

The Transmission, Circulation, and Reception of
Thomas Hoccleve's *The Regiment of Princes*



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Abstract

This thesis offers a survey of the transmission, circulation, and reception of Thomas Hoccleve's *The Regiment of Princes* in late-medieval England through its forty-four surviving manuscripts. Hocclevean studies have historically been author-centric, with exciting recent palaeographical and historical discoveries drawing interest to the author and his work. However, Hoccleve's scribes are just as worthy of study. They leave behind a wealth of manuscript material from across the fifteenth century which has hitherto been overlooked. By shifting attention away from the author and toward the scribes, this study provides a materially grounded reception history that broadens our understanding of late-medieval literary culture.

The first chapter explores the textual foundation for this study by proposing a stemma that reveals patterns of genealogical descent, clarifies relationships between manuscripts, and sketches the poem's early transmission. The second and third chapters turn to the textual make-up of *Regiment* manuscripts, focusing on paratexts and co-texts respectively. Chapters four and five examine the circulation of manuscripts among lay and ecclesiastical readers, drawing on evidence both internal (within the manuscripts) and external (calling upon a variety of documentary records) to study the poem's early owners. The sixth chapter maps out the regional, institutional, and personal networks that drove the early transmission of the text, using sociocentric network analysis to uncover the literary communities that formed around the *Regiment*.

These chapters reveal a sustained interest in Hoccleve and mirrors for princes shared across the ecclesiastic and governing classes of England. The *Regiment* was continuously re-interpreted and re-framed by its scribes and readers long after its composition. The success of the poem stems from Hoccleve's engagingly personal style, his method (by compiling together numerous sources which in turn authorised his readers to do the same), and the inherent malleability of his moral lessons which left the text open to various types of reading.

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Conventions and Abbreviations:

Manuscripts are identified in their first appearance by place, library and shelf mark, omitting place when this is clear from the library's name. Line numbers for *The Regiment of Princes* are taken from the edition of Charles R. Blyth (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1999). In transcriptions, I retain scribes' use of the graphs v/u. Expanded abbreviations are italicised. I use / for virgules and | for line breaks. Unless there is an existing convention, names have been anglicised; for instance, Aegidius Romanus as Giles of Rome.

Following Perkins, I refer to the first 2016 lines of the poem as the 'Dialogue', the section from lines 2017 to 2156 as the 'Prologue', and the remainder from 2157 to 5464 as the '*Regiment Proper*'.

BL	London, British Library
Blyth	<i>The Regiment of Princes</i> , ed. Charles R. Blyth (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1999)
BodL	Oxford, Bodleian Library
ChRev	<i>The Chaucer Review</i>
CCCC	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge
CUL	Cambridge University Library
CUP	Cambridge University Press
DIMEV	<i>Digital Index of Middle English Verse</i> , < https://www.dimev.net/index.html >
EETS	Early English Text Society
e.s.	Extra Series
o.s.	Original Series
EUL	Edinburgh University Library
HEHL	San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library
HLQ	<i>Huntington Library Quarterly</i>
JEGP	<i>The Journal of English and Germanic Philology</i>
LUP	Liverpool University Press
Marzec	Marcia Smith Marzec, 'The Latin Marginalia of the <i>Regiment of Princes</i> as an Aid to Stemmatic Analysis', <i>Text</i> , 3 (1987): 269–84
NLS	Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , ed. David Cannadine et al. (2004), < https://www.oxforddnb.com/ >
OUP	Oxford University Press
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
Perkins	Nicholas Perkins, <i>Hoccleve's Regiment of Princes: Counsel and Constraint</i> (Cambridge: Brewer, 2001)
PUL	Princeton, Princeton University Library
SAC	<i>Studies in the Age of Chaucer</i>
Seymour	Michael Charles Seymour, 'The Manuscripts of Hoccleve's Regiment of Princes', <i>Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions</i> , 4 (1974), 255–97
SJC	Cambridge, St John's College
TCC	Trinity College, Cambridge
TCD	Trinity College, Dublin
TNA	The National Archives

Manuscript Sigla

A	British Library, MS Arundel 38
Ar	British Library, MS Arundel 59
Ad	British Library, MS Additional 18632
As	Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 40
Bo	Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 221
Cc	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 496
Co	Coventry City Record Office, MS Acc. 325/1
Di	Bodleian Library, MS Digby 185
Do	Bodleian Library, MS Douce 158
Du	Bodleian Library, MS Dugdale 45
Ed	Edinburgh University Library, MS 202
Fi1	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MS McClean 182
Fi2	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MS McClean 185
Ga	Princeton University Library, MS Garrett 137
Gg	Cambridge University Library, MS Gg.6.17
Ha1	British Library, MS Harley 116
Ha2	British Library, MS Harley 372
Ha3	British Library, MS Harley 4826
Ha4	British Library, MS Harley 4866
Ha5	British Library, MS Harley 7333
Hh	Cambridge University Library, MS Hh.4.11
Hn1	San Marino, Huntington Library, MS El 26 A13
Hn2	San Marino, Huntington Library, MS HM 135 (formerly Phillipps 8980)
Kk	Cambridge University Library, MS Kk.1.3, part 10-12
La	Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 735
Le	Brotherton Library, MS 2286
Ma	Magdalene College, Cambridge, MS Pepys 2101
Ne	Chicago, Newberry Library, MS 33.7
Na	Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Advocates 19.I.II, part 3
Qu	Queens' College, Cambridge, MS 24 (formerly 12)
Ra1	Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. Poet.10
Ra2	Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. Poet.168
Ro	Philadelphia, Rosenbach Foundation, MS 1083/30
Ry1	British Library, MS Royal 17 C.xiv
Ry2	British Library, MS Royal 17 D.vi
Ry3	British Library, MS Royal 17 D.xviii
Ry4	British Library, MS Royal 17 D.xix
Se	Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden Supra 53
Sj	St. John's College, Cambridge, MS 223
Sl1	British Library, MS Sloane 1212
Sl2	British Library, MS Sloane 1825
So	London, Society of Antiquaries, MS 134
Tc	Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R.3.22 (602)
Ya	Yale University, Beinecke Library, MS 493

Introduction

The poetry of Thomas Hoccleve (c.1367–1426) has left behind one of the largest corpora of English literary manuscripts of the late-medieval period. Nevertheless, scholarship on his poetry has been historically author-centric. Hoccleve's strikingly personal and confessional writing has drawn critics and students to discuss his life and persona.¹ His handwriting has been identified in hundreds of Privy Seal documents,² and his professional career explored in detail.³ The three surviving autograph manuscripts of his poetry have been studied for their insights into authorial textual transmission, and praised for being 'free from all suspicion of interference by scribal intermediaries'.⁴

Scribal manuscripts of Hoccleve's works, by contrast, have been largely overlooked because they hold no critical authority for establishing an authorial text

¹ Sebastian Sobecki, 'Authorized Realities: The *Gesta Romanorum* and Thomas Hoccleve's Poetics of Autobiography', *Speculum*, 98.2 (2023): 536–58; Laurie Atkinson, '"Why Pat Yee Meeued Been / Can I Nat Knowe": Autobiography, Convention, and Discerning Doublesse in Thomas Hoccleve's *The Series*', *Neophilologus*, 101.3 (2017): 479–94.

² J.A. Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994); A.I. Doyle and M.B. Parkes, 'The Production of Copies of the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Confessio Amantis* in the Early Fifteenth Century', eds M.B. Parkes and A.G. Watson, *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts, and Libraries: Essays Presented to N.R. Ker* (London: Scolar, 1978), 163–210, esp.82; Linne R. Mooney, 'Some New Light on Thomas Hoccleve', *SAC*, 29 (2007): 293–340.

³ Helen Killick, 'Thomas Hoccleve as Poet and Clerk' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of York, 2010); Compton A. Reeves, 'Thomas Hoccleve, Bureaucrat', *Medievalia et Humanistica NS*, 5 (1974): 201–14; Malcolm Richardson, 'Hoccleve in His Social Context', *ChRev*, 20.4 (1986): 313–22; Misty Schieberle, 'Thomas Hoccleve of London: New Evidence of Hoccleve's Family and Finances', *SAC*, 45 (2023): 287–311; Sebastian Sobecki, 'Communities of Practice: Thomas Hoccleve, London Clerks, and Literary Production', *JEBs*, 24 (2021): 51–106.

⁴ *Thomas Hoccleve: A Facsimile of the Autograph Verse Manuscripts*, eds J.A. Burrow and A.I. Doyle, EETS s.s. 19 (London: EETS, 2002), xi. On autographs see John M. Bowers, 'Hoccleve's Two Copies of *Lerne to Dye*: Implications for Textual Critics', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 83 (1989): 437–72; David Greetham, 'Normalisation of Accidentals in Middle English Texts: The Paradox of Thomas Hoccleve', *Studies in Bibliography*, 38 (1985): 121–50.

(for most of his poems).⁵ However, Hoccleve's poetry survives in a multitude of forms and contexts across seventy-four scribal manuscripts and fragments. This corpus is a valuable resource for studying late-medieval readership. This thesis is concerned with manuscripts of Hoccleve's longest and most popular text, *The Regiment of Princes*, composed around 1410–1411 and addressed to Prince Henry, soon to become Henry V.⁶ My primary sources are the forty-four extant manuscripts, which form an ideal case-study to explore the transmission, circulation, and reception of vernacular poetry in this period. The existence of these forty-four premise many others, no longer extant, placing the *Regiment* amongst the most popular vernacular texts of the period.⁷

This thesis thus seeks to shift the author-centric focus of Hoccleve scholarship and instead draw attention to the scribes who copied his work – often critiqued for their errors and inconsistencies, but exemplary of the literary practices of their time. It also explores how the *Regiment* was read by a variety of people, far beyond its noble dedicatee Prince Henry. Its manuscripts are witnesses to the array of types of reading that the text enabled: practical, political, scholarly, moralising, epigrammatic, and more. This thesis attempts to provide a comprehensive study of the reception of the *Regiment*, to show the ways in which the text was both embedded in, and contributed to, the vernacular literary corpus of late-medieval England.

⁵ The exception being the *Letter of Cupid*, for which an authorial draft is only recoverable through scribal copies. See Charlotte E. Ross, 'Lost in Transcription: A New Textual Tradition of Thomas Hoccleve's *Letter of Cupid*', *SAC*, 46 (2024): 121–61.

⁶ For catalogue see Appendix 0.1.

⁷ Non-extant copies are discussed in Perkins, 152; and 'John Bale, Thomas Hoccleve, and a Lost Chaucer Manuscript', *N&Q*, 54.2 (2007): 128–31; Marzec, 269–70.

In his study of the transmission of Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum*, Charles F. Briggs mourns that his corpus is too vast to conduct a thorough examination of all manuscripts.⁸ This, fortunately, is not the case for Hoccleve's text. The evident popularity of the *Regiment* in late-medieval England and the cohesion of the corpus (with all manuscripts dating from the fifteenth century) makes it an ideal case-study. It falls within the 'goldilocks' range, with enough sources to fuel a detailed analysis of its manuscripts, but not too many to tackle in a single study.

Interest in Hoccleve's poetry has only grown over the past few decades. Foundational work by J.A. Burrow in the 1980s and 1990s established that Hoccleve was a worthy subject of study.⁹ This spurred subsequent work by Catherine Batt, Derek Pearsall, Larry Scanlon, James Simpson, and Paul Strohm, amongst others.¹⁰ Milestone monographs by Ethan Knapp, Sebastian Langdell, David Watt, and a recent volume of essays edited by Jenni Nuttall and David Watt have rejuvenated Hoccleve

⁸ Charles Briggs, *Giles of Rome's De Regimine Principum: Reading and Writing Politics at Court and University, c.1275–c.1525* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), 3.

⁹ J.A. Burrow, 'Autobiographical Poetry in the Middle Ages: The Case of Thomas Hoccleve', *Sir Israel Gollancz Memorial Lectures, Proceedings of the British Academy*, 68 (London: British Academy, 1983): 389–412; 'Thomas Hoccleve: Some Redatings', *RES*, 46 (1995): 366–72; and Burrow's monograph *Thomas Hoccleve*.

¹⁰ *Essays on Thomas Hoccleve*, ed. Catherine Batt (London: Brepols, 1996); Derek Pearsall, 'Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*: The Poetics of Royal Self-Representation', *Speculum*, 69.2 (1994): 386–410; Larry Scanlon, *Narrative, Authority, and Power: The Medieval Exemplum and the Chaucerian Tradition* (Cambridge: CUP, 1994); James Simpson, 'Nobody's Man: Thomas Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*', *London and Europe in the Later Middle Ages*, eds Julia Boffey and Pamela King (London: Queen Mary and Westfield College, 1995), 149–80; Paul Strohm, *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

scholarship.¹¹ A new critical edition of the Huntington holographs has been recently published, making Hoccleve's minor poems readily accessible in a digital format.¹² Others have seen the value to be had in studying Hoccleve's scribes. Nicholas Perkins's survey of *Regiment* manuscripts in the final chapter of his monograph indicates that there is still much exciting work to be done.¹³ Rory Critten has argued that a consideration of the fifteenth-century transmission and reception of Hoccleve's personal poetry can illuminate the dynamic mix of creativity and pragmatism which characterises the practices of book production and ownership.¹⁴ On the *Regiment* more specifically, Sonja Drimmer has examined a handful of manuscripts to suggest that late-medieval book producers were both aware of, and at times troubled by, the ontological ambiguity of the medium in which they worked.¹⁵ And Marcia Smith Marzec has argued that *Regiment* manuscripts offer valuable insights into the changing language and metre of the fifteenth century because they are numerous, uniform in dialect, and span the century.¹⁶ In 1974, Michael Seymour published a

¹¹ Ethan Knapp, *Bureaucratic Muse: Thomas Hoccleve and the Literature of Late Medieval England* (State College, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001); Sebastian Langdell, *Thomas Hoccleve: Religious Reform, Transnational Poetics, and the Invention of Chaucer* (Liverpool: LUP, 2020); David Watt, *The Making of Thomas Hoccleve's Series* (Liverpool: LUP, 2013); *Thomas Hoccleve: New Approaches*, eds Jenni Nuttall and David Watt (Cambridge: Brewer, 2023).

¹² *Thomas Hoccleve's Collected Shorter Poems: A Critical Edition of the Huntington Holographs*, ed. Sebastian Langdell (Liverpool: LUP, 2023).

¹³ Perkins, 151–91.

¹⁴ Rory G. Critten, "'Her Heed They Caste Awry': The Transmission and Reception of Thomas Hoccleve's Personal Poetry", *RES*, 64 (2013): 386–409.

¹⁵ Sonja Drimmer, 'The Manuscript as an Ambigraphic Medium: Hoccleve's Scribes, Illuminators, and Their Problems', *Exemplaria*, 29.3 (2017): 175–94.

¹⁶ Marcia Smith Marzec, 'Scribal Emendation in Some Later Manuscripts of Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', *Analytical & Enumerative Bibliography* NS, 1 (1987): 41–5.

catalogue of forty-two manuscripts of the *Regiment*.¹⁷ This provides a useful base to work from, but it is in need of updating. In addition to a discussion of several aspects of manuscript transmission and reception, this thesis provides a supplementary catalogue which attempts to fill the gaps and correct some errors in Seymour's work (Appendix 0.1).

Method

What does it mean to write a reception history?¹⁸ Reception encompasses a variety of types of encounter with a text: from the scribes (as the text's first readers) and its annotators, to its owners and donors. The subject of a reception history is the individuals and intellectual communities who owned and read a text. It uncovers the types of use a text underwent, and in turn draws conclusions about its readers from the material evidence of its manuscripts. In other words, it is concerned with the 'history of influence': not only how a work has been interpreted over time, but also our ongoing efforts to make sense of the text.¹⁹

A reception history also has the potential to enhance our understanding of the work itself. After all, the earliest reception of a text is scarcely distinguishable from its inception. In a corpus that contains multiple authorised manuscripts that were copied

¹⁷ Seymour, 253–97.

¹⁸ A term pioneered in the 1960s by scholars such as I.A. Richards, Louise Rosenblatt, and Stanley Fish.

¹⁹ Mark Knight, 'Wirkungsgeschichte, Reception History, Reception Theory', *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*, 33.2 (2010): 137–46 (137).

under the poet's supervision, the earliest acts of reception were themselves authorial. Though the premise of this thesis is to move away from Hoccleve, its findings will inevitably reflect back on the poet and his process of composing and copying the *Regiment*.

Manuscripts provide the material evidence from which the reception history of a medieval text is usually born. Michael Twomey once noted that too often we think of books as vehicles for texts, rather than as records of reception.²⁰ Many critical editions once sought to dismiss anomalies of so-called defective manuscripts in favour of the author's intentions. 'But whatever is not authorial in a manuscript', Twomey argued, 'may be a record of reception. Manuscripts are thus silent witnesses to the uses of past readers'.²¹ To expand on Twomey's argument, even manuscripts which maintain the authorial text are valid records of reception. The decision to copy something without varying is still a decision made, and still required effort on the part of the scribe. In this sense, the manuscript is not merely a static vessel but a dynamic record of ongoing dialogue between the text and its audience, a dialogue that evolves over time and reflects the changing priorities and cultural contexts of its scribes and readers.

This thesis views Hoccleve's scribes as his earliest readers. This is not a novel approach. Scribes have long been lauded as the 'intermediary readers' of medieval

²⁰ Michael Twomey, 'Towards a Reception History of Western Medieval Encyclopaedias in England before 1500', *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts*, 1997, vol. 79 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 327–419 (327).

²¹ *Ibid.*, 327.

Latin and vernacular languages by Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, Deborah McGrady, Eric H. Reiter, Daniel Sawyer, and Daniel Wakelin.²² Defined as the ‘individuals who fulfil an intercessory role when producing a material rendition of a work’, scribes function as readers for McGrady because they influence or guide another reader’s interpretation of a text.²³ In a similar sense, the scribes of the *Regiment* demonstrate careful attention to their text when they copied, re-presented, and sometimes altered it for new audiences and contexts. The decisions to include or omit marginal glosses, titles, and even parts of the text constitute not only acts of mediation but of reading and interpretation.²⁴

My work on who was reading the *Regiment* opens up new avenues for thinking about the poem, and addresses a few, seemingly basic questions: What type of text was it? How was it read? And what function did it serve? This thesis looks across the entire corpus to answer these questions. I take both a broad angle to identify overarching trends in transmission, and zoom in to focus on specific case-studies. This double approach attempts to counter the potential limitations of a case-study method

²² Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, 'Professional Readers of Langland at Home and Abroad: New Directions in the Political and Bureaucratic Codicology of *Piers Plowman*', *New Directions in Later Medieval Manuscript Studies: Essays from the 1998 Harvard Conference*, ed. Derek Pearsall (York: York Medieval Press, 2000), 103–30; Deborah McGrady, *Controlling Readers: Guillaume de Machaut and His Late Medieval Audience* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 9; Eric H. Reiter, 'The Reader as Author of the User-Produced Manuscript: Reading and Rewriting Popular Latin Theology in the Late Middle Ages', *Viator*, 27 (1996): 151–69; Daniel Sawyer, *Reading English Verse in Manuscript c.1350–c.1500* (Oxford: OUP, 2020); Daniel Wakelin, 'Instructing Readers in Fifteenth-Century Poetic Manuscripts', *HLQ*, 73.3 (2010): 433–52; and *Scribal Correction and Literary Craft: English Manuscripts 1375–1510* (Cambridge: CUP, 2014).

²³ McGrady, *Controlling Readers*, 9.

²⁴ On omission as an active choice, see Wakelin, 'Instructing Readers', 448.

by contextualising every manuscript within the wider corpus. Each case-study is analysed in terms of its thematic and genealogical context, placing it alongside other manuscripts that contain similar evidence and the manuscripts to which it is genetically related.

My method uses a combination of codicology and literary analysis, taking the corpus of *Regiment* manuscripts as a case-study to analyse the reception of vernacular poetry in late-medieval England. Others have shown the benefit of looking across a whole corpus, such as C. David Benson's study of *Piers Plowman* and Daniel Hobbins's survey of Jean Gerson's work.²⁵ My work sits at the intersection between literature and manuscript studies, looking across many manuscripts to study the ways in which people read medieval texts. For this, I draw inspiration from the work of Michael Johnston, Daniel Sawyer, and Daniel Wakelin.²⁶ My approach also integrates a more traditional analysis of stemmatology with the more sociocentric history of reading, striking a balance that benefits from both perspectives.

This thesis also participates in a new scholarly interest in investigating scribal engagement, and enters ongoing debates about textual variation and the significance of "authorial originals". The existence of Hoccleve's autograph manuscripts permits the rare opportunity to study medieval literature with known authorial intervention,

²⁵ C. David Benson, *Public Piers Plowman: Modern Scholarship and Late Medieval English Culture* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004); Daniel Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity before Print: Jean Gerson and the Transformation of Late Medieval Learning* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

²⁶ E.g. Michael Johnston, *The Middle English Book: Scribes and Readers, 1350–1500* (Oxford: OUP, 2024); Sawyer, *Reading English Verse*; Wakelin, *Scribal Correction*.

but it also allows for the comparison with later scribal manuscripts. This comparison yields valuable insights into fifteenth-century reading practices – what was changed and what was maintained in the transmission of the text. My approach aligns with a shift in editorial practice of the last three decades which looks beyond the autograph to consider scribal variants in the transmission of the text. Especially influential has been the work of Charles R. Blyth in preparation for his 1999 edition of the text, and David Greetham on the editing of the *Regiment*.²⁷ Both Blyth and Greetham saw the value of scribal manuscripts in the act of recovering the author's original text, and Blyth undertook a survey of every known scribal manuscript in the process of compiling his edition. Whilst our goals may differ, their intention and method remain relevant to this study.

The chapters that follow address several themes in the reception of the *Regiment*. First, a short chapter explores how the manuscripts were related to one another textually, using a stemmatic analysis. This provides one evidential base for comparing and linking manuscripts in later chapters. Chapter 2 focuses on paratexts to the *Regiment*, covering the Latin and Middle English traditions and unpicking the relationship between scribal and authorial paratexts. Chapter 3 turns to co-texts, identifying the texts with which the *Regiment* was compiled and those copied by its

²⁷ Charles R. Blyth, 'Editing *The Regiment of Princes*', *Essays on Thomas Hoccleve*, ed. Catherine Batt (London: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1996), 11–28; Greetham, 'Normalisation', 121–50; 'Challenges of Theory and Practice in the Editing of Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', *Manuscripts and Texts, Essays from the 1985 Conference at the University of York*, ed. Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Brewer, 1987), 60–86; 'Normalisation/Challenges in Editing Hoccleve', *Textual Transgressions* (New York: Garland, 1998), 123–8.

scribes to understand the poem's literary context. Chapters 2 and 3 work together to examine the interpretive apparatus which framed the poem and their influence on the reception of the text. Chapters 4 and 5 focus on provenance: first of manuscripts with lay owners, and then those with ecclesiastical owners. These chapters examine the circulation of the text through its recoverable readers and owners, drawing on a wealth of documentary evidence to sketch the context in which the text was being read. Finally, a short Chapter 6 applies a sociocentric network approach to investigate the trends and connections among readers and owners of *Regiment* manuscripts. The opening and closing chapters sandwich the longer, more detailed case-study driven chapters, providing a wider-angle view that takes in the larger context of the manuscript corpus. But before this, a brief overview of the corpus is necessary.

Overview of the corpus

The *Regiment* comprises 777 stanzas of rhyme royal and three in octets. The poem is divided into fifteen sections: an extended Dialogue between Hoccleve's *alter ego* and an Old Man, a brief Prologue, twelve parts each concerned with a different theme ('de fide observanda', 'de justitia', as such), and an Envoy.

Forty-four manuscripts are known to survive, with an additional two fragments surviving from one other copy. They were all produced in the fifteenth century and likely in the southeast of England, making this a reasonably localised

corpus.²⁸ Chapter five of Nicholas Perkins's *Counsel and Constraint* provides an overview of forty-three of the manuscripts, briefly discussing aspects of compilation, annotation, decoration, ownership, and genre.²⁹ The remainder of this chapter instead describes the complexity of the corpus in regard to date, material, script, decoration, and form.

Of the forty-four manuscripts, twenty-six present the text in isolation, testifying to its integrity as an independent work and to the interests of its readers in the text in particular. Of those books that compile it with other texts, five combine it with Hoccleve's *Series* and Lydgate's *Danse Macabre*, and eight with other texts by Walton and Lydgate.³⁰ There is substantial variety in the appearance of *Regiment* manuscripts, ranging from luxuriously decorated parchment copies to simple unadorned paper volumes, with the majority of copies falling somewhere in between. But they are broadly consistent in the text they contain, with only a handful of exceptions discussed later. The majority of copies transmit the whole *Regiment*, in its entirety, with a Dialogue, Prologue, *Regiment* Proper, and Envoy.³¹ Two now present a version of the text that omits the Dialogue: Ha2 and Ra2.³² Only one of these was likely planned that way; the other is likely the result of later damage.³³ Given that the text is so clearly

²⁸ Marzec, 269.

²⁹ Perkins, 151–91.

³⁰ See chapter 3 for the collocation of manuscripts.

³¹ A few copies omit the Envoy due to damage, eg. Le, but in these cases it is evident that the full text was once present.

³² Following the sigla on page 7.

³³ See chapter 2.

split into two parts, it is remarkable that scribes nearly always chose to copy the whole text, especially given its length. Even conflated copies transmit the whole text, in the correct order.

The manuscripts can be broadly divided into six groups by date and displayed in chronological order. There is necessarily some overlap in these groups, as dating must be speculative, based on a variety of palaeographical, material, and provenance evidence.³⁴ However this means of organisation allows the corpus to be plotted out on a timeline of transmission as the text moved away from the poet.

³⁴ When dating is purely palaeographical, estimated dates are provided from comparison with: Andrew Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c.435–1600 in Oxford Libraries*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984); P.R. Robinson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c.737–1600 in Cambridge Libraries*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Brewer, 1988); P.R. Robinson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c.888–1600 in London Libraries*, 2 vols (London: British Library, 2003).

Manuscript	Dating	Group
<i>A</i>	1411–c.1412	Group 1: produced (possibly) under Hoccleve's supervision
<i>Ha4</i>	1411–c.1412	
<i>Ry3</i>	c.1413–1426	
<i>Se</i>	1420–1435	Group 2: Selden scribe produced before c.1435
<i>Le</i>	1420–1435	
<i>Qu</i>	1420–1435	
<i>Tc</i>	1420–1450	Group 3: produced sometime in the second quarter of the fifteenth century
<i>Do</i>	1425–1450	
<i>Ed</i>	1425–1450	
<i>Ry4</i>	1425–1450	
<i>Cc</i>	1436–1446	
<i>Ry2</i>	1438–1450 ³⁵	
<i>Hn1</i>	1440–1456	Group 4: mid-century production
<i>Ad</i>	1440–1460	
<i>Bo</i>	1440–1460	
<i>Di</i>	1440–1460	
<i>Ha3</i>	1440–1460	
<i>Ra1</i>	1440–1460	
<i>Ra2</i>	1440–1460	
<i>Sl2</i>	1440–1460	
<i>Sl1</i>	1440–1460	
<i>So</i>	1440–1460	
<i>Ma</i>	1440–1465	
<i>Ne</i>	1440–1465	
<i>Ha5</i>	1450–1465	Group 5: third quarter of the fifteenth century
<i>Ar</i>	1450–1475	
<i>As</i>	1450–1475	
<i>Co</i>	1450–1475	
<i>Fi1</i>	1450–1475	
<i>Fi2</i>	1450–1475	
<i>Ha1</i>	1450–1475	
<i>Hh</i>	1450–1475	
<i>Hn2</i>	1450–1475	
<i>Kk</i>	1450–1475	
<i>La</i>	1450–1475	
<i>Na</i>	1450–1475	
<i>Ro</i>	1450–1475	
<i>Ry1</i>	1450–1475	
<i>Ya</i>	1450–1475	
<i>Ha2</i>	1459–1484 ³⁶	
<i>Du</i>	1475–1500	Group 6: fourth quarter of the fifteenth century
<i>Gg</i>	1475–1500	
<i>Ga</i>	1475–1500	
<i>Sj</i>	1475–1500	

Figure 1. Date-distribution of Regiment manuscripts.

³⁵ Due to the coat of arms of Joan Neville after her marriage to William FitzAlan.

³⁶ Dating based on the Hammond scribe's period of activity; see chapter 3.

The first group are located perhaps closest to the poet: MS A and Ha4, two presentation copies that were likely produced under Hoccleve's supervision, and Ry3, which was copied by a scribe likely close to the poet and trained in a similar milieu.³⁷ These three can speculatively be placed in the first dating category, from the work's composition until 1426 when Hoccleve is thought to have died. The next group is also locatable to a specific context. Se, Le, and Qu were all copied by one scribe, known as the Selden scribe, who was active within a window of 1420–1435 (based on palaeographical evidence and provenance).³⁸ After this, manuscripts are for the most part broadly locatable to a quarter of the century. A final group of four (Du, Ga, Gg, Sj) were produced in the last quarter of the century, based on palaeographical assessment. Some manuscripts within these categories are given more precise dating windows due to provenance, for instance heraldic shields which indicate the marriage of a patron, or dated ownership inscriptions.

The organisation of manuscripts chronologically can also be visualised in graphic form, using a gradient effect to demonstrate the likelihood of dating:

³⁷ Lawrence Warner, 'Scribes, Misattributed: Hoccleve and Pinkhurst', *SAC*, 37 (2015): 55–100; responding to Linne R. Mooney, 'A Holograph Copy of Thomas Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', *SAC*, 33 (2011): 263–96; Sebastian Sobiecki, 'The Handwriting of Fifteenth-Century Privy Seal and Council Clerks', *RES*, 72.30 (2021): 253–79 (277).

³⁸ Linne R. Mooney, 'A Scribe of Lydgate's *Troy Book* and London Book Production in the First Half of the Fifteenth Century', *Pursuing Middle English Manuscripts and their Texts: Essays in Honour of Ralph Hanna*, eds Simon Horobin and Aditi Nafde (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 19–42; A.I. Doyle and George B. Pace, 'A New Chaucer Manuscript', *PMLA*, 83 (1968): 22–34.

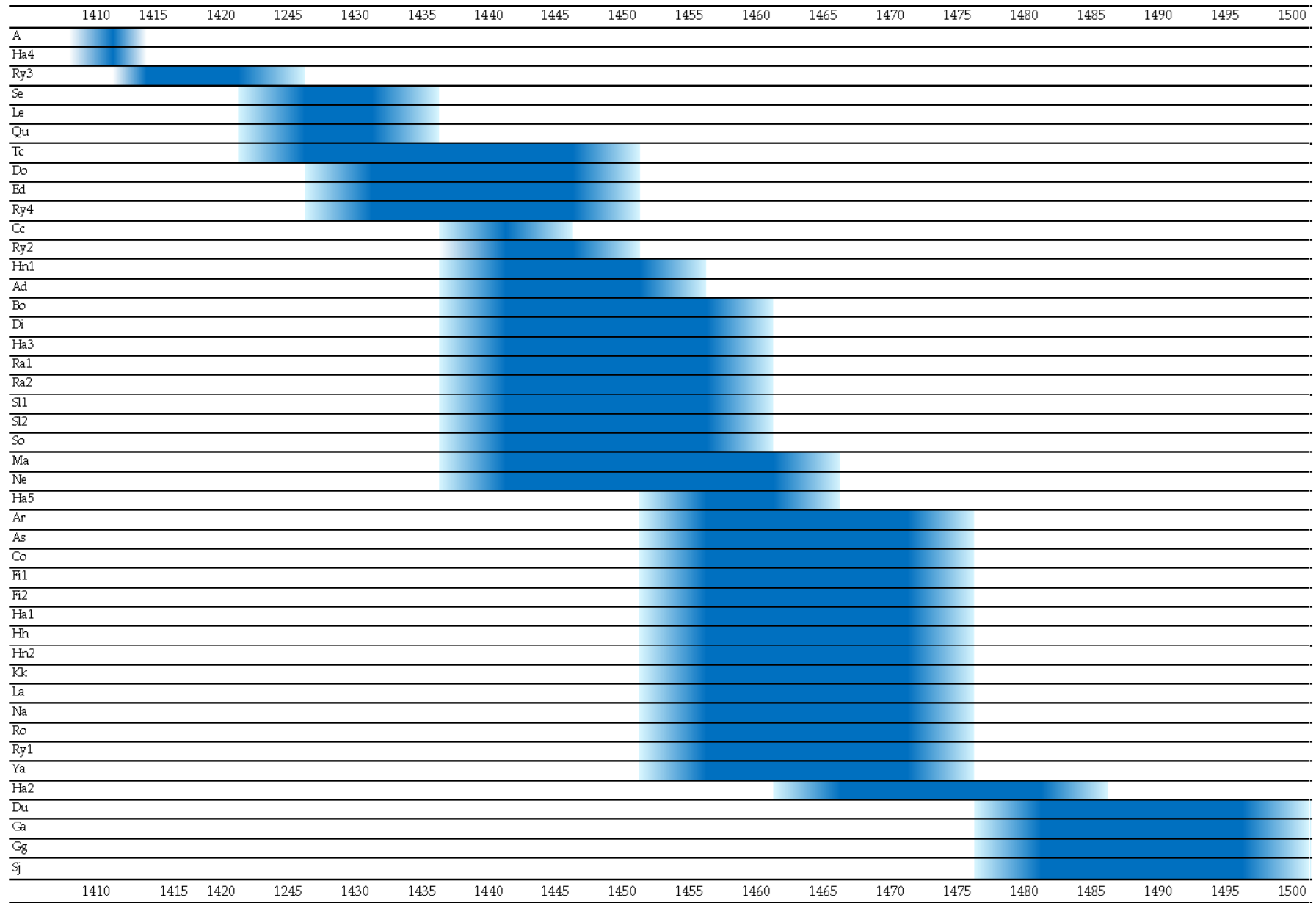


Figure 2. Date distribution of Regiment manuscripts.

The majority of manuscripts were produced after Hoccleve's lifetime, and indeed many decades after his death. The distribution in these categories suggests that the production of manuscripts peaked in the second half of the century, especially between 1440 and 1475. Production decreases towards the end of the century, with only four copies produced in the final quarter. This ebb could be explained by what Michael G. Sargent calls as a 'levelling off' effect, when the market of book production became saturated with copies.³⁹ Sargent identifies this same trend in the production of copies of the *Canterbury Tales*, *Confessio amantis*, and *Prick of Conscience*.

The distribution of *Regiment* manuscripts across the fifteenth century is similar to a trend identified by Carla Bozzolo and Ezio Ornato in their survey of 6,200 northern French manuscripts.⁴⁰ They note that the fifteenth century saw a thirty percent increase in production from the previous century.⁴¹ Their findings show a boom in manuscript production in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, with production tapering off in the final quarter.⁴² This distribution also mirrors the findings of Jan Luiten van Zanden in his survey of manuscript production in Western Europe from 600 to 1500, in which he identifies a gradual increase in production until

³⁹ Michael G. Sargent, 'What do the Numbers Mean? Observations on Some Patterns of Middle English Manuscript Transmission', *Design and Distribution of Late Medieval Manuscripts in England*, eds Margaret Connolly and Linne R. Mooney (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2008), 205–44 (243).

⁴⁰ Carla Bozzolo and Ezio Ornato, *Pour une histoire du livre manuscrit au Moyen Age: trois essais de codicologie quantitative* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1980).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 97.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 103 Tableau M. Contextualised by a comparable boom in production in the thirteenth century, followed by a decrease in production in the fourteenth century.

1500, with a spike between 1420 and 1470, gradually declining after this point due to the rise of print.⁴³

The nature of this production is worth pausing upon. A.S.G. Edwards and Derek Pearsall have argued that after 1410 there was a shift in the pattern of book production towards expansion, centralisation, and commercialisation caused by the general increase in literacy.⁴⁴ However, more recent work by Michael Johnston nuances this statement by suggesting that this period is better characterised by variability, diversity, and divergence.⁴⁵ Johnston's survey demonstrates that late-medieval England witnessed 'a proliferation of manuscript forms, largely the result of a proliferation of book producers, methods of book production, and sites of book production'.⁴⁶ Johnston argues that between the periods of expansion and centralisation (as noted by Edwards and Pearsall), there was a moment of (generally) decentralised production in which books were made *here* in relation to the reader rather than *there*.⁴⁷ Middle English manuscripts are thus a flexible medium which was able to accommodate the needs of a diverse range of readers and scribes. The *Regiment* corpus accounts for both of these perspectives. There are certainly some manuscripts which represent a concerted effort to produce multiple consistent copies, likely in a

⁴³ Jan Luiten van Zanden, *The Long Road to the Industrial Revolution* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 78–9, fig. 4.

⁴⁴ A.S.G. Edwards and Derek Pearsall, 'The Manuscripts of the Major English Poetic Texts', *Book Production and Publishing in Britain: 1375–1475*, eds Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: CUP, 1989), 257–78.

⁴⁵ Johnston, *The Middle English Book*, 1–2.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 2.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 2.

more centralised environment. But other copies are unique and evidently the product of a specific context and specific type of reader and scribe.

Plotting the manuscripts chronologically also demonstrates that paper copies and those mixing paper and parchment were only produced after the mid-century, with one possible exception.⁴⁸ The most common type of *Regiment* produced before 1450 was parchment, but by the second half of the century paper became the material of choice, with mixed paper and parchment books following closely behind. This trend is in keeping with one identified by Orietta Da Rold in her study of medieval paper production, where she observes a marked increase in paper-based books from the mid-fourteenth to the close of the fifteenth century in England.⁴⁹

There is also a correlation between material and size: paper manuscripts are on the whole smaller, whilst parchment books are much larger. Of course, the extent to which material has affected the survival of manuscripts is impossible to reckon with – perhaps more paper copies were being produced across the fifteenth century which have simply not survived. The proportion of surviving manuscripts is twenty-four parchment, ten paper, and ten mixed – a comparable ratio to the fifty-nine

⁴⁸ Cc, an early paper copy dated 1436–46 by its provenance, see chapter 5. This raises the possibility that there are other paper copies that might be earlier than they seem.

⁴⁹ Orietta Da Rold, *Paper in Medieval England: From Pulp to Fictions* (Cambridge: CUP, 2020), 101, 155, fig. 4.1.

manuscripts and fragments of *Piers Plowman*, of which I have counted forty-four parchment, fourteen paper, and one mixed.⁵⁰

Most copies of the *Regiment* are executed in a secretary script, twenty of which are in a more ornate set variety of the script.⁵¹ These more elaborate copies, many of which belong to the first half of the fifteenth century, are characterised by their well-spaced calligraphic hands containing cursive forms derived from secretary with the proportions and stylistic features of *textura*.⁵² There are some recognisably *anglicana* features but the overall aspect retains the characteristic secretary look. As the corpus progresses into the second half of the fifteenth century, the most common script used is a less formal secretary, with some manuscripts written using a combination of secretary and *anglicana* graphs.

Broadly speaking then, the manuscripts earlier in the corpus have a greater tendency to be written in a more elaborate script. There is a similar trend in decoration: the most decorated manuscripts were predominantly produced earlier in the fifteenth century. The two manuscripts produced closest to Hoccleve, A and Ry2, are the most decorated in the corpus (with one exception).⁵³ At one point, both contained Chaucer

⁵⁰ Using, in part, *The Manuscripts of Piers Plowman: The B-Version*, eds C. David Benson, Lynne S. Blanchfield, and Marie-Claire Uhart (Cambridge: Brewer, 1997).

⁵¹ Following the terminology of M.B. Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands 1250–1500* (Oxford: OUP, 1969, repr. 2016), xxi, plates 14–15.

⁵² Parker, *English Cursive Book Hands*, xxi.

⁵³ This exception is Hh, a later copy that has a curious and unique decorative programme. Sixteen leaves are decorated with borders featuring human figures, mythical creatures, and scrolls containing text. See chapter 2.

portraits.⁵⁴ They both have elaborate decorative schemes, opening with three-sided borders in red, blue, gold, and silver. Ha4 preserves a Chaucer portrait, but its presentation scene has been lost. Both Ha4 and A also contain the same image of a human figure pulling a marginal stanza into place.⁵⁵

However, the presentation scene of the kneeling poet was predominantly not replicated, unlike the standard images that accompanied the *Confessio amantis* for instance. This is an interesting comparison, as the illustrations of the Dream of Nebuchadnezzar and the Confession were likely authorised by Gower in a similar way to Hoccleve's miniature.⁵⁶ Given that Hoccleve calls to 'my maistir Gower' (1975) in the *Regiment*, it is plausible that he was influenced by these illustrations when developing his own image-text. Whilst the lost *Regiment* presentation copies likely also contained miniatures, it is notable that the manuscripts not produced under Hoccleve's supervision did away with the miniature altogether.

A few manuscripts further from the poet did contain miniatures, but little other decoration. Co opens with a large scene, occupying two thirds of the page, of a robed figure on a natural backdrop framed in red and blue with delicate spraywork.⁵⁷ On a much smaller scale, Ad marks the Envoy with a small miniature of a scribe in blue robes seated at a desk. Ha3 similarly opens with a seven-line historiated initial

⁵⁴ Ry2, f.93v; A excised after f.90. Other manuscripts lack the page that might have contained the Chaucer portrait, but it is uncertain whether they are of sufficient quality to have had one: Qu, Hn1.

⁵⁵ Ha4, f.62r; A, f.65r.

⁵⁶ Derek Pearsall, 'The Manuscripts and Illustrations of Gower's Work', *A Companion to Gower*, ed. Siân Echard (Cambridge: Brewer, 2004), 73–97 (86).

⁵⁷ See chapter 5.

housing a male figure in green and red robes. Ro contains a Chaucer portrait only, most likely copied from Ha4 or its exemplar. Some manuscripts are decorated with heraldic elements. Di is the most elaborate of these (although A, Ar, and Hh also contain heraldry), with numerous decorated initials with incorporated coats of arms.⁵⁸ These appear at the beginning of texts in the manuscript, and at the division between the Dialogue and Prologue as well.

But the majority of the corpus is sparsely limned, with only a few choice examples of decoration to mark key moments in the text. Manuscripts like Ad, Do, and So open with a four-sided border and seven-line lombardic capital, followed by large decorated initials with spraywork. Then there are manuscripts with less elaborate decorative schemes. Many mark the division between the Dialogue, *Regiment* Proper, and Envoy with multiple line lombardic capitals, usually with flourished details.⁵⁹ Some contain unexecuted decorative schemes, like Gg and Ha2 which contain only the spaces for initials that have not been completed.

Four *Regiment* manuscripts provide rhyming braces for the full text: Bo, Di, La, and Ya.⁶⁰ Others brace short extracts only.⁶¹ Di is an outlier, copied (as shown by Marzec) from a manuscript without rhyming braces.⁶² It was commissioned by the

⁵⁸ See chapter 4 and Carol M. Meale, 'The Politics of Book Ownership: The Hopton Family and Bodleian Library, Digby MS 185', *Prestige, Authority and Power in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts*, ed. Felicity Riddy (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2000), 103–32.

⁵⁹ Eg. Ha1, La, Ra1, Ra2.

⁶⁰ Bo, La, Ya are also the only manuscripts to delineate stanza divisions with red lines.

⁶¹ Eg. Cc, ff.59v–60r.

⁶² Ry2.

powerful Hopton family of Suffolk, who filled their manuscript with the heraldry of associated gentry families as a statement of social and political belonging. Perhaps the addition of rhyming braces was simply another method of aggrandising their book. Or it could suggest that this scribe was particularly attentive to the poem's rhyme scheme. As Daniel Sawyer has noted, rhyming braces served multiple purposes, both as ornamental decorations and useful markers of poetic form.⁶³ The Di scribe makes a few errors when bracing the unpartnered fifth line which suggest a slight discomfort at its loose end – perhaps a widely held discomfort which is only made visible in this instance by the decorative bracing scheme.⁶⁴

Comparatively speaking then, despite the fame of the presentation scenes and Chaucer portraits, for the majority of the corpus decoration was reserved for the practical issue of textual division. A similar example may be Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, which like the *Regiment* is divided into a prologue and several books. Some manuscripts of the *Fall* contained miniatures, as Lesley Lawton notes, but they typically use flourished initials and floreated borders to mark major divisions in the text.⁶⁵ Lydgate's works on the whole though are more decorated than Hoccleve's.⁶⁶

The form and layout of these manuscripts is also worthy of note. A substantial group, nineteen out of forty-four, present the text (by and large) with four stanzas per

⁶³ Sawyer, *Reading English Verse*, 110–143 (139).

⁶⁴ E.g. Di, ff.140r, 136v, 122v, 115r, 110v.

⁶⁵ Lesley Lawton, "'To Studie in Bookis of Antiquite': The Illustrated Manuscripts of Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* as Witnesses of Cultural Practice", *Anglophonia*, 29 (2011): 61–78 (62).

⁶⁶ Kathleen L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390–1490*, vol. I (London: Harvey Miller, 1996), 35.

page.⁶⁷ This distribution of four-stanza manuscripts in the corpus is non-genetic and not restricted to a particular time period.⁶⁸ In other words, form was not copied across manuscripts but rather decided by the scribe depending on resources, time, and personal preference.⁶⁹ The same can be said of manuscripts that use a five and six stanza layout.⁷⁰ Only three manuscripts use a two-column layout: Co, Ha4, and So: all large miscellanies of Middle English verse which are double-columned throughout.

About half of the manuscripts (twenty-three) feature spaces between stanzas, a design that Perkins notes not only provided extra room for the Latin apparatus but also made the text easier to read and copy.⁷¹ Beyond its practicality, this layout also lends the page a sense of gravitas. The rhyme royal scheme, historically used to address kings and princes, is another indicator of formal grandeur.⁷² Additionally, Aditi Nafde has suggested that the use of rubricated glosses in most of the manuscripts further imbues the text with scholastic authority, presenting the *Regiment* as a serious text for a prince.⁷³ Together, the combination of spaced stanzas, the rhyme royal scheme, and the visual impact of the Latin apparatus elevates the tone of (many) *Regiment* manuscripts to reflect the moral weight of the text.

⁶⁷ A, As, Do, Du, Ed, Gg, Ha1, Ha4, Hh, Hn2, Le, Ma, Na, Ry2, Ry4, Se, Sj, Sl1, and Tc.

⁶⁸ Nine manuscripts belong to the first half of the century, and the other ten to the second half.

⁶⁹ See Daniel Wakelin, *Immaterial Texts in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge: CUP, 2022), 69–111.

⁷⁰ Respectively, Ra1 and Di, and Ad, Co, Qu.

⁷¹ Perkins, 154.

⁷² Martin Stevens, 'The Royal Stanza in Early English Literature', *PMLA*, 94.1 (1979): 62–76 (63).

⁷³ Aditi Nafde, 'Deciphering the Manuscript Page: the Mise-En-Page of Chaucer, Gower, and Hoccleve Manuscripts' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oxford, 2012), 201.

The Arundel presentation copy (MS A) is one example of the spaced four-stanza layout. As this copy was likely supervised by Hoccleve, we can imagine that this layout is how Hoccleve expected the text to look. It is tempting to speculate whether the length of each section has been dictated by this form to make the four-stanza layout the most visually satisfying way of copying the text. Assuming the text begins at the top of the first folio, the ending of the Dialogue would fall at the foot of the thirty-second folio verso (also the end of the fourth quire, if they were quires of eight as was most common in the early fifteenth century).⁷⁴ The Prologue could then begin at the top of the thirty-third recto. The twenty stanzas of the Prologue fit neatly onto three and a half folios, leaving the *Regiment* Proper to begin at the top of the next page (which would be 36v).⁷⁵ With this layout, the full text would require twelve quires of eight and a final bifolium, or a twelfth quire of ten. These numbers add up so perfectly that one wonders whether Hoccleve, an experienced scribe, was conscious of this four-stanza layout as he composed the *Regiment*.⁷⁶ If he were aware of the material form of poetry, this would allow for the text to be divided neatly into parts for simultaneous copying and would minimise wasted materials.

Form was obviously important to the scribe of A. The number of blank lines at section divisions varies so that the scribe can correct the placement of stanza divisions.

⁷⁴ Manuscripts with six stanzas per page also align the start of the Dialogue with the top of a page.

⁷⁵ Perkins, 154 n.12.

⁷⁶ Of course, in the Arundel copy there is a presentation scene which takes up the space of three stanzas, but Hoccleve must have expected that the majority of his copies would be produced without presentation scenes.

For instance, the start of the *Regiment* Proper shifts the stanza division over by three lines, and the scribe corrects this a few pages later by placing the title 'De Justicia' in a three-line gap so that the next stanza can start afresh on the next page.⁷⁷ Form is more important than content here, as the title has been separated from its text and the border to ensure that the stanzas are not split.⁷⁸ On pages with four stanzas and a border, he writes further into the lower margin to maintain the four-stanza layout, sacrificing the visual coherence of the page in favour of textual completeness.⁷⁹

Other details in this manuscript also suggest careful attention to form. Aditi Nafde has shown that paraphs in A and its pair Ha4 are carefully placed to provide a punctuational function, making the dialogue aspect of the first half of the poem central to the interpretation of the text as a whole.⁸⁰ This mirrors the structure of the *Regiment* Proper, as Nafde notes: 'Just as the main body of [the *Regiment*] is divided into thematic sections, these sections are broken down into smaller units of meaning'.⁸¹ Both the use of these paraphs and the positioning of titles speak to the scribe's interest in copying the *Regiment* regardless of the material confines of the page.

But this was not a universal concern. Some manuscripts are less precise about their layout. A few, like Ar, begin nicely with four stanzas per page, but soon deviate

⁷⁷ Ff.39v and 45r.

⁷⁸ See Wakelin, *Immaterial Texts*, 134–5.

⁷⁹ Eg. ff.55r 'de pietate', 63r 'de paciencia', and 75r 'largitatis et prodigalitatis'.

⁸⁰ Aditi Nafde, 'Stanza Markers in MSS Arundel 38 and Harley 4866 of Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', *N&Q*, 61.1 (2014): 15–18; Nafde, 'Deciphering the Manuscript Page', 208.

⁸¹ Nafde, 'Deciphering the Manuscript Page', 210.

from this pattern through the addition of one or two lines to the page.⁸² Others make a more concerted effort to correct themselves when they err from this pattern. One scribe maintains the four-stanza layout until he falls out by three lines, but manages to correct himself soon after.⁸³ He breaks the pattern again later but has corrected his mistake by the next page.⁸⁴ In another case, two additional lines are copied on one page, but the scribe corrects himself two folios later by cramming the additional lines into the frame, returning to the correct four-stanzas a few pages later.⁸⁵ This is comparable to the interest Daniel Wakelin identifies in preventing the material format of the page from obscuring the form of verse in manuscripts of Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*.⁸⁶

Another scribe was conscious of the ideal four-stanza layout, even if his exemplar was imperfect. Hn1 contains a page where a portion of text is missing, and the scribe leaves the space of one stanza blank in the hopes that it will turn up later.⁸⁷ This suggests that it was important not only to maintain the four-stanza layout, but to copy the *correct* four stanzas on each page. That is not to say that it was driven by an interest in the text per se: gaps like these reflect, Wakelin notes, a warning to colleagues and readers 'to be wary of unfinished business', a practical part of the book production process in which some later corrector may supply the missing material.

⁸² Ar, f.52r.

⁸³ Gg, f.22v.

⁸⁴ Gg, ff.68r–69v.

⁸⁵ Hh, ff.18v–20r.

⁸⁶ Wakelin, *Scribal Correction*, 238.

⁸⁷ Hn1, f.28v, ll. 603–9. The cognate Na contains this missing verse on f.12r.

But the omission in this copy of the *Regiment* does reveal something about its scribe's attitudes to form, even if they are idealised.

Mistakes in other copies reveal an intriguing method of copying verse layout. The scribe of Hn2 made his copy stanza-by-stanza from his exemplar, which is only made visible when he muddled his stanza order.⁸⁸ He accidentally repeated stanzas 421 and 422 after 440, realised his mistake, and was forced to copy stanzas 441 and 444 in the outer margin of the page to ensure that he ended the page on the right stanza. There is the possibility that this type of copying was intended for another *Regiment* manuscript too, Ra1, which begins with catchwords on every verso by another scribe, perhaps in preparation to copy from it page by page.⁸⁹ (Or these may instead be what is known as 'directions', to ease the reader when moving from page to page.) These are rare examples of the scribes' exploitation of the material division of the text to assist their copying.⁹⁰

Subtle signs suggest that some scribes prioritised the number of lines per page above all else. The scribe of Ha1 makes a mistake on the verso of his second folio, missing the stanza division between the third and fourth stanzas of the page. Rather than erase his work, he adds in a superfluous space between the third and fourth line of the last stanza, ensuring that his last line still falls at the correct point at the bottom of the page. He makes the same error on the next page, with the same solution. A

⁸⁸ Hn2, f.51r.

⁸⁹ Ra1, ff.1v–6v only. Every recto of the manuscript is also foliated in an early hand.

⁹⁰ For other examples of copying stanza-by-stanza, see Wakelin, *Scribal Correction*, 45–70; and Julia Boffey, *Manuscript and Print in London c. 1475–1530* (London: British Library, 2012), 181.

sixteenth century reader leaves corrections in this manuscript, usually glossing individual words in the margin. At these layout mistakes he leaves notes marking where the new 'Staff', or stanza, should have begun, evidently displeased with the messy result.⁹¹

Thirty-seven manuscripts are consistent in the number of lines they copy per page, whether or not this be by stanza division. Those that are not are usually within a range of two to three lines in difference per page and only frame ruled. This makes sense, as it would allow a scribe to estimate the amount of material and time that would be needed to copy the text.⁹² Some scribes evidently did plan ahead. The scribe of Kk copies thirty-seven lines per page consistently, a number which seems strange until you realise that he has fit the entire *Regiment* into ten quires of eight exactly.

Thus, the study of form in *Regiment* manuscripts yields competing conclusions. Some scribes seemed attentive to verse form and adapted their mise-en-page to accommodate their careful reading of the text, whilst others prioritised ease of copying above all else. Perhaps some copies reveal both types of attentiveness, varying from page to page in the process of copying. That form was not transmitted stemmatically but was decided upon by the scribe is important here. It suggests that, as well as practical restraints of time and materials, preconceived notions about the text and how it should look could influence the scribes' use of form. The fact that the most common

⁹¹ Wakelin, *Scribal Correction*, 242 n.94.

⁹² Pearsall and Edwards, 'Manuscripts of the Major English Poetic Texts', 257–78.

form of a *Regiment* is four spaced stanzas per page, accompanied by marginal Latin apparatus, can be read in parallel with Hoccleve's literary aspiration to write a text fit for a Prince. While the recurrence of this layout and apparatus may gesture towards Hoccleve's authorial intentions, it also foregrounds the need to consider how the poem circulated and changed, a line of inquiry that begins with an examination of textual relationships among the manuscripts.

Chapter 1: Stemmatology

This chapter begins by examining how the manuscripts of Hoccleve's *Regiment* relate to each other on a textual level, a necessary first step before later chapters turn to the reception of the text. To do this, I draw on error-based stemmatic theory, also called Lachmannian stemmatics, which allows an editor to reconstruct the transmission of a text through a process called recension.¹ As Paul Maas argued in the mid-twentieth century, errors arising in the process of transcription are of 'decisive significance' when studying the interrelationships between manuscripts.² A stemma is then built by comparing variants in manuscripts and identifying significant readings in common, which allow one to group several manuscripts under a common ancestor from which they have taken these readings. Scribal errors and creative engagement create a distinctive set of characteristics which point towards the position of a manuscript in the text's family tree.

Lachmannian stemmatics were publicly rejected by Joseph Bédier on the grounds that this approach recreated an artificial text that did not exist. He did have legitimate reasons for disagreeing with Lachmann's method: for the medieval French texts that Bédier studied, there were simply too many variants that were caused by deliberate engagement with the text, in an attempt by its scribes to create new versions of the text. Whilst Lachmannian variants signified the gradual "degradation" of the

¹ For a comparison between the 'Lachmannian' and 'best manuscript' approaches, see Robert Burchard Constantijn Huygens, *Ars Edendi: a Practical Introduction to Editing Medieval Latin Texts* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 36–8.

² Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism*, trans. B. Flower (Oxford: OUP, 1958), 42.

text, for Bédier's texts the variants marked the emergence of different texts entirely. He favoured instead a 'best text' approach, which selected a single manuscript as the basis for an edition.³ This, however, also had its flaws as a method, as it is rare that one specific manuscript is more "correct" than the others all of the time. The Lachmann-Bédier debate was followed by a shift in the 1980s and 1990s towards a 'New Philology' which sought to study texts in the form in which they are attested, in other words despite (and indeed because of) their variants. It concerns 'a return to and a re-emphasis on the medieval manuscript as the focal point of study, with attention to all the elements of the manuscript', not only the text but also decoration, layout, and evidence of use.⁴

Though it has been selected as the primary method for this chapter, error-based stemmatic theory does have its limitations. One is the baseline assumption that, as David L. d'Avray notes, 'each scribe copied from only one manuscript, and from a manuscript "pure" and uncontaminated by marginal or interlinear notes giving readings from other manuscripts'.⁵ Ralph Hanna also argues that there is the need for personal judgement when deciding which errors represent significant variants, and that such judgements must be consistent.⁶ 'No priori mechanism', he notes, 'exists for

³ On the two methods, see Bernard Cerquiglini, *In Praise of the Variant: A Critical History of Philology*, trans. Betsy Wing (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 46–71.

⁴ Susan Yager, 'New Philology', *Handbook of Medieval Studies*, in 3 vols, ed. Albrecht Classen (New York: De Gruyter, 2011), vol. 1, 999–1006 (999).

⁵ David L. d'Avray, 'Contamination, Stemmatics and the Editing of Medieval Latin Texts', *Ars Edendi Lecture Series 2* (Stockholm: Stockholm University, 2012), 63–82 (67).

⁶ Ralph Hanna, *Pursuing History: Middle English Manuscripts and Their Texts* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), 85.

separating accidentally convergent readings from those that are the product of the vertical transmission a stemma presumes to depict'.⁷ Anne Hudson also highlights that recension which seeks to reconstruct an authorial original can have the adverse effect of viewing 'all scribes as interfering and incompetent dunces'.⁸

George Kane and E. Talbot Donaldson give perhaps the most damning condemnation of recension: that evidence for genetic relation relies on the agreement of *unoriginal* readings, and that to draw conclusions from this type of evidence runs the risk of being misleading.⁹ Their objection to recension as an editorial practice is a circular paradox which Peter M. W. Robinson and Robert J. O'Hara summarise neatly:

One cannot create a stemma until one knows what readings are archetypal, but one cannot determine what readings are archetypal until one has a stemma.¹⁰

But these problems can be mitigated, and Kane and Donaldson's own approach has its disadvantages too. Stemmatic theory is still valuable for the insights it offers into the mutation of the text and its social history through manuscript transmission.¹¹ Hanna suggests that stemmatics can still play a productive role at a mediate point in the editorial process, as an 'inductive tool' that is open to adjustment as editing

⁷ Ibid., 86.

⁸ Anne Hudson, 'Middle English', *Editing Medieval Texts: English, French, and Latin Written in England*, ed. A.G. Rigg (London: Garland Publishing, 1977), 34–57 (39).

⁹ Piers Plowman: *The B Version*, eds George Kane and E. Talbot Donaldson (London: Athlone Press, 1975), 17. See also *The Oxford Chaucer*, eds Christopher Cannon and James Simpson (Oxford: OUP, 2024), 31–2.

¹⁰ Peter M.W. Robinson and Robert J. O'Hara, 'Report on the Textual Criticism Challenge 1991', *Bryn Mawr Classical Review*, 3.4 (1992): 331–7 (335).

¹¹ Mark Bland, 'Stemmatics and Society in Early Modern England', *Studia Neophilologica*, 86.1 (2014): 29–47 (31).

progresses and new evidence emerges.¹² J.A. Burrow similarly argues that genetic analysis may contribute, along with other editorial methods, to discrimination between types of variants.¹³

For a corpus like Hoccleve's *Regiment*, stemmatics still play an important role. The text is stable enough, with little evidence of scribal engagement with the Middle English verse, that scribal versus authorial variants are reasonably easy to propose. There are sufficient manuscripts to identify branches in the textual tradition. The text, being over five thousand lines long, is of adequate length to provide enough data to confirm the positioning of manuscripts. And we already know something about the early transmission of the text whilst still under the author's control. We have copies which we reasonably believe were produced under Hoccleve's supervision, and which must be placed high up on the stemma.¹⁴ Lastly, an enormous amount of work has already been done by previous editors to compile lists of textual witnesses from which variants can be identified.

¹² Hanna, *Pursuing History*, 87.

¹³ J.A. Burrow, 'The Athlone Edition of *Piers Plowman* B: Stemmatics and the Direct Method', *N&Q*, 61.3 (2014): 339–44 (344).

¹⁴ Although the stemma does propose the existence of their exemplar too.

A stemma of *Regiment* manuscripts was proposed by Marcia Smith Marzec in 1987 and has been the authoritative work on the text ever since.¹⁵ It uses variants, taken from both the Latin glosses and the Middle English text, predominantly from the first 829 lines. She proposed two branches to the stemma, each of which descends from a variant original. Those two variant originals were likely to be presentation copies produced by Hoccleve or under his supervision.¹⁶

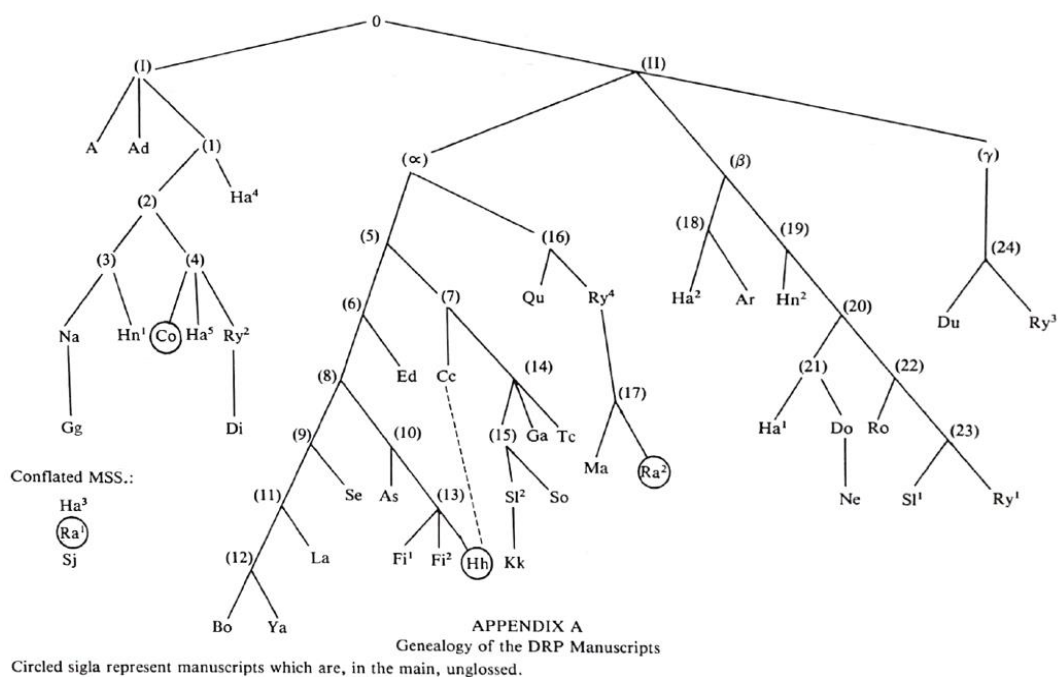


Figure 1. Marzec's 1987 stemma.

This stemma lists forty of the forty-four manuscripts, omitting Ha3, Le, Ra1, and Sj because they are conflated or were still unknown at this date. Marzec divided the corpus into two, largely based on a single variant to line 4500 which attributes a paraphrase to Isaiah in branch I and to Jeremiah in branch II.¹⁷ Thereafter the position

¹⁵ Marzec, 269–84.

¹⁶ Ibid., 271.

¹⁷ Ibid., 272. Although this does not account for the possibility of convergent variation, which would plausibly be caused by the similarities in I and J graphs and influence from the main text which reads 'seith Isaye' in the following line 4501. The scope of my project does not allow me to test this query.

of manuscripts was determined based on individual variants using the least amount of coincidental variance. But as she herself admits, Marzec's stemma is complicated by the fact that some manuscripts were copied and glossed from different exemplars.

To this stemma can now be made several addenda. For this, I relied on the collation tables compiled by Charles R. Blyth, David Greetham, Jerome Mitchell, Gail Sigal, Peter Farley, Marcia Smith Marzec, and David Yerkes in preparation for the 1999 edition.¹⁸ These tables list every line of verse and every gloss present in forty-three of the manuscripts (excluding Le). This chapter revisits these tables, which have not been much cited in scholarship since their creation, to propose an updated stemma that builds on Marzec's foundational work. I used these tables to compile lists of variants in the first 1,200 lines (including their accompanying glosses), to produce an updated stemma.

¹⁸ These are now stored on the *Hoccleve Digital Archive*, <<https://hocclevearchive.la.utexas.edu>>.

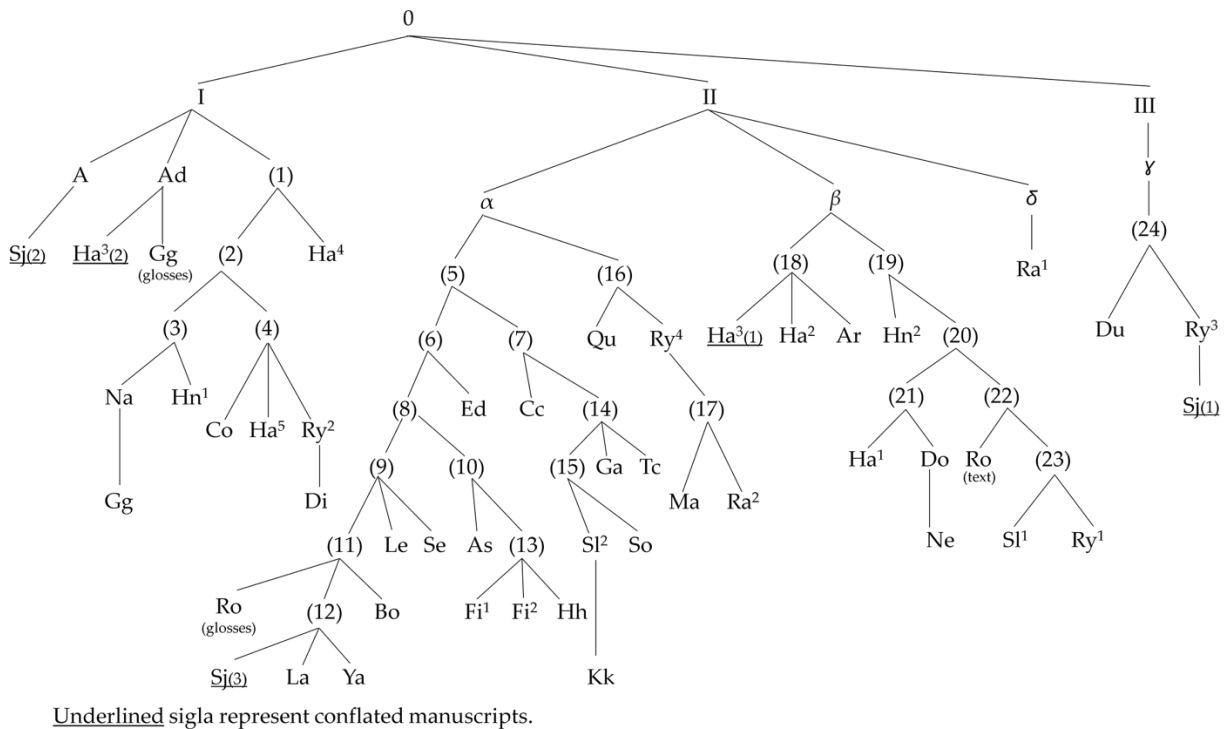


Figure 2. Revised stemma.

Several things can be accomplished with this stemma. It can identify and nuance the relationship between manuscripts, helping us to understand how scribes received and transmitted the *Regiment*. It shows groups of manuscripts with common origins, so that their similarities and differences can be studied. It re-examines evidence collected by Blyth and others in the light of more recent scholarship on Hoccleve's editorial practice to propose an updated perspective on the early transmission of the text. Furthermore, this stemma will provide the basis for the following chapters, allowing us to trace themes and motifs through generations of copying to establish how they changed and evolved.

To accomplish these goals, it is helpful to also have in mind the temporal displacement of the manuscripts – the timeline of copying as well as the genealogical tree. Figure 3 attempts to provide this by plotting the stemma against the manuscripts' dates, grouped broadly into quarter centuries. The placement of lost manuscripts in this diagram is purely speculative based on the likelihood of dating rather than any concrete evidence.

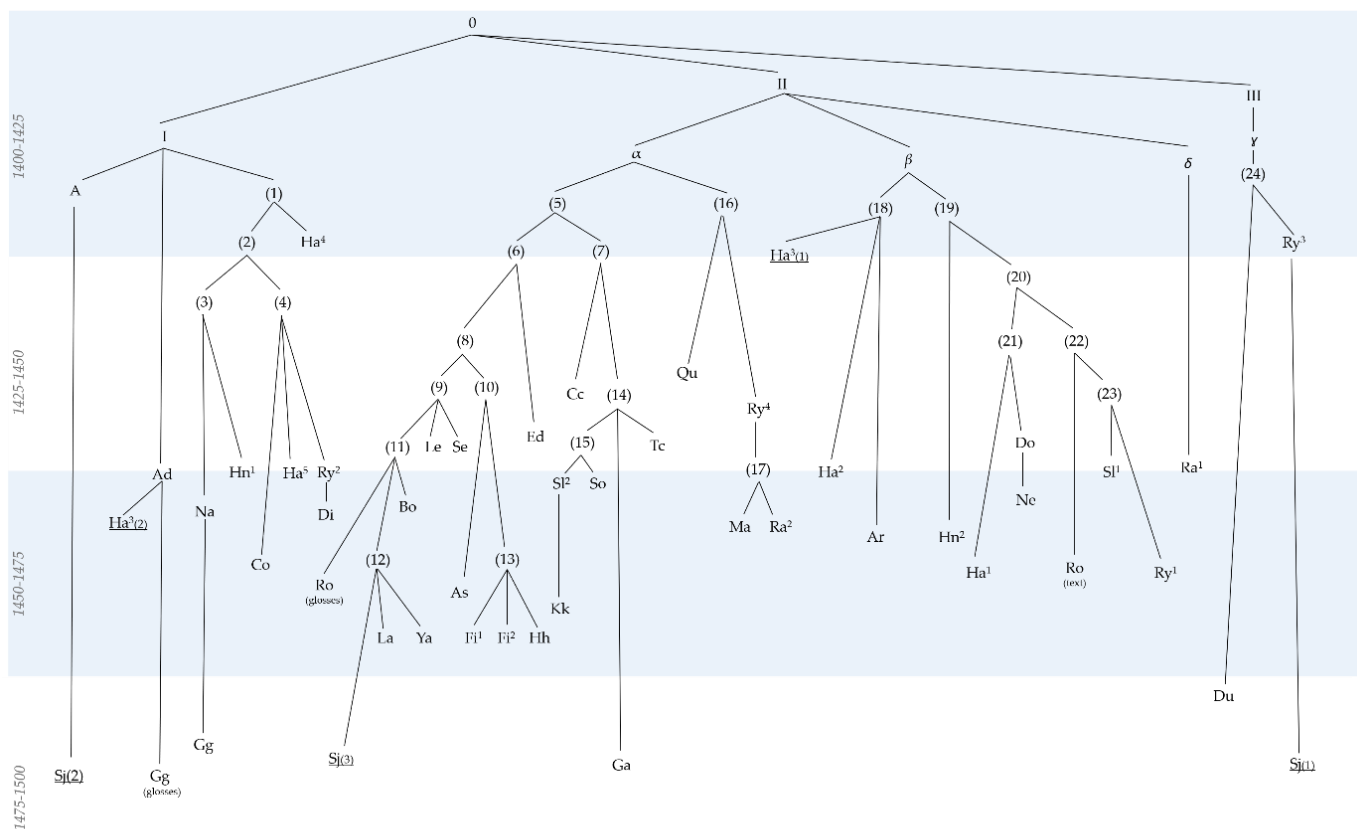


Figure 3. Stemmatic relationship plotted against time.

This technique, of plotting a stemma against time, has never been attempted for the *Regiment*, nor is it common practice for medieval texts. The closest comparison can be found in recent studies of computational stemmatics by Philipp Roelli and Dieter Bachmann, where they indicate the likely dating of manuscripts of Petrus Alfonsi's

Dialogus on a vertical axis using extended boxes.¹⁹ But this is a rare example. For the *Regiment*, this stemma is useful because it contextualises each manuscript and clarifies their relationship to one another. Manuscripts like Ry3 and Du which previously appeared close together are in fact separated by half a century. Others like Le and Se remain close together due to their shared circumstances of copying.

In this stemma, at the top of the diagram sits the hypothetical original text, labelled 0, from which all extant versions descend. This original splits into three main branches: I, II, and III, each representing distinct lines of descent. Branch II is the most intricate of the three, divided further into sub-branches rooted in archetypes α , β and δ . Branch III, by contrast, presents a relatively isolated tradition, descending from γ through Ry3 and Du and its derivative (in part – more on this later) Sj. The chronological layering of manuscripts from c.1411 to 1500, marked in horizontal bands, further underscores the developmental complexity of this textual tradition. All branches contain manuscripts that span the fifteenth century, each with some extant and non-extant manuscripts dated close to Hoccleve as well as at the end of the century.

In my expanded stemma, the most notable change is the relocation of branch γ to the independent branch III. Marzec had previously positioned this branch within II, but there are several reasons why this is unlikely. Most convincing is the fact that

¹⁹ Philipp Roelli and Dieter Bachmann, 'Towards generating a stemma of complicated manuscript traditions: Petrus Alfonsi's *Dialogus*', *Revue d'histoire des textes*, 5 (2010): 307–21 (320).

Du and Ry3, and Sj (in part), contain variants which suggest that this branch represents an earlier and distinct draft of the *Regiment* – a branch that descends from a variant original, following the terminology of J.A. Burrow.²⁰ It is possible to speculate the existence of branch III because we have a wealth of data about how Hoccleve edited and changed his poetry when making multiple copies. There are two variant originals of *Learn to Die* in holograph, both of which contain small but significant variants which speak to the poet's process of revision when returning to his work.²¹ In his comparison of the texts in the holographs, John M. Bowers notes over eighty substantive variants and multiple differences in orthography and punctuation over 672 lines.²² The same approach can be applied to Hoccleve's *Letter of Cupid*, for which I have uncovered two variant originals: one in holograph, and a second which is recovered by retracing its existence from scribal witnesses of the text.²³ As with *Learn to Die*, a similar pattern of variants can be identified between the two drafts of the text which speaks to the same style of meticulous revision.²⁴

Of course, there are obvious problems with applying this logic to the *Regiment*, namely that there was likely more time between the drafts of the *Letter of Cupid*, and possibly between drafts of *Learn to Die*, than there might have been between drafts of

²⁰ Thomas Hoccleve's *Complaint and Dialogue*, ed. J.A. Burrow, EETS o.s. 313 (London: EETS, 1999), xviii.

²¹ HEHL, MS HM 744 (missing the last 245 lines of the poem because of a missing quire) and DUL, MS Cosin V.iii.9.

²² Bowers, 'Hoccleve's Two Copies', 438.

²³ HEHL, MS HM 744 and eleven non-holograph witnesses. See Ross, 'Lost in Transcription'.

²⁴ A list of variants in the first 1200 lines is listed in Appendix 1.1.

the *Regiment*.²⁵ But regardless, when the variants are compiled, a similar pattern of editing and improving can be identified when moving from γ to $\alpha\beta$. The first 1,200 lines of DuRy3 contain seventy-three identifiable variants, witnessed in both copies, that attest to the existence of a variant original that pre-dates the rest of the corpus. Using A as the lemma, it is possible to see Hoccleve correcting the rhyme scheme and metrical count as he moved from the earlier γ branch to the later I branch. This was accomplished by either adding single-syllable words like 'may' and 'at', or by removing unnecessary adjectives, to bring the metre to a decasyllabic count. The variants are also reflective of Hoccleve's idiosyncratic tinkering, showing the poet transposing words both within and between lines.²⁶

Lawrence Warner has counted the rate of non-decasyllabic lines in Ry3, with 143 instances over the 1,114 lines of the Prologue, adding up to just over 12 percent, which is about four times the rate of that of the known holographs.²⁷ Whilst Warner takes this as evidence that Ry3 is not a holograph copy of the *Regiment*, it does not rule out the possibility that Ry3 (and Du) descend from an earlier tradition of the text. Indeed, Warner notes earlier that 'it is not impossible that these readings' (referring to the α , β , and γ branches) 'represent Hoccleve's revisions.'²⁸ Furthermore, some of the

²⁵ The *Letter of Cupid* composition is dated 1402, and the holograph HM 744 is dated 1421–22. The *Learn to Die* holographs are dated 1421–22 (HM 744) and 1421–26 (Durham).

²⁶ Of course it is impossible to rule out that, alongside Hoccleve, some of these variants are the product of another hand, perhaps one of his fellow Privy Seal colleagues who may have been drafted in to help produce a copy of the *Regiment* – such collaborative work is seen in the Trinity Gower for example.

²⁷ Warner, 'Scribes, Misattributed', 64.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 61.

non-decasyllabic lines may be explained by the fact that there is likely at least one layer of transcription between DuRy3 and the holograph copy. Based on evidence of Hoccleve editing his own poetry elsewhere, and the types of variants he creates between drafts, I am of the opinion that branch γ represents a distinct textual tradition and should be placed in its own separate branch.

So we can begin to sketch the beginning of the *Regiment's* circulation: (likely) at least three authorial drafts, representing three textual traditions, from which the three branches of the stemma descend. (Or two, one of which was used as an exemplar for dissemination, before Hoccleve added a set of revisions to it, creating a different, that is third, textual state.) This in itself is an interesting fact: Hoccleve may have produced at least three autographs of the *Regiment*, likely more if we consider that the Prince's presentation copy was presumably not loaned out for copying.²⁹ Marzec speculates that there may have been as many as five.³⁰ This is reminiscent of what Daniel Hobbins calls 'a series of publication moments' before print – the continued activity of the author as corrector and revisor in the creation of multiple authorial copies of their work.³¹ Hoccleve, as himself a scribe of manuscripts on commission or for sale (with at least three identified so far), would have been conscious of the importance of

²⁹ This is assuming that the (at least) five presentation copies were not autographs too.

³⁰ Marzec, 270–1.

³¹ Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity*, 155–6; On publishing in manuscript culture, see Jaakko Tahkokallio, *The Anglo-Norman Historical Canon: Publishing and Manuscript Culture* (Cambridge: CUP, 2019), 3–9; Robert K. Root, 'Publication before Printing', *PMLA*, 28.3 (1913): 417–31.

circulating multiple copies of his work at this early stage.³² It is therefore perhaps unsurprising that the existence of so many authorial copies is suggested by the stemmatics of the corpus.³³

The *Regiment's* corpus is notable for its consistency. Across the forty-four manuscripts, there is remarkably little evidence of scribal engagement with the 5,464 lines of the poem. Of course, there are occasional examples of scribes mistakenly repeating portions of the text, or copying from an exemplar that was damaged, which subsequently provide useful clues for their placement in the tree.³⁴ For the most part though, scribes copied the whole *Regiment*, in order and in its entirety.³⁵ However, there are a handful of exceptions which are worthy of note. Another important addition to my stemma is Ra1, a manuscript previously omitted from Marzec's stemma. Comparison of variants using the collation tables reveals that Ra1 is not conflated, as Marzec originally hypothesized, but is instead a descendent of a new textual tradition. This new branch has been added to the stemma and named branch δ . There is the possibility that Ra1 was copied from another intermediary manuscript, but as there is no certainty of this, no exemplar has been listed for the present moment.

³² Doyle and Parkes, 'Production of Copies', 182–5; Misty Schieberle, 'A New Hoccleve Literary Manuscript: The Trilingual Miscellany in London, British Library, MS Harley 219', *RES*, 70 (2019): 799–822; Sebastian Sobiecki, '*Gens sans argent*: A New Holograph Manuscript by Thomas Hoccleve', *The Library*, 25.2 (2024): 121–146.

³³ The existence of multiple authorial originals produces a stemma which does not have the traditional triangular shape – this is though, as Anne Hudson notes, 'at best the merely the commonest provable situation, and not the invariable rule'. Hudson, 'Middle English', 46.

³⁴ Eg. Sl1, ff.84r–v.

³⁵ On two such consistent copies, see Wakelin, *Immaterial Texts*, 206–11.

However, unlike the I, α , and β branches, the δ branch is unlikely to be descendent from a variant original, but is more likely to be the result of scribal intervention.³⁶ This can be hypothesised, again, by the types of variants. The Ra1 *Regiment* is far less metrical than the other branches, with twenty-five of the forty-seven variants increasing the metrical count of the line past the typical decasyllabic count. The substitutions are less synonymous compared to those in the variant originals, for instance ‘Was yt not eke a moustre as a nature’ (344) in MS A becomes ‘Was it not ageyn the cours of kynde and nature’ in Ra1.³⁷ Other variants read as the result of eye-skip, and perhaps a less attentive scribe, for instance ‘Or pouert cam wyst I noȝt what god was’ (692) in A is ‘Or pouert came wyst y nat what pouert was’ in Ra1. These changes do not resemble Hoccleve’s careful revisions witnessed in *Learn to Die*, the *Letter of Cupid*, and the *DuRy3 Regiments*, and thus Ra1 has been positioned on the stemma as a separate branch of II.³⁸

It is perhaps surprising that although the *Regiment* is clearly divided into two distinct parts, each with different plots and genres, the text was predominantly copied whole and in its entirety. There are only two manuscripts which now present a version of the text that omits the first of these parts, the Dialogue: Ha2 and Ra2. Do these manuscripts retain their identity as Hoccleve’s *Regiment* even though they contain

³⁶ Variants of the first 1,200 lines are listed in Appendix 1.3.

³⁷ A has been chosen as the lemma for consistency with the collation tables, but this is not to suggest that Ra1 was copied from A.

³⁸ Of course, there is the possibility that Ra1 was copied from a manuscript further down the tree and edited to the extent that its exemplar is not identifiable – but the option with the least amount of coincidental variance (following Marzec) was to place it in its own branch.

only one of these parts? In one sense, only the second half of the text provides the mirror for princes to which the title *The Regiment of Princes* refers. The Dialogue is essentially an extended prologue that builds up to Hoccleve's advice to the prince. Depending on the scribe's priorities, the Dialogue to the *Regiment* could be considered an addendum or a paratext to the mirror for princes in the second half.³⁹

This might have been the case for Ra2. This manuscript lacks the Dialogue and contains the Prologue and *Regiment* Proper only. It is unlikely that the first half of the text is lost, as the alphabetised quire signatures (beginning at *l*) belong to a continuation of a sequence in three previous booklets, which are now housed in separate volumes.⁴⁰ The original scribal signatures can be seen faintly in the lower margins of these booklets and begin at *a*. These four volumes, and several others, have been confirmed as the product of a single scribe, dubbed 'Baggheney' by Kathleen Scott.⁴¹ Another telling detail that the Prologue is the beginning of the text in this manuscript is the title, 'hic incipit liber de regimine principum'.⁴² Therefore in this example it is likely that the Dialogue was never copied, and the scribe, compiler, or patron decided to transmit only the material on moral and spiritual governance. This decision is unlikely to be the result of an incomplete exemplar, as the cognate, Ma,

³⁹ On paratexts, see Chapter 2.

⁴⁰ BodL, MS Rawl. Poet. 35, MS Rawl. D.82, and MS Douce 324.

⁴¹ Several of the booklets were first identified as belonging to the same volume by Kathleen L. Smith (later Scott) 'A Fifteenth-Century Vernacular Manuscript Reconstructed', *BLR*, 7.5 (1966): 234–41; 'Newly Discovered Booklets from a Reconstructed Middle English Manuscript', *English Manuscript Studies*, 14 (2008): 112–29, then revised, summarised and expanded by Ralph Hanna, 'A Fifteenth-Century Vernacular Miscellany Revisited', *BLR*, 26.2 (2013): 188–207.

⁴² Ra2, f.1r.

was copied in its entirety, although it is of course possible that some damage occurred to the exemplar between the copying of Ma and Ra2.

However, the material evidence for the other manuscript, Ha2, suggests that the omission of the Dialogue may not always have been a conscious decision. The composition of Ha2 suggests that this copy once contained the whole text but is now damaged. The manuscript now lacks the Dialogue, Prologue, and part of the *Regiment Proper*.⁴³ But a paper insert has been pasted onto the top of what is now the start of the text to cover the last lines of the incomplete previous stanza. It contains a new title for the text, 'The Author of this Treatise was Thomas Hocclive. Scholler to Geffrey Chaucer', in a late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century script. Evidently some text has been lost, but exactly how much is unclear. However, this copy is the work of the Hammond scribe, who certainly once had access to the full text of the *Regiment* when he copied another manuscript, Ar, making it likely that Ha2 was also once a complete copy. The current status of this manuscript is thus evidently the product of accidental loss, rather than scribal intervention.

So, for the most part, scribes of the *Regiment* copied the text consistently and completely. Manuscripts always end with the Envoy, titled 'Verba compilatoris ad librum' in nearly every copy – a universal title that reinforces Hoccleve's self-proclaimed authority as a compiler.⁴⁴ The *Regiment's* Envoy is (or was likely once)

⁴³ Now a two-part composite manuscript.

⁴⁴ With the exception of copies that have sustained material damage, but which (in every case) once contained the full text.

present in every manuscript copy (with the exception of Sj), and was evidently understood to be an important part of the text, unlike, for example, the envoy of John Clanvowe's *The Cuckoo and the Nightingale* which was only sporadically copied. This suggests a widespread concern for the completeness of the text, which one could say is prompted by Hoccleve. The Envoy brings a sense of closure as the poet sends his 'litol book' off to the Prince, and provides textual balance by bookending the *Regiment Proper* with the words of the poet. Both the Prologue and Envoy are noticeably self-referential, opening and closing the mirror for princes with descriptions of the text as something written.⁴⁵ Hoccleve's tone is also more humble and subservient, apologising for his 'ignorance' and describing the text as 'nakid [...] of eloquence'.⁴⁶ It is perhaps because of the mirroring of these two textual units that scribes who were copying the text long after Hoccleve's death were persuaded to copy the Envoy so consistently.

To return to the stemma, several groupings of manuscripts can be identified with shared origins which offer valuable clues as to how scribes catered their copying to specific contexts. The first group is LeQuSe. Le is a new manuscript which needs to be placed on the stemma, as it was unknown to Marzec when she completed her work. It is now Leeds, Brotherton Library, MS Additional 2286 (Le), which briefly entered public awareness in 2007 when it was shown in an exhibition before resurfacing in

⁴⁵ 2016, 5454.

⁴⁶ 2155, 5444.

2024 when it was donated to the library as part of the Acceptance in Lieu programme.⁴⁷

Le, Qu, and Se are all the work of the same hand, the Selden scribe, who was likely active between roughly 1420 and 1435.⁴⁸

Le is strikingly similar to Se, almost identical in layout, mise-en-page, glossing, script, decoration, leaf signatures, and material. Together, this pair resemble a concerted effort to produce multiple, near-identical copies of the same text in quick succession.⁴⁹ They can therefore be placed close together in the stemma. Variants in the Middle English text in Le and Se confirm that neither was copied from the other.⁵⁰ It is most likely that Le was copied from the same exemplar as Se, the lost MS 9, from variants present in BoLaYa and Le.⁵¹ The glosses that are shared between the two are also in close textual agreement. There are, however, some small differences between Le and Se that betray slightly different circumstances of copying. Overall, Se has less decoration than Le, suggesting a speedier process of copying. There are also minor differences in spelling between the two: Le is more inclined to use word-ending **e**, and both fluctuate in their preference between **p** and **th**.⁵² Another difference is in their glossing. Le has several glosses which are not witnessed in Se – but this is likely due to the scribe or patron's preference at the time of copying, rather than a different

⁴⁷ *Private Pleasures: Illuminated Manuscripts from Persia to Paris: the Collection of Denys Spittle* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2007), 52–3.

⁴⁸ Perkins, 169–70, n.72; Dating by Mooney, 'A Scribe of Lydgate's *Troy Book*', 21; David Watt, 'Compilation and Contemplation: Beholding Thomas Hoccleve's *Series* in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Selden Supra 53', *JEBS*, 14 (2011): 1–39.

⁴⁹ An effort also witnessed in BoLaYa.

⁵⁰ Eg. 1354, 2007, 2100.

⁵¹ Eg. 2759 'Now seith *quod* he' variant, and the mutual lack of lines 4468–74.

⁵² Eg. 1550 Se prefers **p** whilst Le uses **th**, 1854 Se prefers **th** whilst Le uses **p**.

exemplar for the glosses. There are numerous ‘amicus’ glosses in Le that are not present in Se, which are unique in the corpus and likely the scribe’s additions.⁵³ Furthermore, when glosses are omitted from Se they are usually absent in groupings, as if the scribe has decided to not copy several at a time.⁵⁴ But regardless of these minor differences, it is clear that the two manuscripts share an exemplar.

However, the relationship with Qu is different. Marzec places Qu in a different part of the stemma, far away from LeSe and descended from a different exemplar. There are also physical clues to back up this textual difference. Qu contains a more elaborate decorative scheme than Le and Se, opening with a three-sided border of vines and flowers in a muted pallet of blues, reds, and purples. Smaller details also reveal that this copy is more extravagant: every line is ruled (unlike Le and Se, which have a frame and ruling for the first line of each stanza only), and the capital letters that open each line are subtly more elaborate than those in the other manuscripts. The paraps which mark each stanza alternate between blue and gold, unlike the consistent blue ones in Le and Se. The Qu parchment is unblemished and patched whenever a defect arises, whereas the (only occasional) holes in Le and Se are left uncovered.⁵⁵

Thus, all three manuscripts are of excellent quality, but there are noticeable differences between them which betray the context of their copying. These differences

⁵³ Eg. f.20r. On these glosses, see chapter 3.

⁵⁴ Eg. 990, 994, 995.

⁵⁵ Eg. Se ff.14r–v, 119r–v.

are reflected in, and supported by, their positioning in the stemma. Le and Se are both visually and textually alike, whereas Qu was copied in a different context and from a different exemplar. That these manuscripts are the work of a single scribe is extraordinary, and demonstrates the extent to which an individual could alter their copying style to cater to a specific patron or budget. Such flexibility also illustrates the need to be attentive to evidence other than textual: if one were to rely on the stemma alone, there would be no reason to connect Qu with LeSe. It is only the palaeographical similarities between the three that betray their true relationship. This underscores the importance of considering both textual and codicological evidence when reconstructing the history of a manuscript's production.

The Selden scribe's use of multiple exemplars also tells us something about the availability of copies of the *Regiment* in the first half of the fifteenth century – namely that scribes could come into contact with more than one copy in quick succession. More than that, the copies used by the scribe are far apart on the stemma, not merely local copies directly descended from one another, but with several generations of copying between them. Either the scribe or the exemplar likely travelled some distance before they met. The differences between LeQuSe could also be suggestive of the changeable circumstances in which manuscripts could be copied, with scribes perhaps only having access to their exemplars for short periods of time.

Another grouping is the trio BoLaYa. All three manuscripts contain the same seven texts: Hoccleve's *Complaint*, *Dialogue*, *Tale of Jereslaus's Wife*, *Learn to Die*, *Tale of*

Jonathas, the *Regiment*, and Lydgate's *Danse Macabre*. The *Regiment* in all three copies shares a handful of Middle English glosses which are not witnessed anywhere else in the corpus.⁵⁶ The manuscripts are similar in size, layout, mise-en-page, rhyme bracing, and decoration, even down to the style of paraphs that mark some glosses.⁵⁷ But interestingly they do not all share a common origin. La and Ya are evidently a close pair, but Bo was copied in a separate context and from a separate exemplar.

La and Ya are copied by the same scribe and feature many of the same visual characteristics, such as striking zig-zag descenders. They are also alike in their glossing, ruling, quire structures, leaf signatures, paraphs, and materials (both mixed parchment and paper of the same watermarks).⁵⁸ They are even alike down to their 'nota bene' glosses.⁵⁹ The only visual difference between the two manuscripts is the level of detail in the decorated initials in some texts.⁶⁰ Daniel Wakelin first suggested that these two shared an exemplar, and my collation of the first 1,200 lines supports this.⁶¹ Thus I have adjusted their position in the stemma to reflect their shared origin, bringing La and Ya together under the exemplar, lost MS 12.

These collations also suggest a more peripheral relationship of Bo. Previously, Marzec had positioned this manuscript on the stemma sharing an exemplar with La –

⁵⁶ On these glosses, see chapter 2.

⁵⁷ For the first three folios only, after which Bo changes to a rubricated unfilled paraph.

⁵⁸ See David Lorenzo Boyd, 'Reading through the *Regiment of Princes*, Hoccleve's *Series* and Lydgate's *Dance of Death* in Yale Beinecke MS 493', *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, 20 (1993): 15–34; Perkins, 163–7.

⁵⁹ E.g. 709.

⁶⁰ E.g. La, f.1v vs Ya, f.1v; La, f.5v vs Ya, f.5v.

⁶¹ Wakelin, *Immaterial Texts*, 206–7.

instead, I place it further up, as a descendent of lost MS 11. There is both textual and visual evidence to suggest this placement. The Bo scribe is not the same as the LaYa scribe, though they share some characteristics.⁶² There are slight changes in spelling between Bo and LaYa which may indicate a dialect difference.⁶³ Bo contains gloss variants not witnessed in LaYa, and omits several glosses witnessed only in La and Ya.⁶⁴ Its watermarks also differ.⁶⁵

There are visual differences too. The Bo rhyme bracing is far less competent than LaYa. The Bo scribe adopts a split stanza layout of between thirty-five and thirty-seven lines per page, regularly requiring him to adjust his rhyming braces to overcome the page break. In the *Regiment*, unlike the LaYa scribe, the Bo scribe, when he only has room to copy the first two lines of a stanza, braces them as if they were a rhyming couplet, rather than leaving two untethered sets of bracing.⁶⁶ For pages that cut off a stanza after three lines, he draws a single brace that connects all three lines.⁶⁷

In *Learn to Die*, at one point a line is missed and copied later in the margin. Before the mistake was caught though, the rubricator (whether this was the same

⁶² E.g. looped **l** and **d**, long **s**, and **x** where the crossbar extends below the line. The LaYa scribe prefers round word-ending **e**, two-compartment **a**, long **r**, and looped **g**.

⁶³ E.g., LaYa, 'axs' vs Bo, 'aske'; LaYa, 'profett' vs Bo, 'profit'; and the Bo scribe favours word-ending **e**.

⁶⁴ Gloss to 225; gloss to 1101, 1448, 1549.

⁶⁵ Fleur de lis in a shield under a cross, exact match not found but similar to Briquet 7219. C.M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire Historique des Marques du Papier dès Leur Apparition Vers 1282 Jusqu'en 1600*, in 4 vols (Mansfield Centre, CT: Maurizio Martino, 2007).

⁶⁶ Eg. ff.75r, 105r.

⁶⁷ Eg. ff. 75v, 76r. Interestingly, when the same line-distribution occurs in Ya, the scribe braces the lines as normal, linking to empty space as if the lines (copied on the following page) were written below the bottom line (eg. ff.97r-v).

person or another) added the red inter-stanza lines (Figure 4).⁶⁸ He was evidently measuring the stanzas by number of lines rather than the contents of each stanza, as he draws the stanza division one line too late. This was followed by the bracing, either by the same hand or another, which was similarly drawn by following the visual pattern *ababbcc*. However, because the stanza division is off by one line, the bracing pattern is similarly off by one line, and none of the braced lines actually rhyme. This mistake is not caught and rectified for a whole ten folios, when an inter-stanza line is erased and moved up by one line of verse.⁶⁹ Combined with subtle textual variations, these differences support the new positioning on the stemma, with LaYa sharing one exemplar and Bo positioned one generation above. BoLaYa thus represent a trio of manuscripts which were produced in similar circumstances and for similar types of patrons, but whose origins can be distinguished based on textual and visual clues.

⁶⁸ Bo, f.31r.

⁶⁹ Bo, f.41r.

So far, the positioning of manuscripts on the stemma has been simplified by the fact that their scribes copied from a single witness. But for some scribes, the process of copying the *Regiment* involved seeking out multiple exemplars. Two manuscripts have been identified as having one exemplar for the Middle English verse and another for the Latin glosses.⁷⁰ The first is Ro. Marzec initially noted that the Middle English text of Ro belongs to the β tradition but was likely glossed by an α manuscript. This can now be given with more accuracy: Ro was glossed in two stages, initially with six rubricated glosses, written in the inner and outer margins, which were copied from the main-text exemplar, lost MS 22.⁷¹ In a second stage, 115 glosses were copied in a dark brown ink, in the outer margins only, from the exemplar of Bo, lost MS 11.⁷² Both stages of copying were executed by the same scribe, the hand that also copies the main text. Ro has thus been placed on the stemma twice, for both the main text (including the few rubricated glosses), and the later glosses.⁷³

The second example is Gg, which was also copied and glossed in two separate stages of production. It was first copied with only a handful of glosses, written in-line with the main column of verse in a more ornate display script.⁷⁴ I have confirmed

⁷⁰ This count excludes Ry1, which was glossed in two stages, but the second stage of glossing was completed long after the initial copying, in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century by a later reader.

⁷¹ Confirmed by agreements in the gloss to line 2415.

⁷² Confirmed by agreements with BoLaYa (eg. gloss to 218), and several further glosses present in Se but not BoLaYa (eg. to 2100) which suggests the exemplar of Bo.

⁷³ At some point, Ro also came into contact with Ha4 (or lost MS 1), from which its Chaucer portrait was copied – but this has not been added to the stemma.

⁷⁴ See Charlotte E. Ross, 'A Humanist Hand in a Fifteenth-Century *Regiment of Princes*', *N&Q*, forthcoming 2025.

Marzec's placement on the stemma, which shows that the main text and these glosses were copied directly from a surviving manuscript, Na.⁷⁵ In a second stage of production, a later hand, modelled on a humanist script of the early sixteenth century, adds an additional sixty-seven glosses to the manuscript, predominantly in Latin but also in English.⁷⁶ I have traced thirty-one of these glosses to another *Regiment* manuscript: Ad. Agreements between gloss-variants suggest that this was the exemplar against which this hand checked and corrected Gg. The presence of a single gloss which is only witnessed in Ad ('Negandi causa nunquam avaro deficit') confirms this relationship.⁷⁷ Gg has thus been placed twice on the stemma, once for the main text and in-line glosses (descended from Na) and again for the marginal glosses (descended from Ad).

This humanist scribe also added thirty-six unique glosses of his own composition. Several summarise the key moral teachings that Hoccleve gives in the poem, in Latin and following the style of the poet's glosses. Accompanying the line 'He wole his konnyng hid be and nat wist' is the gloss 'Deus occulte operatur'.⁷⁸ Similarly, Hoccleve's warning that 'Undir an old poore habyt regneth ofte | Greet

⁷⁵ Through the process of elimination of variant glosses: 2871 (agrees with Ha4, Na, Se), 2951, 3004, 3410 (agrees with Ha4, Na), 3718 (agrees with Na only).

⁷⁶ Dateable from a portion of writing in Secretary script on f.1r and his spelling of 'sweringe' which places the hand before the mid-sixteenth century through comparison with the *Middle English Compendium*, ed. Frances McSparran, et al. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Library, 2000–2018). <<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/>>. Accessed 25 April 2025.

⁷⁷ Gloss to 4491.

⁷⁸ Gg, f.7r, 350. This phrase appears in the *Vitae Fratrum* (Prologue, 3.21–4.27), but was likely also used more widely relating to proverbial belief.

vertu' is glossed 'Virtus latet sub humili habito'.⁷⁹ Others are more literal: next to the line 'That to moneie obeien alle thynges' is annotated 'Omnia pecunie obedient'.⁸⁰ The scribe also copies many of the missing biblical glosses from his exemplar, and twice supplies his own, once to Proverbs 28 and then to Ecclesiasticus 25. As with Hoccleve's biblical glosses, the citation links directly to the Middle English verse, firstly to those who stop their ears against the cries of the poor, and secondly to the value of age and experience when giving counsel.⁸¹

The motives of these scribes are worth pausing upon. Both Ro and Gg offer insights into a specific type of reading of the *Regiment*: their scribes were evidently dissatisfied with the quantity of glosses and sought to rectify the situation by meticulously checking their manuscripts against other copies. This betrays careful, scholarly reading of the text, with a view to creating a complete and consistent copy. 'Identifying where a work is incomplete and how to complete it', Wakelin notes, 'requires not only skill in craft but speculative, inventive thinking about texts'.⁸² The re-glossing of the *Regiment* is one such thoughtful intervention by its scribes and readers in an attempt to preserve an accurate and legible text. In both examples, in different ways, these manuscripts reveal a concern with completeness – in Ro when the scribe copies Hoccleve's glosses as the poet intended, and in Gg when the humanist scribe mimics Hoccleve's glossing style and form. Perhaps the humanist

⁷⁹ Gg, f.8r, 414.

⁸⁰ Gg, f.13r, 709.

⁸¹ 4534, 4944.

⁸² Wakelin, *Scribal Correction*, 246.

scribe was also prompted by the manuscript's original scribe, who by omitting so many glosses in turn authorised this later reader to replenish the text with glosses from another manuscript.

Other scribes drew upon multiple exemplars when copying the Middle English verse of the *Regiment* to ensure they copied the whole text. One example is Sj, which was copied in three stages from three different exemplars, but is the work of a single scribe. Sj has thus been placed on the stemma three times, with a numeral following each siglum to show the stage of copying. Like Marzec's method for creating her original stemma, the Latin glosses can be used as an aid to confirm the placement of this manuscript. The first stint was copied from the γ branch of III, likely from Ry3;⁸³ the second stint, from c.2898 until c.4439, was copied from A;⁸⁴ and the third stint, from c.4439 to 5369, was copied from branch II α , likely the exemplar of LaYa.⁸⁵ These collations suggest that Sj was copied from a presentation copy, MS A, and a copy produced close to the poet for a wealthy and important patron, Ry3. Although this

⁸³ Lines 1–c.2898: there are numerous agreements in the Middle English text between Sj and Ry3, for instance in lines 2047, 2463, and 2464. The glosses support this hypothesis, with for instance the gloss to line 1128 with a variant which is only found in Sj and Ry3.

⁸⁴ This can be worked out through a process of elimination by looking at the glosses. Agreements in glosses to lines 3004 and 3062 show that the exemplar belonged to Branch II (agrees with A, Ad, Ha4, Hn1, Na, Ry2). Agreements in glosses to lines 3074 and 3121 narrow this down to a list of five possible candidates: A, Ad, Ha4, Hn1, and Na. The gloss to line 3200 agrees with four from our list (A, Ad, Ha4, Na), and the gloss to line 3249 agrees with three (A, Ad, Ha4). Variants in the gloss to line 3369 narrows it down to two options, A and Ha4, and the gloss to line 4005 agrees with A only, using a 'habet' variant which is corrected to 'debet' in Ha4. This confirms that A was the exemplar of Sj(2).

⁸⁵ This can be concluded using a similar method, starting with a large group of candidates and gradually narrowing it down by process of elimination: glosses to lines: 4495 (agrees with Ed, Ry4, Ma, As, Fi2, Se, La, Ya), 4509 (agrees with Ed, As, Fi2, Se, La, Ya), 4527 (agrees with Ed, La, Ya), 4684 (agrees with La, Ya), 4915 ('non exigatur' variant not in LaYa but present in manuscripts higher up in the stemma).

seems unlikely from the textual makeup of the manuscript, it is a plausible hypothesis because S_j's first known owner was a well-connected member of the aristocracy, George Neville, fifth baron Bergavenny (1469–1535), who may well have had access to the later recipients of these manuscripts.⁸⁶

We could also speculate that the erratic process of copying S_j is perhaps responsible for the corrupt ending of the text in this copy. There are several lacunae in S_j which appear accidental,⁸⁷ but the main interest is in the ending of the text, which in this copy is replaced with extracts from Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*. The *Regiment* ends at the foot of a folio at a stanza which describes Alexander the Great's death.⁸⁸ The *Fall* begins at the top of the next page. Though it is unglossed, the *Fall* is presented as though it were a seamless continuation of Hoccleve's text. The mise-en-page closely resembles the *Regiment*, with four stanzas per page, flourished initials at the beginning of each stanza, and elaborate flourished ascenders and descenders on the upper and lower lines of the page.⁸⁹ There is no mechanical reason for this abrupt ending: it is not

⁸⁶ On the provenance of this manuscript, see chapter 4. On the Nevilles, see chapter 6.

⁸⁷ 4260–4356 (thirteen stanzas and five lines) which contains the ending of the story of John of Canace, and 2010–16 (one stanza, the final one before the Prologue). Of 4260–4356, it is feasible (though speculative) that the exemplar from which the scribe was copying was incomplete and broke off at this point due to the loss of a quire: 4260 lines (including space for rubrics but assuming marginal glosses and titles as is conventional in most *Regiment* manuscripts) would equate to eight quires of eight bifolia with roughly thirty-three lines of verse per page. In S_j, the scribe seems uncertain about whether he will find the remaining text as he leaves the bottom half of the page blank, however he presumably did not know much text was missing because insufficient space has been left to copy the missing extract. Of 2010–16, five leaves have been lost at the end of this quire (3(12-5) with the loss of 8–12) which would have contained the missing lines and the catchword for the following quire. This quire is the only one lacking a catchword.

⁸⁸ F.93v, 5369.

⁸⁹ Although this may have been driven by a practical desire to create a cohesive book rather than a stylistic choice relating to these texts.

the end of a quire, and no leaves have been lost from this part of the manuscript. Of course, it is always possible that the exemplar could have been imperfect, with leaves lacking so that the ending of the *Regiment* and beginning of the *Fall* appear to be spliced together. But it is also possible that this is the work of an engaged scribe who deliberately replaced the ending of the text.

The decision to compile the *Regiment* and the *Fall* is not unusual. There are evident poetic and thematic similarities between the two that make them an apt pair. Both are long form rhyme royal poems written in the vernacular, belonging to the 'mirrors for princes' genre, intended for a royal audience (one written for Henry V and the other for his brother, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester), which follow a structure where each moral lesson is illustrated by a short story. They also share similarities in their public voice of 'great immediacy, professed sincerity, and directness'.⁹⁰ A.S.G. Edwards notes that the *Fall* lent itself to poetic excerption to a greater degree than other Middle English poems.⁹¹ There is one other *Regiment* manuscript which compiles Hoccleve's poem with extracts of the *Fall*, Fi1, but several other manuscripts compile the minor poems with excerpts of the *Fall*.⁹²

The extracts of the *Fall* which appear in S_j are all taken from Book I and concern the danger of unstable princes, the deceptive sweetness of fortune, and a warning

⁹⁰ Daniel Wakelin, 'Hoccleve and Lydgate', *A Companion to Medieval Poetry*, ed. Corinne Saunders (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2010), 557–74 (558); also David Lawton, 'Dullness and the Fifteenth Century', *ELH*, 54.4 (1987): 761–99.

⁹¹ A.S.G. Edwards, 'Selections from Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*: A Checklist', *The Library*, 5:26 (1971): 337–42 (337).

⁹² BodL, MS Digby 181; TCC, MS R.3.20; BL, Add. MS 29729, and MS Harley 172.

against flattery.⁹³ These extracts do not appear in this combination or order in any other surviving manuscripts, suggesting that they have been selected for this context.⁹⁴ All but the final extract are coherent with the *Regiment's* tone and advice, and would not have looked out of place to a contemporary reader. The last extract is an unusual choice, excerpted 1500 lines later, and containing a snippet from a longer narrative in which Samson discovers that he has been betrayed by Delilah when she reveals the solution of the honeyed lion riddle to the Philistines. However, although the style is unlike the other extracts, the moral message is consistent with the previous stanzas: be careful with whom you share your secrets and do not trust liars.

Regardless of the cause of the lacuna from the poem, the extracts of Lydgate's *Fall* are coherent with the *Regiment*. Although excerpted, it is clear that an attempt has been made to cite passages which contain moralisation – perhaps in reaction to the structure of the *Regiment*. By compiling these extracts together in Sj, the scribe follows Hoccleve's structure and style by giving a piece of advice and illustrating it with a tale. Lydgate's approach in the *Fall* is reversed, firstly telling a narrative and then presenting the moralisation at the end. The scribe or compiler here has deliberately excerpted Lydgate's stanzas out of order to make them conform to the *Regiment's*

⁹³ Book I, 4558–64, 4551–7, 4565–4711, (4712–67 missing due to the loss of a leaf), 4768–4830, 4845–51, 4831–44, and 6350–77. See Edwards, 'Selections', 339. Line numbers according to *Lydgate's Fall of Princes*, in 4 vols, ed. Henry Bergen, EETS o.s. 53–6 (London: EETS, 1923–27).

⁹⁴ Sj is one of only five manuscripts in the corpus of thirty-four with extracts of Lydgate's poem which contain any extended selections from the actual narrative, the others being BL, MS Harley 2251, MS Lansdowne 699; TCC, MS R.3.19; and Leiden, University Library, MS Vossius 9 (Edwards, 'Selections', 337–8). The closest comparison being MS Harley 172 which contains I.4558–4662 and 4817–4844 paired with Hoccleve's *Lerne to Die*. See also Nigel Mortimer, *John Lydgate's Fall of Princes: Narrative Tragedy in Its Literary and Political Contexts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 219–77.

structure. For instance, a stanza which warns princes to be wary of fortune is inserted in the middle of Bochas's warning against unstable hearts, and this modified stanza order now presents a direct call to princes to be wary of fortune, followed by a discussion of inconstant hearts.⁹⁵ The ending of S_j suggests that this scribe attended closely to the text he copied to draw connections between the *Regiment* and the *Fall* and find extracts that were coherent in tone and content.⁹⁶ When the stemmatic evidence is considered alongside the contents and provenance, the circumstances in which this manuscript was produced can be speculatively sketched: a single scribe, with only brief access to multiple copies of both the *Regiment* and at least one copy of the *Fall*, who was attentive to the tone and genre of the text he copied and who sought to deliver a whole text despite the limitations of his materials.

Another manuscript, Ha3, also drew upon multiple exemplars to produce one complete copy of the text.⁹⁷ These scribes' use of multiple exemplars is in itself interesting, as it tells us something about the network of *Regiment* manuscripts: namely that some copies were deemed unsatisfactory – either in their glossing or in

⁹⁵ S_j, ff.94r–v, Book I, 4558–64, 4551–7, 4565–4711.

⁹⁶ Perkins, 162–3 argues that the compiler recognized a major theme of the *Regiment*, the ambiguous status of royal counsel and advisory speech, and concluded the book with narratives that reinforce their own reading.

⁹⁷ Its collation is complicated by many variants and mistakes which seem to be original to the scribe. I have identified that the Middle English and glosses to lines 1 to c.2151 were copied from the exemplar of Ar, the lost MS 18. There are four glosses which contain variants only witnessed in Ar, which suggests that they must be closely related, but there are also agreements with glosses in Ha2, which suggests descent from the exemplar of Ar and Ha2 (agrees with variants in glosses to 1149, 1450 (Ar 1554), 2100, 2150). After line c.2151–c.3493 the exemplar changes to Ad. Again, the glosses confirm this placement, with three glosses witnessed only in Ad (to 2199, 2248, 3004). From line 3494 the collation becomes confusing, with agreements with branches I and II and with similarities to Sl2 and Kk but also Na (eg. 3494, 3655, 3949 vs 4180). There are also variants not witnessed in any other manuscripts (eg. 1260, 1268). Therefore Ha3(3) has not been placed on the stemma.

the core text, and that scribes had access to multiple copies of the text which they could swap between and most importantly compare. When glosses are copied from a second exemplar, this also demonstrates that the Latin apparatus could be copied in a separate stage of production, rather than in a linear method as some copies were certainly created.⁹⁸ This changes the stratigraphy of the manuscript, following J.P. Gumbert's terminology, transforming an homogenous process of copying into a non-homogenous one which grew and evolved over time.⁹⁹ It also is an act of reception, not the passive transcription of the text but a response to it.

What does an understanding of stemmatics bring to the study of these manuscripts? Stemmas are not only useful for retracing our steps to recreate or rediscover an authorial text; they are also valuable because they show the relationship between scribal copies. The themes that will be explored in the remaining chapters – paratexts, co-texts, and provenance – can be mapped onto this stemma to understand whether the manuscripts represent individual instances of scribal responses to the text, or something inherited from an exemplar and a previous context. An accurate stemma is particularly useful in the study of provenance, as it shows the textual connections between manuscripts that may be reinforced by external historical relationships. Stemmatic analysis can therefore be used to study the role of scribes and

⁹⁸ Copies in which the glosses are written in-line with the main text or in the same ink and script as the main text, such as Sj and Cc. This is not to suggest that all copies that gloss in a similar script to the main text were copied so – in Ro the glosses are in the same script but use a slightly lighter shade of ink which suggests a slightly later stage of copying.

⁹⁹ J.P. Gumbert, 'Codicological Units: Towards a Terminology for the Stratigraphy of the Non-Homogeneous Codex', *Signo e Testo*, 2 (2004): 17–42.

readers in the transmission of the text. Moreover, a stemma reminds us that manuscripts are not merely passive reproductions of a lost original, but dynamic artefacts shaped by the hands and minds of those who transmitted them – a crucial perspective when undertaking a reception history. The following chapters now turn to these scribes and their role in the transmission of the *Regiment*.

Chapter 2: Paratexts



Figure 1. Hh, fol.1r. 'Be war | stodi | not to sore'.

A scroll entwined with the first initial of Hoccleve's *Regiment* in Hh opens the poem with this judicious declaration: 'Be war | stodi | not to sore'. This text-scroll welcomes the reader into the poem with a paradoxical instruction that both invites interaction and discourages attention. As a marginal decoration, it invites us to question how the physical book shapes our understanding of the poem – how much, indeed, should we 'stodi' this manuscript and its engaging marginal paratexts?

The manuscripts of Hoccleve's *Regiment* are visually homogenous. All forty-four contain Latin glosses, which are predominantly located in the outer margin, signalled with a paraph, and typically rubricated.¹ David Greetham describes the corpus as 'remarkable for its conservatism' when compared to the range of scribal intervention and conscious editing that Chaucer and Langland were subjected to by fifteenth-century scribes.² In contrast to the scribal copies which are all that survive of their texts, the early copies of the *Regiment* were textually complete and created under the author's supervision.

However, this is not a corpus entirely without variation. The paratextual elements of Hoccleve's text – the Latin glosses, apparatus, and titles – are subject to the greatest amount of scribal engagement in the manuscript corpus.³ But the appearance of visual consistency has led to an assumption of textual consistency. As a result, the individual scribal approaches to the textual apparatus have been overlooked in scholarship.

Paratextual elements have long been recognised as an essential means of understanding the contemporary reception of medieval texts. They offer the opportunity for rubricators, scribes, illuminators, and annotators to 'demonstrate their

¹ Repetition and sameness that Daniel Wakelin notes is central to the task of copying. *Immaterial Texts*, 196.

² Greetham, 'Challenges of Theory', 61.

³ Aditi Nafde distinguishes between apparatus (as clarifying) and gloss (as directing); 'Deciphering the Manuscript Page', 60.

power' in and around the text in a way that distributes agency.⁴ Daniel Sawyer notes that paratexts would have affected readers' experiences and practices in both literary and practical ways, creating 'the ability to manipulate the book and move within the text at will, within structures provided by someone else'.⁵ To copy, let alone to create, a programme of titles and glosses was a significant undertaking and involved careful planning and close attention to the text. Book producers, Sawyer suggests, exercised considerable agency by adding reading aids which altered the way readers navigated through the text.⁶ Although glosses are infrequently found in some other vernacular poetry in late-medieval England, the study of their role in the transmission of the *Canterbury Tales*, *Confessio amantis*, and *The Prick of Conscience* has proven fruitful.⁷

Since Gérard Genette's foundational exploration of the paratext, scholars have been keen to map this theoretical framework onto medieval manuscripts.⁸ Adrian

⁴ Patrizia Carmassi, 'Book Material, Production, and Use from the Point of View of the Paratext', *Inscribing Knowledge in the Medieval Book: The Power of Paratexts*, ed. Rosalind Brown-Grant (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2020), 304–30 (304).

⁵ Sawyer, *Reading English Verse*, 68.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁷ E.g. Graham D. Caie, 'The Significance of Marginal Glosses in the Earliest Manuscripts of *The Canterbury Tales*', *Chaucer and Scriptural Tradition*, ed. David Lyle Jeffrey (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1984), 75–88; Susan Schibanoff, 'The New Reader and Female Textuality in Two Early Commentaries on Chaucer', *SAC*, 10 (1988): 71–108; Andrew Galloway, 'Gower's *Confessio amantis*, the *Prick of Conscience*, and the History of the Latin Gloss in English Literature', *John Gower: Manuscripts, Readers, Contexts*, ed. Malte Urban (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 39–70. On the scarcity of glosses in Middle English verse, see Alastair Minnis, *Translations of Authority in Medieval English Literature: Valuing the Vernacular* (Cambridge: CUP, 2009), 17–37.

⁸ Gérard Genette, *Seuils* (Paris: Seuil, Coll. Poétique, 1987); translated in *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: CUP, 1997). See Sirkku Ruokkeinen and Aino Liira, 'Material Approaches to Exploring the Borders of Paratext', *Textual Cultures*, 11.1/2 (2017): 106–29. Scholars of early modern literature have also capitalised on the theoretical potential of the paratext: Thomas L. Berger and Sonia Massai, *Paratexts in English Printed Drama to 1642* (Cambridge: CUP, 2014); William Slights, *Managing Readers: Printed Marginalia in English Renaissance Books* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001).

Armstrong and Charlotte Cooper have proposed expanding Genette's definition to include aspects of collocation, binding, illumination, and the organisation of material within the volume.⁹ Cooper also raises a theoretical issue with the term 'paratext' – that it implies that its elements are secondary and thus less important than the text.¹⁰ But medieval readers may not have always conceived of these elements as lacking value. For the purposes of this study, 'any feature of these manuscripts which is not the main text, yet affects the reading of that text' will be considered paratextual, following Sawyer's broader definition.¹¹ Though this seems straightforward, the distinction between types of paratext in the medieval context is complicated by the consideration of what is a scribal versus an authorial addition to the text. Joanna Frońska notes that a scribe's annotation of a text does not accurately fit into either the 'authorial' or 'editorial' paratextual categories developed by Genette.¹² She proposes a further category: the lectorial paratext, which encompasses 'user-implemented devices that impact on the physical body of the text and mediate its meaning'.¹³ Although her focus is judicial annotation in twelfth and thirteenth century law books,

⁹ Adrian Armstrong, 'Paratexte et autorité(s) chez les Grands Rhétoriciens', *Travaux de Littérature*, 14 (2000): 61–89 (63–9); Charlotte Cooper, 'What is a Medieval Paratext?', *Marginalia*, 19 (2015): 37–50; Tania Van Hemelryck, "'Cachez cette marge que je ne saurais voir...': Le philologue et le contre-texte du manuscrit", *Texte et contre-texte pour la période pré-moderne*, ed. Nelly Labère (Bordeaux: Ausonius, 2013), 25–31.

¹⁰ Cooper, 'What is a Medieval Paratext?', 37.

¹¹ Sawyer, *Reading English Verse*, 54.

¹² Joanna Frońska, 'Writing in the Margin – Drawing in the Margin: Reading Practices of Medieval Jurists', *Inscribing Knowledge*, 141–59 (141).

¹³ *Ibid.*, 141.

the overarching theory is suitable for the types of scribal paratexts which this chapter will consider.

The *Regiment* is an interesting case study as it contains a variety of types of paratext, some authorial and some that can be considered scribal and thus lectorial. The poem is accompanied by a set of Latin glosses, about 203 of which are witnessed in the Arundel and Harley presentation copies and are thus likely to be original to Hoccleve. These copies also contain titles at each section division, which can also be considered authorial paratexts. However, other manuscripts contain lectorial paratexts: glosses, titles, marginal text, and incipits and explicits, which are the scribes' own composition. These types of scribal additions should be considered as a distinct type of lectorial paratext, in contrast to Hoccleve's authorial paratexts, though (as we will see) the two are closely linked.

It is not the focus of this chapter, nor of this thesis, to understand Hoccleve's approach to paratexts in the *Regiment*, but rather to explore the role of his scribes and readers in transmitting his text.¹⁴ When the corpus is considered as a whole, it becomes evident that although *Regiment* manuscripts show a strong sense of visual cohesion, and thus an assumed textual cohesion, scribes did intervene in its paratexts – either by adding, editing, or removing glosses and titles. This chapter will explore the Latin and Middle English paratextual traditions of the *Regiment*, each of which experiment

¹⁴ For this, see Jane Griffiths, "'In Bookes Thus Writen I Fynde': Hoccleve's Self-Glossing in the *Regiment of Princes* and the *Series*", *Medium Ævum*, 86.1 (2017): 91–107; *Diverting Authorities: Experimental Glossing Practices in Manuscript and Print* (Oxford: OUP, 2014).

with form and content in innovative ways. This chapter argues that Hoccleve's own attitude towards paratexts in the *Regiment* prompted scribes and readers to add their own lectorial paratexts to their copies. These scribal interventions reveal not only creative engagement but also careful scholarly attention to the text, as its scribes sought to refashion the poem for new readers and contexts. The types of paratexts witnessed in *Regiment* manuscripts demonstrate the influence of a variety of other literary sources on the text, from biblical concordances to proverb sequences. Its scribes' adaptation of existing paratextual frameworks, or their addition of entirely new paratexts within those frameworks, offers a glimpse into the ways in which the *Regiment* was being read, understood, reinterpreted, and situated within its wider literary landscape.

1. *Paratexts of the Regiment*

There are a few types of visual paratexts that accompany the *Regiment* which are worthy of note. Two are authorial. The famous Chaucer portrait, surviving in three copies, reinforces the authority of Hoccleve's citation to his 'worthy maistir'.¹⁵ The presentation scene, depicting the poet delivering his book to the Prince, also survives

¹⁵ 4983. Ha4, Ro, and Ry2 contain Chaucer portraits, though Ro is a seventeenth century addition. A and Ha3 likely once contained portraits. See Jeanne E. Krochalis, 'Hoccleve's Chaucer Portrait', *ChRev*, 21.2 (1986): 234–45; A.S.G. Edwards, 'The Chaucer Portraits in the Harley and Rosenbach Manuscripts', *English manuscript studies 1100–1700*, vol. 4 (London: British Library, 1993), 268–71.

in two manuscripts.¹⁶ Other books have been mutilated for their miniatures.¹⁷ Even when the image is not present on the page, Hoccleve's allusion to 'this peynture' (4998) remains a powerful visual moment in the poem – which some scribes struggled to fulfil.¹⁸ In the undecorated manuscripts, this moment creates a new type of implied paratext, one which readers could imagine but was not provided by the material book.

A handful of manuscripts contain unique visual paratexts which are not witnessed in the authorised copies and can thus be considered lectorial. Ad features a historiated initial with a possible author-portrait, positioned at the start of the Envoy when Hoccleve speaks directly to his 'litol book' (5440).¹⁹ Co opens with a large miniature of a Carthusian which dominates the first folio, leaving only enough room for the first stanza.²⁰ A, Ar, Di, and Hh contain the heraldry of their patrons or early owners.²¹ And Do features curious literal decorated catchwords, for instance 'gold silver' in gold and silver circles.²² In each case, the presence of illustration shapes and directs the readers' attention to different aspects of the text, or points to the manuscript's function as a means of affirming cultural identity.

¹⁶ A and Ry2. Na may have been intended for a similar scene at this point in the text, marked by an empty space of two stanzas.

¹⁷ A and Ha3 (and possibly Hn2) for their Chaucer portraits, Ha4 for its presentation scene. See David R. Carlson, 'Thomas Hoccleve and the Chaucer Portrait', *HLQ*, 54.4 (1991): 283–300 (286–7).

¹⁸ Drimmer, 'Ambigraphic Medium', 175–94.

¹⁹ Ad, f.99r.

²⁰ Co, f.1r (see chapter 5).

²¹ A, ff.1r, 37r, 71r; Ar, f.1r; Di, ff.80r, 104r (codicological unit 2 only); Hh, ff. 10r, 21r, 52r, 68v, 94r.

²² Do, ff.87v, 135v.

Early readers also added their own texts to *Regiment* manuscripts in the form of additional, unrelated annotations, as well as verses, proverbial couplets, and even distinct texts – although it is unclear whether they were added for the economical use of parchment or for their relevance to the *Regiment*. In one copy, the Unwyn family records the births of various children around several stanzas of the Dialogue.²³ Are these better considered as annotations or marginalia, or do they fall under the umbrella term of paratext? In one sense, they can be read as a separate text entirely, and indeed a modern cataloguer would place these names in a separate category to the poem. But in this copy, the Hoccleve-speaker's musings on the instability of fortune cannot be read without a passing recognition of 'Wyllye Unwyn', 'Alys Unwyn', and 'Elyzabeth Unwyn'.²⁴ Following Sawyer's definition, it should be considered a paratext.²⁵ But the extent to which these names mediate the meaning of the text is up for debate. Perhaps the act of recording the births of children emphasises the passage of time in a way that complements the page's contemplation of the 'flittynges' and 'variant' nature of fortune (66).

The *Regiment* could also be itself made into a paratext. A thirteenth-century collection of Latin theological tracts, BL, MS Royal 8 A.XXI, contains a flyleaf on which a fifteenth-century hand has jotted two stanzas from the *Regiment*. These two stanzas are not concurrent and are copied out of order, suggesting that they were selected

²³ Ry3, ff.1v, 3r.

²⁴ Ry3, f.3r.

²⁵ Sawyer, *Reading English Verse*, 54.

with some care, whether by this scribe or by that of his exemplar. Rather than choosing a passage about Hoccleve or kingship, this reader copies one stanza that warns against greed and another against indulgence.²⁶ Perhaps these were considered the most appropriate passages for a volume containing biblical commentaries, homilies, and theological tracts. As flyleaves are more vulnerable to loss than the text block, this is the only survival from what was likely a larger tradition of the poem being mined for quotable extracts and displaced to become the paratext to another work.

2. *Latin paratext tradition*

The main authorial paratext for the *Regiment* is its set of Latin glosses, the methods and motives behind which have been thoroughly explored by scholars. The glosses bolstered the reputation of the poem and poet, creating an 'aura of authority'.²⁷ They represent, as Jane Griffiths notes, a 'material manifestation' of the poet's interest in 'the processes by which texts come into being' and offer insights into both his poetic theory and practice.²⁸ Others have drawn on biographical details of Hoccleve's life to suggest the motivation behind his glossing. Roger Ellis proposes that the poet's desperation to claim his own status as a vernacular author like Chaucer and Gower led him to call upon the 'paraphernalia of medieval scholarly editorial practice' in both

²⁶ 3865–71; 3830–36.

²⁷ Blyth, 12.

²⁸ Griffiths, "In Bookes", 91.

the *Regiment* and his other poems.²⁹ Elon Meir Lang connects Hoccleve's experience as a scribe to his awareness that 'source references could enhance the mechanics of book pages for readers'.³⁰ The sources that Hoccleve cites in the *Regiment* glosses have been suggested by John J. Thompson to be the product of a 'genuine concern' for recording documentary evidence on governance, perhaps sparked by the gradual shift to using English for government documents over his career at the Privy Seal.³¹

In one of the authorised copies, Ha4, glosses are positioned in the outer margin with their subject underlined. An effort has been made to integrate the glosses visually with the main column of verse: they are marked with the same style of paraphs as the main text, copied in the same elaborate secretary script and by the same hand, and ruled, like the main text, with both horizontal lines and a vertical frame. As this manuscript was likely supervised by the poet, we can imagine that this is how Hoccleve intended his glosses to be presented. Most scribal copies of the *Regiment* followed this style. The vast majority of manuscripts feature glosses in the outer margin and in the same hand and script as the main text, though they are predominantly unruled.³² Most scribes of the poem demarcate their glosses with

²⁹ *My Compleinte and Other Poems*, ed. Roger Ellis (Liverpool: LUP, 2001), 22.

³⁰ Elon Meir Lang, 'Thomas Hoccleve and the Poetics of Reading' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Washington University in St. Louis, 2010), 93.

³¹ John J. Thompson, 'A Poet's Contacts with the Great and the Good: Further Consideration of Thomas Hoccleve's Texts and Manuscripts', *Prestige, Authority and Power in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts*, ed. Felicity Riddy (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2000), 77–102 (98).

³² Thirty-five of forty-four. Exceptions being Ed, Sj, and Ha5 with glosses in the inner margin; Gg, Kk, and Sl2 with central glosses; Ha4 and Hn2 with horizontal ruling for glosses; and Ry1 glossed by a later hand. See also Wakelin, *Immaterial Texts*, 83–6.

paraphs, bracing, or underlining, and exactly half distinguish them through rubrication.³³

But there are also a variety of Latin lectorial paratexts in *Regiment* manuscripts. These differ from the authorial paratexts found in A and Ha4 and are unique to each copy, likely the product of direct scribal engagement in each specific context. A few manuscripts add Latin running titles to give structure to the poem. The scribe of Sl1 prioritised the copying of his titles over the decoration and rubrication of the manuscript, leaving large spaces for initials that were never filled. He copied instead Hoccleve's section titles 'de fide seruanda', 'de justitia', and so on, in the top right-hand margin of every recto.³⁴ Other scribes distribute their titles in a different way by splitting them across the upper margin of one opening, a common occurrence in manuscripts of both Middle English and Latin alike. The Ad scribe designs his running titles in this way, even when the title comprises only one word, splitting the title 'Pro | logus' across an open spread. Ad is not the only manuscript to employ the aesthetic and expressive potential of the double-page. The scribe of Ha3 labels every page of the Dialogue as 'Dialogus inter Occliff | et mendicum', and in the *Regiment* Proper switches to one constant title 'Occlif de | Regimine', with a place in the outer margin of every recto for the section titles 'justicia', 'pace', etc. Every title in the

³³ Twenty-nine contain decoration, the most common type being paraphs (19).

³⁴ Perkins, 187.

manuscript includes Hoccleve's name, positioning and contextualising each theme in relation to the poet and his textual presence.

As Nafde notes of Ad, this practice continuously ties the reading back to the theme of the page.³⁵ But it is also an exercise in perspective that encourages a wide-angle view of the poem, as Anthony Grafton has argued is the case for double-page spreads in medieval encyclopaedias.³⁶ Running titles that cross the margin of the page transform the open book into a 'visual critical field', in the words of Jeffrey Hamburger.³⁷ And Claire Bourne notes that running titles in printed books represent bids by writers and stationers to 'referee' readers' interactions with their books.³⁸ In the examples of Ad and Ha3, any reader could more easily navigate the themes of the *Regiment Proper*, and need only glance at the top of the page to be reminded of the lesson that is being taught. They demonstrate a willingness on the part of the scribes to intervene in the design of the page, but also a concern for doing so within the prescriptive instructions of the text and according to the author's intentions.³⁹

There are also Latin lectional glosses written by scribes. These have passed unnoticed in scholarship, likely because scribal glosses are usually copied in the same

³⁵ Nafde, 'Deciphering the Manuscript Page', 205.

³⁶ Anthony Grafton, *La page de l'antiquité à l'ère numérique: histoire, usages, esthétiques* (Paris: Éditions du Louvre, 2012), 117–19.

³⁷ Jeffrey Hamburger, *Ouvertures: La double page dans les manuscrits enluminés du Moyen Âge* (Lyon: Les presses du réel, 2010), 57.

³⁸ Claire M.L. Bourne, 'Running Titles', *Book Parts*, eds. Dennis Duncan and Adam Smyth (Oxford: OUP, 2023), 192–207 (200).

³⁹ It can be assumed that the exemplars did not contain these titles. For Sl1, the cognate Ry1 does not contain these titles, nor does Ro as the cognate of the exemplar. For Ad, neither the cognates A nor Ha4 contain these titles. Ha3 is conflated.

style as authorial glosses so there is a visual impression of non-variance. But the Latin glosses of the *Regiment* were, for some scribes, an important part of the text, and one worth adding to. One fifteenth-century reader noticed the similarity between Hoccleve's advice to 'telle out al thyn herte' (263) and Boethius's wisdom in the *Consolation* that one must uncover a wound to receive healing. He added the gloss 'Boetius / si operam medicantis expectas, oportet uulnus detegas' (if you expect the aid of the healer, it is necessary for you to uncover your wound).⁴⁰ Though this gloss is not copied by the main-text scribe, effort has been made to make it look the same as the authorial glosses, with a virgule after Boethius to indicate the subject of the gloss. It is also possible that this reader drew inspiration, and even agency, from the authorial gloss only a few folios prior which cited the *Consolation*.⁴¹

Other manuscripts were evidently understood to be incomplete without a full set of Latin glosses. Ro was initially provided with only five rubricated glosses, copied by its scribe from its exemplar, the putative lost MS 22. At some later date, the same scribe returned to the text to copy a further 115 glosses from a different manuscript in a darker shade of ink.⁴² The reader of another manuscript had a similar idea, but also added his own glosses to the mix. Gg is one of the more heavily glossed manuscripts in the corpus, with seventy-five glosses copied by the scribe in an ornate display

⁴⁰ Ne, f.4v, citing *Consolation*, Book I, prose iv.

⁴¹ *Consolation*, Book II, prose iv, to *Regiment* 54.

⁴² Lost MS 11 – on this textual tradition, see chapter 1. In this second stage of copying, this scribe also realises that four stanzas have been accidentally omitted and copies them at the end of the Envoy (lines 4510–37, f.77v).

script.⁴³ A later hand added seventy-seven more glosses to the margins, as well as annotations of characters' names, many in Latin but also in English.⁴⁴ Some of these glosses are authorial and copied in full, other times the reader simply gives the source for the poem, as 'Danielis 6' or 'Gregorius 9'.⁴⁵ But he also adds thirty-six glosses which are his own.

It is noteworthy that the transmission of *Regiment* glosses was, for the most part, not subject to 'generation loss', whereby there is a progressive loss every time something is copied – unlike Gower's *Confessio*.⁴⁶ Instead, when two manuscripts from opposite ends of the stemma are compared, the volume of glosses remains fairly consistent despite multiple generations of copying. Ha4, thought to have been compiled under Hoccleve's supervision in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, contains 194 marginal glosses. Bo, copied in the third quarter of the century and distant from the poet, contains 183 glosses. However, what is interesting is that only 133 of these glosses are the same – although the quantity of marginal glosses has remained consistent, their content has not.

For other scribes though, the authorial Latin glosses were of little importance when compared to the text. Two late fifteenth-century witnesses, Ra1 and Ra2, contain

⁴³ Ross, 'A Humanist Hand'.

⁴⁴ Sixty-seven glosses total. Collations suggest that the first set of in-line glosses were copied from Na, and the second set of glosses were copied from another extant manuscript, Ad, and supplemented with the scribe's own additions.

⁴⁵ Gg, f.68r.

⁴⁶ Derek Pearsall, 'The Organisation of the Latin Apparatus in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*: The Scribes and their Problems', *The Medieval Book and a Modern Collector: Essays in Honour of Toshiyuki Takamiya* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2004), 99–112.

only a handful of glosses. Ra1 was first copied without any glosses at all. This was likely a deliberate choice: although the exemplar is not extant, the cognate Sl1 is fully glossed, suggesting that the Ra1 scribe would have had access to the glosses. The absence was corrected in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, likely by Sir Nicholas Saunders (1563–1649), who copied a compendious set of glosses from the β textual tradition.⁴⁷ However, for the first one to two hundred years of its life, Ra1 circulated without apparatus as a functional and legible text.

There are other exceptional types of Latin lectorial paratexts for the *Regiment* that go beyond simple marginal glosses. A curious example is found in the first few folios of Ga, a single-text codex of Hoccleve's *Regiment* of the late fifteenth century. In the context of the corpus, it is a fairly plain paper manuscript, rubricated inconsistently, with no illustration. But it is notable for its unusual and unique Tabula which occupies the first two folios of the manuscript (Figure 2).⁴⁸ The Tabula comprises a list of twenty-four items, in Latin, terminated with an explicit that identifies it as 'Tabula super Egidium de Regimine Principum'.⁴⁹ These factors have led to the assumption that these folios contain an 'index to patristic and philosophical

⁴⁷ Saunders owned the manuscript and signed his name on f.2r.

⁴⁸ See Appendix 2.1 for a diplomatic transcription of the Tabula. Other manuscripts contain indexes, for instance Tc (ff.1r–3v), but these do not relate to the *Regiment*. Ya contains a list of contents, in English and Latin, on the first flyleaf, but it is not medieval, perhaps dated to 1713 (as is recorded earlier in the manuscript in the same hand).

⁴⁹ Ga, f.2v. Se, As, Ry1, Ya, and Ro also contain variants of an explicit to 'Egidius de Regimine Principum'. Fi1 cites both authors: 'Explicit liber Egidii de regimine Principum translatus Per Occliff' (f.138r), and Ad to Hoccleve, Aristotle, Giles, and Jacobus de Cessolis (f.99v).

authorities and scriptural passages in Giles of Rome [...] *De regimine principum*'.⁵⁰ However, a closer look at their contents reveals that the items of the Tabula are directly taken from forty-nine glosses in the *Regiment*, suggesting a much closer relation to Hoccleve's poem.

The Tabula entries predominantly contain multiple citations per item, adding up to forty-nine citations to twenty-four different sources. Each item begins with the name of a source that Hoccleve cites in the *Regiment*, written in a more ornate secretary script and with rubricated flourishes and frame, followed by between one and eleven lines of Latin explanatory notes and quotation. The items selected for the Tabula are predominantly biblical (13), but also theological (7) and philosophical (4). Though most sources are only cited once, multiple citations are made to Genesis (5), Augustine (4), and Proverbs (3).

⁵⁰ 'MS Garrett 137', *Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts in the Princeton University Library*, ed. Don C. Skemer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).

The items are organised and grouped according to their contents, following the themes of: poverty, adultery, mercy, patience, humility, charity, drunkenness, generosity, truth, greed, and prodigality (in this order). There are surprisingly few references to kingship. The only kings who are mentioned are exemplary for their moral qualities, for instance 'de paciencia Regis Alexandri', King David, and 'Rex apium' or the king of the bees (items H and F).⁵¹ When read in a linear fashion, the Tabula presents a series of concise statements on vices and virtues with guidance on how to live a virtuous life, primarily quoted or paraphrased from classical sources.⁵² Every gloss selected for the Tabula is in Latin, creating a coherent 'mini-Regiment' that prospectively boosts the poem's authority by fronting it with the sources that typically support the text from the margins. In bringing the glosses to the front of the manuscript, the scribe also tests the balance of authority between Hoccleve and his sources – a balance to which this chapter will return later.⁵³ Some medieval readers may have valued the Latin Tabula over the Middle English poem when presented in this format, depending on the type of engagement they wanted with the text and its information.

Who exactly this medieval reader was is unclear, but a plausible origin can be sketched. Dialectal evidence suggests the manuscript was produced in the South of

⁵¹ Ga, f.1v.

⁵² See Morton Bloomfield, *Incipits of Latin works on the virtues and vices, 1100–1500 A.D.: including a section of incipits of works on the Pater noster* (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1979).

⁵³ On the balance of authority between author and source, see Nafde, 'Deciphering the Manuscript Page', 216–7.

England, possibly the South-East.⁵⁴ Its provenance before it entered Thomas Rawlinson's (1675–1725) collection in the early eighteenth century is unclear,⁵⁵ though its ownership after this point is well documented.⁵⁶ However, clues to its origins can be found in the practices of its scribes, which suggest that it may have been produced in a religious institution. The manuscript is the work of three scribes who work in an intriguingly collaborative manner in many stints.⁵⁷ These stints do not follow textual or physical divisions, neither in Ga or foreseeably in its exemplar, which is suggestive of a lack of uniformity in production. The volume of stints and the division of labour (twice scribes take over copying mid-line) are suggestive of a group of people working closely together, likely in the same place, in a homogenous, but not necessarily orderly, manner.⁵⁸ The same close collaboration can be seen in another manuscript copied by these scribes, BodL, MS Rawl. poet. 163.⁵⁹ Ga has a general impression of untidiness, being predominantly unruled and with each scribe copying varying lines per page with seemingly little attempt at consistency in layout or script between stints. Combined with the inconsistent rubrication and quiring, this suggests that they were

⁵⁴ Through comparison with the e-LALME database; *Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English*, eds. Angus McIntosh, M.L. Samuels, Michael Benskin, Margaret Laing, Keith Williamson, and Vasilis Karaiskos, <<http://amc.pppl.ed.ac.uk/elalme/index.html>>, accessed 26.04.2025.

⁵⁵ Item 23 in 'a catalogue of my master's books in the Inner Study', BodL, MS Rawl. C.928, p.10; and Item 306 'A poem of the Government of Princes By Tho. Hoccleve', MS Rawl. C.937, p.19. An inscription on the front flyleaf verso of Ga records 'E Cod. mss. Biblioth. Rawlinson 13 Mar. 1733'.

⁵⁶ 'MS Garrett 137', *Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts*, ed. Skemer.

⁵⁷ Scribe A (ff.1r–2v, 27v from l.7–54v, glosses 67r–69r, 70r, 71r, 73v–76r), Scribe B (ff.3r–12v, 13r l.1 and first two words of l.2, and glosses 4r–9v), and Scribe C (ff.13r except l.2 and first two words of l.2–27r, 27v ll.1–6, 55r–83v, glosses 3r–v, 13r–30v, 40r–67r, 69v, 70v, 71v, 76v). See Charlotte E. Ross and Daniel Wakelin, 'Three Collaborative Scribes of Chaucer, Hoccleve, and Romance', *JEBS*, 27 (2024): 41–72.

⁵⁸ Following Gumbert, 'Codicological Units'.

⁵⁹ Ross and Wakelin, 'Three Collaborative Scribes'.

unlikely to have been producing this copy for financial reward, but rather for use within an institution or community.⁶⁰ The Tabula therefore suggests important implied forms of use that could have resulted from certain types of reading in a context like this.

A plausible, if speculative, origin for Garrett, supported by this codicological evidence and by the nature of the scribes' additions to the text, is a group of scholarly, Latin-literate individuals in service within an institution – possibly a college for priests, a university college, or a monastery. The provenance of related manuscripts also makes this a plausible theory of origin. Garrett shared an exemplar with Tc and lost MS 15.⁶¹ Tc can be traced back to George Wilmer (1583–1626), who acquired many of his manuscripts from Augustinian religious houses.⁶² Wilmer also owned a fifteenth-century copy of the *Speculum vitae*, now TCC, MS R.3.13, which likely originated in an institution in West Riding, Yorkshire.⁶³ This manuscript has recycled documentary sewing guards which pre-date Wilmer's binding and bear some resemblance in script and mise-en-page to those of the *Ga Regiment*. It is impossible to prove a shared origin, but they likely at least had the same *type* of origin. Another cognate of Tc and Garrett, the lost MS 15, was the exemplar of another *Regiment*, So,

⁶⁰ Both a 'Streamlined Book' and 'Evolving Book' following Johnston, *Middle English Book*, 41–4.

⁶¹ Marzec, 279.

⁶² Philip Gaskell, *Trinity College Library: the First 150 Years* (Cambridge: CUP, 1980), 82–3. On the literary activity of the Augustinians, see Ralph Hanna, 'Augustinian Canons and Middle English Literature', *The English Medieval Book: Studies in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths*, eds A.S.G. Edwards, Vincent Gillespie, and Ralph Hanna (London: British Library, 2000), 27–42.

⁶³ *Speculum vitae: A Reading Edition*, ed. Ralph Hanna, EETS o.s. 331–2 (Oxford: OUP, 2008), xxvi–xxv. Another manuscript owned by Wilmer of similar provenance is CUL, MS Ff.5.48, a miscellany from South Yorkshire.

which is thought to have been owned by the Premonstratensian Halesowen Abbey near Birmingham.⁶⁴ All three of the Garrett scribes also appear in another manuscript of Middle English verse, the copy of *Troilus* in BodL, MS Rawl. poet. 163. This manuscript has much of the same evidence as Garrett that is suggestive of a collaboratively produced book for internal use, perhaps by members of a religious institution.

To return to the Tabula, the items are lifted near-verbatim from Hoccleve's authorial glosses, and curiously whenever a gloss appears in the Tabula it is absent from the poem – in other words the items in the Tabula do not appear as marginal paratexts. The question of why these glosses are separated from the poem remains unanswered. It is unlikely that the exemplar from which Garrett was copied distinguished these glosses in any way, either in a separate quire or visually on the page, in a way that would encourage the scribes to copy these glosses out of place. The comparison of the textual variants in the Tabula and poem glosses suggests that they share an exemplar or used two belonging to the same tradition.⁶⁵ The cognate Tc and descendants from the lost cognate MS 15 (Sl2, So, and Kk), each contain a selection

⁶⁴ Following an inscription on Ga, f.iir. So contains Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady*, which belongs to the same textual tradition (group C following *A Critical Edition of John Lydgate's Life of Our Lady*, ed. Joseph A. Lauritis (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University, 1961), p.14) as the copy in Tc, suggesting that the exemplar shared by Ga, Tc, and lost MS 15 may have contained both the *Regiment* and *Life of Our Lady*.

⁶⁵ As the exemplar is not extant, this conclusion cannot be concrete. However, a survey of variant readings in the twenty-four Tabula items and a sample of ten glosses from the main text shows a 90% correlation in agreement with other manuscripts in the corpus. In both cases, the most common manuscripts with shared gloss-variants were: Ar, Cc, Di, Ed, Kk, Ry4, Sl2, Tc, and Qu. This is in agreement with Marzec's stemma, which places Cc, Ed, Kk, Ry4, Sl2, Tc, and Qu in close proximity to Ga.

of these (and other) glosses which are not demarcated in any way or excerpted from the margins. It is therefore likely that the Tabula is the product of deliberate engagement with the text by this scribe.

The colour of ink and size of script varies across the Tabula pages, suggesting that it was compiled gradually rather than in one stint – although the scribe must have predicted that it would only require one bifolium, which forms a separate quire. This separateness raises the possibility that it was added later or taken from another manuscript (as is the case with the table of contents in BodL, MS Ashmole 59).⁶⁶ However, this is unlikely for several reasons. The Tabula is written in Scribe A's hand, which also appears in a long stint later and in glosses throughout.⁶⁷ The folios are also rubricated in the same style and ink as the main text. The frame ruling is also consistent with the main text, and the Tabula shares a watermark with the fifth quire, demonstrating that paper was taken from the same stock that was prepared for the main text.⁶⁸

In the left margin of the Tabula some of the letters A to P are listed in a style akin to a traditional index.⁶⁹ Such alphabetical indexes are found in, for instance,

⁶⁶ Charlotte E. Ross, 'MS Ashmole 59', *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts at the Bodleian Library*, <www.medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>, [accessed 27.02.24].

⁶⁷ Ga, f.27v (7 onwards)–54v. The most identifiable graphs are the secretary **g** with separate cross bar and right curving descender, two compartment upper-case **A** with extended ascender, and short curved **h** with tail and curved ascender.

⁶⁸ Similar to Piccard 15093, 'Tête de Boeuf | à yeux et à narines | surmontée d'un trait étoilé ou d'une étoile' ; G. Piccard, *Die Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1961–87). For ruling see Appendix 0.1.

⁶⁹ Following Dennis Duncan, 'a system adopted as a timesaver, telling us where to look for things'. *Index, a History of The* (London: Penguin Books, 2022), 2.

manuscripts of the Middle English devotional text *The Chastising of God's Children* and medical recipe collections.⁷⁰ Unusually though, in Garrett several letters are skipped and they predominantly bear no relevance to the items that they appear next to, nor do they correspond to any labels or running titles in the main text.⁷¹ The items also lack the alphanumerical characters which would allow a reader to locate the subject in the main text, for instance to the folio or stanza number. This raises the questions: why was it considered an appropriate appendage to the *Regiment*, what type of reading does this style of paratext prompt, and what function does the Tabula serve?

To answer these questions some context is needed. The late twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw an explosion of alphabetised *distinctiones*, concordances, and alphabetical subject indexes for legal compilations and authors such as Aristotle.⁷² As with the Ga Tabula, these texts excerpted important information from a main text and collated it into a separate but adjacent text which was organised alphabetically.⁷³ This was not conceived of as an end in itself, as Richard Rouse and Mary Rouse note, but rather as a 'mode of approach' to the text.⁷⁴ This style of textual organisation reflects a change from the contemplative, spiritual monastic *lectio* of the early medieval period

⁷⁰ See BodL, MS Ashmole 41, ff.136v–137v; and CUL, MS Ee.1.15, ff.1r–3v.

⁷¹ It is possible that the manuscript has been trimmed to remove running titles on the extremities of the pages, however considering the remaining margins and the lack of cropped descenders, this is unlikely. Moreover, the dispersal of letters throughout the text would need to be uneven for the letters to coincide with the lines from which the glosses have been excerpted.

⁷² Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus Florum of Thomas of Ireland* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979), 13–23.

⁷³ A fifteenth-century example is Salisbury Cathedral Library, MS 103, the unique copy of the penitential manual *Jacob's Well* with a Latin Index, ff.220r–230r.

⁷⁴ Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 3.

to the more 'aggressive and utilitarian' late-medieval approach to the text.⁷⁵ The literary trend toward indexing scholarly Latin texts in particular made legal, historical, natural, theological, and biblical material accessible to a wider readership of Latin literates, and eventually, Emily Steiner argues, to lay readers as well.⁷⁶ Sawyer notes that indexing had become a significant activity of university-educated book-producers and readers by the fifteenth century.⁷⁷ It is thus interesting to consider whether the unusual Tabula in Ga is a form of engagement with this shift in literary culture.

Indeed, one of Hoccleve's sources, Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum*, was one such indexed text. An alphabetically-arranged tabula to the text survives in twenty-three manuscripts, hypothesised by Steiner to have been created by Augustinian English friars in the early fifteenth century.⁷⁸ Charles Briggs defines the tabulae in Giles's work as 'ancillary texts' intended to be used with the Latin text to inform readers' approach and influence their reading experience.⁷⁹ For this study they can be classified, like the Ga Tabula, as a lectorial paratext. The presence of an index

⁷⁵ Ibid., 40; M.B. Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book', *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays presented to Richard William Hunt*, eds J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson (Oxford: OUP, 1976), 115–33.

⁷⁶ Emily Steiner, *John Trevisa's Information Age: Knowledge and the Pursuit of Literature, c. 1400* (Oxford: OUP, 2021), 107, 111.

⁷⁷ Sawyer, *Reading English Verse*, 57.

⁷⁸ Steiner, *Information Age*, 115; Charles F. Briggs identifies four variants of this Index, see Appendix E, *Reading and Writing*.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 50.

suggests that the *De regimine principum* was being copied and read like a textbook of moral philosophy, a source of exempla, and moreover as something to be studied.⁸⁰

Other indexed Latinate texts with intriguing parallels to the Ga Tabula are found in florilegia. This genre is exemplified by the texts of John of Wales: his *Breviloquium de virtutibus antiquorum principum et philosophum* – a collection of exempla illustrating the virtuous behaviour of ancient princes and philosophers, and his *Communiloquium* – a similar collection presented as a manual for priests and preachers.⁸¹ These types of florilegia were popular in the fifteenth century and copied for and by a variety of ecclesiastical and lay owners.⁸² One florilegium, the *Manipulus florum*, is especially notable.⁸³ Compiled in Paris by Thomas of Ireland in 1306, it is an alphabetically-arranged topical compendium of *auctoritates* with a system of unique reference letters attached to each quotation.⁸⁴ The 266 entries are grouped under themes like ‘confessio’, ‘fraternitas’, and ‘paciencia’, followed by quotations and proverbs from a range of classical and patristic authors. It was extremely popular, surviving in over 200 manuscripts, making it the most widely-disseminated anthology of Latin quotations produced during the Middle Ages.⁸⁵ Considering the quantity of manuscripts of *De regimine principum* and *Manipulus florum* that were circulating in

⁸⁰ Ibid., 84.

⁸¹ Jenny Swanson, *John of Wales: A Study of the Works and Ideas of a Thirteenth-century Friar* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002).

⁸² E.g., Vincent of Beauvais *De morali principis institutione* owned by the Hospital of Ewelme (Domus Dei) in 1466 (recorded in an inventory of goods, *CBLMLC Hospitals, Towns, and the Professions*, SH14.15), and by Sir John Fortescue (now BodL, MS Rawl. C.398).

⁸³ I am grateful to Misty Schieberle for bringing this text to my attention.

⁸⁴ Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, ix.

⁸⁵ *The Electronic Manipulus florum Project*, <www.manipulusflorum.com>, accessed 27.11.2024.

fifteenth-century England, it is not implausible that one of the Ga scribes may have come into contact with one such copy and sought to emulate its Latin Tabula.

There was also a growing literary culture of Middle English translations of scholarly Latin texts with supplementary indexes. This context may have provided the framework for the Ga Tabula, or simply made an indexed copy of the *Regiment* appear more typical than it now does. Trevisa's prose translation of Higden's *Polychronicon*, completed in April 1387, is a forerunner to this tradition. The translation was accompanied by an experimental Middle English index designed by Trevisa, witnessed in eleven of the fourteen manuscripts.⁸⁶ The text is labelled by books and chapters, rather than folios and paragraphs, meaning that the index could be copied across manuscripts and not made bespoke to each copy – often in a separate quire like Ga.⁸⁷ Rather than organising the people, places, and events into a concise list, Trevisa's index is made of groupings of items that are categorised by their adjectives or by secondary details. 'Snow' is not recorded under 'S' but rather 'H' for 'Huge snow in Engelond', and the 'dedes of Alisaundre' are listed under 'D' not 'A'.⁸⁸ For this reason, Emily Steiner describes it as 'spectacularly unsuccessful as a finding aid'. Wendy Scase instead argues that Trevisa's index mimics the *tabula specialis* tradition – an alphabetical discovery tool arranged in tabular form and designed for a particular audience: 'male, clerical, nationalistic, curious about the world, but relatively

⁸⁶ Steiner, *Information Age*, 107–8.

⁸⁷ As in HEHL, MS HM 28561, ff.24–40v, containing both a Latin and Middle English index.

⁸⁸ MS HM 28561, ff.35v, 34r.

uneducated and ill-informed'.⁸⁹ It offers, Scase suggests, a series of entries that emphasise the 'sensational and curious' for those readers for whom the headwords of a typical index would not be useful. Trevisa's index is thus a prime example of the adaptation of, and experimentation with, the classical Latin index in Middle English in the lead up to the fifteenth century.⁹⁰

Indexes were also adapted to suit Middle English verse. Sawyer identifies one early fifteenth-century copy of *The Prick of Conscience* that survives with a fully-fledged index.⁹¹ Like the Ga Tabula, the index is copied on a separate bifolium but appears to share a production context.⁹² The entries are mostly, but not exclusively, Latin words from the poem's quotations, alphabetised by first letter only. Sawyer suggests the scribe intended to create a 'jury-rigged florilegium' – a navigable source of sententiae which act as a fast route into the text, and which transform the poem into 'a kind of storehouse of explanations of authorities, rather than an extended course of instruction supported by authoritative quotations'.⁹³

Two other notable examples of indexed Middle English verse survive from the fifteenth century. *On Husbondrie*, a translation of Palladius' *De re rustica* completed for

⁸⁹ Wendy Scase, 'The A to Z of Middle English Indexing? The Tables of John Trevisa's *Polychronicon*', *Graphic Practices and Literacies in the History of English*, eds Matti Peikola, Jukka Tyrkkö, and Mari-Liisa Varila (Turnhout: Brepols, 2024), 153–180 (167). I am grateful to Wendy Scase for sharing this work with me before publication, and for inciteful conversations about indexes.

⁹⁰ Emily Steiner, 'Berkeley Castle', *Europe: A Literary History*, ed. David Wallace (Oxford: OUP, 2016), 227–39 (234).

⁹¹ Lambeth Palace Library, MS 260, ff.138r–139v; see Sawyer, *Reading English Verse*, 57–60.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 58.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 59.

Humphrey duke of Gloucester between 1439–1444, is accompanied by an alphabetical index with entries that refer to the contents of the poem and give the page and stanza location. Each leaf is paginated and contains eight stanzas marked with the letters A–H, which allows easy cross-reference with the index. The text survives in three manuscripts, all of which contain an index.⁹⁴ Similarly, *Knyghthode and Bataile*, a translation of Vegetius' military manual *Epitoma rei militaris*, presented to the king in 1460, contains an identical page layout with four alphabetically-labelled stanzas to a page and Latin glossing.⁹⁵ The index contains 129 entries, organised alphabetically with large flourished initials to demarcate each letter (Figure 3). It survives in four manuscripts, two of which retain their indexes, organised alphabetically with the contents of the poem and alphanumerical finding aids.⁹⁶ Both poems are dense with instruction and encyclopaedic knowledge, making them appropriate candidates to be indexed and made accessible to 'utilitarian' reading.

⁹⁴ BodL, MS Duke Humfrey d.2; MS Add. A.369 (with partially damaged index); and Glasgow, UL, MS Hunter 104 (T.5.6). The Duke Humfrey and Glasgow copies have their indexes in separate quires at the front of the manuscript (like Ga). *The Middle-English Translation of Palladius De Re Rustica*, ed. Mark Liddell (Berlin: E. Ebering, 1896).

⁹⁵ BodL, MS Ashmole 45; Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 243; BL, Cotton Titus A.XXIII; London, College of Arms MS R.25. *Of Knyghthode and Bataile*, eds Trevor Russell Smith and Michael Livingston (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2021).

⁹⁶ Cotton (ff.52v–53v) and Ashmole (ff.54r–56v) contain indexes, titled 'The tabil vppon the book of Knyghthode and Bataile aftir the number lef and littertherof' in Ashmole. Charlotte E. Ross, 'MS Ashmole 45', *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts at the Bodleian Library*, <www.medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>, [accessed 27.02.24].

The tabul upon the booke of knyghthode
and bataile after the number let and
the therof.

Angelic ordeine ^{ne} 2. let b. f. m. 3h. 6 p. c.
Angelic helpe in bataile h. f.
de angelis. men shalbe
Archerie. A. b. f. m. h. c.
Aide is of aliene. 18. d.
Army called the grete army. 31. e. p. c.
Army called the light army. 32. c.
Assault and assaye. 31. d. 3. c.
An alie or a Venne. 39. d. 3. c.

Barbille or plumbat. A. g.
Bataile by longe in dmerse waye. 31. d.
Bataile by see. 36. o. p. c.
Of bataile genal Venne. 38. c. 2. c.
Banner and figure
A band for caviat. 2. e. d. 3. c.
A Bussment o longe. 2. e. h.
A Bussment by see. h. 6. b.
The day of Bataile. 30. b. c. c.
A Borda hed. 3. e. d. 3. c.
A Buss to breke. 3h. d.
Bussardis. Canons. h. 6. h.
Buss on floodis. 2h. b. p. c.

Chivalere pace is first to come h. 6. c. c.
A Chivalere oth. h. 5. p. c.
Centurions shall pray next p. yate 8. 8.

Figure 3. BodL, MS Ashmole 45, fol.54r. Index to Knyghthode and Bataile.

There are obvious similarities between these two works and the *Regiment* which make this an intriguing parallel. All three poems belong to the genre of didactic literature on chivalry, kingship, governance, and domestic conduct, and were addressed to or composed for Lancastrian patrons. They all contain marginal glossing, some of which is Latin, which helps to clarify the poems' classical and scholarly allusions and rhetorical tropes. *Knyghthode and Bataile* in particular has a very Hocclevean premise, based on 'the idea of reviving one's fortunes by turning not to military books especially, but to old books'.⁹⁷ Both authors also draw on Vegetius' *Epitoma rei militaris*, and conclude with an envoy that bids their 'litel book' to humbly beseech their reader. Indeed, Hoccleve even advises Sir John Oldcastle to read Vegetius.⁹⁸

As *Knyghthode* and *On Husbondrie* are thought to have been composed after the *Regiment*, their influence on the poem has not been considered before. However, for scribal copies of the *Regiment* like Ga, the influence of these texts may have been more contemporary to the scribe's own reception. Indeed, the dates of these manuscripts place them in close proximity.⁹⁹ Although the texts do not appear together in surviving manuscripts, one copy compiles the *Regiment* with a text on planting and grafting by the Dominican friar Nicholas Bollarde (fl.1427) that incorporates passages from

⁹⁷ Daniel Wakelin, *Humanism, Reading, and English Literature 1430–1530* (Cambridge: CUP, 2007), 84.

⁹⁸ *Remonstrance against Oldcastle*, 196.

⁹⁹ *On Husbondrie* (two manuscripts from 1439–47, when given to Humfrey) and *Knyghthode and Bataile* (one from 1460–1, two from 1470 onwards), in keeping with the likely date of Ga in the last quarter of the 1400s.

Palladius' *De re rustica* with an alphabetised index.¹⁰⁰ Considered in conjunction, the texts of Hoccleve's *Regiment*, Giles's *De regimine principum*, *Knyghthode*, and *On Husbandrie* emerge as a coherent group of texts that deal with household and domestic governance and warfare that also have physical similarities in the presentation of their manuscripts in the fifteenth century.

However, there is a key stylistic difference between the indexes in the Middle English texts identified here and the Ga Tabula: the page number and stanza letter which make the items locatable in the main text. Although the Tabula follows the same organisational system as the *Knyghthode* and *On Husbandrie* indexes, it lacks the means of cross-referencing the item to the poem.¹⁰¹ Rather, the Tabula presents a sequence of Latin citations on moral guidance masquerading as a cross-referential index.

This begs the question: how did an index without a finding aid – without the connection between the gloss and its verse-pair – function? James Freeman argues that alphabetised indexes 'liberated readers from the need to possess prior knowledge of the contents of a text or its arrangement'.¹⁰² Yet the Tabula surely has the opposite effect when it presumes prior knowledge by omitting the finding aids. For instance, one item combines five glosses on the topic of drunkenness with citations to five books

¹⁰⁰ BL, MS Harley 116, ff.154r–165v, f.154r–v.

¹⁰¹ A similar finding aid was added to the flyleaf of Hn1 by a sixteenth-century reader, who lists the sections of the *Regiment* Proper 'De Regis prudencia, fide, pietate, castitate, magnanimitate, largitate, de Auarricia' without any means of associating them back to the text.

¹⁰² James Andrew Freeman, 'The Alphabetical Index to the Autograph Manuscript of Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon*', unpublished draft, 9; cited from Steiner, *Information Age*, 111.

of the bible: Daniel, Kings, Maccabees, Genesis, and Judith.¹⁰³ The first four give the source and a brief quotation, but the last gives only the source, 'Judith etc', squeezed into the remaining space. The ink and hand are consistent enough to suggest that this was written in the same stint.

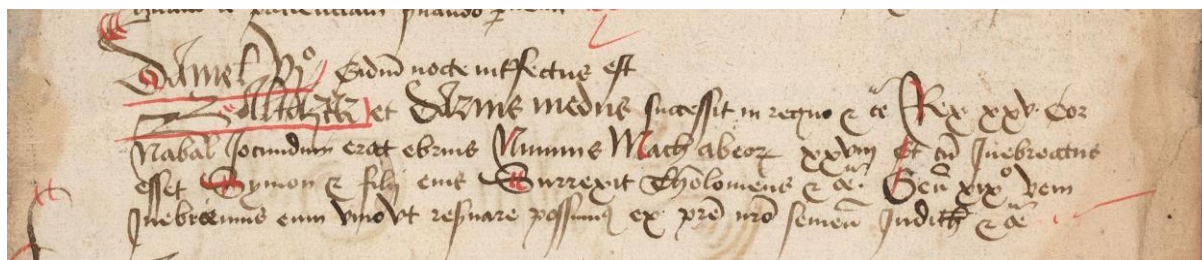


Figure 4. Ga, f.2r. Detail of 'Baltasar' entry.

Baltazar | et Darius Medus successit in regno et ce Rex xxv Cor Nabal Jocundum erat ebrius Nimmis Machabeorum xxvii Et cum Inebreatus esset Symon et filij eius Surrexit Tholomeus et ce Genesis xix^o Veni Inebreamus cum vino vt reseruare possimus ex patre nostro semen Iudith et ce.

Baltasar | and Darius the Mede succeeded to the kingdom etc Kings 25 Nabal's heart was merry for he was very drunk Maccabees 28 And when Simon and his sons had drunk plentifully, Ptolemy and his men rose up etc Genesis 19 Come let us make him drunk with wine that we may preserve the seed of our father The Book of Judith etc.

In the poem, the authorial gloss to Judith is given with the additional chapter number 22 to accompany the lines 'How was eek Oloferne by Judith | The womman slayn but thurgh his dronkenesse' (3858–3859). In this context, the function of the gloss is evidently to record the source of Judith's defeat of the slumbering Holofernes. However, in the Tabula, when this context is removed and the chapter number excluded, the citation to simply 'the book of Judith' would only carry significance for someone already acquainted with the text and able to surmise the connection with the

¹⁰³ Ga, f.2r.

preceding glosses. Perhaps, then, the lack of finding aid is not a defect in the Tabula organisation, but an indication of the intended audience and type of reading required for this manuscript. This user would be familiar with Hoccleve's Latin source materials, enough to understand the significance of the absent citation, and interested in gathering them together under thematic groupings.

This type of use is reminiscent of the biblical concordance tradition: collections of keywords organised alphabetically, designed for preachers and scholars to track important people, places, and concepts throughout the biblical corpus. They are understood to have predominantly served as a memory aide, as is explained in the prologue to the Middle English Concordance to the Wycliffite Bible:

If a man have mynde oonly of oo word or two of sum long text of the newe lawe and hath forgetyn al the remenaunt, or ellis if he can seie bi herte such an hool text but he hath foryeten in what stede it is written: this concordance wole lede him bi the fewe wordis that ben cofrid in his mynde unto the ful text and shewe him in what book and in what chapitre he schal fynde tho textis whiche him list to have.¹⁰⁴

The organisational principle behind the Ga Tabula bears a strong resemblance to the biblical concordance tradition. One item brings together five glosses, quoted in sequence, under the umbrella-theme of greed. This item comprises three quotations from Proverbs, one from Ecclesiasticus, and one from Ambrose's *De officiis ministrorum*, which all give the same core message. Many of the gloss-quotations in the Tabula are abbreviated to conserve space, but the scribe's decision to open this

¹⁰⁴ BL, MS Royal 17.B.I (c.1425). Transcription taken from Steiner, *Information Age*, 135. See Sherman M. Kuhn, 'The Preface to a Fifteenth-Century Concordance', *Speculum*, 43.2 (1968): 258–73.

item with 'Scriptum est' mirrors Hoccleve's use of the term in his authorial glosses, which Griffiths argues asserts 'the innate trustworthiness of the written word *because* it is written, as if this were a guarantee of its permanence, and its timeless, immutable meaning'.¹⁰⁵

Furthermore, by moving Hoccleve's authorial glosses from the margins into the Tabula, the scribe prompts a non-linear pattern of reading that is directed and shaped by correspondences between the glosses. In no other copy of the *Regiment* are readers encouraged to read these glosses in tandem and in isolation from the text. This movement transforms the authorial paratext into the lectorial, taking Hoccleve's words but re-presenting them in a way that directs reading. Though the format of the Tabula may be new, the process of compilation is already familiar. For the act of selecting thematically coherent sources and bringing them together under one unifying lesson is, in the most basic sense, Hoccleve's own process of composition for the *Regiment* – which is a collection of stories divided into sections by theme (for instance, on pity, mercy, and prodigality).

We cannot give the Ga scribe all of the credit for bringing together these sources, as in the *Regiment* they gloss a set of lines that are close together.¹⁰⁶ But the scribe's decision to excerpt these glosses in particular, and unite them within one item in the Tabula, mirrors the biblical concordance tradition, albeit at a much smaller

¹⁰⁵ Griffiths, 'In Bookes', 93. Emphasis in original.

¹⁰⁶ 4523–37.

scale.¹⁰⁷ Given that many of the Tabula glosses cite biblical sources, it is perhaps unsurprising to see an inclination towards Latin religious literature and apparatus.¹⁰⁸ The sequestering of the glosses to the front of the manuscript also presents the *Regiment* as a scholarly text – both as a collection of Latin citations, and as a helpful reservoir for readers who might be interested in reading beyond the text, or even developing their own moralising writing.¹⁰⁹

The Ga Tabula excerpts and isolates the usually margin-tethered glosses in a way that fundamentally changes their function as paratexts. Several functions for the Tabula can be suggested. It brings Hoccleve's sources to the foreground, both visually by rubricating the proper nouns and elevating the script, and textually by making them the organising principle of the Tabula. The political context of the poem appears secondary to the scholarly and religious sources collected within the text – perhaps to be expected from a manuscript copied towards the end of the fifteenth century once the Lancastrian moment has passed. The act of excerpting the glosses onto the first quire brings attention to the poem's function as a moral and regiminal text, superseding the text's premise as a mirror for princes directed at Henry V, which is usually read first in the *Regiment's* Dialogue.

¹⁰⁷ Biblical concordances (ideally) record all instances of a word's usage in scripture and were thus typically large texts.

¹⁰⁸ Blyth, which predominantly cites glosses from A, lists 203 glosses, 66 (33%) of which cite the Vulgate Bible. In Ga, the Tabula lists 43 items, 22 (51%) of which cite the Vulgate Bible. In comparison, the main text lists 62 glosses – largely dependent on the inclination of the scribe at this point –, of which 15 (24%) cite the Vulgate Bible.

¹⁰⁹ A comparable fifteenth century example is BL, MS Harley 2276, a cycle of sixty sermons with an alphabetical subject index on ff.146v–148v.

Moreover, a Tabula of sources also encourages a variety of Latin literate readers to engage with the text by announcing the scope of the poem, in the same way that a modern blurb hopes to catch the eye with a quotation from within the book. This is similar to Caxton's use of tables of contents in, for instance, *Tullius de Senectute*, in which he describes the table as a 'remembraunce of thistories comprysed and touchyd in this present book [...] as in the redyng shal more playnly be sayd al a longe'. Alex da Costa notes that this table of contents plays a role in both the beginning and end of the reading process, to pre-emptively explain to the reader what will be said and then to prompt their memory after the fact.¹¹⁰ Perhaps the Ga Tabula fulfilled a similar function.

A Tabula would also provide a medium through which a reader could approach the *Regiment*, even a threshold following Genette's terminology – a physical quire which one must turn to begin, but also a theological and philosophical framework that Hoccleve builds upon to write the *Regiment*, 'compyle out of thise auctours olde' (2188) – which distilled the wisdom of ancient texts into an encyclopaedic collection of lessons. Indeed, Blyth even speculates that Hoccleve drew upon florilegia when compiling his glosses.¹¹¹ It is apt therefore that we see such similarities between the Ga Tabula and the florilegia tradition, which both share a system of organisation and desire to refine classical and patristic authority into a

¹¹⁰ Alex da Costa, "'That ye mowe redely fynde...what ye desyre': Printed Tables of Contents and Indices, 1476–1550", *HLQ*, 81.3 (2018): 291–313 (297).

¹¹¹ Blyth, 12.

concise alphabetised list. In this context, the Garrett Tabula would be entirely suited to the taste of the time, and to the nature of the text.

However, the choice to separate the glosses from the main text in a different codicological unit creates the risk that the two could become separated. The main text would retain its identity as Hoccleve's *Regiment* without the Tabula-glosses, but if isolated, the Tabula could feasibly be understood as an independent text. Indeed, some manuscripts did contain only indexes, such as BL, MS Royal 10 C.ix, which features an alphabetical index and separate table of contents for Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum*, alongside an alphabetical index for Saint Augustine's writings; and Oxford, New College, MS 283, a late fourteenth century alphabetical subject index to Aristotle's works.¹¹² Although much shorter in length than these examples, the Ga Tabula can similarly be interpreted as both paratext and hors-texte, dependent on and independent from Hoccleve's poem. By displacing the glosses from the margins and bringing them to the centre of the page and the front of the book, the Ga scribes in essence subvert the textual hierarchy of the *Regiment* – the paratext becomes text.

¹¹² Indexes in separate volumes were common in university collections at this time: Clarke and Lovatt identify 38 indexes to the works of Saint Augustine in Cambridge libraries; Peter Clarke and Roger Lovatt, *The University and College Libraries of Cambridge* (London: British Library, 2002), 886.

3. Vernacular paratext tradition

Griffiths argues that Hoccleve's authorial glosses form an active part of the text, a means 'by which "compiling" shades into "authoring"' that both looks back to the authorities cited and forward to his readers who will interpret them.¹¹³ The examples so far have shown this to be true, and even allow us to develop this theory further by demonstrating that readers of the *Regiment* drew on the authority of the gloss to become compilers of lectorial paratexts themselves. This engagement with paratexts is not limited to Latin, but is also seen in the vernacular when scribes add glosses, titles, and marginal annotations in Middle English. The following examples explore this lectorial engagement and the authority that these vernacular paratexts have within each manuscript context.

A group of manuscripts contains a curious handful of Middle English annotations to the poem that are presented as glosses.¹¹⁴ Bo, La, and Ya share a set of seven vernacular glosses (excluding those to Chaucer and Gower which are more common in the corpus), which were likely present in the lost exemplar 11.¹¹⁵ Three of these annotations highlight the names of noteworthy characters, for instance 'Kynge Henry þe fyfte' and 'Kynge Henry þe foruth', and 'þe good duke of loncastre'.¹¹⁶ The

¹¹³ Griffiths, "'In Bookes'", 96–7.

¹¹⁴ Other manuscripts contain the occasional Middle English gloss, eg. Na to 'Seint Ambrose' f.102v.

¹¹⁵ Glosses are present in Bo, La, and Ya, but not in Se – suggesting that they were witnessed in manuscript 11 and copied into La, Ya, and another lost manuscript 12, which formed the exemplar for Bo. These manuscripts share other visual and textual similarities: see chapter 1; Wakelin, *Immaterial Texts*, 206–12; and Richard Firth Green 'Notes on Some Manuscripts of Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', *British Library Journal*, 4 (1978): 37–41.

¹¹⁶ La, f.65v, 295–301; La, f.68v, 512.

rest give short summaries of the moral lessons taught in the text. Hoccleve's anecdote about courtiers' extravagant scarlet gowns is accompanied by the descriptive note 'Of pride *and* of waste clothynge of lordis mene which is a 3ens here astate'. The passage on old age and regret is annotated 'How vertuous age mourneth for þe wastfull expenses of 3outh'.¹¹⁷ And the moment the speaker requests counsel from the Old Man is signalled with 'How a man may be sufferance of vertus counsell be broght to a good mene'.¹¹⁸ The original composer of these glosses may have been inspired by the style of Hoccleve's descriptive glosses, which record for instance 'Quod electiones sint in ecclesiis cathedralibus libere' and 'Nota contra concessionem cartarum pardonationum de murdris'.¹¹⁹

The placement of these glosses is curious: they do not appear at the conclusion of a lesson, but at the start of it, so that they function as proleptic titles that foreshadow what is to come. In all three manuscripts, the vernacular glosses are presented in an identical manner to the Latin glosses: in the outer margin, rubricated, and marked with a paraph. They have the same visual presence and authority as the authorial Latin paratexts. This is in keeping with a broader trend in Hocclevean mise-en-page identified by Aditi Nafde, which, she argues, was a tendency to make visible the poem's form on the page, at the expense (sometimes) of making its verbal content

¹¹⁷ La, f.69v, 561.

¹¹⁸ La, f.72r, 743.

¹¹⁹ 'elections be free in cathedral churches' (2899); 'warning against the giving of charters of pardon in murder cases' (3123).

clear.¹²⁰ Griffiths notes that this textual 'buttressing' complements the sapient contents of the glosses to show that the poem derives its authority from a source external to itself.¹²¹ But rather than drawing the reader's attention away from the poem to Aristotle or the book of Job, the Middle English annotations turn the eye inwards to the text and Hoccleve's instructions. They resemble the marginal prose summaries found in some copies of the *Confessio amantis* and a unique copy of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* (copied by the scribes of the afore-mentioned Ga), which similarly precede the events they describe.¹²² Considering that the scribes of the exemplars, MSS 11 and 12, had access to a number of Hoccleve's works and at least one of Lydgate's, it is at least plausible that they may have come into contact with these textual traditions and been inspired to buttress the *Regiment* with vernacular prose summaries.

Another manuscript, Kk, suffered some misfortune early in life and shows evidence of severe water damage to the top half of the pages. Though the black script of the poem is still legible, only smudges of the rubricated running titles and blue paraphs that filled the top margins can now be seen. This likely happened soon after the manuscript was completed, or even during the production process, as a contemporary hand attempted to replace the obscured running titles on some folios

¹²⁰ Nafde, 'Deciphering the Manuscript Page', 192.

¹²¹ Griffiths, "'In Bookes'", 93.

¹²² *Confessio* examples in e.g. BodL, MSS Ashmole 35 and Fairfax 3; unique glosses to *Troilus* in BodL, MS Rawl. poet. 163; see Ross and Wakelin, 'Three Collaborative Scribes'.

(Figure 5).¹²³ Unlike authorial *Regiment* running titles, these are not variations on the Latin section titles ‘de pietate’ or ‘de castitate’. These titles are evidently of the scribe’s own composition, as they vary in style, length, and detail across the folios, and are not consistent with the erased titles when compared under UV.

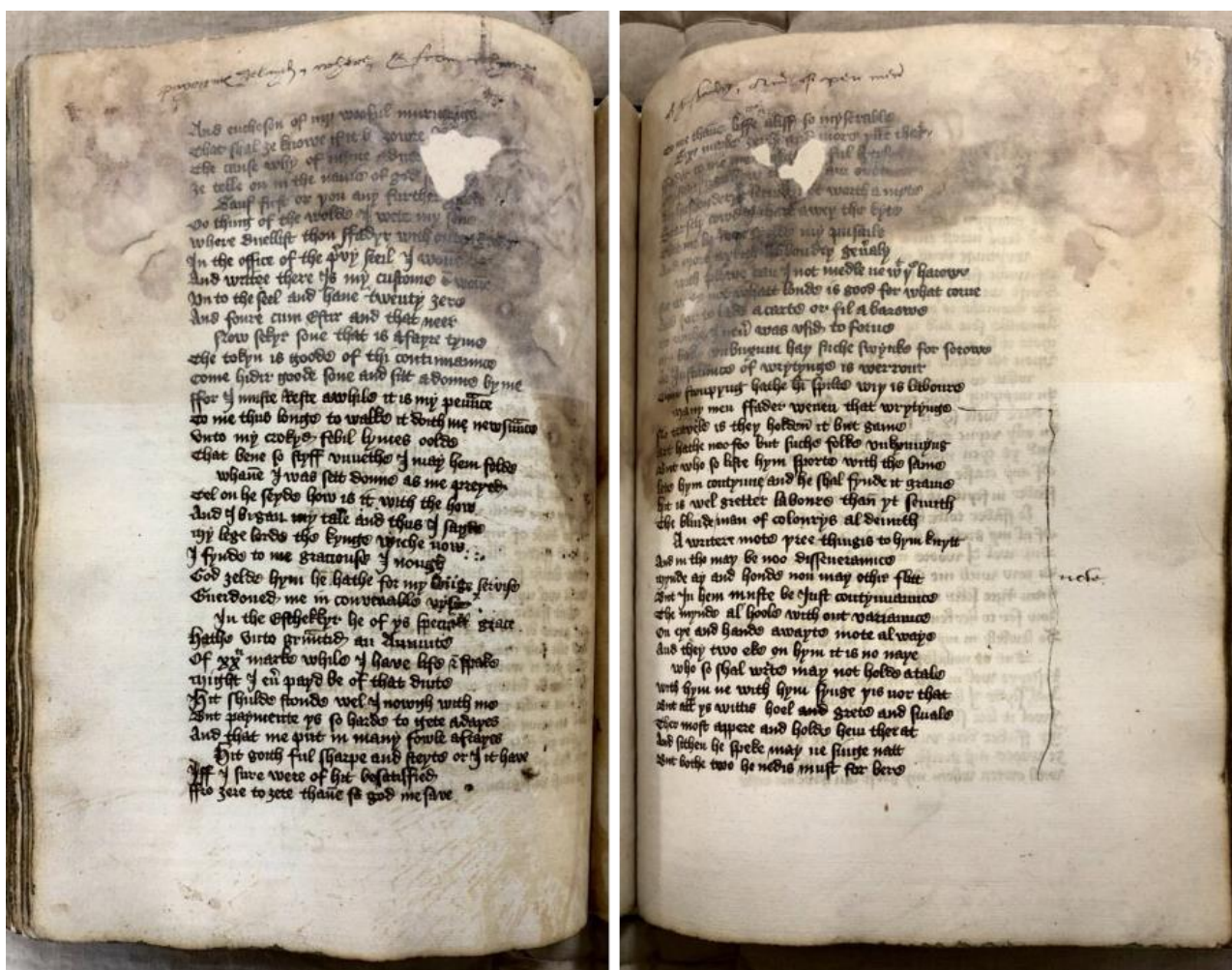


Figure 5. Kk, ff.12v, 15r. Running titles.

Some summarise localised details of the plot of the page. One reads ‘paymente delayed . where . & from whome’ as Hoccleve complains that ‘paiement is hard to gete adayes, | And that me putte in many foule affrayes’ (825–826).¹²⁴ Others are more direct: ‘of husbandry’ to accompany Hoccleve’s comment that he ‘In housbondrye

¹²³ Kk, ff.7v–27r.

¹²⁴ Kk, f.12v.

lerned worth a myte; | Scarsely kowde I charre away the kyte' (977–978).¹²⁵ These titles would have functioned as efficient finding aids for these select moments in the plot. Other titles convey the key lessons of the page. The Old Man's comment that Jesus 'lyved poorely and povert chees' is titled 'poverttee is not to disdeynith' (1091), and his later condemnation of adultery is summarised as 'Adultery to be escheued' (1693–1694).¹²⁶ These may have been less slightly effective as finding aids, as these themes recur throughout the text. However, J.R. Mattison has shown that finding aids in some manuscripts of the *Fall of Princes* served another, auxiliary purpose: as 'literary interpretations of the texts they purport to serve'.¹²⁷ Similar precis-style tables in five manuscripts of the *Fall* distil Lydgate's text into a series of material reference points, which contain valuable information about how readers might have approached the poem.¹²⁸ Another example contains unique Latin summaries, by both the scribe and an early reader, of every leaf's contents.¹²⁹ The descriptive glosses in Kk are similarly interpretive of the text they gloss, and demonstrate this reader's primary concerns on every page.

The title-scribe of Kk occasionally gets more creative with his form, and composes several proverbial rhyming verses. Hoccleve's complaint of poverty is

¹²⁵ Kk, f.15r.

¹²⁶ Kk, ff.16r; 25v.

¹²⁷ J.R. Mattison, "'Longe Stories a Woord May Not Expresse': Tables of Contents in Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*", *HLQ*, 83.1 (2020): 1–32 (2).

¹²⁸ BL, MS Harley 1245, MS Harley 1766; BodL, MS Bodl. 263, MS Rawl. C.448; JRL, MS Eng.2. See Mattison, "'Longe Stories'", 8.

¹²⁹ BL, MS Royal 18. B.xxxi.

accompanied by the line 'whan welthe is none | freends fall & are gone'.¹³⁰ This responds directly to the poet's comparison of poverty to 'the glas and the mirour' (689–693) in which he, alone, sees his saviour reflected. Several folios later, Hoccleve's complaint about his income at the Privy Seal is titled 'good pay makes glad days'.¹³¹ In each of the titles the scribe draws on vocabulary from the page, showing a direct line of engagement with the poem. Although they follow the metrical pattern of rhyming verses, they are presented on the page in one line to mimic the visual appearance of running titles, without virgule or punctus to mark the break. From this, one could assume that their function as finding aids overshadowed their poetic form. However, the experimentation with form is almost certainly the scribe's own composition, for it is not witnessed in the exemplar, Na, and thus represents an attempt to distil key pieces of Hoccleve's moral advice within the space afforded for running titles in the strict mise-en-page of the book. The resulting titles are short and pithy with a mnemonic, proverbial quality to them.¹³²

The same sense of playful yet also proverbial engagement with the text can be seen in the lectorial paratexts of another late fifteenth-century manuscript: Hh.¹³³ This manuscript is profusely illustrated with decorated borders draped with banderoles –

¹³⁰ Kk, f.11r.

¹³¹ Kk, f.14v, 936–8.

¹³² Although the examples in Kk are not known proverbs, there are comparable examples identified by Bartlett Jere Whiting and Helen Wescott Whiting: F644 'He is a true Friend that loves me for my love and not for my good' and F653 'My Friend borrowed money and I have lost my friend and my money'; and W3 'To pay one his Wages'; *Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases: from English Writings Mainly before 1500* (Oxford: OUP, 1968).

¹³³ Paul Binski, Patrick Zutshi and Stella Panayotova, *Western Illuminated Manuscripts: A Catalogue of the Collection in Cambridge University Library* (Cambridge: CUP, 2011), no.248.

ribbon-like scrolls bearing inscriptions, like those often seen carrying speech in fifteenth-century paintings and sculpture.¹³⁴ Nineteen banderoles across thirteen leaves present playful proverbial mottoes, some of which fit their context clearly, others less conspicuously. They frame and support the interaction between text and reader, and create a reading experience that is epigrammatic and witty. As lectorial paratextual elements, they also shape the literary interpretation of the poem in ways that invite interaction and even disruption.

Hh includes sixteen decorated leaves, each containing elaborate borders that signal the start of a new section of the text. They are adorned with comic creatures, human figures, heraldry, and scrolls.¹³⁵ Every border has a single historiated sprynget initial, occasionally interlaced with a banderole, in muted pastel tones dominated by yellows, greens, blues, pinks, and browns typical of the fifteenth century.¹³⁶ Only a handful of scholars have recognised this manuscript in passing, likely because of its distance in the stemma from authorised copies.¹³⁷ When mentioned, it has been

¹³⁴ *OED*, "banderole" (n.), 3. On speech-banderole in illuminations, see J.J.G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 95–120; in sculpture, see Jessica Brantley, 'Visual Cultures of the World', *Reassessing Alabaster Sculpture in Medieval England*, eds Jessica Brantley, Stephen Perkinson, and Elizabeth Teviotdale (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), 99–140.

¹³⁵ Following Martha Driver and Michael Orr, 'Decorating and Illustrating the Page', *The Production of Books in England, 1350–1500*, eds Alexandra Gillespie and Daniel Wakelin (Cambridge: CUP, 2011), 104–28 (109); Kathleen L. Scott, *Dated & Datable English Manuscript Borders, c.1395–1499* (London: British Library, 2002), 125, plates XVIII and XXIa.

¹³⁶ Scott notes the use of yellow and gold backgrounds in borders (as in this manuscript) become prevalent from the late-fourteenth century; *Ibid.*, 10. The Hh borders are comparable in style and palette to CUL, MS Ee.5.21 (c.1450), which Scott describes as 'conventional: rose/pink, blue green, with minor use of a dusky orange'; Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 68. Driver and Orr, 'Decorating and illustrating', 104.

¹³⁷ Blyth does not mention the manuscript in the introduction to his edition, where he notes manuscripts that contain Chaucer portraits or notable illustrations; Marzec includes Hh in her stemma, 279; briefly discussed by Perkins, 186–7.

critiqued for its 'scruffy' and amateurish design.¹³⁸ The thick and uneven brown ink that outlines the majority of the border elements gives the manuscript this overall impression of crudity.¹³⁹ However, upon closer observation the decoration is more skilful than it initially appears. The underlying sketch that peeps out from underneath the colour washes is competent and delicate, most evident in the faces and hands of the human characters. Within miniatures, these elements often display the highest level of aesthetic quality.¹⁴⁰ The banderoles are also carefully drawn with the text fitting snugly into the scrolls (with one exception, which will be discussed later), suggesting that the content was planned before the borders were drawn. The scrolls fluidly curl around vines and drape over characters in ways that emphasise their three-dimensionality. Whilst the poem is written in a neat but not especially calligraphic secretary script,¹⁴¹ a neater display script was chosen for the banderoles.¹⁴² It is evident that a degree of care and artistic skill has gone into the production of these pages. Moreover, as this case-study will show, there is synergy between the scrolls' text and the sections of the poem they accompany that suggests that their choice was

¹³⁸ Drimmer, 'Ambigraphic Medium', 175–94.

¹³⁹ Ibid, 186. BodL, MS Lyell 37 (also late-fifteenth-century) contains similarly amateurish border design, featuring decorated initials on a muted yellow background and shaded leaves emerging from bar borders, in muted ink washes and outlined in dark ink. This manuscript is also described as 'crude' in its catalogue; A. de la Mare, *Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts Bequeathed to the Bodleian Library Oxford by James P.R. Lyell* (Oxford: OUP, 1971), 102.

¹⁴⁰ Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, 66.

¹⁴¹ Kidney-shaped word-final **s**; short **r** above the line; single-compartment **a**; and broken strokes in letters **d** and **e**.

¹⁴² Distinct minims in **m**, **n** and **u**; flourishes on word-final **s**; and pronounced slant of tall **s** and **f**. The banderole script also features exclusively a loopless ascender on **d**, whereas the script of the main text mixes this with a more current looped ascender. Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands*, xxi, 14–15.

deliberate and pre-meditated.

The coloured inks applied on top of the skilfully drawn borders are clumsy in comparison – hence the reputation of scruffiness. There are occasional sections of the border background that are left un-coloured or without outline.¹⁴³ The contrast with the underlying artistic skill hints towards a collaborative process of production. The time-consuming and multi-stage process of manuscript decoration often could be assigned to different artists, and even to apprentices.¹⁴⁴ Some mechanical stages, the final outlines or colour washes say, could be applied over the lines of an initial inking and therefore would not require special expertise. The discrepancy between the underlying sketch and colour washes here points towards a collaboration between a skilled limner and a less accomplished individual – possibly an apprentice.

It is likely that the manuscript was produced on commission for a wealthy patron and made outside London, somewhere in the South of England.¹⁴⁵ Clues to its provenance can be found in the numerous heraldic elements that are incorporated into the borders. Though the first folio does not feature a crest; in its place is a Lancastrian

¹⁴³ On labour division, specifically between scribes and rubricators of a single manuscript, see Marzec, 272.

¹⁴⁴ Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, 65–6.

¹⁴⁵ Helen Killick cites personal correspondence with Linne R. Mooney which argues the manuscript was produced outside of London in the South-West of England. 'Thomas Hoccleve as Poet and Clerk', 136–7. For discrepancies between continental and London and Westminster, see Sonja Drimmer, *The Art of Allusion: Illuminators and the Making of English Literature, 1403–1476* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 21–52. The combination of mixed paper and parchment, the use of washes, and production by a scribe who might have doubled as the illuminator is similar to other late fifteenth-century *Brut*, Lydgate, and Chaucer manuscripts which were also likely produced outside of London, e.g. BodL, MS Rawl. B.214. On production outside of London, see Michael Johnston, 'Copying and Reading *The Prick of Conscience* in Late Medieval England', *Speculum*, 95.3 (2020): 742–801.

rose – a motif that repeats throughout the book. The coat of arms of the Littleton family also appear, the most notable member of which is Sir Thomas Littleton (c.1407–1481), a prominent judge, political figure, and legal writer.¹⁴⁶ However, though he would be a prime candidate to associate with a *Regiment* manuscript, the arms are impaled with a blank shield sinister – meaning that the Littleton arms occupy the space of the female side in a marriage.¹⁴⁷ A plausible candidate therefore is Elizabeth Littleton (d. after 1450), sole daughter and heiress of Thomas de Littleton, Lord of Frankley (Sir Thomas Littleton's grandfather), to whom the family name and arms passed in 1422.¹⁴⁸ The dating of the manuscript, in the second half of the fifteenth century, makes Elizabeth's personal involvement unlikely, but as the heraldic designs in Di and A have shown, it was common for patrons to include the arms of their ancestors in their manuscripts.¹⁴⁹ The connection with the Littleton family is strengthened by the arms of the Grendons encased in an initial.¹⁵⁰ The Grendon baronage and crest passed by marriage to the Chetwynds in 1331, and was in turn inherited by Sir Philip Chetwynd,

¹⁴⁶ Hh, f.52r. Other crests are: the royal arms quarterly of France and England, adopted by Henry IV and restored by Richard III (f.10r; for similar arms see Glasgow University Library, MS Hepburn q.23). The crest on f.68v was originally blank and filled in the sixteenth century by Nicholas Roscarrock of Cornwall (1549–1634), who also annotates his name on f.1r. The final crest is as of yet unidentified: chiefs gules with three bezants, quarterly gules saltire or, and one chevron sable (f.21r).

¹⁴⁷ Hh, f.52r.

¹⁴⁸ I.H. Jeayes, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Charters & Muniments of the Lyttelton Family in the Possession of the Rt. Hon. Viscount Cobham at Hagley Hall, Worcestershire* (London: C.J. Clark, 1893), xv–xvi.

¹⁴⁹ See Di the arms of the Nevilles of Hornby, f.157v and the Houghtons of Yorkshire, f.157v; and the arms of Mowbray on f.37r and Segrave, f.71r. See Meale, 'Politics of Book Ownership'; Kate Harris, 'The Patron of British Library MS Arundel 38', *N&Q*, 31 (1984): 462–3.

¹⁵⁰ Hh, f.94r.

the first husband of Joan Burley, who later married the famous Sir Thomas Littleton.¹⁵¹

That Littleton's will reveals that he owned many books at the time of his death, which were then shared across his local religious institutions. He distributed a 'godelitel massbook' to Trinity Chapel in Frankley, a 'great antiphoner' to St. Leonard's chapel in Frankley, a 'Fasiculus Morum' (perhaps Jacques Le Grant's *Livres des Bonnes Mœurs*) to Enfield Church, and a 'Medulla Grammatica' to King's Norton Church.¹⁵² Of relevance to this study are two items. Firstly, Littleton left books to Halesowen Abbey, including a 'Catholicon', 'Constitutions Provincial' (presumably Lyndwode's *Constitutiones Provinciales Ecclesie Anglicanæ*), a 'De Gestis Romanorum' (tentatively identified as a copy of the *Gesta Romanorum*) and 'other treatis therein' – possibly also including the *Regiment*, which would not have looked out of place next to these texts. Secondly, Littleton directed that his 'great English book' should be sold and the proceeds applied for the benefit of his soul – which could also plausibly have been the *Regiment*. Even if Hh cannot be associated with the Littleton family with complete certainty, the level of decoration and number of spaces left for coats of arms suggests the manuscript was made on commission for a lay patron, likely (considering the rest of the corpus) a member of the gentry. This provides important context for the unique

¹⁵¹ Direct line of descent from Lord Ralph de Grendon, first Baron Grendon (d.1331); Alice de Grendon; William de Chetwynd (b.1350); William Chetwynd (d.1396); Richard Chetwynd (d.1418); Sir Philip Chetwynd (d.1444), m. Joan Burley. *The Heraldic Visitations of Staffordshire made by Sir Richard St. George, Norroy, in 1614, and by Sir William Dugdale, Norroy, in the years 1663 and 1664* (London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1885), 77–84.

¹⁵² *Testamenta vetusta: being illustrations from wills, of manners, customs, &c. as well as of the descents and possessions of many distinguished families; From the reign of Henry the Second to the accession of Queen Elizabeth*, in 2 vols, ed. Nicolas Harris Nicholas, Esq. (London: Nichols and Son, 1826), vol. I, 363–8.

paratextual elements, to which this chapter now turns.

Banderoles are frequently referred to as medieval speech bubbles, due to their use in predominantly devotional illustrations as a visual means of conveying the spoken word. Books of Hours, missals, and psalters are replete with speakers grasping banderoles bearing prayers or instructions, typically in Latin.¹⁵³ Michael Camille suggests that in late-medieval England there was an identifiable 'aura of Latin' that was separated from 'the baser speech acts of everyday existence in the complex rituals of a clerical group'.¹⁵⁴ Given that fifteenth-century readers would be accustomed to seeing banderoles attached to holy figures in devotional contexts, the scroll form would likely carry over a certain authority into this manuscript.¹⁵⁵ Yet in contrast, the text-scrolls in Hh are not attached to identifiable speakers, and they are filled with Middle English proverbs.

Perkins describes the proverbs in Hh as 'gnomic additions' that reorientate the text's authority towards the marginal and vernacular.¹⁵⁶ The vernacularity of the proverbs is an important point. Proverbs express a truth that purports to be commonly known in a format that is brief, figurative, and sometimes obscure. They embody, according to Jill Mann, 'a popular wisdom, based on the assumption of a common,

¹⁵³ Thomas Forrest Kelly, *The Role of the Scroll: An Illustrated Introduction to Scrolls in the Middle Ages* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2019), 101–12.

¹⁵⁴ Michael Camille, 'Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy', *Art History*, 8 (1985): 26–49 (30).

¹⁵⁵ Nigel Morgan, 'What are they Saying? Patrons and Their Text Scrolls in Fifteenth-Century English Art', *Patronage, Power, and Agency in Medieval Art*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 175–93.

¹⁵⁶ Perkins, 187.

shared experience'.¹⁵⁷ Camille notes that they extend 'an utterance of universal application' that is widely applicable and easily repeated.¹⁵⁸ Their advice is timeless and could be easily rephrased without losing the core sense.¹⁵⁹

But a proverb is more than a common truth; as Wendy Scase notes, it is the 'distinctive mode of expression of that truth'.¹⁶⁰ Form matters as much as content. They held many functions in medieval society, used in the classroom to support Latin literacy learning, for instance.¹⁶¹ Proverbs also appear on a variety of media, from clothing and jewellery to walls and tapestries.¹⁶² They were woven into texts, or formed the foundation of works like the *ABC of Aristotle*, *Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers*, and *Ratis Raving*. Proverbs were also an intrinsic part of the colloquial vernacular style in which Hoccleve, Chaucer, and Lydgate frequently wrote.¹⁶³ Texts such as the *Tale of Melibee* have been described as 'storehouse of sayings' which Christopher Cannon suggests creates a sense of comfort for the reader that lies in

¹⁵⁷ Jill Mann, 'Proverbial Wisdom in the Ysengrimus', *New Literary History*, 16.1 (1984): 93–109 (93).

¹⁵⁸ Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Reaktion, 1992), 36; Walter Cahn, 'Représentation de la parole', *Connaissance des Arts*, 369 (1982): 82–9.

¹⁵⁹ Wendy Scase, 'Pedagogy and the Proverbs of Hending', *Poets and Scribes in Late Medieval England: Essays on Manuscripts and Meaning in Honor of Susanna Fein*, eds Michael Johnston, Kathryn Kerby-Fulton and Derek Pearsall (Boston: Medieval Institute Publications, 2023), 151–76 (152); Helen E. Wicker, 'Between Proverbs and Lyrics: Customization Practices in Late Medieval English Moral Verse', *English*, 59 (2010): 3–24 (23).

¹⁶⁰ Scase, 'Pedagogy', 152.

¹⁶¹ Joanna Bellis and Venetia Bridges, "'What Shalt Thou Do When Thou Hast an English to Make into Latin?': The Proverb Collection of Cambridge, St. John's College F.26", *Studies in Philology*, 112 (2015): 68–92; S.B. Meech, 'A Collection of Proverbs in Rawlinson MS D.328', *Modern Philology*, 38 (1940–1): 113–32; Wendy Scase, *Visible English: Graphic Culture, Scribal Practice, and Identity, ca.700–1550* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022), 74–80, 244–60.

¹⁶² Scase, *Visible English*, 217–18, 250.

¹⁶³ Blyth, Explanatory Notes, 221.

'recognizing (again and again) that a varied and abundant wisdom is simply there'.¹⁶⁴

The proverbs in Hh reflect this literary and social tradition. They offer universal wisdom in phrases that are short and pithy (and which sometimes rhyme), and each proverb can be traced to a multitude of contemporary sources. But their function as paratextual elements is worth scrutinising. The proverbs sit alongside – and sometimes stand in for – Hoccleve's Latin glosses, which draw their authority (as has been shown) from classical, scholarly, and religious sources. It is notable that the folios that have decorated borders are wholly unglossed, likely a practical decision due to the lack of space, but one which means that the act of decorating overshadows the glossing. Without an extant exemplar, it is impossible to know how many glosses the scribe deliberately omitted in favour of these borders. But comparison with the two surviving cognates, Fi1 and Fi2, suggests that at least eight glosses were likely to have been present in the exemplar that were not copied into Hh on decorated folios.¹⁶⁵ It is intriguing to speculate whether, in these cases, the traditional Latin gloss was being substituted for a different type of paratext that reflects the wider vernacular literary traditions of the fifteenth century within which Hoccleve's work was being received.

For the appearance of proverbs in a mirror for princes text is generically coherent. They offer complementary instruction on moral behaviour that reflects the

¹⁶⁴ Christopher Cannon, 'Proverbs and the Wisdom of Literature: *The Proverbs of Alfred* and Chaucer's *Tale of Melibee*', *Textual Practice*, 24.3 (2010): 407–34 (425).

¹⁶⁵ Glosses in both Fi1 and Fi2 at 3312, 3319, and two at 4123. Four glosses witnessed in Fi2 but not Fi1: 1128, 1139, 3459, and 3463.

poem's imperative tone.¹⁶⁶ But it is not just their content that supports the reading of the *Regiment*. Each proverb has been carefully selected and positioned on the page so that form and content work together to communicate the morals of the text.¹⁶⁷ A playful example is found at the start of the Prologue, and of Hoccleve's advice to the Prince, which is signalled with an ironic scroll. The banderole at the top of this page is folded into three parts and reads 'Whan þu gynnyst ony þing.' þinke vpon the þe endynge' (Figure 6).¹⁶⁸ This particular proverb is found in several dozen variations before 1500.¹⁶⁹ This is advice that Hoccleve proffers in the poem in his section on 'prudencia', a cardinal virtue that involved thinking of the past in the present in order to prepare for the future. The etymologically related "providencia", composed of "pro" (for) and "videns" (seeing), reiterates this idea of thinking on endings.

¹⁶⁶ Reminiscent of Hoccleve's imperative style, which Wakelin describes as 'purposefully direct and impersonal'; Wakelin, 'Hoccleve and Lydgate', 562.

¹⁶⁷ For a transcription of the banderoles, see Appendix 2.2.

¹⁶⁸ Hh, f.58r.

¹⁶⁹ Whiting and Whiting, *Proverbs*, E84.

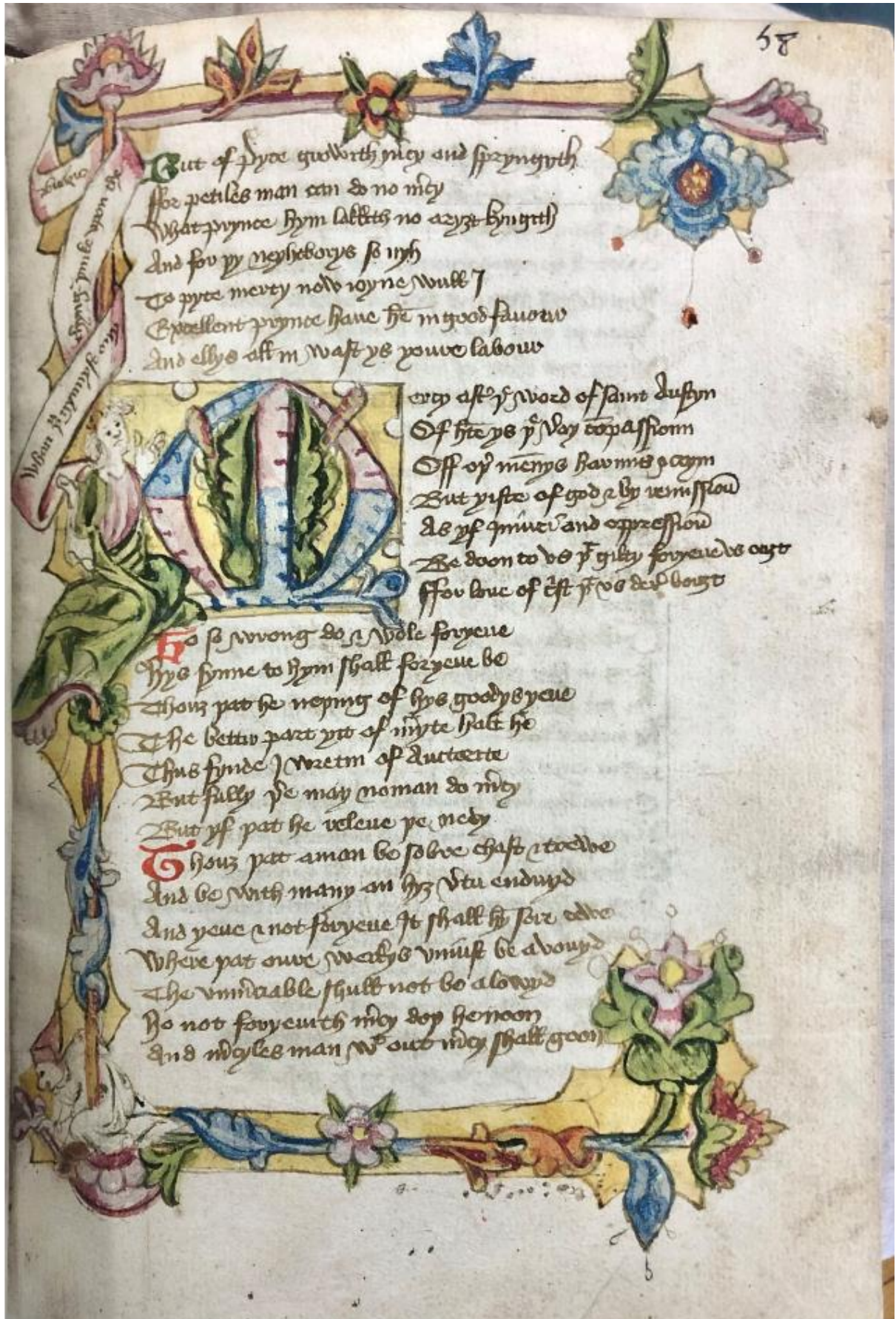


Figure 6. Hh, fol.58r. 'Whan þu gynnyst ony | thing . | pinke vpon the | endynge'.

The proverb here provides pertinent moral advice, whilst bringing attention to the truth of its message through the manipulation of its form. The scroll is split into three parts and is written from bottom to top.¹⁷⁰ Positioned in the top gutter of the leaf, the eye must first travel over the ending of the scroll (befittingly, the word “endynge”) before finding the start of the scroll below. As the banderole winds up the page, the words invert, writing the final “endynge” upside-down. It is a playful instance of the banderole’s form matching its content: when asked to think on the end, not only does the reader have to read the scroll from bottom to top, but the last word itself is upside-down.

This proverb had already appeared on an earlier page of the manuscript in a similarly metatextual manner (Figure 7).

¹⁷⁰ The two tri-part scrolls resemble the medieval tendency to represent the character of Prudence with three eyes, one on the past, present, and future. Susan Schibanoff, 'Prudence and Artificial Memory in Chaucer's *Troilus*', *ELH*, 42.4 (1975): 507–17; Colin Fewer, 'John Lydgate's *Troy Book* and the Ideology of Prudence', *ChRev*, 38.3 (2004): 229–45.

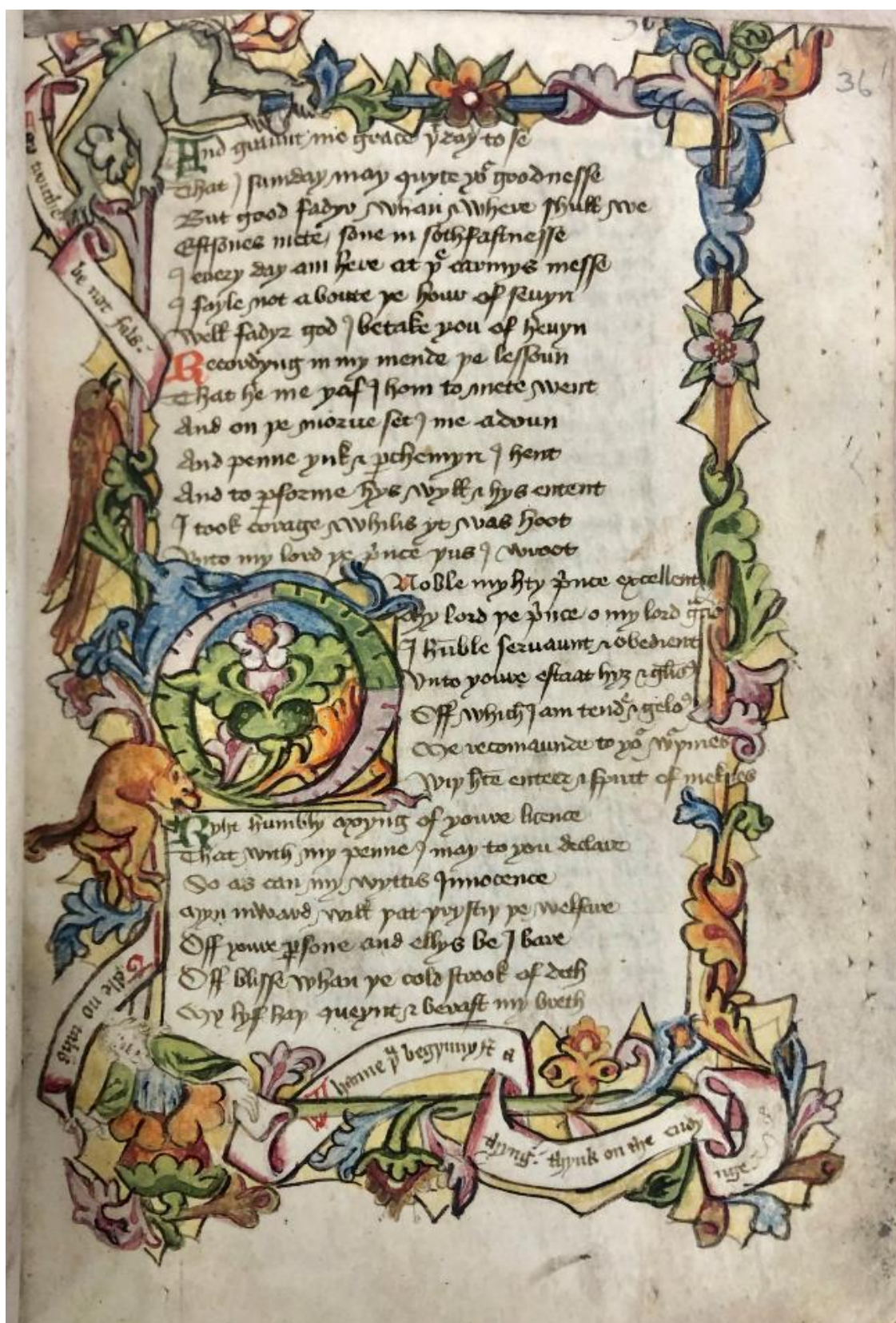


Figure 7. Hh, f.36r. 'Whanne þu begynnyst a | thyng.' 'think on the endy | nge'.

In this banderole, the final word 'endynge' is split in half when it appears that the scribe runs out of room and is forced to finish the word on the third part of the scroll.¹⁷¹ The message is intriguingly self-referential to the scribe of the page, who clearly should have planned ahead. The irony that the final word 'endynge' is split in half and requires a decorative flourish to fill the empty space is beautifully astute. This is enhanced when you consider a passage of the *Regiment* only a few folios prior, in which the poet proclaims the duty of a writer is to knit together 'Mynde, ye, and hand' (995–1001). This is perhaps a non-too-subtle dig at a scribe's lack of concentration when copying, and perhaps included in anticipation of future scribes' inattentive copying of Hoccleve's poem – as Daniel Wakelin has proposed of other texts.¹⁷² In this light, the self-referential banderole that appears to acknowledge its own scribal error could be read as an instance of direct engagement with, even response to, the poem.

The deliberate incorporation of error into the copying of a manuscript for comic effect is also seen in another pair of *Regiment* manuscripts. Both Ha4 and A contain the same illustration at lines 3578–3584 (Figure 8). It appears that the scribe has mistakenly omitted a stanza and has been forced to write it in the margin. Either the scribe or limner then added a comic figure lassoing the stanza into its rightful place. However, it is noteworthy that this exact mistake and corrective imagery is replicated across both witnesses. Although they share many details and have both been dated to the

¹⁷¹ Hh, f.36r.

¹⁷² Daniel Wakelin, 'Not Diane: The Risk of Error in Chaucerian Classicism', *Exemplaria*, 29.4 (2017): 331–48. On this passage, see Wakelin, *Immaterial Texts*, 200.

second decade of the fifteenth century, scholars agree that they are the product of two different artists.¹⁷³ Though it is possible that both manuscripts were copied from an exemplar which contained this drawing, it is more likely that one scribe erroneously omitted a stanza and creatively corrected it, and a second scribe, who took this manuscript as his exemplar, decided to include this comical defect in his own work too.¹⁷⁴



Figure 8. Ha4, f.62r; A, f.65r. Detail of marginal figure pulling stanza into place.

¹⁷³ Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, Maidie Hilmo, and Linda Olson, *Opening up Middle English Manuscripts: Literary and Visual Approaches* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), 92–4; Wakelin, *Scribal Correction*, 286–7.

¹⁷⁴ The cognate Ad does not contain this error, nor do any further descendants.

It is of course possible that the placement of this stanza in the margins of the later manuscript was a practical decision. If the scribe wished to maintain the same number of stanzas per page as his exemplar, and to copy the position of each stanza on the page exactly, it would be sensible to replicate this marginal oddity.¹⁷⁵ It is also possible that this mistake was unnoticed when the scribe first calculated how many bifolia he would need, and by the time the mistake was encountered the materials had already been acquired. But the decision to transfer an obvious instance of scribal error suggests that the humour of the mistake was also considered appropriate, even generic, to the poem. Sonja Drimmer notes that the evident physical labour of the little figures hauling the stanza into the text draws attention to the physical, as well as mental, labour of writing that Hoccleve discusses.¹⁷⁶ Both figures pull at their ropes so diligently that they are almost horizontal, emphasising Hoccleve's argument that writing is a bodily labour. The second copying of this design takes this interpretation to another level. This second scribe could have avoided this omission, but, assuming this was a conscious artistic decision, he preserved this figure's vain attempts to pull a stanza into the page which will forever remain stubbornly in the margin. Perhaps this too is a snide comment that the aspiration to produce a perfect text, 'without variance' as Hoccleve writes, is an effort in vain.

The function of the banderoles in Hh can also be understood as a part of the

¹⁷⁵ See Nafde, 'Deciphering the Manuscript Page', 208–10.

¹⁷⁶ Drimmer, 'Ambigraphic Medium', 176–7.

wider decorative scheme of the manuscript.¹⁷⁷ The notion that marginal decoration can elucidate textual meaning has been thoroughly explored and recognised in recent scholarship.¹⁷⁸ Work by J.J.G. Alexander, Kathryn A. Smith, Sarah Stanbury, and Nino Zchomelidse has attempted to reformulate the relationship between text and marginal decoration as a central site of meaning and critical site of encounter.¹⁷⁹ Their work participates in a shift in perspective that elevates the significance of not only the margin, but the very relationship between margin and text in the reader's engagement with the book.¹⁸⁰ Of specific relevance here is a prompt to highlight the literary implications of marginal decoration. J.J.G. Alexander proposes that images in the margins of the medieval page should be considered framing devices for the text.¹⁸¹ Juliet Fleming builds on this to develop a theory of the 'interior architecture' of the printed book, where she suggests that the placement of decorative elements that bookend and run alongside textual units can hold literary significance by reflecting the taste of the author and the desire to maintain a 'visual code'.¹⁸² Fleming also notes

¹⁷⁷ Nafde, 'Deciphering the Manuscript Page', 198–206.

¹⁷⁸ Nicholas Herman, 'Excavating the Page: Virtuosity and Illusionism in Italian Book Illumination, 1460–1520', *Word & Image*, 27.2 (2011): 190–211.

¹⁷⁹ J.J.G. Alexander, 'Iconography and Ideology: Uncovering Social Meanings in Western Medieval Christian Art', *Studies in Iconography*, 15 (1993): 1–44; Kathryn A. Smith, 'A Viewing Community in Fourteenth-Century England', *The Social Life of Illumination: Manuscripts, Images, and Communities in the Late Middle Ages*, eds Joyce Coleman, Mark Cruse, and Kathryn A. Smith (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 121–76; Sarah Stanbury, 'Bearing The Word: Speech Scrolls, Touch, and the Carthusian Miscellany', *Literature and the Senses*, eds Annette Kern-Stähler and Elizabeth Robertson (Oxford: OUP, 2023), 453–77; Nino Zchomelidse, 'Liminal phenomena: Framing Medieval Cult Images with Relics and Words', *Viator*, 47.3 (2016): 243–96.

¹⁸⁰ Jessica Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness: Private Devotion and Public Performance in Late Medieval England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 5.

¹⁸¹ Alexander, 'Iconography and Ideology', 4–5.

¹⁸² Juliet Fleming, 'How to Look at a Printed Flower', *Word & Image*, 22.2 (2006): 165–87; 'Changed Opinion as to Flowers', *Renaissance Paratexts*, eds Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: CUP, 2011), 48–64 (52–4).

however that some decorative elements instead challenge our attempts to find significance in such material features.¹⁸³ These provide a fruitful theoretical basis from which to consider the decorated borders of Hh.

In the most basic sense, borders are employed in the manuscript to suggest the structure of the text.¹⁸⁴ As is typical in the corpus, Hh has its most elaborate border – and the only four-sided border in the manuscript – at the division between the Dialogue and Prologue.¹⁸⁵ The hierarchy of this textual division is marked by an elaborate trellis wound with vines and flowers on all sides with three banderoles intertwined around the base and up the gutter. The decorated borders also function as mnemonic prompts and finding aids: what Scott calls a ‘quick flip-through method’ of locating all units of a text.¹⁸⁶ For instance, a lion prances through the historiated initial that inaugurates the section ‘De fide observanda’ – marking the beginning of the speaker’s advice to the Prince on his royal duties with the lion as an icon of the royal family.¹⁸⁷ This is comparable to the use of images as indexing devices in medieval law books, which linked corresponding laws and allowed readers to find their

¹⁸³ Fleming, ‘Changed Opinion’, 56.

¹⁸⁴ Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 7.

¹⁸⁵ Hh, f.36r. A, Ha4, and Ry2 contain their largest miniatures at the start of the Prologue, clearly marking this as the main division.

¹⁸⁶ Kathleen L. Scott, ‘Design, Decoration and Illustration’, *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375–1475*, eds Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: CUP, 1989), 31–64 (31); on marginal images as memory prompts, see Mary Carruthers, *Book of Memory: a Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: CUP, 2008), 136.

¹⁸⁷ Hh, f.38v.

references.¹⁸⁸

The banderoles extend the mnemonic impact of the borders by associating proverbs with different sections of the text. They function as ‘book-geographical coordinates’ in Carmassi’s words – guiding instruments to help the reader navigate within the book.¹⁸⁹ Some banderoles summarise the contents of a page, akin to a running title or explanatory gloss. One accompanies the story of duke Pisistratus, who is enraged when a ‘yong, fressh, lusty, wel byseyen man’ steals a kiss from his fair daughter, but instead of killing him on the spot he asks ‘Shul we sleen hem that loven us?’ and shows the man mercy.¹⁹⁰ In Hh, the accompanying banderole reads ‘If þou may sle yit do not so’ – a succinct and summative title for the lesson Hoccleve proffers on this leaf. In this way, they fabricate a sense of a pre-read annotated copy, in which a former reader has left helpful comments for their own reference.

Other banderoles invite a different kind of engagement. As the examples so far have shown, the mere presence of marginal decoration creates a space for potential interaction, interpretation, and even disruption. The banderoles represent a subset of Espen Aarseth’s ‘ergodic literature’: text that requires non-trivial effort to traverse.¹⁹¹ They adjacently offer passages that sit outside of the core text which, when

¹⁸⁸ Frońska, ‘Writing in the Margin’, 150–1; Joanna Frońska, ‘Turning the Pages of Legal Manuscripts: Reading and Remembering the Law’, *Meaning in Motion: Semantics of Movement in Medieval Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 191–214.

¹⁸⁹ Patrizia Carmassi, ‘Book Material, Production, and Use from the Point of View of the Paratext’, *Inscribing Knowledge*, 304–30 (322).

¹⁹⁰ Hh, f.60v 3431, 3441.

¹⁹¹ Espen J. Aarseth, *Cybertext: Perspectives on Ergodic Literature* (London: John Hopkins University Press, 1997), 1.

acknowledged, disrupt the way readers interact with the poem.¹⁹² Following Camille's theory of the physical page as 'a matrix of visual signs [that] is no longer one of flowing linear speech', the relationship between text and paratext becomes dialogic.¹⁹³

The design of some banderoles is particularly disruptive. On decorated leaves, the scrolls are positioned in all corners of the page in a variety of orientations, at times even upside down. The direction of text follows the spiralling of the scrollwork as it drapes around the borders. One vertical banderole that instructs 'Wan in thy most l thynke on thyn ende', is written from top to bottom in such a way that the reader must turn either their head or the book to read the writing.¹⁹⁴ On another leaf, two scrolls advising 'Say trouthe l be not fals.' are crammed into the gutter in a way that makes it difficult to read the text without altering the orientation of the book.¹⁹⁵ The brevity of the proverbs makes this possible, as a format which is designed to compress 'much experience into a very small space', as Rosalie Colie notes, 'and by that very smallness make [their] wisdom so communicable'.¹⁹⁶ The size of the manuscript itself, currently able to be held in both hands, also makes this movement possible.¹⁹⁷ Jessica Brantley notes a similar reader-codex interaction in a picture block that is framed by vertical

¹⁹² On illumination and linguistic experience, see Camille, 'Seeing and Reading', 26–49.

¹⁹³ Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 21; Sarah Larratt Keefer and Rolf H. Bremmer, *Signs on the Edge: Space, Text and Margin in Medieval Manuscripts* (Paris: Peeters, 2007), 26; W.J.T Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 83.

¹⁹⁴ Hh, f.44r.

¹⁹⁵ Hh, f.36r.

¹⁹⁶ Rosalie L. Colie, *The Resources of Kind: Genre-Theory in the Renaissance*, ed. Barbara K. Lewalski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 34.

¹⁹⁷ Measuring 205x140 mm.

text in a contemporary manuscript, BL, MS Additional 37049.¹⁹⁸ In these instances, rather than facilitating reading, the paratextual elements disrupt it.

In the pithiness of the proverbs though there is also the possibility for *incoherence*. Phrases that advise ‘Say the best’ could be interpreted as promoting the very flattery that Hoccleve warns against. Warnings to be wary with one’s wealth could be followed a little too closely, resulting in a shift away from charity, which is essential for a righteous king. This paradox is inherent to the proverbial tradition, as Kwesi Yankah notes, when a proverb is considered in isolation without social context.¹⁹⁹ Two proverbs can offer contradictory advice, that ‘haste makes waste’ but ‘he who hesitates is lost’. The brevity of a proverb can both simplify and complicate its meaning, allowing room for ambiguity which can undo the wisdom of the advice. In both their design and form then, the proverbs have the potential to disrupt.

However, in this disruption there is cohesion. When the manuscript as a whole is considered, an intriguing pattern emerges: the repetition of proverbs throughout the book. Of the nineteen *banderoles*, four proverbs are repeated, twice each. Two further proverbs are not exact replicas, but communicate the same message to love truth. And when the first (non-proverbial) *banderole* is excluded, the list of proverbs opens and closes with a warning that with mercy and meekness all things will pass.

¹⁹⁸ Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness*, 97–9.

¹⁹⁹ Kwesi Yankah, ‘Do Proverbs Contradict?’, *Wise Words: Essays on the Proverb*, ed. Wolfgang Mieder (London: Routledge, 1994), 127–42 (128); Neal Norrick, ‘Subject Area, Terminology, Proverb Definitions, Proverb Features’, *Introduction to Paremiology*, eds Hrisztalina Hrisztova-Gotthardt and Melita Aleksa Varga (Warsaw: De Gruyter, 2015), 7–27 (18).

This repetition has a recursive effect, inviting the reader to refer backwards out of sequence and read discontinuously. This is reminiscent of the non-linearity Heather Blatt notes in books of hours, as well as other liturgical and utilitarian texts – media which are designed to be dipped into and out of.²⁰⁰ The recursion brings Hoccleve's poem into this sphere of informative practices of reading. Although it disrupts the fluidity of linear reading, it also draws connections between thematically linked tales and pieces of moral instruction which highlight a different type of textual cohesion.

Repetition often catches the eye. Fleming expands on the role of decoration within textual units, arguing that when border schemes are repeated they 'articulate the composition and identity of the entire printed volume as something more than the sum of its parts'.²⁰¹ Camille further notes that motifs in the margins of medieval manuscripts not only refer to the text, but also to one another. He suggests they represent thematic links that run through sections of the book, creating a 'reflexivity of imagery, not just across single pages but in chains of linked motifs and signs that echo throughout a whole manuscript'.²⁰² Similarly, the repeated proverbs gain new meaning by creating a pattern that draws connections between cohesive parts of the poem. The *Regiment* is full of proverbs, and it would have been easy for a compiler to take inspiration from the text to fill the banderoles. But despite this wealth of material, four proverbs are re-used.

²⁰⁰ Blatt, *Participatory Reading*, 63.

²⁰¹ Fleming, 'Changed Opinion as to Flowers', 56.

²⁰² Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 42.

For instance, the proverb 'In wele be | war or thow be woo' appears twice (Figure 9) – a popular proverb throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.²⁰³ When it first appears, the banderole is intertwined with the initial that begins the Old Man's tale of the King of Sicily, who is praised for his sage awareness that fate is fickle and fortunes can change.²⁰⁴ Here, the banderole summarises the poem's message with a pithy and imperative warning. When the proverb appears again, it accompanies the story of Avarice, an unsightly character who hoards wealth and is unwilling to give to the poor.²⁰⁵ By placing the same proverb on these leaves, the reader is encouraged to draw connections between these stories. Whilst the King of Sicily clearly follows the speaker's advice and is mindful of his wealth, Avarice is a perfect opposite, and the banderoles' union of the extracts encourages the reader to reflect on the passages and the overarching framework of ideas that underpin the poem.²⁰⁶

So, whilst the form of these proverbs – their visual positioning on the page and the advice they proffer alongside the text – might seem to disrupt the sequential reading of the poem, in fact the banderoles show a set of ideas that Hoccleve has set in motion in the text which have been reframed to encourage readers to engage with

²⁰³ Whiting and Whiting, *Proverbs*, W45. Additionally found as a single monorhyming quatrain: 'He is wise that can be ware ere him be woe', in Dublin, Trinity College, MS 158, f.48v; Edinburgh, NLS, MS Advocates 18.7.21, f.151v; Hereford Cathedral Library, MS O.4.14, front flyleaf; BL, MS Harley 116, f.170v; and MS Harley 2316, f.26r. Also as a proverbial tag translating a Latin gloss: 'He is wyse & happy þat can be ware', in BL, MS Addit. 12195, f.114v.

²⁰⁴ Hh, f.21r, 1128–55.

²⁰⁵ Hh, f.78v.

²⁰⁶ Nancy Mason Bradbury, 'The Proverb as Embedded Microgenre in Chaucer and *The Dialogue of Solomon and Marcolf*', *Exemplaria*, 27 (2015): 55–72 (67). See a similar argument about Chaucer by Betsy Bowden, 'Ubiquitous format? What ubiquitous format? Chaucer's *Tale of Melibee* as a proverb collection', *Oral Tradition*, 17.2 (2002): 169–207 (171).

them. By interrupting the reader's experience of the poem, the repeated banderoles harmonise through their disruption, and reveal a unifying moral message under the poem's shifting topics.

This perspective encourages us to view the proverbs as a sequence. Proverb sequencing was popular in other types of media, for instance when a series of proverbs was painted on walls or incorporated into borders around windows.²⁰⁷ Texts like the *Proverbs of Hending* present a series of stanzaic verses in sequences of between thirty-nine and forty-seven proverbs attributed to an authority called 'Hending'.²⁰⁸ Many of these proverbs bear resemblance to those in Hh, especially those that promote good beginnings and warn against biting tongues.²⁰⁹ Wendy Scase has persuasively argued that texts such as *Hending* participate in a wider creative practice of remaking and reworking common material to suit the tastes of a patron or scribe.²¹⁰ The Hh banderoles can also be seen as part of this tradition, as creative refashionings of proverbial wisdom chosen to fit the context of Hoccleve's *Regiment*. If we compare them to *Hending*, they also unsettle the hierarchy of the page, transforming Hoccleve's poem into an explanatory text for the proverbs that accompany it. The banderoles frame the text and guide the reader's focus in a way that is localised and inward

²⁰⁷ Scase, *Visible English*, 250.

²⁰⁸ Scase, 'Pedagogy', 153.

²⁰⁹ 7–15 and 155–161, quoted from 'Hending', *The Complete Harley 2253 Manuscript*, in 3 vols, ed. and trans. Susanna Fein with David Raybin and Jan Ziolkowski (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2015), vol. 3, 221–37.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 174.

looking. At the same time however, they function as a sequence that repeats and loops, encouraging a type of reading that looks outwards away from the text.

In conclusion, the lectorial paratexts of these manuscripts offer a central means to understand the contemporary reception of Hoccleve's *Regiment*. Though there is minimal evidence of scribal engagement with the main text, scribes and readers demonstrate a greater degree of freedom in the visual and textual paratexts of the page. Many scribes deviated from their exemplars to alter, remove, add, and relocate marginal glosses and titles, often following the same decorative programme of the manuscript to preserve a sense of visual cohesion. Scribes drew upon elements already inherent in the text, either the compendia of scholarly and religious sources of the glosses or the lessons taught in both halves of the *Regiment*, to reframe Hoccleve's poem for new audiences. In these ways, scribes became compilers themselves, encouraged and even authorised by Hoccleve's own process of composition, 'compyle out of thise auctours olde' (2188). These practices were not created in a vacuum: through their paratexts, we see scribes and readers drawing inspiration from scholarly indexes, the biblical concordance tradition, Latin florilegia, devotional illustrations, and colloquial vernacular proverbs. Though the examples given here are diverse in the interests of their readers and the style of their paratexts, they are unified by a common desire to frame the text with authorised wisdom taken from Latin and English, written and oral sources.

The experimentation of form and layout witnessed in the Ga Tabula and the Hh banderoles is extraordinary in the corpus, and these scribes are notable for their creativity in filtering and distilling Hoccleve's poem for their own and others' use. Rather than representing a typical means of transmitting the text, they are the exception. More common is the sight of readers collecting proverbs, phrases, and scraps of verse in the margins and on flyleaves. While these annotations are more peripheral to the main text than the examples discussed above, they nonetheless can be interpreted as a type of lectorial paratext, one that speaks to the same interest in buttressing the text from the extremities of the book. In Ry3 a couplet is squeezed onto the last ruled lines after the poem: 'He that in yought to no vertewe himselfe applieth | In age to amende him badd costome denieth'.²¹¹ English and French proverbs on wealth are written at the end of Ar, and the flyleaves of Ha1 are filled with advice on friendship, marriage, and wisdom.²¹² Gg and La contain short additional verses, and the flyleaves of Sl2 bookend the poem with several proverbial verses of what 'Old men saien in wordis few'.²¹³

Widening the net of what we consider to be a paratext brings these types of additions into focus in the context of Hoccleve's own authorial paratexts. These examples, like with the scribal glosses in BoLaYa and Gg and the running titles in Sl1,

²¹¹ Ry3, f.99v.

²¹² Ar, 'Who gettyth mouche money & dooth despend more Nedyth no coffre to key vp hys store' and 'Qui bien gaigne et qui plus fort despent Riens ne Luy fault pour mucer son argent' (f.130v); Ha1 e.g. 'he ys wyse that can do well and say also' (rear flyleaf i v).

²¹³ Sl2, ff.10v, ii v, 1v.

Ad, Ha3, and Kk, reveal a common practice of enriching the textual experience with vernacular and Latinate wisdom. These lectorial additions demonstrate the multiplicity and multivocality of medieval paratexts, and highlight the active role of scribes and readers (indeed, of scribes *as* readers) in shaping the transmission of the *Regiment* as they navigated through it. They emphasise that the *Regiment* is not just a product of the years 1410–1411, but is the product of each and every act of copying, remaking, and refashioning across the fifteenth century.

Chapter 3: Co-texts

Looke if thow fynde canst any tretice
 Growndid on his estates holsumnesse.
 Swich thyng translate and unto his hynesse,
 As humblyly as that thow canst, presente
 (1949–1952)

So the Old Man advises the Hoccleve-persona at the close of the Dialogue to the *Regiment*. His solution for the speaker's financial woes is to write 'a goodly tale or two' (1902) in the hopes of winning the Prince's favour. To do so, he suggests casting about for any treatises that are of moral soundness to translate and compile into a work worthy of the Prince's patronage. The speaker takes this to heart, and prepares a poem 'compyl[e] out of thise auctours olde' (2188).

Hoccleve's description of his text is conscious of its own physical and intellectual nature as a compilation. Scribes of the *Regiment* followed the Old Man's advice too, it seems. Exactly half of the corpus, twenty-two manuscripts, present the text in isolation, as the original presentation copies might have looked.¹ But the other half of the corpus compiles the *Regiment* with a variety of vernacular verse and prose by Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate, Burgh, Bollard, Roos, and many more anonymous individuals. The corpus is large and varied, and the contents of these manuscripts can illuminate the literary contexts and frameworks within which the text was received.

¹ One manuscript that does not resemble a single-text codex, Na, is counted here because it is composite and the third booklet, containing the *Regiment*, circulated independently prior to the current binding. One manuscript that does resemble a single-text codex, Ra1, is not counted because it is one booklet surviving from a larger volume.

This chapter analyses these so called ‘co-texts’ of the *Regiment*, with a view to mapping out the network of texts within which the poem circulated. Reading co-texts alongside the *Regiment* offers a new way of approaching the text and its readers, and allows the opportunity to study fifteenth-century literary culture through the lens of the text.

Jean-Claude Mühlethaler defined the ‘co-text’ as ‘the links between a poem and the items that immediately precede or follow it in the collection’.² This approach values the interplay between all texts in a compilation, not just the texts themselves.³ My approach adopts this definition but widens it to encompass not only immediately adjacent texts but those also copied by the same scribes in other manuscripts. Approaching the text through its manuscript context aligns with the scholarly interest in considering the book as a whole.⁴ In recent decades, scholars have discussed the importance of a perspective that fully incorporates the “historical artefact” of the manuscript.⁵ In a similar vein, work on miscellanies and anthologies shows us that readers navigated through their books non-sequentially, guided by the construction

² Jean-Claude Mühlethaler, ‘Inversion, Omissions, and the Co-textual Reorientation of Reading: The Ballades of Charles d’Orléans in Vérard’s *La Chasse et le Départ d’Amours* (1509)’, *Book and Text in France, 1400–1600: Poetry on the Page*, eds Adrian Armstrong and Malcolm Quainton (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 31–49 (33).

³ Gerard Bouwmeester, ‘Size Does Not Matter: On Characterising Medieval Multi-Text Codices’, *The Dynamics of the Medieval Manuscript*, eds Karen Pratt, Bart Besamusca, Matthias Meyer, and Ad Putter (Göttingen: V&R Academic, 2017), 57–80 (57).

⁴ Building on debates about Malory’s Arthurian romances grouped under ‘the hoole book’, Laura Hibbard Loomis, perhaps first, suggested that it was necessary to consider ‘medieval English books as wholes’; ‘The Auchinleck Manuscript and a Possible London Bookshop’, *Adventures in the Middle Ages* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1962), 150–87 (150–1). Originally in *PLMA*, 57.3 (1942): 595–627.

⁵ Stephen Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel, ‘Introduction’, *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*, eds Stephen Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 1–6 (2).

of the manuscript.⁶ Thus to read a text without its co-texts is to only see half of the narrative.

To study the medieval co-text then is not just to look inwards at the manuscript, but also outwards to its context. The thematic cohesion and textual interactions within manuscript compilations have been shown to reflect the behavioural habitat of their readers.⁷ David Lorenzo Boyd argues that manuscript co-texts can establish ‘a sophisticated intertextual hermeneutic or interpretive network that reflects, and in some cases attempts to shape or control’ the text’s reception.⁸ Although governed by practicalities like the availability of exemplars, time, money, and skill, the contents of a manuscript can also reveal the social, commercial, and intellectual context at the moment of the book’s production. More recently, Arthur Bahr reads manuscript compilation as a literary form that constructs meaning alongside the book’s content.⁹ Interpreting the codex as a poetic object, Bahr connects the codicological space of the book with the intellectual space of the text, joining the ‘literary-imaginative’ to the ‘historical-physical’.¹⁰

⁶ Rachel Sweet, ‘No Text is an Island: The *Chastelaine de Vergi*’s Exemplarity in Context’, *The Dynamics of the Medieval Manuscript*, 347–66; Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness*, 79–120. On non-sequential reading, see C. David Benson, ‘The Frustration of Narrative and the Reader in *Piers Plowman*’, *Art and Context in Late Medieval English Narrative: Essays in Honor of Robert Worth Frank Jr* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1994), 1–15.

⁷ Anna Stowe, ‘Archive, Narrative, and Loss’, *Meta*, 66.1 (2021): 178–91 (188–9); Susanna Fein, ‘Introduction’, *Studies in the Harley Manuscript: The Scribes, Contents, and Social Contexts of British Library MS Harley 2253*, ed. Susanna Fein (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2000), 1–15 (15).

⁸ Boyd, ‘Reading Through the *Regiment*’, 16.

⁹ Arthur Bahr, *Fragments and Assemblages: Forming Compilations of Medieval London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1–2.

A co-textual approach has provoked interesting conclusions. Manuscripts whose production has been located to London have illuminated the communities of practice in commercial centres. Miscellanies were shaped by the literary and historical contexts of their owners, as has been shown for instance in BL, MS Harley 2252 and the London merchant and bookseller John Colyns.¹¹ Household manuscripts are also valuable sources for co-text analysis, encompassing the interests of the household, or generating knowledge that was vital to its operation.¹² Case-studies of individual books reveal the 'literal community of texts' therein, in which each text within the context of the manuscript becomes a co-creator of meaning.¹³ But the household book need not be generically coherent to have meaning. It has been argued that the compiler of the Rate manuscript was 'unaware of, or unconcerned about' any generic difference between the texts.¹⁴ Lynne Blanchfield instead suggests that the compiler chose texts

¹¹ Carol M. Meale, 'The Compiler at Work: John Colyns and BL MS Harley 2252', *Manuscripts and Readers in Fifteenth-Century England: The Literary Implications of Manuscript Study*, ed. Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: CUP, 1983), 82–103. The compilation of the Auchinleck manuscript and BodL, MS Laud Misc. 622 have also been shown to reflect their 'literarily knowing' audience; Ralph Hanna, 'Reading Romance in London: The Auchinleck Manuscript and Laud Misc. 622', *London Literature, 1300–1380* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005), 104–47 (116). On the Auchinleck in relation to larger patterns of exchange, see Nicholas Perkins, *The Gift of Narrative in Medieval England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021).

¹² Rory G. Critten demonstrates how conduct texts addressed the roles and ambitions of not only the heads (or soon-to-be heads) of household, but also the servants and children; 'Bourgeois Ethics Again: The Conduct Texts and the Romances in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 61', *ChRev*, 50.1 (2015): 108–33 (115). Myra Seaman discusses the affective knowledge generated in MS Ashmole 61; 'Renovating the household through affective invention in Manuscripts Ashmole 61 and Advocates 19.3.1', *Household Knowledges in Late-Medieval England and France* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019), 74–99.

¹³ Katherine Mary Kim-McLean, 'Engaging the Manuscript: New Editions and Reading the "Whole Book" in Chetham's Library MS 8009' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of York, 2009), 24.

¹⁴ Lynne S. Blanchfield, 'Rate Revisited: The Compilation of the Narrative Works in MS Ashmole 61', *Romance Reading on the Book: Essays on Medieval Narrative Presented to Maldwyn Mills*, ed. Jennifer Fellows (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1996), 208–20 (218).

‘according to their content and *mode* – predominantly the romance mode – in order that they might work together as a compilation’ and provide comprehensive pastoral care for both the spiritual and temporal needs of its readers.¹⁵

There are limitations to the study of co-texts though. Todd Preston’s comprehensive examination of the corpus of *Parliament of Fowls* manuscripts found that some compilations reflect ‘an association of texts based on Chaucerian attribution’, but the corpus ‘should not be prescribed by a narrow thematic investigation’.¹⁶ Florian Kragl warns that when discussing miscellanies we can get stuck in a ‘hermeneutic loop’, whereby our ideas concerning medieval authorship and literary activity are based on our knowledge of miscellanies, and our knowledge of miscellanies is based on our understanding of authorship and literary activity.¹⁷ Derek Pearsall similarly warns that it is all too possible ‘to overestimate the activity of the controlling or guiding intelligence of the scribe-compiler in the making of late-medieval English secular miscellanies’.¹⁸ Moreover, as Nadine Kuipers notes, just because texts belonged to the same household does not mean that they were read the same way.¹⁹

¹⁵ Ibid., 218. Emphasis in original.

¹⁶ Todd Preston, ‘A Place Among the Leaves: the Manuscript Contexts of Chaucer’s *Parliament of Fowls*’, *Comitatus*, 38.1 (2007): 69–86 (69). Commenting on David Lorenzo Boyd, ‘Compilation as Commentary: Controlling Chaucer’s *Parliament of Fowls*’, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 94 (1992): 945–64.

¹⁷ Florian Kragl, ‘Codifying Genre: The Dresdener Heldenbuch’, *The Dynamics of the Medieval Manuscript*, 165–78 (166).

¹⁸ Derek Pearsall, ‘The Whole Book: Late Medieval Manuscript Miscellanies and Their Modern Interpreters’, *Imagining the Book*, eds Stephen Kelly and John J. Thompson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 17–30 (27).

¹⁹ Nadine Kuipers, ‘Field Knowledge in Gentry Households: “Pears on a Willow”?’, *Household Knowledges*, 187–209.

In a discussion of the *Regiment's* co-texts therefore, a balance must be struck between comprehensive and detailed study, to encapsulate the variety of the corpus whilst allowing for individual manuscripts to suggest their own conclusions. This chapter will begin with a brief overview of the *Regiment's* co-texts, followed by a series of case studies organised into categories: those containing multiple Hocclevean texts, anthologies of Middle English verse, and books with miscellaneous contents. By investigating the nature of these compilations, their contents, and the scribal practices involved, we can uncover the various types of value attributed to the *Regiment*, as a work with moral, ethical, political, and historical merit. I will then broaden my discussion to encompass other manuscripts copied by the *Regiment* scribes. Three scribes will be explored as case studies, providing an opportunity to examine their individual profiles. Their work situates the *Regiment* within a diverse field of texts, copied in assorted combinations and styles for various audiences. By the end of the fifteenth century, the *Regiment* had moved far beyond its royal dedicatee and was being read as a work with broader cultural relevance, integrated into a range of literary and moral contexts that reflected the evolving interests of late-medieval readers.

Co-texts of the Regiment

The twenty-two manuscripts that compile the *Regiment* with other texts contain a total of 119 texts (excluding the *Regiment*).²⁰ Eliminating repeated texts leaves a list of seventy-two literary works that form the co-texts of the *Regiment*. The variety and frequency of these texts can be visualised in the word cloud overleaf.

²⁰ See Appendix 0.1 for contents. For overview, see Perkins, 160–67.

The most common author with whom Hoccleve's text is compiled is, unsurprisingly, Lydgate, responsible for twenty of the seventy-eight works, and thirty-four of the 119 instances of compilation.²¹ The *Danse Macabre* is also the text that is most frequently compiled with the *Regiment*, with seven instances of compilation. Lydgate's texts are dispersed across the corpus evenly, with the majority of multi-text *Regiment* manuscripts containing at least one Lydgatean text. The second most compiled authors with the *Regiment* are Chaucer and Hoccleve, each with twenty-eight instances of textual collocation. However, this data is a little misleading. As later sections will demonstrate, there is a group of manuscripts, copied across the fifteenth century, that compile the *Series* with the *Regiment* to create anthologies of Hoccleve's works. These seven manuscripts dominate the list of co-texts, but as four of these manuscripts were likely copied from exemplar(s) that had already compiled these texts together the intentionality of their compilation should be queried – though the decision to copy them is nevertheless active. In contrast, when the *Regiment* is compiled with Chaucer there is greater variety in the texts selected, with thirteen works compiled with the *Regiment*. The anthologies skew the data to suggest that the *Regiment* is compiled with Hoccleve as often as it is compiled with Chaucer, when in

²¹ Excluding 'Four things that make a man fall from reason' and 'A wikked tong wol always deme amis' for which attribution is debated.

actuality the corpus is best understood when divided into Hoccleve anthologies and other compilations.

1. Hoccleve anthologies

The *Regiment* is compiled into anthologies of Hoccleve's works in seven manuscripts, which can be divided into three categories:²²

- Ry2 and Di, containing three Hoccleve texts: *Regiment*, *Tale of Jereslaus's Wife*, and *Learn to Die*. Di is now a composite manuscript containing a prose *Brut* chronicle and the prose romance *King Ponthus and the Fair Sidone* compiled with the Hoccleve texts. These are all in the hand of the same scribe and contemporary, but the date at which they were joined is uncertain.²³
- Bo, La, Se, Ya, compiling the *Regiment* with the group of texts commonly known as the *Series*: the *Complaint*, *Dialogue*, *Tale of Jereslaus's Wife*, *Learn to Die*, and *Tale of Jonathas*; and Lydgate's *Danse Macabre*. The texts other than the *Regiment* are compiled in this order (and leaf signatures suggest this has always been the case), and the *Regiment* appears either at the beginning (Se) or end (Bo, La, Ya) of the manuscript.²⁴
- Co, a large miscellany containing the texts of the second type, collected together at the beginning of the volume, followed by an anthology of Chaucerian texts.

²² Following Derek Pearsall's definition of the anthology as a compilation with an overarching design emerging from a single agent or delimited set of agents who impose structure on the project: 'The Whole Book', 22.

²³ Matthew Holford speculates that the composite parts may have been joined in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. Carol Meale suggests the manuscript was compiled in three distinct stages, but always intended to be housed within one volume. Matthew Holford, 'MS Digby 185', *Medieval Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries online catalogue*, <<https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>>, [accessed 06.08.24]; Meale, 'Politics of Book Ownership', 128–9.

²⁴ Dubbed the 'Bodley Group' by Richard Firth Green, 'Notes on Some Manuscripts', 37–41. Also Barbara Shailor, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University*, in 2 vols (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1984), vol. 2, 475–8.

The majority of these manuscripts are genetically linked on the stemma, with especially close textual links between BoLaSeYa. They were copied over a long period, roughly from the 1430s to the end of the fifteenth century. These two facts cautiously suggest that the selection of texts in the copying of Hoccleve anthologies was primarily driven by the availability of exemplars, and that the exemplar texts had become a kind of coherent compilation that copyists tended to reproduce as a whole.

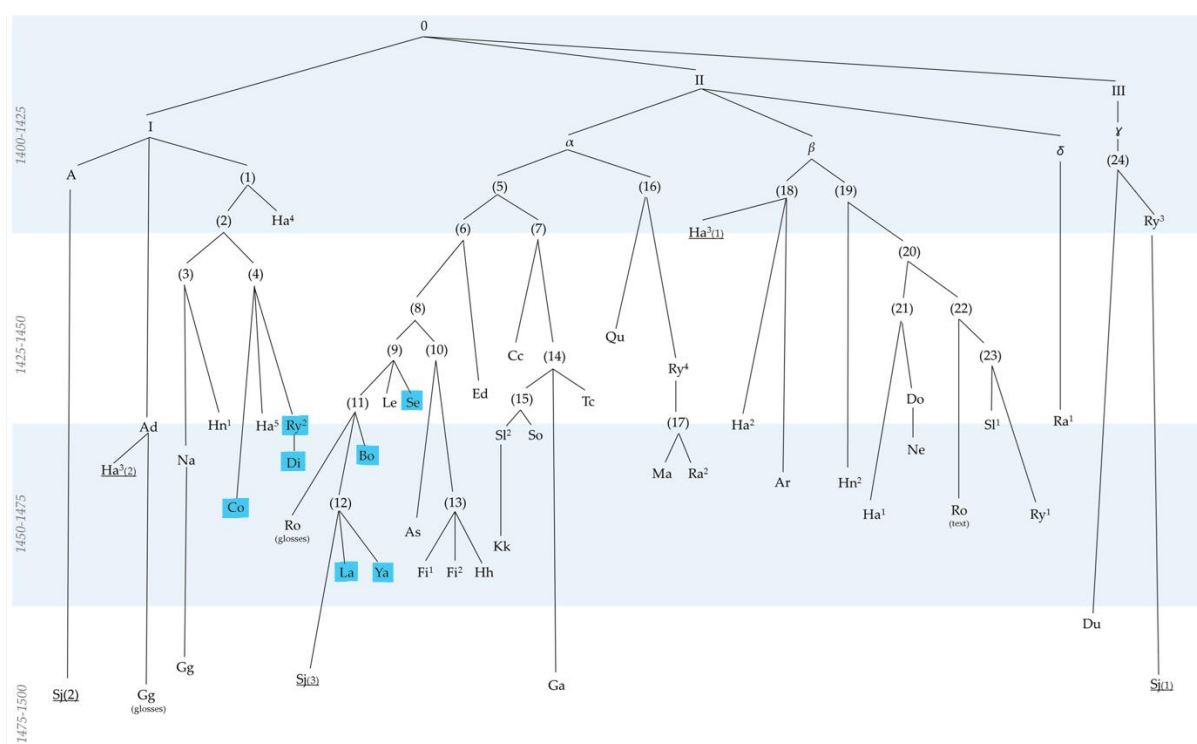


Figure 2. Stemmatic distribution of Hocclevean anthologies.

In discussions of the Hoccleve anthologies, it is the *Series* that is most frequently analysed. The literary connections between the texts in this group have been explored by Holly Crocker, Sugito Hisashi, Robyn Malo, Vickie Larsen, and John Pendell to

great effect.²⁵ But the relation of the *Series* to the *Regiment* and *Danse Macabre* is also of significance. The intertextual relationship between these three texts was evidently integral to their circulation and reception. The close textual relationship between the copies of the *Regiment* and the *Series* in BoLaSeYa suggest that they were copied from an exemplar (or series of exemplar booklets travelling together) that also contained the *Series*, *Regiment*, and *Danse Macabre* as a collection. We might speculate that this compilation of texts may have been instigated by Hoccleve himself. The copies of the *Series* in these manuscripts also contain several variant glosses, witnessed in all scribal manuscripts but not witnessed in the holographs, that suggest that they might descend from a Variant Original of the texts – in other words a version of the texts that belongs to a different textual tradition to the version(s) recorded in the holographs. It is plausible that an authorial holograph, containing the *Regiment*, *Series*, and possibly also the *Danse Macabre*, was circulating in the fifteenth century and whose descent is witnessed in BoLaSeYa.

The compilation of texts in these manuscripts has been most thoroughly discussed by David Watt.²⁶ Watt uses a combination of codicological evidence and an analysis of the ‘linguistic code’ of the texts to show that the *Series*, *Regiment*, and *Danse*

²⁵ Holly A. Crocker, 'Engendering Affect in Hoccleve's *Series*', *Medieval Affect, Feeling, and Emotion*, ed. Glenn D. Burger and Holly A. Crocker (Cambridge: CUP, 2019), 70–89; Sugito Hisashi, 'Rereading Hoccleve's *Series*: The Limits of Language and Experience', *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures*, 39.1 (2013): 43–59; Robyn Malo, 'Penitential Discourse in Hoccleve's *Series*', *SAC*, 34 (2012): 277–305; Vickie Larsen and John Pendell, 'Thomas Hoccleve's *Series* and English Verse in Early Fifteenth-Century London', *Philological Quarterly*, 97.4 (2018): 499–514.

²⁶ Watt, 'Compilation'.

Macabre in *Se* were conceived of as one bibliographic unit.²⁷ Building on the textual compilation in the two holographs, Watt concludes that the makers and readers of *Se* perceived Hoccleve's *Series* as a 'textual mirror' – a compilation designed to encourage readers to 'engage in the kind of self-reflexive contemplation modelled in the compilation as a whole'.²⁸ Sebastian Langdell too draws a narrative arc between texts in the Hoccleve anthologies. He proposes a series of texts that provide 'fitting bookends to the regal and martial career of Henry V': as a young man in the *Regiment*, in the years before his death in the *Series*, and the other side of his death in the *Danse Macabre*.²⁹ Langdell draws connections between the *Danse Macabre* and the first half of the *Regiment* to suggest that both contain figures who are representative of the orthodox Church.³⁰

Both scholars here make reference to the first half of the *Regiment*, the autobiographical Dialogue, which bears the most stylistic resemblance to the *Series*. However, my study of the scribal practice in the anthology manuscripts suggests that the second half of Hoccleve's *Regiment* may have also influenced the scribes' copying of the *Series*. I argue here that the labour of copying and glossing the *Regiment* is reflected in the copying of other texts in the Hoccleve anthologies. Scribes drew inspiration from the *Regiment*, or gained authority as themselves compilers from it,

²⁷ Ibid., 14. Following Jerome McGann's terminology, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 77.

²⁸ Watt, 'Compilation', 2.

²⁹ Sebastian Langdell, 'Hoccleve and Lydgate: Transnationalism and Tradition', *The Routledge Companion to Medieval English Literature* (New York: Routledge, 2022), 311–20 (317).

³⁰ Ibid., 316.

which they then carried over to the other texts in these volumes. Given the warnings cited earlier by Pearsall and others, I am cautious about constructing a false narrative here. Each text can mutually influence the interpretation of the other, and no one argument will encapsulate the complexities of the texts. There is the temptation to highlight one overarching narrative, which closes off the other potential avenues of interpretation that may have been followed. Therefore my focus for this section is on how scribes compiled these texts, and I will then use codicological evidence to suggest what connections they might have drawn between them.

1.1 Glossing and the Series

As the previous chapter has shown, when scribes engage with the *Regiment*, they engage with its paratextual elements. Specifically, the glosses were tempting fodder for scribal engagement. Hoccleve's self-identification as a 'compiler' (5439) and of the *Regiment* as a compilation (2132) authorised scribes to similarly engage with the text to contribute to its diverse corpus of glosses. The text is open to such engagement, and provides multiple entry-points into the text and its sources. When the *Regiment* is compiled with the *Series*, this invitation for marginal engagement is only augmented. In the *Dialogue*, the Hoccleve-persona emphasises his role as a mere translator and compiler in a way that, according to Watt, draws attention to the 'open-ended

construction of both the manuscript and the text as a whole'.³¹ Indeed, across the *Series* and in his minor works, Hoccleve's ultimate authority lies in his ability to create his poetry through compilation.³² Across the *Series*, citations are made to external authorities such as the *Gesta Romanorum*, Isidore of Seville, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Cicero. Jane Griffiths' argument about the function of the glosses in the *Regiment* extends to all texts in these anthologies: they 'contribute to its "bricolage" of voices, and thus suggest that "authority" is not monolithic, but rather something to be constructed through negotiation of different perspectives'.³³ I suggest that in anthologies of Hoccleve's works, scribes felt they had more agency to engage with all texts in the volume through glossing.

The poems in the *Series* are, largely, not heavily glossed in the holographs, nor are they in need of glossing to be understood. Although the sample size is small, the manuscripts where the most gloss variation is witnessed are ones where the *Regiment* comes first (Di and Se), and which have leaf signatures to suggest that it was copied first in the volume.³⁴ Whilst it is difficult to assess to what extent the *Regiment* influenced the copying of other texts in the collection, there are a few suggestive examples. As the speaker mourns his 'Woo, heuinesse and tribulacioun' in the *Complaint*, two scribes copy a gloss from the *Regiment* into the margin: 'Quem diligo

³¹ 1–8. Watt, 'Compilation', 14.

³² Sebastian Langdell "'What World is This? How Vndirstande am I?": a Reappraisal of Poetic Authority in Thomas Hoccleve's *Series*', *Medium Ævum*, 78.2 (2009): 281–99 (294).

³³ Griffiths, "'In Bookes'", 96.

³⁴ That is not to say that it was copied last in all manuscripts that contain the *Regiment* at the end.

castigo'.³⁵ In both Bo and La, the scribes copy this gloss again in its proper place in the *Regiment*. Another *Regiment* gloss is transplanted into the *Dialogue* in four witnesses: 'Vox populi vox dei', to accompany the description of crooks who counterfeit coins and the vengeance of 'the vois of þe peple' they incur.³⁶ These examples are suggestive of reading across the texts in these Hocclevean anthologies to engage with the *Complaint* and *Dialogue* through the glosses authorised by the *Regiment*. And it perhaps hints that other scribes might have been reading across the *Regiment* too.

Across the *Series* in the Hoccleve anthologies, there are various types of scribal engagement through glosses. Only unique glosses, ones that are witnessed in one manuscript (or by one scribe), have been considered here. In all cases, these glosses are visually consistent with authorial glosses: rubricated and marked with a paraph. Some glosses provide enumeration for the text, as is common in scribal annotations and reader marginalia. In Se, two extracts from the *Tale of Jereslaus's Wife* are annotated with 'Primo' and 'Secundo' to illustrate the two reasons why the poet claims the Wife was excusable.³⁷ The first signals 'Oon is shee wende þat the emperice | Hir chyld had slayn of purposid malice' (389–390), and the second marks 'þat othir cause [...] Is noon as is the loue of a womman' (393–395). These glosses are also reminiscent of the supportive glosses another scribe of the *Regiment*, William Wiflete, adds to his copy: 'Iuvenis' and 'Senex', to give structure to a rather muddled portion of dialogue

³⁵ Taken from 1259, copied in Bo, f.5v and La, f.4v. Ellis's edition of the *Complaint* does not connect this gloss to the *Regiment*.

³⁶ *Dialogue* 173, taken from *Regiment* 2286. Witnessed in Bo (f.9r), La (f.7v), Se (f.85v), Ya (f.8v).

³⁷ Se, ff.105r, 105v.

between the Hoccleve-persona and the Old Man.³⁸ They also resemble to an extent the more interpretive glosses added by an early reader of the *Regiment* to 'Egenus' and 'Sapiens', as if to label the Dialogue's speaker and the Old Man as 'the needy' and 'the wise'.³⁹

Other glosses are suggestive of closer attention to the text. Two manuscripts copied by the same scribe, La and Ya, contain curious glosses in the margins of *Learn to Die* and the *Regiment*. Part way through the dialogue between the disciple and the dying man in *Learn to Die*, the scribe places two speech markers in both manuscripts.

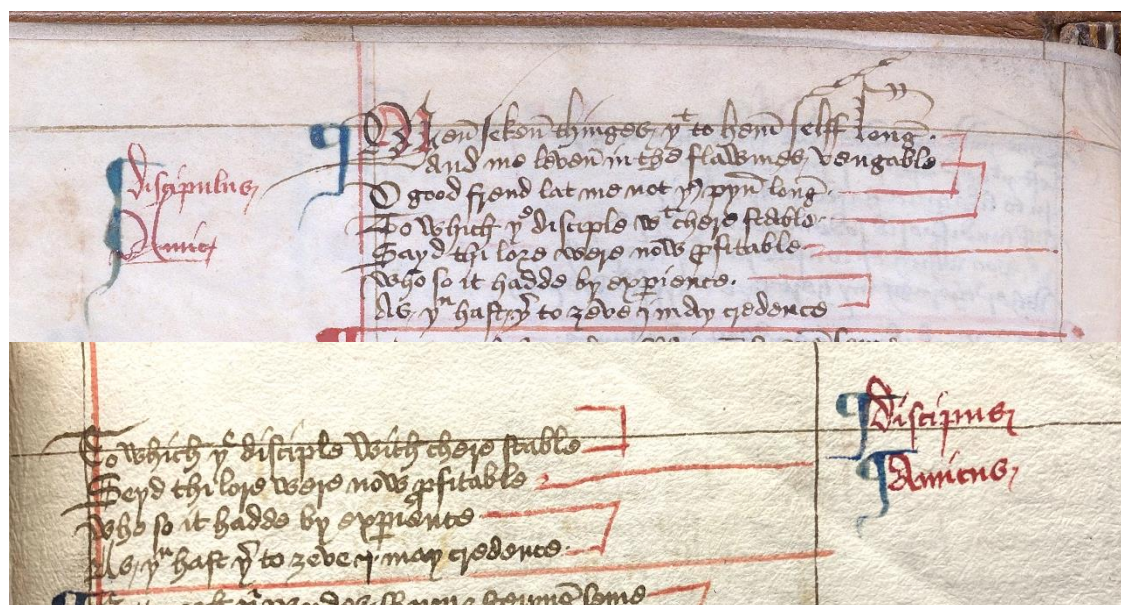


Figure 3. Detail from Ya (fol.36v) and La (fol.36r), Discipulus and Amicus glosses.

Only the 'Discipulus' gloss is authorial, the gloss to 'Amicus' is scribal – either this scribe or that of his exemplar. This is not the only 'Amicus' gloss in these manuscripts: this scribe adds this same gloss to the *Regiment* twenty times more in both copies.

³⁸ Cc, f.21v to *Regiment* 1866–9. See Nafde, 'Stanza Markers', 15–18.

³⁹ Gg; there are eighteen examples of these glosses throughout the Dialogue. See Ross, 'Humanist Hand'.

None of these glosses are authorial in the *Regiment* either. In *Learn to Die*, the addition of the 'Amicus' gloss marks the point at which the dying man addresses the disciple as 'O good freend' (514), perhaps reflecting an interest in Hoccleve's repeated use of the phrase to refer to the disciple.⁴⁰ In the *Regiment*, the gloss is used in a variety of contexts, either to mark moments in the narrative in which the Hoccleve-persona addresses the Old Man as 'Fadir', to signal a change in speaker, or to highlight a portion of dialogue. It is possible that, in *Learn to Die*, the scribe is picking up on the particular kind of friend-to-friend dialogue that Hoccleve employs in both the *Regiment* and the *Dialogue*, and noting the use of the word across the texts.

Perhaps the reflective environment of the *Series* paired with the *Regiment* and *Danse Macabre* prompted the scribe's own reflection on the text. The identification of unifying moments of friendship across the disciple and the Old Man ties in with the larger narrative themes of the manuscripts. Boyd suggests that the motivation for the compilation of Ya was an emphasis on amendment and the 'recuperation of the transgressive subject'.⁴¹ More broadly, Perkins identifies a unifying style of reflection prompted by the *Series*, *Regiment*, and another of Hoccleve's shorter works, *Remonstrance against Oldcastle*: as texts that encourage imaginative engagement for those contemplating their own suffering and mortality.⁴² As Amy Appleford notes, death discourse in the fifteenth century was sophisticated and richly multivalent, and

⁴⁰ Glosses to 151 and 467.

⁴¹ Boyd, 'Reading Through the *Regiment*', 24.

⁴² Nicholas Perkins, "'Heer Y die in thy presence': The Rewriting of Martyrs In and After Hoccleve", *RES*, 69 (2018): 13–31 (26).

texts that instruct readers how to learn to die well offered the opportunity for imaginatively rich ethical reflection on the self.⁴³ The localised details in LaYa also fit into a wider picture of the well-established religious practice of fraternal correction that was central to Wycliffite identity. 'To practice correction', Edwin Craun notes, was 'a mark of "true" Christian life' – a recognised moral duty for both the clergy and laity.⁴⁴

Other glosses are more straightforward examples of signposting. The Se scribe inserts additional narrative details into several existing glosses, for instance to 'the shipman **þat bitraied þe emperice**' in the *Tale of Jereslaus's Wife*.⁴⁵ The first two words of the gloss are authorial, but the second half (in bold) is only witnessed here. The expansion of the paraphrase gives it a greater explicitness, perhaps mirroring the similarly direct statements made in glosses to the *Regiment*.⁴⁶ This scribe also adds several glosses that signpost moments in the narrative, either 'the confessioun of the emperours brothir' in this text or 'The disciple answerith' in *Learn to Die*.⁴⁷ He is responsible too for several unique exemplum glosses to passages that deal with unpredictability in the *Complaint*, and for things not appearing as they should in the

⁴³ Amy Appleford, *Learning to Die in London, 1380–1540* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 5, 13. Also Christina von Nolcken, "'O, why ne had y lerned for to die?': *Lerne for to Dye* and the Author's Death in Thomas Hoccleve's *Series*", *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 10 (1993): 27–51.

⁴⁴ Edwin D. Craun, *Ethics and Power in Medieval English Reformist Writing* (Cambridge: CUP, 2010), 102–3.

⁴⁵ Se, f.111r, 715. Contrast with La, f.24r.

⁴⁶ E.g., 'Nota de Alexandri juramento tento' (2300), 'Nota de fidelitate cuiusdam domini vocati Fabricius et de falsitate cuiusdam medici' (2654).

⁴⁷ Se, f.112r, 785; f.117r, 29.

Dialogue and *Complaint*.⁴⁸ Other scribes also play with the placement of specific glosses, for instance when the Se scribe moves the location of glosses to 'Sapientia' and 'Discipulus' in *Learn to Die*.⁴⁹

Some glosses offer more complex commentary on the text, in a style that resembles the glosses of the *Regiment*. Twice in different manuscripts scribes directly translate the poem into a Latin gloss. In the *Tale of Jereslaus's Wife*, the Di scribe embellishes the authorial gloss 'Humanum est peccare' with an additional phrase: 'Humanum est peccare **sed diabolicum est perseuerare**'.⁵⁰ This is a direct translation of the line that it glosses: 'It manly is to synne | But feendly is longe lye therynne' (783–784), and shows the scribal appropriation of the form and language of the gloss. It also shows a familiarity with the Latin-derived sententious statements that Hoccleve translated into English.⁵¹ In *Learn to Die*, the Bo scribe adds an entirely new gloss to the line 'O morwe, morwe, thow haast me begilt': 'O cras cras *quam* longa fecisti'.⁵² Jane Griffiths notes that 'characteristically close correspondences' between text and gloss are an identifying feature of Hoccleve's *Regiment*. 'The near-duplication of text and gloss', she argues, 'suggests that the sententiae of existing texts may be extracted and re-presented with no loss of relevance or change in meaning'.⁵³ The scribes of the

⁴⁸ *Complaint* 99 (Se, f.78r), 113 (f.78r), and 225 (f.80r); *Dialogue* 253 (f.88r) and 309 (f.89r); *Complaint* 239 (f.80r) and 221 (f.80r).

⁴⁹ 'Sapientia' glosses moved to 37 and 148, 'Discipulus' glosses moved to 87 and 741.

⁵⁰ Se, f.154r, 783.

⁵¹ 'Humanum est peccare sed diabolicum est perseuerare' likely derives from Cicero, *Philippics* 12.5.

⁵² Bo, f.35r, 372. Gloss not recorded in Ellis's edition of *Learn to Die*.

⁵³ Griffiths, "'In Bookes'", 93.

Series may have been influenced by that direct quality in the *Regiment* and “read across” the texts to produce these unique glosses.

The Se scribe is particularly active in the glosses to his texts. For instance, a gloss added to *Learn to Die* identifies the source of a metaphor Hoccleve uses in the text – the only manuscript in the corpus to make this connection. The line ‘whan deeth on hem stelith with hir darte’ is marked by the scribe with ‘Nota bene nota Joob’, possibly recognising an echo of material from the Book of Job, ‘Man that is born of a woman is of few days, and full of trouble. He cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down’.⁵⁴ This gloss is reminiscent of biblical glosses in the *Regiment*, which were often abbreviated to the name of the book.⁵⁵ The Se scribe seems to mimic the rhetoric of the *Regiment* in other glosses too. He adds the long vernacular gloss ‘pat is to seie deuellis waiten aftir mannes soule and moost streitly in his dying’ to *Learn to Die*, perhaps mimicking the advice given by the Old Man in the Dialogue to the *Regiment*: ‘Be waar the feendes sly conclusioun’ (278) or the speaker’s hope that ‘My soule eschape may the feendes cheyne’ (728). This gloss might also link to an overarching organisation of the *Series* around the ‘idea of death’ identified by Ashby Kinch.⁵⁶ It should not be overlooked that every non-autograph compilation that includes the *Series* as a whole also includes the *Danse Macabre*.

⁵⁴ 514. Job 14.1–2, *King James Bible*.

⁵⁵ E.g., Ro 1695, glossing ‘Genesis capitulum xii’ rather than the longer quotation from Genesis 12:11–13.

⁵⁶ Ashby Kinch, *Imago Mortis: Mediating Images of Death in Late Medieval Culture* (Boston: Brill, 2013), 94 n.57.

A final speculation about the influence of the *Regiment* on the copying of the *Series* is prompted by the miniature of the dying man in Se.⁵⁷



Figure 4. Se, f.118r (detail of deathbed scene); A, f.37r (detail of presentation scene).

The miniature, as Kinch argues, ‘converts the text’s abstract didactic message into a visual self-reflection, a literal realisation for the Disciple of the venerable monastic tradition of internalising the death of the Other as one’s own’.⁵⁸ It occupies the space of one stanza, similarly encouraging the reader to reflect on the message of the text. David Watt shows how its positioning cleverly encourages one to read and reread the stanzas around it, contributing to the overarching reflection of the compilation.⁵⁹ Comparable images of death wielding a spear at the deathbed can be found in the Macclesfield Psalter, a copy of the *Desert of Religion*, and books of hours, and in other

⁵⁷ Se, f.118r.

⁵⁸ Kinch, *Imago*, 69–70.

⁵⁹ Watt, ‘Compilation’, 9–11.

visual media such as wall paintings.⁶⁰ Late-medieval England, Kinch argues, was witness to a period of major artistic innovations in the portrayal of 'death art' and iconography.⁶¹ The Selden miniature takes part in and builds upon an artistic tradition that portrayed the dying body as a means of meditating on one's own intangible identity.

The placement of this miniature is curious. It is located in the middle of *Learn to Die*, at the beginning of the dialogue between the disciple and Ymage. As the only miniature in the manuscript, it is odd that this scene is placed part way through a text, and not at the beginning as is conventional. No other manuscript of the *Series* contains visual imagery, making this all the more intriguing.⁶² It is equally curious that the other manuscripts, BoLaYa, do not alter the poem's call to 'Beholde nowe þe licknesse', even though there is no image to behold.⁶³ The miniature's position in Se could be seen to mirror the placement (perhaps subconsciously, but still notably) of the presentation miniature in manuscripts of the *Regiment*, which appear halfway through the text at the Prologue. Although the beginning of the manuscript

⁶⁰ Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 1-2005, f.235v; BL, MS Additional 37049, f.38v; Leiden, University Library, MS BPL 74, f.92r; Morgan Library, MS S.5, f.144r; BNF, MS Fr.823, f.95r. On wall paintings, see Kinch, *Imago*, 118–20.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁶² It is plausible that Le, also copied by the Selden scribe, once contained the *Series* in an identical presentation to Se. The damage to the manuscript makes it impossible to know whether it once contained other texts, but the fragments that survive are identical to Se in their content and layout.

⁶³ Se, f.118r.

(containing the first few folios of the *Regiment*) is missing, it is likely that the death scene was the only miniature.⁶⁴

The details of the miniature are also, perhaps, reminiscent of the *Regiment*. The Disciple is depicted in a pink high-neck robe, similar to the one worn by the poet in the presentation scene in MS A. This of course may be explicable by the similarity in artist or genre. Perkins speculates whether the Se miniature was executed by an artist of the same atelier as the workshop of Herman Scheere, who may have been responsible for the MS A miniature.⁶⁵ It is also plausible that they belong to some type of standard pictorial tradition of representing a poet, seen for instance in the image of Amans kneeling before Genius.⁶⁶ But none of the other deathbed scenes mentioned here contain these pink robes, nor does Kinch name a comparable example in his study of images of death in late-medieval England. There is no identifiable visual trope that combines an *imago mortis* with a pink-robed figure. Instead, the placement and details of the miniature raise the possibility that its artist was influenced by a presentation scene from Hoccleve's *Regiment* and read across the texts.

Thus we find in the Hoccleve anthologies hints of not only a shared scribal milieu, but also a shared artistic milieu. The fact that some of the same glosses appear in both the *Regiment* and *Series*, and that some scribal glosses in the *Series* appear to

⁶⁴ Assuming the *Regiment* did not open with a miniature – the convention of the corpus and level of decoration in Se suggest this was not the case.

⁶⁵ Perkins, 155.

⁶⁶ BL, Egerton MS 1991, f.7v. Seymour draws comparisons between the Selden miniature and depictions of Genius in manuscripts of the *Confessio amantis*; Seymour, 278.

mimic the authorial glosses of the *Regiment*, suggests that the experience of copying the *Regiment* may have influenced these scribe's attitudes towards the other Hocclevean texts. In the examples that follow, it will be less straightforward to deduce the direction of influence. But in these few cases, it is notable that the anthologies in which the scribes copied the *Regiment* first show the most scribal engagement with the texts of the *Series*.

2. *Anthologies and Miscellanies of the Regiment*

Anthologies and miscellanies that compile the *Regiment* with other, non-Hocclevean texts can be ascribed with a little more scribal agency when it comes to co-texts. Unlike the Hoccleve anthologies, manuscripts that compile the *Regiment* with other texts do not follow stemmatic trends – in other words, they are not based on the contents of their exemplars, but each represents a unique example of textual compilation that is more likely to be based on individual taste, relevance, and value.⁶⁷ Excluding the Hocclevean anthologies, no two *Regiment* manuscripts contain the same collection of texts.

There is a balance to be struck between the agency we ascribe to compilation choices and the availability of resources.⁶⁸ The search for an overarching design, as

⁶⁷ The closest example of possible genetic descent is Tc and So, which are connected to MS 14, Tc directly and So indirectly. Both contain *The Life of Our Lady*.

⁶⁸ Dubbed 'exemplar poverty' by Ralph Hanna, 'Miscellaneity and Vernacularity: Conditions of Literary Production in Late Medieval England', *The Whole Book*, 37–51 (47).

Derek Pearsall and Elizaveta Strakhov note, is the search for the person behind the compilation and the governing order that person enacted.⁶⁹ It should not be assumed that no methodology existed simply because none is apparent.⁷⁰ Manuscripts may similarly appear miscellaneous because their original audience is unknown – or indeed can still be baffling even when their provenance is clear.⁷¹ Equally, to approach a compilation in search of thematic coherence runs the risk of overstating the degree of individual curatorial agency.⁷² Others have attempted to combat this risk by using detailed codicological analysis to recover the production process.⁷³ This goes some way towards resolving the interpretive bias, but it is essential to acknowledge that any conclusions drawn from the compilation of a manuscript are, by necessity, speculative.

The following case studies present three manuscript compilations, each with an overarching organisational scheme that accommodates the *Regiment* in different ways.

⁶⁹ Pearsall, 'Whole Book', 18; Elizaveta Strakhov, 'Anthology versus Miscellany: John Shirley's Scribal Agency and the Fantasy of Origins in the Medieval Compilation', *HLQ*, 85.4 (2022): 603–20 (604). See also 'textual environment' of J.G.A. Pocock, developed for late-medieval texts in Paul Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow: The Social Imagination of Fourteenth-Century Texts* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 66 and n.7.

⁷⁰ Margaret Connolly, "'Books for the helpe of euery persooone þat þenkiþ to be saued'": Six Devotional Anthologies from Fifteenth-Century London', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 33.1 (2003): 170–81 (172).

⁷¹ On this debate *Insular Books: Vernacular Manuscript Miscellanies in Late Medieval Britain*, eds Margaret Connolly and Raluca Rădulescu (Oxford: OUP, 2015).

⁷² What Caroline Levine terms 'affordances'; *Forms: Whole, Rhythm, Hierarchy, Network* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), 6.

⁷³ E.g. Strakhov, 'Anthology versus Miscellany'; Julia Boffey and John J. Thompson, 'Anthologies and Miscellanies: Production and Choice of Texts', *Book Production and Publishing in Britain, 1375–1475*, 2nd edn, eds Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: CUP, 2007), 279–315; Margaret Connolly, 'Compiling the Book', *The Production of Books in England 1350–1500*, eds Alexandra Gillespie and Daniel Wakelin (Cambridge: CUP, 2011), 129–49 (139–46).

They have been selected for their variety, representing a literary anthology, a substantial and lavishly decorated volume, and several paper booklets with shared origins. The interests of their scribes and early readers can be suggested from the conscious decisions made in the organisation and selection of their texts. Their value lies in their creation of literary microcosms – the textual context for the *Regiment*, which reveals how the text was read and received by its early reading communities.⁷⁴

a) *Fitzwilliam McClean 182 (Fi1)*

Fi1 is a literary compilation containing practical texts on politics and governance. It transmits the *Secrees of Old Philisoffres* with Lydgate's *Serpent of Division*, extracts from the *Fall of Princes*, and Hoccleve's *Regiment*.⁷⁵ The *Serpent* and *Regiment* are now imperfect, but were once both complete copies.⁷⁶ Although this manuscript has been described as miscellaneous, the selection of texts and the excerpting of Lydgatean material are suggestive of a careful and politically conscious process of compilation, one which might be better understood under the umbrella term of an anthology.⁷⁷ As Margaret Connolly and Raluca Rădulescu stress, the line between the two categories

⁷⁴ On reading communities, see Catherine Nall, *Reading and War in Fifteenth-Century England: From Lydgate to Malory* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2012), 31–41.

⁷⁵ See Appendix 0.1 for contents.

⁷⁶ Every instance of textual omission coincides with material loss.

⁷⁷ Raluca Rădulescu, 'The Political Mentality of the English Gentry at the End of the Fifteenth Century', *New Europe College Yearbook*, 8 (2000): 355–89 (375). By anthology I mean 'a collection of texts within which some organising principles can be observed'. By miscellany I mean 'a manuscript book bringing together texts which do not present a coherent set of organisational principles'; see Connolly and Rădulescu, 'Introduction', *Insular Books*, eds Connolly and Rădulescu, 1–30 (5–6).

is blurred and there are manuscripts which could be argued to occupy both fields. In this case, the organising principles and textual excerption witnessed in Fi1 suggest the manuscript was compiled with a specific rationale in mind.

Fi1 opens with the *Serpent*, which takes the form of a historical narrative on the dangers of political instability and internal strife in the kingdom. Like Hoccleve, Lydgate draws upon several classical and scholarly sources. Lucan, Vincent of Beauvais, and Eusebius are cited as authorities, as well as Valerius Maximus and Chaucer, each called upon to legitimise the moralised narrative. Both authors also position themselves as compilers and translators.⁷⁸ The *Serpent* was likely written in 1422, just after the death of Henry V and at a critical moment for Lancastrian history.⁷⁹ This may have been a reason for pairing these texts together, to create a volume that bookends Henry V's reign – that is, if their readers were conscious of the precise dating of the two works. A more likely motivation is their coherence as regiminal texts. The *Serpent* narrates the fall of Caesar directed to the 'lordes and prynces of renowne' as a warning against the 'irrecuperable harmes' of political division.⁸⁰ Perkins notes that the *Serpent* is full of 'specular moments' which 'hold the potential to suspend action and imagine an alternative outcome' in a way that encourages the reader to reflect on

⁷⁸ Lydgate describes his text as a 'compendious translacion'; *The Serpent of Division*, by John Lydgate, ed. Henry Noble MacCracken (Oxford: OUP, 1911), 66.

⁷⁹ Dating is debated. The colophon to BL, MS Additional 48031 suggests 1400, however the manuscript also includes reference to the reign of Henry VI. MacCracken argues for 1422, supported by Derek Pearsall and Maura Nolan; *Serpent of Division*, ed. MacCracken; Derek Pearsall, *John Lydgate (1371–1449)* (Victoria, BC: University of Victoria, 1997), 24; Maura Nolan, *John Lydgate and the Making of Public Culture* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005), 33–70 (65–6 n.2).

⁸⁰ *Serpent of Division*, ed. MacCracken, 66.

their own role in the historical record.⁸¹ The compilation of both texts in the same volume suggests that they were both understood to be useful to lords and princes, and perhaps beyond. Although both texts locate themselves at a specific point in history, they were evidently still considered of literary and perhaps political merit after the fact and in a different political climate.

The *Serpent* is followed by eight extracts from the *Fall of Princes* – a collection of political texts that also suggests a careful process of selection. All are taken from envoys in the text, and they neatly summarise the lesson taught in the preceding tale in pithy and easily-excerptable sections.⁸² Of course, the *Fall* may have been chosen simply because it is a suitable text to pair with the *Regiment*. Close parallels for these extracts can be easily identified in Hoccleve's work. Lydgate highlights the importance of 'expert and wise' councillors, whilst Hoccleve recommends 'conseil take of the wyse | And nat of fooles'.⁸³ Both warn against the inescapability of one's 'lynage', Hoccleve using the metaphor of a 'crookid hors' that 'nevere is the bet entecchid' (4167). They also weigh up the balance between 'largesse' and 'prodigalitee', and comment on the danger of flattery with the imagery of venomous bitter tongues. Considering the similarity in tone and advice, it is no wonder that both texts were copied into this manuscript.

⁸¹ Nicholas Perkins, 'Representing Advice in Lydgate', *The Lancastrian Court: Proceedings of the 2001 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2003), 173–191 (184).

⁸² On excerpting the *Fall*, see Edwards, 'Selections from Lydgate'; R.H. Robbins, 'A new Lydgate fragment', *English Language Notes*, 5 (1968): 243–5; Nigel Mortimer, 'The Reception and Influence of the *Fall*', *Narrative Tragedy*, 219–77.

⁸³ See Appendix 3.1 for quotations and line numbers.

However, some extracts are not paralleled in content with the *Regiment*, and their selection raises questions about the historical context of this act of textual collage. Two excerpted envoys comment on the ‘comoun peple’ and the danger of their loud voices to a prince’s rule. The shortest extract, only one stanza, critiques the people for the falseness of their promises.⁸⁴ ‘Of ther corages’, Lydgate notes, ‘thei be so remevable | To folwe resoun gerissh and vntretable’.⁸⁵ A second envoy reflects on the fickleness of the public’s opinion and the instability this brings to leadership: ‘Now flowe, now ebbe, now ioie, now myschaunce | Afftir Fortune holdeth the ballaunce [...] Comouns desir a chaung off pryncis newe’.⁸⁶ This example is, however, notably alike to an extract of the *Regiment* in form, comparable to Hoccleve’s description of the world’s variance: ‘Now hool, now seek; now bountee, now mescheef’ (49). Together though, these verses bring a sense of frustration to the extracts, and speak to both the political climate at the time of Lydgate’s writing the *Fall* (1431–1438) and to the context of the Fi1 scribe’s copying. The extracts engage with a type of instability that Hoccleve does not openly touch upon in the *Regiment*. Hoccleve advises the Prince to ‘wynneth your peples vois’ (2886) accompanied by the gloss ‘vox populi vox dei’, but this is followed a short while later by the tale of Lycurgus. Here, a contradictory message is conveyed: the people refuse to obey Lycurgus’ laws, but are easily deceived into abiding by them forevermore whilst the knight is away conferring with Apollo. The subtle message

⁸⁴ Extract not recorded in M.R. James’s *A Descriptive Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge: CUP, 1912).

⁸⁵ IV.627–8.

⁸⁶ III.2188–91.

Hoccleve gives by juxtaposing these two statements is that, though the people's support is essential to a successful ruler, they can be manipulated by clever individuals.⁸⁷

Fi1 can be cautiously dated to the third quarter of the fifteenth century. The display script used by this scribe resembles an anglicana formata with secretary influences of this period. Examples of similar scripts, also containing two-compartment **a** where the upper compartment loops down to create a closed head, unlooped left-leaning **d**, both long and sigma-shaped **s**, zetoid **r**, and flat-topped **g** can be found in examples dating from c.1447–1464.⁸⁸ Although some display features of the script resemble those of an earlier date than this, other details suggest a hand that has been influenced by secretary graphs: for instance, the unlooped **e** and the beginnings of a looped ascender on **h** and **l** graphs. Minims are separate and with feet. The anglicana **w** with two initial strokes completed by bows is retained, but the three-stroke secretary version is occasionally used mid-word.⁸⁹

Assuming Fi1 was copied around the third quarter of the century, the selection and compilation of the *Fall* envoys would coincide with a period of political instability. Although not unique to the mid-century, the loss of French territories in the 1440s, Cade's rebellion, and the emergence of Richard of York as a supporter of government

⁸⁷ See Perkins, chapter 2.

⁸⁸ Plate 265, CUL, MS Dd 7.7, c.1453–7, Robinson, *Dated and Datable [...]* Cambridge Libraries, Vol. II; Plate 580, Oxford, Balliol College, MS 109, 1460–4, Watson, *Dated and Datable [...]* Oxford Libraries, Vol. II. Plate 488, BL, MS Arundel 372, c.1447, Robinson, *Dated and Datable [...]* London Libraries, Vol. II.

⁸⁹ E.g. 'nowȝt', f.70v, 1138.

reform in 1450 caused political upheaval. Rădulescu notes that, in an age dominated by internal strife and concerns over the possession of lands in France, authors like Hoccleve and Lydgate appealed to the concepts of stability in the realm through wise kingship and good governance.⁹⁰ This is a plausible motivation behind the choice of Lydgatean envoys in Fi1. The 'common people' of the extracts also chime with the development of the notion of the 'common weal' at this time.⁹¹ David Lawton has argued that the fifteenth century saw the construction of a 'public sphere,' which was 'parallel to and connected with the structures of power'.⁹² Developments in this century increased the effectiveness of regnal governments: Watts notes that the operation of central power was modified in ways that elicited more consistent support and cooperation from other elements in each polity.⁹³ The sense of a 'public', and therefore of a *res publica*, was strengthened by the growth in political literature, public speech, and bills and manifestos which catered to the growing readership for works of public edification.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Rădulescu, 'Political Mentality', 376.

⁹¹ I follow John Watts' definition of 'common weal' as 'the common good, the "common profit", the wellbeing of the realm and its inhabitants'; 'Common Weal and Commonwealth: England's Monarchical Republic in the Making, c.1450–c.1530', *Languages of Political Society: Western Europe, 14th–17th Centuries*, eds Andrea Gamberini, Jean-Philippe Genet, and Andrea Zorzi (Rome: Viella, 2011), 147–63 (149).

⁹² Lawton, 'Dullness', 793. David Grummett identifies the early emergence of the public sphere in the second half of the fourteenth century; 'Parliament, War and the "Public Sphere" in Late Medieval England', *Political Representation: Communities, Ideas and Institutions in Europe (c.1200–c.1690)*, eds Mario Damen, Jelle Haemers, and Alastair J. Mann (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 267–84 (268).

⁹³ John Watts, *The Making of Politics: Europe, 1300–1500* (Cambridge: CUP, 2009), 393.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 392. What Paul Strohm called the growing interest in 'politique'; *Politique: Languages of Statecraft between Chaucer and Shakespeare* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005).

The act of extracting the envoys changes both their function and meaning. It is always possible that the scribe was copying from an exemplar in which the extracts were already excerpted.⁹⁵ But, as Nigel Mortimer notes, Lydgate uses the envoys to convey a 'broadly ethical' advisory idiom, rather than specifically political or legal advice; this would have made them easily excerpt-able.⁹⁶ Although composed decades before the event, the line 'Comouns desir a chaung off pryncis newe' would have held great significance after 1455 and the commencement of the Wars of the Roses.⁹⁷ The warning that 'In trust off comouns is no perseueraunce' would have similarly been relevant to the rebellions led by for instance Cade in 1450.⁹⁸ Both extracts interestingly directly disagree with Hoccleve's claim in the *Regiment* that 'peples vois is Goddes vois' (2886) – though this is caveated by the phrase 'men seyn'. In the context of the other princely advice on governance given in this book, the excerpted envoys offer political commentaries on the instability of common opinion and the danger of the *vox populi*. The compiler offers ironically, and perhaps unconsciously, an inconsistent and varied perspective on the public voice.

It is unclear whether the *Regiment* had yet to be copied at this stage in the manuscript's creation: it is possible that the extracts were added retrospectively to fill a gap at the end of a quire. However, if this is the case, one folio would still have been left blank before the beginning of the *Regiment*. Although the extracts have been

⁹⁵ It has not been possible to compare the manuscripts to see whether they are stemmatically related.

⁹⁶ Mortimer, *Narrative Tragedy*, 59.

⁹⁷ III.2191.

⁹⁸ III.2203.

discussed here as separate textual units, in the manuscript there are no markers to suggest textual division. Each envoy runs into the next as if they form one large text. Any reader of this manuscript would not have seen a difference between this text and the preceding *Secrees*. In Fi1, this act of scribal compilation in essence creates a new text that, like the *Serpent* and *Regiment*, offers princely guidance on matters of governance, but which through the intertextual relationships with its component parts and the other texts in the volume, adapts older material to the current political climate.

Preceding the *Regiment*, the excerpts of the *Fall* function in a similar way to the prequel of Latin glosses found in the Ga Tabula seen in Chapter 2. They prepare the reader for a text that unpacks the intricacies of moral and political governance in detail, prefacing Hoccleve's poem with a hint of the topics to come. Like the Hh paratexts too, they create a sense of a pre-read, pre-annotated copy, as if a previous reader has made notes that condense the main arguments of the text into short, pithy verses. The reading environment they create emphasises the political instability which the *Regiment* seeks to overcome through proper governance. Their sense of changeability of the 'comouns' also complements the opening of the *Regiment* on the next page, in which Hoccleve lies awake musing on the 'brotilnesse' (14) of fortune.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ On Hoccleve's reflection of state instabilities in his body, see Antony J. Hasler, 'Hoccleve's Unregimented Body', *Paragraph*, 13.2 (1990): 164–83.

b) *Society of Antiquaries MS 134 (So)*

A luxurious anthology suggests a different motive for compilation. So is a mammoth volume of 297 folios, with double columns throughout, containing Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady*, Gower's *Confessio amantis*, Hoccleve's *Regiment*, and Walton's translation of *The Consolation of Philosophy*.¹⁰⁰ Each text opens with a lavish three-sided border with flowers and vines picked out in gold. Some of the major textual divisions are also marked by elaborate decorative schemes. The works are loosely structured around a frame narrative and portray characters as both historical figures and representations of the human condition. Religious themes can be found in all texts, some like the *Life of Our Lady* more explicit than others. They are also all thought to have had (or aspired to have) royal or aristocratic patrons: Gower states that he translated the *Confessio* for Richard II and later adapted it for Henry IV. Walton was commissioned to produce his translation of the *Consolation* by Elizabeth Berkeley, daughter of Lord Thomas Berkeley.¹⁰¹ Scribal colophons to Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady* suggest it was patronised by Henry V, although the truth of this is uncertain.¹⁰² And Hoccleve's *Regiment* is addressed to Prince Henry in the hopes of payment and patronage.

A more likely reason for compilation is that all four texts share an interest in philosophical questions concerning ethics and the human soul. *The Life of Our Lady*

¹⁰⁰ Boards measuring 401x290 mm.

¹⁰¹ Thomas Tanner claimed that Walton was commissioned by Elizabeth Berkeley in his *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* (London: William Bowyer, 1748), 753.

¹⁰² Mary Wellesley, 'John Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady*: Form and Transmission' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University College London, 2018), 38–41.

addresses human and divine suffering of the Virgin Mary both as a mother and a symbol of humanity. The *Confessio* is a treatise on ethics, using as its frame a penitential manual for the religion of love. The first half of the *Regiment* deals with ideas of instability and poetic inspiration, whilst the second half illustrates the various virtues a king needs by showing examples of human failings. These two texts work together in this manuscript, with Gower's vices contrasted by Hoccleve's virtues, both ultimately emphasising the importance of self-governance. And the *Consolation* is, by title and definition, a sequence of philosophical debates on the human condition.

The *Confessio*, *Regiment*, and *Consolation* share an emphasis on the teacher–student dynamic through the characters of Genius and Amans, the Old Man and the Hoccleve-persona, and Lady Philosophy and the Boethius-narrator – indeed, Gower and Hoccleve are indebted to Boethius for this model. The two *Confessio* speakers are marked with numerous marginal glosses to 'Amans' and 'Confessor' in numerous manuscripts, but the sheer volume of these glosses is not typical: ninety-three in the first three books alone.¹⁰³ In the *Consolation* at the end of this manuscript, the speeches of Lady Philosophy and Boethius are also regularly marked with the initials *B* and *P* and highlighted by paraphs.¹⁰⁴ These speech markers offer, as Siân Echard notes, 'a visual stress on the dialogic aspect of the poem', and would have made it easy for a

¹⁰³ See also CUL, MS Dd.8.19, with these glosses in-line and rubricated. Siân Echard notes that these glosses normally originate with the manuscript producers; 'Dialogues and Monologues: Manuscript Representations of the Conversation of the *Confessio Amantis*', *Middle English Poetry: Texts and Tradition: Essays in Honour of Derek Pearsall*, ed. Alastair Minnis (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), 57–76 (68).

¹⁰⁴ Also e.g., BodL, MS Rawl. poet. 151.

reader to both accompany the text and flip through non-sequentially.¹⁰⁵ Although the *Regiment* in this copy does not contain any of these speech markers, the thematic similarities with the Dialogue between the Old Man and Hoccleve-persona would have been evident to any reader.

The *Confessio's* Prologue in particular bears many similarities to the *Regiment's* Dialogue. Both open in a pseudo-autobiographical style with an account of the text's creation, noting respectively that they are written by a clerk 'burel' and 'in the office of the Privee Seel'.¹⁰⁶ They both intend to 'avise' and 'consaille' their monarchs on good governance, despite the smallness of their wits.¹⁰⁷ They both give long discussions on the instability of fortune and the changeability of fate.¹⁰⁸ Book 7 of the *Confessio* is most alike the second half of the *Regiment*, as it presents Gower's interpretation of the perfect prince.¹⁰⁹ This section praises the benefit of truth, largesse, generosity, justice, pity, and chastity.¹¹⁰ Gower also includes the debate between generosity and prodigality.¹¹¹ Each of these short virtues is mirrored in Hoccleve's text in an extended form.

¹⁰⁵ Echard, 'Dialogues and Monologues', 60. Also Echard, 'Designs for Reading: Some Manuscripts of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*', *Trivium*, 31 (1999): 59–72.

¹⁰⁶ P.52, 802.

¹⁰⁷ P.65, 2137; P.82, 2073.

¹⁰⁸ P.70; 1360.

¹⁰⁹ For comparison of the texts, see Charles R. Blyth, 'Thomas Hoccleve's Other Master', *Mediaevalia*, 16 (1990): 349–59; Perkins, 73–4, 184–5.

¹¹⁰ 7.1734, 7.1985, 7.1990, 7.2695, 7.3103, 7.4215.

¹¹¹ 7.2162–3.

The *Life of Our Lady*, which comes first in this volume, is also an appropriate pair for the *Regiment*.¹¹² Though more overtly devotional than the *Regiment*, there are still thematic and stylistic similarities between the texts. Both praise Chaucer as their literary master, with Lydgate citing ‘my maister Chauser [...] The noble Rethor, poete of Brytayne’.¹¹³ Robert Meyer-Lee notes that these eulogies are ‘never simply rhetorical reflexes but rather pointed literary stratagems adapted to specific literary and [...] political and institutional contexts’.¹¹⁴ Meyer-Lee even posits that Hoccleve’s eulogy to Chaucer may have been the inspiration for Lydgate’s.¹¹⁵ Both poets also praise the Virgin, Hoccleve more briefly in the *Regiment* when he petitions the ‘blessid Virgyne’ for her mediation on behalf of his ‘maistir’ (4985–4990). Hoccleve also wrote a *Complaint of the Virgin*, in the voice of the Virgin Mary lamenting her son’s death from the foot of the cross.

The thematic and stylistic similarities of these texts therefore make it unsurprising that they have been compiled together. Kate Harris has shown that the *Confessio* was applicable to a wide audience, what she calls ‘that company of chamber knights and civil servants circling in the remoter orbits of the Ricardian court’.¹¹⁶ The

¹¹² *Life of Our Lady*, ed. Lauritis.

¹¹³ II.1628–9.

¹¹⁴ Robert J. Meyer-Lee, ‘The Emergence of the Literary in John Lydgate’s *Life of Our Lady*’, *JEGP*, 109.3 (2010): 322–48 (325).

¹¹⁵ Meyer-Lee, ‘Emergence’, 329. *The Life of Our Lady* was written c.1420–22; see Wellesley, ‘John Lydgate’s *Life of Our Lady*’, 12–14.

¹¹⁶ Kate Harris, ‘Ownership and Readership: Studies in the Provenance of the Manuscripts of Gower’s *Confessio Amantis*’ (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of York, 1993), 5. Also Derek Pearsall and Linne R. Mooney, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the English Manuscripts of John Gower’s Confessio Amantis* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2021), 14–17.

flexibility of the text meant that, as Alastair Minnis notes, the Latin apparatus could be copied in accordance with the taste and mood of the audience.¹¹⁷ The *Life of Our Lady* was similarly a popular devotional text that reached a wide audience beyond ecclesiastical circles.¹¹⁸ Walton's *Consolation* was owned by a variety of noble, aristocratic, and gentry individuals, as was the *Regiment*.¹¹⁹ There would have been substantial overlap in the audiences of all four of these texts.

Although the early owners of this luxurious volume are unknown, the texts selected and their method of copying suggest a wealthy patron who was interested in philosophical questions of the human condition. Its extensive decorative programme and size suggest it functioned not only as a repository of vernacular literature but also as an object of prestige. That the manuscript privileges dialogic structures, moral instruction, and scholarly apparatus implies a reader who was invested in ethical self-fashioning. Perhaps this manuscript's lavishness offers some clues as to how these works might have been read: as ostentatious performances of wisdom which are material as well as textual treasures. In this context, So may be viewed not simply as a collection of morally instructive texts, but as a carefully curated artefact of political positioning.

¹¹⁷ Alastair Minnis, *"Magister amoris": The Roman de la Rose and Vernacular Hermeneutics* (Oxford: OUP, 2001), 299–300.

¹¹⁸ Meyer-Lee, 'Emergence', 333.

¹¹⁹ Noel Harold Kaylor, 'John Walton's 1410 Verse Translation of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* in the Context of Its Medieval Tradition', *Fifteenth Century Studies*, 6 (1983): 121–48 (122).

c) *BodL MS Rawl. poet. 168 (Ra2)*

A final example also offers a caution against over-analysing the contents of a manuscript. Fifteen paper booklets and fragments in the Bodleian and British Libraries share a common origin: the scribe called 'Baggheney', along with two other supportive scribes. The Baggheney scribe copies all but three of the booklets.¹²⁰ His role, for at least some of the production, was evidently to oversee the copying and collation of booklets.¹²¹ Several of the booklets were first identified as belonging to the same volume by Kathleen Scott, an argument then revised and expanded by Ralph Hanna.¹²² These fifteen booklets are component parts of at least one volume produced in the 1480s.¹²³ However, the exact relationship between the booklets is unclear. They feature different levels of decoration, and some leave the rubrication unfinished, which could suggest that they were being produced on a speculative basis.

Some conclusions can be drawn from several booklets that have a more obvious connection. Quire signatures suggest that four booklets, comprising eighteen quires, were originally bound together and once made up the beginning of a volume: now BodL, MS Rawl. poet. 35, MS Rawl. D.82, MS Douce 324, and Ra2.¹²⁴ These signatures

¹²⁰ For full list see Ralph Hanna, 'A Fifteenth-Century Vernacular Miscellany Revisited', *BLR*, 26.2 (2013): 188–207 (199–204).

¹²¹ MSS Rawl. D.82, Douce 324, and Ra2 contain two sets of quire signatures, one made as the pages were copied, and another in red added when they were joined together. Secondary signatures are respectively *e*, *g* (the first folio mislabelled '*f*'), and *h*; *j* and *k*; *l*, *m*, *n*, *o*, *p*, *r*, and *s*.

¹²² Smith (later Scott), 'Fifteenth-Century Vernacular'; Scott, 'Newly Discovered Booklets'; Hanna, 'Fifteenth-Century Vernacular Miscellany'.

¹²³ From watermarks, see *Ibid.*, 191.

¹²⁴ The first quire, with signature *a*, is lost. *Ibid.*, 192–3.

also show that the texts in these booklets were loosely grouped by theme. This volume originally compiled Burgh's *Cato Major*, Lydgate's *Dietary*, two prose accounts of the sieges of Thebes and of Troy, an extract of the *Confessio amantis*, the *Awntyrs of Arthur*, and the *Regiment*. This miscellany would have offered several texts broadly concerned with governance of the mind, body, and soul, as well as historical moralised narratives. Even the Arthurian romance appears coherent when one considers its portrayal of political tension between the knights and king.¹²⁵

Burgh's Middle English translation of *Cato Major* makes for an interesting pair with the *Regiment* – one also made by the scribe of Ha4, and by the Hammond scribe, who copied both texts in separate volumes.¹²⁶ The Latin *Disticha Catonis* taught its readers how to conduct themselves in social situations by condensing lessons into two-line maxims. The Middle English translation retains these Latin lines, but expands upon them with seven lines in the vernacular. As a result of this format, the text became a popular resource for the teaching of Latin grammar, with the beneficial side effect of moral education.¹²⁷ In MS Rawl. poet. 35, the Latin is rubricated and distinguished by a more ornate display script, making it easy to read back and forth between the Latin and Middle English. Like the *Regiment*, the use of the Latin source material bolsters the authority of the vernacular. Both texts also promote the

¹²⁵ For one reading, see Jacob Herrmann, 'Myths and Memories of the Arthurian Empire in *The Awntyrs off Arthur*', *Cerae*, 10 (2024): 29–61.

¹²⁶ BL, MS Harley 2251, ff.170r–178r.

¹²⁷ Fraser James Dallachy, 'A Study of the Manuscript Contexts of Benedict Burgh's Middle English *Distichs of Cato*' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Glasgow, 2013), 42–3.

adherence to moral codes as a means of maintaining social and political stability – a message that was evidently still applicable in the 1480s.¹²⁸ And according to Caxton, Burgh translated his text for ‘my lord Boursher’, the son of Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex – another mirror written for a powerful nobleman.¹²⁹

The emphasis on the moralising narratives in these booklets may also explain the incomplete condition of the *Regiment* in Ra2. The text lacks the Dialogue and begins imperfectly when Hoccleve first addresses the ‘Hy noble and mighty Prince excellent’ (2017). This is unlikely to be the result of physical damage. Medieval leaf signatures in this booklet start at ‘a’, suggesting that the condition of the text was a scribal or patronal decision to excise Hoccleve’s autobiographical material and focus on the regiminal and moral instruction of the *Regiment* Proper.¹³⁰ This is notably the only manuscript in the surviving corpus to deliberately excise the first half of Hoccleve’s text. A reader of Ra2 would have been unaware of – or perhaps simply not interested in – Hoccleve’s motive for writing, his connections with Chaucer, or even the exact Prince to whom the text is addressed. This copy lacks the Dialogue’s foregrounding of Hoccleve as a wayward, anxious individual who is caught up in the failures and contingencies of royal government.

¹²⁸ Compare CUL, MS Hh 4.12, a late fifteenth-century manuscript also containing Burgh’s *Distichs*, also composed of booklets that were likely produced speculatively and later bound together.

¹²⁹ *The Booke Callyd Caton* (1483), prologue.

¹³⁰ It is also unlikely that this was the fault of the exemplar, as another manuscript, Ma, was copied from the same exemplar a few decades earlier and presents the entire text. A second sequence of quire signatures begins at *l* in the *Regiment* booklet, following the sequence from the other booklets listed here.

It is important to remember that this manuscript was originally what we today call a miscellany, and as such its composition is inherently diverse and varied. The texts it brings together, such as the *Awntyrs of Arthur* and the *Regiment*, might not immediately appear to have many obvious similarities (though of course with some effort similarities can always be suggested). This underscores the nature of a miscellany: it is not a collection bound by a singular organising principle, but rather one that compiles texts from different genres. Ralph Hanna notes that miscellanies testify to the ‘highly individualistic canon-creating efforts by individuals’ which were dependent on many variables including geography, gender, profession, political affiliation, and of course the availability of exemplars.¹³¹ Though it has been possible to recover a little of this manuscript’s scribal production, its motives for compilation remain obscure.

It is tempting to look to the other booklets copied by this scribe, ones for which there is no certainty that they belonged to this set of four, but which are topically relevant to the *Regiment*. BodL, MS Rawl. D.143 contains a copy of the *Book of Hunting*, one of four books from the *Boke of St Albans* attributed to Dame Juliana Berners (fl.1460), the Prioress of Sopwell Priory.¹³² It bears many visual similarities to the booklets already discussed, with the same style of initials and decorative strapwork as MS Rawl. poet. 35, Ra2, and MS Douce 324, and similar bracing to the *Dietary* in MS

¹³¹ Hanna, ‘Miscellaneity and Vernacularity’, 47.

¹³² See *A Sporting Lexicon of the Fifteenth Century: The J.B. Treatise*, ed. David Scott-Macnab (Oxford: Society for the Study of Mediaeval Languages and Literature, 2019).

Rawl. poet. 34. The *Boke of St Albans* is a four-part instruction manual of hawking, hunting, heraldry and armorial blazoning. It was intended for the use of 'gentle men and honest persons' who had an interest in these topics.¹³³ This is conveyed through short rhyming couplets, described by Rachel Hands as 'semi-practical, mnemonic, and with an air of proverbial wisdom'.¹³⁴ Stylistically this is akin to the *Regiment's* tactic of instructing via short exemplary tales.

The section on hunting opens with an address to 'mi dere sones' who are instructed to 'take good hede' to the variety of beasts to be hunted and the methods of their butchering.¹³⁵ This mother-child exchange is interrupted by a section of dialogue between a man and his master, but a consistent dynamic of instructor and disciple is maintained throughout the text. The text does not just focus on the animals of the hunt, but also the language proper to them and the rituals to which one must adhere. Once a prey is caught, the hunter must reward the hounds and the 'loynes of the hare' be brought 'to the kechyn for the lordis meete'. The social hierarchy of the household provides an undercurrent for the more practical advice on catching and 'undoing', making the book of hunting a useful resource for household governance as well. This chimes with some of the other similarly governance-oriented texts copied

¹³³ *English Hawking and Hunting in The Boke of St. Albans: A Facsimile Edition of Sigs A2–F8 of The Boke of St. Albans (1486)*, ed. Rachel Hands (Oxford: OUP, 1975), xiii, prologue.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, lix.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

by Hoccleve's scribes, like the *Dietary* and *Stans Puer ad Mensam* (discussed in following sections).

However, one must be wary of drawing conclusions across potentially unrelated booklets. As Julia Boffey and Carol Meale have shown of MS Rawl. C.86, the modern appearance of a collection of booklets can be deceiving.¹³⁶ The Baggheney scribe's booklets in this way defy categorisation – they cumulatively are neither a miscellany nor a collection of unrelated booklets, with the potential to be interpreted in a variety of ways and combinations. They resemble, in a sense, Di, a manuscript that also does not comfortably sit in our modern categories. This volume comprises three composite parts, which Carol Meale suggests were copied in three distinct stages but were always intended to be housed within one volume.¹³⁷ It represents what Michael Johnston calls the 'Evolving book': manuscripts 'produced in a protracted fashion, with a final shape that evolved as they were being copied'.¹³⁸ It also has elements of what Johnston calls the 'Elaborate book', with its consistency in quiring, scribal practice, and textual coherence across the booklets that suggest a degree of pre-planning.¹³⁹ Though they appear complete and coherent, other manuscripts discussed here may also be the product of an evolving production, perhaps overseen by a competent scribe who could smooth over the hitches between texts.

¹³⁶ Julia Boffey and Carol Meale, 'Selecting the Text: Rawlinson C.86 and Some Other Books for London Readers', *Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts*, ed. Felicity Riddy (Cambridge: CUP, 1991), 143–69.

¹³⁷ Meale, 'Politics of Book Ownership', 128–9.

¹³⁸ Johnston, *Middle English Book*, 94.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 50.

Thus the study of co-texts reveals a variety of motives behind the compilation of medieval multi-text manuscripts. For Hocclevean anthologies, the decision of which texts to include was likely driven as much by the exemplar as by individual initiative. However, there is evidence that within these volumes scribes were drawing comparisons between the texts. The labour of copying and glossing the *Regiment* encouraged scribes to read across Hoccleve's works and prompted a number of textual and visual additions. The organisational principle behind anthologies and miscellanies which contain the *Regiment* was varied, reflecting the multitude of ways in which the poem could be read as a work with political, ethical, and moralising value. The poem evidently found its success among a wider habit of reading for broader political and ethical guidance in the fifteenth century. The network of texts within which the *Regiment* circulated included works by Lydgate, Chaucer, Gower, Burgh, and Walton. Each act of compilation speaks to the political and social context in which the volume was created. Sometimes this context is recoverable through the similarities still discernible in the texts; for some miscellanies, that context is irretrievable.

Thus far, the study of the medieval co-text has prompted us to look both inwards at the manuscript and outwards to its direct literary context. But can this context be stretched further? The rest of this chapter seeks to expand the field of co-texts to encompass the texts copied by Hoccleve's scribes in other manuscripts – in other words, the scribal co-texts. This wider net significantly increases the range of works that are associated with the *Regiment*. The data can be approached in two ways: to identify overarching trends in the material scribes were copying, and to identify specific profiles of individual scribes. Both approaches help to establish the literary community of texts within which Hoccleve's *Regiment* was circulating and being copied.

This approach relies on the use of palaeographical data to identify common scribes. Lawrence Warner has cautioned that palaeographical analysis allows one to make a scholarly hypothesis, rather than factual claims.¹⁴⁰ These hypotheses, Simon Horobin notes, depend upon subjective analysis of features that can be hard to quantify.¹⁴¹ Warner and Horobin have outlined the risks in identifying scribes by their decorative features,¹⁴² ductus,¹⁴³ special characters,¹⁴⁴ and circumstantial contextual

¹⁴⁰ Lawrence Warner, *Chaucer's Scribes: London Textual Production, 1384–1432* (Cambridge: CUP, 2018), 10–11.

¹⁴¹ Simon Horobin, 'Identifying Scribal Hands: Principles and Problems', *Speculum*, 99.3 (2024): 663–96 (689).

¹⁴² Warner disagrees with Mooney's use of "'signatures" or "marks" in the form of decorative features'; *Chaucer's Scribes*, 32.

¹⁴³ Eg. Jane Roberts, 'On Giving Scribe B a Name and a Clutch of London Manuscripts from c.1400', *Medium Ævum*, 80.2 (2011): 247–70; also Warner, *Chaucer's Scribes*, 52.

¹⁴⁴ E.g. Warner's rejection of Mooney's identification of a holograph copy of the *Regiment* in Ry3, *Chaucer's Scribes*, 120; citing Mooney, 'A Holograph Copy'.

evidence.¹⁴⁵ The identification of common scribes becomes more complicated when attempted across genres, for instance in a literary manuscript and a Chancery Court document. Horobin notes that this approach requires a nuanced method that takes into account ‘the number of script types available to a scribe, the variety of letterforms tolerated within a single script, and how scribes modified their writing when working with different kinds of documents and across different languages’.¹⁴⁶ It is essential to bear these factors in mind when working with scribal identification.

But that is not to say that there is no value in the speculative identification of scribes. Sebastian Sobecki also notes that the ‘high-calibre’ scholarly debate over Chaucer’s authorship of ‘Chaucers Wordes unto Adam, His Owene Scriveyn’, sparked by the identification of Pinkhurst’s hand in multiple Chaucerian manuscripts, has ‘established that the lyric could be read along multiple interpretive trajectories’.¹⁴⁷ The identification of the same hands across previously unconnected manuscripts invites us to reconsider familiar material, and to draw connections in ways that can make visible literary communities that have been previously unrecorded.

Scribal co-texts of the Regiment

The corpus of forty-four *Regiment* manuscripts is copied by forty scribes. Most scribes are responsible for one extant copy each, but two scribes make two copies and one

¹⁴⁵ E.g. Richard Firth Green’s recent claim in ‘A Chaucer Holograph’, *ChRev*, 58.3–4 (2023): 287–99; disputed by Horobin, ‘Identifying Scribal Hands’, 692.

¹⁴⁶ Horobin, ‘Identifying Scribal Hands’, 692.

¹⁴⁷ Sebastian Sobecki, ‘Quo vadis, Adam Pinkhurst? Scripts, Scribes, and the Limits of Paleography: A Response Essay’, *Speculum*, 99.3 (2024): 780–804 (784).

scribe makes three. I have identified the hands of nine *Regiment* scribes in a cumulative forty-nine manuscripts which contain a total of 230 texts.¹⁴⁸ They are predominantly written in the vernacular, but also competently copied in Latin and French. Eliminating repeated texts leaves a list of 193 works that form the scribal co-texts of the *Regiment*. As with the manuscript co-texts, the literary works are overwhelmingly Lydgatean, with sixty-two works ascribed to Lydgate.

The application of superficial categories to these texts (which cannot account for their complexity nor the overlap in their genres), shows that the most common type of text copied by *Regiment* scribes is short religious verse, predominantly by Lydgate. There are several large miscellanies copied by the Hammond scribe that are largely responsible for this. The next most common type of text deals with governance, either of the body, mind, or soul. This category includes works of proverbial wisdom that offer general guidance on self-governance. Twenty-eight works fall into this category, including Lydgate and Burgh's *Secrees of Old Philisoffres*, Hilton's *Scala Perfectionis*, and Lydgate's *Dietary*. Proverbial works include Lydgate's 'Consulo quisque eris', the *Sayings of Old Philosophers*, and Burgh's *Distichs of Cato*.

¹⁴⁸ This includes manuscripts that contain the *Regiment*, but excludes the *Regiment* from the number of texts counted. See Appendix 3.2.



Figure 5. Scribal co-texts.

As these data show, the corpus of scribal co-texts is far larger and more varied than the list of manuscript co-texts. The copying habits and repertoires of specific scribes can skew trends in genre and authorship, but this does not detract from the sheer range of texts copied by Hoccleve's scribes. It is therefore essential to supplement the study of co-text genres with a closer look at a selection of scribes and the texts they copy. This is, by necessity, a selective approach to a large group of scribes and texts, but one which allows for individual scribal profiles to be sketched based on the materials they copied. In the sections that follow, I shall explore the work of three scribes. It is crucial to acknowledge that this is only a partial list of scribes – those of whom we are currently aware, and whose hands have not yet been debated and perhaps dismissed – but one which may prove useful in establishing the reading context of Hoccleve's *Regiment*.

1. *The Edmund-Fremund scribe*

Manuscripts containing the hand of the Edmund-Fremund scribe constitute the second largest collection in our list. To date, eleven manuscripts have been identified containing his hand, including one of the *Regiment* (Ha3), all dated 1440–1460.¹⁴⁹ The

¹⁴⁹ Arundel Castle, Duke of Norfolk MS; BL, MS Arundel 99; MS Harley 1766 (ff.42v–99r); MS Harley 2255 (ff.113v–153v); MS Harley 2278; MS Harley 4826 (ff.84–144v); MS Sloane 2464; MS Yates Thompson 47; BodL, MS Laud Misc 673; and the McGill fragment: see A.S.G. Edwards, 'The McGill Fragment of Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*', *Scriptorium*, 28.1 (1974): 75–7.

Edmund-Fremund scribe seems to have been working in Suffolk, collaborating with a group of artists across several manuscripts.¹⁵⁰ Six of his manuscripts have initials executed by the same illuminator, a persistence of collaboration that Kathleen Scott suggests reflects the more limited resources of a provincial locality.¹⁵¹ There has been debate about whether multiple hands, all working in close proximity in Bury St Edmunds, are responsible for the works of the Edmund-Fremund scribe, or really just one person.¹⁵² The scribe is thought to have made some copies in tandem, producing two near-identical copies of the same text, as is the case with the Arundel Castle manuscript and MS Yates Thompson 47 of the *Lives of SS Edmund and Fremund*, which was perhaps the product of simultaneous copying from the same exemplar.¹⁵³ The Edmund-Fremund scribe's specialism in the works of Lydgate, but with a corpus containing other works of Middle English verse like Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, leads Horobin to suggest that he was a scribe with close connections to the abbey at Bury St Edmunds, but perhaps not part of the workshop there, who undertook commissions.¹⁵⁴

MS Harley 2255 is the most substantial anthology of Lydgate's shorter didactic and religious works copied by the Edmund-Fremund scribe. It contains *Mesure is*

¹⁵⁰ Kathleen L. Scott, 'Lydgate's *Lives of Saints Edmund and Fremund*: A Newly-Located Manuscript in Arundel Castle', *Speculum*, 13 (1982): 335–66.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 365.

¹⁵² Simon Horobin, 'The Edmund-Fremund Scribe Copying Chaucer', *JEBS*, 12 (2009): 195–205 (196).

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 197.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 199, building on A.I. Doyle, 'Book Production by the Monastic Orders (c.1375–1530): Assessing the Evidence', *Medieval Book Production: Assessing the Evidence*, ed. Linda L. Brownrigg (London: Anderson-Lovelace, 1990), 1–21.

Treasure, a proverbial poem that proposes that moderation, or ‘mesour’, should be the ‘roote of al good policye’ (9), regardless of age or class. To demonstrate the wisdom of this proverb, Lydgate calls upon legendary and epic figures: Alexander the Great, who conquered ‘Affryk, Ayse, Ewrope, and eek Ynde’ without restraint (41–48), and Scipio, who caused the destruction of kingdoms with his defeat of Hannibal (33–40). Examples follow of unnamed knights, judges, sheriffs, aldermen, merchants, grocers, ploughmen, and labourers – moving through the social classes to show how lack of measure will lead to all of their downfalls. It reads in a similar way to one of the sections of Hoccleve’s *Regiment*, for instance ‘On the virtue of generosity and the vice of prodigality’ (4124–4473): this section opens with Aristotle’s instruction that it is virtuous to be generous. Hoccleve expands on this message – ‘he that despendith out of mesure | Shal taaste anoon povertes bittirnesse’ (4139–4140) – before calling upon the examples of John of Canace, Aristotle, and the character of Favel. What is significant here is that both authors are drawing upon vernacular proverbial wisdom supported by citations to authoritative and established figures, to legitimise and authorise both their writing and the original proverb.

Though the Edmund-Fremund scribe is known for producing multiple copies of the text from which he is named, he is also responsible for four copies of Lydgate and Burgh’s *Secrees of Old Philosophers*.¹⁵⁵ In one of these manuscripts, Ha3, he pairs it with Hoccleve’s *Regiment*. The text owes its dual authorship to the fact that, according

¹⁵⁵ In BodL, MS Ashmole 46; BL, MS Harley 4826; MS Sloane 2464, and BodL, MS Laud Misc 673.

to the poem, Lydgate died before finishing the translation, leaving Burgh to finish the work after line 1491. The abrupt interruption when Burgh takes over is followed by a brief eulogy to the dead poet in the third person, a moment of personal interjection that resembles in some ways the Dialogue of the *Regiment*. Rory Critten notes that it is the exchange of authors that is responsible for the text's popularity in the fifteenth century. 'Medieval reproducers of the poem', he suggests, 'could manipulate the idea of Lydgate's posthumous reputation with a view to exciting the curiosity of their audiences'.¹⁵⁶ In the margins of this extract in BodL, MS Ashmole 46, a fifteenth century hand annotates 'John Lydgate', in the same way that early hands annotated Hoccleve's name in the margins of the *Regiment* when he names himself: 'Hoccleve, fadir myn, men clepen me' (1864). An authorial gloss at this point notes 'Nota nomen auctoris *huius libri*', but six non-genetic manuscripts copy Hoccleve's name into the margin.¹⁵⁷ This does not show influence from one book to another, but rather a unifying interest in authors and their lives (and deaths).

The *Secrees* is an ideal pair for the *Regiment*, as another vernacular mirror for princes based on the *Secretum secretorum*. It is a more literal translation than Hoccleve's, following the format of letters sent from Aristotle to Alexander the Great on topics ranging from kingship to alchemy. Both texts have similar discussions on 'how a kyng shulde be merciable' | 'De misericordia' and 'the vertu Chastite

¹⁵⁶ Rory Critten, 'The *Secrees* of Old *Philisoffres* and John Lydgate's Posthumous Reputation', *JEBS*, 19 (2016): 31–64 (32).

¹⁵⁷ Bo, Cc, Fi2, Ha4, La, Ya.

apperteyneth wel in a kyng' | 'De castitate'.¹⁵⁸ As Ha3 illustrates, the *Secrees* and the *Regiment* were evidently read together, and the two were likely understood to be complementary, if slightly overlapping, in content. The Edmund-Fremund scribe's repeated copying of these texts is testament to his (or his commissioner's) interest in counsel and political advice.

There is surprising variety in the copies of the *Secrees* that the Edmund-Fremund scribe produced. MS Ashmole 46 is a beautifully decorated parchment volume also containing the *Lives of SS Edmund and Fremund*. It opens with an illuminated miniature of the poet presenting his text to Henry VI, and has illuminated capitals scattered throughout the text. It is also covered in a luxurious panel of recycled gilt stamped leather.¹⁵⁹ BodL, MS Laud Misc. 673, on the other hand, is a small paper volume containing only the *Secrees*.¹⁶⁰ It is unilluminated and lacks miniatures, and the glosses have been incorporated into the main body of the text for economic use of paper. Rory Critten suggests that, in contrast to the much more lavish manuscripts known to have been produced by this scribe, this book may represent a 'speculative' book, made not for commission but with the knowledge that it would sell easily.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ *Secrees*, stanza 166; *Regiment* 3312–3458; *Secrees*, stanza 156; *Regiment* 3626–3898.

¹⁵⁹ Charlotte E. Ross, 'The Curious Gilt Leather Binding of MS Ashmole 46', *BLR*, [forthcoming 2025].

¹⁶⁰ Measuring 155x115 mm.

¹⁶¹ Critten, 'Lydgate's Posthumous Reputation', 41.

This diversity in manuscript quality may also reflect the diversity of patrons, according to their budgets, who were interested in versified Middle English counsel. It suggests that, during the Edmund-Fremund scribe's time, the reach of the interest in such material had expanded beyond the royal or noble household. Indeed, the *Regiment* corpus is also witness to this variety in size and quality of its manuscripts, with some larger illuminated and highly decorated manuscripts evidently produced for patrons, contrasting with small paper volumes which were more likely produced for more local or personal use. Whilst this diversity is by no means unique to these texts, the similarities identified in the corpus of manuscripts copied by the Edmund-Fremund scribe is suggestive of a shared audience with a sustained interest in moralising regiminal verse that was extending beyond its specified noble audience in the mid-fifteenth century.

2. *The Fillingham scribe*

A newly identified scribe can be added to the list of scribal co-texts, called here the 'Fillingham scribe'. This scribe was working in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, and I have identified his hand in two manuscripts: HEHL, HM 135 (Hn2) and BL, MS Additional 37492, also known as the Fillingham manuscript after its antiquarian owner William Fillingham (Figure 6). The first contains the *Regiment* followed by an imperfect copy of *The Myrrour of Mankind*. The second is an anthology of romances containing imperfect copies of *Firumbras* and *Otuel and Roland*, copies of

The Hermit and the Outlaw, '*De Deuelis Perlement*', and an imperfect copy of *The Myrrour of Mankind*. Both manuscripts are on paper with similar, but slightly different, watermarks.¹⁶²

The number of scribes witnessed in the Fillingham manuscript has been debated. Some argue for one scribe throughout who wrote in a script of varying size and degrees of neatness, whilst others have proposed three collaborating scribes.¹⁶³ If more than one hand is present, they certainly worked closely, breaking stints mid-page and copying in short bursts before handing the page over to another scribe. The first hand in the Fillingham manuscript, whether this is the only hand or not, bears many similarities to the scribe of Hn2. Two-compartment upper-case **A** is formed with two strokes: a left-leaning upwards stroke that flicks down to form a teardrop shape, and an angular < shaped body which is sometimes detached from the ascender.¹⁶⁴ Upper-case **N** is also distinctive, where the pen makes two figure 2s connected by a wide diagonal line, often finished with a dot in the middle.¹⁶⁵ Upper-case **B** is also elaborate, formed of a figure 2 where the top loops down to touch the base, followed

¹⁶² Hn2 contains two watermarks, scissors similar to Briquet 3754 and bull's head similar to Briquet 15089. Fillingham contains one, bull's head similar to Briquet 15044.

¹⁶³ Phillipa Hardman, Marianne Ailes, C.W. Marx, and Malcolm Parkes (through personal correspondence with Marx) suggest a single scribe. Mary Isabelle O'Sullivan suggests three. Phillipa Hardman and Marianne Ailes, 'Charlemagne "Appropriated": The Middle English Tradition', *The Legend of Charlemagne in Medieval England: The Matter of France in Middle English and Anglo-Norman Literature* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2017), 156–220 (197); *The Devils' Parliament and the Harrowing of Hell and Destruction of Jerusalem*, ed. C.W. Marx (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1993), 13 n.6; *Firumbras and Otuel and Roland*, ed. Mary Isabelle O'Sullivan, EETS o.s. 198 (London: EETS, 1935), xiv.

¹⁶⁴ MS Add. 37492, f.7v, lines 3 and 4; Hn2, f.7v, line 3 and 19.

¹⁶⁵ MS Add. 37492, f.7v, line 14; Hn2, f.7v, lines 22 and 28.

by two vertical lines, and then two angular loops to form the body (although sometimes a variant is used with only one vertical line).¹⁶⁶ The tail of **y** descends to the left before flicking sharply to the right, giving the script an overall slanted impression. The tail of **h** descends to the left at the same angle but lacks the flick. Miniscule **g** is closed with a straight line above which the two lines of the body peek up like horns.¹⁶⁷ **z** is used throughout both manuscripts.

Both manuscripts also contain the same style of decorated initial at points of textual division: a two-line rubricated lombardic capital with blue flourishes that extend into the vertical margin (Figure 7). There is a hierarchy of scripts used in both manuscripts too: for the *Regiment's* section titles and for the incipit-style lines 'here bygynnyth a tale' in *Otuel and Roland*, a more ornate display script is used. In both manuscripts this is in the same ink as the rest of the text but each letter is flourished, and more decorative letterforms are used such as two-compartment **a**.

There are though some differences between the handwriting in these manuscripts, but this may be indicative of a different context of copying, rather than suggestive of a different scribe. Word-ending **e** is primarily (but not uniquely) of the 'backwards' variety in Fillingham, but is used interspersed with the regular form of **e** in Hn2.¹⁶⁸ The scribe is more prone to use the word-ending abbreviation for 'ne' (as in for instance 'sonne') in Hn2, which is typically expanded in Fillingham. The zetoid

¹⁶⁶ MS Add. 37492, f.7v, line 12; Hn2, f.7v, line 2.

¹⁶⁷ MS Add. 37492, f.7v, lines 4 'logge'; Hn2, f.7v, line 2 'gouerned'.

¹⁶⁸ Hn2 f.11v l.17 'lande' or l.22 'ende'.

abbreviated ampersand is used in Hn2 whilst the full spelling is usually given in Fillingham. These features may be explained by a difference in the manner of production, perhaps with a gap of some time between these copies, or with more time or resources when producing the Fillingham copy.

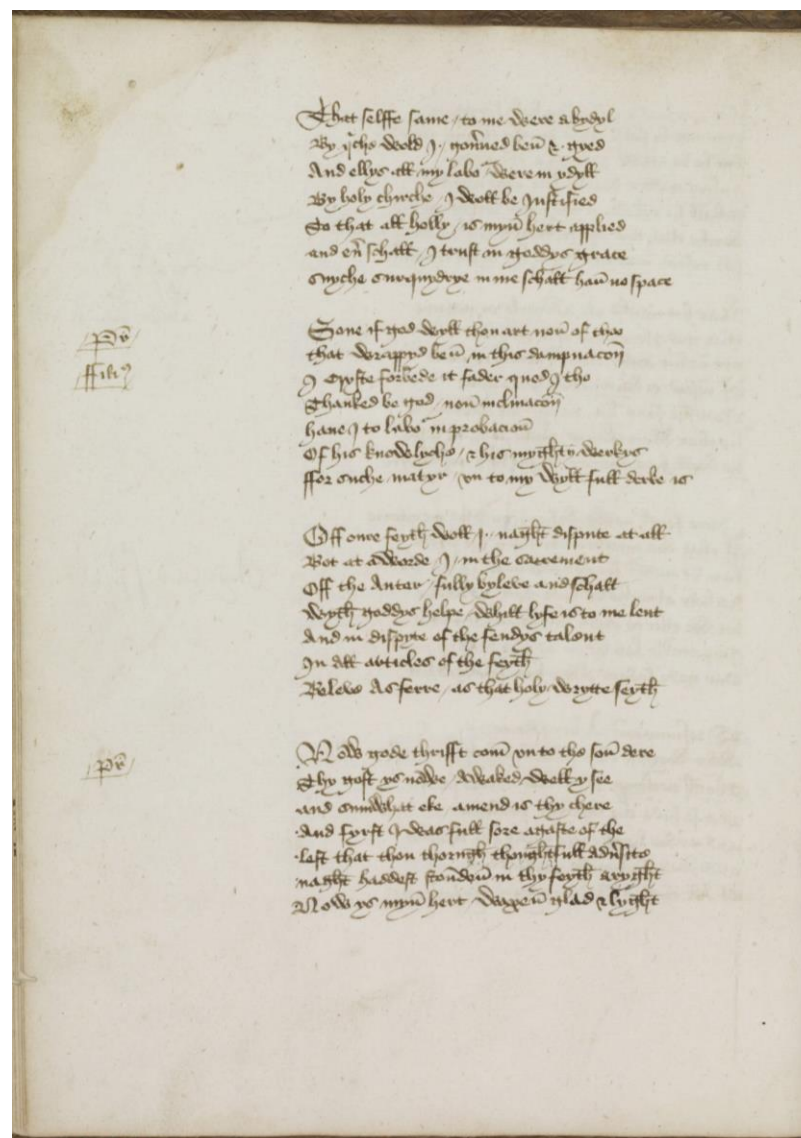
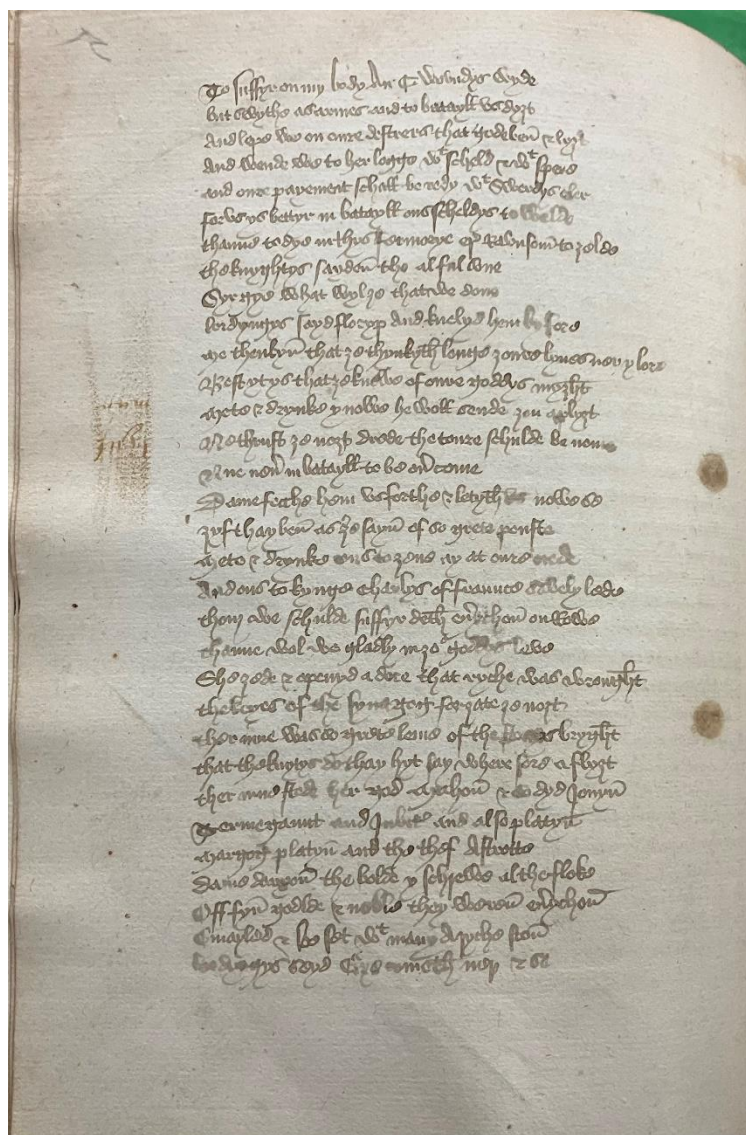
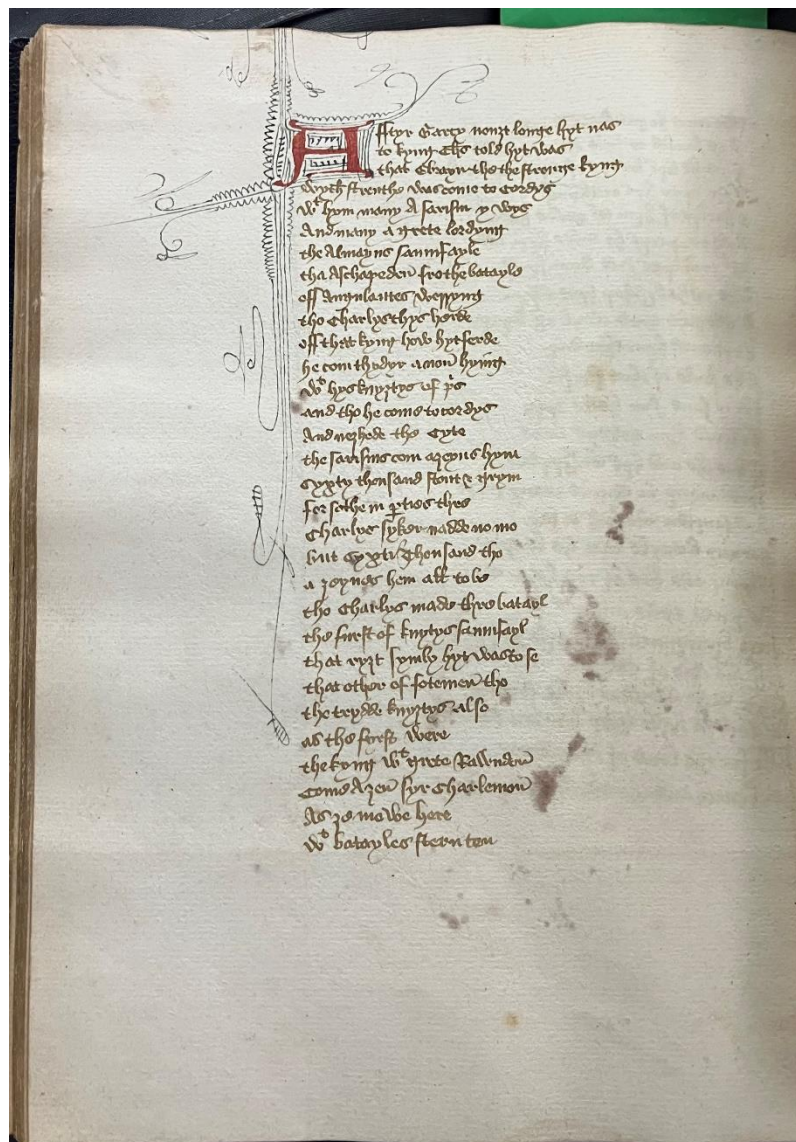


Figure 6. BL, MS Add. 37492, fol.4v; Hn2, fol.7v. Palaeographical comparison.



The Fillingham scribe adds several romances to the *Regiment's* co-texts, a genre which is otherwise underrepresented. There certainly would have been substantial overlap in the types of audiences of both romances and mirrors for princes.¹⁶⁹ Perhaps the lack of one consistent narrative across the *Regiment* made it an unlikely companion, although the episodic structure of *Firumbras* and *Otuel and Roland* is not too dissimilar to the second half of the *Regiment*. All of the Fillingham scribe's texts are broadly religious, with the two opening romances focusing on Christian conversion.¹⁷⁰ *The Hermit and the Outlaw* is an exemplum based on the theme of repentance, *De Deuelis Perlement* is a debate about Christ's incarnation, and *The Myrrour of Mankind* (which the scribe copies twice) describes the struggle for man's soul against seven vices and virtues. Of these texts, it is unsurprising that the scribe chose to copy the *Regiment* with the *Myrrour*. Though it is a meditative and penitential text, Frances McSparran notes that it was likely written for a lay audience.¹⁷¹ Both copies of the text by this scribe are imperfect (due to the loss of leaves), with the Hn2 copy lacking the end of the text and the BL copy lacking the beginning. There is no cross-over between the two copies, but the surviving extracts look to be closely related.

¹⁶⁹ E.g. Thomas Crofts, *Malory's Contemporary Audience: The Social Reading of Romance in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2006); Carolina Cupane, "'Let me tell you a wonderful tale': Audience and Reception of the Vernacular Romances', *Fictional Storytelling in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean and Beyond* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 479–94.

¹⁷⁰ Richard Firth Green, 'The Hermit and the Outlaw: An Edition', *Interstices: Studies in Late Middle English and Anglo-Latin: Texts in Honour of A.G. Rigg*, eds Richard Firth Green and Linne R. Mooney (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 137–66 (144–5); Phillipa Hardman, 'A Note on the Collation of BL MS Add. 37492 (The Fillingham Manuscript)', *JEBS*, 11 (2008): 217–21.

¹⁷¹ *Cambridge University Library MS Ff.2.38, with introduction by Frances McSparran and P.R. Robinson* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1979), viii.

The effect of pairing the *Regiment* with the *Myrrour* here is perhaps akin to the compilation of texts in So, which contrasted the vices explored in Gower's *Confessio amantis* with the virtues in Hoccleve's *Regiment*.

Subtle details in the Fillingham scribe's copying of these texts suggest a close attentiveness to verse form. In the *Regiment*, the scribe adds virgules at the mid-point of most lines, dividing (where possible) the decasyllabic lines into two pentasyllabic halves. Such virgules are not common in the corpus, present in only ten other *Regiment* manuscripts.¹⁷² In this copy, they are suggestive of a scribe who altered his copying style to accommodate, and emphasise, Hoccleve's metre. Interestingly, these virgules are absent from the *Myrrour* in Hn2, and from all texts in the Fillingham manuscript. Also, the *Regiment* is the only text to have spaced stanzas – the *Myrrour* in Hn2 and all texts in the Fillingham manuscript are unspaced. As the exemplar for Hn2 is not extant, one cannot rule out the possibility that the scribe was copying the virgules from his exemplar. But the fact that they are only present in Hoccleve's decasyllabic lines could also suggest a careful attention to different verse punctuation. The Fillingham scribe's copy of the *Regiment* is thus the most legible text in his repertoire, with a mise-en-page that complements its verse form.

¹⁷² As, Hn1, Le, Na, Ra2, Ro, Ry3, Ry4, Se, Ya.

3. *The Hammond scribe*

Manuscripts containing the hand of the Hammond scribe constitute the largest collection by far in our list. His hand has been traced in multiple anthologies and miscellanies of English, Latin, and French literature. First identified by Eleanor Prescott Hammond, he has received scholarly attention for his extensive repertoire.¹⁷³ The Hammond scribe is best known for preserving the shorter poems of Lydgate and Chaucer.¹⁷⁴ The repeated production of these texts has been taken as evidence to suggest he was involved in commercial book production in the 1460s–1480s.¹⁷⁵ Some have attempted to uncover his identity from documentary evidence, suggesting possible links with the house of Sir Thomas Cook and the Heralds of the City of London.¹⁷⁶ To date, his hand has been identified in sixteen manuscripts, containing a

¹⁷³ E.P. Hammond, 'Two British Museum Manuscripts (Harley 2251 and Add. 34360): A Contribution to the Bibliography of John Lydgate', *Anglia*, 28 (1905): 1–28; 'A Scribe of Chaucer', *Modern Philology*, 27 (1929): 27–33. Subsequent work by A.I. Doyle, 'An Unrecognized Piece of *Piers the Ploughman's Creed* and Other Work by its Scribe', *Speculum*, 34 (1959): 428–36; 'English Books In and Out of Court from Edward III to Henry VII', *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages*, eds V.J. Scattergood and J.W. Sherborne (London: Duckworth, 1983), 163–81; Green, 'Notes on Some Manuscripts', 181–2, 207–12, 222; John R. Manly and Edith Rickert, *The Text of the Canterbury Tales: Studied on the Basis of All Known Manuscripts*, in 8 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940), vol. I, 241–4, 439–46, 476–81; Seth Lerer, 'British Library, MS Harley 78 and the Manuscripts of John Shirley', *N&Q*, 235 (1990): 400–3; P. Christianson, 'Evidence for the Study of London's Late Medieval Manuscript-Book Trade', *Book Production*, 87–108; Linne R. Mooney, 'More Manuscripts Written by a Chaucer Scribe', *ChRev*, 30 (1996): 401–7; 'A New Manuscript by the Hammond Scribe Discovered by Jeremy Griffiths', *English Medieval Book: Studies in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths*, eds A.S.G. Edwards, Vincent Gillespie, and Ralph Hanna (London: British Library, 2000), 113–23.

¹⁷⁴ Holly James-Maddocks, 'Scribes and Booklets: The Trinity Anthologies Reconsidered', *Scribal Cultures in Late Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Linne R. Mooney*, eds Margaret Connolly, Holly James-Maddocks, and Derek Pearsall (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2022), 146–80.

¹⁷⁵ Mooney, 'More Manuscripts', 405.

¹⁷⁶ A.F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs suggest the identity of the Hammond scribe as John Multon, a stationer of London; 'The Provenance of the Manuscript: The Lives and Archive of Sir Thomas Cook and his Man of Affairs, John Vale', *The Politics of Fifteenth-Century England: John Vale's Book*, eds M.L. Kekewich, C. Richmond, A.F. Sutton, L. Visser-Fuchs, and J.L. Watts (Stroud: Phoenix Mill, 1995), 107–12; Linne R. Mooney suggests he may have been commissioned by one such official to copy BL, MS Additional 29901; 'New Manuscript', 116.

total of 161 texts.¹⁷⁷ This includes two copies of the *Regiment* (Ar and Ha2), several single-text codices concerning governance such as Sir John Fortescue's *On the Laws and Governance of England* (BL, MS Cotton Claudius A.VIII), and five substantial anthologies of Middle English verse. The corpus of texts copied by the Hammond scribe alone is astonishingly copious and broad.

An interesting, if perhaps unexpectedly prominent, trend is of texts that eulogise or recount a specific political moment in history relating to Richard II, Henry VI, and Edward IV. BL, MS Additional 29901 contains several heraldic and historical texts that describe the coronation of Richard II, ordinances of his battles in Scotland, and an account of the campaign of Edward I in Scotland. Lydgate's account of Henry VI's triumphant return to England after two years of war in France is also copied by the Hammond scribe.¹⁷⁸ In the scribal co-texts, these historical texts are copied solely by this scribe and in such quantities to make them statistically significant.

The political climate in which the Hammond scribe was writing was quite different from that of the scribes already discussed. In particular, the value of royal counsel had been debated, critiqued, and found wanting (although not for the first time this century). John Watts sets out the two fundamental requirements for Lancastrian rule: the king's obligation to rule in accordance with the common interest

¹⁷⁷ Cambridge, CUL, MS Ee.1.2; TCC, MS O.3.11; MS R.3.21 (ff.34r–49v); MS R.14.52; BL, MS Additional 29901; MS Additional 34360; Ar; MS Cotton Claudius A.VIII; MS Harley 78; Ha2 (ff.71r–112r); MS Harley 2251; MS Harley 4999; MS Royal 17 D.xv part 1; London, Royal College of Physicians MS 388; BodL, MS Rawl. D.913, f. 43; Worcester Cathedral Library, MS F.172. MS Ee.1.2 recently discovered by Daniel Wakelin, 'Another Manuscript by the Hammond Scribe of Legal Texts in English', *JEBS*, 28 [forthcoming, 2025].

¹⁷⁸ BL, MS Harley 2251; MS Additional 34360.

of his people, and his absolute 'personal and inalienable authority to do so'.¹⁷⁹ When Richard of York returned to England amidst the political turmoil of 1450, he alleged that the king had been poorly advised and pressed for action against his counsellors and ministers.¹⁸⁰ York was not the first to raise grievances against Henry VI's government: the parliament called in 1449 after the Truce of Tours led to public outcry for the trials of those responsible for the failure. The subsequent trial of Suffolk opened the floodgates to the questioning of the legitimacy of noble counsel.¹⁸¹

As a result of York's uprising, a different concept of kingship began to acquire currency in England.¹⁸² Loyalty to Henry VI was fundamental to the claims of each side in the debate of the 1450s, but as York's bill 'Articles calling for justice upon those accused of treason' demonstrates, the onus was placed on the king to align his government with the common interest of his subjects.¹⁸³ In 1455, York confronted Henry himself, on his own authority and for the common weal. 'The search for true justice in the name of common interest of the realm', Watts notes, 'could be used to license not only assaults on a discredited and arguably unauthorised government, but also, it appeared, war against the King'.¹⁸⁴ Future petitions against Edward IV were

¹⁷⁹ John Watts, 'Polemic and Politics in the 1450's', *The Politics of Fifteenth-Century England: John Vale's Book*, eds Margaret Lucille Kekewich et al. (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1995), 3–42 (6).

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁸¹ See chapter 2, R.L. Storey, *The End of the House of Lancaster* (London: Barrie & Rockliff, 1966) for the charges raised against Suffolk.

¹⁸² Gerald Harriss, 'Political Society and the Growth of Government in Late Medieval England', *Past & Present*, 138.1 (1993): 28–57 (56).

¹⁸³ Watts, 'Polemic', 20.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 23.

also levied against the king's council who had 'no respecte ne concideracion' for the 'commone weele of this lande'.¹⁸⁵

In this context, the Hammond scribe's copying of the texts in praise of Henry VI could have been motivated by a similar interest in counsel. *To King Henry VI on his Coronation* reinforces the legitimacy of Henry VI as the 'most noble prince of cristen princes alle' 'born of theyr lynage'.¹⁸⁶ The poem advises the king to 'cherisshe thy lordes' and to 'hate extorcioun' (38) – advice given in 1431 but still relevant to Richard of York's arguments in the 1450s. Lydgate's prayer to Henry VI (which the Hammond scribe copies twice) is pointedly addressed to 'the kynge, the queen, the people, and thy londe' (7) – a phrase that repeats as a refrain eight times.¹⁸⁷ The Hammond scribe replaces all references to Henry with Edward IV and removes the final four stanzas that narrate the circumstances of Henry's reign. The poem requests God to 'be thow hys consaylle and hys souereigne rede' for 'bothe in this realme and in the grounde of Fraunce' (71–75). In its original form to Henry, this line may have been received coolly after 1450 (though the English claim to the French crown was of course not unique to this period).¹⁸⁸ However, when modernised to fit Edward IV, it supports his ongoing claim of France. In light of Edward's invasion in 1475, resulting in the Treaty of Picquigny, many contemporary readers may have liked this assertion of his right to

¹⁸⁵ Sir John Conyers's petition, quoted from Colin Richmond and Margaret Lucille Kekewich, 'The Search for Stability, 1461–1483', *John Vale's Book*, 43–72 (44).

¹⁸⁶ MS Harley 2251. 1, 22. *Political Poems and Songs relating to English History, composed during the period From the Accession of Edward III to that of Richard III*, 2 vols, ed. Thomas Wright (London: Longman, 1859, 1861, repr. 1965), vol. 2, 141–5.

¹⁸⁷ MS Additional 34360; MS Harley 2251.

¹⁸⁸ *John Lydgate: The Minor Poems, Vol. I: Religious Poems*, EETS e.s. 107, ed. Henry Noble MacCracken (1911; repr. 1961), 212–16.

France. Similarly, the Hammond scribe copies a ballade that praises the eagle given to the king at New Year which 'sette in pees England and Fraunce' (54).¹⁸⁹ One wonders whether the Hammond scribe's decision to repeatedly copy and adapt these texts, ones that so ambitiously propose a united English and French kingdom, was in response to the political climate – perhaps in critique of Edward's failed conquest or as nostalgic recollections of the past. Interestingly, the Hammond scribe does not tamper with Hoccleve's emphasis on peace with France at the end of the *Regiment* (5385–5405).

The Hammond scribe is also responsible for several unique witnesses of Middle English texts on governance. Worcester Cathedral Library, MS F.172 contains the unique copy of the *Letter of Alexander to Aristotle*, translated from the *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem*.¹⁹⁰ The *Letter* exists within a larger body of late-medieval literature that sought to celebrate the legends of Alexander. Hoccleve's *Regiment* is one such text, drawing on the epistles that Aristotle sent to Alexander (via the *Secretum secretorum*).¹⁹¹ The *Letter's* translation is amateurish, according to A.I. Doyle, 'done so literally as to depend on the originals for intelligibility', perhaps even intended as 'cribs for consultation'.¹⁹² It is accompanied by inconsistent glosses that sometimes relate to his process of translation rather than to the text, for instance when he glosses 'so named'

¹⁸⁹ Copied in MS Harley 2251. Quoted from *Lydgate: The Minor Poems, Vol. II*, ed. MacCracken, 649–51.

¹⁹⁰ MS F.172, ff.138r–146v.

¹⁹¹ 2037–41, 2200–6, 3110–12, and 3656–70. Another example being the early fourteenth-century *Kyng Alisaunder*. See Thomas Hahn, *The Middle English Letter of Alexander to Aristotle: Introduction, Text, Sources, and Commentary* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1979), 108.

¹⁹² A.I. Doyle, 'Unrecognized Piece', 431.

to show that the proper nouns need not be translated.¹⁹³ Regardless of the quality, this copy of the *Letter* represents the larger literary interests of fifteenth century readers in the Aristotelian-Alexandrian material and their ability to convey it in the vernacular. The Hammond scribe would have been well versed in this material, having copied not only the *Letter* and the *Regiment*, but also the *Secrees of Old Philisoffres*, itself a Middle English translation of the *Secretum secretorum*.

The Hammond scribe also copied more practical texts. They include a Middle English translation of Nicole Oresme's *Treatise on changing money* in TCC, MS O.3.11, the precursor of political economics.¹⁹⁴ Building on the work of John Buridan, Oresme emphasised the king's authority over money and advised that he should not alter its value for his own gain.¹⁹⁵ There are obvious parallels between Oresme's treatise and the *Regiment*. Both are vernacular works directed at royalty and broadly dedicated to the king's governance. They are divided into chapters by short summary headings and are supported by glosses. And they call on authorities like Aristotle and Cassiodorus for legitimacy. Thus we begin to see in the Hammond scribe's varied repertoire a consistent pattern of sustained interest in copying texts on political, economic, and legal governance.

This interest extended to texts which dealt with self-governance. The largest anthology copied by the Hammond scribe, BL, MS Harley 2251, contains Lydgate's

¹⁹³ E.g. 85, 195.

¹⁹⁴ Reinhold C. Mueller and Frederic Chapin Lane, *Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2020), vol. 1, 12.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 13.

Dietary, a short didactic work that deals with the balance of the four humours.¹⁹⁶ Ten stanzas discuss a variety of ‘non-naturals’ – external influences of the body that could imbalance the humours.¹⁹⁷ In each case, the essential virtue of moderation is advised. This does not just encompass the physical, but also the social, promoting the restraint of sinful vices and emotional stability as essential for one’s health. Hoccleve too advises on the moderation of personal wealth, speech, love, and rule.¹⁹⁸

Another relevant text is Lydgate’s treatise on table manners, *Stans Puer ad Mensam*.¹⁹⁹ It belongs to the genre of courtesy texts, which outlined a set of behaviours and accepted codes of conduct for contexts from monasteries to noble households and merchants’ houses.²⁰⁰ Lydgate’s text specifically concerns table etiquette, considering the meal to be the most important function in social life.²⁰¹ Whilst the Latin courtesy texts were a valued part of the school curriculum, vernacular translations of these texts are more commonly associated with merchants or traders.²⁰² Manuscripts containing *Stans Puer ad Mensam* have been identified in the ownership of Walter Pollard and Richard Hill, who annotated their books with their merchants’ marks.²⁰³ The text discusses matters of cleanliness, table manners, and eating with an emphasis on social

¹⁹⁶ MS Harley 2251, ff.4v–5v.

¹⁹⁷ Terminology from *Codex Ashmole 61: A Compilation of Popular Middle English Verse*, ed. George Shuffelton (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2008), Item 31.

¹⁹⁸ 1344, 4046, 4497, 4835.

¹⁹⁹ MS Harley 2251, ff.148r–149r.

²⁰⁰ Jonathan Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy: Medieval Courtesy Books and the Gawain-Poet* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1985), 22–30, 45–56.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 14.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 57–69; 70–1.

²⁰³ BodL, MS Rawl. D.328; and Oxford, Balliol College, MS 354. Also Johnston, *Middle English Book: ‘Reading Courtesy Texts in Late Medieval England: The Audience of Lydgate’s Stans Puer Ad Mensam’*, *ChRev*, 59.1 (2024): 84–113.

hierarchy. It opens with a brief prologue in which the poet speaks to the child-reader, imploring them to 'take gode hed what that I wyll sey' (45). He then begins his first lesson on respecting the head of the table, 'thi soveryn' (3). Richard Firth Green identifies the use of 'soveryn' as an allusion to the royal court, but the ambiguity of the text's setting makes it applicable to any head of household.²⁰⁴ Rory Critten demonstrates through the close study of one manuscript, BodL, MS Ashmole 61, how the advice given in courtesy texts was aimed at and could be beneficial to all members of the household.²⁰⁵ The narrator of *Stans Puer ad Mensam* shows this to be true, directing his advice to any child 'be he pore or ryche' (17).

Although the hierarchy of poet and listener is different, a scribe familiar with the *Regiment* may have recognised the way that Lydgate's advice is framed by a first-person preamble about the delivery of his message. The lines 'To tech chylder curtasy is myn entent | And thus forth my proces I purpos to begynne' (9–10) bear a certain resemblance to the Hoccleve-persona's own personal preparation to begin the *Regiment* Proper: 'to parfourme his wil and his entente | I took corage, and whyles it was hoot, | Unto my lord the Prince thus I wroot' (2014–2016). In a similar sense, the Dialogue of the *Regiment* acts as a pseudo-courtesy text in which the Old Man character advises the poet on how to curry favour with the Prince. "'Sharpe thy penne and wryte on lustyly' he instructs, "'And his free grace shal upon thee lyght'" (1905, 1904). He guides the poet through the hazardous process of addressing the prince,

²⁰⁴ Richard Firth Green, *Poets and Princepleasers: Literature and the Court in the Late Middle Ages* (Toronto: Universit of Toronto Press, 1980), 82.

²⁰⁵ Critten, 'Bourgeois Ethics', 115.

warning against the dangers of flattery and trivial speech, and encouraging him to write ‘as humbly as thou canst’ (1952). A reader of both texts might draw comparisons between these moments and Lydgate’s, albeit more playful, advice for navigating social hierarchies at the table.

The Hammond scribe’s repertoire is too varied to be condensed into a single category. Indeed, it is almost defined by its variety. Other texts not discussed here include encyclopaedic texts like the *Court of Sapience*, treatises on phlebotomy and the brain,²⁰⁶ extracts from the Wycliffite psalter,²⁰⁷ and lines for a mumming.²⁰⁸ Such a prolific scribe must have been employed by a variety of patrons for the copying of texts, which goes some of the way in explaining this variety. But his output has a striking focus on governance, including (in addition to the examples given above) statutes and city privileges,²⁰⁹ legal texts,²¹⁰ and notes on precedents for royal funerals.²¹¹ This may also be suggestive of a level of coherence in patronal issues. Whilst it is only speculative to ponder whether literary connections were made between these texts, there is evidence to suggest that some of these manuscripts were copied in close proximity. The copy of Lydgate and Burgh’s *Secrees of Old Philisoffres* in MS Harley 2251, for instance, shares an exemplar with the copy in Ar – a manuscript that also contains the *Regiment*.²¹² Reading across these manuscripts, connected by a

²⁰⁶ TCC, MS R.14.52.

²⁰⁷ Worcester Cathedral Library, MS F.172.

²⁰⁸ BL, MS Harley 2251.

²⁰⁹ TCC, MS O.3.11.

²¹⁰ CUL, MS Ee.1.2.

²¹¹ BL, MS Add. 29901.

²¹² *Lydgate and Burgh’s Secrees of Old Philisoffres; a Version of the “Secretum Secretorum.”*, ed. Robert Steele, EETS, o.s. 66 (London: EETS, 1984), xv.

single scribe, helps to enrich our image of a vernacular literary culture that was concerned with governance of the mind and body, drawn from the compilation of authoritative, often Latin, texts.

It remains to be asked, can we expand the field of co-texts even further, to encompass other types of evidence than palaeographical? Ha5 offers this opportunity.²¹³ The Augustinian abbey of St Mary de Pratis in Leicester, where the manuscript was copied in the second half of the fifteenth century, preserves an inventory of books owned by the Abbey from the late fifteenth century. This is, in some ways, a more reliable way of identifying the literary context of the *Regiment* – every text on this list is known to have been at the Abbey, either copied in-house, purchased, or borrowed, at a fixed point in time. This list includes relevant texts to the *Regiment*: Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum*, Vegetius's *De re militari*, and Bollard's *De cultura arborum et plantarum*.²¹⁴ But this type of co-text also poses a risk to interpretation: in such a large institution with a consistently active scriptorium, there is no certainty that any one individual would have been conscious of the *Regiment* and any one of these texts. Any readings across

²¹³ Ha5 is combined from 7 different manuscripts, and is the work of three to nine scribes, but was compiled under the guidance of one person, possibly William Charlyte the precentor of Leicester Abbey. See Manly and Rickert, *Text of the Canterbury Tales*, I. 209; and Timothy Shonk, 'BL MS Harley 7333: the "Publication" of Chaucer in the Rural Areas', *Medieval Communities: Essays in Medieval Studies*, 15 (1998): 81–91; Barbara Kilne, 'Scribal Agendas and the Text of Chaucer's Tales in British Library MS Harley 7333', *Rewriting Chaucer: Culture, Authority, and the Idea of the Authentic Text, 1400–1602*, eds Thomas A. Predergast and Barbara Kilne (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1999), 116–44 (119).

²¹⁴ *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, eds Teresa Webber and Andrew G. Watson (London: British Library, 1998), A20, 430, 431, 432, 433; A20, 593; A20, 651; A20, 862d.

these texts therefore should be taken with a grain of salt. But it is encouraging that they fall into the same categories of texts thus far established in the literary community of Hoccleve's *Regiment*.

The *Regiment*'s scribes did not consistently copy one genre of text, nor produce one type or calibre of manuscript. The analysis of the scribal co-texts of the *Regiment* shows that Hoccleve's scribes, like the poet, were also well-versed in English, Latin, and French. They copied a variety of material, in some cases with many texts from one poet, as did the Hammond scribe, or of one text, as did the Edmund-Fremund scribe. Their manuscripts were large impressively illuminated parchment tomes, or small undecorated paper codices. They were capable of applying the same layout and decoration to a text across multiple manuscripts (like the Selden scribe's copies of the *Regiment*), or changing their materials and style to cater to budget or time (like the Edmund-Fremund scribe's copies of the *Secrees*). They were London based and working within a commercial setting, or located more provincially with fewer resources to hand. Johnston notes that this type of variety is integral to the nature of the Middle English book, caused by the proliferation of manuscripts produced in a decentralized manner.²¹⁵ Manuscripts of Middle English were, Johnston argues, a 'flexible medium, able to accommodate the needs of many types of readers and arising from the hands of many different types of scribes'.²¹⁶ This flexibility is reflected in the co-texts identified in this chapter.

²¹⁵ Johnston, *Middle English Book*, 2.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

This variety, rather than complicating the image of the *Regiment* co-texts, creates it. The *Regiment* is situated in a large group of texts, being copied in a variety of combinations and styles, for a variety of audiences. By the mid fifteenth century, the *Regiment* was no longer a text just for a prince. As the following chapter will show, the text accompanies and traces the widening of political participation in fifteenth-century England. The growth in public engagement with matters of governance, at both local and state levels, is reflected in the growing variety of texts that were read around the *Regiment*. Our ability to recognise similarities across these texts suggests that there was a market for vernacular advisory texts aimed at all readers (regardless of a claimed audience), that drew their authority from classical and scholarly texts (and often cited their sources), and which condensed this advice into Middle English rhyming verse. The *Regiment* is frequently placed amongst works of political, ethical, and social advice. Generically, it is logical to group texts such as the *Secrees*, *Fall*, *Dietary*, and courtesy books together with the *Regiment* – practically, this was also true of the scribes who copied Hoccleve's *Regiment* in the fifteenth century.

Chapter 4: Lay Provenance

Yit if yow list of stories taken heede,
 Sumwhat it may profyte, by your leee;
 At hardest, whan yee been in chambre at eee,
 They been good for to dryve foorth the nyght;
 They shal nat harme if they be herd aright.

(2138–2142)

In the Prologue to the *Regiment Proper*, Hoccleve imagines the context in which his poem will be read by the Prince, as an evening's entertainment to while away the hours in his chamber. This is an idealised image of princely education, carefully positioned not in the public sphere but in the Prince's private, domestic space. If he chooses to engage with the text, it will 'dryve foorth the nyght', passing the time pleasantly as a form of diversion or comfort.¹ But there is an underlying warning in these lines: the Prince may only 'profyte' from the text if he hears the stories correctly. The hope that 'they shal nat harme' conversely suggests that there is a risk of misinterpretation and that the value of the text depends on the reader's discernment. To 'take[n] heede' imports a moral gravitas to the act of reading: this is not passive reception but attentive, interpretive labour.

This reading environment is carefully constructed, but how realistic is it? As the presentation copy for Henry V does not survive, we cannot be certain how the Prince read the *Regiment*, if he read it at all. What does survive though is a wealth of evidence of how other readers received the *Regiment*. The text circulated widely beyond the Prince's chambers, and can be traced to the hands of the nobility, gentry,

¹ Inspired by the *Book of the Duchess*, 'to rede and drive the night away', 49.

and classes beyond across the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The following chapters examine the circulation of the *Regiment* through its early owners, and will address three main questions: Who read and owned the *Regiment* in late-medieval England? What was the context in which it was being read and circulated? And what can we learn about the literary interests of these readers and owners from the close study of their manuscripts?

The *Regiment* is ideally placed to study book ownership. The century after the poem was presented to Henry V experienced a steady increase in literacy and reading for recreation and profit.² These years were of vital importance in the history of writing in English, witnessing to the flourishing of vernacular literature as English became an ever more important literary language.³ Alongside this was a shift in literary activity when reading expanded beyond nobles, clerks, and clerics to become a common practice for many of the gentry.⁴ As M.B. Parkes notes, literacy in this period is characterised by a trend in vernacular translations and texts which reflect an interest in edification and profit.⁵ Hoccleve's *Regiment* fulfilled both of these needs.

This is, by necessity, not a definitive study of the readers of Hoccleve's poem, but rather the study of a fraction. The forty-four surviving manuscripts represent only a fraction of those created, and the names which survive in these books only a fraction of those who came into contact with it, and those names which can be identified only

² M.B. Parkes, *The Literacy of the Laity* (London: Aldus Books, 1973), 565.

³ Daniel Wakelin and Alexandra Gillespie, 'Introduction', *Production of Books*, 1–11 (4–5).

⁴ Raluca Rădulescu, *The Gentry Context for Malory's Morte Darthur* (London: Brewer, 2003), 39; Michael Johnston, *Romance and the Gentry in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: OUP, 2014), 4.

⁵ Parkes, *Literacy of the Laity*, 565–6.

a fraction themselves. Kate Harris acknowledges this difficulty, and concludes that the partiality of the manuscript evidence on which the study of book ownership relies creates a biased sample from which we cannot extrapolate.⁶ Furthermore, it is difficult to identify the existence of lost manuscripts from bibliographical records because the text was often referred to by its Latin title. The umbrella name 'De regimine principum' was attributed to many regiminal texts in the late-medieval period and was a generic title that also encompassed the *De regimine principum* by Thomas Aquinas and Ptolemy of Lucca, Engelbert of Admont, and Jean d'Anneux.⁷ Lists of books, such as one written by William Ebesham in 1469 containing only 'de Regimine Principum', are tantalising clues of a wider reception.⁸ In addition, we encounter the question of whether ownership of a text equated to engaging with it – even if we can place a book in someone's hands, there is rarely concrete evidence that they actually read it. As Steven J. Williams notes of the mirror for princes genre specifically, 'it is one thing to give advice, quite another to take it'.⁹

All this is not to say, however, that the identification of readers does not have value in a reception history. As scholars such as Carol M. Meale have shown, micro-

⁶ Kate Harris, 'The Role of Owners in Book Production and the Book Trade', *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375–1475*, eds Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: CUP, 1989), 163–99.

⁷ Steven J. Williams, *The Secret of Secrets: The Scholarly Career of a Pseudo-Aristotelian Text in the Latin Middle Ages* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 386.

⁸ *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, EETS, s.s. 21 (Oxford: EETS, 1976 repr. 2004), vol.II 391–2. The names of books are rarely as clear as one reference to a copy of Hoccleve's *Male Regle*; see Peter Brown, "'Hokclyff" and the Will of William Hoton', *RES*, 72.303 (2021): 19–40.

⁹ Steven J. Williams, 'Giving Advice and Taking it: The Reception by Rulers of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum Secretorum* as a *speculum principis*', *Consilium: Teorie e pratiche del consigliare nella cultura medievale*, ed. Carla Casagrande, Chiara Crisciani, Silvana Vecchio (Florence: Sismel, 2004), 139–80 (142).

histories of manuscripts and their owners illuminate the ways in which books functioned both as artefacts and as expressions of cultural positioning.¹⁰ Johnston has similarly shown the benefits of studying a literary genre within the context of a specific social group.¹¹ Following these approaches, this chapter intends to use the codicological evidence as a starting point to study the traces of former readers of the *Regiment*. The identification of owners within these manuscripts is backed up by extensive historical research, garnered from a variety of sources including legal documents, household accounts, and contemporary manuscripts. Collectively, these names make visible the literary community that consumed and circulated Hoccleve's work in late-medieval England.

Moreover, the following two chapters are not limited to the *Regiment* but also seek to explore the wider readership of the mirror for princes genre, in order to understand its popularity in late-medieval England. The genre can be defined broadly, following Jean-Philippe Genet: namely as works of advice, instruction, or edification concerning the operations of kingship and lordship.¹² These three nouns are important, as it was not the function of a mirror for princes text to guide only one's personal morality – further areas of discussion include geography, bodily hygiene, child rearing, spousal relations, and the duties of the laity toward the church.¹³ Rulers

¹⁰ Meale, 'Politics of Book Ownership', 105–31.

¹¹ Johnston, *Romance and the Gentry*.

¹² Jean-Philippe Genet, *Four English Political Tracts of the Later Middle Ages* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), ix–xvi. More recently, see 'L'évolution du genre des Miroirs des princes en Occident au Moyen Âge', *Religion et Mentalités au Moyen Âge: Mélanges en l'honneur d'Hervé Martin*, eds Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet et al. (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2015), 531–41.

¹³ Hans-Joachim Schmidt, 'The Use of Mirrors of Princes', *A Critical Companion to the Mirrors for Princes Literature* (London: Brill, 2022), 473–513 (473–4).

were expected to look in these texts as in a mirror, Derek Pearsall notes, 'and there see displayed the image of what they should truly be'.¹⁴ The *Regiment* is exemplary of the genre – indeed, its second half is so conventional in its structure and content that John Watts uses it as a model for archetypal counsel.¹⁵

The readership of mirrors for princes in the fifteenth century is especially intriguing. For as Robert Meyer-Lee has noted, the literature of this century, unlike that of the fourteenth or sixteenth, was written and read 'under the direct auspices of a king, queen, or prince whose claim to the throne was, without exception, contested'.¹⁶ Hoccleve's *Regiment*, with its timeless guidance on effective rulership, may have appealed to an audience seeking stability in an otherwise changeable context.¹⁷ And who was this audience? The titles of these works hint at their wider applicability: in both the Latin *De regimine principum* and Middle English *The Regiment of Princes* the recipient of the advice is plural – these texts apply to *all* Princes, meaning 'the chief men of the state'.¹⁸ When Hoccleve describes his text in a French rubric in his holograph, he too refers to it as the 'livre del Regiment des Princes', following the long-established naming tradition in Western European literature.¹⁹

But that is not to say that only princes benefitted from their advice. The name 'mirror for princes' is perhaps misleading, as although these texts present codified

¹⁴ Pearsall, 'Poetics of Royal Self-Representation', 386.

¹⁵ John Watts, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship* (Cambridge: CUP, 1996), 26.

¹⁶ Robert Meyer-Lee, *Poets and Power from Chaucer to Wyatt* (Cambridge: CUP, 2007), 3–4.

¹⁷ On royal readers of the *Secretum secretorum*, see Williams, 'Giving Advice'.

¹⁸ The etymological root is 'princeps', meaning 'the chief men of the state', again in the plural. 'princeps', n., *Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

¹⁹ HEHL, MS HM 111, f.39v.

rules of conduct under the premise of advice for a ruler, to a greater extent they are texts addressed to readers who took on polyvalent functions in their society.²⁰ Perkins compares the genre itself to a mirror-image which changes according to the figure placed before it.²¹ Mirrors for princes are often involved in 'a wider framework of interpretation and action' that does not require specific circumstances to bear a political charge.²² Moreover, the advice was not restricted to the time and place in which it was given. That texts like the *Secretum secretorum* were being copied and translated in fifteenth-century England is testament to this fact. Mirrors for princes condensed and simplified abstract political doctrine in a single place, creating a space for reflection for any learned person who was able to read didactic texts and had access to the book.²³ John Watts draws a connection between the genre's preference for developing individual morality and the main endeavour of English political society in late-medieval England, which he argues intended 'not to restrain, or to divide, its executive, but to direct it'.²⁴ Perkins builds on this to suggest that this drive to direct morality was influenced by the medieval understanding that one's will is informed by the rational and imaginative faculties of the soul.²⁵

Although Hoccleve's *Regiment* imagines a singular reader then, as the corpus demonstrates the poem disseminated far beyond its royal readers. Of the forty-four

²⁰ Schmidt, 'Use of Mirrors of Princes', 500. On models of relationships between rulers and subjects, see Judith Ferster, *Fictions of Advice: The Literature and Politics and Counsel in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 88.

²¹ Perkins, 56–7.

²² *Ibid.*, 54.

²³ Schmidt, 'Use of Mirrors of Princes', 503.

²⁴ Watts, *Henry VI*, 21.

²⁵ Perkins, 58–61.

extant manuscripts, twenty-six contain provenance evidence. Of these twenty-six, I have associated twenty-one with identified owners between the fifteenth and mid-sixteenth centuries with a degree of confidence. Four can be connected to members of the nobility,²⁶ thirteen with the gentry,²⁷ and four with yeomen.²⁸ Of the manuscripts with unknown provenance, eight are of sufficient quality and expense to suggest an original patron or owner in the nobility or gentry.²⁹

This section will organise the readers of Hoccleve's *Regiment* into two chapters: lay and ecclesiastical. This structure, whilst it makes the materials studied more accessible, relies on several terms and classifications for social classes which have been the subject of debate and variation. For clarity and economy, I give the definitions I follow here, although the intricacies of each term are discussed further in their chapters. I follow Johnston and Susan M. Wright in the use of 'nobility' to refer to kings, princes, and titled peers (this encompasses barons, dukes, earls, marquises); and 'gentry' to refer to middling county landowners between the parliamentary peerage and yeomanry, 'the nation's landowning elite who lived a life of relative leisure on the profits of their estates'.³⁰ I refer to the intermediate members between the gentry and the labourers as 'yeomen', 'a member of the landholding class below

²⁶ A, Ra1, Ry2, Sj. When an estimated date is given for the manuscript's production, the latest date is taken.

²⁷ Ar, Di, Ha1, Hh, Hn1, La, Ma, Qu, Ry1, Ry3, Ry4, Sl1, So.

²⁸ Cc, Ha5, Hn2, Na.

²⁹ As, Co, Do, Du, Ed, Ra2, Ro, Sl2. When the first owner of a manuscript is not known, there is the possibility that it was first commissioned or purchased by someone outside of the gentry and later acquired by the known owner, however in the absence of evidence the first traceable owner from the first 100 years of the manuscript's life has been used.

³⁰ Susan Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry in the Fifteenth Century* (Chesterfield: Derbyshire Record Society, 1983), 1. Johnston, *Romance and the Gentry*, Preface i.

the rank of squire; a man holding a small landed estate'.³¹ As this section will show, these categories are not impermeable or fixed in late-medieval England, nor is it clear how they relate to the mercantile or urban elite. The individuals investigated in these microhistories often transgress and blur the borders between these social classifications, revealing networks of contact which often transcend not only localities but also status. It is through the study of contemporary primary materials that the assumptions we bring to these groups are challenged. Nevertheless, they are useful as an organisational framework, and serve as a helpful starting point for this study.

Noble Readers

Hy noble and mighty Prince excellent,
 My lord the Prince, o my lord gracious,
 I, humble servant and obedient
 [...] Right humblely axyng of yow licence
 That with my penne I may to yow declare
 (So as that can my wittes innocence)
 Myn inward wil.

(2017–2027)

The opening of the *Regiment Proper* establishes a stark hierarchy between Prince and poet, with a clear divide between the high, noble, and mighty dedicatee and the humble speaker below. The act of giving counsel, through the medium of the poet's 'penne', bridges this gap. Their meeting point, the text, is mutually beneficial. Prince Henry would have been receptive to Hoccleve's advice in the aftermath of his brief period of regency (1410–1411). Pearsall argues that Henry needed to represent himself, and have himself represented, as 'a wise and sober prince who would make a wise

³¹ 'yēman' n., 2(a), *MED* [accessed 01.02.2023].

and sober king'.³² It was important to be seen as a figure who received counsel. The writing of the *Regiment* was also reciprocally beneficial to Hoccleve. As well as resolving his financial burdens (820–826), through legitimising Prince Henry Hoccleve also legitimises himself as an adviser to kings.³³

However, this self-legitimation extended beyond the writing of the text. As this chapter will demonstrate, the gifting and possession of books of the *Regiment* also carried significant connotations. The webs of reciprocation between author and recipient are also manifested when physical books are circulated between poet and patron or dedicatee. The practice of cultural exchange in late-medieval England and France, with which Hoccleve would have been familiar, meant that the patronage and acquisition of literary artefacts at court carried significant social, political, and religious connotations.³⁴ Deborah McGrady posits that we should consider texts which were solicited by patrons as commodities rather than gifts, because they are socially-desirable objects with use-value.³⁵ Hoccleve, as a scribe and producer of manuscripts himself, would have been acutely aware that the cultural exchange of books was integral to the transmission of the texts within them. Seymour suggests that Hoccleve's presentation copy would have been given to Prince Henry in 1412.³⁶ No longer extant, this manuscript would have joined Henry's impressive library, which

³² Pearsall, 'Poetics', 389.

³³ Derek Pearsall, 'Crowned King: War and Peace in 1415', *The Lancastrian Court: Proceedings of the 2001 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Jenny Stratford (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2003), 163–172 (170); Perkins, 193.

³⁴ Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe, 1270–1380* (Oxford: OUP, 2001); Meyer-Lee, *Poets and Power*.

³⁵ Deborah McGrady, *The Writer's Gift or the Patron's Pleasure? The Literary Economy in Late Medieval France* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), 16–17, building on C.A. Gregory, *Gifts and Commodities* (London: Academic Press, 1982), 8, 116.

³⁶ Seymour, 255.

contained a range of missals and breviaries, books of Latin grammar, chronicles, and books on hunting. The *Regiment* would have been in good company, amongst a copy of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, a book of Guiron le Cortois (likely an Arthurian romance), and Jean de Galopes's *Le livre dore des meditations de la vie de Iesu Crist*.³⁷ And in 1412, perhaps not to be outdone by Hoccleve's poem, Lydgate began work on his momentous *Troy Book*.

Indeed, Hoccleve is aware of the physicality and materiality of book circulation, placing emphasis on the material book within both the text and its decoration. The famed presentation scene in MS A, likely created under the supervision of the poet, is anchored on the book at its centre. The exchange of the leather-bound volume pulls the focus towards the middle of the scene and creates a link between the crowned figure and the kneeling man. Indeed, Kathleen Scott argues that this miniature is first and foremost a 'gift-giving scene'.³⁸ Within the poem, Hoccleve draws attention to the central role of books in the circulation of knowledge, often with a connection to their physicality: they are books which are 'writen' in (54) and 'redde' (204); which act as 'witnesses' to Chaucer (1973), Aristotle (2045), and Marcus Regulus (2282); and which themselves 'teche' (2432), 'expresse' (3098), and 'trete' (3944).³⁹ The terms the poet uses to refer to his own text change depending on its perceived status: in comparison with the works of Giles of Rome and Aristotle it is

³⁷ Susan Hagen Cavanaugh, 'A Study of Books Privately Owned in England: 1300–1450' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1980), 412–22.

³⁸ Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. II 159.

³⁹ 'treten' v., 4(a) 'To consider a question or problem intellectually; engage in consideration', *MED* [accessed 01.02.2023].

a mere 'pamfilet' (2060) which evokes 'a short handwritten work or document of several pages fastened together', when it represents Hoccleve's 'good herte' and trueness of faith (4403) it becomes the proud 'my book' (4397), and in the envoy as the poet bids farewell to his creation it transforms into a 'litol book', 'nakid' and 'unclothid' (5440–5446) as yet an unbound set of quires, evocative of *Troilus*.⁴⁰

However, although the text was pertinent to a specific person – Prince Henry – at a specific point in history – while the Prince was responsible for England's governance during Henry IV's illness – it was disseminated to other noble figures beyond the Prince. From a survey of noble recipients of *Regiment* presentation copies, Pearsall argues that Henry V may have played a central role in the circulation of early copies, 'to cement relationships with possibly doubtful friends'.⁴¹ A.I. Doyle suggests that the Prince may have also been responsible for the expense of these lavish manuscripts.⁴² The A presentation copy, for instance, was likely far too expensive to have been paid for by Hoccleve on a Privy Seal salary.⁴³ From evidence of the Prince's knowledge and use of books, his relationship with Hoccleve, and the destination of early copies of the *Regiment*, Pearsall even suggests that the Prince may have had a part in encouraging Hoccleve to write the text, although this can never be proven.⁴⁴

It is difficult to assess how many presentation copies of the *Regiment* were produced. Seymour posits that as patrons of his other works, Humphrey, duke of

⁴⁰ 'pamphlet (n.), sense 1.a', *OED* [accessed 01.06. 2025].

⁴¹ Pearsall, 'Poetics', 398.

⁴² Doyle, 'English Books', 172.

⁴³ Gervase Mathew, *The Court of Richard II* (London: Murray, 1968), 44.

⁴⁴ Pearsall, 'Poetics', 393.

Gloucester, Joan Beaufort, countess of Westmorland, Robert Chichele, and Joan FitzAlan, countess of Hereford may have also been recipients of manuscripts of the *Regiment*.⁴⁵ Marzec argues that, on the grounds of stemmatic and extra-textual evidence, there may have been as many as eight authorised presentation copies.⁴⁶ Two confirmed presentation manuscripts survive: MSS A and Ha4. Pearsall suggests that both were copied in 1411–1412 under Hoccleve's supervision and from the lost *Regiment* holograph, but they do not appear to have been intended for Henry V.⁴⁷

MS A was believed to have been owned by Henry V until disproven by Kate Harris.⁴⁸ She identified the arms of John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk (1392–1432), revealing the manuscript's original patron. This attribution is also supported by the arms encased in the illuminated initial of the first folio, which belong to Thomas of Brotherton, earl of Norfolk (1300–1338), and relative of John Mowbray.⁴⁹ Mowbray would have been an appropriate recipient for the *Regiment*: as the second son of the first duke of Norfolk, he assumed the dukedom after his brother Thomas was executed for treason in 1405, after which he became an important figure at court. Pearsall notes he is an example of Henry V's policy of 'trusting and becoming reconciled to the enemies of his father and of the Lancastrian usurpation'.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Seymour, 257.

⁴⁶ Marzec, 269–84.

⁴⁷ Pearsall, 'Poetics', 395.

⁴⁸ E.g., Cavanaugh, 'Books Privately Owned', 414–5; Harris, 'Patron of British Library MS Arundel 38', 462.

⁴⁹ Decorated by an artist trained in the atelier of Herman Scheerre, first identified by C.L. Kuhn, 'Herman Scheerre and English Illumination of the Early Fifteenth Century', *Art Bulletin*, 22 (1940): 138–56 (155).

⁵⁰ Pearsall, 'Poetics', 396.

Ha4 is strikingly similar to A in text, layout, stanza division, page breaks, and illustration (even when correcting textual errors).⁵¹ Marzec suggests that both manuscripts originated from the same artists with an author-supervisor overseeing the production of these presentation copies concurrently, possibly by clerks of the Privy Seal.⁵² The identity of the dedicatee of Ha4 is complicated by the absence of the first and final leaves of the manuscript and of the presentation-miniature, which likely contained an envoy and armorial decoration. Two dedicatory ballades from the *Regiment* are excerpted and preserved in the holograph of Hoccleve's shorter poems, HEHL, MS HM 111, which offer two possible recipients, one to the duke of Bedford (1389–1435), and another to Edward, duke of York (c.1373–1415). Seymour has suggested that either of these nobles may have been the original recipient of Ha4, however there is no physical evidence in the manuscript to suggest which, if either.⁵³

The ballade dedicated to John, duke of Bedford holds the strongest evidence for the existence of another presentation copy. It is witnessed in not only the holograph, but also in Ry3 and Du. The ballade is addressed to a 'rial egle' (1), and a heading in the holograph states that it was intended for the book of Monsieur John, recently named Regent of France and duke of Bedford.⁵⁴ The 'Maister Massy' addressed (10) also supports this, identified by Thorlac Turville-Petre as Bedford's

⁵¹ Ff. 65r in A and Ha4.

⁵² Marzec, 271.

⁵³ Seymour, 269; refuted in Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, 18 n.71.

⁵⁴ 'Ce feust mys en le livre de monsieur Johan lors nomez ore Regent de France & Duc de Bedford', HEHL, MS HM 111, ff.37v–38r.

receiver-general and General Attorney William Massy.⁵⁵ The identity of the copy which was given to John of Lancaster has been disputed. Linne Mooney has suggested that this copy was Ry3, contested by Lawrence Warner due to the necessary existence of a lost exemplar.⁵⁶ Regardless, the survival of these ballades strongly suggests that there was once a copy which was presented to the duke of Bedford.

Other noble readers

Other *Regiment* manuscripts are known to have belonged to members of the nobility, but were not presentation copies and were produced after Hoccleve's death. For example, Ry2 was produced for Lady Joan Neville, countess of Salisbury (1434–1462) and William FitzAlan (1417–1487).⁵⁷ Another example, Ra1 is a mid-fifteenth-century single text codex of the *Regiment*, a luxury manuscript with fine decoration. It has been produced to a high standard in a neat secretary script with ruling for every line and six stanzas per page consistently with blank lines between each. The scribe was so consistent that on two occasions when he accidentally began copying a new stanza one line too high and omitted the blank line, he took pains to erase the whole line and begin again in the correct place.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Thorlac Turville-Petre and Edward Wilson, 'Hoccleve, "Maister Massy" and the Pearl Poet: Two Notes', *RES*, 26.102 (1975): 129–43.

⁵⁶ Warner, 'Scribes, Misattributed', 62; *Chaucer's Scribes*, 115–33.

⁵⁷ Coats of arms on ff.4r, 40r.

⁵⁸ Now only visible under UV: ff.5v (l.414), 28r (l.2290).

Several fifteenth-century annotations appear throughout the manuscript which suggest a noble provenance.⁵⁹ I identify an early owner as Sir John de Lisle of Wodyton and Thruxton, seventh baron Lisle (d.1470) from a fifteenth-century inscription which reads 'Cest livre est asture a John Lyle' (where 'asture' means *à cette heure*).⁶⁰ The names of other members of the de Lisle family appear in the manuscript: two erased notes in a late fifteenth-century hand in the upper right margin of this folio, now legible only under UV, read 'By me Thomas Lysl', one in a tri-fold scroll. The name 'Nicholas Lysle' in a sixteenth-century hand also appears on the first and last pages of the *Regiment*.⁶¹ These are both identifiable as close relatives of Sir John de Lisle: Sir Thomas Lysle (c.1481–1542), a distant cousin of John de Lisle who grew up in his household and was married to John de Lisle's niece and heir, Mary Kingston; and Sir Nicholas de Lisle (d.1505), son of Sir John de Lisle and Anne Botreaux.⁶²

De Lisle's political background provides insight as to why a regiminal text would be of practical use. By 1427, he had become MP for Hampshire, like his father before him (another) Sir John de Lisle (c.1386–1429).⁶³ He was knighted in 1436 and held numerous responsibilities for governance thereafter, serving as Sheriff of both Wiltshire and Hampshire before 1439 and acting as Justice of the Peace (JP) from 1441

⁵⁹ Other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century names are Arth Cotton, John Webb, E. Southerne, and Henrici Spelman (f.1r), Edward Lenton (f.2r), Anne Weston (f.14r).

⁶⁰ Ra1, f.1r.

⁶¹ Ra1, ff.1r, 65v.

⁶² 'Lisle, Sir Thomas (c.1481–1542)', *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1509–1558*, ed. S.T. Bindoff (London: Secker & Warburg, 1982). These Baron Lisles are not the same as the Baron Lisles who owned the De Lisle Psalter, the Lisles of Rougemont, whose barony expired c.1428.

⁶³ *The Complete Peerage or A History of the House of Lords and all its Members from the earliest times*, vol. VIII, eds H.A. Doubleday and Lord Howard de Walden (London: St Catherine Press, 1929), 44.

until his death: nearly thirty years of service.⁶⁴ The Lisle Barons owned lands in Crookham and Thatcham, and Sir John de Lisle granted several estates to local members of the gentry in the first half of the fifteenth century.⁶⁵ De Lisle was evidently in royal favour too, awarded keeping of the herbage of Hippenscombe in the royal forest of Chute in 1448.⁶⁶ When Richard, duke of York was forced to journey to the south-west to restore order during the crises of the mid-1450s, a letter lists de Lisle amongst fourteen 'men of gode birth and havour' ordered to accompany him.⁶⁷

Ra1 is a sparsely annotated manuscript, but evidence of the interests of its previous readers can be glimpsed in one hand's habit of underlining words in the Dialogue. This reader appreciated the more satirical passages of the poem, highlighting the 'gownes of scarlet' (422) and suffering 'taillours' (472), and showing an affinity for the emotive description of the 'brent' or burnt 'bodie of our lord Jhesu' (287–288). Although it is impossible to say which if any of the owners named above is responsible, it is likely that this reader was a Lancastrian supporter: the name of John of Lancaster (512) is underlined, with emphasis on 'Lancaster', as is Henry IV's description as 'our lige lord souereyn' (303). It is noteworthy, if perhaps circumstantial, that Sir John de Lisle was a Lancastrian supporter and served with the duke of Somerset in France in May 1443.⁶⁸ Ra1 is thus not only a finely produced

⁶⁴ *The History of Parliament 1439–1509*, ed. Josiah C. Wedgwood in 2 vols (London: H.M.S.O., 1936–1938), 546; updated and revised in *The House of Commons 1422–1461*, ed. Linda Clark (Cambridge: CUP, 2020), vol. 5, 284–7.

⁶⁵ E.g., TNA, D/EZ 77/2/2.

⁶⁶ *House of Commons*, ed. Clark, 285.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 286.

⁶⁸ *House of Commons*, ed. Clark, 546.

manuscript, but also a book that reflects the political affiliations and social aspirations of its early owners. It is noteworthy that this copy was passed down through the generations, inherited from father to son, as an item of both monetary and moral value.

A rather different noble-owned *Regiment* is Sj, a scruffy paper codex which contains an imperfect version of Hoccleve's *Regiment*.⁶⁹ It presents the poem in varying lines per page with infrequent frame ruling, in an inconsistently-spaced secretary script typical of the last quarter of the fifteenth century.⁷⁰ The only decoration in the manuscript is the opening initial and three rubricated paraps with blue flourishes on the first folio. Otherwise, this is a fairly plain and unassuming copy of the *Regiment*.

Sj has, however, an intriguing noble provenance. The earliest ownership inscription in the manuscript shows that it was owned by George Nevill (c.1469–1535), fifth baron Bergavenny, who inscribes the foot of the first folio in an ostentatious hand 'Thys boke hys myne George lord Bergevenny'.⁷¹ Bergavenny was likely not its first owner: underneath his inscription is an erased note in an earlier hand which is mostly legible under UV light.⁷² It is strikingly similar in style (of script and phrasing) to Bergavenny's note, and it is possible that he copied its phrasing before erasing

⁶⁹ Previously catalogued MS 223. Five watermarks are present and can be identified with examples from 1464–1479 but are predominantly from the 1470s: Quires 1–3: 'Lettre A' 7958, Briquet (Luxembourg, 1472–78); Quire 4: 'Bull's head' 80074, Piccard (Geldern, 1464) and 'Anchor' 118182, Piccard (Xanten, 1470); Quires 5–6: 'Anchor' 118182, Piccard (Xanten, 1470); Quire 7: 'Letter MA' 30847, Piccard (Trier, 1479).

⁷⁰ Single-compartment **a**, **g** with open tail and flat head, short z-shaped **r**, kidney-shaped **s** at word end, and three-stroke **w**. Occasionally a more elaborate textualis script is used for certain words (eg. 'Chaucer', f.37r) and inconsistently for the first few words of the stanzas.

⁷¹ Henceforth Bergavenny to avoid confusion with other George Nevills.

⁷² Certain letterforms suggest a hand which pre-dates Bergavenny's: angular Anglicana **b**, long **r**, and sigma-shaped **s**.

evidence of the previous owner. It reads 'thys boyke ys myne [illegible]-yll'. Considering the later Bergavenny-provenance of the manuscript, it is tempting to wonder if this surname spells 'Nevyll' – the most common spelling of the Nevill surname in the fifteenth century.⁷³ Later removal of the bottom margin of folios 97 and 98, without the removal of text, also raises the possibility that evidence of a prior owner was removed from the manuscript. Regardless, the 'George lord Bergevenny' of the inscription can be confidently ascribed to George Nevill, fifth baron Bergavenny (as opposed to his father, also George Nevill), as the signature corresponds to autograph letters and his other manuscripts.⁷⁴

Although it is not surprising that a political figure such as Bergavenny owned a text like Hoccleve's *Regiment*, it is curious that he owned a manuscript of this quality and condition. S_j pales in comparison to other books in Bergavenny's library, such as BodL, MS Laud Misc. 733. Containing an illustrated heraldic text and Brut Chronicle on fine parchment, that substantial manuscript is finely illuminated and decorated throughout with large miniatures and ruled in lilac. In contrast, S_j is not only much smaller and of lesser quality, but it is also an imperfect copy of Hoccleve's *Regiment*. The ending of the text in S_j is missing and replaced with extracts from the *Fall of Princes*. It therefore remains to be asked why such a wealthy and prestigious political figure such as Bergavenny would own this manuscript.

⁷³ Bergavenny signs his name in BodL, MS Laud Misc. 733 as both 'George lord Bergevenny' and 'George Nevyll knyght'.

⁷⁴ MS Laud Misc. 733, f.i r and rear pastedown.

Eustace Chapuys, in a letter to Charles V on 27 September 1533, describes Bergavenny as 'one of the most powerful, wise and prudent lords of England'.⁷⁵ Born between 1459 and 1471, George Nevill was the eldest son of another George Nevill, fourth baron Bergavenny (1436–1492) and Margaret Fenne (d.1485).⁷⁶ He is known for his turbulent but successful political career, which has been regarded as the golden age of his family's fortunes.⁷⁷ Like Sir John de Lisle, Bergavenny had ties to the crown. A notable figure at the courts of Henry VII and Henry VIII, he rose in prestige and in 1512 reunited the barony, castle and lordship of Abergavenny for the first time in eighty years.⁷⁸ A year later he was elected to the Order of the Garter. Bergavenny's presence is recorded at numerous prestigious events in the early sixteenth century: listed as a mourner at the entombment of Prince Henry, duke of Cornwall in 1511,⁷⁹ an attendee of the ceremony in which Wolsey received the Cardinal's Hat,⁸⁰ and present at Anne Boleyn's coronation.⁸¹

Bergavenny's career spanned from his first public act as a Knight of the Bath on 9 July 1483 to his final role in the company of Archbishop Cranmer negotiating the

⁷⁵ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum and elsewhere in England*, 21 vols (London: Public Record Office, 1862–1910), vol. 6, 1164.

⁷⁶ Estimation by ODNB. Campbell Dodgson disagrees, arguing that the subject of a portrait of a Knight of the Garter aged 74, dated to 1533, is George, Lord Bergavenny; 'A Portrait of Lord Bergavenny', *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 26.141 (1914): 98–9.

⁷⁷ Alastair Dunn, 'Inheritance and Lordship in Pre-Reformation England: George Nevill, Lord Bergavenny (c.1470–1535)', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 48 (2004): 116–40 (138).

⁷⁸ TNA, PRO C 82/385. Also 'Nevell, George II', Sir John Baker, *The Men of Court 1440 to 1550: A Prosopography of the Inns of Court and Chancery and the Courts of Law* (London: Selden Society, 2012), 1150–1.

⁷⁹ TNA, LC2/1, f.159, dated 27 February 1511.

⁸⁰ 15 November 1515, printed in Richard Fiddes, *Practical discourses on several subjects*, 2nd edn (London: Knapton, Knaplock, Midwinter, Innys, Robinson, Osborn, and Longman, 1726).

⁸¹ 25 June 1533, as chief larder, recorded in BL, MS Additional 6113, f.33v.

clerical subsidy at Knowle on 14 March 1535.⁸² His most significant act of service to the early Tudor monarchy was his contribution to the royal expeditions of 1513–1514. The retinues of Bergavenny and his future father-in-law Buckingham exceeded 500 men and were the largest of those led by members of the nobility.⁸³ However, his political career was also marked by controversy: in 1521 his father-in-law Edward Stafford, third duke of Buckingham, was executed for treason, which led to Bergavenny's imprisonment in the Tower of London and later fine. Despite this, he regained royal favour and remained a prominent figure at court until his death in 1535.

A substantial portion of Bergavenny's career both in and out of court was dependent on his judicial and advisory capabilities.⁸⁴ In 1497 he served in the House of Lords as a trier of petitions to advise the crown on subsidiary legislation, and was later appointed to the Privy Council, requiring him to be in regular attendance at court.⁸⁵ Bergavenny became a trusted advisor to Henry VIII and acted as a consultant for the King's commissions in 1535 alongside Cranmer and the lords of Wiltshire and Cobham.⁸⁶ In the context of Bergavenny's political and administrative responsibilities, his interest in Hoccleve's *Regiment* suggests that the poem was read, not primarily as advice to princes, but (as we saw above) as a work of advice that uses the figure of the

⁸² *Complete Peerage*, eds Doubleday, Gibbs, and Walden, vol. 8, 174.

⁸³ Dunn, 'Inheritance', 128.

⁸⁴ Especially as his father had served on the council in 1486 and 1488. Dunn, 'Inheritance', 121'; *Select Cases in the Council of Henry VII*, eds C.G. Bayne and William Dunham (London: B. Quaritch, 1958), 1–3, 12, and 18.

⁸⁵ Alasdair Hawkyard, 'Neville, George, third Baron Bergavenny (c.1469–1535), nobleman and courtier', *ODNB* (2004).

⁸⁶ TNA, SP1/91, ff.88–9, dated 14 March 1535.

Prince as an imagined or implied reader. Bergavenny could have recognised his own responsibilities in the depictions of the court and its role in governance in the *Regiment*.

In his discussion of justice, Hoccleve describes the importance of counsel:

Of concel and help been we dettours,
Eche to othre by right of breþirhede
ffor whanne a man ifal in errour is,
His broþir owith him councel and rede
To correcte and a mende his wickid dede.⁸⁷

In this image, a 'breþirhede' of men offer counsel and aid 'eche to othre' in a close-knit reciprocal community.⁸⁸ This is mediated in this passage by the use of the language of exchange and wealth: each brother 'owith' counsel and in partaking in this exchange becomes a 'dettour' of help, and when someone commits a 'wickid dede' they 'ifal in errour' in the same way one falls into debt. This brings to attention the regulation of advice within political communities, dubbed a 'verbal economy' by Perkins.⁸⁹

Bergavenny would have been counted amongst these 'breþirhede' at court in the king's service (as in the example above with Cranmer), but he also fulfilled the role of advisor to others. On 19 July 1533, Cranmer wrote to Bergavenny saying that his tenants of Mayfield have had their liberties infringed by William Smythe, who has attempted to serve a *supplicavit* on a tenant, John Kydder. He requested that Bergavenny 'execute and provid such condigne punyshment for the offender herein as lawe and conscience will suffer you thereunto [...] to redresse all such offences within my said *liberte*es upon lyke enformacions, accordyng to your discrete and

⁸⁷ Sj, f.44v (2487–2493).

⁸⁸ Akin to the political communities explored by Watts, *Henry VI*, eg. of 'Consilium' 83–90.

⁸⁹ Perkins, 5, building on Pierre Bourdieu (1991).

politique wisdom in that behalf, as you shall thynke most necessarye'.⁹⁰ Most notable here is the trust Cranmer demonstrates in Bergavenny's judicial capabilities to rely on his 'discrete and politique wisdom', suggesting that the 'breþirhede' identified by Hoccleve extended beyond the court.

Bergavenny also enjoyed a measure of trust as an agent of royal justice. At various intervals throughout 1515–1532, he served as JP in Sussex, Surrey, and Kent.⁹¹ According to the Justices of the Peace Act of 1360, JPs were defined as men, typically lords, who were learned in the law and granted the power to pursue offenders and chastise them according to their offence so that law and order were maintained.⁹² Hoccleve's definition of justice in the *Regiment* is strikingly similar to this:

Pe iustice is shedding of blode restreyned
And gilte punysshed whan it is compleyned
Justice defindeþ possessionys
And peple kepith from oppressionys.⁹³

Specifically, these last two lines would have been pertinent to Bergavenny's role as JP: on 11 July 1525 he was requested to examine a petition, alongside Thomas Boleyn, viscount Rochford, whereby a water mill leased to Alice Morley had been vandalised by three local men who had destroyed the dam and flooded the surrounding land.⁹⁴ Morley, here recorded only as 'the widow of Robert Morley', would have likely not

⁹⁰ BL, MS Harley 6148, f.29r.

⁹¹ Bergavenny may have served prior to this date, but the first surviving record is dated 1 January 1515, *Letters and Papers*, Pat. 6 Hen. VIII. p.1, m.3d.

⁹² *Justices of the Peace Act of 1360, The Statutes at Large: From the Magna Charta to the End of the Eleventh Parliament of Great Britain, Anno 1761*, 2 vols, ed. J. Bentham (London: Her Majesty's Printers, 1762), vol. 2, 135.

⁹³ Sj, f.44v (2511–14).

⁹⁴ East Sussex and Brighton and Hove Record Office, GLY/1259.

been in a position to correct this offence herself. Hoccleve warns later in the *Regiment* of the danger of allowing such cases of misdemeanour go uncorrected: 'Thus of lawe lak | Norissheth wrong and castith right abak' (2835–2836). It would have been the responsibility of the JP to ensure that local injustices like these did not lead to 'stryf, bataille, and discord' (2830). As with his correspondence with Cranmer, it appears that the judicial scenarios described in the *Regiment* extended beyond the remits of the court and would have been familiar (and relevant) to noble individuals such as Bergavenny, whether or not the poem was in mind as he pursued these particular cases.

Hoccleve's commentary on the management of one's kingdom would have also been pertinent to Bergavenny. The Nevill family were among the leading lay proprietors in Kent in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.⁹⁵ In the mid-1490s, Bergavenny entered upon his landed inheritance, which was spread over thirteen counties, and by 1521 a partial list of his lands records an annual income of £1,622.⁹⁶ Bergavenny also had claim to the residue of the Warenne earldom of Surrey from Elizabeth Beauchamp, comprising the Sussex manors of Ditching, Radmeld, Peccham, Rottingdean, and Northease, and the barony of Lewes.⁹⁷ With his responsibilities at court and military escapades to France, it would have been critical to establish a trustworthy household to govern his lands in his absence.

⁹⁵ M. Zell, 'Landholding and The Land Market in Early Modern Kent,' *Early Modern Kent, 1540–1640*, ed. M. Zell (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), 39–74 (48).

⁹⁶ TNA, SP1/22, ff.164–6, summarized in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, vol.3, 1291.

⁹⁷ From the list of his estates in BL, MS Additional 5705, ff.118r–20r.

When speaking on the magnanimity of the king, Hoccleve addresses a wide audience, 'He that is strong of corage and of herte, | If he lordshipes have or greet riches' (3908–3909), with advice on how one should protect their estate. It is their duty, he notes, 'If he God love and his peple and his land, | Whan neede is, moot deffende hem with his hand' (3934–3935). Hoccleve's warning that 'whyl lawe is kept in londe, | A prince in his estat may sikir stonde' (2779–2780) would have also been sage advice to Bergavenny, whose own microcosm of a kingdom was constantly threatened by local lords. His main rival was Sir Richard Guildford (c.1450–1506), who held positions in Henry VII's court as master of the ordnance (1485–1506) and comptroller of the royal household (1495–1506).⁹⁸ By 1500, Alastair Dunn notes that the Guildfords were poised to challenge Bergavenny's lordship in west Kent.⁹⁹ In 1503, the Guildfords accused Bergavenny of orchestrating an armed attack on their manor of Aylesford in Kent, and later that his deficiency of lordship had led to the aggressive actions of men who were reputed to have been in his retinue.¹⁰⁰ Bergavenny was also contested by Richard Southwell (c.1502–1564), who on 22 July 1535 wrote to Cromwell requesting the order and charge of Bergavenny's lands in Norfolk and Suffolk.¹⁰¹ Both attempts to acquire Bergavenny's territory were unsuccessful, but demonstrate the danger of which Hoccleve warns in the *Regiment*: the inability to maintain justice in

⁹⁸ J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (London: Yale University Press, 1968), 18; S.J. Gunn, 'The Courtiers of Henry VII', *The Tudor Monarchy*, ed. J.A. Guy (London: Arnold, 1997), 163–88 (167–8).

⁹⁹ Dunn, 'Inheritance', 122.

¹⁰⁰ *Select Cases in the Court of Henry VII*, eds Bayne and Dunham, 141–5.

¹⁰¹ Longleat House, PO/VOL.I.8.

one's territory could lead to lawlessness and the degradation of one's own reputation by association.

Beyond the applicability of Hoccleve's lessons on governance, from Bergavenny's controversial political career it could be said that he was the type of elite man who needed the moral guidance of the *Regiment*. Bergavenny was the first peer to be prosecuted for breaches of the statutes of livery and maintenance.¹⁰² In 1506, contrary to the Statute of Liveries, he persisted in retaining a body of 470 dependants, even though it was lawful to retain only the members of a household, estate officers, and legal counsel. James Ross argues that this was motivated by Bergavenny's aims of local dominance, which led him to prioritise local success over royal punishment.¹⁰³ In consequence, Bergavenny was fined £100,000 and forbidden to visit Kent, Surrey, Sussex, or Hampshire without royal consent.

In his discussion of truth and the importance of oath-keeping, Hoccleve explores the implications of breaking one's oath:

[...] if a lorde his bonde breke or his oth
ffor soth it is a foule spot in his name
Phogh men dare not him opinly defame
Thei thinke, al be it, þat thei not speke
In suche is untrouth y reke.¹⁰⁴

Although Hoccleve ultimately argues that a king should be loyal to his oaths, the comment on the unspoken and unshakeable 'foule spot' on one's name would have

¹⁰² Dunn, 'Inheritance', 122.

¹⁰³ James Ross, 'Lord Bergavenny's illegal retaining revisited, 1501–22', *Historical Research*, 94.266 (2021): 675–94 (693).

¹⁰⁴ Sj, f.43r (2404–8).

been extremely pertinent to Bergavenny. On the surface, there seem to have been no long-term formal consequences: when Henry VIII became king, he cancelled the fine, granted him a pardon, and within three years restored him to the royal council. By 1519 Bergavenny was again listed as a member of the Royal Household.¹⁰⁵ However, his reputation was permanently stained by the events of 1506. Bergavenny was unsuccessfully prosecuted twice more for illegal retaining, by Cardinal Wolsey, and later by John Ernley.¹⁰⁶

A variant in these lines is intriguing given Bergavenny's context. The line 'In swyche lords ys untrouthe I reke' in the exemplar, Ry3, is miscopied into Sj as 'In suche is untrouth y reke', omitting the subject 'lordes'. Sj is the only manuscript in the corpus to overlook this word. It is impossible to say whether this is a deliberate censorship to soften Hoccleve's critique of oath-breaking lords, or an accidental eyeskip. Regardless, the relevance of Hoccleve's commentary to a figure such as Bergavenny, despite operating in a different political climate from Hoccleve's, brings to the forefront the *Regiment's* greater reach as a work of historical and moral commentary. This harkens back to the poor quality of the paper manuscript, which is suggestive of a poem read for useful content more than material luxury or prestige. In approaching the *Regiment* through the lens of Bergavenny's political career and social position, the specific ways in which Hoccleve's lessons – both moral and political –

¹⁰⁵ TNA, C85/525, dated 12 December 1522; SP1/19, f.116, dated November 1519.

¹⁰⁶ TNA, STAC 2/16, ff.365–72; KB29/148, rot. 17d, 18d.

were applicable to others with political or administrative responsibilities become more evident.

Gentry Readers

The majority of surviving manuscripts of the *Regiment* can be associated with individuals who are typically classified as ‘gentry’ – in other words, people who did not inherit titles, but were still members of the wealthy land-owning elite. This term descends from the Middle English ‘gentil’ which was used to denote character, manner, and behaviour from the fourteenth century in England.¹⁰⁷ In a study such as this, it is helpful to employ these social categories to organise the manuscripts in a way that effectively illustrates the contexts in which they circulated, and to allow for comparisons to be drawn between examples. However, this is not to say that classifications such as ‘noble’ and ‘gentry’ are universally suitable for the groups to which they apply. Whilst it is not the purpose of this study to dissect the intricacies of late-medieval English social hierarchies, or to suggest a more appropriate sub-division of these groups, it is worth pausing briefly to consider the relevance of the term ‘gentry’ in the fifteenth century and whether the study of *Regiment* manuscripts may challenge some of the assumptions it carries.

The gentry is a somewhat elusive category which can be both difficult to pin down and counterproductive to apply as a blanket term to this broad and multifaceted

¹⁰⁷ ‘gentil’ adj., 1(a), *MED* [accessed 15.02.2023].

group.¹⁰⁸ Alison Truelove and Raluca Rădulescu note that the term 'gentry' was not used as a contemporary class designation, but is 'a modern construct that remains without firm definition'.¹⁰⁹ Christine Carpenter takes this further to argue that the idea of a 'gentry community' is a convenience which assumes the existence of an isolated social class with clearly defined borders.¹¹⁰ Others argue for a stronger division between social classes: Johnston proposes that the gentry 'inhabited a unique ideology, one that is distinct from the nobility above them and from the non-gentil yeomen and franklins below them'.¹¹¹ This disagreement is, in part, provoked by the blurred boundaries between the elite members of society, and by the multiplicity of ways that social status was determined at the time. As Philippa Maddern notes it was not wealth alone, but behaviour, lifestyle, and the nature of one's income also mattered.¹¹² Moreover, assessing even the most quantifiable of these factors, such as wealth, is complicated by the fact that families often had land and influence in multiple counties, making it difficult to measure social standing on a linear scale.¹¹³

The use of 'gentry' in fifteenth-century England is particularly labyrinthine. Before 1400, the division between nobility and other aristocracy was easier to

¹⁰⁸ Maurice Keen, *Origins of the English Gentleman 1300–1500* (London: Tempus Pub Limited, 2002); Peter Coss, *Origins of the English Gentry* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003); Eric Acheson, *A Gentry Community: Leicestershire in the Fifteenth Century, c.1422–c.1485* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003).

¹⁰⁹ Alison Truelove and Raluca Rădulescu, 'Introduction', *Gentry Culture in Late-Medieval England*, eds Alison Truelove and Raluca Rădulescu (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), 1–17 (1).

¹¹⁰ Christine Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community in Medieval England', *Journal of British Studies*, 33.4 (1994): 340–80 (341–3).

¹¹¹ Johnston, *Romance and the Gentry*, 22.

¹¹² Philippa Maddern, 'Social Mobility', *A Social History of England 1200–1500*, eds Rosemary Horrox and W.M. Ormrod (Cambridge: CUP, 2006), 113–33 (114–5).

¹¹³ Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', 348.

determine and generally followed the rule that noblemen were born and not made.¹¹⁴ This division became less pronounced in the following century, due in part to the establishment of a single locus of shire administration and the dispersal of responsibilities among both public and private officials without a centralised regulation of authority.¹¹⁵ Counties were not wholly dominated by nobles or gentry, but likely a mix of both. The governance of local areas was reliant on a complex reciprocal tie based on mutual respect, which drew together nobles and gentry across the hierarchy who shared the same values.¹¹⁶ As the following analysis will show, there were many shared literary interests between noble and gentry owners of the *Regiment* which support this argument for an interwoven network of the governing elite.

What were the gentry reading in late-medieval England? As an almost universally literate group with the disposable income to commission and purchase manuscripts, they played an important role in the production of books. However, the literature which they consumed has been the subject of debate. Some have argued that there was no literature written for this class,¹¹⁷ others that specific genres directly (and intentionally) appealed to the gentry.¹¹⁸ Johnston argues that romances came to serve

¹¹⁴ T.B. Pugh, 'The Magnates, Knights and Gentry', *Fifteenth-Century England: 1399–1509*, eds S.B. Chrimes, C.D. Ross and R.A. Griffiths (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972), 86–128 (96–7); Coss, *Foundations of Gentry Life*, 1–8.

¹¹⁵ Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', 346.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 359–60.

¹¹⁷ Elizabeth Noble argues that 'romances may have provided popular reading among the gentry, but they neither mirrored nor mentioned the gentry's own lives', and Gerald Harriss that gentry culture 'reflected neither recent social changes nor new intellectual trends'. Elizabeth Noble, *The World of the Stonors: A Gentry Society* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009), 196; Gerald Harriss, *Shaping the Nation: England, 1360–1461* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2005), 159.

¹¹⁸ See Coss, *Foundations of Gentry Life*, 230–56; Raluca Rădulescu, 'Literature', *Gentry Culture*, 100–18.

the cultural needs of the emergent gentry by developing a series of new topoi that responded to their socioeconomic concerns.¹¹⁹ The literature consumed by the gentry in late-medieval England extended beyond romance. Rădulescu argues that miscellanies commissioned by gentry in the fifteenth century were more varied than we would expect, most commonly containing texts on political governance and kingship, as well as chronicles, political tracts, genealogical treatises, and texts by Lydgate and Hoccleve.¹²⁰ The Latin works of Bartholomew and Giles also experienced a dramatic increase in interest in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹²¹

Literature in verse was also of practical use to some members of the gentry, as illustrated in a letter from John Paston II (1442–1479) to John Paston III (1444–1504) on 17 February 1472, anxiously requesting ‘I comande me to yow and praye yow to loke vppe my Temple off Glasse, and sende it me by the berer heroff’.¹²² Julia Boffey notes that this urgent appeal, during the period of John II’s courtship, neatly epitomises that ‘on one level, Lydgate was an “author”, with “works” to be commissioned, collected, preserved; on another level he was a source of practical help, a fund of easily-extracted

¹¹⁹ Johnston, *Romance and the Gentry*, 1–10. On the dissemination of romance across noble and gentry communities, see Carol M. Meale, ‘Manuscripts, Readers and Patrons in Fifteenth-Century England’, *Arthurian Literature*, 4 (1985): 93–126 (102, 105–8); John J. Thompson, ‘Collecting Middle English Romances and Some Related Book-Production Activities in the Later Middle Ages’, *Romance in Medieval England*, eds Maldwyn Mills, Jennifer Fellows, and Carol Meale (Cambridge: Brewer, 1991), 17–30.

¹²⁰ Rădulescu, ‘Political Mentality’, 361–5.

¹²¹ Nicholas Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy 1066–1530* (London: Routledge, 2017), 95. Anthologies owned by gentry containing regiminal texts are: BL, MS Lansdowne 285 and the Pastons; Pierpont, Morgan MS 775 and Sir John Astley; BL, MS Sloane 2027 and William Brandon of Soham.

¹²² *Paston Letters*, ed. Davis, vol. 2 447. On their military reading, see Richard Beadle and Lotte Hellinga, ‘William Paston II and Pynson’s *Statutes of War* (1492)’, *The Library*, 7th series, 2 (2001): 107–19.

vers d'occasion'.¹²³ The contents of specific manuscripts commissioned by gentry give an indication of these varied interests. Curt F. Bühler proposes that miscellanies such as John Paston's 'grete boke' (BL, MS Lansdowne 285) are exemplary of the types of manuscripts owned by the landed gentry in late-medieval England.¹²⁴ This manuscript contains Vegetius's *De re militari*, Christine de Pizan's *Epistle of Othea*, and an English translation of the *Secretum secretorum*.¹²⁵ Studies of the Pastons' libraries and literary patronage by Elizabeth McDonald, G.A. Lester, Diane Watt, and others reveal that the family took a keen interest in the acquisition, commissioning, and reading of texts within a vibrant literary network in East Anglia.¹²⁶ The collections of John Paston II and Anne Paston especially show an interest in anthologised books of Middle English verse, especially of Chaucer and Lydgate.

Hoccleve's works were a popular choice for such gentry miscellanies, for instance BodL, MS Fairfax 16, a mid-fifteenth-century miscellany of Middle English poetry which was commissioned and owned by Sir John Stanley of Hooton, Cheshire (d.1469?).¹²⁷ Stanley held several roles in the court of Henry VI as Sergeant of the Armoury in the Tower of London (1431–1460) and Usher of the Chamber (1440–1455),

¹²³ Julia Boffey, *Manuscripts of English Courtly Love Lyrics in the Later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1985), 86.

¹²⁴ Curt F. Bühler, 'Sir John Paston's Grete Boke, a Fifteenth-Century "Best Seller"', *Modern Language Notes*, 56 (1941): 345–51 (351).

¹²⁵ G.A. Lester, *Sir John Paston's "Grete Boke": A Descriptive Catalogue, with an Introduction, of British Library MS Lansdowne 285* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1984), 420–4.

¹²⁶ Elizabeth McDonald, 'Uncommon readers? The Paston family and the textual cultures of fifteenth-century East Anglia' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of East Anglia, 2018); Lester, *Sir John Paston's 'grete Boke'*; Diane Watt, 'The Paston Women and Chaucer: Reading Women and Canon Formation in the Fifteenth Century', *SAC*, 42 (2020): 337–50.

¹²⁷ Coat of arms on f.14v. John Norton-Smith, *Bodleian Library, MS Fairfax 16* (London: Bodleian Library, 1979), xiii–xvi. The Stanley Baronetcy was created on 25 June 1660, making John Stanley a member of the gentry.

as well as a Member of Parliament and JP for Surrey.¹²⁸ Amongst numerous works by Chaucer and Lydgate including *The Legend of Good Women*, *Parlement of Foules*, *The Temple of Glas*, and *The Complaint of the Black Knight*, MS Fairfax 16 contains Hoccleve's *Letter of Cupid* and *Virelai to Henry V for money*.

The *Regiment* would not have been out of place in a gentry library. Firth Green has shown that there was a propensity for texts with political appeal amongst the nobility and gentry in fifteenth-century England.¹²⁹ The utilitarian value of literature would have been attractive as a practical tool to the gentry. Rădulescu's survey of political texts supports this, concluding that miscellaneous and single-text manuscripts of the mirrors for princes by Lydgate and Hoccleve formed the largest proportion of books owned by the English gentry.¹³⁰

As noted previously, of the forty-four extant manuscripts of the *Regiment*, thirteen can be identified with gentry owners within the first hundred years of their provenance.¹³¹ Many of these individuals owned land across one or more counties and participated in government at a local level, and as a result the majority of their surviving records are in the form of legal documents such as pleadings, petitions, quitclaims, and wills. By comparing the names and hands of annotations in manuscripts of the *Regiment* with these documents, it is possible to suggest a plausible candidate for each, although in the absence of heraldic decoration we cannot be

¹²⁸ Simon Meecham-Jones, 'Blanche, Two Chaucers and the Stanley Family: Rethinking the Reception of the Book of the Duchess', *Critical Survey*, 30.2 (2018): 94–119.

¹²⁹ Firth Green, *Poets and Princepleasers*, 135–7, 152.

¹³⁰ Rădulescu, 'Political Mentality', 374.

¹³¹ Ar, Di, Ha1, Hh, Hn1, La, Ma, Qu, Ry1, Ry3, Ry4, Sl1, So.

certain. I have been able to suggest the identity of gentry owners from Buckinghamshire: Sir John Kymbell of Mursley (d. by 1558) who owned Ha1;¹³² from Staffordshire: Sir Thomas Kynnersley of Loxley (c.1515–c.1592) who was connected to Qu, and Sir Thomas Littleton (d.1481) who owned Hh;¹³³ from Surrey: Sir John Treglystyn (d.1520) who owned Ry1;¹³⁴ from Somerset: Richard Burnett of Saint Cuthbert Wells (d.1508) who owned Se; and from London: Sir Thomas Wall (d.1536) who owned Ar.¹³⁵

Carol M. Meale's excellent study of the gentry context of Di demonstrates the possibilities of using manuscript micro-histories to adumbrate the wider contexts in which they circulated.¹³⁶ Di is composed of three independent codicological units, of similar origin, which contain (i) a Brut chronicle, (ii) Hoccleve's *Regiment, Tale of Jereslaus' Wife*, and *Tale of Jonathas*, (iii) and the romance of King Ponthus. All three parts can be confidently placed in the possession of the Hopton family of Blythburgh, Suffolk, and Swillington in Yorkshire. The Hoptons were a politically active and socially ambitious family, strategically allied through marriage and landholdings. Their manuscript contains the arms of the family but also those of politically-related families such as the Vavasours of Haslewood and the Gascoignes of Gawthorpe, who

¹³² F.2r: 'Iste Liber Constat John Kymbell'; and f.170v: 'Constat Jhon Kymbell of Indwell'; on f.1v is a receipt dated 9 August 1505.

¹³³ From an inscription by William Blackman of Badger, f.70v.

¹³⁴ Details of his lands appear in 1549 Ewell Rental documents (TNA, PRO LR 2/190) and *Abstracts of Feet of Fines*, 1509–1558, Surrey Record Society, 1946.

¹³⁵ From annotation on f.83r.

¹³⁶ Meale, 'Politics of Book Ownership', 105–31.

had common landholding interests or shared a connection to John of Gaunt and his direct Lancastrian descendants.

Meale's method combines codicology, historical analysis, literary criticism, and an understanding of the sociopolitical context to outline the circumstances in which the manuscript was produced. She considers the possession and use of books as a 'means of registering and affirming cultural identity within both private and public spheres', and argues that the Hopton's commissioned Di as an expression of socio-political confidence.¹³⁷ She interprets the coats of arms as a means of invoking the Hopton's regional and political identity and a statement of their national sphere of influence. The presence of Lancastrian arms and Hoccleve's *Regiment* offers further evidence of the Hoptons' interest in the text and the political climate in which the manuscript circulated. Meale's conclusion that 'No manuscript [...] comes into existence within a cultural vacuum' is a helpful reminder of the reciprocal relationship between book and owner, whereby the study of one advances the understanding of the other.¹³⁸ Informed by Meale's methodology, the following case-studies seek to uncover the gentry provenance of more *Regiment* manuscripts and explore the implications of their ownership.

Two lists of names appear on the flyleaves of Ry3, one male and one female. Two brackets indicate that the male names (Nicholas, John, William, Edward, Thomas, Francis, and Morice) belong to the Wykes family and the female names (Izabel,

¹³⁷ Ibid., 103, 127. On this family, see Colin Richmond, *John Hopton: A Fifteenth Century Suffolk Gentleman* (Cambridge: CUP, 1981).

¹³⁸ Ibid., 131.

Marget, Katheryn, Mary, Jane, and An) belong to the Powyns family. These are notable as some of the few female names recorded in *Regiment* manuscripts – only six other examples survive.¹³⁹ The identity of these people can be cautiously suggested. Nicholas Wykes (by 1488–d.1558) of Dodington, Gloucestershire, was a member of the gentry with substantial lands to his name. He was possibly of the Middle Temple, likely admitted before 1551.¹⁴⁰ Like de Lisle and Bergavenny, Wykes was connected to the crown. He is listed as one of only two Gentleman Waiters of Prince Henry in 1511, courtiers described as the ‘daily waiters upon the Prince’.¹⁴¹ This post was short lived when the Prince died soon after his birth, but Wykes remained affiliated with the court thereafter and is mentioned in documentation relating to the funeral. He is listed as an attendee at important state occasions, such as the christening of Prince Edward and the reception of Anne of Cleves.¹⁴²

Wykes also had numerous political responsibilities, acting as Commissioner for Gloucestershire in 1524, JP for the same county from 1531 until his death, comptroller of customs for Bristol 1542–1545, escheator for Gloucestershire (responsible for overseeing the process by which land reverted to the crown), and sheriff in 1544–1545 and 1554–1555.¹⁴³ He likely secured his important posts at court through his strategic marriage to the daughter of Sir Robert Poyntz, who was vice chamberlain to Catherine

¹³⁹ Catherine Coppley in Ma; Margaret Thomas in Tc; Beatrice Lynne and Elyzabeth Gaynsford in Hn1; and Bridget and Meriel Littleton in So.

¹⁴⁰ 'Wykes, Nicholas', *Men of Court*, ed. Baker, 1718–19.

¹⁴¹ *Letters and Papers*, 27 Feb. Ld. Chamb., Cl. IX., 1, f.159. R.O.

¹⁴² Sean McClory, 'The Poyntz Family of Acton', *Poyntzpass and Distict Local History Society*, 1 (2017): 31–43 (34).

¹⁴³ *Letters and Papers*, i, iv, v, viii, xii, xvi, xvii, xx, xxi; TNA, E 122/21/6; Christopher Elrington, 'List of Sheriffs of Gloucestershire', *Transactions of the Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 128 (2010): 207–27.

of Aragon.¹⁴⁴ His sister-in-law Elizabeth Poyntz was also Lady Mistress of the King's nursery from 1510.¹⁴⁵

We can attach Nicholas Wykes to this *Regiment* from evidence found in his will. In it he lists his sons Francis, Thomas, William, and Morice, and mentions his deceased son John, all names which appear in the list on the flyleaf.¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, Wykes's will is autograph, and the hand looks to be a close match, if not identical, to the hand in Ry3. The signing of the name 'Nicholas Wykes' is particularly close, with the same wide-set N and a similar style of ligature connecting the tail of the i (spelled here 'Wikes') to the upstroke of the ascender of the k.¹⁴⁷ The name of Nicholas Wykes is also distinguished from the other names in the manuscript, placed at the top of the list and written in a more ornate display script. These factors make it likely that Nicholas Wykes was the owner of this *Regiment* manuscript, or was being remembered as the head of the family.

The female list of names, attached to the Powyns surname, can also be associated with Nicholas Wykes from his will. In it he mentions the names of his daughters Mary, Margaret, and Jayne, and his wife Anne (formerly) Poyntz, which all align with names in the manuscript's list. There was also an Izabel Goodwin who married into the family who may be the identity of another name on the list. It is plausible that the name 'Powyns' on the flyleaf is a variant of the name 'Poyntz', with

¹⁴⁴ *History of Parliament*, ed. Bindoff, 672–3.

¹⁴⁵ Alison Weir, *Henry VIII: King and Court* (London: Vintage, 2008), 136.

¹⁴⁶ TNA, PROB 11/40/292.

¹⁴⁷ The will, frustratingly, does not mention books.

the s-syllable substituting the tz-sound at the end of the name. The name is also recorded with the variant spellings 'Poynts' and 'Poinés' in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹⁴⁸

The Wykes and Poyntz are not the only families to record their names in this manuscript: in the sixteenth century the Unwyn family list the birthdates of their children in the margins.¹⁴⁹ Whilst it is unlikely that every individual named here came into contact with the text, this manuscript was evidently understood to be an appropriate place to memorialise the family. This raises the possibility that Ry3 circulated within a household and participated in the construction of the family's identity. The diverse and authoritative nature of Hoccleve's sources, drawing upon figures such as Aristotle, Cassiodorus, and Giles of Rome, perhaps gave it the feel of a rich storehouse of knowledge, and thus made it an appropriate place to record family names.

Members of the gentry also owned anthologies of Hoccleve's works. La dates to the second half of the fifteenth century and contains Hoccleve's *Complaint*, *Dialogue*, *Tale of Jereslaus's Wife*, *Learn to Die*, *Tale of Jonathas*, and *Regiment*, as well as Lydgate's *Danse Macabre*. The flyleaves contain several fifteenth and sixteenth-century annotations, including 'Jeram Hampden'.¹⁵⁰ This is likely the ownership mark of Sir Jerome Hampden (1488–1540) of the Hampdens of Kimble, a family of landed gentry

¹⁴⁸ TNA, C 2/Eliz/S25/42; John Maclean, *Historical and Genealogical Memoir of the Family of Poyntz; or, Eight Centuries of an English Home* (Exeter: William Pollard & co., 1886), 33.

¹⁴⁹ Ry3, f.3r

¹⁵⁰ La, f.ii r.

with a political lineage. Hampden was the descendent of Sir Edmund Hampden (d.1419–1420), King's esquire and sheriff in 1395, and sixth in descent from Richard Hampden of Great Hampden, married to Elizabeth Singleton the heiress of Hartwell.¹⁵¹ Hampden was admitted to Furnival's Inn around 1519.¹⁵² He owned lands in Monks Risborough and Oxford. An inventory taken after his death lists a rich apparel of velvet sash cloth and black satin doublets, with a modest amount of livestock.¹⁵³ This inventory also lists a 'booke of statutes' in his possession, which suggests he required a practical understanding of the law to manage his estates. This is supported by the fact that the majority of documents that mention Hampden relate to his acquisition or defence of lands in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire.¹⁵⁴

Hampden's ownership of an anthology of Hoccleve's works is intriguing in this context: it is easy to imagine the practical application of the advice given in the *Regiment*, but the ownership of his other works suggests an affinity for Hoccleve as a poet as well as an adviser.¹⁵⁵ It also shows a member of the gentry reading Hoccleve and Lydgate in conjunction – a popular combination it seems, as the *Danse Macabre* is compiled with the *Regiment* in six other manuscripts. At a superficial level, both texts are didactic long-form works of poetic verse which aim to provide moral instruction and guidance. As David Lorenzo Boyd argues, the compilation of these texts suggests

¹⁵¹ George Lipscomb, *The History and Antiquities of The County of Buckingham*, in 4 vols (London: J.&W. Robins, 1847), vol. 2, 203. For the correspondence of some members of the family, see Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, *Kingsford's Stonor Letters and Papers 1290–1483*, ed. Christine Carpenter (Cambridge: CUP, 1996), nos 186, 187, 219, 236, 344.

¹⁵² 'Hampden, Jerome', *Men of Court*, ed. Baker, 811.

¹⁵³ 3 oxen, 41 'kyne', 1 bull, 2 calves; Buckinghamshire Archives, DX1437.

¹⁵⁴ E.g. TNA, C 1/793/6-8; Buckinghamshire Archives, D-LE/8/29.

¹⁵⁵ On another member of the gentry reading Hoccleve, see Brown, 'Hokclyff'.

that they were understood both by medieval compilers and readers to be thematically related.¹⁵⁶ In La however, *Danse Macabre* has more in common with Hoccleve's *Learn to Die*, as another text on the moralising counsel of dying or *ars moriendi*. As seen in Chapter 3, this combination of texts also appears in another *Regiment* manuscript: Ye, copied by the same scribe, which Boyd has argued is unified by a cohesive attempt to shape and affirm socio-religious and political control.¹⁵⁷ Jerome Hampden's signature on the flyleaf of La offers a glimpse into the literary interests of *Regiment* readers which will become more evident.

One such example is Sl1, a paper *Regiment* manuscript from the second half of the fifteenth century which is bound with six recycled parchment leaves from an earlier Lydgatean anthology.¹⁵⁸ The name 'Lucas' appears on both the flyleaves and in the main book block of the *Regiment*.¹⁵⁹ The ownership of Sl1 has long been attributed to Sir Thomas Lucas of Little Saxham (d.1531), initially by Edward Scott in his 1904 catalogue.¹⁶⁰ Scott also proposed that Lucas wrote the manuscript, however my comparison with Lucas's hand in autograph letters and manuscripts suggests otherwise.¹⁶¹ It is easy to see why previous commentators were keen to associate Sir Thomas Lucas with the *Regiment*: he was an influential political character and a prominent Lancastrian supporter, most notable as an advisor to Henry VII – the

¹⁵⁶ Boyd, 'Compilation as Commentary', 945–64.

¹⁵⁷ Boyd, 'Reading Through the *Regiment*', 26. For context, see Appleford, *Learning to Die*.

¹⁵⁸ Which are foliated but which I dub 'flyleaves' as they were evidently intended as binding material.

¹⁵⁹ Sl1, ff.1v, 4v, 100r, 101r–102r.

¹⁶⁰ E.J.L. Scott, *Index to the Sloane manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1904), 324.

¹⁶¹ TNA, SP 1/49, f.218; SP 1/48, f.81; and in a manuscript commissioned by him, BL, MS Additional 89428, ff.20r, 34v, 43r, 61r, 75r, 79r, 84v.

archetypal reader of Hoccleve's text. However, upon closer analysis the provenance of the manuscript is not quite so simple, because it is made of composite parts with different origins.

The flyleaves of Sl1 comprise four folios at the beginning of the manuscript and two at the end, loosely dated to c.1431–1450 from the script and decoration.¹⁶² They are recycled from a larger codicological unit, most likely a Lydgatean anthology of the type like MS Fairfax 16 mentioned earlier.¹⁶³ They differ from the *Regiment* in support (parchment, not paper), scribe, script (a neat anglicana formata, not the later secretary of the *Regiment*), contents (extracts of Lydgatean verse), and decoration (with elaborate floral motifs and decorated initials). Julia Boffey suggests the texts are sufficiently Lydgatean in style to be genuine additions to the canon or clever tributes which were likely included because of their tone.¹⁶⁴ The leaves contain extracts from *The Temple of Glas*,¹⁶⁵ an anonymous love ballade,¹⁶⁶ an extract from Lydgate's 'A Defence of Holy Church',¹⁶⁷ an extract from Lydgate's *Supplicacio Amantis*,¹⁶⁸ an anonymous poem on Sir Eger de Femyne,¹⁶⁹ and Lydgate's 'Balade in Commendation of Our Lady'.¹⁷⁰ The name 'Lucas' is recorded in the margins throughout.

¹⁶² Henry Noble MacCracken, 'Additional Light on the *Temple of Glas*', *PMLA*, 23.1 (1908): 128–40 (128).

¹⁶³ Following Gumbert 'Codicological Units'. The collation suggests that these opening flyleaves did not belong to two consecutive bifolia: the catchword on folio 3v does not match the text on the next folio, cutting off the end of 'A Defence of Holy Church'.

¹⁶⁴ Julia Boffey, 'The Manuscript Context of English Courtly Love Lyrics, c.1450–1530' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of York, 1983), 17.

¹⁶⁵ *The Temple of Glas*, ll.736–755, 763–4 (Sl1, f.1r); ll.98–131 (f.2r); ll.132–162 (f.2v).

¹⁶⁶ 'Mercy me grant of all that I me complain' (f.1v).

¹⁶⁷ 'A Defence of Holy Church', ll.1–58 (Sl1, ff.3r–v).

¹⁶⁸ *Supplicacio Amantis*, ll.439–505 (Sl1, ff.4r–v).

¹⁶⁹ *Sir Eger de Femyne*, 9 lines (sole witness, Sl1, f.101r).

¹⁷⁰ 'Balade in Commendation of Our Lady' (Sl1, ff.101r–102v).

The main body of the manuscript, containing only Hoccleve's *Regiment*, can be cautiously dated later than what are now its flyleaves. Three watermarks can be identified which date to between 1434–1448, and the hybrid secretary and anglicana script is more typical of the mid-fifteenth century.¹⁷¹ On the last folio of the *Regiment*, beneath the explicit, reads 'Lucas endure 27', likely a later ownership mark.¹⁷² The number '27' is puzzling, possibly relating to the year 1527, but most likely to the age of this Lucas at the time of acquiring the manuscript. Although it is not common practice to record one's age in such inscriptions of this period, Thomas Kittel identifies several portraits of wealthy English merchants from the first half of the sixteenth century which label the figures with the year, their name, and age.¹⁷³

As only the surname 'Lucas' is recorded in these two parts, there is no certainty to which individual or individuals it refers. The suggested owner, Sir Thomas Lucas (d.1531), was a prominent member of the gentry and a lawyer by training who attended Cambridge likely before 1485.¹⁷⁴ His first position of note was as secretary to

¹⁷¹ Watermarks: Piccard, 118062 ('Anchor, without circle, with flukes consisting of one line, beneath cross consisting of one line', Brügge 1448); Piccard, 81644 ('Bull's head, in profile, without additional motif', Culemborg 1434); Piccard, 71526 ('Bull's head, with eyes and nostrils, above rod', Wemding 1444). Secretary graphs are the single compartment **g** (sometimes with horn), short **r** (flourished when word-ending), and single compartment **a**. Anglicana graphs are the sigma-shaped **s**, round **e**, and looped **w**.

¹⁷² MacCracken notes this ownership mark resembles that of John Shirley, who similarly inscribed 'ma joye Shirley' in many of his manuscripts. 'Additional Light', 130.

¹⁷³ Thomas Kittel, 'Early Modern Merchant's Marks in Medieval English Manuscripts', *Renaissance Studies*, 34.2 (2020): 208–27.

¹⁷⁴ Listed in the 'Esquires and gentlemen' category, in BL, MS Additional 12462 as a recipient of the black cloth from the funeral of Sir Thomas Lovell, and 'esquire' in the bond Suffolk Archives, HD1011/2. Listed in the 'knights and others of the king's council' category of the Book of the Acts of the Council (HEHL, MS Ellesmere 2655 and MS Ellesmere 2654). Lucas's coat of arms also appears in a heraldic text BL, MS Harley 1560. *Cambridge Alumni Database* [accessed 15.02.2023]. Perhaps the _ Lucas identified in A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge: CUP, 1963), 135.

Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke and duke of Bedford – the uncle of Henry VII. Lucas worked with Tudor from c.1485–1456 until Tudor's death in 1495. They evidently had a close relationship: Lucas named his eldest son Jasper in his honour, incorporated the duke's arms into the glasswork of his manor at Little Saxham, and left means for a priest to pray for Jasper in his will.¹⁷⁵ In the household of Jasper Tudor, Lucas rose to Privy Councillor and Solicitor General to Henry VII by 1504.¹⁷⁶ By 1507, he was a member of the king's 'learned council', an advisory and executive body which also acted as a court of law for civil disputes.¹⁷⁷ This was an exclusive group, and only twelve names are recorded at any one time during the nine years of its existence between 1504 and 1515. Members included Roger Leybourne bishop of Carlisle, Sir Reginald Bray of the Council Learned, Sir James Hobart the king's attorney, and Robert Brudenall serjeant-at-law and justice of the King's Bench.¹⁷⁸ In this period, Lucas also trained at the Inner Temple, a connection which he maintained until at least 1518.¹⁷⁹

As with many of the individuals in this chapter, governance is prominent throughout Lucas's career. He had an instrumental role in Jasper Tudor's household, managing his many estates and the lands and estates of Catherine Woodville, duchess

¹⁷⁵ TNA, PROB 11/24/319, transcribed in Sydenham Henry Augustus Hervey, *Little Saxham Parish Registers: Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, with Appendices, Biographies, &c., 1559–1850* (Woodbridge: George Booth, 1901), 120. Also Roger Stuart Thomas, 'The Political Career, Estates and "Connection" of Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke and Duke of Bedford' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Swansea University, 1971), 456.

¹⁷⁶ Annabelle Kemp, *Lucas Genealogy* (Los Angeles: Bookman Press, 1964), 13.

¹⁷⁷ R. Somerville, 'Henry VII's Council Learned in the Law', *English Historical Review*, 65 (1939): 427–42 (428, 411); S.B. Chrimes and Vince Walsh, *Henry VII* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 147.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 150.

¹⁷⁹ *Calendar of Inner Temple Records*, in 9 vols, ed. F.A. Inderwick (London: Masters of the Bench, 1896), vol. I, 15, 22, 43; 'Lucas, Thomas I.', *Men of Court*, ed. Baker, 1036.

of Buckingham.¹⁸⁰ In 1515, Lucas was appointed to the Commission of the Peace for Suffolk, although he served outside of the county too.¹⁸¹ In this role, he had both urban and rural responsibilities, examining individuals for robbery and outlawry in London and fishing and hunting in Suffolk.¹⁸² Lucas continued to be named as a judicial authority until his death in 1531.¹⁸³ As evidence of his esteem, he was selected as one of the Cambridgeshire commissioners to inquire as to the possessions of Cardinal Wolsey in 1530.¹⁸⁴

Lucas also managed his personal estate, which grew significantly over his lifetime. Between 1485 and 1495 he married Elizabeth Keyms and acquired her lands, as well as Leo's Hall, and was granted the manor of Pembroke and Dunham Hall in Westley by Jasper Tudor.¹⁸⁵ Towards the end of the 1490s, Lucas was made bailiff and keeper of the lordship of Acton Burnell, Salop (1496), and Kirtling, Cambridgeshire (1499).¹⁸⁶ In Little Saxham, Lucas owned all properties of note: Large's Manor (acquired from Roger Darcy before 1505), Gedding's Manor (also called 'Topesfield') and Grace's Manor.¹⁸⁷ He also purchased land in Little Saxham to build his own

¹⁸⁰ Thomas, 'Political Career', 274.

¹⁸¹ *Letters and Papers*, Pat. 6 Hen. VIII. p.1, m.7d.

¹⁸² Examined James Bagge at the Lord Treasurer's chamber at Westminster for robbery (Oct 1530, TNA, SP 1/58, ff.150–1); reversed the sentence of outlawry of Th. Marler of Flaxflett, York, in Fleet Prison, Westminster (18 November 1520, *Letters and Papers*, Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p.1, m.1d); examined three suspected persons for fishing in waters owned by the parson of Glemsford (15 May 1524, Pat. 16 Hen. VIII. p.1, m.1d); sentenced three servants of lord Abergavenny for stealing peacocks and killing deer (15 December 1526, TNA, SP 1/40, ff.79–80).

¹⁸³ Last recorded in *Letters and Papers*, Pat. 22 Hen. VIII. p.1, m.17d.

¹⁸⁴ Charles Henry Cooper, Thompson Cooper, and G.J. Gray, *Athenae Cantabrigienses* in 3 vols (Cambridge: Deighton Bell, 1858), vol.I, 42.

¹⁸⁵ Records of the Kemeys's estates in BL, MS Additional 89428; Kemp, *Lucas Genealogy*, 14–15; Harvey, *Visitation of Suffolk*, vol. I, 49–52, 65–7.

¹⁸⁶ Although his acquisition of Kertlynge was only confirmed by Henry VIII on 3 July 1509; *Letters and Papers*, vol.I, July 1509, 265.

¹⁸⁷ Gage, *History of Suffolk*, 569–663, 669–77.

mansion, costing seven hundred and nineteen pounds, three shillings and one half pence.¹⁸⁸ Lucas is known to have commissioned one book, BL, MS Additional 89428, also known as the Lucas Psalter: an expensive and richly illuminated manuscript by the Master of Edward IV made in Bruges and featuring the arms of Thomas Lucas and Elizabeth Kemys.

Although Sir Thomas Lucas is a plausible owner of Sl1, there are other viable members of the Lucas family who should be considered. Sir John Edmund Fitz Lucas, his father, was a soldier and distinguished knight.¹⁸⁹ His service as a knight is recorded on 10 December 1447 when he presented his homage to John, duke of Norfolk, for lands and holdings in Warwickshire.¹⁹⁰ John Lucas settled first at Bury St Edmunds and then at West Stow, and owned lands in Gedding and Flempton.¹⁹¹ His gentry status is confirmed by his marriage in 1458 to Lady Elizabeth Goodwin (1435–1477), a member of a prominent gentry family based at Nether Winchendon manor in Buckinghamshire. He was evidently well connected at the close of the fifteenth century, appointed attorney for the delivery of seisin (the legal possession of land) by Nicholas Giddyng, esquire, on 22 June 1496.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁸ *Little Saxham Parish Registers: 1559–1850*, ed. Sydenham Hervey (Woodbridge: George Booth, 1901), 512.

¹⁸⁹ Kemp, *Lucas Genealogy*, 13. Contemporary documents describe him as a husbandman and knight; TNA, C 1/534/93.

¹⁹⁰ Berkeley Castle Muniments, BCM/D/5/76/1.

¹⁹¹ John Lucas had granted to Richard Boneton lands and tenements in Steple Gyddyng, Huntingdonshire Archives, CON 3/2/1/9; land grants in Flempton recorded in Suffolk Record Office, Bury St Edmunds Branch, 449/2/98; 449/2/104; 449/2/108; 449/2/121; and 449/2/125.

¹⁹² Suffolk Record Office, Bury St Edmunds Branch, 449/2/122.

If indeed this Lucas family is the same Lucas of Sl1, then there are several plausible (if speculative) ways that this manuscript came to be compiled. One possibility is that the flyleaves and *Regiment* were owned by two different members of the Lucas family, who independently inscribed their family name on their composite parts, which were later bound together. This would account for the difference in date and style. Considering the dating and content, Sir Thomas Lucas is a plausible candidate for the owner of the *Regiment*. A more likely candidate for the earlier flyleaves is John Lucas. Intriguingly, the name John Lucas is associated with a Lydgatean poem which may provide a clue. This poem is witnessed in two late fifteenth-century manuscripts, BodL, MS Douce 322 and BL, Harley MS 1706 (copied from Douce), under the title 'O worldly folk'.¹⁹³ It is written in a distinctly Lydgatean style, although not believed to be by Lydgate.¹⁹⁴ In these manuscripts, the poem is preceded by the rubric 'theyse balades that thus ben wryten here be take owte of the book of Iohn Lucas'.¹⁹⁵

In 1802, Joseph Ritson assumed that this rubric identifies the author and so included John Lucas in his list of medieval literary poets. From Ritson's suggestion, the cataloguers of BodL, MS Douce 322, BL, Harley MS 1706, and CUL, MS Gg.5.45 (which also contains the poem but without the rubric) recorded the poems as the work of John Lucas.¹⁹⁶ However, the flyleaves of Lydgatean verse in Sl1 could challenge this assumption. Perhaps the verse in MS Douce 322 and MS Harley 1706 were not from a

¹⁹³ MS Douce 322, 29v–30r; MS Harley 1706, 19v–20r. See Appleford, *Learning to Die*, 128.

¹⁹⁴ MacCracken, 'Additional Light', 128.

¹⁹⁵ BL, Harley MS 1706, f.19v.

¹⁹⁶ DIMEV 4097.

book *written by* John Lucas, but *owned by* John Lucas. It is only circumstantial that we have mention of a book “of” John Lucas which contained Lydgatean verse, and a few leaves from a Lydgatean anthology which was owned by a Lucas. It is tempting to speculate – although impossible to prove – that this may have been the very manuscript of which fragments survive in S11.

The margins of the flyleaves are decorated with vines and flowers interwoven with short mottoes in English and French, which were evidently added after the main text had been written. It is uncertain whether these marginal details were part of the original book or were added after the leaves were recycled. These flyleaves have attracted the attention of Henry Noble MacCracken, Julia Boffey, and Elizabeth Grace McDonald.¹⁹⁷ Folio 1v contains the most text (which might suggest that they were a later addition), with the phrases ‘Roy sanz plus’, ‘pur ma soueraigne’, and ‘ffortune allas’ at the top of the page and several longer lists which run down both vertical margins: ‘Scales | Ver elle tout bien’, ‘Morley | Ele est mon cure’, ‘Felbrigge | Sanz mewer’, ‘Normanvile | yours for euer’, ‘Lucas | Mercy ma soueraigne Joie | Youres alone’, ‘Yow best | Noon bettir | Soueraigne | Youres for euer | Jenose dire’, ‘Humblement Magre | Sanz mewer | Lucas’, ‘ffortune humblement attendaunt pur ma soueraigne | Une sanz plus pur le roy’, and ‘obeysaunz & plesaunz’ (Figure 1).

¹⁹⁷ MacCracken, ‘Additional Light’; Julia Boffey, ‘Middle English Lyrics: Texts and Interpretations’, *Medieval literature: Texts and Interpretation*, ed. Tim Machan (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1991), 121–38; McDonald, ‘Uncommon Readers?’, 228–36.

¹⁹⁷ S11, ff.3r, 4v, 102r.

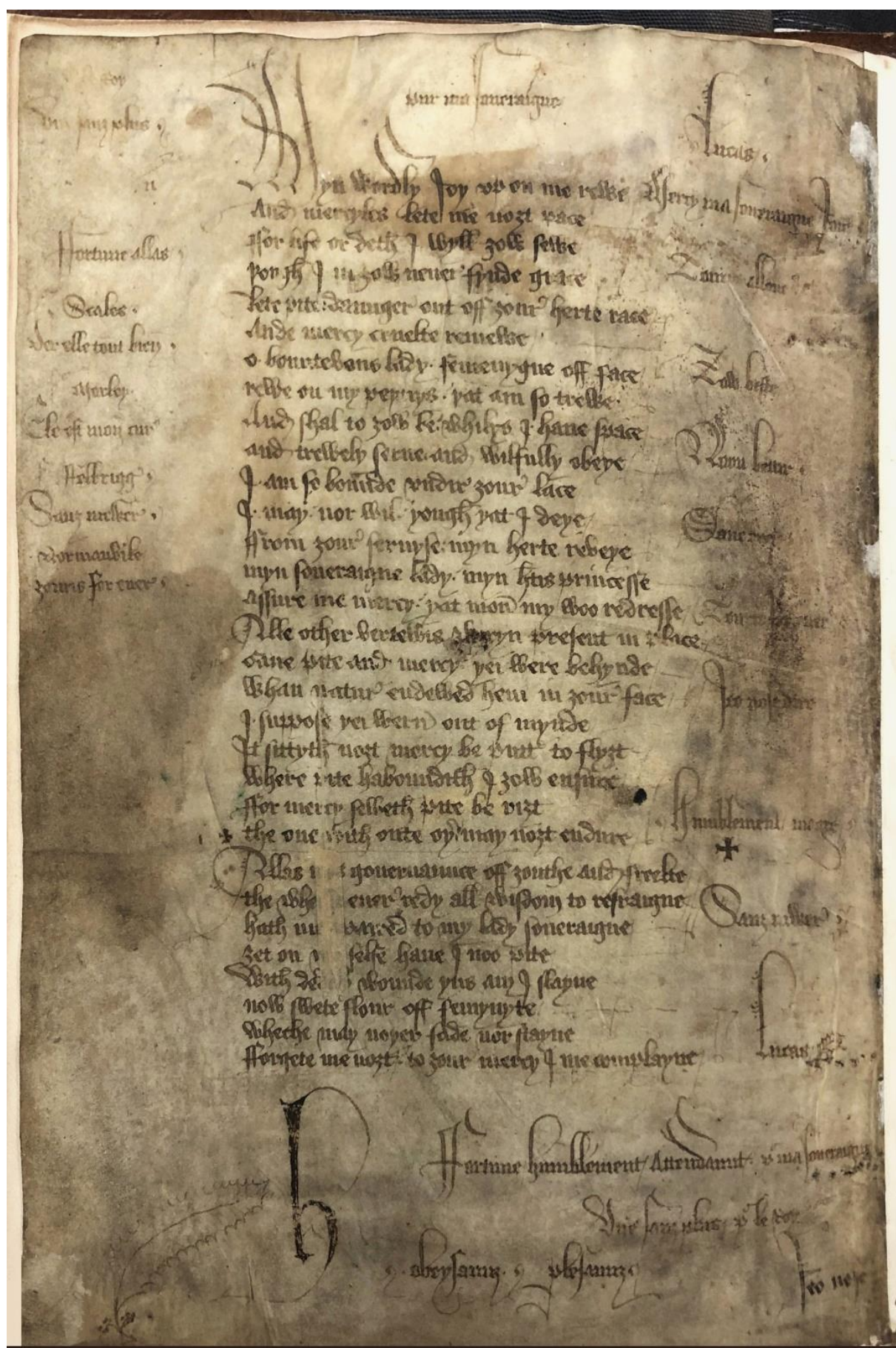


Figure 1: SL1, f.1v. Decorated flyleaf from Lydgatean anthology.

The names in this list may contain a hint as to the ownership of the leaves and the reason for their inclusion in Sl1. MacCracken has identified Thomas Lord Scales (1399–1460), seventh baron Scales and resident of Norfolk; Thomas lord Morley (1393–1435), fifth baron Morley and resident of Suffolk; Sir Simon de Felbrigg (c.1366–c.1422), knight of Norfolk; and Henry Normanvyle, a member of Lord Roos's retinue at Agincourt (dates unknown).¹⁹⁸ They are notable members of the East Anglian gentry, and the Scales, Morley, and Felbrigg families were prominent military commanders in the fifteenth century. Boffey wonders at the personal significance of these names and whether they refer to the patrons or destined readers of the manuscript, or acquaintances of the scribe.¹⁹⁹ Another possible motivation is something akin to the later *liber amicorum*, in which friends and acquaintances would record their names in manuscripts as souvenirs or mementos.²⁰⁰

Although the names in Sl1 were written by one hand and in one stint, the effect of listing names in the margins of the page has the same visual impact and implication as Meale suggests is the case in Di.²⁰¹ They frame Lydgate's texts with an impression of the aspirational or genuine social context of the texts. Now as the opening leaves to Hoccleve's *Regiment*, their presence has the same effect on the book. Their decorative quality is similarly elevating. The script is more elaborate and skilful than the *Regiment*, and eight of the twelve pages are decorated with floral motifs and fantastical

¹⁹⁸ MacCracken, 'Additional Light', 129.

¹⁹⁹ Boffey, 'Manuscript Context', 132–3.

²⁰⁰ Peter Beal, 'Liber amicorum', *Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology, 1450–2000* (Oxford: OUP, 2008).

²⁰¹ Meale, 'Politics of Book Ownership', 127.

creatures. The name 'Lucas' appears six times in the margins in the same decorative hand.²⁰²

The act of compiling leaves from a Lydgatean anthology also speaks to the literary interests of the manuscript's owner. Of course, it is difficult to say how much choice the compiler had, but some of the verses selected seem to have been chosen consciously. The compiler plausibly drew connections between *The Temple of Glass* as a dream vision and the opening of the *Regiment*, when the poet wanders the streets at night led by the Old Man as a pseudo-guide. Paired together, these texts make a coherent collection, perhaps akin to Hampden's anthology. Certainly, the quality of the parchment leaves, list of names, and presence of French mottoes suggests an educated reader with a taste for courtly poetry, likely themselves a member of the gentry.

Although the exact Lucas who owned S11 in its current state is unclear, it is reasonable to locate the manuscript in the context of the landed gentry in the late fifteenth century. There are several annotations in a fifteenth-century hand, in a darker ink than the main text, which can feasibly be attributed to someone of this context. These include thirteen marginal *nota bene* annotations, sometimes accompanied by a manicule, which resemble the marks of an attentive reader. The majority are in the Dialogue and Prologue, in which Hoccleve explores more personal issues which are not addressed as overtly in the second half of the text, such as the impact of poverty

²⁰² S11, ff.1v (twice), 4v (paired with a banderole with 'mercy made'), 101r (with the motto 'Mercy ma souerangue joie ffortune sa mon souent Lucas'), 101v, and 102r (paired with a banderole with 'mercy').

on creative output and the anxiety of unstable finances. Anna Torti describes the two halves of the text as a micro-history (of Hoccleve's life) and a macro-history (exempla for the prince) – two mirrors, but reflecting in different directions.²⁰³ This first part of the poem also contains far fewer glosses, numbering thirty-four in Blyth's edition and twenty-two in SI1.²⁰⁴ Although marginal additions are not the only evidence of readers' interest in the text – indeed, many readers did not write in their books at all – the passages which have been highlighted in SI1 are suggestive of the interests of these late-medieval gentry.

Some annotations pick out passages that revolve around governance, showing that this manuscript has variegated evidence of use. These passages have intriguing applications to Thomas Lucas' role as counsellor to Henry VII. For instance, a *nota bene* and manicule mark moments of giving and requesting counsel in the Dialogue, when the Old Man instructs the speaker to 'amende thow thy governance' (265) and at the end of the Dialogue when the speaker asks the Old Man for advice (1037). Other pieces of counsel in the *Regiment Proper* are highlighted which would have been especially relevant to Thomas Lucas's role at court after the turbulent monarchical conflict which brought Henry VII to the throne. Hoccleve warns that a crown comes with many burdens, 'pereile [...], charge and þe feer' (2178) – highlighted here with a marginal 'nota'.²⁰⁵ Similarly, Hoccleve's caution against the threat of Favell and flattering

²⁰³ Anna Torti, *The Glass of Form: Mirroring Structures from Chaucer to Skelton* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1991), 89. Also Hasler, 'Hoccleve's Unregimented Body', 56.

²⁰⁴ On gloss distribution, see Perkins, 184.

²⁰⁵ SI2, f.41r

characters at court is marked with a manicule.²⁰⁶ The line which describes the extent to which Favell will go to gain favour with his lord – ‘To what thyng it be, if it his lord lyke | He him conformeth’ (3046–3047) – is pointed out with a large manicule. In the aftermath of the War of the Roses, and in the important position of advising a king who was experiencing the first period of monarchical stability since the conflict had begun, these warnings would have been especially sage.

Multiple extracts which contain lessons on fortune are likewise highlighted, and it is tempting to also read these in the context of post-War of the Roses. The changeability of Fortune – a repeated warning in the *Regiment* – is annotated twice.²⁰⁷ Later, the tale of John of Canace is signalled with not one but three marginal notes: a manicule, ‘nota’, and ‘nota fabulum’.²⁰⁸ The lesson of this tale, whose protagonist is foolish in his generosity and neglects his own financial stability, before cannily tricking his grasping relatives into supporting him in his old age, similarly explores the changeability of fortunes. The manicule on this page points specifically to the line in which Hoccleve recommends that a king should reward him ‘that his flessch despendith and his blood’ (4173) in his service. As many of the gentry, including the Lucases, were involved with military expeditions on the king’s behalf, this advice would have been particularly appealing. Another comparable extract which draws

²⁰⁶ S11, f.56v.

²⁰⁷ S11, ff.26v, 27r, l.1355 and 1383.

²⁰⁸ S11, f.77r.

attention to Hoccleve's defence of the virtue of generosity (when it is deserved) is annotated with 'nota hic'.²⁰⁹

Lydgate's *Troy Book* makes for an interesting comparison, as a moral history rather than a mirror for princes but which was read for similar purposes in this period. Robert Meyer-Lee notes that Lydgate's works were 'desirable cultural commodities for those nobles who sought the aura of royalty, as well as for those gentry who wished to emulate courtly behaviour'.²¹⁰ The Carent family owned one such manuscript, John Rylands, MS Eng. 1, in the 1440s.²¹¹ One candidate for the manuscript's patron or initial owner is William Carent (d.1476), MP for Somerset and Dorset, as well as Escheator, Commissioner of Enquiry, and Sheriff.²¹² Carent also had links to the crown through his brother-in-law John Stourton and John Beaufort, duke of Somerset. As Perkins concludes, Carent's status and involvements makes him exactly the type of gentry reader who one would expect to be commissioning works of governance, ethics, and exemplary behaviour in the fifteenth century.²¹³

A final annotated passage in Sl1 which is intriguing to read in the context of Sir Thomas Lucas's life appears in a lesson from the 'De justitia' section in which Hoccleve uses the tale of an unjustly convicted man to illustrate the danger of false justice. It tells of a man from Persia who was wrongly condemned by a judge whose sense of

²⁰⁹ Sl1, f.86r, l.4577.

²¹⁰ Meyer-Lee, *Poets and Power*, 51.

²¹¹ Kathryn Warner, 'The Provenance and Early Ownership of John Ryland MS English 1', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 81.1 (1999): 127–140; Nicholas Perkins, 'Things fall apart: the narratives of gift in Lydgate's *Troy Book*', *Gift of Narrative*, 184–238.

²¹² *Ibid.*, 237 n.70.

²¹³ Fewer, 'Ideology of Prudence', 229–45; *Troy Book: Selections*, ed. Guido delle Colonne (Kalamazoo, MI: TEAMS, 1998), 7.

justice was coloured by anger and hatred. When the king hears of this injustice, he reverses the judgement and gives the judge a gruesome sentence: his skin is flayed and used to cover the judge's chair in the courtroom, upon which the judge's son, newly made a judge after his father, is forced to sit so 'that he | Sholde be waar how he his doomes gaf, | And lene alway to rightwisnesse staf' (2686–2688). This rather blunt metaphor, that the foundations of one's judicial system must be without injustice, is marked with 'nota bene'. An interesting parallel can be found in Thomas Lucas's judicial responsibilities, which involved not only the sentencing but the revision of sentences to ensure that justice has been enforced correctly. In November 1520, in his role as JP in Westminster, Lucas reversed the sentence of outlawry of Thomas Marler of Flaxflett, who had been taken to court by Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, for debt in 1516.²¹⁴ Although circumstantial, there is a pleasing similarity between the story in the *Regiment* and Thomas Lucas's responsibility as a judge in the Commission of the Peace.

Without an explicit provenance, the analysis of Sl1 in the context of the gentry Lucas family is necessarily speculative. Circumstantial evidence from micro-histories of John and Thomas Lucas, when placed alongside the split ownership of Sl1, suggest a plausible provenance which also complements the expected readership of the *Regiment*. The passages with fifteenth-century annotations further support this context, by showing a concern with governance, justice, and the giving of council. Even if Sl1 was not owned by these Lucases, it was certainly owned by someone like

²¹⁴ *Letters and Papers*, Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p.1, m.1d.

them: of the status to afford to commission the manuscript of the flyleaves, with a taste of courtly and religious poetry, the means to own more than one manuscript, familiar enough with French to enjoy the mottoes, and proud enough to put their name all over their books.

A final manuscript is perhaps witness to its owner's social mobility. The flyleaves of Ry4, a mid-fifteenth-century *Regiment*, contain several intriguing annotations which connect the manuscript to an individual with a rich political context. The manuscript is of fine parchment and the script neatly executed, opening with a three-sided border and with each stanza marked with alternating red and blue paraphs – a high-quality book, even by *Regiment* standards. The name 'John al Hallyn' is recorded on the rear flyleaf, now erased but visible under UV.²¹⁵ A plausible candidate is Sir John Allyn (1495–1545), an important figure in London government from Thaxted, Essex.²¹⁶

Allyn was a mercer and was knighted at Whitehall in 1529. Prior to this he was appointed as both Sherrieff of London (1518) and Lord Mayor of London (twice: in 1525 and 1535).²¹⁷ He evidently grew into favour at court, described in 1530 as a gentleman usher of the King's chamber – a role that commanded all Officers under them in the Privy Lodgings.²¹⁸ This was a prestigious position, often filled by men of noble birth

²¹⁵ Ry4, f.101r.

²¹⁶ *The Visitations of Essex by Hawley, 1552; Hervey, 1558; Cooke, 1570; Raven, 1612; and Owen and Lilly, 1634* (London: Harleian Society, 1878), 333–4. Another name on the flyleaf has a possible tie to Essex: John Pypere (of Halstead, Essex, in TNA, 449/2/681).

²¹⁷ *A Book of Knights Banneret, Knights of the Bath, and Knights Bachelor* (London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1885), 61; *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain & Ireland*, in 3 vols, eds John Burke and H. Colburn (London: Colburn & Company, 1850), vol. 3, 375.

²¹⁸ *Letters and Papers*, Pat. 23 Hen. VIII. p.1, m.11.

or those favoured by the king. In the same year, Allyn was made keeper of Farnham castle in Surrey, keeper of the King's garden and conduit, door-ward and keeper of the castle, and alderman.²¹⁹ He also held the prominent role of Privy Councillor to Henry VIII from (at least) 12 December 1528 until 1540.²²⁰ This places Allyn amongst a group of *Regiment* owners who had ties to the crown and responsibilities at court.

Like many other *Regiment* owners, Allyn also held several judicial roles across his career (though he is not recorded as a member of the Inns of Court). As well as being sheriff of London, he is recorded at several noteworthy trials, listed as a representative of London in the Commission of 14 July 1530 concerning the possessions held by Thomas Cardinal Archbishop of York, and as a member of the petty jury in the trial of Dr. Mackerell and others after the Lincolnshire Rebellion in 1537.²²¹ Allyn also rose to prominence as a member of the Commission of the Peace and Commission of gaol delivery from 1537–1539.²²² By the time of his death, Allyn was extremely wealthy, gifting in his will a rich gold collar and jewel to be worn by the Lord Mayor and his successors, and many other bequests to the City of London.²²³ His lands were purchased by the king and rent distributed to the poor of London indefinitely.²²⁴

²¹⁹ *Letters and Papers*, 19 Feb. 15 Hen. VIII. April 15 Hen. VIII.

²²⁰ 1528 is the first date at which he signs a letter 'John Alen, K.'s chauncelor'; R. O. St. P. III. 108. 1032.

²²¹ *Letters and Papers*, 14 July, Rym. XIV. 402; 22 Oct. Pat. 29 Hen. VIII, p.4, m.9 d.

²²² *Letters and Papers*, 3 July. Pat. 31 Hen. VIII., p.2, m. 8d.

²²³ Sir Egerton Brydges, *The Topographer: Containing a Variety of Original Articles, Illustrative of the Local History and Antiquities of England*, in 27 vols (London: Robson and Clarke, 1789), vol. 1, 458.

²²⁴ Arthur Collins and Thomas Wotton, *The English Baronetage: Containing a Genealogical and Historical Account of All the English Baronets, Now Existing: Their Descents, Marriages, and Issues*, in 4 vols (London: Printed for Tho. Wotton, 1741), vol. 2, 150–1. The Alleyns were not created Baronet until June 24, 1629.

It is not certain at what point Allyn acquired Ry4, but his central role in government, judicial responsibilities, and proximity to the king in the role of a Counsellor makes him a plausible candidate for the ownership of the *Regiment*. He serves as an apt conclusion for this chapter, as an individual not born into a titled family but who rose to prominence throughout his career. Allyn's example illustrates how, by the end of the century, manuscripts of Hoccleve's *Regiment* circulated far beyond their original royal dedicatee. As this chapter has shown, the ownership of the *Regiment* can be traced alongside evolving social hierarchies across the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It is notable that these varied owners, regardless of their social rank, shared a common interest in poetry that explored themes of governance, ethical conduct, and morality. Turning inwards to the text, this suggests that the *Regiment* was diverse in its appeal as a poem that became accessible and applicable to a wide audience. Turning outwards to its social context, this also suggests that the readership for mirrors for princes transcended traditional class boundaries. Other individuals who have been introduced in prior chapters, such as Sir Thomas Littleton the owner of Hh, corroborate these findings. This wider circulation underscores the importance of such texts not only as literary works but as instruments of social and political instruction, shaping the values and aspirations of a diverse audience engaged in the practicalities of governance.

Chapter 5: Ecclesiastical Provenance

A composite manuscript of theological texts contains the following humorous note in the margin:

Wilflete vult quod iste liber tradatur abbacie de Meios in Holdernes, quia emit eum ab uno monacho eiusdem domus pro viii s. et dubitat utrum monachus habuit potestatem vendendi.

Wilflete wishes that this book be delivered to the abbey of Meaux in Holderness, because he bought it from one of the monks of the same house for 8 s. and he doubts whether the monk had the power to sell.¹

Fearing he has purchased a stolen manuscript, the fifteenth-century cleric William Wilflete returns his copy of Peter of Limoges's *Oculus moralis* to the monks of the Cistercian abbey of St Mary the Virgin in Meaux, Yorkshire.² This is exactly the type of text which one would expect a learned ecclesiastic figure like Wilflete to be reading: a Latin treatise on the moral significance of the eyes, presented as a preaching manual for priests which explores the interpretation of optics and spiritual vision.

Wilflete's hand appears in another, less predictable, manuscript of the fifteenth-century. A title in a copy of Hoccleve's *Regiment* states that this book is the work of 'Johannes Occliffe de regimine principum et constat Magister W Wilflete'.³ Wilflete is the scribe responsible for this copy of Hoccleve's vernacular narrative poem addressed to a prince – not a text which on first impression would appeal to a cleric. However, as this chapter will explore, the fifteenth century was a period in which

¹ BodL, MS Digby 77, f.47v.

² On manuscripts of Peter of Limoges, see Laure Miolo, 'Un manuscrit de Pierre de Limoges (†1306) à la British Library; À propos du codex London, BL, Additional MS 38688', *Scriptorium*, 74 (2020): 79–111. By 'cleric' I mean 'A man ordained to the ministry or service of the Christian Church; a member of the clergy', *OED*, [accessed 23.07.2025].

³ Cc, f.1r.

ecclesiastical figures copied, owned, and shared regiminal literature in both Latin and the vernacular. Hoccleve's *Regiment*, with its themes (amongst others) of moral and spiritual instruction, heavy Latin glosses, and extensive citations to classical and scriptural texts, was circulated within these ecclesiastical communities. Although this is not the expected audience, it is perhaps fitting, because Hoccleve himself was trained initially in an ecclesiastical context before migrating to the Privy Seal. When the text is considered through the lens of an ecclesiastical reader, the ways in which the *Regiment* appealed to readers outside of secular courtly circles becomes evident.

This chapter will first establish the context of ecclesiastical owners of regiminal texts in late-medieval England, using catalogues, inventories, and manuscript provenance to demonstrate that Latin texts such as the *Secretum secretorum* and *De regimine principum* were being read and circulated in this period. Next, the ecclesiastical readership of the *Regiment* will be adumbrated from the religious provenance of its manuscripts, drawing on several case-studies to explore the individuals and institutions who owned the text. The chapter will then turn to a single scribe, William Willefe, and his copy of the *Regiment*: Cc, to conduct a detailed analysis of both Willefe and his manuscript. This final section will sketch an image of Willefe's life as a parish priest, Master of a Cambridge college, judge, confessor, and dean of a college of priests, in order to understand why this ecclesiastical figure was reading and copying the poem in the fifteenth century. This, in turn, expands our understanding of the scope of Hoccleve's readership in late-medieval England, and offers a new perspective on the lay-ecclesiastic binary.

Ecclesiastical readership of regiminal texts in late-medieval England

Scholars have long acknowledged that a perspective that imposes a stark binary between lay and ecclesiastical worlds is unprofitable because it overlooks the blurred edges between these two communities. A.I. Doyle expressed concern over the classification (and subsequent polarisation) of medieval texts as 'religious' and 'secular', observing that 'the majority of surviving Middle English literature is in some sense theological, just as the majority of literate persons were in some sense clerical'.⁴ Subsequent research by, amongst others, Dorothea Kullmann and Wendy Scase has shown that the old binaries of clerical and lay are no longer tenable.⁵ Scase argues that there is a gradual loosening of the clerical monopoly on "clergie", which challenges our concept of an ecclesiastical hierarchy that is dependent on a 'knowledge differential' between layperson and cleric.⁶

This is not to say that scholarship has always portrayed these worlds as separate. In recent decades, the interaction between lay and religious readers has been the subject of renewed critical attention. Vincent Gillespie, Margaret Connolly, and M.T. Clanchy have shown how Latin and vernacular religious writing of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries blossomed to target an expanding market of

⁴ A.I. Doyle, 'A Survey of the Origins and Circulation of Theological Writings in English in the 14th, 15th, and Early 16th Centuries, with Special Consideration of the Part of the Clergy Therein' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1953), 7–8.

⁵ Dorothea Kullmann, 'Introduction', *The Church and Vernacular Literature in Medieval France*, ed. Dorothea Kullmann (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2009), 1–14 (7–8); Wendy Scase, *Piers Plowman and the New Anticlericalism* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989).

⁶ Scase, *New Anticlericalism*, 14, 40–41.

potential readers beyond the religious sphere.⁷ Entire volumes and theses have been dedicated to the topic of lay engagement with vernacular religious texts in fifteenth-century England.⁸ Late Middle English texts like *The Testimony of William Thorpe* and John Trevisa's translation of the *Defensio curatorum* have been examined for the ways in which they aim to 'make available for the leisurely perusal of a vernacular readership matters which had previously been [...] purely intraclerical issues'.⁹

However, less attention has been given to ecclesiastical engagement with texts outside of their religious remit. We perhaps do not immediately think of religious figures – either archbishops or parish priests – reading lay texts in this period. Yet when there is engagement in one direction, there is often engagement in the other. For instance, research into the literary influences behind the ecclesiastical texts *The Abbey of the Holy Ghost* and *The Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost* by Nicole R. Rice has revealed a network of collaboration and conversation among members of the laity and clergy in the fifteenth century.¹⁰ Studies of specific ecclesiastical individuals and their books have also unearthed the variety of their literary interests. A study by John Scattergood demonstrates the historical, political, and geographical interests of the

⁷ Vincent Gillespie, 'Vernacular Books of Religion', *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375–1475*, eds Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: CUP, 1989), 317–44 (319); Connolly, 'Books for the helpe', 170–81; M.T. Clanchy, 'Parchment and Paper: Manuscript Culture 1100–1500', *A Companion to the History of the Book*, eds S. Eliot and J. Rose, 2nd edn (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Blackwell, 2020), 194–206.

⁸ Fiona Somerset, *Clerical Discourse and Lay Audience in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005); Nicole R. Rice, *Lay Piety and Religious Discipline in Middle English Literature* (Cambridge: CUP, 2008); Samantha Sabalis, 'Reading and Teaching Manuals of Religious Instruction in Fifteenth-Century England' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Fordham University, 2017).

⁹ Somerset, *Clerical Discourse*, 99.

¹⁰ Nicole R. Rice, 'Lay Spiritual Texts and Pastoral Care in Two Fifteenth-Century Priests' Collections', *Middle English Religious Writing in Practice: Texts, Readers, and Transformations*, ed. Nicole R. Rice (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 149–77 (174).

fifteenth-century vicar of Harlington John Benet by tracing his annotations throughout the chronicles, war treatises, and topographical notes in his miscellany TCD, MS 516.¹¹

The literary interests of ecclesiastical individuals in late-medieval England extended to regiminal literature – texts which codified the behavioural norms by which an individual should govern himself. Inventories, catalogues, and databases of books owned by religious institutions and individuals reveal the popularity of the genre amongst ecclesiastical communities in the late-medieval period, and illustrate the regiminal trend in the reading habits of ecclesiastical figures. These historical data, in turn, present literary implications for how regiminal poems were read. Indeed, the breadth of their reading interest could be said to mirror the breadth of knowledge and discourse in the Bible itself, which contains material that is not purely theological, but relates to history, governance, husbandry, and proverbial wisdom. As this Chapter will demonstrate, an overview of the readership of both Latin and vernacular instructional texts in late-medieval England reveals that there was a culture of ecclesiastical (and often scholarly) readers owning, copying, and engaging with literary regiminal texts.

It is, in some respects, unsurprising that ecclesiastical figures were reading Latin texts on political governance, as this topic was considered a branch of moral governance. After all, Latin was the language of the Church, and of other instructional

¹¹ John Scattergood, 'Trinity College MS 516: A Clerical Historian's Personal Miscellany', *Makers and Users of Medieval Books: Essays in Honour of A.S.G. Edwards*, eds Carol M. Meale and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: CUP, 2005), 121–31.

texts for priests.¹² The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in England saw a dramatic increase in the production and circulation of manuals of instruction for priests, mainly (though not exclusively) in Latin. This trend in book production follows the development in the fourteenth century of what W.A. Pantin calls ‘technical literature’ – texts that dealt with canon law and moral theology through ‘*distinctiones* and *schemata*, definitions and subdivisions, of almost mathematical precision’.¹³ Many of the Latin regiminal texts which were circulating in late-medieval England would have appealed to the same ecclesiastical audiences for whom these instructional texts were intended, in both content and form.

One such text is the *Secretum secretorum*, one of the most widely circulated books of the Middle Ages.¹⁴ The text survives in over five hundred Latin manuscripts alone, and it is therefore unsurprising that there were ecclesiastical figures amongst its vast readership.¹⁵ The regiminal style and themes of the text would have also been attractive to religious figures, some of whom occupied important positions in the Church and government. The *Secretum* is a foundational example of the ‘mirror for princes’ genre in which Hoccleve’s *Regiment* participates, but also incorporates an encyclopaedic survey of medicine, astrology, alchemy, and physiognomy. It is one of

¹² E.g., Grosseteste’s *Templum domini*, Richard de Wethersett’s *Summa theologica*, and John of Wales’s *Monoloquium* and *Legiloquium*. For a case-study of a medieval ecclesiastic, see Swanson, *John of Wales*.

¹³ William A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 189–90.

¹⁴ Steven J. Williams, ‘The Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secret of Secrets* as a Mirror of Princes: A Cautionary Tale’, *A Companion to the ‘Mirrors for Princes’ Literature*, eds Noelle-Laetitia Perret and Stéphane Péquignot (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 376–402 (376); Abdurrahman Badawi, *Le Transmission De La Philosophie Grecque Au Monde Arabe* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1968), 11.

¹⁵ *Secreta Secretorum: Nine English Versions*, ed. Mahmoud Manzalaoui, EETS o.s. 276 (Oxford: OUP, 1977), xiv–xxii.

Hoccleve's main sources, along with Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* and Jacobus de Cessolis' *De Ludo scacchorum* – which he lists as the three texts with which Prince Henry would be familiar (2129–2130).

A manuscript of the *Secretum* was owned by John Laing (d.1483), bishop of Glasgow. Although the manuscript is no longer extant, the record of Laing's donation of it to Glasgow University in 1475 survives.¹⁶ An extant anthology of theological and philosophical texts which includes extracts from the *Secretum*, was also owned by the fourteenth-century friar Robert Norman, who annotates 'Liber Fratris Roberti Normanni' in the manuscript.¹⁷ The earliness of the hand in the booklet which contains the *Secretum* suggests that it was not written by Norman, however it is notable that the scribe paired these extracts with excerpts from Gregory, Jerome, and Augustine – figures who are also cited in the *Regiment*.¹⁸

This was not an isolated practice – the *Secretum* was compiled with religious texts in other fifteenth-century manuscripts. A miscellany of theological texts intended for parish priests inserts extracts into a poem on the eight capital vices following a treatise on the sacrament of the eucharist.¹⁹ Similarly, the scribe of BL, Harley MS 2252 copied extracts of the *Secretum* into booklets of Middle English poetry and prose. One example of its fifteenth-century circulation is BodL, MS Additional A.44, an early

¹⁶ Glasgow University Library, GB 248 GUA 26614, Item [Annales Collegii Facultatis Artium (Clerk's Press 2)], 1451–1582. Transcribed in *Scottish Libraries*, ed. John Higgitt (London: British Library, 2006), 161–3.

¹⁷ BL, MS Additional 26770, f.2r.

¹⁸ 2696, 3459, and 3606; 1692, 3074, 3732, and 3816; 1079, 3312, 3603, 4453, 4460, and 5161.

¹⁹ BL, MS Burney 294, ff.39r–47v.

thirteenth-century anthology of secular and religious verse and prose, in which a fifteenth-century hand has added extracts of the *Secreta*.²⁰

Another Latin regiminal text with ecclesiastical provenance in fifteenth-century England is Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum*. From a brief survey of the English clerics and institutions associated with the work, Charles Briggs notes that the text circulated among scholars at Oxford and Cambridge, and subsequently entered the libraries of the colleges and religious institutions to which the students belonged.²¹ Briggs's survey further reveals that the Austin friars and Benedictines in particular integrated the *De regimine principum* into their doctrinal study.²² The text's scholastic focus on Aristotle's moral philosophy no doubt led to its popularity amongst ecclesiastical communities, who sought an authoritative and practical explanation of ancient learning.

Manuscripts of *De regimine principum* are known to have been owned by religious institutions in the late-medieval period. BL, MS Royal 4.D.iv belonged to the Franciscans' London convent; HEHL, MS EL 9.H.9 belonged to the House of Bonhommes at Ashridge, Hertfordshire by the time of the Dissolution; and a lost copy was listed in a survey of the Gilbertine priory of Bullington in Lincolnshire before 1536.²³ Ecclesiastical individuals also owned the text. A fifteenth-century copy, CUL, MS li.4.22, contains an explicit which identifies the scribe or owner as the friar

²⁰ MS Additional A.44, f.75v.

²¹ Briggs, *Reading and Writing*, 93.

²² *Ibid.*, 217.

²³ J.R. Liddell, 'Leland's Lists of Manuscripts in Lincolnshire Monasteries', *English Historical Review*, 54 (1939): 88–95 (92).

Geoffrey Horsford of the order of the hermit brothers of Saint Augustine.²⁴ Copies were also to be found in the houses of regular canons – for instance the clerk John Lecche, who left his manuscript (now Lambeth Palace, MS 150) to the Austin Canons of Llanthony.²⁵ Briggs's survey identifies a further thirty-three clerics (excluding scribes) who were associated with manuscripts containing *De regimine principum*.

The study of the manuscripts owned by ecclesiastical communities in late-medieval England thus reveals that there was a culture of copying, owning, and sharing Latin regiminal literature. Although medieval catalogues only provide a partial image of the collections of some institutions, there is evidence to suggest that the Latin regiminal texts which Hoccleve takes as his main sources for the *Regiment* were being read by ecclesiastical figures in the fifteenth century. Moving forward, it becomes more evident why Hoccleve's poem attracted an ecclesiastical audience.

The trend so far identified of religious engagement with texts on moral governance was not limited to Latin works. There was also a developing culture of ecclesiastical individuals reading and owning vernacular translations of these regiminal texts. This was part of a movement which emerged from the end of the fourteenth century, whereby works of moral and devotional teaching, written in the vernacular, became available to a wider public of devout laymen as well as religious figures.²⁶ Instructions for the clergy were also being written and circulated in the

²⁴ 'Explicit tabula venerabilis egidii de regimine principum edita a fratre Galfrido Horsford ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti augustini sacre theologie lectore', MS li.4.22, f.155v.

²⁵ Anthony Bale, 'Late Medieval Book-Owners Named John Leche', *BLR*, 25 (2012): 105–12; Wakelin, *Scribal Correction*, 222, 227–9.

²⁶ Pantin, *English Church*, 163.

vernacular in late-medieval England. The prolific author and canon of Lilleshall Abbey John Mirk wrote three such manuals, one in Latin and two in Middle English, which survive in numerous copies.²⁷ Beyond religious texts, Rice notes that the clergy were attracted to the moral teachings explored in Middle English literary texts, which enhanced their priestly spiritual self-education and informed their pastoral care of the laity.²⁸ This kind of interest provides a plausible context for clergy to be reading vernacular regiminal literature in the fifteenth century.

The vernacular translation of the *Secretum secretorum*, whilst not circulated as widely as its Latin counterpart, nonetheless had a substantial readership in late-medieval England. From the late twelfth century, adaptations and translations were made in a large number of vernaculars, including Spanish, French, Dutch, Italian, German, English, and Welsh.²⁹ There were nine 'early English' translations up to and including William Forrest's 1548 translation *The Pleasaunt Poesye of Princelie Practice*.³⁰ Three of these are known to have been copied in the fifteenth century: one from the first quarter of the century (surviving in two manuscripts); one from the middle of the century (also surviving in two copies); and one from the end of the century (surviving in a manuscript once owned by R.B. Honeyman Jr known as the 'Caritatis

²⁷ *Manuale sacerdotis*, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, and *Liber Festivalis*. Though Susan Powell notes that the nature of these handbooks, and the author's request in his texts that their owners should consult them frequently, makes it likely that many manuscripts will have been lost through over-use; 'Mirk, John (fl. c.1382–c.1414), Augustinian author', *ODNB* (2004).

²⁸ Rice, *Lay Piety*, 174.

²⁹ Helen Fulton, 'A "Mirror of the Gentry": Vernacular Versions of the *Secretum Secretorum* in Medieval Wales and England', *Prodesse et delectare: Case Studies on Didactic Literature in the European Middle Ages*, eds Norbert Kössinger and Claudia Wittig (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), 57–82 (57).

³⁰ *Secreta secretorum*, ed. Manzalaoui, xxiv–xliii. *The Pleasaunt Poesye* is preserved in BL, MS Royal 17 D.iii.

manuscript').³¹ These vernacular translations were collated with and inserted into volumes of ethical, religious, devotional, historical, and narrative texts.³² The second of these translations, the mid-fifteenth-century *Secrete of Secretes*, survives in BodL, MS Lyell 36 and MS Ashmole 396 and is known to have circulated in ecclesiastical circles. Both manuscripts pair the text with a variety of scientific material, and their content and provenance show that clergy of the fifteenth century were interested in vernacular regiminal texts.

MS Ashmole 396 compiles the *Secrete of Secretes* with a multitude of astrological, astronomical, and arithmetic treatises. It notably contains twenty-three tables which record when each planet begins its dominion in every month of the year according to the latitude of Oxford.³³ The proceeding rule describes the university in remarkably eulogistic terms as the creation of 'þe moder of vertues' who is 'ordeyned [...] to dwelle and to teche her chosen childer in what manner þe ansciens buddis and flowris to brynge forþe frutes of vertu'.³⁴ The rule also notes that the astrological measurements, and the planetary movements themselves, 'shalle endure as longe tyme as gracious God haþe ordeyned þe sonne to be drawn thorow þe ravysschyng of þe firmament from þe est unto þe west'.³⁵ In framing the astrological tables with the reminder that the movement of the heavens is governed by God, this rule gives an

³¹ Last described as item 237 in Ernst Weil's Catalogue no.15, *Old Science and Medicine including some Documents and Manuscripts* (London: Ernst Weil, 1950).

³² Williams, *Scholarly Career*, 462 n.1.

³³ There were originally twenty-four tables but one is absent due to the loss of a leaf between folios 56 and 57. Tables on ff.57r–69r, rule on 68v–69r. See Charlotte E. Ross, 'MS Ashmole 396', *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts at the Bodleian Library* <www.medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk> [accessed 03.06.2025].

³⁴ MS Lyell 36, f.68v.

³⁵ MS Lyell 36, f.68v.

indication as to why this data – and the *Secrete of Secretes* which precedes it – would have been appealing to an ecclesiastic reader.³⁶

BodL, MS Lyell 36 contains a similar collection of astronomical, astrological, and medical texts in both Latin and Middle English. Like MS Ashmole 396, many of its texts have a practical purpose, predominantly medical and scientific, and show signs of heavy use. The intermingling of Latin and Middle English medical and philosophical text was prevalent in late-medieval England, and the insertion of the *Secrete of Secretes* in between a divinatory work and a gynaecological guide is suggestive of an audience whose interests encompassed both scientific and moral texts. A fifteenth-century list of names inside the back cover confirms this. It shows that the manuscript was once owned by ecclesiasts and scholars at the University of Oxford: 'Iohn Peyne' and 'Raffe Barton', who can be identified as John Payne and Ralph Barton – respective chaplains and organists of Magdalen College, Oxford in 1486–1487 and 1491–1492.³⁷ This identification places a copy of the Middle English prose *Secretum* in a university context in the fifteenth century – a context which, as the manuscript's collation reveals, had diverse interests in scientific and philosophical texts.

The vernacular translation of *De regimine principum* was deeply set into the same religious milieu. Trevisa himself was an ecclesiastical figure, the vicar of Berkeley from the spring or summer of 1374 until 1402, during which time he

³⁶ Although the manuscript is composite, its parts were evidently joined early on as they all contain the same set of medieval leaf signatures.

³⁷ de la Mare, *Medieval Manuscripts Bequeathed to the Bodleian Library*, 93–101.

translated the text.³⁸ His position carried with it a requirement of continuous residency, as well as a responsibility to oversee the running of the parish, staff the chantries, and pay the priests.³⁹ Berkeley parish alone employed fifteen clerics, described by Ralph Hanna as a 'floating clerical community' of which Trevisa was a central figure.⁴⁰ Trevisa likely pursued a doctorate in theology at the University of Oxford whilst he was affiliated with Queen's College between 1369 and 1387.⁴¹

The ecclesiastical provenance of Trevisa's translation of *De regimine principum* comes not from its owners but from the author's context whilst writing.⁴² The translation, unlike Trevisa's other work, is not dated but is estimated to have been written between 1388 and 1392 under the patronage of Thomas Berkeley.⁴³ The text survives in a sole witness, BodL, MS Digby 233, a fifteenth-century scribal copy which also contains the treatise on warfare by Vegetius, *De re militari*. Based on the dialect, illustrations, non-consecutive writing, and scribal corrections, Hanna suggests this manuscript is a 'Berkeley book', copied within Thomas Berkeley's lifetime and potentially at a Berkeley scriptorium.⁴⁴ The manuscript has no religious provenance – it belonged to Mary Hungerford (c.1468–c.1533), wife of Edward, second lord Hastings, from her inscription on a flyleaf – but the text itself was composed whilst

³⁸ Dates estimated by David Fowler, *The Life and Times of John Trevisa, Medieval Scholar* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995), 97.

³⁹ E.g., in the neighbouring All Saints' Church in Stone. A document transcribed by Fowler also records a suit brought against Trevisa whilst vicar for failing to provide a chaplain for the chapel of Stone in Berkeley. David Fowler, 'New light on John Trevisa', *Traditio*, 18 (1962): 307–11.

⁴⁰ Ralph Hanna, 'Sir Thomas Berkeley and His Patronage', *Speculum*, 64.4 (1989): 878–916 (893).

⁴¹ Emden, *Biographical Register*.

⁴² Printed in *The Governance of Kings and Princes: John Trevisa's Middle Translation of the De Regimine Principum*, eds David C. Fowler, Charles F. Briggs, and Paul G. Remley (Oxford: Routledge, 2015).

⁴³ Fowler, *Life and Times*, 191.

⁴⁴ Hanna, 'Sir Thomas Berkeley', 897–901.

Trevisa was vicar of Berkeley, and shows the overlap of ecclesiastical and aristocratic patrons.⁴⁵ Through the study of Trevisa's translations, Emily Steiner develops an image of a religious and lay literary community in Gloucestershire for which Trevisa was pivotal.⁴⁶ His ties to Oxford, with its coterie of scholars working on biblical translation, and his connection with the Berkeley family and their religious institutions in Bristol, such as St Augustine's Abbey and St Mary Magdalene's hospital, firmly situate his vernacular regiminal translations in ecclesiastical contexts.

Hoccleve's *Regiment* participated in the culture identified here of ecclesiastical readers owning, copying, and reading regiminal texts. The *Regiment* is not, on first impression, one intended for ecclesiastical audiences. In his edition, Charles R. Blyth expresses his own surprise at the presence of glosses from Gratian's *Decretum* which reveal Hoccleve's understanding of canon law.⁴⁷ Robert Meyer-Lee has even described the *Regiment* as 'straightforwardly secular', albeit in comparison to Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady*.⁴⁸ However, Hoccleve himself was trained initially in an ecclesiastical context with hopes of receiving a benefice, before he was forced to seek employment in the Privy Seal. As Langdell has recently argued, Hoccleve was writing in the context of orthodox reform and ecclesiastical controversy, and used his works 'to engage with contemporary religious reform movements and religious debate'.⁴⁹ In the *Regiment*

⁴⁵ Herbert Ellsworth Childs, 'A Study of the Unique Middle English Translation of the *De Regimine Principum* of Aegidius Romanus (MS Digby 233)' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Washington, 1932), 75.

⁴⁶ Steiner, *Information Age*, 14.

⁴⁷ Blyth, 12.

⁴⁸ Meyer-Lee, 'Emergence of the Literary', 333.

⁴⁹ Langdell, *Religious Reform*, 1.

specifically, the vices and virtues Hoccleve discusses would be topically relevant to an ecclesiastical individual, for instance a parish priest who is responsible for the moral governance of his congregation.

The Old Man is a conspicuous device which Hoccleve uses to dissect aspects of Christian teaching and theology, referred to as a 'vehicle for Christian doctrine' by Langdell.⁵⁰ He offers to cure the Hoccleve-persona's spiritual ills and urges him to confess, all the while suggesting moral lessons and repeatedly drawing on biblical exempla to condemn various sins. At these narrative moments (and others), many manuscripts include glosses which cite the Bible or biblical commentaries.⁵¹ At one point, as if speaking directly to a potential ecclesiastical reader, the Old Man condemns unworthy priests who 'gane and gape | Aftir sum fat and ryche benefice' (1408–1409), preferring the benefice over their duty to their parish. Langdell further argues that the father/son terminology that the Hoccleve-persona and the Old Man use for each other closely aligns the *Regiment* with spiritual guides such as *Book to a Mother*, *Life of Soul* and Walter Hilton's *Mixed Life*.⁵² Such figures which embody ecclesiastical knowledge and spiritual guidance are also found in vernacular verse, for instance in the figure of Scripture in *Piers Plowman* (and indeed the wider text itself), and evidently appealed to an extensive audience both ecclesiastical and secular.

As noted in the previous chapter, the identification of lost manuscripts of the *Regiment* is complicated by the fact that numerous texts were recorded under the

⁵⁰ Ibid., 136.

⁵¹ E.g. 204–6, 225–30, 569–70, 1765–6.

⁵² Langdell, *Religious Reform*, 138–9.

umbrella-title 'De regimine principum'. But a few candidates can be suggested. Seymour proposes several ecclesiastical individuals who owned books which may have contained the *Regiment*: Robert Norwich, who bequeathed a 'book called Hocclef' to the priest Nicholas Frenge in 1443; and John Goodyere of Monken Hadley, whose inventory of 1504 records a copy of 'De regimine principum'.⁵³ Perkins also identifies an entry for 'Hoccleve de regimine principum' in a list of books on the parchment wrapper of Pembroke College Cambridge MS 227.⁵⁴ This manuscript was likely given to the College by a cleric called Woodcock, Perkins notes, whose name appears on the recto of the wrapper. It is at least plausible, even if not verifiable, that these books contained Hoccleve's text. However, any attempt to estimate how many *Regiment* manuscripts circulated in ecclesiastical communities is necessarily speculative. In addition to the generalised name for regiminal texts in this period, the means of recording the existence of books in catalogues and documentation was not consistent. Daniel Sawyer notes that books in late-medieval England were described in lists using a variety of physical qualities such as binding and condition, aside from their contents.⁵⁵ And of course, many will not have been recorded at all.

A more concrete sense of the ecclesiastical readership of the *Regiment* in the fifteenth century can be gained from the provenance of its surviving manuscripts.⁵⁶

⁵³ Seymour, 257.

⁵⁴ Perkins, 176.

⁵⁵ Daniel Sawyer, 'Missing Books in the Folk Codicology of Later Medieval England', *The Mediaeval Journal*, 7.2 (2017): 103–32.

⁵⁶ Manuscripts containing Hoccleve's *Regiment* with ecclesiastical owners after the fifteenth century can also be identified: Gg and Hh (owned by John Moore (1646–1714), Bishop of Ely), Qu (owned by the reverend Massy Malyn (1688–1729), L.L.D.), and So (thought to have belonged to Halesowen Abbey, Worcestershire).

Some had their origin in ecclesiastical institutions, such as Ha5, a miscellany of English poetry dating to between 1450 and 1460.⁵⁷ It includes poems by Chaucer and Lydgate, excerpts from Gower's *Confessio amantis*, and an imperfect copy of the *Regiment* which cuts off after the end of the Prologue (although the catchword at the foot of the page suggests there was once more text). Ha5 was produced in an Augustinian house at Leicester, which Lister M. Matheson and Timothy A. Shonk narrow down to the Augustinian abbey of St Mary de Pratis in Leicester from the inscription of William Stoughton, the fifteenth-century cellarer.⁵⁸ The manuscript as it appears today comprises seven booklets, which John Manly and Edith Rickert attribute to between six and nine scribes.⁵⁹ Although the composite parts may not have been copied at the same time, and may have even circulated separately in half-bound booklets as Barbara Rae Kline suggests, they were copied and bound within the abbey's ecclesiastical community.⁶⁰ The nature of this community is significant: as Augustinian canons, they lived in both ecclesiastical and secular spaces, bound by monastic rules but also required to undertake pastoral duties among the laity.⁶¹ It is perhaps for this reason that a text like Hoccleve's *Regiment* would appeal to the abbey, with its moral

⁵⁷ For dating, see Barbara Rae Kline, 'A Descriptive Catalog of British Library MS Harley 7333' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Washington, 1990), 15.

⁵⁸ Ha5, f.41r. Seymour, 269–70; Lister M. Matheson, *The Prose Brut: The Development of a Middle English Chronicle* (Arizona: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1998), 13; Shonk, 'BL Harley MS 7333'. No *Regiment*'s are recorded in the Abbey's catalogue of 1482, now BodL, MS Laud Misc. 623, edited in *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, eds Webber and Watson, A20.

⁵⁹ Contested by Shonk, 'BL Harley MS 7333', who argues there are only three scribes.

⁶⁰ Kline, 'Descriptive Catalog', 69.

⁶¹ Geoffrey Martin, 'Henry Knighton's Chronicle and Leicester Abbey', *Leicester Abbey*, eds Joanna Story, Jill Bourne, and Richard Buckley (Leicester: Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society, 2006), 119–125 (119).

instruction based on Christian doctrine in the frame of a vernacular poem directed at a prince.

Ha5 is worthy of note for the bowdlerised *Canterbury Tales* it contains. The manuscript is full of what Kline calls the 'scribes' critical readings', in the form of omitted lines, corrections, and substitutions which at times drastically alter the sense of the poem.⁶² In *The Reeve's Tale* the Miller's Wife is introduced as the daughter of a 'swanneherd' (3912) instead of a parson, and several pilgrims are described with spurious adjectives ('prouid Sumkin' 3959, 'false clerk' 4269). The ecclesiastical background of the scribes is most evident in the removal of extracts which criticise the Church openly, such as the reference to the parson's 'hooly blood' (3985) in *The Reeve's Tale*, to avoid the double entendre and comment on the illegitimacy of the Parson's daughter. However, it is interesting that Hoccleve's *Regiment* does not receive such scribal alteration. Indeed, Kline notes that it closely matches Furnivall's edition (which transcribes Ha4) with only minor orthographic changes.⁶³ There may have been a practical reason for this: the circumstances of Ha5's creation are uncertain, and it is possible that the manuscript was begun (with the *Canterbury Tales*) as a monastic copy, and was later re-purposed as a commission to sell to a patron before the *Regiment* (which is the last text in the book) was copied, and was thus finished as a "clean" copy. Or perhaps the *Regiment* was perceived by the Augustinian canons as a permissible

⁶² Kline, 'Scribal Agendas', 116.

⁶³ Kline, 'Descriptive Catalog', 289.

text which did not need editing to conform to their standards – as has been the case with the other examples so far.

Regiment manuscripts also entered the collections of ecclesiastical institutions through donations. The receiving institutions of course had little control over what was donated, but the act of donating copies of the *Regiment* is still worthy of note. Ad, a mid fifteenth-century anthology with Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* and Hoccleve's *Regiment*, was bestowed to the Convent of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St Melor of Amesbury, Wiltshire, by Richard Wyngyngton in 1508.⁶⁴ This was not as unusual as one might expect – David Bell notes that manuscripts containing the works of Chaucer, Peter Idley, Nicholas Love, and Richard Rolle were donated to English nunneries in the fifteenth century.⁶⁵ However, it is an odd bequest for the nuns of Amesbury, who had in their possession five other manuscripts identified by Bell, all of which were devotional Books of Hours or Missals.⁶⁶ Vincent Gillespie warns that the donation of books to monastic communities should be interpreted with care, as they were often not given out of piety but to use religious libraries as 'a high-class shop window for their wares'.⁶⁷ The nuns' ownership of the *Regiment* then does not attest that it was consciously and carefully selected for their use. It is also important to remember that the audience of the manuscript before it was donated to Amesbury

⁶⁴ Seymour, 275–6.

⁶⁵ David Bell, *What Nuns Read: Books and Libraries in Medieval English Nunneries* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1995), 37–8.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 103–5. See also N.R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, in 5 vols, ed. A.J. Piper, Andrew G. Watson, and Ian Campbell Cunningham (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), vol. 2, 3.

⁶⁷ Vincent Gillespie, 'Syon and the English Market for Continental Printed Books', *Syon Abbey and Its Books: Reading, Writing and Religion, C.1400–1700*, eds Edward Alexander Jones and Alexandra Walsham (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010), 104–28 (115).

was likely to be more typical, and expected, of courtly texts: lay, noble, and concerned with governance. Evidence of its secular life before Amesbury can be seen in its binding fragments, which include the household accounts of Elizabeth de Burgh, countess of Ulster, from 1356–1359, notably with entries for payments to Geoffrey Chaucer, then page in the household.

However, this is not to say that the courtly texts in *Ad* would not have been appealing to the nuns of Amesbury. As Nancy Warren notes, many of the nuns in religious communities of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries came from the same courtly lay families that constituted the predominant audience for these types of texts on spiritual and political guidance.⁶⁸ Moreover, the specifically instructional format of Hoccleve's *Regiment*, with its advice on moral governance supported by biblical citations, would have been familiar to nuns such as those of Amesbury. They owned an English exposition of the Rule of St Benedict, now BodL, MS Additional A.42.⁶⁹ This text comprised quotations from scripture in Latin followed by free English translations, and is addressed to two female novices in the community. Yvonne Parrey argues the text intended to 'provide good counsel in order to promote the devout practice of religious life'.⁷⁰ The structure of the text would have been familiar to readers of the *Regiment*: the English translations similarly call upon tales to emphasise

⁶⁸ Nancy Bradley Warren, 'Chaucer, the Chaucer Tradition, and Female Monastic Readers', *ChRev*, 51.1 (2016): 88–106 (93).

⁶⁹ Yvonne Parrey, "'Devoted Disciples of Christ'": Early Sixteenth-Century Religious Life in the Nunnery at Amesbury, *Historical Research*, 67 (1994): 240–48. Excerpts edited in *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280–1520*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1999), no.2.9.

⁷⁰ Parrey, 'Devoted Disciples', 246.

the truth of the doctrine, for instance St Peter's punishment of a couple who fail to abide by their vow of poverty.⁷¹ A comparable English version of the Benedictine Rule for women, entitled *Here begynneth the Rule of seynt Benet*, was composed by Richard Fox in 1516–1517 at the request of the nuns of Winchester.⁷² It was circulated as a printed book from 1517 and intended as a rule book for female members of religious institutions on exercising authority, management skills, and the art of good governance. As one of the wealthiest nunneries of the early sixteenth century, it is plausible that the Amesbury nuns also had a copy.⁷³

Manuscripts of the *Regiment* were also acquired by ecclesiastical individuals. Another anthology of Middle English poetry, Co, opens with the *Regiment* and a curious miniature which occupies two-thirds of the page (Figure 1). Unlike other decorated manuscripts of the *Regiment*, this is not a portrait of the poet presenting his book to the Prince or an image of Chaucer – instead, the Co miniature presents a portrait of a lone figure dressed in the white robes of a Carthusian, holding a book and rosary. The subject of this portrait has confused scholars over the decades, and has been described as Hoccleve, Chaucer, Aristotle, Giles of Rome, and an academic doctor, however the most recent suggestion by Derek Pearsall of a Carthusian monk is the most persuasive.⁷⁴ The figure resembles other miniatures of Carthusians in

⁷¹ MS Additional A.42, ff.17v–18r.

⁷² Barry Collett, *Female Monastic Life in Early Tudor England: with an Edition of Richard Fox's Translation of the Benedictine Rule for Women, 1517* (London: Routledge, 2016).

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁷⁴ Thomas Sharp and William George Fretton, *Illustrative Papers on the History and Antiquities of the City of Coventry* (Coventry: Hall and English, 1871); the sixteenth-century catalogue in CCC Oxford, MS 390 (iii), f.211r; Doyle and Pace, 'New Chaucer Manuscript', 407.

fifteenth-century manuscripts, and the robes he wears are consistent with Carthusian clothing of the period.⁷⁵ The setting also suggests a Carthusian figure, with a barren



Figure 4: Co, fol.1r. Miniature of a Carthusian.

⁷⁵ BL, MS Additional 37049, f.22v; BL, MS Cotton Faustina B.VI (Pt. II), f.8v; Morgan Library, MS Morgan 359 (decorated initials throughout); BodL, MS Douce 104, f.44r.

field with pointed rocks in the foreground suggestive of the wilderness which the Carthusian monks inhabited (sometimes literally or metaphorically), removed from human habitation.⁷⁶

The decision to open the *Regiment* with a Carthusian is unique in the surviving corpus, introducing the text as a piece of religious instruction from the first folio. The intentionality of the miniature has been debated by N.R. Ker, who suggests it was a later attempt to fill a gap when earlier quires were removed.⁷⁷ Although it is evident that some misfortune has occurred to the beginning of Co (the first four leaves are detached singletons which presumably once belonged to a quire of 8), this does not detract from the choice of figure to fill the miniature. The use of a Carthusian is topical to the text: a detail that is frequently overlooked in scholarship of the *Regiment* is that the Old Man identifies himself as a member or lay follower of another order, a Carmelite, when he observes he attends mass ‘at þe Carmes’ (2007). Notably, the Hoccleve-speaker encounters the Old Man in a wilderness of his own, in ‘the feeld’ (117), just overleaf from the miniature in Co. Furthermore, the miniature is executed with remarkable skill, particularly in the face and hands which are now heavily worn. The inks which colour it are fine washes applied with subtlety, with a hint of red in the figure’s lips and cheeks. The figure is also drawn on a graphite grid, as if it were carefully copied from another image and scaled to fit the space in Co. This does not resemble a quickly drawn space filler. Whilst the origin of Co is uncertain, the quality

⁷⁶ Comparable to the Carthusian’s setting in BL, MS Burney 336, f.110r.

⁷⁷ Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, vol. 2, 410. For letters regarding this manuscript, see BodL, MS 21050/34.

and compilation suggests it was likely made for a patron, and regardless of the intention of the first folio it remains the only manuscript of the *Regiment* with a large miniature that does not depict the poet presenting his book to the Prince.⁷⁸ If this miniature, as Pearsall suggests, portrays the Old Man in his role as a spiritual guide, this reframes the text – often defined by its second half as a *Regiment* ‘of Princes’ – to place the Dialogue at the forefront with its emphasis on the Master–Pupil dynamic.

A preliminary survey of the inventories, catalogues, and databases of medieval libraries owned by religious institutions and individuals in late-medieval England has established that there was a culture of ecclesiastical readers owning, copying, and reading regiminal texts. Hoccleve’s *Regiment* not only circulated within these religious communities, but was actively compiled into miscellanies in monastic settings, donated to religious institutions, copied by ecclesiastical figures, and gifted between members of the clergy. The poem evidently appealed to those communities who read and circulated texts about religious “rule” and instruction. Placing the *Regiment* alongside such texts begins to show the ways in which the poem could be valued in an ecclesiastical context for its guidance on morality. These conclusions illustrate the necessity of considering book history and provenance when analysing the literary text, and the benefit of placing each manuscript in its early context to understand both how and why it was being read.

⁷⁸ As in A and Ry2.

William Wiflete

The context of one such manuscript deserves further study. William Wiflete (d.1470) is notable as the scribe of a manuscript of Hoccleve's *Regiment*, Cc.⁷⁹ His life can be reconstructed around this manuscript, to adumbrate the context in which he copied the text. Wiflete's life is recorded in a rich assortment of documents, manuscripts, and records – never before assembled in one study – which reveal a multifarious career in the Church and University of Cambridge. These details can be pieced together to better understand who Wiflete was and why he was copying Hoccleve's text in the fifteenth century, and through him gain a new perspective on the late-medieval readership and reception of the poem.

Wiflete first appears in a previously unidentified legal contract, dated 13 June 1417, which records the settlement of action taken by him and four others over a dispute of land ownership in Hertfordshire.⁸⁰ There are no clues to Wiflete's profession or age at this point, as he is described as 'clericus' which could be used to refer to any role from the first tonsure to ordination.⁸¹ Wiflete is recorded in the Patent Rolls in the employment of Henry VI and is named in several other legal disputes in

⁷⁹ Wiflete's name is recorded in fifteenth-century documentation as *Wolfet*, *Wolflete*, *Wolfslete*, *Wylflete*, *Wifleet*, and *Wolpett*. For consistency, this study will use 'Wiflete' as spelled by the author in the colophon of Cc.

⁸⁰ TNA, CP 25/1/280/153, n.44, which names Thomas Sayuyll, John de Thornhill, William Wiflete, Geoffrey de Leuenthorp and Richard de Thornhill.

⁸¹ Virginia Davis, *Clerics and the King's Service in Late Medieval England* (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2014), 25.

Hertfordshire in the 1420s, but it is only after 1428 that his career becomes more prominent.⁸²

Our knowledge of Wilflete's career at the University of Cambridge begins in 1428 when he is recorded as a Senior Proctor alongside John Botwright, although he was likely affiliated before this date.⁸³ This was a position of high regard, responsible for upholding and updating the University Statutes, ensuring the observance of official religious services, and maintaining discipline and order within the University (but not the Colleges). Wilflete's appointment indicates that he must have been considered of sufficient esteem in 1428 to be elected to the Regent House (the University's governing body). Wilflete later became a fellow at Clare College⁸⁴ – the date at which he joined is uncertain, as the majority of the College's early muniments and records were lost in a fire in 1521, but Edward Carter proposes a plausible date of 1436.⁸⁵ The earliest known date at which Wilflete is recorded as a fellow of Clare is 1443.⁸⁶ It is likely he copied Hoccleve's *Regiment* during this time, between 1436 and

⁸² TNA, C 67/24; CP 25/1/280/155, n.25; C 1/16/716. See also William Harrison and Albert Lloyd, *Notes on the Masters, Fellows, Scholars and Exhibitioners of Clare College, Cambridge* (Cambridge: Clare College, 1953), 144.

⁸³ D.J. Goode, 'The Past Proctors', *University of Cambridge Proctors' and Marshal's Office* (2014), <www.proctors.cam.ac.uk> [accessed 01.11.2022]. John Joscelyn and John Willis Clark, *Historiola Collegii Corporis Christi*, Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 17 (Cambridge: Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1880), 33.

⁸⁴ The college which is today known as Clare College has cycled through several iterations of its name. In 1326, it was founded as 'University Hall'; in 1336 it came under the patronage of Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady Clare, and renamed 'Clare Hall'; and in the nineteenth century the name changed to 'Clare College'. To avoid confusion this study uses the modern name of Clare College. See J.R. Wardale, *Clare College, Cambridge* (London: F.E. Robinson, 1899), 1–11.

⁸⁵ Edmund Carter, *The History of the University of Cambridge, from Its Original, to the Year 1753* (London: private press, 1753). On the materials lost in the 1521 fire, see M.D. Forbes, *Clare College, 1326–1926: University Hall, 1326–1346, Clare Hall, 1346–1856*, in 2 vols (Cambridge: CUP, 1928), vol. 1, 31.

⁸⁶ *Cambridge Alumni Database*. Also attested in *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900*, ed. John Venn (Cambridge: CUP, 1922–54), vol. 1; Emden, *Biographical Register*, 657

1455, as he describes himself as ‘socio Aule de clare Cantabrigie’ in his explicit.⁸⁷ In 1446, Wilflete was elected Master of Clare, a position which he held until 1455.⁸⁸ This carried the responsibility for the governance of the College, and during this time Wilflete extended the College’s premises,⁸⁹ redistributed lands,⁹⁰ and oversaw the completion of the library, contributing 20s. himself towards its completion.⁹¹ Wilflete is last described as Master of Clare on the 5 May 1455, and it is likely he vacated the role at the end of Easter term that year.⁹²

Wilflete also held several judicial positions between 1448 and 1466. In 1458, 1464, and 1466, he was elected Chancellor of the University.⁹³ This position was somewhat ornamental, as it did not carry with it a residency requirement and many of the daily administrative tasks fell to the Vice-Chancellor.⁹⁴ However, Wilflete would have been required to act as a judge when overseeing the Chancellor’s Court, which

⁸⁷ Although this of course does not eliminate the possibility that he was using an old title once he had left the College.

⁸⁸ *Cambridge Alumni Database*. Wilflete’s election as Master of Clare College is described in the Master’s Old Book, still held at Clare College, CCA: B/1/1, p.19.

⁸⁹ In August 1448, Wilflete received permission from the Master and Fellows of Peterhouse to build a room in the ‘Borden Hostel’, H.P. Stokes, *The Mediæval Hostels of the University of Cambridge: with a Special History of Borden Hostel* (Cambridge: Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1924), 12.

⁹⁰ On the 17 May 1448, ‘William Wolflete, Doctor in Theology, has power of attorney [...] to deliver certain properties to William Byngham, proctor, and the scholars of Godshouse’, Harrison and Lloyd, *Masters, Fellows, Scholars*, 145, via documents preserved in the muniment room of Christ’s College Cambridge.

⁹¹ Master’s Old Book, CCA: B/1/1, p.39.

⁹² Master’s Old Book, CCA: B/1/1, p.39.

⁹³ BL, MS Cotton Faustina C.III, f.81r. Harrison and Lloyd, *Masters, Fellows, Scholars*, 145; *Grace Book A, Containing the Proctors’ Accounts and Other Records of the University of Cambridge for the Years 1454–1488* (Cambridge: Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1897). The Chancellor was elected according to the Statutes by the Regents in Arts (if there were twelve present) or by both the Regents in Arts and non-Regents. *Grace Book A*, xxxiii. Also attested by Emden, *Biographical Register*, 657.

⁹⁴ It should be acknowledged that some parts of the year required the Chancellor’s presence, for example they were requested to not be absent from Cambridge for more than a month at the beginning of Michaelmas term, but there were no formal rules for residing within a certain distance of the University.

dealt with the discipline of scholars and local governance. Wilflete is also recorded in the Patent Rolls as JP for Cambridge in 1448, 1453, 1455, 1457, and 1458.⁹⁵ Much like his role in the Chancellor's Court, as JP Wilflete would have held inquests, received presentments, and decided on offences which carried a prison sentence or fine.⁹⁶ From 1424, important ecclesiastical figures were regularly selected for the role and needed no formal qualifications other than being of good character and knowledgeable of the local area.⁹⁷ Like the Chancellorship, it carried no residence requirement, and was therefore only an auxiliary responsibility for Wilflete.⁹⁸

However, it is Wilflete's ecclesiastical career which brought him the most prominence. Before joining Clare College, he was rector of Buckland, Hertfordshire, which he resigned on 10 October 1432.⁹⁹ Whilst a fellow at Clare College, Wilflete was made rector of St Vigor's Church and All Saints Church, Fulbourn, only a few miles away. At some stage in its early history, Fulbourn became two separate parishes, each with its own church, but predominantly sharing a rector as the tower of All Saints stood less than ten feet from the chancel of St. Vigor's. The Archdeacon's Induction Book records Wilflete in this position from 21 February 1444 until his death, however it is likely that he was affiliated with the churches before this date.¹⁰⁰ A list of historic

⁹⁵ TNA, C 67/24. See also Harrison and Lloyd, *Masters, Fellows, Scholars*, 145.

⁹⁶ Alan Harding, 'The Origins and Early History of the Keeper of the Peace', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 10 (1960): 85–109.

⁹⁷ Bertha H. Putnam, *Proceedings before the Justices of the Peace* (London: Spottiswoode, Ballantyne & Co., 1938), lxxix–xi.

⁹⁸ Sessions were held quarterly for between 3 and 10 days each. *Ibid.*, xcvi.

⁹⁹ Robert Clutterbuck, Thomas Leman, John Nichols, and J.B. Nichols, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford*, in 3 vols. (London: Nichols, Son, and Bentley, 1815), vol. 3, 395.

¹⁰⁰ Dates of affiliation in Harrison and Lloyd, *Masters, Fellows, Scholars*, 145, via the Archdeacon's Induction Book.

rectors which now hangs in St Vigor's church lists his tenure in 1442, and Wilflete appears in a record of presentations to St Vigor's from February 1443 as 'william wylflet sacre theologus baccalaureus format RD ecclesiam *parochialis Sancti Vigore de ffulbourne clare*'.¹⁰¹ As rector, Wilflete would have been 'distant clergy' in the words of Katherine French: a member who lived off the parish as a benefice and who delegated the daily administration of the church to their vicars.¹⁰² This was a highly sought-after position, entitling the beneficiary to a mass of rights and emoluments, tithes, fees, and rents.¹⁰³ Wilflete was not without responsibility – he granted lands to his parishioners¹⁰⁴ and supervised wills¹⁰⁵ – but his ability to hold the rectorship of two churches whilst employed elsewhere suggests that he had little input in the day-to-day running of his parishes. During this time, he was also elected Proctor of Clergy for the diocese of Ely in 1463 – a similarly ornamental title.¹⁰⁶

Wilflete's final position, which he held from 7 December 1454 until his death in 1470, was dean of Stoke College, a college for secular priests in Stoke-by-Clare in Suffolk, just over twenty miles from Cambridge.¹⁰⁷ The college was formerly a

¹⁰¹ Record of presentations in TNA, E 135/23/38.

¹⁰² Katherine French, *The People of the Parish: Community Life in a Late Medieval English Diocese* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 99–100.

¹⁰³ Pantin, *The English Church*, 35.

¹⁰⁴ On 31 August 1444, Wilflete gifted John Wryghte, a chaplain, land and houses in Fulbourn. TNA, E 326/12109.

¹⁰⁵ On 5 June 1449, Wilflete is listed as supervisor for the will of John Careway. William Searle, *The History of the Queens' College of St Margaret and St Bernard in the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1867), 30.

¹⁰⁶ Harrison and Lloyd, *Masters, Fellows, Scholars*, 145, via Bishop Gray's Register. See also Phil Bradford and A.K. McHardy, *Proctors for Parliament: Clergy, Community and Politics, c.1248–1539*, in 2 vols (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2017), vol. 2, 108.

¹⁰⁷ *Cambridge Alumni Database*; CCCC, MS 108, p.86 lists the names of the deans of Stoke College; William Page, *The Victoria History of the County of Suffolk* (London: Archibald Constable, 1907), 145–150. Clarke, Lovatt, and Harrison suggest a death-date of 1471, but this is probably due to the record

Benedictine monastery founded in 1090 by Geoffrey de Clare at the nearby Clare Castle, but was moved to Stoke-by-Clare in 1124 under the patronage of the powerful de Clare family.¹⁰⁸ It became one of the wealthiest monastic houses in England until a devastating fire in the 1390s, and a college for priests was re-founded on the site in 1415. Wilflete resided at Stoke College for the last fifteen years of his life, responsible for both the administrative and spiritual governance of the college. He contributed to the construction and repair of the buildings, even donating four thousand pounds (equivalent to more than one hundred thousand pounds today) in 1466–1467.¹⁰⁹ He also saw to the moral and spiritual conduct of College members, evidenced in a letter to the Chancellor of England in which he reports a member of the College, John Horold, for attempting to destroy the chancel of the parish church of Clare when Wilflete had postponed its renewal in favour of other works in the College.¹¹⁰

Wilflete is also connected to the village of Clare through his association with Richard, duke of York. Richard owned land in the valley of the river Stour, including Stoke-by-Clare and the neighbouring Clare Castle. In 1453, Wilflete was selected as Confessor for the duke of York and for his wife Cecily Neville.¹¹¹ Unlike chaplains, Confessors tended to be chosen from outside the nobleman's household, as someone whose distance made them an appropriate person to listen to secrets and give spiritual

in the Calendar of the patent rolls from 1467–77 (membrane 22, 1471), which posthumously records his death. Clarke and Lovatt, *University and College Libraries of Cambridge*, 751; Harrison and Lloyd, *Masters, Fellows, Scholars*, 147.

¹⁰⁸ Gladys A. Thornton, *A Short History of Clare, Suffolk* (Brentwood: W. Heffer & Sons, 1963), 6.

¹⁰⁹ Harrison and Lloyd, *Masters, Fellows, Scholars*, 146.

¹¹⁰ TNA, C 1/1513/16.

¹¹¹ Amy Licence, *Cecily Neville: Mother of Kings* (Gloucestershire: Amberley, 2014), 109; Harrison and Lloyd, *Masters, Fellows, Scholars*, 146.

advice.¹¹² Richard is known to have been affiliated with a community in East Anglia which shared an interest in religion, literature, and art, and as a result of his patronage his personal library contained numerous dedications.¹¹³ Wilflete remained in Cecily's service after Richard died, and they maintained a steady stream of correspondence whilst he was dean at Stoke College.¹¹⁴ Cecily evidently relied on Wilflete for more than religious counsel, as she refers to him as a 'surveyor' of her lands and requested his advice in appointing a prebend for another church.¹¹⁵ She also demonstrates a fondness for Stoke College in her letters, addressing them to 'oure College of Stoke-Clare'.

Surprisingly, a connection can be drawn between Wilflete, Richard, and another college of priests which he sponsored, Fotheringhay College. An inventory of books in the library of Fotheringhay College, dated to 29 September 1445, describes an untitled 'librum de regulis regum'. Another mention of Fotheringhay appears on a flyleaf of CCCC, MS 297, a commonplace book copied at Thorney Abbey in Cambridgeshire between the early thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It contains a note in a fifteenth-century hand which records that 'Magister W. de fodringea habet

¹¹² J.L. Laynesmith, *Cecily Duchess of York* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), 24.

¹¹³ Confirmed books in Richard's library are a book of hours, John Hardyng's *Chronicle*, Osbern Bokenham's *Genealogy of the lords of Clare*, and a Middle English translation *Consulship of Stilicho* by the Roman poet Claudianus (possibly also translated by Bokenham). Anne Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs also suggest Richard may have owned a copy of a genealogical roll of the kings of England and a *Brut* chronicle; *Richard III's Books: Ideals and Reality in the Life and Library of a Medieval Prince* (Stroud: Sutton Pub., 1997), 21–39.

¹¹⁴ BL, MS Additional 19398, ff.51r–v; and CCCC, MS 108, pp.92–6 contain some of this correspondence. An extract printed in *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies of Great Britain, from the commencement of the twelfth century to the close of the reign of Queen Mary*, in 3 vols, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green (London: Henry Colburn, 1946), vol. 1, letter 41.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, letter 41; MS Additional 19398, ff.51r–v; CCCC, MS 108, f.96v.

librum de regimine principum'.¹¹⁶ As the manuscript is not extant, it is impossible to say whether this was Hoccleve's *Regiment*, however it is striking that Richard is connected to two regiminal texts owned by ecclesiastical priests at colleges which he sponsored.

Wiflete was not the only Cambridge scholar writing in the vernacular in the east of England in this century. Other fellows were compiling and writing manuscripts at the same time, such as John Herryson (d.1473), an acquaintance of Wiflete who copies a miscellany in the mid-fifteenth century which includes a chronicle that records when Wiflete was made Chancellor of the University in 1454.¹¹⁷ Another contemporary ecclesiastic, Osbern Bokenham (c.1393–c.1464), was also copying and writing vernacular texts in the nearby Augustinian Priory at Clare – yet another religious institution which was affiliated with Richard of York. Only a few miles away from Stoke-by-Clare, Bokenham wrote several manuscripts for Richard and translated several Latin texts into the vernacular, whilst receiving benefice as an Austin friar. Like Wiflete, he demonstrates an interest in classical texts, citing Giles of Rome in his lengthy translation of *Legenda Aurea*.¹¹⁸ There is also the English translation of Claudian's *De Consulatu Stilichonis*, also made for Richard at Clare, perhaps by

¹¹⁶ Cc, f.205v.

¹¹⁷ Cambridge, Gonville & Caius, MS 249/277, f.123v.

¹¹⁸ Life of St Monica in the Abbotsford Manuscript, f.102r; edited in *Lives of Saints*, EETS in 3 vols, o.s. 356, 359, third vol. unpublished, ed. Simon Horobin (London: EETS, 2020–22), 80.

Bokenham, which presents that classical Latin poem as a 'merour' wherein 'Princys may se her outward gestys'.¹¹⁹

By piecing together details of Wilflete's various professions and responsibilities, it is possible to reconstruct a reasonably detailed image of his career. Wilflete emerges as an individual who sits on the 'blurred edge' between the clerical and secular worlds which Kullmann and Scase identify: an ecclesiastical figure whose roles required him to move in secular environments, as a college master, judge, parish priest, dean, and confessor. Many of his roles depended on good judgement and sound moral guidance, in both ecclesiastical and secular matters. It is therefore appropriate that he would dedicate time and effort to produce his own copy of Hoccleve's *Regiment*. Moreover, it is tempting to compare Wilflete's successful religious career to Hoccleve's, who failed to secure a benefice and turned to the Office of the Privy Seal for employment. The *Regiment* opens with this very issue, describing a speaker who cannot sleep for musing on his poverty. Later in the *Regiment* Proper, Hoccleve mourns the fate of 'so many a worthy clerk famous | In Oxenforde and in Cambrigge also | [who] Stonde unavanced' (5272–5274).¹²⁰ Hoccleve experienced a generational transition in the Privy Seal (and other writing offices) from clerics who were expected to get benefices in the church to clerics who married and had other income sources.¹²¹ It is intriguing to consider whether Wilflete pitied the Hoccleve-

¹¹⁹ The unique manuscript contains the duke's arms and a colophon which notes that the poem was 'Translat and wrete at Clare. 1445' (BL, MS Additional 11814, f.25r); see Wakelin, *Humanism*, 70–74, esp.73.

¹²⁰ Hn1 and As feature scribal glosses at these lines which highlight the injustice of this statement.

¹²¹ Gwilym Dodd, 'Trilingualism in the Medieval English Bureaucracy: The Use – and Disuse – of Languages in the Fifteenth-Century Privy Seal Office', *The Journal of British Studies*, 51.2 (2012): 253–83.

persona, or felt inclined to copy the text because of its pertinence to his own ecclesiastical career.

CCCC, MS 496 (Cc)

Cc, copied by Wiflete, contains the *Regiment* and was later bound by Matthew Parker with the 1527 printed *Libellus de legatione Basilii Magni Principis Moschouiae ad Clemente VII* by Paolo Giovio and recycled parchment flyleaves.¹²² The *Regiment* includes 102 marginal glosses and annotations, thirteen of which are unique in the surviving corpus, and six further glosses which are seemingly original to Wiflete but appear in other non-genetic manuscripts (see Appendix 5.1).¹²³ As noted above, Cc can be speculatively dated to between 1436–1446, as it was likely copied whilst Wiflete was a fellow at Cambridge, or ‘socio Aule de clare Cantabrigie’ as he records in his explicit.¹²⁴ The script befits someone trained in the first half of the fifteenth century,

¹²² The recycled flyleaves consist of two complete leaves of the Testament of Levi from *Testamenta xii patriarcharum* of the fourteenth century, and one leaf trimmed from a larger leaf from a twelfth-century service book containing lessons from S. Goduualdus. It is most likely that Parker bound these texts together between 1527 and 1575 – after the printing of Giovio’s text and before Parker records the book in his register (CCCC, MS 575, p.99). It is probable that the texts were together in 1575, recorded as ‘Occlife de reg princip. 1527’ in the category of printed books stored ‘upon the shelve’, from which it can be assumed that the book began with the printed Giovio followed by Hoccleve’s *Regiment*. The binding contains four flower-shaped pins which match other printed books in Parker’s collection which were bound in the sixteenth century: CCCC, SP.66; SP.57; and SP.244.

¹²³ Following Marzec, ‘Cc’ refers to only the manuscript portion of the codex, which contains Hoccleve’s *Regiment*, excluding the printed material. Levi’s *Testamenta xii* is catalogued separately under the shelf mark SP.105(1).

¹²⁴ Seymour suggests a date of pre-1446; 283. Perkins and Wakelin suggest the 1440s; Perkins, 182; Wakelin, ‘Instructing Readers’, 450. James’s catalogue only notes ‘xv century’; M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge*, in 2 vols (Cambridge: CUP, 1912), vol. 2, 447.

presenting a mixture of predominantly anglicana with secretary graphs.¹²⁵ The significant number of writing stints, and the variability in ink and text size, suggest that the manuscript was copied in short bursts over a long period of time.¹²⁶ Watermarks in the manuscript also suggest the likelihood of a date in the second quarter of the fifteenth century. Five are present, four of which can be identified, dated to between 1406 and 1469 across England and continental Europe, however the frequency is most concentrated around 1410–1440.¹²⁷ The English manuscripts which share these watermarks date to the early fifteenth century, for instance: BodL, MS Laud Misc. 748 (part 2), of the first quarter of the fifteenth century (Q1 watermark); and CCCC, MS 80 dated c.1430 (Q5 watermark).¹²⁸

Wilflete's exemplar does not survive, and according to the stemma one other manuscript (also not extant) shared this exemplar. There is no evidence of a manuscript of the *Regiment* in catalogues of Cambridge University or College libraries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however these records are patchy and unreliable, rarely record texts in Middle English, and do not include private collections. Nevertheless, by necessity, at some point in the second quarter of the

¹²⁵ Anglicana double compartment **g**, long **r** that extends below the baseline, looped ascender **d**, round **e**, sigma-shaped final **s**, and looped **w**. Secretary single compartment lower-case **a**.

¹²⁶ Similar examples of scripts in Robinson, *Dated and Datable [...] Cambridge Libraries*, vol. 2, plates 239 (1442), 242 (1443), 245 (1446).

¹²⁷ Q1: Briquet 9119 'lettre t', Lyon 1406, Piccard 'kreuz' l.76, Solothurn 1417; Q2: Briquet 6640 'fleur' in Montpellier 1435, Rome 1435–43, Montpellier 1430–9, Pise 1438–47, Avignon 1440, Naples 1439. Also found in CUL, Dd.4.16 part 3, dated 28 June 1441 in Florence by colophon; and Vatican Library 5921, dated 1433–4 in Perugia, Italy; Q3: Briquet 6641 'fleur' in Sienne 1434–5, Genes 1439, Le Puy 1439–53, Forez 1439–69. Also in Naples, Naz. IV B 10, dated second quarter of the fifteenth century; Q5: Briquet 2399 'balance à plateaux triangulaires' in Venise 1409–15, Vienna, 1412. See also Piccard 'wasserzeichen waage' viii.11, Nurnberg 1408.

¹²⁸ H.H.E. Craster, 'The Red Book of Durham: I. Liber Ruber', *The English Historical Review*, 40 (1925): 504–32 (509); Michelle R. Warren, 'Lydgate, Lovelich, and London Letters', *Lydgate Matters* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 113–38.

fifteenth century there must have been at least two copies of the *Regiment* in Cambridge. It is likely that Wilflete kept his *Regiment* until his death at Stoke-by-Clare in 1470, where it remained in the private collection of the deans.¹²⁹ It was presumably then passed down to Matthew Parker, who was dean from 1535 until the suppression of the college in 1548.¹³⁰ Parker donated the manuscript, then bound with other material, to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge in 1574.

Wilflete's interest in Hoccleve's moral guidance in the *Regiment* can be inferred through his unique glosses. According to the stemma, eight manuscripts descend from Wilflete's exemplar, six of which survive. As the exemplar is not extant it is impossible to say with certainty that these glosses were not present there. However, I follow the speculative assumption that a gloss which appears in Cc, but is absent in the five other manuscripts which share descent, is original to Wilflete.

It is perhaps most predictable that a reader of a text titled *The Regiment of Princes* would be interested in rules and governance. Indeed, moral governance was central to many of Wilflete's professions, both in his legal career as JP and in his role as

¹²⁹ The college's books were chained, and although Cc has been trimmed it shows no evidence of having been chained. Furthermore, the book is not listed in Stoke-by-Clare inventories taken in 1534 and 1547–8.

¹³⁰ V.J.K. Brook, *A Life of Archbishop Parker* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 16. Parker was a prolific collector, and it is impossible to rule out the possibility that he acquired the manuscript whilst building his collection in the 1560s. However, he does not mention either an interest in Hoccleve or the *Regiment* in his correspondence between 1535–75, in which he discusses manuscripts which he hopes to acquire or borrow; *Correspondence of Matthew Parker, D.D. Archbishop of Canterbury: Comprising Letters Written by and to Him, from A.D.1535, to His Death, A.D.1575*, eds John Bruce and Thomas Thomason (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1853). The manuscript is also not mentioned in John Bale's letter to Parker on 30 July 1560 in which he lists medieval manuscripts which Parker could acquire; printed in Timothy Graham, 'Matthew Parker's Manuscripts: an Elizabethan Library and Its Use', *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, eds Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber (Cambridge: CUP, 2006), 322–42.

confessor to the duke of York. Yet the specific moments of moral instruction which Wilflete glosses in Cc are worthy of attention, as they reveal not only his personal interests in the poem, but also the ways in which the text appealed to a wider audience of ecclesiastical readers in the fifteenth century. Hoccleve describes his own poem as a compilation (2132) and himself as a *compiler* ('compilatoris', gloss to line 5439), and his glosses reflect this practice by pointing towards an external *auctoritas* of classical and scriptural texts.¹³¹ By adding his own glosses, Wilflete participates in this literary practice of compilation and actively engages with the text to highlight moments of moral guidance and draw connections between the *Regiment* and its scriptural sources.

A common practice in *Regiment* manuscripts, both in the authorised copies and in later scribal copies, is the identification of significant passages with an 'Exemplum' gloss.¹³² Wilflete copies many of these into the margins of Cc, and adds several of his own – which are predominantly unique in the corpus, or which are likely the product of convergent variation: appearing in manuscripts which are not genealogically related and thus can be explained as the result of a common scribal interest in the same passage. An example occurs in the Dialogue when the Old Man praises the benefits of poverty.¹³³ He gives two examples to illustrate this: the King of Sicily, who served earthenware vessels at his table in honour of his family's heritage and in acknowledgement of his good fortune, and Scipio the conqueror of Africa, who kept no material wealth despite his riches and died in poverty without earthly possessions.

¹³¹ Nafde, 'Deciphering the Manuscript Page', 215.

¹³² On the use of 'nota bene' for a similar effect in fifteenth-century manuscripts, see Wakelin, 'Instructing Readers'.

¹³³ Cc, f.13v, 1149.

Wilflete marks the second of these examples with the gloss 'Ex^m', evidently preferring the tale of a great conqueror who had rejected worldly goods. Perhaps Wilflete was interested in the classical story, or he may have recognised in Scipio the monastic and conventual practice of renouncing personal possessions with which he would have been familiar as a cleric (albeit in the secular clergy). In this context, it is understandable why Scipio would be seen as a more appropriate example of the virtue of poverty. Wilflete leaves a similar gloss to mark the Old Man's tale of Saint Ambrose.¹³⁴ This is another story which exemplifies the benefit of suffering and poverty as a sign of God's favour, illustrated by a family which Saint Ambrose encounters on his pilgrimage to Rome, which Wilflete glosses 'Ex^m de *sancti Ambrosio*'.

Wilflete's glosses go beyond simply identifying examples of good moral guidance. In two unique glosses, he adds biblical quotations which mirror the advice given in the *Regiment Proper*. Many of Hoccleve's authorial glosses (as witnessed in MS A) are biblical citations and encompass a range of texts including Genesis, Kings, Proverbs, and Epistles.¹³⁵ The format of these glosses varies when giving the biblical citation, sometimes citing the name of the book and number,¹³⁶ name of the book only,¹³⁷ or quoting the text without its source.¹³⁸ Their purpose, beyond authorising the

¹³⁴ Cc, f.15r, 1261.

¹³⁵ Blyth argues that although we cannot be certain that these glosses are authorial due to the loss of the author's holograph, 'there is no reason to doubt that the Latin glosses are authorial', in the note to the gloss to 54–6.

¹³⁶ 'Proverbiis 30: Mendicatem et divitias ne dederis mihi sed tantum victui meo necessaria', gloss to 1198.

¹³⁷ 'Proverbia: Animus gaudens etatem floridam facit; spiritus autem tristis desiccet ossa', gloss to 221–3.

¹³⁸ 'Iterum, sicut tinea vestimento et vermis ligno, et cetera', gloss to 225–30.

text, is to clarify and summarise the key moral story which is elaborated in the poem, in the words of Jane Griffiths 'setting contemporary advice in a timeless frame'.¹³⁹ Wilflete copies many of these biblical glosses, and twice adds his own following this format.

Hoccleve opens his discussion of pity in the *Regiment Proper* with the example of a cruel craftsman, 'a man þat to pite | Fo was *and* frend to iniquite' (3007–3008), who builds a brass bull for his king designed to torture criminals by lighting a fire beneath it.¹⁴⁰ The typically cruel king, however, sees the virtue of pity and punishes the craftsman by burning him in his own bull.¹⁴¹ At the conclusion of this tale, Wilflete adds the unique gloss 'Incidit in foveam quam fecit', quoting Psalm 7:16 'their violence comes down on their own heads'.¹⁴² As with Hoccleve's biblical glosses, this summarises the moral of the tale whilst drawing on the authority of the Psalm to show that this is a scripturally endorsed message. Other scribes of the *Regiment* add comparable notes in the margins to encapsulate the morals of the poem, such as Hh (explored in Chapter 2) which contains numerous decorated borders containing proverbs. The stemma shows that these manuscripts are not genetically related, which suggests that there was a general disposition for scribes to draw out Hoccleve's moral instructions in short pithy notes in the margins.

¹³⁹ Griffiths, "'In Bookes'", 93.

¹⁴⁰ Cc, f.34r. From context identifiable as Phalaris (570–554 BCE). This tale also appears in the *Confessio*, VII. 3295–3340, under the name Siculus.

¹⁴¹ Perkins, 74–5, 104–5.

¹⁴² Cc, f.34r. Gloss to 3038. Citing Psalm 7:16, Vulgate Bible.

Similarly, Wilflete adds a unique biblical gloss to Hoccleve's discussion on the importance of counsel.¹⁴³ As the poem instructs 'Comendable consill takyn of þe wys' (4936), Wilflete glosses a verse from Ecclesiasticus 25:7 and names its source: 'Ecclesiastici xxv. Quam speciosa veteranis sapientia & gloriosus intellectus', 'how comely is wisdom for the aged, and [how] glorious is understanding'.¹⁴⁴ The mirroring of vernacular poetry and Latin biblical prose again bolsters the authority of the poem and its moral instruction through its proximity to the Ecclesiasticus citation, reinforcing the notion that authority 'is not monolithic, but rather something to be constructed through negotiation of different perspectives', as Griffiths notes.¹⁴⁵ As an ecclesiastical figure, the act of inserting a biblical quotation into the *Regiment* represents an acknowledgement of the overlap between the text and ecclesiastical doctrine, which in turn is a reminder that the text was not only read as a piece of secular poetry. Perhaps we also see here a sense of Wilflete's enjoyment in the text, his sense of pleasure in drawing connections with his own biblical and moral readings.

But it is Wilflete's adoption of Hoccleve's glossing style which is most noteworthy. By connecting the *Regiment's* lesson to the Bible's instruction, Wilflete participates in the same interplay of authority which Hoccleve exploits in the text. In the same way that the glosses authorise Hoccleve as both a learned author and compiler of texts, Wilflete's biblical glosses assert his own authority beyond the role of scribe, showing that he too is learned enough to embellish the margins with

¹⁴³ Cc, f.54v.

¹⁴⁴ Cc, f.54v. Ecclesiasticus 25:7, Vulgate Bible.

¹⁴⁵ Griffiths, "'In Bookes'", 95.

scriptural citations. Wilflete may not have intended to place himself in the author's shoes when adding his own glosses – they may have simply been driven by a desire to improve the text and fill a perceived gap. It is also difficult to know whether Wilflete's decision to write his unique glosses in the same script and style as Hoccleve's glosses was a deliberate attempt to emulate the author, or whether he was simply following the conventions of scribal practice in the pursuit of creating a consistent and accurate manuscript. Regardless, a reader of Cc would be unable to tell the difference between Hoccleve's glosses and Wilflete's additions, and the impact is therefore *auctorial*.

Wilflete's scholarly interest in the *Regiment* is also revealed through his glosses. Assuming the manuscript was made whilst he was a fellow at Clare College, Wilflete would have been copying Hoccleve's poem in the vibrant intellectual context of Cambridge, with its community of scholars and rich collections of classical texts.¹⁴⁶ This period coincided with the growth of interest in classical texts in England under the influence of Italian humanism. Such humanist activity in England during the fifteenth century has been discussed by Wakelin, who suggests it is visible in the attitude of translators, the activities of readers, and the advocacy of patrons from the 1430s onwards.¹⁴⁷ He defines this period as one of *studia humanitatis* – 'the study and

¹⁴⁶ Alan Cobban, *The Medieval English Universities: Oxford and Cambridge to c.1500* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 12–14.

¹⁴⁷ Wakelin, *Humanism*.

imitation of classical antiquity' – which is reflected in the collections of the libraries of Cambridge when Wilflete joined the University.¹⁴⁸

In Clare College alone, by Wilflete's time the library contained two copies of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* (donated by Masters Robert Spaldynge and William Wymbyll respectively), a Latin commentary on Aristotle's *De generatione et corruptione* by Giles of Rome (donated by Master Nigel de Thorpe), and a copy of Bartholomew's *De proprietatibus rerum* (donated by Master William Aketon).¹⁴⁹ Hoccleve's *Regiment*, with its heavy Latin glosses and compilation of Latin regiminal and encyclopaedic sources, would fit well with the other scholarly and advisory texts in the college and university collections. Cc is an especially valuable witness to the interests of scholarly readers of the *Regiment* however, as Wilflete adds numerous unique (or non-genetic) glosses which demonstrate his familiarity with a variety of both Latin and vernacular sources.

Throughout the manuscript, Wilflete glosses the names of the classical authors to whom Hoccleve refers in the *Regiment*. This in itself does not imply familiarity with their texts, but since many of these glosses appear uniquely in Cc, they are notable as evidence of Wilflete's specific interests. Twice he glosses Hoccleve's allusion to the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum* with the simple note 'Arystot^{les}'.¹⁵⁰ Wilflete's interest in Aristotle as the source of these texts suggests a scholarly interest in both the author

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 7.

¹⁴⁹ Itinerary from the Master's Old Book, CCA: B/1/1, and recorded in *The University and College Libraries of Cambridge*, eds Clarke and Lovatt, 120–42.

¹⁵⁰ Cc, f.23v, 2038; f.25r, 2199. Neither gloss is unique in the corpus, but the irregularity across the stemma suggests this was a common interest amongst readers rather than a genealogical transcription.

and the genre of regiminal and classical scriptural texts – an interest which is reflected in the contents of Clare College’s library in Wiflete’s time, which contained five manuscripts of pseudo-Aristotelian texts and three commentaries by 1440.¹⁵¹ The college libraries of Corpus Christi and Pembroke, and the University library, all held copies of the *Secretum* in the fifteenth century.¹⁵²

Wiflete also glosses the name of Valerius Maximus, the first century CE historian who authored a collection of historical *exempla* later titled *Facta et dicta memorabilia*. As with Aristotle, these glosses note only the name ‘Valerius’ at points in the narrative in which Hoccleve attributes a particular tale to the author.¹⁵³ These are: the tale of the Roman duke Camillus and his attempted siege of Falistes ‘as sayth Vilerius’ (2586); and when Marcus Marcellus is given as an example of the virtue of pity ‘as Valery writyth in a story’ (3203).¹⁵⁴ Both glosses are unique in the corpus, but the latter is most notable as this line is glossed in eighteen other manuscripts with ‘Marcus Marcellus’ instead. Although it is impossible to know if Wiflete’s exemplar contained this gloss and he deliberately replaced it with ‘Valerius’, his unique citation to the story’s author rather than the subject reveals his consistent interest in classical authors. Cc contains many other glosses to similar authors, which are not unique to

¹⁵¹ UC11.5, UC11.6, UC11.7, UC11.12a, UC11.13a. Commentaries UC11.9, UC11.11b, UC11.26b. *The University and College Libraries of Cambridge*, eds Clarke and Lovatt, from the inventory of 1440.

¹⁵² Corpus Christi: ‘*Aristoteles de secretis secretorum*’ and ‘*Liber de secretis secretorum*’ listed in a bequest by Thomas Markaunt in 1439. Pembroke: two ‘*Contenta istius*’ which included the *Secretum secretorum*, inventory of 1418; ‘*De secretis secretorum*’, inventory of 1462; and ‘*Item textum Aristotelis*’ containing the *Secreta*, inventory of 1490. University library: ‘*Secreta secretorum* (ps. Aristotle)’, inventory of 1473. *The University and College Libraries of Cambridge*, eds Clarke and Lovatt.

¹⁵³ Valerius Maximus was a popular source for other compendia used by ecclesiastical authors, such as John of Wales’s *Communiloquium* and *Breviloquium*.

¹⁵⁴ Cc, f.29v at 2586; and 36r at 3201.

Wilflete but are nonetheless significant: Seneca,¹⁵⁵ Gratian,¹⁵⁶ Theodore Cyrenaicus,¹⁵⁷ Socrates,¹⁵⁸ Isidore of Seville,¹⁵⁹ and Bridget of Sweden.¹⁶⁰

However, there are a few glosses in Cc which suggest Wilflete may have been more familiar with some of the English and Latin source texts which Hoccleve cites in the *Regiment*. Several unique glosses identify citations to Gower's *Confessio amantis*, which is astonishing considering that Hoccleve does not name his source in these instances. Wilflete correctly identifies the source 'confessione Amantis' of the story of the tyrant Berillus from Book 7.¹⁶¹ Cc is the only manuscript in which this extract is associated with Gower, making it highly probable that this is Wilflete's original note. Additionally, Perkins argues that another gloss which notes 'Confessio' at line 610 as the Old Man tells the story of his misspent youth is suggestive of the thematic and generic links between Gower's and Hoccleve's poems and could emulate similar glosses in *Confessio* manuscripts.¹⁶²

In a further unique gloss, Wilflete correctly identifies the *Confessio* as the source of the tale of Ligurgius, in the *Regiment* portrayed as an unnamed knight who exiles himself from his own land to trick his people into abiding by his just laws. At the beginning of this tale, Wilflete names the text and even the chapter which Hoccleve

¹⁵⁵ Cc, ff.7r, 13r, 34v, 44r (twice), 47r, and 53r.

¹⁵⁶ Cc, f.19v.

¹⁵⁷ Cc, f.29v.

¹⁵⁸ Cc, f.39r.

¹⁵⁹ Cc, f.41r.

¹⁶⁰ Cc, f.59v.

¹⁶¹ Cc, f.34r, to 3004. *Confessio Amantis*, VII.3295–3332.

¹⁶² Cc, f.7v. See Perkins, 182.

adapts: 'No^{ta} de confessione Amantis in librum vi sic vocat'.¹⁶³ Unfortunately for Wilflete, the tale of Ligurgius appears in Book 7 (2917–3021) rather than Book 6, however such a minor error does not detract from the likelihood that Wilflete had read the *Confessio* and was drawing comparisons between the two. It is possible that Wilflete had read the *Confessio* in a corrupt manuscript in which Book 7 was mislabelled, or which was out of sequence so that Book 7 was presented as Book 6 – as Siân Echard has noted, post-mortem manuscripts of Gower's text are witness to considerable variation in their overall design.¹⁶⁴ It is also possible that Wilflete had borrowed a copy of the *Confessio*, possibly during his time at Cambridge, and no longer had access to the manuscript when he was copying Cc, and therefore confused Books 6 and 7 from memory. He would not be the first to read the *Confessio* and *Regiment* in conjunction: both texts appear in Ha5 (in excerpts), So, and Ra2.¹⁶⁵ Despite the inaccuracy of this final citation, these unique glosses demonstrate that an educated ecclesiastical scholar in Cambridge in the second quarter of the fifteenth century was reading both Gower's and Hoccleve's poetry and actively engaging with their material to draw connections across manuscripts.

There is also a unique gloss in Cc which hints at Wilflete's intimate knowledge of Hoccleve's Latin sources, specifically of Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum*. In

¹⁶³ Cc, f.33v, gloss to 2962.

¹⁶⁴ Siân Echard, 'Pre-Texts: Tables of Contents and the Reading of John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*', *Medium Ævum*, 66.2 (1997): 270–87 (270). Sonja Drimmer has similarly identified evidence of scribes who revised the layout of manuscripts in anticipation of images that would be provided later; 'The Disorder of Operations: Illuminators, Scribes, and John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*', *LIAS*, 44 (2017): 5–28.

¹⁶⁵ There is also the biographical, but not bibliographical, connection that Hoccleve is known to have copied part of the *Confessio* in TCC, MS R.3.2. See Doyle and Parkes, 'Production of Copies of *The Canterbury Tales*', 182–5.

his discussion of the vice of avarice (4474–4746), Hoccleve warns the Prince of the perils of greed and the need for generosity.¹⁶⁶ At the end of this lesson, the poem concludes ‘þe vertu is of liberalite’ (4670), and moves on to a discussion of flattery.¹⁶⁷ At this point, twenty-six manuscripts gloss ‘De virtute liberalitatis’.¹⁶⁸ Although there is no certainty that Wiflete’s exemplar also contained this gloss, many of the manuscripts which share genetic descent do, so it is likely that the exemplar did too. However, in Cc Wiflete substitutes the gloss ‘De virtute prodigalitatis’ (4670).¹⁶⁹ In definition, these words are not dissimilar: generosity and extravagant expenditure (occasionally translated as wastefulness). Yet it is interesting that Wiflete does not use the more obvious ‘liberalitatis’, but deviates from both the gloss-tradition and from the poem to annotate ‘prodigalitatis’. A speculative explanation may be found in the Latin source from which this passage derives, which suggests that this was an educated substitution which recalls the vocabulary of *De regimine principum*.

From lines 4607–4662, Hoccleve follows Book 1, Part 2, Chapter 18 of *De regimine principum* closely.¹⁷⁰ In this Chapter, Giles cites Aristotle’s discussion of generosity and how one should consider the proportion of gifts to the possessions of the giver. Using three-part logic, *De regimine principum* shows the value of

¹⁶⁶ The discussion of *avaritia* versus *prodigalitem* appears in other regiminal texts which are related to the *Regiment*, such as the *Secretum secretorum* (Book 1, Chapters 5 and 6) and Trevisa’s translation of *De regimine principum* (chapter 18), and was a conventional topic of discussion also witnessed in Gower’s *Mirour de l’Omme* (8425) and the *Summa Alexandrinorum* (part V).

¹⁶⁷ Cc, f.51v.

¹⁶⁸ A, Ad, Ar, As, Bo, Ed, Fi1, Fi2, Ga, Ha2, Ha3, Ha4, Hn1, Kk, La, Le, Ma, Na, Ra2, Ry4, Se, Sj, Sl2, So, Tc, Ya.

¹⁶⁹ Cc, f.51v.

¹⁷⁰ Cc is one of thirty-one manuscripts that contain the disarrangement whereby stanza 659 (4607–13) appears after stanza 654 (4578).

prodigalitem by arguing that it is more virtuous than *avaritia*, and thus that it is better to foolishly give than to hoard wealth. This chapter teaches the reader a lesson, but it is also a brilliant demonstration of logic and the way that a vice can be transformed into a virtue in three short steps. This debate also appears in Middle English poetry, for instance in the fourteenth century *Wynnere and Wastoure*, in which the figures of financial prudence and prodigality compete to assert their worth.

When you compare this chapter of *De regimine principum* to the *Regiment*, it becomes apparent that Hoccleve departs slightly from his source.¹⁷¹ Hoccleve's adaptation of the argument briefly summarises the three parts of Aristotle's argument accurately, however he makes a slight lexical change to shift the focus of the debate from 'prodigalitee' to 'largesse'. The poet uses the phrase 'prodigalitee' twice in this extract,¹⁷² but in the second and third parts of the argument, which show that it is better for a king to give extravagantly rather than selfishly, Hoccleve switches to 'largesse'. Although this is a minor change, there is a subtle difference in definition – from 'extravagant expenditure or wastefulness', to 'generosity or liberality' – which influences the morality of the debate. Hoccleve would have been aware of this distinction: in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, *prodigalite* is described by Gower and Lydgate as a vice, and *largesse* by Chaucer and Lydgate as a virtue.¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ In Hoccleve's defence, he does not claim to be an accurate translator.

¹⁷² At 4608 and 4614.

¹⁷³ Prodigalite: 'So doth he That useth Prodegalite | Which is the moder of poverte', Gower, *Confessio*, VII.2162–3 (1393); 'The vice avoyding of prodigalyte', Lydgate, *Secrees of Old Philisoffres*, 869. Largesse: 'Iesu Crist yeueth vs thise yiftes of his largesse and of his souereyn bountee', Chaucer, 'Parson's Tale' *Canterbury Tales*, I.284; 'With gold & ȝiftes, þat þei myȝt fele His grete fredam & largesse eke with al', Lydgate, *Troy Book*, II.4800.

In the *Regiment* – a poem which intends to win patronage – it is understandable why Hoccleve would want to emphasise the virtue of generosity rather than the vice of wasteful spending.

This substitution happens at several points in the poem. When Giles states ‘non ergo differt prodigalitas a liberalitate’, Hoccleve translates ‘þer is no deference | Betwix fool largesse *and* liberalite’ (4621–4622).¹⁷⁴ At three points, Hoccleve converts the ‘prodigus’ in *De regimine principum* as the ‘fool large’.¹⁷⁵ Giles’ conclusion that ‘prodigus autem multis prodest’ becomes ‘þe fool large many a man profitith’ (4641).¹⁷⁶ At line 4662, Hoccleve reaches the conclusion of *De regimine principum*’s argument, and inserts two stanzas of his own composition before progressing to the next lesson. These stanzas summarise the three parts of the argument and conclude that this chain of logic has proven the virtue of ‘liberalitee’.

When compared to its source, it becomes apparent that the term *prodigalitem* plays a much larger role in *De regimine principum* than in Hoccleve’s adaptation, and furthermore that Hoccleve’s conclusion is not entirely accurate to its source. Wilflete’s unusual glossing of ‘prodigalitis’ at this point could be read as an example of the tension and contradiction Jane Griffiths identifies between text and gloss in other *Regiment* manuscripts.¹⁷⁷ Although speculative, it could demonstrate that he was aware of this discrepancy, and appears to refer to the argument made in the Latin

¹⁷⁴ Cc, f.51r.

¹⁷⁵ 4623, 4628, 4630.

¹⁷⁶ Cc, f.51r.

¹⁷⁷ Griffiths, “In Bookes”, 97.

source, rather than in Hoccleve's vernacular version. After all, *prodigalitatem* was evidently of interest to Wiflete, as he copied three other glosses which refer to 'prodigalitas' in this extract alone.¹⁷⁸ This gloss is suggestive of the work of a scribe who was familiar with *De regimine principum* and its emphasis on *prodigalitatem*, and who desired to amend Hoccleve's conclusion to cite the original logical pathway.

It is entirely plausible that Wiflete could have read *De regimine principum* during his time at Cambridge. The Clare College library had a copy of the text, evidenced in the will of John Lenne, once student at Cambridge and later Rector of Kedington, in which he bequeathed 'qaternus continens tractatus de regimine principium' to the College in 1376.¹⁷⁹ Other copies were also in the collections of Pembroke College and Peterhouse while Wiflete was in Cambridge.¹⁸⁰ It was also likely that Wiflete would have come into contact with the text whilst studying at the University. Briggs notes that Giles' commentaries on Aristotle were standard university texts in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and *De regimine principum* was frequently included in library catalogues of universities and had a formative influence on the teaching of the moral philosophy curriculum.¹⁸¹ The text was also diversely compiled, abbreviated, and framed by indexes in the fifteenth century.

¹⁷⁸ Ff.50v, 4606; 50v, 4586; 51r, 4614. These are present in other manuscripts and not unique to Wiflete, but it is nonetheless noteworthy that he copied them.

¹⁷⁹ Cavanaugh, *Study of Books Privately Owned*, vol. 1, 510.

¹⁸⁰ Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 158, donated by Thomas Lavenham between 1406–8; and Peterhouse College, MS 233, in the Peterhouse library by 1418.

¹⁸¹ Charles Briggs, 'Life, Works, and Legacy', *A Companion to Giles of Rome*, eds Charles Briggs and Peter Eardley (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 6–33 (26–7).

It is therefore likely that Wiflete was familiar with *De regimine principum*, and could have come into contact with manuscripts of the text whilst he was copying Cc. The 'prodigalitem' gloss, identification of allusions to Gower's *Confessio*, and recognition of numerous classical authors demonstrate a clear scholarly interest, and show the appeal of Hoccleve's *Regiment* to an educated cleric of the fifteenth century. Wiflete's unique glosses reveal his own literary context outside of the *Regiment*, and the vernacular literary context in Cambridge in the early 1400s, which in turn place the text in the orbit of Latin-literate readers.

Although it is evident that Wiflete was concerned with, and read the *Regiment* for, its moral guidance and encyclopaedic compilation of sources, it should not be forgotten that the *Regiment* is still, fundamentally, a poem. If it had been the *Regiment's* regiminal and instructional content alone which had interested Wiflete, it would have been more appropriate to copy a *compilatio* such as Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Maius*. To transcribe a 5,463-line text (with glosses) for one's private use, rather than for commercial profit, would have been a significant undertaking of time and materials for an individual. Indeed, Wiflete betrays a modicum of pride in his labour in the colophon: 'Explicit liber iste qui vocatur Occliffe de regimine principum et constat Magistro Willelmo Wiflete socio Aule de clare Cantabrigie qui eum scribendo propriis manibus laborauit' ('Here ends this book which is called Hoccleve on the government of princes, which is attributed to Master William Wiflete, a fellow of Clare of Cambridge, who laboured to write it with his own hands').¹⁸² Furthermore,

¹⁸² Cc, f.60v.

the substantial number of scribal stints in Cc suggest that Wiflete copied the text in short bursts around his other commitments at the University of Cambridge. An awareness of the context of the manuscript's creation, and the analysis of Wiflete's scribal practice in copying the *Regiment*, shows that he put a great deal of care into ensuring the poem was read as a narrative literary text, as well as for its content.

Among his unique annotations to the margins of Cc, there are several which demonstrate his concern for accurately reading the poem's narrative. At three points in the text, he clarifies who is speaking by writing the characters' names in the margin. Unlike the glosses which identify key figures such as Saint Ambrose or Aristotle, these annotations do not mark the point at which these characters first appear or use their names – instead, they clarify who is speaking to ensure the reader interprets Hoccleve's verse correctly. The first two examples occur together in the Prologue to the *Regiment Proper*, when Hoccleve and the Old Man discuss Chaucer's renown as a poet.

Son I have hard or þis men speke of þe	
þou were a quayntid with chaucer perdee	
God have hys sowl best of ony whigt	Iuvenis
Son I wil hold þe . þat I haue hight.	Senex
	(1866–1869) ¹⁸³

Following the style of the glosses, Wiflete uses the Latin 'iuvenis' to refer to the Hoccleve-speaker and 'senex' to refer to the Old Man, identifying the characters by their roles in the Dialogue as 'youth' and 'elder'. Although Blyth's edition suggests that the Old Man is the speaker of these lines, as both characters are praising Chaucer

¹⁸³ Cc, f.21v.

it is easy to read them in the voices of two characters – indeed, the repetition of ‘Son’ at the start of line 1869 encourages this reading. Wilflete’s annotations present this stanza as stichomythic dialogue in which the Old Man recognises the speaker by his relation to Chaucer, the Hoccleve-speaker replies with praise of the late poet, and the Old Man vows to keep his promise to comfort his grievances. The sense of the stanza is not altered depending on who delivers these lines, but Wilflete’s attention to the speaker of each line suggests that he was concerned with reading it correctly.¹⁸⁴

A similar annotation is found in the *Regiment Proper*, when Hoccleve tells the tale of Alexander the Great and his near-destruction of the town of Lapsat. In this story, a Philosopher identified only as ‘a man of excellent discretoun’ (2308) – by context understood to be Aristotle – attempts to persuade the king to leave the town in peace.

þer was a philosophre in þe town
 A man of excellent discretoun
 þat to þis kyng sumtyme had maister be
 Wol sore abachid of hym *and* hys meny

Owt of þe town he sped him on hys way *Philosophus*
 As hastily as þat he coud or myȝt
 To ward þe kyng of *grace* hym to prey.

(2307–2313)¹⁸⁵

As seen previously, this is an allusion to the pseudo-classical authority of Aristotle witnessed elsewhere in the text, using the Latin ‘Philosophus’ as shorthand for Aristotle. In this case, Wilflete’s annotation also clarifies the subject of the line as the Philosopher, which could be confused by the previous line in which ‘him’ refers to the

¹⁸⁴ On the speech-headings in early manuscripts of the *Regiment*, see Nafde, ‘Stanza Markers’.

¹⁸⁵ Cc, f.26v.

king. The context of the line makes it clear which character was ‘Owt of þe town [...] sped’, but the helpful annotation means that a reader can glance through this stanza without having to pause and look ahead. Whilst this could simply be another gloss identifying an important character, the positioning of the annotation several lines after the Philosopher’s first appearance, and the possible ambiguity of the line’s subject, make it probable that this was a guide to read the line accurately. Although it is evident these three annotations serve a practical purpose – to identify the speaker of a line – it is also interesting that they all involve passages which revolve around instruction. Perkins notes that the latter example of the king and Philosopher returns the characters to the master–pupil dynamic – a dynamic which Wilflete emphasises in the Prologue when he identifies the roles of youth and elder.¹⁸⁶ Knowing the trajectory of Wilflete’s life, it is tempting to read his interest in this theme as a reflection of the teacher–pupil dynamic he would have witnessed at University, or as the foreshadowing of his future as Master of Clare College and dean of Stoke-by-Clare.

Another way in which Wilflete’s scribal practice betrays his interest in the *Regiment* as a poem is his use of rhyming braces. Wilflete does not usually demarcate the poem’s rhyme royal, but at three points he marks the rhyme scheme. The lines 2710–2743 are braced in the same ink as the main text – for no obvious purpose other than to visualise the rhyme scheme (Figure 2).¹⁸⁷ At the end of the poem, Wilflete notices the change in rhyme scheme and stanza length in the ‘Verba compilatoris ad

¹⁸⁶ Perkins, 71.

¹⁸⁷ Cc, f.31r.

librum' and braces the lines 5440–5451 to demonstrate the change.¹⁸⁸ Additionally, four lines are braced on another page to correct an error in transcription.¹⁸⁹ Wiflete accidentally switches lines 5382 and 5383 and corrects this with construe-marks, but he also adds braces to the rhyme scheme to show that the stanza-rhyme is enclosed rather than alternate. Whether it was the rhyme scheme that alerted Wiflete to this error, or he was using it to guide the reader through the correct order of the poem, he demarcates it as an important part of the text. Although these are minor details, they demonstrate Wiflete's attentiveness to the poem's form.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ Cc, f.60r. As titled in Blyth, untitled in the manuscript.

¹⁸⁹ Cc, f.59v.

¹⁹⁰ See Ardis Butterfield, 'Mise-En-Page in the Troilus' Manuscripts: Chaucer and French Manuscript Culture', *HLQ*, 58.1 (1995): 49–80; Wakelin, *Scribal Correction*, 219.

A similar concern with form, specifically the linear progression of the narrative, can be seen in Wiflete's handling of errors in his exemplar. Towards the end of the manuscript, he notices a jump in the narrative sequence of the text in the middle of Hoccleve's discussion of generosity.¹⁹¹ Cc is missing lines 4179–4389, containing the tale of John of Canace and the beginning of the author's plea to the Prince for patronage. Wiflete notices this lacuna, and leaves the marginal note '*Nota saltum & quare ? quia non valet*' ('Take note of the jump and enquire ? Because it does not work'). This is the only manuscript in the corpus which omits this passage, and Blyth argues that it was a deliberate choice by Wiflete because he considered it to be 'of no value'.¹⁹² However, this is unlikely for several reasons: the content of the missing extract is not particularly cohesive and thus not an ideal candidate to be isolated, and the tone and phrasing of the marginal note implies Wiflete's surprise and frustration over the loss. Furthermore, the number of absent lines suggests this lacuna is due to a deficient exemplar, equating to thirty stanzas which would fill three leaves with five stanzas per page.¹⁹³ Perkins also describes this gap as erroneous and remarks that Wiflete would be unlikely to annotate a deliberately omitted passage.¹⁹⁴ Wiflete's dismay at the textual jump, and his description of an incomplete poem as 'not valid', reveals his concern with the smooth, continuous reading of the *Regiment*.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹¹ Cc, f.48v.

¹⁹² Blyth, 'Editing *The Regiment*', 15.

¹⁹³ The conventional mise-en-page for *Regiment* manuscripts.

¹⁹⁴ Perkins, 188 n.139.

¹⁹⁵ Similar acknowledgements of absence appear in other *Regiment* manuscripts when the portrait of Chaucer is omitted or removed from the codex. See Drimmer, 'The Manuscript as an Ambigraphic Medium'; Firth Green, 'Notes on Some Manuscripts'. On scribal attitudes to omission, see Daniel Wakelin, 'When Scribes Won't Write: Gaps in Middle English Books', *SAC*, 36.1 (2014): 249–78.

A few leaves later is another scribal error which requires Wilflete's correction.¹⁹⁶ Strangely, the text on this leaf is out of sequence, beginning on the verso and ending on the recto, meaning that you must read the reverse side of the page first. A large manicule in the top inner margin instructs '*lege sequens latus primus ante hoc*' ('read the following side first before this').¹⁹⁷ This has been strategically placed at the top of the recto in the inner margin, to catch the reader's eye before it begins the stanza and prevent the poem from being read out of sequence. A now cropped manicule and note in the upper outer margin of the verso likely gave a similar instruction to 'begin here'. Wilflete's correction resembles the '*verte folium*' instructions in musical and literary manuscripts, which Wakelin suggests reflect a 'fear of interrupting the process of reading'.¹⁹⁸ It is evident that Wilflete took care to ensure Hoccleve's poem was copied correctly, both for its regiminal content and its linear narrative.

The close analysis of Wilflete's scribal practice in Cc allows us to study the literary engagement of a single ecclesiastical figure with Hoccleve's text. Through his glossing and annotation of the poem, Wilflete expresses his interest in moral governance, classical and scriptural texts, and poetic form. Small textual details reveal his recognition of Hoccleve's Latin source material and attentiveness to rhyme schemes and lacunae, which show that Wilflete was far from a simple 'Clare College student', as Blyth calls him.¹⁹⁹ Rather, an image emerges of an educated man, well-versed in classical Latin and contemporary vernacular texts, who actively engages

¹⁹⁶ Cc, ff.56r-v.

¹⁹⁷ Cc, f.56r.

¹⁹⁸ Wakelin, *Immaterial Texts*, 149–53.

¹⁹⁹ Blyth, 'Editing *The Regiment of Princes*', 15.

with the text he copies to correct and improve, and in doing so demonstrates a deep understanding of the genre of regiminal texts. Furthermore, by reading the *Regiment* in the context of Wiflete's ecclesiastical, judicial, and scholarly background prior to copying Cc, the ways in which the text appealed to audiences outside of the secular nobility and gentry become more apparent. As this study of Wiflete's life has underlined, ecclesiastical figures occupied various roles in society, many of which relied on exemplary moral governance, for which Hoccleve's *Regiment* would have provided a valuable (and practical) resource despite its apparent secular focus. Wiflete's manuscript moreover illuminates the circulation of vernacular texts in early fifteenth-century universities, a side of literary culture that is often not made apparent from inventories and formal records. The following chapter turns to this wider literary culture, to understand the networks within which the *Regiment* circulated in late-medieval England.

Chapter 6: Networks

A network approach is usually applied to large and complex datasets that are less amenable to traditional qualitative methods.¹ This is not the case for this thesis, which rather takes a more theoretical use of network analysis as a tool for investigating relationships between entities. My approach is sociocentric, seeking to map out and investigate the provenance network of *Regiment* manuscripts as a whole, using written evidence in the form of legal documents (such as agreements between merchants, land disputes, and wills), judicial records (*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic from the reign of Henry VIII* and court rolls), inventories of books, as well as evidence in the manuscripts themselves.² I have attempted to use evidence from roughly the first one hundred years of the manuscripts' provenance.

I use 'networks' in a looser, more metaphorical sense than others have done, in essence as a synonym for social and professional connections, without attempting to build a relational database, display a graph of nodes and edges, or run quantitative tools. I do not take into consideration the metric of degree or 'degree centrality', which weighs how many connections an individual has with others around them. With my provenance evidence, this would skew my data towards those for whom the most evidence survives. It is also reliant on the sometimes patchy survival of evidence.

¹ As Ruth Ahnert, Sebastian E. Ahnert, Catherine Nicole Coleman, and Scott B. Weingart, *The Network Turn: Changing Perspectives in the Humanities; Elements in Publishing and Book Culture* (Cambridge: CUP, 2021); Ruth Ahnert and Sebastian E. Ahnert, *Tudor Networks of Power* (Oxford: OUP, 2023).

² Sociocentric defined as 'the quantification of relationships between people within a defined group', following Kenneth K.S. Chung, Liaquat Hossain, and Joseph Davis, 'Exploring Sociocentric and Egocentric Approaches for Social Network Analysis', *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Knowledge Management in Asia Pacific* (Wellington, NZ: Victoria University of Wellington, 2005), 1–8.

Moreover, my dataset, whilst large for a Middle English poem, is small compared to the typical quantity of data in analyses that account for degree centrality.

I also avoid considerations of degree because qualitative judgement is still crucial in this study. Whilst this chapter takes the idea behind quantitative approaches to provenance data, I use it in a qualitative way. I seek to understand not only the quantity of connections between individuals, but the nature of these connections. Whether two people are connected by family or by profession matters in this study. My approach is inspired by Ruth Ahnert's work on prison communities in the sixteenth century, in which she uses some of the basic ideas from the field of network analysis to map out communities that extended beyond the prison walls.³

My hope is to view the evidence from the past two chapters from a different perspective, as a network which reframes how we conceptualise and navigate this material in relation to its political and social contexts. Whilst previous chapters have considered the depth of manuscript provenance, this chapter turns to its breadth. A network perspective of provenance allows us to see that readers and owners of *Regiment* manuscripts were connected to each other beyond the stemmatic relationship of their manuscripts. The readers identified here had shared interests and experiences, but did they also know one another? What role did social, professional, and political networks play in the circulation of the *Regiment*? And what trends can be identified when the material is considered from afar?

³ Ruth Ahnert, *The Rise of Prison Literature in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: CUP, 2013), esp. 74–111.

Network Theory

Ruth and Sebastian Ahnert use the metaphor of aerial photography to explain the desire to understand the whole landscape through network analysis.⁴ Their aim in the study of Tudor State Papers was to map out the cumulative impact of the shape of their dataset through quantitative approaches, combined with a closer analysis of specific areas of their archive. Though their dataset comprises tens of thousands of items, their theoretical framework has merit for this study. So do other studies of networks in late-medieval England. Deborah Youngs notes that networks were central to the transmission of literature before printing, as obtaining a text meant procuring an exemplar, which often depended on 'lines of communication formed by personal relationships among members of a book-owning network'.⁵ Likewise, Margaret Lane Ford has identified the existence of various networks after the arrival of print which served to connect the owners of early printed material in England.⁶

Networks have the potential to cross boundaries of gender, profession, and status. A network of book owners and writers connected to the household of Sir John Fastolf (d.1459) is described by Youngs as 'a literate community engaged in book-lending and borrowing that shared literary interests, a common idiom, and scribes'.⁷ Julia King has also recently identified the networks of books, donors, and families

⁴ Ahnert and Ahnert, *Tudor Networks*, 27.

⁵ Deborah Youngs, 'Cultural Networks', *Gentry Culture in Late Medieval England*, eds Raluca Rădulescu and Alison Truelove (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 119–33 (120).

⁶ M.L. Ford, 'Private Ownership of Printed Books', *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, III: 1400–1557*, eds Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), 205–28.

⁷ Youngs, 'Cultural Networks', 121.

related to Sion Abbey, a hub of late-medieval devotional literary culture.⁸ Networks can be made visible within single manuscripts too. Carol Meale identifies Lambeth Palace, MS 491, a copy of the *Awntyrs off Arthure*, which contains the names of people ‘who seem to have formed a kind of informal literary circle amongst the Essex gentry in the early sixteenth century’.⁹ Catherine Nall similarly identifies a circle of readers in Paston’s ‘Grete Boke’ who were interested in the literature of chivalry and warfare, and in Sir John Astley’s book which circulated around court.¹⁰ The Findern manuscript is another prime example, containing the names of women from families living in close proximity to the Finderns.¹¹

Why do reading networks form? It has been argued that reading groups take shape because of a subtext of shared values.¹² According to Harold Love, the circulation of manuscripts bonded together groups of like-minded individuals into a community whose values and personal allegiances were nourished by the exchange of texts.¹³ Networks and their communities can best be understood in a self-generating circle of influence. Peter Fleming, discussing book owners in Kent, argues that the individuals he identifies ‘appear to have constituted a cultural circle, either in the

⁸ Julia King, ‘Syon Abbey’s Books and the Strength of Weak Ties’, *Manuscript Studies: A Journal of the Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies*, 9.1 (2024): 33–71.

⁹ Carol M. Meale, ‘Manuscripts, Readers and Patrons in Fifteenth-Century England: Sir Thomas Malory and Arthurian Romance’, *Arthurian Literature IV*, ed. Richard Barber (Cambridge: Brewer, 1985), 93–126 (107).

¹⁰ Nall, *Reading and War*, 38–9.

¹¹ Youngs, ‘Cultural Networks’, 123; Thorlac Turville-Petre, ‘Some Medieval English Manuscripts in the North-East Midlands’, *Manuscripts and Readers in Fifteenth-Century England: The Literary Implications of Manuscript Study* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1983), 125–141.

¹² Elizabeth Long, ‘Textual Interpretation as Collective Action’, *The Ethnography of Reading*, ed. Jonathan Boyarin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 180–211 (194).

¹³ Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: OUP, 1993), 177.

sense of a group brought together by shared cultural interests, who then forged other links of a political, business and familial nature, or of a group within which the dissemination of culture was facilitated by existing communities'.¹⁴ This is comparable to the ongoing systems of exchange identified by Felicity Heal in the giving of gifts and council at court in Tudor England.¹⁵

There are risks to network analysis, though. It is important to remember that reading networks are fluid and changeable, not set in stone. Youngs describes them as 'recognisably more open-ended affiliations' which are nevertheless based on meaningful actions.¹⁶ Connections between individuals could be robust or fleeting, made over a lifetime or in a day. A network that has been mapped out on the page, like a stemma, places everything on one plane in a way that flattens the effect of time. Diagrams can create the false impression that every connection was happening simultaneously, or that every connection had the same significance. Networks also do not account for the many unidentified profiles – those for whom we have a name but no backing documentary evidence to suggest an identity. Nor does it account for the many anonymous readers who left no visible trace. I shall, therefore, use the networks I identify in the circulation of the *Regiment* as a prompt to ask questions about the shared interests and experiences of its readers, rather than as a statement about their connections.

¹⁴ Peter Fleming, 'The Hautes and their "Circle": Culture and the English Gentry', *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Daniel Williams (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987), 85–102 (101).

¹⁵ Felicity Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford: OUP, 2014), 87–120.

¹⁶ Youngs, 'Cultural Networks', 130.

Networks and Hoccleve

Recent scholarship has sketched the networks of scribes and patrons within which Hoccleve worked, with valuable conclusions about his background and context. Sebastian Sobecki has identified what he calls the 'communities of practice' that Hoccleve participated in, which played a significant role in the dissemination of written and literary culture.¹⁷ Sobecki argues that literature in London was being generated, copied, and read by communities defined by their professional and devotional relationships, as well as their cultural and socioeconomic traits.¹⁸ He identifies Hoccleve as a central figure in London's communities of practice, specifically Westminster's community of civic clerks from the end of the fourteenth to the late fifteenth centuries. Around Hoccleve, he positions figures such as John Bailey, John Hethe, and John Offord from the Privy Seal, and the scribes, still not yet named securely, of the Hengwrt and TCC, MS R.3.2 manuscripts.¹⁹ Misty Schieberle, Estelle Stubbs, and Linne Mooney have also established a previously unrecognised professional and likely familial network for the Hoccleves in London, which connects Thomas Hoccleve and his father William Hoccleve to the prominent Londoners William and Maud Holbech.²⁰ And Ethan Knapp has examined Hoccleve's autobiographical complaints in the *Series* to identify several other clerks in

¹⁷ Sebastian Sobecki, 'Communities of Practice: Thomas Hoccleve, London Clerks, and Literary Production', *JEBS*, 24 (2021): 51–106 (51).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 52.

¹⁹ See also Sobecki, '*Gens sans Argent*', 121–146 (esp. 143).

²⁰ Estelle Stubbs and Linne R. Mooney, 'A Record Identifying Thomas Hoccleve's Father', *JEBS*, 14 (2011): 233–37; Schieberle, 'Thomas Hoccleve of London'.

employment at the Privy Seal such as Guy de Roucliffe, for whom Hoccleve served as under-clerk, and John Welde, Hoccleve's own assistant clerk.²¹

These networks offer valuable context for understanding Hoccleve's work. They can give a sense of the financial imperatives in the lives of Privy Seal clerks, and help to explain the sense of instability and vulnerability that the Hoccleve-persona complains about in the *Regiment*. Schieberle too stresses the significance of this close-knit community of London scribes in the exchange of ideas and the development of shared literary tastes.²² These principles are relevant for this study. Although the communities of practice these scholars identify are built upon ties which are much stronger than those identified in this chapter between owners of *Regiment* manuscripts, their approach is still valuable as a theoretical framework that demonstrates the potential of considering provenance from a wide angle.

Early *Regiment* manuscripts help us see a further network around Hoccleve, connecting him to various members of the aristocracy. Presentation copies were made for John, duke of Bedford and Edward, duke of York, non-extant but known through their dedicatory verses which survive in other manuscripts. Henry V presumably was presented with a copy too. Hoccleve was also connected to John Mowbray (1392–1432), who not only owned a manuscript, MS A, but also commissioned Hoccleve to write a petition and a warrant in 1422. Hoccleve also produced a holograph of some of his works for Joan Beaufort (c.1377–1440), which contains an extract from the

²¹ Knapp, *Bureaucratic Muse*, 20.

²² Schieberle, 'Thomas Hoccleve of London', 311.

Regiment. This social network is quite different from the clerical and bureaucratic circles identified by Sobecki and others. Hoccleve was evidently not stuck within one particular social network, but used his writing to access a different sphere – an effort that is made visible in the provenance of *Regiment* manuscripts.

But though valuable, these studies have the effect of prioritising the poet over the many scribes and readers of his work. Scholarship surrounding Hoccleve has long been dominated by the study of the author and his famed autographs, which are valued for being ‘free from all suspicion of interference by scribal intermediaries’, according to J.A. Burrow and A.I. Doyle.²³ Debates about which manuscripts are and are not written by Hoccleve tend to overshadow the interesting questions about what creative agents other than the author contribute to his transmission. This chapter steps away from the poet and turns instead to the readers and owners of *Regiment* manuscripts to map out their networks, sometimes distant from the poet, but nevertheless valuable. Their evidence sketches the networks within which Hoccleve’s work circulated after the poet’s death, which were themselves complex ecosystems of exchange and dissemination.

Networks and the Regiment

Appendix 6.2 shows some of the connections that can be drawn between individuals associated with *Regiment* manuscripts when network theory is applied. The evidence

²³ *Facsimile of the Autograph Verse Manuscripts*, ed. Burrow and Doyle, xi.

drawn upon to create these links is varied, comprising legal documents, judicial records, inventories of books, and evidence in the manuscripts themselves. This is not universal, and does not account for every manuscript and individual, but is merely one possible way of visualising some of the data. Connections are drawn between individuals in three main ways: through genealogy, profession, and events.

Genealogy: the Neville Family

In Appendix 6.2, as one possible way of visualising the network of *Regiment* provenance, the Neville family plays a central part. Individuals belonging to the Neville family can be connected to Hoccleve in a variety of ways. Joan Beaufort, wife of Ralph Neville, first earl of Westmorland, was the patron of one of Hoccleve's surviving holographs, DUL, Cosin MS V.iii.9. Hoccleve translated *The Complaint of the Virgin* for Joan FitzAlan, countess of Hereford – for whom John Mowbray was made ward from 1407 to 1410. Mowbray, who married into the Neville family in 1412, himself commissioned Hoccleve to write a petition and a warrant in 1422, and was the recipient, and possible patron of, a presentation copy of the *Regiment*, MS A.

Other *Regiment* manuscripts can be connected to the Nevilles. Ry2 was commissioned by Lady Joan Neville (1434–1462) and William FitzAlan (1417–1487), and also contains the name of Elizabeth Berkley (d.1480), who was married to George Neville, lord Latimer (d.1469). The Hoptons of Suffolk, themselves descended from the Nevilles of Hornby, commissioned their own copy, Di. As well as those Nevilles who had direct connections to Hoccleve, their descendants in later generations were

still interested in owning copies of his works. For instance, Jerome Hampden (1488–1540), the grandson of Catherine Neville (1444–1493) owned La. George Neville, fifth baron Bergavenny (1469–1535) also owned a copy, although it is uncertain whether he commissioned it for himself. And those associated with the Nevilles by profession, such as William Wiflete (d.1470), confessor to Richard, duke of York (1411–1460) and Cecily Neville (1415–1495), produced their own copies. Many other individuals had less explicit connections with the Nevilles, for instance serving as their witnesses in court or embroiled in a land dispute with them.

The centrality of the Neville family in the circulation of *Regiment* manuscripts is hitherto unrecognised, and only made visible by the perspective afforded by network analysis. It is perhaps explained by the large influence of the family in all aspects of social life in the fifteenth century, not only in popularising the *Regiment*. The influence of the Nevilles in local politics was rooted in Ralph Neville's appointments as Keeper of the Counties of Northampton, Leicester, Rutland, Nottingham, Derby, and York in 1332. Ralph Neville, first earl of Westmorland (c.1364–1425) helped to coordinate the work of the JPs, and members of the Neville family were in frequent service on legal commissions across England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.²⁴ By the 1450s, they were key players in national politics. This experience, Charles Young argues, would have increased their influence with other members of the commissions and added to their family prestige in the regions they governed.²⁵

²⁴ Charles R. Young, *The Making of the Neville Family in England, 1166–1400* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1996), 94–111.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 105.

Moreover, the circulation of *Regiment* manuscripts amongst the descendants of Ralph Neville and Joan Beaufort can be understood as a product of the many successful marriages they orchestrated. They were able to use their proximity to Henry VI to make what J.R. Lander has called 'the most amazing series of child marriages in English history'.²⁶

But the Nevilles' role in forming textual communities around the *Regiment* should not be undervalued. In the corpus, they are far and beyond the most dominant family involved in the text's circulation.²⁷ It is tempting to wonder whether this trend is also the product of Hoccleve's own networks of patronage he established when composing poems and copying manuscripts for the Nevilles. As a scribe familiar with the reality of manuscript production and the scarcity of exemplars (as he mourns in his *Dialogue*), Hoccleve must have been conscious of the potential dissemination he was enabling by providing the Nevilles with copies of his texts – although it is difficult to say to what extent this was not driven by his livelihood and need for *any* patron.

Profession: Judicial and Courtly Provenance

Other professional trends in ownership can be identified when the corpus is considered from a sociocentric perspective. Fifteen manuscripts in the corpus have medieval owners who also held judicial responsibilities in local and national

²⁶ J.R. Lander, 'Marriage and Politics in the Fifteenth Century: The Nevilles and the Wydevilles', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 36 (1963): 119–52 (121).

²⁷ For a comparable study, see Hanna, 'Sir Thomas Berkeley'.

government. Eighteen individuals have been identified, the vast majority of whom are members of the gentry who acted as JPs or sat on a Commission of the Peace at some point during their political careers.

The Office of the Peace was created in the mid-fourteenth century to deal with the problem of keeping the peace.²⁸ It superseded the Keepers of the Peace, a post that had been in use since the twelfth century and which had gradually developed to include the powers of detaining suspects, inquiring of felonies and trespasses, and eventually of passing judgement on cases.²⁹ JPs were drawn from the landholding elite, predominantly gentry, creating a class of individuals who wielded strong political power with a combination of landed wealth, dependent neighbours, and legal authority.³⁰ By the fifteenth century, each county had an established group of JPs who enforced royal control of public and political order to maintain peace in the shires, whilst representing their own interests.³¹

The extent of the JP's power has been debated. Charles Young has argued that the administration of justice at the local level should be seen as the extension of legal administration from the central government into the localities.³² But whilst it is true that there was a centralised control of appointments, local magnates still dominated

²⁸ A.L. Brown, *The Government of Late Medieval England, 1272–1461* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1898), 116–17.

²⁹ Bertha H. Putnam, 'The Transformation of the Keepers of the Peace into Justices of the Peace, 1327–1380', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, 12 (1929): 19–48 (22–4).

³⁰ Young, *Making of the Neville Family*, 95; Christine Carpenter, *Locality and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401–1499* (Cambridge: CUP, 1992), 47.

³¹ John B. Post, 'Some Limitations of the Medieval Peace Rolls', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 4.8 (1973): 633–9 (633).

³² Young, *Making of the Neville Family*, 95.

peace commissions.³³ In some counties, it has been argued that 'the local gentry, unhindered by the nobility, ran the shire'.³⁴ In others, the royal administration is thought to have enforced its will in the localities without obstruction.³⁵ The character and diligence of the gentry appointed as JPs, and subsequently their influence, seems to have varied from county to county.³⁶ This complicates the drawing of overarching conclusions about the executive power of these individuals in late-medieval England. But nevertheless it is clear that a large number of affluent men with some amount of legal education and local government responsibilities also read Hoccleve.

First known owners of *Regiment* manuscripts with judicial responsibilities:

MS	Individual	Judicial role
A	John Mowbray (1392–1432)	Important military figure in France during Henry V's reign, later joined the king's royal council under Henry VI ³⁷
Cc	William Wilflete (d.1470)	JP for Cambridgeshire in 1448, 1453, 1455, 1457, and 1458 ³⁸
Di	Hoptons of Blythburgh, Suffolk, & Swillington	Sir Arthur Hopton (1488–1555), son of George Hopton (the possible patron of Di), was JP for Suffolk 1514–55, amongst other offices ³⁹
Hh	Sir Thomas de Lyttleton (d.1481)	JP for Worcestershire in 1477–1478; Justice of the Common Pleas 1466–1481 ⁴⁰
Hn1	Avery Cornburgh (1430–1487)	JP for Cornwall from 1463 and Essex from 1468, sheriff of Cornwall in 1464–1465 and 1468–1469 and sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire 1472–1473 and 1477–1478 ⁴¹

³³ Bertha Haven Plucknett, *Proceedings Before The Justices of the Peace in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, Edward III to Richard III* (London: Spottiswoode, Ballantyne, 1938), lxxvi–lxxxiv; E. Powell, 'The Administration of Criminal Justice in Late-Medieval England: Peace Sessions and Assizes', *The Political Context of Law*, eds R. Eales and D. Sullivan (London: A&C Black, 1987), 49–77 (49–55).

³⁴ Wright, *Derbyshire Gentry*, 94.

³⁵ Simon Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices of the Peace, 1389–1413', *English Historical Review*, 108 (1993): 281–313 (305).

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 307.

³⁷ R.E. Archer, 'Mowbray, John, second duke of Norfolk (1392–1432), magnate', *ODNB* (2004).

³⁸ E.g. TNA, C 67/24.

³⁹ 'Hopton, Sir Arthur (1488–1555), of Cockfield in Yoxford, Suff.', *History of Parliament*, ed. Bindoff.

⁴⁰ Plucknett, *Proceedings Before the JPs*, 425, 428, 432–4; Sir John Baker, 'Littleton [Lyttleton], Sir Thomas (d. 1481), justice and legal writer', *ODNB* (2004).

⁴¹ Josiah C. Wedgwood, *The History of Parliament (1439–1509)*, in 2 vols. (London: H.M.S.O., 1936–1938), vol. 1, 223–4.

	Nicholas Gaynsford (1427–1498)	Commissions of the Peace for Surrey from 1461–1477; Usher to the Chamber of Edward IV ⁴²
La	Jerome Hampden (1488–1540)	Commission of the Peace for Buckinghamshire, 1512–1514 ⁴³
Ma	Thomas Copley (1532–1584), of Gatton, Surrey	JP for Surrey 1558, 1559–1568 ⁴⁴
Qu	Thomas Kynnersley, Esq. of Ackleton (alive in 1560)	Sheriff of Staffordshire 1520 ⁴⁵
Ra1	Sir John de Lisle of Wodyton and Thruxton, seventh baron Lisle (d.1470/1)	Sheriff of Wiltshire 1438–1439, and of Hampshire 1439–1440; JP for Hampshire 1441–1470/1 ⁴⁶
	Sir Thomas Lysle (c.1481–1542)	JP for Hampshire 1529–1542 ⁴⁷
Ry2	John Sutton, first baron Dudley (1400–1487)	JP for Worcestershire in 1477–1478 ⁴⁸
	William FitzAlan (1417–1487)	JP for Southampton in 1474–1475 ⁴⁹
Ry3	Nicholas Wykes (by 1488–1558)	Sheriff of Gloucestershire 1544–1545, 1554–1555; JP for Gloucestershire 1531–1588 ⁵⁰
Ry4	Sir John Allyn (1495–1545)	Sheriff of London 1518; Lord Mayor of London 1525, 1535; Privy Council of King Henry VIII ⁵¹
Se	Thomas Holt (d.1545)	JP for Warwickshire 1522–1545, Shropshire and Staffordshire 1535–1545, Northamptonshire 1536–1545, Gloucestershire and Worcestershire 1537–1545, Caernarfonshire and Herefordshire 1538–1545, Cheshire 1539–1545 ⁵²
Sj	George Neville, fifth baron Bergavenny (1469–1535)	Served in the House of Lords as a trier of petitions to advise the crown on subsidiary legislation 1497; later appointed to the Privy Council ⁵³
Sl1	Sir Thomas Lucas (1460–1531)	Solicitor to Henry VII; Commission of the Peace for Suffolk 1509–1514 ⁵⁴

⁴² *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office; Prepared under the Superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records: 1461–67* (London: H.M.S.O., 1891), 573, 489; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls... [of] Edward IV, Henry VI: 1467–1477* (London: H.M.S.O., 1900), 631–32.

⁴³ Appendix, 'Commissions of the Peace and Miscellaneous', *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, 1509–1514*, ed. J.S. Brewer (London: J. Gairdner, 1920).

⁴⁴ 'Copley, Thomas (1532–84), of Gatton, Surr.', *History of Parliament [...] 1509–1558*, ed. Bindoff.

⁴⁵ Lambeth Palace, MS 616, f.43.

⁴⁶ 'Lisle, John II (c.1470–1471) of Wotton, I.o.W. and Thruxton, Hants', *House of Commons*, ed. Clark.

⁴⁷ 'Lisle, Sir Thomas (c.1481–1542), of Kingston Bagpuze, Berks. and Thruxton, Hants.', *History of Parliament [...] 1509–1558*, ed. Bindoff.

⁴⁸ Plucknett, *Proceedings Before the JPs*, 432–3.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 238, 252, 257–63, 266–7, 269, 272–4.

⁵⁰ 'Wykes, Nicholas (by 1488–1558), of Dodington, Glos.', *History of Parliament*, ed. Bindoff.

⁵¹ Collins, *The English Baronetage*, vol. 2, 150.

⁵² 'Holte, Thomas (by 1500–46), of the Middle Temple, London and Aston and Duddeston, Warws.', *History of Parliament [...] 1509–1558*, ed. Bindoff.

⁵³ Hawkyard, 'Nevill, George', *ODNB*.

⁵⁴ Appendix: Commissions of the Peace and Miscellaneous', *Letters and Papers*, vol. 1.

The majority of individuals held more than one judicial responsibility across their careers, with some serving as MPs, Sheriffs, and Commissioners.⁵⁵ For some individuals, like Sir John Allyn, the lower position of Sheriff was used as a stepping stone to a higher role in the Privy Council. They were also not limited to one geographical area, but could represent several counties simultaneously. For instance, Avery Cornburgh (1430–1487) represented Cornwall, Essex, and Hertfordshire across a period of less than two decades. In all cases listed here, the representative of a county also held substantial lands in that county, meaning that they had a vested interest in the governance of that area. Their ownership of books that were not purely legal is not unusual. Sir John Baker remarks that lawyers' inventories of books are remarkable for the low proportion of law books they contain.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ As was typical, see Sir John Baker, 'The English Legal Profession 1450–1550', *Collected Papers on English Legal History* (Cambridge: CUP, 2013), 19–44.

⁵⁶ Sir John Baker, 'Common Lawyers' Libraries 1450–1650', *Collected Papers*, 707–718 (717).

This professional trend in ownership is dispersed across the corpus in a way that is not stemmatic.

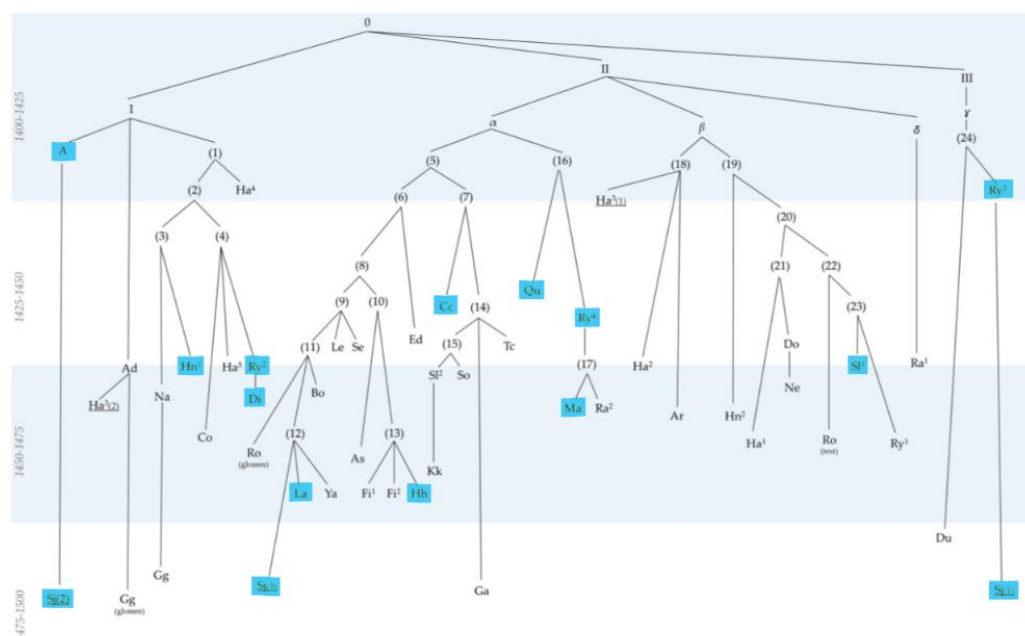


Figure 1. Manuscripts with judicial provenance.

This rules out the possibility that a singular group of individuals was responsible for circulating copies of the *Regiment* amongst their peers. Instead, the identification of a substantial proportion of *Regiment* owners with judicial responsibilities emerges as a trend in the early provenance of its manuscripts. Some of these individuals will not have been their manuscripts' first owners, but they are the earliest recorded names in the books. There also does not appear to be a trend in geographic location, beyond a broad tendency towards the south of England, with individuals responsible for Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Cornwall, Buckinghamshire, Hampshire, Surrey, Gloucestershire, and London. Though, given the responsibilities of these individuals, it is likely that they would have spent time in London at some point in their careers, and may have come into contact with each other then.

Another professional trend in ownership can be identified: owners with responsibilities at court. Eight individuals across seven manuscripts have thus far been identified:

MS	Individual	Role at court
A	John Mowbray (1392–1432)	Leading commander of the armed forces in France under both Henry V and Henry VI. Appointed Privy Counsellor in 1422 ⁵⁷
Ar	Thomas Wall (d.1536)	Norroy King of Arms 1516–22, Windsor Herald 1524–1529 ⁵⁸
Hn1	Avery Cornburgh (1430–1487)	Keeper of the Great Wardrobe in the Royal Household 1486–1487 ⁵⁹
	Nicholas Gaynsford (1427–1498)	Usher to the Chamber of Edward IV ⁶⁰
Ry2	William FitzAlan (1417–1487)	Sat on the Great Council of February 1458 ⁶¹
Ry3	Nicholas Wykes (c.1488–1558)	Gentleman waiter to Prince Henry 1511 ⁶²
Sj	George Neville, fifth Baron Bergavenny (1469–1535)	Privy Councillor 1497–1506, 1512–1521, 1533–1535 ⁶³
Sl1	Sir Thomas Lucas (1460–1531)	Privy Councillor and Solicitor General to Henry VII ⁶⁴

The individuals listed show a cross-section of courtly service in late-medieval and early Tudor England, with roles spanning military, legal, ceremonial, and domestic spheres. Some embody the interplay between martial service and political authority, exemplified by John Mowbray, whose military command in France under Henry V and Henry VI was complemented by his role on the Privy Council. This dual service typified the expectations placed on high-ranking nobles in the early fifteenth

⁵⁷ *Burke's Peerage, Baronetage & Knightage*, ed. Charles Mosley, 107th edition, in 3 vols (Wilmington, DE, 2003), vol. 2, 2821.

⁵⁸ Mark Noble, *A History of the College of Arms, and the Lives of All the Kings, Herald, and Pursuivants* (London: Cox, Son, & Baylis, 1804), 72, 97, 110, 119, 126, 128, 129.

⁵⁹ R.E. Stansfield-Cudworth, 'A Duchy Officer and a Gentleman: The Career and Connections of Avery Cornburgh (d.1487)', *Cornish Studies*, 19 (2011): 9–34.

⁶⁰ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Preserved in the Public Record Office. Henry VII v. 1 1485–1494* (London: H.M.S.O., 1914), 162, 180, 279, 319, 355, 441; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls [...] Henry VII v. 2 1494–1509* (London: H.M.S.O., 1916), 661.

⁶¹ G.E. Cokayne, *Complete Peerage*, in 8 vols (London: George Bell & Sons, 1887–1898), vol. 1, 149; Helen Estelle Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou: Queenship and Power in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), 153.

⁶² 'Wykes, Nicholas (by 1488–1558), of Dodington, Glos.', *History of Parliament*, ed. Bindoff.

⁶³ Hawkyard, 'Nevill, George', *ODNB*.

⁶⁴ Walter Arthur Copinger, *The Manors of Suffolk*, in 7 vols (Manchester: Taylor, Garnett, Evans, and Co., 1911), vol. 7, 100.

century, where military loyalty was often a prerequisite for political trust. Thomas Lucas's dual role as Solicitor General and councillor under Henry VII also illustrates the rising prominence of legally trained administrators in royal government moving into the sixteenth century. Nicholas Wykes's service as gentleman waiter to Prince Henry and Nicholas Gaynsford's role as Usher to the Great Chamber of Edward IV demonstrates the role of minor gentry in the domestic sphere of the court, often as a precursor to more substantial political or administrative careers. More importantly, each of these owners fulfilled some type of advisory role, whether they sat on the Privy Council or held positions close to the monarch. Their ownership of a mirror for princes is thus appropriate for their profession.

Other studies have identified similar trends in book ownership. Catherine Nall gives an overview of owners of Middle English, Latin, and French translations of *De re militari* in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁶⁵ She notes the high proportion of owners who were men with military experience: of the eleven identifiable owners of the English translations, nine had experience in campaigns in France or Scotland.⁶⁶ But she also associates the circulation of *De re militari* with a community of readers directly involved with the prosecution of war and the governance of the country. Nall identifies Robert Chalons, Sir John Paston II, and Nicholas Seyntlo as individuals who had served as sheriffs and/or MPs for their counties.⁶⁷ The most common companion text for the English prose translation of *De re militari* was Lydgate and Burgh's *Secrees*

⁶⁵ Nall, *Reading and War*, 11–47.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 31.

of *Old Philisoffres*, a text that is also paired with the *Regiment*. In this instance, we see a similar trend in provenance to the *Regiment*, in a text with similar appeal.

In another comparable study, Carol Meale identifies a trend in ownership of *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*, a text written in response to the political crisis sparked by the Franco–Burgundian alliance in 1435.⁶⁸ It survives in two versions in twelve manuscripts, which Meale establishes were in the possession of merchants and their associates. She notes that the majority of copies are in the form of booklets, several of them inexpensive to produce.⁶⁹ The possible commissioner of the text, Henry Frowyke, was himself twice mayor of London (1435–1436, 1444–1445).⁷⁰ Many of the merchants Meale identifies as owners of the *Libelle* or of other similar texts also had judicial responsibilities, either as sheriffs or court officials.⁷¹ These studies not only show that networks of people are likely to read and own books suited to their profession and interests, but that the governing classes of England formed an identifiable, even a substantial, proportion of book owners in late-medieval England, and liked to read books on politics and government in general, not only those specific to the technical work of the law.

⁶⁸ Carol M. Meale, 'The *Libelle of Englyshe Polycye* and Mercantile Literary Culture in Late-Medieval London', *London and Europe in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Queen Mary and Westfield College, 1995), 181–228.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 225.

⁷⁰ Anne F. Sutton, 'The Acquisition and Disposal of Books for Worship and Pleasure by Mercers of London in the Later Middle Ages', *Manuscripts and Printed Books in Europe 1350–1550: Packaging, Presentation and Consumption*, eds. Emma Cayley and Susan Powell (Liverpool: LUP, 2013), 95–114 (112).

⁷¹ Meale, 'Libelle of Englyshe Polycye', 221.

Events

Visualising the *Regiment's* provenance in this way also shows that some individuals are connected by events or moments in time, although this is of course restricted to those events that left behind evidence. For instance, two individuals served on the same Commission of the Peace in Worcestershire, on 23 May 1477: Sir Thomas de Lyttleton (owner of Hh) and John Sutton, first baron Dudley (named in Ry2). Anne de Lisle, wife of Nicholas de Lisle who owned Ra1, was later a sister at the Convent of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St Melor at Amesbury by 1470, which is known to have owned another copy of the *Regiment*, Ad, soon after. Two recipients of the cloth at the funeral of Sir Thomas Lovell also owned *Regiment* manuscripts: Thomas Lucas (Sl1) and John Allyn (Ry4). Two manuscripts are associated with Halesowen Abbey and the Lyttleton family: Hh, owned by Sir Thomas Lyttleton (d.1481), which was possibly donated to the Abbey at his death along with numerous other books, and So, which was in the Abbey's collection by 1560 when it was purchased by the Lyttleton family. These coincidences belong to the category of 'weak ties' that Julia King explores: acquaintances rather than close ties of friendship or family.⁷² But they are nevertheless an integral part of the network of *Regiment* owners. None of these manuscripts described here are related stemmatically, and thus these connections are only made apparent when the manuscripts are considered through their provenance network. They are connected by more than their ownership of the *Regiment*, but also by moments in time that place them in the same social or geographical space, suggesting

⁷² King, 'Syon Abbey's Books', 33.

that owners of the text were coming into contact with its manuscripts more frequently than we might expect. From this perspective, Hoccleve begins to look more national than niche, an author so ubiquitous that when a cluster of gentry cross paths it is likely that more than one of them owned a copy of the *Regiment*.

Mapping stemmatic relationships onto provenance

When the stemmatic relationship between manuscripts is considered alongside provenance, new social and judicial networks are made visible. Manuscripts that are cognates or which served as the exemplar for another manuscript can also be connected by their provenance. For instance, Ry2 was the exemplar for Di. The provenance of these manuscripts also has something in common: the Neville family. Ry2 contains the arms of Lady Joan Neville, Countess of Salisbury (1434–1462) and her husband William FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel (1417–1487), making them the likely patrons of this manuscript. Di was commissioned by the Hopton family of Blythburgh (Suffolk), and Swillington (West Yorkshire), possibly by George Hopton (d.1489).⁷³ The Hoptons descend from the Nevilles of Hornby, a branch of the Neville family which was split by Geoffrey de Neville (d.1285). Although that was long ago, the link to the Neville family was evidently still important to the social identity of the Hoptons, as the Neville arms are included in the inhabited initials in Di.⁷⁴ It is therefore not

⁷³ Meale, 'Politics of Book Ownership'; On this family see Richmond, *John Hopton*.

⁷⁴ Di, f.157v.

surprising that the Hoptons could have borrowed Ry2 to produce their copy of the *Regiment*.

A similar connection can be made between the exemplars and cognates of another Neville manuscript, Sj. As shown in Chapter 1, Sj is conflated and copied from three exemplars: lost MS 12, A, and Ry3. The cognates of lost MS 12 are La and Ya. A Neville connection can be made through the provenance of three of these manuscripts. A, La, and Ry3, with the early owner of Sj, George Neville, fifth baron Bergavenny (1469–1535). Manuscript A was commissioned by or gifted to John Mowbray (1392–1432), who had close ties to the Neville family even before he married into it. Mowbray was made ward to Ralph Neville (1364–1425) from 1407 to 1410. When he married Katherine Neville (1397–1483), he became Bergavenny's great uncle – although not during his lifetime as the lifespans of these two men did not overlap. But it is not difficult to see how Bergavenny might have had access to the manuscript owned by his great uncle, if it remained in the Neville family after Mowbray's death. A slightly closer relationship can be identified with MSS La and Ry3. A cognate of one of Sj's exemplars, La, was owned by Bergavenny's first cousin once removed, Jerome Hampden (1488–1540). And Ry3, which was the exemplar for one third of Sj, was owned by Bergavenny's grand-nephew, Nicholas Wykes (1488–1558). Taken together, these examples show how Sj came to be copied, passed around the Neville family and exchanged between copies owned by blood relatives of its early owner.

Other connections can be drawn between cognate copies of the *Regiment*. Qu and Ry4 share an exemplar and have a common trend in early provenance. Qu

contains a memorandum to Thomas Kynnersley, Esquire of Ackleton in Shropshire (alive in 1560), and Ry4 was owned by Sir John Allyn (1495–1545). Both individuals were appointed Sheriffs in the early sixteenth century, Kynnersley as Sheriff of Shropshire in 1520 and Allyn as Sheriff of London in 1518 and later Lord Mayor of London (twice in 1525 and 1535). Sheriffs played a significant role in local government, acting as the king's primary legal representative for their counties. Although it is uncertain whether Kynnersley and Allyn would have served on the same commission, the stemmatic relationship between their manuscripts is reflected in their social connections. Whilst the original patrons of these manuscripts are unknown, it is plausible that they too were connected beyond the books they owned. Both manuscripts are of similar quality, on parchment and with the same decorative scheme of alternating red and blue paraphs with rubricated glosses, perhaps made for individuals of a similar profile.

Another cognate pair, Na and Hn1, both contain evidence that suggests they initially circulated in London in mercantile communities. Na contains multiple names, as if it might have functioned as an *album amicorum*. Several of the names can be speculatively identified as merchants with connections to London. Thomas Haselfoote of London, merchant tailor and haberdasher;⁷⁵ Robert Hardyng of London, salter;⁷⁶ and John Atkinson of Morpeth, shoemaker in Aldgate can be tentatively identified with three men who appear in documentary records relating to merchants'

⁷⁵ Na, ff.1v, 119r, 123r, 176v: 'Thomas Haselfote'. Described as a merchant in TNA, C 146/8723, CP 40/998.

⁷⁶ Na, f.117r, witnessed in an agreement between merchants (TNA, C 146/7696, COL/CA/01/01/018/267/2).

agreements.⁷⁷ Other names that may belong to merchants from outside of London also appear in the manuscript (see Appendix 6.1). Hn1 contains the bookplate and annotations of John Shirley (c.1366–1456) and his second wife Margaret Lynne, who lived at St. Bartholomew's Hospital in London and were involved with the city's mercantile community through Margaret's father, a prosperous London wool merchant. The aforementioned Avery Cornburgh is also recorded in the manuscript.⁷⁸ Cornburgh was Shirley's brother-in-law and himself a London-based merchant, as well as serving as a JP, MP, Sheriff, and commissioner.⁷⁹

"Anonymous" readers and owners

Valuable though this network approach is, it has its limitations. One of its benefits – the bringing together of a variety of types of evidence, ranging from court documents to wills and inventories – is also a shortcoming. Only individuals whose identity is confirmed by supporting documentation have been included in my network. This has been an essential part of building their profiles, but it has the effect of prioritising those for whom documentary traces survive. Figures for whom we do not have such evidence, or who have names that are so common as to make them unidentifiable, are left out of the picture. Furthermore, women readers (of whom there are scarce

⁷⁷ Na, f.118v, mentioned in a grant of 1531 between merchants (Northumberland Archives, BMO/D1/Henry VIII/22).

⁷⁸ Hn1, f.115r.

⁷⁹ Kathleen Scott, 'Past Ownership: Evidence of Book Ownership by English Merchants in the Later Middle Ages', *Makers and Users of Medieval Books: Essays in Honour of A.S.G. Edwards*, eds Carol M. Meale and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: CUP, 2014), 150–77 (158).

examples in the *Regiment's* provenance) are less likely to leave documentary traces, and less likely to have the public roles that required the ownership of the poem. An historical method focused on names, dates, and geographical co-ordinates arguably misrepresents the value of manuscript evidence. The fact that somebody owned the *Regiment* is itself an important fact about that person, just as their profession or social standing is. The act of recording one's name gives us a sense of how these individuals saw themselves, perhaps as part of a governing elite to whom the *Regiment* would be valuable. It also reveals a simpler fact: their love of poetry. In discussing the judicial and courtly responsibilities of *Regiment* owners, it is easy to lose sight of the text as a poem, a work that was valued as a piece of literature as well as a practical guide.

Thirty-nine names recorded in Appendix 6.1 belong to this anonymous class of readers, those for whom network analysis does not account. But they remain an important part of the readership of the *Regiment*. Each one was a person who inscribed their name into a manuscript, who came into contact with the text for however brief a period and sought to immortalise that experience in ink. It is not wise to speculate on the absence of evidence, but one wonders whether these individuals lack documentary evidence because they fall beneath the radar, in other words because they did not occupy the types of roles that left behind written traces. Perhaps some of them did not belong to the landowning classes, or held responsibilities without written records. Others may later be identified through further research. For now, though, they remain an anonymous class of readers who are defined only by their interest in Hoccleve.

Several key conclusions can be drawn from the network analysis of *Regiment* provenance. The Neville family played a central role in the circulation of many copies in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, perhaps as a result of their social influence in the counties, perhaps as a result of Hoccleve's own networks of patronage. Additionally, there is an identifiable trend in manuscript provenance towards members of the gentry with local judicial responsibilities, particularly those who served as JPs, and with responsibilities at court. This is suggestive of a sustained interest in Hoccleve and mirrors for princes shared across the governing classes of England.

While these trends provide valuable insights, they do not overshadow the significance of individuals who defy such patterns. In fact, the first half of this thesis is dedicated to exploring these anonymous case studies that highlight unique engagements with the text. But the trends need to be acknowledged to create the context for the exceptions. Although the expected reader of a mirror for princes is the prince, and perhaps his closest associates, the list of identified individuals and institutions associated with the *Regiment* demonstrates that the text had a wider and more diverse appeal. In the century after Hoccleve's composition, the *Regiment* extended far beyond its initial Lancastrian circles.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ On *The Regiment* as a Lancastrian text, see e.g. Larry Scanlon, 'The King's Two Voices: Narrative and Power in Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*', *Literary Practice and Social Change in Britain, 1380–1530* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 216–47; Strohm, *England's Empty Throne*; Pearsall, 'Poetics of Royal Self-Representation'.

Conclusion

This study has traced the reception of Hoccleve's *Regiment* from its initial production in Hoccleve's hands through to its later scribal iterations across the fifteenth century, seeking to understand how medieval scribes and readers engaged with this manuscript tradition. By shifting attention away from the author and toward the scribes and their manuscripts, this study has offered a materially grounded reception history that broadens our understanding of late-medieval literary culture. These manuscripts have long been dismissed for lacking critical authority for the text itself, however, they are vital sources for reconstructing the transmission, circulation, and reception of Hoccleve's work in fifteenth-century England.¹

The first chapter's stemmatic analysis provided the textual foundation for this study, revealing patterns of genealogical descent that clarified relationships between manuscripts and sketched the poem's early transmission. Chapters 2 and 3 turned to the textual make-up of *Regiment* manuscripts, focusing on paratexts and co-texts respectively. These chapters demonstrated that the poem was regularly framed with interpretive apparatus, either paratextual titles and glosses or co-textual compilations, that reflected the multiple ways in which the text was read for its ethical, political, and moral instruction. Paratexts and co-texts not only guided the reading of the poem, but also became a medium for asserting scribal authority.

¹ They are material evidence of what the text means in this period, if, following D.F. McKenzie, form effects meaning; Donald Francis McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (London: British Library, 1986; repr. CUP, 1999), 13.

Chapters 4 and 5 examined patterns of manuscript ownership by lay and ecclesiastical readers. These chapters drew on evidence both internal (within the manuscripts) and external (calling upon a variety of documentary records) to reconstruct the circulation of *Regiment* manuscripts in the first century after their production. This showed that the text travelled far beyond its royal dedicatee and enjoyed sustained popularity amongst a wide range of social groups throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. These included members of the nobility and gentry, who shared many of the same literary interests, and an unexpectedly rich ecclesiastical readership, comprising religious houses and clerical figures. These chapters invite us to reconsider the literature consumed by ecclesiastic readers, revealing a sustained interest in regiminal literature in both Latin and Middle English. The *Regiment* evidently offered valuable advice which was pertinent to each social group, from Bergavenny's risky career as a courtier, to the Cambridge scholar and administrator Wilflete.

The sociocentric network analysis in Chapter 6 tied these threads together, drawing out the regional, institutional, and personal networks that drove the early transmission of the text. Manuscripts often crossed social and geographic boundaries, with networks forming through blood, but also through shared professional, cultural, and literary interests. Several trends in provenance can be identified from this wide-angle perspective: the centrality of the Neville family in the dissemination of copies, and the prevalence of owners with judicial and courtly responsibilities. These themes

are suggestive of a sustained interest in Hoccleve and mirrors for princes shared across the governing classes of England.

This thesis opened by posing three seemingly basic questions: What type of text was the *Regiment*? How was it read? And what function did it serve? The examination of the forty-four surviving manuscripts reveals that the *Regiment* was widely read and circulated in varied social and institutional contexts, and frequently adapted in ways that reflected the priorities of its readers. This transmission history is not one of degradation from a lost “ideal” text, but one of meaningful engagement. As they copied and annotated the text, scribes, compilers, and readers made conscious choices that reflect the cultural and interpretive practices of their time. In this way, we see the text as not just the product of the years 1410–1411, but of each sequential act of copying and refashioning. The scribes played an active and interpretive role in the textual afterlife of the *Regiment*. Their decisions to modify, annotate, frame, or preserve the text constitute actions of readership and textual engagement. The *Regiment*, long studied for what it reveals about its author, here becomes a lens through which we can understand the practices of its earliest readers.

This thesis not only extends our knowledge of Hoccleve’s poem, but also illustrates the interpretive possibilities of reception-focused manuscript research. The method offered here, balancing stemmatology with codicological and sociocentric analysis, may prove fruitful for the study of other late-medieval texts. Corpora of a similar size by authors such as Chaucer, Lydgate, and Gower would be equally revealing in their study.

A final question remains: if the *Regiment* had such a rich and textured early circulation, why was it not deemed appropriate for print? A few solutions suggest themselves, some of which have been discussed by D.C. Greetham, Ethan Knapp, William McCormick, Nicholas Perkins, and Will Rogers.² Indeed, other mirrors for princes were being printed at this time. There were plenty of so called “exempla” texts in print circulation which were appealing because they illustrated abstract political principles by using stories of good and bad rulers as parables. In this category we could include Book 7 of Gower’s *Confessio amantis*, printed by Caxton in 1483; *The ryal book* or *A book for a kyng*, translated by Caxton from the French *Somme le Roi* by Lorens d’Orleans and printed in 1486;³ and Stephen Baron’s Latin *De regimine principum*, printed in Paris in 1509–1510. Caxton recognised the value of learning from history, shown most clearly in the prologue to his *Polychronicon* in which he describes history as ‘a perpetual conservatryce’ of the things that have been done before the ‘presente tyme and also a cotydyan wytnesse of bienfayttes of malefaytes grete actes and triumphal vycторыes of all maner peple’.⁴ The *Regiment* would not have looked out of place in this context.

Perhaps Hoccleve’s poem was not deemed appropriate to print because of its self-proclaimed scope. Although previous chapters have shown that the text

² Greetham, ‘Challenges of Theory’, 69 n.23; Knapp, *Bureaucratic Muse*, 11 n.28; William Symington McCormick, ‘Occleve, Thomas’, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. 19, ed. Hugh Chisholm, 11th ed. (Cambridge: CUP, 1911), 966–7; Perkins, 191; Will Rogers, *Writing Old Age and Impairments in Late Medieval England* (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2021), esp. Chapter 3; on Hoccleve’s legacy see Jenni Nuttall and David Watt, ‘Introduction’, *New Approaches*, ed. Nuttall and Watt, 7–13.

³ Lotte Hellinga, *William Caxton and Early Printing in England* (London: British Library, 2010), 74–5.

⁴ *The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton*, ed. W.J.B. Crotch, EETS o.s. 176 (London: EETS, 1926), 65–6.

circulated far beyond Prince Henry, it is possible that the *Regiment's* lengthy dedication to a single historical figure would have limited its later appeal. Other regiminal-style texts which did not set a specific audience were printed, such as Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Book Named the Governor* (1531) which addresses broader concerns of governance and education for all magistrates;⁵ the *Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers* (1477) which Caxton framed as a text useful for governance and moral conduct without tying it to a specific ruler;⁶ and Caxton's translation of *The Game and Playe of the Chesse* (1476–1477) which he introduced as a text relevant to 'al astates and degrees'.⁷ When these examples were refashioned for print, these (already widely applicable texts) were advertised with broad appeal and scope in an attempt to attract a larger audience.

Perhaps because the *Regiment* was dedicated to Prince Henry, it was no longer considered a relevant text by the late fifteenth century. It is notable that when Caxton printed Chaucer and Lydgate, he favoured their moral and courtly works rather than their politically-oriented texts. However, that is not to say that books in favour of Henry V were not printed. William Caxton's translation of Ramon Llull's *The Book of the Order of Chivalry* in 1484 was dedicated to Richard III but also contained praise of Henry V.⁸ William Worcestre's *Book of Noblesse* also describes Henry as a 'noble prince' who 'wanne bothe the saide duchie of Normandie first and after the roiaume of

⁵ *A Critical Edition of Sir Thomas Elyot's The Boke Named the Governour*, ed. Donald Warren Rude (New York: Garland, 1992).

⁶ *The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers*, ed. John William Sutton (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2006).

⁷ *Prologues and Epilogues*, ed. Crotch, 12–13.

⁸ *The Book of the Ordre of Chyualry*, ed. A.T.P. Byles, EETS o.s. 168 (London: EETS, 1926).

Fraunce, conquerid and brought in subieccion and wanne be his gret manhode'.⁹ Rory Maclellan argues that the legacy of Henry V was not entirely abandoned by the Yorkists: although he was criticised, particularly in Edward IV's first reign and remained a usurper, he was treated more positively than Henry IV or Henry VI.¹⁰

Perhaps then it was the form of the *Regiment* that did not appeal. Prose mirrors for princes were printed, for instance Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Book Named the Governor*. Though works in rhyme royal were being printed at this time, they were largely Chaucerian texts. *Troilus and Criseyde* (1484), *The Parliament of Fowls* (before 1479), *The Clerk's Tale* (first in 1478), and parts of *The Legend of Good Women* (1542) are some examples. Non-Chaucerian rhyme royal poems were being printed, but they were predominantly either linked to Chaucer or were short or excerpt-able. Moreover, they typically had allegorical or romantic themes, rather than direct political instruction. Examples include *Stans Puer ad Mensam* (1476), *The Churl and the Bird* (1478) and *The Assembly of Ladies* (1532).

There are other smaller factors that may have been responsible for declining interest in the *Regiment* by the end of the century. Perhaps, as suggested in the Introduction, there were simply enough copies of the text in circulation, by the end of the century, to satisfy demand. To say that the *Regiment* was not considered appropriate for print does not mean that it was not reproduced in manuscript at this

⁹ *The Boke of Noblesse and the English Texts from Its Codicil*, ed. Catherine Nall and Daniel Wakelin, EETS o.s. 362 (London: EETS, 2023), 16.

¹⁰ Rory Maclellan, 'The Good Lancastrian? Remembering Henry V in Yorkist England', *The Court Historian*, 30.1 (2025): 23–33 (24).

time: indeed, four of its surviving manuscripts have been dated to the last quarter of the century. As Martha Driver and J.B. Trapp, amongst others, have shown, manuscripts were still being produced in England in the age of Caxton and beyond.¹¹ Maybe, in a small way, Hoccleve's discussion of the labour of copying texts by hand, and of the need to knit together 'mynde, ye, and hand' (997), made the medium of print thematically unsuitable. Or perhaps as some of Hoccleve's sources did make it to print, namely Jacob de Cessolis' *The Game and Playe of the Chesse*, this negated the need for Hoccleve's compilation from these sources. Maybe the tone of the Dialogue, or its material about Lollardy, made it unattractive. And Hoccleve as author did not have the same popularity as Chaucer or Gower by the end of the century which would have drawn the attention of buyers.

Whilst it did not make it into print, it cannot be said that there was no interest in printing the *Regiment* in the early seventeenth century. MS As was acquired in 1612 by the poet William Browne (1590–c.1645), author of *Britannia's Pastorals* (1613–1616).¹² In this manuscript, Browne supplied three paper leaves that were excised, two marginal stanzas, and provided missing lines and glosses throughout from an unknown exemplar.¹³ His annotations to the poem can be seen throughout the book,

¹¹ Martha Driver, 'There and Back Again: Manuscripts after Printing', *Middle English Manuscripts and Their Legacies*, eds Corinne Saunders, Richard Lawrie, and Laurie Atkinson (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 155–188; *Manuscripts in the Fifty Years after the Invention of Printing: Some Papers Read at a Colloquium at the Warburg Institute on 12–13 March 1982*, ed. J.B. Trapp (London: Warburg Institute, 1983).

¹² As, f.1r: 'Liber W. Browne 1612'. See A.S.G. Edwards, 'Medieval Manuscripts owned by Browne of Tavistock', *Books and Collectors, 1200–1700: Essays Presented to Andrew Watson*, eds. James P. Carley and Colin G.C. Tite (London: British Library, 1997), 441–9.

¹³ Supplied leaves ff.65, 70, 74; marginal stanzas on ff.40v, 80r; missing lines on ff.7r, 10v, 52v. See Charlotte E. Ross, 'MS Ashmole 40', *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts at the Bodleian Library* <www.medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk> [accessed 01.01.2025].

and it is likely that he was at one point preparing an edition of the text. Some misfortune evidently occurred, as the project was abandoned before completion. The *Regiment* would not see print until Thomas Wright's 1860 edition for the Roxburghe club.¹⁴ Wright introduces the text by describing Hoccleve as an impoverished tavern-dweller, and suggests that the poem was popular in the early and mid-fifteenth century but declined thereafter. As this study has shown, the afterlife of the *Regiment* was rich, varied, and extended far beyond this point. The poem's manuscripts are a rich source for understanding the interpretive habits of late-medieval scribes and readers. But in addition, they open up new approaches to the interaction of literary texts, manuscript books, and late-medieval society.

¹⁴ Thomas Hoccleve, *De Regimine Principum: A Poem*, ed. Thomas Wright (London: J.B. Nichols and sons, 1860).

APPENDIX 0.1

Catalogue of the manuscripts containing Thomas Hoccleve's *The Regiment of Princes**Method:*

The intention of this catalogue is to provide a detailed record of the surviving manuscripts of Thomas Hoccleve's *The Regiment of Princes*, containing information that will be of use to scholars of the text. This catalogue focuses on key elements within the corpus that provide insight into the manuscripts' production, materiality, and textual transmission. The aspects selected include date, material, contents, collation, verse layout, script, glosses, titles, attributed author, decoration, a description of moments of textual division, ruling, and dimensions of boards and written space. In manuscripts with multiple texts, details are given for the *Regiment* folios only. The methodology behind creating this catalogue is grounded in a systematic approach to manuscript description that combines both physical attributes (such as material, size, and decoration) and textual features (such as glosses and verse layout). Each element is catalogued using a standardized format to ensure consistency and accuracy across entries. These entries were gathered from personal consultation of every manuscript.

London, British Library, Arundel MS 38 (A)

Date	1413-1425
Material	parchment
Contents	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> .
Collation	ii paper flyleaves + 1-3(8, fols. 1-24), 4(8+1, ninth leaf singleton addition, fols. 25-33), 5(6+1, seventh leaf singleton, fols. 34-40), 6-11(8, fols. 41-88), 12(8-1, third leaf excised with loss of text, fols. 89-95), 13(4-1, fourth leaf excised without loss of text, fols. 96-98), 1 (singleton flyleaf, fol. 99) + ii paper flyleaves. Catchwords present in first 3 quires and on 12th, some leaf signatures in red visible. Probably once all quires of 8 but rebound differently by the BL.
<i>Regiment folios</i>	1r-98v
Verse layout	1 column, 28 lines (4 stanzas) per page consistently.
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	Outer margin; same script and ink as main text; marked with alternating paraphs of blue with red flourishes and gold with lilac flourishes (as text) - although often wrong; when source is given in gloss, it is underlined; ruled vertical bounding lines only.
Titles	Section titles only, in a more ornate display script with first initial a blue Lombardic capital with red flourishes. Always accompanied by blank space of varying lines, and a three-sided bar border in red, blue, and gold with leaf details.
Attributed author	None.
Decoration	Opens (fol. 1r) with three-sided border of red, blue, gold, and silver leaves (now badly tarnished). Opening initial red and blue lombardic capital on gold ground with heraldic shield of three lions rampant gules. Thereafter stanzas marked with alternating paraphs of gold with lilac flourishes and blue with red flourishes. Contains presentation scene, fol. 37r. Sections open with three line blue initial on red and gold ground, built into three-sided bar border. Some stanzas contain multiple paraphs: fol. 28v one stanza contains 4 paraphs, ll.1548–1554; and fol. 34r one stanza has seven (one mid-line) ll.1863-69 – these mark points at which the dialogue changes from Hoccleve to the Old Man (see Nafde 2014). Figure pulling stanza into place on 65r. Heraldry on fols. 1r, 37r, 71r ('de regis magnammitate'). Single two line initial on fol. 95v. Chaucer image likely present on excised leaf following fol. 90.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 37r. Four-line blue lombardic capital on gold ground containing heraldic shield of lion rampant gules. Large miniature (space of three stanzas) featuring the poet presenting his book to the Prince, with spraywork featuring red and blue leaves extending to form a four-sided border. No title.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 39v. Four-line blue lombardic capital on red and gold ground extending into a three-sided bar border with red, blue, and gold leaves. Space of three lines left blank for 'Explicit prologus De principum <i>regimine</i> Incipiendus de fide obseruanda', marked with two alternating paraphs.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Fol. 98r. Three-line blue initial on red and gold ground with spraywork extending up and down the vertical margin, all decorated with silver now tarnished. Title in a more ornate display script 'Verba compileris ad librum', with blue initial V with red flourishes.
Ruling	Ruled in plummet: ruled for 28 long lines with frame, with separate ruled column in outer margin for glosses.
Boards (mm)	300 x 190
Written space (mm)	190 x 100

London, British Library, Arundel MS 59 (Ar)

Date	1450-1475
Material	paper
Contents	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> (1r-89v), Lydgate and Burgh, <i>Secrees of Old Philisoffres</i> (90r-130v).
Collation	ii paper flyleaves + 1-4(20, fols. 1-80), 5(12, fols. 81-92), 6-7(20, fols. 93-132), 8(1, fol. 133) + ii paper flyleaves. Catchwords present.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	1r-89v
Verse layout	1 column, 28-30 lines per page (4 stzas until f.5r when it begins to go wrong - only corrected on 52r but wrong again by the foot of that page) but no interlinear stanza divisions.
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	Outer margin; same script and ink as main text; framed with red L shaped bracket; predominantly the first initial is rubricated, sometimes also the initial of names or first word after source. When source of gloss is given, it is written in a more ornate display script; unruléd but follows the vertical margin of the other side of the page.
Titles	Section titles only, in same script and ink as main text, either positioned in the lower margin (when section begins at top of following page) or multiple lines are left blank (e.g. fol. 46v) and title written in middle of gap, always in line with poem. First initial picked out in red and encircled in 3/4 rubricated frame.
Attributed author	None.
Decoration	Opens (fol. 1r) with blank space for three-line initial. Coat of arms of Thomas Wall, Windsor Herald added to fol. 1r. First initial of every line highlighted in red. No interlinear gap between stanzas but first line marked with // in red. Ascenders of top lines predominantly flourished with long curving line to the right. Occasionally names of characters mid-line are underlined in red and initials highlighted. Fols. 55r 'de misericordia' and 78v 'de regis prudencia' have blank space for two-line initial, unfilled. Following text, by same scribe, has blue lombards with red flourishes in these gaps.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 34r. Space left for two-line initial, not executed. Inset text still rubricated on first initial. No title.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 36v. Prologue ends mid page on recto, remaining space left blank and 'Explicit Prohemium' in a more ornate display script with red underline at foot of page. <i>Regiment</i> Proper begins on verso with space for two-line initial, unfilled, and title 'de iuramento tenendo' in a more ornate display script.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Fol. 89v. Four-line space left blank, with title 'Verba compilatoris ad librum' in the style of section titles, with rubricated initial highlight and 3/4 frame. Envoy begins with flourished but otherwise typical initial.
Ruling	Predominantly unruléd, with left vertical margin occasionally ruléd.
Boards (mm)	295 x 210
Written space (mm)	220 x 80-100

London, British Library, Additional MS 18632 (Ad)

Date	1440-1465
Material	parchment
Contents	Lydgate, <i>Siege of Thebes</i> (5r-33v); Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> (34r-99v); flyleaves are recycled from the household accounts of the Countess of Ulster.
Collation	iii paper flyleaves + iii parchment flyleaves + 1(1, singleton, binding fragment, fol. 2), 2(2, flyleaves, fols. 3-4), 3-14(8, fols. 5-100), 15(1, singleton, binding fragment, fol. 101) + iii paper flyleaf. Quire signatures starting at a visible in some lower margins. Catchwords present.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	34r-99v
Verse layout	1 column, 42 lines (6 stanzas) per page consistently.
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	Outer margin; rubricated; in slightly larger display script than main text; marked with alternating paraphs of gold with blue flourishes and blue with red flourishes. Fols. 81r-91v have more ostentatious paraphs that extend the full height of the gloss; ruled vertical bounding lines only.
Titles	Rubricated running titles, in Latin, at the centre top of each page, ruled. Verso title marked with a blue paraph with red flourishes, recto title with a gold paraph with blue flourishes. Titles are split across the double page, even when only one word (eg. 'Pro logus'). In <i>Regiment</i> Proper they follow the section titles.
Attributed author	'Explicit Hoccleue in Aristotile & Egidio de regimine Principum Et Jacobo de Cicile . S Chesse', fol. 99v.
Decoration	Text opens (fol. 34r) with four-sided bar border in red, blue, and gold with leaf motifs and spraywork in red, blue, and green. Opening initial seven-line blue lombardic capital on red ground with white detailing and same leaf motifs. Thereafter stanzas marked with alternating paraphs, gold with blue flourishes and blue with red flourishes. Sections marked with three-line illuminated initial on red and blue ground with spraywork and rubricated explicit and incipit, also some at non-division moments (eg. fol. 90v).
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 58r. Five-line red lombardic capital on gold ground with blue flower and leaf design, extending spraywork along the upper horizontal border and inner vertical border with red, blue, green, and gold leaves. Title 'Verba compilatoris ad Regimne'.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 59v. Four-sided bar border in red, blue, and gold with spraywork and leaf designs in red, blue, gold, orange, and green. <i>Regiment</i> Proper opens with six-line blue initial on gold ground with leaf motifs, and title 'explicit prologus incipit Regimine Principum De ffide obseruanda'.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Fol. 99r. Three-line green initial on gold ground with spraywork extending up and down the vertical margin in red, blue, and gold. Small miniature in green frame of a scribe in blue robe seated at a desk writing, with books, in same colour pallet as decorated borders throughout. Title 'Explicit hoccleue in Aristotle & Egidio de regimine Principum et Jacobo de Cicile S Chesse Verba Compilatoris ad librum'.
Ruling	Ruled in plummet: ruled for 42 long lines with frame, additional vertical column for decorated initials and vertical column in outer margin for glosses, horizontal double bounding lines in upper margin for running titles.
Boards (mm)	332 x 210
Written space (mm)	225 x 100

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 40 (As)

Date	1450-1475
Material	parchment (with paper leaves supplied later)
Contents	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> .
Collation	ix paper flyleaves + 1-8(8, fols. 1-64), 9(8-2+2, first and sixth leaves replaced with paper leaves), 10 (8-1+1, fols. 73-80, second leaf replaced with paper leaf), 11(8, fols. 81-87, second leaf unfoliated), 12(10, fols. 88-97) + ix paper flyleaves. No catchwords.
<i>Regiment folios</i>	1r-97v
Verse layout	1 column, 28 lines (4 stanzas) per page consistently.
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	Outer margin; rubricated in same script as main text; marked with blue paraps; unruled. One exception on fol.92r where two glosses are written in-line with the main text.
Titles	Rubricated running titles at the centre top of each page, ruled.
Attributed author	'Explicit Egidius de regimine Principum', fol. 97v.
Decoration	Seven-line illuminated initials on a red and blue background with white details mark the beginning of the Dialogue, <i>Regiment</i> Proper, and each section. One three-line initial in same style on fol. 97r. Every stanza opens with a blue lombardic capital with red flourishes, predominantly one-line but also two-line (fols. 41r-v, 46r-v, 49v, 51v, 54v, 55v, 56r-v, 57v, 58v, 59r, 63v, 67r, 68v, 69r-v, 72r-v, 73r, 75r, 78v, 79r, 81r, 95v) and three-line (fol. 22v). Occasionally flourished initials extend down the margin without impeding the text (fols. 46v, 48v, 61v, 68r, 71r). No borders.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 37r. Three-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes extending down and across the vertical and horizontal margins. No title.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 39v. Seven-line illuminated initial on a red and blue ground quarterly, with white details. Rubricated title 'De principum regimine Incipi endo de fine seruanda' in a more ornate display script.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Fol. 97r. Three-line illuminated initial on a red and blue ground quarterly with white details. Gloss in margin, rubricated with blue paraph, to 'Verba compilatoris'.
Ruling	Ruled in lilac: ruled for 28 long lines with frame, additional vertical column for decorated initials and vertical column in outer margin for glosses, horizontal double bounding lines in upper margin for running titles and lower margin for running catchwords (rarely used). Paper leaves which replace excised leaves (added by William Browne) replicate ruling pattern in brown ink, but omit initials.
Boards (mm)	275 x 192
Written space (mm)	190 x 108

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 221 (Bo)

Date	1440-1460
Material	paper with outer and inner bifolium of each quire parchment
Contents	Hoccleve, <i>Complaint</i> (1r-6v); <i>Dialogue</i> (6v-15v); <i>Tale of Jereslaus Wife</i> (15v-30r); <i>Learn to Die</i> (30r-44r); <i>Tale of Jonathas</i> (44r-53v); Lydgate, <i>Danse of Macabre</i> (53v-62r), Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> (62v-103v).
Collation	i paper flyleaf + 1(20-1, 19th excised without loss of text, fols. 1-19), 2(26, fols. 20-45), 3(26, fols. 46-71, 60-70 badly damaged), 4-5(22, fols. 72-115), 6(20-5, last five leaves excised with loss of text, fols. 116-130 - 130 now attached as a singleton to flyleaf) + i paper flyleaf. Catchwords present.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	62v-130v
Verse layout	1 column, 35-44 lines (5-6.5 stanzas) per page inconsistently.
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	Outer margin; rubricated with red brace; same hand and script as main text; unruléd.
Titles	Section titles only. First title omitted, thereafter presented as glosses in outer margin, rubricated and marked with red brace. Written in same hand as main text but using a more ornate display script.
Attributed author	None.
Decoration	Text opens (fol. 62v) with five-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes that descend down the vertical margin. Three-line blue lombards with red flourishing used to mark the beginning of sections and the division of <i>Dialogue</i> , <i>Prologue</i> , and <i>Regiment</i> Proper. Rhymes braced throughout and red lines dividing stanzas. The first line of every stanza is marked with an alternating red and blue paraph, with frequent errors in the pattern. Thereafter 2- and 3-line lombardic capital with red flourishes used for other, non-structural stanzas.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 88v. Three-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes up and down the vertical margin, with space of one line separating the <i>Dialogue</i> from the <i>Prologue</i> . No title.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 90v. Three-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes. No title.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Missing.
Ruling	Ruled in brown ink, frame only. Text occasionally written below the lower ruling if attempting to correct a split stanza.
Boards (mm)	320 x 255
Written space (mm)	205 x 110

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 496 (Cc)

Date	1436-46
Material	paper (with quires of parchment and paper with printed text added later)
Contents	Two folios containing the <i>Testamenta xii patriarcharum</i> with part of the Testament of Levi; 158 printed pages containing 3 textual units: 1527 edition of <i>De legatione Basilii magni principis Moschoviae</i> by Paulus Jovius (pp. 1-40), and the <i>Antibossicon</i> by William Horman and William Lily in two parts (pp. 41-88; 89-156); Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> (fols. 1r-61v); one recycled endleaf from a service-book containing extracts from lessons for S. Godwald.
Collation	(Manuscript only) 1(18, outer bifolium, fols 1 & 18, parchment, fols. 1-18), 2-4 (12, fols. 19-54), 5 (6, middle bifolium, fols 57 & 58, parchment, fols. 55-60) + recycled parchment flyleaf. Catchwords present.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	1r-61v (follows 158 paginated paper pages)
Verse layout	1 col, 35-44 lines (5-6.5 stanzas) per page inconsistently.
Script	Anglicana with secretary influences.
Glosses	Outer and inner margins; same ink and script as main text; some encased in scrolls, some marked with L shaped bracket; unruled.
Titles	No running titles, with the exception of folios 55v and 56v which contain titles in the upper margin, partially cropped, unruled.
Attributed author	'Explicit liber iste qui vocatur Occhiffe de regimen principum & constat magistro Willelmo Wilflete socio Aule de clare Cantabrigii qui eum scribendo propriis manibus laborauit', fol. 60v
Decoration	Opens (fol. 1r) with a two-line lombardic capital, thereafter only a gap is left without initial, except for fol. 45 which has a lombardic capital and flourishes. Lombardic capitals in same brown ink, scrolls around Dialogue and Envoy incipit, some glosses encased in scrolls – all in same brown ink in hand of scribe. Occasional lombardic capitals to mark sections in <i>Regiment</i> Proper. Stanzas inconsistently marked with nota symbol.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 23r. Space for a three-line lombardic capital, not executed. Title in same script but encased in an elaborate scroll: 'Incipit liber Egidius de regimnie principum'.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 24r. No title or scroll as above. Space left for a two-line initial, not executed.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Fol. 60r. No demarcation.
Ruling	Predominantly unruled, with occasional but inconsistent frame ruling.
Boards (mm)	220 x 150
Written space (mm)	when frame ruled 170 x 100; when not 175 x 80

Coventry, Coventry City Archive, MS 325/1 (Co)

Date	1450-1500, perhaps third quarter
Material	parchment
Contents	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> (1r-40v), <i>Complaint</i> (40v-43r), <i>Dialogue</i> (43v-49r), <i>Tale of Jereslaus Wife</i> (49r-56v), <i>Learn to Die</i> (57r-64r); <i>Tale of Jonathas</i> (64v-69v); Lydgate, <i>Danse of Macabre</i> (70r-74v); minor lyrics by Chaucer (<i>ABC to the Virgin</i> , 75r; <i>Envoy to Bukton</i> , 76r-v; <i>Purse</i> , 76v; <i>Gentilesse</i> , 76v; <i>Lak of Stedfastnesse</i> , 76v-77r; <i>Truth</i> , 77r), <i>Metrical Mandeville</i> (77v-95v), <i>Destruction of Jerusalem</i> (98r-129v); Lydgate, <i>Siege of Thebes</i> (137r-167r); moralizing verses (167v).
Collation	iv paper flyleaves + 1 (8-4, 4 singletons with stubs after fol.4, fols 5-8 excised without loss of text, fols. 1-4), 2 (8-3, fols. 1-3 excised without loss of text, sig. 4-8, fols. 5-9), 3-15 (8, qrs. 3-11 sig.1-4 in red, then in scribe's hand and ink sometimes cropped, fols. 9-105), 16 ⁸ (fol. 2 excised with loss of text, stub remains, fols. 106-113), 17-20 (8, fols. 114-146) + iv paper flyleaves. Catchwords present.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	1r-40r
Verse layout	2 columns, 5 stanzas (35 lines) per column consistently.
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	Outer margins; rubricated; in same script as main text; marked with blue paraphs; interlinear ruling extends from main text. Infrequent.
Titles	No running titles, but ruling in top margin present. Occasionally titles are added as glosses, eg. 'De vitio avaritie' fol. 33r.
Attributed author	None.
Decoration	Opens (fol. 1r) with miniature of robed figure in a natural scene, framed in red, blue, and gold, occupying two thirds of the page, with margins filled with vines and flowers. Text opens with a four-line illuminated lombardic capital with red, blue, green, gold foliage. First letters of each line of first stanza (only stanza on this page) are lombardic capitals red and blue alternating. Thereafter, first letters of each stanza are slightly elaborated but executed in the same ink as the main text. Catchwords by scribe in simple scrolls, consistent except missing quire-end 13. Textual divisions of <i>Dialogue</i> , <i>Prologue</i> , and <i>Regiment Proper</i> marked with flourished lombardic capitals.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 15v. Three-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes that extend vertically. No title.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment Proper</i> division	Fol. 16v. Three-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes that extend up and down the vertical margin. No title.
<i>Regiment Proper</i> /Envoy division	Fol. 40r. Three-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes that extend up and down the vertical margin. Title styled as interlinear gloss 'Verba compilatoris ad librum'.
Ruling	Ruled in brown ink: each column frame ruled double horizontal single vertical, within each column ruled for 35 long lines with additional ruling for the upper margin of each stanza and one extra line below last line. Lower margin double horizontal ruling for quire signatures and catchwords.
Boards (mm)	310 x 247
Written space (mm)	240 x 200

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 185 (Di)

Date	1440-1460
Material	parchment
Contents	(codicological unit 2 only) Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> (80r-144v), <i>Tale of Jereslaus Wife</i> (145-157r), <i>Tale of Jonathas</i> (157v-165r). Rest of manuscript, copied by the same scribe but at a different time (perhaps still intended to be one volume) contains: (part 1) <i>Brut</i> chronicle (1r-79r); (part 3) <i>King Ponthus and the Fair Sidone</i> (166r-203r).
Collation	(codicological unit 2 only) 11-20(8, fols. 80-159), 21(8-2, last two leaves excised without loss of text, fols. 160-165). Catchwords present, occasionally elaborately decorated.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	80r-144v
Verse layout	1 column, 42 lines (6 stanzas) per page consistently.
Script	Anglicana formata.
Glosses	Outer and inner margins; in same hand and script as main text - although when gloss is short a more ornate display script is used; marked with paraphs of alternating red and blue (with frequent errors); unruled.
Titles	Section titles only, rubricated and in a more ornate display script than the main text. When the section begins at the top of a page (e.g. 113r), the title is central in upper margin. When section begins mid page (e.g. 126r), no running title is given. Each opening is marked with a three-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes regardless.
Attributed author	None.
Decoration	Opens (fol. 80r) with large strapwork initial with spray decoration incorporating shields of Swillington impaled by those of Aylsford; two smaller shields above bear the arms of Swillington and Rosse, and two lower blazonings belong to the families of Neville of Hornby in Lancashire, and Waterton of Waterton in Lincolnshire and Methley in Yorkshire. Heraldic decorations also appear at the division between the Dialogue and <i>Regiment</i> Proper: again Swillington impaled by Aylsford. Other heraldic designs throughout the manuscript, see Meale 2000. Otherwise, decoration consists three-line blue initials with red strapwork (fols. 105v, 113r, 115v; 119r, 123r, 126r, 127v, 133r, 136v, 137v, 139v, 144v). Stanzas marked with one-line alternating red and blue initials, with rhyme bracing in red. Catchwords occasionally decorated (e.g. 135v). Descenders of final line occasionally flourished and decorated.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 104r. Nine-line blue lombardic capital with red strapwork encasing the impaled shield of Swillington with Aylsford (as in opening of text). Blue initials on this page also have similar red strapwork (this leaf only). No title.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 105v. Three-line blue lombardic capital with red strapwork extending up and down the vertical margin. No title.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Fol. 144v. Four-line blue lombardic capital with red strapwork extending up and down the vertical margin. Ending of the <i>Regiment</i> Proper marked with 'Amen'. No title.
Ruling	Ruled in brown ink for 42 long lines, with additional vertical column frame ruled for glosses in outer margin.
Boards (mm)	298 x 194
Written space (mm)	205-10 x 115

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 158 (Do)

Date	1425-1450
Material	parchment
Contents	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> .
Collation	iii paper flyleaves + 1-4(8, fols. 1-32), 5(6, fols. 33-38), 6(8, fols. 39-45), 7(10, fols. 46-55), 8(6, fols. 56-61), 9-11(8, fols. 62-86), 12(10, fols. 87-96) + iii paper flyleaves. Catchwords sometimes present but trimmed.
<i>Regiment folios</i>	1r-96v
Verse layout	1 column, 28 lines (4 stanzas) per page consistently.
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	Outer margin; same ink and script as main text; first word or source of gloss is encased in a three-sided frame with open top; unruled.
Titles	Section titles only, placed in gap between stanzas with no additional space. Written central in a more ornate display script, but in the same ink as the main text. No rubrication or paraph, but first initial of the stanza is a three-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishing.
Attributed author	None.
Decoration	Text opens (fol. 1r) with seven-line red and blue initial on illuminated ground with decorative leaf details. The initial extends into a four-sided bar border with spraywork and vines in red, blue, green, and gold. Top of page damaged. The only other illuminated initial occurs at the division between Dialogue and Prologue. Thereafter the openings of sections are marked with a three-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 36r. Five-line red and blue initial on gold ground with leaf details, extending vertically down the margin with scrolling vines and spraywork in red, blue, green, and gold. Title 'hic incipit prologus de Principum regimine'.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 38v. Three-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes. Running title at top centre of page 'Hic incipit de principum regimine incipiendo de fide seruanda'.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Fol. 96r. Three-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes. Title in space between stanzas, 'Verba compilatoris ad librum'.
Ruling	Ruling erased but formerly ruled for 28 long lines with frame. Glosses unruled.
Boards (mm)	180 x 110
Written space (mm)	265 x 170

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Dugdale 45 (Du)

Date	1475-1500
Material	parchment
Contents	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> .
Collation	i paper flyleaf + 1(8, fols. 1-8), 2(10, fols. 9-18), 3-12(8, fols. 19-97), 13(2, flyleaves unfoliated). Catchwords present. Leaf signatures sometimes visible.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	1r-97v
Verse layout	1 column, 28 lines (4 stanzas) per page consistently.
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	Outer margin; same ink as main text but in a more ornate display script; underlined in red and marked with a red paraph; unruled.
Titles	Section titles only, in same ink as main text with some flourished ascenders. Underlined in red and positioned in the centre top of the page when section aligns with the top of the page, otherwise is fitted into the space between stanzas. First letter of one section is a blue lombardic capital (fol. 60r, misericordia).
Attributed author	'hoccleue de Regimine Principum', fol. 1r.
Decoration	Opens (fol. 1r) with two-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes and title 'hoccleue de Regimine Principum' marked with red paraph. The first initial of every line is embellished with red ink over the black from fols. 1r-2v, thereafter only the first initial of every stanza. Some effort has been made to copy the first word of the stanzas in a more ornate display script for the first few folios.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 37r. Two-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes. Title in upper margin 'Segunt prologus de Regimine Principum' with rubricated initial S.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 39r. Two-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes. Title in upper margin 'De principum regimine vis de fide seruanda', with initial D rubricated.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Fol. 97r. Two-line blue lombard. Title in upper margin, 'Verba compilatoris ad librum', marked with a red paraph. Every stanza hereafter marked with a rubricated nota.
Ruling	Ruled in brown ink, frame only, glosses unruled.
Boards (mm)	245 x 175
Written space (mm)	170-175 x 110

Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Library, MS 202 (Ed)

Date	1425-1450
Material	parchment
Contents	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> .
Collation	ii (modern paper flyleaves) + i (contemporary parchment flyleaf) + 1-12(8, fols. 1-96), 13(2-2, all excised with loss of text) + ii (modern paper flyleaves). Catchwords present. Some leaf signatures visible.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	1r-96v
Verse layout	1 column, 28 lines (4 stanzas) per page consistently.
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	Outer margin; rubricated in same script as main text; predominantly but inconsistently marked with a blue paraph; ruled vertical column only.
Titles	Rubricated and (predominantly) central, in a more ornate display script. Followed by a two-line blue lombardic capital. (Except for 'De consilio' which lacks the title, fol. 87v, and 'de pace' which lacks the initial, fol. 90v.)
Attributed author	None (ending missing, no incipit).
Decoration	Opens (fol. 1r) with a four-line blue lombardic capital on a red and gold ground which extends into a two-sided bar border with red and blue leaves and illuminated details, now badly faded. Stanzas (inconsistently) marked with alternating red and blue first initial. Sections marked with two-line blue lombardic capitals, even when pattern dictates it should be red.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 37r. Four-line blue lombardic capital. No title.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 39v. Two-line blue lombardic capital. No title.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Missing.
Ruling	Ruled in brown ink, predominantly erased, for 28 long lines with frame. Additional vertical column for glosses in outer margin. Catchwords encased in frame but unruled.
Boards (mm)	300 x 195
Written space (mm)	190 x 100

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean 182 (Fi1)

Date	1450-1500, perhaps third quarter
Material	parchment
Contents	Lydgate, <i>Serpent of Division</i> (1r-10v), <i>Fall of Princes</i> extract (11r-v); Latin verses on the nine worthies (11v); Lydgate and Burgh, <i>Secrees of Old Philisoffres</i> (imperfect) (12r-v, 10r-v, 13r-49r); Envoy to Lydgate, <i>Fifteen Joys and Sorrows of Mary</i> (49r), Extracted envoys from <i>Fall of Princes</i> (49v-52v); Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> (5r4-138v); verses on Troy (139r).
Collation	iv paper flyleaves + 1(8-1, first excised with loss of text, fols. 1-7), 2(8-1, fifth excised with loss of text, fols. 8-15), 3-6(8, fols. 16-47), 7(6, fols. 48-53), 8-10(8, fols. 54-77), 11(8-1, 2nd excised with loss of text, fols. 77-83), 12(8-1, 4th excised with loss of text, fols. 84-90), 13(8, fols. 91-98), 14(8-1, 4th excised with loss of text, fols. 99-106), 15(8-1, 4th excised with loss of text, fols. 107-113), 16(8-1, 2nd excised with loss of text, fols. 114-120), 17(8-1, 3rd excised with loss of text, fols. 121-127), 18(4, fols. 128-131), 19(8, fols. 132-138) + iv paper flyleaves. Catchwords present.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	54r-138v
Verse layout	1 column, between 28-31 lines per page inconsistently fols 54r-98v, 28 lines (4 stanzas) per page consistently fols 99r-137r.
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	Outer and inner margins; rubricated in same script as main text; predominantly braced in red or finished with curled line filler; unruled.
Titles	None given. Only the end of Prologue and beginning of Envoy marked with titles.
Attributed author	'Explicit liber Egidii de regimine Principum translatus Per Occliff', fol. 138r.
Decoration	First folio missing. First line of each stanza marked with alternating red and blue paraph with alternating blue and red strapwork. Large three-line blue lombardic initials with red strapwork at section divisions.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 84v. Three-line blue lombardic capital with red strapwork extending into the vertical margin. No title.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Missing. End of Prologue on previous leaf contains rubricated 'Explicit Prologus' (86v).
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Fol. 137v. Four-line blue lombardic capital with red strapwork; space of one line left blank before for the title 'Verba Compilatoris'.
Ruling	Ruled in plummet for 30 lines with frame, glosses unruled. Occasionally writes above the top line and below the bottom, or omits a line, resulting in 28-31 lines per page.
Boards (mm)	230 x 170
Written space (mm)	220 x 165

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean 185 (Fi2)

Date	1450-1500
Material	parchment
Contents	Previously bound with MS McClean 184, forming a compilation of Boethius, <i>Consolation of Philosophy</i> ; and Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> .
Collation	iii parchment flyleaves + 1-10(8, fols. 1-80), 11(4-1, 4th excised with loss of text, fols. 81-84) + iii parchment flyleaves. No catchwords. [MS McClean 184, formerly bound with this manuscript: 1-6(8, fols. 1-8), 7(8-1, 1st excised with loss of text, fols. 9-15), 8-14(8, fols. 16-72), 15(8-1, 8th excised without loss of text, fols. 73-80). Catchwords present.]
<i>Regiment folios</i>	1r-83v
Verse layout	1 column, between 33-35 lines per page.
Script	Anglicana.
Glosses	Outer margin; same ink and script as main text; sometimes underlined and sometimes braced; unruled.
Titles	Section titles only, presented as glosses, with one exception: 'De Regis prudentia' on fol. 72v presented in central upper margin with blue paraph.
Attributed author	None.
Decoration	Opens (fol. 1r) with four-line blue lombardic capital with red strapwork, and singular bar border down the left margin in alternating red and blue, with red strapwork that extends into the upper and lower horizontal margins. [MS McClean 184: Opens with three-sided decorated and illuminated border with central gold and red bar with leaves and flowers in reds, blues, and greens. Text opens with four-line blue initial on gold ground, built into border. First letter of every line on first page also rubricated. Stanzas marked with red pilcrow for first 4 folios.]
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 31v. Same as opening of text: four-line blue lombardic capital with red strapwork, that extends the full length of the vertical margin. No title.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 33v. Four-line blue lombardic capital with red strapwork (as with Prologue), with marginal gloss 'Explicit <i>prologus</i> '.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Fol. 82v. Four-line blue lombardic capital with red strapwork (as with Prologue and Dialogue), with marginal gloss to 'Verba <i>compilatoris</i> '.
Ruling	Ruled in brown ink, frame only.
Boards (mm)	215 x 150
Written space (mm)	205 x 140

Princeton, Princeton University Library, MS Garrett 137 (Ga)

Date	1475-1500
Material	paper
Contents	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> .
Collation	i + 1(2, fols. 1-2), 2(10, fols. 3-12), 3(16, fols. 13-28), 4(2, fols. 29-30), 5-7(8, fols. 31-54), 8(12, fols. 55-66), 9(10, fols. 67-76), 10(8-1, eighth leaf excised without loss of text, fols. 77-83) + ii. Catchwords present, leaf signatures predominantly present.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	1r-83v
Verse layout	One column throughout, of varying lines: fols. 3r-13r (Scribe B) 40-47 lines, fols. 13r-27v (Scribe C) 30-36 lines, fols. 27v-54v (Scribe A) 26-43 lines, fols. 55r-83v (Scribe C) 26-32 lines.
Script	Secretary and anglicana.
Glosses	A group of twenty-four glosses are excerpted in a separate bifolium at the front of the manuscript and presented in the format of a Tabula (see chapter 2). The remaining glosses are kept with the text and copied in both the inner and outer margins. The gloss-scribe is not always the same as the poem-scribe: Scribe A adds glosses to Scribe C's stints (fols. 68v-69v, 71r, 73v, 74v), and Scribe C corrects glosses in Scribe B's stint (fols. 3v-4r) and adds glosses to Scribe A's stint (fols. 28v-29r, 48r, 49r, 51v-54v).
Titles	Inconsistent, even within stints. Scribe A either gives no indication that a new section has begun (eg. fol. 36r) or gives a title in Latin in a more ornate display script with two-line rubricated lombardic capital (eg. fol. 43r). Scribe C marks sections with marginal Latin glosses in a more ornate display script and rubricates the first two lines of verse.
Attributed author	'Hokleffe' (Scribe A), fol. 1r; 'ffynitur lamentacion compilatoris . T . hokcleffe et incipit prologus vt sequitur' (Scribe C), fol. 30v; 'Explicit hokcleue super Egidium de Regimine Principum vt supra' (Scribe C), fol. 81r.
Decoration	The poem opens (fol. 3r) with space for a four-line initial, not executed. In the Tabula, the subject of each gloss is written in a more elaborate display script and underlined in red, and the first initial is flourished in red, followed by rubricated line fillers. Some of the letters A-P are written in the margin. In the main text, the first initial of some lines is inconsistently rubricated with little attention to stanza division. In Scribe B's stint, the first line of each stanza is marked with a <i>nota bene</i> symbol. In Scribe A's stint, the first initial of every stanza is rubricated in a more elaborate display script and sometimes occupies the space of two lines. In Scribe C's second stint, the first initial of every stanza is rubricated.
Dialogue/Prologue division	31r. Begins at top of new page, leaving space for several lines empty on the preceding page. Marked with a three-line rubricated lombardic capital, with the first three lines of verse copied in a more ornate display script.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	32v. Three-line rubricated lombardic capital with first two lines of verse written in a more ornate display script.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	83r. Page torn and part of Envoy missing. Before Envoy is an explicit to 'hokcleue super Egidium de Regimine Principum vt supra', followed by the Envoy at the foot of folio 83r. The first few lines are copied in a more ornate display script by Scribe C, returning to his normal script on folio 83v.
Ruling	Tabula: Frame ruled in faint plummet but predominantly ignored. Poem: Scribe B: left margin only ruled in hard-point; Scribe C stint 1: frame ruled in hard-point; Scribe A: left margin only ruled in hard-point; Scribe C stint 2: frame ruled in brown ink.
Boards (mm)	300 x 215
Written space (mm)	Tabula: 210 x 180; Poem: Scribe B: 240-50 x 100; Scribe C stint 1: 210-30 x 130; Scribe A: 220-40 x 110; Scribe C stint 2: 190-200 x 130

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Gg.vi.17 (Gg)

Date	1450-1500, perhaps third quarter
Material	paper
Contents	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> .
Collation	ii paper flyleaves + 1-9(10, fols. 1-90) + 10(2-1, fol. 91) + ii paper flyleaves. No catchwords.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	1r-90v
Verse layout	1 column, 28 lines (4 stanzas) per page, until 20v when falls out by 3 lines, return to pattern by 22v, breaks again 68r-69v.
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	Inner and outer margin; glossed in two stages, firstly by the main-text scribe in the same ink and script as the main text, and secondly by a later but still fifteenth century humanist hand; glosses are written either in the space between stanzas or extending into the stanza below if more than 2 lines; ruled vertical bounding lines and interlinear (though main text is only frame ruled).
Titles	None present. The beginning of each section is marked with a 3-line gap for an initial, which is left unfilled. A later hand sometimes adds titles, eg. fol. 58v 'De Misericordia'. The tale of John of Canance, though not at a section division, is demarcated with a title with space for an initial.
Attributed author	'The vertuouse doctrine of Hoccleue vpon the rwle of princes', added 16 th century, fol. 1r.
Decoration	Opens (fol. 1r) with a four-line gap for an initial, not executed. First letter of every stanza is flourished and slightly larger. Some top line ascenders and bottom-line descenders are extended and flourished. The first letter of some glosses is sometimes omitted with a space as if for another colour, but was not completed.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 36v. Begins at top of new page, leaving empty space for two stanzas on previous. Space for four-line initial, not executed. No title.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 38v. Space for three-line initial, not executed. No title.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Fol. 90r. Space for a three-line initial, not executed. No title.
Ruling	Ruled in drypoint, frame only. Glosses are ruled when more than 1 line (although a few single-line glosses are ruled), also in drypoint and within the frame.
Boards (mm)	235 x 190
Written space (mm)	160 x 105

London, British Library, Harley MS 116 (Ha1)

Date	1450-1500
Material	parchment
Contents	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> (1r-97v); <i>The Short Charter of Christ</i> (97v); Benedict Burgh, <i>Parvus Cato</i> and <i>Cato Major</i> (98r-124r); <i>Seven Wise Counsels</i> (124r-125r); <i>Four things that make a man fall from Reason</i> (125r); couplet on borrowing (125r); Lydgate, <i>Deus in Nomine Tuo saluum me Fac</i> (127r-128r), <i>A Mirror for Young Ladies at their Toilet</i> (128r-v), <i>Danse of Macabre</i> (129r-140v); <i>The Chorle and the Birde</i> (146v-152r); elegy on death (152v); Nicholas Bollard, <i>The Book of Planting and Grafting</i> (154r-165v); Lydgate, <i>Dietary</i> (166r-170r); proverbs (170v).
Collation	ii parchment flyleaves, contemporary + 1-3(8), 4(8-1, 1st leaf missing with loss of text), 5-11(8), 12(10), 13-15(8), 16(4), 17(8), 18(8-1, 8th missing with no loss), 19(8), 20(4), 21(8), 22(8-1, 7th leaf missing with no loss of text) + ii parchment flyleaves, contemporary. Catchwords present.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	1r-97v
Verse layout	1 column, 28 lines (4 stanzas) per page consistently – at one point a line is erased to ensure pattern is continued.
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	Outer margin; same ink as main text but in a slightly more ornate display script; each gloss has either a rubricated frame, brace, underline, or the first initial is picked out in red; source of gloss occasionally demarcated in red; ruled vertical bounding lines only.
Titles	Section titles only, rubricated with blue lombardic capital initial in same script as main text, followed by a two/three-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes.
Attributed author	None.
Decoration	Opens (fol. 1r) with four-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes. First initial of every line highlighted with red. Section titles rubricated with two- and three-line blue lombardic capitals with red flourishes. Top line ascenders and bottom-line descenders flourished and rubricated. Glosses underlined in red.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 36r. Four-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes and rubricated title 'hic incipit prologus de principum regimine'.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 38v. Four-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes (as with Prologue), with rubricated title 'hic tractat de principum regimine incipiendo de fide seruanda'.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Fol. 97r. Three-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes, and rubricated title 'verba compilatoris ad librum'.
Ruling	Ruled in brown ink: ruled for 28 long lines with frame, with additional vertical column for glossing in the outer margin.
Boards (mm)	285 x 195
Written space (mm)	185 x 100

London, British Library, Harley MS 372 (Ha2)

Date	1450-1475
Material	paper
Contents	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> .
Collation	ii paper flyleaves + 1(20, fols. 1-20), 2(24, fols. 21-44), 3(12, fols. 45-56), 4(14, fols. 57-70), 5(18-1, 1st excised with loss of text, fols. 71-87), 6(20, fols. 88-108), 5 singletons (fols. 109-113) + ii paper flyleaves. Catchwords only by Hammond scribe. Quire signatures only on fols. 45-56.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	71r-112r
Verse layout	1 column, 27-30 lines per page inconsistently, no stanza breaks or attempt to keep layout to 4 per page.
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	Outer margin; same ink and script as main text; no rubrication or decoration; unruled but follows the vertical margin of the other side of the page.
Titles	Section titles only, in same script and ink as main text, either positioned in the lower margin (when section begins at top of following page) or multiple lines are left blank (e.g. 73v) and title written in middle of gap, always in line with poem. First initial picked out in red and encircled in 3/4 rubricated frame.
Attributed author	'The author of this Treatise was Thomas Hoccline Scholler to Geffrey Chaucer', paper adhered to fol. 71r, in a late sixteenth/early seventeenth century hand.
Decoration	(opening of text, Dialogue, Prologue, and start of <i>Regiment</i> Proper missing.) Section on Misericordia opens with space for two-line initial, not executed. Thereafter sections open with no indent and a slight flourish to the first initial. Section titles in same hand but a more ornate display script, centred in gap of several lines – occasionally with 3/4 frame in same ink. First line of stanza marked with // sign – as Arundel 59. Top line ascenders occasionally flourished with long arching stroke to the right.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Missing.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Missing.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Fol. 111v. Space of four lines left blank, in gap title 'Verba compilatoris ad librum' in the style of section titles.
Ruling	Predominantly unruled with no frame, although an indented frame can be seen on some later folios (e.g. 97r). Elsewhere, text possibly following chain lines on left margin. Glosses unruled.
Boards (mm)	310 x 220
Written space (mm)	190-200 x 90-100

London, British Library, Harley MS 4826 (Ha3)

Date	1440-1460
Material	parchment
Contents	Lydgate, <i>Lives of Saints Edmund and Fremund</i> (4r-50v); Lydgate and Burgh, <i>Secrees of Old Philosoffres</i> (52r-80v); Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> (84r-144v)
Collation	5 paper flyleaves (added in 17th century, foliated 1-4), 1-5(8, fols. 4-43), 6(8-1, eighth leaf excised without loss of text, fols. 44-50), (2 paper leaves added later, foliated 51-2), 7-8(8, fols. 53-67), 9(8-1, first leaf excised with loss of text, fols. 68-94), 10(8-1, eighth leaf excised without loss of text, fols. 95-81), (2 paper leaves added later, foliated 82-3), 11-17(8, fols. 84-139), 18(8-1, eighth leaf excised without loss of text, fols. 140-146) + i paper flyleaf. Catchwords sometimes present, mostly erased in Lydgate material. Some quire signatures visible starting at a ; quire signatures in <i>Regiment</i> start at a again.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	84r-144v
Verse layout	1 column, 45 lines per page consistently.
Script	Anglicana and secretary.
Glosses	Outer margin; fols. 84r-102r: same script and ink as main text but smaller, when source is given in gloss it is underlined in red (inconsistently); fols. 102v-144v: rubricated, with red paraph, sometimes underlined in red; ruled vertical bounding lines only.
Titles	Section titles only, rubricated in upper margin, central, split across the double page spread. Eg. Dialogue labelled 'Dialogus inter Occlif & mendicum'.
Attributed author	'Occlif de Regimine', fol. 84r
Decoration	Opens (fol. 84r) with seven-line blue historiated initial on gold ground, housing a male figure in green and red robes. The initial extends to a three-sided border, vertically a blue bar border on gold ground with red and blue leaves, and horizontally upper and lower spraywork with leaves and flowers in red, blue, lilac, and green with gold balls. Stanzas begin with alternating initials: blue with red flourishes and red with red flourishes. Flourishes are more ornate at the start of the text. Sections marked with three-line gold initial with red flourishes, with corresponding running title in upper margin (with the exception of Prudence and Peace, in blue). Gregory marked with three-line blue lombardic capital with elaborate red flourishes. Once contained Chaucer portrait on fol. 139r, now excised.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 106r. Four-line red lombardic capital on gold ground with spraywork of red, blue, green, and gold leaves extending up and down the vertical margin. Explicit for Dialogue only: 'Explicit dialogus inter Occliff & mendicum', in line with text.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 107v. Four-line blue lombardic capital on gold ground, with spraywork and leaf motifs extending up the vertical and along the lower horizontal margin. No title.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/Envoy division	Fol. 144r. Two-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes. No title.
Ruling	Ruled in brown ink: ruled for 45 long lines with frame, with additional vertical column for decorated initials and vertical column in outer margin for glosses, horizontal double bounding lines in upper margin for running titles. Glosses have occasional but inconsistent horizontal ruling.
Boards (mm)	310 x 220
Written space (mm)	205 x 115

London, British Library, Harley MS 4866 (Ha4)

Date	1413-1425
Material	parchment
Contents	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> .
Collation	i (modern leather flyleaf) + i (modern paper flyleaf) + ii (sixteenth-century parchment flyleaf and supplied first folio) + 1(8-1, first leaf excised with loss of text, fols. 2-8), 2-4(8, fols. 9-32), 5(8-2, fifth leaf excised with loss of text, seventh leaf excised without loss of text, fols. 33-38), 6(8-1, fifth leaf excised with loss of text, fols. 39-45), 7-12(8, fols. 46-93), 13(4-2, third leaf excised with loss of text, fourth leaf excised without loss of text, fols. 94-95) + i (sixteenth-century parchment flyleaf) + i (modern paper flyleaf) + i (modern leather flyleaf). Some catchwords present. Some leaf signatures visible.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	1r-95v
Verse layout	1 column, 28 lines (4 stanzas) per page consistently.
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	Outer margin (with one exception, fol. 62r); same ink and script as main text, marked with alternating paraps of blue with red flourishes and gold with lilac flourishes (as text); glosses follow horizontal ruling of main column with additional ruled vertical bounding lines.
Titles	Section titles only, written in a more ornate display script. All except for 'de pietate' (fol. 52r) rubricated and marked with a gold paraph with purple flourishes or blue paraph with red flourishes (as text). Always accompanied by a blank space of varying lines, a three-line initial, and a three-sided bar border in red, blue, and gold with decorative spraywork. 'De pace' title is missing (fol. 88v). 'De justitia' leaf missing.
Attributed author	No medieval attribution. A sixteenth-century hand annotates the front flyleaf with Latin inscription to Hoccleve.
Decoration	Opening of text missing, replaced in sixteenth century. Stanzas marked with alternating paraps of gold with lilac flourishes and blue with red flourishes. Additional paraps, following the same pattern, occasionally mark non-divisional lines when the speaker changes (and once mid-line). Sections open with three line red or blue initial on red, blue, and gold ground, extending into a three-sided bar border of red, blue, and gold with decorative spraywork, accompanied by titles. Some stanzas contain multiple paraps. Figure pulling marginal stanza into line on fol. 62r. Chaucer portrait on fol. 88r.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Missing. Likely once contained a presentation scene.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Missing.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Missing.
Ruling	Ruled in brown ink for 28 long lines with frame, with additional vertical bounding line for paraps and decorated initials, and additional vertical column in outer margin for glosses. Glosses follow horizontal ruling of main column.
Boards (mm)	270 x 190
Written space (mm)	180 x 96

London, British Library, Harley MS 7333 (Ha5)

Date	1450-1500
Material	parchment
Contents	Texts by Chaucer including <i>The Canterbury Tales</i> , <i>Parlement of Foules</i> , and <i>Anelida and Arcite</i> ; Lydgate, including <i>Life of St. Edmund and St. Fremund</i> ; Lydgate and Burgh, <i>Secrees of Old Philosoffres</i> ; and Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> . Seven separate booklets now joined.
Collation	iii paper flyleaves + 1-3(8-8), 4-6(8, fols. 1-24), 7(8-8), 8(8, fols. 25-32), 9-13(8, fols. 33-72), 14(8-8), 15-19(8, fols. 73-112), 20(8-2, seventh and eighth leaves excised with loss of text (eighth foliated), fols. 113-118), 21(8, fols. 120-127), 22(8-2, seventh and eighth leaves excised, unclear if with loss of text, fols. 138-133), 23(8, fols. 134-141), 24(8-1, sixth leaf excised with loss of text, fols. 142-148), 25-29(8, fols. 149-189), 30(8-1, fols. 190-196), 31(8-1, eighth leaf excised with loss of text, fols. 197-203), 32(8, fols. 204-211) + iii paper flyleaves. Folios 191-194 disordered due to rebinding error. Catchwords present in quires 1-7 and 9.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	204r-211v
Verse layout	2 columns, between 55-60 lines (9-10 broken stanzas) per page.
Script	Anglicana.
Glosses	Inner and outer margins; in same script and ink as main text; rubricated and marked with blue paraphs; predominantly bracketed; unruled.
Titles	None (only Dialogue present).
Attributed author	None.
Decoration	Opens (fol. 2014) with two-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes. Stanzas marked with alternating red and blue paraphs. Some anthropomorphic decorated ascenders in red and black.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 211v. Text ends here, with space for two more stanzas on page. End of quire. Likely more text was once present from catchword.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Missing.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Missing.
Ruling	Ruled in plummet, frame only, one frame for each column.
Boards (mm)	455 x 330
Written space (mm)	330 x 230

<i>Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Hh.4.11 (Hh)</i>	
Date	1450-1500, perhaps third quarter
Material	paper with parchment outer bifolium of each quire
Contents	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> .
Collation	iv paper flyleaves + 1-5(8, fols. 1-40), 6(8-1, sixth excised with loss of text, fols. 41-47), 7-11(8, fols. 48-87), 12(10, fols. 88-97) + iv paper flyleaves. Catchwords present.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	1r-96r
Verse layout	1 column, 4 stanzas per page, except for a brief departure, quickly corrected.
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	Outer margin; before fols 11r and after 13v are unmarked, from 11r-13r signalled with red paraph and underlined; intermittently underlined in red thereafter; unruled.
Titles	None present. The beginning of each section is marked with a decorated border instead.
Attributed author	'Occlive one of the [] & the father of ch[]', in another fifteenth century hand, fol. 1r; 'The Authres name of this was Occlvue an acquaintaunce of Chaucer as ye may red in the second Page of the 33 leaf of this verce & that he was of the pryuy seale the same leaf the fyrst page of this []', same hand fol. 96r.
Decoration	16 folios with decorated borders: 15 of these are 3-sided bar borders with floral embellishments, one is 4-sided to mark the start of the Prologue. 13 of the 16 contain banderoles with proverbial mottoes. Opens (fol. 1r) with large historiated ten-line initial containing a figure in red robes and a three-sided bar border. The 15 other decorated leaves each have similar historiated initials. Two- to four-line green lombards with red flourishes throughout, predominantly not at points textual division (e.g. at ll.750, 925). Heraldry at fols. 10r (royal family), 21r (unidentified), 52r (Littleton), 68v (blank, filled later by Nicholas Roscarrock), and 94r (Burley). Every stanza opens with lombardic capital in alternating red and green; ascenders of top line on most folios flourished.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 36r. Four-sided bar border with leaf and flower motifs, creatures, and a human figure, with three scrolls containing text, in a palette of reds, greens, blues, and oranges (the only four-sided border in the manuscript). Dialogue ends mid-leaf (two stanzas in), start of Prologue marked with seven-line historiated initial with flower motif.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 38v. Three-sided border in same style as above with one scroll containing text. Prologue ends two stanzas down page, followed by 'explicit prologus' in a more ornate display script; <i>Regiment</i> Proper begins with a six-line historiated initial.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Fol. 95v. Three-line green lombardic capital with red flourishes. No title. 'Amen' follows last line of the <i>Regiment</i> Proper in margin, in a more ornate display script and underlined in red.
Ruling	Ruled in drypoint for 28 long lines with frame; predominantly written above the line with one extra line unused at foot of page. Glosses unruled.
Boards (mm)	214 x 145
Written space (mm)	150 x 70

San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library, MS El.26.A.13 (Hn1)

Date	1440-1465
Material	parchment
Contents	Verses by Lydgate, Boethius, and Chaucer written by John Shirley (i-ii); Lydgate, <i>Danse of Macabre</i> (1r-12v), <i>Rammeshorne</i> (13r-v), <i>A sotel resoun of the Crabbe</i> (14r-v), <i>A resoun de Fallacia mundi</i> (15r-17r); Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> (18r-115r); the pilgrimage route to Jerusalem (115v); <i>Joseph and Asenath</i> (116-126v); <i>Untimely Death of a Fair Lady</i> (126v-127).
Collation	ii paper flyleaves + i(4) parchment flyleaves + 1(8, fols. 1-8), 2(10-1, tenth excised without loss of text, fols. 9-17), 3-14(8, fols. 18-113), 15(2, fols. 114-115), 16(8, fols. 116-123), 17(6-1, first excised with loss of text, fols. 124-128), + ii paper flyleaves. Folios 59-64 and 67-72 were swapped before leaf signatures were added and the quires were first bound. Catchwords present, leaf signatures visible.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	18r-115r
Verse layout	1 column, 28 lines (4 stanzas) per page consistently.
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	Outer margin; same ink and script as main text; inconsistently marked with a red paraph and either encased in a red frame or finished with a red line filler; subject occasionally also underlined in red.
Titles	Section titles only, in margins presented as glosses, rubricated and in a more ornate display script. Accompany three-line blue lombardic capitals with red flourishes. Title for Prudence, l. 4748 fol. 102v missing.
Attributed author	None.
Decoration	Opens (fol. 18r) with five-line red and blue lombardic capital with red and blue flourishes that extends into a bar border down the vertical inner margin and along the lower horizontal margin, in red and blue. The first initial of every stanza is an alternating red and blue initial, with frequent mistakes in the pattern. Sections marked with three-line blue lombards with red flourishes and rubricated titles in margins presented as glosses. Catchwords are drawn in decorated frames, in the same ink as the main text.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 54r. Three-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes. Title in margin presented as gloss and rubricated: 'Incipit prologus de principum regimine'.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 56v. Three-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes. Title in margin, presented as gloss and rubricated, 'De regis prudentia'.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Fol. 115r. Two-line blue lombardic capital with rubricated title 'Verba compilatoris ad librum'.
Ruling	Ruling erased but formerly ruled for 36 long lines (though only 28 are used) with frame. Catchwords and glosses unruléd.
Boards (mm)	295 x 220
Written space (mm)	155 x 115

San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library, MS HM 135 (Hn2)

Date	1450-1475
Material	paper
Contents	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> (1r-82v); <i>Mirror of the Periods of Man's Life</i> (83r-86v).
Collation	ii paper flyleaves + 1-2(12, fols. 1-24), 3(12-5, sixth leaf excised with loss of text, ninth-twelfth leaves excised without loss of text, seventh leaf now singleton, fols. 25-31), 4-6(12, fols. 32-67), 7(12-1, eleventh leaf excised without loss of text, fols. 68-78), 8(12-8, fifth-twelfth excised with loss of text, all remaining leaves singletons, fols. 79-82), 9(2-2, final stanzas of the <i>Regiment</i> , all excised with loss of text), 10(12?-8, only four singleton leaves remain, possibly ninth-twelfth leaves of a larger quire, fols. 83-86) + ii paper flyleaves. No catchwords.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	1r-82v
Verse layout	1 column, 28 lines (4 stanzas) per page consistently.
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	Outer and inner margin; same ink and script as main text; first few words of gloss occasionally in frame; unruled.
Titles	Section titles only, same ink as main text but written in a more ornate textualis script and framed by ~ symbol, fit into the space between stanzas without additional gap, sometimes in a frame.
Attributed author	None.
Decoration	Opens (fol. 1r) with four-line red lombardic capital initial with blue flourishes that extend the length of the page. On this first page only, the first initial from the second and fourth stanzas is a similar style lombardic capital of two lines with blue flourishes (stanza 3 has a space for an uncompleted capital). Thereafter stanzas unmarked. Sections marked with three-line lombardic capital in red with blue flourishes and ornate titles. Although the leaf which would have contained the Chaucer portrait (with stanzas 712-716) is missing, the manuscript does not appear luxurious enough to have had one.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 32r. Three-line red lombardic capital with blue flourishes, with title 'hic incipit prologus de principum regimine' in upper margin in an ornate display script.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 34v. No initial. Title in upper margin, partially cropped, 'Hic tractat de principum regimine incipendo de fide seruanda'.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Missing.
Ruling	Ruling erased but formerly ruled for 28 long lines with frame. Glosses follow horizontal ruling of main text with no vertical bounding lines.
Boards (mm)	275 x 200
Written space (mm)	195 x 110

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Kk.1.3 (Kk)

Date	1450-1475
Material	paper
Contents	(Part XI only) Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> .
Collation	10(8, fols. 1-80)
<i>Regiment</i> folios	begins on the 95th folio, but foliation begins at the start of the text, so 1r-79r
Verse layout	1 column, 37 lines per page consistently, not by stanza division.
Script	Anglicana with secretary features.
Glosses	In line with the textblock, although some are also indented; same ink as the main text but in a slightly more ornate display script; rubricated; frequent in Prologue (fols. 1r-30v), followed by a large gap without any, then resume at fol.47; unruléd save for frame of main text.
Titles	Running titles were likely once present in the first half of the manuscript, but the upper margins have been severely damaged by water. Some later folios have evidence of having had rubricated text prior to this. A later, 15th century hand has added titles over the water damage, folios 7v-27r only, in black ink. Primarily no section titles or demarcations at section divisions, but some (eg. 'magnamity', fol. 56v) disguised as glosses.
Attributed author	None.
Decoration	Opens (fol. 1r) with eight-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes that extend the length of the page. Stanzas unmarked. Space left for two-line initial at l.449, fol. 7r, filled in later (only manuscript with a break at this point). Same two-line space without initial at ll. 568 (9r), 750 (11v), 1394 (21r), 1555 (23r), 1932 (28v), 2451 (36r), 2514 (36v), 2273 (40v), 3123 (45r), 3319 (48r), 3417 (49r), 3900 (56v), 4124 (59v), 4404 (63v), 4509 (65r), 4684 (68r), 4859 (70v), 4978 (72r), 5097 (74r), 5286 (76v), 5440 (78v). Three-line space at ll. 1044 (16r), 2157 (31v). Two-line space with initial completed at ll. 1128 (17r), 1716 (26v). Some letters embellished with red (eg. fol. 18r).
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 30r. Four-line blue lombardic capital, plain without flourishes. No title.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 31v. Space for a three-line initial, not executed. No title.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Fol. 78v. One-line gap left empty and space for a two-line initial, not executed. No title.
Ruling	Ruled in drypoint, frame only.
Boards (mm)	295 x 220
Written space (mm)	205 x 122

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 735 (La)

Date	1450-1475
Material	paper with parchment outer and inner bifolium of each quire
Contents	Hoccleve, <i>Complaint</i> (1r-5r), <i>Dialogue</i> (5v-15v), <i>Tale of Jereslaus Wife</i> (15v-29r), <i>Learn to Die</i> (29r-42r), <i>Tale of Jonathas</i> (42v-51v); Lydgate, <i>Danse of Macabre</i> (51v-61v); Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> (62r-134r).
Collation	ii parchment flyleaves + 1(14-1, second leaf excised with loss of text), fols. 1-13), 2-3(14, fols. 14-41), 4(14-1+1, eighth leaf replaced with a parchment singleton without loss of text, fols. 42-55), 5-9(14, fols. 56-125), 10(16-7, last seven leaves excised without loss of text, stubs visible, fols. 126-134) + i parchment flyleaf (with stub of a second). Catchwords infrequent and inconsistent. Leaf signatures throughout.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	62r-134r
Verse layout	1 column, between 35-39 (5-6 broken stanzas) per page inconsistently. Occasionally 5 full stanzas per page but not by design.
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	Outer margin; same ink as main text but initially in a more ornate display script; rubricated and marked with blue paraph that extends the height of the gloss; unruled.
Titles	Section titles only, presented as glosses, in the same script as the main text but rubricated, and marked with a blue paraph. First missing but present thereafter.
Attributed author	None.
Decoration	Text opens (fol. 62r) with five-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes. Three-line initials in the same style appear throughout in non-structural stanzas. Rhymes braced throughout. The first line of each stanza is marked with alternating red and blue paraphs. The first initial of every page is struck through with red. Red lines divide each stanza from the next. Bottom line braces occasionally flourished. Ascenders on top lines and descenders on bottom lines occasionally flourished, notably in an elaborate zig-zag style on some bottom lines.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 89r. Three-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes. No title.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 91r. Three-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes. No title.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Fol. 134r. Five-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes and leaf motifs. Ascenders flourished. Prior to this, a one-line space left blank. Gloss in the margin to 'verba compilatoris'.
Ruling	Ruled in brown ink, frame only. Unlike Bo scribe, never writes below the bottom line. Catchwords unruled.
Boards (mm)	315 x 225
Written space (mm)	215 x 110

Leeds, Brotherton Library, MS Additional 2286 (Le)

Date	1420-40
Material	parchment
Contents	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> .
Collation	1(8-3, first, second, and eighth leaves excised with loss of text, fols. 1-5), 2(8-4, first, second, seventh, eighth leaves excised with loss of text, fols. 6-10), 3(8-3, first, seventh, eighth leaves excised with loss of text, fols. 11-15), 4(8, fols. 16-23), 5(8-2, fifth and seventh leaves excised with loss of text, fols. 24-29), 6(8, third and fourth leaves heavily trimmed, fols. 30-37), 7(8-1, fifth leaf excised with loss of text, fols. 38-44), 8(8-2, second and third leaves excised with loss of text, fols. 45-50), 9(8-4, first, third, sixth, and eighth leaves excised with loss of text, fols. 51-54), 10(8, second leaf heavily trimmed, fols. 55-62), 11(8-2, seventh and eighth leaves excised with loss of text, fols. 63-68) + i singleton flyleaf.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	1r-68v
Verse layout	1 column, 28 lines (4 stanzas) per page consistently.
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	Outer margins; same script as main text; rubricated and marked with paraphs of alternating gold with blue flourishes and blue with red flourishes, with decorative line fillers (some paraphs missing their flourishes, others missing altogether); ruled vertical bounding lines only.
Titles	Section titles only, in same script as main text but rubricated, written central in space between stanzas, and marked with a blue paraph.
Attributed author	None (ending missing).
Decoration	Beginning of text missing due to damage. The first initial of every stanza is an alternating lombardic capital in blue with red flourishes and gold with blue flourishes. Elaborate decorated initials on illuminated ground appear throughout the manuscript at points of textual division (when not excised, which is frequent). Openings of sections marked with central running titles presented as glosses and two-line illuminated lombards on ground quarterly red and blue with white flourishes (although these are used elsewhere too at non-structural stanzas). One large initial I, spanning the length of the stanza, on fol. 47 at line 3389. An ornate illuminated four-line initial, red on a gold ground with spraywork in red, blue, orange, and green, marks the beginning of the section on 'generosity' on fol. 48v (as in Selden 53), and was once present (now excised) on fol. 56 at the beginning of 'prodigality'.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Missing, leaf removed between fols. 27-28. Preceded by explicit on previous page 'here endith my compleint and bigynneth a prolog'.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Missing.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Missing.
Ruling	Ruled in brown ink with frame, with fourteen horizontal guidelines: double bounding lines in upper margin for running titles (not executed), double bounding lines at the start of each stanza and at the end of the final stanza, and double bounding lines in lower margin for catchwords. Additionally, a vertical column for decorated initials and a vertical column in the outer margin for glosses.
Boards (mm)	280 x 195
Written space (mm)	270-274 x 192-195

Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2101 (Ma)

Date	1440-1465
Material	parchment
Contents	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> .
Collation	ii + 1-2(8, fols. 1-16), 3(8-1, eighth excised with loss of text, fols. 17-23), 4(8-1, eighth excised without loss of text, fols. 24-30), 5(8-1+1, first leaf added as singleton, fifth excised with loss of text, fols. 31-38), 6-10(8, fols. 39-78), 11(8-3, sixth-eighth excised with loss of text), 12(2-2, all excised with loss of text) + i. Catchwords present. Leaf signatures visible.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	1r-83v
Verse layout	1 column, 28 lines (4 stanzas) per page consistently.
Script	Anglicana formata.
Glosses	Outer margins; predominantly in the same script as the main text but occasionally strays into a more elaborate textualis; rubricated and predominantly marked with a blue paraph with red flourishes, but occasionally with a gold paraph with blue flourishes; with simple line fillers; unruled.
Titles	Only two titles, 'de regis magnamitate' (fol. 60v) and 'de vicio avaricie' (fol. 70v), presented as glosses. Typically, each section is marked by a lavish three-sided bar border with leaves and decorative spray work, with an incorporated six-line illuminated initial, but without title. Magnamity and Avarice are not marked with a full border, but only two pieces of spraywork, perhaps explaining their titles.
Attributed author	None.
Decoration	Opening of text missing. Every stanza is marked with alternating blue paraphs with red flourishes and gold paraphs with blue flourishes (with occasional errors). There is one four-sided and several three-sided bar borders throughout, with leaf motifs and decorative spraywork in red, blue, green, and gold. Every border is connected to a six-line illuminated lombardic capital. Two sections towards the end are marked with initials only and small amounts of spraywork. Additional three-line illuminated lombardic capital on fol. 65v.
Dialogue/Prologue division	28r. Six-line red and blue lombardic capital on gold ground, connected to a four-sided bar border of red and blue leaves on a gold ground.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	30v. Six-line red and blue lombardic capital on gold ground, connected to a four-sided bar border of red and blue leaves on a gold ground.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Missing.
Ruling	Ruled in brown ink with frame for 28 long lines, with upper and lower double horizontal bounding lines that extend the width of the page. Glosses and catchwords unruled.
Boards (mm)	295 x 195
Written space (mm)	190 x 95

Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Advocates 19.1.2 (Na)

Date	1450-1475
Material	paper (mixed paper and parchment in <i>Mandeville</i> only)
Contents	(codicological unit 3 only) Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> (80r-175r). Rest of manuscript, parts 1 and 2 copied by a different scribe to the <i>Regiment</i> but with titles in the same hand across all parts, contains: (part 1) <i>Mandeville's Travels</i> (1r-69v); (part 2) <i>Sir Cleges</i> (71r-79v).
Collation	(codicological unit 3 only) 1-3(8, fols. 80-103), 4(8-1, sixth leaf excised without loss of text, fols. 104-110), 5-10(8, fols. 111-158), 11(8-1, sixth leaf excised without loss of text, fols. 159-165), 12(8-1, eighth leaf excised with loss of text, fols. 166-172), 13(8-4, first leaf excised with loss of text; sixth, seventh, and eighth leaves excised without loss of text, fols. 173-176). Catchwords present. Quire signatures visible starting in second quire.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	80r-175r
Verse layout	1 column, 28 lines (4 stanzas) per page consistently.
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	Outer margins (with the exception of one inner gloss on fol. 122v); rubricated in same script as main text. First two glosses marked with a blue paraph, thereafter either marked with a red pilcrow or unmarked. Glosses use ruling of main text which continues into the outer margins.
Titles	Section titles only, rubricated and in a slightly more ornate display script. Written central in space between stanzas. Followed by three or four-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes. Occasionally, title is presented as a marginal gloss instead (eg. 'De consilio' fol. 167v, 'De pace' fol. 170r).
Attributed author	'liber iste scriptus [...] per hoccleue', late fifteenth century hand, fol. 175r; 'Hic liber conscriptus per hoccleue' in an early sixteenth hand, fol. 116r.
Decoration	Opens (fol. 80r) with a four-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes, accompanied by title 'De regimine principum vocatur the Kyngys Draught'. Stanzas marked with alternating red and blue paraphs, with occasional errors. Sections marked with three or four-line blue lombardic capitals with red flourishes, even when pattern dictates it should be red. Rhymes are braced in red on fols. 173r-5r only. A space of two stanzas is left blank on fols. 82r and 119r, without any missing text, perhaps for decoration that has not been executed.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 116v. Four-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes. Rubricated title 'Incipit prologus' in upper margin.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 119r. Four-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes, cut out. Rubricated title 'hic incipit de fide obseuanda' above.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Fol. 174v. Two-line rubricated lombardic capital with red flourishes, cut out. Title 'Verba compilatoris ad librum' in same ink as main text with red flourishes above.
Ruling	Ruled in brown ink for 28 long lines with frame, ruling extends into outer margins for glosses. Catchwords unruled.
Boards (mm)	290 x 200
Written space (mm)	200 x 125

Chicago, Newberry Library, MS 6 (Ne)

Date	1440-1465
Material	Mixed paper and parchment (outer bifolium of each quire is parchment)
Contents	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> .
Collation	iii paper flyleaves + 1-10(8, fols. 1-80, bottom half of fol. 79 excised without loss of text) + iii paper flyleaves. Parchment sewing guards between quires 3 and 4, 8 and 9, and 9 and 10. Catchwords present, often in frame or scroll. Leaf signatures visible in most quires.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	1r-79r
Verse layout	1 column, 35 lines (5 stanzas) per page for fols. 3r-78v, prior to this between 29 and 32 lines per page as the scribe is "settling in" to copying, after this layout is offset by the title of the Envoy.
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	Inner and outer margins; same ink as main text and predominantly same script, although for shorter glosses occasionally a more ornate display script is used. Subject of gloss underlined, some (but not all) glosses braced.
Titles	Section titles only, central in space between stanzas, in same ink as main text but using a more ornate display script. When start of section coincides with the top of a page (eg. 'De pietate', fol. 44r), title is written far above in upper margin. Ascenders and descenders occasionally flourished.
Attributed author	None.
Decoration	Opens (fol. 1r) with a seven-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes that extend down the vertical margin. Script of first stanza only is a more ornate display script. Prologue marked with similar style initial of five lines. Sections are marked with three and two-line blue lombardic capitals with red flourishes. Stanzas unmarked but first initial is a more ornate graph with occasional flourishes.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 30r. Five-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes. Title 'Hic incipit prologus de principum regimine' in upper margin.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 32r. Three-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes, as section titles. Title 'Hic tractat de Principum regimine incipiendo de fide seruanda' in upper margin.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Fol. 78v. Two-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes. Title 'Verba compilatoris ad librum'.
Ruling	Frame ruled only in brown ink. Glosses unruled but follow vertical margin of frame. Catchwords unruled.
Boards (mm)	299 x 220
Written space (mm)	190 x 128

Cambridge, Queen's College, MS 12 (Qu)

Date	1420-40
Material	parchment
Contents	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> .
Collation	ii parchment stubs, recycled + i paper flyleaf, recycled + 1-8(8, fols. 1-64), 9(8-8, excised with loss of text), 10(10-4, fifth, sixth, ninth, and tenth leaves excised with loss of text, fols. 65-70) + ii paper flyleaves, recycled + i parchment stub, recycled. Catchwords present. Leaf signatures on every quire, black a-e, red f-k.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	1r-70v
Verse layout	1 column, 35 lines (5 stanzas) per page consistently.
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	Outer margin; same ink and script as main text; rubricated and marked with alternating paraps of blue with red flourishes and gold with blue flourishes (as with stanza markers); ruled vertical bounding lines only.
Titles	Section titles only, in same script as main text but rubricated, and written central in space between stanzas. Sometimes, but not always, marked with a blue paraph with red flourishes.
Attributed author	None.
Decoration	Opens (fol. 1r) with seven-line decorated initial, red and blue with white detail on gold ground with foliate and acanthus motifs, with three-side bar border with spraywork and red and blue leaves. Same design marks start of <i>Regiment</i> Proper. Other textual divisions marked with three-line gold initials on a red and blue ground with white detail and spraywork with gold. Stanzas marked with paraps alternating blue with red flourishes and gold with blue flourishes.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 29r. Three-line illuminated capital on red and blue ground with white details and spraywork. No title.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 31v. First stanza marked as with first folio: seven-line illuminated initial with three-sided bar border and spraywork. No title.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Fol. 70v. Same as opening of each part: three-line gold initial on red and blue ground with white detail, with spraywork with gold. No title.
Ruling	Ruled in brown ink with frame, with fourteen horizontal guidelines: double bounding lines in upper margin for running titles (not executed), double bounding lines at the start of each stanza and at the end of the final stanza, and double bounding lines in lower margin for catchwords. Additionally, a vertical column for decorated initials and a vertical column in the outer margin for glosses.
Boards (mm)	320 x 225
Written space (mm)	218 x 113

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. Poet 10 (Ra1)

Date	1440-1460
Material	parchment
Contents	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> .
Collation	iv paper flyleaves + 1-7(8, fols. 1-56), 8(8+1, ninth folio singleton addition, fols. 57-65) + iv paper flyleaves. Catchwords on fols. 1-6, and 16v by another scribe, by main scribe on 8v, 24v, 32v, 40v, 48v, 56v, and none on 64v.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	1r-65v
Verse layout	1 column, 38 lines (6 stanzas) per page consistently.
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	Outer margin; same script and ink as the main text; single vertical bounding line for inner margin of text only.
Titles	None.
Attributed author	'Explicit hoccleue', fol. 65v.
Decoration	Opens (fol. 1r) with five-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes that extend down and across the vertical and horizontal margins. Three-line initials in the same style appear throughout at section beginnings.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 25r. Five-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes that extend up and across into the vertical and horizontal margins. No title.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 26v. Three-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes. No title.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Fol. 65v. Space of three lines left empty. No initial or title.
Ruling	Ruling erased, formerly ruled for 38 long lines with frame, with single vertical bounding line ruled for inner margin of glosses.
Boards (mm)	230 x 135
Written space (mm)	340 x 225

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. Poet 168 (Ra2)

Date	1440-1460
Material	paper
Contents	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> .
Collation	iv paper flyleaves + 1-8 (8, fols. 1r-58r written, 59-64 blank). <i>Regiment</i> is followed by many blank pages, unfoliated and unwritten. Catchwords present on written folios, in rubricated frame. Leaf signatures visible.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	1r-58r
Verse layout	1 column, 30 lines per page consistently.
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	One gloss present, which may be a later addition. Rubricated and in outer margin.
Titles	Section titles only, rubricated and written in-line with text in a more ornate display script, often with line fillers. Followed by two-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes.
Attributed author	'Here endeth the Boke of gouernaunce of princes that Thomas Hoccleue made. Which is a boke of moraltees and of vertues of highli dispreising lewednesse and vices', fol. 58r.
Decoration	Dialogue absent from manuscript. Each stanza is marked with a red paraph and the first initial of every line is struck through with red. Section openings marked with two-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes that extend into the margins, with rubricated running titles.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 1r. Four-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes extending down the vertical margin. Title rubricated and written in a more ornate display script: 'Hic incipit liber de regimine principum'.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 3r. Two-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes. No title.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Fol. 57v. Two-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes, with rubricated running title in a more ornate display script, 'Verba compilatoris ad librum'.
Ruling	Ruling erased, formerly ruled for 30 long lines with frame.
Boards (mm)	210 x 110
Written space (mm)	295 x 205

Philadelphia, Rosenbach Foundation, MS 1083/30 (Ro)

Date	1450-1475
Material	paper
Contents	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> (fols. 1r-77v), four stanzas from the <i>Regiment</i> that have been accidentally omitted are copied on fol. 77v (by the scribe), Walton trans. Boethius, <i>Consolation of Philosophy</i> (fols. 78r-177v).
Collation	ii + 1-5(8, fols. 1-40), 6(8-2, fourth and fifth leaves excised with loss of text, fols. 41-46), 7-9(8, fols. 47-70), 10(8-1, eighth leaf excised without loss of text, fols. 71-77), 11-21(8, fols. 78-165), 22(10, fols. 166-175), 23(2, fols. 176-177) + ii. Catchwords and leaf signatures present (leaf signatures begin at a at start of <i>Regiment</i> and <i>Consolation</i>). Codex is currently split in two after the ninth quire.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	1r-77v
Verse layout	1 column, 31 lines (five stanzas) per page consistently.
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	Glossed in two stages, from two sources (see chapter 2). Predominantly in outer margin; in same script as main text but using a slightly paler ink; predominantly marked with a paraph; unruled but occasionally subject in frame. Occasional rubricated glosses, in both inner and outer margins, in a more ornate display script, eg. 'Naracio' fol. 17r. (All glosses in <i>Consolation</i> are rubricated.)
Titles	Section titles only, rubricated and written central in space between stanzas, accompanied by a three- or four-line rubricated lombardic capital. Sometimes, but inconsistently, accompanied by a Latin gloss, eg. 'de Regis magnamitate' (fol. 55v).
Attributed author	'Heere endith Gylis de Regimine Principum', fol. 77v.
Decoration	Text opens (fol. 1r) with four-line rubricated lombardic capital, accompanied by rubricated title 'here begynnyth the Book how prynces sholden be governyd'. Stanzas unmarked, but the first initial is often flourished. Glosses marked with paraphs. Chaucer portrait on fol. 70v, a replica of the Ha4 portrait, depicting the poet in black robes holding a rosary and pointing at the text, executed in fine ink washes on a green background with diamond details.
Dialogue/Prologue division	29v. Three-line red lombardic capital, with no additional space or title.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	31v. Three-line red lombardic capital, with no additional space or title. Marginal note, not by scribe but by another fifteenth century hand, of 'The parte of a kyng'.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	77r. Space for a two-line initial, not executed. Accompanied by a rubricated explicit, central in the space between stanzas, and gloss 'verba compilatoris'. Envoy is written in a darker ink than the rest of the text, but by the same scribe.
Ruling	Left vertical margin ruled only, now erased.
Boards (mm)	290 x 210
Written space (mm)	180 x 110

London, British Library, Royal MS 17.C.xiv (Ry1)

Date	1450-1500
Material	paper and parchment
Contents	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> .
Collation	Gutters trimmed and leaves attached individually, with occasional bifolium surviving. Formerly 1(12, fols. 1-12), 2-3(10, fols. 13-32), 4-6(12, fols. 33-68), 7(10, fols. 69-78), 8(12, fols. 79-90). Catchwords present. Leaf signatures visible.
<i>Regiment folios</i>	1r-90r
Verse layout	1 column, 27-30 lines per page inconsistently.
Script	Anglicana with secretary influence.
Glosses	Outer and inner margin; occasional marginal notes in scribe's hand, but glosses predominantly added later in the 16th century by Nicholas Saunder.
Titles	Running titles added by later 16th century hand, in a large elaborate cursive at the top of pages.
Attributed author	'Gilis de regimine principum', fol. 2r; 'Thomas hoccleue', fol. 99v.
Decoration	None. Spaces left for initials but unfilled. No coloured inks or decoration.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 32v. Two-line space for an initial, not executed. Title "Hic incipit prologus de principum regimine" in 16th century hand.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 34v. Two-line space for initial, not executed. Title in upper margin of page in a more ornate display script, 'de fide seruanda'.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Fol. 89v. Two-line space for initial, not executed. No title.
Ruling	Ruled in plummet, frame only.
Boards (mm)	206 x 144
Written space (mm)	148 x 90

London, British Library, Royal MS 17.D.vi (Ry2)

Date	1438-1450
Material	parchment
Contents	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> (4r-101v), <i>Tale of Jereslaus Wife</i> (102r-118v), <i>Learn to Die</i> (120v-137r), <i>Tale of Jonathas</i> (138v-148v).
Collation	iv + iii, parchment flyleaves (all singletons, foliated 1-3) + 1-18(8, fols. 4-147), 19(4-1, fourth leaf excised without loss of text, fols. 148-150) + iv. Catchwords present. Some leaf signatures visible.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	4r-101v
Verse layout	1 column, 28 lines (4 stanzas) per page consistently.
Script	Secretary
Glosses	Outer margin; in same ink and script as main text; marked with a blue paraph with red flourishes; follows the ruling of the main column.
Titles	None (with one exception – ‘de legum observatione’, fol. 53v). Sections marked with three-line red or blue initial on gold ground which extends into a three-sided bar border of red, blue, and gold with decorative spraywork.
Attributed author	None in main text. ‘Hockleff’ on flyleaf (fol. 2r) in fifteenth and sixteenth century hands.
Decoration	Opens (fol. 4r) with a three-line red initial on gold ground with blue leaves, which extends into a three-sided bar border with red, blue, and green leaves on a gold ground. Spraywork extends along the top and bottom margins of the page. The coat of arms of Joan Neville after her marriage (17 August 1438) to William FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel, hang from the lower margin of the border. The first initial of every stanza is marked with alternating blue initials with red flourishes and gold initials with brown flourishes. (Guide letters still visible.) Presentation scene on fol. 40r of poet presenting his book to the Prince, occupying $\frac{3}{4}$ of the page, with a four-sided border of spraywork with red, blue, green, and gold leaves. The coat of arms of William FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel is integrated into the lower margin of the border. Full-body Chaucer portrait in margin of fol. 93v, dressed in black robes and holding a rosary.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 40r. Marked with presentation scene and royal coat of arms. Opens with a three-line red initial on a gold ground which extends into a four-sided border. No title.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 42v. Three-line red initial on gold ground with red and blue leaves, extending into a three-sided bar border in blue and gold with red, blue, and green leaves. No title.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Fol. 101v. Three-line red initial on gold ground with red and blue leaves, extending into a three-sided bar border of red, blue, and gold with decorative spraywork. No title.
Ruling	Ruled in brown ink for 28 long lines with frame, ruling extends into outer margin for glosses. Catchwords unruled. Pricking visible.
Boards (mm)	280 x 185
Written space (mm)	175 x 110

London, British Library, Royal MS 17.D.xviii (Ry3)

Date	c.1413-1425
Material	parchment
Contents	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> .
Collation	iii paper flyleaves + i parchment flyleaf +1-9(8, fols. 1-96), 10(4, fols. 97-100) + paper flyleaf + iii later paper flyleaves. Catchwords present, some leaf signatures visible.
<i>Regiment folios</i>	2r-100r
Verse layout	1 column, 4 stanzas per page, until 75v when interlinear running title adds 2 lines. Uneven until 80r, then returns to 4 stanza layout.
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	Outer margin; same ink and script as main text; marked with red paraph; unruled.
Titles	Section titles only, same ink as main text but in a more ornate display script, positioned either in the top margin or in between stanzas, sometimes with additional space, marked with red paraph and sometimes in frame. Followed (and sometimes preceded too) by a three/four- line initial with purple flourishes.
Attributed author	None.
Decoration	Opens (f. 2r) with a four-line puzzle initial in red and blue with purple flourishes which extends into a three-sided red and blue border with red flourishes. Followed by 16 puzzle initials in red and blue with red, blue and/or purple flourishes and full or partial borders (fols. 2r, 38r, 40v, 46r, 55v, 61r, 64r, 67r, 71v, 73v, 75v, 82r, 87r, 89r, 92r, 99v, 100r). Initials in blue with red flourishes. Stanzas marked with red paraphs.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 38r. Four-line lombardic capital in blue and red with red and purple flourishes, which extends into a four-sided border in red, blue, and purple. Title in upper margin 'Prologus'.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 40v. Four-sided border in red, blue, and purple flourishes (as with Prologue). Four-line decorated initial in same style. No title.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Fol. 99v. Three-line red and blue lombardic capital extending into a two-sided border in red and purple. Title 'Verba compilatoris ad librum'. There is an additional envoy to Prince John on fol. 100r, with the same initial but no title.
Ruling	Ruled in brown ink for 28 long lines with frame, with additional vertical column for glossing in the outer margin.
Boards (mm)	270 x 185
Written space (mm)	180 x 90

London, British Library, Royal MS 17.D.xix (Ry4)

Date	1425-1450
Material	parchment
Contents	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> .
Collation	iii paper flyleaves + ii parchment flyleaves + 1-12(8, fols. 1-96), 13(4, fols. 97-100) + ii parchment flyleaves + iii paper flyleaves. Catchwords present, in frame. Quire signatures visible, some cropped.
<i>Regiment folios</i>	2r-99v
Verse layout	1 column, 28 lines (4 stanzas) per page consistently.
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	Outer margin; same ink and script as main text; rubricated and marked with blue paraph (although some missing paraph); interlinear ruling extends from main text.
Titles	Inconsistent section titles, either presented as glosses, central in between stanzas, rubricated, and with blue paraph (eg. 'de misericordia', fol. 61), or written in upper margin of the page in same ink and script as main text (eg. 'de pietate' fol. 55v).
Attributed author	'Gilis de regimine principum', fol. 2r; 'Here endeth the book of the gouernaunce of Princes that Thomas hoccleue made whiche is a book of Moralties and of vertues and hily dispreysinge lewednesse and vices', fol. 99v.
Decoration	Opens (fol. 1r) with seven-line illuminated initial and three-sided bar border in red, blue and gold with spray flourishes, now tarnished. Stanzas marked with paraps, originally red but intermittently alternating red and blue. Six-line illuminated initial on red and blue background with white flourishes and emerging spray work at fol. 40v (Dialogue to Prologue division), and two- to three-line blue lombardic capitals at fols. 46r and 55v.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 40v. Six-line illuminated initial on red and blue ground quarterly with spray work extending into the margins. No title.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 46v. Three-line blue lombardic capital. No title.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Fol. 99r. Two-line blue lombardic capital preceded by rubricated title 'verba compilatoris ad librum' with blue paraph, written in the space between stanzas.
Ruling	Ruling erased, formerly in brown ink for 28 long lines with frame, with additional double bounding lines in the upper and lower margins for running titles (rarely executed) and catchwords. Ruling extends beyond frame.
Boards (mm)	290 x 184
Written space (mm)	189 x 94

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Selden Supra 53 (Se)

Date	1420-40
Material	parchment
Contents	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> (1r-76r), <i>Complaint</i> (76r-83v), <i>Dialogue</i> (83v-98r), <i>Tale of Jereslaus Wife</i> (98v-116r), <i>Learn to Die</i> (117r-133r), <i>Tale of Jonathas</i> (134v-148r); Lydgate, <i>Danse of Macabre</i> (148r-158v).
Collation	ii paper flyleaves + 1-2(8-8, all excised with loss of text), 3-4(8, fols. 1-16), 5(8-1, seventh folio excised with loss of text, fols. 17-23), 6(8-5, third-sixth and eighth leaves excised with loss of text, fols. 24-26), 7-17(8, fols. 27-114), 18(8-1, third leaf excised with loss of text, fols. 115-121), 19-22(8, fols. 122-154), 23(8-2, sixth and eighth leaves excised without loss of text). Catchwords present. Quire signatures visible.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	1r-76r
Verse layout	1 column, 28 lines (4 stanzas) per page consistently.
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	Outer margins; same script and ink as main text; rubricated and marked with blue paraph; with decorative line fillers; ruled vertical bounding lines only.
Titles	Section titles only, in same script as main text but rubricated, written central in space between stanzas, and marked with a blue paraph.
Attributed author	'Explicit Egidius de Regimine Principum', fol. 76r.
Decoration	Beginning of text missing due to damage. The first initial of every stanza is a blue lombardic capital with red flourishes (in all verse texts in manuscript). Elaborate decorated initials on illuminated ground appear throughout the manuscript at points of textual division. Openings of sections marked with central running titles presented as glosses and two-line blue lombards (although these are used elsewhere too at non-structural stanzas). A four-line initial, like at the Dialogue to Prologue division, marks the beginning of the section on generosity.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 21r. Four-line red and blue initial on illuminated ground with spraywork extending into horizontal and vertical margins. No title.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 23r. No distinction.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Fol. 75v. Two-line blue lombaric capital with red flourishes, central running title rubricated with blue paraph to 'verba compilatoris'.
Ruling	Ruled in brown ink with frame, with fourteen horizontal guidelines: double bounding lines in upper margin for running titles (not executed), double bounding lines at the start of each stanza and at the end of the final stanza, and double bounding lines in lower margin for catchwords. Additionally, a vertical column for decorated initials and a vertical column in the outer margin for glosses.
Boards (mm)	175 x 110-115
Written space (mm)	265 x 190

Cambridge, St John's College, MS 223 (Sj)

Date	1475-1500
Material	paper with parchment flyleaves
Contents	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> (imperfect, with extracts of Lydgate, <i>Fall of Princes</i>).
Collation	iv parchment flyleaves + 1(16, fols. 1-16), 2(12, fols. 17-28), 3(12-5, 8th-12th leaves excised with only the loss of 1 stanza, fols. 29-35), 4(16, fols. 36-51), 5-6(20, fols. 52-91), 7(8-1, 8th leaf excised without loss of text, fols. 92-98) + iv parchment flyleaves. Catchwords present. No quire signatures.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	(manuscript unfoliated) 1r-93v (with extracts of another text replacing the ending on fols. 94r-97v)
Verse layout	1 column, 28 lines (4 stanzas) per page, with occasional error.
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	Outer margins; same script and ink as main text; partially trimmed; no paraphs but occasional flourished ascender; predominantly unruled but occasionally ruled interlinear or vertical bounding lines.
Titles	Section titles only, in same script and ink as main text, presented as glosses either in margin or squeezed in between stanzas in smaller writing.
Attributed author	None.
Decoration	Opens (fol. 1r) with two-line red lombardic capital with blue flourishes. The first initial of each stanza on this first leaf is flourished with elaborate penwork, gradually becomes less decorative. By line 806 all attempt at initials has been abandoned and a gap is left as if for a decorated initial, one line only, with the letter in the inner margin. Sometimes this too is dropped and stanzas are begun as a regular line. Stanzas on the first leaf only are marked with red paraphs with blue flourishes.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 36r. Two-line space for initial, not executed. No title. Several folios are missing prior to this point. The Dialogue is lacking the last stanza, but the absence of a catchword and presence of stub suggests that one leaf was added to the end of the quire and later lost.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 38v. Only 3 stanzas on this page, beginning where the second would normally start with an empty space of one stanza at the top. Space for a two-line initial, not executed. No title.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	End of text missing, substituted by extract from Lydgate <i>Fall of Princes</i> .
Ruling	No ruling for main text, marginal glosses occasionally ruled.
Boards (mm)	215 x 150
Written space (mm)	130-150 x 100

London, British Library, Sloane MS 1212 (Sl1)

Date	1450-1500
Material	paper with parchment fols. 1-4, 101-2
Contents	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> ; recycled flyleaves from a Lydgate anthology.
Collation	Gutters trimmed and leaves attached individually. Formerly ii paper flyleaves + iii parchment flyleaves + 1(4, recycled parchment, fols. 1-4), 2-9(12, paper, fols. 5-101), 10(2, recycled parchment, fols. 102-103) + I paper flyleaf + ii later paper flyleaves. Catchwords present. Quire signatures visible.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	5r-100r
Verse layout	1 column, 28 lines (4 stanzas) per page consistently.
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	Outer margins; same script and ink as main text; occasionally underlined; unruled.
Titles	Running titles in upper outer corner of every page, in the same script and ink as main text, without rubrication or paraphs.
Attributed author	'Thomas Hoccleve de regimine principis', 16 th century hand, fol. 5r.
Decoration	Marginal drawings of flowers and creatures in the first 4 leaves, and last 2 leaves (recycled parchment flyleaves). <i>Regiment</i> opens (fol. 5r) with space for four-line initial, not executed. Spaces for un-executed initials throughout. First letter of every stanza is flourished and marked with inconsistent marginal paraphs. Large insignia at the end of the text with ownership mark 'Lucas endure'. Numerous manicules throughout.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Incipit at foot of fol. 38r, occupying the space of the fourth stanza, 'Incipit prologus de principum regimine'. Prologue begins at the top of fol. 38v with space for a three-line initial, not executed.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fols. 40v-41r. Title at foot of previous page where Prologue ends, 'de principe regimine'. <i>Regiment</i> Proper begins at top of next page with space for three-line initial, not executed.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/Envoy division	Fol. 99v. Space for a two-line initial, not executed. Title 'Verba compilatoris ad librum'.
Ruling	Ruled in brown ink, frame only.
Boards (mm)	215 x 145
Written space (mm)	145 x 85

London, British Library, Sloane MS 1825 (Sl2)

Date	1440-1460
Material	parchment
Contents	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> . Later fifteenth century additions: three stanzas of verse on front flyleaf (1v), <i>The lamentacioun off quene Elyzabeth</i> (88v-89v), 1 stanza of <i>Fall of Princes</i> (Bk. II, lines 4432-8, 90v).
Collation	iii paper flyleaves + 1(1, flyleaf singleton, fol. 1r), 2-12(8, fols. 2-89), 13(2, rear flyleaves, fols. 90-91) + iv paper flyleaves. Catchwords present. Quire signatures mostly cropped.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	2r-88r
Verse layout	1 column, 33-34 lines per page inconsistently.
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	Some glosses, typically the longer ones, written in line with the poem and rubricated; shorter glosses to authorities and 'nota bene's written in outer margin, rubricated and marked with a blue paraph; all in same script as main text; unruled.
Titles	None present.
Attributed author	None.
Decoration	Text opens (fol. 2r) with four-sided illuminated bar border in red, blue, and gold with spraywork and leaves in red, blue, and green. <i>Regiment</i> begins with seven-line blue lombardic capital on gold ground with same leaf design. Thereafter stanzas marked with alternating red and blue paraphs (indented), with first letter of stanza struck through with red. Occasional two-line blue lombardic initials with red flourishes to mark both textual divisions and other extracts. Catchwords in red frame (once rubricated, fol. 57v).
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 33r. Space of one line left blank. Prologue opens with three-line red and blue lombardic capital with red and blue flourishes extending into the vertical and lower horizontal margins to form a two-sided border. No title.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 35v. Two-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes that extend up and down the vertical margin. No title.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Fol. 88r. Two-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes. Space of one line left blank. No title. <i>Regiment</i> Proper ends with 'Amen' gloss.
Ruling	Ruled in brown ink for 33 long lines with frame.
Boards (mm)	284 x 180
Written space (mm)	175 x 110

London, Society of Antiquaries, MS 134 (So)

Date	1440-1460
Material	parchment
Contents	Lydgate, <i>Life of Our Lady</i> (1r-30r); couplets on governance (30r); Gower, <i>Confessio amantis</i> (30v-249r); Latin verses (249v); Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> (250r-283v); Walton trans. Boethius, <i>Consolation of Philosophy</i> (283v-297v).
Collation	ii paper flyleaves + 1-16(8, fols. 1-128), 17(8-1, 7th excised with loss of text, fols. 129-136), 18-37(8, fols. 137-297) + ii paper flyleaves. At least 1 quire lost before the first quire, and at least 4 from the end. No catchwords present. A few quire signatures visible.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	250r-283v
Verse layout	2 columns, 41 lines per column consistently.
Script	Anglicana.
Glosses	Predominantly in line with text, rubricated and without paraph; occasionally in outer margin, rubricated and with blue paraph; all in same script as main text; In line glosses ruled, marginal glosses unruled.
Titles	Running titles: from fol. 262r (beginning of <i>Regiment</i> Proper) until fol. 274r 'Occlef' in top margin of every page. Otherwise, section titles are presented as glosses, in line with the text and rubricated.
Attributed author	'Explicit Thomas Occlef', fol. 283v.
Decoration	Spaces left for miniatures at fols. 1v (<i>Life of Our Lady</i>) and 20r, and at fol. 34v (before the <i>Confessio amantis</i> Prologue). <i>Regiment</i> opens (fol. 250r) with a cut out decorated (possibly historiated) initial M, likely of five lines, with a four-sided bar border with red, blue, and green leaf details. Excised initials on fols. 8v and 250r may have been historiated. Three-line gold initials on red and blue ground with white detailing throughout all texts. Occasional long nine-line initials in margin in <i>Confessio</i> . One-line initials picked out in alternating red and blue with alternating coloured flourishes, sporadically before the <i>Regiment</i> and marking every stanza in the text. Sections marked with three-sided bar borders with flowers, leaves, and sprigs in reds, greens, and blues, with built in four-line initials in the same style, also at textual divisions in other texts (e.g. books of the <i>Confessio</i>) and beginnings of texts.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 262v. Four-line illuminated initial on blue ground with white details, with two vertical sprigs extending up and down the vertical margin. Marginal note, by scribe but in a pale ink used for correcting, 'Incipit Occlef'.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 263r. No distinction.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Fol. 283r. No title or rubric, presented as a continuation of the text.
Ruling	Ruled in brown ink for 41 long lines in two columns with frame each. Ruling does not carry through space between columns. When a line is missed, e.g. fol. 41r, an indented line is ruled in the lower margin for the additional text.
Boards (mm)	401 x 290
Written space (mm)	285 x 205

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.22 (Tc)

Date	1420-1450
Material	parchment with paper flyleaves (variation in quality of parchment)
Contents	Lydgate, <i>Life of Our Lady</i> (3r-109v), <i>Pees Makith Plenty</i> (109v); Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> (111r-208r).
Collation	i paper flyleaf + i parchment stub, recycled + i paper flyleaf + i parchment stub, recycled + 1-13(8, fols. 1-104), 14(6, fols. 105-110), 15-26(8, fols. 111-206), 27(8-4, third, fourth, sixth, eighth excised without loss of text, fols. 207-210) + i parchment stub, recycled + ii paper flyleaf + i parchment stub, recycled. Catchwords present. Some quire signatures visible.
<i>Regiment</i> folios	111r-208r
Verse layout	1 column, 28 lines (4 stanzas) per page consistently.
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	Outer margin; before fol. 1401r: rubricated with blue paraph that extends the height of the gloss; after fol. 141r: in same ink as main text with alternating red and blue paraph in same style (often wrong); all glosses unruled, but predominantly use the row of pricking on the outer margin as a vertical bounding line, and occasionally use the outer margin from the reverse of the page as a vertical bounding line.
Titles	None by scribe, but an early hand adds running titles to the upper outer margins of fols. 151-154, 164v, 173r, and 176r.
Attributed author	'Thomas hocclefe', 16 th century, fol. 111r.
Decoration	Opens (fol. 111r) with four-line blue and red lombardic capital with blue and red flourishes and a bar border that extends to three sides of page. The first letter of every stanza is an alternating red and blue lombardic capital with guide letter still visible (with frequent mistakes: e.g. 169r, 171r, 190r); smaller lombardic capitals mark the Dialogue to Prologue division and Prologue to <i>Regiment</i> Proper division. Two-line blue lombardic capital at ll. 3102 and 2185 (not a point of textual division), and at section divisions.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Prologue begins at top of fol. 147r, after Dialogue ends at foot of fol. 146v, with a four-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes that extend into the vertical margin.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 149r-v. Prologue ends at foot of recto and <i>Regiment</i> Proper begins at top of verso with a two-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Fol. 208r. Two-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes, and title 'verba compilatoris ad librum'.
Ruling	Ruled in plummet for 28 long lines with frame, glosses unruled.
Boards (mm)	242 x 210
Written space (mm)	160 x 110

New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS 493 (Ya)

Date	1450-1475
Material	paper with parchment outer and inner bifolium of each quire
Contents	Hoccleve, <i>Complaint</i> (1r-6v), <i>Dialogue</i> (6v-16v), <i>Tale of Jereslaus Wife</i> (16v-29r), <i>Learn to Die</i> (29r-41v), prose lesson (41v-42r), <i>Tale of Jonathas</i> (42r-51v); Lydgate, <i>Danse of Macabre</i> (51v-60v); Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> (61r-133v).
Collation	i paper flyleaf + i parchment flyleaf + 1-4(14, fols. 1-56), 5(14-1, eleventh leaf excised without loss of text, fols. 57-69), 6-8(14, fols. 70-111), 9(12-1, fourth leaf excised with loss of text, fols. 112-122), 10(14-2, twelfth and fourteenth leaves excised without loss of text, fols. 123-134) + i paper flyleaf. Catchwords predominantly present (absent on Q3), in frame. Leaf signatures visible on all but first quire, some partially trimmed.
<i>Regiment folios</i>	61r-133v
Verse layout	1 column, between 35-38 lines per page inconsistently
Script	Secretary.
Glosses	Outer margin; rubricated and marked with a blue paraph that extends the length of the gloss; sometimes one paraph covers multiple glosses (eg. fol. 87r); in same script as main text; unruled.
Titles	Section titles only, presented as glosses, in the same script as the main text but rubricated, and marked with a blue paraph. First missing but present thereafter.
Attributed author	'Explicit Egidius de regimine principum', fol. 133v.
Decoration	Text opens (fol. 61r) with four-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes. Two-line initials in the same style appear throughout in non-structural stanzas. Rhymes braced throughout. The first line of each stanza is marked with alternating red and blue paraphs. The first initial of every page is struck through with red. Red lines divide each stanza from the next. Bottom line braces occasionally flourished. Ascenders on top lines and descenders on bottom lines occasionally flourished, notably in an elaborate zig-zag style on some bottom lines.
Dialogue/Prologue division	Fol. 88r. Two-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes. No title.
Prologue/ <i>Regiment</i> Proper division	Fol. 90r. Two-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes that descend into the lower margin. No title.
<i>Regiment</i> Proper/ Envoy division	Fol. 133v. Two-line blue lombardic capital with red flourishes. Title in margin presented as gloss to 'Verba compilatoris'
Ruling	Ruled in brown ink, frame only. Unlike Bo scribe, never writes below the bottom line. Catchwords unruled.
Boards (mm)	300 x 215
Written space (mm)	205-220 x 100-108

APPENDIX 1.1

Ry3Du variants – lines 1–2800

A is taken as the lemma. Variants are only recorded when Ry3 and Du are the only witnesses in the corpus, with the exception of occasional agreement with the conflated manuscript Sj. I have not recorded variants in spelling, as neither Ry3 or Du are holograph copies and there can be no certainty that they replicate the spellings of the author's original. In the tables below, '/' indicates omission and blankness indicates agreement with the lemma. In lines 1–2,800 there are 73 clearly identifiable variants witnessed in Ry3Du – the full list is at the end of this appendix.

Some variants correct the metrical count of the line, either by addition:

289	A	In	forme	of	brede	he	leued	noȝt	at	al	
	Du		fourme		bred			not	/		
	Ry3				breed		leeued	nat	/		
990	A	Art	hath	no	foo	but	swyche	folk	vnkunnynge		
	Du						/	folkis	vnkonnynge		
	Ry3				fo		/	folkes	vnkonnynge		

Or by omission:

955	A	ffor	they	that	han	by fore	knowen	me			
	Du		þey	þat		before	yknowen				
	Ry3			þat		beforn	I knowe				
356	A	Importably	lat	vs	doo	as	sche	byt			
	Du		/	/	do we		she	bit			
	Ry3	Importably	/	/	do we		she	bit			
686	A	And	by	my	purs	the	same	I	may	say	here
	Du		be			þe			/		
	Ry3								/	seye	
1307	A	Suffryth	hys	neyghburgh	by	hym	sterue	and	dye		
	Du	Suffrith	his	neyȝghbour	be	him	/	/	die		

	Ry3	Suffrith	his	negheburgh		him	/	/	die		

Some variants transpose word order without altering the sense or metre of the line, e.g.:

130	A	Al	wronge	ys	wrestid	by	ow3t	I	se	can	
	Du	Is al	wrong	/	wrastid	bi					
	Ry3	Is al	wrong	/	wrestid	bi	ought				
268	A	he	þe	streyt	wey	to	dyscomfort	men	ledeþ		
	Du		/	stre3t þe			discomfort		ledith		
	Ry3		/	streght the	way		discomfort		ledith		
420	A	Thys	worthy	men	mowe	it	wel	vse	&	haue	
	Du	The	worthi	men wel			/				
	Ry3	The		men wel			/		and		
693	A	But	now	I	knowe	and	se	hym	in	thys	glas
	Du				se and knowe	/	/	him		þis	
	Ry3				se and knowe	/	/	him		this	

In one case, words are transposed across a couplet:

2267	A	That	to	vs	Romayns	were	yt	couenable			
	Du					were	it	profitable			
	Ry3					were	it	profitable			
2268	A	Swyche	an	eschaunge	but	vnprofitable					
	Du	Such				vn couenable					
	Ry3	swich		eschange		vn couenable					

Some variants tinker with phrasing without compromising the rhyme scheme and metre, e.g.:

28	A	Where	seuretee	for	to	a byde	hyr	caste			
	Du	Where þat	surete	forto	/	abide	hir				
	Ry3	Where þat	surete	forto	/		hir				
222	A	Bones	of	man	dryeth	by	hys	duresse			
	Du				drieth	bi	his	excesse			
	Ry3				drieth		his	excesse			
465	A	Sodenly	in	the	street	what	help	schal	he		
	Du	Sodenli		þe	way			shal			
	Ry3	Sodeynly			way			shal			
1179	A	Than	he	was	what	to	gete	a	noble	fame	
	Du	Thanne							worthi		
	Ry3								worthy		

Other variants make substitutions that affect the implication of the line, e.g.:

1439	A	Som	of	hem	ben	as	borel	folkes	be		
	Du	Some		ham	been		oper	folkes			
	Ry3	Some			been		othir				
1957	A	Vn	do	And	lat	yt	at	his	large	go	
	Du	Vndo	/	&		him					
	Ry3	Vndo	/			him					
2730	A	And	lost	ys	al	yf	that	absent	be	sche	
	Du			is		whan	þat		is	she	
	Ry3			is		whan	þat		is	she	

Or simply change the tense of the line, e.g.:

1586	A	3e	helden	And	children	be	goten	þerynne			
	Du	Ye	holden			ar		þer ynne			
	Ry3	Yee	heelden			arn		thynne			
2274	A	3our	prisoners	ben	myghty	men	and	wys			
	Du	Your		arn	my3ti			wise			
	Ry3	Youre	prisoners	arn				wyse			

Others clarify the subject, as if in fear that the subject of the previous line could feasibly be misunderstood as the subject of this line:

2048	A	Vn	to	hys	herte	stak	and	sat	so	neer	
	Du	Vnto	/	this clerkis		/	/	seet			
	Ry3	Vnto	/	this clerkes		/	/				

Several lines are re-written entirely:

2463	A	Purposyth	fully	ffor	to	fare	and	wende			
	Du	Banysshid	is	retourne	whan	he	may	/			
	Ry3	Bannysshid	is	retourne	whan	she	may	/			
2464	A	So	ys	oure	reule	vnthryfty	and	vntheende			
	Du	And	wrong	hir	force	puttith	in	assay			
	Ry3	And	wrong	hir	force	puttith	in	assay			

There are also gloss variants – glosses that are only witnessed in Ry3Du, or phrasing that is unique to Ry3Du, which are plausibly authorial additions to the later draft:

1128 Gloss	A	Nota
	Du	Nota qualitatem quidam homo admirans quod Regi Cicilie de seruiebatam in vasis t(?)reis pecijt etc quare ita fecit et qualitur Rex respondebat
	Ry3	Nota qualitatem quidam homo admirans quod Regi Cecili de seruiebatam in mensa de vasis t(?)reis pecijt a Reg quare ita fecit & qualitur Rex respondebat etc
1343 gloss	A	/
	Du	Occulta sunt iudicia dei

	Ry3	Occulta sunt iudicia dei etc
1926 gloss	A	Seneca libro vijo de beneficijs <i>Summa loca tenentibus maxime est vna omnium contencio quis blandissime fallat</i>
	Du	<i>Summa loca tenentibuꝝ maxime offiu(?) vna omnium contencio quis blandissime fallat etc</i>
	Ry3	<i>Summa loca tenentibus maxime offiu(?) vna omnium contencio quis blandissime fallat etc</i>
2100	A	Ecclesiastici ii <i>Moritur doctus simul et indoctus</i>
	Du	<i>Scriptum est Moritur doctus simul et indoctus</i>
	Ry3	<i>Scriptum est Moritur doctus simul et indoctus</i>
2647 gloss	A	/
	Du	De iusticia Ducis henrici
	Ry3	De iusticia Ducis henrici

Full list of lines 1–2800 variants:

Line	MS	Transcription									
11	A	No	rycher	man	was	nowhere	in	no	coost		
	Du		richer		þer	livid			cost		
	Ry3		rycher		ther	lyved					
		(Ra1 same variant)									
28	A	Where	seuretee	for	to	a byde	hyr	caste			
	Du	Where þat	surete	forto	/	abide	hir				
	Ry3	Where þat	surete	forto	/		hir				
103	A	That	hys	eres	a vayle	hym	nat	a	pere		
	Du		not	availeth	his eris	him	/	appere	/		
	Ry3	þat	nat	auaile	his eres	him	/	/	pere		

130	A	Al	wronge	ys	wrestid	by	owȝt	I	se	can	
	Du	Is al	wrong	/	wrastid	bi					
	Ry3	Is al	wrong	/	wrestid	bi	ought				
136	A	how	he	spak	to	me	as	ye	herd	me	seye
	Du	And		spac					herde		say
	Ry3	As		spake					herde		seie
222	A	Bones	of	man	dryeth	by	hys	duresse			
	Du				drieth	bi	his	excesse			
	Ry3				drieth		his	excesse			
268	A	he	þe	streȝt	wey	to	dyscomfort	men	ledeþ		
	Du		/	streȝt þe			discomfort		ledith		
	Ry3		/	streght the	way		discomfort		ledith		
289	A	In	forme	of	brede	he	leued	noȝt	at	al	
	Du		fourme		bred			not	/		
	Ry3				breed		leeued	nat	/		
		(Co also contains this omission, but is the only other witness and clearly scribal not "authorial")									
335	A	Schol	they	desyre	for	to	ben	egal			
	Du	Shul	þey	desire	forto	/	be				
	Ry3	Shul		desire	forto	/	be				
356	A	Importably	lat	vs	doo	as	sche	byt			
	Du		/	/	do we		she	bit			
	Ry3	Importablely	/	/	do we		she	bit			
420	A	Thys	worthy	men	mowe	it	wel	vse	&	haue	
	Du	The	worthi	men wel			/				
	Ry3	The		men wel			/		and		

648	A	In	pruide	&	lechery	was	al	my	pouȝt		
	Du	On	pride	and	lecherie						
	Ry3	On	pride	and	lecherie						
663	A	Where for	I	now	repente	wonder	sore				
	Du	Wherfore	/		repent	me ful					
	Ry3	Wherfore	/		repentith	me ful					
676	A	And	in	my	purs	so	grete	sommes	be		
	Du	/			purs eek		smale	summes			
	Ry3	/	In		purs eek		smole	summes			
		('smale' variant not unique)									
686	A	And	by	my	purs	the	same	I	may	say	here
	Du		be			þe			/		
	Ry3								/	seye	
693	A	But	now	I	knowe	and	se	hym	in	thys	glas
	Du				se and knowe	/	/	him		þis	
	Ry3				se and knowe	/	/	him		this	
748	A	And	I	shal	herken	as	þou	hast	don	me	
	Du			shal	harken þe				/		
	Ry3			shal	harken thee		thow		/		
770	A	As	ȝe	han	don	so	sore	I	was	aggreggyd	
	Du	As þat	ye		/			y		aggreggid	
	Ry3	As þat	ye		/					aggreggid	
955	A	ffor	they	that	han	by fore	knownen	me			
	Du		þey	þat		before	yknownen				
	Ry3			þat		beforn	I knowe				

	Ry3								worthy		
1205	A	But	thys	pouert	mene	conseiled	her				
	Du		this	mene	pouert	counseled					
	Ry3			mene	pouert	conseillid					
1307	A	Suffryth	hys	neyghburgh	by	hym	sterue	and	dye		
	Du	Suffrith	his	ney3ghbour	be	him	/	/	die		
	Ry3	Suffrith	his	negheburgh		him	/	/	die		
1343 gloss	A	/									
	Du	Occulta sunt iudicia dei									
	Ry3	Occulta sunt iudicia dei etc									
1378	A	I	not	but	call	her	frende	whan	þat	sche	esyþ
	Du				calle	hir	frend		she	man	esith
	Ry3				calle	hir			she	man	esith
1410	A	Chirche	or	prouendre	vnnethe	hem	may	eschape			
	Du			prouendre		he	/	ascape			
	Ry3			prouendre			/				
1435	A	And	what	þer	of	comeþ	gredyliche	he	hentyp		
	Du	But		þer		comyth	gredily		hentith		
	Ry3	But		therof	/	comth	greedelich		henteth		
1439	A	Som	of	hem	ben	as	borel	folkes	be		
	Du	Some		ham	been		oper	folkes			
	Ry3	Some			been		othir				
1456	A	But	don	yt	was	I	took	on	me	þat	charche
	Du			it		on	me	took	y	þe	charge

	Ry3		doon	it		on	me	took	I	the	charge
1586	A	3e	helden	And	children	be	goten	þerynne			
	Du	Ye	holden			ar		þer ynne			
	Ry3	Yee	heelden			arn		thynne			
1618	A	Pas	ouer	thys	thou	seydest	theencheson				
	Du	No force of	/	this		saidist	þencheson				
	Ry3	No force of	/	this		seidest	thencheson				
1670	A	Not	worþ	a	straw	for	also	moot	I	þen	
	Du	Nat	worth		leek		al so			theen	
	Ry3	Nat	woorth		leek			mot		theen	
1775	A	Now	sone	and	though	I	longe	haue	byden		
	Du				þou3	y	haue	longe	abiden		
	Ry3						haue	longe	abiden		
		(Hn1)									
1926 gloss	A	Seneca libro vijo de beneficijs <i>Summa loca tenentibus maxime est vna omnium contencio quis blandissime fallat</i>									
	Du	<i>Summa loca tenentibu3 maxime offiu(?) vna omnium contencio quis blandissime fallat etc</i>									
	Ry3	<i>Summa loca tenentibus maxime offiu(?) vna omnium contencio quis blandissime fallat etc</i>									
1929	A	They	stryuen	who	best	ryng	schal	the	belle		
	Du		stryue		may	ringe	best	þe			
	Ry3				may	rynge	best		bell		
1957	A	Vn	do	And	lat	yt	at	his	large	go	
	Du	Vndo	/	&		him					
	Ry3	Vndo	/			him					
2047	A	Thrustynge	hys	welthe	durable	to	be				

	Du	Willinge	his								
	Ry3	Wilnyng	his								
		(Sj same variant)									
2048	A	Vn	to	hys	herte	stak	and	sat	so	neer	
	Du	Vnto	/	this clerkis		/	/	seet			
	Ry3	Vnto	/	this clerkes		/	/				
2100	A	Ecclesiastici ii Moritur doctus simul et indoctus									
	Du	Scriptum est Moritur doctus simul et indoctus									
	Ry3	Scriptum est Moritur doctus simul et indoctus									
2267	A	That	to	vs	Romayns	were	yt	couenable			
	Du					were	it	profitable			
	Ry3					were	it	profitable			
2268	A	Swyche	an	eschaunge	but	vnprofitable					
	Du	Such				vncouenable					
	Ry3	swich		eschange		vncouenable					
2274	A	3our	prisoners	ben	myghty	men	and	wys			
	Du	Your		arn	my3ti			wise			
	Ry3	Youre	prisoners	arn				wyse			
		(Ra1 same variant)									
2305	A	Purposynge	him	bete	yt	to	the	erthe	a doun		
	Du	Purposinge	hem		it		/	grounde			
	Ry3		hem		it		/	grouwde			
		(omission not unique)									
2309	A	That	to	this	kyng	somtye	had	maister	be		
	Du			pis	king	hadde	whilom				

2464	A	So	ys	oure	reule	vnthryfty	and	vntheende			
	Du	And	wrong	hir	force	puttith	in	assay			
	Ry3	And	wrong	hir	force	puttith	in	assay			
		(Sj same variant)									
2481	A	And	loue	as	hertly	as	he	can	or	may	
	Du				hertely		þat he	/	/		
	Ry3						þat he	/	/		
2570	A	I	fynde	how	that	Theodorus	Sireene				
	Du		rede		þat		Sireene				
	Ry3		rede		þat						
2577	A	Nouȝt	rekke	I	though	I	rote	an	hy	or	lowe
	Du	Not	recke	y	forto	/	rose	on	hie		
	Ry3	Nat			forto	/		on			
2595	A	And	the	duk	thus	counsaylled	he	&	redde		
	Du		þus þe	duke	/	counselid					
	Ry3		thus the		/	conseilled		and			
2631	A	The	senat	clept	and	þys	vnto	hem	tolde		
	Du					al þis	to				
	Ry3					al this	to				
2647 gloss	A	/									
	Du	De iusticia Ducis henrici									
	Ry3	De iusticia Ducis henrici									
2730	A	And	lost	ys	al	yf	that	absent	be	sche	
	Du			is		whan	þat		is	she	

	Ry3			is		whan	þat		is	she	
2770	A	Schulde	men	fynde	so	iust	gouernaunce				
	Du	Sholde	a man								
	Ry3	Sholde	a man				gouernance				
2800	A	Wole	vs	destroie	by	contynaunce					
	Du	Wil	/	destroie vs	bi	contynuaunce					
	Ry3		/	destroie us		contynuaunce					

APPENDIX 1.2

Transcription of Ra1 variants from the first 1,200 lines. Taking A as the lemma.

Substitutions:

- 11 No rycher man was nowhere in no coost A] No rycher man **ther lyved** in no coost Ra1 (variant also witnessed in DuRy3)
- 94 The place eischewyt he where as ioie ys A] The place escheweth he where that **myrth** is Ra1
- 119 As he that was bareyn of thouȝtes glade A] As he that was **all voide** of thoghtes glade Ra1
- 221 Salomon seyeth that sorwe and heuynesse A] Salomon seith that **wo** and heuynesse Ra1
- 225 He seyth as motthes to a cloth annoyen A] He seith eek as motthes **the** cloth annoyen Ra1
- 266 fforthy amende thou thy gouernaunce A] ffor **why** amend thou thy gouernance Ra1
- 302 Thys goode lorde hyȝte hym to be sweche a mene A] This **worthy** lord hight hym be suych a mene Ra1
- 344 Was yt not eke a moustre as a nature A] Was it not **ageyn the cours of kynde and** nature Ra1
- 424 On the grounde and the furroure þer in set A] On the grounde and the furrure in **it** set Ra1
- 471 And sum what more hys sleues vp to holde A] And sumwhat his **clothis** vp to holde Ra1
- 496 Wasted ys in outrageous array A] **Consumed** ys in outrageous array Ra1
- 596 ȝouthe ful smal reward hath to goodnesse A] youthe ful smal **regard** hath to goodnesse Ra1
- 600 To bachus Sygne and to the leuesel A] To Bachus **vyne** and to the leuesel Ra1
- 654 What so they were I wolde non eschue A] As **y the told** y wolde non eschue Ra1
- 672 No more good haue I þanne I stoned ynne A] **That** good more haue y non than y stoned ynne Ra1
- 691 In whyche I see may god my sauour A] In whiche y see may **lorde** my saveoure Ra1
- 692 Or pouert cam wist I noȝt what god was A] Or pouert came wist y nat what **pouert** was Ra1
- 698 My wyckyd lyf hath put al thys to flyghte A] My wykkid lyf hath put **hem** to **the** flighte Ra1
- 814 Telle on seyde he how ys yt wyth the how A] Tell on **quod** hee how is it with the how Ra1
- 835 And beyng in court wit gret peyne vnneth A] And being in court **may be payde** vnnethe Ra1
- 836 Am paid in elde and out of court I wene A] **Thanne in myn aye** and out of court y weene Ra1
- 959 My goost ys wrapped in an heuy drede A] My goost is wrapped in a **bisy** drede Ra1
- 967 He that neuere knewe the swetnesse of wele A] He that **in aventure** the swetnesse of wele Ra1
- 1188 Of wylful pouert but of indigence A] **In** wilful pouert but of indigence Ra1

Substitutions:

- 98 Is heuynes so to ioie a game A] Is heuynesse of thoght soo vnto game Ra1
(Variant also witnessed in Ad)
- 117 In to the felde I dressed me in hie A] In to the feeld I gan to hast and hie Ra1
- 279 ffor If he may the vnto dyspeir brynge A] ffor yf he may thee vnto meschief brynge Ra1
- 317 He heeld forþ hys oppynyon dampnable A] He held hym forth in his opinion dampnable Ra1
- 340 In hys goddis werke fele not a ryȝt A] In his goddis werke is ne feelee nat aright Ra1
- 572 Age ys a guerdoun to a creature A] Age is a guerdon given to a creature Ra1
- 720 And seyde I was a manly man wythalle A] And seide y was a manly man and I wight all Ra1
- 957 Who no good hath ys fer ys frendes froo A] Who so no good hath ys fer his freendis fro Ra1
- 1077 A geyn pouert heer after grucche I rede] A geyn pouert here after grucche un to y reede Ra1

Omissions:

- 327 But wolde god tho cristes foos echon A] But wold tho cristes foos echon Ra1
 487 But drapars and eke skynners in the toun A] But the drapers and skynners of the toun Ra1
 520 And ȝyt þey hem be cam Wonderly wel A] They yit hym by cam wondirly wel Ra1
 713 Helden wyth me what þat I wroght or seyde A] Heldyn with me what so y seyde Ra1

Transpositions:

- 332 ffor mannys reson may not preue oure sey A] ffor reson of man may nat preeue our sey Ra1
 402 He weneþ maken in myn heed to synke A] He weeneth make in to myn hert synke Ra1
 418 But not reporte I prey the in wardly A] But nat report y the preye hertily Ra1
 (Not the only ms with 'hertily' variant)
 623 ffor aght they couden preyen alle or wowe A] ffor aght they cowden all preye and wowe Ra1
 647 I was so proude I helde no man my pere A] y was so prowde no man held y my peere Ra1
 655 And ȝeres fele I continued so A] And feelee yeers y continued so Ra1
 689 Whan I knewe nat what pouert was to sey A] Whan y not know what pouert was to seye Ra1
 697 Hors and harneys fresch and lusty in syghte A] Hors and harneys lusty and fresh in sighte Ra1
 811 Vn to my crokyd feeble lymes olde A] Vn to my feeble crooked lymes olde Ra1
 977 In housbondrye I learned worth a myte A] Lernyd in husbondrie worth a myte Ra1

APPENDIX 2.1

Princeton University Library, MS Garrett 137: transcription of Index on ff.1r-2v.

<i>Fol.</i>	<i>Transcription</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Source</i>
1r	A Augustinius volue vitam salvatoris a tempore sue nativitatis vsque ad crucis patabulum et non . invenies in ea nisi stigmata paupertatis Numquid ergo hoc est melior deo etc	Reflect on the life of our Savior from the time of his birth to his torture on the Cross, and you will not find in it anything except the stigma of poverty. Is man therefore better than God	Gloss from l.1079 (as from Augustinius – actually from Petrus Comestor, PL 198, col.1746C)
	Bernardus Nonne magna abusio est & nimis Magna ubi dives esse velit vilis est vermiculus propter quem reus magestatis & dominus Sabaoth dignatus est voluntarie pauper fieri	Bernard, Is it not a great abuse, even excessively great, that where he wanted to be rich, a vile worm, on whose account the God of majesty and the Lord Sabaoth deigns to become a pauper voluntarily	Gloss from l.1086 (as from St. Bernard of Clairvaux – <i>Sermons on Easter</i> , PL 183, sermo 3, col.288D)
	C Seneca in proverbis Securus enim a nocturnis furibus dormit pauper etiam si claustra non Muniat diuiti vero opes sue latronis semper ymaginantur occursum etc	Seneca in his Proverbs truly the poor man sleeps safe from nocturnal thieves though locks do not protect him; his wealth makes the rich man imagine the attack of a bandit	Gloss from l.1093 (as from Seneca – not found in his works)
	Item Seneca seculi potestas sine timore Nunquam est sed paupertas semper segura est	Likewise Seneca the power of the secular world is never without fear, but poverty is always secure	Gloss from l.1114 (as from Seneca – not found in his works)
	Jeronimus dicit adulterium secundum locum habet in penis etc	Jerome says adultery occupies the second place among punishments	Gloss from l.1692 (as from Jerome – actually Ivo of Chartres, <i>Decretum</i> , PL 161, col.604D)
	Genesis xij Cumque prope esset vt ingrederetur egiptum dixit Saray uxori suo Novi quod pulcra Sis Mulier & quod cum te viderunt Egipcii Dicturi sunt vxor illius es et interficient me et te reservabunt Dic ergo Obsecro quod Soror mea sis . Vt bene sit mihi propter te & vivet anima mea ob gratiam tui etc	Genesis 12 And when he was near to enter into Egypt, he said to Sarah his wife I know that thou art a beautiful woman, And that when the Egyptians shall see thee, they will say she is his wife and they will kill me, and keep thee. Say, therefore, I pray thee, that thou art my sister, that I may be well used for thee, and that my soul may live for thy sake, etc	Gloss from l.1695 (as from Genesis 11–13 – correct)
	Genesis 20 Redde vxorem viro suo Si autem nolueris scito quod morte Morieris tu & omnia que tua sunt Item in concluderat dominus omnem	Genesis 20 Restore to the man his wife, for he is a prophet and he shall pray for thee and thou shalt live, but if thou wilt not know that thou shalt surely	Combination of 3 glosses: ll.1737, 1742, 1744 (as from Genesis – all correct)

	vulvam domus Abimalech <i>propter</i> Saram vxorem Abrahe R ii <i>capitulus</i> x & xi	die, thou and all that are thine Likewise for the Lord had closed up every womb of the house of Abimelech on account of Sara Abraham's wife 2 Kings chapters 10 & 11	
	Deutronomi xxvii Maledictus qui dormierit cum vxore proximi etc . Ad Corinthos vi Neque fornicarii neque ydolis <i>servientes</i> neque adulteri regnum dei possidebunt etc	Deuteronomy 27 Cursed be he that sleeps with his neighbor's wife To the Corinthians 6 Neither fornicators nor idolaters nor adulterers shall possess the kingdom of God	Combination of 2 glosses: ll.1758, 1759-60 (as from Deuteronomy and Corinthians – all correct)
1v	E Augustinus dicit quod misericordia est aliene miserie ex corde vera compassio Et hec virtus consistit in duobus . <i>scilicet</i> . in dimittendo etc	Augustine says that mercy is true compassion from the heart for the misery of another and this virtue consists of two parts, that is, giving and forgiving	Gloss from l.3312 (as from Augustine – correct, <i>City of God</i> , CCSL 47, Book 9, ch. 5)
	Matthaei vii Qui enim dimittit Juriam Et si peccaverit ipse dimittetur ei vnde dominus in evangelio Date etc	Matthew 7 For he who forgives an injury even if he shall not have sinned himself shall be forgiven for it Whence the Lord in the Gospel	Gloss from l.3319 (as from Matthew – correct)
	Dimitte etc Sed qui dimittit et non dat Et si plene non operatus est eam Meliorem tamen partem misericordie etc	Give etc but he who forgives but does not give, even if he has not fully worshipped, he will have the better part of mercy	Continuation of the gloss from l.3319 (as from Matthew – correct)
	Ambrosius quis fidelis sit Sobrius Castus & aliis virtutibus oneratus tamen misericors non est misericordiam non meretur dicit enim apostolus Iacobus 2 Iudicium sine misericordia illi qui non facit misericordiam etc	Ambrose he who is faithful and sober and chaste and filled with other virtues, if nevertheless mercy is lacking, does not deserve mercy for the Apostle James 2 for judgment without mercy to him who does not show mercy	Gloss from l.3326 (as from Ambrose – actually Leo the Great, <i>Tractatus septem et nonaginta</i> , tract. 10, in PL 54, col. 164A)
	F Ait beatus Bernardus Ille maxime deum imitatur qui nichill iudicauerit preciosius quam miserere Matthaei xi Clamat reus misericordiam volo qui quod vult reus deo negat a deo sibi quod desiderat vult negari dicit Seneca quid Rex apium omnia sine Aculio est etc	The blessed Bernard says he especially Imitates God who shall have judged nothing more precious than mercy Matthew 11 God called, I want mercy; who denies to God what God wants, wants to be denied what he desires from God, Seneca says that the king of bees is without a sting	Combination of 3 glosses: ll.3368 (as from Bernard – not found in his works), 3372 (as from Matthew 11 (misreading of ii) – actually Peter Chrysologus, eighth sermon, PL 52, col.210C), and 3375 (as from Senec – <i>Chessbook</i>)

	G Gregorius patientia it vera est aliena mala equanimiter pati & contra eum qui mala rogat nullo dolore moreri etc	Gregory true patience is to suffer ills with equanimity and not to be stung with resentment against him who inflicts evil things	Gloss from l.3459 (as from Gregory – correct)
	Socrates dicit Nemo bene sapiens est qui patientiam non habet viri enim boni est scire pater etc	Socrates says No one is truly wise who lacks patience, for a good man is to know his father (should say ‘for it is good for man to suffer’) etc	Gloss from l.3463 (as from Socrates – correct)
	H Regum xvi venit ergo Rex david vsque Baturim & ecce egrediebatur etc Dixit Autem Abusay filius Saruie Quare maledicit carnis iste etc Vadam & Amputabo etc Et Ait Rex dimitte eum vt maledicat iuxta preceptum domini Si forte respiciat dominus afflictionem meam et reddet michi bonum pro malediccione hac hodierna etc de paciencia Job de paciencia Regis Alexandri etc	Kings 16 and King David came as far as Bahurim and behold there came out etc. And Abisai the son of Sarvia said to the king Why should this dead dog curse etc. I will go and cut off [his head] etc. And the king said let him alone and let him curse as the Lord hath bidden him. Perhaps the Lord may look upon my affliction, and the Lord may render me good for the cursing of this day, etc. concerning the patience of Job the patience of King Alexander	Combination of glosses from ll.3480, 3485, 3487, 3496, all pertaining to the same quotation from 2 Kings 16
	I Basilus humilis licet habitum vilis sit gloriosus tamen virtutibus Superbus Autem si decorus videatur aspectu tamen operibus vilis est etc ysiodorus Quamvis summus est humilitatem sue Salamon Quanta maior es etc Humilia te in omnibus Cesarius numquam sine caritate vera humilitas	Basil although the humble man is lowly in appearance, nevertheless he is glorious in virtues. But the proud man even though he seem honorable in appearance, nevertheless is vile in his deeds etc. Isidore Although you are high, hold on to humililty. Solomon By how much greater you are etc humble yourself in everything. Caesarius without charity, true humility never was nor could be Isidore No reward is equal to charity for charity holds the foundation of all virtues. They separate themselves from the kingdom of God they who separate themselves from charity. Anselm And just as without a path no one reaches his destination, so without charity we are not able to walk properly on the path of God. Gregory in his Moralia only keeping charity proves us to be disciples of eternal all-powerful God.	Combination of 7 glosses: ll.3585 (as from Basil – <i>Liber scintillarum</i> , ch. 4, sentence 34, PL 88, col.609D), 3590 (as from Isidore – <i>Liber scintillarum</i> , ch. 4; PL 88, col.610A and 608D), 3592 (as from Cesarius – <i>Liber scintillarum</i> , PL 88, col. 610C), 3595 (as from Isidore – <i>Sententiarum Libri Tres</i> , Book 2, PL 83, col.603A, and Book 3, col.701C), 3599 (as from Anselm – <i>Liber Scintillarum</i> , ch. 1, sentence 20, PL 88, col.600B), 3606 (as from Gregory – <i>Moralia in Job</i> , Book 22, par. 11, PL 76, col.226B), and 3610.
2r	(cont.) aut fuerat aut poterat esse etc Isiodorus Nullum premium caritati equatur caritas enim virtutum omnium optinet principatum non A regno dei seperant qui semetipsos a caritate dissociant Anselmus Et sicut sine via nullus pervenit quo tendit ita sine caritate non recte ambulare non possumus deo via dicitur Gregorius in mortalibus omnipotentis & eterni dei nos esse discipulos sola custodia Caritatis probat. Scriptum est quicquid tibi contigit vnite		

bonitate maliciam nemo quippe <i>sanctorum</i> ad olescem gloriam in pacienciam <i>seruando</i> pervenit etc	It is written Whatever happens to you, I will not be malicious with goodness indeed no one reaches the celestial glory of the saints if not by observing patience etc	
Daniel vi Eadem nocte interfectus est	Daniel 6 The same night	First half of gloss from l.3844
Baltasar et Darius Medus successit in regno etc Rex xxv Cor Nabal Jocundum erat ebrius Nimmis Machabeorum xxviii Et cum inebriatus esset Symon & filii eius Surrexit Tholomeus etc Genesis xix Veni Inebriemus eum vinovt reservare possimus ex patre nostro semen Judith etc	Baltasar (was slain?) and Darius the Mede succeeded to the kingdom etc Kings 25 Nabal's heart was merry for he was very drunk Machabees 28 And when Simon and his sons had drunk plentifully, Ptolemy and his men rose up etc Genesis 19 Come let us make him drunk with wine that we may preserve the seed of our father The Book of Judith	Combination of 5 glosses: ll.3844 (as from Daniel – correct), 3851 (as from Kings – correct), 3852 (as from Machabees – correct), 3854 (as from Genesis), and 3858 (as from Judith – correct)
J Aristotulus de principum regimine . Largitate dicit Si vis virtutem Largitatis acquirere considera posse tuum tempora necessitatis & merita hominis etc Qui Aliter dat regulam transgreditur largitatis Qui largiter bona sua cominibus non indigen tibus nullam acquirit laudem & quicquid datur indignis perditur Et qui fundit vltra modum diuicias suas cito veniet ad amara litoria tota paupertatis & assimilatur illi qui victoriam super sedat inimicis suis etc	Aristotle on the Rule of Princes . On generosity says If you want to acquire the virtue of generosity, consider your powers, the extremity of the misfortune, and the merit of the man, etc. He who gives, then, sins in another way, and transgresses the rule of generosity: because he who gives his gifts to those who do not need him, acquires no praise, and whatever is given to the unworthy is lost etc	Combination of 2 glosses: ll.4124 (as from Aristotle – <i>Secretum Secretorum</i> part I, ch. 5, p.43, lines 15 ff.), and 4131 (which continues to quote the <i>Secretum Secretorum</i>)
K Augustinus Quisquis metu Alicuius potestatis veritatem occultat iram dei super se provocat quia magis timet hominem quam deum libere veritatem predicantes & prave vite gesta arguentes non habent gratiam apud homines Augustinius melius est pro veritate pati supplicium quam pro adulatione beneficium etc	Augustine Whoever through fear of anyone's authority hides the truth provokes God's anger against him because he fears man more than God. Preaching the truth frankly and condemning the deeds of a wicked life does not earn thanks among men, etc. Augustine It is better to suffer punishment on behalf of truth than favor in reward for flattery, etc.	2 Glosses: ll.4453 (as from Augustine – actually Isidore, <i>Sententiarum libri tres</i> , PL 83, col.727C), and 4460 (as from Augustine – source not found)

	L Scriptum est Avaritia Amor immoderatus acquirendi temporalia idem pestis fere omnes homines sollicitans vnde propheta ait Jeremie vi Amor vsque ad maiorei omnes student Avaritiam etc Item Scriptum est Neque enim minus est criminis habenti tollere quam cum possit & habundans sis indigentibus necessaria denegare	It is written Avarice is immoderate love of acquiring temporal goods, and it is a plague disturbing all men Whence the Prophet Jeremiah vi From the greatest to the least of them, all are given to covetousness, etc. Likewise it is written Nor is it less of a crime to steal from the wealthy than to deny necessities to the indigent when you are able and wealthy etc	2 Glosses: ll.4495 and 4509 – both correct
	Scriptum est esurientium panis est quem tu dutines nudorum vestimentum est quod tu recludis etc Item Scriptum est Tantorum te scias invadere bona quantorum de possessione tua subvenire poteris & non vidis Proverbiarum xxj Qui obturat Aures suam ad clamorem pauperis ipse clamabit & non exaudietur etc Item xxvij qui odit Avaritiam longi fient dies eius etc Ecclesiastici nichil iniquius quam amare pecuniam Ambrosius of caveas ne intra oculos tuos includas salutem inopum	Likewise it is written the bread that you contain is for the hungry; the clothing that you lock away is for the naked etc. Likewise it is written The needy whose goods you snatch, you know that you yourself have enough to alleviate their wants but will not see Proverbs xxi He who stops his ear against the cry of the poor shall also cry himself and shall not be heard etc Proverbs xxvii he who hates covetousness shall prolong his days etc. Ecclesiasticus nothing is more wicked than to love money Ambrose Beware lest you confine within your coffers the means of relieving the indigent	Combination of 5 glosses: from ll.4523, 4528, 4530 (as from Proverbs – correct), 4535 (as from Ecclesiasticus – correct), and the first half of 4537 (as from Ambrose – <i>De officiis ministrorum</i> , PL 16, col.124D)
2v	P Secundo patet quod prodigalitas est magis propinqua virtuti quam Avaritia non liberalis non libenter recipit sue libenter dat quorum utrumque facit prodigus non dat ergo differt prodigus liberalitem nisi quod prodigus non dat vt debet & quibus debet nec cuius gratia debet quare causa prodigus non sit Amor pecunie sicut nec liberalis de facili prodigus fieri possit liberalis etc	Secondly he proves that prodigality is closer to virtue than avarice, for the liberal person does not receive freely but freely gives, both of which the extravagant person does; therefore the extravagant does not differ from liberality except that the extravagant person does not give as he ought and to whom he ought, nor for whose sake he ought. For this reason, though the extravagant person does not love money, he cannot easily become liberal, etc	Gloss from l.4614

APPENDIX 2.2

A transcription of all banderoles in CUL, MS Hh 4.11 (Hh) with the associated folio number and lines of the *Regiment* they accompany, with examples of other use before 1500 taken in part from Bartlett Jere Whiting and Helen Wescott Whiting, *Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases: From English Writings Mainly before 1500* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968).

<i>Proverb</i>	<i>Proverbial Context</i>
Be war stodi not to sore (1r)	No proverb source found, understood to be an imperative instruction.
Mercy passith alle vertuous thyng (10r)	Geoffrey Chaucer, <i>Canterbury Tales</i> (3089): ‘For gentil mercy oghte to passen right’; <i>Troilus and Criseyde</i> (iii 1282): ‘Here may men seen that mercy passeth right’. Thomas Usk, <i>Testament of Love</i> (iii, chapter 1): ‘Mercy bothe right and lawe passeth’. Anonymous lyric in London, BL, Add. MS 22283, ff. 128v-129r (last line before Explicit on f. 129r) ‘Now merci passeþ alle þing’. Carleton Brown, <i>English Lyrics of the XIII Century</i> (XIV, 125-131.12, refrain): ‘How Merci passeth alle thinge’. John Lydgate, <i>Life of Our Lady</i> (XVII 340.425): ‘But undir hope, that mercy passith Right’. <i>The Castle of Perseverance</i> (3064): ‘But mercy pase alle thyng’; (3153): Mercy pasyt mannys mysdede’.
In wele be wyis and war or þou be wo (21r)	Thomas Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> (907–9): ‘Be waar, rede I, thow standist on the ys. It hath been seen, as weleful and as wys As thow han slide’. Bartlett Jere Whiting and Helen Wescott Whiting, <i>Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases</i> lists 15 examples between 1381 and 1500 (W45).
In wele be war or thow be woo (78v)	Appears as a single monorhyming quatrain: ‘He is wise that can be ware ere him be woe’, in Dublin, Trinity College, Dublin 158, f. 48v; Edinburgh, NLS, Advocates’ 18.7.21, f. 151v; Hereford, Hereford Cathedral Library O.4.14, inside the front cover; London, BL, Harley MS 116, f. 170v; and Harley MS 2316, f. 26r. Appears as a proverbial tag translating a Latin proverb: ‘He is wyse & happy þat can be ware’, in London, BL, Addit. 12195, f. 114v. John Audelay, <i>de septem peccatis mortalibus</i> (1): ‘In wele be ware or þu be woo’, surviving in Oxford, BodL, Douce 302.
Thouȝ thou mow sle yit do nothyng so (21r)	Thomas Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> (3115): ‘Who-so that sleth, schal have the same chaunce’. Similar phrasing appears in the Northern Verse Psalter (Surtees Psalter), Psalm CXXXVIII: ‘If þou slaas, god, sinful þat be, Mensloers heldes fra me’, surviving in London, BL, Cotton Vespasian D.7 and printed in <i>Anglo-Saxon and Early English Psalter: Now First Printed from Manuscripts in the British Museum</i> , vol. II. (London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1847); the Northern Homily Cycle (Northern Passion), 740: ‘He þat slase, he sall be slayne’, surviving in Oxford, BodL, Rawl. poet. 175 and printed in <i>The Northern Passion (Supplement)</i> , eds. W. Heuser and F.A. Foster, Early English Text Society, o.s. 183 (Oxford: OUP, 1930; reprint 1971), 51–142; and in <i>Secretum secretorum</i> : ‘Soffyr hym þat sleth’, in Tokyo, Toshiyuki Takamiya, on permanent loan to New Haven,
If þou may sle yit do not so (60v)	

	Beinecke Library, Takamiya 38 and printed in <i>Secretum secretorum: Nine English Versions</i> , ed. M.A. Manzalaoui, vol. I, Early English Text Society, o.s. 276 (Oxford: OUP, 1977).
Say trouthe be not fals .’ Telle no talis (36r)	Whitting and Whitting, <i>Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases</i> , lists many proverbs centred around the falseness of tales (T19-T35), and the value of truth (T497-T515) but none with this exact phrasing. Reminiscent of Proverbs 8:7: ‘For my mouth shall speak truth; and wickedness is an abomination to my lips’ (King James Bible, Proverbs 8:7).
Wheanne þu begunnyst a thing .’ think on the endy nge .’ (36r)	Whitting and Whitting, <i>Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases</i> , lists 53 variations of ‘Look at (think on) the End (ending)’ between 1280 and 1500, and many variations on good beginnings leading to good ends: B204, B207, B208, B210. The earliest recorded variation dates to c.1280 in the <i>South English Legendary: OT History</i> , 83.50: ‘In everych dede that thou doost: thine endynge have in mynde’.
Whan þu gynnyst ony thing .’ þinke upon the endynge . (58r)	The closest approximation in spelling and phrasing is found in a collection of proverbs in Oxford, BodL, MS Douce 52 (ff. 1r–12v): ‘Whenne thou bygynnys a thyng, thenke on the endynge’.
Fyh on pryde .’ (38v)	Thomas Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> (498–501): ‘Pryde hath wel lever bere an hungry mawe To bedde than lak of array outrage. He no prys settith by mesures lawe, Ne takith of him clooth, mete, ne wage’. Chester Cycle Play 23, <i>The Last Judgement</i> (277–9): ‘Fie on pearls! Fie on pride! Fie on gowns! Fie on guide! Possessions Fie on hue! Fie on hide!’. <i>The Proverbs of John Heywood</i> , Epigram 28: ‘Fie on pride when men go nakte’. Reminiscent of Proverbs 8:13: ‘The fear of the Lord is to hate evil: pride, and arrogancy, and the evil way, and the froward mouth, do I hate’ (King James Bible, Proverbs 8:13). Whitting, <i>Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases</i> , also lists many proverbs on the danger of pride: B413, H299, L587, M267, P378-P396.
Wan in thy most thynke on thyn ende (44r)	<i>Piers Plowman</i> , Passus 12 (7441–2): ‘And manye tymes have meved thee To thynke on thyn ende’. A similar proverb found in London, BL, Harley MS 4294, f.82r: ‘Man remember thy end and thou shalt never be shend’. <i>Cursor Mundi</i> , I (4379–80): ‘For qua begin wil ani thing He aght to thine on the ending’. <i>The Alliterative Romance of Alexander the Great</i> , Passus Alexandri (3297–8): ‘Loke to thine ende. For die the bose, quen all is done and ay thi day scortis’. Whitting, <i>Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases</i> , lists many variations on thinking of one’s end: A62, E84, E87.
Deth spariþ no creature (44r)	Thomas Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> (5366–7): ‘What mighte his force availle Ageyn the deeth? Nothyng, nothyng, sanz faille’. <i>Gesta Romanorum</i> , chapter 37 on Morality: ‘Dethe, that sparithe no man’. Geoffrey Chaucer, <i>Canterbury Tales</i> , ‘Melibee’ (1613): ‘For deeth is the ende of every man as in this present lyf’.

	Whitting and Whitting, <i>Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases</i> , lists 12 variations of “against death there is no defence” before 1525 (D78), 18 of “Death is common to all” before 1509 (D97), 3 of “Death is common to old and young” before 1509 (D98); and a further 10 related variations: C51, D84, D88, D89, D92, D94, D99, D100, D101, M488.
Say the best and bere the softe ontauzt tunge greuith ofte (44r)	Thomas Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> (2439–43): ‘But tonge of man, as it wel knowe and kid is, Nat may be tamed; o fyl man, for schamel Silence of tunge is wardein of good fame And after repreef fissheth, clappeth, fouleth; The tunge of man, all the body defouleth’. A similar proverb appears in New York, Morgan Library, MS.21: ‘Sey the best or be styлле, Wyth thy tonge noman thou qwelle, Suffyr and have thy wyлле’, printed in <i>Studies in Medieval Literature in Honor of Albert C. Baugh</i> , ed. MacEdward Leach (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961), 284. Reminiscent of Proverbs 17:20 – ‘he that hath a perverse tongue falleth into mischief’ (King James Bible, Proverbs 17:20). Whitting and Whitting, <i>Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases</i> , lists 7 variations of “Say well (the best) or be (hold you) still” before 1500 (S77); 2 variations of “Hold your Tongue and say the best” before 1450 (T369); and a further 19 proverbs relating to holding one’s tongue: T366, T367, T370, T372, T374, T375, T376, T385, T388, T389, T392, T395, T396, T397, T399, T400, T401, T402, T403.
Off longe suffraunce comith greet greuaunce Meknes deth oftin ease (52r)	Thomas Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> (4460–1): ‘But bet for trouthe is to suffre torment Than richely enhaunced be for glose’. Denis the Carthusian, <i>Vices and Virtues</i> (23–6): ‘For withoute suffraunce may no man ne womman come to parfightnesse; withoute pacience ther hath no wight victorie, for who-so leseth suffraunce, he is overcome’. Hichecoke, <i>This Worlde is but a Vanyte</i> (45–6): ‘Esy sufferying and good abidyng Schall bryng a man to his desieryng’. Whitting, <i>Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases</i> , lists 2 variations of “Is he not rich that has Suffisance?” before 1400 (S867).
Ihesu for thi moche myht .’ Saue alle peple that loue trouthe and and hate alle vnryht .’ (83v)	Thomas Hoccleve promotes truth throughout the <i>Regiment of Princes</i> : ‘A kyng of trouthe owith been exemplarie’ (2198); ‘Amonges alle thynges in a knyght, Trouthe is a thyng that he ne lakke may’ (2297–8); and portrays God as the author of truth: ‘And so to do God, the auctour of trouthe’ (2393); ‘And God is trouthe itself, than may the vice Of untrouthe nat in a kyng appeere’ (2411–12). A similar proverb appears in London, BL, Harley MS 2253, in the ‘Harley Lyrics’ (ff. 49r–142v), f.79v: ‘Iesu for pi muchele miht pou 3ef vs of pi grace’.
Mekenes passe th alle maner thynges (88v)	Although reminiscent of the proverb on f. 10r, this proverb can also be traced to phrases relating to meekness: Thomas Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i> : ‘With herte enteer and spirit of meeknesse’ (2023); ‘It is kyngly be meek and debonaire’ (3388); and in the explicit: ‘with hertes meeknesse’ (3458). John Lydgate, <i>Stans Puer Ad Mensam</i> , MP II (78–9): ‘Be meek in mesour’. Whitting and Whitting, <i>Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases</i> , lists 9 proverbs on the subject of meekness: B487, C195, D359, H495, L31, M6, S204, S548, T540.

APPENDIX 3.1:

Extracts of envoys from *Fall of Princes* in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean 182 (Fi1), ff.49v–52v with comparisons with the *Regiment*.

<i>Extract</i>	<i>Fall of Princes</i>	<i>Regiment</i>
II. 778–805	‘Philisophres concluden and deuse In ther bookis off old experience, That counseilour[e]s sad, expert and wise, Trew e off ther woord, stable off ther sentence,’ (II.778–81)	‘Commendable is conseil take of the wyse And nat of fooles, [...] Cheesith men eek of old experience Hir wit and intellect is glorious; Of hir conseil holsum is the sentence. The olde mannes reed is fructuous’ (4936–46)
IV. 2927–2968	‘Wher of custum thes vileyns do ther cure, [...] To be vengable bi mortal cruelte, [...] Folwyng the techchis of ther vileyn lynage’ (IV.2957–61)	‘A crookid hors nevere is the bet entecchid Although his brydil glistre of gold and shyne’ (4166–7)
III. 365–385	‘For whan fredam a prynce doth forsake, And couetise put awei largesse [...] Than is withdrawe from ther hih noblesse The peeplis herte’ (III.372–7)	‘But of largesse is good the governance; Bothe to God and man it is plesance’ (4157–8)
III. 4019–4060	‘The throne of princis be clemence is maad stable Vengaunce delaied, to God is agreable’ (III.4057–8)	‘Good is be waar of Goddes long souffrance Thogh he to venge him tarie and be souffrable Whan his strook cometh, it is importable.’ (4422–4)
I. 4817–4844	‘Voide hem a-side, that can flatre and fage Fro tungen that haue a tarage off tresoun Stoppith your eris from ther bittir soun’ (I.4840–2)	‘But Favel [...] His lordes soules salve he from him hydith [...] The sweete venym of his tonge gydith His lord unto the valeye of dirknesse’ 4439–44)
III. 3088–3115	‘A iuge sholde off equite despise To take giffes off any maner wiht, And redi been all wrongis to chastise, From all giffes turne awei his siht,’ (III.3095–8)	‘In Perse ones ther was by jugement A man to deeth dampned in wronge wyse For wratthe and hate and the irous talent’ (2675–7)

APPENDIX 3.2:

Scribal Co-texts of the *Regiment*

<i>Scribe Appellation</i>	<i>MSS</i>	<i>Contents</i>	
Selden Scribe	Cambridge, Queen’s College, MS 24	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i>	
	Oxford, BodL, MS Selden Supra 53	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i>	
		Hoccleve, <i>Complaint</i>	
		Hoccleve, <i>Dialogue</i>	
		Hoccleve, <i>Tale of Jereslaus’s Wife</i>	
		Hoccleve, <i>Learn to Die</i>	
		Hoccleve, <i>Tale of Jonathas</i>	
		Lydgate, <i>Danse macabre</i>	
	Leeds, Brotherton, MS Addit. 2286	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i>	
	Bristol, Public Library, MS 8	Lydgate, <i>Troy Book</i>	
	Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS Eng. 98	Nicholas Love, <i>Mirror of the Blessed Life of Christ</i>	
	Oxford, BodL, MS Digby 230	Lydgate, <i>Troy Book</i>	
Lydgate, <i>Siege of Thebes</i>			
Lydgate, <i>Siege of Jerusalem</i>			
Hammond Scribe	London, BL, MS Arundel 59	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i>	
		Lydgate and Burgh, <i>Secrees of old Philisoffres</i>	
	London, BL, MS Harley 372 (ff.71r-112r)	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i>	
		Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.3.11	Nicolas d'Oresme, <i>Treatise on the Origin, Nature, Law, and Alterations of Money</i>
			Confirmation of privileges of the City of London
	The Statute of Servants		
	Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.14.52	Diagnosis by appearance of urine	
		Medical recipes	
		<i>The treatise of Friar Rogier Bacon</i>	
		Translation of pseudo-Galen, <i>De semine</i>	
		Influence of the four elements, zodiac, and planets	
		<i>Treatise on the brain</i> , trans. of Constantinus Africanus	
		Instructions for protecting cloth or wood from fire	
		Treatise on phlebotomy	
		Medical recipes for skin	
		<i>The virtue of Artemisia</i>	
		Medical recipes for flux	
		Treatise on prognostications	
		Treatise on sleep	
		Prognostications on thunder	
Treatise on the days of the week			
Translation of Gilbertus Anglicus, <i>Sekenesse of Wymmen</i>			
Recipes for syrups			
Treatise on distilled water			
Notes on the elements			
Notes on the three spirits of man			

	Notes on the stages of digestion
	Notes on long life
	Treatise on the planets
	<i>Letter of Ipocras</i>
	Astrological treatise on influences of planets & zodiac
	John of Burgundy, <i>De pestilentia</i>
	Treatise on diagnosis
	Medical recipe for sciatica
	Treatise on the pestilence
	List of herbs and diseases
	On diagnosis & treatment of 'collica passio'
	Treatise on the seven liberal arts
	Treatise on geometry
	List of canons
	Table of aspects of the moon
	The virtues of oil of 'Mary Maudleyn'
	Treatise on water
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.21 (34r–49v)	<i>Pety Job</i>
Worcester, Worcester Cathedral Library, MS F.172	ME prose translation <i>Passio Nichodemi</i>
	<i>The Legend of the Cross before Christ</i>
	Notes on tithing
	ME translation of Rolle, <i>Emendatio Vitae</i>
	ME translation of Flete, <i>De Remediis contra Temptaciones</i>
	Latin summary of Bernard of Clairvaux, <i>De duodecim Gradus Humilitatis</i>
	Narrations on penitentions
	Wycliffite Acts of the Apostles, 2nd version
	Hilton, <i>Scala Perfectionis</i> , book 1
	Notes on the Jesus-Psalter
	<i>Questions and Answers about Tribulation</i>
	Massis and Diriges
	Alfonsus, <i>Disciplina Clericalis</i>
	ME <i>Letter of Alexander to Aristotle</i>
	ME <i>Epitaphium Alexandri</i>
	On the pope's authority to excommunicate
	Provincial Statutes in English
	Second Wycliffite Psalter in Latin and ME
London, BL, MS Additional 29901	<i>Service on the coronation of Richard II</i>
	<i>Ceremony of the coronation of Richard II</i>
	Notes on royal funerals
	<i>Marshals and Constables of England at times of peace and war</i>
	<i>Ordinances of Richard II's battles in Scotland</i>
	<i>Account of the campaign of Edward I in Scotland</i>
	<i>On the creation of heraldry by Julius Ceasar</i>
	<i>The foundation of the Order of the Garter</i>

London, BL, MS Harley 2251	<i>Order of proceedings for Order of the Bath</i>
	<i>Treatise by Johannes de Bado Aureo</i>
	<i>Treatise on insignia and arms</i>
	<i>Prayers to the Lord and to the Virgin</i>
	<i>Lydgate, Verses on the Kings of England</i>
	<i>Lydgate, Dietary</i>
	<i>Lydgate, Letter to Gloucester for money</i>
	<i>Lydgate, On Kissing at 'Verbum caro factum est'</i>
	<i>Lydgate, a version of Stella Celi extirpauit</i>
	<i>Lydgate, Prayer for King Henry VI and his Queen and the People</i>
	<i>Lydgate, 'Consulo quisque eris'</i>
	<i>Lydgate, 'A dyte of womenhis hornys'</i>
	<i>Lydgate, 'A Satyrical Ballad against Jack Hare'</i>
	<i>Prayer to the Virgin Mary</i>
	<i>Lydgate, Rammeshorne</i>
	<i>Lydgate, 'Everything draweþe to his semblable'</i>
	<i>Lydgate, On the Mutability of Man</i>
	<i>Lydgate, Verses against Haste</i>
	<i>Lydgate, 'A song of Iust Mesure'</i>
	<i>Verses on the mysteries of Creation</i>
	<i>Lydgate, 'Ave regina celorum'</i>
	<i>Lydgate, 'Regina celi letare'</i>
	<i>Lydgate, Tyed with a Line</i>
	<i>Lydgate, 'Riȝt as the crabbe goth forward'</i>
	<i>Lydgate, 'Testament'</i>
	<i>Lydgate, Lamentation on the Virgin Mary</i>
	<i>Chaucer, Balade of Fortune</i>
	<i>Chaucer, Complaint of Venus</i>
	<i>Lydgate, Amor vincit omnia mentiris quod pecunia</i>
	<i>Chaucer, Gentilesse</i>
	<i>Chaucer, ABC hymn to the Virgin</i>
	<i>The Craft of Lovers</i>
	<i>Lydgate, Fabula duorum mercatorum</i>
	<i>Lydgate, 'Legend of Dan Joos'</i>
	<i>Chaucer, Canterbury Tales</i>
	<i>Lydgate, A praise of St. Anne</i>
	<i>Legend of Wulfryk the priest</i>
	<i>Jesus to the Virgin Mary, the Rose of Womanhood</i>
	<i>Of the Four Complexions</i>
	<i>Lines for a mumming, spoken by Law</i>
	<i>Lydgate, Fall of Princes</i>
	<i>Lydgate, 'Song of Vertu'</i>
	<i>Lydgate, Stans Puer ad Mensam</i>
	<i>Lydgate, To King Henry VI on his Coronation</i>
	<i>Beware of deceitful women</i>
	<i>The Pain and Sorrow of Evil Marriage</i>
	<i>Four things that make a man fall from Reason</i>

	<i>The Abuses of the Age</i>
	Scogan, <i>Moral Balade</i>
	<i>Sayings of Old Philosophers, 'Summum Sapientie'</i>
	<i>Seven Wise Counsels</i>
	Burgh, <i>Cato Major</i>
	<i>Interpretacio Misse</i>
	Lydgate and Burgh, <i>Secrees of old Philisoffres</i>
	Lydgate, <i>'Procession of Corpus Christi'</i>
	Lydgate, <i>'Of the Sodein Fal of Princes in oure Dayes'</i>
	Lydgate, <i>'A Sayenge of the Nyghtyngale'</i>
	Lydgate, <i>'Gaude virgo mater christi'</i>
	Lydgate, <i>'Criste qui lux es et dies'</i>
	Lydgate, <i>paraphrase of Psalm 102</i>
	Lydgate, <i>'Gloriosa Dicta sunt de Te'</i>
	Lydgate, <i>'Valentine to Our Lady'</i>
	Lydgate, <i>'Bycorne and Chychevache'</i>
	Lydgate, <i>'Thoroughfare of Woe'</i>
	Lydgate, <i>Balade on a New Year's Gift</i>
	Lydgate, <i>'A Gentlewoman's Lament'</i>
	Lydgate, <i>To King Henry VI on his Coronation</i>
	Lydgate, <i>on the Duke of Gloucester's marriage</i>
	Lydgate, <i>Isopes Fabules</i>
	Chaucer, <i>Purse</i>
	Chaucer, <i>Complaint of a Prisoner against Fortune</i>
	Lydgate, <i>The Order of Fools</i>
	Lydgate, <i>'Hors, Goose and Shepe'</i>
	<i>Court of Sapience</i>
London, BL, MS Harley 4999	Statutes of the Realm
London, BL, MS Royal 17 D. XV part 1	Chaucer, <i>Canterbury Tales</i>
London, BL, MS Additional 34360	Lydgate, <i>Fabula duorum mercatorum</i>
	Chaucer, <i>Purse</i>
	Chaucer, <i>Complaint of a Prisoner against Fortune</i>
	Chaucer, <i>'Womanly Noblesse'</i>
	Lydgate, <i>The Order of Fools</i>
	Lydgate, <i>Horse, Goose, and Sheep</i>
	<i>Assembly of Ladies</i>
	Chaucer, <i>Compleynt unto Pite</i>
	<i>'The Balade of Pite'</i>
	Lydgate, <i>paraphrase of Psalm 102</i>
	Lydgate, <i>'Gloriosa Dicta sunt de Te'</i>
	<i>Poem on precious stones</i>
	<i>Prayers to Jesus and the Virgin Mary</i>
	Lydgate, <i>Verses on the Kings of England</i>
	Lydgate, <i>Dietary</i>
	Lydgate, <i>Letter to Gloucester for money</i>
	Lydgate, <i>On Kissing at 'Verbum caro factum est'</i>
	Lydgate, <i>a version of 'Stella Celi extirpauit'</i>

		<i>Lydgate, Prayer for King Henry VI and his Queen and the People</i>
		<i>Lydgate, 'Consulo quisque eris'</i>
		<i>Lydgate, 'A dyte of womenhis hornys'</i>
		<i>The Craft of Lovers</i>
		<i>Lydgate and Burgh, Secrees of old Philisoffres</i>
	London, BL, MS Cotton Claudius A.VIII	<i>Sir John Fortescue, On the Laws and Governance of England</i>
	London, BL, MS Harley 78	<i>Fragment of Piers Plowman</i>
	London, Royal College of Physicians MS 388	<i>Chaucer, Canterbury Tales</i>
	Oxford, BodL, Rawl. D.913, f. 43	<i>Fragment of ME prose Merlin</i>
	Cambridge, CUL, MS Ee.1.2	<i>Lyttleton, Tenures</i>
		<i>Lyttleton, De Natura Brevium</i>
	Edinburgh, NLS, Advocates' 19.1.11 (composite)	(i) <i>Mandeville's Travels</i> (sub group E)
		(ii) <i>Sir Cleges</i>
		(iii) <i>Hoccleve, Regiment of Princes</i>
Cornhyll' / Advocates scribe	London, Society of Antiquaries, MS 134	<i>Lydgate, Life of Our Lady</i> (imperfect)
		<i>Gower, Confessio Amantis</i>
		<i>Hoccleve, Regiment of Princes</i>
		<i>Walton trans. Boethius, Consolation of Philosophy</i>
	London, BL, MS Harley 1758	<i>Chaucer, Canterbury Tales</i>
	Pierpont, Morgan Library, MS M.875	<i>Proprietatibus rerum</i>
Antiquaries 134 scribe	Belvoir Castle 1	<i>Lydgate, Fall of Princes</i>
	New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS 493	<i>Hoccleve, Complaint</i>
		<i>Hoccleve, Dialogue</i>
		<i>Hoccleve, Tale of Jereslaus's Wife</i>
		<i>Hoccleve, Learn to Die</i>
		<i>Hoccleve, Tale of Jonathas</i>
		<i>Hoccleve, Regiment of Princes</i>
		<i>Lydgate, Danse macabre</i>
	Oxford, BodL, MS Laud misc. 735	<i>Hoccleve, Complaint</i>
		<i>Hoccleve, Dialogue</i>
		<i>Hoccleve, Tale of Jereslaus's Wife</i>
		<i>Hoccleve, Learn to Die</i>
		<i>Hoccleve, Tale of Jonathas</i>
		<i>Hoccleve, Regiment of Princes</i>
		<i>Lydgate, Danse macabre</i>
De Regimine scribe	Oxford, BodL, MS Dugdale 45	<i>Hoccleve, Regiment of Princes</i>
		<i>Chaucer, Canterbury Tales</i>
	London, BL, Harley MS 2248 (91r–100r only)	<i>Brut Chronicle</i>
Double-v Scribe	Princeton, PUL, MS Garrett 137 (scribes A, B, C)	<i>Hoccleve, Regiment of Princes</i>
	Oxford, BodL, MS Rawl. poet. 163 (scribes A, B, C, D, E)	<i>Chaucer, Troilus and Criseyde</i>
		<i>Chaucer, To Rosamonde</i>
	Oxford, BodL, MS Rawl. poet. 34 (fols. 1r-4v, scribe B)	<i>Amis and Amiloun</i>

Edmund-Fremund Scribe	Oxford, BodL, MS Douce 326 (fols. 1r-13v, scribe B)	verse <i>Life of St Margaret</i>
	London, BL, MS Harley 4826	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i>
		Lydgate, <i>The Life of St Edmund and St Fremund</i>
		Lydgate and Burgh, <i>Secrees of Old Philisoffres</i>
	London, BL, Yates Thompson 47	Lydgate, <i>Life of St. Edmund and St. Fremund</i>
	London, BL, Harley 1766 (folios 42v-99r)	Lydgate, <i>Fall of Princes</i>
	London, BL, Harley 2278	Lydgate, <i>Life of St. Edmund and St. Fremund</i>
		Lydgate, <i>Prayer to St. Edmund on behalf of Henry VI</i>
	Arundel Castle, Duke of Norfolk MS	Lydgate, <i>Life of St. Edmund and St. Fremund</i>
	Oxford, BodL, MS Ashmole 46	Lydgate, <i>Life of St. Edmund and St. Fremund</i>
		Lydgate and Burgh, <i>Secrees of old Philisoffres</i>
	London, BL, MS Sloane 2464	Lydgate and Burgh, <i>Secrees of old Philisoffres</i>
	London, BL, MS Harley 2255 (folios 113v-153v)	Lydgate, <i>On Kissing at 'Verbum caro factum est', a prayer to St. Leonard</i>
		poem to Katherine with glorious Margaret
		Lydgate, <i>Prayer to British Saints</i>
		<i>prayer to St. Ositha, perhaps by Lydgate</i>
		Lydgate(?), <i>'The Fiftene Tokyns afor the Doom'</i>
		<i>They That No While Endure</i>
		Lydgate, <i>'Letabundus'</i>
		<i>'Experience shewith the wourld is varyable'</i>
		Lydgate(?), <i>'Timor mortis conturbat me'</i>
		Lydgate(?), <i>Verses advising to guard your tongue</i>
		Lydgate, <i>'Gloriosa Dicta sunt de Te'</i>
		Lydgate, <i>'Ave Iesse Virgula'</i>
		Lydgate, <i>'Benedictus deus in donis suis'</i>
		Lydgate, <i>'Mesour is Tresour'</i>
		Lydgate, <i>'Deus in Nomine Tuo saluum me Fac'</i>
		Lydgate, <i>'God is myn Helpere'</i>
		Lydgate, <i>'Benedicta sit sancta Trinitas'</i>
		Lydgate, <i>A prayer to St. Edmund</i>
Fillingham scribe	Oxford, BodL, MS Laud Misc 673	Lydgate and Burgh, <i>Secrees of old Philisoffres</i>
	London, BL, MS Arundel 99	Lydgate, <i>Troy Book</i>
	McGill fragment	Lydgate, <i>Fall of Princes</i>
	San Marino, HEHL, MS Hm 135	Hoccleve, <i>Regiment of Princes</i>
		<i>Mirror of Mankind</i>
		<i>Firumbras</i>
		<i>Otuel and Roland</i>
		<i>The Hermit and the Outlaw</i>
		<i>'De Deuelis Perlement'</i>
	London, BL, MS Additional 37492	<i>Mirror of Mankind</i>

APPENDIX 5.1

Transcription of William Wiflete's unique glosses in Corpus Christi College Cambridge, MS 496 (Cc).

<i>Folio</i>	<i>Regiment line</i>	<i>Poem</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
7v	610	Whan I was yong, I was ful rechelees	Confessio
13v	1149	How seistow by Afffrican Scipion	Ex ^m
14r	1170	Of covetyse he was nothyng coupable	Non sint spoliator
15r	1261	Seint Ambroses legende seith how he	Ex ^m de <i>sancti</i> Ambrosio
21v	1868	God have his [Chaucer's] soule, best of any wight	Iuvenis
21v	1869	Sone, I wole holde thee that I have hight.	Senex
23v	2038	Aristotle, moost famous philosophre,	Arystot ^{les}
25r	2199	Lo, thus this Aristotle in his book seith	Arystot ^{les}
26v	2311	Out of the town he [philosophre] spedde him on his weye	Philosophus
28r	2462	Of rightwisnesse, which out of this yle	De Rectitudine
29v	2586	Falisk named, as seith Valerius	Valerius
30r	2647	Of Lancastre good Duke Henri also,	henricus lancastre
30r	2655	Twixt Kyng Porrus and a lord clept Fabrice	De pporro Rege
33v	2962	Whan he [the knight] sy this, he blyve to hem [his people] seide	No ^{ta} de confessione Amantis in librum 6 sic vocat
34r	3004	Whilom ther was a tirant despitous	confessione Amantis
34r	3038	And so as blyve he [the king] was therin ybrent.	Incidit in foveam quam fecit
36r	3201	Wel worthy is be drawn in memorie	Valerus
48v	4179	Byfore almighty God axen vengeance	Nota saltum & gressus ? quare non valet
51v	4670	The vertu is of liberalitee	De prodigalitas
54v	4936–7	Commendable is conseil take of the wyse / And nat of fooles, for they may nat love	Ecclesiastici xxv. Quam speciosa veteranis sapientia & gloriosus intellectus

APPENDIX 6.1

Pre-seventeenth century marks of provenance in manuscripts of *The Regiment of Princes*.

MS	Individual	Evidence	Notes
(A) Arundel 38	John Mowbray (1392–1432)	Coat of arms ff. 37r; arms of Segrave on 71r	English nobleman and soldier, second surviving son of Thomas (I) Mowbray, first duke of Norfolk (1366–1399), and his second wife, Elizabeth Fitzalan (d.1425).
(Ad) Addit. 18632	Lord Richard Wiggington, chaplain	Owned and donated to Amesbury, recorded in note f. 99v.	Wigginton is a parish in Oxford, with recorded members of the 'Wyggington' family in wills of the mid 1550s (e.g. Oxford History Society will no. 183.284).
	Convent of the Blessed Virgin Mary & St Melor, Amesbury	Donated to the nuns by Richard Wiggington in 1580, according to note on f. 99v in his hand	
	Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady Clare (1295–1360)	On ff. 2r and 101r are household accounts for the years 1356–1359 containing entries for payments to Geoffrey Chaucer whilst page in the household	Magnate and founder of Clare College, Cambridge.
(Ar) Arundel 59	Thomas Wall (d. 1536)	f. 1r: coat of arms	Norroy King of Arms 1516–1522, Windsor Herald 1524–1529, Knight of the Garter 1534–1536. Wall made a translation of the French 'Livre intitule L'Ordre de chevalerie' by Ramon Lull, for Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk before 1534 (now in autograph in NLS, Adv.MS.31.1.9). He also compiled an alphabet of arms (now SoA, MSS/0679); an order of knighthood (now TNA, SP 9/31/2); a book of crests (now Suffolk Archives, HD2418/5); and a book of arms, (now College of Arms, L.1).
		f. 89v: 'Thomas Wall Wyndesor herault' and 'TWWH'	
		f. 92r: 'Wyndesor H'	
		f. 130v: 'This boke belongyth vnto T. Wall alias Wyndesor herault at armes which he bought of henry at the tauerne within buschops gate at London the yere of our Lord 1525 wyttensse Robert Lytylbouroug Saywell & c' the viijth day of may Qui bien gaigne et qui plus fort despent Riens ne Luy fault pour mucer son argent Who gettyth mouche money & dooth despend more Nedyth no coffre to key vp hys store'	
	Robert Littleborough	(witness to above)	
	Thomas Starkey	f. 1r: 'To. Starkey'	
(As) Ashmole 40	nothing before William Brown(e) (1590-1645)	name on f. 1r, annotations throughout and missing leaves supplied	English pastoral poet, born at Tavistock, Devon, and educated at Exeter College, Oxford.
(Bo) Bodley 221	Richard Busbie	f. 97r: 'Richard Busbie is my name & note my pom [...]'	
	John Kinderley	f. 129v: 'John Kinderley' (twice)	

		f. 96v: 'henry'	
(Cc) CCCC 496	William Wilflete (d.1470)	ff.4r 'constat M. W. Wilflete' and 60v 'constat Magistro Willelmo Wilflete'	Master of Clare College, Cambridge 1446–1455; Dean of Stoke-by-Clare 1443–1470.
(Co) Cov. 325/1	Nothing before Thomas Alford (17th century)	Donation to Coventry Grammar School listed as 'Lydgate's Occleve Poems' (Thomas Sharp, <i>Illustrative Papers on the History and Antiquities of the City of Coventry, from Original and Mostly Unpublished Documents. Carefully Reprinted from an Original Copy, with Corrections, Additions, and a Brief Memoir of the Author by William George Fretton</i> (Birmingham: printed for subscribers, 1871), 175.	Likely the Thomas Alford of Coventry who attended Emmanuel College, Cambridge in 1623–1630. Second son of Thomas Alford (d.1616) and Alice Phelps, of Tewkesbury (d.1617). The Alfords had had a branch in Coventry from at least 1505, founded by Thomas Alford, fifth son of Thomas and Jane of Holt, and Gentleman Usher in the Court of King Henry VIII. (<i>Alford Family Notes, Ancient and Modern</i> (London: Phillimore, 1908), 50-1.)
	Coventry Grammar School via Thomas Alford (1651)	In the original register of donations (from 1697: CUL, MS Add. 4467, f. 5r) it appears as "Chauceri Opera Manuscript.," the gift of Thomas Alford [...] gentleman of the City of Coventry';	See A. I. Doyle and George B. Pace, 'A New Chaucer Manuscript', <i>PMLA</i> , 83.1 (1968): 22–34.
(Di) Digby 185	Hoptons of Blythburgh, Suffolk, & Swillington (possibly George Hopton d.1489?)	f. 1r: the initial H with which the text begins contains the quartered arms of Swillington and Rosse; and f. 104r, marking the beginning of the Regiment Proper. ff. 80r and 166r: arms of Swillington impaled by those of Aylsford (quarterly argent a bend sable thereon three mullets sable, and gules fretty argent). f. 80r: the top left and right depict respectively the arms of Swillington and Rosse. The two lower blazonings are argent a saltire gules; and barry of six ermine and gules, over all three crescents sable, are those of the families of Neville of Hornby in Lancashire, and Waterton of Waterton in Lincolnshire and Methley in Yorkshire. f. 157v: Rosse and Swillington; Waterton; and Neville of Hornby, and Aylsford. Below this the Vavasour of Haslewood, Spaldington, and Gascoigne of Gawthorpe, Dyneley (or Dingley, Dynley); and Houghton.	See Carol Meale, 'The Politics of Book Ownership: The Hopton Family and Bodleian Library, Digby MS 185', <i>Prestige, Authority and Power in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts</i> , ed. Felicity Riddy (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), 103–132.
(Do) Douce 158	no identifiable medieval owners		
(Du) Dugdale 45	no identifiable medieval owners	front pastedown: erased initials 'W B' multiple times	

(Ed) Edinbg. 202	no identifiable medieval owners		
(Fi1) McClean 182	Hugh Lippiat	f. 138v: 'hewe lippiate owyth this boke'	Possibly from the lands known as Over Lippiatt and Nether Lippiatt in Gloucestershire, now known as Middle Lypiatt - there was a Lypiatt estate (see Gloucestershire Archives D745/M1, Deeds relating to the Lypiatt estate).
	Richard Jacks(?)	f. 139v: 'Richard Jaques'	
(Fi2) McClean 185	no identifiable medieval owners		
(Ga) Garrett 137	no identifiable medieval owners		
(Gg) Gg.vi.17	no identifiable medieval owners		
(Ha1) Harley 116	likely monastic origin	The table of contents on f. 1v lists a Carthusian text, <i>De fundatione domus Carthusium</i> (ff. 140v–141v). Elegy from the tomb of Ralph Cromwell (1393–1456) on ff. 152v–53v. The inclusion of Lydgate's works and the Latin epitaph dedicated to him on f. 170v also suggest the possibility of a Benedictine origin.	Seymour suggests that the scribes belonged to a Carthusian priory, possibly a priory which was associated with Ralph Cromwell (1393–1456), third Baron Cromwell; 'The Manuscripts of Hoccleve's <i>Regiment of Princes</i> ', <i>Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions</i> , 4.7 (1974): 253–97 (265–6).
	Sir John Kymbell of Mursley and Indwell (d. by 1558)	f. 1v: 'receyvyd of John Kymbell the ixth daye of Auguste in the xx yere of the reigne of kyng henri the vijth by the hand of John harrison xxxiiij s'; f. 2r: 'Iste Liber Constat John Kymbell'; rear flyleaf: 'Constat John Kymbel of Indwell';	Death recorded in TNA, C 3/72/66.
	Surgeon Torell	f. 1v: 'Surgon Torell own thys boke'	Not recorded in W. Munk, <i>Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London</i> , 1861; or C.H. Talbot and E.A. Hammond, <i>The Medical Practitioners in Medieval England: A Biographical Register</i> , 1965.
	William Eygar	f. 2r: 'Iste liber constat Willelmo Eygar teste Roberto Holte Scriptum fuit a die Ste Mich'is Arch'I proid future Anno Regni Regis Henrici Octavi quartodecimo'	
(Ha2) Harley 372	John Stowe (d.1605)	f. 103r: Note in his hand 'his picture shuld be here'	Historian, antiquarian, and book collector.
	no identifiable medieval owners	Prov. Before Simon d'Ewes (d.1650) unknown	

(Ha3) Harley 4826	no identifiable medieval owners		
	Sir William Drury of Hansted (d.1579)	f. 81v: a verse epitaph of Sir William Doury of Hansted (d.1579) in Suffolk - no guarantee he was associated with the manuscript though	English statesman and soldier, educated at Gonville College, Cambridge, later MP for Chipping Wycombe.
(Ha4) Harley 4866	no identifiable medieval owners	Presentation copy, likely supervised by Hoccleve. An almost exact replica of A but lacking the presentation scene on f.1.	
(Ha5) Harley 7333	The Augustinian Canons of St. Mary de Pratis, Leicester by 1480	Copied and owned by this community	See Manly and Rickert, 1.214-5; Barbara Kline, 'A Descriptive Catalog of British Library MS. Harley 7333' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Washington, 1990), 37-40.
	Partly derived from an exemplar written by John Shirley (c.1366 – 1456)	Seen in the Shirleian headings throughout the manuscript, marginal notes to 'nota Shirley' (ff. 39v, 38r), nature of the texts copied and agreement with surviving Shirley manuscripts.	
	William Stockton/Stoughton, cellarer of the Abbey	ff. 41r, 190r, 192r: 'Stoughton' rebus f. 189r: faded coat of arms, saltire between four door staples, of the Stockton family of Kent	Barbara Kline identifies a record that mentions both John Penny and William Stoughton as monks of Leicester Abbey when they were sent on behalf of the monastery to Henry VII to obtain leave to elect their Prior ('A Descriptive Catalog of British Library MS. Harley 7333', 39)
	John Peny, canon at Leicester by 1480, elected prior 1493, and abbot 1496 (d.1519)	f. 150v: 'Docter peni writ this booke'	
(Hh) Hh.iv.11	Elizabeth Lyttleton (d. after 1450)	f. 52r: impaled arms of the Littleton family, on the female side: likely in reference to Elizabeth Lyttleton as the sole heir to the Lyttleton name and arms after the death of her father, Thomas Lyttleton, Lord of Frankley (d.1422)	Heiress of Frankley. Married Thomas Westcote but retained the Lyttleton name. Mother of Sir Thomas Lyttleton (d.1481).
	Sir Philip Chetwynd (d.1444)	f. 92r: arms of the Grendons, which passed by marriage to the Chetwynds in 1331, and was in turn inherited by Sir Philip Chetwynd, the first husband of Joan Burley (1420-1505)	First husband of Joan Burley (1420-1505), who later married Sir Thomas Lyttleton (d.1481)
	Sir Thomas Lyttleton (d.1481)	f. 52r: impaled arms of the Littleton family. At the likely date of production of the manuscript, and due to the connection to the Chetwynds through Joan Burley, Sir Thomas de Lyttleton (d.1481) is the most likely candidate for the patron	Judge, undersheriff, Lord of Tixall Manor, and legal writer.
	Nicholas Roscarrock of Cornwall (1549-1634)	f. 21r: arms of the Roscarrocks added later f. 1r: name in lower margin	Cornish Catholic who was imprisoned in the Tower of London, and afterwards wrote a dictionary of British and Irish saints.

(Hn1) El.26.A.13	John Shirley (c.1366 – 1456)	flyleaves ii verso–v verso: poems in Shirley's hand v verso: Shirley's bookplate f. 115r: (possibly his hand?) note of Corneburgh's ownership 'Iste liber constat Aluredo Corenburgh de Camera Regis'	Author, translator, and scribe. Husband of Margaret Lynne.
	Margaret Lynne (?)	Flyleaf v verso: name incorporated into Shirley's bookplate	Wife of John Shirley.
	Beatrice Lynne (d.1501)	Flyleaf v verso: name incorporated into Shirley's bookplate	Sister of Margaret Lynne.
	Avery Cornburgh (1430–1487)	f. 115r: (possibly by Shirley) note of Corneburgh's ownership 'Iste liber constat Aluredo Corenburgh de Camera Regis'	Husband of Beatrice Lynne. Under-Treasurer of England from 1483 to 1487 and Keeper of the Great Wardrobe in the Royal Household from 1486–1487.
	Nicholas Gaynsford (1427–1498)	Flyleaf iii verso and iv recto: 'necolas gaynsford/gaynford'	Usher to the Chamber of Edward IV.
	Elyzabeth Gaynsford (?)	Flyleaf iii verso and iv verso: 'Elyzabeth Gaynesford'	Daughter of Nicholas Gaynsford.
(Hn2) HM 135	Thomas Parsye/Parsey	f. 12r: 'Thomas Parrsie gent'	Possibly the Thomas Parsye of Suffolk whose property dispute in Rickinghall Inferior is recorded in TNA, C 3/141/66 (1558–1579).
	William Warker	f. 17r: 'William Warker est [illegible]'	
	Thomas Catfeld	f.25r: 'Noverint universi per presentes nos Thomam Catffieldes'	
(Kk) Kk.i.3 (10-12)	no identifiable medieval owners	Parts 10, 11, and 12 may have shared provenance, although they were not necessarily originally conceived as one codicological unit .	
(La) Laud Misc. 735	Jerome Hampden (1488–1540)	f. 1r: 'Jerome Hampden'; and 'hampden' on rear flyleaf	Landowner in Buckinghamshire, specifically of the manor of Hartwell and lands in Sedrup (Southrope), Bishopstone and Stone (TNA, C 1/923/16-19; C 142 - Chancery: Inquisitions Post Mortem, Series II, xlv, no. 43; lxiii, no. 1)
	Thomas Creke of Rickmansworth (d.1519)	Rear flyleaf: 'Thomas creyke my name ys'; 'Thomas creyke' many times	Succeeded his father William as lord of the manor of Micklefield, Rickmansworth, in Hertfordshire (Cussans, <i>Hist. of Herts. Cashio Hundred</i> , 138)
	Master Quaddryng	f. 1r: 'Master Quaddryng'	Possibly of the Quadryng family of Kent, eg. Kent Archives CP 25/1/117/342, number 20; or of Quadring, a village in Linconshire
	Wyllyam Fygdwyth	rear flyleaf: 'Wyllyam Fygdwyth'	

(Le) Leeds, Brotherton 2286	John Robinson	f. 27r: 'John Robbye a verye knave' and 'John Roby'; rear flyleaf 'John Robynsun hath'	
	Thomas Browne	rear flyleaf: 'Dompnus fratris Thome Browne'	
	John Walker	rear flyleaf: 'Jhon wauker ys a knave'	
		rear flyleaf: 'gybbis' and 'frater' repeated	
(Ma) Pepys 2101	Henry/Harry Caswell	f. 44r: 'Henry Caswell'	
	Thomas Copley (d. by 1558) and Katherine Copley (alive in 1558)	f. 2r: 'Catherine Copley' f. 62r: 'my lady Coley' f. 63v: 'Thomas Copley' (3 times)	Likely the Thomas Copley, esq., and Katherine his wife, listed as deforcians in a quitclaim for the Manor of Bedeham (alias Bedham) and tenements in Fytleworth, Kyrdeford, Egdene and Grene (1563) (<i>Sussex Manors, Advowsons etc Recorded in the Feet of Fines, Henry VIII to William IV</i> (1509–1833), ed. Edwin H W Dunkin, vol. I, 32). Thomas Copley was JP for Surrey 1558–1568. Lord and Lady of Shellwood Manor: Katherine, Lady Copley, widow of Sir Thomas Copley named in the claim of the manor of Shelwood, Surrey (TNA, C 2/Eliz/C13/19).
	Margery Gerard	f. 2r: 'mager[y] gerarde'	
		f. 24r: 'Bereys hafflyn at London'	
	John Travers	f. 29v: 'John Trauers hath Recued' f. 44r: 'memorandum that John Trauers hath'	
(Na) Adv. 19.I.II (3)	Thomas Haselfote	ff. 1v, 119r, 123r, 176v: 'Thomas Haselfote'	Possibly the Thomas Haselfoote of London, merchant tailor and haberdasher mentioned in TNA, C 146/8723 and CP 40/998.
	William Patrick	f. 10r: 'This is William Patrike boke'	
	William Costerdemonger	f. 172v: 'William Costerdemonger'	'Costerdmonger' meaning someone who sells fruits and vegetables.
	Edward Thornton	f. 176v: 'Edward Thornton est possessor hiui libri'	
	John Pope	f. 177r: 'John pope'	Possibly the merchant of Exeter whose will was witnessed in 1577 (TNA, PROB 11/59/162).
	John Watson	ff. 99r, 119r: 'John Watsoun'	Possibly the John Watson of Allerton, merchant listed as defendant in a 1553-5 chancery court dispute (TNA, C 1/1350/31).
	William Benson	f. 109r: 'William Benson'	

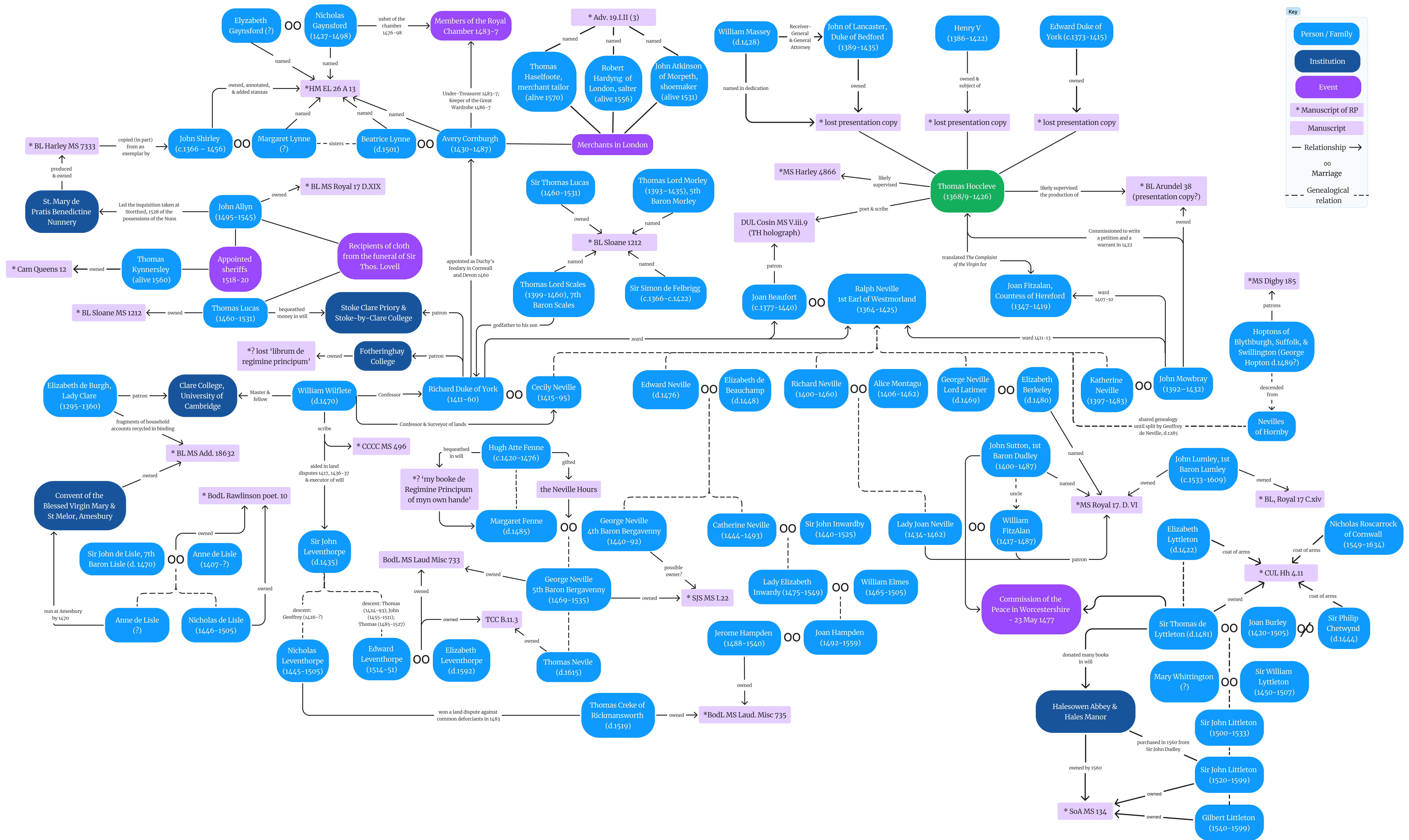
	Robert Hardyng	f. 117r: 'Robert Hardyng'	Possibly the Robert Hardyng of London, salter, witnessed in an agreement between merchants (TNA, C 146/7696).
	Edward Gote	f. 118v: 'Edward Gote'	
	John Smith	f. 150r: 'John Smith'	
	John Atkinson	f. 150r: 'John Atkinson'	Possibly the John Atkinson of Morpeth, shoemaker in Aldgate mentioned in this grant of 1531 between merchants (Northumberland Archives, BMO/D1/Henry VIII/22).
	William Sampson	f. 176v: 'William Sampson'	
	John Leggit	f. 177r: 'John Leggit booke'	
(Ne) Newberry 6	no identifiable medieval owners		
(Qu) Queens 12	Thomas Kynnersley, Esq. of Ackleton in Shropshire (alive in 1560)	f. 70v: Memorandum Humphrey Blackman of Badger Salop. [...] to Thomas Kynnersley'	Tenancy of Badger in Shropshire was conveyed by Dorothy Kynnersley née Elmbridge to her son, Thomas Kynnersley, in 1560. In the late 16 th century, a Humphrey Blakeman was paying 8 s. to the church for rental of a cottage. ('Badger', <i>A History of the County of Shropshire</i> , eds A.P. Baggs, G.C. Baugh, D.C. Cox, Jessie McFall, P.A. Stamper, vol 10 (London, 1998)).
	Humfrey Blackman of Badger, Shropshire		
(Ra1) Rawl. poet. 10	Sir John de Lisle of Wodyton and Thrupton, 7 th baron Lisle (d. 1470)	f. 1r: 'Cest livre est asture ("à cette heure") a John Lyle'	Sheriff of Wiltshire 1438–1439, and of Hampshire 1439–1440; JP Hampshire 1441–1470/1.
	Nicholas de Lisle (1446–1505)	f. 1r: (only visible under UV) 'Nicholas Lysle' f. 65v: 'N. Lysle'	Son of Sir John de Lisle and Anne Botreaux.
	Sir Thomas Lysle (c.1481–1542)	f. 1r: 'By me Thomas Lysl'	A distant cousin of John de Lisle who grew up in his household and was married to John de Lisle's niece and heir, Mary Kingston.
	John Webb	f. 1r: 'John Webb is myne'	
(Ra2) Rawl. poet. 168		f. 43v: 'Tom ffayball'	
(booklet pair)	no identifiable medieval owners	f. 1r: 'John'	

Rawl. poet. 35			
(booklet pair) Rawl. D.82	no identifiable medieval owners		
(booklet pair) Douce 324	Thomas Thompson	f. 6v: 'Thomas Thomson'; 'Thomsone'	
(Ro) Rosb. 1083/30	Thomas	f. 20: 'Thomas owe me the monie [...] f. 177v: 'Thomas'	
	Thomas Waltrensstone (?)	f. 27v: 'Be yt knowe to all mene ?ythend present the I Thomas Waltrensstone(?) ??sord of the countye of Stafford gentellman dothe one thes Seme? Romance of the laste? ?ell - xvij th x iiij & md'	
	William	f. 32r: 'Willyam ther was a man that dwelle'	
(Ry1) Royal 17 C.xiv	John Lumley, first baron Lumley (c.1533- 1609)	f. 2r: 'Lumley'	Same Lumley who annotates his name in Ry2.
	Nicholas Saunder, possibly of Ewell	f. 2r: 'Codex michi Saunder & amicorum qui continet in se folia 89'	Possibly the father of Sir Nicholas Saunder, MP for Penryn in 1588.
	Sir John Treglystyn (Treglistian) (d. 1520)	f. 90v: 'Iste liber constat John Treglystyn', and 'Connstat John Treglystyn' twice	Details of his lands appear in 1549 Ewell Rental documents (TNA, PRO: LR 2/190) and Abstracts of Feet of Fines, 1509-1558, Surrey Record Society, 1946.
(Ry2) Royal 17 D.vi	Elizabeth Berkeley (d.1478)	f. 1r: 'Euer stedefast E berkeley'	Wife of John Sutton, first Baron Dudley (1400–1487).
	John Sutton, first baron Dudley (1400– 1487)	f. 1r: 'Alas porquy Duddeley'	Husband of Elizabeth Berkeley (d.1478).
	William FitzAlan (1417–1487)	f. 40r: coat of arms of William FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel f. 1r (flyleaf): 'Euer Feythefull Arundell' f. 2r: Wyll Arondel' f. 150v: 'Mouncer darundell'	Manuscript's patron. Husband of Lady Joan Neville, Countess of Salisbury (1434–1462). Second son of John Fitzalan, 6 th earl of Arundel (1385–1421), and Eleanor Berkeley (d.1455).
	Lady Joan Neville, countess of Salisbury (1434–1462)	f.4r: coat of arms of Joan Neville after her marriage (17 August 1438) to William FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel	Manuscript's patron. Wife of William FitzAlan (1417– 1487). Eldest daughter of Richard Neville, fifth earl of Salisbury, and Alice Montagu, Countess of Salisbury.
	John Lumley, first Baron Lumley (c.1533– 1609)	f. 4r: 'Lumley' under coat of arms	His father-in-law was Henry FitzAlan, who left his library to Lumley at his death

	Harry Courtenay (d.1469)	f. 1r: 'trew & playne Harry Contenay'	brother of Thomas Courtney, Earl of Devon
	possibly Alianora Roos (alive in 1448)	f. 1r: 'Alyanor Roos'	daughter of Sir Robert Roos of Gedney, Lincolnshire.
	John Matthew	f. 1r: 'Johan Mathew'	
	Jane Fitzlowys	f. 1r: 'Jane ffytzlowys'	
	Humphrey Blont	f. 1v: 'Blount' f. 2r: 'Blount' f. 3r: 'Humphrey Blont'	
	Rolund Schakyrley	f. 3r: 'Rolund Schakyrley'	
	John Mill	f. 3r: 'John Myll' f. 2r: 'John Myll'	
	'Acton'	f. 2r: 'Acton' (twice)	
	'Folyet'	F. 2r: 'Folyet'	
	'Stoughton'	f. 2r: 'Stoughton'	
	John Moyells	f. 99r: 'John Moyells'	
(Ry3) Royal 17 D.xviii	Unwyn family of Stafford (in 1548-51)	f.3r: 'Wyly ^{am} Unwyn', 'Alys Unwyn', and 'Elyzabeth Unwyn'	Associated with lands in Bedull (TNA, C 1/856/71-75), Brieryhurst (TNA, C 2/Eliz/U3/1), and the manor of Tunstall (TNA, C 3/219/94), all in Staffordshire .
	Wikes family	f. 1v: 'Nicholas Wykes', 'John Wykes', 'William Wykes', 'Edward Wykes', 'Thomas Wykes', 'Francis Wykes', 'Morice Wykes'	Likely the Nicholas Wykes (c.1488–1558) of Dodington, Gloucestershire, who served as Gentleman waiter to Prince Henry in 1511. His will (TNA, PROB 11/40/292) lists his sons Francis, Thomas, William, and Morice.
	Poynts/Poyntz family	f. 1r: 'Izabel Powyns', 'Marget Powyns', 'Katheryn Powyns', 'Mary Powyns', 'Jane Powyns', 'An Powyns'	Likely the women of the Poynts/Poyntz family, into which Nicholas Wykes married. His will mentions Mary, Margaret, Jayne, and Anne Poyntz.
(Ry4) Royal 17 D.xix	John Allyn (1495–1545)	f. 101r: 'John al Hallyn'	Allyn was knighted at Whitehall in 1529, and was appointed as both Sherriff of London (1518) and Lord Mayor of London (twice in 1525 and 1535)
(Se) Selden supra 53	Richard Burnett	f. 114r: 'Richard Burnett'	
	Thomas Holt	f. 157v: 'Thomas Holt'	Possibly the Thomas Holte (d.1545) of the Middle Temple, London, and Aston and Duddeston, Warwickshire. JP for Warwickshire 1522-45, Shropshire and Staffordshire 1535-45, Northamptonshire 1536-45, Gloucestershire and

			Worcestershire 1537-45, Caernarfonshire and Herefordshire 1538-45, Cheshire 1539-45.
(Sj) St Johns 223	George Neville, fifth baron Bergavenny (1469–1535)	f. 1r: 'Thys boke hys myne George lord Bergevenny'	
(Sl1) Sloane 1212	Sir Thomas Lucas (1460–1531)	f. 100r: 'lucas endure'	Prominent member of the gentry and a who attended Cambridge likely before 1485. His first position of note was as secretary to Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke and Duke of Bedford.
	Thomas Lord Scales (1399–1460), seventh baron Scales	f. 1v: 'Scales Ver elle tout bien'	Henry Noble MacCracken, 'Additional Light on the Temple of Glas', <i>PMLA</i> , 23:1 (1908): 128-40 identifies these individuals.
	Thomas Lord Morley (1393–1435), fifth baron Morley	f. 1v: 'Morley Ele est mon cure'	
	Sir Simon de Felbrigg (c.1366–c.1422), knight of Norfolk	f. 1v: 'Felbrigge Sanz mewer'	
	Henry Normanvyle	f. 1v: 'Normanvile yours for euer'	
	possibly Sir John Edmund Fitz Lucas (?)	f. 1v: 'Lucas Mercy ma soueraigne Joie Youres alone'; 'Humblement Magre Sanz mewer Lucas'	Father of Sir Thomas Lucas (1460–1531).
(Sl2) Sloane 1825	no identifiable medieval owners		
(So) SoA 134	Halesowen Abbey & Hales Manor	f. ii r: "formerly belonged to Halesowen Abbey, Worcs." (in the hand of Charles Lyttleton - certainty dubious)	
	Lyttleton family	16 th and 17 th century notes by Bridget Littleton and Meriel Littleton.	The family purchased Halesowen Abbey & Hales Manor in 1560 from Sir John Dudley.
(Tc) TCC R.3.22	John Stowe (d.1605)	f. 208v: 'Regimine Principum'	Historian and antiquarian.
	Roger	f. 209r: 'Rogerus'	
	Margaret Thomas	f. 209v: 'Margareta Thomas negat effluitur'	
(Ya) Beinecke 493	no identifiable medieval owners		

APPENDIX 6.2



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