p. ix); OS 55 'fairly complete' (p. x); OS 71 'all the noticeable words and forms of the B text' (p. xv); ES 11 'all words to which any interest is likely to be attached' (p. 641); ES 38 'besides the obsolete terms all those words the spelling or the signification of which essentially differs from that now accepted' (p. xlviii); ES 46 'words which seemed directly to demand explanation' and words unrecorded or insufficiently treated in existing reference works (p. xliii); ES 75 '...all words important in the evolution of the poem' (p. 105).

were produced in the 1890s, and Table 7.2 records that the proportion of the glossaries produced by Skeat, and more especially Morris, that are comprehensive is higher than in the collection as a whole (36 and 75 percent respectively). This is in accord with the more mechanically-produced evidence presented in the following paragraphs.

The editions I have broadly categorised as 'selective' vary considerably in coverage, ranging from the exceptionally selective four page glossary which serves the 205 page text of OS 33, to the substantial forty-three page glossary which serves the 152 page text of OS 71. A simple calculation—dividing the number of pages of the glossary by the number of pages of text, and expressing the result as a percentage figure—provides a numerical shorthand by which the coverage of glossaries across the collection may be compared (e.g. of the glossaries discussed in Chapter Five, Perry's edition of MA, with sixteen pages of glossary and 128 pages of text, may be described as having a '12 percent glossary,' and Brock's edition, with seventy-three pages of glossary and 128 pages of text, may be described as having a '57 percent glossary').[32] This numerical shorthand usually has little validity as a tool for specific comparisons of individual glossaries, because it does not take account of the varying amounts of text per page in different editions—for example, editions of prose works contain more text per page than verse, and works with witnesses printed in parallel, or with an abnormally bulky apparatus alongside the text (such as Einenkel's edition of K), contain less unique text per page than is found in other editions. However, if it is accepted that such differences tend to average out over the collection, these coverage statistics do provide an abstract means (albeit a rough one) of assessing the make up of the glossaries in the collection as a whole.

The statistics in Table 7.1 show that the great majority of glossaries in the collection are likely to be highly selective: forty of the eight-four relevant editions have 10 percent or smaller glossaries, and a further twenty-four have 11 to 25 percent glossaries. Extensive glossaries are exceptional: only seven editions have 50 percent or larger glossaries, including the three which were described by their editors as comprehensive (ES 6, ES 31 and ES 47, which have 95, 79 and 57 percent glossaries respectively). Table 7.1 also shows a notable trend toward glossaries becoming more selective during the period. The proportion of editions with 10 percent or smaller glossaries grew from approximately one quarter of all editions in the 1860s, to one half in the 1870s and 1880s, and finally to three quarters in the 1890s, in which decade only one edition was produced that has a glossary whose length exceeds 25 percent of the

[32] This calculation obviously conflates differences in the coverage and content. However, the example of Perry and Brock's glossaries demonstrates that the influence of content in the calculation is small enough for it still to convey significant information about coverage. The entries for individual words in Brock's glossary are more detailed than Perry's—unlike Perry, Brock lists all the spellings of the words which occur in the text and gives line references to examples of all of them, and occasionally provides etymological detail and/or references to relevant scholarly works or other Middle English texts. Brock's entries are thus on average correspondingly longer than Perry's: Brock was found to print an average of 48.6, and Perry an average of 56.8, words per glossary page (see Chapter Five). However, in assessing the coverage of the two glossaries, this difference is far outweighed by the difference in length of the glossaries: Brock's seventy-three page glossary contains approximately 3,500 separate entries, whereas Perry's sixteen page glossary contains approximately 900.

text it serves. Notably, all the editions with 75 percent or larger glossaries were produced in the 1860s and 1870s.

Table 7.2 reveals that the glossarial work of Skeat and Morris diverges markedly from that of the collection as a whole, in that only a minority of their editions have 25 percent or smaller glossaries: only three of Morris' eight, and four of Skeat's eleven glossaries fall within this category. Notable too is the fact that they are the predominant producers of the extensive glossaries in the collection, responsible together for five of the seven glossaries whose length exceeds 50 percent of the texts they serve. Their distinctive glossarial practice reflects characteristics of their scholarship identified above—in the case of Morris, the detailed concern with philology demonstrated in language sections of his introductory materials; in the case of Skeat, the scholarly thoroughness manifested in the textual notes of WP. In contrast, Furnivall, perhaps because as EETS' Director he was more concerned with speed of production than philological detail, produced a greater proportion of highly selective glossaries than is found in the collection as a whole: the page length of only one of his seventeen glossaries exceeds 25 percent of the text it serves, whereas twelve fall below 10 percent. Interestingly, the statistics for the German editors do conform with those for the collection as a whole. While their editorial practice as a group was distinctive, it seems that, at least in terms of coverage, their glossarial practice was not.

Morris and Skeat's editorial involvement in EETS diminished in the 1880s and 1890s, leading inevitably to a reduction in the number of extensive glossaries the Society produced. However, the declining statistical influence of these two individual editors is not entirely responsible for the growing proportion of highly selective glossaries in the collection as the decades progressed. When Morris and Skeat's editions are removed from the collection, the proportion of editions with 10 percent or smaller glossaries follows a similar, albeit less marked, trend to that found in the collection as a whole: in the 1860s, 42 percent, in the 1870s and 1880s, 58 and 54 percent respectively, and in the 1890s, 76 percent of glossaries fall into this category. This suggests a small but widespread movement toward highly selective glossaries amongst EETS' editors in general. Unfortunately, without close examination of a large number of such glossaries, the precise nature of, and reasons for, this movement must remain obscure.

In the content of their entries, the glossaries of the editions examined in Chapters Four-Six range from the line references and Modern English glosses provided by Schick, to the grammatical and etymological information and citations from reference works and other Middle English texts offered by Skeat. Schick and Skeat's work exemplifies the most simple and complex glossaries to be found in the collection. Naturally, every glossary provides Modern English glosses to its Middle English headwords (although curiously in two editions by Oswald Cockayne, OS 18 and OS 51, a small proportion of words go without glosses). More significantly, line references to at least one occurrence of the Middle English word are given in all but one edition, ES 63. This suggests that EETS conceived the glossary to be more

than a guide to the meaning of words for use while reading through the text—line numbers, which allow a reader to locate specific words in a text, make a glossary a handy tool in the study of the language.

Nine glossaries take the simple form of recording only the line numbers and glosses associated with each headword. The additional items included in the glossary to WP are found throughout the remainder of the collection: fifty-six glossaries label the Middle English words with the appropriate part of speech, forty-eight glossaries provide etymological information, and forty-three glossaries cite reference works or other Middle or Early Modern English texts to illustrate the usage of a word. Twenty-six editions include all three of these items; the remaining forty-nine are relatively evenly divided among the six possible combinations of one or two of the items. Only two glossaries contain substantive glossarial information which does not fall within these categories (OS 22 and ES 68, both of which give the word in their text's source that the Middle English word translates).

It seems clear from the limited number, and frequent occurrence, of the categories of information included in EETS glossaries that the Society's editors worked within an established set of conventions. However, the significant variation found in the combination of those categories included in individual editions suggests that EETS made no attempt to apply rigidly those conventions, but rather left editors to interpret them as they desired. Further evidence of this comes from the small variations in the expression of each category of information in the collection. For example, in twenty-three editions the part of speech is recorded for every entry, but in thirty-three editions it is recorded only for a selection of entries. It may also be noted that there was considerable variation in the conventions used to abbreviate grammatical and etymological terms. The selective recording of the part of speech in individual glossaries (and, in forty-seven editions, of etymological information) also suggests that these editors did not feel compelled to apply a standard form to entries within individual glossaries.

The glossaries of twelve editions contain non-glossarial information, combining the entries of a subject index with those of a glossary—a typical example being Furnivall's glossary in OS 32 (see Figure Two and the accompanying discussion in Chapter Six). (Note that in the above discussion about the consistency with which a part of speech and etymological detail is recorded I have excluded from consideration the non-glossarial entries in these eleven editions.) The practice of combining index and glossary entries in a single alphabetical sequence appears to have been an innovation of Furnivall: six of the twelve such glossaries are in publications edited by him. The production of the remaining six, all but one of which date from after 1880, was possibly the result of his influence (for an account of Furnivall's personal guidance of some of EETS' editors, see Chapter Two).

Considerably more common was the practice of presenting an index or set of indices separately from the glossary: this is the approach taken by the editors of thirty-six publications.[33] These separate indices range in scope from a simple index of names (as is the case in twenty-two editions) to the substantial apparatus provided by Skeat in OS 28 in order to render his monumental edition of the three texts of *Piers Plowman* accessible. In addition to a glossary (pp. 526-830) and a 'General Index' (pp. 904-10), Skeat included separate indices to 'Subjects discussed, and words explained in the... notes' (pp. 464-91), 'Books referred to in the notes' (pp. 492-502), 'Quotations made by the author' (pp. 503-510), 'Proper names and some of the principal subjects' (pp. 513-25) and 'First lines of the Passus' (pp. 860-62).

[33] Another edition, ES 25, has an 'Index to the Principal Notes' (pp. 458-66) but does not have a glossary. One of the 36 editions, Furnivall's OS 78, has both a combined glossary-subject index (pp. 170-200) and a separate 'List of Names and Places' (pp. 145-69).

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

> ...the general tendency of much nineteenth- and twentieth-century editing... has remained pragmatically random in its procedures. The creation of the Early English Text Society in 1864 served to emphasize this tendency. The society was conceived as an adjunct to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, then in preparation. Its chief function was to provide materials for the dictionary. Textual criticism remained an activity secondary to transcription. And under the ebullient editorship of F. J. Furnivall, the accuracy of transcriptions and the reasons for the choice of witnesses to be transcribed were often not examined very searchingly or, at times, at all. In this respect, editors continued to work within the tradition of the scribes and early printers, one that remained, as I have said, essentially pragmatic and unreflective.[1]

The extract above is the description of EETS' editorial work provided in "Middle English Literature," A. S. G. Edward's contribution to *Scholarly Editing: a Guide to Research,* a recent collection of essays on biblical, classical and various national literatures that 'surveys the history of scholarly editing, describes the major research in a variety of disciplines, summarizes the resources available to scholars, and analyzes the issues currently facing textual editors.'[2] As such, Edwards' comments are intended to be read as a distillation of the current received wisdom about the nature of EETS' nineteenth-century editions. The work he describes is certainly recognisable to readers of previous commentators on the operations of the Society: it neither disagrees in any way with, nor adds new information to, the accounts given by Williams, Steeves, Murray and Benzie—all of whom, like Edwards, make their comments without any documentation of the primary evidence, the editions themselves (see Chapters Two and Three). It seems fitting to conclude this thesis by measuring the current view of the Society's editorial product against the findings of my own examination of the primary evidence.

Edwards' characterisation of EETS' editorial work has some validity. As was seen in Chapter Seven, forty-four of the ninety-eight editions in the collection fail to provide even the most basic description of their editorial procedures, and in many of those that do, the description is unhelpfully brief. Thus it is true to say that many editors did not reflect in print on the nature of their work, and the lack of an articulated theoretical framework for their editorial procedures does make those procedures appear 'pragmatically random.' The notion that 'textual criticism remained an activity secondary to transcription' seems to be borne out by the fact that in the majority of editions (seventy) emendation was limited to the correction of perceived errors in the accidental readings of the base manuscript, a conservative editorial practice in line with the Society's general policy of producing faithful renditions of the text of individual manuscripts (see Chapter Three).

However, even as a summary description of EETS' nineteenth-century work, Edwards' view requires modification. Firstly, it fails to take account of the significant minority of texts in which textual criticism is a primary concern—that is, the twenty-eight publications in which editors emend substantive

---

[1] A. S. G. Edwards, "Middle English Literature," *Scholarly Editing: A Guide to Research*, ed. D. C. Greetham (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1995) 185-6.

[2] *ibid.*, front dust-jacket flap.

readings, thus clearly indicating their concern with presenting in print a text that is in some way prior to the one written in their base manuscript. It is significant that among these highly varied publications are three of the earliest applications of recension to Middle English texts, as well as four eclectic editions produced by Skeat, perhaps the most highly influential textual critic of the period. The publication of these editions forms an aspect of EETS' legacy that is too important to be overlooked, and the variety of approaches the Society allowed its editors is one of its defining characteristics.

Secondly, Edwards' description of EETS' nineteenth-century work risks promoting a misunderstanding of the nature of the editions produced with the Society's predominant, conservative editorial practice. Combining the statement that textual criticism was a 'secondary' concern with the description of editors as 'unreflective' might imply that textual criticism did not really feature in these editors' considerations at all. However, Chapter Seven reveals that EETS' editors did take an interest in the textual tradition of their texts: in all but three cases, editors of texts with multiple witnesses recorded their variant readings in some manner. The fact that EETS' more conservative editors did not incorporate these readings into their printed text by emending their base text according to a systematised textual theory may in many instances reflect a lack of interest in, or ignorance of, such editorial methods. However, it should be remembered that forty-five of the seventy editions whose emendations are limited to accidental readings include notes suggesting substantive emendations that their editors chose not to make to the text. If nothing else, the editors of these publications defined, and consistently differentiated between, types of reading in order to deal with them in the manner they deemed appropriate. In such cases, the adoption of a conservative editorial practice must have been consciously made and, notwithstanding the frequent absence of explanations in print, the result of some reflection on the purpose of their work. The evidence presented in Chapter Three suggests that conservative editorial practices were adopted out of a belief that readers have an *a priori* right to the full evidence of the manuscripts so that they may judge it for themselves, and that, given the nascent position of contemporary Middle English scholarship, such editions were required to facilitate further research.

Edwards' account suggests that EETS' work took the form he describes for two reasons. The first is that EETS' 'chief function was to provide materials for the dictionary.' The evidence about the relationship between EETS and the dictionary—which, while it supports the view that EETS emerged as a response to the *NED's* need for material, in no way substantiates the claim that this was its chief function—was discussed in full in Chapter Two, and need not be re-examined here. My examination of the editions did not reveal any direct evidence of the influence of the dictionary on the nature of the collection, but it may be observed that the conservative treatment of manuscript evidence, intended as it was to facilitate further research, did produce the type of material required by the dictionary's lexicographers. The second reason is that the results of Furnivall's 'ebullient editorship' were hasty critical choices and the inexact execution of editorial work. By giving the example of only one individual editor in a general discussion of editing, Edwards implies that the characteristics of Furnivall's work exemplify those of EETS' publications in general. This is a less direct expression of the views of previous commentators,

who explicitly link Furnivall's personality with the unsatisfactory nature of other (unnamed) editors' work. For example, Murray writes:

> For the superficiality of some of the editing Furnivall's impatience was also to blame.... his practice was to get hold of the most accessible copy of the text and employ someone—often a clerk with no great expertise—to make a transcript. This was rushed into print and the proofs handed out to other scholars or clerks as available, to check with the various copies of the work. The official editor then cleared off the whole business of editing in the process of correcting the proofs, added a few notes and sometimes a glossary.[3]

The idea that Furnivall was responsible for the nature of EETS' editorial output in general is related to the widely-held view that he maintained total personal control of the Society. For example, Williams states that 'until his death in 1910, the story of the Early English Text Society was the story of Furnivall's dictatorship,' and Benzie (following Steeves) states that 'as founder-director of the EETS, Furnivall was far from being a nominal head; rather, it was the society's twenty-member Committee of Management that was nominal.'[4] Unfortunately, Williams, Benzie and Steeves do not provide evidence which would allow us to assess whether this control was limited to operational management (i.e. administering the publishing process) or if it extended to editorial policy. This is a significant issue because it raises the question of whether responsibility for the common editorial practices identified in Chapter Seven as resulting from the influence or direction of the Committee of Management should indeed be attributed a group of scholars or to Furnivall alone. There is certainly evidence that Furnivall took personal responsibility for the operational management of the Society. As was recorded in Chapter Two, EETS' first Honorary Secretary, Henry Wheatley, recalled that Furnivall was the driving force behind the foundation of the Society,[5] and in 1872 the Committee of Management conferred on him the title of Director 'to recognize publicly the position... [he] in fact held since the foundation of the Society.'[6] Murray describes the frequent letters requesting assistance and issuing instructions that Furnivall wrote to James Murray during his involvement in the Society as an editor—evidence of the personal role Furnivall performed in the day-to-day management of the publishing process. In one letter, Furnivall berates Murray in the mistaken belief that Murray had instructed the printer to cut a new piece of type. What was at issue was not the orthographic legitimacy of the new type-character (although Furnivall considered it a 'misbegotten monster') but the fact that Furnivall believed that the Society's money had been spent without his authorisation.[7] Similarly, in the case of OS 100, Horstmann provoked Furnivall's ire not just because he had chosen the wrong manuscript—Furnivall admitted that his own scholarship was not free of fault—but because Horstmann had proceeded to have a large portion

---

[3] K. M. Elisabeth Murray, *Caught in the Web of Words: James A. H. Murray and the Oxford English Dictionary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977) 91; see also William Benzie, *Dr. F. J. Furnivall:, Victorian Scholar Adventurer* (Norman, Oklahoma: Pilgrim Books, Inc., 1983) 150-1. See Chapter Two for an assessment of Murray and Benzie's accounts of collaborative work in EETS editions.

[4] Harold Williams, *Book Clubs and Printing Societies of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: First Edition Club, 1929) 74, and Benzie p. 126; see also Harrison Ross Steeves, *Learned Societies and English Literary Scholarship in Great Britain and the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1913) 163.

[5] Henry B. Wheatley, "The Early English Text Society and F. J. Furnivall," *The Library* 3rd Series, 3 (1912): 1-21.

[6] EETS, *Eighth Report of the Committee* January 1872: 12.

[7] Murray, p. 94.

of the manuscript set in type, at considerable expense to the Society.[8] In these cases, it was the need to control EETS' limited financial resources, rather than editorial disagreements, that brought out Furnivall's most autocratic management practices.

When it came to scholarly issues, Furnivall's typical mode of operation was to seek the advice of others. For example, Donald Baker has printed the extensive correspondence in which Furnivall consulted Henry Bradshaw about the order of the *Canterbury Tales*,[9] and Furnivall's EETS editions contain numerous instances where he acknowledges the advice of other scholars—sometimes printing personal letters verbatim.[10] Thus it is quite conceivable that when it came to matters of editorial policy, Furnivall sought out the views of the Committee and managed the Society on the basis of their decisions. Indeed, it was Furnivall's particular genius for recognising the particular skills, knowledge and energy of numerous individuals and harnessing them to Early English cause that made possible the Society's admirable achievements.

This thesis has, I hope, contributed to our understanding of those achievements by describing and analysing in detail the editorial practices that were used to produce the editions of Middle English texts EETS published during the nineteenth century. I hope too that the information I have presented will provide a useful foundation for future research that will place the Society's nineteenth-century work more fully in the context of, and assess its influence on, the history of our discipline. For example, it would be interesting to see to what extent the characteristics of EETS' nineteenth-century output continued into the twentieth century, and how (if at all) the predominance of the universities in Middle English scholarship changed the nature of the Society's publications. It would also be interesting to compare EETS' nineteenth-century work with commercially published editions from that period, and, more broadly, to investigate the influence of the Society's editorial practices—both of the predominant, conservative mode, and of the individual editions which diverged from it—on editions produced by a wide range of publishers in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

---

[8] OS 100, pp. xxiv-xxviii; see also Chapter Two above.

[9] Donald C. Baker, "The Evolution of Henry Bradshaw's Idea of the Order of the *Canterbury Tales*," *The Chaucer Newsletter* 3.1 (1981): 2-6.

[10] For example, in OS 100 Furnivall prints a letter from Skeat regarding the pronunciation of gutturals, notwithstanding the fact that Furnivall and Skeat disagreed on the issue (pp. xxviii-xxix).

Appendices

Appendix One: EETS editions of Middle English texts published in the nineteenth century, listed by series and part number

(followed by an alphabetical index of EETS' editors)

Original Series

OS 1 Morris, R., ed. *Early English Alliterative Poems, in the West-Midland Dialect of the Fourteenth Century.* EETS OS 1. London: Trübner and Co., 1864.

OS 2 Furnivall, F., ed. *Arthur; a Short Sketch of his Life and History in English Verse of the First Half of the Fifteenth Century.* EETS OS 2. London: Trübner and Co., 1864.

OS 4 Morris, R., ed. *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight: An Alliterative Romance Poem, (ab. 1320-30 A.D.) by the Author of Early English Alliterative Poems.* EETS OS 4. London: Trübner and Co., 1864.

OS 6 Skeat, W., ed. *Lancelot of the Laik: A Scottish Metrical Romance, (about 1490-1500 A.D.)* EETS OS 6. London: Trübner and Co., 1865.

OS 7 Morris, R., ed. *The Story of Genesis and Exodus: An Early English Song, about A.D. 1250.* EETS OS 7. London: Trübner and Co., 1865.

OS 8 Perry, G., ed. *Morte Arthure.* EETS OS 8. London: Trübner and Co., 1865.

OS 10 Wheatley, H., ed. *Merlin or the Early History of King Arthur: A Prose Romance (about 1450-1460 A.D.)* EETS OS 10, 21, 36, 112. 4 vols. London: Trübner and Co., 1865-99.

OS 12 Furnivall, F., ed. *The Wright's Chaste Wife: A Merry Tale, by Adam of Cobsam.* EETS OS 12, 84. 2 vols. London: Trübner and Co., 1865-86.

OS 13 Cockayne, O., ed. *Seinte Marherete: The Meiden ant Martyr, in Old English.* EETS OS 13. London: Trübner and Co., 1866.

OS 14 Lumby, J., ed. *King Horn, with Fragments of Floriz and Blaunchefl ur, and of the Assumption of Our Lady.* EETS OS 14. London: Trübner and Co., 1866.

OS 15 Furnivall, F., ed. *Political, Religious, and Love Poems.* EETS OS 15. London: N. Trübner and Co., 1866. [Anthology; Main text = 'The Stacions of Rome' (IMEV 1172)]

OS 16 Furnivall, F., ed. *The Book of Quinte Essence or the Fifth Being; That is to Say, Man's Heaven.* EETS OS 16. London: N. Trübner and Co., 1866.

OS 17 Skeat, W., ed. *Parallel Extracts from Twenty-nine Manuscripts of Piers Plowman, with Comments, and a Proposal for the Society's Three-Text Edition of this Poem.* EETS OS 17. London: N. Trübner and Co., 1866.

OS 18 Cockayne, O., ed. *Hali Meidenhad: ...An Alliterative Homily of the Thirteenth Century.* EETS OS 18. London: Trübner and Co., 1866.

OS 20 Perry, G., ed. *English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle de Hampole. (Who Died A.D. 1349).* EETS OS 20. London: N. Trübner and Co., 1866.

OS 22 Skeat, W., ed. *The Romans of Partenay, or of Lusignen: Otherwise Known as the Tale of Melusine: Translated from the French of La Coudrette (about 1500-1520 A.D.)* EETS OS 22. London: N. Trübner and Co., 1866.

OS 23 Morris, R., ed. *Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt, or, Remorse of Conscience: In the Kentish Dialect, 1340 A.D.* EETS OS 23. London: N. Trübner and Co., 1866.

OS 24 Furnivall, F., ed. *Hymns to the Virgin & Christ, The Parliament of Devils, and Other Religious Poems.* EETS OS 24. London: N. Trübner and Co., 1867. [Anthology; Main text = 'Þe Deuelis Perlement' (IMEV 3992)]

OS 25 Furnivall, F., ed. *The Stacions of Rome... and the Pilgrims Sea-Voyage... with Clene Maydenhod: ...A Supplement to "Political, Religious and Love Poems," and "Hali Meidenhad" (Early English Text Society, 1866).* EETS OS 25. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1867. [Anthology; Main text = 'The Stacions of Rome' (IMEV 1172)]

OS 26 Perry, G., ed. *Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse.* EETS OS 26. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1867. [Anthology; Main text = The Myrrour of Seynt Edmonde (IPMEP 800)]

OS 28 Skeat, W., ed. *The Vision of William Concerning Piers Plowman, Together with Vita de Dowel, Dobet, et Dobest, and Richard the Redeles, by William Langland.* EETS OS 28, 38, 54, 67, 81. 5 vols. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1867-85.

OS 29 Morris, R., ed. *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises (Sawles Warde, and Þe Wohunge of Ure Lauerd: Ureisuns of Ure Louerd and of Ure Lefdi, &c.) of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.* EETS OS 29, 34. 2 vols. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1867-68. [Anthology; Main text = Sawles Warde (IPMEP 594)]

OS 30 Skeat, W., ed. *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede (about 1394 A.D.)... to which is Appended God Spede the Plough (about 1500 A.D.)* EETS OS 30. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1867.

OS 31 Peacock, E., ed. *Instructions for Parish Priests by John Myrc.* EETS OS 31. London: Trübner & Co., 1868.

OS 32 Furnivall, F., ed. *Manners and Meals in Olden Time.* EETS OS 32. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1868. [Anthology; Main text = Lydgate's *Stans Puer ad Mensam* (IMEV 2233)]

OS 33 Wright, T., ed. *The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry, Compiled for the Instruction of his Daughters.* EETS OS 33. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1868.

OS 39 Panton, G., ed. *The "Gest Hystoriale" of the Destruction of Troy: An Alliterative Romance Translated from Guido De Colonna's "Hystoria Troiana."* EETS OS 39, 56. 2 vols. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1869-74.

OS 40 Toulmin Smith, L., ed. *English Guilds: the Original Ordinances of More than One Hundred Early English Guilds: Together with the Olde Vsages of the Cite of Wynchestre; The Ordinances of Worchester; The Office of the Mayor of Bristol and the Costomary of the Manor of Tettenhall-Regis.* EETS OS 40. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1870. [Anthology; Main text = Gild Ordinances from Returns made, in English, in January, 1389 (no IMEV or IPMEP reference)]

OS 42 Lumby, J., ed. *Bernadus de Cura Rei Famuliaris, with some Early Scottish Prophecies, &c.* EETS OS 42. London: Trübner and Co., 1870.

OS 43 Lumby, J., ed. *Ratis Raving, and Other Moral and Religious Pieces, in Prose and Verse.* EETS OS 43. London: Trübner and Co., 1870. [Anthology; Main text = 'Ratis Raving' (IMEV 2235)]

OS 44 Skeat, W., ed. *Joseph of Arimathie, Otherwise Called The Romance of the Seint Graal, or Holy Grail: An Alliterative Poem Written about A.D. 1350.* EETS OS 44. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1871.

OS 46 Morris, R., ed. *Legends of the Holy Rood; Symbols of the Passion and Cross-Poems. In Old English of the Eleventh, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.* EETS OS 46. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1871. [Anthology; Main texts, printed as a single item in the following order = The 'Early History' of the Cross

in the *South English Legendary* (IMEV 3389), The Invention of the Cross, in the *South English Legendary* (IMEV 82), The 'Exaltation' of the Cross in the *South English Legendary* (IMEV 3388)]

OS 49 Morris, R., ed. *An Old English Miscellany: Containing a Bestiary, Kentish Sermons, Proverbs of Alfred, Religious Poems of the Thirteenth Century.* EETS OS 49. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1872. [Anthology; Main text = Sermons (5) in Kentish dialect translated from the French of Maurice de Sully (IPMEP 140)]

OS 51 Cockayne, O., ed. *Þe Liflade of St. Juliana, from Two Old English Manuscripts of 1230 A.D.* EETS OS 51. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1872.

OS 52 Lodge, B., ed. *Palladius on Husbandrie.* EETS OS 52, 72. 2 vols. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1873-79.

OS 53 Morris, R., ed. *Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century.* EETS OS 53. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1873.

OS 55 Wright, W., ed. *Generydes: A Romance in Seven-line Stanzas.* EETS OS 55, 70. 2 vols. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1873-78.

OS 57 Morris, R., ed. *Cursor Mundi (The Cursur o the World): A Northumbrian Poem of the XIVth Century in Four Versions.* EETS OS 57, 59, 62, 66, 68, 99, 101. 7 vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1874-93.

OS 60 Meadows Cowper, J., ed. *Meditations on the Supper of our Lord, and the Hours of the Passion, by Cardinal John Bonaventura the Seraphic Doctor. Drawn into English Verse by Robert Manning of Brunne. (About 1315-1330).* EETS OS 60. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1875.

OS 61 Murray, James., ed. *The Romance and Prophecies of Thomas of Erceldoune: Printed from Five Manuscripts; with Illustrations from the Prophetic Literature of the 15th and 16th Centuries.* EETS OS 61. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1875.

OS 69 Furnivall, F., ed. *Adam Davy's 5 Dreams about Edward II. The Life of St Alexius. Solomon's Book of Wisdom. St. Jeremie's 15 Tokens before Doomsday. The Lamentacion of Souls.* EETS OS 69. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1878. [Anthology; Main texts, printed in parallel = *Life of St. Alexis* (earlier version) (IMEV 3156), The Life of St. Alexis (IMEV 217), 'Þe lyf of Eufemyam of Rome' (St. Alexius), later version (IMEV 1876)]

OS 71 Simmons, T., ed. *The Lay Folks Mass Book or the Manner of Hearing Mass: With Rubrics and Devotions for the People in Four Texts and Offices in English According to the Use of York from Manuscripts of the Xth to the XVth Century.* EETS OS 71. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1879. [Anthology; Main text = The Lay Folk's Mass Book (IMEV 3507)]

OS 74 Matthew, F., ed. *The English Works of Wyclif Hitherto Unprinted.* EETS OS 74. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1880. [Anthology; Main text = *Of Clerkis Possessioneris*, Wycliffite tract, s. xiv (2) (IPMEP 133)]

OS 78 Furnivall, F., ed. *The Fifty Earliest English Wills in the Court of Probate, London. A.D. 1387-1439; with a Priest's of 1454. Copied and Edited from the Original Registers in Somerset House.* EETS OS 78. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1882.

OS 80 Einenkel, E., ed. *The Life of Saint Katherine... With its Latin Original.* EETS OS 80. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1884.

OS 85 Horstmann, C., ed. *The Three Kings of Cologne: An Early English Translation of the "Historia Trium Regum" by John of Hildesheim. Edited from the MSS., together with the Latin Text.* EETS OS 85. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1886.

OS 87 Horstmann, C., ed. *The Early South-English Legendary or Lives of Saints: I. MS. Laud 108, in the Bodleian Library.* EETS OS 87. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1887.

OS 89 Holthausen, F., ed. *Vices and Virtues, Being a Soul's Confession of its Sins, with Reason's Description of the Uirtues: A Middle-English Dialogue of about 1200 A.D.* EETS OS 89, 159. 2 vols. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1888-1921.

OS 91 Austin, T., ed. *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookery-Books.* EETS OS 91. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1888. [Anthology; Main text = Cookbook, divided into three parts, containing 258 recipes, followed by bills of fare for seven banquets, s. xv (1) (IPMEP 624)]

OS 97 Bülbring, K., ed. *The Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter Together with Eleven Canticles and a Translation of the Athanasian Creed.* EETS OS 97. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1891.

OS 98 Horstmann, C., ed. *The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.* EETS OS 98, 117. 2 vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1892-1901. [Anthology; Main text = Englishing of Grosteste's *Chasteau d'Amour* (IMEV 3270)]

OS 100 Horstmann, C., ed. *The Life of St. Katharine of Alexandria. By John Capgrave, D.D., Prior of the Austin Friary at Lynn, Norfolk, and Provincial of his Order.* EETS OS 100. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1893.

OS 102 Fleischhacker, R. von., ed. *Lanfrank's "Science of Cirurgie".* EETS OS 102. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1894.

OS 105 Littlehales, H., ed. *The Prymer or Lay Folks' Prayer Book.* EETS OS 105, 109. 2 vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1895-97.

OS 106 Harvey, R., ed. *The Fire of Love, and the Mending of Life or the Rule of Living: The First Englisht in 1435, from the* De Incendio Amoris, *the Second in 1434, from the* De Emendacione Vitæ, *of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, by Richard Misyn, Bachelor of Theology, Prior of Lincoln, Carmelite.* EETS OS 106. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1896.

OS 107 Furnivall, F., ed. *The English Conquest of Ireland. A.D. 1166-1185: Mainly from the 'Expugnatio Hibernica' of Girladus Cambrensis. A Parallel Text.* EETS OS 107. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1896.

Extra Series

ES 1 Skeat, W., ed. *The Romance of William of Palerne: (Otherwise Known as the Romance of "William and the Werwolf") Translated from the French at the Command of Sir Humphrey de Bohun, about A.D. 1350; to which is Added a Fragment of the Alliterative Romance of Alisaunder, Translated from the Latin by the Same Author, about A.D. 1340.* EETS ES 1. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1867.

ES 3 Furnivall, F., ed. *Caxton's Book of Curtesye, Printed at Westminster about 1477 A.D. and Now Reprinted with Two MS. Copies of the Same Treatise.* EETS ES 3. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1868.

ES 4 Skeat, W., ed. *The Lay of Havelok the Dane: Composed in the Reign of Edward I, about A.D. 1280. Formerly Edited by Sir F. Madden for the Roxburghe Cl[ub] and Now Re-edited from the Unique MS. Laud Misc. 108, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.* EETS ES 4. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1868.

ES 5 Morris, R., ed. *Chaucer's Translation of Boethius's "De Consolatione Philosophiæ."* EETS ES 5. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1868.

ES 6 Gibbs, H., ed. *The Romance of Cheuelere Assigne.* EETS ES 6. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1868.

ES 8 Furnivall, F., ed. *Queene Elizabethes Achademy, &c., with Essays on Italian and German Books of Courtesy.* EETS ES 8. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1869. [Anthology; Main text = An expanded and altered version of Lydgate's *Stans Puer ad Mensam* (IMEV 1694)]

ES 11 Skeat, W., ed. *The Bruce; or The Book of the Most Excellent and Noble Prince, Robert de Broyss, King of Scots: Compiled by Master John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, A.D. 1375.* EETS ES 11, 21, 29, 55. 4 vols. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1870-89.

ES 16 Skeat, W., ed. *A Treatise on the Astrolabe; Addressed to his Son Lowys by Geoffrey Chaucer. A.D. 1391.* EETS ES 16. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1872.

ES 19 Blunt, J., ed. *The Myroure of Oure Ladye: Containing a Devotional Treatise on Divine Service, with a Translation of the Offices Used by the Sisters of the Brigittine Monastery of Sion, at Isleworth, During the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.* EETS ES 19. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1873.

ES 20 Furnivall, F., ed. *The History of the Holy Grail, Englisht, ab. 1450 A.D., by Herry Lonelich, Skynner, from the French Prose (ab. 1180-1200 A.D.) of Sires Robiers de Borron.* EETS ES 20, 24, 28, 30, 95. 5 vols. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1874-1905.

ES 25 Zupitza, J., ed. *The Romance of Guy of Warwick: The Second or 15th-Century Version.* EETS ES 25, 26. 2 vols. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1875-76.

ES 31 Skeat, W., ed. *Alexander and Dindimus: Or, the Letters of Alexander to Dindimus, King of the Brahmans, with the Replies of Dindimus; Being a Second Fragment of the Alliterative Romance of Alisaunder; Translated from the Latin, about A.D. 1340-50.* EETS ES 31. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1878.

ES 33 Herrtage, S., ed. *The Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum: Formerly Edited by Sir Frederick Madden for the Roxburghe Club, and now Re-edited from the MSS.* EETS ES 33. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1879.

ES 34 Herrtage, S., ed. *The English Charlemagne Romances: Part I. Sir Ferumbras.* EETS ES 34. London: Trübner & Co., 1879.

ES 35 Herrtage, S., ed. *The English Charlemagne Romances: Part II. "The Sege off Melayne" and "The Romance of Duke Rowland and Sir Otuell of Spayne"... Together with a Fragment of "The Song of Roland."* EETS ES 35. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1880.

ES 36 Herrtage, S., ed. *The English Charlemagne Romances: Part III. The Lyf of the Noble and Crysten Prynce, Charles the Grete, Translated from the French by William Caxton and Printed by him 1485.* EETS ES 36, 37. 2 vols. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1880-81.

ES 38 Hausknecht, E., ed. *The English Charlemagne Romances: Part V. The Romaunce of the Sowdone of Babylone and of Ferumbras his Sone who Conquerede Rome.* EETS ES 38. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1881.

ES 39 Herrtage, S., ed. *The English Charlemagne Romances: Part VI. The Taill of Rauf Coilyear (about 1475 A.D.)... with the Fragments of Roland and Vernagu and Otuel.* EETS ES 39. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1882.

ES 42 Zupitza, J., ed. *The Romance of Guy of Warwick: The First or 14th-Century Version.* EETS ES 42, 49, 59. 3 vols. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1883-91.

ES 44 Richardson, O., ed. *The English Charlemagne Romances: Parts X, XI. The Right Plesaunt and Goodly Historie of the Foure Sonnes of Aymon. Englisht from the French by William Caxton, and Printed by him about 1489.* EETS ES 44, 45. 2 vols. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1884-85.

ES 46 Kolbing, E., ed. *The Romance of Sir Beues of Hamtoun.* EETS ES 46, 48, 65. 3 vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1885-94.

ES 47 Skeat, W., ed. *The Wars of Alexander: an Alliterative Romance Translated Chiefly from the Historia Alexandri Magni de Preliis.* EETS ES 47. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1886.

ES 51 Adam, E., ed. *Torrent of Portyngale.* EETS ES 51. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1887.

ES 54 Furnivall, F., ed. *The Curial Made by Maystere Alain Charretier: Translated thus in Englyssh by William Caxton. 1484.* EETS ES 54. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1888.

ES 57 Culley, W., ed. *Caxton's Eneydos 1490: Englisht from the French* Liure Des Eneydes, *1483.* EETS ES 57. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1890.

ES 58 Kellner, L., ed. *Caxton's Blanchardyn and Eglantine c. 1489: From Lord Spencer's Unique Imperfect Copy, Completed by the Original French and the Second English Version of 1595.* EETS ES 58. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1890.

ES 60 Schick, J., ed. *Lydgate's Temple of Glas.* EETS ES 60. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1891.

ES 61 Furnivall, F., ed. *Hoccleve's Works: I. The Minor Poems in the Phillips MS. 8151 (Cheltenham) and the Durham MS. III. 9.* EETS ES 61. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1892. [Anthology; Main text = *Hoccleve's 'Ars Sciendi Mori'* (IMEV 3121)]

ES 62 Deimling, H., ed. *The Chester Plays.* EETS ES 62, 115. 2 vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1892-1916.

ES 63 Ingram, J., ed. *The Earliest English Translation of the First Three Books of the De Imitatione Christi... Also the Earliest Printed Translation of the Whole Work.* EETS ES 63. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1893.

ES 64 Noyes Colvin, M., ed. *Godeffroy of Boloyne: Or, the Siege and Conqueste of Jerusalem, by William, Archbishop of Tyre. Translated from the French by William Caxton, and Printed by him in 1481.* EETS ES 64. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1893.

ES 66 Steele, R., ed. *Lydgate and Burgh's Secrees of Old Philisoffres: A Version of the 'Secreta Secretorum.'* EETS ES 66. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1894.

ES 67 Furnivall, F., ed. *The Three Kings' Sons (Englisht from the French).* EETS ES 67. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1895.

ES 68 Donald, A., ed. *Melusine: Compiled (1382-1394 A.D.) by Jean D'Arras Englisht about 1500.* EETS ES 68. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1895.

ES 69 Triggs, O., ed. *The Assembly of Gods: Or the Accord of Reason and Sensuality in the Fear of Death by John Lydgate.* EETS ES 69. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1896.

ES 70 Furnivall, F., ed. *The Digby Plays with an Incomplete 'Morality' of Wisdom, who is Christ (Part One of the* Macro Moralities*).* EETS ES 70. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1896.

ES 71 England, G., ed. *The Townley Plays.* EETS ES 71. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1897.

ES 72 Furnivall, F., ed. *Hoccleve's Works: III. The Regement of Princes A.D. 1411-12, from the Harleian MS. 4866, and Fourteen of Hoccleve's Minor Poems from the Egerton MS. 615.* EETS ES 72. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1897. [Anthology; Main text = Hoccleve's *De Regimine Principium* (IMEV 2229)]

ES 74 Steele, R., ed. *Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum.* EETS ES 74. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1898.

ES 75 Morrill, G., ed. *Speculum Gy de Warewyke: An English Poem.* EETS ES 75. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1898.

ES 76 Bateson, M., ed. *George Ashby's Poems.* EETS ES 76. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1899.

ES 77 Furnivall, F., ed. *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, Englisht by John Lydgate, A.D. 1426, from the French of Guillaume de Deguileville, A.D. 1330, 1355.* EETS ES 77, 83, 92. 3 vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1899-1904.

Index of Editors

Adam, E: ES 51 (1887).

Austin, T: OS 91 (1888).

Bateson, M: ES 76 (1899).

Blunt, J: ES 19 (1873).

Bulbring, K: OS 97 (1891).

Cockayne, O: OS 13 (1866); OS 18 (1866); OS 51 (1872).

Culley, W: ES 57 (1890).

Deimling, H: ES 62 (1892).

Donald, A: ES 68 (1895).

Einenkel, E: OS 80 (1884).

England, G: ES 71 (1897).

Fleischhacker, R. von: OS 102 (1894).

Furnivall, F: OS 2 (1864); OS 12 (1865); OS 15 (1866); OS 16 (1866); OS 24 (1867); OS 25 (1867); OS 32 (1868); OS 69 (1878); OS 78 (1882); OS 107 (1896); ES 3 (1868); ES 8 (1869); ES 20 (1874); ES 54 (1888); ES 61 (1892); ES 67 (1895); ES 70 (1896); ES 72 (1897); ES 77 (1899).

Gibbs, H: ES 6 (1868).

Harvey, R: OS 106 (1896).

Hausknecht, E: ES 38 (1881).

Herrtage, S: ES 33 (1879); ES 34 (1879); ES 35 (1880); ES 36 (1880); ES 39 (1882).

Holthausen, F: OS 89 (1888).

Horstmann, C: OS 85 (1886); OS 87 (1887); OS 98 (1892); OS 100 (1893).

Ingram, J: ES 63 (1893).

Kellner, L: ES 58 (1890).

Kolbing, E: ES 46 (1885).

Littlehales, H: OS 105 (1895).

Lodge, B: OS 52 (1873).

Lumby, J: OS 14 (1866); OS 42 (1870); OS 43 (1870).

Matthew, F: OS 74 (1880).

Meadows Cowper, J: OS 60 (1875).

Morrill, G: ES 75 (1898).

Morris, R: OS 1 (1864); OS 4 (1864); OS 7 (1865); OS 23 (1866); OS 29 (1867); OS 46 (1871); OS 49 (1872); OS 53 (1873); OS 57 (1874); ES 5 (1868).

Murray, James: OS 61 (1875).

Noyes Colvin, M: ES 64 (1893).

Panton, G: OS 39 (1869).

Peacock, E: OS 31 (1868).

Perry, G: OS 8 (1865); OS 20 (1866); OS 26 (1867).

Richardson, O: ES 44 (1884).

Schick, J: ES 60 (1891).

Simmons, T: OS 71 (1879).

Skeat, W: OS 6 (1865); OS 17 (1866); OS 22 (1866); OS 28 (1867); OS 30 (1867); OS 44 (1871); ES 1 (1867); ES 4 (1868); ES 11 (1870); ES 16 (1872); ES 31 (1878); ES 47 (1886).

Steele, R: ES 66 (1894); ES 74 (1898).

Toulmin Smith, L: OS 40 (1870).

Triggs, O: ES 69 (1896).

Wheatley, H: OS 10 (1865).

Wright, T: OS 33 (1868).

Wright, W: OS 55 (1873).

Zupitza, J: ES 25 (1875); ES 42 (1883).

Appendix Two

Table 1.1. Categories of the base texts of EETS editions, grouped by number of witnesses

Number of witnesses	Total number of editions published	Texts without emended substantives			Texts with emended substantives		TOTAL without emended substantives	TOTAL with emended substantives
		Transcriptions without emendation	Transcriptions with emended accidentals only	Normalisations with emended accidentals only	Transcriptions with emended substantives	Normalisations with emended substantives		
ONE	46	1	39	0	6	0	40	6
% of editions		*2%*	*85%*		*13%*		*87%*	*13%*
TWO	21	1	11	0	6	3	12	9
% of editions		*5%*	*52%*		*29%*	*14%*	*57%*	*43%*
THREE OR FOUR	18	0	12	0	4	2	12	6
% of editions			*67%*		*22%*	*11%*	*67%*	*33%*
FIVE OR MORE	13	1	5	0	6	1	6	7
% of editions		*8%*	*38%*		*46%*	*8%*	*46%*	*54%*
TOTAL	98	3	67	0	22	6	70	28
% of editions		*3%*	*68%*		*22%*	*6%*	*71%*	*29%*

Table 1.2. Categories of the base texts of EETS editions, grouped by editor

Editor	Total number of editions published	Texts without emended substantives			Texts with emended substantives		TOTAL without emended substantives	TOTAL with emended substantives
		Transcriptions without emendation	Transcriptions with emended accidentals only	Normalisations with emended accidentals only	Transcriptions with emended substantives	Normalisations with emended substantives		
Furnivall, F	19	0	16	0	1	2	16	3
%own editions			*84%*		*5%*	*11%*	*84%*	*16%*
(cf. % edns by all editors except Furnivall, F)		*4%*	*65%*	*0%*	*27%*	*5%*	*68%*	*32%*
Morris, R	10	0	9	0	0	1	9	1
%own editions			*90%*			*10%*	*90%*	*10%*
(cf. % edns by all editors except Morris, R)		*3%*	*66%*	*0%*	*25%*	*6%*	*69%*	*31%*
Skeat, W	12	1	4	0	7	0	5	7
%own editions		*8%*	*33%*		*58%*		*42%*	*58%*
(cf. % edns by all editors except Skeat, W)		*2%*	*73%*	*0%*	*17%*	*7%*	*76%*	*24%*
German Editors	14	0	6	0	5	3	6	8
% of editions			*43%*		*36%*	*21%*	*43%*	*57%*
(cf. % edns by all editors except Germans)		*4%*	*73%*	*0%*	*20%*	*4%*	*76%*	*24%*
Other	43	2	32	0	9	0	34	9
% of editions		*5%*	*74%*		*21%*		*79%*	*21%*
TOTAL	98	3	67	0	22	6	70	28
% of editions		*3%*	*68%*		*22%*	*6%*	*71%*	*29%*

Table 1.3. Categories of the base texts of EETS editions, grouped by decade

Decade	Total number of editions published	Texts without emended substantives			Texts with emended substantives		TOTAL without emended substantives	TOTAL with emended substantives
		Transcriptions without emendation	Transcriptions with emended accidentals only	Normalisations with emended accidentals only	Transcriptions with emended substantives	Normalisations with emended substantives		
1860s	33	2	25	0	5	1	27	6
% of editions		*6%*	*76%*		*15%*	*3%*	*82%*	*18%*
1870s	23	1	15	0	6	1	16	7
% of editions		*4%*	*65%*		*26%*	*4%*	*70%*	*30%*
1880s	17	0	11	0	5	1	11	6
% of editions			*65%*		*29%*	*6%*	*65%*	*35%*
1890s	25	0	16	0	6	3	16	9
% of editions			*64%*		*24%*	*12%*	*64%*	*36%*
TOTAL	98	3	67	0	22	6	70	28
% of editions		*3%*	*68%*		*22%*	*6%*	*71%*	*29%*

Table 1.4. Number of EETS editions produced per decade, grouped by editor

	1860s	'70s	'80s	'90s	TOTAL
Furnivall, F	9	2	2	6	19
% of own editions	*47%*	11%	11%	32%	
% of number of editions published in decade	*27%*	9%	12%	24%	19%
Morris, R	6	4	0	0	10
% of own editions	*60%*	40%	0%	0%	
% of number of editions published in decade	*18%*	17%	0%	0%	10%
Skeat, W	7	4	1	0	12
% of own editions	*58%*	33%	8%	0%	
% of number of editions published in decade	*21%*	17%	6%	0%	12%
German editors	0	1	8	5	14
% of editions by Germans	*0%*	7%	57%	36%	
% of number of editions published in decade	*0%*	4%	47%	20%	14%
Other editors	11	12	6	14	43
% of editions by others	*26%*	28%	14%	33%	
% of number of editions published in decade	*33%*	52%	35%	56%	44%
TOTAL	33	23	17	25	98
% of editions published	*34%*	23%	17%	26%	

Table 2.1. Treatment of multiple witnesses in EETS editions, grouped by number of witnesses

No. of witnesses	Total no. editions with multiple witnesses	Base only	Collation	Parallel	(Number of which also incorporate collation)	Recension	Eclectic
TWO	21	1	8	4	(0)	0	8
% of editions		*5%*	*38%*	*19%*		*0%*	*38%*
THREE OR FOUR	18	1	6	6	(3)	2	3
% of editions		*6%*	*33%*	*33%*		*11%*	*17%*
FIVE OR MORE	13	1	0	7	(4)	1	4
% of editions		*8%*	*0%*	*54%*		*8%*	*31%*
TOTAL	52	3	14	17	(7)	3	15
% of editions		*6%*	*27%*	*33%*		*6%*	*29%*

Table 2.2. Treatment of multiple witnesses in EETS editions, grouped by editor

Editor	Total no. editions with multiple witnesses	Base only	Collation	Parallel	(Number of which also incorporate collation)	Recension	Eclectic
Furnivall, F	10	0	4	4	(1)	0	2
% of editions		*0%*	*40%*	*40%*		*0%*	*20%*
Morris, R	4	0	1	2	(1)	0	1
% of editions		*0%*	*25%*	*50%*		*0%*	*25%*
Skeat, W	6	0	0	2	(0)	0	4
% of editions		*0%*	*0%*	*33%*		*0%*	*67%*
German Editors	12	1	0	4	(3)	3	4
% of editions		*8%*	*0%*	*33%*		*25%*	*33%*
Other	20	2	9	5	(2)	0	4
% of editions		*10%*	*45%*	*25%*		*0%*	*20%*
TOTAL	52	3	14	17	(7)	3	15
% of editions		*6%*	*27%*	*33%*		*6%*	*29%*

Table 2.3. Treatment of multiple witnesses in EETS editions, grouped by decade

Decade	Total no. editions with multiple witnesses	Base only	Collation	Parallel	(Number of which also incorporate collation)	Recension	Eclectic
1860s	15	0	9	3	(1)	0	3
% of editions		*0%*	*60%*	*20%*		*0%*	*20%*
1870s	13	1	2	7	(3)	0	3
% of editions		*8%*	*15%*	*54%*		*0%*	*23%*
1880s	10	2	0	4	(2)	1	3
% of editions		*20%*	*0%*	*40%*		*10%*	*30%*
1890s	14	0	3	3	(1)	2	6
% of editions		*0%*	*21%*	*21%*		*14%*	*43%*
TOTAL	52	3	14	17	(7)	3	15
% of editions		*6%*	*27%*	*33%*		*6%*	*29%*

Table 3.1. Presentation of formal manuscript detail in EETS editions, grouped by category of base text

Category of base text	Total number of editions published	Replication/representation of base MS' orthography							Representation of other formal details in text or paratext			
		Characters used in type-fount:		ModE + yogh, thorn, eth + other MS letterforms	MS contractions expnd in italics or repd in type	MS punctuation repd in type	(cf. edns with editoral punctuation)	(cf. edns with both MS and editorial punctuation)	MS foliation recorded on text pages	Important features of MS ordinatio reproduced in printed text	Scribal corrections recorded in textual notes	Other formal details recorded in textual notes
		ModE type characters only	ModE chars +yogh, thorn and/or eth									
transcription without emendation	3	1	2	0	3	2	2	1	3	3	1	1
% of editions		*33%*	*67%*	*0%*	*100%*	*67%*	*67%*	*33%*	*100%*	*100%*	*33%*	*33%*
transcription with emended accidentals	67	10	48	9	67	29	60	22	59	62	35	31
% of editions		*15%*	*72%*	*13%*	*100%*	*43%*	*90%*	*33%*	*88%*	*93%*	*52%*	*46%*
Subtotal: editions without emended substantives	70	11	50	9	70	31	62	23	62	65	36	32
% of editions		*16%*	*71%*	*13%*	*100%*	*44%*	*89%*	*33%*	*89%*	*93%*	*51%*	*46%*
normalization with emended substantives	6	0	6	0	6	1	5	0	4	4	4	4
% of editions		*0%*	*100%*	*0%*	*100%*	*17%*	*83%*	*0%*	*67%*	*67%*	*67%*	*67%*
transcription with emended substantives	22	4	17	1	22	6	22	6	17	19	8	4
% of editions		*18%*	*77%*	*5%*	*100%*	*27%*	*100%*	*27%*	*77%*	*86%*	*36%*	*18%*
Subtotal: editions with emended substantives	28	4	23	1	28	7	27	6	21	23	12	8
% of editions		*14%*	*82%*	*4%*	*100%*	*25%*	*96%*	*21%*	*75%*	*82%*	*43%*	*29%*
TOTAL	98	15	73	10	98	38	89	29	83	88	48	40
% of editions		*15%*	*74%*	*10%*	*100%*	*39%*	*91%*	*30%*	*85%*	*90%*	*49%*	*41%*

Table 3.2. Presentation of formal manuscript detail in EETS editions, grouped by editor

Editor	Total number of editions published	Replication/representation of base MS' orthography							Representation of other formal details in text or paratext			
		Characters used in type-fount: ModE type characters only	ModE chars +yogh, thorn and/or eth	ModE + yogh, thorn, eth + other MS letterforms	MS contractions expnd in italics or repd in type	MS punctuation repd in type	(cf. edns with editoral punctuation)	(cf. edns with both MS and editorial punctuation)	MS foliation recorded on text pages	Important features of MS ordinatio reproduced in printed text	Scribal corrections recorded in textual notes	Other formal details recorded in textual notes
Furnivall, F	19	1	18	0	19	10	18	9	19	19	10	9
% of editions		*5%*	*95%*	*0%*	*100%*	*53%*	*95%*	*47%*	*100%*	*100%*	*53%*	*47%*
Morris, R	10	0	9	1	10	7	6	3	10	9	3	5
% of editions		*0%*	*90%*	*10%*	*100%*	*70%*	*60%*	*30%*	*100%*	*90%*	*30%*	*50%*
Skeat, W	12	0	9	3	12	4	11	3	11	12	6	6
% of editions		*0%*	*75%*	*25%*	*100%*	*33%*	*92%*	*25%*	*92%*	*100%*	*50%*	*50%*
German editors	14	1	13	0	14	1	14	1	10	11	10	5
% of editions		*7%*	*93%*	*0%*	*100%*	*7%*	*100%*	*7%*	*71%*	*79%*	*71%*	*36%*
Other editors	43	13	24	6	43	16	40	13	33	37	19	15
% of editions		*30%*	*56%*	*14%*	*100%*	*37%*	*93%*	*30%*	*77%*	*86%*	*44%*	*35%*
TOTAL	98	15	73	10	98	38	89	29	83	88	48	40
% of editions		*15%*	*74%*	*10%*	*100%*	*39%*	*91%*	*30%*	*85%*	*90%*	*49%*	*41%*

Table 3.3. Presentation of formal manuscript detail in EETS editions, grouped by decade

Decade	Total number of editions published	Replication/representation of base MS' orthography							Representation of other formal details in text or paratext			
		Characters used in type-fount:		ModE + yogh, thorn, eth + other MS letterforms	MS contractions expnd in italics or repd in type	MS punctuation repd in type	(cf. edns with editoral punctuation)	(cf. edns with both MS and editorial punctuation)	MS foliation recorded on text pages	Important features of MS ordinatio reproduced in printed text	Scribal corrections recorded in textual notes	Other formal details recorded in textual notes
		ModE type characters only	ModE chars +yogh, thorn and/or eth									
1860s	33	2	25	6	33	16	27	10	29	31	14	16
% of editions		*6%*	*76%*	*18%*	*100%*	*48%*	*82%*	*30%*	*88%*	*94%*	*42%*	*48%*
1870s	23	3	16	4	23	5	20	2	21	20	8	7
% of editions		*13%*	*70%*	*17%*	*100%*	*22%*	*87%*	*9%*	*91%*	*87%*	*35%*	*30%*
1880s	17	3	14	0	17	4	17	4	16	16	11	6
% of editions		*18%*	*82%*	*0%*	*100%*	*24%*	*100%*	*24%*	*94%*	*94%*	*65%*	*35%*
1890s	25	7	18	0	25	13	25	13	17	21	15	11
% of editions		*28%*	*72%*	*0%*	*100%*	*52%*	*100%*	*52%*	*68%*	*84%*	*60%*	*44%*
TOTAL	98	15	73	10	98	38	89	29	83	88	48	40
% of editions		*15%*	*74%*	*10%*	*100%*	*39%*	*91%*	*30%*	*85%*	*90%*	*49%*	*41%*

Table 3.4. Conventions used to present MS contractions in EETS editions, grouped by decade.

Decade	No. editions with MS contractions represented in the text	Conventions used				
		Italics	(Italics exclusively)	Typographic reproduction	(Typ. rep. exclusively)	Both italics and typ. rep.
1860s	33	31	20	13	2	11
% of editions		*94%*	*61%*	*39%*	*6%*	*33%*
1870s	23	22	12	11	1	10
% of editions		*96%*	*52%*	*48%*	*4%*	*43%*
1880s	17	15	4	13	2	11
% of editions		*88%*	*24%*	*76%*	*12%*	*65%*
1890s	25	25	5	20	0	20
% of editions		*100%*	*20%*	*80%*	*0%*	*80%*
TOTAL	98	93	41	57	5	52
% of editions		*95%*	*42%*	*58%*	*5%*	*53%*

Table 4.1. Some aspects of the recording of editorial work in EETS editions, grouped by category of base text

Category of base text	Total number of editions published	Edns with a general explanation of editorial practice	Edns with notes discussing individual readings and/or emendations Preceded by location of note: on the text page / gathered together at end of text		Total number of editions with ackgd emendation	Conventions used to mark emendations in the text					
						No. of edns with emendation marked in text	Insertion of readings marked in text (Preceded by method of marking emendation in text: brackets [] / combn of []+note refs / note refs / other)		Substitution or deletion of MS readings mkd in text (Preceded by method of marking emendation in text: brackets [] / combn of []+note refs / note refs / other)	
transcription without emendation	3	1	0 / 0	0	0	0	0 / 0 / 0 / 0	0	0 / 0 / 0 / 0	0
% of editions		*33%*		*0%*		*0%*		*0%*		*0%*
transcription with emended accidentals	67	31	7 / 19	26	67	66	58 / 6 / 1 / 1	66	0 / 2 / 50 / 1	53
% of editions		*46%*		*39%*		*99%*		*99%*		*79%*
Subtotal: editions without emended substantives	70	32	7 / 19	26	67	66	58 / 6 / 1 / 1	66	0 / 2 / 50 / 1	53
% of editions		*46%*		*37%*		*99%*		*99%*		*79%*
normalization with emended substantives	6	6	1 / 3	4	6	5	2 / 2 / 1 / 0	5	1 / 0 / 4 / 0	5
% of editions		*100%*		*67%*		*83%*		*83%*		*83%*
transcription with emended substantives	22	16	0 / 12	12	22	21	13 / 5 / 2 / 1	21	4 / 2 / 15 / 0	21
% of editions		*73%*		*55%*		*95%*		*95%*		*95%*
Subtotal: editions with emended substantives	28	22	1 / 15	16	28	26	15 / 7 / 3 / 1	26	5 / 2 / 19 / 0	26
% of editions		*79%*		*57%*		*93%*		*93%*		*93%*
TOTAL	98	54	8 / 34	42	95	92	73 / 13 / 4 / 2	92	5 / 4 / 69 / 1	79
% of editions		*55%*		*43%*		*97%*		*97%*		*83%*

Table 4.2. Some aspects of the recording of editorial work in EETS editions, grouped by editor

Editor	Total number of editions published	Edns with a general explanation of editorial practice	Edns with notes discussing individual readings and/or emendations Preceded by location of note: on the text page / gathered together at end of text		Total number of editions with ackgd emendation	Conventions used to mark emendations in the text				
						No. of edns with emendation marked in text	Insertion of readings marked in text (Preceded by method of marking emendation in text: brackets [] / combn of []+note refs / note refs / other)		Substitution or deletion of MS readings mkd in text (Preceded by method of marking emendation in text: brackets [] / combn of []+note refs / note refs / other)	
Furnivall, F	19	9	3 / 0	3	19	19	15 / 3 / 1 / 0	19	0 / 2 / 15 / 0	17
% of editions		*47%*		*16%*		*100%*		*100%*		*89%*
Morris, R	10	4	0 / 5	5	10	10	9 / 1 / 0 / 0	10	1 / 0 / 8 / 0	9
% of editions		*40%*		*50%*		*100%*		*100%*		*90%*
Skeat, W	12	11	0 / 11	11	11	11	8 / 3 / 0 / 0	11	3 / 1 / 7 / 0	11
% of editions		*92%*		*92%*		*100%*		*100%*		*100%*
German editors	14	10	0 / 6	6	14	12	7 / 2 / 2 / 1	12	0 / 0 / 11 / 1	12
% of editions		*71%*		*43%*		*86%*		*86%*		*86%*
Other editors	43	20	5 / 12	17	41	40	34 / 4 / 1 / 1	40	1 / 1 / 28 / 0	30
% of editions		*47%*		*40%*		*98%*		*98%*		*73%*
TOTAL	98	54	8 / 34	42	95	92	73 / 13 / 4 / 2	92	5 / 4 / 69 / 1	79
% of editions		*55%*		*43%*		*97%*		*97%*		*83%*

Table 4.3. Some aspects of the recording of editorial work in EETS editions, grouped by decade

Decade	Total number of editions published	Edns with a general explanation of editorial practice	Edns with notes discussing individual readings and/or emendations Preceded by location of note: on the text page / gathered together at end of text		Total number of editions with ackgd emendation	Conventions used to mark emendations in the text				
						No. of edns with emendation marked in text	Insertion of readings marked in text (Preceded by method of marking emendation in text: brackets [] / combn of []+note refs / note refs / other)		Substitution or deletion of MS readings mkd in text	
1860s	33	19	2 / 11	13	31	30	26 / 4 / 0 / 0	30	2 / 4 / 16 / 0	22
% of editions		*58%*		*39%*		*97%*		*97%*		*71%*
1870s	23	14	0 / 12	12	22	22	18 / 2 / 1 / 1	22	2 / 0 / 17 / 0	19
% of editions		*61%*		*52%*		*100%*		*100%*		*86%*
1880s	17	10	1 / 8	9	17	16	10 / 4 / 1 / 1	16	0 / 0 / 15 / 1	16
% of editions		*59%*		*53%*		*94%*		*94%*		*94%*
1890s	25	11	5 / 3	8	25	24	19 / 3 / 2 / 0	24	1 / 0 / 21 / 0	22
% of editions		*44%*		*32%*		*96%*		*96%*		*88%*
TOTAL	98	54	8 / 34	42	95	92	73 / 13 / 4 / 2	92	5 / 4 / 69 / 1	79
% of editions		*55%*		*43%*		*97%*		*97%*		*83%*

Table 5.1. Introductory Material in EETS editions, grouped by decade

Decade	Number of editions with introductory materials	Length of introductory materials, in pages						Introductory materials include discussions of:									
		1-5	6-15	16-40	41-80	81-120	121+	Descrpn of MS(S) or early prints	Date of text	Authorship	Language (of which incl. a full deliniation of forms)		Sources	Digression on C19 matters	Precis of contents (of which incl detailed references)		Corrigenda
1860s	33	3	7	12	7	1	3	14	8	15	19	(5)	16	10	19	(8)	21
% of editions		*9%*	*21%*	*36%*	*21%*	*3%*	*9%*	*42%*	*24%*	*45%*	*58%*		*48%*	*30%*	*58%*		*64%*
1870s	23	2	5	4	7	3	2	14	10	14	12	(5)	13	4	14	(8)	10
% of editions		*9%*	*22%*	*17%*	*30%*	*13%*	*9%*	*61%*	*43%*	*61%*	*52%*		*57%*	*17%*	*61%*		*43%*
1880s	15	0	4	6	5	0	0	8	5	8	9	(1)	11	3	10	(6)	4
% of editions		*0%*	*27%*	*40%*	*33%*	*0%*	*0%*	*53%*	*33%*	*53%*	*60%*		*73%*	*20%*	*67%*		*27%*
1890s	22	3	3	7	4	2	3	13	6	13	14	(2)	13	7	11	(8)	4
% of editions		*14%*	*14%*	*32%*	*18%*	*9%*	*14%*	*59%*	*27%*	*59%*	*64%*		*59%*	*32%*	*50%*		*18%*
TOTAL	93	8	19	29	23	6	8	49	29	50	54	(13)	53	24	54	(30)	39
% of editions		*9%*	*20%*	*31%*	*25%*	*6%*	*9%*	*53%*	*31%*	*54%*	*58%*		*57%*	*26%*	*58%*		*42%*

Table 5.2. Introductory Material in EETS editions, grouped by editor

Editor	Number of editions with introductory materials	Length of introductory materials, in pages						Introductory materials include discussions of:									
		1-5	6-15	16-40	41-80	81-120	121+	Descrpn of MS(S) or early prints	Date of text	Authorship	Language (of which incl. a full deliniation of forms)		Sources	Digression on C19 matters	Precis of contents (of which incl detailed references)		Corrigenda
Furnivall, F	19	4	5	6	2	1	1	4	1	7	9	(0)	7	14	11	(6)	5
% of editions		*21%*	*26%*	*32%*	*11%*	*5%*	*5%*	*21%*	*5%*	*37%*	*47%*		*37%*	*74%*	*58%*		*26%*
Morris, R	10	0	0	4	4	1	1	4	5	5	8	(6)	3	3	9	(6)	7
% of editions		*0%*	*0%*	*40%*	*40%*	*10%*	*10%*	*40%*	*50%*	*50%*	*80%*		*30%*	*30%*	*90%*		*70%*
Skeat, W	12	0	1	4	4	2	1	10	5	5	8	(0)	8	0	8	(4)	7
% of editions		*0%*	*8%*	*33%*	*33%*	*17%*	*8%*	*83%*	*42%*	*42%*	*67%*		*67%*	*0%*	*67%*		*58%*
German editors	11	0	2	2	6	0	1	8	2	7	7	(1)	9	3	5	(4)	4
% of editions		*0%*	*18%*	*18%*	*55%*	*0%*	*9%*	*73%*	*18%*	*64%*	*64%*		*82%*	*27%*	*45%*		*36%*
Other editors	41	4	11	13	7	2	4	23	16	26	22	(6)	26	4	21	(10)	16
% of editions		*10%*	*27%*	*32%*	*17%*	*5%*	*10%*	*56%*	*39%*	*63%*	*54%*		*63%*	*10%*	*51%*		*39%*
TOTAL	93	8	19	29	23	6	8	49	29	50	54	(13)	53	24	54	(30)	39
% of editions		*9%*	*20%*	*31%*	*25%*	*6%*	*9%*	*53%*	*31%*	*54%*	*58%*		*57%*	*26%*	*58%*		*42%*

Table 6.1. Modern English paraphrases and non-textual notes in EETS editions, grouped by decade

Decade	Total no. of editions published	No. edns with Mod English paraphrase at side of text	No. edns with non-textual notes	Contents of non-textual notes (percentage figures refer only to editions containing non-textual notes)					
				Philological detail	Glosses	Exegesis	Explanation of context	Sources	Analogues
1860s	33	31	26	12	19	3	14	7	10
% of editions		*94%*	*79%*	*46%*	*73%*	*12%*	*54%*	*27%*	*38%*
1870s	23	19	18	4	15	1	14	5	7
% of editions		*83%*	*78%*	*22%*	*83%*	*6%*	*78%*	*28%*	*39%*
1880s	17	11	14	7	10	2	9	8	7
% of editions		*65%*	*82%*	*50%*	*71%*	*14%*	*64%*	*57%*	*50%*
1890s	25	22	20	2	11	3	9	10	6
% of editions		*88%*	*80%*	*10%*	*55%*	*15%*	*45%*	*50%*	*30%*
TOTAL	98	83	78	25	55	9	46	30	30
% of editions		*85%*	*80%*	*32%*	*71%*	*12%*	*59%*	*38%*	*38%*

Table 6.2. Modern English paraphrases and non-textual notes in EETS editions, grouped by editor

Editor	Total no. of editions published	No. edns with Mod English paraphrase at side of text	No. edns with non-textual notes	Contents of non-textual notes (percentage figures refer only to editions containing non-textual notes)					
				Philological detail	Glosses	Exegesis	Explanation of context	Sources	Analogues
Furnivall, F	19	18	17	1	11	0	7	5	6
% of editions		*95%*	*89%*	*6%*	*65%*	*0%*	*41%*	*29%*	*35%*
Morris, R	10	9	7	5	7	0	2	1	0
% of editions		*90%*	*70%*	*71%*	*100%*	*0%*	*29%*	*14%*	*0%*
Skeat, W	12	10	11	5	10	4	10	6	7
% of editions		*83%*	*92%*	*45%*	*91%*	*36%*	*91%*	*55%*	*64%*
German editors	14	8	8	4	6	3	6	4	5
% of editions		*57%*	*57%*	*50%*	*75%*	*38%*	*75%*	*50%*	*63%*
Other editors	43	38	35	10	21	2	21	14	12
% of editions		*88%*	*81%*	*29%*	*60%*	*6%*	*60%*	*40%*	*34%*
TOTAL	98	83	78	25	55	9	46	30	30
% of editions		*85%*	*80%*	*32%*	*71%*	*12%*	*59%*	*38%*	*38%*

Table 7.1. Indices and glossaries in EETS editions, grouped by decade

Decade	Total no. editions published	No. editions with a glossary	No. editions with glossary and separate index	Coverage of glossaries (*percentage figures refer only to editions which have glossaries*)			Page length of glossary, as compared to page length of text (expressed as a percentage)					Contents of glossary entries (preceded by frequency of occurence: occasionally / consistently) (*percentage figures refer only to editions which have glossaries*)					
				Level of coverage is stated	Estimated level of coverage: Full	Estimated level of coverage: Selective	1-10%	11-25%	26-50%	51-75%	76%+	Page/line refs	Glosses	Part of speech	Etymological detail	Illustrative citations	Combined glossary and index
1860s	33	30	10	3	8	22	8	12	6	2	2	*0/30* 30	*1/29* 30	*9/7* 16	*22/1* 23	*22/0* 22	2
% of editions		*91%*	*30%*	*10%*	*27%*	*73%*	*27%*	*40%*	*20%*	*7%*	*7%*	*100%*	*100%*	*53%*	*77%*	*73%*	*7%*
1870s	23	19	8	5	3	16	9	5	4	0	1	*0/19* 19	*1/18* 19	*2/11* 13	*11/0* 11	*7/0* 7	2
% of editions		*83%*	*35%*	*26%*	*16%*	*84%*	*47%*	*26%*	*21%*	*0%*	*5%*	*100%*	*100%*	*68%*	*58%*	*37%*	*11%*
1880s	17	14	5	3	4	10	7	3	2	2	0	*0/14* 14	*0/14* 14	*5/8* 13	*6/0* 6	*6/0* 6	4
% of editions		*82%*	*29%*	*21%*	*29%*	*71%*	*50%*	*21%*	*14%*	*14%*	*0%*	*100%*	*100%*	*93%*	*43%*	*43%*	*29%*
1890s	25	21	12	1	0	21	16	4	1	0	0	*0/20* 20	*0/21* 21	*7/7* 14	*8/0* 8	*8/0* 8	4
% of editions		*84%*	*48%*	*5%*	*0%*	*100%*	*76%*	*19%*	*5%*	*0%*	*0%*	*95%*	*100%*	*67%*	*38%*	*38%*	*19%*
TOTAL	98	84	35	12	15	69	40	24	13	4	3	*0/83* 83	*2/82* 84	*23/33* 56	*47/1* 48	*43/0* 43	12
% of editions		*86%*	*36%*	*14%*	*18%*	*82%*	*48%*	*29%*	*15%*	*5%*	*4%*	*99%*	*100%*	*67%*	*57%*	*51%*	*14%*

Table 7.2. Indices and glossaries in EETS editions, grouped by editor

Editor	Total no. editions published	No. editions with a glossary	No. editions with glossary and separate index	Coverage of glossaries (*percentage figures refer only to editions which have glossaries*)			Page length of glossary, as compared to page length of text (expressed as a percentage)					Contents of glossary entries (preceded by frequency of occurence: occasionally / consistently) (*percentage figures refer only to editions which have glossaries*)									
				Level of coverage is stated	Estimated level of coverage: Full	Estimated level of coverage: Selective	1-10%	11-25%	26-50%	51-75%	76%+	Page/line refs		Glosses		Part of speech		Etymological detail		Illustrative citations		Combined glossary and index
Furnivall, F	19	17	7	0	0	17	12	4	1	0	0	*0/17*	17	*0/17*	17	*3/5*	8	*10/0*	10	*8/0*	8	6
% of editions		*89%*	*37%*	*0%*	*0%*	*100%*	*71%*	*24%*	*6%*	*0%*	*0%*		*100%*		*100%*		*47%*		*59%*		*47%*	*35%*
Morris, R	10	8	1	0	6	2	2	1	3	1	1	*0/8*	8	*0/8*	8	*4/2*	6	*4/0*	4	*4/0*	4	0
% of editions		*80%*	*10%*	*0%*	*75%*	*25%*	*25%*	*13%*	*38%*	*13%*	*13%*		*100%*		*100%*		*75%*		*50%*		*50%*	*0%*
Skeat, W	12	11	8	5	4	7	0	4	4	2	1	*0/11*	11	*0/11*	11	*5/4*	9	*11/0*	11	*10/0*	10	1
% of editions		*92%*	*67%*	*45%*	*36%*	*64%*	*0%*	*36%*	*36%*	*18%*	*9%*		*100%*		*100%*		*82%*		*00*		*91%*	*9%*
German editors	14	8	5	2	2	6	4	2	1	1	0	*0/8*	8	*0/8*	8	*2/5*	7	*1/0*	1	*0/0*	0	0
% of editions		*57%*	*36%*	*25%*	*25%*	*75%*	*50%*	*25%*	*13%*	*13%*	*0%*		*100%*		*100%*		*88%*		*13%*		*0%*	*0%*
Other editors	43	40	14	5	3	37	22	13	4	0	1	*0/39*	39	*2/38*	40	*9/17*	26	*21/1*	22	*21/0*	21	5
% of editions		*93%*	*33%*	*13%*	*7%*	*93%*	*55%*	*33%*	*10%*	*0%*	*3%*		*97%*		*100%*		*65%*		*55%*		*53%*	*13%*
TOTAL	98	84	35	12	15	69	40	24	13	4	3	*0/83*	83	*2/82*	84	*23/33*	56	*47/1*	48	*43/0*	43	12
% of editions		*86%*	*36%*	*14%*	*18%*	*82%*	*48%*	*29%*	*15%*	*5%*	*4%*		*99%*		*100%*		*67%*		*57%*		*51%*	*14%*

Appendix Three

Table 1. Establishment of the text in individual EETS editions

Series and part no.	Category of base text; treatment of multiple witnesses	Emendations suggested but not made in text	Relationships among witnesses discussed	Relative authority of witnesses discussed
OS 1	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	Yes	-	-
OS 2	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	Yes	-	-
OS 4	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	Yes	-	-
OS 6	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	Yes	-	-
OS 7	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	Yes	-	-
OS 8	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	No	-	-
OS 10	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	No	-	-
OS 12	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	No	-	-
OS 13	transcription with emended accidentals only; 2 witns in collation	Yes	No	No
OS 14	transcription with emended accidentals only; 3 witns in collation	Yes	No	No
OS 15	transcription with emended accidentals only; 2 witns in collation	Yes	No	No
OS 16	transcription with emended accidentals only; 2 witns in collation	Yes	No	No
OS 17	transcription without emendation; 29 witns in parallel	No	Yes	No
OS 18	transcription with emended accidentals only; 2 witns in collation	No	No	No
OS 20	transcription with emended accidentals only; 2 witns in collation	Yes	No	No
OS 22	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	Yes	-	-
OS 23	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	Yes	-	-
OS 24	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	No	-	-
OS 25	transcription with emended accidentals only; 3 witns in collation	Yes	Yes	No
OS 26	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	No	-	-
OS 28	transcription with emended substantives; 45 witns in critical text (eclectic)	No	Yes	Yes
OS 29	transcription with emended accidentals only; 3 witns in collation	Yes	No	No
OS 30	transcription with emended substantives; 3 witns in critical text (eclectic)	No	Yes	Yes
OS 31	transcription with emended accidentals only; 3 witns in collation	Yes	Yes	No
OS 32	transcription with emended substantives; 26 witns in parallel + collation	No	No	No
OS 33	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	No	-	-
OS 39	transcription without emendation; text in a single witn	No	-	-
OS 40	transcription with emended substantives; text in a single witn	No	-	-
OS 42	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	Yes	-	-
OS 43	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	Yes	-	-
OS 44	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	Yes	-	-
OS 46	transcription with emended accidentals only; 3 witns in parallel + collation	Yes	No	No
OS 49	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	Yes	-	-
OS 51	transcription with emended accidentals only; 2 witns in parallel	No	No	No
OS 52	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	Yes	-	-
OS 53	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	Yes	-	-
OS 55	transcription with emended substantives; 2 witns in collation	Yes	No	No
OS 57	transcription with emended accidentals only; 4 witns in parallel	Yes	Yes	Yes
OS 60	transcription with emended accidentals only; 2 witns in collation	Yes	No	No
OS 61	transcription with emended accidentals only; 5 witns in parallel	Yes	No	No
OS 69	transcription with emended accidentals only; 6 witns in parallel	No	No	No
OS 71	transcription with emended accidentals only; 6 witns in parallel + collation	Yes	Yes	Yes
OS 74	transcription with emended substantives; 2 witns in critical text (eclectic)	No	No	No
OS 78	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	Yes	-	-
OS 80	normalization with emended substantives; 3 witns in critical text (recension)	No	Yes	Yes
OS 85	transcription with emended substantives; 14 witns in parallel + collation	Yes	Yes	Yes
OS 87	transcription with emended accidentals only; 11 witns in base only	Yes	No	No
OS 89	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	No	-	-
OS 91	transcription with emended substantives; 2 witns in critical text (eclectic)	No	No	No
OS 97	transcription with emended substantives; 2 witns in critical text (eclectic)	Yes	No	No
OS 98	transcription with emended substantives; 2 witns in critical text (eclectic)	Yes	No	No

Series and part no.	Category of base text; treatment of multiple witnesses	Emendations suggested but not made in text	Relationships among witnesses discussed	Relative authority of witnesses discussed
OS 100	transcription with emended accidentals only; 4 witns in parallel + collation	Yes	No	Yes
OS 102	transcription with emended accidentals only; 2 witns in parallel	No	No	No
OS 105	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	Yes	-	-
OS 106	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	Yes	-	-
OS 107	transcription with emended accidentals only; 3 witns in parallel	Yes	No	No
ES 1	transcription with emended substantives; text in a single witn	Yes	-	-
ES 3	transcription with emended accidentals only; 3 witns in parallel	Yes	No	Yes
ES 4	transcription with emended substantives; text in a single witn	Yes	-	-
ES 5	normalization with emended substantives; 2 witns in critical text (eclectic)	No	No	Yes
ES 6	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	Yes	-	-
ES 8	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	Yes	-	-
ES 11	transcription with emended substantives; 3 witns in critical text (eclectic)	No	Yes	Yes
ES 16	transcription with emended substantives; 16 witns in critical text (eclectic)	Yes	Yes	Yes
ES 19	transcription without emendation; 2 witns in base only	No	No	No
ES 20	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	Yes	-	-
ES 25	normalization with emended substantives; 2 witns in critical text (eclectic)	Yes	No	No
ES 31	transcription with emended substantives; text in a single witn	Yes	-	-
ES 33	transcription with emended substantives; 3 witns in parallel + collation	No	No	No
ES 34	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	No	-	-
ES 35	transcription with emended substantives; text in a single witn	Yes	-	-
ES 36	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	No	-	-
ES 38	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	Yes	-	-
ES 39	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	No	-	-
ES 42	transcription with emended accidentals only; 2 witns in parallel	Yes	No	No
ES 44	transcription with emended accidentals only; 3 witns in base only	No	No	No
ES 46	transcription with emended accidentals only; 8 witns in parallel + collation	No	Yes	Yes
ES 47	transcription with emended accidentals only; 2 witns in parallel	Yes	No	No
ES 51	transcription with emended substantives; 2 witns in critical text (eclectic)	No	Yes	Yes
ES 54	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	No	-	-
ES 57	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	Yes	-	-
ES 58	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	Yes	-	-
ES 60	normalization with emended substantives; 13 witns in critical text (recension)	No	Yes	Yes
ES 61	transcription with emended accidentals only; 3 witns in collation	No	No	No
ES 62	transcription with emended substantives; 4 witns in critical text (recension)	No	Yes	Yes
ES 63	transcription with emended accidentals only; 2 witns in collation	No	Yes	Yes
ES 64	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	No	-	-
ES 66	transcription with emended substantives; 7 witns in critical text (eclectic)	No	No	No
ES 67	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	Yes	-	-
ES 68	transcription with emended substantives; text in a single witn	No	-	-
ES 69	transcription with emended accidentals only; 4 witns in collation	No	Yes	Yes
ES 70	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	Yes	-	-
ES 71	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	Yes	-	-
ES 72	normalization with emended substantives; 2 witns in critical text (eclectic)	No	No	Yes
ES 74	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	No	-	-
ES 75	transcription with emended substantives; 6 witns in critical text (eclectic)	Yes	Yes	Yes
ES 76	transcription with emended accidentals only; text in a single witn	Yes	-	-
ES 77	normalization with emended substantives; 3 witns in critical text (eclectic)	No	No	No

Table 2. Presentation of formal MS. detail in individual EETS editions

Series and part no.	Characters used in type fount 1: ModEng type, 2:+thorn, yogh eth, 3:+other MS chars	Treatment of MS. contractions 1: italics only, 2: typ rep only, 3: both	MS. punctuation repd in type	Editorial punctuation	MS. foliation recorded on text pages	Important features of MS. ordinatio reproduced in printed text	Scribal corrections recorded in textual notes	Other formal details recorded in textual notes
OS 1	2	1	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
OS 2	2	1	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
OS 4	2	1	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
OS 6	3	3	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
OS 7	3	1	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
OS 8	2	1	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
OS 10	1	1	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
OS 12	2	1	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
OS 13	3	2	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No
OS 14	3	1	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
OS 15	2	1	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
OS 16	2	3	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
OS 17	2	1	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
OS 18	3	3	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
OS 20	2	3	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
OS 22	3	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
OS 23	2	1	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
OS 24	2	1	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
OS 25	2	1	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
OS 26	2	1	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
OS 28	2	1	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
OS 29	2	3	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
OS 30	2	1	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
OS 31	2	1	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
OS 32	2	3	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
OS 33	1	1	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
OS 39	2	1	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
OS 40	2	2	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
OS 42	3	3	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
OS 43	3	1	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
OS 44	2	1	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
OS 46	2	1	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
OS 49	2	1	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
OS 51	3	1	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
OS 52	1	1	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
OS 53	2	1	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No
OS 55	1	3	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
OS 57	2	3	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
OS 60	2	3	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
OS 61	2	3	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
OS 69	2	3	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
OS 71	2	1	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
OS 74	2	1	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
OS 78	2	3	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
OS 80	2	2	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
OS 85	2	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
OS 87	2	1	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
OS 89	2	1	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
OS 91	2	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No

Series and part no.	Characters used in type fount 1: ModEng type, 2:+thorn, yogh eth, 3:+other MS chars	Treatment of MS. contractions 1: italics only, 2: typ rep only, 3: both	MS. punctuation repd in type	Editorial punctuation	MS. foliation recorded on text pages	Important features of MS. ordinatio reproduced in printed text	Scribal corrections recorded in textual notes	Other formal details recorded in textual notes
OS 97	2	3	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
OS 98	2	3	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
OS 100	2	3	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
OS 102	2	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
OS 105	2	1	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
OS 106	2	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
OS 107	2	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
ES 1	2	3	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
ES 3	2	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
ES 4	2	1	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
ES 5	2	2	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
ES 6	2	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
ES 8	2	3	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
ES 11	3	3	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
ES 16	2	1	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
ES 19	1	1	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
ES 20	2	1	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
ES 25	2	3	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
ES 31	2	3	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
ES 33	2	3	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
ES 34	2	1	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
ES 35	2	3	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
ES 36	2	2	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No*	No
ES 38	2	3	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
ES 39	2	3	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
ES 42	2	3	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
ES 44	1	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
ES 46	2	3	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
ES 47	2	3	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
ES 51	1	3	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
ES 54	1	1	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
ES 57	1	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
ES 58	1	1	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
ES 60	2	3	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
ES 61	2	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
ES 62	2	1	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
ES 63	2	3	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
ES 64	1	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
ES 66	1	1	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
ES 67	2	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
ES 68	1	3	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
ES 69	2	3	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
ES 70	2	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
ES 71	1	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
ES 72	2	3	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
ES 74	1	3	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
ES 75	2	1	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
ES 76	2	3	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
ES 77	2	3	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table 3. Some aspects of the recording of editorial work in individual EETS editions

Series and part no.	Edition has a general explanation of editorial practice	Edition has notes discussing individual readings and/or emendations (Location of notes: 1=on the text page, 2=gathered together at end of text)	Edition has acknowledged emendation	Conventions used to mark emendations in the text		
				Edition has emendation marked in text	Insertion of readings marked in text (Method of marking emndn in text. 1: brackets [], 2: combn of []+note refs, 3: note refs, 4: other)	Substitution or deletion of MS readings mkd in text
OS 1	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
OS 2	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	No
OS 4	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
OS 6	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes (3)
OS 7	No	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	No
OS 8	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	No
OS 10	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (2)
OS 12	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
OS 13	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes	No	-	-
OS 14	No	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
OS 15	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes (3)
OS 16	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
OS 17	Yes	No	No	No	-	-
OS 18	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	No
OS 20	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
OS 22	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
OS 23	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
OS 24	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	No
OS 25	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (2)
OS 26	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	No
OS 28	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (1)
OS 29	No	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
OS 30	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes (2)
OS 31	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
OS 32	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (2)
OS 33	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	No
OS 39	No	No	No	No	-	-
OS 40	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (4)	Yes (3)
OS 42	No	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	No
OS 43	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	No
OS 44	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
OS 46	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes (3)
OS 49	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
OS 51	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
OS 52	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
OS 53	No	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
OS 55	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
OS 57	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
OS 60	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes (3)
OS 61	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	No
OS 69	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
OS 71	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
OS 74	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes (3)
OS 78	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
OS 80	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes	No	-	-
OS 85	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes (3)
OS 87	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes (3)
OS 89	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
OS 91	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes (3)

Series and part no.	Edition has a general explanation of editorial practice	Edition has notes discussing individual readings and/or emendations (Location of notes: 1=on the text page, 2=gathered together at end of text)	Edition has acknowledged emendation	Conventions used to mark emendations in the text		
				Edition has emendation marked in text	Insertion of readings marked in text (Method of marking emndn in text. 1: brackets [], 2: combn of []+note refs, 3: note refs, 4: other)	Substitution or deletion of MS readings mkd in text
OS 97	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
OS 98	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
OS 100	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
OS 102	No	Yes (1)	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
OS 105	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
OS 106	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
OS 107	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
ES 1	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes (3)
ES 3	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
ES 4	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
ES 5	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (1)
ES 6	No	Yes (1)	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	No
ES 8	No	Yes (1)	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
ES 11	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (1)
ES 16	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (1)
ES 19	No	No	No	No	-	-
ES 20	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
ES 25	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes (3)	Yes (3)
ES 31	No	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
ES 33	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
ES 34	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
ES 35	No	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
ES 36	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
ES 38	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
ES 39	No	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
ES 42	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
ES 44	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
ES 46	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes (4)	Yes (4)
ES 47	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
ES 51	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes (3)	Yes (3)
ES 54	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
ES 57	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
ES 58	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
ES 60	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
ES 61	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (3)	Yes (3)
ES 62	Yes	No	Yes	No	-	-
ES 63	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes	Yes	Yes (2)	No
ES 64	No	Yes (1)	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
ES 66	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes (3)	Yes (3)
ES 67	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
ES 68	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
ES 69	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	No
ES 70	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
ES 71	No	Yes (1)	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
ES 72	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes (3)
ES 74	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
ES 75	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (1)
ES 76	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes (3)
ES 77	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes (2)	Yes (3)

Table 4. Introductory material in individual EETS editions

Series and Part No.	Edition has introductory materials	Length of materials (in pages)	Introductory materials include discussions of: Descrpn of MS(S) or early prints	Date of text	Authorship	Language (*=incl.full delineation of accidence/syntax)	Sources	Digression on C19 matters	Precis of contents (*=incl detailed references)	Corrigenda
OS 1	Yes	37	Yes	No	Yes	Yes *	No	No	Yes *	Yes
OS 2	Yes	3	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
OS 4	Yes	16	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes *	Yes
OS 6	Yes	51	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
OS 7	Yes	36	Yes	Yes	No	Yes *	No	No	Yes	Yes
OS 8	Yes	15	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
OS 10	Yes	422	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
OS 12	Yes	17	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
OS 13	Yes	71	Yes	Yes	No	Yes *	Yes	No	No	Yes
OS 14	Yes	16	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
OS 15	Yes	48	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes *	Yes
OS 16	Yes	2	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
OS 17	Yes	12	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
OS 18	Yes	4	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No
OS 20	Yes	29	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
OS 22	Yes	19	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
OS 23	Yes	100	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes *	Yes	No	Yes *	Yes
OS 24	Yes	16	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes *	Yes
OS 25	Yes	15	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
OS 26	Yes	8	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
OS 28	Yes	292	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes *	Yes
OS 29	Yes	70	No	No	No	Yes *	Yes	No	Yes *	Yes
OS 30	Yes	20	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
OS 31	Yes	12	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
OS 32	Yes	152	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
OS 33	Yes	10	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No
OS 39	Yes	61	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
OS 40	Yes	156	No	No	No	Yes *	No	No	Yes *	No
OS 42	Yes	7	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
OS 43	Yes	8	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
OS 44	Yes	41	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No

Series and Part No.	Edition has introductory materials	Length of materials (in pages)	Introductory materials include discussions of: Descrpn of MS(S) or early prints	Date of text	Authorship	Language (*=incl.full delineation of accidence/syntax)	Sources	Digression on C19 matters	Precis of contents (*=incl detailed references)	Corrigenda
OS 46	Yes	53	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
OS 49	Yes	42	No	Yes	Yes	Yes *	No	Yes	Yes	No
OS 51	Yes	4	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes
OS 52	Yes	32	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes *	Yes	No	Yes *	Yes
OS 53	Yes	41	No	Yes	No	Yes *	No	No	No	No
OS 55	Yes	8	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
OS 57	Yes	294	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes *	Yes
OS 60	Yes	14	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
OS 61	Yes	94	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No
OS 69	Yes	3	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No
OS 71	Yes	68	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes *	Yes
OS 74	Yes	60	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
OS 78	Yes	6	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
OS 80	Yes	58	No	No	Yes	Yes *	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
OS 85	Yes	17	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No
OS 87	Yes	44	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes *	No
OS 89	No	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
OS 91	Yes	11	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes *	No
OS 97	Yes	12	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
OS 98	No	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
OS 100	Yes	42	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
OS 102	No	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
OS 105	Yes	93	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No
OS 106	Yes	12	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes *	No
OS 107	Yes	10	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
ES 1	Yes	47	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
ES 3	Yes	8	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
ES 4	Yes	55	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
ES 5	Yes	20	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes *	No
ES 6	Yes	22	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
ES 8	Yes	24	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No
ES 11	Yes	89	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes *	Yes
ES 16	Yes	96	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No
ES 19	Yes	54	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No

Series and Part No.	Edition has introductory materials	Length of materials (in pages)	Introductory materials include discussions of: Descrpn of MS(S) or early prints	Date of text	Authorship	Language (*=incl.full delineation of accidence/syntax)	Sources	Digression on C19 matters	Precis of contents (*=incl detailed references)	Corrigenda
ES 20	Yes	33	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes *	No
ES 25	Yes	12	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
ES 31	Yes	28	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes *	Yes
ES 33	Yes	53	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No
ES 34	Yes	28	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes *	Yes	No	Yes *	Yes
ES 35	Yes	32	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes *	No
ES 36	Yes	9	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No
ES 38	Yes	63	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes *	No
ES 39	Yes	19	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
ES 42	No	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ES 44	Yes	26	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
ES 46	Yes	65	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes *	Yes
ES 47	Yes	20	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes *	Yes
ES 51	Yes	29	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
ES 54	Yes	10	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No
ES 57	Yes	28	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
ES 58	Yes	131	Yes	No	No	Yes *	Yes	No	No	No
ES 60	Yes	155	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes *	No
ES 61	Yes	64	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
ES 62	Yes	53	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
ES 63	Yes	26	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
ES 64	Yes	35	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No
ES 66	Yes	29	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes *	No
ES 67	Yes	3	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
ES 68	Yes	5	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes *	No
ES 69	Yes	74	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes *	No
ES 70	Yes	27	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes *	No
ES 71	Yes	28	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
ES 72	Yes	18	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes *	Yes
ES 74	No	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ES 75	Yes	188	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes *	Yes	No	No	No
ES 76	Yes	3	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No
ES 77	Yes	84	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes *	No

Table 5. Modern English paraphrases and non-textual notes in individual EETS editions

Series and part no.	Edition has Mod English paraphrase at side of text	Edition has non-textual notes	Contents of non-textual notes					
			Philological detail	Glosses	Exegesis	Explanation of context	Sources	Analogues
OS 1	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
OS 2	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
OS 4	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
OS 6	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
OS 7	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
OS 8	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
OS 10	Yes	No	-	-	-	-	-	-
OS 12	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
OS 13	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
OS 14	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
OS 15	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
OS 16	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
OS 17	No	No	-	-	-	-	-	-
OS 18	Yes	No	-	-	-	-	-	-
OS 20	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
OS 22	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
OS 23	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
OS 24	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
OS 25	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
OS 26	Yes	No	-	-	-	-	-	-
OS 28	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
OS 29	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
OS 30	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
OS 31	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
OS 32	Yes	No	-	-	-	-	-	-
OS 33	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No
OS 39	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
OS 40	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
OS 42	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
OS 43	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
OS 44	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
OS 46	Yes	No	-	-	-	-	-	-
OS 49	Yes	No	-	-	-	-	-	-
OS 51	Yes	No	-	-	-	-	-	-
OS 52	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
OS 53	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
OS 55	Yes	No	-	-	-	-	-	-
OS 57	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
OS 60	Yes	No	-	-	-	-	-	-
OS 61	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
OS 69	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
OS 71	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
OS 74	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
OS 78	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
OS 80	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
OS 85	Yes	No	-	-	-	-	-	-
OS 87	No	No	-	-	-	-	-	-
OS 89	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
OS 91	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
OS 97	No	No	-	-	-	-	-	-
OS 98	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No
OS 100	Yes	No	-	-	-	-	-	-
OS 102	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No

Series and part no.	Edition has Mod English paraphrase at side of text	Edition has non-textual notes	Contents of non-textual notes					
			Philological detail	Glosses	Exegesis	Explanation of context	Sources	Analogues
OS 105	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
OS 106	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
OS 107	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
ES 1	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
ES 3	Yes	No	-	-	-	-	-	-
ES 4	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
ES 5	Yes	No	-	-	-	-	-	-
ES 6	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
ES 8	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
ES 11	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
ES 16	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
ES 19	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
ES 20	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
ES 25	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
ES 31	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
ES 33	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
ES 34	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
ES 35	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
ES 36	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
ES 38	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
ES 39	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
ES 42	Yes	No	-	-	-	-	-	-
ES 44	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No
ES 46	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
ES 47	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
ES 51	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
ES 54	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No
ES 57	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No
ES 58	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No
ES 60	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
ES 61	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No
ES 62	No	No	-	-	-	-	-	-
ES 63	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
ES 64	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
ES 66	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
ES 67	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
ES 68	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
ES 69	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
ES 70	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
ES 71	Yes	No	-	-	-	-	-	-
ES 72	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
ES 74	Yes	No	-	-	-	-	-	-
ES 75	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
ES 76	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
ES 77	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table 6. Indices and glossaries in individual EETS editions

Series and part no.	Edition has a glossary	Level of coverage is stated	Estimated level of coverage	Page length of glossary, as compared to page length of text (expressed as a percentage)	Contents of glossary entries						Edition has glossary and separate index
					Page/line refs	Glosses	Part of speech	Etymo-logical detail	Illustrative citations	Combined glossary / index	
OS 1	Yes	No	Full	91	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
OS 2	Yes	No	Selective	5	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
OS 4	Yes	No	Full	55	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
OS 6	Yes	Yes	Selective	17	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
OS 7	Yes	No	Full	47	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
OS 8	Yes	No	Selective	13	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
OS 10	Yes	No	Selective	14	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
OS 12	Yes	No	Selective	15	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No
OS 13	Yes	Yes	Selective	40	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
OS 14	Yes	No	Selective	12	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
OS 15	Yes	No	Selective	4	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No
OS 16	Yes	No	Selective	12	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No
OS 17	No	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	No
OS 18	Yes	No	Selective	9	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No
OS 20	Yes	No	Selective	9	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
OS 22	Yes	No	Selective	13	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
OS 23	Yes	No	Full	30	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
OS 24	Yes	No	Selective	5	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
OS 25	No	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	No
OS 26	Yes	No	Selective	11	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
OS 28	Yes	No	Selective	28	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
OS 29	No	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	No
OS 30	Yes	No	Selective	31	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
OS 31	Yes	No	Selective	15	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No
OS 32	Yes	No	Selective	18	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No
OS 33	Yes	No	Selective	2	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes
OS 39	Yes	No	Full	17	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
OS 40	Yes	No	Selective	4	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
OS 42	Yes	No	Selective	17	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No
OS 43	Yes	No	Selective	8	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
OS 44	Yes	Yes	Selective	46	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
OS 46	Yes	No	Selective	9	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
OS 49	Yes	No	Full	38	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
OS 51	Yes	No	Selective	2	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No
OS 52	Yes	No	Selective	9	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
OS 53	No	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	No
OS 55	Yes	Yes	Selective	9	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
OS 57	Yes	No	Full	8	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
OS 60	Yes	No	Selective	25	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
OS 61	No	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	No
OS 69	Yes	No	Selective	26	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
OS 71	Yes	Yes	Selective	28	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
OS 74	Yes	No	Selective	7	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
OS 78	Yes	No	Selective	22	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
OS 80	Yes	No	Full	31	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
OS 85	No	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	No
OS 87	No	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	No
OS 89	Yes	No	Full	73	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
OS 91	Yes	No	Full	28	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
OS 97	No	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	No
OS 98	No	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	No
OS 100	Yes	No	Selective	2	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes

Series and part no.	Edition has a glossary	Level of coverage is stated	Estimated level of coverage	Page length of glossary, as compared to page length of text (expressed as a percentage)	Contents of glossary entries						Edition has glossary and separate index
					Page/line refs	Glosses	Part of speech	Etymo-logical detail	Illustrative citations	Combined glossary / index	
OS 102	No	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	No
OS 105	No	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	No
OS 106	Yes	No	Selective	5	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No
OS 107	Yes	No	Selective	8	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
ES 1	Yes	No	Full	34	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
ES 3	Yes	No	Selective	8	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No
ES 4	Yes	No	Full	60	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
ES 5	Yes	No	Selective	11	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
ES 6	Yes	Yes	Full	95	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
ES 8	Yes	No	Selective	9	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
ES 11	Yes	Yes	Selective	23	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
ES 16	Yes	No	Selective	23	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
ES 19	Yes	No	Selective	7	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No
ES 20	No	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	No
ES 25	No	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	No
ES 31	Yes	Yes	Full	79	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
ES 33	Yes	No	Selective	5	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
ES 34	Yes	No	Selective	14	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
ES 35	Yes	No	Selective	9	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
ES 36	Yes	No	Selective	2	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
ES 38	Yes	Yes	Selective	9	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
ES 39	Yes	No	Selective	14	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
ES 42	No	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	No
ES 44	Yes	No	Selective	5	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
ES 46	Yes	Yes	Selective	17	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
ES 47	Yes	Yes	Full	57	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
ES 51	Yes	No	Selective	5	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
ES 54	Yes	No	Selective	6	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No
ES 57	Yes	No	Selective	13	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
ES 58	Yes	No	Selective	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
ES 60	Yes	No	Selective	11	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
ES 61	Yes	No	Selective	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
ES 62	Yes	No	Selective	1	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
ES 63	Yes	No	Selective	3	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
ES 64	Yes	No	Selective	5	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
ES 66	Yes	No	Selective	5	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
ES 67	Yes	No	Selective	2	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
ES 68	Yes	No	Selective	3	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
ES 69	Yes	No	Selective	18	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes
ES 70	Yes	No	Selective	5	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
ES 71	Yes	No	Selective	4	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes
ES 72	Yes	No	Selective	8	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No
ES 74	Yes	No	Selective	17	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
ES 75	Yes	Yes	Selective	26	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
ES 76	Yes	No	Selective	5	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
ES 77	Yes	No	Selective	4	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes

Table 7. Collaborative work in individual EETS editions

Series and part no.	Part or all of witness(es) transcribed by amanuensis	Element of paratext prepared in part or in whole by a collaborator				
		Introductory materials	Non-textual notes	Modern English paraphrase	Glossary	Index
OS 1	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
OS 2	No	No	No	No	No	No
OS 4	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No
OS 6	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
OS 7	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
OS 8	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
OS 10	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
OS 12	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
OS 13	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
OS 14	No	No	No	No	No	No
OS 15	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
OS 16	No	No	Yes	No	No	No
OS 17	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
OS 18	No	No	No	No	No	No
OS 20	No	No	No	No	No	No
OS 22	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
OS 23	No	No	No	No	No	No
OS 24	No	No	No	No	No	No
OS 25	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
OS 26	No	No	No	No	No	No
OS 28	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
OS 29	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
OS 30	No	No	No	No	No	No
OS 31	No	No	No	No	No	No
OS 32	No	No	No	No	No	No
OS 33	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
OS 39	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
OS 40	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
OS 42	No	No	No	No	No	No
OS 43	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
OS 44	No	No	No	No	No	No
OS 46	No	No	No	No	No	No
OS 49	No	No	No	No	Yes	No
OS 51	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
OS 52	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
OS 53	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
OS 55	No	No	No	No	No	No
OS 57	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
OS 60	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
OS 61	No	No	No	No	No	No
OS 69	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
OS 71	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
OS 74	No	No	No	No	No	No
OS 78	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
OS 80	No	No	No	No	No	No
OS 85	No	No	No	No	No	No
OS 87	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
OS 89	No	No	No	No	No	No
OS 91	No	No	No	No	No	No
OS 97	No	No	No	No	No	No

Series and part no.	Part or all of witness(es) transcribed by amanuensis	Element of paratext prepared in part or in whole by a collaborator				
		Introductory materials	Non-textual notes	Modern English paraphrase	Glossary	Index
OS 98	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
OS 100	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
OS 102	No	No	No	No	No	No
OS 105	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
OS 106	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
OS 107	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
ES 1	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
ES 3	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
ES 4	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
ES 5	No	No	No	No	No	No
ES 6	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
ES 8	No	No	No	No	No	No
ES 11	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
ES 16	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
ES 19	No	No	No	No	No	No
ES 20	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
ES 25	No	No	No	No	No	No
ES 31	No	No	No	No	No	No
ES 33	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No
ES 34	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
ES 35	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
ES 36	No	No	No	No	No	No
ES 38	No	No	No	No	No	No
ES 39	No	No	No	No	No	No
ES 42	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
ES 44	No	No	No	No	No	No
ES 46	No	No	No	No	No	No
ES 47	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No
ES 51	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No
ES 54	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
ES 57	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
ES 58	No	No	No	No	No	No
ES 60	No	No	No	No	No	No
ES 61	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
ES 62	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
ES 63	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
ES 64	No	No	No	No	No	No
ES 66	No	No	No	No	No	No
ES 67	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
ES 68	No	No	No	No	No	No
ES 69	No	No	No	No	No	No
ES 70	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No
ES 71	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
ES 72	No	No	No	No	No	No
ES 74	No	No	No	No	Yes	No
ES 75	No	No	No	No	No	No
ES 76	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No
ES 77	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Bibliography

Manuscripts and facsimiles consulted

Cambridge, Kings College Library, MS. 13.

London, British Library, MS. Cotton Tiberius A. 7.

London, British Library, MS. Cotton Titus D. xviii.

London, British Library, MS. Cotton Vitellius C. 13.

London, British Library, MS. Harley 2251.

London, British Library, MS. Royal 17 A. xxvii.

London, British Library, MS. Stowe 952.

London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS. 853.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 34.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Eng. Hist. c. 140-182.

Bodleian Library MS Fairfax 16. Intro. John Norton-Smith. London: Scolar Press, 1979.

Manuscript Bodley 638: A Facsimile. Intro. Pamela Robinson. Norman, Oklahoma: Pilgrim Books, 1982.

Manuscript Pepys 2006: A Facsimile. Intro. A. S. G. Edwards. Norman, Oklahoma: Pilgrim Books, 1985.

Manuscript Tanner 346: A Facsimile. Intro. Pamela Robinson. Norman, Oklahoma: Pilgrim Books, 1980.

The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer: A Facsimile of Cambridge University Library MS Gg. 4. 27. Intros. M. B. Parkes and Richard Beadle. 3 vols. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1979-80.

The Temple of Glas, STC 17032. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1938: microfilm 1, item 29.

The Thornton Manuscript (Lincoln Cathedral MS. 91). Intros. D. S. Brewer and A. E. B. Owen. Rev. ed. London: Scolar Press, 1977.

Nineteenth-century EETS publications

See Appendix One for a list of the nineteenth-century EETS publications consulted in the preparation of this thesis.

Roxburghe Club editions (listed by editor)

Buccleuch, Duke of, ed. *The Romaunce of the Sowdone of Babylone and of Ferumbras his Sone who conquerede Rome.* Roxburghe Club 71. London: Roxburghe Club, 1854.

Buckley, W. E., ed. *The Old English Version of Partonope of Blois.* Roxburghe Club 82. London: Roxburghe Club, 1862.

Devonshire, Duke of, ed. *The Life of Saint Ursula. Guiscard and Sigismund.* Roxburghe Club 24. London: Roxburghe Club, 1818.

Dibdin, Thomas Frognall, ed. *The Complaint of a Lover's Life. Controversy between a Lover and a Jay.* Roxburghe Club 18. London: Roxburghe Club, 1818.

Drury, H., ed. *The Metrical Life of Saint Robert of Knaresborough.* Roxburghe Club 37. London: Roxburghe Club, 1824.

Freeling, G. H., ed. *Informacōn for Pylgrymes unto the Holy Londe.* Roxburghe Club 38. London: Roxburghe Club, 1824.

Furnivall, Frederick, ed. *A Royal Historie of the Excellent Knight Generides.* Roxburghe Club 85. London: Roxburghe Club, 1865.

- - -, ed. *Roberd of Brunne's Handlyng Synne (Written A.D. 1203;) with the French Treatise on which it is Founded, Le Manuel des Pechiez by William of Wadington.* Roxburghe Club 81. London: Roxburghe Club, 1862.

- - -, ed. *Bokes of Nurture and Kervynge.* Roxburghe Club 87. London: Roxburghe Club, 1867.

- - -, ed. *Seynt Graal, or The Sank Ryal: The History of the Holy Graal, Partly in English Verse by Henry Lonelich, Skynner... and Wholly in French Prose by Sires Robiers de Borron.* Roxburghe Club 80. London: Roxburghe Club, 1861.

- - -, ed. *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, Englished by John Lydgate, A.D. 1426, from the French of Guillaume de Deguileville, A.D. 1330, 1355.* Roxburghe Club 145. London: Nichols and Sons, 1905.

Herbert, E., ed. *The Lyvys of Seyntes; Translated into Englys be a Doctour of Dyuynite Clepyd Osbern Bokenam, Frer Austyn of the Convent of Stocklare.* Roxburghe Club 50. London: Roxburghe Club, 1835.

Hibbert, G., ed. *Six Bookes of Metamorphoseos in whyche ben Conteyned the Fables of Ovyde. Translated out of Frensshe into Englysshe by William Caxton.* Roxburghe Club 26. London: Roxburghe Club, 1819.

Littledale, J., ed. *Magnyfycence: an Interlude. By John Skelton, Poet Laureat to Henry VIII.* Roxburghe Club 31. London: Roxburghe Club, 1821.

Madden, Frederick, ed. *The Ancient English Romance of William and the Werwolf.* Roxburghe Club 48. London: Roxburghe Club, 1832.

- - -, ed. *The Ancient English Romance of Havelok the Dane; accompanied by the French Text.* Roxburghe Club 46. London: Roxburghe Club, 1828.

- - -, ed. *The Old English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum.* Roxburghe Club 55. London: Roxburghe Club, 1838.

Markland, J. H., ed. *Chester Mysteries. De Deluvio Noe. De Occisione Innocentium.* Roxburghe Club 21. London: Roxburghe Club, 1818.

Masterman Sykes, Sir Mark, ed. *The Chorle and the Birde.* Roxburghe Club 16. London: Roxburghe Club, 1818.

- - -, ed. *The Hors, the Shepe, and the Ghoos.* Roxburghe Club 36. London: Roxburghe Club, 1822.

Ponton, T., ed. *Le Morte Arthur. The Adventures of Sir Launcelot Du Lake.* Roxburghe Club 25. London: Roxburghe Club, 1819.

Stevenson, Joseph, ed. *The Alliterative Romance of Alexander.* Roxburghe Club 67. London: Roxburghe Club, 1849.

- - -, ed. *The Ayenbite of Inwyt: Written in the Dialect of the County of Kent by Dan. Michel of Northgate in the Year 1340.* Roxburghe Club 72. London: Roxburghe Club, 1855.

- - -, ed. *The Owl and the Nightingale: A Poem of the Twelfth Century.* Roxburghe Club 54. London: Roxburghe Club, 1838.

Stürzinger, J. J., ed. *Le Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine.* Roxburghe Club 124. London: Roxburghe Club, 1893.

- - -, ed. *Le Pèlerinage de l'Ame.* Roxburghe Club 127. London: Roxburghe Club, 1895.

- - -, ed. *Le Pèlerinage Jhesucrist.* Roxburghe Club 133. London: Roxburghe Club, 1897.

Taylor, G. W., ed. *Poems written in English, by Charles, Duke of Orleans, during his Captivity in England after the Battle of Azincourt.* Roxburghe Club 44. London: Roxburghe Club, 1827.

Towneley, P. E., ed. *Judicium, a Pageant. Extracted from the Townley Manuscript of Ancient Mysteries.* Roxburghe Club 32. London: Roxburghe Club, 1822.

Utterson, E. V., ed. *Cheuelere Assigne.* Roxburghe Club 27. London: Roxburghe Club, 1820.

Wright, Thomas, ed. *De Regimine Principum: A Poem by Thomas Occleve, Written in the Reign of Henry IV.* Roxburghe Club 79. London: Roxburghe Club, 1860.

Wright, William Aldis, ed. *The Pilgrimage of the Lyf of the Manhode, from the French of Guillaume de Deguileville.* Roxburghe Club 91. London: Roxburghe Club, 1869.

Other editions (listed by editor)

Banks, Mary Macleod, ed. *Morte Arthure: An Alliterative Poem of the Fourteenth Century.* London: Longman, Green and Co., 1901.

Bennett, J. A. W., and Smithers G. V., eds. *Early Middle English Verse and Prose.* 2nd, revised ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.

Björkman, Erik, ed. *Morte Arthure.* Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitatsbuchhandlung; New York: G. E. Stechert & Co., 1915.

Bunt, G. H. V., ed. *William of Palerne: An Alliterative Romance.* Groningen: Bouma's Boekhuis bv, 1985.

Cockayne, Oswald, ed. *Seint Marherete the Meiden ant Martyr in Old English: Now First Edited from the Skin Books.* London: Longman, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1862.

d'Ardenne, S. T. R. O., ed. *The Katherine Group: Edited from MS. Bodley 34.* Paris: Société d'Edition «Les Belles Lettres», 1977.

- - -, ed. *Þe Liflade ant te Passiun of Seinte Iuliene.* EETS OS 248. London: Oxford University Press, 1961.

- - -, and E. J. Dobson, eds. *Seinte Katerine: Re-Edited from MS Bodley 34 and the Other Manuscripts.* EETS SS 7. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Furnivall, Frederick J. "Early English Poems and Lives of Saints (with those of the Wicked Birds Pilate and Judas)." *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1858).

- - -, ed. *The Ellesmere MS of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales.* 8 vols. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1868-77.

- - -, ed. *A One-Text Print of Chaucer's Minor Poems, Being the Best Text of Each Poem in the Parallel-Text Edition, for Handy Use by Editors and Readers.* 2 vols. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1868-80.

- - -, ed. *A Six-Text Print of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales in Parallel Columns from the Following MSS. 1 The Ellesmere. 2 The Hengwrt 154. 3 The Cambridge Univ. Libr. Gg.4.27. 4 The Corpus Christi Coll., Oxford. 5 The Petworth. 6 The Lansdowne 851.* 8 vols. London: N. Trübner and Co., 1869-77.

Hales, John W., and Frederick J. Furnivall, eds. *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript: Ballads and Romances.* 3 vols. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1867-8.

Hall, Joseph, ed. *Selections from Early Middle English 1130-1250.* 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920.

Halliwell, James Orchard, ed. *Morte Arthure: The Alliterative Romance of the Death of King Arthur.* Brixton Hill: Printed for private circulation, 1847.

Hamel, Mary, ed. *Morte Arthure: A Critical Edition.* New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1984.

Hazlitt, W. Carew, ed. *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England.* 4 vols. London: John Russell Smith, 1864-6.

Hilka, Alfons, and Werner Soderhjelm. "Petri Alfonsi: Disciplina Clericalis." *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicæ* 38.4, 5 (1911-12).

Kemble, John M., ed. *The Anglo-Saxon Poems of Beowulf, the Travellers Song and the Battle of Finnesburh.* 2 vols. London: William Pickering, 1833-7.

Krishna, Valerie, ed. *The Alliterative Morte Arthure: A Critical Edition.* New York: Burt Franklin & Co., Inc., 1976.

MacCracken, Henry Noble, ed. *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate: Edited from All Available MSS., with an Attempt to Establish the Lydgate Canon.* EETS ES 107 and OS 192. 2 vols. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1911-34.

Mack, Frances M., ed. *Seinte Marherete þe Meiden ant Martyr.* EETS OS 193. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1934.

Madden, Frederic, ed. *Syr Gawayne: A Collection of Ancient Romance-Poems, by Scotish and English Authors, Relating to that Celebrated Knight of the Round Table.* London: Bannatyne Club, 1839.

Mead, William Edward, ed. *The Pastime of Pleasure by Stephen Hawes.* EETS OS 173. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1928.

Michelant, H., ed. *Guillaume de Palerne.* Paris: Librairie Firmin Didot et cie, 1876.

Migne, Jacques Paul, ed. *Patrologiae Cursus Completus... Series Latina.* 221 vols. Paris, 1844-65.

Millett, Bella, and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, eds. *Medieval English Prose for Women: Selections from the Katherine Group and Ancrene Wisse.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.

Morris, Richard, ed. *Liber Cure Cocorum.* Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1862.

[- - -, ed.] *The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer: With a Memoir by Sir Harris Nicolas.* 6 vols. The Aldine Edition of the British Poets. London: Bell and Daldy, 1866.

- - -, ed. *The Pricke of Conscience (Stimulus Conscientiae): A Northumbrian Poem by Richard Rolle de Hampole.* Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1863.

Norton-Smith, John, ed. *John Lydgate: Poems.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966.

[Parker, George, ed.] *Alverstoke Church Inscriptions and Parish Register.* Oxford: Privately printed, 1885.

[- - -, ed.] *Bradfield, Berks, and Wolvercote, Oxon.: Notes from the Parish Registers, 16th and 17th Cent.* Oxford: Bridge and Co., 1888.

Pauli, Reinhold, ed. *Confessio Amantis of John Gower.* 3 vols. London: Bell and Daldy, 1857.

Philological Society. *The Philological Society's Early English Volume 1862-4.* London: Asher & Co., 1865.

The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer. 14 vols. Bell's Edition: The Poets of Great Britain Complete from Chaucer to Churchill. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, by the Martins, 1782.

Pollard, Alfred W., ed. *Iohannis Wycliffe Dialogus: Sive Speculum Ecclesie Militantis.* London: Trübner & Co, 1886.

- - -, and Charles Sayle, eds. *Iohannis Wyclif: Tractatus de Officio Regis.* London: Trübner & Co, 1887.

Simms, Norman Toby, ed. *William of Palerne: A New Edition.* Norwood, Pa.: Norwood Editions, 1973.

Southern, R. W., and F. S. Schmitt, eds. *Memorials of St. Anselm.* London: Oxford University Press, 1969.

Stokes, Whitley, ed. "The Passion." *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1860-1): appendices pp. 1-100.

- - -, ed. "Play of the Sacrament." *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1860-1): appendices pp. 101-52.

Thorpe, Benjamin. *Caedmon's Metrical Paraphrase of Parts of the Holy Scriptures, in Anglo-Saxon.* London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1832.

Vinaver, Eugene. *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory.* 3 vols. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967.

Way, Albert, ed. *Promptorium Parvulorum Sive Clericorum, Lexicon Anglo-Latinum Princeps.* Camden Society 25, 54, 89. 3 vols. London: Camden Society, 1843-65.

Weymouth, Richard Francis, ed. *Castel off Loue (Chasteau D'Amour or Carmen de Creatione Mundi): An Early English Translation of an Old French Poem by Robert Grosseteste Bishop of Lincoln.* London: Asher & Co., 1864.

Wilson, R. M., ed. *Sawles Warde: An Early Middle English Homily.* Leeds: School of English Language in the University of Leeds, 1938.

Wright, Thomas, ed. *The Vision and Creed of Piers Ploughman.* 2nd and rev. ed. London: John Russell Smith, 1856.

[- - - ed.] *Early English Poetry, Ballads, and Popular Literature of the Middle Ages, Printed from Original Manuscripts and Scarce Publications.* Vol. 18. 31 vols. London: The Percy Society, 1846.

- - - and James Orchard Halliwell, eds. *Reliquiæ Antiquæ: Scraps from Ancient Manuscripts, Illustrating Chiefly Early English Literature and the English Language.* 2 vols. London: John Russell Smith, 1845.

Other works

'A. C.' "The Utility of Literary Associations Demonstrated." *Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle* October 1813: 338-9.

Aarsleff, Hans. *The Study of Language in England, 1780-1860.* 2nd ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; London: Athlone Press, 1983.

Ackerman, Robert W. "Madden's Gawain Anthology." *Medieval Studies in Honor of Lillian Herlands Hornstein.* Ed. Jess B. Bessinger and Robert R. Raymo. New York: New York University Press, 1976. 5-18.

- - -. "Sir Frederick Madden and Medieval Scholarship." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 73 (1972): 1-14.

- - -, and Gretchen P. Ackerman. *Sir Frederick Madden: A Biographical Sketch and Bibliography.* New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1979.

An English Miscellany Presented to Dr. Furnivall in Honour of his Seventy-Fifth Birthday. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1901.

Baker, Donald C. "The Evolution of Henry Bradshaw's Idea of the Order of the *Canterbury Tales.*" *Chaucer Newsletter* 3.1 (1981): 2-6.

- - -. "Frederick James Furnivall (1825-1910)." *Editing Chaucer: The Great Tradition.* Ed. Paul G. Ruggiers. Norman, Oklahoma: Pilgrim Books, 1984. 157-69.

Bannatyne Club. *Notices Relative to the Bannatyne Club, Instituted in February, M.DCCC.XXIII. Including Critiques on some of its Publications.* Edinburgh: Printed for Private Circulation, 1836.

Barker, Nicholas. *The Publications of the Roxburghe Club 1814-1962.* Cambridge: Printed for presentation to the members of the Roxburghe Club, 1964.

Barrett Browning, Elizabeth. *Essays on the Greek Christian Poets and the English Poets.* New York: James Miller, 1863.

Bate, Walter Jackson. "Percy's Use of his Folio-Manuscript." *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 43 (1944): 337-48.

Benzie, William. *Dr. F. J. Furnivall: Victorian Scholar Adventurer.* Norman, Oklahoma: Pilgrim Books, Inc., 1983.

Berkhout, Carl T., and Milton McC. Gatch, eds. *Anglo-Saxon Scholarship: The First Three Centuries.* Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1982.

Bigham, Clive. *The Roxburghe Club: Its History and its Members 1812-1927.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, Printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1928.

Björkman, Erik. "Notes on the 'Morte Arthure' and its Vocabulary." *Minnesskrift af Forna Lärjungar tillägnad Professor Axel Erdmann.* Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri-A.-B., 1913. 34-52.

Bodleian Library. "To Mr. George Parker, Hon. M. A. [congratulatory address by members of the staff to G. Parker on his completion of 50 years of service at the Bodleian Library]." 29 September 1904.

Brewer, Charlotte. *Editing Piers Plowman: The Evolution of the Text.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Brewer, Derek. "The Annual Chaucer Lecture: Furnivall and the Old Chaucer Society." *Chaucer Newsletter* 1.2 (1979): 2-6.

Brown, C. and R. H. Robbins, eds. *The Index of Middle English Verse.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1943.

Cockayne, Oswald. *Spoon and Sparrow, ΣΠΕΝΔΕΙΝ and ΨΑΡ, Fvndere and Passer; or, English Roots in the Greek, Latin and Hebrew: Being a Consideration of the Affinities of the Old English, Anglo-Saxon, or Teutonic Portion of our Tongue to the Latin and Greek; with a Few Pages on the Relation of the Hebrew to the European Languages.* London: Parker, Son, and Bourn, 1861.

Dahl, Eric. "*Diuerse Copies Haue It Diuerselye*: An Unorthodox Survey of *Piers Plowman* Textual Scholarship from Crowley to Skeat." *Suche Werkis to Werche: Essays on Piers Plowman in Honor of David C. Fowler.* Ed. Míċeál F. Vaughan. East Lansing: Colleagues Press, 1993. 53-80.

Dane, Joseph A. "The Reception of Chaucer's Eighteenth-Century Editors." *Text: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship* 4 (1988): 217-36.

d'Ardenne, S. T. R. O., and J. R. R. Tolkien. "MS Bodley 34: A Re-collation of a Collation." *Studia Neophilologica* 20 (1947/48): 65-72.

Dobson, E. J. "The Textual Tradition of *Ste Katerine* and *Sawles Warde*." *The Origins of Ancrene Wisse*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976. 421-428.

"Early English Texts." *The Saturday Review* 5 November 1864: 570-1.

Edwards, A. S. G. "Middle English Literature." *Scholarly Editing: A Guide to Research*. Ed. D. C. Greetham. New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1995. 184-203.

- - -. "Observations on the History of Middle English Editing." *Manuscripts and Texts: Editorial Problems in Later Middle English Literature*. Ed. Derek Pearsall. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1987. 34-48.

- - -. "Walter Skeat (1835-1912)." *Editing Chaucer: The Great Tradition*. Ed. Paul G. Ruggiers. Oklahoma: Pilgrim Books, 1984. 171-89.

Ellis, Alexander J. "Second Annual Address of the President to the Philological Society, Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, Friday, 16th May, 1873." *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1873-4): 201-52.

Finlayson, John. "Textual Variants in Chaucer's *House of Fame*: Thynne as Editor." *English Studies* 70 (1989): 385-94.

Flügel, Ewald. "A New Collation of the Ellesmere MS." *Anglia* 30 (1907): 401-12.

Foster, Edward E., and Gail Gilman. "The Text of *William of Palerne*." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 74 (1973): 480-95.

Furnivall, Frederick J. *Bishop Percy's Ballad Manuscript: Proposal for its Publication* 1 November 1866.

- - -. *Lydgate and Occleve Society* 14 March 1872.

- - -. "The Early English Text Society." *Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Review* August 1867: 212-14.

- - -. *Education in Early England: Some Notes Used as Forewords to a Collection of Treatises on "Manners & Meals in Olden Time" for the Early English Text Society*. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1867.

- - -. "A Proposal for the Publication of Bishop Percy's Ballad Manuscript." *Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Review* January 1867: 87-88.

- - -. *A Temporary Preface to the Six-Text Edition of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*. London: N. Trübner and Co., 1868.

- - -. "The Duke of Manchester's Commemoration Fund." Open letter to EETS members dated 3 November 1873.

Furuskog, Ragnar. "A Collation of the *Katherine Group* (MS Bodley 34)." *Studia Neophilologica* 19 (1946/47): 119-66.

Gaskell, Philip. *A New Introduction to Bibliography*. London: Oxford University Press, 1972.

Gibaldi, Joseph. *MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers*. 4th ed. New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1995.

"Gower and his English Poetry." *Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Review* June 1857: 645-51.

Greetham, D. C. *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1992.

Greg, W. W. "The Rationale of Copy-Text." *Studies in Bibliography* 3 (1950-1): 19-36.

Guddat-Figge, Gisela. *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Romances*. Munich: W. Fink, 1976.

Guest, Edwin. *A History of English Rhythms*. 2 vols. London: William Pickering, 1838.

Holthausen, Ferdinand. "Litteratur." *Englische Studien* 30 (1901-2): 269-78.

Howell, James. *A French and English Dictionary, Composed by Mr Randle Cotgrave: With Another in English and French*. London: Printed by William Hunt in Pye-Corner, 1660.

'J. M.' "Roxburghe Club." *Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle* September 1813: 211-12.

James, Montague Rhodes. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts other than Oriental in the Library of King's College, Cambridge*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895.

Jarvis, Simon. *Scholars and Gentlemen: Shakespearian Textual Criticism and Representations of Scholarly Labour, 1725-1765.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.

Kaluža, Max. "Das Mittelenglische Gedicht William of Palerne und seine Französische Quelle." *Englische Studien* 4 (1881): 197-287.

Kapp, Yvonne. *Eleanor Marx.* 2 vols. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1972-6.

Ker, N. R. "Introduction." *Facsimile of MS. Bodley 34.* EETS OS 247. London: Oxford University Press, 1960. ix-xvi.

Ker, W. P. "Frederick James Furnivall 1825-1910." *Proceedings of the British Academy* (1909-10): 375-8.

Lewis, R. E., N. F. Blake and A. S. G. Edwards. *Index of Printed Middle English Prose.* New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1985.

Logan, H. M. *The Dialect of the Life of Saint Katherine: A Linguistic Study of the Phonology and Inflections.* The Hague: Mouton, 1973.

[Maidment, James, ed.] *Roxburghe Revels, and Other Relative Papers; Including Answers to the Attack on the Memory of the Late Joseph Haselwood, Esq. F. S. A. with Specimens of his Literary Productions.* Edinburgh: Printed for private circulation, 1837.

Marsh, George P. *The Origin and History of the English Language and of the Early Literature it Embodies.* London: Sampson Low, Son, & Co., 1862.

Matthews, David. *The Making of Middle English.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.

McMurtry, Jo. *English Language, English Literature: The Creation of an Academic Discipline.* Hamden: Archon Books, 1985.

Mennicken, Franz Joseph. "Versbau und Sprache in Huchowns Morte Arthure." *Bonner Beitrage zur Anglistik* 5 (1900): 33-144.

Middle English Dictionary. Online database. All citations checked November 2001.

Morley, Henry. *English Writers.* 2 vols. London: Chapman and Hall, 1864-7.

Mumby, F. A. *The House of Routledge 1834-1934: With a History of Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Other Associated Firms.* London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1934.

Munro, John, ed. *Frederick James Furnivall: A Volume of Personal Record.* London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, 1911.

Murray, James A. H., ed. *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles.* 10 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1888-1928.

Murray, K. M. Elisabeth. *Caught in the Web of Words: James A. H. Murray and the Oxford English Dictionary.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.

Mustanoja, Tauno F. *A Middle English Syntax.* Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 1960.

Nicol, Henry. "An Account of M. Gaston Paris's Method of Editing in his *Vie de Saint Alexis.*" *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1873-4): 332-45.

Norton-Smith, J. "Lydgate's Changes in the *Temple of Glas.*" *Medium Ævum* 27 (1958): 166-72.

Oakden, J. P. *Alliterative Poetry in Middle English.* 2 vols. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1930-5.

Oliphant, T. L. Kington. *The Sources of Standard English.* London: Macmillan & Co., 1873.

O'Loughlin, J. L. N. "The Middle English Alliterative *Morte Arthure.*" *Medium Ævum* 4 (1935): 153-68.

Oxford English Dictionary. Online database. All citations checked November 2001.

Palmer, D. J. *The Rise of English Studies: An Account of the Study of English Language and Literature from its Origins to the Making of the Oxford English School.* London: Oxford University Press, 1965.

Parkes, M. B. *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West.* Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1992.

Pearsall, Derek. *John Lydgate.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970.

- - -. *John Lydgate (1371-1449): A Bio-bibliography.* Victoria, B. C.: University of Victoria, 1997.

Pertzel, Barbara. "Frederick Madden and Havelock the Dane: An Originary Moment in the History of Editing Middle English Verse Romance." Diss. University of Melbourne, 1997.

Plant, Marjorie. *The English Book Trade: An Economic History of the Making and Sale of Books.* 3rd ed. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1974.

Potter, Stephen. *The Muse in Chains: A Study in Education.* London: Jonathan Cape, 1937.

Prescott, Andrew. "'Their Present Miserable State of Cremation': The Restoration of the Cotton Library." *Sir Robert Cotton as Collector: Essays on an Early Stuart Courtier and his Legacy.* Ed. C. J. Wright. London: British Library, 1997. 391-454.

Ramsey, Roy Vance. "F. N. Robinson's Editing of the *Canterbury Tales.*" *Studies in Bibliography* 42 (1989): 134-52.

Renoir, Alain, and C. David Benson. "John Lydgate." *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500.* Ed. Albert E. Hartung. Vol. 6. 10 vols. New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1980. 1809-920, 2071-175.

Rev. of *Education in Early England,* by Frederick J. Furnivall. *Athenæum* 26 October 1867: 532-3.

Robbins, R. H. and J. L. Cutler, eds. *Supplement to the Middle English Verse.* Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965.

Robinson, F. J. G., and P. J. Wallis. *Book Subscription Lists: A Revised Guide.* Newcastle upon Tyne: Book Subscriptions List Project, 1975.

Ruggiers, Paul G., ed. *Editing Chaucer: The Great Tradition.* Norman, Oklahoma: Pilgrim Books, 1984.

Schirmer, Walter F. *John Lydgate: A Study in the Culture of the XVth Century.* Trans. Ann E. Keep. London: Methuen and Company Ltd., 1961.

Seaton, Ethel. *Sir Richard Roos c. 1410-1482: Lancastrian Poet.* London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1961.

Severs, J. Burke, and Albert E. Hartung, eds. *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500.* 10 vols. New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1967-98.

Skeat, Walter W. *A Student's Pass-time: Being a Select Series of Articles Reprinted from 'Notes and Queries.'* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896.

Smith, Jeremy J. "Tradition and Innovation in South-West-Midland Middle English." *Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts: Essays Celebrating the Publication of a Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English.* Ed. Felicity Riddy. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991. 53-65

Steeves, Harrison Ross. *Learned Societies and English Literary Scholarship in Great Britain and the United States.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1913.

Sweet, Henry. "Seventh Annual Address of the President, to the Philological Society, Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, Friday, the 17th of May, 1878." *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1877-9): 373-455.

- - -. "Sixth Annual Address of the President to the Philological Society, Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, Friday, the 18th of May, 1877." *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1877-9): 1-122.

Thomson, R. M., ed. *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library.* Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1989.

Turville-Petre, Thorlac. *The Alliterative Revival.* Cambridge: D. S. Brewer; Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman & Littlefield, 1977.

Untitled article in support of EETS' 'Duke of Manchester's Commemoration Fund.' *Daily News* 20 November 1873: 5.

Wallis, P. J. *Book Subscription Lists: Extended Supplement to the Revised Guide.* Completed and edited by Ruth Wallis. Newcastle upon Tyne: Project for Historical Biobibliography, 1996.

Weymouth, Richard Francis. "Bishop Grosseteste's "Castle of Love"." *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1862-3): 48-66.

Wheatley, Henry B. "The Early English Text Society and F. J. Furnivall." *The Library* 3rd Series, 3 (1912): 1-21.

Williams, Harold. *Book Clubs and Printing Societies of Great Britain and Ireland.* London: First Edition Club, 1929.

Wright, Thomas. *A History of Domestic Manners and Sentiments in England during the Middle Ages: With Illustrations from the Illuminations in Contemporary Manuscripts and other Sources, Drawn & Engraved by F. W. Fairholt Esq. F. S. A.* London: Chapman and Hall, 1862.